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Peaceful Settlement: 'Time running out'

By ANTHONY JOHNSON

JOHANNESBURG — Constitutional negotiators in earnest today with all major parties warning that "time is running out" for a peaceful settlement PAC and the government agreed that bloodshed in the country had reached the point where the entire process of peaceful negotiations was under way against the

Several parties rejected the suggestion of a crisis meeting at Tugsteyns in Cape Town this afternoon between President F. W. de Klerk and Transvaal Premier Hanri Schoonshoe. The 28 parties that the violence question would be given top priority in the broadened forum dominated a preparatory meeting of negotiators last night.

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of peaceful solutions for the country. ANC spokesman Mr. Carl Mubanga said it was critical that the problem rather than be removed to the Convention for Negotiations of a Democratic South Africa (Conceda). The government's chief negotiator, Mr. R. G. M. van der Merwe, said the government would not be placed on parties like the PAC to end their "double speak" on violence having any effect on the process. He emphasised that the name for the every time negotiators gathered in search

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Violence to top today's agenda

Star 11/4/93
(304A) (11A)

By Esther Waugh
Political Correspondent

Politicians gather at the World Trade Centre today to formally resume negotiations for the transition from apartheid to democracy.

But it appears that most of the first day of the multiparty negotiating forum will be devoted to confirming procedural matters.

The 10-member planning committee last night failed to agree on a name for the new negotiation forum — although 10 possible labels are still on the table.

Since the planning conference on March 5 and 6, key negotiators from the 26 participating parties have been thrashing out details such as the standing rules, chairmanships, structure and name for the new process.

The two-day negotiating forum will focus on the ongoing political violence and a scenario for the transition process.

A draft resolution on violence was prepared last night. It was hoped the resolution would structure the discussion on violence and its impact on negotiations.

Earlier yesterday the Government's top negotiator, Roelf Meyer, confirmed it intended to hold a nonracial election by this time next year, reports Sapa.

"We believe that this is the real thing," said Meyer.

"This is the place where we are going to negotiate over the months to come the principles on which the future constitution of this country is to be drafted and adopted.

"We are determined to reach agreement on these matters within the next month or two. It means time is of the essence and we should at all costs avoid devoting time to side issues."

Meyer said South Africa was "still on target" for a timetable suggested by President F.W. de Klerk last November, which envisages elections by April next year at the latest.

Substantive negotiations are only expected to begin in the smaller negotiating council which will convene again after the negotiating forum.

Heated debate

Some of the negotiators expressed astonishment last night that an issue such as a name could cause heated debate.

The crux of the argument was between those who saw the negotiating forum as the resumption of talks and others — including those who joined at the planning conference — who insisted that the conference signalled the commencement of talks.

In an attempt to defuse the situation, groups favouring the Codesa name, including the Government and ANC, said they were prepared to accept a new

name, which included Codesa.

Others, such as the PAC, said they had a mandate to negotiate a new name which did not include Codesa.

The committee nominated SACP chairman Joe Slovo to report on the names to the negotiating forum and to explain why no agreement was reached.

It was decided after the planning conference that plenary sessions, including leaders, will be called to confirm agreements.

A multiparty negotiating forum will confirm decisions by the negotiating council while the planning committee will make recommendations to the negotiating council.

Several technical committees will be appointed to deal with specific issues.

Differences are only likely to emerge when political violence and the transition process are discussed.

The discussion on the transition will include the status of Codesa agreements — whether they could form a constructive foundation for the resumed negotiations.

Key players, including the Government and ANC, are in favour of the forum concerning the scenario plotted out in the Codesa agreements: the appointment of a transitional executive council, the holding of the first all-in democratic elections and the establishment of an interim government.

Star 114/93

'MI plot to install homeland dictators'

By Peter Fabricius
Political Correspondent

CAPE TOWN — The Democratic Party claims it has been leaked secret information about a Military Intelligence (MI) plot to establish dictators in the homelands to counter the ANC.

DP Umhlanaga MP Kobus Jordaan told Parliament during the Budget vote last night that Inkatha Freedom Party official Walter Felgate and Bophuthatswana Cabinet Minister Rowan Cronje were key elements in a bid to sabotage negotiations.

Felgate's task was to sway IFP leader Mangosuthu Buthelezi and Cronje's was to do the same for Ciskei leader Lennox Sebe and Bophuthatswana President Lucas Mangope.

According to the documents, Felgate succeeded with Buthelezi. Cronje failed with Sebe but was successful with Mangope.

Jordaan said his information was based on documentation leaked to him in September 1990, but some of it had been corroborated by further leaks last November.

He believed those behind the strategy were still fighting democracy "with might and main".

He also named former MI chief General Tienie Groenewald as a kingpin of the strategy. Jordaan — a former Government official intimately involved with negotiations — said that during September 1990 he had received from unknown sources a comprehensive intelligence packet with information on various covert operations.

Certain leaders — Kangwane chief Enos Mabuza and Ciskei

chief Lennox Sebe — were identified as "problem children".

Other aspects were:

- IFP members were trained in Caprivi and Israel. Jordaan said the SA Defence Force had subsequently told him these were Zulus and not IFP members.

- IFP constitutional adviser Albert Blaustein had also largely drafted the constitutional proposals of John Gogotya's FIDA.

- The funds for the campaign came from MI.

The overall approach was that democracy could not work in South Africa and that several dictators must be established to stand against the ANC.

Jordaan said he accepted President de Klerk's assurances in Parliament that he knew nothing about this plan but expressed doubt that Law and Order Minister Hernus Kriel "fully shared the State President's sentiments".

Double vision needed to lift SA from fog

Star 11/4/93

(304A)

(K) (S)

The new president of the South Africa Foundation believes this country must face blunt reappraisal from both the inside looking out and the outside looking in when it seeks a new status in the international business world, reports MICHAEL CHESTER.

DDOUBLE vision at first sounds like an enormous drawback for anyone selected by the South African private sector to act as its special ambassador in the international business world.

Yet that was precisely what the South Africa Foundation was seeking when it elected Meyer Kahn (53), chairman of SA Breweries, as its new president in Johannesburg last week.

It means the ability to view South Africa not only from the inside looking out — but also to view South Africa from the outside looking in. In absolute frankness, without fanciful gloss, warts and all.

Ideally, both visions should at least be in sharp focus, if not a precise match. Instead, at the moment, the view from each angle is fog-bound and in dire need of improvement:

- From the inside, South Africa glares with resentment at an outside world that it blames for not coming forward with rich rewards for its struggle to bring down apartheid and build a new democracy from the debris — new investments, development aid programmes, closer trade ties.

- From the outside, businessmen seem to be turning a cold shoulder on South Africa, or looking ultra-cautious about engagement, as images of political oppression are replaced by images of political rows, violence and economic malaise.

The objective of the SA Foundation is to improve the view from both sides and put South Africa firmly back into the international business arena.

The post that Meyer Kahn takes over from Barlow Rand chairman Warren Clewlow has long been regarded as supremo of a private diplomatic corps at work behind the scenes at home

and abroad, nurturing global business links.

To associate Meyer Kahn with double vision would cause waves of derision among peers who credit him with an uncanny 20-20 sharpness of perception in any boardroom.

There seemed to be little evidence of double vision as Kahn, the affable "Boykie from Brits", was rocketed by sheer business acumen from management trainee at OK Bazaars to managing director and now executive chairman of one of the largest conglomerates on the African continent.

Nor was it suspected as he was awarded accolades such as Marketing Man of the Year in 1987, Business Achiever of the Year in 1990, Professor Extraordinaire at the Graduate School of Management at the University of Pretoria, a seat at the State President's Economic Advisory Council...

Kahn himself, however, now puts the ability to "see double" as a crucial asset in his new role.

"Unless the focus is sharpened," he says, "South Africa will slip lower and lower down the list of international priorities. As overseas countries strike apartheid and sanctions and boycotts off their agendas, there are real dangers that South Africa will slip off the agenda entirely."

"It has become crucial to improve the image we project — from the present negative image to a positive image."

The first objective must be firm evidence of political and socio-economic stability.

The reluctance of foreign donors and investors to plough funds into South Africa at the moment is understandable, says Kahn, in view of their sad ex-



Sharpen focus ... SA Foundation's Meyer Kahn.

periences elsewhere in Africa.

"Investors like winners, or at least potential winners," he adds. "We shall only capture their serious attention when we stop whining about the shortage of outside help and start laying the foundations of dynamic new democracy ourselves."

Rather than concentrate on its handicaps, South Africa should start counting its assets — from a sound infrastructure to a vibrant private business sector, and now the first flicker of optimism about good economic management.

Next, South Africa needs to make a frank reassessment of its prospects on world export markets, to earn the income to finance its socio-economic programmes. Exporters had to re-evaluate the products they were trying to sell.

"We should concentrate on products we know best — simple consumer products in high demand in low-income markets," says Kahn.

He argues: "The first essential is real evidence that South Africa is prepared to press on with shaping its own new future — alone if necessary."

"That is the image, from the outside looking in, that will draw the earnest attention of the World Bank and the International Monetary Fund and investors who can press the buttons to accelerate the motors." □

Cabinet 'changing of the guard' will happen today

TIM COHEN

CAPE TOWN — A host of new Ministers take over their new portfolios today following President F W de Klerk's February reshuffle announcement, but attention is likely to focus on the crucial change of Defence Minister. *6:00 PM 11/4/93*

Incoming Defence Minister Kobie Coetzee, who takes over from Gene Louw, who is retiring, took steps yesterday to reassure defence force heads that he did not intend sweeping new shifts in policy. He said the SADF would function without significant changes.

Coetzee also addressed concern that his appointment would result in an uncomfortable mixture of the Justice and Defence portfolios, saying the two portfolios would be managed separately.

Coetzee described his management style as one of "decision-making after consultation". He added that he believed in a "team approach".

Other Ministers who will take over portfolios today are Japie van Wyk (Environment and Water Affairs, Andre Fourie (Regional and Land Affairs) and Danie Schutte (Home Affairs).

Coloured and Indian appointees who become active Cabinet Ministers today are

Jac Rabie (Population Development), Abe Williams (Sport) and Bhadra Ranchod (Tourism).

Outgoing Regional and Land Affairs Minister Jacob de Villiers said in his farewell speech to Parliament that it was vitally important that people involved in negotiations should understand that economic growth was necessary for successful democratisation.

SA's dilemma was how to harmonise the demands of economic and political freedom in a short period without giving way to unrealistic expectations and the demands of popular support, he said.

Sapa reports De Klerk told Parliament yesterday the 12 Cabinet changes since he had become President had affected 17 Ministers and 12 Deputy Ministers. These included changes effective from today.

"One Minister died as did the Speaker, and 11 Ministers retired. The changes are nothing new. In my first seven years in the Cabinet I held nine different portfolios and there were no complaints then," he said.

He said the shuffles were all due to innovative decisions taken by government.

Marike visit 'cost R276'

Political Correspondent

(3049)

Aug 14 1982

MRS Marike de Klerk's visit to Atlantis last month for a National Party goodwill tea cost the State, at most, R276,16, President De Klerk told parliament.

The cost of the petrol for the 104 km return trip was about R13, but if one included wear and tear at AA rates, the total direct cost to the State would be R276,16.

Indirect costs were for security, which was necessary because of "intimidatory threats" by the African National Congress.

This was provided by the police — as it would be for any public figure or political or sports organisation seeking it — but it did not amount to any significant expenditure. The need was based on a risk analysis.

Responding to a question by Democratic Party MP for Pinelands Mr Jasper Walsh, Mr De Klerk said: "As you are aware, my wife receives no remuneration despite her extensive official duties; neither does she receive a clothing allowance even though she is expected to look her best for the numerous functions she has to attend."

He added: "All civilised countries provide adequate security for their heads of state, their spouses and other public figures who might be the targets of radical political organisations or individuals."

Technical aspects agenda accepted by forum

304A

AKG 1/4/93

JOHANNESBURG — The multiparty negotiating forum accepted an agenda here today aimed at dealing with the technical aspects of the constitutional way forward.

The forum kicked off its meeting at the World Trade Centre at 10.10am and in less than 30 minutes accepted the eight-point agenda.

Declaring the meeting open, the Bophuthatswana government's Mr Rowan Cronjé, the chairman (the chairmanship will rotate over the two-day sessions among six people), asked the 26 political parties, homeland administrations and movements to observe a moment's silence.

Discussion then began on the draft agenda, with the Kwazulu government's Dr Ben Ngubane immediately proposing that a separate item, "The form of state" be included on the agenda.

This was supported by some members of the Concerned South Africans Group (Cosag), including the Conservative Party's Mr Tom Langley, but rejected by the African National Congress.

ANC secretary-general Mr Cyril Ramaphosa argued that the form of state could be discussed under an agenda item entitled "The way forward and instructions to the Negotiating Council concerning the constitutional issue."

After several other speakers proposed a compromise, Inkatha Freedom Party chairman Dr Frank Mdlalose sealed the argument when he said the question of a form of state could be discussed later on and should not bog down the process.

Delegates then accepted the agenda, with the proviso that items of a constitutional nature could be raised either under the way forward or the transitional process and that the form of state need not be a separate item. — Sapa.

FW, Holomisa meet today

CAPE TOWN — President F W de Klerk will meet Transkei leader Maj-Gen Bantu Holomisa in Cape Town today to discuss the question of Apla bases and the security cordon SA has thrown around the homeland's borders.

The meeting was advanced from Monday, apparently at the suggestion of the ANC which wished to avoid a bruising argument across the conference floor at today's resumed negotiations.

Meanwhile, government yesterday warned in a diplomatic note that it reserved the right to take "appropriate measures" to protect the interests of its citizens from further cross-border attacks by elements of Apla and other organisations operating from the territory.

TIM COHEN

The 15-page note, government's official reaction to a similar note from Transkei, said it was not government's intention to respond to the "provocative, threatening and insulting parts" of the Transkei note.

The allegation that De Klerk had given an order "to the effect that certain persons deemed to be Apla members resident in Transkei be wiped out" was so preposterous that it did not merit a response.

LLOYD COUTTS reports that police warned yesterday that while routes to the Transkei were still open, South Africans travelling to the territory did so at their own risk.

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Transkei

More than 1 000 members of the security forces were spread along the Transkei border yesterday as SA placed a security cordon around the territory to counter alleged springboard attacks by the PAC's armed wing, Apla.

Eastern Cape police spokesman Capt Henry Chalmers said while border post monitoring operations were running smoothly, the safety of travellers to the homeland could not be guaranteed.

Police also warned South Africans against taking firearms into the homeland. Apla, meanwhile, denied targeting white South African civilians.

The organisation's political commissar Romero Daniels told Radio 702 in an interview from the group's headquarters in Tanzania that security forces were still Apla targets.

● Comment: Page 6

Last-minute bid to find a name

Violence on the agenda as talks resume

610AM 1/4/93
MULTIPARTY negotiations get under way again today after an 11-month break following the collapse of the Codesa constitutional talks.

In contrast with the wave of optimism at the start of Codesa, today's meeting at the World Trade Centre in Kempton Park will be marked by caution, with negotiators well aware of the problems facing them.

Preparatory negotiations over the past few months have failed to resolve a number of issues, from constitutional questions to the treatment of violence and a name for the new gathering.

Because of the procedural nature of the two-day meeting, it will not be attended by President F W de Klerk, ANC president Nelson Mandela or Inkatha president Mangosuthu Buthelezi.

The PAC and the right-wing CP are among the parties taking the number of delegations up to 26 from the 19 at Codesa, making this the most representative gathering yet.

Sapa-AFP reports that Constitutional Development Minister Roelf Meyer, who will head the government delegation, said yesterday he believed the new round of talks would succeed.

"We believe that this is the real thing. This is the place where we are going to negotiate over the months to come the constitutional principles on which the future constitution of this country is to be drafted and adopted."

"We are determined to reach agreement on these matters within the next month or two. It means time is of the essence and we should at all costs avoid devoting time to

BILLY PADDOCK

side issues and rather concentrate on the priorities."

He said SA was "still on target" for a timetable suggested by De Klerk last November, which envisages elections by April next year at the latest.

He also made it clear government wanted the talks to deal with the question of an interim constitution. The elected constituent assembly would then write a permanent constitution "on the basis of constitutional principles we are negotiating now".

Codesa failed last year partly because the ANC suspected that government wanted an interim constitution so immutable that a democratically elected assembly, inevitably dominated by the ANC, would have its hands tied.

Meyer said violence would top the substantive agenda at today's talks.

Delegates are expected to get straight down to tough bargaining today. Negotiators said it was vital that parties decided on the rules before negotiations began.

The first area of possible conflict is government's insistence that the issue of violence be dispensed with first. All parties have agreed that the forum is the best place to deal with the issue, but government and the ANC still differ strongly on measures to control the violence.

The ANC insists on joint control of the armed forces by way of subcouncils of the envisaged transitional executive council, while government wants the SAP and the SADF treated separately from the other

□ To Page 2

Talks

armed formations.

Other problem areas include the adoption of Codesa agreements as a foundation for the new forum, the reincorporation of the TBVC states, regional powers, the phases of the transition and the control of future elections.

The planning committee failed after a six-hour meeting last night to agree on a proposed new name for the forum. Nor could the contentious issue of formulating

a structure to discuss violence be resolved.

A subcommittee was set up last night to meet through the night and this morning in the hope of reaching agreement in time for a recommendation to be made to the forum meeting.

After lengthy debate on the Codesa agreements, the planning committee decided not to change the existing recommendation that the agreements be regarded as a foundation, but that parties were not bound by them and could oppose them.

□ From Page 1

NEWS FEATURE

Zach de Beer says February 2 1990 came many years too late

Sowetan Correspondent

DEMOCRATIC Party leader Dr Zach de Beer has urged white South Africans to face up to the reality that they will have to make sacrifices to correct the wrongs and distortions of apartheid, adding that they should not "panic" about it.

In a strong speech in Parliament, addressing white fears, Dr Beer said whites had to accept "the consequences of our earlier behaviour, which were always inevitable".

"The essential feature (of apartheid)

Don't panic whites told

FACE REALITY Consequences of apartheid

heid have been delayed but are inevitable

was that so long as the vote was given to whites and not to blacks, everything in the country was slanted in favour of whites and against blacks, thereby creating instability and conflict, which could perhaps be delayed but never entirely avoided."

He said whites often asked why they always had to make concessions.

"At first blush, this seems to be a not unreasonable question. There is no doubt that the Nationalists have made a number of concessions to the ANC.

"But, after all, when the haves sit

down to negotiate with the have-nots, can one really expect anything different? After all, what do the have-nots have to give to the haves?"

"We simply have to keep calm, and understand, and continue on the path of reconciliation and negotiation with the utmost in quiet determination.

"By all means, let there be reasonable fear of the dangers around us. But, for heaven's sake, let us not give way to foolish panic."

Dr Beer concluded: "We must all accept that what was done on February 2 1990 was absolutely right, even though it came many years later than it should have done, that the ugly events we see around us were to a large extent predictable, because a badly distorted society has to find its way to normalcy; that we must not lose our heads but be patient and very determined in pressing on to a settlement."



Mangosuthu Buthe



Cyril Ramaphosa

● From previous page

the Inkatha Freedom Party, the PAC and the Conservative Party do not like the name Codesa.

The PAC and CP, in particular, have woven the name Codesa so thoroughly into their anti-negotiations rhetoric over the past months that they have a great deal of difficulty entering talks under this banner.

These three parties are however the only ones who fundamentally oppose the name Codesa.

Various names, some not short on humour, have been offered to replace Codesa—Convention for a Democratic South Africa.

- Here are some of the names:
- Convention on the Future of South Africa (Confusa);
 - Forum for a Great South Africa (Fogsa);
 - Convention against Domination in South Africa (Condomsa).
- Some people!

Marike's R13

Atlantis visit

(30/4)
Political Staff

PRESIDENT F W de Klerk yesterday defended the controversial visit of his wife, Marike, to Atlantis for a tea party and said the direct cost to the state for petrol was about R13.

He added that if the wear and tear on the car were included, the total cost to the state was R276.16. **CT 114193**

President De Klerk, responding to a question in Parliament by Mr Jasper Walsh (DP, Pine-lands), said he was not aware the tea-party was a National Party function, or whether police had served his wife tea.

Mr De Klerk said the indirect cost was limited to security, which was necessitated by intimidatory threats.

NEWS Negotiations are to be more open to the media

By Themba Molefe
Political Reporter

MULTIPARTY NEGOTIATIONS for a democratic South Africa begin in earnest at the World Trade Centre today.

The two-day meeting of 26 parties is to formally adopt a name and put into place the four-tier negotiating forum.

Proceedings are to be more open to the media in line with demands by some major participants for "transparency", unlike during the Codesa days.

The negotiations council, which replaces the facilitating committee of the March 5-6 planning conference, is to table proposals including:

- Codesa agreements which could form the basis for negotiations;
- Procedures, including chairmanship; and
- The role of the international community.

Rotating chairmanship

A panel of chairmen will each rotate in the negotiating forum and negotiating council.

They are Mr Rowan Cronjé of Bophuthatswana, Mr Llewellyn Leaders of the Labour Party, Lebowa's Mr MJ Mahlangu, Inkatha's Dr Frank Mtshoseng, Dr David Gordin of the National Party and Mr Pravin

At the meeting of the negotiating council on Tuesday it was decided that each delegation should have at least one woman representative in

Multiparty talks set to take off today

Due to 1/4/93
NEW STRUCTURE Political parties meet to

adopt a new name and establish forum:

both the forum and the council.

Besides the adoption of structures and procedures, the new forum is due to move to a substantive agenda the focus of which will be the issue of violence.

It is believed the two-day meeting will develop clear policy guidelines to deal with political violence.

Meanwhile, the Codesa formula of sufficient consensus will be retained in sealing decisions at

the new forum.

Shunned talks

Among those not represented will be the Azanian People's Organisation, which has so far shunned the negotiations forums held inside South Africa.

Azapo is to hold its national council this weekend, at which, it is rumoured, a decision on participation may be taken.



STUDENT CHALLENGE . . . Students remonstrate with newly-signed-up NP and Ministers' Council member Mr Jac Rabie after he took part in a long-awaited debate with ANC Western Cape chairman Dr Allan Boesak at UCT yesterday.

Boesak, Rabie clash in UCT debate

Staff Reporter

DR Allan Boesak of the ANC and Mr Zac Rabie of the National Party yesterday clashed in a lively debate at UCT, with both predicting their parties would be victorious in the first democratic elections.

The debate was attended by about 400 UCT students, who

heckled Mr Rabie, chairman of the Ministers' Council in the House of Representatives, on numerous occasions.

Mr Rabie was laughed at when he claimed the "new NP" had recruited many members of the PAC and ANC to its ranks and the NP would have a "landslide win".

He welcomed the tolerance the students had shown him by

inviting a member of the NP to talk on their campus.

Mr Rabie said the NP had put structures in place to ensure that apartheid would never be part of society again.

Dr Boesak, the ANC's regional chairman for the Western Cape, said the fact that the ANC had paved the way for the first free democratic elections and had paved the way for equal pay

for all pensioners were two of its greatest triumphs.

"The ANC don't believe in special rights for minorities and all individuals are entitled to basic human rights, which should be entrenched in a bill of rights," Dr Boesak said.

"The NP must put its dreams of victory away to avoid being disappointed," he said.

First transition pointers may emerge this week, say Shaun Johnson and Esther

Star 11/4/93

Waugh

A fresh beginning for talks

“A

NEW start, but not on new turf.” This is

Cyril Ramaphosa's colloquial characterisation of the resumption of formal negotiations at the World Trade Centre, and it says a great deal about where South Africa stands on its transitional road.

The multiparty talks getting under way today will lack the gravitas of the two Codesas (for one thing, F W de Klerk and Nelson Mandela will not be there), but they represent yet another milestone on the path to the new South Africa.

It is important for South Africans to know what they should and should not expect from the two-day multiparty negotiating forum, so that neither unjustified euphoria nor ill-considered gloom set in at the weekend.

The best way of viewing today's and tomorrow's proceedings is as a fresh start in a three-year-old process. Since South Africa set out on its reform road at the beginning of this decade, the destination — if not the route itself — has been clear. That destination is a non-racial democracy, and in the

final analysis all negotiations have been towards that end. Three years on, the route is becoming clearer, although much argument and compromise is yet to come. We are at the point when the politicians have to agree on the practical steps to be taken between now and the “new South Africa”, and this decisive moment will define which political groups will rule themselves “out”. No one expects from this week's meeting that an announcement of the installation of a Transition Executive Council will emerge, or that an election date will be set. But this is a crucial but — a scenario for change could emerge, if the gathering is a success. This would be the first indication that the transition is ready to begin in earnest.

If the two-day meeting achieves this, or something close to it — and achieves it in spite of the ongoing wrangles over armed formations, Transkei and other issues — there will be cause for quiet celebration among those who long for a peaceful settlement as soon as possible.

Today's gathering differs from the multiparty planning confer-

ence held three weeks ago in that the earlier meeting was convened with the sole purpose of setting a date for the resumption of talks. No substantial issues were therefore discussed, and it could be argued that the meeting will be remembered above all for the arrival on the negotiating stage of groups like the PAC and the Conservative Party.

That planning conference appointed a facilitating committee comprising the leaders of the 26 delegations, now more broadly representative of organised political opinion in South Africa.

Over the last three weeks the facilitating committee agreed on a new structure for the process (but not a new name), and hammered out an agenda for this week's forum. The agenda allows for crucial issues including violence and the status of earlier Codesa agreements to be discussed, and raises hopes for fruitful deliberations — although strong words are likely to be exchanged on among other things, the federal issue and a date for elections.

From here on, in plenary sessions, attended by the leaders of parties, will formally adopt agreements and will meet as pro-

gress is made. This week's forum comprises four delegates and two advisers from each group, and it will be charged with receiving and confirming reports from the negotiating council.

The smaller negotiating council is the forum where the hard negotiations will take place. Beyond that, a planning committee of 10 individuals will plan and submit recommendations on procedural and substantive issues to the negotiating council.

So much for the still-labyrinthine structure of the restored talks. What do the participants expect?

Ramaphosa hopes the meeting will begin to finalise procedural aspects and then start with the real negotiations. The ANC wants the meeting to confirm a clear scenario for the country's political transformation — a scenario which envisages a “pre-Transitional Executive Council” phase, a TEC phase, an Interim Government of National Unity phase, and eventual full democracy.

In broad terms, the Government is in agreement with this, and the most likely source of opposition is the Inkatha Freedom Party. The IFP envisages the

forum agreeing on constitutional principles, after which experts would draft a new constitution, a referendum would be held, and the first general elections would follow.

Some negotiators say it is possible, albeit unlikely, that some parties might “jump ship” if too much progress is made on the Government/ANC scenario for change which they oppose. This would herald a decisive moment, at which point the central players would have to choose to move forward without the others, or stall in order to find a further compromise.

The CP's main interest in the current forum is to discuss “MK, Apla and violence in general”, which it was not able to do at the earlier planning conference. The Government also wants to place violence high on the agenda, and will probably wish to broaden the terms of the debate.

The ANC, for its part, is likely to argue that a discussion on violence should include the matter of a future defence force, and the equal treatment of all armed formations in the transition's phases.

IFP national chairman Dr Frank Mdlalose expects the meet-

ing to address the issue of violence and the form of state of a post-apartheid South Africa. It was an “important, preliminary” to discuss violence at the meeting, because: “How can you negotiate while the sword of Damocles is hanging over you?” He was cautiously optimistic about the meeting's prospects, saying success or failure would depend on “the honesty of everybody... the trust and openness among us”.

A Government negotiator who asked not to be named stressed that the forum could put negotiations on a firm basis, but that the major challenge was to get the Concerned South Africans grouping and others to accept the transition scenario plotted at Codesa and contained in the agreements.

In summary, it seems clear the forum will not produce ringing declarations of comprehensive agreement. That is not its purpose. If it achieves broad consensus on some key issues — sufficient consensus to justify planning the next plenary session — it will have been a success. And if by Friday night none of the participants has pulled out, that will be a bonus. □

Star 11/4/93
(304A) (A)

CP to urge banning of MK, Apla

CAPE TOWN — The Conservative Party and its allies in the Concerned South Africans Group would demand the banning of Umkhonto we Sizwe and the Azanian People's Liberation Army at the forthcoming constitutional talks, CP leader Dr Andries Treurnicht said in Parliament yesterday.

Speaking during first reading debate on the Budget, he said organisations which openly advocated violence and terrorism, and accepted responsibility for such acts, had to be banned.

There was no place at the ne-

gotiation table for terrorists.

The CP would not take part in negotiations aimed at giving the ANC joint control over the security forces by incorporating the movement into an interim government of national unity.

Once the political principals of MK and Apla became part of the government, they would acquire joint control over the security forces.

It was one thing to debate the issue of violence intellectually, but it was totally out of the question to give criminals joint control over the security forces.

Treurnicht said the Government had already decided on the need for a government of national unity within a unitary state, before the future constitutional model had been finalised at the negotiation table.

The CP would not take part in "this exercise of abdication of power".

Attempts by the Government to blackmail the TBVC states into surrendering their independence and being reincorporated into South Africa were a violation of their rights to self-determination, he added. — Sapa.

Star 11/4/93

No transport to hospital

Pensioners and residents of old age homes visiting outpatient departments can no longer use Johannesburg's emergency medical service ambulances, the Johannesburg City Council was told this week.

This was as a result of the Transvaal Provincial Administration's rationalisation of ambulance services and the increase in violence, said Koos Roets, Public Safety, Licensing and Tenders Committee chairman.

Emphasising that Johannesburg had to implement the TPA decision as an agent, he said that it cost up to R300 000 a year to acquire and maintain an ambulance, and the average cost a trip was R110.

"About 60 percent of our 120 000 trips a year are mostly for people like pensioners and residents of old age homes who request transport to outpatient departments or dispensaries," he said. — Staff Reporter

FW, Holomisa in

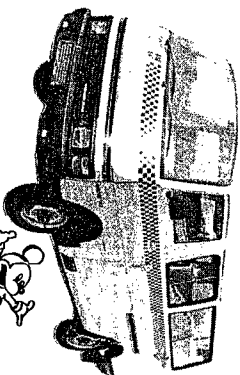
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crisis talks

By Isemil Legardien, Political Correspondent

TRANSKIEAN LEADER Major-General Bantu Holomisa will have decisive negotiations with Pretoria to end the South African Defence Force (SADF) troops blockaded the homestead line on Tuesday, reportedly to protect South Africans against attacks by Aphe from Transkei. It has become apparent that Pretoria wants to oust Holomisa.

After initially warning that any serious action against Holomisa would jeopardise negotiations, the ANC yesterday backed away from its Transkeian ally and said the discord between Pretoria and Umkhonto had to be "resolved as soon as possible".

A statement from the ANC said: "The Transkei situation is reaching a critical point that requires a bold approach from all parties."

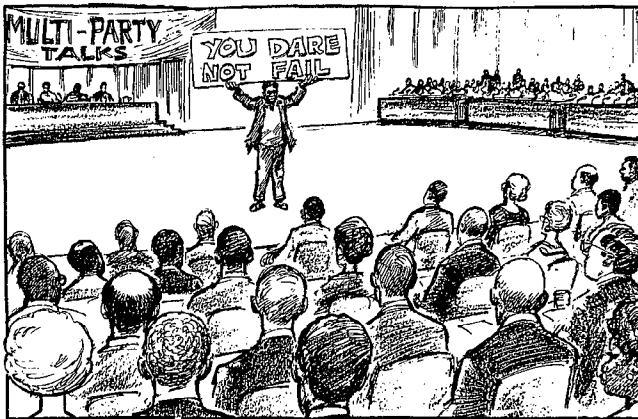
It added that SADF troops had "not been involved in the ongoing conflict" and had "not been involved in the resolution of the ongoing conflict".

The Transkei movement most of its financial support from the South African Treasury through the Ministry of Foreign Affairs. A spokesman for Foreign Affairs yesterday said the Government did not rule out stringent financial sanctions against the predominantly rural Transkei society.

Pretoria has tried on previous occasions to oust the ANC-aligned self-proclaimed military dictator, who pledged to keep a lid on the Transkei until a democratic government was in place in South Africa.

De Klerk vetoed the blockade as part of a three-day aimed at restoring Holomisa's leadership. The American leader refused to comply with the findings of the Goldstone Commission.

The commission established that Aphe, the PAC's military wing, had used Transkei as a training ground and springboard for attacks on white civilians in South Africa. De Klerk and his Government have also repeatedly been embarrassed by Holomisa, who has, methodically and accompanied by great publicity, released top secret documents of the South African Defence Force and Military Intelligence containing sinister instructions.



focus on talks

South Africa's political leaders return to the World Trade Centre near Johannesburg today for the first time since the collapse of Codesa at the same venue on May 16 last year.

Whereas 19 parties attended Codesa's last plenary session on that fateful day, 26 will gather today to resume the multiparty process after almost 11 months of intense bilateral negotiations between parties across the political spectrum.

Today's Multiparty Negotiating Forum, the temporary name until a more formal one is decided upon, will see three delegates and two advisers from each party consider (with or without amendments) reports and proposals from the Negotiating Council for submission to the Plenary.

The Negotiating Council, previously known as the Facilitating Committee, has been sitting almost daily since March 18 and is made up of one delegate and one adviser.

The Negotiating Council, the engine room of the talks, prepares positions and agreements or pertinent issues on the process which it feeds into the Multiparty Negotiations Forum, where broader agreement or consensus will be sought before ratification by a Plenary.

The Plenaries will be large ceremonial functions where formal agreements will be accepted in a symbolic way by the respective most senior leaders of the various political parties, such as the Inkatha Freedom Party's Chief Mangosuthu Buthezi, the ANC's Mr Nelson Mandela and the PAC's Mr Clarence Makwetu.

People like Mr Cyril Ramaphosa and Mr Roelf Meyer will sit in the Negotiations Council but they may join their respective leaders as part of a party of 10 at the Plenaries — which will be few and far between.

The Negotiating Council will appoint personalities, and not as a representative of any political party or organisation, to a Planning Committee that will work under its directives and supervision on the planning and eventual submission of recommendations on procedural and substantive issues.

This Planning Committee, consisting of two delegates and two advisers, must be available on an ongoing basis or as may be decided from time to time, probably by the Negotiations Council. Also springing from the Negotiating Council will be two Technical Committees that will work on an ad hoc basis when necessary on specific tasks, particularly where problems have crept in.

It is in this area that Mr Dikgang Moseneke, former second deputy president of the PAC, has been mentioned as a candidate.

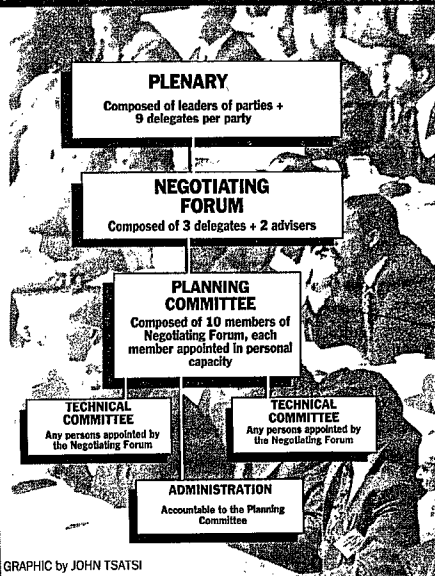
The talks have been renamed mainly because

Codesa — now an unmentionable in political circles — gets underway today after 11 months of intense talks with the awkward temporary name Multiparty Negotiating Forum. Political Correspondent **Ismail Lagardien** looks at what has been going on:

*South Africa
11/4/93*

(304A)

NEGOTIATIONS PROCESS



GRAPHIC by JOHN TSATSI

Star 114193

MP calls for more police

Crime Reporter (250)

The occasional presence of "bobbies on the beat" in Johannesburg's crime ridden northern suburbs was "simply not enough" to protect residents, according to the area's Democratic Party MP, Peter Soal.

Soal told Parliament last week that the only way to reduce Johannesburg's high crime rate was to increase the po-

lice budget and have a "better paid, well trained and well disciplined force".

Witwatersrand police spokesman Major Eugene Opperman yesterday said "the police had limited resources to recruit and appoint more policemen", and had to do their best under "very difficult circumstances".

However, he said people could not be forced to become policemen ei-

ther. They had to "have a calling and want to become a police force member" he said.

He would not say how many policemen were deployed to Johannesburg's northern suburbs, saying only that the number of policemen there had increased substantially in line with the increase of security forces in the CBD over the past few years.

"We have a difficult task. Some people, especially in big shopping centres, say there are too many police around and we are chasing away their clients. Others will tell you they would rather have extra security than robbers," said Opperman.

Moose for key Aspen

conference

STAR 2/14/93.

By Hugh Robertson
Star Bureau

WASHINGTON — The full US Senate yesterday confirmed the nomination of George Moose as Assistant Secretary of State for Africa, and he will be sworn in today, just in time to catch a plane to South Africa to attend the Aspen Institute's conference on developments in the country, which is to be attended by many prominent Americans and South Africans.

While it was merely fortuitous that his first official duty should be a visit to South Africa, the event nevertheless signifies the importance which the Clinton administration will be placing on policy towards South Africa.

Even the resumed fighting in Angola, and the US's mediating role in the conflict, and the imminent prospect of a US-led United Nations operation in Mozambique, have taken second place to the Aspen conference and the opportunity it will give Moose to meet President de Klerk, Nelson Mandela and many other key participants in the negotiating process.

The new administration appears to have enthusiastically embraced the idea of a revitalised South Africa serving as the springboard for the economic regeneration of the southern Africa region.

TBVC reincorporation 'near'

Political Staff

The reincorporation of the TBVC states could be imminent, following the circulation of a confidential document by the Government to homeland leaders last week.

The document spells out a number of steps for swift reincorporation, accelerating the process which was expected to take place only when a transitional government of national unity was installed.

President de Klerk has said elections for such a government could take place early next year.

Now sources are saying that reincorporation could be tied to the earlier transi-

tional step — the installation of multiparty transitional executive councils and perhaps even precede it.

Earlier this week, Constitutional Development Minister Roelf Meyer pointed out that it would be difficult for the TBVC states to participate in the TECs while remaining fully "independent".

The document was presented to homeland leaders last week, and Government sources confirm that bilateral meetings are under way.

It is understood that a Government committee under Regional Affairs Minister Andre Fourie has been working closely with the Departments of Constitutional

Development and Foreign Affairs.

The steps outlined in the document include the appointment of administrators-general and administrative councils for the territories in the period between reincorporation and the birth of an interim government.

Transkei and Venda have in the past agreed to reincorporation, while Ciskei and Bophuthatswana were presented with the Government's position at a meeting last weekend.

Tensions between South Africa and Transkei appear to have injected urgency into the Government's approach on this issue.

Homeland sources yester-

day indicated that the financial implications of not accepting reincorporation had been spelt out in cold terms.

The document refers to an annexure on "the financial implication with regard to non-incorporation".

Transkei, Ciskei and Venda are almost totally dependent on South African money, which also accounts for more than half of Bophuthatswana's budgetary requirements.

Homelands sources said last night that they had been told to pass legislation stripping themselves of independence by the end of May.

A top Government source said the talks were at a "highly sensitive stage".

Star 2/4/93

By Kaizer Nyatumba
Political Correspondent

They are at opposite ends of the political spectrum, and they hate each other with a passion. But the PAC and the Conservative Party shared something at yesterday's World Trade Centre negotiations: the limelight.

Benny Alexander and Schalk Pienaar basked in the attention that comes with being exotic newcomers at South Africa's great indaba, and the two politicians appeared to revel in negotiating rather than boycotting.

So much so, in fact, that the National Party's Dawie de Villiers — chairing one of the sessions — had to twice call Pienaar to order.

Bophuthatswana Cabinet Minister Rowan Cronje, who ably chaired the morning session, whispered into the microphone as Alexander made his way to the rostrum in African attire:

"I like your outfit, Benny."
(304A)
Comic relief

De Villiers provided comic relief when he invited the Afrikaner Volksunie (AVU) delegation to address the august gathering.

"And now," he said, "Chief (Chris) de Jager of the Afrikaner traditional leaders will address us."

The AVU MP from Bethal came back quick as a flash with: "Thank you, Comrade de Villiers".

And Constitutional Development Minister Roelf Meyer, in perhaps an unintentional hint that certain powers now reside at the World Trade Centre rather than in Parliament, referred to delegates as "honourable members" in intervening.

The honour for the most interventions of the day went to Amichand Rajbansi, leader and secretary of the National People's Party. Unkind jokes by the MPs remarked that the National People's Party might be more appropriate.

Shear 214193

304A

**By Esther Vaughn
and Kalzer Nyatumba**

South Africa moved a step closer to becoming a democracy when the multiparty negotiating forum agreed yesterday on an agenda for "real negotiations".

Observers and participants were taken by surprise when the scheduled two-day meeting at the World Trade Centre in Kempton Park completed its business a day early, ending just before 6 pm.

ANC secretary-general Cyril Ramaphosa said: "We can now safely say that the negotiations process is firmly under way. We are going to be dealing with the real substantive issues".

He warned that there was no way that negotiations could flourish with the violence that existed at present, but he was optimistic that elections could still be held early next year.

The forum yesterday moved swiftly through its agenda. Potential hiccups were avoided because potentially explosive discussions on poverty and violence and the

Tight chairing of the meeting made it difficult for participants to raise issues with minor amendments.

[illegible]

on track to democracy'

cr 24/93

By ANTHONY JOHNSON
Political Correspondent

304r

JOHANNESBURG. — The transition to democracy is on track and elections for a government of national unity are likely by this time next year.

This was the message from all major parties as constitutional negotiations resumed yesterday at the World Trade Centre after an 11-month break.

But the government, ANC and PAC agreed that most issues resolved yesterday were procedural and that the hard bargaining still lay ahead.

Proceedings at the still unnamed forum were marked by some tension but the parties avoided a showdown by referring most of the crunch issues back to the negotiating council.

These issues included how to deal with violence, the status of Codesa agreements, and transitional steps leading to elections.

Although the 26 participating parties were unable to agree on a name for the expanded forum, key negotiators from the biggest parties pronounced the talks "a success".

ANC secretary general Mr Cyril Ramaphosa said the negotiation process "is now fully under way", adding that the ANC's time-frame for an election early next year could still be met.

Government chief negotiator Mr Roelf Meyer said at a press conference last night: "We have achieved everything we wanted to at this stage". He said the government was confident elections could be held by April 1 next year.

PAC secretary-general Mr Benny Alexander said proceedings went "extremely well" and the PAC had "achieved a lot by its participation".

The PAC, ANC and Transkei government were slammed on the issue of violence.

Law and Order Minister Mr Hernus Kriel demanded urgent resolution to the issue of "private armies", saying free and fair elections were impossible in the current climate of violence.

Manpower Minister Mr Leon Wessels said signing the National Peace Accord should be a precondition for inclusion in negotiations.

PAC information director Mr Barney Desai hit back saying that signatories to the National Peace Accord were responsible for most of the carnage.

● The 10-member planning committee of the negotiating council will meet on April 15 on issues ranging from violence to constitutional matters. These will be referred to the negotiating council for a possible decision four days later.

● FW positive — Page 2

Name for

Three sworn in

PRCT 214425
MR Jac Rabie, Mr Abe Williams and Dr Bhadra Ranchod have become the first people other than whites to be sworn in as Cabinet ministers in the government. President De Klerk named them to the Cabinet in February in what was considered a move to bolster his standing among other groups. — Sapa. (304A)

A 'Marksist' seeks power



DENNIS CRUYWAGEN
Political Staff

FORMER ANC stalwart Mr Joe Marks has admitted to being power-hungry.

But the former United Democratic Front (Western Cape) leader told a student audience at the University of Cape Town yesterday he wanted power for the people, not for himself.

Explaining why he had left the ANC and SA Communist Party for the DP, he accused the ANC leadership of having lost touch with the "reality on the ground". He said he would

not return to the ANC.

"The DP did not ask me to join, as some people are claiming. I phoned the party and when I compared its programme with mine I felt I could live with it."

He said he was a working-class person living in a council house.

He was accused of joining the DP because he had twice failed to be elected to the ANC's regional executive committee, but replied that he had declined his nomination the second time.

ARG 24/93
(3044)

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CSIR comfortable with its 'objectivity' over St Lucia

THE CSIR has said it "felt very comfortable" with the process leading up to the publication of the St Lucia environmental impact study and was looking forward to proactive responses from the public on the titanium mining debate.

CSIR consultation manager Alex Weaver said this week its role was to support informed decision-making by its client, the SA public.

Weaver said principles of environmentally integrated management which included accountability, reliable information gathering, consultation and a multi-disciplinary approach, had been developed locally over the past four years and were comparable to international standards.

The CSIR denied accusations of bias in favour of mining, saying it had been careful to retain its objectivity by opening up the consultation process. Its credibility would be seriously damaged if actions based on the report's information led to an environmental disaster, Weaver said.

There was a tremendous amount of energy that needed to be harnessed and used to help identify problems which the study might have been overlooked, he said.

The CSIR had received more than 500

MARIANNE MERTEN

individual anti-mining letters so far, but was unable to deal with them on an individual basis because such comments were not based on the report.

However, the letters would be mentioned, albeit not fully reproduced, in the response report. The report would be published in May.

The Zululand Environmental Alliance's alternative report and the Ramsar convention findings that government should refuse a mining licence because the area was an internationally important wetland were also welcome, Weaver said.

The impact study had been criticised for not sufficiently considering the role of the communities in the St Lucia area, but their reactions were incorporated into the study and local community representatives would attend the public hearings before the review panel later this year.

"St Lucia is a test case in that there seems to be a dichotomy between environment and development. It is generally accepted we must get out of this syndrome if we want to attain sustainable development," Weaver said.

Securocrats setting up De Klerk Holomisa

CAPE TOWN — Securocrat military council chairman Maj-Gen Bantu Holomisa said yesterday he would warn President F W de Klerk that he was in danger of being "set up" by his securocrats.

Speaking after delivering a speech to a Cape Town Chamber of Commerce conference on local government, Holomisa suggested the security forces were feeding De Klerk false information about the perpetrators of recent killings near Johannesburg.

He said the findings of the Goldstone commission, which provisionally implicated the Transkei and Apla in armed conflict, were one-sided. These provisional findings had been used by the NP for its own agenda.

"The report has a background to it. The armed conflict between the SA government and the liberation movement has not yet been addressed fully. The ANC has just suspended it.

"The government has not met the leadership of the PAC and addressed the issue and come to an agreement in the same way it has done with the ANC."

Holomisa said the establishment of an international commission of inquiry chaired by UN or OAU representatives was the precondition for his handing over files implicating the security forces in fomenting violence.

Holomisa said he had instructed his team at the multiparty talks at the World Trade Centre yesterday to put the Operation Katzen files on the table so they could be used as a guide as to how black on black violence had been fomented by the P W Botha and present governments.

"There was a policy of destabilisation approved at the highest level," he reiterated and said he was afraid to release the information outside of a commission.

Proposal to help jobless

ERICA JANKOWITZ

COSATU has proposed a special youth employment programme as part of its campaign for labour intensive construction projects.

In a presentation to civil engineering profession representatives recently, National Union of Metalworkers of SA spokesman Tony Ruiters gave guidelines for the programme.

He said an age limit of 17 to 25 years should be applied in a bid to employ unemployed, disaffected youth.

Youths who participated on such construction projects should be given preference in being placed in "proper jobs" upon completion of the contract, he said.

The drive was aimed at the estimated 300 000 to 400 000 black youths out of work. As most of them were first-time job seekers, they stood little chance of getting employment, thus contributing to the "disintegration of the social fabric in the townships".

NEWS IN BRIEF

Govt AIDS decision

GOVERNMENT will not be making the HIV infection and AIDS notifiable, in line with the AIDS advisory committee's advice, National Health Minister Rina Venter has told Parliament. She says HIV infection should be made notifiable only if linked to mass screenings, which are not feasible in SA.

MP defects to Inkatha

INKATHA gained its second MP in the House of Delegates yesterday when Tongaat representative Michael Abraham left the NP to become the fifth Inkatha representative in Parliament. Abraham is also a former DP member.

Homeland assistance

THE four independent homelands received R6,12bn in assistance from SA during the 1992/93 financial year, Foreign Affairs Minister Fik Botha said yesterday. Bophuthatswana received R2,3bn, Transkei R2,2bn, Venda R1,56m and Ciskei R914,1m.

SA gains doctors

SA GAINED a large number of professionals last year, particularly in the medical field, Home Affairs Minister Danie Schutte said yesterday. Last year 289 doctors immigrated to SA against 35 who emigrated.

REPORTS: Political Staff, Political Correspondent.

Govt changes stance on VAT rate dates

TIM COHEN

CAPE TOWN — Government has announced that the old VAT rate will still apply for goods supplied before April 7 but delivered before April 28, reversing its previous stance.

The provision of a 21-day period of grace follows urgent public representations, particularly from Sacob, which argued that applying the new VAT rate to goods delivered after April 7 was administratively complex and unjust.

Opening debate on the VAT Amendment Bill in Parliament yesterday, Deputy Finance Minister Theo Alant said urgent representations had been received in the last few days from vendors, whose commercial practice it was to deliver goods to their clients a few days after the sale transaction had been concluded.

They argued the present provision in the VAT Amendment Bill resulted in friction between vendors and their clients, Alant said. An amendment would be introduced later in the session in terms of which the supply of goods which took place before April 1, and where the goods were delivered within 21 days, would be subject to the lower rate of tax.

Similar representations had been received concerning lay-buy sales, and an amendment would also be introduced on this issue.

The legislation would also provide that the old VAT rate would apply where the agreement had been entered into before

April 7 even though the goods were delivered at a later date.

DP MP Geoff Engel said during the debate his party would not support the Bill because government was steadily bastardising a fine system of tax collection into one that would become unmanageable.

Sapa reports he said government was shifting a greater portion of the tax base onto the poor. In addition, VAT on medicine and medical services taxed mistfortune and misery, he said.

ANC-supporting Independent MP for Simon's Town Jannie Momberg said the VAT increase from 10% to 14% was unacceptable to the ANC.

It represented an attack on the living standards of workers and the poor because it shifted the fiscal burden onto their shoulders. The increase was not only inflationary, but would dampen economic growth by reducing consumer spending when manufacturing production levels were critically low because of the recession.

The ANC supported progressive taxation which differentiated between taxing on the capacity to pay, such as a progressive PAYE system.

The organisation welcomed the exemption of basic foodstuffs, but believed there should be more relief.

Essentials, including medicine and medical services, electricity and water, should also be exempted.

General affairs expanded further

CAPE TOWN — Agriculture, health and local government became general affairs yesterday, ending an expensive, fragmented and race-based system of own affairs management, House of Assembly Ministers' Council chairman Adriaan Vlok said yesterday.

The own affairs aspects of welfare, housing and works were receiving attention, and would be transferred to general affairs early in the second half of the year, he said in a statement.

An education co-ordination service had been implemented on April 1 to transform the prevailing system into executive regional departments as quickly as possible.

Functions carried out by own affairs administrations would be executed by the equivalent general affairs departments.

The old own affairs dispensation was being replaced by a more efficient, cost-effective and decentralised system.

About 10 500 members of the House of Assembly administration were affected by the transfer of functions and were being posted with the least possible disruption.

Funds for the newly transferred services had already been included in the 1993/4 budgets of the recipient departments.

The Cape Provincial Administration announced yesterday that two own affairs functions, local government and health, had been handed to the CPA.

The effect of the transfer of own affairs functions to the CPA means that 2 600 officers and posts of the administration of the houses of Assembly and Representatives now fall under the CPA.

All former own affairs Cape hospitals, some of which had been run on an agency basis up to now, and all oral hygiene services, have been transferred to the CPA. — Sapa.

No-name forum off to good start but the real negotiating lies ahead

CONSTITUTIONAL talks have restarted but the real negotiating begins in a fortnight, leaders of political parties said last night, after a successful day planning the way ahead.

The first meeting of the multiparty forum lasted only one day instead of the scheduled two, but contentious issues were swiftly consigned for the attention of the negotiations council, which meets for the first time on April 13.

The new forum still has no name. The ANC government and the NP were pleased with progress yesterday.

"We are pleased and appreciative of the way we are conducted with all the matters

handed in a constructive way," ANC secretary-general Cyril Ramaphosa said.

The negotiation process was now "firmly under way" and the parties were determined on the rapid resolution of constitutional issues and the violence, he said.

Constitutional Development Minister Roel Meyer said the meeting had achieved what it set out to do — identify the issues to be addressed and draft the constitutional agenda.

"We did not even try today to look at the differences that will come later," Meyer said.

Meyer said the process was still within the framework of the timetable for elections, to be held early next year, but this

will depend on the progress we make in the next two months."

Meyer said that, in those two months, agreement on constitutional principles had to be reached. The first phase would be to get agreement on the transitional executive council and its subcouncils. Once this happened, arrangements for the interim government and elections could be made.

The second phase would be to reach agreement on the content of an interim constitution and the constitutional principles binding the elected constitution-making body.

He said each phase should take a month to negotiate if the process was to keep to the timetable.

NP delegation leader Dany De Villiers warned that there were very difficult issues that had to be dealt with in the next weeks.

The day was marked by some tense debates on violence and the status of Orange agreements, and the PAC fired verbal salvos at each other about violence but the whole display appeared to be well managed. A resolution drafted prior to the debate was later accepted with little change. The resolution stated that all the

parties abhorred violence and committed them to peaceful negotiations. It also said the negotiations council had to find ways in gently to strengthen the peace accord.

The GP's first day at multi-party negotiations saw delegate Sotho Planar installing that the ANC and PAC armed wings. Unhindered by the ANC, he demanded he be forced constitutional talks proceeded. He accused the ANC of being a terrorist organisation and shouting the loudest about peace while it was the main perpetrator of violence.

The forum identified the main constitutional issues to be dealt with by the negoti-

Forum 6/04/93 2/1/93

(3044)

From Page 1

- ☐ Fundamental human rights during the transition.
- ☐ The transitional executive council, its subcouncils, the independent elections commission, and the independent media commission.
- ☐ The future of the TRWC states, and self-determination.
- ☐ The meeting also managed to agree on the rules that would be followed during the negotiations process.
- ☐ Transitional regional or local government.

See Pages 4 and 5

To Page 2

NEGOTIATIONS

Homing in on security

FM 2/4/93

304A

Multi-party talks are due to resume at Kempton Park this week, against the background of a deepening security crisis and government's plan for an unprecedented crackdown on crime and violence. Linked to the plan is an expected government proposal for the resumption of administrative control by Pretoria over at least some of the TBVC states.

These two issues are likely to take precedence on the talks agenda and could delay progress in other important areas.

Government is under increasing pressure from the National Party parliamentary caucus and grassroots supporters to act effectively against the current wave of killings and crime. The recent indiscriminate attacks on whites, in particular, have incensed traditional NP backers and are threatening to undermine the election platform the party is trying to build.

The publication last week of the Goldstone Commission's report on Apla activities effectively implicated Major-General Bantu Holomisa's government in Transkei and brought new pressure on President FW de Klerk to act against him.

A possible showdown over security issues between government and the ANC is a serious threat to the continuation of the talks. However, ANC spokesman Carl Niehaus says the organisation will do all in its power to ensure that the process is not derailed. Though deeply concerned by the security situation, the ANC believes it can be resolved only by negotiation.

Niehaus says the blistering attack on the ANC by Law & Order Minister Hernus Kriel in parliament this week was unhelpful; he merely painted government into a corner from which it might be difficult to escape later.

Kriel cited a long list of alleged involvement by Umkhonto we Sizwe (MK) and ANC members in serious criminal activity. He firmly rejected ANC calls for joint control of MK and government security forces; he described MK members as criminals who were uncontrollable.

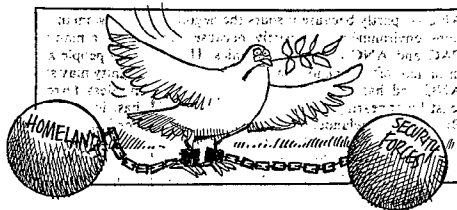
Niehaus says the ANC could respond with its own list of alleged involvement by security forces in deaths and criminal action and could show that elements in the security forces were out of control — but this wouldn't help to resolve the current crisis.

Kriel told parliament the security situation would be brought under control "come

hell or high water." It is understood that a comprehensive strategy, based on the 10-point plan unveiled by the police last week after De Klerk's address to a joint session of parliament, will be implemented within the next two weeks.

While Kriel was talking in parliament, ANC secretary-general Cyril Ramaphosa told a media briefing in Johannesburg the ANC would continue to insist on joint control of security forces during the transitional period.

In terms of broad proposals already



agreed on between government and the ANC, the multi-party Transitional Executive Council (TEC) and a number of sub-TECs will effectively assume joint responsibility with government for administration during the transition.

However, agreement has not yet been reached on the role or control of the security forces when the TEC is established. The ANC view, reflected by Ramaphosa, is that the sub-TEC on defence must take control of all armed formations. Government insists that the security forces be dealt with separately from organisations such as MK. Negotiations on the issue were continuing, but this week's speech by Kriel indicated a significant hardening of government's attitude.

Government's expected proposal on the TBVC states will also be a significant change of attitude. It is likely to provide for some form of resumption of administrative control by the current government and/or the TEC when it is established.

Holomisa is now considered in government circles to be a major threat to negotiations and efforts to restore peace. He is seen as a rallying point for radicals and is perceived to be offering safe haven in Transkei to killers operating in SA.

According to Niehaus, the ANC would have no problem in principle with a proposal for SA to take over administrative control of the TBVC states — as long as the proposal included all four homelands. Up to now, government has not included Bophuthatswana in its plans.

He says the ANC's final response would

depend on details of any proposal and how it fitted in with agreements already reached at Codesa. The ANC, Niehaus adds, would have to ensure that the proposal was not simply a ploy to "get rid of a difficult political opponent (Holomisa)," in which case the organisation would probably not agree to it.

In earlier negotiations between government and the ANC, there has been fundamental disagreement on how the TBVC states should be brought back into SA. Government has insisted that, constitutionally, it can't simply pass a law re-incorporating them.

This week's talks were originally intended to discuss a wide range of issues related to the transition, including the establishment of technical committees to draft agreements which would ease the process.

Before the latest security crisis, the main obstacle to the talks continuing smoothly was seen as the possible intransigence of right-wing parties. This might still be the case, but their objections are likely to be based more on security issues than on political processes.

At a conference in Cape Town last month, political analyst Frederik Van Zyl Slabbert said political agreement on the role of the security forces was a prerequisite for successful transition (*Current Affairs* March 19). Slabbert pointed out that civil/military pacts had proved essential to transitions around the world. SA started "late in the day" to tackle the issue, but there is a "reasonable chance" that the April 1994 deadline for elections will be met — if there is agreement on the role of the security forces.

PAC/APLA

Playing hard to get

FM 2/4/93

Findings of the Goldstone Commission on Apla, the PAC's armed wing, were made provisional "in the hope of a positive response from Transkei, the PAC and Apla." The commission warned, however, that if no response was forthcoming those parties "cannot be heard to complain if the findings are regarded as conclusive by the local and international communities."

Judge Goldstone this week set a deadline — next Thursday — for those parties to contest the findings, after which they would indeed be deemed conclusive. It seems a safe bet that they will not respond.

The report, accepted by Judge Goldstone and forwarded to the State President on March 15, made nine provisional findings. These were released by President FW de Klerk in his wide-ranging speech to the joint

Federal or unitary state is key issue

Political Staff

INKATHA Freedom Party negotiators have convinced other delegations at the multiparty talks in Kempton Park to decide before anything else if South Africa should have a unitary or federal constitution.

This now becomes the top item on the constitutional agenda.

This was something of a coup for the IFP and it had the full blessing of African National Congress secretary-general

Mr Cyril Ramaphosa

In the same spirit of accommodation, a Conservative Party negotiator got the negotiating forum to agree to place self-determination on the list of issues to be debated.

Mr Benny Alexander persuaded the forum to agree to debate the Pan Africanist Congress version of a constitutional assembly.

Delegates did not go into the details of the federal versus unitary debate yesterday —

they just agreed that, when the negotiation council meets on April 15, this will be the first constitutional point they start off with.

Dr Ben Ngubane, speaking as leader of the Kwazulu government team, said the form of state was the most fundamental issue of the negotiation process.

"We owe it to the people to make a great effort in facing the harsh realities of these negotiations," he said.

Let regions decide own futures — call

CLIVE SAWYER
Municipal Reporter

ANC 2/4/93
304A
ANC local South Africans

REGIONS and cities in a future South Africa must be free to compete economically with one another, a Chamber of Commerce symposium has been told.

Urban Foundation development strategy and policy unit executive director Mrs Ann Bernstein said billions of rands were wasted on the old policy of "bribes" to industrialists to move to areas near homelands.

The choice was between centrally or regionally-controlled development strategies.

She said the African National Congress was worried about migration of people and money between regions in future.

"They should not worry. The free movement of people and capital is absolutely essential."

Different regions would need different strategies and trying to apply a national policy could mean national disaster.

"Regions and cities must be able to compete. Citizens could vote representatives out, or they could vote with their feet," said Mrs Bernstein.

The aim of all policies should be the welfare of people, not places.

"Our success will be judged by the quality of life of individ-

Another change needed was in the concept of the role of the civil servant.

"We must get away from the public servant who controls, regulates and stop things — public servants must facilitate and enable what communities want," she said.

The Urban Foundation wanted a commission of inquiry into the boundaries, powers and functions of future regions.

Another commission should probe the future of South African cities and towns.

Department of Finance chief director of intergovernmental transfers Dr Deon Brand said any new regional or local taxes should be offset by a drop of other taxes, like income tax or VAT.

SA Chamber of Business tax committee chairman Mr Bob Wood said regional services taxes should be scrapped because they were flawed and difficult to administer.

A surcharge on VAT or income tax should replace these levies, he said.

ANC local, regional and housing department head Mr Thozamile Botha said RSC levies should be kept as a means of getting income to redress inequalities of the past.

SA to maintain Transkei cordon

Tensions ease as Holomisa meets FW

BIDAM 2/4/93.

TIM COHEN

CAPE TOWN — Tensions between SA and Transkei were substantially defused yesterday after an extended meeting between the two administrations, but SA's security measures will remain for the time being.

Transkei's military leader Maj-Gen Bantu Holomisa offered to launch an inquiry into Apla's activities under Transkei Chief Justice C E L Beck which could "link up" with the Goldstone commission.

He said government had not objected to this proposal. SA Foreign Minister Pik Botha said this sounded "hopeful" but added that it was not up to the SA government to accept or reject this offer.

Botha said the cordon could not be lifted until SA was sure that the threat to SA citizens from Apla no longer existed. If the Transkei administration took steps to ensure security arrangements were in place, then SA's strict border controls would no longer be necessary. "We have to wait and see how things develop."

Botha said he feared the UN would not recognise Transkei's commission.

The Tuynhuys meeting began with President F W de Klerk giving the Transkei delegation a thorough tongue-lashing, saying at one point: "If SA citizens inside or outside Transkei are harmed... as a result of the actions or omission of the Transkei government, I will hold you and your government responsible."

"You threatened the SA government and the SA people. You said that we will have to man each and every white home inside and outside Transkei, because you won't be responsible if the people retaliate."

"I do not take kindly to comments like these and I also do not expect inflammatory statements from the head of government of a country with which SA has close ties in almost every field," De Klerk said.

On the effective blockade imposed by SA, Holomisa said his government had done away with roadblocks on his territory's side of the border and it was SA's prerogative to implement the security measures it considered necessary.

Holomisa said his delegation had requested that no one should be inconvenienced and if SA was to emulate Transkei's example, it would help.

He said SA and Transkeian forces, policemen in particular, must work hand in hand, to bring evidence to the proposed commission.

He said the delegations had emerged as people who were co-operating.

Asked what would happen if Transkei's commission found evidence of Apla operating in territory, Holomisa said: "Then the law must take its course."

He denied that Transkei was supplying arms to Apla, describing Transkei's non-participation in the Goldstone commission as a "technicality that we could not avoid".

Botha said the UN accepted the Goldstone commission as authoritative and it was Transkei's duty to comply with it.

He said he had gained the impression that Transkei was opposed to any forces attacking SA from its territory.

● See Page 2

27-2-1993
**Atlantis visit
was NP event**

Political Staff

THE controversial visit to Atlantis of Mrs Marike de Klerk, wife of the State President, Mr F W de Klerk, was a National Party function and the party had distributed circulars about it, the ANC MP for Simon's Town, Mr Jannie Momborg, said yesterday.

It was for this reason he had asked what it had cost the state to have members of the police serving tea at the function, he said. (204A)

Answering Mr Momborg, Mr De Klerk said that to the best of his knowledge it was not an official NP function.

Students jeer at DP convert

Staff Reporter 13

UCT students jeered and laughed at the new DP member, Mr Joe Marks — former UDF vice-president and ANC comrade — as he addressed a packed lecture hall on why he joined the DP, at the university yesterday. Accused of being power hungry and opportunistic, Mr Marks replied he was "power hungry for the people" and not for himself. "I am an ordinary member of the DP and I have no ambition whatsoever," he said. This was received with roars of laughter from at least 100 students who crowded into the lecture room. Scum

FW positive about talks

CONTINUING violence and the fact that a number of participants had not signed the Peace Accord were placing stress on the multi-party talks, President F.W. de Klerk said yesterday. *SAPA*

However, he said, he was confident there was enough commitment from all parties and that the talks would go ahead. *CT 2/4/93*

"We have worked hard to get the talks resumed, and we are extremely happy that everything is on course. We have a commitment to keep things on course and are confident that they will remain so," he said at Tuynhuys yesterday.

Time was of the essence and any delays would play into the hands of radicals.

"The main parties realise this and there is a new sense of commitment," he said.

Mr De Klerk also said he had received a positive message from Swaziland's King Mswati II through the Swazi Minister of Home Affairs, Prince Sobandla.

He said he had been invited to visit Swaziland, and was giving this serious consideration. — *Sapa*

Marike says politicians ^{CT 24/93} 'deserve good salaries'

Staff Reporter (304A)

POLITICIANS deserve good salaries and perks, Mrs Marike de Klerk told members of the International Women's Club at a meeting at the Nico Malan yesterday.

"Mrs De Klerk said family life was "severely disrupted" by politicians having to move house every six months between the two capitals.

They had to send their children to boarding school and entertain hundreds of guests without an entertain-

ment allowance, which was included in a minister's remuneration.

She said she had lived this way for the past 20 years. She had to move to a three-bedroom pre-fab house on the Cape Flats when her husband started a career as a back-bencher after having been a successful lawyer.

Mrs De Klerk said the disruptions were "worthwhile" because she had the "comforting notion that there is an element of service towards our constituents and our country".



NEW MINISTERS . . . Ministerial newcomers share a light moment with President FW de Klerk. They are, from left: The Deputy Minister of Justice Mrs Sheila Camerer, President De Klerk, and Minister of Regional and Land Affairs Mr Andre Fourie, Picture: STEWART COLMAN

Six new cabinet ministers sworn in

By BARRY STREEK
Political Staff

THE six new members of the cabinet were sworn in yesterday morning at Tuynhuys.

The swearing-in followed President FW de Klerk's cabinet reshuffle in February.

Sworn in yesterday were Mr Japie van Wyk (Environment and Water Affairs) Mr Andre Fourie (Regional and Land Affairs) and Mr Danie Schutte (Home Affairs).

The three "people of colour" who became full members of the cabinet were Mr Jac Rabie (Population Development), Mr Abe Williams (Sport) and Dr Bhadra Ranchod (Tourism).

Two new deputy ministers, Mrs Sheila Camerer (Justice) and Mr Yakob Makha (Local Government), were also sworn in yesterday.

One of the key moves in the reshuffle was the appointment of the National Party's Free State leader, Mr Kobie Coetsee, as Minister of Defence in addition to his Justice portfolio.

Mr De Klerk still has to name the new Minister of National Housing.

TALKS fail: 'Kei cordon remains

Soewelan 2/4/93.

By Ismail Lagardien
Political Correspondent

304A

THE SADF'S RING OF STEEL around Transkei remains after crisis talks between military ruler Major-General Bantu Holomisa and President FW de Klerk failed in Cape Town last night.

The Government confirmed last night that the blockade would continue despite an undertaking

by Holomisa that he would institute a commission of inquiry into "preliminary" findings by the Goldstone Commission that the Azanian People's Liberation Army was operating from the homeland.

The meeting follows Transkei's refusal to co-operate with the Goldstone Commission on Apla's alleged activities.

De Klerk told Holomisa he rejected Holomisa's reference to the Goldstone Commission as a "kangaroo court".

"I reject your attack on the integrity, objectivity

and fairness of the Goldstone Commission. Its

credibility and acceptability internationally and in South Africa are beyond doubt," De Klerk said.

He told Holomisa that his failure to co-operate with the Goldstone Commission would result in "a very serious situation".

A cool and relaxed Holomisa said after yesterday's meeting that he had told De Klerk that Transkei's Chief Justice Beck would, in consultation with Justice Goldstone, lead a commission into alleged Apla activities in the Transkei.

"We even went further to say (that) both

forces, policemen in particular, must work hand in hand to beef up or bring the evidence to this proposed inquiry which is going to be headed by the Transkeian chief justice.

Holomisa said that he had no objections to co-operation with Goldstone, but the Government had always insisted that Transkei was independent and that the homeland was therefore not bound by any laws or commissions in South Africa.

Nevertheless, he said, the Transkei would confirm with a diplomatic



Major-General Bantu Holomisa
... Goldstone a kangaroo court.

note that the commission would be instituted.

Quarrels dominate multiparty forum

Swaziland 2/4/73.

20417

By Thembu Malefe

■ FAILURE AGAIN Violence threatens the

peaceful process to democratic South Africa:

A* QUARREL about the causes of political violence dominated the start of negotiations at the multiparty forum at the World Trade Centre in Kempton Park yesterday.

The 26 parties negotiating for a democratic South Africa agreed that violence threatened the peaceful process and that they should, as a national priority, establish mechanisms to stop the carnage. However, the forum failed yet again

to adopt a name to replace Codesa. Even suggestions for a new name were referred to the negotiating council for consideration.

The day's proceedings were dominated by a debate on who was responsible for the violence. Minister of Law and Order Mr Herens Kriel, representing the South African Government,

and NP MP Mr Leon Westers began by taking the war of words to the African National Congress and Pan Africanist Congress.

Kriel said the Government had no intention of allowing the violence to continue unchecked. The security forces would continue to take every measure to ensure that violence was curbed.

'ANC must preach political tolerance'

Sowetan & Radio Metro

Talkback

By Isaac Molele



with Tim Modise

A three-day peace summit organised by the ANC PWV region would focus on tolerance and discipline, an official Mr Obedi Bapela, said on the Sowetan Radio Metro Talkback Show last night. The summit, to be held in Johannesburg, from tomorrow, will also look into ways of creating a climate conducive to peace and fair elections. About 200 delegates from church, business, youth and women's organisations will take part.

Bapela said the aim of the peace summit was to bring stability and order to communities. He said the summit was similar to those held in areas where members of the ANC Youth League were in conflict with other youths.

He said the cause of political violence was the lack of self-discipline, which would be looked into to create political tolerance.

"We don't want people to see the ANC as a monster. We want to build the ANC as an organisation respected by all our people," Bapela said.

He said although his organisation was aware that the Government had a hand in the violence especially in the townships, the ANC had a duty to promote tolerance.

"I fully support the idea of the ANC holding a peace summit. But I think the police and the security forces have to be invited. Why can't they bring violence to an end with the manpower and resources

24/93

in their disposal?"

Miles, SA Pioneers Organisation for Human Rights

"We seem not to get to the reality of what is going on. The South African government will continue blaming the violence on the total element. Since when did they fail to control violence?"

Thando, Meadowlands, Soweto

"You people (ANC) are not hitting the right target at the right time."

The idea of a summit is a wrong move. I'd rather suggest that black political organisations negotiate among themselves."

Mamkhulu, Soweto

"As a member of the ANC, I'm a bit worried about its member's intolerance. I was travelling in the townships day after day with ANC members who occupied a coach forced me to sing revolutionary songs with them. It's intolerant?"

Daniel, ANC PWV region

multiparty negotiations • Paso calls for boycott

Azapo could join multiparty talks

By Lulama Luti

2/4/93
Sowetan
BLOEMFONTEIN MEETING

National council to decide on issue:

THE Azanian People's Organisation's national council meets in Bloemfontein tomorrow in a two-day session that may see the movement joining the multiparty talks.

Azapo president Professor Itumeleng Mosala said yesterday he was confident that both Azapo and the exiled Black Consciousness Movement of Azania were ready to enter the multiparty negotiation process.

Future negotiations

Mosala said after talks with the ANC and PAC, Azapo had agreed in principle to take part in any negotiations in the future. Azapo is the only major political organisation that has shunned

the multiparty talks. "It is unfortunate that the multiparty negotiations had to take place at a time when we are having our council meeting. It is something that is beyond our control," said Mosala.

Talks with the ANC, PAC and the BCMA over the past few weeks had centred on identifying common issues that would build a basis for strong unity during the negotiation process. "Our position since 1990 has been that the liberation movement has to enter the negotiations as a unit rather than a divided force," said Mosala.

Talks with other organisations had

led to three main agreements. These were:

Unitary State

- The setting up of a unitary state;
- That the multiparty negotiations should culminate in the setting up of a Constituent Assembly; and
- That the Government should not be allowed to be "referee and player at the same time".

Other issues to be dealt with by the council are to be the consolidation of Azapo's membership and the possibility of a merger between Azapo and the BCMA.

FW 'snubbed' by Botswana meeting

Weekly Mail Reporters *Wimahl 2/4-7/4/73*
FOREIGN parliamentarians involved in a major conference in Botswana dealt a snub to President FW de Klerk this week when they invited him to attend—and then swiftly withdrew the invitation.

The confusion exposed divisions between Europe and Third World countries over the treatment to be accorded to the South African government.

The conference, in Gaborone, brought together politicians from the 12 European Community states, as well as 69 ACP (African, Caribbean and Pacific) countries for several days of talks on economic and political issues affecting the relationship between the two groupings.

Sources indicate that the six-member executive of the EC/ACP Parliamentary Assembly blundered into sensitive territory by inviting De Klerk to attend the meeting. The invitation was reportedly issued at the prompting of the European executive members, after African National Congress president Nelson Mandela had been asked to attend. Future policy towards South Africa was due to feature prominently on the agenda.

The invitation to De Klerk was interpreted by ACP representatives as showing unwarranted support; they lobbied heavily for its withdrawal, the sources say. A South African government spokesman confirmed that De Klerk's office had no sooner received the invitation than it was withdrawn.

Apparently interpreting the move as a snub, the State President's Office decided not to allow the EC/ACP parliamentarians a graceful end to the saga. De Klerk, Foreign Minister Pik Botha, and the government's chief negotiator, Roelf Meyer, were "unavailable" to meet a delegation which toured South Africa on its way to the Botswana conference, it has been learnt.



Koos Bischoff

Military man the mobiliser

W/Mail 2/4-7/4/93
By JAN TALJAARD

THE man in charge of the mobilisation effort of the Conservative Party says he is not at all interested in party politics, is not necessarily a supporter of a Volkstaat, and that he has taken on the job on condition that he will not be involved in sinister or underground organisations operating outside the law.

At the same time, Lieutenant General Koos Bischoff, former chief of staff operations and planning in the South African Defence Force, is a decidedly securocratic military man and a keen believer in ethnicity and the concept of self-determination for the Afrikaner. *(Handwritten: 30/4/93)*

Bischoff was born in Middelburg in the Cape and did a B Mil degree at Stellenbosch University on an SADF bursary. He rose rapidly through the ranks of the military to become commanding officer of the Artillery School of 2 Military Area (Owambo and Kaokoland), of the Army College, of the North-Western Command and of the Eastern Transvaal Command before being appointed chief of staff.

Holding the office of chief of planning, he retired from the SADF in February as part of the army's rationalisation programme.

"If the Afrikaners can get together it will contribute greatly to the country. The Afrikaner represents a huge economic force and an important management resource," he said, while stressing that he did not necessarily back the idea of a Volkstaat.

"But for now our primary concern should be security. Without security there is no possibility of stability and the creation of wealth. The security of its citizens is the most important responsibility of any government."

Law and Order Minister Kriel plays strongman ... but it's all a bluff with a hidden agenda



Herman Kriel ... has his eye on the Cape leadership of the party

What 24-111913- (504)

Hermus bids for power

BEHIND Law and Order minister Hermus Kriel's amazing attack on Umkhonto we Sizwe as "nothing but criminals" is an attempt to bolster his own position in the National Party.

Political observers agree that Kriel's bluster should be understood as an effort to rally conservative Nats behind him as he aims for the leadership position of the Cape National Party, presently held by a vulnerable Dawie de Villiers.

Meanwhile, more evidence has emerged confirming the disarray in the NP.

Internal party documents make it clear that the NP's organisational capability in the Free State has ground to a standstill. Only six of the 31 branches still have functioning management committees.

● See PAGE 2

PCReview

The plain English guide to computers

Putting a smile on your PC

If computers scare you, let the friendly face of Microsoft Windows tempt you. This week, a beginner's guide ... plus tips and tricks for more experienced users.



Pigs can fly

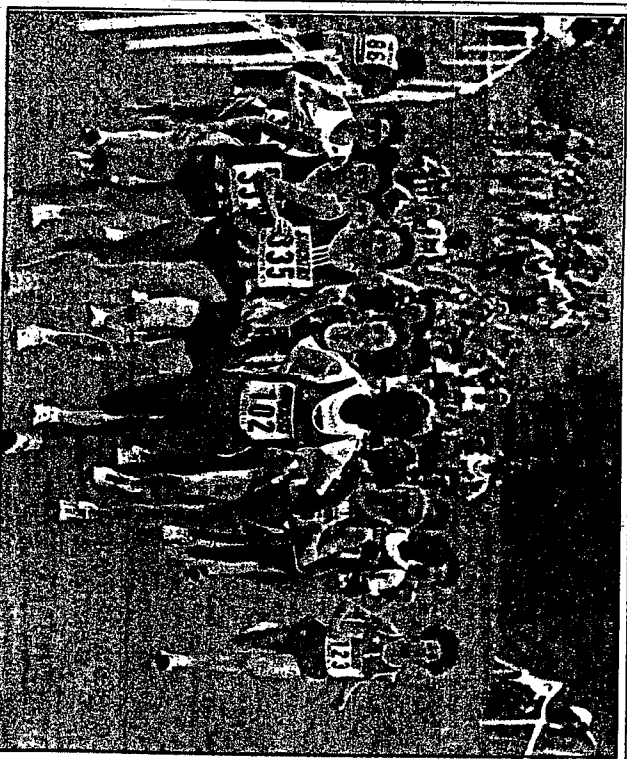
The rocky history of Windows from industry joke to

Why Holomisa is still smiling

● TRANSEK's strongman seems unperturbed by the blockade of his country.
● Why Holomisa can't afford to move against the PAC
● See PAGE 15

A slice of lottery

GOVERNMENT officials have hinted that a national lottery is no longer considered immoral ... and the Post Office wants to bid for it. The PO believes it is the only institution big enough to run such a huge enterprise.
● See PAGE 5



Women of Africa ... South Africa's Elana Meyer and Ethiopia's Derartu Tulu met at the World Cross Country Championships in Spain last weekend to renew the friendship kindled during their epic Olympic 10 000m duel in Barcelona last year. Their much-awaited clash failed to materialise, however, as Tulu dropped out of the race with a knee injury. Meyer finished sixth

Photo: JULIAN DREW

Kriel's bluff is called

Hermus Kriel's swipe had little to do with Umkhonto weSizwe — and everything to do with his personal ambition and the dismal state of the NP.

NP. By **CHRIS LOUW**

AW and Order Minister Hermus Kriel's amazing attack this week on Umkhonto weSizwe (MK) was motivated by an attempt to hold together a crumbling National Party and to bolster his own position in the NP.

As new evidence emerged of the organisational collapse of the NP, it became clear that Kriel's attack had little to do with the African National Congress — and everything to do with his personal ambition and the dismal state of his party.

Kriel's bluff was graphically illustrated at the multi-party conference at The World Trade Centre in Kempton Park yesterday when he and Transkei's General Bantu Holomisa sat virtually next to each other during the morning's session, with only one Xhosa delegate separating them. Although they averted looking at each other, the two adversaries were there as equals for the world to see.

Political observers said yesterday that Kriel's attack was an effort to rally anguished Nats behind him and that he has his eyes set on the leadership position of the Cape NP, presently held by Dawie de Villiers.

Likewise, the so-called security cordon placed along the Transkei border to put Holomisa in place proved to be little more than theatre to impress faltering and deserting NP supporters (see PAGE 15).

The reality is that a demotivated NP, on the verge of being negotiated out of power, lacks its past ability to assert strongman tactics. Effort to revive its old image are a last-ditch effort by its leaders to halt the most serious defection of supporters in the NP's history.

NP members in the western Cape believe that the province will emerge as an NP stronghold after the country's first democratic elections, making its leader the most powerful man in the party.

Much of the present grandstanding can be traced to an earlier election campaign which is now directly colliding with the constitutional negotiating process. While the ANC and the NP have found one another in the constitutional process, they are simultaneously becoming political adversaries as the elections draw closer.

Kriel's attack, coming as it did on the eve of the resumption of the negotiating process, went directly against the spirit of earlier agreements reached between the government and the ANC. But in fact it was little more than bluff, because the integration of MK and the South African Defence Force will, according to agreement, only take place once a constituent assembly has been elected.

Kriel's NP will play a minority role in the constituent assembly and will not have a final say in the integration process. His attack will, however, put severe strain on the negotiations about the powers and functions of the transi-

tional executive council (TEC) agreed to between the government and the ANC.

The government wants the TEC — which should be in place by May — to play little more than an advisory role to parliament, while the ANC wants parliament to consult with the TEC before passing any legislation until the election of a constituent assembly.

Among the TEC's five sub-councils are a council of law and order, a security and stability council, and a defence council. The powers and functions of these sub-councils still have to be decided, but this is not seen as crucial for the continuation of the negotiations process itself.

Although Kriel's derogatory reference to MK members as "nothing but criminals" created angry reaction in ANC circles, it was also dismissed as part of a by now predictable effort to give the NP faithful a pre-negotiations boost. In the past, Justice Minister Kobie Coetsee and Local Government and Planning Minister Tertius Delpoit have also indulged in MK bashing just prior to the resumption of negotiations.

But what makes Kriel's attack different is its venom, and the fact that it seems to fly in the face of agreements reached.

Yesterday, political observers were still trying to make sense of Kriel's bellicosity. There is wide agreement that it makes more sense in terms of Kriel's own political agenda than in terms of the negotiations process, and that he was in fact trying to rally NP caucus members, who are increas-

ingly anxious about the violence and the "messiness" of negotiations.

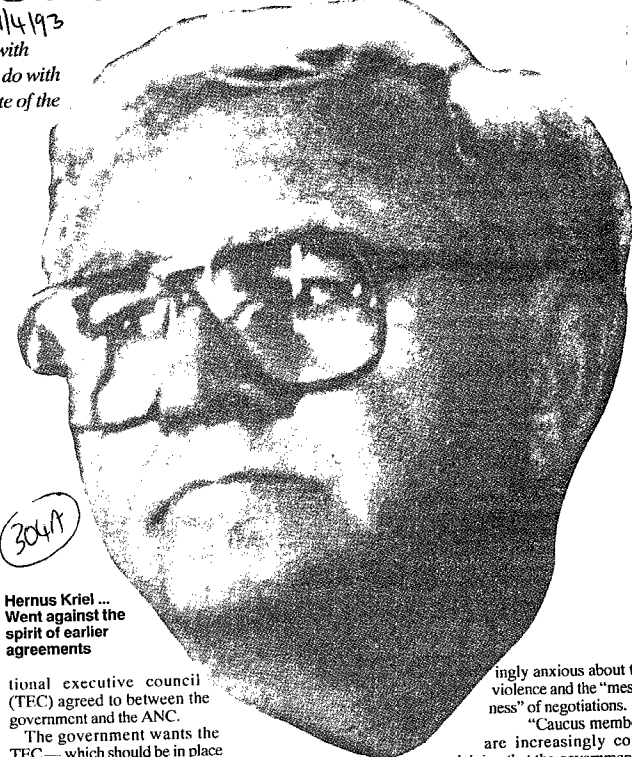
"Caucus members are increasingly complaining that the government is giving away too much," said the Democratic Party's Hennie Bester. He believes Kriel's snipe at the ANC must be seen in the context of NP caucus rifts, rather than in the context of the negotiations process.

This view is supported by political analyst Van Zyl Slabbert.

According to Stellenbosch political scientist Professor Willie Breytenbach, Kriel's views will find strong support in the white community, and especially in the western Cape, where the "gatvol" feeling against violence has reached a peak. Kriel may even find some support in the black community, he believes.

Breytenbach sees the snipe as the beginning of the NP's election campaign, which will be aimed at presenting the ANC as "wreckers, boycotters and radicals".

Kriel's bellicosity is bound to create problems for Minister of Constitutional Affairs Roel Meyer, the party's chief negotiator. As such, it is indicative of an unruliness that has taken root in the NP. With the end of its political power in sight, the NP hierarchy has lost the luxury of patronage that in the past served it so well. With little to lose, cabinet members are openly challenging President FW de Klerk, knowing there is little he can do about it.



Hermus Kriel ... Went against the spirit of earlier agreements

CP ready to put a tiger in the tanks

By JAN TALJAARD

"THE rightwing tiger is awakening!" proclaimed a banner at a 1990 Conservative Party rally, where CP leader Andries Treurnicht announced the start of the "Third War of Freedom".

Nearly three years later it seems the tiger — if not yet burning bright — is now at least giving off warning flashes of a more serious militancy. In the wake of alleged Azanian People's Liberation Army (Apla) attacks, this week saw the formal launch of the CP's mobilisation programme and the formation of its "Freedom Council".

The week also saw an alleged retaliation attack by the Wit Wolwe — injuring a five-year-old black child in Nigel — the establishment of a secret AWB "Reprisal Unit (RU)" and the surfacing of gangs of small-time radicals such as the "Israelite Liberation Army (ILA)".

While the RU and the ILA at this stage still may be paper tigers, they are also symbolic of a distinct hardening of attitudes.

During the past few days this attitude could be widely discerned — from questions asked from the floor at the CP congress last month, to the fundamentalist rhetoric of the ILA in front of an audience of 20 in the Springs City Hall.

Among these, the CP's mobilisation programme must be singled out as the tiger with potentially the sharpest claws — if only because of the numbers involved.

Also significant is the kind of money being made available for the nationwide programme to be headed by a "Freedom Council" under the chairmanship of former South African Defence Force General Chris Bischoff.

Martie Hertzog, widow of Albert Hertzog, and At van Wyk, a Pretoria attorney, have both been co-opted as members of the 12-man Freedom Council by virtue of being trustees of the vast Pieter Neethling Fund.

The CP is touting the mobilisation effort as a total onslaught to attain freedom. The party says freedom for the Afrikaner "and English-speaking patriots" can be "regained" by enforcing a white election, or by means of negotiations and — as a last resort — by an armed struggle.

However, many CP supporters will agree there is no realistic possibility of another white election.

As far as negotiations are concerned,

Treurnicht was uncharacteristically specific when he stated at the opening of the congress that the CP would only negotiate on the basis of self-determination in a confederal constellation of independent states. As soon as this option disappears, the CP will also disappear from the negotiating table.

This leaves the armed option; but CP spokesmen are reluctant to say they favour this or any other course. The stock answer seems to be that the volk should be mobilised simultaneously for any of the three options.

While most CP spokesmen are coy about divulging details, CP MP Charl Hertzog earlier this year spelled out some specifics in an as yet unpublished interview.

Asked about security units being



Andries Treurnicht

established by CP supporters in the border area dividing the Free State, Lesotho, and the Transkei, he told *The Weekly Mail* the security action is but one part of the total "Volksmobilisation" of the CP.

"We are in the process of establishing a structure from ground level to national level where planning and co-ordination is important for the purpose of regaining the freedom of the volk."

"We are concentrating on all three of these options. To make any of them succeed, we need a strong support base. By means of mobilisation we can strengthen this power base."

"To this end we are mobilising the different interest groups that already exist. For example, we are mobilising the farmers as farmers, the mineworkers as mineworkers, and the civil servants as civil servants. We are also mobilising on the level of third-tier government structure."

But to what exact end, remains unclear to most CP supporters. Nowhere was this more apparent than when the issue of defence came under discussion at the recent congress.

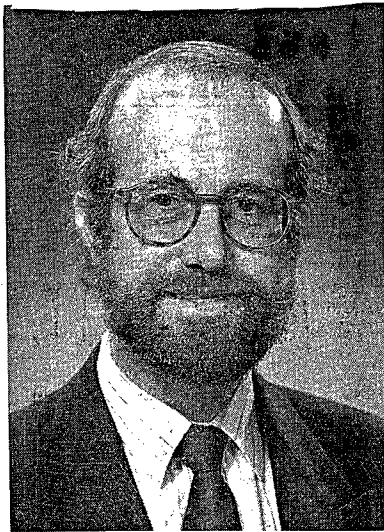
The official line put forward from the stage was initially one of support for the security forces and a call for CP supporters to join the SADF commandos and police reservists. This met with strong opposition from the floor.

While some delegates disagreed volubly, a delegate from Aliwal North was in favour of the motion. "Yes, join," he exhorted the other delegates. "This way you can get training and a rifle and you can resign any time you like."

'Let the good firms be'

ARG 3/4/93

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□ Dr Jos Gerson
against government protectionism.

'Unbundling the pyramids'

■ Lack of competition is not caused by giant South African companies, but by government protectionism says Cape Town economist

BRUCE CAMERON
Business Staff

A witch hunt should be launched against barriers preventing effective competition rather than against companies which dominate the South African market.

Speaking at a Free Market Foundation conference on anti-trust legislation, Dr Jos Gerson, group economist for stockbrokers, Davis Borkum Hare, warned that politicians and lawyers who tampered with the corporate structures, built under free market conditions, risked damaging the efficacy of the large companies.

This was particularly the case in international competition.

Dr Gerson said the United States has been able to get away with a tough trust-busting policy because of the enormity of its internal market.

But even in the US the policy "is no longer pursued with any vigour and conviction because Americans, too, are now reluctant to damage their international competitiveness."

Dr Gerson said he was not implying there should be tolerance of the monopolies that depended on government support and protection for their existence.

However, firms such as SA Breweries, which had achieved

a dominant position through sheer efficiency and innovation "ought not be tampered with."

South African consumers paid a heavy price for the protection the State gave local companies against foreign competition. The solution is not to initiate a witch hunt against large firms, but to remove the barriers that prevented effective competition.

Dr Gerson said the accusation of excessive concentration of ownership resulted from the relatively small number of powerful families who controlled most of the large companies, invariably with a minority of the underlying shares.

Dr Gerson said in South Africa this was achieved by listing a "pyramided" holding company with an owner having 50 percent of a holding company, which in turn held 50 percent of an operating company. The result was that control was maintained with only an effective 25 percent of the underlying equity held in the business.

However, only entrepreneurs with outstanding reputations "will receive sufficient investor support to be able to issue shares in such a structure."

Pyramids and similar devices were suppressed in Britain and the US, largely because they violated the "fanciful notion of shareholder democracy" but were commonplace in Europe and Asia.

In large companies with thinly spread shareholdings the devices enabled powerful entrepreneurs to exercise effective control and, where necessary, to hold management to account.

Dr Gerson said the devices overcame the problem of large quoted companies in the US where wayward managers voted themselves enormous remuneration packages.

Shareholders preferred to sell out when the going got tough rather than use their votes to put matters right.

The calls for "unbundling" in South Africa often meant the abolition of our pyramid structures.

Dr Gerson said "unbundling" was a lamentably ambiguous word because it also inferred milder restructurings such as selling off non-core businesses.

"Many of those, who call for a tougher competition policy and the dismantling of pyramids, do so in the name of the free market."

But Dr Gerson said this showed a limited understanding of what markets were all about.

"The role of the market in setting prices through supply and demand is obvious."

But the market fulfilled another role functioning as a long-run adjudicator, constantly choosing between alternative ways of organising firms and institutions.

"In this Darwinian landscape, superior firms gradually drive out inferior ones."

"We ought, therefore to respect the institutional and legal outcomes that emerge under free market conditions in the long-run. The market always has a good reason for its verdict."

"Often, it favours the fortunes of large firms but not always."

14 Voter education

April 3 to April 7 1993

Average voter turnout in elections in 24 countries (since 1945):

Australia	94.3
Austria	93.9
Belgium	92.7
Canada	75.4
Denmark	85.7
Finland	78.4
France	78.7
Germany	87.3
Greece	79.3
Iceland	90.1
Ireland	74.7
Israel	80.9
Italy	72.5
Japan	90.3
Luxembourg	94.7
Netherlands (until 1971)	83.7
Netherlands (after 1971)	90.0
New Zealand	81.2
Norway	83.2
Portugal	75.5
Spain	61.3
Sweden	85.7
Switzerland	76.7
United Kingdom	59.3
United States	47.3
House of Representatives	

The table was compiled by Mackie and Rose in 1982. Voting is compulsory in the countries in *italics*.

AN ISSUE which the negotiation process has yet to clarify is whether those who qualify to vote will have to register as voters for South Africa's first democratic elections.

However, for the first elections is waived for the logistical problems it will involve, it will probably be a feature of future elections.

There are two ways to register voters.

● The first is done either by a government structure or a special elections structure — and is automatic.

All citizens who qualify for the vote are entered on to the electoral register through official documentation sources such as records reflecting ID holders.

This form of registration has to be updated periodically. For example, when citizens die, their names should be taken off the register.

● The second form of registration is voluntary. Citizens who qualify to vote must go to register themselves. This method depends on the civic consciousness of eligible voters.

It places the onus on political organisations to ensure that their members register. Unfortunately, because of its voluntary nature, this system always reflects a lower number of eligible voters than actually exists. People who have not made

'So much to do
— so little time'

the effort to register as voters will not be able to vote on election day. In South Africa, it would be advisable to waive registration for the forthcoming election for two reasons.

Firstly, so much still needs to be done to educate first time voters in the short time before the election. Secondly, so many black South Africans have no official personal documentation at all.

In the long term, automatic registration would certainly be more convenient, depending on the credibility of the body that would oversee such a process.

Officials

In Australia and Canada, voter registration is automatic and done by a body of election officials, not by a government authority.

In Britain, it is done by government. In the United States, registration is voluntary and the number of registered voters is consistently less than the number who qualify to vote.

(3044)

In the US voting is therefore a two-stage process for voters. First, they have to register as voters, then they vote on election day.

Failure to register bars eligible voters from voting, and this is seen as one of the reasons why the US polling turnout.

Impact

Registration — depending on the form used — has some impact on voter turnout on election day.

Where registration is automatic (by a government or other institution), there can be an error margin, however small, which means that some people are accidentally omitted from the voters roll and cannot vote if they only discover this on election day.

The bigger problem is with voluntary registration. Because there is always a section of society that tends to be apathetic, many people bar themselves from voting by not having taken the trouble to register in advance.

In South Africa, given the background of the vast majority of the country's population who have little knowledge of voting procedures and a boycott tradition of anything related to governmental institutions, the task of voter registration will be an immense one.

Even if it were done automatically by a structure mandated for the task, a major problem would be the large number of people who have no official identity documents.

The apartheid practices which used personal identification as a policing method to determine where people could live and work and whether or not they should be relocated to a Bantustan, has made the question of acquiring identification documents a thorny issue.

Up to now, large numbers of people still have not applied for the new ID book because of their suspicions attitude towards government departments like the Home Affairs.

If registration were to be a voluntary process, the problems would be even greater.

The first step of ensuring that people acquire identification documents would still remain. After this it would be necessary to explain to potential voters where, how and why to register.

The inadequate development of communications and transportation networks outside the cities and towns, would make this a truly gigantic task.

'Cape history is distorted'

By Rehana Rossouw

South 314-71473

SHOULD human beings continue to be displayed in the South African museum alongside stuffed animals?

This was one of the issues raised at a one-day conference on "Syn-bols for a democratic Cape Town" organised by the Maybeye Centre and the Institute for a Democratic Alternative in South Africa (Idasa) this week.

University of the Western Cape historian Mr Chris Rassoul suggested the display of original Cape dwellers be removed from the museum as it had potential to offend sections of the population.

He said people had to begin grappling with how to publicly display the experience of black people in Cape Town.

Cape Town had suffered from the different ways its history had been depicted.

It had, in tour guides and

brochures, been referred to as the

foundation of the South African nation, the tavern of the seas, the gateway to the continent of Africa, the gateway to civilisation, a tourist and health resort, a refreshment station, the Mother City and the cradle of the Republic.

"What has been stressed is that Cape Town is not very African. It is the natural home of the coloured people which is known for its racial harmony and natural beauty," Rassoul said.

"The myths about Cape Town's past have spawned a notion that Cape Town is different and needs to be freed from the rest of South Africa, the racial strife and the violence."

"What is concealed here is a distasteful anti-African politics geared towards strengthening existing policies."

Rassoul said the official and dom-

inant symbols in Cape Town all had political meaning — the rural Dutch settlements, the castle, wine farms and symbols of British colonial maritime history.

"Selective historical images have been used to distort the history of Cape Town," he said. "This is quite stark in the Victorian waterfront development which excludes most of its history."

"Absent are images of the Khoi, the slaves, political exiles, fishermen and convicts. Excluded are the first African migrants from the eastern Cape."

"The Robben Island landing dock from which so many political prisoners were released while the waterfront was being built around it is unacknowledged."

Rassoul said District Six loomed large as a symbol of the destruction of community life in Cape Town.

"But it is also a symbol of

attempts to retain a memory. The District Six experience is so locked in mythology and nostalgia and as an icon which subordinates other experiences of Cape Town forced removals."

Rassoul said the soon carnival was hardly representative of aspects of working class culture in South Africa and was criticised as a stereotype of happy entertainers for tourists.

Bo-Kaap, with its recent spate of museums, monuments and tours as a symbol of post-emancipation Cape Town faced the danger of falling into an ethnic pigeonhole.

However, Rassoul said, the solution may not lie in destroying the symbols of oppressive power.

"Do you topple the Voortrekker Monument or recontextualise it? Do you move Jan van Riebeck's statue from the foreshore to another place?"

Best party in town?

By Rehama Roseauw
and Quentin Wilson

South 114193
34

F COLOURED voters can be won by whoever throws the best party, the National Party is well on the way to capturing their votes.

Last Saturday's NP family fair at Goodwood showgrounds certainly showed potential voters a good time — there was hardly any political substance to the event, except save president FVW de Klerk's speech which lasted other political parties.

NP organisers laid on the entertainment. There were parades, a magic show, *skubakendies*, a tug-of-war competition, balloons, touch rugby, a beauty pageant, drummers, a beer garden and more.

Posters of a smiling FVW de Klerk adorned the 30-odd stalls where *boerevrou* rolls, *kebabsters*, *milkies* and ice cream were sold in immense quantities.

Children ran amok with NP sun visors, badges and stickers decorating their clothing while drummers in orange, white and blue miniskirts twirled their batons.

There were very few private vehicles at the fair, most of the supporters were bused in from as far afield as Mossel Bay.

Farm labourers waxed lyrical about their once-in-a-lifetime opportunity to finally meet "the president".

Mrs Franchina du Toit, a farm worker from Moresburg, proudly showed off her NP calendar with a photograph of De Klerk embracing a white and coloured child.

Du Toit said her "naas" had given on all his workers the day off to come to Cape Town.

"I'm so excited. This is the best thing that ever happened to me," she said.

Striking in their absence were white NP members.

Later, Mr Dennis de la Cruz, a coloured NP MP, was forthright in his criticism.

"The whites let us down. This was tantamount to a stay-away," was his verdict.

Nevertheless, the NP organisers must have been largely satisfied with the day's turnout of 5 000.

There was even glamour at the fair. De la Cruz's "Perfhouse?" Pet daughter, Jacqui, ran around recruiting contestants for the Miss National Party contest.

Eager to participate were three members of the NP's Mitchell's Plain Youth Wing, who sanctioned

around all afternoon in skin-tight lycra dresses with sashes over them.

The winner of the contest was 16-year-old Mitchell's Plain youth member, Celestine Constable, who was smothered in kisses by minister of sport Mr Abe Williams.

Williams was on top form in his dashing cowboy hat worn throughout the day and those present will surely never forget his dancing sprints to "I'm too sexy..." and his inspirational direction to the Robertson tug-of-war team.

Reaching the final, Williams was a picture of excitement as his boys from Robertson verged on putting his town on the sporting map.

When the final tug began, against Worcester, Williams could no longer contain himself. He flung his body over the stage (where he supposedly worked as master of ceremonies), hounded himself rather unceremoniously to his team some 50 metres away and screamed encouragement.

Then the Robertson team won. Williams was euphoric. He drenched fist slammed the air. He hugged, hovered over and praised his victorious team who, on the brink of exhaustion, barely managed a smile.



BEAUTY AND THE POLITICIAN: Celestine Constable, 16, is smooched by Abe Williams after being judged Miss NP at Saturday's Goodwood fair

Photo: Yunus Mohamed

MECs get R6 000 in free rent fiasco

5 Times 4/4/93
(304A) (220)

MEMBERS of the executive committees of provincial councils are being paid up to R6 000 a month to live in their own houses.

The latest example of the manner in which Cabinet Ministers, senior politicians and officials use taxpayers' money to live a life of luxury emerged from questions to the administrator of the Cape, George Meiring, by Democratic Party MP Eddie Trent.

Cape MEC Peter Marais, a politician who has never won an election to Parliament, lives in a modest middle-class house on the Cape Flats — and the government pays him R3 200 a month to do so.

Mr Marais says his compensation was determined according to the value of his property. However, an estate agent said the house, if rented, would not fetch more than R1 200.

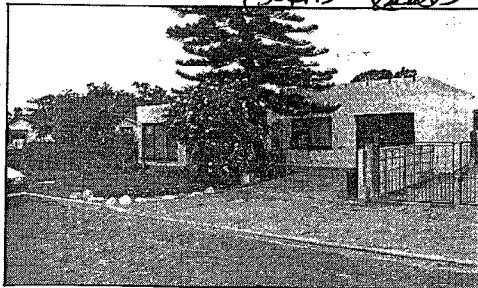
Once appointed by State President FW de Klerk, an MEC gets a salary packet of R113 688 plus an allowance of R32 328 a year. He need no longer worry about paying his mortgage bond, painting and plumbing or even the

By **NORMAN WEST**
Political Reporter

wages of his domestic help.

The government pays a maximum of R6 000 on his bond, R400 a month for maintenance and R700 towards domestic help.

His telephone account,



Cape MEC Peter Marais gets R3 200 a month to live in this house

water and electricity are included in the housing subsidy perk.

Among the MECs paid to live in their own houses in Cape Town are Mr Frik van Deventer (environmental and nature conservation, transport and traffic); Mr Marais (hospital and health services) and Mr Themba Nyati (welfare services and community development and social pensions).

Moved

Former MEC Koos Theron stays in his former official residence at a "market-related" rent, while his new Hout Bay house is being built.

Mr Nyati moved out of his township house and bought himself a posh house in leafy Newlands so

that he could receive the full R6 000 to help him pay off his bond.

And the third black Cape MEC, Mr Deon Adams — whose daughter Erica was once romantically linked to Mr De Klerk's son, Willem — lives in a double storey mansion opposite the exclusive Fernwood Parliamentary Club complex in Newlands.

Mr Adams also receives a R6 000 housing perk.

Mr Marais reacted with indignation to questions about the perks MECs received.

He said when he was appointed MEC a year ago, the present system of perks and salaries was in existence. Before the appointment of blacks, the recipients of those perks were whites and everyone

seemed to regard their perks as "fair", perhaps because they were white.

He said the sudden outcry against perks, now that blacks and coloureds were getting them, smacked of racism.

And in another revelation of how the "fat cats" live on taxpayers' money, it has been found that, apart from being paid basic salaries which are more than that of Mr de Klerk, directors-general of government departments are also being paid enormous amounts to live in their own houses.

The basic salary of a director-general is R211 227 while that of Mr de Klerk's is R193 080.

Bonus

The amounts paid in compensation to DGs and their deputies and other top officials who qualify for rent are worked out according to a certain formula and range between R954 and R4 072.

It has been calculated that on the basis of a salary of R211 227 a year paid to a DG, he would receive an annual bonus of R17 602, a housing subsidy for his own house occupied in Cape Town during Parliamentary sessions of R21 000, a motor financing scheme valued at R75 000 a year and pension contributions of R45 095.

IT WAS a strange spectacle. Inkatha's Joe Matthews, backing Congress's boss Joe Slovo, the man Congress's Free Caucusis Dabport and the ANC's Cyril Ramaphosa amiceably agreeing with everyone.

What was agitating them was a subject so just observers: should the shape of the form of the state of the new South Africa be discussed as a separate item or should it be lumped with constitutional principles?

After more than half an hour they agreed on the latter. Such is the nature of our constitutional negotiations — tedious and impenetrable.

But on another level they are also a charade.

At the heart of this involved process is the deal between the government and the ANC which ushers in the first phase of multi-party rule in June, elections in the first half of next year and joint rule by the most powerful parties for five years thereafter.

Struck two months ago, the deal is rarely, if ever, mentioned at the World Trade Centre — the two key players realise that unless all the par-

THE SUNDAY MORNING ASSESSMENT BY EDVTH BULBRING

ties are made to feel part of the deal its legitimacy will be questioned and stability will be uncertain.

The task for the government and the ANC in the months ahead is to sell their agreed constitutional settlement to the other parties.



They will attempt to keep all the participants together for as long as possible. But when major problems arise with the smaller parties, the ANC and the government will continue without them, backed by the majority of the parties.

At the World Trade Centre on Thursday the key players made the

breakthrough to the point at which the serious work of selling the ANC-government package could begin.

Having skillfully managed to lock all the parties into a process and achieved agreement on an agenda and body for constitutional talks, the legitimacy of the process has been established.

That body will be known as the negotiating council. All 26 parties participating in the talks will be represented on it and it will meet for four days a week from April 19 until the deal has been wrapped up.

Its work will be conducted in public, reinforcing the perception that the country's future is being negotiated openly and democratically by all the parties.

But the real hard-sell will take place in a 10-person planning committee which will meet daily behind

GOVERNMENT-ANC DEAL IS AT THE HEART OF NEGOTIATIONS

closed doors to thrash out compromises which can be placed before the public forum.

The ANC and the government want endorsement of their deal before the end of June. That month will see the establishment of the transitional executive council, the body which will effectively oversee the holding of free and fair elections.

It will comprise a member from all the participating parties and will operate in conjunction with the government. To effect, the government will no longer have the unbridled power to do as it pleases.

With the establishment of the TEC, an election date will be set and the parties will begin their campaigns. The government and the ANC want elections to be held before April next year.

For an elected government to rule the country, the existing constitution will have to be amended substantially or replaced to allow a unity government to operate.

This will be done by the Tricameral Parliament at a special parliamentary sitting in September.

The government and the ANC envisage a new parliament comprising all the parties that poll three percent in an election. Both national and regional representatives will be elected on the basis of proportional representation.

The president will be elected by the highest party and he will choose a cabinet. All the parties that poll five to 10 percent of the vote, in proportion to their representation.

This government of national unity will rule the country for five years under an interim constitution, which

will also contain a bill of rights, while it negotiates a final constitution.

The only limits being placed on the writing of the new constitution are constitutional principles to be agreed in advance by all parties, and that it should be endorsed by two thirds of the members of the new parliament, which will double as a constitution-making body.

Constitutional principles already agreed to include an independent judiciary, a bill of rights, three tiers of democratically elected government with entrenched constitutional powers, a multi-party democracy and the accommodation of the diversity of languages, religions and cultures.

Until multi-racial elections are held, the country will undoubtedly witness incidents of shocking violence orchestrated by elements opposed to a constitutional settlement.

We are also likely to see walkouts by negotiators, grandstanding and deadlocks, even between the two key players. But the deal hammered out by the ANC and the government is on track and unlikely to be diverted.

WITH elections around the corner, the much-maligned traditional leaders could once again see themselves being placed at the centre stage of SA politics.

Once the battle for the hearts and minds of people heats up - particularly among those living in the homelands and rural areas - traditional leaders could find themselves suddenly courted by a wide range of political interests.

The Congress of Traditional Leaders of SA (Contralesa), which represents a sizeable number of chiefs, has already entered the fray. After being excluded from Codesa, they finally managed to get a place at the multiparty planning conference last month and also attended this week's negotiations.

However, they attended this week's conference at the World Trade Centre, not as a single entity, but split along provinces. They are opposed to this arrangement, saying it is a new way of perpetuating the government's policy of divide and rule along tribal lines.

Contralesa president Inkosi Phatolele Holomisa said they would like the multiparty talks to spell out clearly the role traditional leaders are expected to play in a future dispensation.

Right now the campaign to have traditional leaders on one's side is still low-key and played behind closed doors. The chiefs are also playing their cards close to their chests, saying they cannot take political sides because their followers have diverse affiliations.

No one believes this. As electioneering heats and battle lines become distinctly drawn, the positions of the various chiefs will also crystallise.

It will not be anything new for the blue-blooded to find themselves suddenly a focus of interest by politicians.

Down the years traditional leaders have played a role and at times even a pivotal one - whether for good or bad depends on your political persuasion - in shaping the politics of this country.

Pretoria has, in the past, used traditional chiefs to advance its political goals. The balkanisation of the country into several homelands succeeded in large measure because of the collusion of traditional leaders.

In cases where traditional leaders opposed Pretoria's machinations, pliant and malleable chiefs were sought and others even created to sell the idea of homeland politics.

When Chief Sabata Dalindyebo opposed independence for Transkei, Pretoria ignored him, took some of the lands under his jurisdiction and ceded them over to a junior chief, Kaizer Dalwonga Matanzima, who was then made paramount chief of western Transkei.

The other trick was simply to lead the legislative assemblies with more chiefs, so that whatever the outcome of the homeland elections, the chiefs would be there to support their master's choice.

This strategy was used with great effect in Venda where Chief Patrick Mphahlele lost against Baldwin Mudau. The local chiefs were taken to Manyeleti Game Reserve and after being plied with gifts, including in some cases oversized "monkey suits", Mphahlele was assured of their support.

The strategy of appointing pliant chiefs to senior positions in the tribal hierarchies was inherited from the British in colonial times.

Politicos gear up to woo traditional leaders

Bophuthatswana's Lucas Mangope has also dismissed traditional leaders, some of them considered senior to him, for refusing to bow to his imperious rule in the homeland.

In KwaZulu, Chief Mangosuthu Buthelezi shore King Goodwill Zwelithini's powers and reduced him to the status of a figurehead when it seemed Zwelithini was aligning himself to forces opposed to him (Buthelezi).

Zwelithini was advised by Buthelezi to keep out of politics. Strangely enough, last year Buthelezi cried foul when Zwelithini or his delegation was excluded from Codesa.

While it seems chiefs are likely to play an important role in their little fiefdoms, some voices have questioned whether a new SA still needs an institution whose positions have been abused and their influence diminished during colonial and apartheid rule.

Feminists, who are likely to be an important constituency in the coming elections, are also critical of the institution because of its patriarchal disposition.

Holomisa says it is precisely because of such issues that the role of the traditional leadership has to be clearly spelt out.

He says they are aware of chiefs who are political appointees. "It will not be a problem to sort out this issue. In the villages, elders know which clan produced chiefs and from which family the senior members came from."

Holomisa, who is a practising advocate, says the institution is democratic and does have a future role to play in a new SA.

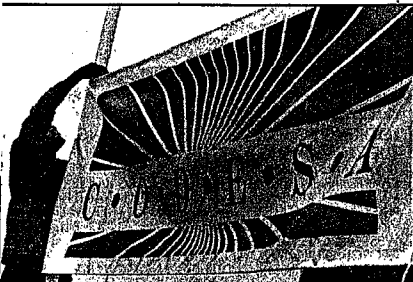
Although the leadership is predominantly male, except in a few cases, women are not prejudiced because, according to Holomisa, the traditional leader is expected to act fairly and impartially on issues affecting women.

The other reality about traditional leadership is that a large number of our people still live in the homelands and rural areas where they continue to be subject to traditional rules and customs.

According to Holomisa, in future traditional leaders will be expected to improve their level of education and undergo some form of legal training.

The Contralesa president believes the support enjoyed by traditional leaders surpasses that of political organisations. This is why many chiefs will find themselves courted by several political parties when the election juggernaut starts rolling in earnest.

THE CHIEFS BOUNCE BACK



RURAL POWER . . . SA's traditional leaders are back in the negotiations picture after being snubbed at Codesa.

THE government's behind-the-scenes moves to engineer the reincorporation of the TBVC states is going to be far more difficult than envisaged.

Details of the plan – contained in a confidential document handed to the four homelands – were published on Friday April 2.

It envisages the incorporation of the four states by the end of next month.

The Ciskei government confirmed it had received and was studying the document, but that it would insist on a referendum on the issue first.

Transkei too is unimpressed. State President FW de Klerk raised the issue of Transkei's reincorporation when he met Maj-Gen Bantu Holomisa at Tuynhuis on Thursday. Holomisa said he had made it clear the issue had to be dealt with in multiparty talks.

In a statement issued, De Klerk hinted that the reincorporation of Transkei "could take place within a few months".

Holomisa confirmed De Klerk had raised the issue, "but I told him that was the domain of the multilateral forum".

De Klerk had stressed that SA did not intend bypassing the multiparty process, and suggested committees be appointed "to look into technical matters" such as pensions and loans, Holomisa said.

"Political decisions, such as when incorporation will occur, are not our baby – but for the multilateral forum to decide."

He also said Transkei had not yet seen the document and queried what he saw as a strategy to bring the homelands under SA

TBVC states oppose FW's (304A) hasty proposal

government control.

"We see through that smokescreen," he said.

"It is wishful thinking on De Klerk's part if he thinks that he is going to control Nelson Mandela, Clarence Makwetu, Mangosuthu Buthelezi and others as reflected in this latest transparent strategy. He is day-dreaming."

Meanwhile, a Ciskei Council of State official said the homeland was reserving comment on the document's suggestions "until all aspects had been thoroughly considered".

"It must be remembered that Ciskei obtained its independence by means of a referendum. The people of Ciskei will have to be consulted on any envisaged change in the status of Ciskei," he added.

The SA government is keeping its cards close to its chest. Foreign Affairs said that the department knew nothing about the document and referred inquiries to the Constitutional Development department – where ministry official Isak Retief referred the matter back to Foreign Affairs.

With the possible ex-

ception of Venda, the TBVC states appear far from amenable to the prospect of rejoining SA now. Transkei supports incorporation, but has stressed it would not return to SA under the De Klerk government.

Bophuthatswana is insistent it should remain independent, while also considering an option of joining SA as an expanded region with a high degree of autonomy, and including sections of the northern Cape and western Transvaal.

Ciskei wants to retain considerable autonomy – including having its own defence force – and is agitating along with its Concerned South Africa Group (Cosag) partners for a strong federal dispensation.

Although the ANC has been arguing for TBVC reincorporation for years, the organisation issued a statement yesterday saying it wanted the decision to come out of the multiparty talks process.

The ANC said it did not, however, support De Klerk's reported proposal for immediate reincorporation.

"The key element of this proposal is reincorporation into a SA that has a democratic constitution, and not in terms of the existing apartheid constitution," said the statement.

The scheduling of the establishment of the multiparty Transitional Executive Council for the end of May is putting the squeeze on.

The government agrees that the homelands can not participate in the TEC while still independent. – Eena, Sapa.

Tough task

ahead!

C Press 4/14/93

All set for run up to majority rule

By THOMA KUMALO
and SENOJA SELLO

Press
L414/93

THE Transitional Executive Council (TEC), ushering a transitional period to majority rule in this country, should be in place by the end of June, Constitutional Development Minister Roelf Meyer said this week.

Addressing a press conference after the successful multiparty talks at the World Trade Centre near Kempton Park on Thursday, Meyer said the government would stop at nothing to push for the speedy introduction of the new structure.

He said the conference had achieved what it set out to do - namely, to identify issues that need to be addressed and constitutional matters. The question of violence also had to be thrashed out. The government was happy and relieved that this contentious issue (of

violence) would now be addressed collectively.

NF chief negotiator Dr Dawie de Villiers said while they were pleased that violence had become a collective responsibility among all participants, there were clearly delicate matters still to be discussed at the next forum talks.

Meyer's optimism was echoed by the PAC and ANC representatives at their press conferences.

ANC secretary general Cyril Ramaphosa said the collective approach to addressing violence would enable parties to "rise above parochial interests".

He added that the way the meeting was conducted made it difficult for the parties that wanted to derail the process by taking up difficult positions.

Ramaphosa was apparently referring to the CP, among other parties, which used every opportunity to lambast Apia and MK as "terrorists whose leaders

must not be allowed to sit at the multiparty talks".

The PAC's Benny Alexander also acknowledged the success of the talks and said Thursday's agreements had set the pace for "everyone to roll up their sleeves for serious work".

However, difficult times lay ahead for all participants when it came to elections because not a single party had been mandated to draft the constitution, he said.

As far as the PAC was concerned the constitution would only be drafted by elected parties in a Constituent Assembly.

On the violence issue, he commented, "It's not good enough for people like Kriel to say Apia should stop its armed actions. In terms of the UN's cessation of hostilities pact in 1979, this must apply from both warring factions."

ANC repudiates FW's latest plan for reincorporation

Sowetan 5/4/93
THE African National Congress has denied it supports President FW de Klerk's reported plan to speed up the reincorporation of the nominally independent homelands into South Africa.

In a statement issued on Saturday the ANC said while it was correct that the organisation supported the reincorporation of all the homelands, it was incorrect that the ANC supported President de Klerk's reported proposal for the immediate reincorporation of the homelands.

"Reincorporation into South Africa, after a comprehensive agreement has been reached at the multiparty negotiating forum, has long been the proposal put forward by the ANC," the statement said.

Referendum rejected

According to the ANC this approach had also been repeatedly publicly proposed by both the Transkei and Venda administrations, coupled with a rejection of Pretoria's insistence on a referendum to test public will on reincorporation.

"But the key element of this proposal is reincorporation into a South Africa that has a democratic constitution and not in terms of the existing apartheid constitution."

(100) (100) 304A
■ End supported but not the method, says ANC:

An international news agency reported that the South African Government wanted the reincorporation of the nominally independent states soon to simplify democracy negotiations.

Homelands warned

Homeland leaders would be warned that they could not expect to take part in the talks on a new constitution if they were not sure of being part of the new dispensation.

The reported plan envisaged cutting off budgetary aid from Pretoria if the homelands did not fall in line.

Transkei military leader Major-General Bantu Holomisa, reacting to Press reports of the reincorporation plan, said Transkei would "not come back to an apartheid South Africa".

He said the authors were indulging in "wishful thinking" if they believed Transkei would return at the behest of the SA Government, although he remained committed to reincorporation negotiated at the multiparty talks. — *South African Press Association*

Top-level US officials here to see SA leaders

MICHAEL MORRIS
Political Correspondent

SOUTH Africa's top political leaders are to meet influential United States senators, congressmen and Clinton Administration officials in a major behind-closed-doors meeting in Cape Town this week.

Newly appointed Assistant Secretary of State for Africa, Mr George Moose — the Clinton Administration's most influential Africa policy-maker — heads the list of top-level visitors.

His presence signals the importance of this high-level political exchange.

The forum, organised by the respected Aspen Institute, could have a significant impact on the Clinton Administration's attitude and policy on South and Southern Africa.

The meeting starts today and ends on Friday.

President De Klerk, Foreign Minister Mr Pik Botha and the government's chief negotiator, Minister of Constitutional Development Mr Roelf Meyer, are to address the forum on Thursday.

The topic of discussions is "South Africa in transition: the role of the US."

The Aspen Institute held a similar forum in Cape Town in 1991. It has been acknowledged as having helped shape Washington's response, under President George Bush, to unfolding developments in South Africa.

A second conference, organised jointly by the Aspen Institute and the Institute for a Democratic Alternative For South Africa (Idasa), will be held later in the month — from April 26 to 30 — at a lodge in the Transvaal. It will focus on South Africa's international economic relationships.

Both conferences will be strictly off-the-record and closed to the public and Press.

A summary of discussions will be issued afterwards.

NEWS Historic talks scuppered

Azapo-Govt ^{Sowetan 5/4/93} meeting on ice

■ Organisation's National Council decides to halt contacts with other movements for four weeks:

By Sowetan Reporter

THE Azanian People's Organisation yesterday put a moratorium on contact with other organisations until a special congress is held in four weeks.

The decision, made at the organisation's National Council meeting held in Bloemfontein at the weekend, means that a historic meeting between Azapo and the Black Consciousness Movement of Azania on the one hand, and the South African Government on the other, scheduled for Gaborone, Botswana, on

Thursday, is off.

The meeting was to discuss the transfer of power from the "regime to the oppressed majority", the date for constituent assembly elections and the equanimity of the security forces, according to Azapo.

Azapo president Professor Jhemeleng Mosala earlier yesterday confirmed the meeting and said the Botswana government would host and chair the meeting while Zimbabwe's former president, the Reverend Cde Ian Smith, would meet at.



Unknown to us Sizwe cadre Mthetheli Mncube was the guest of honour yesterday at a welcome party held for him in Diepkloof. Mncube, in white shirt, is standing next to his wife, Nomasa, in headgear. Mncube was sentenced to death four times in Meebina for incidents along the Zimbabwe border.

International financier to encourage reform

By Magnus Heystock

Star 5/4/73

International financier and philanthropist George Soros (65) arrived in South Africa over the weekend to oversee the setting up of the local chapter of his Open Society Foundation.

Soros is one of the most successful investment fund managers in the world and shot to public prominence in September last year when his strategy concerning the British pound netted his fund management company well over £1 billion (about R4,7 billion).

In one of the most successful coups on world financial markets yet, Soros, through Quantum Investment Fund, went "short" against the pound in

September last year.

He firmly believed that the British pound was heavily overvalued and when the subsequent free-fall of the pound indicated his beliefs, his company made "about one billion dollars in one day and maybe two billion in the days thereafter".

But despite being considered the world's foremost fund manager — a distinction he has earned for almost two decades now — he spends most of his time running the Open Society Foundation, funded almost entirely from his own pocket.

The Foundation's primary objective is to encourage free enterprise and democratic reform in formerly oppressed coun-

tries.

Soros said a total of \$15 billion (about R45 billion), spread out over three years, would be used to facilitate the transitional process in South Africa.

If the funds are used effectively, Soros is prepared to commit more to this country for another three years.

He will meet several people who have been invited to become trustees of the Foundation. He would not reveal who has been invited, but did indicate that the infrastructure of the Institute for a Democratic Alternative in South Africa (Idasa) is to be used.

He said Dr Van Zyl Slabbert

and possibly Peter Sullivan, Editor of the daily Star, would be invited to serve on the board.

Soros said he would leave the application of the funds to the board of trustees, but did indicate that one project could involve the training of black civil servants at the University of the Western Cape.

Hungarian-born Soros set up his Foundation in the early '80s. He funded political movements, which contributed to the downfall of the communist government in eastern Europe.

He was previously involved in South Africa in a personal capacity when he funded scholarships for 80 black students at the University of Cape Town.



Financial genius . . . George Soros will set up a chapter of his Open Society Foundation.

focus on talks

SUFFICIENT CONSENSUS, as opposed to a decision of the majority, dominated deliberations when multiparty negotiations resumed or commenced (depending on which side you are) at the 26-party political forum last Thursday.

In spite of the failure — read inability — to reach agreement on the new name to substitute the Convention for a Democratic South Africa, the negotiators decided not to vote on the 11 laid on the table.

Instead, a circular was passed around for the delegates to indicate their choice. This would be referred to the negotiating council composed of 26 delegation leaders for recommendation and firm proposal.

Also contentious is the question of political violence, which was of course tabled and surprisingly disposed of on the first day of the conference. In fact the meeting had been planned for two days but business was concluded on an optimistic note on the first day.

As was expected, Government spokesmen sitting a table away from the South African Communist Party and two from the Pan Africanist Congress, raised the question of the Azanian People's Liberation Army and Umkhonto we Sizwe.

No sparks flew.

This was so despite SACP national chairman Joe Slovo's quick "reminder" to the Government that it was not qualified to point a finger.

Even when PAC information secretary quickly remarked that major signatories of the National Peace Accord (implying the Government, Inkatha Freedom Party and the African National Congress) were violating it, thus rendering it ineffective.

On the other hand, the Conservative Party did not walk out after failing to get backing, or recognition even, for their demand that constitutional negotiations with the PAC and ANC be suspended because Apla and MK were behind "terrorist murders".

The ANC's Thabo Mbeki described the CP's approach as provocative while channelling the rightwingers to accepting the forum's proposal and resolution on how to deal with the question of violence.

This was that violence, indeed threatened smooth transition to democracy and that the negotiating council be charged with identifying its source and propose a way forward.

Transkei's presentation on violence by its state law adviser, Mr Zamindela Titus, was quietly noted despite its aggressive, or rather forceful, tone.

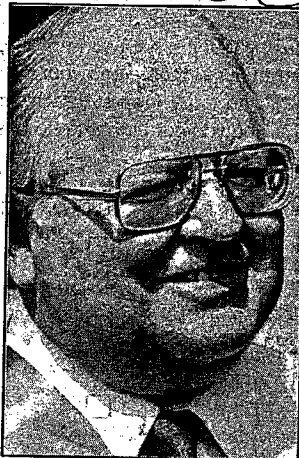
Again, no sparks flew when Titus warned: "We are poised to reveal more details about the South African Government's corruption and plans to silence black opposition."

His leader and Transkei's chief negotiator,

Consensus and indeed compromise are the new key words in charting South Africa's constitutional future, political leaders gathering at the World Trade Centre last week discovered. Political Reporter **Themba**

Molefe reports:

(Handwritten: 304A) Soweto 5/4/93



Strange bedfellows ... the AVU's Andries Beyers (left) and the SACP's Joe Slovo.

Major-General Bantu Holomisa, and State President FW de Klerk were at that time discussing in Cape Town the impasse between the homeland and Pretoria on violence.

At the end of the day, as the phrase goes, the 26 parties reached sufficient consensus on "the way forward", another phrase to look out for as the process unfolds.

One could not help imagining what was going on in the minds of journalist covering the talks. This entered my mind while watching proceedings at the World Trade Centre.

The conference table is indeed round with delegations forming a full circle on the ground floor of the centre. The Press completes its own round table a floor above.

The ANC delegation is next to the Afrikaner Volksunie. This is because seating is in alphabetical order.

Therefore if and when the Azanian People's

Organisation joins the process, it would flank the rightwing group with the ANC.

The AWB would sit next to Azapo but it is of course unlikely to join.

The SACP and CP hate each other passionately and, given a chance, the CP would be the first to hang the SACP.

It was with such horrifying thoughts in mind that the negotiators came up with a new political lexicon for South Africa and agreed that the country needed sufficient consensus to get out of the morass.

Yes, this decision was reached by the general consensus of the 26 parties when they met to plan the way forward on March 5 and 6.

On April 19 therefore, the country's political leaders will converge once more on the World Trade Centre to cement South Africa's future.

And perhaps announce a date for South Africa's first democratic elections.

Apla 'gunning for children'

CT 6/4/93

By ANTHONY JOHNSON
Political Correspondent

APLA's leadership backed the killing of innocent schoolchildren because the PAC's military wing wanted "to strike at whites where it would hurt them most", the government claimed yesterday.

Foreign Minister Mr. P. Botha said in a sharply-worded diplomatic note to the Transkei that this chilling message had been conveyed to units of the Transkei Defence Force (TDF) and police by Apla commander Mr. Sabelo Phama at a recent briefing with the homeland's security services.

The note, dated April 4 and delivered yesterday, also contained an official objection to the Transkei authorities allowing Apla to make such threats.

In an earlier diplomatic note, dated April 2, from the Transkei government to Pretoria, Transkei leader Major-General Bantu Holomisa said the Apla commander had addressed units of the TDF "in line with a standing policy allowing leaders occupying a position similar to his to make themselves available for briefings from time to time."

However, Mr. Botha said the South African government had information

that when Mr. Phama was asked during the briefing why Apla had killed innocent schoolchildren, he had responded that Apla wanted "to strike at whites where it would hurt them most".

Mr. Botha added pointedly that the reincorporation of Transkei was "imminent".

However, there were indications that relations between South Africa and Transkei might be on the mend. One was the welcoming by South Africa of Transkei's decision to support co-operation between Transkei Chief Justice Beek and Mr. Justice Gubbins in the proposed Transkei Commission of Inquiry into Apla.

Last night Mr. Phama went public, speaking in an interview on TV1 that 1983 was "The Year of the Great Storm" and Apla did not want the oppression of blacks to extend beyond the year 2000.

Transkei yesterday released draft terms of reference for a commission to inquire into the activities of Apla in the homeland. The commission's draft terms of reference include a probe into the military training of the AWB and the Violets and the recent cross-border raids into Transkei by members of the AWB.

Mayor to speak on Founders' Day

CT 6/4/93

Staff Reporter

(South)

MAYOR Mr. Frank van der Velde is to address the annual Founders' Day ceremony in the city in contrast to last year when the council called off the event.

The Jan van Riebeeck Foundation is to host the ceremony in the city centre.

The council, in calling off the ceremony last year, said it was "divisive to focus on a one-sided, Eurocentric founding of Cape Town".

A navy spokesman said last night two Naval 21-gun salutes would be fired at noon today to celebrate Founders' Day.

This year a compromise has been reached after talks between the foundation and the mayor. The foundation is to host the event and Mr. Van der Velde is to be the guest speaker.

The ceremony is to be held at the Jan van Riebeeck statue on the Foreshore at 10.30am. If the weather is unsuitable, the ceremony will be moved to the concourse level of the Civic Centre.

Royal trio 'legitimate'

VATICAN CITY. — The Vatican said yesterday Pope John Paul II had ruled Princess Caroline's three children legitimate, opening the way for her sons to possible succession to the throne of the tiny Catholic principality of Monaco.

The children, two boys and a girl, were born to the seven-year civil marriage to Prince Raniero Casiraghi, an Italian businessman, who was killed in a speedboat accident in 1980.

Caroline married Mr. Casiraghi in 1983, a year after the Pope's death.

Her first marriage to Prince Raniero was annulled on February 2 last year by the Vatican.

Princess Caroline had requested that her three children be legitimated.

Princess Caroline's brother, Prince Albert, is the current prince of Monaco.

Princess Caroline is 38 years old.

Princess Caroline has three children, two boys and a girl.

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BUSINESS BRIEF

30th March 1993

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Violence

FW, Mandela meet for urgent talks

(2011)
ET 6/24/93

By ANTHONY JOHNSON
Political Correspondent

PRESIDENT F W de Klerk and ANC leader Mr Nelson Mandela met unexpectedly for urgent talks in Cape Town yesterday following a surge in political violence.

The crisis meeting came as the ANC reeled at the news of the massacre of 10 of its young members in a grenade blast and hail of gunfire in the Port Shepstone area early yesterday.

The 10 "comrades" had been staying over at a homestead in the Murchison area when the balaclava-hooded gunmen attacked at 1am with AK-47s and knives. A grenade was also used.

Spiralling violence has claimed 23 lives in Natal alone since Friday.

To see Mr De Klerk at Tuynhuys, Mr Mandela cancelled his keynote speech to the influential Aspen Institute conference of leading South African politicians and key United States policymakers in the city.

Mr Mandela, who was scheduled to make the tone-setting address to the four-day forum, which is likely to shape relations between the Clinton Administration and a new South Afri-

can government, pulled out at the last moment.

A joint statement issued by the two leaders after their emergency meeting confirmed the discussion had centred on violence.

Mr De Klerk and Mr Mandela said they had also reviewed the negotiations process and discussed the role the two parties could play in ensuring the successful continuation of multi-party talks.

The meeting took place as the cabinet prepared for a two-day planning and review "boseraad" on the southern Cape coast.

On Thursday, senior cabinet members are to emerge from the coastal retreat to address the Aspen Institute forum, which includes the newly-appointed US Secretary of State for Africa, Mr George Moose.

Mr De Klerk is to deliver the keynote address at lunchtime on Thursday, while Foreign Minister Mr Pik Botha will take on his ANC counterpart, Mr Thabo Mbeki, in an afternoon debate.

The press and public are barred from proceedings.

Earlier yesterday, Mr Mandela held a meeting in Johannesburg with billionaire international philanthropist Mr George Soros, whom the ANC is eyeing as a possible contributor towards its elections fund.

Surge

WEDDING



WEDDING WOES Wedding couple Miss Sillifant and Mr Scott were married in a howling south-easter.

Staff Reporter

PLANS for a blissful wedding went woefully awry for a young Scarborough couple when a howling south-easter tore down the marquee set up for the reception — and damaged their new car in which they were to drive off on their honeymoon.

Mr John Sillifant and his bride-to-be, Miss Gael Scott, due to be married today, discovered the mangled tent flapping in the wind

and draped over the car at their wedding on the weekend.

The tent burst into flames, blowing away the windscreen and boot and scattering the couple's belongings.

Miss Scott believes what happened was a bad omen for the wedding.

The tent also blew away the wall and the roof.

Mr Sillifant says the hiring company was not insured and they had to pay for the damage.

Talks bid for 'volkstaat'

ORANIA. — The Afrikaner Vryheidstiging (Avstig) is to apply to join multi-party negotiations in an effort to have the Orania area in the central Cape declared a homeland (volkstaat). (301A)

Avstig chairman Prof Carel Boshoff said the organisation had held its first citizens' meeting in Orania yesterday to appoint a citizens' council (burgerraad) to oversee constitutional and industrial development in the proposed homeland.

Prof Boshoff said Avstig was convinced Orania, already a whites-only settlement, complied with all the prerequisites for a homeland.

Avstig was submitting petitions to be allowed to join the multi-party negotiations.

The citizens' council would order committees to report on the homeland's constitutional, agricultural and industrial development, Prof Boshoff said. — Sapa

CT 6/4/93

Elections this year — Buthelezi

3649 CT 7/14/73

LONDON. — Multi-racial elections in South Africa are possible within the year, Inkatha leader Chief Mangosuthu Buthelezi said here yesterday.

Chief Buthelezi told BBC Television's 'Africa Today' that he was hopeful for the

future of South Africa. "I think that all of us would like to have elections by next year, and I expect that by September, as far as I am concerned, we will have elections," he said. "I am hopeful because the multi-party talks have started."

Chief Buthelezi, who is in London to receive newspaper awards, expressed concern about the violence in South Africa, saying that he was being sidelined from the talks for a non-racial democracy. "There is a civil war in South Africa. While I was sleeping in London last night 10 people were killed. It is going on all the time and clearly we can't get on top of the violence," he said. Chief Buthelezi also denied that he was trying to break away and set up an independent Zulu state. — Sapa-Reuter

Cosag group 'basis for Savimbi option'

DURBAN. — The Concerned South Africans Group (Cosag) could be the basis for a "Savimbi option" after democratic elections, the ANC's Natal Midlands deputy chairman Mr Blade Nzimande said yesterday.

CF 71458
Speaking to about 3 000 supporters at a Solomon Mahlangu commemoration rally here, he said IFP leader Chief Mangosuthu Buthe's "federal alliance" should be taken seriously as potential spoilers after democratic elections. "The IFP is armed and controls the KwaZulu Police."

He said the IFP leader was trying to gain participation for the Zulu King in constitutional talks as a fall-back position to demand recognition for King Goodwill Zwelithini and the Zulu kingdom should he lose the elections. — Sapa (304A) (2A)

Forum to discuss SA

PRESIDENT F.W. de Klerk, Foreign Minister P.W. Botha and Constitutional Development Minister Roelf Meyer are scheduled to address a forum organised by the US-based Aspen Institute in Cape Town tomorrow. (200/1)

The forum includes leading SA politicians, Clinton administration officials and US senators and congressmen. The discussion, which is expected to affect US policy towards SA — will focus on the US's role in SA's transition.

NEWS IN BRIEF

8/10/92
Govt strategy review

PRESIDENT F W de Klerk began a private two-day strategy review with Cabinet colleagues after crisis talks on political violence with ANC leader Nelson Mandela in Cape Town on Monday.

A government official yesterday said De Klerk had left for a meeting of Ministers and Deputy Ministers at an undisclosed venue near Cape Town. Cabinet would review policies and strategies ahead of the April 19 start of negotiations.

Late charge before VAT increase

3048

ARC 7/4/93

ANDREA WEISS
Staff Reporter

SHOPPERS took advantage of the last few hours before VAT rose to 14 percent — with the big items enjoying priority.

Although the rain may have put a bit of a damper on sales, there was evidence that people looking for new motor cars or household items were making sure they had made their purchases by today.

Mr Graham Jamieson, manager of Friendly Ford in Diep River, said things had been "chaotic" there with 30 cars having been sold since the weekend.

"People are spending a lot of money. Anything that is available is being sold," he said.

Mr Christo Steenkamp, manager of Giddys in Bellville, specialising in household items, said quite a few customers had turned out to buy fridges, eye-level ovens and bedsets before 14-percent VAT was introduced.

Giddys in Mitchell's Plain said it was business as usual.

Supermarkets on the other hand reported busy "but normal trade".

At Pick'n Pay, Claremont, most customers appeared to be filling their shopping baskets with the usual household items, the manager said.

Mr Barry Martin, manager of the Ottery Hypermarket, said many people were asking which items were VAT free, but added that the "weather is a bit of a damper".

At the Dions store in Wynberg, where a 10-percent discount was on offer, there were "quite a few feet in the store", the manager said.

The manager of Bradlows in Claremont said sales had certainly picked up prior to the VAT increase.

People were concentrating on large items such as dining-room suites, hi-fi sets and televisions, where the four-percent increase would show, rather than smaller ornaments.

Racism goes back a long way Van der Velde

ARC 714/93 (3544)

Staff Reporter

THE roots of racism lay deep in South African history; it was not the prerogative of the National Party in 1948, Mayor of Cape Town, Mr Frank van der Velde, said at a Founders' Day ceremony in the Civic Centre on the Foreshore.

He said the indigenous people of the Cape Peninsula, the San and Khoi-Khoi, were denuded of their land and cattle by press-ganged sailors who disregarded strict bartering controls, and later by the free burghers.

Van Riebeeck himself owned 18 slaves.

"I mention these points in the early history of the Cape lest we forget when we one-sidedly idealise history."

"Racism was not merely the prerogative of the National Party in 1948 but its roots lie deeper in our history," Mr Van der Velde told the about 100 people who attended the ceremony.

South Africans had to be honest in their recording of history.

"Unless we do and are mature enough to face the past and lay the ghosts of the past we will not be able to build the future nation we so desperately seek."

Founders' Day was in celebration of thousands of years of contribution by the indigenous people, the European and Oriental settlers, many other nations and the Christian, Muslim and Jewish religions, woven into "the wonderful tapestry that is Cape Town," the mayor said.

ANC faces big slog to educate the voters

304A
AUG 11/4/93

The date for the country's first non-racial election has yet to be set, but the major political parties are already making preparations to contest that poll. Argus Correspondent KAIZER NYATSUMBA speaks to one of the ANC's campaign "generals".

The former United Democratic Front luminary Popo Simon Molefe might not be hogging newspaper headlines any longer, but he has been hard at work — as a backroom boy preparing the African National Congress for South Africa's first all-in elections, expected within a year.

Mr Molefe, who heads the ANC's election commission, is quite aware of the onerous responsibility that lies on his shoulders, and those of colleague Patrick "Terror" Lekota. But he says he welcomes the challenge.

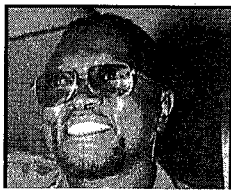
He is eager to talk about his work, but has to keep an eye on his watch because not only does he have another meeting after the interview, but he is also leaving for Switzerland in the evening to raise funds for the ANC.

It is already evident that precisely how well the ANC performs in the elections will depend to a great extent on Mr Molefe and his fellow workers. The organisation fully expects, as the oldest anti-apartheid standard-bearer, to reap the voting benefits of having struggled against the hated system for so long. But Mr Molefe also concedes another obvious truth — that thanks to apartheid, the overwhelming majority of South Africans have no experience in voting or campaigning for elections.

It is his job to see that the ANC's structures are developed for the robust campaigning that lies ahead.

It is one thing to enjoy emotional support; entirely another to translate that into crosses on ballot papers on the day that matters.

ANC organisational infrastructures are inadequate, says Mr Molefe — and money, as the saying goes, is too tight to mention.



MAN WITH A MISSION:
The ANC's Popo Molefe
... trying to persuade people to obtain IDs.

Mr Molefe estimates that the ANC will need between R168 million to R200 million for the elections, and he is cautiously optimistic that that amount will be raised before the elections are held.

The budget will go towards voter education training, the production of propaganda literature, transport, and the setting up of organisational infrastructure in 84 ANC sub-regions in addition to the 14 existing regions, according to Mr Molefe.

He says R5 million is in the bag so far, and the ANC expects to raise at least 20 percent of the targeted figure locally. "This is because we rely heavily on the poor, and business has not been a friend of the ANC," Mr Molefe says.

The bulk of the money will be raised internationally, where the ANC has many fund-raising structures.

Methodically, Mr Molefe explains that the work for the election has already begun, and says he believes the problems which lie ahead are by no means insurmountable.

The ANC, he says, is putting the finishing touches to its campaign plans, and has begun training people who will implement it. So far the organisation has held 17 workshops, 14 of them in the PWV area and only one in the Coloured community.

The organisation has also held one national seminar and four regional ones to discuss implementation of strategy. This, Molefe says, involves the training of election co-ordinators at local level.

He says workshops have so far covered 10 of the ANC's 14 regions, and he is confident this initial process will have been completed nationwide by the end of this month.

But a vast amount of work still awaits.

His commission plans to train at least five people to be "specialist co-ordinators" in every branch of the ANC, and would like to have three trained monitors at each polling station. He estimates there will be between 7 000 and 10 000 polling stations for the historic elections for a constituent assembly and Government of National Unity and Reconstruction.

The ambition of Mr Molefe and his colleagues is breathtaking. They plan to have 180 000 election volunteers who will serve as "foot soldiers" — and to have one volunteer for every 100 voters.

To this end, the ANC is engaged in "an intensive voter education campaign", and is using the services of "neutral organisations" like Matla Trust, the Centre for Policy Studies and the Institute for a Democratic Alternative for South Africa for voter education.

Mr Molefe estimates that 4.5 million black South Africans do not have identity documents.

He hopes that by the time the elections are held the ANC will have persuaded most of these people to obtain IDs, but says those who will still be without these documents would have to be given uniform voter cards to be issued by an independent election commission.

That said, the busy Mr Molefe looks at his watch and says: "I have only one political statement to make."

"For us the coming elections are a continuation of the struggle to end apartheid and to transform our society so that we can deliver a better life to the majority of the disadvantaged."

MECs get R146 000 in pay and perks

Political Correspondent

THE Cape's six MECs earn just over R146 000 a year each, and four of them get up to R3 998 a month extra for living in State-owned homes.

The MECs get a salary of R113 688, plus an allowance of R32 328.

Details were given in reply to questions by Democratic Party MP Mr Eddie Tyant.

Depending on duration of service, an MEC's retirement package amounts to a pension equivalent to his annual salary, plus a gratuity equal to twice his annual salary.

Eight luxury vehicles and seven chauffeurs meet the official transport needs of the Administrator and the six MECs. These may not be used by their wives or for private purposes.

The Province has four houses, worth more than R4.1 million, for use by MECs. All four are occupied.

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ADMINISTRATOR Mr Kobus Meiring said in reply to questions that 386 provincial officials had lost their jobs in the past year because of the shortage of funds.

Of these, 241 were in the roads and traffic administration and 81 in the health and

hospitals service.

The CPA now employed 61 420 people while 5 768 posts were vacant.

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THE MEC in charge of welfare services and community development, Mr Kumba Nyant, appealed for a "comprehensive youth strategy" to cope with the terrible aftermath of the struggle and its disastrous consequences.

He added: "Our youth have been subjected to the most harrowing pressures, demands and sacrifices imaginable during the past decade and a half."

It would be useless to "point fingers at any group". The key issue was that something positive had to be done.

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MOST of the Cape's 54 museums either ignored or did not adequately represent the cultural-historical heritage of people of colour, said the MEC in charge of museums and library services, Mr Deon Adams.

This had led to suspicion in black communities and, as a result, museums often had difficulty acquiring artefacts.

Mr Adams also raised the prospect of the responsibility for running museums being

devolved to local authorities in future because of the heavy demand on State resources for meeting socio-economic needs.

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DEMOCRATIC PARTY MP for Pinelands Mr Jasper Walsh warned that an unsatisfactory negotiation process at local government level in terms of the unpopular and controversial Interim Measures on Local Government Act could lead to violence.

He said non-racism at local government level could not be achieved merely by amalgamating existing white councils and coloured management committees, while excluding black communities.

The status of the Act should be clarified as a matter of urgency.

The existing Local Government Negotiating Forum should be altered to accommodate all parties.

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THE Cape's health and hospital service treated 639 new AIDS cases and readmitted 330 during the past year. The service treated 2 620 AIDS out-patients.

TB patients being treated throughout the province total 25 632.

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TWENTY-NINE agreements between white and coloured local councils for joint local authority distribution have been approved in terms of the Interim Measures for Local Government Act, says Administrator Mr Kobus Meiring.

A further 12 agreements between white and black local authorities outside the ambit of the Act — had been approved but 12 other agreements had been turned down.

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MINIBUS taxi drivers were responsible for 8 791 traffic offences during the past year.

Of these, 4 612 led to the payment of admission of guilt fines and 326 to court cases. In 2 866 cases, charges were withdrawn by the State.

There were 690 accidents involving minibuses taxis in the Cape over the past year.

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THE Cape leader of the Conservative Party, Mr Jan Hoon, accused the National Party of creating ANC-dominated regional governments in the Western and Eastern Cape. He said most of the 28 million black residents in the Peninsula and most of the 16 million squatters the ANC, when Cape supported the ANC,

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\$15m kick-start for new development foundation

LINDA ENSOR

CAPE TOWN — International financier and US billionaire George Soros has donated \$15m for the establishment of an Open Society Foundation in SA. The foundation was launched last night.

Soros has established 19 similar foundations in eastern Europe. The foundations are involved in a broad range of programmes including education, institution building and media development.

He is president of the New York-based Soros Fund Management and is chief investment adviser to Quantum Fund, a \$2.5bn international investment fund which has had the best performance record in the world during its 23-year history.

Soros said his investment in SA was an expression of his hope and confidence in the country's future. "The building blocks for a successful transition are there — the process is well under control."

This was in contrast to his feeling in 1979 when he considered and rejected the idea of establishing a foundation in the country which then seemed like a "vale of tears".

Priority projects for the foundation would include training a new cadre of civil servants for a new government and fostering the plurality and professionalism of a free Press which Soros regarded as vital for an open society.

His investment had a strict three-

year limit to ensure the speedy use of the funds in practical projects which assisted in the creation of a new society after which the foundation would have to dissolve.

Political analyst and Idasa trustee Van Zyl Slabbert was appointed chairman of the foundation's board of directors. Other members of the board include Fikile Bam, Alex Boraine, Anthony Heard, Rhoda Kadalle, Mamphele Ramphele, Kehla Shubane, Peter Sullivan and Helen Zille.

Slabbert said the foundation would promote political pluralism and individual liberty under the rule of law and the acceptance of legitimate dissent and of civil society as a strong, pluralistic and autonomous institution. These values would be translated into practical projects during the transition.

"The underlying philosophy of the foundation will be to anticipate what a transforming state will have to do in order to transform society and to provide role models for this."

He said the projects would be more long-term and enduring than those directed to short-term transitional objectives such as voter education.

One aim would be to provide rural women with skills to enable them to transcend the cycle of poverty and the system of triple discrimination under which they suffered.

Swiss-SA pilot swap 'a poor decision politically'

BERN — Swiss secret exchange programme involving Swiss and SA pilots in the '80s, when SA was still under apartheid rule, was "negative" for Swiss foreign policy, Swiss Defence Minister Kaspar Villiger said on Monday.

Instructions had been issued so that such a decision — taken by air force chiefs without informing the Swiss defence ministry — would not happen again.

Villiger said the programme — from 1982 to 1988 — involving three Swiss and six SA pilots had been a technically useful experience, and international law had not been broken, but the decision made no political sense.

The Zurich newspaper Tages Anzeiger reported on Monday that the Swiss aimed to obtain information about Soviet MiG aircraft during the exchanges.

The newspaper, quoting a military officer, said the SA Air Force, which had fought against Cubans in Angola and Angolans "provided Switzerland with details on the flight behaviour of the Soviet fighters".

The Citizen newspaper published a photograph on Monday of a Swiss-made Pilatus training plane with SAAF markings flying over the Alps and said the picture was taken "in Switzerland last year".

The UN recently asked Switzerland to ban the planned export to SA of 60 Pilatus trainer aircraft.

Pilatus, which is part of the Oerlikon-Buehler armaments group, announced the sacking of director Walter Gubler after media reports that the company sold its planes to several countries knowing that they would be converted for military use. — Sapa-AFP.

Beuthin to call McCauley

SUNAN RUSSELL

A RAND Supreme Court judge authorised the issuing of subpoenas on Monday to evangelist Ray McCauley and the SAP's Brig "Blikkies" Blignaut as witnesses for Gary Beuthin in a bail application.

Beuthin told the judge that McCauley and Blignaut were among 10 witnesses he would call.

Beuthin, who has been in custody since his arrest last May, notified the court of his intention to apply for bail during his trial last week. He has pleaded not guilty to charges of kidnapping and attempting to murder Jill Reeves, 33, in May last year.

Beuthin was brought back into court at his own request on Thursday after his trial had continued without him for three days.

The bail plea and trial, before different judges, continue on Tuesday.

Government tender spot

PRETORIA. — While the government is making soothing noises about hopes for a peaceful settlement, it seems to be preparing for alternative scenarios.

In a notice published here, the government has invited tenders for "2 000 gas-mask filter canisters".

It has also invited tenders for "56 800 printed targets".

Whether these are shooting range targets, dart boards, or dwarf-tossing competition targets the notice does not specify.

Tenders are to be submitted to the Procurement Administration.

Sapa

(2049)

'Looming anarchy' a test for new SA rulers

Own Correspondent

DURBAN. — The question of who exercises power in the new South Africa would become irrelevant in the face of "looming anarchy", according to visiting Canadian sociology lecturer Professor Heribert Adam.

Prof Adam was addressing lecturers, staff and students at the University of Durban-Westville.

He said any power guaranteeing a semblance of order and safety was better than the "descent into barbarism" seen in Yugoslavia, Angola and Somalia.

Prof Adam added that although the ANC would find itself in government,

it was unlikely to exercise much clout.

In a lecture titled "The Negotiated Revolution in South Africa", Prof Adam said the ANC's "certain victory in the first non-racial election" will give Mr Nelson Mandela's movement the right to rule, but does not bestow power.

"Life in the new South Africa goes on as before, but with a transitional government of greater legitimacy. Whether stability and development result from this settlement remains to be seen," Prof Adam said.

He predicted the National Party would muster about 25% of the vote, the ANC 45% and Inkatha 10%.

Nats stand alone on

dune mining

Own Correspondent

MARITZBURG — The ANC and the Conservative Party became strange bedfellows yesterday when they and the other opposition members in the extended parliamentary sitting banded together to challenge the Government's alleged support for dune mining at St Lucia. (344)

ANC MP Rob Haswell (Pietmaritzburg South) challenged the National Party to put the issue to a vote, but this was rejected by the Speaker.

It is likely that a vote against mining would have been passed with 12 NP members in the House facing 20 members of the ANC, DP, CP, IFP, Solidarity Party, Labour Party and National People's Party. (344)

DP MP Mike Ellis (Durban North) demanded that the NP come clean on the issue. "I am concerned that members of the NP made up their minds to support mining long before the environmental impact assessment (EIA) came out." (344)

CP representative Joseph Chiloe (Pretoria West) said the CP rejected the EIA — which favoured mining — as biased.

Moguls of intrigue and chicanery outlasted

TWENTY-EIGHT years after he should have got the job, Ntsu Mokhehle was sworn in last week as Prime Minister of Lesotho.

The scant attention South Africa paid to the event is evidence once again of how shallow our understanding is of our own history and what we have done to people and countries in this region. For it was Pretoria's dirty tricks that kept Mokhehle out of power for so long, inflicting dictatorship and much death on his little country in the process.

The apartheid Government feared Mokhehle because of his close ties to the ANC. He was born in what was then the Basutoland Protectorate, but went to Fort Hare University in 1942 where he met Nelson Mandela and Oliver Tambo and joined the ANC Youth League which they formed there. Later he became close to Ghana's Kwame Nkrumah and absorbed many of his Pan-Africanist ideas.

There can be no doubt that the Basutoland Congress Party which Mokhehle founded in 1952 has all along been the popular party in Lesotho. In January 1960 it emerged from decades of district councils under the British colonial system with 73 of the 162 seats,

making it by far the largest party. In indirect elections that followed, the BCP won 32 of the 40 elected seats in the Legislative Council.

Alarmed, the Nat government resolved to prevent this friend of the ANC from gaining power when Lesotho became independent in 1965. As the exposure of the Information Department scandal revealed 15 years later, Pretoria poured money, vehicles and other aid into the election campaign of Chief Leabua Jonathan's Basutoland National Party.

With the help of the Catholic Church, which wields great influence in Lesotho and to its shame joined the campaign, the stop-just. Jonathan won 31 of the 60 seats in the new parliament. He became Pretoria's puppet Prime Minister. Those old enough will remember how the portly Basotho chief became the first black tender to meet a South African premier when he called on Dr Verwoerd to express his thanks, and later met John Vorster as well.

At the next election five years later it was clear that the Basotho voters were going to throw Jonathan out and bring in the BCP. But again it was not to be. Backed



Allister Sparks

meets by establishing relations with Cuba and the Soviet Union, allowing ANC refugees freer access to Lesotho, and becoming more critical of South Africa.

It produced a sharp reaction. South Africa, now under the Rancho leadership of PW Botha, tried to pressure Jonathan back into line. Throughout Lesotho — a bomb exploded in the Hilton Hotel, another at the Holiday Inn, yet another at the airport. Sadly, Mokhehle himself succumbed to opportunism at this time, and in a kind of machiavellian double deal got help from South Africa to wage a low-level guerrilla operation to destabilise the Jonathan regime. It was not his finest hour.

In December 1982 a South African commando raid blitzed through the little capital of Maseru, petrol-bombing and machine-gunning houses and apartments, killing 42 people and wounding many more. It was intended as a terror attack against ANC members, but 11 of those killed were local Basotho.

Eighteen months later, as Jonathan remained obdurate, Foreign Minister Pik Botha and his deputy, Louis Nel, met a group of dissi-

dent Basotho politicians led by one Phisoa Ramaema, and offered to fund them if they would form a new political party, the United Democratic Alliance, to oust Jonathan in elections expected later that year.

It is worth pausing here to note what a long track record the Nats have of secretly funding political organisations from Jonathan to Bishop Abel Muzorewa in Zimbabwe to Chaelane to the DTA in Namibia, to Inkatha and beyond. Knows who else All the while proclaiming themselves to be upholders of the principle of non-interference in other countries' domestic affairs.

At all events the Chaelane play flopped. Jonathan called no election and carried on as before. So South Africa got tougher. In January 1988 the army mounted a massive blockade of Lesotho's borders, much as it is doing to Transkei now, and after three weeks the Jonathan Government fell in a military coup.

Pretoria's old friend, General Lekhanya, took over. It was another tawdry time.

The night of the coup two of Jonathan's ministers who were perceived to be particularly close to the ANC, Desmond Sixshe, a

former journalist and long-time friend of mine, and Vincent Makhele, were taken from their homes, with their wives, to remote Bushman's Pass in the Maluti Mountains and butchered.

But Lekhanya's cruelty caught up with him. Three years later he shot and killed a student at Maseru's agricultural college in an incident involving a young woman. He claimed he was saving the woman from rape, but few people other than the timid magistrate believed him. Unpopular and discredited, Lekhanya was quietly replaced by General Phisoa Ramaema as head of the Military Council.

It is Ramaema who agreed to return to civilian rule with the election that has now brought Ntsu Mokhehle, at the age of 74, to power at last.

It may be that, like justice, democracy delayed is democracy denied. But at least there is a certain satisfaction at seeing the moguls of intrigue and chicanery outlasted in the end. □

● Allister Sparks is visiting Australia. His weekly column will resume in May.



George Soros . . . launches a R45 million fund to promote democracy in South Africa.



On the fund's board . . . Tony Heard, Mamphele Ramphele, Alex Boraine and Peter Sullivan.

I'm just an ordinary man, claims philanthropist Soros

Own Correspondent

CAPE TOWN — Before "Black Wednesday" last September, when George Soros netted R5 billion in the financial coup that plunged Britain into a currency crisis, the international financier and philanthropist had spent most of his life as "an ordinary human being", he claimed in Cape Town this week.

But since yanking the rug from under the Bank

of England and almost single-handedly bringing down sterling, he has become an instant celebrity.

The 62-year-old financier told the Cape Town Press Club: "I have become something of a media personality as a result of Black Wednesday, but I have spent most of my life as an ordinary human being.

It is in his capacity as an international philanthropist and democrat, not as a speculator, that he is in South Africa — specifically to launch a R45 million fund to promote democracy in the country.

The Open Society Foundation, which was launched in Cape Town this week, will get the money over a three-year stretch — and there may be more in the offing if all goes well. And he firmly believes it will.

The South African foundation is one of a network of 18 worldwide. He founded the Open Society Fund in 1979, the Soros Foundation in Hungary in 1984 and the Soros Foundation in the then Soviet Union in 1987. They were designed to help provide the infrastructure and institutions for open societies and to support a variety of educational, cultural and economic restructuring activities.

The foundations seek to provide educational opportunities for individuals, to encourage reform of the educational

system and to support the revision of economic structure to encourage private enterprise and a market economy.

"I set up an open society fund when I came to feel that I had made more money than what was good for me . . . I really cared about the concept of an open society, having grown up in Hungary as a Jew in the '30s and living through the Nazi occupation.

Ironically, his first effort was in South Africa in 1981. "I set up scholarships for black students but withdrew in 1983 because I felt the situation was hopeless as a very efficient machinery of oppression was in power."

However, he now believes South Africa's moment of "great hope and possibility" has arrived.

"I followed events in South Africa from a distance and I felt it was time for me to do something.

"But I did not have the energy to deal with it. So I have found people here to carry on with the job," he said.

The chairman of the new fund is Dr Van Zyl Slabbert, policy director of Idasa, which is to administer the fund.

The board of the fund also includes Idasa's Dr Alex Boraine, Tony Heard, Peter Sullivan, Helen Zille and Dr Mamphele Ramphele.

Soros said he did not expect the board to act as trustees but they

were in charge of the fund's money and were to "treat it as their own".

"I hope that the funds will be committed with due speed as a lot of things need to be accomplished."

"I have a certain perspective on what is going on in the country and it strikes me as being more hopeful than that in Russia."

Soros believed South Africa had the transition process "under control" and as long as it did not relinquish this, it had a chance at success.

One of the first question put to him after he had addressed the Cape Town Press Club was if he had any investment tips to share.

"No," the unequivocal reply shot back.

Known as one of the world's most successful investors, Soros is president of Soros Fund Management and chief investment adviser to Quantum Fund NV, an international investment fund which is generally recognised as having had the best performance record in the world during its 25-year history.

The author of three books, *The Alchemy of Finance*, *Opening of the Soviet System* and *Underwriting Democracy*, Soros has also received honorary doctorates from the University of Oxford, the Budapest University of Economics, Yale University and the New York School for Social Research.

DP warns of 'more secrets'

MARITZBURG. — Democratic Party MP Mr Kobus Jordaan would release more secret information on political figures if they tried to undermine the negotiating process, he said yesterday.

He was replying, in the parliamentary provincial committee on Natal in Maritzburg, to a demand from the IFP that he release all information on his

claims that Inkatha Central Committee member Mr Walter Felgate could be an NIS spy "or shut up".

Mr Felgate flatly denied the spy allegations yesterday.

Referring to last week's break-in at his Umhlanga home, during which intruders apparently searched his papers, Mr Jordaan said he was not scared for his safety. (Sapa) (Sapa)

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"Why must I be personally scared? I have come a long way with this thing."

He said he had been a victim of a similar break-in in Pretoria a few years ago.

On Tuesday the DP MP for Durban North, Mr Peter Gastrow, told the committee he believed the break-in was related to Mr Jordaan's spy allegations.

— Sapa, Own Correspondent

Star 8/4/93

Sage chief appointed to crucial Cabinet post

By Michael Chester (304A)

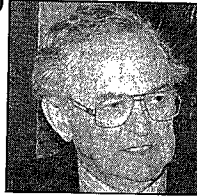
President de Klerk yesterday named Johannesburg businessman Louis Shill as head of a new drive to find solutions to the low-cost housing crisis.

Shill (62), chairman and chief executive of the Sage Insurance and property empire, becomes Minister of National Housing and Public Works on June 1.

He faces the task of tackling an overhaul of the administration of housing affairs — which has been under criticism because of fragmentation caused by the tricameral system. He said he would resign from all Sage board appointments on May 31 to devote attention to his new Cabinet role.

Shill, who was born in Witbank in 1930, studied at the University of the Witwatersrand and at Stanford University in the United States.

A chartered accountant,



Shill . . . new Minister.

he was one of the founders of Liberty Life in the 1950s and in 1965 was a founder and first chief executive of the pioneering unit trust in South Africa, the Sage Fund. He established the Sage Group in 1969.

He has volunteered to fill the Cabinet post until the next general election.

● The new chairman at Sage will be Gerard Steinmetz, former senior executive director of the Rembrandt tobacco and liquor conglomerate.

Louis Shill quits Sage to join the Cabinet

81200 8/4/93
SAGE Group chairman and CE Louis Shill has been appointed National Housing and Public Works Minister.

Announcing the appointment yesterday, President F W de Klerk said the move would strengthen private sector representation in government.

Shill, whose appointment to the newly created department surprised observers, pledged speedy action to remove bottlenecks in the provision of housing.

When announcing his recent Cabinet reshuffle, De Klerk said government considered urbanisation and housing to be of critical importance.

De Klerk said Shill had indicated that he

TIM COHEN

would be available for public office from June 1 until the next general election.

Shill, who has been part of the National Housing Forum and the national economic forum while a representative of the Life Offices' Association, said he would contribute a private sector perspective to the job.

Asked whether it was possible to make a meaningful contribution in a single year, Shill said medium- and long-term planning needed to be done, but more importantly it was necessary for houses actually to be built as a matter of urgency.

Anxious that no conflict of interest

should arise, Shill said he would resign from all his posts. He would return to the group after his term.

Shill said he was confident of the support of the Finance ministry.

The Sage board said it had agreed Shill would be released from all duties in the group during his term, recognising that the private sector should assist wherever possible "at this vital juncture".

The Sage Group announced that recently retired Rembrandt Group senior executive director Gerard Steinmetz would assume chairmanship of the group on June 1.

● Picture: Page 3
● Comment: Page 6



Mr George Soros

SHARON SOROUR (304) Staff Reporter

BEFORE "Black Wednesday" last September, when George Soros netted \$5 billion in the financial coup that plunged Britain into a currency crisis, the international financier and philanthropist spent most of his life as "an ordinary human being".

Now, after having yanked the rug from under the Bank of England, almost single-handedly bringing down sterling, he has become an instant media celebrity.

The 62-year-old financier told the Cape Town Press Club: "I have become something of a media personality as a result of Black Wednesday, but I have spent most of my life as an ordinary human being."

"A few years ago I wanted to keep a low profile, but 'Black Wednesday' has helped greatly to promote my foundations."

And it is in his capacity as an international philanthropist and democrat, not a speculator, that he is in South Africa, specifically to launch a \$50 million fund to promote democracy.

The Open Society Foundation, which was launched in Cape Town this week, will get the money over three years and there may be more in the offering if all goes well. And he firmly believes it will.

South Africa's "foundation" is one of a network of 18 worldwide, mostly in central and eastern European countries. He founded the Open Society Fund in 1979, the Soros Foundation in Hungary in 1984 and the Soros Foundation in the then Soviet Union in 1987.

His foundations are designed to help build the infrastructure and institutions of an open society and to support a variety of educational, cultural and economic restructuring activities.

They seek to provide educational opportunities for individuals, to encourage reform of the educational system and to support the revision of economic structure to encourage private enterprise and a market economy.

"I set up an open society fund when I came to feel that I had made more money than was good for me... I really cared about the concept of an open society, having grown up in Hungary as a Jew in the 1930s and lived through the Nazi occupation."

"I also had a taste of a communist regime and I might have wasted my life, like so many other people have, had I not taken leave of Hungary," said Mr Soros, who lives in London for some of the year and in New York for the remainder.

His first philanthropic effort was in South Africa in 1981.

"I set up scholarships for black students but withdrew in 1983 because I felt the situation was hopeless as very efficient machinery of oppression was in power." But he now believes South Africa's moment of "great hope and possibility" has arrived.

The chairman of the new fund is Dr Frederik van Zyl Stabbert, policy director of Idasa, which will administer the fund.

The board of the fund also includes Idasa's Dr Alex Boraine, Mr Tony

'Moment of great hope' has arrived in S Africa

AR 4/8/93

Heard, Mr Peter Sullivan, Ms Helen Zille and Dr Mamphela Ramphele.

Mr Soros said he did not expect the board to act as "trustees", but they were in charge of the fund's money and were to "treat it as their own".

He added: "The fund is a temporary thing. Instead of building up a foundation, the board should work to building up the society. I am very hopeful the foundation will make a contribution."

The foundation could look at pluralism and professionalism in the media, and the University of the Western Cape's school of government would be high on the list of beneficiaries.

The fund would concentrate on the quality of black education.

"I hope that the funds will be committed with due speed as a lot of things need to be accomplished. I have a certain perspective on what is going on in the country and it strikes me as being more hopeful than the situation in Russia."

Mr Soros believed South Africa had the transition process "under control" and as long as it did not run out of control, it had a chance of success.

Speaking about the concept of an open society, Mr Soros said the greatest lesson to be learnt from events in Eastern Europe was that the collapse of an oppressive system did not automatically lead to the establishment of an open society where people were free.

"It's more complex and sophisticated. Transition is not automatic unless there is constructive evolution, and it is more likely to fall into another tyranny or anarchy, which has been the case in the Soviet Union."

An open society did not come about by itself.

One of the first questions put to him after he addressed the Press Club was whether he had any investment tips to share. "No," the unequivocal reply shot back to the amusement of the audience.

Known as one of the world's most successful investors, Mr Soros is president of Soros Fund Management and chief investment adviser to Quantum Fund NV, a \$2.5 billion international investment fund which is generally recognised as having had the best performance record in the world during its 23-year history.

Described as a "hugely significant man", Mr Soros was born in Budapest in 1930, emigrated to England in 1947 and graduated from the London School of Economics in 1952. He moved to the United States four years later.

He founded the Central European University in Budapest and Prague in 1990.

The author of three books, *The Alchemy Of Finance*, *Opening Of The Soviet System* and *Underwriting Democracy*, Mr Soros has also received honorary doctorates from the University of Oxford, the Budapest University of Economics, Yale University and the New York School for Social Research.

But to get back to the "Black Wednesday" currency buy-out, Mr Soros said he had spent more time talking about it and explaining it than actually doing it.

"It was done in the normal course of business. It was very unusual but the risk was very limited."

Meiring apologises (304)

Political Correspondent

MR KOBUS MEIRING has apologised in parliament for the effects of apartheid.

"Personally, and on behalf of the CPA, I will gladly apologise," he said in reply to the budget debate.

He said the Province had never denied "the political actions of the past" and had always striven to meet the challenge to adapt to change.

Mr Meiring noted that "development in South Africa (in the past few decades) has been astounding" but that if this was "to the detriment of the underprivileged, it was wrong and I apologise for that".

He said he nevertheless firmly believed that the underprivileged in South Africa were "still better off than their counterparts in the rest of Africa".

of communism, expert - fate which SA had to avoid.

of the... players.

Road accidents expected to drain R7,8bn from economy

MOTOR vehicle collisions would cost the SA economy an estimated R7,8bn in 1992, a Directorate of Traffic Safety spokesman said yesterday.

"However, I must caution that the exact 1992 figures are not yet available, and the estimate was based on an inflated 1991 figure - which ran to R7,01bn," the spokesman added.

He said the estimated cost of collisions in 1992 averaged out to a loss of more than R28m every working day.

"This figure includes the repair and write-off bills for damaged vehicles, as well as the human costs, such as hospitalisation and loss of work."

Unlike similar surveys done in the US and UK, the directorate had not included "pain and suffering" costs in its estimates. "The human costs rise dramatically with the severity of the accident, taking up an increasing proportion of the total bill."

For example, every fatal collision cost an average R184,604 in 1991 (1990: R232,907), while the average cost of a minor accident ran to R9,754. The comparable costs for 1992 could be obtained by inflating the 1991 figures by about 11,5%.

ANDREW KHUMU

Meanwhile, according to the SA National Association of Automobile Manufacturers, the number of motor vehicles on SA roads totalled about 5,22-million in June 1991. Taken with the survey figures, which recorded 445,869 collisions in 1991, this meant about 6,5% of all vehicles were involved in accidents last year.

"This is significantly higher than the rest of the world, and appeared to remain so in 1992. Our fatality rate is 11,4 people per 100-million vehicle kilometres travelled. If you compare that to America, which had about 1,2 fatalities per 100-million vehicle kilometres, we still rank as a Third World country in terms of driver safety," the spokesman said.

The reason for the higher deaths was apparent in various "disobedience factors" such as speeding and the failure to wear seatbelts.

"We are trying to get it right. The directorate implemented a total traffic safety system on April 1 this year, which aims to decrease fatalities as well as collisions. The new system would be phased in over the next five years, he said.

Tourist accommodation grading awaits Bill

THEO RAWANA

THE new voluntary grading and classification scheme for tourist accommodation would be implemented by the Tourism Bill, which is expected to be introduced on July 1, Satoru men, Satoru standards.

The implementation of the Bill was the subject of a meeting of the Tourism Bill, which would replace mandatory regulations tabled during the last parliamentary session. The Bill will now be tabled during the next parliamentary session later this month," he said.

development, funding.

New SA 'will need to earn foreign investment'

LOYD COURTS

A SOCIALIST post-apartheid SA would follow most of sub-Saharan Africa into total economic marginalisation, German liberal Coun Ott-Lambert said in Johannesburg yesterday.

Lambert is chairman of Germany's Free Democratic Party and president of Liberal International. He told an SA Institute of Race Relations (SARR) meeting that foreign investment would come to SA only if the country followed sound economic policies and guaranteed democratic stability, not as a reward for the end of apartheid.

Liberals believed individuals who could not participate fully in the economic system of a country had to be protected through a national pension, a national health service and national unemployment scheme. "Where social and economic advantage do not rest on personal merits but on racial discrimination, they have to go. For this you will need an all-mighty state, but an efficient national government."

"A government, which does not wait for foreign money to pour into SA just because SA has overcome a racial dictatorship, I can tell you that foreign investment will not come to SA as a kind of moral reward for the end of apartheid."

"My East German fellow countrymen had to learn that there is no such a thing as a charitable investment. Foreign money will only come if SA follows sound economic policies and guarantees democratic stability."

Lambert said he did not see a post-apartheid SA as a centralised state governed like Namibia or Zimbabwe. Federalism, he said, could make an important contribution to maintaining peace, stability and democracy in the country.

He said federalism was not an easy device to escape strife and the unpleasant state of a society which had been based on racial discrimination.

"Federalism must be seen by the people as a successful road towards more participation in political life, healthy competition among political actors and policies and as the best way to preserve and even strengthen the fundamental richness of SA; the diversity of her peoples."

similar landing slots for the English winter aircraft of an

Squatter development has led to stability

Political Staff

THE development of squatter communities in Hout Bay and Noordhoek was leading to stability in the area, Administrator of the Cape Mr Kobus Meiring said yesterday.

In Noordhoek, a stable co-existence could be seen, he said during the debate in the Joint Committee on Provincial Af-

airs on the Cape.

"Crime has not increased and there are clear signs that light industries and small business undertakings are being established in the area."

Through the creation of jobs, a pool of knowledge, skills and education was acquired and ploughed back into the community, he said.

Talks: Firm stand taken by Cosag

MPEKWENI, Ciskei. — Members of the Concerned Southern Africans Group (Cosag) yesterday took a "firm joint stand" against "the way in which the South African government and the ANC are attempting to manipulate the negotiation process".

Cosag said after a meeting at Mpekweni in the Ciskei that it and "other friendly parties" unanimously condemned the process and would intensify joint efforts to fight the manipulations of the SA government/ANC, and to raise public awareness of the in which democratic procedure was being overboard. —

(304A)

LAST Saturday, I flew from Johannesburg to address a meeting in the heart of the Boland, at Worcester. I was met at DF Malan Airport by Kameraad Ben Willemse, wearing a T-shirt with the inscription, "Nou is die tyd. Stem ANC".

All of the proceedings of the meeting were in Afrikaans, and at one point the comrades rapped me over the knuckles because most of the publications produced by ANC head office are only available in English.

On holiday in Cape Town this week, I spent an evening discussing with the ANC's Kader Asmal and Reg September how to reach out to the many Afrikaners who are alienated from the National Party and are looking for a new political home. In the middle of an academic discussion, Asmal jumped up and insisted on playing us a recording of *Nkosi Sikelel' iAfrika* by the Libertas Choir of Stellenbosch.

The first part was in Xhosa, followed by Dirkie de Villiers' Afrikaans translation beautifully sung by the 900-strong choir: "Almagtige God seen Afrika ..."

"That is the way to reach people, show them there is a place for them, respect their language, encourage them to develop it and become part of a free and diverse country," Asmal said. "What is this nonsense that we will not allow people to develop their language and culture? No, we must encourage and support them."

Yet I feel uneasy writing about Afrikaners in the ANC.

Is it because my and other Afrikaners' presence in the ANC is still considered something strange and exceptional?

Is it because I feel so at home among my ANC comrades, while there were times when I was desperately unhappy at Wits University, where my Afrikaans accent and background was always noted — a reason for distrust and for me never being allowed to become fully part of the "white left"?

I think it is both, and because I am irritated by the incomprehension that there is a place for Afrikaners, like me, in the ANC.

I would say that the ANC is the only truly non-racial political organisation in South Africa — a remarkable achievement for an organisation that was so long the victim of white racism.

But having fought and struggled untiringly for that identity, is it so strange that the great ideals of the Freedom Charter also open the ANC's doors to Afrikaners? And that the ANC acknowledges that Afrikaners were never the sold implementors and benefactors of apartheid; and that Afrikaners are not inherently racist; and that there is a long Afrikaner history of anti-colonialism and freedom fighting?

Afrikaners cannot be left easily off the

I am an Afrikaner and the ANC is my home

W/ mail 8/4-15/4/93.



Carl Niehaus ... Afrikaners must confess their wrongs

CARL NIEHAUS keeps a model ox-wagon in his African National Congress office and listens to Afrikaans recordings of Nkosi Sikelel' iAfrika. It's only natural, he argues, because the ANC is the home of patriotic Afrikaners

hook. Our own anti-colonial struggle should have prevented us from becoming oppressors. Afrikaners have suffered the tragedy of thousands of women and children dying in the concentration camps.

We have to acknowledge and confess a history where Afrikaners, once having gained power, held on to it at all costs, and committed terrible crimes against humanity in the process. These wrongs must be confessed.

President FW de Klerk does Afrikaners a disservice by telling them that it is not necessary to do so. Afrikaners have to challenge themselves with the great changes that they have to make in order to become part of a

truly democratic society.

When they are prepared to do so, the doors stand fully open to them, and they will find that it is not expected of them to reject their own culture and language.

They will find there is an immense compatibility in the ANC with the love for the land, warm neighbourliness and close family ties that are so characteristic of Afrikaners.

Afrikaners will also find they have done themselves an immense disservice by trying to project an exclusive nationhood which excluded the majority of Afrikaans-speakers. Most Afrikaners have always known that the majority of those that speak the language are black, and yet they have tried to project a special character for Afrikaners as the language of white Afrikaners.

Ironically, those who erected these artificial walls are also those who now, for reasons of political expediency, are trying to bring Afrikaners and coloured people together in the NP.

Now that it is clear the NP will only be able to make a respectable showing in the elections if they are able to persuade sectors in the black community to vote for them, the cultural and language ties with the *bruin broers en susters* are suddenly recognised and cultivated.

The ANC provides a credible alternative for Afrikaners. Instead of pseudo-convictions and expediency, it offers the chance to join the majority of South Africans in the search for a truly South African identity and the building of a nation.

It is an organisation where the way you pronounce your "r's", or the colour of your skin are not the criteria. Your love and patriotic commitment are what count.

There is a model ox wagon in my ANC office. I have placed it there deliberately — and with pride. Visitors often pass remarks about it, but my ANC comrades never refer to it.

To them it is natural that it is there, as natural as I and other Afrikaners who joined the ANC; as natural as my comrades in Worcester flying me all the way from Johannesburg to address them, not because I am some strange Afrikaner apparition in the ANC, but because they are fed-up with all the English-speakers in the ANC who have difficulty in understanding, and because I speak Afrikaans as they do.

Why am I, who always insists that I am an Afrikaner, a member of the ANC?

Because I can drink with Reg September and Kader Asmal and together we get tears in our eyes while listening to the Libertas choir singing our national anthem in Xhosa and Afrikaans.

The ANC is my home. There can be no other.

By CHRIS LOUW
OUT feeling and instinct used to be the stuff of National Party politics. Now it is public relations and opinion polls.

As the political situation in South Africa changed from ethnic mobilisation to non-racial, "value-oriented" politics, the NP underwent a dramatic metamorphosis.

Gone are the days of "swart gevaar", "Boerestaat" and "Afrikaner survival", the handy catchphrases to these Afrikaners — the majority of white voters — late ethnic leader.

The age of television arrived and the National Party — somewhat belatedly after the period of 1990-1992 — Hertzog resistance adjusted accordingly. Few people understand

From bully boys to politics of PR

how President FW de Klerk managed to change his public image overnight from a "verkrampde" cabinet member to that of an international statesman. Actually, it is very easy: the small screen.

There was a real cutting off point from old-style NP politicking to the politics of public relations.

At the end of January, February 2 1990 speech De Klerk solicited the assistance of public relations consultants to help build his image.

In the early days of 1990 the new president would get colleagues to grill him, under harsh television spotlights,

about his policies. On a rotating basis they would ask all the questions that international media correspondents could possibly come up with, relieving each other while De Klerk was sweating it out.

The result was there for everyone to see. From a little known "apparatchik" De Klerk developed into the smooth, TV personality that he currently is.

The second leg of De Klerk's transformation was his dependence on opinion polls. Previously, the NP relied on bullying tactics — secure in the knowledge that its Afrikaner sup-

porters wouldn't desert it — but De Klerk and his colleagues increasingly used opinion polls to determine policy and abide by public perceptions.

The Human Sciences Research Council, with De Klerk's university mate Professor Tjaart van der Walt as head, initially did most of the polling. However, senior staff members revolted against Van der Walt, who was known to be an executive member of the Afrikaner Broederbond. In the end he was forced to resign from the HSRC.

Since the departure of Van der Walt the "De Klerk clique" in the NP

used other professional opinion polls to help them determine policy. The results of these polls were the main reason why the Meyer group in the NP has started building in some distance between itself and the Inkatha Freedom Party. Indications were that Inkatha enjoyed considerably less support among Zulus than previously thought.

Awareness of the importance of international perceptions is another tenet of De Klerk's approach to politics. Between itself and the Inkatha during the FW Botha era were often called the "Emperor" that he wasn't wearing clothes. De Klerk wants to know how he is perceived in Europe in order to adjust his actions.

FW's men: whisky pals and experts

WHEN President FW de Klerk needs advice, where does he get it? De Klerk depends on two kinds of colleagues: those he listens to and those he uses as sounding-boards for his ideas.

Those he listens to are primarily professional people and experts in their fields, while those whom he talks to are old friends, university mates and fellow members of the Gereformeerde Kerk, the smallest of the three Afrikaans Protestant churches whose members are known as "Doppers".

Doppers have the reputation of looking after one another's interests. De Klerk, the first Dopper head of state since Paul Kruger, is known to have appointed church members into senior positions in both the cabinet and the civil service. They also play an important role in influencing his policies.

But it is not only people that De Klerk relies on for information. What sets him apart from his predecessor, PW Botha, is the enormous influence he gives to scientific research and opinion polls to help him determine policy.

Botha's demise started when more than 100 Stellenbosch academics broke away from the National Party. De Klerk, on the other hand, takes intellectual advice seriously. He gets this from the National Intelligence Service, the Department of Constitutional Development, Human Sciences Research Council, independent opinion polls and, to a lesser degree, the Afrikaner Broederbond.

The role of the NIS in De Klerk's efforts to hold his own in the political battle with the African National Congress cannot be underestimated. It provides him with the resources of state that the ANC lacks. During the now-famous argument with Nelson Mandela at Codessa 1, for instance, shortly after Mandela sat down, word went to the NIS to scrutinise their files to counter Mandela's allegations of police collaboration in cases of violence. In the event, the information reached De Klerk too late.

The NIS has taken over where the Broederbond left off. Until recently, most of the research and future planning of the NP was done by the secretive Broederbond think-tank led by JP de Lange, a former editor of the Rand Afrikaans University and now ostensibly a freelance political consultant but in reality still a kind of "political scout" for government.

De Lange was one of the first "establishment" people to make contact with the ANC in the mid-1980s and is known to have reported back to government leaders on these meetings.

Another important Broederbond figure who keeps close contact with De Klerk is Professor Andreas van Wyk, rector-designate of the University of Stellenbosch. Van Wyk is the man who drew up the Broederbond's secret constitutional proposals which preceded the present negotiations process. These proposals bear a remarkable

There is a small — and varied — group of people who have the ear of the state president.
CHRIS LOUW reports on FW de Klerk's inner circle of advisors and confidants

able resemblance to the NP's "five-year plan" adopted in Bloemfontein shortly before De Klerk took over as government leader.

The haughty Van Wyk is known to be a personal friend of De Klerk's and is one of a diminishing number of Stellenboschers with a strong influence on government thought.

Recently the Broederbond itself seems to have lost some of its clout in government, however. Senior members complain that whereas previously the organisation generated ideas for government, now it serves as a rubber stamp to "sell" the NP's ideas to its rank and file.

One senior Broederbond member who still exercises some influence on De Klerk is Professor Tjaart van der Walt. A fellow Dopper and contemporary of De Klerk, the career of the highly intelligent Van der Walt has taken a nose-dive since the 1970s when he was appointed one of the youngest rectors in the history of the Potchefstroom University for Christian Higher Education.

Shortly after becoming chief of Afrikaans insurance giant Sanlam, Van der Walt was forced to resign by colleagues disgruntled with the quality of his work. De Klerk reportedly had a hand in arranging for Van der Walt to become president of the HSRIC in Pretoria, where he lasted slightly more than a year before again being forced to resign. De Klerk then appointed his old friend ambassador to Bophuthatswana.

De Klerk and Van der Walt see eye to eye on most things political and they are described as "whisky pals".

Inside parliament, one of De Klerk's most loyal supporters is former Springboks rugby captain and Minister of Public Enterprises Dawie de Villiers. De Klerk openly came out in support of de Villiers after the latter — then minister of trade and industry — was fired by Botha during his cabinet reshuffle in 1986. In the end De Villiers' honour was saved when he was granted a junior position as minister in the all-white House of Assembly.

When Chris Heunis took on De Klerk in the leadership stakes after Botha's resignation as state president, it was De Villiers, then the NP's Cape leader, who swung the scale in De Klerk's favour by swinging his 26 supporters behind the Transvaal man.

Although losing support in the Cape in favour of NP strongman Herries Kriel, De Villiers is still very close to



Mariké de Klerk ... Perceptive



Gerrit Viljoen ... FW's 'uncle'



Dawie de Villiers ... Always loyal



Amie Venter ... 'Whisky pal'



JP de Lange ... Broederbond link



Adrian Vlok ... Unlikely friend

De Klerk. De Klerk is not close to Kriel or Kobie Coetsee, another hardliner, but takes them seriously because of the party support they command.

According to observers, De Klerk's confidants in parliament can be divided into whisky pals and those whose advice he takes seriously.

The former group include Minister of State Spending Amie Venter, Constitutional Services Minister Adrian Vlok and Education and Training Minister Sam de Beer. Venter, the MP for Klerksdorp, is a Dopper, a fellow lawyer and, during their student days, was fired by Botha during his cabinet reshuffle in 1986. In the end De Villiers' honour was saved when he was granted a junior position as minister in the all-white House of Assembly.

When Chris Heunis took on De Klerk in the leadership stakes after Botha's resignation as state president, it was De Villiers, then the NP's Cape leader, who swung the scale in De Klerk's favour by swinging his 26 supporters behind the Transvaal man.

Although losing support in the Cape in favour of NP strongman Herries Kriel, De Villiers is still very close to

Klerk as a lawyer.

Former Minister Gerrit Viljoen plays the role of a wise old "uncle" to the president.

Others in the cabinet with a close ear to De Klerk include Constitutional Development Minister Roelf Meyer. The state president's relationship with Meyer, also a lawyer, has recently cooled, mainly because of enormous resistance in the NP to what is regarded as Meyer's "close" links with the ANC.

Rumours in parliament have it that Meyer's deputy, the conservative Fannus Schoeman, was appointed to "keep an eye" on him.

Labour Relations Minister Leon Wessels is another close confidant who has recently alienated himself from De Klerk, especially after seeming to take the Congress of South African Trade Unions' side against farmers earlier this year in a conflict over farmworker rights. In the end, De Klerk personally interfered in the matter, forcing Wessels to back down.

Whisky pals outside of parliament who have a strong influence on De Klerk include economist Mot Terrence, brother of maverick Stellenbosch professor Samie Terrenceblanche. While Samie Terrenceblanche has completely broken away from the NP, his brother is a family friend and golf partner of De Klerk's who is known to be "open doors" for him to the Afrikaners business community.

Other names that are mentioned in this category are Benardus de Gys Steyn and "Dik" David de Villiers, a prominent Stellenbosch resident and member of the Broederbond.

De Klerk's domineer in Cape Town is also known to have close contact with the state president. Pieter Bingle, like De Klerk, is a prominent member of the Broederbond.

And then there is brother Willem de Klerk, formerly also a senior Broer and editor of the Afrikaans Sunday paper *Rapport*. Presently professor of journalism at RAU, older brother Willem became a slight embarrassment to the president when he floundered with the Democratic Party in the late 1980s. But the two still meet.

On a more professional level, the debt NP for Springs and NP information boss, Piet Coetzee, has influenced his leader's public performances. Coetzee, previously a journalist at the *Transvaler*, is a shrewd propagandist and the man behind efforts to change the NP's public image.

All indications are, however, that the real "man behind the throne" is someone who shies away from the public eye. When Neil Barnard, former head of NIS, was appointed director general of the Department of Constitutional Development recently, many people thought that he was demoted as part of a "purge" of the security forces.

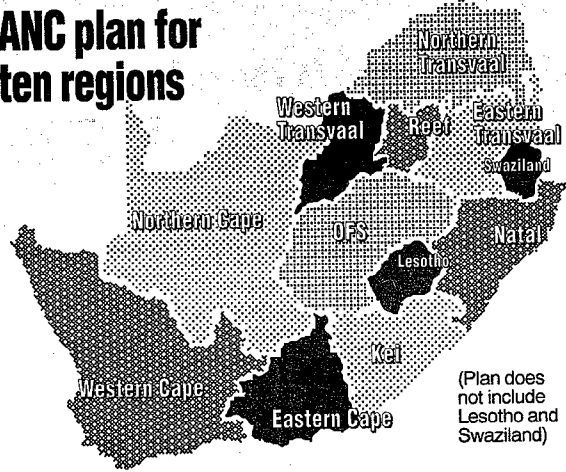
Political observers believe that this was a promotion for Barnard, bringing him with his inside knowledge of government's adversaries closer to the heart of the constitutional debate.

In no coincidence that Dr Bertus de Villiers, head of the HSRIC's centre for constitutional analysis, is suddenly such a figure in the constitutional debate. The highly energetic de Villiers, apart from being president of the Ruiterswag, the junior version of the Broederbond, is also a former employee of Constitutional Development.

In the final analysis, however, there is one person who probably exerts more influence than anyone else on the president — his wife, Mariké. Described by one establishment as "a law wife" (a tough aunt), Mariké de Klerk is regarded as perceptive and skilful. It is known that the couple are very close to each other and that FW takes what his wife says seriously.

But then, as one political commentator observes, De Klerk has also grown into the role of leader of state. These years he has listened to what he talked. Now he talks and you listen."

ANC plan for ten regions



(left) and the map that will probably form the basis of the ANC proposal for a regional dispensation (right).

ANC slices up South Africa – and PW smiles

Wimmar 8/4-15/4/93

304/17

WHEN the boundaries of South Africa's regional governments are decided, former state president PW Botha will be excused a smug smile at his retirement home in the Wilderness. Chances are that the country's final regional map will show a remarkable resemblance to the "development regions" which resulted from Botha's Carlton and Goede Hoop conferences in the late 1970s and early 1980s.

The acceptance of regional government represents a major shift in African National Congress thinking. Until quite recently regional government was rejected as "a ploy by the regime" to weaken the powers of a democratic government in favour of "the creation of disguised National Party-dominated homelands".

Hardly any mention is made of regions in the ANC's constitutional guidelines of 1987 or its Harare Declaration of 1989 — the basis from which the ANC started the present negotiations with the government.

Now it has come full circle in accepting the NP's proposals of September 1991 that the development regions used by the Development Bank of Southern Africa (DBSA) be used as the basis for negotiations. The NP, ironically, has since adjusted its own map and scaled it down to seven regions.

Long hours of behind-the-scenes discussions, many braais with Afrikaner businessmen, late night drinks with senior NP members, meetings with representatives of the DBSA and two Codesas helped precipitate the change in ANC policy.

In NP circles there has been a "quiet pride" that the ANC was persuaded to abandon its insistence on a unitary state with virtually all power in the hands of central government. It is still seen as a major breakthrough and a compliment to the NP's smooth-talkers for their negotiation skills.

The change in policy, of course, cannot fully be explained in these simplistic terms. The acceptance of a regional dispensation followed major pressure from the ANC rank-and-file who, during the years of struggle, came to realise that different regions had very different interests to protect. The ANC-in-exile, up to then responsible for policy-making, lacked the experience of the internal struggle. From a distance things seemed much less complicated.

On their return, the exiles were quick to learn — and equally quick to accept — the validity of grassroots argument that a country as vast as South Africa could not effectively be governed from the centre. Without access to state resources they lacked the capacity, knowledge and infrastructure to establish the boundaries of an economically viable regional dispensation.

What they proposed was a plan in which, among others, Chris Heunis' former Department of Constitutional Development and Planning had a hand in during the days of "plural development" and "total onslaught".

The initiator of this regional plan was none other than former prime minister PW Botha. The "development regions" were a direct result of the Good Hope and Carlton conferences, designed to draw the private sector into development plans.

The regions which the ANC have now "inherited", and will probably submit to the multi-party conference, have their origin in the first efforts of the NP government to move away from its apartheid policies.

It took months of braais and late night drinks for the African

National Congress to be persuaded to shift from its

demand for a unitary state to

accepting the NP's idea of

dividing South Africa into

regional governments.

By CHRIS LOUW

In 1975 the Office of the Prime Minister formulated its first national development plan. South Africa was divided into 44 planning regions based on existing magisterial districts. These districts were later grouped into eight development regions. In 1983, shortly after the Good Hope conference, a ninth region was added, separating the western Transvaal from the northern Cape.

In 1982, Constitutional Development's division of development regions was taken over by the DBSA, originally an apartheid institution intended to service the homelands. Under the leadership of the verligte Dr Simon Brand the DBSA slowly outgrew its apartheid past, but still found it difficult to establish legitimacy among progressive black organisations.

Using Constitutional Development's regional divisions was a way for the DBSA to shift from the homeland concept in determining their aid-assistance priorities.

When the ANC was unbanned in February 1990, its leadership was forced almost overnight to abandon its revolutionary rhetoric for the language of pragmatism. It quickly learned that it did not have the expertise and knowledge to come to grips with a country as complex and technologically as advanced as South Africa.

Interviewed last week, head of the ANC's constitutional and law department Zola Skweyiya corroborated the pragmatic changes the organisation had to undergo. "While we were in exile, we mainly kept contact with the Pretoria/Witwatersrand/Vaal area. When we drew up our constitutional principles in 1987, very little attention was given to regions and local government. But during the late 1980s other regions apart from the PWV started reaching out to us while we were in Lusaka. When we came back from exile, it was with the realisation that a regional policy had to be worked out."

Tough discussions followed, with civics from platteland areas consistently asking that the regional divisions should not exclude them in favour of the urban areas. At first, 32 regions were proposed by platteland representatives, mostly from the western Cape. It was later reduced to 16 regions, the main argument against their plans being that too many regional administrations would be unaffordable.

At a meeting two weeks ago the 16 region map was rejected on the same grounds. No official decision was taken to adopt the 10 region map as ANC policy, but it can be expected that this will form the basis of the regional proposals the organisation will submit to the all-party conference in Kempton Park.

It can also be accepted that the regional dispensation decided on by a delimitation commission appointed by the multi-party conference will be largely based on the map that was the result of PW Botha's initiative.

→ cont.

for all Cape Metropolitan Area

income it
For the
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and promote
actions

ously denied the vote, many of whom are making an active contribution to Cape Town through their labour, an articulated voice and a share in the decision-making process.

Being accountable to the public

A set of stringent mechanisms, including a code of ethics and the close scrutiny of the books of account by the Auditor-General, would ensure that Council members would be accountable to the general public, their wards, political parties and local interest groups.

New boundaries for metropolitan Cape Town

New boundaries must be set for the Greater Cape Town area, that take into account not only technical considerations (such as topography which can affect the way in which services are provided), but also political, social and economic factors.

Taxation

Valuation for the purpose of determining property taxes should be streamlined and simplified. Until a national decision is taken on property taxation of black local authority areas, site and services charges should be levied. Similar charges should be applied in informal settlement and squatter areas. The Metropolitan Authority would also determine an annual uniform property tax.

Cape Town City Council

of the full report are available from the
Relations Officer, P O Box 298, Cape Town 8000
021 400-3237.

Key to power lies in the regions

Wimand 8/4-15/4/93.

By CHRIS LOUW

THE division of South Africa into political regions promises to be one of the more complex problems to be solved by the multi-party conference which resumes at the World Trade Centre in Kempton Park this month.

The African National Congress and the National Party both regard regional politics as the key to power. That is where the agreement ends, however. They hold very different opinions of the boundaries, the number and the powers of these regions.

To compound the problem the present provincial and homeland administrations will have to be accommodated. It is impossible, at a stroke of a pen, to replace these established infrastructures. The new regional structures lack administrative capabilities and it will take time to set them up.

It is quite possible, therefore, that the provincial and homeland administrations may be run in their present form for another two years — concurrent with the Government of National Unity and Reconstruction (GNUR) which will flow out of the con-

stituent assembly — while the new regional structures are being established.

Selling the concept to the likes of kwaZulu's Mangosutho Buthelezi and Bophuthatswana's Lucas Mangope may prove an enormous stumbling block in the months to come. And how these regions will look, will also be the topic of some tough negotiations.

The NP has, in the past week, publicly adjusted its proposal of seven regions designed to accommodate the country's ethnic divisions, to "anything between five to nine regions". The party believes that, together with its allies, it can win some of these regions from the ANC in an open election. And why the NP is strongly in favour of a greater autonomy for regional governments is because it will ensure that an ANC-dominated central government will not have too much power.

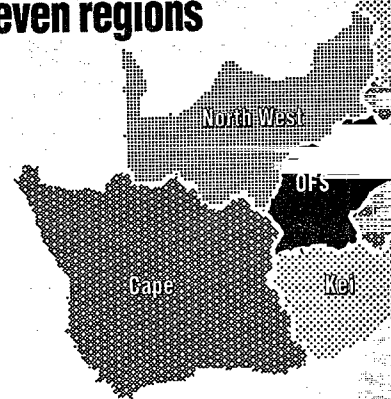
The ANC, on the other hand, wants a strong central government with concurrent and overriding jurisdiction in the regions. It proposes "no more than 10 regions", based on the Development Bank of Southern Africa's map.

Both the ANC and the NP have accepted that a delimitation commission be appointed by the multi-party conference to give advice on the boundaries, the powers and functions, new constitutional structures and the fiscal relations between the regions and central government. And they have accepted that they will have to compromise; the ANC especially is adamant that disagreement over boundaries should not delay elections.

The multi-party conference is likely to decide on a set of principles to apply to regions and the issue will then be referred to the delimitation commission.

According to ANC negotiator Mac Maharaj, when addressing the Patriotic Front conference in Lenasia two weeks ago, the boundaries and powers of the regions can only be changed with a two-third majority in separate votings among the 200 national and the 200 regional representatives respectively. This mechanism was decided upon to alleviate the fears of regional leaders that their powers may be taken away from them by a simple majority vote.

NP plan for seven regions



Proposed regions ... The National Party's seven region prop-

Cape Town — a cit

Restructuring local government in the Cape Penin

"The new dispensation that is proposed gives Cape Town the chance to create a system of local and metropolitan governance which enjoys legitimacy and the support of all the peoples of Cape Town."

"It has been developed in a spirit of vision and courage and seeks to make Cape Town a truly great city, offering stability, prosperity and quality of life to all its peoples."

Clive Keegan, deputy mayor of Cape Town and chairman of the *ad hoc* Constitutional Affairs Committee.

The Executive Committee of the Cape Town City Council appointed an *ad hoc* Constitutional Affairs Committee to investigate ways in which local government can be restructured to accommodate political change and at the same time ensure a stable and well-run Greater Cape Town area, which will provide the springboard for greater economic growth in the region.

The Constitutional Affairs Committee's proposal is the most detailed of its kind to have been prepared by any South African local authority to date and represents Cape Town's position on local government in future negotiations.

Some of the main recommendations made by the Constitutional Affairs Committee are the following:

Two-tier system for Greater Cape Town

It is recommended that the Greater Cape Town area be run on a two-tier system which would unite the present 69 local authorities into a single non-racial entity serving all the people of Cape Town.

Local government would then operate at two levels. The first would be a *metropolitan authority*, which would be an integral part of local government and not an independent level between central and local government; and a system of lower level *primary local authorities*.

The Metropolitan Authority would co-ordinate crucial development policies for Greater Cape Town in such areas as transport, land use, low-cost housing and the impact of development on the environment. Special Purpose bodies, democratically controlled by the Metropolitan Authority and accountable to the public, would be established to manage each of these specific areas of responsibility.

One city, one tax base

The two-tier system would be the most efficient option for the one city, one tax base principle according to which income is pooled and then redistributed in accordance with community needs.

The *metropolitan authority* would be the principal taxing authority with responsibility to pool and redistribute funds across the region, while the *primary local authorities* would retain an adequate taxing capacity. The *primary local authorities* would, however, have the powers to provide local services and services of a higher standard than the minimum set for the metropolitan area. The latter could, for example, include more frequent refuse collection, maintenance of grass verges etc.

Abolishing the Western Cape RSC

The Committee recommends that the Western Cape Regional Services Council, a remnant of the Apartheid sys-

tem, be dissolved and all its functions and derives be transferred to the Metropolitan Authority. Two bodies to exist alongside each other conflict and dilute the impact of metropolitan government aimed at reconciliation.

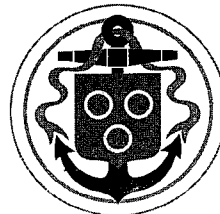
Who gets the vote

Under the proposed new system the present qualifications, linked to property ownership, instead, all persons of 18 and older, with a citizenship and permanent residence in the area, would be eligible to vote.

Residents include tenants, family members, temporary residents (such as university students) as persons occupying informal housing and so on.

The voting rights of fictitious persons, businesses and even deceased and insolvent persons would be abolished. (Such voting rights do not exist in South Africa anymore).

The Constitutional Committee believes that the new system will provide greater opportunities for public participation, greater access to the decision-making process and the mobilisation of opinion. The influence of traditional voters to mobilise opinion in Council decisions will in no way be diminished by extending the franchise it would be.



Ca

Congress
Public
Tel:

By CHRIS LOUW

GUT feeling and instinct used to be the stuff of National Party politics. Now it is public relations and opinion polls.

As the political situation in South Africa changed from ethnic mobilisation to non-racial, "value-oriented" politics, the NP underwent a dramatic metamorphosis.

Gone are the days of "swart gevaar", "Boerchaat" and "Afrikaner survival", the handy catchphrases to chase Afrikaners — the majority of white voters — into the ethnic lager.

The age of television arrived and the National Party — somewhat belatedly after the period of fierce Hertzog resistance — adjusted accordingly. Few people understand

From bully boys to politics of PR

how President FW de Klerk managed to change his public image overnight from a "verkrampte" cabinet member to that of an international statesman. Actually, it is very easy: the small screen.

There was a real cutting off point from old-style NP politicking to the politics of public relations.

Even before his famous February 2 1990 speech De Klerk solicited the assistance of public relations consultants to help build his image.

In the early days of 1990 the new president would get colleagues to grill him, under harsh television spotlights,

about his policies. On a rotating basis they would ask all the questions that international media correspondents could possibly come up with, relieving each other while De Klerk was sweating it out.

The result was there for everyone to see. From a little known "apparachick" De Klerk developed into the smooth TV personality that he currently is.

The second leg of De Klerk's transformation was his dependence on opinion polls. Previously, the NP relied on bullying tactics — secure in the knowledge that its Afrikaner sup-

porters wouldn't desert it — but De Klerk and his colleagues increasingly used opinion polls to determine policy and abide by public perceptions.

The Human Sciences Research Council, with De Klerk's university mate Professor Tjaart van der Walt as head, initially did most of the polling. However, senior staff members revolted against Van der Walt, who was known to be an executive member of the Afrikaner Broederbond. In the end he was forced to resign from the HSRC.

Since the departure of Van der Walt the "De Klerk clique" in the NP

used other professional opinion polls to help them determine policy. The results of these polls were the main reason why the Meyer group in the NP has started building in some distance between itself and the Inkatha Freedom Party. Indications were that Inkatha enjoyed considerably less support among Zulus than previously thought.

Awareness of the importance of international perceptions is another tenet of De Klerk's approach to politics. Whereas diplomatic personnel during the PW Botha era were often afraid to tell "the Emperor" that he wasn't wearing clothes, De Klerk wants to know what perceptions are in Europe in order to adjust his actions.

FW's men: Whisky pals and experts

WHEN President FW de Klerk needs advice, where does he get it? De Klerk depends on two kinds of colleagues: those he listens to and those he uses as sounding-boards for his ideas.

Those he listens to are primarily professional people and experts in their fields, while those whom he talks to are old friends, university mates and fellow-members of the Gereformeerde Kerk, the smallest of the three Afrikaans Protestant churches whose members are known as "Doppers".

Doppers have the reputation of looking after one another's interests. De Klerk, the first Dopper head of state since Paul Kruger, is known to have appointed church members into senior positions in both the cabinet and the civil service. They also play an important role in influencing his policies.

But it is not only people that De Klerk relies on for information. What sets him apart from his predecessor, PW Botha, is the enormous importance he gives to scientific research and opinion polls to help him determine policy.

Botha's demise started when more than 100 Stellenbosch academics broke away from the National Party. De Klerk, on the other hand, takes intellectual advice seriously. He gets this from the National Intelligence Service, the Department of Constitutional Development, Human Sciences Research Council, independent opinion polls and, to a lesser degree, the Afrikaner Broederbond.

The role of the NIS in De Klerk's efforts to hold his own in the political battle with the African National Congress cannot be underestimated. It provides him with the resources of state that the ANC lacks. During the now-famous argument with Nelson Mandela at Codesa I, for instance, shortly after Mandela sat down, word went out to the NIS to scrutinise their files to counter Mandela's allegations of police collaboration in cases of violence. In the event, the information reached De Klerk too late.

The NIS has taken over where the Broederbond left off. Until recently, most of the research and future planning of the NP was done by the secretive Broederbond think-tank led by JP de Lange, a former rector of the Rand Afrikaans University and now ostensibly a freelance political consultant but in reality still a kind of "political scout" for government.

De Lange was one of the first "establishment" people to make contact with the ANC in the mid-1980s and is known to have reported back to government leaders on these meetings.

Another important Broederbond figure who keeps close contact with De Klerk is Professor Andreas van Wyk, rector-designate of the University of Stellenbosch. Van Wyk is the man who drew up the Broederbond's secret constitutional proposals which preceded the present negotiations process. These proposals bear a remark-

There is a small — and varied — group of people who have the ear of the state president.

CHRIS LOUW reports on FW de Klerk's inner circle of advisors and confidants

able resemblance to the NP's "five-year plan" adopted in Bloemfontein shortly before De Klerk took over as government leader.

The haughty Van Wyk is known to be a personal friend of De Klerk's and is one of a diminishing number of Stellenboschers with a strong influence on government thought.

Recently the Broederbond itself seems to have lost some of its clout in government, however. Senior members complain that whereas previously the organisation generated ideas for government, now it serves as a rubber-stamp to "sell" the NP's ideas to its rank and file.

One senior Broederbond member who still exercises some influence on De Klerk is Professor Tjaart van der Walt. A fellow Dopper and contemporary of De Klerk, the career of the highly intelligent Van der Walt has taken a nose-dive since the 1970s when he was appointed one of the youngest rectors in the history of the Potchefstroom University for Christian Higher Education.

Shortly after becoming chief of Afrikaans insurance giant Sanlam, Van der Walt was forced to resign by colleagues dissatisfied with the quality of his work. De Klerk reportedly had a hand in arranging for Van der Walt to become president of the HSRC in Pretoria, where he lasted slightly more than a year before again being forced to resign. De Klerk then appointed his old friend ambassador to Bophuthatswana.

De Klerk and Van der Walt see eye to eye on most things political and they are described as "whisky pals".

Inside parliament, one of De Klerk's most loyal supporters is former Springbok rugby captain and Minister of Public Enterprises Dawie de Villiers. De Klerk openly came out in support of De Villiers after the latter — then minister of trade and industry — was fired by Botha during his cabinet reshuffle in 1986. In the end De Villiers' honour was saved when he was granted a junior position as minister in the all-white House of Assembly.

When Chris Heunis took on De Klerk in the leadership stakes after Botha's resignation as state president, it was De Villiers, then the NP's Cape leader, who swung the scale in De Klerk's favour by swinging his 26 supporters behind the Transvaal man.

Although losing support in the Cape in favour of NP strongman Hennis Kriel, De Villiers is still very close to



Marike de Klerk ... Perceptive



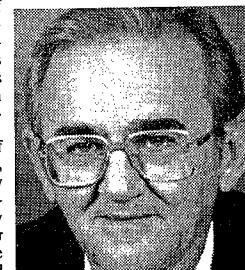
Gerrit Viljoen ... FW's 'uncle'



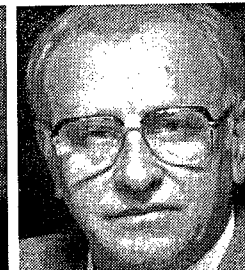
Dawie de Villiers ... Always loyal



Amie Venter ... 'Whisky pal'



JP de Lange ... Broederbond link



Adriaan Vlok ... Unlikely friend

De Klerk. De Klerk is not close to Kriel or Kobie Coetsee, another hardliner, but takes them seriously because of the party support they command.

According to observers, De Klerk's confidants in parliament can be divided into whisky pals and those whose advice he takes seriously.

The former group include Minister of State Spending Amie Venter, Correctional Services Minister Adriaan Vlok and Education and Training Minister Sam de Beer. Venter, the MP for Klerksdorp, is a Dopper, a fellow lawyer and, during their student days, a former roommate of De Klerk's. Not regarded as a political animal in any sense of the word, Venter is the kind of person with whom De Klerk will spend his evenings over a drink, discussing issues that bother him.

Contrary to public perceptions, the disgraced Vlok is still a whisky pal. His friendship with De Klerk dates back to the days when they used to work together, he as a bailiff and De

Klerk as a lawyer.

Former minister Gerrit Viljoen plays the role of a wise old "uncle" to the president.

Others in the cabinet with a close ear to De Klerk include Constitutional Development Minister Roelf Meyer. The state president's relationship with Meyer, also a lawyer, has recently cooled, mainly because of enormous resistance in the NP to what is regarded as Meyer's "close" links with the ANC.

Rumours in parliament have it that Meyer's deputy, the conservative Fanus Schoeman, was appointed to "keep an eye" on him.

Labour Relations Minister Leon Wessels is another close confidant who has recently alienated himself from De Klerk, especially after seeming to take the Congress of South African Trade Unions' side against farmers earlier this year in a conflict over farmworker rights. In the end, De Klerk personally interfered in the matter, forcing Wessels to back down.

Whisky pals outside of parliament who have a strong influence on De Klerk include economist Mof Terblanche, brother of maverick Stellenbosch professor Sampie Terblanche. While Sampie Terblanche has completely broken away from the NP, his brother is a family friend and golf partner of De Klerk's who is known to "open doors" for him to the Afrikaans business community.

Other names that are mentioned in this category are Rembrandt's Gys Steyn and "Dik" David de Villiers, a prominent Stellenbosch resident and member of the Broederbond.

De Klerk's dominee in Cape Town is also known to have close contact with the state president. Pieter Bingle, like De Klerk, is a prominent member of the Broederbond.

And then there is brother Willem de Klerk, formerly also a senior Broeder and editor of the Afrikaans Sunday paper *Rapport*. Presently professor of journalism at RAU, older brother Willem became a slight embarrassment to the president after his flirtation with the Democratic Party in the late 1980s. But the two still meet.

On a more professional level, the deft MP for Springs and NP information boss, Piet Coetzer, has influenced his leader's public performances. Coetzer, previously a journalist at the *Transvaler*, is a shrewd propagandist and the man behind efforts to change the NP's public image.

All indications are, however, that the real "man behind the throne" is someone who shies away from the public eye. When Neil Barnard, former head of NIS, was appointed director general of the Department of Constitutional Development recently, many people thought that he was demoted as part of a "purge" of the security forces.

Political observers believe that this was a promotion for Barnard, bringing him with his inside knowledge of government's adversaries closer to the heart of the constitutional debate.

It is no coincidence that Dr Bertus de Villiers, head of the HSRC's centre for constitutional analysis, is suddenly such a figure in the constitutional debate. The highly energetic De Villiers, apart from being president of the Ruiterswag, the junior version of the Broederbond, is also a former employee of Constitutional Development.

In the final analysis, however, there is one person who probably exerts more influence than anyone else on the president — his wife, Marike. Described by one parliamentarian as "n tawwe antie" (a tough aunt), Marike de Klerk is regarded as perceptive and skilful. It is known that the couple are very close to each other and that FW takes what his wife says seriously.

But then, as one political commentator observes, De Klerk has also grown into the role of leader of state. "Three years ago he listened while you talked. Now he talks and you listen."

LABOUR

How to deal with drinking at work

BETWEEN five and 35 percent of employees at all South African companies — at executive level and on the shop floor — suffer from drinking problems which affect their work.

And, according to Mike McCann, co-author with lawyer Chris Albertyn of the newly published book *Alcohol, Employment and Fair Labour Practice* (Jutas), many managers are afraid of confronting the issue of alcohol in the workplace — in part because they fear trade union opposition.

The book, introduced by Mr Justice Richard Goldstone, who describes it as "compulsory reading for business, trade unions and labour lawyers", promises to stir heated debate between management and labour on how to handle work-

Alcohol is part of the South African culture — but both companies and unions struggle to come to terms with what to do about drunkenness at work.

JACQUIE GOLDING reports

place drunkenness.

McCann is currently completing his doctorate at Trinity College, Dublin, in occupational medicine relating to liquor in the workplace. He is chief medical officer at Sappi-Saicoor and Forest in Natal.

Numerous surveys, McCann said in an interview this week, had shown that although drinking often caused injuries and fatalities, "unions and

management are ill-equipped, and wait for a disaster before addressing the problem".

He quoted one startling case study: a contract painter with a blood alcohol level of 280mg per 100ml at 9am had sustained massive injuries in a three-storey fall. Twenty minutes later, a colleague with a blood alcohol level of 310mg/100ml had fallen and died.

Too often employers and unions were unaware of alcohol problems among the workforce. Ignorance also abounded. One personnel manager, asked how he would deal with an employee with a drinking problem, had quipped: "I would give him a job next to a bottle store, so he makes a quick job of it."

"Educating managers, supervisors and shop stewards is essential," said McCann, "and collec-

tive preventative action is always better than individual treatment and cure. The onus is on everyone to get involved."

Employers frequently avoided confronting the issue for a range of reasons, including:

- Fear about a situation of which they know little, and uncertainty about how to deal with it.
- A respect for individual privacy and a fear of involving the organisation in a programme in which the lifestyles of individuals might be exposed or jeopardised.
- Peer group pressures.
- Fear of committing management to a policy which they perceived would be unpopular with employees, other managers and perhaps even the community at large.

● Fear of confrontation with the trade unions.

"I am not an anti-drinker," says McCann, "but the ramifications of intoxicated people at work, both on the ground and in their high chairs are frightening."

McCann stressed that simple disciplinary action by management was inadequate. "The rigid all-or-nothing approach is often unsuccessful. Because of this, the involvement of unions is important."

"To negotiate and bargain over the dismissal of workers, for example, one has to talk from knowledge. Unions and management ought to know the procedures that govern alcohol abuse and alcohol dependence and the rules to deal with this have to be applied fairly."

McCann said that before acting against an alcohol abuser, consideration had to be given to changing the working environment "if it encourages or condones the abuse of liquor".

His 10 years of research had shown that corporate culture was the most potent factor in excessive workplace drinking.

"Corporate cultures can affect all employees," he said. "The attitude of management can give misleading messages and be inconsistent. Their preventative measures can be weak and non-existent or there may be double standards: regular managerial drinking at lunchtime and after hours on the premises, but a disciplinary policy for workers which prohibits all drinking."

"Extended business lunches affect afternoon productivity. Indulged in by mainly senior managers, they set a poor example to other employees."

In South Africa, it was easy for workers to drink during working hours. Mobile shebeens run predominantly by women hawkers stationed themselves near factory gates, selling liquor when workers arrived at work or emerged from the factory at lunchtime. Shift workers were especially vulnerable because of irregular hours, poor sleeping patterns and poor supervision.

"Alcohol is often smuggled inside the premises and is distributed under the guise of soft drinks. This cover-up is developed as a form of camaraderie."

McCann warned against attempts to introduce a "caring alcohol policy" against the background of an authoritarian corporate culture. "The policy will be regarded with suspicion and distrust by employees, and without change in the management style, results will fall short. A policy tailor-made to suit each company is needed."

Many employees with alcohol problems could conceal their problem for up to five years, and hardened drinkers could hide the effects of liquor.

"It has been estimated that a company can expect anything between five and 35 percent of its workforce to have an alcohol problem which in some way will affect their work," added McCann.

"For this reason it's vital that health care workers play a role in developing an alcohol programme. It's equally important that any collective agreement should strive to protect the health worker from being pressurised into disciplinary moves, siding with either of the players."

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When you're out enjoying yourselves this long weekend, think seriously about the question of executions. After all, it is Easter.

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What's the difference between R13 and R9 000? A tea party. Documents show that Marike de Klerk's visit to Atlantis cost R9 232.30

STATE President FW de Klerk misled parliament when he claimed his wife's recent "tea party" in the coloured township of Atlantis — a National Party electioneering effort — cost the state R13.

Documents leaked to *The Weekly Mail* show that the meeting in the western Cape township last month, billed as a cultural event but designed to promote the NP's pre-election push for support in coloured areas, was paid for by the House of Representatives and cost more than R9 000.

The documents, given anonymously to this newspaper, originate from the personal files of Abe Williams, the MP who arranged the "tea party" and who has since become a member of the cabinet.

Democratic Party MP for Pienlands Jasper Walsh said: "If it is true that the function was paid for by the House of Representatives, this is a gross abuse of state funds."

The disclosures plunge one of the NP's two black cabinet ministers, Williams, into controversy in his first fortnight in office. Williams, NP MP for Mamre, organised the event.

His PRO Sonja Blignaut insisted that Marike de Klerk's trip to Atlantis was not an NP affair. But *The Weekly Mail* has copies of NP pamphlets distributed to houses throughout Atlantis before the meeting which advertise the new-look NP's non-racial policies and state: "The president's wife and our MP, Abe Williams, will state their case."

In addition, the event was described in the local press as a NP promotion, and police acted as bodyguards and served tea.

In response to a question by Walsh in parliament, De Klerk said "the direct cost to the state" of the event was R13 for petrol. If wear and tear on the car was included, he estimated the total cost to the state at R276.16. But *The Weekly Mail* has documentary evidence that the House of Representatives paid R9 232.30 for the party: including R2 706 for invitations, R3 571.90 for hiring tables, chairs and crockery, R908.60 for sound, R950.40 for cake, R297 for piano accompaniment, R175 on a book.

According to an official payment advice form (number 014601) from the House of Representatives, dated March 15, Williams was given R9 232.30 for "entertainment" in Atlantis. In the attached "approval and proof", a handwritten breakdown is given of how the money was spent.

Williams initially paid R4 145.30 for flowers, wrapping paper, sugar, milk and a book — and then recouped the balance from the cheque he

What price a tea party?

*W/Mail 8/4-15/4/93.
President FW De Klerk said the cost of his wife's recent tea party in Atlantis was R13. State documents show that the event cost the state a lot more. By PORTIA MAURICE in Cape Town*

received from the department.

Independent MP for Simonstown Jannie Momborg said yesterday: "This is another case of abuse over many years by confusing the government with party politics. There was a large police escort and police served tea at the function. If Walter Sisulu and his wife went to address a meeting at Atlantis and asked the police for that kind of service, then what kind of response would they get?"

De Klerk's tea-party, in the Saxonsea community hall in Atlantis, was met by some 200 placard-wielding African National Congress supporters.

Williams, who says he organised the event in his capacity as NP MP for Mamre, had planned it for a considerable time. In a submission dated March 5 and signed by director-general of administration in the House of Representatives Patrick McEnery —

a copy of the document is in *The Weekly Mail's* possession — Williams writes: "During October 1992, in discussions with the sub-directorate: public relations in our administration, I presented the possibility of launching cultural activities in Atlantis within which the community could be directly involved."

"Various options were considered, after which it was decided to spearhead the action with a tea-party in Atlantis. It was further decided to invite the honourable state president's wife to the function."

"Public relations then offered to help with the arrangements and also, with your (McEnery's) approval, to make the necessary funds available. I would appreciate if you could afford this your approval."

The minister reached the finance department, whose director "Sass" van der Merwe allegedly insisted Williams use his entertainment allowance — but had the cheque made out anyway.

Williams, it is said, is already R41 000 in the red on his entertainment allowance — he is allocated only R5 000 annually for this purpose. As minister of education and culture in the House of Representatives, he bore the brunt of teacher anger last year when his department, over R100-million in deficit, threatened mass retrenchments.

Then, he was reported to have spent R20 000 on a workshop at a Cape holiday resort to discuss pending strike action.

Williams' PRO Blignaut said the event was a cultural function to commemorate the Year of the Women in Atlantis. "It was never anything political. It's got nothing to do with the National Party."

And Theunis Dempsey, PRO for the House of Representatives, said the meeting was organised by the House as a cultural event to "promote goodwill" among women's groups in the West Coast area. He denied that it was an NP function.

De Klerk's liaison officer Janetta Badenhorst said his office would comment later this week.

But DP and independent MPs are adamant that the function served to promote the NP in coloured areas. Party pamphlets publicising the event in Atlantis say: "The New National Party is putting its point of view. We have a good case. No enemy will prevent us from doing it. The president's wife and our MP, Abe Williams, will state their case."

Walsh said: "If it was an official visit it should have been paid for from the state president's own account; if it was an NP affair, it should have been paid out of party funds."

*State papers reveal
president misled
House about wife's
"R13 tea party"*



Marika de Klerk at the
Atlantis function

FW's tea party blunder

w/mail

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STATE President FW de Klerk misled parliament when he claimed his wife's electioneering reception in the coloured township of Atlantis cost the state only R13 for petrol.

Documents in the possession of *The Weekly Mail* show that the meeting last month, advertised in local National Party pamphlets, was in fact paid for by the House of Representatives and cost more than R9 000.

Democratic Party MP for Pinelands Jasper Walsh said: "If it is true that the function was paid for by the House of Representatives, this is a gross abuse of state funds."

See PAGE 2

**FW'S
INNER
CIRCLE
PAGE 15**

Apartheid faces its last unravelling

By David Beresford

THE final collapse of that Gothic edifice known as grand apartheid appears to be only months, if not weeks away, with the disclosure on Saturday that secret negotiations have started for the reincorporation of the "independent" homelands back into South Africa.

President F. W. de Klerk's administration last week circulated proposals for assimilation to the leaders of the four homelands — the Transkei, Ciskei, Bophuthatswana and Venda. South African newspapers said the document made it clear that funding from Pretoria, without which the territories are not viable, would be cut off if they did not agree to the step.

Mr de Klerk hinted that he was planning to rush through the homelands issue after a meeting with the Transkei leader, Major-General Bantu Holomisa, in Cape Town. The president said in a statement — referring to a dispute with the Transkei over the jurisdiction of the Goldstone Commission of inquiry into political violence — that the homelands' reincorporation "could take place within a few months".

The government seemingly intends to reincorporate the territories in tandem with the creation of a "Transitional Executive Council", the multiparty organisation which is to oversee some aspects of government in the run-up to non-racial elections. The continued "independence" of the four homelands is seen as incompatible with this transitional phase in the handover to majority rule. It is believed that Pretoria intends placing administrators in charge of the homelands.

The major stumbling block is Bophuthatswana, whose leader, Lucas Mangope, has made it clear he intends maintaining independence for the foreseeable future.

South Africa's latest constitutional conference last week pulled off a remarkable feat when 26 organisations, ranging from rightwing racists to leftwing revolutionaries, staggered through a day of talks without much affection, but also in the absence of what is locally known as a serious incident of "unrest".

Despite advance pessimism about its chances of success, the conference was wound up on Thursday night, a day ahead of schedule, leaving delegates with the startled realisation that they had somehow got South Africa's negotiations back on track. The talks are to continue at a lower level next week.

The closest the conference came to breakdown was a heated debate over political violence in which the government, the rightwing Conservative Party and the militant Pan-Africanist Congress exchanged angry denunciations of one another.

But the row was almost miraculously defused. Agreeing a vaguely, if passionately-worded denunciation of the carnage, the conference resolved to defer consideration of "urgent steps" to counter the violence to a later meeting.

The precedent for the use of deferrals to keep South Africa's fragile negotiating process alive in a minefield of political controversy was set by the handling of an early deadlock over the naming of the conference, held at a trade centre outside Johannesburg.

There had been strong opposition from some participants to describing the constitutional talks — the third in a series which began with the Convention for a Democratic South Africa in December 1991 — as Codesa 3 because this might imply acceptance of conclusions reached at the previous two meetings.

After a planning committee confessed that it had been unable to win compromise on 10 alternative names proposed, the issue was consigned to the bulging sack of deferred matters.

Other contentious issues shelved included Inkatha's insistence that there be prior acceptance of the principle of federalism and the Conservative Party's demand for the right to racial "self-determination".

A billionaire who showed us how to open windows of hope

THERE was a lunch for George Soros in Johannesburg on Monday. The billionaire international financier didn't pay for the food, even though his word would have been good enough to buy the entire building. The Star coughed up for Mr. Soros's grub — and that of the 16 or so senior local businesspeople who were invited — and we got more than our money's worth.

It wasn't just that Soros has thumbed his nose at international indifference, and dug R45 million out of his pocket for a South African democracy fund. (Although that was welcome news indeed.) It was that, in believing in us and our ability to fashion a just and workable future, he demonstrated just how much creativity and guts there still is among South Africans, and how it can be released again. Let me tell you what happened.

Soros, if you haven't heard by now, is the financier who made R5 billion in one go on "Black Wednesday" last September, at the time of the startling crisis. He was born in Hungary and, as a Jew, lived through the Nazi occupation. His incredible talents saw him overcome all obstacles, and take him eventually to the pinnacle of the world's money mountain.

When he reached it, he said to himself — most unusually, for this is an unusual human being — that he thought he had more money than was good for him. And so he became a philanthropist. And so he landed up in Johannesburg at the end of the South African summer of 1994, having set up "Open Society" foundations worldwide.

The high-level attraction of meeting the man, as all who are honest will admit, is that one is unlikely ever again to shake the hand of someone so stupendously, mind-bogglingly, interstellarly rich. One would like to check whether the hand is encrusted with gold, for example. But within minutes of Soros's beginning to speak to his small audience on Monday, the listeners were rapt for another reason.

Soros, who self-deprecatingly stresses his lack

UNDERCURRENT AFFAIRS

SHAUN
Johnson



SOROS started out by saying we 'can forget about' being saved by foreign aid or investment. We are but a sideshow on the world's stage.

of intimate knowledge of the South African situation, was inspiring the tired, reinvigorating the disillusioned, getting their creative juices working again.

His message, to put it too crudely, was that understanding and action are indispensable to one another. We seem not to be frozen in inaction. Too well, and therefore to be frozen in inaction. In South Africa — which, he said, was a country in a far more hopeful position than, say, Russia — some hard realities had to be grasped, and then something could be done about them. This required cleverness, and commitment.

Soros started out by saying we "can forget about" being saved by foreign aid or investment. We are a sideshow to the world's centre stage. His lunch partners cheered gleefully on their starters; they knew that already.

But capital might could be slammed and even reversed, he said. If everyone in their own way made the decision to take hold of their own destiny once more. He expounded his theory of an open society, and how we South Africans — all

STAR 10/4/93,

of us — had at all costs to avoid replacing our old closed society with a new one, also closed. The debates intensified, and then, suddenly, the ideologues were opened.

The local businessmen started providing their views. The hazy capitalist which is locked up within South Africa had to be put to work again, they said. Political leadership — and a unifying, common, realistic vision — was desperately needed, but could not be left to the politicians alone. "It's my feeling," said one of the guests, "that people out there are desperate to do something, to take hold. They are saying, 'Show us the hill, and we'll run for it.'"

"History," said another, "will record that we are not thinking creatively. It will come back to haunt us." Statistics flew around: fewer than 28 000 houses built last year; brickworks closed down, not because there wasn't a desperate need for construction, but because there was no belief in the future.

Soros said he thought a housing boom for the poor — even if it was not sustainable for a long period — could and should be created. Myriad other plans were floated. Soros said again and again that South Africa's transition was under control, unlike Russia's, and that we should recognise and act on that great advantage.

Interim government was discussed, so was stability, so was redistribution, and so was the fact that conviction itself can breed confidence and hope — the most powerful engines for progress known to man. People were enthused, animated.

Of course Soros — or a hundred like him — could not save us, and why should they? At the end of the discussion, no one was under any illusion that salvation, economic and political, lay in anyone's hands but their own. The difference was, if I read things correctly, that they felt some power in those hands again. Now to change the defeatist mindset of so much of the rest of the country. Nil desperandum!

Americans hear of a volkstaat dream

(South Africa) April 10/4/93

■ Influential Americans had an up-to-date glimpse this week of the changing South African political scene — including a rightwing vision of an Afrikaner homeland.

FRANS ESTERHUYSE
Weekend Argus Political Correspondent

THE case for an Afrikaner volkstaat as part of a new South Africa was put to a high-level Aspen Institute meeting by rightwing leader Professor Carel Boshoff in Cape Town this weekend.

He was among South African political leaders who met United States politicians, officials and policy-makers for discussions behind closed doors at the Aspen Institute.

Professor Boshoff, leader of the Afrikaner-Vryheid party, told weekend Argus of a much needed vision of the future.

Earlier, Professor Boshoff attended the election of 100 members of the new South African parliament, which consisted of 41 members. They will form an embryonic government of sorts for a future homeland.

■ 'WORLD NEEDS SA PEACE SIGNAL' — page 18

Foreign Minister Mr. P.W. Botha and the government's chief negotiator, Minister of Constitutional Development Mr. Roelf Meyer, of Constitutional Transition, The Role of The U.S.

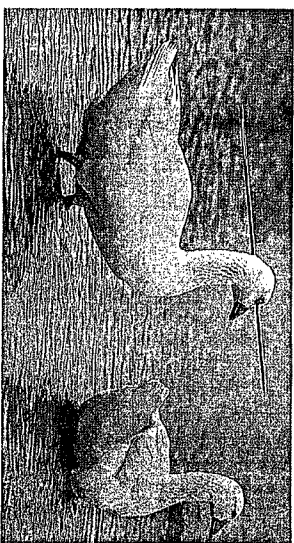
Dr. Botha told the conference the continuation of the process of change.

He called on the United States to reflect the position in South Africa in its policy towards the country.

The group of Americans was headed by newly appointed Assistant Secretary of State for Africa, Mr. Robert Ross.

Mr. Ross said the US could make a major contribution to economic development in South and southern Africa.

He expressed the hope that the American government would be able to help South Africa in Africa on past events, but on the present situation.



□ ARROWED GOOSE: An unknown good samaritan removed this arrow from the head of a goose swimming on Rattlesnake Lake near Vredendal. Animal control initially said no action would be taken to remove it as this could lead to it bleeding to death, and the goose appeared to be in satisfactory health.

Fears over mystery grave

WILLEM STEENKAMP
Weekend Argus Reporter

A VREDENDAL family is writing to discover whether it was their missing son's body that was buried in an unmarked grave two

The body had been pulled out of the Olifants River and buried in an unmarked grave two

A fearful Mrs. Clara Greeff of Vredendal, North told Weekend Argus that her 18-year-old son, Hugo, had been missing for 10

About a week later, police had taken a body from the river, but when Mrs. Greeff arrived at the

police station a couple of days later, she found the body of her son, Hugo, had been buried in the river this year.

All that was left were the dead man's clothes and Mrs. Greeff was uncertain if these were the clothes that her son had been wearing.

"The uncertainty is terrible. We do not know what to do now."

Mrs. Greeff said the police had taken photographs of the dead body and sent it to the Vredendal police station.

Only one of these pictures had been returned to Vredendal, said Mrs. Greeff, but she was sure if I have lost a son, I would know it.

Captain Willie Kruger, police station commander at Vredendal, said he had no more to say about the case.

But he said he was sure if I have lost a son, I would know it.

"But we were badly disappointed and obviously we could not keep waiting for an unknown person."

"We normally advertise the dead and there is an undertaker who comes forward if they suspect it may be a friend or family. If no one comes forward, we bury the

Captain Kruger said the police did everything in their power to find the body, but he could not give more details about the present case as the body was not accessible over the

weekend.

He said he was sure if I have lost a son, I would know it.

He said he was sure if I have lost a son, I would know it.



RIVERED: Workers watch the play, which uses realistic slices of township life. ● Photographs: JOE LOUW



POLL PLAY: The Uukhanya Players act out the emotions of winning and losing an election.

Democracy without fear and trembling

ABOUT 200 East Rand construction workmen transixed and silent through the first act of the play. They had just witnessed a vivid re-enactment of a scene that could have been taken straight from their own backyards — a slaughter had taken place because the election had been stolen.

South Africa's nearly 20 million eligible voters, 14 million black voters, will take part in a election, they know very well, they know very well.

the Catholic Centre, the YVCA and Komk, are educating voters under the auspices of the Independent Forum for Elections Education. This is besides work being done by political organisations and parties.

the group Uukhanya — which means to light up, or enlighten — has so far had 50 performances in the townships and in rural areas. In the Free State and many areas of the Transvaal. It is in the townships that the cause of the masses, among others, has really taken off.

over everything, nothing was sacrosanct. So, as when it comes to voting, the women have been a formidable obstacle. We face some very serious problems in the townships. It is from the women that we have seen a lot of trouble. It is from the women that we have seen a lot of trouble. It is from the women that we have seen a lot of trouble.

The play succeeds not only in simplifying issues concerned with voting and citizenship responsibility, but also in portraying the breathtaking importance of the proceedings. And it uses light-hearted humour to explain why the process is important for the country, and the individual.

"Will we all have big houses in the suburbs, be rich and drive long, sleek cars?" one character asks. "Nooooo!" comes the answer. "Do you want to be a member of the land? Do you want to be a member of the land? Do you want to be a member of the land?"

The play Moments, written and directed by Peter Newsway, Doreen Mazibuko and Willie Tshaba, is part of a massive nationwide voter education programme being conducted by the National Education and Development and Education set up in 1987. The programme is set up in 1987. The programme is set up in 1987.

Matl's community and citizen education programme, of which the popular theatre project is a part, aims at delivering civic education to the millions who have no experience of democratic processes. Matl, as well as major non-governmental organisations such as the SA Council of Churches, the Black Sash, DASA,

by generous grants from the Biko Foundation, the United States and year. There were also grants from the Canadian government, as well as donations from local industry.

"Our theatre project has really taken off," says Billy Modise, who heads Matl. "The theatre group Uukhanya — which means to light up, or enlighten — has so far had 50 performances in the townships and in rural areas. In the Free State and many areas of the Transvaal. It is in the townships that the cause of the masses, among others, has really taken off."

This, Modise says, is in addition to demands for performances in the townships, at churches and schools, at shopping malls and in many communities. The play, a joint effort of three authors with theatrical experience, is an amalgam of song, drama and political satire, often with very realistic touches. They had control

And it stresses that no one can tell you how to vote because the ballot is secret.

Lots of work for free and fair elections

South Africa 10/4 - 14/4/93.

IN PREPARATION for its first non-racial election, South Africa should take advantage of the experiences of its neighbours in an effort to ensure free and fair elections.

This is the conclusion of the Centre for Constitutional Analysis of the Human Sciences Research Council.

The centre recently completed comprehensive research of the experiences of Zimbabwe, Namibia, Zambia, Kenya and Angola in elections. The lessons include the need for:

- Civil society and international involvement.
- An electoral commission and a timetable for the election.
- Equal access to the monitoring of public media.
- Correct registration of voters and political parties.
- A formula for funding parties.

Dr Dennis de Villiers, head of the Centre for Constitutional Analysis, said there will be a need for international involvement to supervise, monitor and verify an election.

According to Dr Villiers an electoral commission with high public standing and acceptability will play a vital role in preparing South Africa for an election.

This commission will issue regu-

lations for the election, ensure regulations are adhered to, undertake voter education, demarcate regions and investigate irregularities.

Civil institutions like churches, unions, interest groups and media, community and cultural organisations can play a major role in ensuring the acceptance of the election.

A timetable for the election should allow sufficient time for canvassing. It should give political parties and the electorate the feeling that the process is free and fair, transparent and inclusive.

Access to public media and objectivity in coverage of the election will be key elements. Equal access to the public media will be indispensable.

It will also be essential to ensure multi-party control and public scrutiny of government departments with regard to activities which can affect the election. These departments will have to continue to render public services without furthering the interests of a specific political party.

Uncontrolled security and armed forces, armed cadres and arms caches are some of the most serious threats to the electoral process.

The activities of the armed forces of the national government, home-

lands and liberation movements have to be placed under strict control during the election campaign.

De Villiers believes it may be necessary to relinquish the idea of the registration of voters. A more practical measure would be to allow all South African citizens in possession of an identity document to participate in the election.

It is estimated that 94 percent of Indians, 80 percent of Africans, 83 percent of coloureds and 99 percent of whites have identity documents. Registration requirements for political parties should not be so complex that they prevent political interests from being articulated.

A common set of rules should be agreed upon as basis for the election campaign. Such a election code of conduct could include the following:

- A commitment to respect and uphold the basic rights and freedoms of individuals to make a free and informed political choice.
- Intimidation should be condemned and irregularities investigated.
- Parties should agree not to insult each other, not to discriminate and not to adopt policies aimed at undermining democracy.
- The secrecy of the vote.

Political parties should be given sufficient time and the means to participate effectively in the election.

Assistance to political parties could take various forms:

- They could receive a financial grant from the state.
- They could be entitled to foreign subsidies and support which would have to be publicly declared.
- Facilities under state control, such as the government printer and postal services, could render certain services at a discount, and so on.
- Political parties should have no problems gaining access to voters. Areas to which access is difficult, such as certain townships, farms, homelands and traditional areas will have to be opened.

As far as the election is concerned, De Villiers believes the experience in neighbouring countries has shown this should take place over two or three days.

Mobile polling stations could be used and voters should have the opportunity to vote where they are.

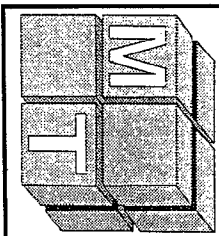
To prevent voters casting more than one vote, identity documents could be stamped and hands marked with ink. Representatives of the electoral commission, civil society and the international community

should be at every polling booth. Counting of votes should take place in the respective voting regions.

De Villiers said the way an election is conducted is frequently an indication of the way a country will be governed after the election.

The most important message for South Africans is that the build-up to an election and the formulation of procedures should be an all-inclusive process.

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TRUST AND
SOUTH



Housing hurdle for man of steel Shill

By KEN ROMAIN

THE latest non-parliamentary recruit to F.W. de Klerk's Cabinet is a tall and quiet man, always elegantly dressed, calm and courteous. And Louis Shill is a very private man, seemingly unsuited to the hurly-burly of politics.

At the age of 62, when many are thinking of retirement, he is taking on a hefty and high-profile responsibility as Minister of National Housing. His second portfolio, Public Works, could prove to be controversial if it involves, as he has said it might, the disposal of national assets.

But quiet and private though he is, Shill has never been one to avoid a challenge, even a fight. Acknowledged by Liberty Life's Donald Gordon as one of the "most driving co-founders" of that company, Shill nevertheless split from Gordon to go his own way with Sage Group, the financial services company that he has headed for 27 years.

Urgency

Under the urbane surface is a man of steel — tough, determined and very able.

These are qualities that will stand him in good stead in the difficult task that he has undertaken, as he puts it, "out of a genuine desire to do something that is useful to my country at this critical juncture in its affairs".

The point is made that he will have only a year, possibly even less, from his June 1 appointment until the next general election, when, he has said, he will return to Sage.

Shill is very conscious of the urgency of the housing problem — "any good South African who does not think that with 1.2-million houses missing in the country something should be done about it, must be blind and deaf. I am determined to make my contribution".

Competence

As to Shill's competence, he has been involved in property and building for much of his business life. After a B Comm and a CA (SA) from Wits University, he returned to his home town, Witbank, to manage the family interests — "with emphasis on investments, property management and administration". And within Sage Group is Schachat Holdings, one of the biggest, if not the biggest, home-building companies in the country.

So he does know something about the hot potato portfolio he is about to take up. He also says his background is in financing — "and housing arises out of money — it's not just about bricks and mortar".

● Ken Romain is the author of *Larger Than Life*, Donald Gordon and the *Liberty Life Story*.



Justice reigns, briefly, as pig troughs run dry

SITimes

11/4/93

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AMID the greater joys and terrors of South Africa's transformation, one small pleasure is to watch the fraying of the National Party's network of privilege and patronage. The vast state machine that slurped up wealth and spewed it into the pig troughs is, at last, falling to pieces.

When the air force selects the Swiss Pilatus as its training aircraft rather than agree to serve as cash cow and fairy godmother for the more expensive, yet-to-be-built local product, the Ovid, life in this country is looking up.

When the SABC similarly resists government pressure and signs a space-age contract that grounds our missile industry just because it makes good business sense, then our state-supported military-industrial complex is clearly grinding to a halt, and the days of fawning on generals for the sake of an arms contract are coming to an end.

Black people may find it hard to believe, but the main purpose of apartheid was not racial separation, nor even racial domination; it was to enrich the ruling class. And, indeed, whenever ideology clashed with the convenience of the white man, ideology gave way. Race purity was serious business, but never so serious as greed.

The unrelenting Germanic logic of Verwoerdian apartheid had already fallen into disrepute in the early '70s, when the Broederbond under Dr Gerrit Viljoen set to work to find an alternative. Their idea, as the Sunday Times reported at the time, was a version of the tricameral system.

It convinced nobody. By the late '70s the entire power elite — the party caucus, the mandarins of the civil service, the generals and the industrial warlords — could see that apartheid was a chimera. Cynically, they set about gathering up the fruits of office.

South Africans have recently been driven to fury by daily glimpses of the racketeering and criminal corruption that has embedded itself in the day-to-day administration of the country.

But that was the least of it. The truly horrendous damage was done not by petty criminal acts but by what might

be called lawful corruption: the systematic looting of the pension funds; the creation of an immense *apparatus* to spread the gravy through the Bantustans; the calamitous investments like Mossagas that have impoverished the nation; the ruinous industrial policy of self-sufficiency and the bribes given to businesses to move to remote parts of the country.

It took the genius of General Magnus Malan, whose talents were not so much military as administrative, to devise the perfect system to loot the country: "total strategy", touted as a counter to a supposed "total onslaught", gave the government both the rationale and the means to appropriate the resources of the country on a limitless sliding scale, depending on the level of the perceived threat.

Once that theory was in place, the generals had only to manufacture threats in order to appropriate national resources: manpower, from conscripts to do the fighting to waiters at their overlaid tables, to half-mad scientists whose task it was to make and hide nuclear bombs. The civilian administration scooped up tax revenues, the military brass spewed out contracts like confetti at a wedding.

The generals, grown lordly with dispensing lucrative contracts for their Devil's toys, took on airs as strategists and diplomatists, offering a choice of five desserts to their lunch guests, pontificating gravely all the while on the lamentable weaknesses of American democracy.

NOTHING was denied them. When a general offered me a lift to the border in his private jet I found the only other passenger was — his son!

The business community, originally contemptuous, soon learnt to grovel. At one time I was invited (mistakenly) to join a supper club which enjoyed the privilege of being regularly briefed, off the record, by a cabinet minister. I was soon dropped after refusing to suppress a report on the minister's little pecca-

dilloes, but not before I had realised that the club consisted mainly of millionaire donors to the National Party.

Not that Nationalist supporters were alone at the trough. Some of South Africa's most eminent "liberal" businessmen managed to pick up a contract or two; it was hard, in the heyday of the military-industrial boom, to find other business in South Africa.

The sad litany goes on and on, a record of fiddling and twisting far too long to be published in a single issue of a newspaper: agricultural subsidies, import protection, export subsidies, manpower subsidies, tariff barriers, Reserve Bank loans for shaky banks, control boards. Even the movie-makers grew fat on taxpayers' funds.

VAST sums, far beyond the wealth of the richest men on earth, were diverted to misconceived investments: nuclear fuel, unneeded power stations for Eskom, subsidies to Sasol, monopolies for Iscor and the Post Office, inferior medical products, over-expensive cars — you name it. The entire country was twisted to the crooked needs of the ruling class and its cronies.

Some people say sanctions broke the tyranny of apartheid; others give the credit to Umkhonto. They are wrong. What brought the Nats to their knees, and President de Klerk to the negotiating table, was simply the bankruptcy of a nation which had been looted until it could no longer honour its debts. We owe our liberation, really, to greed.

But now the game is over, and the Nationalists are dismantling the apparatus of privilege as fast as they can lest it fall into the hands of the ANC, whose leaders already evince an appetite to live like Nationalists. The smartest businessmen have already shifted allegiance from Nat to ANC.

So savour this interregnum, while nobody rules; the disintegration of the state may be the closest thing to justice we shall ever know.

KEN OWEN

THE recent defection of some leading figures in white politics to Inkatha has raised an interesting question in the changing face of South African politics - what future is there for white political organisations?

When Inkatha's major catch in the Transvaal, Henrie Bekker, quit the ruling NP, he said he doubted whether the party would be able to distance itself from the ghost of apartheid.

He further stated that it was unrealistic to expect large numbers of black South Africans in large numbers to join what have been predominantly white political parties.

The reasons given by Bekker for leaving the Nats were not dissimilar to those given by Jannie Momberg, Dave Dalling, and Jan van Eck when they left the DP to become the ANC's first representatives in parliament.

They said they joined the ANC to promote non-racialism and work towards the full liberation of all South Africans - a clear indictment that the DP, with its liberal tradition, was not capable of achieving this.

The Nats are reported to be split down the middle with one faction led by Kobie Coetsee, Hermus Kriel and Tertius Delpoit in favour of closer links with Inkatha while the Roelf Meyer, Leon Wessels and Dawie de Villiers grouping favour ties with the ANC.

But only the politically ignorant would start writing the epitaph of the NP. The Nats have the material resources and a constituency that will ensure they don't fade from the political landscape overnight.

In spite of the ability of the Nats and the DP to continue, there is little doubt that after decades of white political party power, the roles are about to be reversed.

In this unfolding scenario, Inkatha could become the home of many white politicians disaffected with the policies of the NP and DP.

Inkatha also has closer ties with the CP, through their common membership of the Concerned South Africans Group.

In the space of two months, Inkatha has gained four MPs and a former mayor of Durban. The three MPs are from the white Legislative Assembly and the other one from the Indian House of Delegates.

Options

When Vryheid MP Jurie Mentz joined Inkatha, he was dismissed as a maverick and many in the NP treated his defection as something of a joke.

It was also said that given his constituency - right in the heart of KwaZulu - it made perfect political sense to bond with Inkatha.

Even the DP, who lost four MPs to the ANC last year, did not attach much value to his defection. They were soon jolted when one of their members, Mike Tarr, who represents Maritzburg North, also went over to Inkatha.

The defections of Tarr and Bekker defied what had been considered conventional wisdom in South African politics. The two represented urban constituencies and Bekker was considered *verlig*. Going to Inkatha, it was said, defied logic.

Why is Inkatha suddenly the refuge of whites? And given that there is going to be a government of national unity lasting at least until the end of this century, why are these MPs abandoning the NP boat?

That some white MPs would join Inkatha has never been in doubt. The party's position on federalism, its anti-sanctions stance and its support for the market economy is supported right across the political spectrum by the predominantly white political parties.

Professor Pieter Joubert of the Department of Politics at Potchefstroom University doubts that the recent defections necessarily indicate support or even preference for Inkatha's policies.

He believes that these are tactical moves made by politicians who have evaluated their future in terms of national politics and realised that their options lie with Inkatha.

"The guys who left the NP did not hold any senior positions in the party and calculated that in any government of national unity, there was no future for them.

"In Inkatha they stand a better chance of occupying senior positions," said Joubert.

According to Joubert, irrespective of what some people might think of it, Inkatha will play a major role in the KwaZulu/Natal region and that it is at regional level where the political future of the defectors might lie.

"Their move is essentially out of self-interest and not necessarily because they are sincere and believe in Inkatha. But, then, all politicians do things out of self-interest in the first place."

Whatever the motives behind those defecting to either the ANC or Inkatha, there is no escaping that the demographic reality has finally caught up with the politicians.

In this country, politicians aspiring to power do not seem to have much choice but to throw in their lot with a party with the potential of gaining a majority following.

By SEKOLA SELLO

MPs seek power by joining majority parties

sinking ship

Nats deserting

C/Press 11/4/93

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11/4/93

**Edited
by**

**JEREMY
WOODS**



Time right to invest in SA, says billionaire who's doing just that

By JEREMY WOODS

THE time is right to invest in South Africa, says billionaire dealer and philanthropist, George Soros, who last year made another cool R5-billion — at the Bank of England's expense — when sterling was devalued.

And to back up his view on South Africa, Mr Soros is donating R46-million to the newly formed Open Society Foundation, to fund a range of projects that will help the country's transition to democracy and non-racial government.

"I am very encouraged by what I see happening in South Africa and I am looking to the future of the new South Africa with great optimism," he said this week.

Speaking at a Cape Town Press Club lunch, Mr Soros, neat and bespectacled and looking more like a doctor than a billionaire, said he often thought of his money-making and philanthropic enterprises as a digestive tract.

"The money comes in from one end and goes out from the other," he said.

Passions

While one of Mr Soros' passions is making money, another is the freedom of an individual in an open society, free of tyranny.

Asked about the reasons behind his philanthropic work, Mr Soros said: "I was born a Jew in Hungary. If my father had not obtained false papers to get us out of the country I would probably have died, as many others did, in the gas chambers."

Was there a conflict of morality between the harm done to a country's currency while making huge killings on the international markets and his philanthropy?

"I have no problem or sense of guilt from the two activities. On the money-making side we play by the rules of the game and these are strictly enforced."

Impossible

He said the R5-billion he made out of the sterling crisis by taking large short positions against the pound, was "certainly" made at the Bank of England's expense.

"But the British Government was trying to maintain an impossible position with the pound. When the government realised it could not stem the tide of money against sterling, it took sterling out of the ERM and devalued it."

Mr Soros believes that that had a beneficial effect on the British economy.

"It allowed interest rates to drop dramatically which in turn has lifted the prospects of economic recovery in that country."

Did he have any hot investment tips for would-be billionaires?

"Of course I do," he smiled. "But I prefer to keep them to myself."

Killer gun

'Hit list' found after police raid suspect's flat

JOHANNESBURG. — Ballistic tests on the guns taken from the car of Mr Janus Jakob Wallus, arrested on Saturday for the murder of Mr Chris Hani, show that one of the guns fired the fatal shots.

And Witwatersrand police spokesman Brigadier Frans Malherbe said yesterday police had confirmed residue tests on Mr Wallus's hands indicated he had fired the shots.

Police sources also said last night the murder weapon had been one of those stolen from the South African Air Force headquarters two years ago — but said that at this stage the suspect was believed to have acted on his own.

And a list of names, believed to be a "hit list", was found in Mr Wallus's flat, the Commissioner of Police, General Johan van der Merwe, said yesterday.

"These people have all been warned and, in the light of present circumstances, police protection has been offered to them," General Van der Merwe said.

Charges

Meanwhile speaking on the SABC's Agenda programme last night, both the government and the ANC said high-level meetings would be held soon, including another meeting between ANC president Mr Nelson Mandela and President F W De Klerk.

Mr De Klerk also said authorities were preparing charges against Mr Wallus, who will appear in the Boksburg Magistrate's Court tomorrow.

The chairman of the SACP, Mr Joe Slovo, said mass demonstrations would be held throughout the country on Wednesday, the scheduled date for Mr Hani's funeral. He said both the ANC and the SACP insisted on peaceful protest.

Earlier yesterday the SACP/ANC-Cosatu alliance at an emergency session called for calm and agreed to continue democracy talks with the government.

ANC secretary-general Mr Cyril Ramaphosa said: "It's what Comrade Chris would have expected."

Mr Slovo said that if Mr Hani's slaying caused negotiations to falter, this would be playing right into the murderers' hands.

Mr Hani was killed during one of the first times the normally security-conscious leader, who had survived two previous assassination attempts in the 1980s, had given his two bodyguards the day off.

Also attending yesterday's session was Mr Mandela, Mr Oliver Tambo, Mr Fello Jordan, and Cosatu general secretary Mr Jay Naidoo.

Mr Ramaphosa criticised a reported statement by Law and Order spokesman Captain Craig Kotze that the killing was not politically motivated.

Immigrant

He said the alliance was investigating, in its own capacity and in conjunction with the police, reported evidence that more than one man was involved in the assassination, and also that the AWP was involved.

Mr Slovo said perceptions on the ground were that Mr Hani's murder was part of a process involving elements in the security forces.

AWP leader Mr Eugene Terre-Blanche said yesterday he did not know whether Mr Wallus was a member of the AWP, but said the organisation would scour its records today.

The CP denied that Mr Wallus was a registered member of the party.

Meanwhile Zimbabwean authorities have not confirmed they are assisting in the search for Mr Peter Jackson, the Waterkloof businessman whose car was driven by the man arrested for Mr Hani's murder.

Mr Jackson was said by members of his family to have flown to Zimbabwe on Saturday.

The suspect, Mr Wallus, a 40-year-old naturalised South African, emigrated from Poland to "escape the communists" in 1981, his brother Witold told the daily Times yesterday.

Mr Wallus's 69-year-old mother Theresa told the Afrikaans weekly Rapport his son was a "quiet type".

Mr Hani was shot four times in his driveway on Saturday.

His clothing, a blue and white tracksuit, was still intact. Next to his body were newspapers and car keys.

Sapa, UPI



ARRESTED...
Mr Janus Wallus.



SLAIN... The body of SACP leader Mr Hani was shot several times at point-blank range.



BURNING BRIGHT... Police approach a barricade of burning tyres in Zola Budd Drive, where they were thrown at the police from behind a wall.

Violence grips Cape to

CR 12/4/93

Staff Reporter

CARS were stoned, a major road was closed and homes and vehicles were set alight as violence gripped Peninsula townships and squatter camps following the assassination of Mr Chris Hani on Saturday.

The Old Pearl Road was closed to traffic yesterday when residents of Wallaceend and Bloekompos squatter camps set up burning barricades and stoned motorists on the road between Botfontein and Bottellary.

Two policemen were rushed to Tygerberg Hospital after noon yesterday after a petrol bomb was thrown into a police vehicle at Bloekompos squatter camp.

Police spokesman Lieutenant John Sterrenberg said three policemen and a woman colleague had been investigating a complaint that a farm road was blocked with burning logs and tyres at the time.

Constable S Lesch had been discharged after treatment for first-degree burns to his face. Constable H J Kotze had been admitted with second-degree burns to his face, hands and left arm.

At Sterrenberg said a delivery truck had been gutted in Bottellary yesterday when a group of people ordered the driver, Mr Phusile Gwede, out before hurling a petrol bomb into the cab.

At least eight attacks and five vehicles had been torched in Khayelitsha and Crossroads. Two private and two police vehicles had been damaged by stone throwers.

He said police had received no reports of injuries to members of the public.

Numerous burning barricades had been set up in



**SHOCKED
LEADERS
CALL FOR
PEACE**

See PAGE 2

gun found



ARRESTED ...
Janus Wallus.



SLAIN ... The body of SACP leader Mr Chris Hani lies in the driveway of his Boksburg home on Saturday morning after he was shot several times at point-blank range as he climbed out of his car. Police have identified the gun that fired the fatal shots.

Picture: AP



approach a barricade of burning tyres in Zola Budd Drive, Khayelitsha, yesterday. Stones thrown from behind a wall.

Picture: BERNY COOL

Police grips Cape townships

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He said police had received no reports of injuries to members of the public.

Numerous burning barricades had been set up in

Khayelitsha, forcing the closure of Spine Road, Bonga Drive and Zola Budd Drive for at least an hour on Saturday.

Police had dispersed groups of people with teargas and rubber pellets.

Lt Sterrenberg said that large groups of people marched through Rondebosch and Mowbray on Saturday and yesterday.

During the marches, several vehicles had been stoned in Main Road, and the intersection of Liesbeeck Parkway and Durban Road had been blocked off with refuse.

Killings at Strand

By GUY OLIVER

TWO men were burned to death, a third suffered serious injuries and a fourth escaped after a mob in the Lwandle squatter camp near Strand dragged the victims from their cars yesterday afternoon.

Western Cape acting regional police commissioner Major-General Nick Snyman said last night they had not established whether the murders were in retaliation for the assassination of SACP secretary-general Mr Chris Hani or "criminal elements". Coinciding with the popular leader's death, reports of sporadic violence of stoning, petrol-bombing and burning of vehicles occurred in Khayelitsha, Old Crossroads and Walfardecen squatter camp near Kraaifontein.

Police discovered the incinerated and burnt bodies of two men and two overturned cars in Lwandle after investigating a pall of smoke at 3pm yesterday.

Police identified one of the dead men, but would not release his name until his next of kin were informed. The other dead man was not identified. The third victim was rushed to Hottentots Holland Hospital and transferred to Somerset Hospital last night where he is in a serious condition with head wounds and burns.

It appeared as if all three men, in their early twenties, had gone to the Lwandle hostel to buy liquor, a police spokesman said.

He said a 23-year-old man was at the hostel buying liquor and watched a mob as the mob began to stone the vehicles containing his friends in the

To page 2



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Shocked leaders call for peace

3049
CT 12/4/93

POLITICAL and community leaders expressed shock and outrage yesterday at the assassination of SACP secretary-general Mr Chris Hani — but without exception they also appealed for calm and peace in South Africa.

Mr Tony Yengeni, Western Cape general-secretary of the ANC, said a mood of extreme anger had seized the townships, but no stayaway call had been issued. He said Mr Hani's death was "a great loss, for which South Africa is going to pay a very big price".

Minister of Constitutional Development Mr Roelf Meyer said the murder was a setback for the constitutional negotiation process.

And Mr Justice Richard Goldstone said the Goldstone Commission was shocked and horrified at the wanton and criminal murder.

Archbishop Desmond Tutu paid tribute to Mr Hani, saying he was the most credible political leader for radical black youths.

Spokesman for the NP Federal Council Mr Marthinus van Schalkwyk said the NP condemned the killing in the strongest possible terms.

'Terrible'

Leader of the DP Dr Zach De Beer condemned the assassination as utterly repugnant and politically dangerous.

The Solidarity Party said it hoped "this unnecessary loss of life would lead to the eradication of violence".

The leader of the CP, Dr Andries Treurnicht said the CP rejected murder as a political tool and disapproved of the killing.

AWB leader Mr Eugene Terre'Blanche last night condemned the assassination as "a terrible thing". Boerestaat Party leader Mr Robert van Tonder held President F W de Klerk and his "henchmen" responsible and said the situation would only deteriorate with their "reforms".

The PAC said it was deeply shocked by the assassination, which it called a "dastardly act".

The Afrikaner Vryheidstigting also condemned the murder.

Cosatu said people would not believe Mr Hani was not murdered by "the apartheid security apparatus which had declared him public enemy number one until the contrary is proven".

The SA Council of Churches has supported a call for Christians to pray for peace following the assassination. — Sapa

Parties determined that negotiations should continue

Star 1214/93

IFP

304A

ADDRESSING a media briefing after an emergency meeting of the ANC-SACP-Co-satu alliance yesterday morning, Cyril Ramaphosa left no doubt that he believed negotiations should be speeded up, not delayed, because of the tragedy.

He emphasised that Hani had committed himself to the negotiations process and a peaceful resolution of the country's problems — and added that what he would have wanted was the conclusion of negotiations and the setting of an election date.

In a statement Ramaphosa said: "The tripartite alliance is more than convinced that the process of negotiations should move on. In fact, the untimely death of Comrade Hani should act as an inspiration to ensure that the process goes on."

His sentiments were welcomed — and echoed — by a range of key political parties in South Africa, all of which have expressed their horror at the slaying of the popular SACP leader.

Deputy Constitutional Development Minister Fanus Schoeman told The Star he welcomed the ANC alliance's determination not to let the assassination slow down negotiations. This was a tribute, he said, to the level of maturity and sincerity which the negotiations process had reached. This had manifested itself in the determination of all the main negotiators to solve problems such as violence through the process itself.

"I think it is important that we get a democratically-elected government installed as

The assassination of Chris Hani has unleashed widespread fear that South Africa's "transition timetable" will now be dramatically delayed. But the major parties seem determined that this should not be so, report KAIZER NYATSUMBA and PETER FABRICIUS.



Ramaphosa . . . Hani's death should act as an inspiration to speed up negotiations.

soon as possible so we can solve the problem of violence," he said. He had not been in direct contact with his ANC negotiator counterparts to discuss the assassination and did not know if his Minister, Roelf Meyer, had been. Meyer was away on holiday, he said.

SACP chairman Joe Slovo, who was the party's general secretary before making way for Hani, said the former Umkhonto we Sizwe chief of staff's murderers had thought the ANC-led alliance would pull out of negotiations.

"I want to put it emphatically," Slovo said. "Any suggestion of calling off the negotiations process is playing into the hands of the murderers, whose purpose is to stop the process. We must defeat them."

Democratic Party national chairman Ken Andrew said although Hani's assassination might at first strengthen the hand of those who were sceptical about negotiations all along, in the long term it would "reinforce the need to continue with negotiations in order to get away from violence".

Inkatha Freedom Party chief negotiator Joe Matthews described Hani's murder as "a very terrible act" which was aimed at derailing the negotiations process which was "going pretty fast".

Matthews said it was the responsibility of all South African political leaders to ensure that negotiations remained "firmly on track to beat whatever sinister motives these people have".

"Whatever differences the IFP has with the Communist Party, we could never tolerate this kind of act which runs counter to what we are trying to achieve."

"To many people Hani was a hero. We don't have many heroes in South Africa, and we should take good care of the few we have," Matthews said. □

Namibia: Killing was 'barbaric act'

WINDHOEK. — The assassination of Mr Chris Hani was a barbaric act deserving of total international condemnation, Namibian Deputy Foreign Affairs Minister Ms Netumbo Ndaitwah said.

"The action is unacceptable and very unfortunate. The problems and conflict in South Africa can be solved peacefully." (2044)

Ms Ndaitwah said that no matter what differences one had, there were other ways than assassination to solve them. (SAP) 21/12/93

She conveyed the condolences of the Namibian government to Mr Hani's family and his comrades in the ANC.

"We know the role he has played in the ANC and would have played in a future South Africa.

"It is really a loss to those who knew him," she said. — Sapa

Star 121493

Politicians' security beefed up

By Kaizer Nyatsumba
and Peter Fabricius

204A

Protection for all political leaders is to be increased following the assassination of SACP leader Chris Hani, President de Klerk said last night.

Police said yesterday that they had refused an ANC request to give Hani police protection on the grounds that it was impractical to offer protection to all political leaders.

Interviewed on TV1's *Agenda*, De Klerk said it had become necessary to offer reassurance to political leaders and he had given orders that greater protection should be offered to them.

Last night Police Commissioner General Johan van der Merwe, in reference to a hit-list of various political leaders found at the residence of suspected assassin Janisz Waluz, said police would offer protection to non-office-bearing politicians until "the threat has been traced and removed".

But he emphasised it was impossible to provide full-time protection and advised them to provide their own protection as far as the law allowed.

ANC president Nelson Mandela said yesterday that the ANC last year asked Law and Order Minister Hennis Kriel to provide protection for Hani, but the Government took no action.

Speaking after an urgent ANC-led meeting, Mandela said ANC deputy president Walter Sisulu wrote to Kriel last year asking for police protection for Hani.

The Ministry of Law and Order yesterday confirmed receipt of the request, but said it had been unable to act, as Hani did not occupy an official position. Private citizens were not eligible for State protection.

Mandela said Sisulu had made it clear to the Government that the former Umkhonto we Sizwe chief of staff "had been threatened on several occasions".

SACP chairman Joe Slovo said although neither he nor ANC secretary-general Cyril Ramaphosa was aware of recent death threats against Hani, he could confirm that an attempt was made on Hani's life three months ago as he was leaving the SACP office.

Law and Order Ministry spokesman Captain Craig Kotze said Kriel had turned down the ANC's request because Hani was not in an official position, and it was impossible to give every politician more protection than the ordinary citizen.



F W de Klerk ... necessary to offer reassurance to political leaders

Asked to comment on ANC accusations that the police had refused applications for gun licences for Hani's bodyguards, Kotze said he did not have immediate access to police records.

Asked if Hani should not have been treated as exceptional because he was in unusual danger, Kotze said that other politicians such as AWB leader Eugene Terre-Blanche could also claim they were in particular danger.

Ramaphosa also said that the alliance would call on Kotze and Deputy Law and Order Minister Gert Myburgh to withdraw their weekend statements that it did not appear as though Hani's killing was politically motivated.

The alliance, said Ramaphosa, was convinced that the murder was politically motivated, and thought it had parallels to the assassination of Witwatersrand University academic and human rights activist Dr David Webster.

"We say Hani's death was politically motivated, and we are confident that the investigations will confirm this," Ramaphosa said.

Kotze said the State would have to look anew at security and intelligence issues, in the light of the Hani murder.

Smit, Webster, Hani

SELF 1214193

304A

THE IMPACT of the assassination of Chris Hani is likely to have a profound influence on how quickly South Africa moves to democracy.

Its shock-effect on the country's political life is being compared to that of the assassination in Parliament of former Prime Minister Dr Hendrik Verwoerd in 1966.

Now South Africa waits with bated breath to see whether Hani's murderer will be brought to justice — for the country has had its share of political assassinations, and many of the cases remain unsolved.

Verwoerd's killer was caught, and Dimitri Tsafendas

remains in prison as a "State President's patient". He was never charged for stabbing the former prime minister to death on the floor of Parliament, having been diagnosed as a schizophrenic unfit to stand trial.

But most of the more well-known assassination cases remain mysteries.

It is still unknown whether they were the work of individuals or groups of crazed or cynically sane people.

They include:

- The slaying of aspirant National Party MP Dr Robert Smit and his wife in their home in Springs in November 1977.
- The murder of anti-apartheid

academic Dr Riek Turner at his Durban home in January 1978.

- The killing in Johannesburg of Wits University lecturer and anti-apartheid activist Dr David Webster on May 1 1989.

- The shooting to death of Swapo leader Anton Lubowski in the run-up to Namibia's independence from South Africa in September 1989.

In addition, many other assassinations of less prominent people, mainly anti-apartheid activists, remain unsolved.

The burning question is whether the Hani case will add to this list, or whether it will be one of the very few to be unravellled. □

Safeguard the progress made

PRETORIA. — Progress made towards peace and democracy in South Africa — to which Mr Chris Hani dedicated his life — should not be allowed to be undermined by further violence, the Canadian embassy said yesterday. (304A)

The embassy said: "It is tragic that Mr Hani's life was so brutally ended at a time when the prospects for greater peace and the achievement of a non-racial democracy were beckoning. The goals of peace and democracy must not be abandoned." (304B)

The embassy expressed its condolences to the family, friends and colleagues of Mr Hani. — Sapa CT 12/4/93

Murder 'deplorable'?

WASHINGTON. — The United States said yesterday it deplored the assassination of SACP leader Mr Chris Hani and called for an end to violence in South Africa.

The assassination of Chris Hani is a deplorable and troubling event, the State Department said. It is a tragedy for the people of South Africa and for the world.

If underscores the urgent need to end violence in the country and to push ahead with the negotiations which will create a democratic South Africa, the committee said.

Chris Hani was actively supported these negotiations and only this week called for an end to violence so the negotiations could proceed in a climate of peace and stability, the State Department said. — Sapehen-

Russia offers ANC leader condolences

PRETORIA. — The ambassador of the Russian Federation in South Africa, Mr E. Goussarov, yesterday conveyed his condolences to ANC president Mr Nelson Mandela and chairman of the SA Communist Party Mr Joe Slovo.

In a statement Mr Goussarov said the assassination of SACP secretary-general Mr Chris Hani was a tragedy and a great loss for the people of South Africa and for the world. He expressed his sincere condolences to the families of the deceased and to the people of South Africa. — Sapehen-

Tuesday April 13 1993 SOWETAN

NEWS Swedish aid of 14,5 million dollars will dry up before next election

ANC may lose its yearly grant

■ Start of election campaign may cost organisation financial support:

THE African National Congress will lose its 14,5 million US dollars a year in Swedish aid when it starts campaigning in South African elections, a Swedish Government official said yesterday.

Sweden is the largest single contributor to the ANC, giving it \$14,5 million annually.

Along with Norway, the only other government that gives the ANC financial support, Sweden's aid makes up a large share of the ANC budget, said Mr Alf Samuelsson, undersecretary for foreign aid.

Swedish law forbids aid to political parties, Samuelsson said. He said the South African Government, its ruling National Party, and the ANC's chief rival, the Inkatha Freedom Party, have already criticised Sweden for favouring the ANC now that all parties can



operate freely in South Africa. "When the African National Congress, as a political party, runs in a democratic election, aid cannot be paid," Samuelsson said. South Africa's first elections with blacks and whites voting together could be held as early as November, if the constitutional negotiations between the ANC, the white-dominated Government, and other parties are successful.

The ANC planned to send a delegation to Sweden before the end of April to try to convince the government to continue its support, to phase it out gradually, or to provide aid broadly to the democratic process, Samuelsson said. Sweden has already announced plans to give South Africa \$31,6 million in aid for the 1993-94 fiscal year, mainly to aid the development of democracy. — *Sapa-AP*

Spoornet man stabbed, burnt

SASOLBURG. — A resident here was stripped, stabbed and then burnt to death in the Chris Hani camp in this Free State town yesterday morning.

Police spokeswoman Captain Helen van der Westhuizen said it did not appear the killing of Mr Leon Smit, 33, a Spoornet employee, was in any way politically motivated.

Mr Smit was found naked but still alive by police at 9.30am and died about two hours later. He had apparently gone into the camp to look for spare parts for his car. — Sapa

climate of uncertainty. Archbishop Desmond Tutu appealed: "Please, please dear people, we don't help our cause by actions of that kind (the killing of whites), and we call on our political leaders and all politicians: For goodness' sake hurry, inject urgency into the negotiation process and let our people see South Africa free."

TWO FOR ONE GIANT ENLARGEMENT OFFER!

by Tracy Knipe

Photoquick mini-labs have introduced a special enlargement offer to turn your favourite negative/s into a giant size: 300 x 400 mm (12 x 16) print. This size normally costs R34.95 each — so you can now enjoy 2 enlargements for the price of 1. One to keep and one to giveaway!

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Slovo: No successor in sight for Hani

JOHANNESBURG. — There is no obvious candidate in sight to succeed assassinated SACP secretary-general Mr Chris Hani, party chairman Mr Joe Slovo said yesterday.

Assistant secretary-general and former Eastern Cape journalist Mr Charles Ngankula would fulfil the functions of the post in the interim.

The SACP "politbureau" was scheduled to meet today to discuss finding a successor.

"Chris made a major contribution to the growth of the SACP since he took over as secretary-general (in December 1991). There is no one with his popular appeal to working people and the youth — our main constituency," Mr Slovo added.

Transkei deports Ugandan citizens

UMTATA. — Transkei has deported an undisclosed number of Ugandans following the discovery of a syndicate manufacturing bogus educational certificates, military leader Major-General Bantu Holomisa confirmed on Sunday.

He vowed that those involved in manufacturing fake documents would have to go.

General Holomisa said his government was examining the credibility of other expatriates' qualifications, saying arrangements were being made to send all Indian expatriates' qualifications to the Indian High Commission in Botswana.

Ghanaians' documents were being sent to their representative in Namibia and those of Ugandans were being checked with sources in their country.

General Holomisa added that 13 expatriate teachers — seven Indian women, five Ghanaians and a Ugandan — had been detained recently.

The 13 had agreed to withdraw their court action challenging their deportation order, and would be allowed to resume teaching. — Sapa

Capital punishment relies on not seeing the victims as people, says Etienne Mureimik

Star 13/4/93

Racism's iniquitous relative

WHEN it set about reforming capital punishment in 1991, the Government imposed a moratorium on executions. A year go, after completing various procedures, it announced its readiness to resume hangings.

By then, however, the legitimacy of capital punishment had become an issue in the constitutional process, and there was a wave of protest. The Government seemed to accept that it would be wrong to pre-empt the constitutional process by reopening the gallows.

Announcing an extension of the moratorium, the Minister of Justice undertook that, although death sentences would continue to be passed, they would "not be carried out, pending the outcome of negotiations on an interim Bill of Fundamental Rights".

The inquiry of executing people who might emerge from that additional-making process, and an inherent right to live was plain, y not then lost on the Government.

Since then, Inkatha has joined the ANC in proposing that capital punishment be outlawed by the Constitution, and the decision of

the constituent assembly, which will decide the question, is apparently only a matter of months away.

The constitutionality of capital punishment is therefore an even livelier issue now than it was when the Government agreed to maintain the moratorium.

Why, then, is the Government indifferent now to the inquiry of killing people the entrenchment of whose right to live may be imminent? Why so keen now to restore the hangman?

The Government implies that the tide of violent crime calls for a more effective deterrent than imprisonment. But the case has simply not been made that the death sentence is more effective.

No one doubts that the fear of hanging deters crime. But lifetime imprisonment is an awful punishment, and it deters crime too. No one has yet proved that the death sentence does the job better.

In the choice between the two, therefore, it must surely be a decisive consideration that the one permits the effect of an erroneous conviction to be reversed, and the other does not.

Nor should we underestimate

the probability that some who might be hanged are entirely innocent. The most respected courts in the world have made mistakes.

And our courts' heavy reliance upon translated evidence, and upon confessions, which are easy to coerce and hard to prove coerced, multiplies the likelihood of mistakes.

All of which weakens even further the case for the immediate execution of people who might be saved by a considered determination in the constituent assembly of the constitutional controversy over capital punishment.

In that controversy, three major positions have emerged. The ANC and Inkatha want to make executions unconstitutional.

The Government seeks, as an exception to the right to life that its draft Charter of Fundamental Rights appears to affirm, to preserve Parliament's power to authorise capital punishment.

The Law Commission is somewhere in the uncommitted middle. It affirms the right to life, but it would permit the legislature to "circumscribe the right if that is reasonably necessary for considerations essential for democracy."

creations of state security, the public order and safety, good morals, public health, the administration of justice, public education, or the rights of others for the prevention or combating of disorder and crime.

This is a promiscuously general menu of excuses for ignoring a right that the commission professes to consider fundamental.

The practical effect of this "Socratic solution", as the commission so modestly describes it, would be to empower the constitutional court to settle the status of the death penalty on no more substantial a ground than that it likes it or dislikes it.

The latitude to be given the court is so ample, and guided so loosely by principle, as to make the decision hardly more than a matter of the judges' personal pleasure.

It is surely far better to face the question of principle: is the death penalty compatible with our reasons for wanting a new Constitution?

The principal reason for a new Constitution is to create the conditions essential for democracy.

The plainest challenge facing South African constitution-makers trying to do that is how to counter racism, which in this country has been democracy's nemesis.

Racism says that some people are not entitled to the treatment that the racists claim for themselves, in virtue of their own humanity as their natural due. Racism says that some people are not entitled to vote, to live where their communities have been settled for generations to the kind of schooling and hospital care that, for themselves, the racists take for granted.

In the minds of the racists, there can be only one justification for these injustices: that their victims do not belong in the category of full humankind.

That makes racism share something profoundly important with capital punishment. It is impossible thoughtfully and deliberately — judicially — to condemn a person to the unless you perceive him or her to be less than fully a person. So racism and capital punishment both depend upon denying the personhood of people. Each, moreover, breeds the disdain for

humanity that fosters the other.

Our race laws bred the kind of contempt for the humanness of people that made it unthinkable to hang 164 human beings in a single year. And systematic State killing fosters the contempt for people that reinforces racial prejudice.

Democracy cannot flourish in South Africa unless racism is eradicated.

To achieve that, the Constitution has to root out all racism's supportive cousins. The death penalty, because it fosters the disdain for the humanity of people upon which racism rests, is conspicuously such a cousin.

The case for inaugurating our new democracy by forswearing an official death machine, and affirming the full humanity of every South African, is a powerful one.

The constituent assembly will give South Africa its first opportunity reflectively to consider that case in a representative forum.

How can it possibly be right to determine the mortal fate of the hundreds of humans on Death Row before we have settled this question? □

Etienne Mureimik is Professor of Law at Wits University.

EC renews its call for calm, peace

COPENHAGEN. — The European Community and its member states renewed their call yesterday to all South African parties engaged in multi-party talks to redouble their efforts for a negotiated settlement and to renounce violence and bring it to an end.

The EC renewed its call following the murder of Mr Chris Hani.

It said Mr Hani's death was "indeed tragic", and that he (Mr Hani) had been appealing for an end to violence and a return to peace.

Peaceful

"While fully understanding the grief of many South Africans over the loss of Mr Hani, the European Community and its member states appeal for calm and restraint in this difficult situation," said a statement.

"Those elements wanting to prevent a speedy and peaceful transition to a democratic, non-racial, and united South Africa must not be allowed to succeed," it concluded. — Sapa

UK press mourns Hani the 'Black Prince'

By VICTORIA HOLDSWORTH

LONDON — Violence in South Africa following the murder of Mr Chris Hani dominated headlines here yesterday for the second day as newspapers paid tribute to "The Warrior King" and "Black Prince" of the ANC.

The Guardian, which led with

revelations that police had not provided protection for Mr Hani, called him a "Warrior King", the hope of Black South Africa.

Inside, fellow ANC activist Mr Pello Jordan mourned the death of "a political strategist of great talent" and "a very dear friend".

In The Times, leading British academic Mr R W Johnson de-

scribed Mr Hani as "a Black Prince — brilliant, idealistic, dashing the figure who embodied the hopes and passions of the rising younger generation".

The Independent described the "dark cloud of foreboding" hanging over South Africa following Mr Hani's assassination.

The Daily Telegraph obituary

portrayed Mr Hani as a fiery nationalist with a great sense of purpose. *(S&P) (S&P) (S&P)* He questioned physical courage ...

"The news of Chris Hani's death ... der left me aching with sadness,"

was the response from Daily Express writer Mr Peter Hitchens. He said Mr Hani, the romantic revolutionary who occasionally quoted Keats, represented hope.

He was still young. He was un-

questionably intelligent. He possessed physical courage ...

• The South African flag at the country's embassy in Washington

had been lowered to half-mast in honour of Mr Hani, ambassador Mr Harry Schwarz announced yesterday.

By GUY OLIVER

Led by ANC Western Cape regional secretary Mr Tony Yengeni, the marchers began their demonstration at the Exona Centre in Guguletu about 2pm.

led by ANC Western Cape regional secretary Mr Tony Yengeni, the marchers began their demonstration at the Eyona Centre in Guguletu about 2pm.

Marchers tomorrow, a national day of mourning for Mr Hani, would leave the Eyni centre at 10am.

ANC spokeswoman Ms Sue de Villiers said the funeral would end at St George's Cathedral, where a memorial service would be held.

More details of the day of mourning would be released later today.

Meanwhile, police in Athlone scattered a pile of burning tyres after watching protesters set them alight. The force confirmed that more than 350 UCT

Also, police confirmed that more than 350 UCT students yesterday marched on the Mowbray police station to protest the assassination.

Walus is member of AWB

MR Janusz Jakob Walus, the man arrested for the murder of Mr Chris Hani, is a member of the AWB and the organisation is considering applying for political prisoner status for him.

He will appear in the Boksburg Magistrate's Court today to face charges of murdering SACP secretary-general Mr Chris Hani on Saturday.

Last night AWB leader Mr Eugene Terre'Blanche said the organisation's records revealed Mr Walus joined the AWB on August 1, 1986.

• **Orde van die Boere** - volk leader Mr Piet Rudolph said yesterday the weapons he had stolen in 1990 had been distributed to "the volk (nation)".

He was reacting to a comment by Police Commissioner General Johan van der Merwe that police had established the gun that killed Mr Hani was part of an arms consignment stolen from South African Air Force headquarters.

Gold (NY) (close) \$336.65
Dow Jones 3428.0
Nikkei 19882.1
SA and British markets closed.



HANI PROTEST ... About 10 000 people marched from Guguletu and Nyanga to Athlone police station yesterday in protest against the assassination of SACP secretary-general Mr Chris Hani. Picture: BENNY GOOL

Mass stayaways planned tomorrow

CT 13 4 93 (3044) (3044)
MASS stayaways are planned in several metropolitan areas tomorrow to mark Saturday's assassination of SACP secretary-general Mr Chris Hani, and major demonstrations are expected in Johannesburg at the weekend.

The ANC said pickets planned for today would focus on Boksburg where Mr Hani's alleged assassin, Mr Janusz Walus, is due to appear in court.

In Maritzburg the ANC/SACP alliance has called on all workers to down tools and blockade the city during an all-day memorial service.

In Durban thousands of people are also expected to take part in a march. The ANC/SACP/Cosatu alliance yesterday called for the closure of all businesses, schools, factories and universities. — Own Correspondent and Sapa

Homing in on housing crisis

President de Klerk has again turned to the higher echelons of big business to find a volunteer to try to crack a giant-size problem. Now, writes MICHAEL CHESTER, Louis Shill takes a seat in the Cabinet to tackle the housing crisis.

THE APPOINTMENT of Sage chairman Louis Shull as Minister of National Housing and Public Works marks yet another foray by President de Klerk into the boardrooms of big business to find a volunteer to fill a Cabinet hot seat.

The merits of searching beyond the limits of the political arena to bring in business skills to tackle obstinate problems and set new courses into the future have been proved by Finance Minister Derek

Keys, imported into the Cabinet from the Gencor industrial conglomerate, has impressed even National Party foes in extra-parliamentary camps with fresh approaches to economic policies.

Shill is clearly also being trotted on to win popular support by using tried and tested business practices — rather than political rhetoric — to confront the problems.

He may be better equipped to tackle housing issues than the first suspected in a chairman and chief executive of a financial empire that controls more than R5 billion – expected to be more familiar with battles in corporate boardrooms than with battles for survival in shack towns and sniffer canines.

However, he is able to chip in as a reminder that property and house-building and land development have formed a substantial slice of his business interests — along with insurance and financial services — ever since he founded the Sage group in 1969.

Shill has already put under the microscope the vital link between the actual building of houses and cash resources needed to start operators in the first place.

He is fully aware that this is the link that has often been

missing when housing initiatives have been held at standsill or at best a craze until now.

time and again the absence of the link has been behind the frustration of low-income black families that have somehow scratched together the savings to cover a down-payment to start laying the bricks and mortar — only to be thwarted by no access to mortgage funds.

It is well known, whatever the denials, that the banks and building societies do not like bending traditional rules to package a mortgage deal or houses on the lower rungs of the price ladder.

that can be cracked. Moreover, he believes it is imperative to crack it if a real station is going to be made in removing the logjam of housing shortages.

The unit's objective: to foster an energy cascade of optimism by using his high status in the insurance sector to persuade the Life Offices' Association (LOA) to launch a special investment development unit.

Shill has already outlined the proposals inside the Gov-

Since he represents the **LOI** on the National Economic Forum as well as on various committees of the National Insurance Industry.

But no one need remind me that the housing crisis will not disappear if he depends solely on solutions to the problems of homeless black families fortunate

New blood . . . Louis Shill believes he can turn the housing situation around.

Picture: George Maschinist

“Every country in the world has pressing housing needs,” says Still. “But in South Africa the dilemma of an action-based mortgage package. Families in absolute destitution and in despair about having their own home.”

backlog of as many as 1.3 million homes — even without full count of the homeless falls into the category of a crisis.

YOU KNOW, BE I JUST REALIZED YOU'VE WORKED FOR ME ALL THESE YEARS.

—AND I STILL DON'T KNOW YOUR LAST NAME.

SISU!

Of course we need new strategies to start a dynamized immediate housing program. Clearly, housing programs are not the only means of providing a sense of security and safety to the homeless, and so make finance more accessible to potential homeowners a high priority. In particular, we need to encourage the release of more government funds into housing programs, and to encourage initiatives to provide some sort of security and safety to the homeless, and so make finance more accessible to potential homeowners a high priority. In particular, we need to encourage the release of more government funds into housing programs, and to encourage initiatives to provide some sort of security and safety to the homeless, and so make finance more accessible to potential homeowners a high priority.

Also on the Shall agenda will be a thorough new look at all of the land and property under the public works department.

"We need to be certain that all of the assets are being put to the best use," he says. "We don't want to increase the size and number of public works assets. But we may need to start classifying words like commercialization or even privatization."

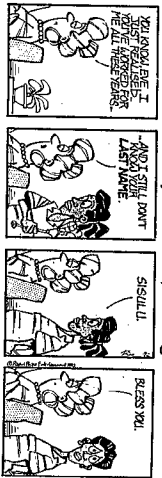
"There is a mountain of problems. Perhaps solutions will be found quicker if they are tackled in a down-to-earth business manner." □

ugmore & Rico

BLESS YOU.



MADAM & EVE By S Francis, H Dugmore & Rico



Chaos after Hani murder

JOHANNESBURG. — Radicals threatened saying it had no regrets for any "armed activities" directed at whites. "While the ANC understands the anger of our people in this time of grief, we condemn the attacks on whites... we call on our people to refrain from racial attacks and hijacking of cars," the PWV region said. Buses were stoned, vehicles set alight, and a policeman's house burned down in violence limited to Mr Hani's death. The ANC moved to denude the

Reuter photographer Mr

Also in Kallahong, police fired rubber bullets to disperse a crowd which had burned down a police sergeant's house. The crowd was returning from Mr Hani's house in Park, Johannesburg, where about

3 000 people gathered to pay tribute to him. They were joined by another 2 500-strong crowd from Vosloorus. The crowd stoned the Kallahong police station. A bus driver lost control and hit a house after being stoned in Kallahong. In Mamelodi police fired teargas to disperse about 300 people after a policeman was injured by stone throwers.

To page 2

Claim of government link to murder — but no evidence

HUGH ROBERTSON of The Argus Foreign Service reports from Washington.

A MEMBER of the ANC's national executive, Mr. Tokyo Sexwale, told prime time television news channels last night that there was "a very clear link between the government and the murders" of Mr. Han.

But he did not say what sort of link, and neither did he provide evidence to support his claim. American television viewers were also shown the reaction of other radical spokesmen, including an unidentified youth who demanded vengeance for Mr. Han's death "so that he will not have died in vain".

But news coverage of the aftermath of the assassination also stressed the appeals for calm which have come from senior ANC leaders, including ANC president Nelson Mandela, and some channels showed the flags flying at half mast at the South African embassy and at consular offices in other centres,

in mourning for Mr. Han.

Meanwhile the White House spokesman, Mr. George Stephanopoulos, said in answer to a question that "Obviously President Clinton is upset by the assassination and deeply deplores the violence in South Africa. He said he was not aware of Mr. Clinton becoming personally involved in the issue, however."

● Dennis Craywag of The Argus Political Staff reports that Archbishop Desmond Tutu has called on those angered by Mr. Han's death not to play into the hands of his killers by resorting to violence.

The Anglican leader expressed his sympathy with victims of the weekend's violence, including the families of three men killed near Lwandle township.

He said: "The aim of those who assassinated him is clearly to un-

determine the peace and negotiation process. Don't let us play into their hands. Let us mourn with dignity."

The Canadian embassy said it was tragic that Mr. Han's life had been so brutally ended at a time when the prospects for greater peace and the achievement of a non-racial democracy in South Africa were beckoning.

Institute for a Democratic Alternative for South Africa executive director Dr. Alex Boraine said the senseless killing of Mr. Han would haunt South Africa for years to come.

"It is our hope that those who respected him most will honour his death and his memory by working even harder for an end to violence and a deep commitment to peace and justice."

The Workers' Organisation for Socialist Action said Mr. Han's death would not deter it from the

struggle for socialism, but would strengthen its resolve to build a better future.

The Japanese government said it was seriously concerned that acts of violence were still taking place in South Africa.

In a joint statement, the missions of the United Nations, the Commonwealth, the European Community and the Organisation of African Unity expressed shock.

"As observers of the peace process in South Africa, we condemn unreservedly this distasteful act, and expect that the perpetrators will be apprehended and that the law will take its course."

The US embassy in Pretoria slammed the killing as "deplorable and terrible".

In London the British Foreign Office also strongly condemned Mr. Han's murder.

Joe Shoro, once again in the heat and darkness of an assassination, sat behind it, sighing deeply. He's been through this appalling kind of thing before. He said the death of Chris "that warm warm man" took him back 10 years to the assassination of his wife, Ruth First.

He recalled meeting a very young Chris Han in the 1960s at an underground meeting of the SACP. "He was thin, so young, so shy, never said a word."

In the general office were south of the best known South Africa's former political prisoners people who had also known sudden death, assassination, jail and torture. There was no hysteria, it was all calm. People filled with bedrock sorrow.

Jeremy Cronin, activist, negotiator and poet sat quietly at his word processor writing and holding an obituary about his leader. And calling for peace.

Esler Basel, an apartheid fighter from way, way back was quietly holding the phone calls, and former Robben Islander, Indres Ndlovu was feeding the fax machine.



Mr Janus Waluz:
An artist's impression.

Waluz in dock as police ring court

The Argus Correspondent

BOKSBURG. — Hundreds of heavily armed policemen surrounded the Boksburg Magistrate's Court today at the first court appearance of Mr Chris Hani's alleged assassin.

An impeccably dressed Mr Janus Jakub Waluz, 40, of Pretoria appeared in court at 8.30 amid stringent security.

Mr Waluz, who slept in the holding cells last night, appeared before magistrate Mr Peet Swanepoel.

Boksburg senior public prosecutor Mr Jan Ferreira asked for the case to be remanded until May 12 pending further police investigation.

No formal charges were put to Mr Waluz.

The magistrate granted the remand and asked Mr Waluz if he understood the proceedings.

He answered: "Yes, your magistrate."

Nelspruit lawyers instructed Mr P Sieberhagen of the Johannesburg Bar and a Johannesburg attorney, Mr J du Plessis, on behalf of Mr Waluz.

The legal team said the accused had not said much, but there would be further consultations later today.

Bail would not be sought "at this stage."

People gathered around the building before the appearance, keeping a cautious eye on police marksmen on the roof and razor wire in the car park.

One man in the small crowd said he had come to see "the man who killed the king".

People were searched before being allowed into the court building in single file.

ANC calls for general strikes and plans rolling mass action

Hani protest

DENNIS CRUVAGEN Political Staff

THE ANC and its allies have called for a general strike in the Western Cape tomorrow and plan to march to parliament and offices of the former security police after a memorial service for slain SA Communist Party leader Mr Chris Hani in St George's Cathedral.

Mr Tony Yengeni announced details of the plans at a press conference at the movement's Woodstock headquarters today.

He also called on the ANC/SACP alliance to suspend negotiations with the government for the period leading up to Mr Hani's funeral.

He said that in keeping with tomorrow's designation as a national day of mourning, the ANC/SACP alliance was calling for a strike.

Mr Yengeni said the ANC in the Western Cape was also calling for a general strike next Wednesday and Thursday.

"Hopefully this will be a national call."

No taxis will operate from Cape Town's black townships tomorrow.

He said the ANC and its allies planned to start tomorrow's action with a cavalcade-march from the Eyona Shopping Centre in Guguletu to Cape Town at 10am.

He said protest action would take place in Adderley Street after the march to parliament and security police headquarters.

A memorial service would also be held at the NG Studentekerk in Stellenbosch.

He said the regional executive committees of the ANC, Cosatu, the SACP, the South African National Civic Organisation, the ANC Youth and Women's leagues, Umkhonto We Sizwe, the National Education Crisis Co-ordinating committee and the Khayelitsha Businessmen's Association met yesterday.

"Our outrage was fueled by the additional slaying of Khaya Simane, a member and employee of the ANC, by four balaclava-clad policemen in Nyanga East."

Mr Simane acted as bodyguard for Mr Chris Hani when he was in Cape Town.

Mr Yengeni said the organisations had reaffirmed that they would not allow the cynical intentions behind Mr Hani's murder to succeed.

He said former world boxing champion Muhammed Ali would attend the service at St George's Cathedral.

● A police spokesman rejected allegations that Mr Simane was shot in cold blood and said the policemen acted in self defence.

Mr Simane was killed on Friday night in Nyanga East.

The ANC claims he was walking with his girlfriend in the Mau Mau squatter camp when a gang of six masked municipal policemen attacked them "for no reason".

Police say the policemen were patrolling after several reports of gunfire in the area. They heard Mr Simane cocking a pistol and approached him, identifying themselves.

The spokesman said Mr Simane swung around and opened fire. He was killed when the policemen returned fire.

● See pages 10 and 11

APR 14/93
marches

after assassination

Star 14/4/93

Schwarz to fly flag half mast

(304A)

By Peter Fabricius
Political Correspondent

CAPE TOWN — Will South African flags fly at half mast on official buildings today in tribute to the assassinated SA Communist Party leader Chris Hani?

Probably not — except outside the South African embassy in Washington. But the matter was by no means clear last night, even in the State President's office.

Washington ambassador Harry Schwarz's decision to honour Hani officially sent a flutter through the corridors of officialdom yesterday.

Reaching for his book of protocol, a foreign affairs official said he believed that Schwarz's gesture was personal, and did not reflect general policy.

Officially embassies, and presumably other official buildings, may honour a set list of office-bearers — from the State President down to provincial administrators — by flying the flag at half-mast. They may also depart from the list by honouring individuals "highly regarded" at home or who lost their lives through the actions of hostile forces.

Either of those descriptions could be interpreted so as to cover Hani. But in all cases, it seems, the State President's permission is required first.

It could not be established last night whether President de Klerk had in fact granted permission to Schwarz.

In any case, no-one was suggesting Schwarz would get into trouble.

Star 14/4/93
'Death brings

new urgency'

The South African Foundation says that if "a new realism and sense of urgency can emerge" as a result of Chris Hani's death, then "the sad occurrence would not have been in vain". (SAA)

In a message of condolence to ANC president Nelson Mandela, the foundation says Hani's death "only serves to emphasise the culture of intolerance that still exists in South Africa, and which threatens to isolate this country from the international community". (SAA)

The foundation urged political leaders to seek an urgent resolution to the violence.

COMMUNITY MODULE

BILLY PADDOCK

THE next round of constitutional negotiations will be delayed by at least a week because of SACP leader Chris Hani's death.

Parties to the talks confirmed yesterday that Monday's planned meeting of the negotiating council would be put off to give the ANC an opportunity to re-establish control at grassroots level.

The successful April 1 multiparty forum had decided that the "real work of negotiating the future of SA" would begin on Monday. The planning committee of 10 leaders was due to meet tomorrow to prepare for the Monday meeting.

But both these meetings have now been cancelled to accommodate mourning and protest over the assassination, as well as

Negotiations to be delayed by a week

Hani's funeral on Monday. (304)

The planning committee will now meet next Thursday, April 22, and the negotiating council on April 26.

An ANC source said all parties had still been committed to going ahead with the meetings as planned until as late as Monday night. But, following a threatened backlash by angry supporters, the ANC said it would need tomorrow and Friday to meet regional and local representatives. These meetings were designed to convey the importance of negotiations proceeding in pace to "bring about the full transformation to democracy", he said.

The president of Liberal International and member of the German Bundestag, Count OTTO GRAF LAMBSDORFF, has just visited South Africa as a guest of the Democratic Party. The following is an edited version of his address to a meeting last week of the Institute of Race Relations.

Liberation Star 14/4/93 and security inseparable

WHAT could be more welcome to a German than to hear the echo of the democratic revolution on Central and Eastern Europe here at the southern tip of Africa?

It seems that never before in the history of your country have liberal values and principles been held in such high esteem.

Nowadays, few people dare to question publicly the merits of democracy, the importance of freedom or the inalienable human rights of the individual. The message is that in South Africa, black liberation and white security are inseparably linked. And further, it is better to come together and negotiate than to shoot at each other.

What a triumph for people like (former DP MP) Helen Suzman that finally, African nationalists, released from imprisonment, negotiate with the ruling Afrikaners the constitution and the socio-economic order of a new South Africa.

South African liberals have always been at the forefront of those who tried to bring people with different political, ethnic and economic backgrounds together. The DP's most constructive role in the Convention for a Democratic South Africa confirms the vital part of South African liberals in the shaping of a new democratic society.

But other organisations also deserve praise for their willingness to include opposing players in the negotiation process. The ANC deserves our respect for having helped the Conservative Party to come to Kempton Park even though the CP's participation in negotiations might change the agenda.

For the first time now a party with an openly separatist programme sits at the negotiation table.

What foreign mediators could do to further the peace process has been done by the Western countries in the late '80s and the early '90s. British and American diplomacy has been very important in bringing together people with different political backgrounds.

As Germans we also have tried to help you to bridge the gulf in your country.

It strikes me how much interest there is (in South Africa) in my country's constitution and social market economy. Some of our experiences may be of relevance to the new South Africa, provided they are not simply copied but adapted to South African needs.

I particularly refer to federal-



Suzman . . . credit for helping start constitutional talks.



Goldstone . . . peace work beginning to bear fruit.

alism. I do not see the post-apartheid South Africa as a centralised state governed in the way Zimbabwe or Namibia are governed.

But . . . federalism is not an easy device to escape strife and the unpleasant sides of a society which for centuries was based on race discrimination. (It) should never be abused to maintain racial privileges or to protect certain leaders from accountability for their political behaviour.

Federalism must be seen by the people as a successful road towards more participation in political life, healthy competition among political actors and policies and as the best way to preserve and even strengthen the fundamental richness of South Africa: the diversity of her peoples.

But there has to be a substantial redistribution of political power and economic resources among the regions.

Human rights and democracy must be protected everywhere in South Africa.

I am not so sure whether all those who nowadays propagate federalism so vividly in your country are aware of these im-

plications.

Events to the east of Germany's borders provide us every day with (evidence) that the collapse of an authoritarian order does by no means automatically lead to the birth of democracy.

Is this not the message in South Africa, too?

The fighting between the ANC and the Inkatha Freedom Party in Natal and in Transvaal townships is a reason for deep concern about the future.

But there are a number of factors that give me hope that in future there will be less violence in the townships.

Since President de Klerk at the end of last year forced a number of reactionary military officers into early retirement there are fewer clashes between the ANC and the IFP.

I hope that ANC and IFP will learn to co-exist.

Furthermore, Justice Richard Goldstone's impeccable work and the outstanding role of South Africa's National Peace Secretariat finally seem to be bearing fruit.

Let me conclude my speech with a few words on the economic policy of a new South Africa:

I cannot deny that many black South Africans have little reason to cherish the present socio-economic order.

But what does apartheid have to do with a social market economy?

I think that apartheid was an ideology which was foisted upon a market economy. In this sense, apartheid was just as detrimental to South Africa as socialism was to East Germany or Poland.

It is a shame to travel through your country and to see how many human resources have been sacrificed on the altar of an inhuman ideology.

I do not know whether a social market economy can meet the enormous challenges of South Africa's reconstruction . . . (but) a socialist post-apartheid South Africa will follow most of sub-Saharan Africa into total economic marginalisation.

Foreign investment will not come to South Africa as a kind of moral reward for ending apartheid. Foreign money will only come if South Africa follows sound economic policies and guarantees democratic stability.

The challenges of the next years will be met if South Africa follows one basic guideline - putting people (rather than ideology) first. □

Tutu ²⁰⁴⁹ joins call ^{AKG 14/4/93} for urgent polls date

DENNIS CRUYWAGEN
Political Staff

IT was crucial that a date for elections be set as soon as possible, Archbishop Desmond Tutu said today.

In a special message outlining an address he was to give at a memorial service in St George's Cathedral for slain SA Communist party leader Chris Hani, he said: "Everybody is shattered by what has happened. It is not just black people who are mourning, it is South Africa mourning."

His call for an early election echoed remarks by ANC secretary for foreign affairs Mr Thabo Mbeki in an address read on his behalf at the 18th general assembly of the Federation of African Medical Students' Associations in Hout Bay last night.

Mr Mbeki said Mr Hani's death should serve as a signal for rapid movement forward to one-person-one-vote elections for a constituent assembly and an interim government of national unity.

Archbishop Tutu said some people might say Mr Hani was a communist and it was wrong to hold a memorial service for a communist in the Cathedral.

"But Gorbachev (former Soviet Union leader Mr Mikhail Gorbachev) was a communist."

He said the best tribute to Mr Hani was that he would have loved to have seen people being as committed as he was to negotiations and peace.

He said the government should take the fact that people were dying seriously and not give the impression some lives were more important than others.

"It is crucial that a date for elections be set as quickly as possible."

It was nonsense for the government to say there could not be joint control over the security forces.

"We want joint control because in any case it is going to come. There is no way in which one party is going to continue running the show."

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above, use an army baton to set-up a control point in Zola Budd Drive, Khayelitsha, which was closed during violence.

BURNING BARRICADE: A youth defiantly throws a tyre on to a burning barricade in full view of police sitting in their armoured personnel carrier today.

Picture: ADIL BRADLOW.

‘Watershed moment for SA’

The Argus Correspondents and Staff Reporters

POLITICAL, church and international leaders made strong calls for calm and discipline today as millions prepared to mourn the death of SA Communist Party chief Chris Hani with stayaways, memorial services and demonstrations.

In a televised address on the eve of what he described as a “watershed moment” for all South Africans, ANC president Mr Nelson Mandela made special pleas for restraint to the youth and the police.

Archbishop Desmond Tutu said Mr Hani would have loved to have seen people as committed as he was to negotiations and peace — that was the best tribute people could pay him.

The voice of international concern came from United Nations Secretary General Boutros Boutros-Ghali, who urged South Africans to remain calm and desist from any actions which might aggravate an “already tense situation”.

National Peace Secretariat chairman Dr Antonie Gildenhuys and his National Peace Committee counterpart Mr John Hall said they will ask church leaders across the country to plead with their followers to be peaceful and to assist in making peace at memorial services today.

● Mr Mandela said all South Africans should stand together against those who wished to destroy the values for which Mr Hani gave his life.

“What has happened is a national tragedy that has touched millions of

people, across the political and colour divide.

“Our grief and anger are tearing us apart.”

He called on all white “compatriots” to attend commemoration services to show brotherhood.

“Let us rededicate ourselves to bringing about the democracy that he (Mr Hani) fought for all his life.”

He called on South Africa’s youth to “act with wisdom”, saying that as future leaders a huge responsibility rested on them.

He also called on police — who have announced that 23 000 policemen and troops will be deployed around the country today — to act with “sensitivity and restraint, to be real community policemen and women”.

Multiparty negotiations postponed

MULTIPARTY negotiations, due to restart in earnest next week, have been postponed for a week at the request of the African National Congress after the assassination of South African Communist Party general secretary Mr Chris Hani.

The ANC informed the administration in charge of the new round of talks, to be held outside Johannesburg, that it had consulted most participants in the multiparty negotiating process about a postpone-

ment. (SAPA) APR 14/1993

"The ANC has requested participants, in the light of the murder of Chris Hani and subsequent events, to postpone the meetings of the planning committee on April 15 and the negotiating council on April 19," an administration circular sent to all 26 participants stated.

"The postponement should be seen against the background of commemorative events and his funeral (Mr Hani's) on Monday. The urgency for multiparty ne-

gotiations to be taken forward very soon, however, remains," the circular added.

The planning committee will now meet on April 22 and 23 and the negotiating council on April 26.

The planning committee is scheduled to meet again on April 27 and April 29 and the negotiating council on April 30.

"We trust that the above (postponement) meets with your approval," the circular stated. — Sapa.

Mob violence in F Cape

Three unrest areas declared as Port Elizabeth-Uitenhage road closed

PAT CANOCO

The Argus Bureau
PORT ELIZABETH — The road between Uitenhage and Port Elizabeth closed early today until further notice after widespread violence in the Eastern Cape — and Port Elizabeth, Cape Town and Johannesburg have been declared unrest areas.

Thousands of rands worth of damage was caused by crowds of youths who looted shops and setting fire to various buildings.

Police liaison officer, Lt. Col. John C. M. M. M. said there was widespread violence in KwaZulu, Uitenhage and Port Elizabeth. Three attempts by mobs.

There is widespread fury in the townships of Port Elizabeth and Uitenhage. In clashes with the police on Tuesday night, two youths were shot dead and two aged 19 and one 11, were also injured.

Several police vans were attacked in Port Elizabeth. If anyone was seriously injured, it is not known. At Despatch when petrol bombs were thrown at the cars. One was burnt at their cars. One was burnt at their cars.

The post office in the Grahamstown township was destroyed. The vehicles were looted and a bottle store was looted.

Several roads have been closed in Port Elizabeth and stones being hurled at

while motorists some of whom barely managed to escape.

A mob of youths killed a Port Elizabeth man near a bus on Monday. Mr. 22 was attacked by a mob who appeared from a ditch and threw petrol bombs at him. A ditch

and the mob stabbed him several times. His car was set on fire. It was not clear if it was the police which prevented him from being set on fire.

In another incident, Mr. Anthony Robinson, 25, was admitted to hospital in a serious condition. He was hit on the head with an axe while driving in New York.

His vehicle was attacked with petrol bombs. He managed to get to the nearby petrol station where he was held to firms out to enter the townships.

Several petrol bombs were thrown at a small town including Kirkwood, Paterson and Port Elizabeth.

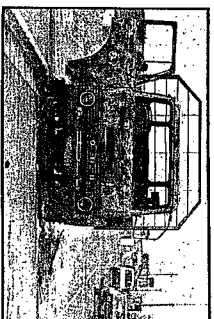
Students of violence, the skill of a visitor from Welton, Marica Chabane, was attacked when the vehicle in which he was riding was stoned at the Addo-Oosje intersection yesterday.

The post office in the Grahamstown township was destroyed. The vehicles were looted and a bottle store was looted.

Journalists were also attacked and stones were hurled at them to move the townships.



VIGILANT: A policeman takes cover behind a wall on Zola Budd Drive in KwaZulu during sporadic throwing of stones and petrol-bombs.



GUTTED: The burnt-out shell of a delivery truck in Zola Budd Drive.

Ministers' travels cost millions

304A
CT 14/4/93

BARRY STREEK
Political Staff

TAXPAYERS forked out R2,7 million in the past financial year for ministers, deputy ministers, directors-general and their wives to travel overseas, President F W de Klerk disclosed yesterday.

This included an astonishing R382 566 for four ministers and their wives, a deputy minister and the director-general in the NP-controlled House of Representatives to go on overseas trips.

The House of Representatives' travel costs, which were incurred in the NP's first year of office there, contrast strongly with the House of Assembly, which spent R18 839, and the House of Delegates, which incurred R49 003 in costs for a minister to go on a study tour to Israel, Japan, Taiwan and Hong Kong.

Mr De Klerk provided details of the overseas visits when his reply to a question by Mr Lester Fuchs (DP, Hillbrow) was tabled in Parliament.

The total cost of these trips was R2 708 939. Mr De Klerk was not asked about the costs of his own overseas trips last year.

The government spent R84 195 for the Minister of Finance, Mr Derek Keys, and his wife to travel to Washington to attend the IMF and World Bank meetings.

It cost R78 444 for Deputy Minister of Finance, Dr Theo Alant, and his wife to visit Europe on a "study visit in connection with tax matters and legislation". The Minister of Education and Training, Mr Sam de Beer, and his wife spent R35 599 to visit the US to "study the education problems of underdeveloped areas in the urban communities".

Mr De Klerk said the House of Representatives' travel bill included R53 526 for the former Minister of Local Government and Housing, Mr Pieter Saaiman, and his wife to visit Europe and the Middle East to "obtain information regarding the urban renewal, the community development, co-operative farming methods, the kibbutz system and mechanised farming".

The former Minister of Education and Culture, Mr Abe Williams, and his wife travelled to the Far East to "investigate the connection between culture, tourism and distance education" at a cost of R71 794.

R50m fund to aid democracy

Political Staff

A R50-MILLION fund to promote democracy in South Africa was launched in Cape Town last night.

Billionaire philanthropist Mr George Soros also announced he would support the establishment of an independent school of government at the University of the Western Cape.

The Open Society Foundation, which was to get \$15m (about R50m) over the next three years, would be responsible for allocating funds to promote "core values for an open society", Mr Soros said.

The chairman of the new fund is Dr Frederick Van Zyl Slabbert, the policy director of Idasa, which is to administer the fund.

Mr Soros is to have breakfast today with the chancellor of UWC, Archbishop Desmond Tutu, before meeting the vice-chancellor, Professor Jakes Gerwel, and other UWC officials.

The extent of Mr Soros's finan-

Benefactor backs UWC school of government



PHILANTHROPIST ...
Mr George Soros

cial support for the school of government is likely to be announced today and it could be more than R1m a year.

Mr Soros said in an interview last night that he was committed to seeing the establishment of an open society in South Africa as the country moved through the transition to democracy.

He had hoped to establish a similar fund in the early 1980s

but had come to the conclusion that the situation in South Africa was hopeless.

"I am glad to have been proved wrong. I would like to help the process towards democracy be established," Mr Soros said.

The new fund would focus on education, media and the training of civil servants to facilitate democratisation in an open society, he added.

Jacques Pauw on how racist remarks encouraged a mass killer to perform

Wit Wolf on Aussie TV

(304A)

THE Australian producer turned to Wit Wolf Barend Strydom, pointed at a group of black people sitting next to the road and said: "Barend, why are so many kaffirs hanging around doing nothing? Are they lazy?"

To the mass murderer that was like manna from heaven. Here, in the person of a foreign television producer, he thought he had unexpectedly discovered a soul mate, a foreigner talking his language.

He expounded at length on how, if the Wit Wolves did not act, hordes of idle, black parasites would swamp his beloved fatherland.

Strydom was picked up a few minutes earlier on his Brits farm by producer Allan Hogan and his television team from the Australian Broadcasting Corporation's 60 Minutes programme. He had agreed to re-enact for

the camera his carnage that day in October 1988 when he shot and killed seven people in cold blood.

The production aptly called *No Regrets*, was filmed in January this year and was recently broadcast on Australian television. The 60 Minutes production is widely regarded as one of the world's top current affairs programmes and this episode is to be screened locally by M-Net.

No Regrets was due for local broadcast last week, but the pay-channel "decided to postpone screening "due to its sensitive nature at this time of South Africa's history".

No Regrets must be one of the most provocative television programmes yet produced in South Africa as Strydom, always smiling, leads the camera through his death trail and proudly tells Hogan how the bullets entered his

victims' bodies.

Also macabre is that as Strydom shakes hands with a supporter, the man tells the camera: "I am, Gerf Buitendag. I am telling him congratulations. He did the right thing."

It makes for chilling viewing as Strydom says: "I was feeling very good... Yes, I would like to do it again."

What the viewer will never see, however, is what happened behind the scenes of *No Regrets* when the camera was not rolling.

How, for instance, one of Australia's top producers tried to entice Strydom by making crude, racist remarks.

I was lured by Hogan and his team to do translations because Strydom sometimes has difficulty speaking and understanding English. I was with Hogan when they picked up the Wit Wolf early that

morning and took him to the scene of the shootings.

Hogan's off-the-camera, racist remarks continued the whole day.

As we drove past Atteridgeville township outside Pretoria, Hogan asked Strydom: "Isn't this another one of those bloody kaffir camps?"

A while later, Hogan said: "And Barend, do you think Aids will help you to get rid of your kaffir problem in South Africa?"

When later that day we arrived back at Strydom's farm, Hogan pointed at a masked guard armed with a shotgun and asked him: "Will that man shoot kaffirs if you told him to?"

Talking to Hogan that day he did not strike me as a racist. He never made any racist remarks to myself or anybody else and, in fact, seemed to be highly critical of white rule in South Africa.

But every time he turned to

Strydom for an off-the-camera conversation his language became spiced with the word "kaffir".

It is probably safe to say that he used the word so often to put the killer at ease to get him to say and do just a little bit extra.

All this for the sake of more exciting, hard-hitting television.

And it seemed to have worked. Strydom said to me that day that his initial fear of the Australians was totally unfounded.

"Man, they are really lekker people. So much better than the South Africans who never seemed to understand."

Strydom held nothing back for Hogan. At Strijdom Square, the producer pointed at a group of black people across the road and asked him: "If I give you a gun now, would you like to go and shoot those blacks over there?"

"Definitely yes," Strydom said

and smiled.

Hogan: "Would you like to do it again?"

Strydom (smiling): "Yes."

This may constitute a blatant violation of Strydom's parole conditions and may land him in jail again.

Unfortunately, Hogan's actions cast a shadow not only over the whole production, but over one of the world's top broadcasting corporations. It is conduct that in South Africa would lead to instant dismissal.

Looking at *No Regrets*, I don't believe it was necessary for Hogan to act the way he did.

Strydom is an unrepentant, cold-blooded killer who would like to do it again.

You don't have to descend to his level to get it out of him. He'll tell you with a smile. □



Schwarz defends half-mast flag

By PETER FABRICIUS

AMBASSADOR Harry Schwarz flew the South African flag half-mast at the Washington embassy yesterday to pay respects to assassinated Communist Party leader Chris Hani "as a leader with a following of millions".

In London too, the flag was flown at half-mast at the SA embassy in Trafalgar Square.

Schwarz said last night that none but a few rightwingers had objected to his gesture, which had received the full support of his embassy staff.

"Chris Hani was a leader with a tremendous following, as we can judge from today's events. Millions paid tribute to him today. I believed I should show respect to him."

● The State President's office suggested the gestures were not consistent with official policy. It said the national flag may be flown half-mast on a nationwide basis only on the day of the funeral of a State President, an acting State President, the Chief Justice of acting Chief Justice, or a former or designate State President. □

Many eventful years on the green benches

Star 15/4/93

(304A)

By Peter Fabricius
Political Correspondent

CAPE TOWN — Forty years ago today, a rather debonair 23-year-old doctor was elected the United Party member of Parliament for Maitland, Cape Town.

He became the youngest person ever to take his seat on the green leather benches of Parliament. Today Zach de Beer, leader of the Democratic Party, older and wiser but still debonair, is still sitting on those green leather benches — the only one left of the class of 1953, after the departure of Helen Suzman and P W Botha.

The nearest to him in vintage are his old DP friend and former Progressive Party leader Colin Eglin, and National Party De Kuilen MP Myburgh Streicher, who were elected to Parliament in 1958.

Despite two lengthy absences from those benches over the last 40 years, De Beer has sat opposite every one of the six National Party prime ministers or executive state presidents who have ruled the country since World War 2.



De Beer . . . older and wiser but still debonair.

In the process he has witnessed first-hand the change from the aggressive implementation of apartheid under D F Malan, J G Strijdom, H F Verwoerd and John Vorster to its accelerating dismantling under P W Botha and F W de Klerk.

Although he naturally rates De Klerk as absolutely beyond comparison with the rest, he,

rather surprisingly, singles out the irascible Botha as the most underestimated leader of the lot.

The young De Beer arrived in Parliament at the height of the NP's all-out campaign to remove the coloureds from the voters roll, an appropriate symbol of its relentless battle to entrench apartheid.

Parliament sat four nights a week, most debates lasted for several days and MPs often spoke for an hour at a time.

As UP member for Maitland, De Beer saw out Malan and Strijdom and saw in Verwoerd in 1958.

The next year he split from the UP with Helen Suzman, Eglin, Ray Swart and others to form the Progressive Party. He lost his seat at the next general election in 1961 along with all of them except, of course, Suzman.

After a successful career, he returned to Parliament as PFP MP for Parktown in the 1977 general election in time, to sit opposite John Vorster, who resigned the next year.

He left again in 1980 to become chairman of a large insurance company and returned in 1989 as leader of the newly formed Democratic Party.

DP believes it can do well in election

Star 15/4/93

(304A)

The Democratic Party is optimistic about the number of voters who will rally to its flag in the country's first all-in election, and is busy raising funds, writes Political Correspondent KAIZER NYATSUMBA.

**ELECTION
COUNTDOWN**



Undeterred . . . Ken Andrew hopes to see all who want "true democracy" voting for the Democratic Party.

DEMOCRATIC Party (DP) national chairman Ken Andrew is not the type one could expect to see doing the macabre toy-ti dance, and the appellation "comrade" would no doubt sit most uncomfortably on him.

But like his opponents in South Africa's historic non-racial election to be held sometime next year, he is acutely aware of the need for his party to reach out to the millions of South Africans who will be casting their votes for the first time.

For years the DP — and its predecessors, the Progressive Federal Party and the Progressive Party before it — has been seen as a white, predominantly English, middle-class party espousing liberal values. Andrew readily acknowledges this, and attributes it to apartheid which decreed that blacks could not be members of "white" political parties.

The challenge now confronting the DP is to extend its appeal to South Africans of all hues if it is to continue to be a significant player in the much-touted new South Africa — and Andrew is convinced the party is equal to the task.

But he is in no hurry to learn the toy-ti.

The DP, he says, does not have the resources "at the moment" to go all-out to compete for the 21 million votes on offer in the election. And so unless you live in one of the areas which fall under the party's "niche market" — places which have been targeted for a massive campaign — don't expect to see DP campaigners at your door.

Areas falling under the "niche market" include the western Cape — where a battle royal is expected between the ANC and the National Party — the northern Transvaal, the Free State Goldfields, the southern Transvaal "and other

places where (political) intimidation is low".

Says Andrew: "Obviously there are many communities in which the DP is unknown or relatively unknown, but we are encouraged by the response we have received so far."

Although Andrew is reluctant to use racial tags, he lets slip that the coloured community is the most receptive to the DP's message of a liberal democracy based on a German-type mixed economy. He says the DP had 14 branches in the coloured community — mostly in the Cape — last year, and now boasts no less than 55 branches.

Like Pik Botha who surprised many last year when he said the NP could win a non-racial election, Andrew has also done his arithmetic: he believes the DP will win about 16 percent of the popular vote, enough to book it a place in the government of national unity and in the constituent assembly.

The Cape Town Gardens MP estimates that the DP will win 25 percent of the white vote, 14 percent of the coloured and Indian vote, and 10 percent of the African vote. This, he says, will add up to 16 percent of the overall plebiscite.

Good news for the DP is that the election will be fought on a proportional representational (PR) basis, a system which allows smaller parties to be-

come kingmakers and co-governors of a country — like Count Lambsdorff's Free Democratic Party which has ruled Germany with Chancellor Helmut Kohl's Social Democratic Union for over a decade.

Andrew says for the DP to get the 16 percent it wants it will need at least R15 million for the election, compared to the ANC's R168 million to R200 million. He will not say how much the party has raised so far, but only reveals that it is now "in a much stronger position financially than we were a year ago".

The DP, he says, is still "very tight on money", and has a long way to go before it could be satisfied with its coffers. However, where the party's fundraising campaign is at an advanced stage it has been "very successful".

Contrary to popular belief, Andrew says the DP does not depend on big business for its funding. Instead, it relies heavily on pledges and debit orders from its members, who give donations ranging from R20 to R2 000 a month.

The party is also looking abroad for additional financial support now that the restriction on political parties receiving funds from overseas has been rescinded.

"The DP is the only truly democratic party in South Afri-

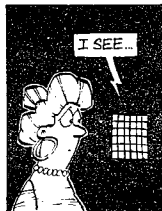
ca. Therefore, for people who want true democracy to survive in this country, for people who want stability in South Africa and are not happy that the other parties will guarantee that, the DP would be a natural party to support," he says.

Like the ANC, the DP is engaged in a voter education campaign, and is presently drawing up programmes and proposals on preparing the electorate for the election.

Andrew believes the DP has the potential to grow further after the election "if we do everything right". He says 10 years down the line the party could be one of the biggest in the country "if we achieve what we are capable of". □

MADAM & EVE

By S Francis, H Dugmore & Rico



Top political leaders to pray for peace

SA's major political leaders would soon come together to pray for peace, Rhema church leader Pastor Ray McCauley said in Johannesburg yesterday.

McCauley said President F W de Klerk, Inkatha leader Mangosuthu Buthelezi and PAC president Clarence Makwetu had accepted an invitation to hold a joint prayer meeting in Johannesburg in May. ANC president Nelson Mandela and CP leader Andries Treurnicht were expected to an-

GAVIN DU VENAGE

nounce soon whether they would attend. Church leaders, such as SA Council of Churches general secretary Frank Chikane and Anglican Archbishop Desmond Tutu, would participate.

McCauley said the idea of the prayer meeting was to bring various political leaders together to publicly show their commitment to peace. (304P) (1/27)

Shill to earn R170 000

CAPE TOWN — Newly appointed National Housing and Public Works Minister Louis Shill will earn an annual salary of R170 892. *810 AM 15/4/93*

This is the standard salary for ministers.

Shill, who relinquishes his position as Sage Group chairman and CE when he joins the Cabinet on June 1, has indicated he would be available to serve as a minister until the next general election. It is considered likely that he will be in office for about one year.

Shill will also qualify for an annual allowance of R47 208 to cover his housing, entertainment and travel costs. This amount could be tax deductible.

Another perk available to government ministers is an interest-free loan up to R242 900 payable over four years to finance the purchase of a car. State President's Office spokesman Caspar Venter said Shill would have access to this perk but would have to repay the outstanding balance at the end of his term.

Due to the brief period of office Shill would not qualify for a normal pension, Venter said, but there was the possibility that he would receive a lump sum payment based on a specified formula.

US President Bill Clinton, left, and Russian President Boris Yeltsin take a walk at the University of British Columbia in Vancouver on Saturday.



Frontline states set up SA mission

HARARE — The Frontline states had established a joint "resident mission" in SA. Frontline states chairman and Zimbabwean President Robert Mugabe said at the close of a one-day summit of the group in Zimbabwe on Friday.

The mission, established a week earlier, would "work alongside the liberation movements to analyse all the forces at play so that we may together find a way forward to the democratic peaceful state of affairs we all yearn for, both in that area and in our region as a whole," he said.

Diplomatic sources believe the mission has temporary premises in Johannesburg and parties they say for the eventual establishment of formal diplomatic ties still shunned by Zim. Baber, Tarnants and the more militant of SA's black neighbours who only recently dropped calls for continued international boycotts.

The meeting, joined by ANC and PAC leaders Nelson Mandela and Clarence Mak-

MICHAEL HARTWACK

well, said continuing violence threatened the SA democratic process.

The leaders reiterated their demand President that President F W de Klerk's government fulfil its responsibility to maintain law and order, and appealed to all political parties to contribute to the creation of a "tolerant, civil state".

Disunity "among the representatives of the oppressed majority" continued to compromise their efforts in the quest for a new SA, while violence haunted society and disrupted the search for a new order.

Delegates called on the UN to send an additional inspection team to SA to verify its nuclear weapon capability had been destroyed. Zimbabwean Foreign Minister Nathan Shamuyarira said Frontline state leaders believed full disclosure of SA's nuclear activities had not been made.

Govt, ANC working on homelands deal

JOHANNESBURG — The ANC have set in motion concerted efforts to persuade the nominal-ly independent homelands to accept a transformation from "independence" to self-governing status prior to the first round of elections in a year's time.

The key to resolving this problem would be progress in negotiations on regionalism and security of tenure of political heads and officials under a new dispensation.

A senior government source said yesterday the approach to Bophuthatswana was different to that being employed with the Transkei, Ciskei and Venda. Venda and the Transkei were "reasonably keen to come back into the fold" but Bophuthatswana was more difficult.

Officials and politicians in Bophuthatswana had a great deal more to lose than those in the other administrations.

However, despite Venda and the Transkei having committed themselves to reincorporation, they would not move and the ANC would not accept it if Bophuthatswana was not treated equally.

The government source said it was very difficult to persuade Mangope's administration to accept reincorporation prior to elections. But he said the evaluation the territory had done on the viability of non-reincorporation had surprised Mangope considerably.

It had gone a long way to show that the territory really could not go it alone. Government was in regular discussion with the homeland to convince it that the advantages of reincorporation far outweighed any disadvantages and that to remain separate was virtually a guarantee of economic and social collapse.

The government source said the major exercise was going to be the negotiations over regionalism. He said the ANC was already contributing largely to settling nervousness through regular discussions with the homeland leaders and shifting not only their position on regionalism but also their language. "Instead of marching on Boy, they are talking of Ciskei, which appeared to be lacking of its earlier commitment to reincorporation, would be easier to convince, especially if Bophuthatswana was moving towards acceptance."

London embassy marks assassination

CHRIS BATEMAN

LONDON — In a gesture of reconciliation, the SA embassy flew its flag at half mast yesterday to mark SACP general secretary Chris Hani's death.

The move surprised the British Anti-Apartheid Movement, (AAM), which held an evening protest vigil outside the embassy — but secretary Mike Terry soon recovered to express polite appreciation.

Ambassador Kent Durr said Pretoria had approved the gesture. "As (Hani) was a prominent and important political leader, we thought it would be appropriate to show our sympathy and join in the feeling of remorse and reconciliation so necessary in our country now."

ANC chief for the UK and Ireland Mendi Msimang, who joined AAM chief Archbishop Trevor Huddleston and others, for the vigil said the move was "significant".

"It shows that De Klerk is worried by the turn of events and how the assassination is likely to interfere in the process... but one would have loved to see much more expression of urgency regarding an early date for elections".

Ali bemused by chanting crowd

Political Staff

CAPE TOWN — Militant youth protestors delivered a knockout blow in Cape Town yesterday to an apparently dazed Muhammad Ali when he arrived on the Parade at the height of the demonstrations.

Ali seemed overwhelmed as he stared at the youngsters who crowded around the bus that brought him into the city centre and weakly raised a finger in acknowledgement.

The young demonstrators ignored his subdued response and they shouted "Ali, Ali" progressively louder, with their fists in the air.

When the bus moved after stopping for a brief period to leave the Parade area, the crowd followed him, still chanting and breaking the cordon ANC marshals and the police had thrown around the area.

The almost hysterical response of the crowd yesterday at what should have been a memorial rally for the late Chris Hani must have been one of the most surprising situations Ali has landed in.

Youths damage shops, cars during Maritzburg march

MARITZBURG — Hundreds of youths who broke away from a march of 15 000 people smashed shop windows, torched cars and damaged other vehicles yesterday.

Journalists reported seeing at least three policemen and three civilians injured during a tension-filled day in and around the city.

There were reports of stone throwing and clashes between youths and police in Maritzburg's townships.

Addressing a commemoration service in Market Square, ANC Midlands leader Harry Gwala repeated a call for the suspension of constitutional negotiations because of SACP general secretary Chris Hani's assassination.

Both Gwala and Winnie Mandela blamed government for Hani's killing.

Gwala said President FW de Klerk could not escape blame for the murder as he had been urging the ANC to cut its ties with communists and had called for radicals within the ANC to be isolated.

Gwala said the recent branding of Umkhonto we Sizwe members as criminals by Law and Order Minister Hernus Kriel had also led to the murder.

He said the liberation movement had sacrificed so much that it now had to pause in the negotiation process until government acted decisively against violence.

The crowd moved to police headquarters to deliver a memorandum, but marshals struggled to contain groups of angry youths who broke away and vented their fury on vehicles and shops.

At least four vehicles were torched and more than 50 damaged. Almost every street in the CBD had damaged shops and residential buildings.

Midlands ANC secretary Sifiso Nkabinde described the damage as "unfortunate". He said ANC leaders had tried to placate the angry crowd but "one has to consider the anger of the people on the ground... we tried our best but we could not contain their anger".

Another Midlands ANC leader said he believed the groups which ran amok were agents provocateur intent on discrediting the organisation.

Police said patrols in the Edendale Valley were shot at six times by people wielding automatic weapons. Security forces used rubber bullets and teargas in some townships after burning barricades were erected and private vehicles stoned.

In Durban, thousands of people converged on the city centre. Violence erupted when a group broke away from the main body and torched two cars and a motorcycle in West Street. Several shops had windows smashed and looted. — Sapa.

F.W. announces new plans to curb marches after 'dark day for SA'

YESTERDAY was a dark day for SA and all its people, President F.W. de Klerk said last night.

In an address to the nation, he said "What happened today cannot be tolerated in any civilised country. Democracy was used for violence, violent attacks on police and damage to property."

"We are determined not to allow the country to degenerate into the chaos that the groups of radicals from both the right and the left want."

He said government and the security forces were in constant contact at the highest level with the ANC leadership.

He also announced that his and ANC president Nelson Mandela's offices were in contact yesterday to arrange an urgent face-to-face meeting.

He stressed that negotiations had to go ahead as there was no alternative. "Only through negotiation can we get peace. Despite the assassination of Mr. Chris Han, today's events cannot be justified."

He outlined steps to control further marches. These were:

- More areas to be declared inner areas.
- All protests and marches to go through

BILLY PADDOCK

we have to rethink what measures we take on marches and protests."

He said that while he had high regard for Mandela's call for responsible action, the ANC leadership corps had been naive to believe it could control 250 000 marchers and it had not sufficiently considered that the marches would be infiltrated by those with objectives other than peaceful demonstration.

Earlier, after the day-long State Security Council meeting, chaired by the President, Acting Law and Order Minister Pienus Delport warned: "When you whip up emotions it is hard to control what happens

He said in all instances government was satisfied that the security forces had acted with the necessary restraint.

Police Commissioner Gen Johan van der Merwe, responding to the ANC's allegation that police at the Pretoria police station acted with "unprovoked brutality" and without warning when they fired on the SA marchers, reportedly killing four, said the SA marchers had been responsible for their actions. He said the police were aware that they were under attack but there were other questions and the full facts would be uncovered in an official inquiry.

ANC, govt meet on ways to speed up talks

Own Correspondent

JOHANNESBURG. — Chief ANC and government negotiators held an urgent meeting yesterday ahead of tomorrow's planning committee meeting to discuss the best way to speed up negotiations following the assassination of SACP secretary-general Mr Chris Hani.

The meeting was confirmed but both camps refused to disclose details.

It is known that Constitutional Development Minister Mr Roelf Meyer and ANC secretary-general Mr Cyril Ramaphosa attended the meeting and it is believed that they were looking at strategies to ensure that the talks agenda had the transitional executive council as the first item.

The government meets the Bophuthatswana government today to discuss

constitutional matters and it is hoping also to meet Inkatha before Monday's negotiating council starts full-blown constitutional discussions.

A government spokesman said the negotiating council would meet at least two to three times a week from Monday to help speed up negotiations. The ANC has demanded that the transitional executive council be established before June and that an election date is announced by the same deadline.

The government is in agreement but Inkatha and its allies reject the programme.

Meanwhile, the South African Council of Churches yesterday said it was "doing everything possible" to ensure agreement at the next scheduled meeting of the multi-party forum on the announcement of an election date.

Speed-up of negotiations out

No unilateral ruling on elections — Nats

304A
Sowden 16/4/93
Negotiations must proceed according to plan - Meyer:

By Ismail Lagardien and Themba Molefe

NEGOTIATIONS must concentrate on the creation by the end of May of the Transitional Executive Council and a date for elections, the Government said yesterday.

Reacting to the assassination of Mr Chris Hani and subsequent events, Minister of Constitutional Development Mr Roelf Meyer said the Government could not announce a date for elections unilaterally.

Negotiations had to be speeded up and agreements reached as quickly as possible.

"We call on all parties to proceed with negotiations as soon as possible and as constructively as possible with a view to reaching agreements on matters outstanding."

Pan Africanist Congress general-secretary Mr Benny Alexander said yesterday agreement on an election date could be reached at the next meeting of the multiparty negotiations forum.

However, it was not possible to set up the TEC before agreement was reached on the specifics of a constituent assembly.

Constitutional negotiations, which were to begin in earnest next Monday, have been delayed by a week.

Homeland network's 'dark secrets' revealed

A SECURITY "family" under the leadership of one-time director of Military Intelligence General Tienie Groenewald is continuing to mobilise the homelands against the African National Congress and negotiations, secret documents indicate.

And the documents imply that Inkatha central committee member Walter Felgate and Bophuthatswana's minister of state affairs, defence and civil aviation, Rowan Cronje, are part of this strategy.

Details of the documents were divulged in parliament on Wednesday night by Democratic Party MP Kobus Jordaan, a former constitutional adviser to the government whose security clearance was removed when he advocated that the government and the ANC should negotiate with one another.

A document which reached Jordaan from an anonymous source in November last year indicates that a secret homeland network, designed to thwart the ANC and constitutional talks, was still operating, albeit in a scaled-down form.

The documents also state:

- That through the infiltration of homelands and extra-parliamentary organisations, the government was kept thoroughly briefed on the programmes and strategies of "other parties";

- That the "family" believed the National Party lacked the will to mobilise all the homelands in its total strategy against the ANC;

- That the "family" also believed democracy could not work in South Africa and "a number of enlightened (verligte) dictators had to be established to work against the ANC — with whites in the background pulling the strings and in reality dominating the situation".

Jordaan clashed with the security establishment at a time when Groenewald, who served in PW Botha's all-powerful State Security Council between 1982 and 1985 and retired from the Defence Force in June 1990, was influential. Since his retirement, Groenewald has supported the Conservative Party.

The former Minister of Defence, Gene Louw, who retired from office this week, said earlier this year he had not established contact with the chief ministers of homelands "while he was associated with Military Intelligence" and it was not the task of MI to do so.

However, Jordaan's disclosures directly contradict this and indicate that the "security family" had indeed been trying to mobilise homeland leaders against the ANC and deal with "problem children" — Ciskei's one-time life president, Lennox Sebe, and kaNgwane's former chief minister, Eros Mabuza.

Jordaan said in parliament that he had anonymously received two intelligence packages about covert actions, one in September 1990 and the other in November 1992.

The first package had described the role of prominent Inkatha Freedom Party member Walter Felgate in relation to kwaZulu leader Mangosuthu Buthelezi as "an absolute success."

The same document said Cronje, a former Rhodesian cabinet minister, had been "sent" to Ciskei but that he could not counter the negative influences, who were listed, around Sebe. "In Bophuthatswana, however, he (Cronje) has been extremely successful," the document said.

Jordaan has been criticised since he asked President FW de Klerk in parliament whether Felgate, Cronje and IFP adviser Professor Albert Blauwstein had been ever been paid with covert funds.

Afterwards, he revealed in parliament this week, a senior member of the cabinet, whom he did not name, had approached him and said: "You want the destruction of our intelligence

A DP MP has disclosed secret

documents detailing the efforts of a 'security family' to mobilise homeland leaders against the ANC.

IAN CLAYTON reports

abilities, don't you?"

Jordaan revealed that he had once attended a meeting of MI personnel, under the chairmanship of Groenewald.

"In contrast with the good reception we received elsewhere, we were literally lambasted and accused of naivety — that we underestimated the enemy (the ANC) and they had to be destroyed."

Jordaan said the second package stated that Groenewald was still playing a crucial role in trying to mobilise the homelands.

He concluded by saying: "The DP will continue to expose these darker secrets."



Peter Stuyvesant
International

Constructively • FW's warning

De Klerk gets tough

By Ismail Lagardien
and Sapa

South Africa 15/4/93
304A
PRESIDENT FW de Klerk last night indicated strong security measures would be enforced to deal with the "latent criminality" following yesterday's stayaway which was marked by violence in some major centres.

Speaking in a televised interview from Cape Town, De Klerk said thousands more policemen would be on stand-by should the need arise.

Reacting to yesterday's excesses of violence, De Klerk said he was determined not to let the country become "the victim of chaos".

He warned more regions could be declared unrest areas. He said illegal marches would not be allowed should there be a possibility of more violence.

He said April 14 was a dark day for

South Africa.

"What happened in South Africa today cannot be tolerated in any civilised country."

De Klerk said the Government was determined to see that the country would not degenerate into chaos.

Acting Law and Order Minister Mr Tertius Delpoit described yesterday's events as a "tragedy for South Africa".

Delpoit said like Hani's assassination, yesterday's events had "marred South Africa's history".

Commissioner of Police General Johan van der Merwe said he was convinced that "radical elements" had hijacked what was to be a peaceful day and turned it into a "tragedy".

Hundreds of people were injured and at least 10 reported dead while estimated damaged caused ran into millions of rands.

Warning Star 15/4/93 to speed up talks

By Esther Waugh
Political Correspondent

ANC secretary-general Cyril Ramaphosa warned last night that unless negotiations were dramatically speeded up, the country would plunge into chaos which would take "years if not decades" to get out of.

The ANC hoped that the tragic death of Chris Hani would move negotiations forward more purposefully and that a date for the first democratic elections could be set for before the end of the year.

Government Ministers the ANC had spoken to since the assassination realised that momentum should be added to the negotiation process, he said.

Ramaphosa said a number of steps would be taken before Hani's funeral on Monday to ensure that the call for restraint from ANC president Nelson Mandela "sinks deep and begins to take effect".

The violence in Cape Town was outweighed by the discipline elsewhere in the country.

However, he acknowledged that "in a number of areas the situation did get out of control when the grief people are feeling got the better of them".

There were "quite a number of unruly people" but the chaos was not so extensive as to label the day's events "disastrous".

At a press conference in Johannesburg last night, Ramaphosa condemned the "outrageous behaviour" of the police, especially in Soweto, where four people were killed and many injured.

The ANC was in contact with SAP Commissioner-General Johan van der Merwe to get an explanation for the police action after Van der Merwe undertook on Tuesday that police would act with maximum restraint, he said.

Funeral venue changes

Boksburg town clerk Johan Coetzee yesterday said Chris Hani would not be buried in Boksburg but in the Elspark South Cemetery in Germiston because it was nearest to his home in Dawn Park. Germiston City Council Management Committee Chairman Leon Louw said arrangements were being made for Hani to be buried in the cemetery.

New unrest curbs

By ANTHONY JOHNSON
Political Correspondent

THE government is poised to slap emergency-type curbs on 19 more magisterial districts as the country braces itself for Monday's funeral of Mr Chibani.

The move came as ANC spokeswoman Ms Sue de Villiers said yesterday there would be no Western Cape marches next Monday, Wednesday and Thursday, but that a national stayaway on Monday had been called.

Meanwhile, the government yesterday signalled its intention to speed up the negotiation process and move as quickly as possible to install the Transitional Executive Council (TEC) — effectively the first step towards interim government.

As tensions and recriminations grew in the wake of countrywide violence this week, Law and Order Minister Mr Hennie Kriel last night cut short an official visit in Europe to rush home. He is expected back today.

At the same time urgent efforts to arrange a summit meeting between President FW de Klerk and ANC leader Mr Nelson Mandela, to forge a common approach to violence and lawlessness, are continuing.

Last night, as part of the emer-

gency proclamations, a curfew came into effect in the whole of Port Elizabeth at 9pm. Port Elizabeth was declared an unrest area on Tuesday.

The whole city — including white, coloured and black areas — is affected by the curfew, police spokesman Lieutenant-Colonel Chris Maritz said last night.

All the new unrest areas will be around Johannesburg, the East and West Rands and include Boksburg, where the SACP leader was gunned down.

But Cape Town, Durban, Maritzburg and other cities hard hit by violent protest and looting on Wednesday will be excluded from the crackdown.

Security sources said the 19 unrest areas would be: Alberton, Benoni, Boksburg, Springs, Brakpan, Heidelberg, Germiston, Kempton Park, Johannesburg, Randburg, Krugersdorp, Randfontein, Westonaria, Vanderbijlpark, Vereeniging, Balfour, Deismas, Meyerton and Nigel.

Commenting on the government's attempts to speed up the talks, Constitutional Development Minister Mr Roelf Meyer said the government's first priority at negotiations would be to secure agreement on the multi-party TEC and its sub-councils, which are designed to prepare the country for elections.

However, the minister acknowledged that other parties were still insisting the details of a transitional constitution would

have to be finalised before any agreements on the TEC could be implemented.

Responding to ANC demands that an election date should be set immediately, Mr Meyer said the government could not do this unilaterally, but agreed that the creation of structures to prepare for elections "should be tackled as the priority issue in negotiations".

Mr Meyer was optimistic that the negotiations process could weather the current storm, saying not one of the 26 parties in talks had indicated they would pull out.

The minister emphasised negotiations would have to continue as rapidly as possible in order to avert racial hatred, violence and damage to the economy.

The government also said legislation arising from Goldstone Commission proposals on a "Mass Action Bill" would go before Parliament soon.

Justice and Defence Minister Mr Kobie Coetsee told a press conference that the proclamation of unrest areas would allow the government to enforce state-of-emergency-type regulations in affected areas for up to one month.

Mr Coetsee said following the violence and vandalism which took place on Wednesday, it was now important for local authorities to add comments to the Goldstone Commission's draft Bill on the Regulation of Gatherings and Demonstrations.

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CT16/4/93

The Independent sees a threat of anarchy — and negotiations speeding up

Assassination brings danger, hope

AS WEDNESDAY'S frightening clashes in Soweto and elsewhere demonstrated, South Africa remains in an alarmingly tense state following Saturday's murder of the SACP leader Chris Han.

There is a danger of the country being plunged into anarchy. The security forces are discredited, demoralised, underpaid and undisciplined. Education is in chaos. In parts of the Cape, unemployment is running at 60 percent. With grief over Han's death stilling up anger over the brutality and poverty of life, the potential for an already violent country to descend into a form of Lebanonisation is frightening.

Yet, for all Wednesday's bloodshed and strikes, Han's assassination could have a very different effect. There is already in South Africa a widespread desire on all sides to achieve the swiftest possible progress towards a negotiated settlement.

The envisaged timetable is to set up a (mixed) transitional executive council by June, to pave the way for elections for a constituent assembly. That in turn would draw up a constitution, or more probably give its seal of approval to whatever emerges from the all-party negotiations. These resumed on April 1, having been broken off last May after the Bopalong massacre.

Han's death was undoubtedly intended to disrupt negotiations. Leaders in all the main camps have urged their followers to do nothing that might help to fulfil that hope. To contain their anger will not be easy. Han was uniquely well placed to restrain the ANC's most unruly followers. In a country where life is cheap, to seek revenge is a normal reflex. The best hope for South Africa is that his death will give the negotiators a new sense of urgency.

There are difficulties enough between them on matters of substance. One of the most sensitive, and urgent, concerns the composition and control of the security forces in the transitional period. There are already suspicions that the intelligence services may have been involved in a plot to murder Han and other senior figures. President F.W. de Klerk's purge has manifestly not gone far enough.

Further ahead, there is the core question of the extent to which power should be devolved to the regions. Much has already been achieved — not just in talks be-

tween the ANC and the Government, but in a series of national negotiating forums bringing together interested parties.

For example, an impressive committee has been agreed upon to appoint a new, independent board for the South African Broadcasting Corporation, hitherto by and large a mouthpiece of the Government. A tripartite national economic forum has begun work on a more equitable sharing out of the economic cake. No less important, there has been something of a rapprochement between the ANC and its old adversary, Chief Mangosuthu Buthe's Inkatha Freedom Party.

South Africans have had enough of violence. They must not allow yet another serious political crime to divert them from the goal of a negotiated settlement. □

LOUIS SHILL

FM 16/4/93.

Ex Witbank semper

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In a way, it's not surprising that Louis Shill of Sage Group should become the first Jewish Cabinet Minister since the National Party took power in 1948. Of the two broad strands of SA Jewry — the rural trader, or *Boerefood*, who was often culturally more Afrikaans than English, and Anglicised city folk, whose more liberal attitude was entrenched by the influx of political refugees in the Thirties — Shill, born and schooled in Witbank, is by origin a full member of the former.

There is an osmosis between the two. The Borkums, for instance, who settled in Oudtshoorn as traders when the ostrich industry was at its peak, have become leaders of the urban liberal establishment. But there are no Borkums left in Oudtshoorn; there are still Shills in Witbank, and Louis' brother has been active in local Nat politics.

Shill himself, interviewed by the *FM* in 1985, admitted he is a sort of English-speaking Afrikaner: "Hailing from the platteland, growing up in an Afrikaans community and attending Afrikaans schools, something of the Afrikaner influence has rubbed off on me."

This attitude allowed him to share effective control of his Sage group with Rembrandt with no apparent friction.

In 1985, at the height of the P W Botha era, he even said he thought reform was going as fast as possible. None of this has affected the devoutness of his religious beliefs, though he has little involvement in communal affairs.

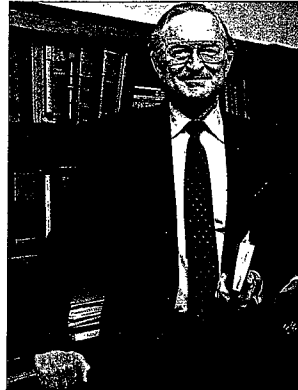
But Shill, a Wits BCom CA, has never seen innovation as incompatible with conservatism. He was a co-founder of Liberty Life, though his relationship with Donald Gordon went through a frosty period after Shill left Liberty and struck out on his own with SA's first unit trust, SA Growth Equities Fund, whose initials gave his group its name.

Shill's great rival then was David Abramson, who came out of Krugersdorp to form the other pioneer unit trust, National Growth Fund. Both saw unit trust management as the nucleus of a financial services and property empire.

But, whereas the flamboyant Abramson floated National Fund Investments at the height of the 1969 boom, of which it became one of the most conspicuous bubbles — to many investors' great cost — the more cautious Shill used paper wisely to acquire sound businesses.

One was mass home-builder Schachat. The combination of financial know-how and experience with Schachat are his credentials for the tough portfolios of National Housing and Public Works. But are they enough?

At 62, Shill is less than a year older than



Shill ... an English-speaking Afrikaner

President F W de Klerk's other recruit from business, Derek Keys. His stated intent to serve only until the next election might reflect the distaste of a private man for the hustings as much as a realisation that he is not likely to find favour with a new SA electorate. But it will take a superman to achieve much by then. ■

Need for rapid talks progress

Star 16/4/93

- Meyer

By Kaizer Nyatumba
Political Correspondent

The Government yesterday warned that violence would delay multiparty negotiations and said it could not unilaterally set a date for the country's historic all-in elections.

Constitutional Development Minister Roelf Meyer told an international press conference in Pretoria it was important that the current wave of violence was brought to an end immediately, and that a multiparty transitional executive council (TEC) be established as soon as possible.

However, Meyer said the Government could not set a date for elections either unilaterally or after bilateral meetings with the ANC. Only a multiparty negotiations forum could do so, he said.

The ANC and its allies have been calling for the immediate installation of a TEC and the setting of a date for elections since SACP chief Chris Hani's assassination on Saturday.

In what could be a major breakthrough in negotiations, Meyer said that, given the need for a TEC to be in place as soon as possible, the Government was prepared to jettison demands that a transitional constitution be agreed upon before a TEC was established.

Agreement

He said if it was not possible to get agreement in the negotiations forum on this, efforts had to be focused on reaching agreement on both the TEC and an interim constitution.

Meyer said details, such as what powers the TEC's sub-councils would have, had yet to be agreed upon by the various parties and organisations.

One of three Ministers to address the conference, Meyer said the negotiations process needed to be accelerated as rapidly as possible and he remained convinced that the timetable for the country's transition — with elections held around April next year — was still attainable.

The leadership of the ANC-led alliance has also called for the negotiations process to be accelerated.

Home Affairs Minister Danie Schutte told the press conference that criminal statutory sanctions should be incorporated into the National Peace Accord's code of conduct.

Schutte said the code for political parties should be given statutory sanction and that, in line with Goldstone Commission proposals, it should be invested with criminal sanctions in certain cases.

Boerestaat Party to aid suspect in Hani killing

JOHANNESBURG. — The Boerestaat Party (BSB) yesterday announced it would provide the alleged assassin of South African Communist Party secretary-general Mr Chris Hani with legal aid in the coming trial.

The organisation said it would help Mr Janusz Walus because he was opposed to communism.

Mr Walus appeared briefly in the Boksburg Magistrate's Court on Tuesday morning, but was not asked to plead and no charges were put to him. The 40-year-old was remanded to May 12.

BSB leader Mr Robert van Tonder said his party supported calls on the government that Mr Walus be treated as a political prisoner.

Meanwhile, commenting on reports that Mr Walus would seek indemnity, Justice Minister Mr Kobie Coetsee yesterday said criminal law does not acknowledge politics as an excuse for murder.

Govt denies killing charges

PRETORIA. — Accusations that the government was involved in the assassination of SACP secretary-general Mr Chris Hani were unfounded, Justice Minister Mr Kobie Coetsee said here yesterday.

He said the appointment of international experts to help with the police probe of the killing guaranteed that no cover-up was possible.

● Reacting to Mr Coetsee's statement, AWB leader Mr Eugene Terre'Blanche said he rejected the appointment of international experts. — Sapa

"A person's motivation prior to October 1990 could have earned him indemnity. However, the purpose of the law is to terminate that period in which indemnity may be claimed," he said at a news conference.

"Criminal law does not acknowledge politics as an excuse and makes no provision for absolution or indemnity. CT-16/4/93

"Unless another (indemnity) law is passed, which I do not foresee, there will be no absolution or indemnity (for political murder)." — Sapa

Govt echoes ANC call for transitional council and election date

6/10/87

16/4/73

304#

BILLY PADDOCK

GOVERNMENT has echoed the ANC's calls for a speedy implementation of a transitional executive council and setting of an election date.

Constitutional Development Minister Roelf Meyer said yesterday government was prepared to shift its negotiating position and delink the implementation of the council from agreement on an interim constitution and constitutional principles. This would speed up the process so that the powers of the council could be negotiated and implemented before more time-consuming bargaining over constitutional

principles began, Meyer said. "Unless an agreement is reached on the transitional executive council, we cannot implement the independent election commission," he said.

However, the ANC rejected delinking the issues. While negotiator Matthew Goniwe welcomed Meyer's sentiments, he said the ANC was trying to spring a trap on the ANC, and that linkage was essential to prevent a prolonged interim stage.

Meyer said he was aware that the ANC could reject the idea, as could Inkatha and

its allies. If these parties could not be persuaded to delink the issues, "we have to get agreement on both in the shortest possible time".

He said government had put this to the ANC in bilateral meetings but it had been rejected. This was the first time it had been publicly stated.

He disclosed government's bargaining tactic, by saying the issue of the ANC's call for joint control of security forces rested with a transitional executive council and

its subcommittees. They had to resolve the problem of paramilitary units such as Umkhonto we Sizwe and establish security force credibility.

Meyer said the fact that the ANC wanted the transitional executive council to top the negotiations agenda could be difficult because it addressed the fundamental difference between government and the ANC and its allies on the one hand, and Inkatha and its allies on the other.

But the only way forward was to embark on negotiating the council with a view to elections and finding co-operation on se-

curity matters, he said.

He said until a week ago there had been hope of rapid progress in the talks, but these had now suffered a setback because the goodwill and co-operative spirit that had been built up over months had suffered a blow with the ANC and government criticising each other publicly.

"But we must not let the Hani assassination frustrate the process. The only answer to violence, frustration and economic stability is that we reach rapid agreement in negotiations," Meyer said.

● See Pages 3 and 6

Negotiations under pressure

6/00/91 16/4/93

BILLY PADDOCK

IRIS Han's assassination and the subsequent commemoration marches demonstrated three issues: how far SA has come in the past three years that the middle ground and politics has been enlarged and strengthened, and just how fragile the negotiation process and the potential for serious civil conflict.

Han's killing and the political-theatre following the marches have, however, done substantial harm to the negotiation process and may have jeopardised the progress all parties were expecting in the next few months.

On Saturday, the day of the slaying, political leaders across the spectrum spoke almost with one voice in condemning the killing and urging restraint and an urgency to get on with negotiations.

President F W de Klerk spoke of it as a constructive force in the country. And as late as Tuesday night Police Commissioner Johan van der Merwe called for calm and promised police would keep a low profile and act with restraint. ANC resident Nelson Mandela addressed the nation on television and radio, urging restraint and co-operation. Until Wednesday's commemora-

tion there was a strong sense of the majority of the country consolidating around the middle ground and expressing fears that the negotiation process might be derailed.

Remarkable noises were coming from all sides. It demonstrated how much change had taken place in three years. Before 1990, the assassination would not have drawn so much common outrage from all sides. Sentiments similar to former justice Minister Jimmy Kruger's comment on the Steve Biko killing — "It leaves me cold" — could probably have been expected.

Contrast this with the new mood, especially among whites. There has been outrage and sympathy at the death of no less than the former public enemy No 1 — the communist commander of Umkhonto we Sizwe who was leading men to fight and kill the sons, brothers, and fathers of whites in the army and SAP.

Even Wednesday's events, which unleashed anger from Han's support-

ers as well as violence and looting from criminal elements and those radicals intent on disruption, showed the remarkable transformation the country has already undergone.

With more than 250 000 people involved in marches, the deaths, injuries and damage were significantly less than one could have expected three years ago.

The next few days are a big test for the security forces to demonstrate that they can operate with restraint and evenhandedness. They will also be a test of whether the ANC can control its militant supporters.

After the marches the political leaderships chose to attack each other publicly. Loose talk from lower level ANC leadership linked government to Han's assassination. Strong

criticism from secretary-general Cyril Ramaphosa and ANC spokesmen that the police had acted "quasi-legally" and with "improvised brutality", elicited reports from Ministers that the ANC could not control their supporters and were not native and responsible for the violence and unrest.

Added to this is the intention of government to jump down in their own marches and declare lawless areas in the Witwatersrand before the funeral on Monday.

Yesterday Constitutional Development Minister Roelf Meyer said Wednesday's marches proved "just how poor stability is in the country". Therefore it was important that the related issues be resolved as soon as possible, he said. These were that the problem of paramilitary units in the country had to be resolved and that executive council be reached on a transitional executive council and its sub-committee to establish credibility of the security forces.

Meyer said the process had to move forward with renewed urgency. The week's delay in the talks would have to be made up. The programme would lag behind the timetable for transition and the elections.

Also, the public criticism of the main parties had damaged the "very good spirit and goodwill that we had been so long to rebuild".

Because setting up a transitional executive council is regarded as a matter of urgency, the issue is to be shifted to the top of the agenda. Government will no longer insist that a new constitution be agreed on before the council is set up.

This means the ANC and dividing issue between the ANC and government, on the one hand, and Ramaphosa and his allies on the other will have to deal with right at the start.

Both Meyer and Ramaphosa said the country would hang in the balance for the next year or two. They said the next week would be a major test for all parties, which could either forge ahead more quickly to a new democratic SA after the Han assassination or allow the fragile and partisan interests to prevail and frustrate the process.

Conflict looming over plan for mass action

MICHAEL MORRIS
Weekend Political Staff and Sapa

SOUTH Africa's political crisis deepens today as the government and the ANC alliance dig in for a major confrontation over a fresh campaign of rolling mass action.

As a defiant ANC/Communist Party/Cosatu alliance signalled a return to militance, calling its supporters out to back its demands, the government warned that violence would be met with maximum force if necessary.

And President De Klerk — who rejected the ANC alliance plan to go ahead with mass action as "irresponsible and unjustified" — warned: "The government remains committed to negotiations (but) it will not be black-mailed."

The political crisis that has been developing since SA Communist Party general-secretary Mr Chris Hani's assassination last Saturday was intensified yesterday by the ANC alliance's tough challenge to the government to meet its demands or face more than a month of rolling mass action.

The alliance is demanding the installation of a transitional executive council as well as "deep-reaching multi-party control of all armed forces", and the announcement of an election date by the end of May.

The National Party, the Democratic Party and the Afrikaner Volksunie all warned this would lead to further conflict and damage to the economy.

Law and Order Minister Mr Hennis Kriel issued a statement last night which left no doubt that the government would act firmly if mass demonstrations turned violent.

He said police had received "reliable information" that participants in marches planned for the PWV region today would resort to violence.

"This information was made available to the ANC and other parties who are involved and an undertaking was agreed to that everything possible would be done to prevent any form of violence," Mr Kriel said.

The first phase of the ANC's campaign, in the form of demonstrations and mass marches, is to start on Tuesday and will continue to the end of the month.

The second phase will run from May 1 to the end of the month.

Cosatu general-secretary Mr Jay Naidoo said any attempt to prevent people from participating in legal demonstrations would be ignored. This included regions that had been declared unrest areas.

Ramaphosa's gesture was taking advantage of Mr Hani's assassination to push for an election date.

Cosatu has also called for a national work stayaway on Monday to be regarded as a day of mourning.

The SA Chamber of Business said Monday should be treated as an ordinary working day, although employers should be sympathetic to workers who wanted time off.

The National Party, said the campaign was "senseless".

Party spokesman Marthinus van Schalkwyk said: "This decision flies directly in the face of (ANC president) Mr (Nelson) Mandela's earlier calls for calm and dignified action."

HUGH ROBERTSON in Washington
and **JOHN CARLIN** in
Johannesburg

NEW evidence is emerging about sinister neo-Nazi activities in South Africa — and among those linked to them is the man alleged to have assassinated South African Communist Party general-secretary Mr Chris Hani.

Polish-born emigre Mr Janusz Walus, who has been charged with the murder, was a member of a South African neo-Nazi movement, which may have had links to state intelligence agencies, according to the fresh evidence.

Senior ANC officials said privately they were convinced Mr Walus was a cog in a large wheel spun by elements in the state apparatus. Mr Walus had previously been engaged in business deals with the military.

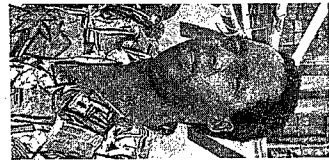
They believe that a network of far-right groups with which Mr Walus was involved was infiltrated by the intelligence services of the security forces.

P.T.O.

5040 MKT 17/11/73

Hani killings: Neo-Nazi link

□ Chris Hani



Conflict looming over plan for mass action

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Weekend Political Staff and Sapa

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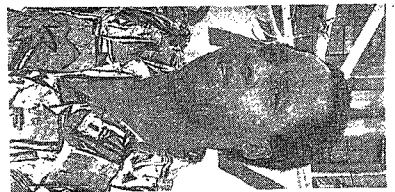
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P.T.O.

Hani killings: Neo-Nazi link

(304A) ARG 17/4/93

□ Chris Hani



More light may be cast on the neo-Nazi groups when the outcome of a five-month undercover investigation in South Africa, Europe and the United States is made known on Monday by the Simon Wiesenthal Centre in Los Angeles.

Parts of the operation, which were secretly filmed by a CBS News television crew travelling with Simon Wiesenthal Centre officials and an investigative journalist, will be shown by the network on Monday, a CBS spokesman confirmed yesterday.

Officials of the world's largest Nazi-hunting organisation declined to provide details of the South African role in the investigation, but said the operation involved the infiltration of neo-Nazi groups on three continents.

It is understood that meetings held by several neo-Nazi groups in South Africa were attended by the investigative journalist, and that parts of the meetings were filmed.

Mr Walus is a member of Mr Eugene Terre'blanche's right-wing Afrikaner Resistance Movement (AWB) but, it has now been learned, he also belongs to the Afrikaner National Socialist Movement (ANS) which comprises some 4 000 members, several of them East European born. The ANS leader, Mr Koos Vermeulen, also heads the World Apartheid Movement, which said on Monday that it would pay Mr Walus's legal costs.

Mr Vermeulen, who celebrates Hitler's birthday every year, was closely associated with Mr Adriaan Maritz and Mr Henry Martin, who were charged with carrying out a bomb explosion in a black taxi rank in Pretoria in 1990 and with the murder of an ANC supporter in Durban that year, who died instantly when an explosive device hidden in a computer blew up in his face. Mr Vermeulen was briefly detained over the murder.

Mr Maritz and Mr Martin jumped bail and fled to Britain on false passports. They then announced that they were South African military intelligence operatives. The South African government has shown little interest in extraditing them.

Mr Maritz spoke to the British newspaper, The Independent, and to the BBC in the course of a joint investigation last year in which he repeated his claim to have worked for military intelligence.

In addition, a British army deserter who trained right-wing paramilitaries in South Africa told The Independent he had worked with Mr Maritz and Mr Martin. He provided details of their alleged involvement in the Durban bombing. But he singled out a security policeman, Warrant Officer

April 17/18 1993

3

Neo-Nazi connection

ALG 17/18 93
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From page 1

Steyl Abrie, as the key figure in the plot, a claim confirmed by Mr Maritz.

This week, it was learned that Warrant Officer Abrie's father is Colonel Paul Abrie, a security policeman notorious for his savage interrogations in the early 1980s, whose recent assignment was to investigate activities of the far right.

There are said to be increasingly sophisticated links between neo-Nazis around the world, with an advanced system of communications by telephone, fax and computer. According to sources familiar with the investigation, South African groups are in regular contact with their counterparts in other countries.

The United States is regarded as the major source of funding for neo-Nazis around the world and American supporters of various neo-Nazi groups have played an increasingly public role in funding political campaigns, including the recent bid for the presidency by the former US Nazi Party leader, Mr David Duke.

In a recent incident, several people were killed when federal agents tried to storm a group of American neo-Nazis holed up in a remote mountain cabin with a huge supply of weapons and ammunition. The group finally surrendered, but federal agents warned that there were other neo-Nazis around the country who were suspected of hoarding guns and other weapons.

■ Turn to page 3

Rolling mass action starts on Tuesday

IN a move condemned by the Government as "irresponsible and unjustified," the African National Congress, the South African Communist Party and the Congress of South African Trade Unions will launch a two-phase, six-week programme of mass action next Tuesday.

The alliance has issued two key demands — the setting of an election date and the installation of a transitional executive — which they insist must be met by the end of next month.

The alliance simultaneously warned President F.W. de Klerk that "any attempt to block legitimate protest will be met with massive defiance."

"We call on our people to continue with their plans as if De Klerk had not spoken," alliance representative Jay Naidoo said yesterday.

De Klerk yesterday said in a statement the decision was at variance with the interest of every South African.

LOUISE HANSLAND and ESTHER WAUGH

The main commitment to negotiations, it will not, however, be "black" as the government has stated. The necessary steps to maintain order and protect the interests of all South Africans.

Demands

Minister of Constitutional Development Roelf Meyer said the ANC's demands could only be finalised by the negotiations process. The time and necessary for mass action, he said, was "long past".

The demands are that: ● A date for elections for a constituent assembly should be agreed within a matter of

weeks, and not later than the end of May.

● A transitional executive council be installed, with "effective, deep-reaching multiparty control of all armed forces".

The tripartite alliance said it remained committed to negotiating a constitutional settlement.

SAACP chairman Joe Shoyi said that to "stem up the emotions of the people would be the shortest route to an explosion."

Law and Order Minister Herms Kriel said last night he had cut short an official visit abroad and was "presently monitoring and studying the situation".

Kriel said he was "responsible for the maintenance of law and order within a matter of

● TO PAGE 2.

Mass action

● FROM PAGE 1.

I have every intention of performing this duty."

The first phase of rolling mass action is set to begin on Tuesday, the day after SAACP general secretary Chris Hani's funeral — and finish at the end of the month.

This phase will be marked by regional programmes of mass action.

The second phase will last from May 1 — May Day — until the end of the month. At that stage the alliance will assess to what extent its demands have been met.

The six-week mass action would be characterised by marches, protests and pickets. Naidoo, the COSATU general secretary said, a decision would be taken later on stayaways.

ANC secretary-general Cyril Ramaphosa said the latest demands were

part of a total package and that negotiations, "sponsored this week, would resume next week. It is possible to set a date for elections before the end of May, and we are embarking on action to ensure that date is set," he said.

Ramaphosa rejected suggestions that political capital was being made out of Hani's death. "Anyone suggesting that is completely insensitive to the grief and sorrow that cover our country."

"People on the ground believe Chris Hani died because we still have an apartheid dispensation. We must bring apartheid to an end and the rule to an end and the immediate effect."

In its reaction, the National Party yesterday called on the ANC to clarify its position on the relationship between negotiations and mass action. "The ANC is embarking on a dangerous strategy," said NP spokesman Martinus van Schalkwyk.

(3047)

'Blacks are ready to vote'

South 174-214 93.
INTERNATIONAL observers of the South African political process are confident voters will be prepared to vote in an election.

The Zambian minister of legal affairs, Mr Rodger Chongwe, stressed the importance of electoral legislation that would enable competing parties to have equal access to media in the run-up to elections.

Experience had shown there had to be local election monitoring committees to work hand in hand with international election monitoring teams, he said.

"Consultation is a much more effective weapon than bickering through the press," Chongwe told a Johannesburg conference last week.

In situations where many parties had to reach agreement on issues, it was always better for consultations on issues of national concern

to take place privately and agreement reached before any party addressed the media.

This reassured the public as they then feel that whatever the differences that divide parties, they nevertheless all have the national interest at heart, Chongwe said.

Zimbabwean cabinet minister, Mr Swithun Mombeshora, said black South Africans had acquired valuable levels of political experience through extra-parliamentary struggle.

He said it was the struggle of the black South African people which inspired the struggles in other Southern African countries.

"If they could gain their independence despite starting after South African extra-parliamentary organisations, it is a fallacy to say that black South Africans are still not ready for the vote,"

Mombeshora said.

"Black South Africans are far better prepared now than white South Africans were when they gained their right to vote."

President Bill Clinton's media advisor, Mr Frank Greer, said the most important thing in an election campaign was to keep the party message simple and co-ordinated at national, regional and local levels.

The Democratic Party's message to its party volunteer workers was to keep the message to constituents simple.

Mr Mark Durkhan of the Social Democratic and Labour Party of Northern Ireland said that a bad candidate often had more impact than a good candidate. People remembered blunders and ill-timed statements more clearly than the deeds of good candidates.

14 Voter education

SA's choice: peace or violence

South 17/4-21/4/93

SOUTH Africa is at a crossroads between peace and conflict, a conference on elections was told in Johannesburg last week.

"Our country stands tensely and anxiously at the cross-roads between lasting peace and lasting conflict ... the South African nation is standing at the edge of a cliff," said the Reverend Frank Chikane in his keynote address to the three-day conference, entitled "Competing in Democratic Elections".

The conference was convened by Matsa Trust and organised with the Centre for Development Studies, the National Democratic Institute and the Institute for Multi-Party Democracy (IMPD).

Delegates from parliamentary and extra-parliamentary parties and organisations, trade unions, community and civic bodies heard local and international speakers impart their experiences in elections.

Some of the international guests were Mr Frank Greer, media adviser for US President Bill Clinton; Ms Joyce Gould, director of organisation for the Labour Party in the UK; and Mr Mark Durhan, chairman of the Social Democratic and Labour Party of Northern Ireland.

South African speakers included Chikane of the South African Council of Churches, Dr Vincent Maphai of the University of the Western Cape (UWC) and Dr Oscar Dhlomo of the IMPD.

Chikane emphasised the need for political tolerance and co-existence with representatives of different political and ideological organisations.

Brutal

"The oppressed people of South Africa, having been subjected to brutal forms of state repression and control, have internalised this violence to an extent that it is now bursting out and being inflicted by them on each other," Chikane said.

He mentioned Angola as a lesson to show South Africans what the future could hold if they did not begin to build tolerance now.

The Angolan experience also showed South African the need for a level of international monitoring of elections that made it impossible for any political party to reject the results of a free and fair election.

Professor Willem Kiehnans of Unisa said the political playing fields were "uneven and full of potholes".

"For example, the ANC cannot sign up workers on farms and in small towns. The right wing has

made them no-go areas," he said.

In Bophuthatwana, where the ANC tried to recruit members, they were chased out by the police and told they were not a registered party in Bophuthatwana.

"So if people can't even recruit members, how are elections going to be free and fair? South Africa is not ready yet," he concluded.

Kiehnans said with 15 million new "third world" voters more time was needed before elections for people to learn how to vote.

Despite years of voting, white South Africans had not mastered it, so it was unlikely the black electorate could be ready for elections in only 12 months.

Maphai, professor of political science at UWC, said organisations and parties "need to change from political enemies to political rivals".

"Enemies are people whom one eliminates or oppresses. Rivals compete with each other," said Maphai.

Ignorant

He warned elections could not be fair if the electorate was choosing on an unformed, ignorant basis.

"People simply do not know what political options they have because they are so ignorant about the various political formations in the country and what they stand for.

"Some of the people considered illiterate in the academic sense often are more politically literate than well-educated South Africans."

Maphai also warned foreign funding could be a double-edged sword. Where it was given to parties with big constituencies but no money, funding could be desirable.

But if funds were given to parties with no constituency, care had to be taken that they were not artificially kept in existence by the funds.

"Without a constituency to which that party must account, it can become a puppet of the foreign funder and used by them to affect democracy in the country.

"It is only if a party has a big constituency that foreign funders cannot manipulate it because office bearers must account to members."

The conference expressed concern about:

- Funding to mount effective election campaigns;
- The need for free and equal access of all parties to the media;
- Who would draft the new electoral act;
- Who would administer and supervise elections;
- Getting access to farm workers;
- Ensuring no-go areas ceased to exist during election campaigns.

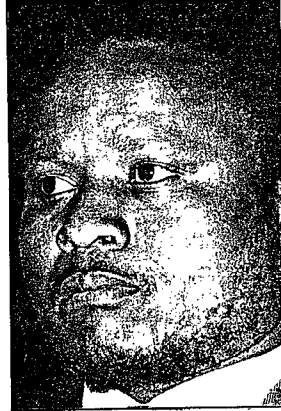


Photo Yunus Mohamed

Billy Modise (left) and Frank Chikane spoke at the conference on democratic elections

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South 17/4-21/4/93

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Mr Mark Durhan of the Social Democratic and Labour Party of Northern Ireland said that a bad candidate often had more impact than a good candidate. People remembered blunders and ill-timed statements more clearly than the deeds of good candidates.

The strongest concern among delegates, emphasised throughout the conference, was the need to teach people political tolerance.

Mr Billy Modise, Matsa's executive director, said strides had been

made towards achieving political tolerance at the conference itself.

"We have been living and working together for the past three days and no-one has been fighting or killing each other like the newspa-

pers say we do," Modise said.

He urged participants to encourage people to co-exist and talk as openly and unambiguously about their views as delegates had done at the conference.

'ANC will trounce the NP in W Cape'

South 174-214/93
IT IS clear the National Party has targeted the Western Cape as the one region where it can win a majority of votes. As a result a significant proportion of its resources will be devoted to achieving this aim.

In addition the NP shamelessly uses state resources for party political propaganda. Mr De Klerk holds an NP meeting in Mitchells Plain and arrives in an SADF helicopter. Welfare relief, such as food parcels, are distributed among the poor who join the NP.

The question, however, is whether the NP is correct to believe apartheid's victims can be seduced into voting for the NP in the region.

The NP has unleashed a propaganda onslaught to convince the public and even some ANC members it will win the election.

This is obviously demotivating. It has resulted in a considerable debate in ANC circles, both in the press and, increasingly, within ANC structures.

Some of the issues emerging from this debate are as follows:

- First of all, it must be acknowledged the NP strategy of "swart gevaar" has found some resonance in the coloured community.

For a number of reasons, the ANC is perceived as an African organisation, aimed at liberating African people from apartheid. The problem arises from the fact that the ANC, unlike the UDF, is not seen as having risen organically out of struggles in coloured communities.

Its culture and many of its traditions are seen as African, with no cultural or linguistic roots in much of the Western Cape.

- Another issue that has affected confidence in the ANC in this region is violence. The government has been fairly successful in communicating the bloodshed as the result of a battle for power between the ANC and Inkatha.

The result is, of course, a perception of a violent and frightening future, characterised by inexplicable and bloody conflicts.

Another common perception is that the ANC government will benefit only African people, and coloured people will, in fact, be worse off than before.

This impression is exacerbated by the attitude of business which, despite our efforts to the contrary, continues to inform coloured people that the ANC is insisting on the employment of Africans at their expense — an erroneous and extremely damaging distortion of the principle of affirmative action.



SPEAKING OUT

**Ebrahim Rasool,
 ANC regional
 executive
 committee member**

The ANC is also seen as anti-religion. This perception, in communities where faith — whether Christian or Muslim — plays an important role, is extremely damaging.

It is here that one can see some of the most serious results of years of anti-ANC propaganda, and the possibly ineradicable impression that the ANC belongs to communists who are "evil and godless".

Having looked at the down side, it is worth pursuing what we see as some extremely optimistic signs that, despite the problems, we

can still be confident of a majority of votes in the Western Cape. A great deal of work and some good strategising will be required.

- Firstly, we need to root the ANC more firmly in coloured communities. This, we believe, is a question that can be addressed partially by intensifying the work we are already doing.

By actively involving ourselves in grassroots issues and demonstrating in a practical way our commitment to fight for the rights of poor and disadvantaged people, the ANC has already won a great deal of support and will continue to do so.

- The second aspect to be considered is that the ANC, at present, does not reflect the broad make-up and culture of the community of the Western Cape.

Its traditions, language and music are not included in the ANC tradition and, despite the ANC's strong commitment to a non-racial inclusive society, we are not experienced as such by the coloured community.

We therefore need to look hard at the character of the ANC in the Western Cape and find ways to ensure the culture and aspirations of all communities in the region are reflected.

There are plenty of signs that we will succeed. We have had excellent responses to public meetings, especially in the rural areas.

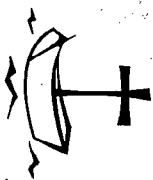
Recently the ANC successfully challenged the NP organising machine twice and proved that our organisational skills and on-the-ground support in coloured areas is far greater than theirs.

The live "Agenda" broadcast a few weeks ago received a clear message of support from the coloured community. In Atlantis, many more people than were inside gathered outside to protest against Mrs De Klerk's visit, despite the fact the NP has some 70 MPs in the region.

It is clear our organising machine is in much better shape than that of the NP. This is borne out by support we receive and even by articles in the NP mouthpiece, "Die Burger", which has recently been in sharp criticism of the NP for allowing itself to be outmanoeuvred by the ANC.

Has the NP been out-manoeuvred or was it simply harbouring an illusion? Time will tell.

We know it is going to be a long and tough battle. But if we do our work and strategise properly, we shall trounce the NP in the election. The bubble about the NP's decisive sway over this region will burst.



(304)

WESTERN PROVINCE COUNCIL OF CHURCHES
(Branch of S.A.C.C.)

PRAY FOR THE PEACE OF THE CITY

May those who love you prosper
Peace be within your walls
And prosperity in your homes.

For the sake of these my friends,
we shall pray.

Peace be within you

From Ps 122

In this time of mourning when the shadow of death
hangs over us and when so many people in our city

7/18/84/93

304B

hangs over us and when so many people in our city experience pain, we need to hear the words of the Psalmists to rekindle within us the spirit of hope, peace and tolerance and the determination to work towards the realisation of our dream for a just and democratic nation.

Pray for the healing and peace of city and nation.

STATEMENT BY CHURCH LEADERS IN THE WESTERN CAPE ON THE ASSASSINATION OF MR CHRIS HANI

PREAMBLE:

We express shock and outrage at the cold blooded assassination of Chris Hani on Saturday, 10 April 1993. This callous and premeditated murder was timed to shatter the Easter message of peace so urgently needed in our country at this time.

No amount of political rhetoric can explain away this despicable act of cowardice. The role of Chris Hani in the current process of political negotiations was of vital importance making his untimely death therefore even the more tragic.

TO HIS FAMILY

We wish to convey to you our condolences. We recognise that for you, this is more than a political tragedy, a human life precious in the eyes of God, and which became precious to you as a family, has suddenly been ended by the cruel hand of a murderer.

Your loss is incalculable and we mourn with you. May the Lord who understands human pain and suffering help you to bear this loss and assist you to discover ways to remember Chris with love and pride, without the pain.

TO THE POLITICAL FORMATIONS

We view the assassination of Chris Hani as a deliberate attempt to derail the peace process. Until a thorough investigation has been conducted and an impartial finding made on the cause of his death, we hold the view that there are sinister forces at work behind this act. This is a development in the cycle of endemic violence which we view in the gravest light.

The death of Chris Hani is a national tragedy and not an occasion to elicit political mileage. We therefore call on all political and civic organisations actively to promote peace by setting up structures for reconciliation. Given the nature of our struggle and the dangers facing us all, we recognise that there will be conflicts, but ways should be found to resolve these conflicts by peaceful means.

We address a special word to the politicians and those engaged in the process of negotiating a settlement to South Africa. The death of Chris Hani is a shock to all of us, a tragedy of the highest order. The search for a political solution to the difficult conflict is the only option open to the nation. We urge you in the name of God to spare no effort, especially in the light of this tragedy and the threat of more assassinations, to achieve a settlement speedily.

TO OUR PEOPLE

We recognise that the untimely death of Chris Hani is a source of great pain, anger and frustration and that people will want to give expression to their feelings.

We are pained at the loss of a national leader. We are angry at the system which causes such deaths and destroys our hopes for the future. We are frustrated because the expectations which people had in Chris Hani's dynamic leadership have been crushed. But our hopes for peace are not dented.

If Chris Hani were here with us, he too would call for peace and an end to violence. In that spirit we call upon all not to do anything to negate what we have achieved and what we are struggling for.

The struggle for peace, democracy and justice requires the disciplined channeling of our combined energies as a people and the resolute determination not to be sidetracked in our objectives by tragic events such as these. In our responses there should be no more loss of life.

Let our pain and anger be like burnt pain giving life to a society where democracy, justice and peace will replace totalitarianism, injustice and violence.

CHURCH LEADERS

Archbishop Desmond Tutu (C.P.S.A.)
Archbishop Henry (Roman Catholic Church)
Bishop James Groble (Methodist Church)
Bishop McKinley Young (A.M.E. Church)
Rev. Lotung (Abothenan Church)
Rev. Luthi (D.R.M.C.)
Rev. Rod Bosis (Presbyterian Church)
Bishop Quintan (C.P.S.A.)
Bishop Charles Alberton (C.P.S.A.)
Dean Bahl (Lutheren Church)
Rev. Abo Mear (U.C.C.S.A.)
Rev. Chris Nissen (Reformed Presbyterian Church)
Ms. Lauren Arney (Religious Society of Friends)
Bishop Cawcutt (Roman Catholic Church)
Fr. Peter-John Pearson (Roman Catholic Church)
Dr. Herbert Brandt (D.A.C. — St. Stephens)
Ds. Jan Thyse (N.G. Sendingkerk)
Dr. Patrick Marco (N.G. Sendingkerk)
Rev. Courtney Sampson (Chapman, W.P.C.C.)
Rev. Bernie Whitton (E.O. W.P.C.C.)
Dr. Shun Gowerde (T.O. W.P.C.C.)

The church leaders request that clergy read this statement on Sunday during public worship and that on Monday between 1 — 2 pm churches be open for prayer.

Poll gives coloured support to the NP

5 Times CC Metro
18/4/93

304A

THE National Party will win more coloured support than the African National Congress if a general election is held tomorrow, a nationwide poll has shown.

By NAZEEM HOWA

Commissioned by the democratic-movement aligned Centre for Development Studies (CDS) and undertaken by the Human Sciences Research Council, the poll revealed that 61.9% of the 1 500 people polled would vote for the NP, while a mere nine percent supported the ANC.

The findings have serious implications for the ANC in the Western Cape where coloureds constitute more than 50% of the region's population.

The Labour Party, which has been badly hit by defections from its ranks — mainly to the NP — received the support of about seven percent of those polled.

Added to the support the new-look NP and the DP can expect from whites, the ANC will have to consider a more targeted election strategy for the region.

However, warns Omar Valley, who undertook the survey on behalf of the HSRC, voter support for different political parties remains fluid. The ANC has made significant gains in the rural areas, he said.

Commenting on the poll, CDS director Randi Erentzen said the results confirmed what was already known.

"What we really wanted to know was why people would support the NP. In that regard the results were fascinating."

Mr Erentzen said 70% of those polled were politically unaffiliated.

"What this means for the electoral process is that between 30-40% of the coloured electorate will only decide on election day whom to support. Until then they could swing either way," he said.

This could mean that after the assassination of SACP secretary-general Chris Hani, the swing voters may have favoured the ANC, but Wednesday's incidents of looting would have pushed them to the NP.

On the question of South Africa having a black president, 37% favoured the idea, while 39% were opposed to the notion. Only seven percent were against a white president. President F W de Klerk attracted an overwhelming 74% support of those polled on the question of whom they would support as president, while Nelson Mandela ended a distant second on five percent.

These results fly in the face of recent polls which showed support within the coloured community for the NP to be on the decline.

The age analysis revealed that the ANC enjoys most of its support in the 18-30 age group, while the NP support comes from older people.

Forty-one percent of those polled awaited majority rule with mixed feelings, while 22.5% thought it was a bad idea.

In some of the surprising results, the survey found that less than one in five respondents would feel uncomfortable living next to an African family.

Respondents also seemed to have a strong group identity, but an aversion to political organisations that stressed group interests over national ones.

BOY

→ cont

Top CP man to appear in court after questioning of Waluz

DERBY-LEWIS IS HAND OVER HAN!

SI Times 18/4/49s

Boyd

By KURT SWART and CAS ST LEEGER

March arrest drama in pictures



**POLICE
SWOOP
AFTER
SHOTS**

**KH1-2
PICTURE
POWER BY
JOE SEALE**

A BEARDED white man with Conservative Party connections was arrested yesterday seconds after a shot was fired. The man was shot dead. The protest march in Vaner-bippark in the Vaal Transvaal (Top: SHARON

TOP Conservative Party member Clive Derby-Lewis was detained by police last night in connection with the assassination of SA Communist Party leader Chris Hani.

Mr. Derby-Lewis, a member of the President's Council and close confidante of Conservative Party leader Dr. A.P. M. Botha, is one of the leading British-born members of the CP.

Late and Order Minister, Dennis Kriek confirmed last night that Mr. Derby-Lewis had been detained by police.

Police spokesman Brigadier Frans Malherbe said Mr. Derby-Lewis would probably appear in court tomorrow.

Mr. Kriek said the arrest followed intensive questioning of Polish immigrant Jaanus Waluz, who was arrested within minutes of the assassination of Mr. Hani last week.

"Because this matter is in the hands of the Attorney-General of the Witwatersrand, Mr. J. M. L. (Liers and Willem) no further details can be made known," the Minister's statement ended.

Dr. Pieter Mulder, NP for Schwalzer-Reinette and official CP spokesman, said he was not in a position to report as he did not know the man. He said he had asked Mr. Derby-Lewis about alleged connections with the Waluz brothers and had got the clear impression that it was a distant contact some time



18/04/93

304A

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"Because this matter is in the hands of the Attorney-General of the Witwatersrand (Mr Klaus von Lieres und Wilkau) no further details can be made known," the Minister's statement ended.

Dr Pieter Mulder, MP for Schweizer-Reineke and official CP spokesman, said he was not in a position to respond as he did not know whether Mr Derby-Lewis had been arrested on a charge or just taken in for questioning.

He said he had asked Mr Derby-Lewis about alleged connections with the Waluz brothers and had got the clear impression from him that it was a distant contact some time ago.

"I got the clear impression from Clive that he did not know them well," Dr Mulder said.

Supporter

The most public connection between Mr Waluz and Mr Derby-Lewis is their involvement in the Stallard Foundation, ostensibly a body catering to the interests of English-speaking CP members, but also a known honey-pot for right-wing European emigres.

Mr Derby-Lewis is a director of the foundation; Mr Waluz a strong — and one-time financial — supporter.

Mr Derby-Lewis's association with the Waluz brothers was first noted by CP MP Cehill Pienaar at a by-election in Harrismith in 1985.

Mr Pienaar, now Free State leader of the Afrikaner Volksunie, said last night that Mr Derby-Lewis and the two Polish brothers had come to assist in the CP campaign.

The arrest has revived theories of a conspiracy among the network of "cultural" organisations which attract mainly East European emigres who share a passionate hatred of communism.

These include the ultra-right World Apartheid Movement, whose leader Koos Vermeulen said last night he was surprised by Mr Derby-Lewis's arrest.

"I expect I will also be



CLIVE DERBY-LEWIS ... detained by the police

questioned about this," he said last night. "Probably because WAM has a Polish chapter."

Arch-conservative Mr Derby-Lewis, 57, was born in Cape Town and brought up in Kimberley. A long-serving soldier, he was in the Citizen Force from 1959 to 1973, ending his military career as commanding officer of the Witwatersrand Regiment.

He is a former Bedfordview mayor and ex-Nat MPC for Edenvale. After defecting to the CP in 1982 he lost both a provincial by-election in Rosettenville in 1984 and parliamentary election in Krugersdorp in 1987 by 55 votes. His opponent was Leon Wessels, now Manpower minister.

Despite the defeat he was appointed a nominated MP.

He fought the Krugersdorp seat again in the 1989 general election but lost by a wider margin.

The CP then nominated him to serve on the President's Council.

□ To Page 2

TH INVESTMENT

INVESTMENT

CH

10.00

P.T.O.

Clive Derby-Lewis arrested

□ From Page 1

He has made news with alleged links to the AWB and the Ku Klux Klan and often blatantly racist remarks about black people.

In 1989 he lost a defamation suit against Mr Wesels who used an election poster quoting a newspaper report in which Mr Derby-Lewis said the housing shortage was caused by the black population explosion and that the only solution was to introduce compulsory sterilisation.

In Parliament in 1989, hearing a minister say an aircraft at Jan Smuts had

braked to avoid a black man on the runway, he said: "What a pity."

He later said the comment had been distorted.

His wife, Australian-born Gabrielle, is also a CP member.

Elizabeth Derby-Lewis, the 85-year-old mother of Mr Clive Derby-Lewis, was last night shocked and bewildered by her son's detention in connection with the assassination of Chris Hani.

"He would never do anything to hurt anyone," she said. "He is a kindly man."

She had heard the news

on the radio. "It was quite unexpected. The family has been keeping it away from me because of my age. I think Clive has got into the habit of some of the black rebels.

"He's usually so polite. What's gone wrong now?"

She said she last saw her son a week ago and he was his usual cheerful self.

He had lied to her, though, she said.

"He told me a fib. I asked him if he was a member of the AWB and he said no. Now it appears he is a member."

She said her son's wife was "more conservative than her son."

Mrs Derby-Lewis served as a staff member of the Rand Daily Mail 20 years ago and one of those who called for Nelson Mandela's release, knits for black children through Rotary-Anns and said her son gave her wool for the blacks.

"You never know your children. I don't know what got into him. Still, you can't be responsible for your children," she said.

STimes 18/4/93

DP man quits

(3044)
PORT Elizabeth city councillor and top cricket administrator Flip Potgieter has quit the DP to join the ANC. Mr Potgieter, PE's citizen of the year last year and a former vice-chairman of the party in the Eastern Cape, said he would serve as an independent city councillor.

Sir Laurens van der Post mourns optimism in SA

... Sir
Laurens van
der Post in
Cape
Town Picture;
MARGOT
MORRISON



THE spirit of optimism among South African citizens three years ago when the current political changes started was no longer there, world-renowned author Sir Louis Luthuli said in his speech at the Post-land in Cape Town this week.

Mr Luthuli was speaking at the black-the dinner at Morrons on Wednesday night, the Waterfront on Wednesday night, just after violence had erupted during the march and memorial service for slain SACP leader Chris Hani.

From the sea of tickets to the dinner, Sir Luthuli had to be escorted to a chair.

"Three or four years ago something like tremendous happened in this country when South Africa broke out of the terrible trap, the horror, of apartheid and not only not only deep and

By EVE VOSLOO

By EVE VOSILOU

South Africans are black and coloured, but predominantly white, and they said, "We are only disconcerting today because of corruption that it caused in the Afrikaner soul."

This had left a tremendous task of rebuilding at which South Africans are struggling.

Sir Laurens said the country had started on this difficult road — "but I am not certain that we are going there."

He said ordinary people did not feel that the country was a failure, but that transfer of power meant abolishing the power next would decide everything.

"What is demanded is a great dif-

logue between the people and their rulers. We should all be in on it, and there should all have our say."

There was a sense that "all the old rules were prevailing and that no new rules were providing a vision for the future."

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"The human elements must be put right and the rest will follow."

Sir Laurens said that if he could suggest two vital aspects of a future constitution, they would concern the

The Arkhans women for constitution was prodded, he said, "Our constitution should begin with the ground, the earth." **W. J. BOYD**

"I should be born that the greatest and most important and lasting contribution to the world would be the gift of South Africa is the love and care and maintenance of our seriously wounded mother earth."

South Africa's constitution should also be the first in the world to lay down that the voice of women will count as much as the voice of men in the country as the voice of men has counted in the past."

"If we don't do these two things we will not get our country right," Sir Laurence said.

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Where, at this time of crisis, are our leaders?

SI Times 18/4/93

3049

THE police officer's voice on the telephone was reassuringly matter-of-fact: my name appeared, along with Chris Hani's and eight others, on a list — a "hit list", he called it — which was found in Mr Janus Walusz's flat after his arrest in connection with Hani's assassination.

The first impulse was to laugh. The last time I was seriously threatened with assassination was by Hani's party, the SACP, which added an exquisite dimension to the threat by dropping a warning note through my front door.

To have gone from being an enemy of Hani's friends to being an enemy of Hani's enemies demonstrates, I suppose, the folly in these turbulent times of clinging to the extreme centre. The balance of political forces in this country is tipping, ever more swiftly, and those who stand stubbornly in one place are likely to find themselves in odd surroundings.

Assassination, after all, is the weapon of political weakness. When President Botha bestrode our little world like a colossus, the threats came from the left; now, as President de Klerk's power drains away, they come from the right. Those who have no hope of political victory reach for the gun.

The killers, whether their victim is Gandhi, or Kennedy, or Martin Luther King, or Chris Hani, seldom understand what they are doing: the assassination of a popular leader unleashes unstoppable forces of martyrdom. And so it has been this week with the assassination of Hani.

For this was the week when moral authority passed visibly from the government to the ANC. It was to Mr Nelson Mandela that the country turned after the killing, clearing all channels of the SABC so that he could calm the populace. President de Klerk issued a statement from Hermanus, via his press officer at Plettenberg Bay, but was nowhere to be seen.

For the next few days, the ANC leaders took on the burden of channeling the passions of millions of people into marches and demonstrations, hoping to contain what everybody knew to be a terrible propensity for violence: Tokyo Sexwale, Thabo Mbeki, Cyril Ra-

maphosa, Mr Mandela himself, worked ceaselessly from Saturday to Wednesday to rescue us, and our country, from the looming threat of mass violence.

On the whole, they succeeded commendably. Mr Sexwale and Mr Mandela extracted the racial sting from the assassination by pointing out, to immense crowds of angry black people, that if it was a white man who did the killing, it was a white woman who sounded the alarm. Often, on Wednesday, ANC leaders dealt directly and constructively with the police, and ANC marshals sweated, sometimes desperately, to hold back mobs.

The ANC's problem was plain. The powerful forces on its radical wing — the township youths, Mrs Winnie Mandela's angry following, the PAC, Apla and its following among black intellectuals — saw in the assassination of Chris Hani an opportunity to undermine both the ANC and its strategy of negotiation. Even Mr Joe Slovo, I thought, was milking the situation for political gain.

These radical forces, allied with the criminal underclass (which is especially strong in Cape Town), were spoiling for a fight, and since the government was powerless to control them, except perhaps by brute means that would have inflamed even the peaceful mourners, it fell to the ANC leaders to maintain control.

Where, then, at this time of national crisis, was the government?

PRESIDENT DE KLERK, invisible in the fastnesses of his office, faced a problem similar to the ANC's, but on his right wing: unhappily, in addressing the crisis on television, he chose to pander to right-wing prejudice. The Acting Minister of Law and Order, Mr Tertius Delpoort, chose to bluster, issuing empty threats, and the Minister of Justice, Mr Kobie Coetsee, resorted to a cheap-shooting diatribe about "mob rule".

This week, as never before, the Nationalist government stood revealed as both impotent and politically inept. Power slipped visibly from the limp hands at Groote Schuur to the stronger hands at Shell House.

Add to this a lamentable loss of perspective created by most news media, which concentrated in their usual fashion on the episodes of violence without reporting in much detail the vast extent of peaceful mourning and dignified behaviour. The effect on whites, especially of the violence in Cape Town and the isolated racial pogroms, some of them horrible, was to terrify.

White South Africans are being asked to contemplate a future as a powerless minority, under the ANC, yet when the ANC leaders try to deal with a national crisis which is beyond the power of government to control, the white politicians snipe viciously from the sidelines, and bluster, and try to save themselves by attacking the ANC moderates.

THE result, I fear, is a rising desperation among whites. Throughout the week I have been hectoring by people who see conspiracy and betrayal everywhere, who rant at the Nationalists and the ANC leaders, who denounce President de Klerk and Mr Fik Botha as communists, or who complain that this truth or that truth is being suppressed. They are frightened, and very angry.

Just as black people identify with Chris Hani, so whites identify with the white victims of the pogroms, and seeing neither victory nor safety, they reach for millenarian solutions, and for the gun. The assassin's hour has come.

Tension is now very high. In the coming weeks, if the tenuous hold of a handful of over-worked ANC leaders is broken, or if the discipline of a thin line of over-worked policemen gives way, matters may get much worse.

The assassination of Chris Hani has brought us to the crisis of the transition, but where are our leaders? We see only smoke signals, sent via television from well-guarded bunkers and holiday resorts; our fate lies in the unlikely combination of weary police officers and weary ANC moderates who, drawn together by this crisis, struggle to direct and control the mobs.

KEN OWEN

304H

18/11/93

EDYTH BULBRING says that after the slaying of Communist Party leader Chris Hanl both the ANC and the government have no alternative but to force through a political settlement

THE flagpole bearing the ANC emblem outside the Johannesburg Supreme Court snapped in two with a sharp crack, whalloping a couple of heads as it crashed down.

A peace monitor in the middle of an excited crowd assisted the comrades in snatching the falling ball safely to the ground.

ANC colours, hoisted minutes before, fluttered their defiance a metre away. And the crowd roared with delight and approval. Policemen standing behind cordons looked on stoically.

This was one of the more joyful moments witnessed throughout the country on Wednesday as hundreds of thousands of people attended marches, rallies and church services to mark SACP chief Chris Hanl's death.

Since the assassination of Mr Hanl last Saturday morning, the political atmosphere in the north of political groupings was the impact his death could have on negotiations.

Their concern was politically pragmatic, but hardly representative of thousands of people who would have liked nothing better than to see the head of the pulp—a precision Mr Hanl's killers probably had in mind when they assassinated him.

The possibility that the ANC would suspend talks in protest was dispelled by ANC president Nelson Mandela as Saturday dawned. He said that any reaction to the violence, anarchy and retributions would render the talks impossible.



And the police, with the exception of those who lost their cool and moved down Protea Road to the Johannesburg police station, acted with restraint — the government's contribution to dealing with the crisis.

But, appreciating the fear and confusion of their own electorate, the next day the government announced that it would impose unrest areas in several more than throw in several more thousand troops for extra control.

These measures are designed more for the peace of mind of its constituency than for their practical effect. As acting Law and Order Minister Tertius Dabon has said, the government's success might prove dependent on the co-operation of the other parties.

For the government and the ANC, the outstanding hurdle is the day of mourning tomorrow and the funeral of Mr Hanl (although threatened rolling mass action, if it materialises, is the problem of its own).

But assuming the two major parties can keep the lid on the violence — the ANC through active leadership and the government through sensitive restraint and back-room support — the parties will return to multi-party talks.

BUT when they do, the atmosphere at the World Trade Centre will be completely different. The negotiation process has, in the past months, slowed to a crawl as the government and the ANC struggled to draw in parties on the sidelines. The right times inevitably has been a time-consuming process which has involved much petty squabbling.

But the murder of Mr Hanl and the killings of whites in the Vaal Triangle in the past six weeks has signalled to the major parties that time is running out. They might have succeeded in drawing in the Conser-

people who would have liked nothing better than to take the far-seeing pragmatism and smelt it to pulp — a probably bad idea when they assassinated him.

The possibility that the ANC would suspend talks in protest was dispelled by ANC president Nelson Mandela last Saturday night. But all were concerned that reactive violence, anarchy and riotous would render the talks impossible.

It was the task of both the ANC and the government to see their constituencies through the tragedy and back to the safety of the World Trade Centre.

For the government, the death of Mr Han brought home too clearly that it was not the ability to regulate poultry alone let alone deal with this crisis.

I was clear to President the Clerk that his pleas for calm would be scorned by the black community. He tried nevertheless.

Declaring a day of mourning, the state's main thing to do by the government's standards in the face of a national tragedy — would be dismissed with contempt. He did not try it.

Using strong-arm tactics, like declaring a state of emergency — so easy several years ago under different political circumstances — would mean further increased blood shed.

The president of the country, faced with a national crisis, was powerless to do anything at all — except retreat to the background and hand the responsibility for tempering the possibility for tempering the majority of people in South Africa to the ANC.

The ANC leadership, in turn, could not allow the tragedy to death of Mr Han to destroy the prospective political settlement arrived at after months of negotiations, the last phase of which — the appointment of a transitional

RESTING PLACE ... the grave prepared for Chris Han in the South Park cemetery in Germiston. Picture: HERBERT MABIZA

Past the grave, a test for the living

Silfines 18/4/92

to be undermined. The ANC

executive council — was just six weeks away. Their task was to persuade their constituency to act peacefully and to convince them that a return to armed struggle and breaking off negotiations was not an option.

The dilemma facing the ANC was that after three years of negotiating only tangible results were violence, escalating poverty and unemployment.

The ANC's approach to the crisis was to cater for the anger of their constituency through structured events and support for peaceful return to negotiations.

On Thursday night, Nelson Mandela appeared on national television appealing for calm and restraint. He had done so at the request of Mr de Klerk, who cleared the directors with the SABC.

THE protest action in downtown Johannesburg on Wednesday was one of the ANC's success stories. It was an example of how it should have been in every city, and part of this success should be attributed to the police, who behaved impeccably.

The event had been billed as a march to culminate in a service at the Methodist church. But it soon became clear that the church could not hold the 5 000 people who turned out.

Police cordoned off the

square, ANC marshals were put on alert and peace monitors, with their bright identification arm-and-waistbands, bustled about.

The ANC flag was raised and a South African flag brought to the fore. ANC marshals, anticipating that the crowd would then become restless and seek other diversions — like trying to vandalise the Supreme Court — announced, with the help of a police public address system, that the crowd would move to the nearby Library Gardens.

Here the crowd, still 5 000 strong, was addressed by church leaders and then by the dynamic PTV region leader, Tokyo Sexwale.

Mr Sexwale harnessed the energy of the crowd. He eloquently articulated their grievances and then channelled it into a peaceful demonstration.

Crucial to this is the sub-council on defence and law and order, which would place all armies and police forces

The 11:30 a.m. process was, in the past months, showed to a crowd as the government. The ANC struggled to draw its members to the extreme left and right. This inevitably has been a three-consuming process which has involved much petty squabbling.

But the murder of Mr Han and the killings of whites in the past struggle in the past six weeks had led to the major parties that time is running out.

They might have succeeded in drawing in the Conservative Party on the right and the PAC on the left, but both the Eskender killings and the slaying of Mr Han are proof that these parties no longer have common of extremists on either side.

To cope with this threat, a representative government is needed urgently — the demand for order now outweighs that of pandering to the smaller parties.

The target date for the first phase of joint government is June 1992. The hope is that that deadline is now certain.

It will mean both sides compromising on matters which have bedevilled talks for years, such as joint control of the security forces, and, if necessary, steamrolling through agreements against the opposition of other parties.

It is not the most desirable course, but in the wake of the assassination of Mr Han, the only solution is to reach a negotiated settlement fast, so together they can control the situation.

under multi-party control. It was a theme that all leaders emphasised throughout the day.

The crowd dispersed peacefully. In other parts of the country, however, violence marred the day. But, given the number of people attending the events, the criminal elements present at the party gathering, and the anger of the crowd, on the whole, restrained.

Clash of the hawks and doves

C Press 18/4/93

(HFA)

(304F)

By SEKOLA SELLO
and Sapa

SERIOUS divisions within the ANC tripartite alliance and government camps emerged this week as the country started counting the political costs of the assassination of Chris Hani.

Hardliners within the government seemed to be gaining the upper hand against moderates. Hawkish Law and Order Minister Hernus Kriel was in an uncompromising mood in the wake of the countrywide marches which, in some cases, resulted in violence and looting of shops.

Kriel has threatened that police will use maximum force if need be should lives and properties be endangered during services for the slain SACP leader.

His hardline position contrasted sharply with conciliatory statements made earlier by Constitutional Development Minister Roelf Meyer regarding the need to speed up negotiations.

Divisions also seem to be apparent with the ANC-led alliance. Pressure is coming from the rank-and-file membership, the youth league and its militant student wing, the Congress of South African Students.

The alliance, obviously as a result of pressure from big business, had earlier stated that tomorrow would be a normal day for workers who want to go to work.

This was seen as a slap in the face for some of the regions such as the western Cape and Natal Midlands which had called for a week-long stayaway. However, yesterday the alliance did an about face and called for a work stayaway tomorrow.

"The negotiation process can no longer be left to an elitist group sitting at the World Trade Centre," a senior ANC spokesman said. Grassroots pressure now had to be brought to bear on the process, said the spokesman.

As a further sop to the hawks within its camp, particularly the angry youth, the alliance is to embark on a two-phase programme of mass action starting this week.

Although the ANC leadership has bowed to pressure from the grassroots, there is little doubt that they are still firmly in control of the situation.

It is not known whether State President FW de Klerk is in a similar position. Although he was initially conciliatory, he was strongly critical of the ANC's decision to embark on mass action.

Wednesday's violence had put De Klerk under immense pressure from his party rank-and-file. In the eastern Cape and Maritzburg in particular, white anger had reached fever pitch.

"We simply cannot allow another round of uncontrolled vandalism," a senior National Party man said. "The State President is under extreme pressure to take action and this rolling mass action is going to make things very dangerous."

Given the emerging divisions in both camps, the major question facing political observers is what impact they will have on negotiations.

Political comment and reactions by R. Sello, headless and sub-edited by B. Kenna, both of 2 Mar 93, New Democratic, Johannesburg.

Clash of the hawks and doves

C Press 18/4/93

WEP

3049

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and Sapa

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Political comment and reviews by N. Sibiya, headlines and sub-editing by B. Kama, both of 2 Herb St, New Dorchester, Johannesburg.

Police reject party's offer

■ Official calls on members to act in a responsible manner:

THE Commissioner of Police, General Johan van der Merwe, has rejected an offer by the Conservative Party to help protect private dwellings on the route to the cemetery where Mr Chris Hani will be buried.

A CP spokesman said yesterday there would be no involvement by the party in security arrangements for the area despite offers of assistance from CP members.

He said it was now up to the police to ensure that private property was given the necessary protection.

In Cape Town, CP spokesman Mr Frank le Roux called on party supporters to act in a responsible and disciplined manner and reiterated his party's view that violence would not provide any solutions.

Le Roux declined to comment on the arrest of senior CP member Mr Clive Derby-Lewis in connection with Hani's death, saying the matter was sub-judice. - *Supra*.

NEWS Vanderbijlpark shooting mars marches • Patriotic Front may form election bloc

LP to fly ANC flag during polls

■ Bilateral talks lead to agreement on election strategy:

3049
2049
19/4/93
THE Labour Party's national executive committee decision to fight the general election under the banner of the African National Congress was an endorsement of a unanimous decision taken by the LP's national congress in December, the party's media spokesman, Mr Peter Hendricks, said yesterday.

He said Mr Popo Molele, a member of the ANC's election commission, addressed the quarterly LP's NEC meeting held in Cape Town on Saturday.

"We have been involved in bilateral discussions with the ANC for some time on this matter. Our national congress unanimously decided to enter into alliance talks with the ANC and report back to our NEC, which is what we did."

"At the last Patriotic Front conference in Lenasia there was a proposal from the ANC that we enter the election under their colours," Mr Hendricks said.

"We had a meeting with the ANC last Tuesday and had discussions with Mr Nelson Mandela, ANC national chairman Mr Oliver Tambo, deputy President Mr Walter Sisulu, general secretary Mr Cyril Ramaphosa, and deputy general secretary Mr Jacob Zuma where we discussed the logistics."

The fact that Molele had flown to Cape Town to address the NEC meeting showed the importance the ANC attached to its relationship with the LP.

"Every region of the party participated fully in the debate at our congress and the decision was unanimously supported by all 11 regions of the LP. We therefore do not foresee any split in our party."

"What we do now have is direction because the uncertainty is gone. We will now start setting up contact with other organisations in the Patriotic Front in preparation for the election." - *Sapa*.

Patrick Laurence assesses the political situation after the murder of Chris Hani

Negotiations are the lifeline

Star 19/4/93
(304A)

Things fall apart; the centre cannot hold; Mere anarchy is loosed upon the world...

SOUTH Africans have come to contemplate WB Yeats's powerful words as they take stock of the situation after the numerous events of the past few days.

The word "anarchy" and its synonyms — chaos, confusion, disorder — have become part of our everyday vocabulary as the country reels after the assassination of communist leader Chris Hani.

ANC president Nelson Mandela, looking sombre, says in a nationwide television address in the wake of the Easter Sunday killings: "We are in a state of national bereavement on the brink of disaster."

President de Klerk, looking grey and worried, says on television after memorial services for Hani have departed: "Our looting, arson and bloody clashes with police. There is a lawless group of radicals who are not interested in peaceful solutions ... they want to lose a plague of violence."

De Klerk's speech recalls the words of the poet WB Yeats in *The Second Coming* of the war-torn Ireland of the "blood-dimmed

stair" and the drowning of "the ceremony of innocence."

The threat to the political centre, consisting at its core, of De Klerk's National Party and Mandela's ANC, is starkly symbolised in the events surrounding Hani's death.

Janus Walusz, the Polish-born man arrested on suspicion of killing Hani, is the first member of the far-right, Afrikaner Weerstandsbeweging (AWB) since 1986.

Barred Strijdom, the murderer who killed eight blacks in a shooting spree in November 1988 and was released from prison last year, under an indemnity agreement, boasts that the blue-eyed Walusz is a member of the Witbooi, a fanatical political sect to the right of the AWB.

According to the Communist Party, Hani was shot by the murder weapon, a 9mm Z88 pistol, allegedly found in Walusz's possession, is part of a conspiracy of weapons stolen from an Air Force armory in 1991.

The man responsible for the latest is Piet Rudolph, leader of another right-wing organisation, the Obie Boerewors (Order of the Boer Nation). Freed under the 1991 amnesty, he is regarded as the man who shot Hani in 1991. Rudolph, he asserts defiantly, was given to the "unarmed

Boerewors" to defend themselves against those plotting to destroy them.

Walusz emerges as a fanatical rightist, driven by a virulent hatred of communism and communists. His shadowy presence — he has appeared briefly in court — raises a pivotal question: how many men like him lurk in the tangled web linking right-wing far-right groups and the AWB to the present-day chaos of the security forces?

At the opposite end of the political continuum are the alienated black youngsters who turned the April 14 memorial services for the murdered Hani into an excuse to loot, burn and destroy. Half the black population, estimated to number 26.2 million in 1990, is under 26, many of the teenagers are in school unemployment camps, and they are estranged from society, their own as well as that of their relatively privileged white compatriots.

The black education system is in a state of collapse, due largely to the political crisis which has led, successively, to student revolt, clashes for control of schools between rival political forces in the townships, and the closing of recently strikes by black teachers.

They are the "street children," who often exist in a twilight zone between political zealotry and plain banditry. Sensing that they are regarded as outlaws, they frequently behave like brigands. These are the people who see a memorial service for Hani and a call for militant action by black radicals as an invitation to loot and burn. Their political identity is shallow, a camouflage for banditry and a rationalisation for theft.

They are the youths who ran down the streets of Cape Town on April 14 shouting "No peace! No peace! War War!" They are the youths who taunted black policemen the day before, presenting them to shoot, them, labelling them "traitors" and "collaborators", and insulting them and their mothers in obscene language.

As a group, they are the youths who are expected to all South Africans to honour Hani in a dignified manner makes little or no impact on them. They just when he calls on them to join him in working with President de Klerk "to build a new South Africa."

If De Klerk faces a challenge to control his security forces, as the ANC insists, the ANC is confronted with the task of reining in its own ranks, and containing the hangers-on who join its protest marches and rallies.

As Mandela and De Klerk survey the damage around them in the aftermath of Hani's murder, they agree on one central point: the negotiation process, successfully revived on April 1 after a hiatus of 10 months, must continue.

Negotiations are South Africa's lifeline, its best and its only hope of ensuring that the centre holds against the chaos of the present.

Mandela and De Klerk agree on that, whatever else they disagree on. It is as if they want to prove that "the best" do not lack conviction.

The ANC, believing that time is of the essence, is pressing hard for rapid progress to the next stage: the formation of a transitional executive council, which will serve as a stepping stone to a transitional government, elected on a national unity basis.

As a corollary, the ANC is campaigning for another date: setting a date for non-racial elections for a transitional parliament-cum-constituent assembly.

The ANC's position is summarised in a slogan which it is energetically popularising: "Now is the time. South Africans know it. Let the ANC's latest slogan be: 'Now is the time.'"

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If, as many observers think, the roots of the present crisis lie in the unrepresentative and therefore illegitimate nature of the Government, the ANC's prescription is that there must be rapid elections towards a popularly elected government.

De Klerk agrees on the importance of negotiations: "Only through negotiations can we ensure a peaceful future for South Africa and all its people."

His other negotiator and Minister of Constitutional Affairs, Roelf Meyer, believes that it is possible to meet. The May deadline for the formation of a transitional executive council, which will serve as a stepping stone to a transitional government, elected on a national unity basis.

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VENGEANCE CALL . . . Mrs Winnie Mandela addresses a Khayelitsha rally on Saturday. She and ANC NEC member Mr Peter Mokaba, left, called on the youth to get weapons, avenge the death of slain SACP leader Mr Chris Hani and defend the revolution. With them is regional secretary of the ANC, Mr Tony Yengeni.

Picture: BENNY GOOL

IFP, DP Youth slam ANC

JOHANNESBURG. — The IFP and Democratic Party Youth yesterday criticised the ANC's call for six weeks of mass action.

The IFP central committee said the mass action plan was an attempt to "hijack" negotiations and unilaterally impose a constituent assembly.

The IFP warned that it was determined not to allow the ANC-SACP-Co-satu alliance to manipulate this critical process for its own ends.

It would use any means to protect its

members during the proposed mass action, the IFP said.

The national executive of the DP Youth appealed to the ANC to reconsider its call for mass action.

The DP Youth said mass action in the harsh economic and social climate would affect struggling township residents who might lose jobs and wages.

South Africa desperately needed economic growth and social reconstruction — Sapa 19/4/93 CT

FW conciliatory on eve of funeral

By ANTHONY JOHNSON

PRESIDENT F W de Klerk said last night it would be the government's duty to take "further steps" if the security situation in the country deteriorated.

Speaking on the eve of the funeral of slain SA Communist Party leader Mr Chris Hani, he said there was "a tremendous risk of the eruption of violence" in the volatile political climate.

Mr De Klerk emphasised during an interview on SABC's Agenda programme that he was not about to buckle to demands from his constituency to adopt a hardline stance "for the sake of being *kradadig*".

He said he did not believe it would be in the interests of the country to declare a new state of emergency or ban political organisations.

"There are steps we can take. We are well-organised and well-placed to act if necessary," he said in a message clearly designed to reassure jittery citizens.

However, he adopted a broadly conciliatory stance during much of the interview, saying all leaders should guard against overreaction that could produce "a domino effect".

Turning to the risk of violence from right-wing extremists, Mr De Klerk said the security forces would not hesitate to act against such groups.

He said the government would soon issue a proclamation tightening the conditions under which dangerous weapons could be carried in public.

Earlier, ANC secretary-general Mr Cyril Ramaphosa expressed fears that right-wing elements might disrupt today's funeral in Germiston.

However, he said the ANC was working closely with police to ensure the day went peacefully.

He urged whites not to believe that blacks were vengeful. "Do not fear black people. They are not going to come out shooting and killing."

● Mr De Klerk has asked the Goldstone Commission to inquire into issues relating to the past week's mass action, including police shooting at demonstrators at Soweto's Protea police station, where five people died.



GRIEVING . . . ANC member Mrs René Abraham and her son, Mikhail, mourn the death of SA Communist Party leader Mr Chris Hani during a candlelight memorial march and picket in Wynberg last night. ● Report Page 5

Picture: BENNY GOOL

No to CP offer

Star 19/4/92
The Commissioner of Police has refused the Conservative Party's offer to help protect private dwellings on the route to the cemetery where Chris Hani will be buried today. A CP spokesman said the party would not be involved in security arrangements.

(304A)

'Govt well placed to act'

By Esther Waugh
(304A) Political Correspondent

President de Klerk said last night it was not in the interests of South Africa to impose a new state of emergency, but the Government was well placed to implement further steps should the situation warrant it.

Speaking on TV1's Agenda programme, De Klerk acknowledged there was a risk of violence from right-wing extremists, but said the Government would act against them.

Facts rejected the idea that the Government was not in control of events since Chris Hani's assassination, he said.

De Klerk conceded that there was widespread anxiety and anger, and some South Africans wanted to see "strong-armed action".

Speaking on the same programme, ANC Secretary General Cyril Ramaphosa said the country was "turning around the corner".

Ramaphosa said thousands of marshals would be deployed today, co-operating with the police. He too conceded the danger that "enemies of democracy" might want to disrupt Hani's funeral.

Referring to an AWB presence at the cemetery where Hani is to be buried, he said the ANC had notified the police and was assured that ac-

tion would be taken.

Responding last night, police said they had guards patrolling the cemetery and would not allow anyone to disrupt the proceedings.

He assured white South Africans that they did not have to fear their black compatriots because "they would not come out fighting and shooting".

De Klerk said the ANC's stated objective of a rolling mass action programme did not make sense. It was unnecessary to pressurise the Government into the installation of a transitional executive council which had been agreed "a long time ago".

Hopes that Derby-Lewis's arrest may 'unravel web of conspiracy'

CP members remained tight-lipped yesterday about the detention on Saturday of prominent CP member Olive Derby-Lewis in connection with the assassination of SACP leader Chris Hani.

The party plans to hold a special damage control meeting in Cape Town today to discuss ways of dealing with the crisis.

Derby-Lewis's wife Gaye, an active CP member and contributor to the CP's official mouthpiece Die Patriot, was not available to take calls.

ANC publicity and information director Pallo Jordan said government had been

too lenient on the right wing and now that Derby-Lewis had been arrested "the web of a conspiracy to destabilise SA" would perhaps begin to unravel.

Official CP spokesman Peter Mulder said he did not know whether Derby-Lewis had been arrested or detained despite the SAP's statement that he had been arrested.

Other CP members contacted said they knew nothing of the Stallard Foundation, which Derby-Lewis is said to have founded, in 1983 during the referendum on his connections with the Walusz brothers, of whom is being held in connection with the

Hani murder and who was also ostensibly linked to the Stallard Foundation.

CP deputy leader Ferdi Harzenberg said he could not believe Derby-Lewis was involved in the Hani assassination. Harzenberg also denied that there were any formal ties between the CP and the Stallard Foundation. Sources said the foundation was defunct and had been replaced with the Republic Union Movement of SA.

Former CP executive member Cilli Pienaar claimed the CP had become "in-

Business Day Reporters
17/4/93

creasingly militant over the past few months, circulating circulars which talk about attacks at dawn and at dusk."

Pienaar said that as far as he knew Derby-Lewis was the Stallard Foundation. Both Walusz brothers were members of the organisation from as far back as 1985 when they assisted him in his campaign to win the Harrismith by-election, he said.

AWB leader Eugene TerreBlanche said all he knew of the foundation was that it was mainly for English speakers. Boersstaat Party leader Robert van Tonder also knew very little about it, but he hailed

Derby-Lewis as a hero of the folk and said he set an "excellent example".

Witwatersrand Attorney-General Klaus von Lieres und Wilkau said a decision on whether to charge Derby-Lewis "probably" would be taken today once he had reviewed the available evidence.

Sapa reports that Law and Order spokesman Capt Craig Kotze said Derby-Lewis was being held under Section 29 of the Internal Security Act and would not necessarily appear in court today.

Kotze said that in terms of the Act Derby-Lewis could be held for 10 days.

Mass action unnecessary, says De Klerk

TOS WENTZEL of The Argus
Political Staff reports (22)

(3049)
PRESIDENT De Klerk has rejected the need to apply pressure on the government through mass action.

He said an election date had to be negotiated and agreement had already been reached that there must be a transitional executive commission.

In a television interview he made it clear that the government was keen to reach agreements on a transitional administration. He said what was needed was not pressure on the government but a speeding up of the negotiation programme.

Mr De Klerk and Mr Cyril Ramaphosa, secretary general of the ANC, both had conciliatory stances.

Mr Ramaphosa said the mass action campaign announced by the ANC and its allies would seek to channel the anger caused by the assassination of Mr Hani into speeding up the achievement of full democracy.

He hoped that some "silver lining" could be grasped from the tragedy of the death of Mr Hani.

He assured white people they need not fear blacks.

Mr De Klerk said it was a time to show responsibility. Prolonged mass action could undermine confidence, including investment confidence, and could cause disruption. ARG 9/493

It was the government's duty to take further steps if necessary but he gave the undertaking that it would not act forcefully just for the sake of appearing to be forceful.

The perception that the government was no longer in charge was wrong. It was important that action taken should be within the framework of the law.

He warned against over-reaction that could produce a domino effect of ongoing violence.

Mr Ramaphosa said that if followers of the ANC bottled up their anger it would explode. This was why there were efforts to channel this anger.

Black South Africans were angry but there was not one iota of vengefulness against whites. "They see them as their compatriots."

Focus on transitional council

BILLY PADDOCK

GOVERNMENT and the ANC were in agreement on establishing a transitional executive council before the end of May and deciding on an election date, Constitutional Development Minister Roelf Meyer said yesterday.

He said they had discussed the issues at length and had suggested the transitional council be the first item on the negotiations agenda.

However, government could not set an election date and establish the council by acting unilaterally or bilaterally with the ANC as it had to be negotiated in multiparty talks, Meyer said.

The ANC's decision to embark on mass action was going to put unnecessary pressure on the talks which were already set to proceed at top

gear on Thursday following the ANC's delay of a week.

Meyer said government was prepared to delink negotiations on the council from that of constitutional principles and an interim constitution but the ANC and Inkatha had rejected this.

However, it was a critical issue as it would establish the way forward for the talks.

The ANC and government agreed on a two-phase transitional process but other parties such as Inkatha and its allies wanted the final constitution to be negotiated in the forum with there being no interim government. Should the forum agree to the pro-

cess as outlined by government and the ANC with some amendments then the talks would be on track for elections to be held around April next year with the council and its sub-councils in place by June this year.

It was possible that the talks could move forward fast in the next six weeks, Meyer said, and a date for the elections could then be estimated more accurately.

Meyer said there was an urgency on government's part that the talks proceed as fast as possible because it would contribute significantly to improving stability in the country and improving the economy.

He was sure other parties were also anxious to see the process move forward swiftly.

Shooting of marchers slated

THE ANC/SACP/Cosatu alliance yesterday condemned the shooting on Saturday of marchers protesting in Vanderbijlpark against SACP leader Chris Hani's killing.

Sapa reports that a white man in a bakkie allegedly opened fire on the crowd, killing two people and wounding two others. The man was arrested soon afterwards.

ANC PWV region deputy chairman Mathole Motshekga said police had allowed rightwingers to get close enough to the crowd to open fire.

The alliance demanded an independent inquiry into the killings; that police question the suspect "in the

same manner they deal with our people"; and that government impose the same restrictions on rightwingers attending marches as were imposed on alliance organisations.

DIRK VAN EEDEN reports that police spokesman Maj Joseph Ngo-beni said the 52-year-old suspect was still being questioned. Witwatersrand police spokesman Capt Wikus Weber said he was being held under Section 29 of the Criminal Procedure Act.

It was confirmed at the weekend that the man was a CP member. AWB leader Eugene Terre'Blanche said although the man had attended AWB meetings, he had declined to join.

Vengeance call

Own Correspondent

CAPE TOWN — The national peace committee was taking very seriously ANC national executive committee member Peter Mokaba's call to the youth to avenge Chris Hani's death, and would meet the ANC as a matter of urgency, peace committee chairman John Hall said yesterday.

Sapa reports that Transvaal Agricultural Union president Dries Bruwer urged all farmers' associations to activate their security committees. ANC Youth League threats to kill farmers were seen in a serious light.

THE debate about the "regional question" has been a discussion confined to the political parties and their mainly legal, constitutional advisers. Yet how we resolve the regional issue will fundamentally affect the country's chances of dealing successfully with our great national challenges: broadly based socio-economic development and building a democracy.

Negotiation about regions has so far been a debate between political elites about three core issues: how to re incorporate the homelands; how to accommodate the fears of minority groups; and how to accommodate the largest party's concerns about the dilution of its power to govern from the centre.

It has not been primarily about socio-economic development or the rights of individuals. The kind of democracy that would best serve citizens and communities. There is a grave danger of these critical issues being ignored or overridden in the scramble to strike a deal.

In the basis of any regionalism policy must be a democratic constitution in which all citizens have the vote; a justiciable Bill of Rights applicable throughout SA; and an effective non-racialised, non-sexist, non-religious fiscal transfers between the different regions. Beyond that, there are key questions to be decided:

□ At the heart of the debate is a critical development question: should diversity and competition between different parts of the country (regions and cities and towns) be allowed? For example, should the government be allowed to attempt to follow a high-tech approach to economic growth and less immediately a social spending, while Region 2 implements a policy of massive social welfare and slower economic growth?

In principle, decentralisation and regional and local diversity would be a good thing. But it is not clear that all citizens, whether by the public or the private sector, are expert enough to make the right decisions. However powerful the state (or the corporation), however virtuous its intentions, its policies can

Regional debate at risk of ignoring fundamental issues

Blm 17/4/73.
ANN BERNSTEIN

fall horribly. We don't know what will work.

Regions and cities must compete with each other as a demonstration of which policy experiments to work. A failure in one part of the country could lead to a success somewhere else. But there are some areas where what we have today is an entire national disaster, as a result of the arrogant and failed experiment of apartheid.

Citizens have protection from failure. They elect their regional governments, they can vote them out, they can elect new ones, they can vote with their feet and money. They can vote to another as a clear message to the decision-makers.

A complex question, worth a discussion on its own, arises over whether central government should have the power to determine minimum standards of education, health care and infrastructure for the regions.

Of course, the ANC draft document on regional policy is that they are worried about migration between regions, of either people or capital, in response to different policies. For the past 40 years government tried to control people's movements and "bore" industrial and economic activities in uneconomic locations. Don't let us repeat the costly errors of the past. The objective of all future policies — and in particu-

lar good regional policy — should be the welfare of people, not places.

□ One of the great dangers to be avoided in the rush to create regional governments, legislatures and bureaucracies is the creation of a large and inflexible army of officials which "knows" what is best.

An expanding population and limited resources means that South Africa must find a way to make choices about priorities for public expenditure. These choices should not be made by democratically elected representatives at all levels of government, but by communities themselves. Civil servants should facilitate this process and empower them to make choices for themselves. This is not for the future entails a very different kind of civil service.

In a critically important question for the future is raised by the regional debate: What kind of government role do we envisage at the central, regional and local levels — in short, the facilitator and empowerer, agent of the controller and enforcer, or the state?

For the bureaucracy, its transparency and accountability? What kind of democracy will SA

become? One vote every 3.5 years is a lot better than no vote at all, but the value of that vote is greatly affected by the nature of the system in which it takes place.

Why are the national negotiations not looking at coupling proportional representation so that, at least cities and communities have a public representative who is accountable to a geographic community? The system we are creating of national and regional lists gives power to the party bosses who will choose the names on the lists. What should the agencies be? Should it be the ANC, the NP, the P, or NP headed by Mrs or Shirl House, the ANC HQ?

Who would you ask for if you ever got through?

Why, as SA becomes democratic for the first time, are we giving such power to the party bosses and taking it away from individual citizens and communities?

□ In the debate about SA's future constitution the almost total silence about the cities has been deafening. The vast majority of SA's economic growth takes place in the urban areas. The largest percentage of educational and social opportunities are concentrated in the cities. The key to the development of the nation is in the cities. It is a society that place in the cities and the greatest and most explosive political, economic, social and economic tensions are found in the cities. Who is worrying about the powers, functions and growth of cities in the drafting of the new constitution?

If we are to have strong regional government, we need to ensure the dependence of the cities from both the regions and the national government.

□ On the question of regional boundaries, there are a number of proposals on the table indicating different political parties' preferences. No major political grouping has explained their particular choice. Why do they do? Are they thinking of power? Or are they thinking of regional development? Or are they thinking of local economic development?

□ How do the different political parties envisage development policy in a new constitution? What will be the respective powers and functions of the central, regional and local levels of government and why? Surely the politicians should be consulting the people about what they think they think would work best?

The Urban Foundation would make two proposals which we hope the politicians will consider.

First, we would strongly support the idea of the negotiating parties establishing an urgent commission of inquiry (not a panel of experts) to look at the future of the cities and should hold public hearings throughout the country. Its report would be of critical importance when a new constitution is finally drafted. The decisions that need to be made in the interim should not close down other longer term options.

Second, another commission of inquiry should be set up to look at the future of SA's cities and towns, their role in national development and reconstruction, and the powers, functions and financing of such entities. The regional debate is not only or even primarily a constitutional and legal debate. It is one with important economic and social implications for the development and economic growth of the nation.

□ Bernstein is director of the Urban Foundation's development strategy and policy unit.

LETTERS

FW a danger - Marais

■ HNP leader lashes at De Klerk's lack of authority

THE Government was totally incompetent to administer the country, leader of the Herstigte Nasionale Party Mr Jaap Marais told a rightwing rally in Nylstroom on Saturday.

Mr Marais, who lashed out at the State President Mr FW de Klerk, said no-one had respect for authority any more.

He said it was the primary function of any government to maintain law and order, even if this had to be accompanied

by bloodshed.

De Klerk, he said, was "today more of an immediate danger to the white man than any communist".

De Klerk stood between the "white man and his future", Mr Marais said.

"The HNP will not humiliate the Afrikaner volk by negotiating with the enemy who are precisely intent on destroying the Afrikaner volk," he added. — Sapa.

Southern
19/4/93

CP man 'under section 29'

Sowetan 19/4/93.

(S)

(3047)

PROMINENT Conservative Party member Mr Clive Derby-Lewis who was arrested at the weekend as a suspect in the killing of South African Communist Party leader Mr Chris Hani, is being held under Section 29 of the Internal Security Act.

This was confirmed by Law and Order spokesman Captain Craig Kotze who said Derby-Lewis could be held for 10 days in terms of the Act.

He was expected to appear in court today.

In its reaction, the ANC said the arrest might be the first strand in unravelling a conspiracy to destabilise the country and undermine multiparty talks.

"We expect the SAP to pursue every lead with vigour," ANC information head Dr Pallo Jordan said at a Press conference at the weekend.

"We would like the matter to come before the courts as soon as possible so that all South Africans and the world should know who is

■ Outspoken Clive Derby-Lewis held after questioning of Waluz:

plotting war, murder and mayhem in this country.

"It is a matter of great concern that the South African Government has dealt so gingerly with the right-wing, allowing them to publish - and clearly act upon - hit lists with impunity," Jordan said.

The police spokesman for the Witwatersrand Brigadier Frans Malherbe said earlier that Derby-Lewis would appear in court today.

Derby-Lewis, a former nominated MP and CP member of the President's Council, was

arrested following "intensive questioning" of Janus Waluz, a Polish immigrant suspected of shooting Hani last Saturday, Law and Order Minister Hernus Kriel said.

"The South African Police arrested Mr Clive Derby-Lewis on Saturday as a suspect in the murder case of Mr Chris Hani," Kriel said on Saturday night. Kriel said he found it unacceptable that there had been speculation that Waluz's refusal to co-operate with the police in their investigations was a pretext by the police to hide the truth.

FW warns of ^{Sowetan 19/4/93} 'swift action'

By Ismail Lagardien

Political Correspondent (304)

STATE President FW de Klerk warned last night that the Government would act swiftly against lawlessness. (22/1/93)

Speaking on Agenda on the eve of the funeral of Mr Chris Hani, slain general secretary of the South African Communist Party, De Klerk said he did not believe it was in the country's interests to impose a state of emergency.

"But if circumstances deteriorate, then it is the Government's duty - and I'm not threatening now with a state of emergency - to then take further steps," De Klerk said.

Avoiding questions as to whether he would consider disarming militant Afrikaner Weerstandsbeweging members who are armed to the hilt in anticipation of Hani's funeral today, De Klerk said action would only be taken against persons in illegal possession of arms.

And speaking to *Sapa* in Cape Town, Minister of Law and Order Mr Hernus Kriel said the ANC was making political propaganda out of Hani's death.

Commenting on militant calls by ANC Youth League leader Mr Peter Mokaba and Mrs Winnie Mandela to "kill the boers and farmers," Kriel said they were seriously deluded if they thought whites would just sit back and be killed.

IFP rejects call for an immediate elections

Sowetan 19/4/93

By Kenosi Modisane

Multi-party negotiations are being held to ransom, claim:

THE Inkatha Freedom Party has rejected a call by the ANC/SACP/Cosatu alliance for the immediate holding of elections for a constituent assembly and establishment of a Transitional Executive Council.

In a statement at the weekend, the IFP's Central Committee accused the tripartite alliance of attempting to hold the multi-party negotiations process to ransom.

"We find it unacceptable that the forthcoming negotiations designed to determine the essential structure of the future South Africa should be conducted under threats of blackmail and intimidation," the statement said.

Condemning mass action

Condemning the ANC/SACP/Cosatu method of mass action, the IFP said: "The assassination of SACP secretary general Mr Chris Hani is a product of a climate of violence which has already claimed the lives of more than 250 IFP leaders.

"This climate will be exacerbated by resorting to mass action which the ANC/SACP/Cosatu alliance has planned for the next two

weeks."

The statement said the IFP had resolved to "reject the ANC/SACP/Cosatu alliance plan to use violence and mass action to hijack the negotiation process and unilaterally impose a Constituent Assembly and make demands which will prevent the establishment of true federalism in South Africa.

Critical process

"We are determined not to allow the ANC/SACP/Cosatu alliance to cynically manipulate this critical process for its own ends at this juncture," the statement said.

The IFP said it committed itself to protecting the rights of all South Africans to dissociate themselves from mass action and their right to continue with their daily lives, including their jobs, education and the right of free movement throughout the country.

It demanded that the Government should take adequate measures for the protection of all citizens and their property and ensure that the daily lives of people were not hindered.

CP man an *Star 1914193* 'ordinary suspect' *(204)*

Staff Reporters *(204)*

Conservative Party member of the President's Council Clive Derby-Lewis was being held as an "ordinary suspect" and not under security legislation, police spokesman Brigadier Frans Malherbe said last night.

An earlier statement by Law and Order Ministry spokesman Captain Craig Kotze that Derby-Lewis was being held under section 29 legislation was incorrect, he said. Malherbe said police would have "a better picture" of the situation tomorrow.

Derby-Lewis was taken into custody on Saturday in connection with the murder of Chris Hani after questioning of alleged assassin Janus Walusz, police said.

The Derby-Lewis home was guarded yesterday when The Star tried to visit and talk to the suspect's wife Gaye. A large but polite man refused reporters entry to the Krugersdorp home.

A policeman asked Derby-Lewis whether she was prepared to talk to the press but she shouted "no".

The ANC said yesterday "We expect the SAP to pursue every lead with vigour. We would like the matter to come before the courts soon, so that all South Africans and the world know who is plotting war, murder and mayhem in this country."

All sides make Star 20/4/93 calls for peace

By Esther Waugh
Political Correspondent

Key tripartite alliance speakers at Chris Hani's funeral launched attacks on the Government but coupled these with messages of peace, reconciliation and commitment to negotiations.

In Parliament yesterday, President de Klerk urged South Africans to co-operate in creating peace.

African National Congress president Nelson Mandela said the ANC wanted peace, and reiterated its commitment to negotiations.

These sentiments were echoed in speeches by South African Communist Party leader Joe Slovo and Cosatu president John Gomo.

However, Mandela attacked the Government — and specifically Law and Order Minister Hernus Kriel and army chief Georg Meiring — for creating a climate that legitimised political assassinations, leading to Hani's killing.

Referring to the arrest of Conservative Party member of the President's Council Clive Derby-Lewis, Mandela said: "We insist he be brought before the courts without delay. We demand to know what he did, who he worked with, and above all we demand justice."

"We do not want to see a situation where those arrested for such heinous crimes simply go free once the hue and cry dies down, as has happened in the past."

Slovo said Hani's killers thought they had killed a man and his beliefs, but they had inadvertently mobilised "the greatest army for democracy".

He said the "indecent haste" with which Justice Minister Kobie Coetsee had pushed the

Political analysis by Shaun Johnson

The covering of Chris Hani's coffin yesterday afternoon signalled the beginning of the end of South Africa's latest political crisis, although the potential for violence and social ferment remains extremely high.

By the time Hani was laid in his final resting place, both ANC leader Nelson Mandela and State President FW de Klerk had made decisive interventions to channel the formal politics of the country in the same direction: Back to the negotiating table, and back to the timetable for transition.

While the ANC and its allies are still preparing to implement an as-yet undefined programme of mass action, it is clear that the major differences with the government are over timing and implementation, not principle.

This differs starkly from the position following the Boipatong massacre, when the negotiating process itself collapsed.

Both Mandela and De Klerk invoked the memory of Hani as a powerful factor to support underlying agreement on how to move beyond the crisis sparked by the assassination.

Indemnity Bill through the President's Council had granted "a licence to kill to the men who wish to plunge this country into a racial war".

Mandela said: "We say to them, loud and clear, that we do not recognise such indemnity. We will not accept that a murder can be committed and the assassin pleads political indemnity. Justice must be carried out to the full extent of the law."

Speaking in Parliament in Cape Town yesterday, De Klerk said that negotiations and the economy were "in the firing line".

"Emotions which vary from anger to fear, from aggression to despair, are threatening to destroy the hopes of all peace-loving South Africans. We dare not allow that," he said.

De Klerk said the Government would be making proposals to the National Peace Committee on creating peace. One of them was to declare a moment's silence on a specific day in remembrance of the victims of violence.

De Klerk said the ANC-led alliance's programme of mass action could lead to further violence. The killing of political opponents had the potential to unleash a race war.

Hani's death had unleashed "radical forces" at both ends of the political spectrum, the President said.

"Two weeks ago our country was characterised by hope and good expectations. That hope and those expectations are being overshadowed today by concern among some and anger among others."

De Klerk urged South Africans not to be carried away by "devouring emotion" and to support security forces in maintaining law and order.

In contrast to his reported fiery statements made in Cape Town at the weekend, ANC Youth League president Peter Mokaba did not address the crowd but led them in singing and toyi-toyi.

Mokaba said Youth League members were prepared to implement instructions from the ANC leadership.

FW backs calls on 'lost generation'

By ANTHONY JOHNSON
Political Correspondent

PRESIDENT F W de Klerk yesterday backed widespread calls for measures to address the country's "lost generation" of marginalised youth — and warned that the latest spate of racial killings could spark "a devastating conflict" in South Africa.

Opening the debate on his budget, he invited all parliamentary and extra-par-

liamentary parties to make a joint effort and pull the country "like a piece of burning wood from the fire which threatens".

Mr De Klerk said Mr Hani's death had plunged South Africa into a crisis and that the radical forces unleashed by the event had placed multi-party negotiations and the economy in the firing line.

The ANC decision of a six-week mass-action campaign could set the stage for

further violence, looting and disorder and could further polarise the nation at a time when South Africans should be rallying around the political centre, he said.

Mr De Klerk said his government would propose to the National Peace Committee that a countrywide "moment of silence" be held to remember the victims of violence.

● 'Hani's death plunged SA into crisis' — Page 4

CP says Hani formed 'unit'

A COMPLETELY new military unit, the South African Peoples' Party, had been formed under the leadership of the SACP and its former secretary-general Mr Chris Hani, Mr Schalk Pienaar (CP, Potgietersrus) said yesterday.

Speaking in debate on the State President's vote, he said Mr Hani had been involved in the second phase of the revolution, in which the socialist takeover would be brought to fulfilment.

— Sapa

224 (3641)

Funeral was not 'snubbed'

Political Correspondent

THE government did not snub yesterday's funeral of slain SA Communist Party leader Mr Chris Hani.

The decision not to send an official government representative to the funeral followed wide-ranging consultations with political parties, including the ANC.

A spokesman from the State President's Tuynhuys office said the government had already expressed its condolences "in an appropriate manner" during the past week.

DP walk-out over request

Political Correspondent

DEMOCRATIC PARTY MP's walked out of Parliament yesterday after the party requested that the sitting be suspended until the end of Mr Chris Hani's funeral was turned down.

President FW de Klerk was about to introduce his budget debate on his vote when DP whip Ms Dene Smuts asked that the sitting be "interrupted or suspended in sympathy or solidarity".

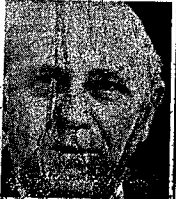
Solidarity Party MP's joined the DP MP's in the walk-out.

CALL FOR PEACE CORPS



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FW'S PLEA FOR CALM



PAGE 2

MINES PAY FUNERAL BILL

PAGE 2

SERVICE AT SA EMBASSY

PAGE 2

CITY GUN SALES SOAR

PAGE 2

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FAREWELL: ANC president Nelson Mandela drops a carnation into the grave of Chris Hani.

Set election date to defuse mass action, De Klerk told

THE government could draw the teeth of threatened mass action by immediately granting an election date, said Mr Roger Hulley (DP Constantia).

Speaking in debate on the State President's Vote yesterday, he said President De Klerk should reconsider the government's position that an election date could only be set after agreements on an interim constitution.

Mr De Klerk should announce two firm dates as a way to defuse the present crisis and show

deliberate and determined leadership. (304A) (304B)

The first would be for the finalisation of an interim constitution or a constituent assembly, and the second for a general election under an interim constitution. (304B) ARG 20/4/92

A firm election date, as had been the case in Namibia, would channel energies, concentrate minds, re-establish direction and momentum and gain the support of people of goodwill.

"I say to him, carpe diem — seize the day." — Sapa.

Two-phased mass action campaign kicks off today

Political Staff

THE tripartite alliance's two-phased programme of mass action kicks off today in demand for the setting of an election date and the installation of a transitional executive council (TEC) before the end of May.

The alliance — ANC, SA Communist Party and Cosatu — announced its programme on Friday in protest against the assassination of Chris Hani.

The first phase will run until the end of the month and will focus on regional initiatives. The next phase will be launched on May Day.

No details have yet been released.

The demands by the ANC-led alliance are not new and reaffirm its commitment to negotiations.

The two demands were reiterated by keynote speakers at Mr Hani's funeral — Cosatu president Mr John Gornomo, SACP chairman Mr Joe Slovo and ANC president Mr Nelson Mandela.

Mr Gornomo said negotiation was another terrain of struggle and not an end in itself but a means to an end.

The alliance would not only rely on its negotiating skills alone but mass action as well to achieve a democratic country, he said.

Nothing prevented the alliance from marching on the World Trade Centre every time negotiators met there.

He warned employers who took action against workers for attending the funeral or arriving late for work today after travelling long distances, they would be targeted for mass action.

● Pictures, reports, page 4.

Youth corps plan has FW's backing

CAPE TOWN — President F W de Klerk yesterday backed widespread calls for urgent measures to address SA's so-called lost generation of marginalised youth.

Speaking during the State President's Budget vote, De Klerk said imaginative steps were needed. Archbishop Desmond Tutu, ANC president Nelson Mandela and slain SACP general secretary Chris Hani had made proposals concerning the "lost generation".

Government had instituted a working group to examine the problem, which had already completed important preliminary work, De Klerk said. Government was ready to co-operate with all those able to contribute and would pursue the proposal in bilateral and multilateral discussions.

"The DP welcomed De Klerk's indication that the idea of a peace or youth corps might be taken up. MP Dene Smuts said such a corps could be named after Hani, who had advanced the idea of a peace corps in the days before his death.

De Klerk also said government would ask the national peace committee to organise the holding of a countrywide moment of silence in remembrance of all the victims of violence.

He said government would call for an urgent meeting of the peace accord signatories to discuss the crisis in the country.

De Klerk said Hani's death had plunged SA into crisis and that the radical forces unleashed by the event had placed multi-party negotiations and the economy in the firing line.

He warned that the latest spate of racial killings could spark "a devastating conflict" in SA. He invited all parties inside and outside of Parliament to band together to pull the country "like a piece of burning wood from the fire which threatens".

Hani's killing had revealed in the star-

kest terms the dangers which confronted SA when passions and violence were permitted to determine events, instead of negotiations and reason.

The climate of hope and good expectations that had prevailed two weeks ago had been overshadowed by concern among some and anger among others.

"Emotions which vary from anger to fear, from aggression to despair, are threatening to destroy the hopes of all peace-loving South Africans," De Klerk said.

The tendency to seek the solution to all the country's problems in politics and a new constitutional dispensation was short-sighted, he warned.

"Violence is also fanned by the economic and social problems of our society."

He called on all leaders to prevent any further disruption of education and to tackle the issue of unemployment.

Extending a hand to the ANC/Cosatu/SACP alliance, he said a solution to the pattern of violence and murders lay within the grasp of the leaders taking part in the negotiating process.

But De Klerk attacked its plan to engage in a six-week mass action campaign, which he said would release new tension and anger. It would also undermine national and international confidence in the economy and damage the prospects of a better life for hundreds of thousands of South Africans.

There was no need to put pressure on government to proceed rapidly with negotiations or to move quickly towards the establishment of the transitional executive council and the setting of an election date for a constituent assembly.

Government was committed to the process and the target dates now demanded were the dates which it had itself already set, he said.



Mourners cling precariously on yesterday's burial of slain SA

Probe into aftermath

PRETORIA — The Goldstone commission is to hold a preliminary inquiry in Pretoria into the violence which erupted during and after the Chris Hani mass protest on Wednesday April 14. The preliminary inquiry will begin at the Sindol Centre Buildings in Visagie Street, Pretoria at 9am on April 23, commission chairman Judge Richard Goldstone said yesterday.

People with relevant information were requested to submit details in writing to the Secretary of the Commission, Private Bag X658, Pretoria, 0001 not later than noon on April 26. People who wished to remain anonymous or required protection for any period, were asked to phone the secretary at (012) 320-4940.

Goldstone said the commission regretted and condemned the many acts of violence, deaths, injuries to people and the damage to property in the aftermath of the assassination of SACP general secretary Chris Hani.

"Each of these acts was a victory for the perpetrator of the murder and those who support such conduct calculated to derail the peace process." The commission called on all South Africans to heed the call of their leaders for disciplined, dignified and peaceful demonstrations. — Sapa.

DP walks out after 'gesture of solidarity' is spurned

CAPE TOWN — The DP and Solidarity walked out of Parliament yesterday when the Speaker refused a request to postpone proceedings "as a gesture of sympathy and solidarity" until the end of Chris Hani's funeral.

Angry opening exchanges of the debate on President F W de Klerk's Budget vote were also marked by the expulsion from the chamber of CP MP for Sillfontein Piet Groenewald.

He had interjected "bulls—" during comments by Speaker Eli Louw on regret over recent violence.

When De Klerk rose to speak he addressed a joint sitting without DP or Solidarity members present. There were no Labour Party members but one did wander in and take a seat during proceedings.

The sitting began with a point of order from MP for Groote Schuur and DP whip Dene Smuts, who asked that the business of Parliament be suspended until 5pm.

"It is our view that it would be inappropriate to pursue the business of Parliament this afternoon as if April 19 were just another day in the life of SA," she said.

"It is inappropriate to meet as members of the tricameral Parliament, representing those who have the privilege of the

vote, when millions of our fellow unfranchised South Africans mourn the death of a leader of unique abilities."

Solidarity MP for Southern Natal Kleten Moodley said his party concurred.

However, Louw ruled that on such a sensitive issue a decision could not be taken unilaterally by the Speaker.

He should have been approached collectively by party leaders or whips and as this had not happened he could not accede to the DP request. All DP members present then left the chamber amid sharp exchanges with the CP.

When De Klerk opened his debate he said the fact that Parliament was sitting should not be interpreted as insensitivity.

If Parliament was true to its traditions and character it should use the opportunity offered by the debate to discuss Hani's death in a sympathetic, constructive and dignified manner.

Parliament had not been suspended following the deaths of other individuals and to do so now could be more divisive than conciliatory, he said.

Sapa reports the MPs returned to the chamber at 5pm when the funeral had ended.

DP walkout from Parliament

THE Democratic Party yesterday walked out of Parliament after the speaker, Mr Eli Louw, refused to suspend the day's proceedings to mark Mr Chris Hani's funeral. (SOPA)

The DP's Ms Dene Smuts put a request "that it would be inappropriate to pursue the business of Parliament" while the nation was mourning Hani.

"We appeal to the Speaker to interrupt or suspend this debate ... until the conclusion of the funeral as a gesture of sympathy and solidarity... This would be a small gesture on the part of Parliament, yet it would be unique in the annals of parliamentary history," Smuts said. The DP left the chamber when the Speaker declined - Sowetan Reporters and Sapa.

Sowetan 20/4/93.

NEWS Politician held under Section 29 • Youths torch houses around stadium

2 whites die near FNB

By Sowetan Correspondent

Sowetan 20/4/93
Burnt to death in their houses after the Hani service:

TWO white men — one of whom has been identified — were burnt to death yesterday after they were trapped in their houses near the FNB Stadium when youths went on the rampage at the funeral of slain SACP general secretary Chris Hani.

One of the dead was identified by a neighbour as Rudolf Botes. The neighbour, Mr Elias Moloi, whose house was also destroyed in the attack, described Botes as a peace-loving man and a supporter of the ANC.

At least two more people are believed to have been shot dead and more than 50 others injured after police opened fire

during running battles with youths. Moloi, a Lesotho citizen, and an employee at the FNB Stadium, claimed to have once saved Hani's life when an attempt was made on him in Lesotho in the 1980s.

Lesotho raid

Moloi said: "When the Beers tried to kill Hani, I protected him. Now, look."

He said he protected several ANC leaders during the Lesotho raid by the SADF in December 1982.

Moloi said when the attack was launched on Maseng on December 9, he had hidden Hani in his house.

"I have lost everything, TV set, blankets and my two-month disability grant which amounted to R1 600," said Moloi.

He said his son Charles (7) was shot by police in the hand and leg during the running battles with the youths.

The trouble started as early as 6am, following the night vigil at the stadium, when a group of youths started stoning police vehicles.

At least six vehicles were set alight and gutted.

Long grass and a line of trees as well as the houses caught fire and a pall of smoke filled the air.

CP leader Derby-Lewis

to appear in court today

Sowetan 20/4/93
MR CLIVE Derby-Lewis, arrested on

Saturday in connection with the assassination of Mr Chris Hani, was being held in Benoni under Section 29 of the Internal Security Act, his wife Gaye confirmed yesterday.

He is due to appear in court today.

Television report

Mrs Derby-Lewis said she was outraged by the way in which her husband had been detained. The officer in charge had watched the television report of the arrest in her lounge while Mr Derby-Lewis had not yet left the house and while police were still searching the premises.

Arrest is linked to Chris Hani's death:

She had received over 600 phone calls from all over the world since his arrest and has two helpers manning the telephones.

Police had removed their computers and typewriters, which was why she did not yet have the means to type out a statement. She had been promised police would return them soon.

Mrs Derby-Lewis also confirmed that she had visited her husband at the Benoni police station on Sunday. — *Sapa.*

Star 204, 193
**CP suspect
set up forum
to tackle Left**

The Stallard Foundation was formed eight years ago to strike out at what it termed the Left-controlled media.

Senior CP official Clive Derby-Lewis, detained over Chris Hani's killing, set up the anti-reformist forum for conservative thinkers in 1985. He targeted 250,000 "identified" ultra-right-wing families for donations.

Janus Walusz, Hani's alleged killer, was reportedly one of the foundation's first recruits.

The foundation has jealously guarded information about its activities, funding and membership. A spokesman yesterday put the phone down when approached for comment. — Staff Reporter.

● Derby-Lewis's racist foundation — Page 13

Star 2014/193

Govt wants to help 'lost generation'

Political Staff

(304A)

CAPE TOWN — The Government was ready to work with anybody who had ideas on how to deal with the lost generation of alienated young South Africans, President de Klerk said yesterday.

Opening the debate on his budget vote in Parliament, President de Klerk said the problem of the lost generation of marginalised young people was an important factor in the violence.

Glowing tributes to Hani - Page 2
Peace calls amid attacks on Govt - Page 3
Huge stayaway hits business - Page 6
Moving, in more ways than one - Page 8
Pictures - Page 7, Comment - Page 12
An 'army for democracy' - Page 13

The Government's bonafide attempts to deal with the problems were, unfortunately, hampered continuously by activists. "They abuse the social and economic problems as springboards

for politically-inspired actions of disruption. And the youth, the unemployed and the poor suffer."

De Klerk pointed out that Mr Chris Hani had recently made proposals about the

lost generation. He said ANC leader Nelson Mandela and Archbishop Desmond Tutu had brought the matter to his attention. "The Government is ready to co-operate with all who are able to make a contribution towards dealing with this vexed problem."

"We shall follow it up in bilateral and multilateral discussions in an effort to promote co-operation."

Democratic Party MP Ms Dene Smuts (Groote Schuur) welcomed this move.

Derby-Lewis's racist foundation

Star 20/11/93
(3047)

THE STALLARD Foundation, launched in June 1985 by the Conservative Party's Olve Derby-Lewis, has been criticised for stirring up racial hatred and distributing grossly offensive anti-Semitic literature.

And one of the staunch backers and financial supporters of the foundation is said to be James Walz, the alleged assassin of SACP leader Chris Han. Derby-Lewis recruited members by extorting "white conservatives" to resist the "selling out" of white South Africans by the "left-wing" English and Afrikaans media. One of the main thrusts of the foundation is to promote "right-wing activism" to contain "the communist onslaught". The credo, according to pamphlets, is to retain the "Verwoerdian 'dream' of 'race separation' - with white supremacy inviolate. It is immoral to ally ourselves with systems of government which seek the destruction of our society and the ruin of our people."

The public is funding the "selling of the white rhino, but it is far more important to save white South Africans from those who are partitioning white sovereignty", is one of Derby-Lewis's sentiments. According to Derby-Lewis the foundation would be a publicly funded forum for conservative thinkers and would concentrate on unifying South Africa's English-speaking conservatives.

Fee-paying members were offered highly questionable tax relief for their donations and would be required to resist the activities of the left-wing "verligtes". From the onset, the foundation has been charged with having links with the Afrikaner Weerstandsbeweging and the hooded and racist Ku Klux Klan from the US.

Derby-Lewis named the foundation after another controversial ultra-right-wing politician, Colonel Charles Frampton Stallard. He was a maverick, right-wing, anti-Zionist intellectual who was elected MP for Rodepoort in

1929 as a member of the South African Party. When Jan Smuts and J B M Hertzog formed the United Party in 1924, Stallard reluctantly followed for a short while but resigned later that year to form the pro-British Dominion Party, of which he became the leader.

After the split between Hertzog and Smuts in 1939, Stallard again joined forces with Smuts and became minister of mines. In soliciting funds for his foundation, Derby-Lewis told prospective members their monthly sponsorship would be tax deductible. Donors were told their funds would be reflected in invoices as "consultant's fees for public relations services rendered".

In November 1986, 18 months after the launch of the Stallard Foundation, Star Line highlighted the questionable "tax relief" offered to members, and the Receiver of Revenue instituted an investigation.

It was also revealed that Derby-Lewis and his wife Gaye would benefit handsomely from the donations. Star Line has a document dated August 27 1985 in which he lists the foundation's monthly budget.

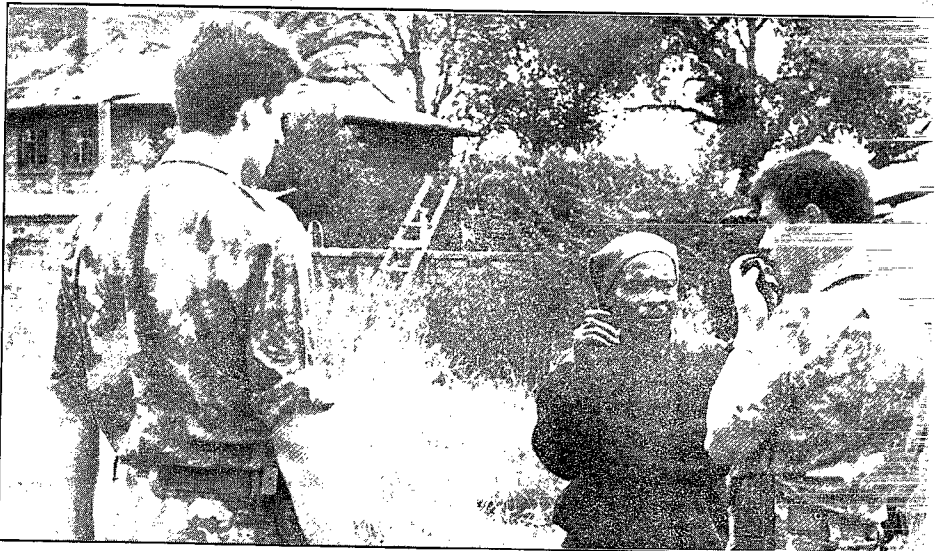
A careful examination of this indicated that he and his wife would get a huge slice of the R8 650 monthly budget. An amount of R2 500 a month was earmarked for Derby-Lewis as a director. R1 750 for his wife, who was the administrative secretary, and R1 800 for petrol in reaction to the criticism levelled against him at the time. Derby-Lewis told Star Line: "How we fund our projects is confidential, so I am not going to share this with The Star as it does not share the same objectives as we do."

After The Star had published three articles, an ardent Derby-Lewis supporter accused the paper of doing "a hatchet job" on Derby-Lewis and said he was "a man of honesty and integrity".

Soon after the publication of Star Line articles exposing the financial affairs and racist tones of the foundation, Derby-Lewis claimed: "The Star had 'launched a political attack' on him and took the paper to the Media Council, claiming The Star had breached the council's code of ethics. The matter was later dropped."

Another source of income for the foundation has been the sale of literature penned by several international and highly controversial ultra-right-wing thinkers. Many of them deal with what is claimed to be "an international takeover plot" by the communists.

According to a number of sources, Walz and Derby-Lewis were closely linked because of their mutual association with the Stallard Foundation. The association of the two men goes back to 1985, when the foundation was launched. □



Mr Joseph Mthembu escaped death in a burning house near FNB Stadium in Johannesburg when youths attending Chris Hani's funeral attacked houses and cars in the area. Mthembu (40) has been living there for 16 years. The owner of the property, Mr Geoffrey Howes (36), lost everything he owned. Mthembu explained to the police how he jumped out of a window to escape the fire.

Mass action begins to roll on May Day

Sowetan 21/4/93
Government accused of vacillating:

By Themba Molete

THE African National Congress mass action programme to speed up the negotiations process will unfold on May 1 (Workers' Day), it was announced yesterday.

The tripartite alliance of the ANC, SA Communist Party and the Congress of SA Trade Unions said the programme would be launched if "the Government continues to sit on its hands".

A statement by the alliance said: "Where action is required, the De Klerk Government is inactive."

Addressing a Press conference yesterday, SACP national chairman Mr Joe Slovo said the events of the past 10 days since the assassination of Mr Chris Hani had underlined that joint multiparty control over armed forces could "not be a formalistic and bureaucratic arrangement".

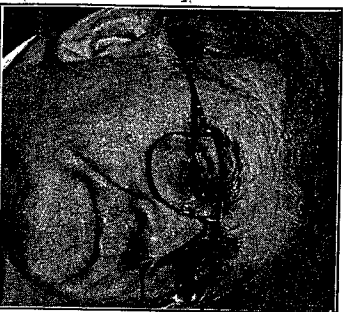
Responding to a statement by IFP leader Chief Mangosuthu Buthelezi that mass action would derail negotiations, Cosatu deputy general secretary Mr Sam Shilowa said mass action was demanded by the people on the ground who need results and was not a question for negotiators.

→ cont

NEWS Blacks and whites saw the tragedy of Hani's assassination through different eyes



Roelf Meyer ... opposed Hani.



Hennis Kriel ... force.



FW de Klerk ... initiatives cold.



Desmond Tutu ... lack of progress.

Viewpoints were totally different

By Ismail Lagardien
Political Correspondent

Chus Hani was laid to rest on Monday, nine days after he was murdered outside his home in Boksburg's Dawn Park, allegedly by Mr Janus.

While a Polish immigrant, Between the days of the assassination and his burial, South Africa was plunged into chaos and mayhem which, ironically, produced the only clear message, yet that relatively little

Sowetan 21/4/93
■ WRONG FOCUS *The Nats haven't*

changed approach to black people.

Blacks

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mourned loss

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the vast extent of peaceful mourning and dignified behaviour.

"The effect on whites, especially of the violence in Cape Town and the isolated racial pogroms, some of them horrible, was to verify," Owen wrote in his influential Sunday column. De Klerk and his Cabinet's responses were, at best, sardonic.

totally different

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Political Correspondent

CHRIS Hani was laid to rest on Monday, nine days after he was murdered outside his home in Boksburg's Dawn Park, allegedly by Mr Janus Walus, a Polish immigrant.

Between the days of his assassination and his burial, South Africa was plunged into chaos and mayhem which, ironically, produced the only clear message yet that relatively little progress has been made between black and white in South Africa in spite of almost three years of détente and rapprochement.

Horrific detail

The white media and the Government reacted primarily and in horrific detail to the sporadic violence, looting and destruction which characterised last week's commemoration services, processions and gatherings, with very little emphasis on what it actually meant to black people to lose a powerful political leader in these times of change.

The most important message for black South Africans during these dark days was that after all these weeks and months, even years, of protestations by the ruling National Party, they have not changed a bit in their approach to black people.

While black people over the past nine days mourned the loss of a leader and expressed their anger, white people counted the loss of revenue.

The Governor of the Reserve Bank, Dr Chris Stals, described the events after Hani's assassination as a major setback for the country after foreign investors had shown renewed interest in the country after the political developments of the preceding days and weeks.

"Following latest events, however, foreign investors have expressed their extreme disappointment with the turn of events. We are effectively back to square one," Stals said.

After the ANC announced its mass action programme, apparently "to positively channel the anger" whipped up by Hani's assassination, the monied class in South Africa spoke of the economy in apocalyptic terms.

Stals, a National Party appointee, said of the planned six weeks of mass action: "I doubt it will have any immediate effect on the financial markets but the secondary effects are likely to be felt once the campaign starts."

This is indicative of the mindset of the people who govern South Africa; they cannot see beyond rands and cents.

Sowetan 21/4/93
■ WRONG FOCUS *The Nats haven't*

changed approach to black people:

**Blacks
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This brings credence to the theory that President FW de Klerk's reform initiatives are cold-hearted accounting moves and bear no signals, even, of any humanitarian considerations.

It was in the Government's responses, first to Hani's assassination and then to the failed commemoration service in Cape Town and subsequent mayhem, that nonetheless drove home the fundamental indifference prevalent in the white community and leadership in South Africa towards black aspirations, expectations and sensibilities.

It is interesting to note, incidentally, that only three people bothered on April 10 to express their political opposition to Hani, one of whom chose to kill him.

Machiavellian

In the responses from De Klerk and his Machiavellian protege, Mr Roelf Meyer, the Minister of Constitutional Development, it was emphasised how the Government opposed Hani politically.

Mr Ken Owen, the classic liberal editor of the *Sunday Times* and a man whose name, according to the police, was on the same hit list, found in the home of the alleged killer, on which Hani's featured, summed it up succinctly in his column this past week-end.

"This week (after Hani's assassination) as never before, the Nationalist Government stood revealed as both impotent and politically inept.

"Power slipped visibly from the limp hands at Groote Schuur (De Klerk's residence) to the stronger hands at Shell House (ANC headquarters).

"Add to this a lamentable loss of perspective created by moist news media, which concentrated in their usual fashion on the episodes of violence without reporting in much detail

the vast extent of peaceful mourning and dignified behaviour.

"The effect on whites, especially of the violence in Cape Town and the isolated racial pogroms, some of them horrible, was to terrify," Owen wrote in his influential Sunday column.

De Klerk and his Cabinet's responses were, at best, sardonic.

The deep and dangerous chasm between black and white people, which negotiations and the prospect of a peaceful settlement had conveniently circumvented (not filled), revealed itself.

Pathos of the killer

Last week's anger was arguably and perhaps understandably aimed at whites; for Hani's death, because it was one of them who killed him; for apartheid, because it was this society that created the pathos of the killer; for the continued hegemony by whites, because it was the fear of losing this which probably inspired the assassination and ultimately for the absence of tangible or measurable developments resulting from negotiations.

Cape Town's Anglican Archbishop Desmond Tutu noted early in his address on Wednesday that ordinary black people were frustrated with the absence of measurable progress resulting from negotiations and said that it was time that these talks were seen to bear some results.

"It was crucial," Tutu said, "that a date for elections be set as quickly as possible."

The crisis precipitated by Hani's assassination is one for De Klerk as it is for the ANC. There are people who, in the wake of Hani's death, have questioned the feasibility of continued negotiations.

In all the responses from the Government, most especially in the response of the Minister of Law and Order, Mr Hernus Kriel, it was evident that the National Party had no response other than to meet the aftermath of Hani's assassination with security force action.

When he was asked on Sunday's *Agenda* what exactly the Government's response was to the week that was, De Klerk could only recall security measures, "kragdadigheid".

The difference (or similarity) between De Klerk and Mr PW Botha or even Mr John Vorster was there for everyone to see...



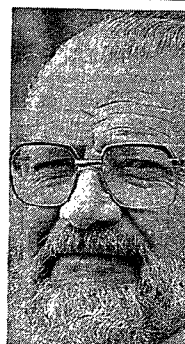
CONSTAND VILJOEN:
Wants to unite all Afrikaners.



WILLIE SNYMAN:
Urged CP supporters to join Commandos.



ANDRIES BEYERS:
Has had talks with Mandela.



CAREL BOSHOFF:
Calls for a small independent boerestaat.

Ex-generals enter the battle for Afrikaner political autonomy

By COLIN LEGUM
NOW that they are out of uniform, a number of South Africa's top military leaders have begun to show their true colours.

General Constand Viljoen, the former head of the army, has joined the Afrikaner Volksunie (AVU), a party committed to negotiating for an autonomous Afrikaner state or region. He is a member of the AVU's team in the multi-party negotiations. Explaining his decision he insists he is concerned only with helping to end the divisions between Afrikaners who are now split

into five rival parties and movements. (His brother, incidentally, is a member of the liberal Democratic Party.)

Lieutenant General Koos Bischoff, until recently the head of the Army Planning Staff, has been appointed as Chief of the Mobilisation Secretariat of the right-wing Conservative Party (CP). Bischoff insists his only concern is to support *volksaksie* (Afrikaner action) to achieve self-determination for each of the major national communities through "legal and peaceful methods".

The CP is committed to achieving an independent Afrikaner state in an area of the country which they refuse to identify precisely. Although the CP is reluctantly participating in the all-party talks, their leader, Dr Andries Treurnicht, has made it abundantly clear that his party will not agree to any proposal that does not allow for an independent boerestaat.

Phased action

Since this objective is opposed by both the government and the ANC — the two principal parties in the negotiations — the question is what action the CP intend to take when it fails

The latter are influential in a number of key industries such as mining, electricity, transport and steel.

Spokesmen for these unions have threatened to paralyse these industries should it become necessary to exert influence on the government to agree to an independent boerestaat. Committees on a regional basis are to be set up throughout the country "ready for action" when the time comes. Gen Bischoff is in charge of co-ordinating the organisation of these key groups.

Civilian defence

Although Gen Bischoff insists that the intention of the Mobilisation Secretariat is to defend the right to self-determination by "legal and peaceful means", the language heard at the recent CP national conference was vociferously militaristic.

The CP's defence spokesman, Dr Willie Snyman, has urged CP supporters to join the civilian Defence Commandos and to participate at least twice a year in their shooting exercises to prepare them to defend their "homes and hearths should the occasion arise".

Despite the secrecy surrounding the CP's

Colonel Jan Breytenbach — the much-decorated and tough commander of the 32 Battalion that gained notoriety for its brutality in the fighting in Angola — said that while a coup by the army could be ruled out, what was more likely was that the military action might be initiated by the generals and other senior military officers who have resigned or been dismissed in the past three years by President De Klerk. He said that military leaders, who had made considerable sacrifices in "defence of their country", felt betrayed by De Klerk's policy of negotiating with the enemy against whom they had fought — Swapo in Namibia, the ANC, the SA Communist Party and the Pan-Africanist Congress.

The position adopted by the CP in the current negotiations is in favour of a confederal constitution which would allow for a number of independent states loosely joined together. They look for support from Chief Buthe's Inkatha Freedom Party and from the Bophuthatswana and Ciskei homelands.

Crucial issues



ANC — the two principal parties in the negotiations — the question is what action the CP intend to take when it fails to achieve its aims. Asked at the recent CP conference what contingency plans are envisaged if the party fails to win its demand for a *boerestaat*, Treurnicht pointed to the "mobilisation council" which is concerned with making contingency plans.

The question is: mobilisation for what? And how? The CP refuses to be drawn on the first point. There are some pointers to a phased programme of action. Steps have already begun to recruit key people in agriculture, education and right-wing trade unions.

to prepare them to defend their "homes and hearths should the occasion arise".

Despite the secrecy surrounding the CP's mobilisation plans, it is not difficult to guess that this involves organising right-wing Afrikaners to fight against any agreement reached at the all-party talks that does not include an independent *boerestaat*.

Felt betrayed

Military resistance might be the last option of the CP. The first option appears to be mass demonstrations on a national scale, strikes and other forms of protest hitherto resorted to only by the ANC.

In a recent interview,

some freedom party and from the Bophuthatswana and Ciskei homelands.

Crucial issues

The government is opposed to the idea of confederalism and hopes to wean Dr Mangosuthu Buthelezi and homeland leaders away from the CP by getting agreement on a federal constitution which would grant a large measure of autonomy to about 10 regions. The ANC, though supportive of regionalism and a reasonable amount of autonomy, is opposed to any talk of federalism which they see as inimical to their idea of a unitary state.

It is around the issues of confederalism, federalism and a unitary state that the new round of multi-party negotiations will be fought out.

The dark horse in these negotiations is the Afrikaner Volksunie, led by Dr Andries Beyers, and the Afrikaanse Volkstigting (AVS) led by the late Dr Verwoerd's son-in-law, Professor Carel Boshoff. The former is made up of senior MPs who broke away from the CP whose policies they found to be unrealistic. Its negotiating position is in favour of one region, centred on Pretoria, where Afrikaners would be in a majority. For the rest they are willing to accept fully the principles of a democratic, non-discriminatory constitution.

Private talks

The AVS's demand is even more modest — a relatively small territory in a mostly inhospitable and underpopulated part of the country. But, unlike the AVU, the AVS insists on an independent status for their small *boerestaat*. While the AVU's programme is at least negotiable, that of the AVS seems not to be so.

Both Dr Beyers and Prof Boshoff recently had private talks with Nelson Mandela to canvass support for their ideas; but while both came away full of praise for the courteous and sympathetic way in which the ANC leader received them, he kept his counsel about what the ANC's stand would be on the AVU and AVS proposals when they are discussed around the negotiating-table.

Box 11 CAPE TOWN 8000

Traders trying to earn honest living

LUBBE, National Association (Cape)

to respond to the Bob Hayward "Will site be given to Cape Times, March 1981. The National Traders Association subscribes to law-restrained and a coach to civic matters have on numerous publicly stated. is the approach we use of when dealing with Council and the on the issue of St. in spite of highly language being us. recall the NTA taken of any territory, the authorities or threats. I think that

there is a distinct difference between "confrontation" on the one hand and "negotiation" (which is what the NTA have been engaged in) on the other hand.

If, however, by "confrontation" he refers to our attempts to "confront" the public of Cape Town about the plight of law-abiding informal traders who are merely trying to earn an honest living, then I plead guilty.

Mr Hayward accuses us of working according to the principle of "communalism" (which he obviously equates with that bogey "communism" and states that in contrast with us he believes in running "flea markets" along the principles of private enterprise.

The NTA believes that flea markets should be run by traders for the benefit of traders.

Sexwale gives us hope

EGMANN (Ronde-

in some reservation the news of the TV1, after having us reports as to the looting and unrest. How incredible the which filtered reports as we

looting and people that I do not deny, the leader after the same message of non-violence and con-

rated, the number of individuals involved in these criminal acts was indeed relatively low, when compared with the sheer magnitude of people out in the streets.

If members of our new government have such vision and conviction as Mr Sexwale, I have absolutely no doubt that South Africa will indeed, one day, be a wonderful land. A land of real people, with strength of character and integrity which is seldom to be found in our crazy, mixed-up world.

Don't stray from middle ground, FW urges ANC

ja Ljubisa

Political Correspondent

CAPE TOWN — President de Klerk has called on the ANC not to stray from the broad centre where it had been positioning itself over a period of time.

Speaking on the second day of the debate on his vote in Parliament, he said this was where the great majority of South Africans found themselves.

"They long for peaceful negotiations leading rapidly to a new constitutional dispensation which will be acceptable to all of our communities."

"If this is to be achieved, the parties to negotiation, including the National Party and the ANC, will have to stop

shouting at one another, will have to stop sowing the seeds of anger, suspicion and dissent, will have to excel in being constructive and co-operative".

De Klerk accused Nelson Mandela of misrepresentations and making unfair remarks in his speech at Chris Hani's funeral.

He had not, as Mandela had alleged, first of all called a meeting of the State Security Council.

Steps

After it became clear that the ANC-SACP-Cosatu alliance planned mass action, the State Security Council had met. The purpose was to consider steps to be taken to prevent this from resulting in unrest and conflict.

Mandela had created the impression that the

Government itself had been implicated in Hani's death.

Dr Zach de Beer, leader of the Democratic Party, said the most important requisite for peace was that the centre in politics should hold.

"What is needed now is a positive ideal — true national unity — enabling us and inspiring us to work for a better life for all our people."

Conservative Party MP Daan van der Merwe said De Klerk had become estranged from the Afrikaner nation.

Dave Dalling, an ANC-aligned MP for Sandton, said De Klerk should give the assurance he would do all that was humanly possible to ensure a transitional executive council was installed speedily. An election date must be finalised by end-May.

CP MP hands De Klerk 30 pieces of silver

CAPE TOWN — The CP handed President F W de Klerk 30 pieces of silver in Parliament yesterday, "at the request of officers of 32 Battalion".

The coins, in a black bag and meant to symbolise an act of betrayal, were placed on De Klerk's bench by CP Chief Whip Willie Snyman who had used debate on the President's Budget vote to attack the recent disbanding of the battalion.

The President appeared angry as the bag and an envelope containing the names of 176 battalion members who had died in action was placed in front of him.

8/10 AM 21/4/93
Political Staff

Speaker Eli Louw ordered Snyman to remove the bag and envelope. The Pietersburg MP refused — saying he had given the officers of 32 Battalion a promise that he would carry out the act. He was then ordered from the chamber.

Snyman gave little indication of his intentions when he began speaking, attacking government and quoting extensively from statements by the battalion's founder Col Jan Brytenbach.

He said he was speaking on "written

36 (4)
instructions" from the former battalion's officers to address De Klerk in his capacity as its "supreme commander".

Snyman said government had promised the battalion would be incorporated into the army as a unit and not as individuals.

Saying he was acting "simply as a messenger" for the officers, he closed his speech by saying that history would judge De Klerk if he "hands the Afrikaner people to a communist domination".

He then walked the few metres to De Klerk's bench and handed over the bag and envelope.

Government silent on Derby-Lewis

By BARRY STREEK
Political Staff

CT 21/4/93

THE government, the police and the Conservative Party were all tight-lipped yesterday about the detention of Mr Clive Derby-Lewis and the possible arrest of others in connection with the matter.

Mr Derby-Lewis, CP President's Councillor, was detained on Sunday in connection with police investigations into the assassination of Mr Chris Hani.

There has since been speculation that other arrests are imminent and that the investigations have extended to senior members of the CP.

President F W de Klerk did not refer to the matter directly yesterday when he spoke during the debate on his Vote but he emphasised that the police would act against anyone who broke the law.

Now FW will call for speed-up

TOS WENTZEL Political Staff

304A

ARG 21/9/73
of the "Bantustans" and the government attitude to regionalism and federalism.

A CALL to speed up negotiations to make transitional arrangements possible and set an election date is expected from President De Klerk when he speaks in parliament today.

He has indicated that in the debate on his budget vote he will deal with constitutional issues which will include the future

The ANC has stepped up demands for a transitional executive council and the announcement of an election date and the Democratic Party has been pressing for more clarity on various issues, including the "Bantustans" and government attitudes on regionalism and federalism.



Mr De Klerk

'Don't stray from centre' plea to ANC

3047

ARG 21/4/93

TOS WENTZEL
Political Staff

PRESIDENT De Klerk has called on the ANC not to stray from the broad centre where it had been positioning itself over a period of time.

Speaking on the second day of the debate on his Vote in parliament he said this was where the great majority of South Africans found themselves.

"They long for peaceful negotiations leading rapidly to a new constitutional dispensation which will be acceptable to all of our communities.

"If this is to be achieved, the parties to negotiation, including the National Party and the ANC, will have to stop shouting at one another; will have to stop sowing the seeds of anger, suspicion and dissent; will have to excel in being constructive and co-operative".

Mr De Klerk accused Mr Nelson Mandela of misrepresentations and making unfair remarks in his speech at Mr Chris Hani's funeral.

He had not, as Mr Mandela had alleged, first of all called a

meeting of the State Security Council.

He had first of all communicated with Mr Mandela but after it had become clear that the ANC-SACP-Cosatu alliance planned mass action the State Security Council met.

The purpose was to consider steps to be taken to prevent this from resulting in unrest and conflict. The top priority was to ensure close co-operation with the organisers of various events.

Only after the ANC had failed to control their crowds in three cities were further steps announced to protect the public.

Mr Mandela had created the impression that the government itself had been implicated in Mr Hani's death.

The ANC leader himself had, however, admitted that the ANC itself was deeply involved in violence.

Mr De Klerk said there was no question of Mr Hani's murderer being considered for indemnity. He also rejected Mr Mandela's questioning of the legitimacy of the government.

No indemnity for assassin

CAPE TOWN — President F W de Klerk yesterday specified a new and final cutoff date for criminal indemnity which would bar SACP leader Chris Hani's murderer from escaping liability. (301A)

De Klerk told Parliament there was no question that Hani's murderer would be considered for indemnity. Government was resolutely against indemnity for crimes committed after October 1992.

In terms of the Indemnity Act, the cutoff date for indemnity for political crimes was October 8 1990. The Further Indemnity Act made provision for further indemnity, without specifying a date. (1A)

Responding to ANC president Nelson Mandela's speech at Hani's funeral, De Klerk said he was against shifting this date to beyond October 1992 — when the Further Indemnity Act was promulgated. He said Mandela's criticism of the Further Indemnity Act was misplaced, as Mandela's own followers had been far and away the biggest beneficiaries of the Act.

The Act was at no stage intended to offer a licence to kill; it was intended to close the book on SA's violent past, he said.

De Klerk denied Mandela's claim that

TIM COHEN (2820)

his first action in response to Hani's death was to call a meeting of the State Security Council. He said his first response was to issue a statement which expressed condolences to the family and friends of Hani and to call for maximum restraint.

De Klerk said he had spoken on the phone to Mandela and had assured him of the full co-operation of government and police. It was only when it became clear that the ANC planned massive mass action that the State Security Council had met.

Only after the ANC failed to control its followers in three cities did he announce further steps to protect the public.

"Did the ANC expect the government to stand idly by and watch with its arms folded while riotous behaviour led to destruction and killing and filled so many of our people ... with despair?"

Responding to Mandela's call for a date for a democratic election, De Klerk said government was also filled with a sense of urgency regarding the installation of transitional executive councils and a government of national unity.

BIDA-2 21/4/93

Counting the cost of old-style politics

B/D/M 21/4/93

NICOL MATRASS

(344)

tion, then one could argue that mass action is ultimately in the interests of economic growth.

In fact, the creation of a transitional government may also do very little for investor confidence. A transitional government is by its very nature transitional. As such, it cannot provide investors with the kind of stability they require. Investors are waiting for SA to introduce a stable, sustainable democratic system.

The NP government's tired invocations of "law and order" and the economic "costs" of mass action merely distract attention from the government's unwillingness to develop any real vision of the future. It cannot even deal with the present. When Chris Hani was assassinated, Nelson Mandela and the ANC leadership managed the crisis. F W de Klerk

hollidayed in Hermanns. When Hani was buried, the ANC held an impressive state funeral. ANC leaders, marshals, monitors and police together kept disruption and violence to a mercifully low level. In these sad days, the ANC has been more than a government in waiting — it has practically been the government.

De Klerk considered it divisive to heed the DP's call to adjourn Parliament during Hani's burial. He has chosen to pander to conservative while parties and voters. Has it not occurred to him that more people protested on the streets last Wednesday than voted for the NP in the last election? And most disturbingly can he not see that the ANC's non-racialism is all that stands between SA and Sarajewo?

Applauds the leftwingers in the NP are out of touch with the political realities of SA. They are doing more harm to SA's economic prospects than a thousand violent looters.

Matrass teaches economics at UCT.

production? And as for the notion that consumer spending has suffered — how can you estimate the extent of lost sales if people simply defer their spending until after the demonstration? Economists are dangerous animals at the best of times, but when they start quantifying the unquantifiable, they should be sent to the cooler.

Perhaps the only sensible point that has been made about the cost of mass action is the negative impact it may have on investor confidence. But even here, private sector economists have been extraordinarily short-sighted. Investor confidence has been rock bottom in SA for over a decade — largely as a result of our unsatisfactory political situation.

SA lacks a suitable investment environment because the NP is hankering at transferring power to a democratically elected government. As

PRIVATE-sector economists have been busy "counting the costs" of mass action. Estimates range from R5m to R500m a day. Nobody explains how these figures are derived, but they presumably include damage to property, lost production, lost wages and depressed sales.

These thumbstick numbers are pure hogwash. It is impossible to come up with a sensible estimate of the "costs" of mass action. One can of course get some idea of the costs of looted goods, broken windows, burned cars and so on. But these costs are insignificant at an economy-wide level (especially once you deduct the benefits to firms such as P G Glass, plinkers, T-shirt manufacturers, and so on).

The major economic costs are potentially large. But slapping on a price tag is misleading political propaganda, not economic accounting.

How can you estimate lost production when, for example, you have no idea how many employers and work-

REVIEW

ANC, government in urgent meeting

(NPA) BILLY PADDOCK (3049)

THE ANC and government's chief negotiators held an urgent meeting yesterday, ahead of tomorrow's planning committee meeting, to discuss the best way to speed up negotiations. (NPA) 21/4/93

The meeting was confirmed but both camps refused to disclose details.

It is known that Constitutional Development Minister Roelf Meyer and ANC secretary-general Cyril Ramaphosa attended and it is believed they considered ways to ensure the transitional executive council was the first item on the talks agenda.

Today government meets the Bophuthatswana government to discuss constitutional matters, and it is hoping to meet Inkatha before Monday's negotiating council meeting. A government spokesman said the council would meet at least twice or three times a week to speed up talks.

The ANC has demanded that the transitional executive council be established and an election date announced before June. Government is in agreement but Inkatha and its Concerned South Africans Group allies reject the programme.

ANC and government sources voiced concern that Inkatha and its allies would seek ways of delaying the process. One said Inkatha seemed intent on first finalising agreement on the form of state a new SA would take.

Inkatha spokesman Suzanne Vos said the party saw the importance of constructive negotiations continuing on substantive constitutional issues, especially establishing the form of state to be negotiated.

"We reject parties equating urgency with the need to impose their own party-political demands for their own gain on the process," she said.

NEWS State President replies to ANC leader's attack ● News in 1

FW fires broadside at Nelson Mandela

Sowetan 21/4/93
■ Government won't indemnify Hani's alleged murderer:

By Ismail Lagardien
Political Correspondent

THE alleged murderer of SACP chief Mr Chris Hani would not qualify for indemnity, President FW de Klerk said in Parliament last night.

In a stinging attack on ANC president Mr Nelson Mandela, De Klerk said the ANC leader had misrepresented the facts at FNB Stadium on Monday when he said his (De Klerk's) first reaction to Hani's assassination was to call a State Security Council meeting and then to deploy 23 000 troops.

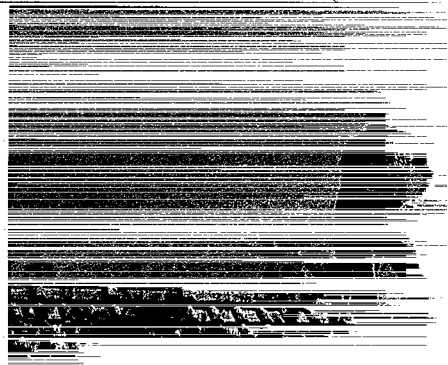
De Klerk said his first reaction had

been to send a message of condolence to Hani's family in which he had expressed his shock.

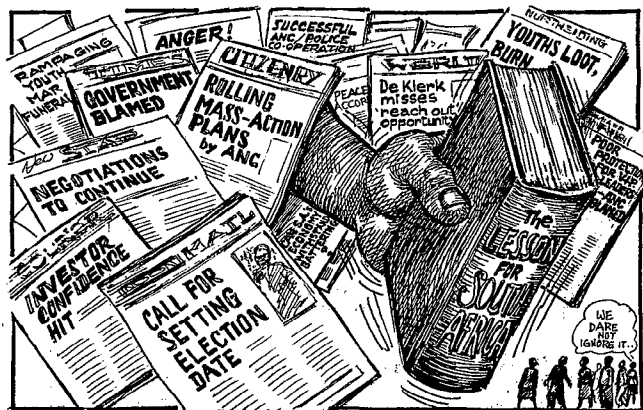
He also said when Mandela questioned the Further Indemnity Act, he (the ANC leader) forgot that it was in terms of this law that ANC members were indemnified.

"There is, therefore, no question of the murderer of Mr Hani being considered for indemnity. The same applies to the many other atrocious murders committed recently," De Klerk said.

De Klerk said the National Party was not to blame for the fact that black people did not have the vote.



Try next door if you value your life. This seems to be the Elspark resident to passing mourners near the South Park C. Chris Hani was buried on Monday.



focus on Hani

The assassination of Chris Hani may prove in the long run to have been the death of more than just one individual. We may be witnessing the start of the actual demise of the Nationalist Government.

Events of the past few days show clearly that its grip on power is beginning to wobble. In its hour of need, it was not FW de Klerk the country turned to for solace. He was either not there or his response was so off-key it rankled. It was the elderly shoulder of Nelson Mandela which stepped into the breach. He was available right from the beginning, tending to the wounds, gently and gingerly chiding and admonishing those who stepped out of line.

De Klerk completely misread the situation from the moment Hani was cruelly cut down by the assassin's bullet. His half-hearted, grudging response to the murder and his conditional condolences simply inflamed passions.

Was necessary, for instance, for De Klerk to preface his response to the murder with the fact he and Hani were at opposite ends of the political spectrum?

The fact that Hani was a communist was neither here nor there. The overriding fact is that there were millions out there who looked on this man as the only one who could express and help achieve their aspirations, as their only hope for the future. Now that hope was snuffed out in a violent fashion.

The assassination was one of those watershed events, like Sharpeville in 1960 and Soweto in 1976, capable of changing the compass and direction of the politics of a nation. De Klerk failed to grasp that fact.

What people at least expected was for De Klerk to say: "I understand your pain. I feel it too. I will do everything in my power to ameliorate it." Instead he rubbed salt into their wounds.

Waves of emotions

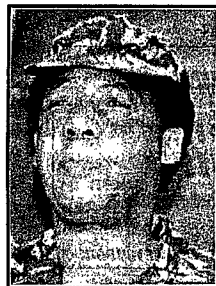
Hani's murder unleashed waves of emotions. Even men and women who did not care two hoots for Hani and what he stood for were forced to stop and think. In this country they want to live in, where leaders of Hani's stature could be moved down like dogs?

De Klerk failed to embrace these emotions. Instead he clumsily distanced himself from them, thereby making it a black-and-white issue, instead of mourning it as a national tragedy.

To compound the situation, a junior minister, Mr. Gert Myburgh, and the indelicate police Captain Craig Coetzee issued a statement minutes after the arrest of the alleged assassin claiming the man was acting on his own.

As the day progressed even these two gentlemen must have realised how absurd that statement was. But the damage had already been

Sowetan 21/4/93.
In its hour of need, it was not FW de Klerk but Nelson Mandela that the country turned to for assurances and explanations. *Sowetan's* Day Editor **Barney Mthomboti** asks whether this marks the start of the National Party's demise:



Chris Hani

done. Suspicions had been confirmed.

In the townships the explanation for that statement was quite simple: a white rightwinger had killed a revered black leader (confirming yet again the existence of a Third Force) and the Government was now involved in a damage limitation exercise to protect its brothers on the Right. It inflamed passions even further.

The Government came into its element after the looting during last Wednesday's stayaway. This was a terrain they know very well, buck-passing and talking tough. It was *kragdadigheid* all over again.

Mr. Tertius Delpoit, the hero of Operation Katzen who was standing in for the absent Hennis Kriel, laid the blame squarely on the ANC for failing to "control" their supporters. The fact that Mandela had just been booed by his own supporters for putting in a good word for the Nats didn't seem to bother him one bit.

It was probably a good thing Kriel was on holiday, ironically in Eastern Europe, at the time of the assassination. He is not a man to have ground in times of crisis. He has this penchant

for putting his foot in it.

The Nats will have to learn to shy away from their traditional knee-jerk defence of every police action if they want to be taken seriously. Police opened fire, by all accounts without provocation, killing three people and injuring more than 200 at Pontas police station on Wednesday.

Myburgh's reaction was not to offer condolences to the victims but to stoutly defend police action, although he admitted he did not have the facts.

But De Klerk should have risen above the tawdry performance of his minions. Instead he came on TV screens, grim and sombre, to announce that the looting represented a black day for SA. What worried him was the destruction, not the pain.

The violence is obviously unacceptable but it should also be seen in its proper perspective. More than 50 people were killed and damage of some R3 billion caused after the acquittal of the police officers who assaulted Rodney King in Los Angeles last year.

So it could have been worse here. Out in the streets, patience has run out. Only time will tell whether the ANC will be able to leash the anger in the streets without losing credibility in the process.

But the issue goes beyond the Hani assassination. The Government has yet to grapple with the reality of present-day SA. De Klerk has yet to offer a *metu culpa* for the hurt and injury wreaked by apartheid to millions of black South Africans. He has apparently apologised to the Japanese, although it's unclear what the Japanese have to do with apartheid.

As far as he is concerned, his party did not abandon apartheid because it was morally wrong but because it was simply unworkable.

He refuses to say "I'm sorry". Yet that simple statement would allow him to make that leap of faith which will make it possible for him to embrace the future. He therefore remains trapped in the past — a Gorbachev waiting to topple, perhaps?

Winter is in the air, but judging by the events of the past few days, the country may be in for a long hot summer.



America 'good for SA'

Star 21/4/63

The new Democratic administration in Washington has a good understanding of the South African situation, Ambassador Harry Schwartz told the Foreign Editor.

FREDERICK CLEARY.

SOUTH AFRICA'S ambassador to the United States, Harry Schwartz, says President Clinton's democratic administration will have a better understanding of the South African situation than the previous Democratic administration.

There should be a complete re-examination of the South African situation in the light of the new administration's policies.

Clinton's administration was not as well-informed as the previous administration in the South African situation.

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Secretary of State Warren Christopher, since his Carter administration, has been one of the most vocal critics of the South African situation.

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Schwartz, more Americans now objective about SA.



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Gaye Derby-Lewis a suspect

More held in swoop on Right

Star 21/4/93

By Bronwyn Wilkinson,
Colleen Ryan
and Kaizer Nyatsumba

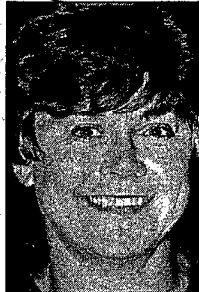
The wife of former CP MP Clive Derby-Lewis, Gaye, and four other people believed to have right-wing leanings were arrested in a pre-dawn swoop today in connection with the assassination of slain SACP and ANC leader Chris Hani.

Clive Derby-Lewis, a CP-nominated MP and member of the President's Council, was arrested on Saturday.

SAP spokesman Brigadier Frans Malherbe confirmed that five people had been arrested, but would not issue their names. Senior police sources said the arrests were connected not only to the Hani investigation, but "to something much wider".

The Star has learnt that the other four people arrested were former Citizen journalist Arthur Kemp, Krugersdorp estate agent Faan Venter, computer specialist Edwin Clark and Krugersdorp property speculator Lionel du Randt.

Malherbe said only that five people had been detained as suspects in terms of the Criminal Procedure Act regarding the investigation which followed from questioning of Polish immi-



Gaye Derby-Lewis . . . held after dawn swoop.

grant Janus Waluz and Clive Derby-Lewis.

The crackdown appears to be a major breakthrough for the police.

When The Star called the Derby-Lewis home in Noordheuwel, Krugersdorp, this morning a friend of the family, who identified himself only as Kevin, confirmed the arrest of Gaye Derby-Lewis.

He said he had heard that many more people were about to be arrested. "They just walked in at five this morning, got her up and arrested her," said Kevin.

Kevin said he had been staying at the Derby-Lewis home since the arrest of Clive on Saturday night.

"I was not there at the moment of her arrest. I was still sleeping."

He said he woke up a few minutes later and spoke to her before police took her away. "She is fine for the moment," he said.

Police had no problem gaining entry since the house has been under police guard since the weekend.

Kevin said he had been told four other people had been held this morning. He did not know if they were CP members. "If you know the Derby-Lewises it is 'crime enough,'" he said.

Dr Wim Booysse, political analyst and expert on right-wing matters, told The Star police have been finding it increasingly difficult to crack right-wing crime because members were operating in small cells and not necessarily reporting to their party hierarchies.

Waluz was arrested shortly after Hani was gunned down at his Dawn Park, Boksburg, home on April 10.

The Star has been able to link Waluz to three neo-Nazi organisations and to two right-wing extremists, Adriaan Maritz and Henry Martin, who are wanted for alleged murder and attempted murder in bomb blasts.

Waluz had regularly been seen at small cell meetings of the Wereld-Apartheidsbeweging (WAB) and the Afrikaaner-Nasionaal Sosia-liste (ANS).

● To Page 3

P.T.O.

More detained in swoop on Right

Star 21/4/98

• From Page 1

They are both fiercely anti-communist and pro-Nazi. WAB leader Koos Vermeulen has offered to pay Walusz's legal fees.

The Hoofcommandant (head commander) of the AWB, A.J. Ooshuizen, told The Star today he had no knowledge of the swoop and that those picked up by police were unknown to him.

Ooshuizen said AWB leader Eugene Terreblanche was travelling in the eastern Cape and would be speaking at an AWB rally in Uitenhage tonight.

A switchboard operator at The Citizen said this morning that photo-journalist Arthur

Kemp had left the paper a few months ago, and was apparently planning to go overseas.

The editor of The Citizen, M.A. Johnson, was unavailable.

Some key political players today welcomed the news of the arrests and expressed the hope that the new development could help advance investigations into Chris Han's murder.

However, Conservative Party (C.P.) deputy leader Dr. Ferdi Hartzenberg declined to comment "at this moment", telling The Star he did not have enough information to do so.

Speaking from his parliamentary office in Cape Town, Hartzenberg said he would make a statement later.

Han's lawyer, Fink Hayson, said today: "The police have been keeping us pretty well up to date on the investigation into the murder of Chris."

"Matthew Phosa and myself are ANC lawyers appointed to monitor the investigation into the murder."

"At this stage we have nothing to complain about in terms of liaison with the police."

Boerestaal Party leader Robert van Tonder said rightwingers had been arrested in the past and they had not been charged for lack of evidence, and he was confident the same would happen with the people concerned.

ANC spokesman and national executive committee member Gill Marcus said her organisation would like to know what the Derby-Lewis alleged involvement was in the assassination and wanted information released to the public.

Marcus welcomed the involvement of Scotland Yard experts in the investigation, but said the ANC wanted the people arrested to be brought to court as soon as possible.

"It shows how ill-timed (Law and Order Ministry spokesman) Craig Kotze's statement was that the assassination was the work of a lone individual," Marcus said.

Contacted in Cape Town, Kotze declined to comment on the arrests, but said he had at no stage "excluded any possibility in the investigations."

Priman says Mandela is the de facto State President

Elections 'may be held this year'

By Ismail Lagardien
Political Correspondent

■ **BREAKTHROUGH** Election date

could be set within six weeks:

SOUTH AFRICA COULD have a transitional executive council in place within the next six weeks, President FW de Klerk said in Parliament last night.

De Klerk also said it was possible that an election date could be set within the same period. He said elections could be held before the end of the year if a breakthrough in negotiations could be made within weeks.

De Klerk said the ANC's programme of mass action was, therefore, "fallacious and tantamount to preaching to the converted".

"About the Government's own commitment to the speedy finalisation of the negotiating process, there is no doubt. We are in a hurry," De Klerk said.

He said the Government had already prepared draft legislation for the TEC and for a new Electoral Act which it was prepared to table at multiparty negotiations. The composition, terms of reference and nature of authority of the TEC had yet to be determined, he said.

De Klerk said it should be possible to reach agreement on the following matters within six weeks:

- The process leading up to the election;
 - The establishment of the TEC to oversee the levelling of the playing field;
 - The establishment of an independent electoral commission and details of a new Electoral Act;
 - The establishment of a commission of regions for the purpose of delineation of boundaries;
- De Klerk said South Africans had come to accept that mass action resulted only in an escalation of violence.

Sowetan 22/4/93

304A

NEWS Back on track

Planning committee to meet

■ Real talks begin on Monday:

By Themba Molefe
Political Reporter

THE 10-member planning committee of the multiparty negotiations forum meets at the World Trade Centre today to prepare the agenda for full-blown constitutional talks which begin next Monday.

Already delayed by a week because of the assassination of Mr Chris Hani, Monday's meeting is however the beginning of "real" negotiations following the successful multiparty forum on April 1.

In the build-up to and after Hani's funeral on Monday, politicians involved in negotiations, notably the African National Congress alliance, Government and Inkatha Freedom Party, openly bickered, but were careful not to upset the negotiations cart.

Although stopping short of saying the Government did order Hani's death, the ANC instead embarked on a mass action campaign to demand an early election date.

This did not mean the ANC wanted to delay negotiations, but to speed the process up, secretary-general Mr Cyril Ramaphosa on Tuesday. The ANC was committed to negotiations, he said.

And in response State President FW de Klerk said the Government would not set up an election date as this was a matter for multiparty negotiations.

The IFP's Chief Mangosuthu Buthelezi echoed De Klerk's words by saying elections could not precede the resolution of the form of state as this would be "a recipe for disaster".

He said this on Wednesday after he and Bophuthatswana's Chief Lucas Mangope returned from meeting United Nations' secretary-general Dr Boutros Boutros-Ghali in New York.

A very reluctant partner in the talks would be the Conservative Party which had been rocked by the arrest of senior member Mr Clive Derby-Lewis over Hani's murder. The multiparty forum is expected to reach agreement on powers and functions of the Transitional Executive Authority, its sub-councils, independent media commission and electoral commission.

NEWS FW speaks on polls • Ex-I

'FW's not on top, he's on holiday'

Sowetan 22/4/93

■ Independent MP slams State President De Klerk:

By Ismail Lagardien
Political Correspondent

THE real president of South Africa had emerged and his name was not FW de Klerk, independent MP Mr Robert Haswell said yesterday.

Haswell told Parliament yesterday that after the assassination of SACP chief Mr Chris Hani, "it was clear for all to hear and see that Nelson Mandela was the *de facto* president of South Africa".

"The *de jure* president was incapable of providing the dynamic and statesmanlike leadership our country, and all of its people, so desperately needed in our time of trial. That mantle was clearly passed on to Mandela,"

Haswell said.

He was speaking during the State President's Budget debate which coincided with the first anniversary of the day he and four of his colleagues from the Democratic Party joined the ANC.

Haswell said during the time of crisis precipitated by the Hani assassination, De Klerk was "on holiday".

Haswell said it was understood the National Peace Secretariat had asked him to fly South African flags around the country at half-mast but that De Klerk had declined.

The Speaker, a former NP Cabinet Minister, also refused to halt parliamentary proceedings on the day Hani was buried.

304A

Star 2214193
**Treurnicht may
quit as CP leader**

CAPE TOWN — Dr Andries Treurnicht may have to step down as leader of the Conservative Party following a major heart bypass operation.

Although some of his MPs yesterday dismissed speculation about his retirement, it became clear that he will have to be away from his office for a considerable time.

(SALA)
One CP source confirmed that Treurnicht (72) had been on life-supporting equipment and that he was in a weak state after having been taken off this.

CP information chief Dr. Pieter Mulder and Frank le Roux, the party's chief whip, said there had been no speculation in CP circles about Treurnicht's possible retirement.

Le Roux said Treurnicht was as well as could be expected under the circumstances and would be away for two months.

— Own Correspondent

Election possible by year-end — FW

Political
Correspondent

CAPE TOWN — The Government remained committed to target dates for an election early in 1994 or even at the end of the year, according to President de Klerk.

He said great progress could be made in the next six weeks.

Speaking on the final day of debate on his vote in Parliament, De Klerk said much depended on whether negotiations could progress more quickly.

However, setting a firm election date was another matter.

Consensus would first have to be obtained on the further development of the constitutional process and on the nature of constitutional institutions that would have to be elected during an election.

This would have to be done before the negotiation parties could take a meaningful decision on an election date.

"About the Govern-

ment's own commitment to the speedy finalisation of the negotiation process there is no doubt. We are in a hurry."

De Klerk said the Government was equally committed to the urgent installation of a transitional executive council (TEC) and sub-councils.

Draft legislation had already been prepared to facilitate the appointment of such a council.

"Current demands in this regard are specious. They are made for reasons of political expediency and are tantamount to preaching to the converted."

Assuming that the multiparty negotiating forum would not be harmed by intransigence and other occurrences, he was of the view that it should be possible to reach agreement within the next six weeks on matters such as:

- The process leading up to the election itself.
- The establishment of a TEC, the levelling of the proverbial playing field, the establishment of an independent electoral commission, a new Electoral Act and delimita-

tion of electoral regions.

● Functions and powers of regional authorities...

● Constitutional principles and a constitutional court.

● A Charter of Human Rights in a transitional constitution.

Referring to the homelands, De Klerk said the Government felt that Transkei, Bophuthatswana, Venda, and Ciskei should be reincorporated into South Africa as soon as possible.

Negotiations with these territories were in progress to ensure a stable process.

They would, in a system of regionalism, be able to achieve a large degree of local autonomy which would best serve the interests of their inhabitants.

De Klerk said it was a truism that the immediate future would, in all probability, be the most crucial and decisive period in the country's history.

The Government insisted that the question of violence should remain at the top of the negotiations agenda.

FW predicts progress in talks

CAPE TOWN — President F W de Klerk attempted yesterday to inject fresh hope into the negotiations process, predicting the successful resolution of a large number of issues and the implementation of a transitional executive council within six weeks.

Speaking in Parliament during debate on his vote yesterday, he also — for the first time — gave official support for suggestions that the TBVC states would be reincorporated early. But he backed earlier statements by Ministers that there could be no non-governmental control of security forces before elections.

It should be possible to reach agreement within the next six weeks on:

- ☐ The establishment of a transitional executive council, an independent electoral commission, the contents of a new Electoral Act and the delimitation of the country into electoral regions;
- ☐ The establishment of a commission on regions to make recommendation regarding the delimitation of regions of a transitional constitutional dispensation;
- ☐ The provisions of a transitional constitution, which should provide for a transitional government of national unity for a

TIM COHEN

period of five years;

- ☐ Constitutional principles which should characterise a future constitutional dispensation and a constitutional court; and
- ☐ The contents of a justiciable charter of fundamental rights.

Although government was not in favour of a unilateral decision on the reincorporation of the TBVC states, De Klerk said that there was a proposal on the table which would provide for their quick reincorporation.

On the date for an election, De Klerk said it was obvious that consensus had to be agreed first in negotiation and the nature of the constitution had to be agreed before a meaningful date for an election could be decided.

Current demands in regard to an election date were specious. "They are reasons of political expediency and are tantamount to preaching to the converted.

"It is not impossible that we will be able to have an election before the end of the year. Personally I think that it will take

☐ To Page 2

Talks

place early next year." Sapa reports that the President said the ANC's programme of rolling mass action, with its clear potential to spark further violence, would conflict with decisions on violence already taken by the negotiating forum, and would have a detrimental effect on the negotiating process.

"I regret this potential state of affairs all the more because it implies that the broad SA public will have to pay the price for the cowardly and reprehensible murder of Mr Chris Hani. That tragic happening ought to spur us on to continue negotiations with new dedication and zeal, rather than doing anything which inherently threatens them."

☐ From Page 1



COMRADES . . . ANC-aligned MPs Mr Dave Dalling, Mr Pierre Cronje, Mr Sam Louw, Mr Jannie Momberg, Mr Rob Haswell and Mr Jan Van Eck yesterday celebrated a year in Parliament with an impromptu toytoti.

Picture: HAROLD KING

ANC celebrates first year in Parliament

By ANTHONY JOHNSON
Political Correspondent

THE ANC yesterday celebrated its first anniversary in Parliament with a "birthday party" luncheon in the VIP dining room.

Those attending the function included ANC NEC member Mr Reg September, Western Cape vice-chairman Mr Lerumo Kalako, Western Cape secretary Mr Tony Yengeni and deputy secretary Mr Willie Hofmeyer.

For some — more accustomed to demonstrating in the streets outside for the disbanding of the tricameral institution — it was their first visit inside the halls of Parliament.

Also at the celebratory lunch were six of the ANC's seven MPs (all sporting yellow carnations in their lapels),

their wives and journalists.

During a brief address, Mr September joked: "I look forward to the day when we don't have to wear suits, when we come here — maybe safari suits will relax things a little."

Becoming more serious, he told ANC members that "more than anything else, we must move heaven and earth so that this character who bears the badge of president moves."

ANC MP for Sandton Mr Dave Dalling said the MPs who had joined the ANC had "benefited hugely" from the expertise of the organisation and that the newcomers had also been allowed to play a role in formulating policy.

A document released by the seven MPs said that they had been "ostracised" by some since joining the ANC.

Tough battle ahead for negotiators

Own Correspondent

JOHANNESBURG. — Political parties are gearing themselves for a tough battle today when they meet to set the agenda for the start of what is expected to be a substantive negotiation point to the government and the ANC getting set to force the pace and

deal harshly with any parties which balk at accepting the details of a transitional executive council as the main priority.

Probably the most fundamental difference between the two camps is the question of how to move negotiations forward.

Constitutional Development Minister Mr. Roelf Meyer said the assassination of Chris Hani meant there was a general need to improve the country's political climate.

Tuesday there was consensus among the major players in the process that a settlement for setting the election date could be reached by mid-June, if not, increased pressure would be applied. Mr. Meyer said that the ANC secretary-general Mr. Cyril Ramaphosa said on

pendent electoral commission, ultimately responsible for setting the election date.

Meranville Inkatha leader Chieftain Mangosuthu Buthezi said there was absolutely no possibility of holding elections before there was stability.

20/11/93

FW predicts swift progress in talks

By ANTHONY JOHNSON
Political Correspondent

A BULLISH President F.W. de Klerk last night predicted far-reaching progress in negotiations in the next six weeks — including the installation of the first stage of effective interim government in South Africa.

He said it was still possible that the country's first non-racial election could be held early in 1994 or even the end of this year — but failed to meet the ANC demand for a poll date. Mr De Klerk also hinted at a

possible compromise on joint control of the security forces in the run-up to elections — another key ANC demand — but insisted that private armies would have to be disbanded ahead of elections.

Mr De Klerk also for the first time officially backed the swift re-incorporation of all the TBVC homelands into the greater South Africa — publicly endorsing the contents of a secret government document.

● Bid to speed up change —
Page 5

Poll date may be set in 6 weeks - De Klerk

Staff Reporter

Star 22/4/93
(304A)

An election date for a government of national unity may be set within the next six weeks, President de Klerk said last night.

He made the statement on CCV's *Newsline* programme, saying everything the National Party did was aimed at "facilitating the moment of this goal as soon as possible".

"If we can make progress with negotiations, I think we can aim (at setting an election date) within the next six weeks.

"Then we can talk about a very early election date, but we can only fix it at the end of the process of negotiation," he said.

The correct forum where the final decision would be made would be the negotiation forum or the transitional executive council.

De Klerk said the next phase after the election would be a government of national unity of all the major role-players "who will sit together and push politics aside for five years and start rebuilding South Africa".

He repeated his rejection of calls for joint control of the security forces, saying this was the function of the Government or, under a new dispensation, the function of a government of national unity.



focus on Democracy

MR Danie Schutte goes into South Africa's first nonracial, democratic election wearing three hats. Firstly, as Minister of Home Affairs, he is responsible for the Government's input into the elections, expected to take place by this time next year. One does not have to be a fortune teller to realise what could happen if things went wrong and fingers could be pointed at the Government.

This ties in with his second hat. He helped draft the National Peace Accord back in 1991 and has since represented the Government on the National Peace Committee. It is the task of people implementing the peace accord to help create a climate conducive to free and fair elections.

Thirdly, with the departure of Mr Jurie Mentz to the Inkatha Freedom Party, Schutte has become acting chairman of the National Party in Natal.

Schutte (45) is President de Klerk's third Minister of Home Affairs in four years. Pretoria-born Schutte served on the executive committee of the Afrikaanse Studentebond in the early '70s. After graduating from the University of Stellenbosch he joined the Attorney-General's office in Maritzburg as a state advocate.

Justice

He soon entered private practice. Schutte served twice as NP MP for Maritzburg North and was appointed Deputy Minister of Justice after the 1989 election.

He keeps a home in Maritzburg and has business interests there. In the future dispensation, politicians representing Natal "will have a far more important and prominent role to play than in the past", he said. This was because Natal, including KwaZulu, had 25 percent of the country's population.

"The province will play a more prominent role in politics than ever before."

It goes without saying that he is holding public office at a crucial time in the country's history.

"At this particular time, and with these responsibilities, I would submit, with respect, that it is a major challenge," he said.

Like many people directly involved in managing the transition, he is playing a political role of promoting his party's views, yet at the same time helping to create a neutral framework within which the elections and other processes can be conducted.

"That in itself is also a fairly challenging position."

Schutte takes a simple philosophy to his office each day. "I think one must try to do your job to the best of your ability. I still think that involvement in the political process is essentially a service, and if you do not get satisfaction

A Sowetan Correspondent reports on new Minister of Home Affairs Mr Danie Schutte's career from Afrikaner student leader to taking charge of the Government's work in the pending first democratic election. (304A)

Sowetan 22/4/93



Chief Mangosuthu Buthelezi

from that, you must not stay in politics." Schutte's main priority now is the election.

Structures

First, there has to be agreement at the negotiations forum on the election structures. Much time was spent in bilateral negotiations on this aspect.

It was envisaged that there would be an independent election commission to supervise and co-ordinate the election. It would conduct a voter education programme and eventually certify the election as free and fair. It would be responsible for drafting the election laws.

There would be a structure to conduct the election, a structure to monitor proceedings, and an adjudication tribunal.

Also, a media structure would ensure a level playing field for all the political parties in the election campaign, especially with regard to the electronic media.

The election would, by South African standards, be massive, with between 18 million and 22 million voters. In 1989 there were five million voters.

"Of course I will be standing in the first election," Schutte said, "No doubt about that."

It is difficult to say now if he will opt for the regional or national voting lists. "I will try to be of assistance wherever the need arises."

South Africa in general and Natal in particular could not be governed by one political group on its own, Schutte said. "It must be a partnership of all the main political groups. If that is valid for South Africa, it is even more valid for Natal."

For this reason he believes the NP's solution of power sharing had a crucial role to play in Natal politics.

Power sharing

"Natal will not have a stable government or prosperity unless there is power-sharing between the main groups. I do not see stability coming to Natal in a government dominated either by the African National Congress or the IFP."

Black people were beginning to realise that a Natal government dominated by the ANC or IFP would not be stable. This led him to believe that the NP "will make a good showing" in elections in Natal.

The NP had appointed several black organisers in the past three weeks and was preparing to canvass black areas. "It is my belief that when the chips are down, when the people have to decide on the future, when they have to decide on leadership, then the NP will do very well in Natal."

Schutte said IFP leader Chief Mangosuthu Buthelezi had many attributes and had been consistent. But Schutte did feel that if Buthelezi took a more realistic approach sometimes, this "would be more beneficial to Natal and the country as a whole."

Buthelezi had to appreciate the role of the NP in the past few months. The NP was strongly in favour of regional government. Through its initiatives and bilateral discussions, it had brought about a convergence of opinion on strong regional government and on power sharing.

"The IFP has not played a role in this regard. By just being critical and by making stands you do not make a contribution in this regard, because in the end you have to change minds and opinions of the leadership of all the major parties in this country."

Schutte said the IFP "want to grab Natal for themselves".

"We say that is not workable; a power-sharing system for Natal is absolutely imperative."

The NP would go out of its way to get the IFP to come to an agreement on regional structures in Natal, he said.

International plot suspected

SP grills

Star 22/4/93

detained CP couple

Staff Reporters

Former Conservative Party MP Clive Derby-Lewis and his wife Gaye are being held in solitary confinement and are being questioned by experienced former Security Police interrogators, police sources said today.

Both are being held under section 29 of the Internal Security Act, allowing police to detain them in solitary confinement without trial for 10 days instead of the 48-hour deadline previously permitted by the Criminal Procedure Act. The 10-day period can be extended.

The questioning yesterday of five more people in connection with the killing of Chris Han was part of an investigation into a right-wing conspiracy — probably with national links — police

Nothing to hide in Han probe — Page 3
SA owes thanks to ANC — Page 12

said late yesterday. More arrests could be expected after the interrogation.

Late yesterday, two of the five picked up in the pre-dawn swoop by police were released.

The five picked up yesterday were Gaye Derby-Lewis, Noordewaal, Krugersdorp, home former Citizen Journalist Arthur Kemp, Delarey estate agent Frank Venter, Krugersdorp property speculator Lionel du Rand, and self-employed computer specialist Edwin Clark.

Wiltstrand police lieutenant officer Brigadier Frans Malherbe said last night Du

Rant and Clark had been released. Earlier, he told a Johannesburg press conference the SAP was investigating a conspiracy.

He confirmed police were investigating possible international links in the assassination plot.

The "hit list" of nine political leaders and journalists found in the flat of Polish immigrant Janus Waluz after his murder with the Han murder formed a crucial part of the conspiracy investigation, Malherbe said.

He said the five were being held in terms of Section 29 of the Internal Security Act, for further questioning. Her husband last night, Malherbe

● To Page 3

CP pair in solitary confinement

● From Page 1

band is also being held under Section 29 of the Act.

Asked whether the CP official was expected to be released soon, Malherbe replied: "On bail, maybe," adding it was likely he would be charged.

The five were picked up after police questioned Clive Derby-Lewis, who was arrested on Saturday and was co-operating with police, and the alleged assassin, Waluz, who had "eventually begun to co-operate", Malherbe said.

He told the press conference the five were held as suspects as a result of the investigation

into the conspiracy to assassinate Han. He said they were not being held in connection with the actual murder.

Action

A furious Clark said last night his advocate had advised him not to talk about the details of his arrest or detention, but he said he intended taking legal action against the police for wrongful arrest.

"I can also say that I expect more people will be released soon," he added.

Du Rand could not be contacted.

Mrs Derby-Lewis reported

for the CP mouthpiece Die Patriot, and was a fervent campaigner for the party.

Kemp, a former policeman, also worked for Die Patriot before joining The Citizen. He left the newspaper for a brief stint as a CP spokesman before returning to The Citizen.

After leaving the paper a few months ago, he went to Germany, returning to South Africa recently to freelance. In 1987 he wrote a book entitled *Victory or Violence: The Story of the AWB*.

Venter's son Jan said his father was a staunch CP supporter who had been affiliated to the AWB about 12 years ago.

Gaye an outspoken rightwinger

Star 22/4/93

By Shirley Woodgate



Gabriella Mavoerna "Gaye" Derby-Lewis, arrested yesterday by police investigating the Chris Hani murder, campaigned relentlessly for right-wing causes for the past seven years.

Originally from Australia, she married Conservative Party President's Councillor Clive Derby-Lewis shortly before the 1987 general election, when she stood as an unsuccessful CP candidate in Hillbrow.

She became an outspoken advocate of the right wing's "keep Hillbrow white" policy.

Her thrust into CP politics in Johannesburg's highrise suburb was a far cry from her previous pursuit in Hillbrow: running a gay bar for several years.

Derby-Lewis, who is in her early 50s, was said by an acquaintance to have at one stage been married to an officer in the SADF. The couple had one son, named Anton.

Derby-Lewis worked for the Department of Information, where she is said to have become friendly with Dr Connie Mulder, but left the department after the Information Scandal.

Admirers have described her as extremely intelligent and passionate about her cause.



Derby-Lewis . . . crossed swords with Actstop regularly.

Critics have labelled her volatile, talkative and at times forceful:

CP MP for Losberg, Fanie Jacobs, described her as "an extremely competent woman with a strong personality".

In 1987, after fighting a campaign focused largely on the Group Areas Act, Derby-Lewis polled 1 190 votes to the 3 457 of the NP's Leon de Beer.

She specifically promised backing for the white occupants of Highpoint flats who intended bringing legal action against Anglo American Properties

which, she claimed, was renting more than 80 percent of the block to blacks.

During the election she entered into a running battle with Actstop (Action to Stop Evictions), regularly crossing swords with Mohammed Dangor who headed the organisation at that time.

She was closely involved in several of her husband's election campaigns.

A regular letter writer to The Star, her last letter in February 1990 argued that the swastika was not part of the CP image.

'A courteous, determined man'

Star 23/4/93

Staff Reporter

Parliamentary colleagues and political foes of the late Conservative Party leader Dr. Andries Treurnicht paid tribute to him last night as a courteous man who had always followed his personal political beliefs with great determination and considerable skill.

He was also credited as the man who led the Conservative Party to the negotiation table in the last months of his life. Treurnicht started working as a minister in the Dutch Reformed Church after graduating from Stellenbosch University and its theological seminary. He rose in influence after gaining control of the church newspaper, Die Kerkbode, in 1960.

He became more prominent in the newspaper world when he was asked by Prime Minister John Vorster to edit Eendadig, a Pretoria daily, in 1967. His ordered parliamentary politics in 1971 when he won the Waterberg by-election for the National Party against the leader of the Hertzog-Nelson-De la Rey, Jean Marais.

He immediately began to play a role in politics beyond his junior position in the party through his powerful position as chairman of the secretive Afrikaner Broederbond.

While the NG Church was regarded as the National Party at prayer, the Broederbond was regarded by many as controlling the thinking and policies of the Government.

His involvement with the church and the Broederbond put him in a strong position, even though he was only a backbencher. Treurnicht became Deputy Minister of Bantu Administration and Education in 1976. He was the man who refused to reconsider the use of the Afrikaans language as an education medium in black schools.

The rising anger among the black youth exploded in the Soweto unrest of June 1976, which quickly spread around the country. Treurnicht's intransigence on the use of Afrikaans as a medium of instruction was widely regarded as the cause of the unrest.

After the Information Scandal was exposed in 1979, Treurnicht replaced the disgraced Minister of Information Dr. Connie Mulder as the National Party leader in the Transvaal.

Difficulty

Treurnicht always an arch-conservative, had increasing difficulty accepting the policy changes of the NP under Prime Minister P. W. Botha.

He took Dr. Piet Kooymhoff to task in 1979 when, during a trip to the United States, Kooymhoff declared: "Apartheid is dead."

Dr. No, as he became known, maintained that separate development would always remain a fundamental part of government policy.

When that policy began to change too much under Botha, Treurnicht could stand it no longer and broke away in 1982 to form the right-wing Conser-

vative Party, after agreeing to an election pact with the NRP. On his departure from the NP he took with him 22 members of Parliament, including Dr. Rudi Harzenberg who was a Cabinet Minister at the time and who some have tipped to take over the reins of the CP.

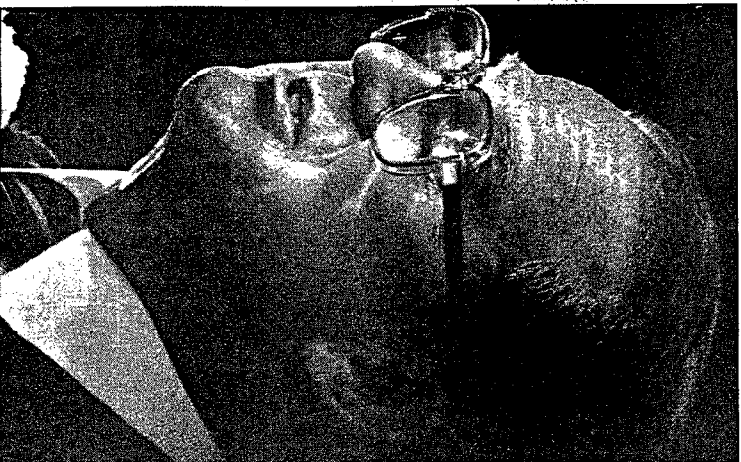
With that he lost the powerful position as leader of the National Party in the Transvaal as well as his recently acquired position in the Cabinet as Minister of Public Works, Statistics and Tourism, regarded by many as a snub for the man who headed the NP in the Transvaal.

Botha personally saw to his departure by arriving at the National Party provincial executive meeting in Pretoria — against tradition since Botha was from the Cape with the various regions having substantial autonomy — which ousted Treurnicht and saw F. W. de Klerk taking over as provincial leader.

The CP managed to gain sufficient support to become the official Opposition in 1987, edging out the Progressive Federal Party which held the position until then.

But the party's prominence lasted no more than five years. In March 1992 President de Klerk called a referendum to test white views on political negotiations.

Despite it being the first poll after the release two years before of Nelson Mandela and the unbanning of the ANC and SACP, and dire predictions of a rise of the right wing, those opposing political negotiations gave a poor showing.



Treurnicht... followed his beliefs with determination but his intransigence is said to have contributed to the 1976 school riots.

Star 23/4/83

Dual voters roll in Govt urban plan

By Jo Anne Collinge

The Government's reform plans for nonracial local government are founded on separate voters rolls: one for owners of property and one for other adult residents.

This was disclosed in Parliament yesterday when Local Government Minister Dr Tertius Delpoit released details of the Local Government Reform Bill, which will soon be published for comment.

Irrespective of the ratio of property owners to other residents, seats in town or city councils should be split on a 50/50 basis between those candidates elected by voters on the property roll and those on the general roll, the Government suggests.

In addition, ward councils

intended "to maintain the own character of smaller communities" should be set up on a voluntary basis and given statutory powers, the Minister said.

Among other things, such councils or "sub-municipal" structures should set norms and standards in their areas, regulate the use of property and deal with "security affairs" and civil protection, said Delpoit.

In addition, they should be empowered to levy additional rates on residents to undertake community projects.

Where interest groups in a given area negotiated a "local option" which deviated from the Government's framework, such solutions should be given legal recognition, the Minister said.

Star 23/4/93
Pik meets Emir of Qatar

SA Foreign Minister Pik Botha, on a tour of Gulf states to boost trade, met Qatar's Emir Sheikh Khalifa bin Hamad al-Thani yesterday. They discussed strengthening South Africa's relations with the Arab world. (304A)

WHITE POLITICS

An anxious sideshow

It took two small TV screens in a parliamentary press office this week to underscore the massive tilt in SA's political equilibrium following Chris Hani's assassination.

On the one were images of the funeral gathering: 80 000 angry people hearing demands for an end to white rule. On the other, parliament's closed circuit system, the white rulers and their white opponents floundered in a debate on the State President's budget vote that should probably not even have been happening at the same time.

A Democratic Party move to have the debate postponed until after the funeral as a mark of respect was dismissed. The DP walked out and only returned in the late afternoon. The Labour Party and the five ANC MPs didn't attend at all. Symbolically, suspending the sitting could have been an important gesture.

But President FW de Klerk denied that, by going ahead with the debate, government was either insensitive or unappreciative of the seriousness of the situation in SA.

"It is our view that parliament should, under the serious circumstances caused by the murder of Mr Chris Hani, and true to its tradition and character, use the opportunity offered by this debate to address the situation in a sympathetic, constructive and dignified manner. This is the essence of parliament. At a time of crisis, it grasps the nettle and discusses the crisis in depth."

What ensued was a bitter struggle between the National Party and the Conservatives. Parliament failed to address the crisis. For a few brief hours, Nelson Mandela seemed to become SA's *de facto* president.

If De Klerk missed his opportunity to demonstrate true statesmanship in the hours following the killing, he could have regained ground in parliament this week. Instead, the debate confirmed that parliament's only remaining role is to rubber-stamp externally negotiated agreements for the sake of constitutional continuity.

The CP knows that it's never going to win power through the current parliamentary system — which means it will never win power — and now simply uses the forum as a platform from which to urge white resistance to democracy.

The DP, its role as parliamentary watchdog now waning, sits on the sidelines desperately hoping a new system will evolve in which it can continue to play a part.

The call by the DP's Roger Hulley, when the party eventually returned to the debate, for government to defuse the crisis by announcing dates for an election and the establishment of a Transitional Executive Council, came across as a desperate attempt to



keep pace with events.

The DP, perhaps more than any other party, is committed to negotiated agreements. Demands for unilateral government action, simply in the hope that it might defuse a crisis, are totally out of line with conventional DP thinking.

With parliament further discredited, government's only fallback is a military crackdown in attempt to avert total anarchy. For-

tunately, that's not currently an option. The priority is the speedy resumption of multi-party talks.

De Klerk's unimpressive performance at the start of this week's debate illustrated how dependent he has become on progress in negotiations, not only to keep personal focus on the process of transition but also to calm his constituency. The Hani crisis, with its inherent threat to the process, seriously undercuts his position and leaves him vulnerable to CP attack.

De Klerk's speech was wishy-washy. It added nothing new to efforts to resolve the crisis. His one noteworthy contribution came in remarks not included in his prepared text. In apparent response to mounting pressure to move faster towards the establishment of a Transitional Executive Council, he said government was prepared to examine "ways and means" of establishing joint administrative structures with negotiating partners, to deal with specific issues even before negotiations on broader issues were finalised.

The more substantive issue of dealing with the crisis was left to hardline Law & Order Minister Hennis Kriel (though De Klerk was expected to respond to militant ANC demands late on Tuesday).

Significantly, Kriel chose to issue his tough warning to the ANC and its allies not in parliament but in an interview with the Cape Nat mouthpiece *Die Burger*.

DE CONTINUED

Kriel committed the police to stern action against unruly demonstrators to stamp out the sort of behaviour witnessed during the Hani funeral.

Die Burger said Kriel "climbed barefooted" into the ANC over its inability to maintain order as it had promised and that he strongly doubted whether further agreements between the police and the ANC on the conduct of gatherings and marches would be possible.

Kriel said that ANC secretary-general Cyril Ramaphosa's attempts to distance the organisation and its alliance partners from the violence was like "pilate washing his hands."

He said the police were carefully assessing the lessons of the last few days. "It is clear to me that co-operation with the ANC is not enough to prevent murder, manslaughter, looting and hooliganism. It seems as if a stronger show of force is needed."

CP deputy leader Ferdi Hartzenberg looked beyond constitutional means and called on whites to rise up and defend themselves. However, apart from a show of force — but thankfully no action — by the Afrikaner Weerstandbeweging during the Hani funeral, the white Right appears to still believe the crisis can be defused.

Getting back to negotiations is as crucial to the underpinning of that belief as it is to finally removing the frustration of the toothless tricameral parliament.

Dr No, apartheid's staunch champion

PIERRE CLAASSEN
in Cape Town

CP LEADER, Andries Treurnicht, dubbed "Dr. No" was the man blamed for SA's worst black riots in 1976 and the senior NP leader who finally also said no to his party's decision to share power.

Treurnicht's biggest political role began with an ultimate "no" to Prime Minister P W Botha's reformist moves.

After a dramatic walkout of right-wing MPs from the NP's parliamentary caucuses in 1982, Treurnicht, who died yesterday, quit the Cabinet and founded the right-wing CP.

It was a party which was to become the first viable alternative to the NP in Afrikaner politics and which grew to become the official opposition in 1987. Ultimately, however, it failed in its goal to make Treurnicht head of state and lead Afrikaner politics back to apartheid.

In his varied career as churchman, newspaper editor and politician, Treurnicht, 72, was at the forefront of events and, usually, in the midst of controversy. He was once considered the new Verwoerd and in many ways he matched his model.

He obtained a BA at Stellenbosch University and later attended its theological seminary. In 1946 Treurnicht became a minister of the NG Kerk in Oudstroom.

He played rugby for South Western Districts and in 1949 was scrum-half against the touring All Blacks. In 1960 Treurnicht became editor of the church newspaper Die Kerkbood, a position he used to play a prominent role in a conservative

counter-movement within the NGK. He became Verwoerd's ally within the church, helping to hound out the NGK's Coloured representatives who had endorsed the conference's strong anti-apartheid stance.

In 1967 Prime Minister John Vorster invited Treurnicht to be editor of Pretoria's Hoodsstad, a position from which he promoted a universally conservative view of politics, theology, culture and academic life. In 1971 he became the NP MP for Waterberg. Although only a back-

(3044) he immediately exercised influence, he immediately exercised political power. Although his chairmanship of the Executive Council

In 1976 he was appointed Deputy Minister of Education and Bantu Education, a role which earned him the negative tag for his refusal to drop Afrikaans as education medium in black schools as education medium.

When The World editor Percy Gqoba went to warn him of rising resentment and pleaded for a change in policy, Treurnicht gave him his ultimatum and later "no" to the subsequent school protests turned into a bloodbath.

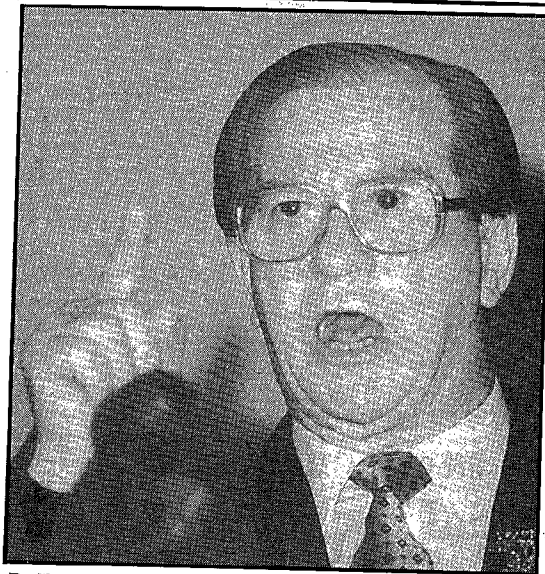
In 1979 the impropriety scandal disgraced Transvaal NP leader Con-
the Minister and Treurnicht defeated

the more vocal Fanie Botha for the post. Botha did not like Treurnicht but had no choice but to elevate the leader of the most powerful province to the Cabinet and gave him its most junior post — Public Works and Tourism.

There was personal and political tension between the two men. Treurnicht openly defied party policy. He opposed a mixed Parliament or Cabinet and campaigned against integrating Craven Week rugby.

Botha repeatedly slapped down Treurnicht for treating blacks as "peoples".

Treurnicht was awarded the Decoration for Meritorious Service in 1982. A prolific writer, his works included the controversial book Credo van 'n Afrikaner, regarded by many as the blueprint for Afrikaner conservatism. — Sapa



Dr NO: CP leader Dr Andries Treurnicht in familiar pose . . . a master of debate. He died yesterday at a city hospital.

Treurnicht to be buried in Pretoria

TOS WENTZEL, Political Staff
DR ANDRIES Treurnicht, leader of the Conservative Party who has died in Cape Town at the age of 72, will be buried in Pretoria next week.

Mr Frank le Roux MP, the party's Chief Whip in parliament, said today that final arrangements for the funeral were being made.

Dr Ferdie Hartzenberg, MP for Lichtenburg, who is deputy leader of the party, has taken over as leader.

In terms of the party's constitution a special national congress will have to be held to elect a new leader.

Mr Le Roux said there was so much confidence in party ranks in Dr Hartzenberg that he was likely to be elected unanimously.

The name of Dr Pieter Mulder, MP for Schweizer-Reneke, is being mentioned as the new deputy leader.

Dr Treurnicht's death is likely to heighten tensions between pro and

anti-negotiation factions in the party.

For the present, CP MPs and rank and file supporters will rally round a new leader, but it is clear that the headline Dr Hartzenberg does not have the late Dr Treurnicht's dedication, standing and style to keep the factions together indefinitely.

Mr Koos van der Merwe MP, who was expelled from the party a year ago, said he had been deeply shocked by Dr Treurnicht's death. The Afrikaner had lost a great leader.

Dr Hartzenberg did not have the stature to keep the factions in the party together.

For the present there would be consolidation efforts in the party.

One faction would become part of the dynamic solution-seeking process while the other one would sink into political irrelevance like the HNP.

Police free 2 held over Hani death

(2047)
The Argus Correspondent

JOHANNESBURG. Police have released another two of five people arrested for questioning after the assassination of SACP leader Chris Hani.

Former Citizen journalist Arthur Kemp was released soon after 4pm yesterday and hours later Krugersdorp estate agent Faan Venter was released, said police spokesman Brigadier Frans Malherbe.

Self-employed computer expert Edwin Clarke and estate agent Lionel Durant were released on Wednesday afternoon. *ARG 23147*

Only one of the five is still in custody — Gaye Derby-Lewis, wife of CP President's Councilor Clive Derby-Lewis, who was arrested at the weekend.

Both are being held in terms of Section 29 of the Internal Security Act, which allows for detention of up to 10 days, which can then be extended.

The news editor of the Citizen, Mr. Tony Stirling, said yesterday Mr Kemp left the paper in January because he said he wanted to emigrate as there was no future for his children in this country.

STATE OF THE NATION

Searching for the centre



The fear in Johannesburg and the Reef towns on Monday was palpable and vivid. The people who live there have been through some tense times: the Rand Revolt of 1922; the Ossewa Brandwag

brawls of the Forties; the aftermath of the Sharpeville massacre and the attempted assassination of Prime Minister Hendrik Verwoerd in the early Sixties; the 1976 Soweto uprising; the States of Emergency of the Eighties; and the volatile mass action of the Nineties. But it is doubtful whether any of these periods saw the widespread tension experienced on Monday, the day of the funeral of murdered SACP chief Chris Hani.

The black stayaway from work was almost total, despite previous declared days of mourning on Wednesday, Saturday and Sunday. By early afternoon even big department stores in the great modern shopping malls had closed their doors. The centre of Johannesburg, strangely quiet for a Monday afternoon, saw a steady stream of white workers and executives heading early for home.

The mainly white suburbs and towns were eerily deserted, with few cars on the streets and even the corner cafes closed. People went home and locked their doors. A silence descended, of a kind not normal even on Sundays and public holidays, and broken only by the occasional sound of a police helicopter.

To be sure, some householders — those along the route of the Hani cortege, and in the vicinity of the cemetery and the Hani home in Boksburg — had something definite to fear. They were understandably anxious; some took elaborate and fearsome precautions. But the lives and property of the overwhelming majority were not in any exceptional danger — yet the fear grew and was almost tangible. In other cities, too, there was an unusual tension.

The explanation may be that a sea change has finally taken place in our politics. We have entered possibly the most dangerous and fragile phase of the transition.

What has happened is that the ANC has demonstrated that it can do much as it likes. But, as this realisation has sunk in, the ANC has also found that its power, too, is not absolute — even though it steadily subverts the instruments of governance and good order. It does not have the strength to overthrow the government. In turn, the Nats may seem to control the firepower, the civil service, the keys of the kingdom — but they can too easily be prevented from maintaining

order and protecting lives.

This situation has, of course, applied ever since the ANC was unbanned and its president Nelson Mandela released from prison — but the death of Hani has finally stripped away the illusion.

The result is paralysis. It has been expressed in various ways. Last week Mandela appeared on national TV to appeal for calm, just as if he were head of State. Hani's body, said ANC spokesman without a trace of irony, would "lie in state" on Sunday; SA was effectively compelled to mourn for over a week. These are words and arrangements normally associated with a world statesman like Winston Churchill. By giving Hani this status, the ANC was sending a message to the country and expressing its perception of our politics.

By Monday the shift was almost complete. The political centre of gravity was on the East Rand, relegating the proceedings of parliament to a sideshow — and those who watched on TV knew it.

Whereas on Saturday President FW de Klerk had spoken with reasoned assurance about events following Hani's murder, on Monday evening his performance in parliament seemed uncertain and pointless. Mandela assumes the trappings and the manner of power, but takes no responsibility; De Klerk is in charge but not always in control.

By Monday evening the dominant political image was not of parliament — the dignified seat of sovereignty, whatever its flaws.

It had been replaced in the common mind by the vision of a Putco bus, windows shattered and probably hijacked, plastered and with young township radicals waving



Mandela ... time to tackle the mob



Mbeki ... moderation a liability?

clenched fists — immune to the rules of the road, the law and the ANC leadership, even to thoughts of their own safety.

This is why fear swelled. People did not, generally, feel any threat of direct assault from the Hani funeral proceedings. But they did get an intimation of anarchy. The fact that, in SA terms, the day went off relatively peacefully was no consolation.

None of this is De Klerk's fault. Indeed, it is remarkable that he has sustained his presidential role for so long; without his courage and honesty, he might not even have survived long in office after February 1990. His problem is that his party's apartheid policies have left a massive moral deficit which whites are still paying off (and the ANC is still spending freely on credit).

In Los Angeles or Bombay or Beirut, looters and arsonists run the risk of being shot by police. It is the accepted way, because society cannot tolerate such subversion of law and order. Condone the looter and nobody's property is safe; the next step is the collapse of social order.

Yet it is clear that, on Monday, our security forces were not instructed to protect property: they would only do their best to save lives.

For not a few innocent bystanders — one of whom was burnt to death in his own house — their best was not good enough. The reason is simple: there is a massive political cost whenever a black is shot by police. De Klerk feels he must avoid paying it wherever possible; history has never been on his side.

The irony is that the police and army are quite capable of keeping order, without resorting to the excesses of the Eighties.

cont

Treurnicht's death leaves a void in SA politics,

says FW



● TREURNICHT

CAPETOWN — CP leader Andries Treurnicht, 72, died suddenly last night, drawing the curtain on an era in right-wing politics and increasing the woes of his troubled party.

Treurnicht, whose uncompromising stance had him to be dubbed "DP No 1", died at 9pm yesterday in City Park Hospital. He had undergone a heart bypass on Sunday.

While his death is certain to put further pressure on his party, it is unlikely to result in a leadership struggle, with current deputy leader, Fendel Hartzenberg, likely to succeed him.

Some observers said the change in leadership was likely to result in a major shift in the party's stance, but the potential danger was the loss of a leader with the stature and ability to

TIM COHEN

unite the various and fractious elements of right-wing politics. Other observers felt the CP's participation in negotiations could in be the only question as Treurnicht was seen as the only person capable of holding the party together and steering it through the difficult period.

Treurnicht was the leading figure in the breakaway from the NP in 1982 and his death signals the end of a political era marked by a debate over the viability of grand apartheid.

Despite his personal integrity, Treurnicht had the dubious distinction of being the person who started the Soweto school riots by insisting in 1976 that Afrikaans should be the medium of

instruction at black schools.

Messages of condolence were received from across the political spectrum.

CP MP Frank le Roux said his death was a severe loss to the Afrikaner nation and to his party. He had been a principled leader and had never wavered in his beliefs.

President F W de Klerk said his death left a void in SA politics, and that as a church and cultural leader, an editor and politician, he had made an active contribution to Afrikaners and SA. "Although we were at opposite poles in the political debate, I have always respected him and he could differ with dignity."

DP leader Zola de Beer said Treurnicht was a courteous man and their political differences

had never interfered with their personal relationship. "We shall miss him in Parliament," Labour Party leader the Rev Allan Hendrickse said. "While Treurnicht was a political foe, he was a dignified, tough, uncompromising and honest fighter, for what he believed in."

The ANC said: "The policies of the ANC and the CP are at enormous variance. However, this is not the time to concentrate on our differences, but to try and find whatever common ground is possible for the sake of our country." Natal Indian Congress/Transvaal Indian Congress executive Frahm coordinated the party would still be part of the peace process "as their contribution is an important one".

● See Page 8

Negotiations 'have to be speeded up'

8/10/83 23/4/83 Paddy Paddock 304A

MULTIPARTY negotiations had to be speeded up, a 10-member planning committee decided at a meeting at the World Trade Centre in Kempton Park yesterday.

Chairman Zam Titus said: "We are now all really aware that people want to see results following the events of the recent past." The committee was considering a draft resolution on the assassination of SACP general secretary Chris Hani and the effect this had had on negotiations.

The committee meets again today to formulate recommendations for the negotiating council meeting on Monday.

Titus said a report from a subcommittee was tabled yesterday dealing with violence and the transitional process. This would be discussed today and a draft report presented to the council on Monday.

The report on the transition is split into three parts, viz: recording the Codesa agreements with qualifications, where applicable, under seven headings; a recommendation to form technical committees to draft resolutions on issues such as an independent electoral commission; and recommendations on violence.

□ Sapa reports from Cape Town that President F W de Klerk met KwaZulu Chief Minister Mangosuthu Buthelezi yesterday. Their joint statement said they had discussed a wide range of issues and cleared up misunderstandings on constitutional matters. Their meeting would facilitate multiparty negotiations, they said.

● See Page 8

"TIME is running out... The situation is unstable and the economy is under great threat. That is why we have to move quickly to keep to the timetable and get the transition scheduled and get a settlement," Constitutional Development Minister Roelf Meyer said this week.

President F W de Klerk said in Parliament there was no doubt about government's commitment to the speedy finalisation of the process. The ANC talks of the need for "great urgency" that the process be hastened to achieve a settlement within six weeks. This says secretary-general Cyril Ramaphosa, "is quite practical and conceivable given the consensus that exists among the major players".

Chris Han's assassination has injected a sense of urgency into the process. If it was not there before, the ANC and government, though speak as if their programme for the transition is the only one on the agenda. They neglect to take into account the substantial opposition from Inkatha and its allies who reject the notion of transitional structures.

The fact that polls indicate that together they enjoy majority support might explain their belief that they can gently bulldoze the lesser players into line. Their desire to do so, though, is explained by the uncer-

Pressure on to pick up pace

6/10/93 23/4/93

BILLY PADDOCK

centric to hold.

De Klerk's poor performance in Parliament during his Budget vote also indicated how much he relies on progress in negotiations to keep his constituency focused on the process. In November, when announcing the NP timetable, he warned that if some parties did not co-operate he would be forced to find alternative ways to keep the process moving. Sources close to De Klerk say he will carry out this threat if necessary.

The ANC leadership is speaking the same language for the same reason. Han's murder unleashed an almost anarchical frustration among the militant youth. ANC Youth League president Peter Mokaba reflected their lack of confidence in the negotiating process when he said three years of negotiations had produced nothing but the loss of life.

The two major players realise that they have to force the pace or they might lose control. But they have not yet completed the procedural work or even found a name for the negotiating forum as they have tried to

keep the process as inclusive as possible and to accommodate the mix-givings and suspicions of smaller parties like Inkatha.

Negotiators in both camps say their parties have rehearsed their negotiating strategies. They are now waiting to see what stances Inkatha and the Concerned South Africans Group take. Clarity on the FIC's position is also awaited.

It is likely, an agreement is not immediately in sight, government and the ANC will have to weigh up the costs and implications of reaching ahead without one of Inkatha, the CP and the PAC, whose armed wings have been guilty of violence has been attracting support from disenchanted ANC youth over the past three months.

The major players have to decide which strategy lends itself better to long-term stability and success. If they want an all inclusive settlement

they will have to forgo speed as parties in the Concerned South Africans Group seek to bargain for a transition on their terms. The alternative is to hold the centre together with the participation of as many parties as possible and swiftly move ahead. Early indications are that they will opt for the latter and risk an Inkatha walkout.

They want Inkatha in. The other homelands, they believe, can be dealt with through financial pressure. The CP is probably dispensable. But excluding Inkatha raises the possibility of the "Savimbi option".

For that reason, the ANC and government are straggling in bilateral talks with each other and with Inkatha to come up with an offer. Mangosuthu Butheletzi will accept. If he rejects a "reasonable" offer, they would want him to be seen to be a spoiler and become the target of domestic and international pressure.

The process looks fragile. Speed is of the essence, but it has to be earned upon with caution so that it is not derailed, as the old cliché goes, "More haste, less speed."



□ MEYER

Talks 'should aim for results'

Star 23/4/93
304A

By Esther Waugh
Political Correspondent

Key negotiators decided yesterday that urgency should be injected into the negotiations process and that it should follow a "result-oriented approach".

The test of urgency will come at today's meeting of the planning committee on what proposals it will put forward to Monday's meeting of the negotiating council — the chamber where "real" negotiations take place.

The need for urgency followed a discussion on the impact of Chris Hani's assassination on negotiations when negotiators sat down for the first time since Hani's death.

After the three-hour meeting at the World Trade Centre, ANC secretary-general Cyril Ramaphosa said the implication of Hani's death has been that "we need to move more urgently and show it by injecting urgency" into the process.

But observers warned last night that differences might emerge on the meaning of urgency.

Before yesterday's planning committee meeting, the steering

committee of the Concerned South Africans Group (Cosag) met in Pretoria and said: "There is a naive belief that if a solution can be reached speedily, a transition executive council implemented and a transitional government elected, that this will bring an end to violence."

"We warn that it is not timescales or the process itself which is important, but a solution which will indeed achieve the goals of peace, stability and progress."

The planning committee — comprising 10 members appointed for their individual expertise — met amid noticeable tighter security as a trade fair is being held at the World Trade Centre.

Its two-day meeting is in preparation for Monday's meeting of the negotiating council attended by the 26 participating groups.

A draft report on how Codesa agreements could form a constructive basis for the resumed negotiations was presented yesterday.

When the planning committee meets today, it will hear a report on ways of curbing violence.

Star 23/4/93
CP call to 'freedom-loving whites'

The Conservative Party has launched its own mass action programme to protest against the detention of rightwingers in connection with the Chris Hani murder investigation. The CP has called "freedom-loving whites" to a protest rally at 7.30 pm on Monday at the Benoni Town Hall. (204A)

Steir 2214193
Ministers' homes recommendation

The Democratic Party has recommended to the panel appointed by President de Klerk to investigate housing for political office-bearers that the State should retain properties to accommodate Ministers and deputy Ministers in Cape Town and Pretoria, but should not compensate them for living in their own homes.

(304A)

NEWS Dr Andries Treurnicht dies of heart failure in Cape Town hospital

By Ismail Lagerdien
and Sapa

Death may lead to CP split

Arch conservative Ferdie Hartzenberg a front-runner in CP leadership stakes:

CONSERVATIVE Party leader Dr Andries Treurnicht, the man who caused Soweto to go up in flames on June 16 1976, has died.

He died in Cape Town last night after a by-pass operation in the city at the weekend after suffering heart failure earlier last week.

CP deputy leader Dr Ferdie Hartzenberg would fill in as leader as was provided by the party's constitution. CP chief Whip Mr Frank le Roux said last night.

"There is a feeling of a very sad loss and great sorrow in the party at the

moment. Party members are very close,

and there is no problem as far as our solidarity towards Dr Hartzenberg is concerned and towards the convictions which he (Treurnicht) stood for," Le Roux said.

There is an overwhelming feeling among parliamentarians that the CP is facing its biggest crisis yet and that there is no leader to replace Treurnicht.

Treurnicht's death has come at a crucial time for the CP. Rites appeared in

the party last year when five of its members resigned to launch the Afrikaner Volksfront.

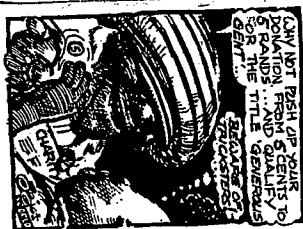
Treurnicht's death also comes at a time when one of the party's senior members, Mr Clive Derby-Lewis, has been arrested in connection with the assassination of Dr Hendrik Verwoerd.

There is little chance of a major upset in the leadership stakes in the CP, with Hartzenberg, MP for Lichtenburg, certain to succeed Treurnicht and Mr

Schalk Pienaar, MP for Pongolaport, the likely first choice for deputy leader.

Other likely candidates for the deputy leadership are MP for Schweizer-Reneke Dr Pieter Mulder, Mr Jurg Prinsloo, CP MP for Roodepoort, and Mr Andrew Gieker, MP for Brits.

A leadership duel involving Hartzenberg and Pienaar is certain to radicalise the party even more. It could also lead to a break-up of party actions. Treurnicht was able to hold together.



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BECAUSE OF THE TRICKS!



focus on parliament

A YEAR AGO today, *Sowetan* carried a story on its front page under the headline: *ANC's voice echoes in Parliament.*

Mr Pierre Cronjé and four of his colleagues had on April 21 left the Democratic Party to join the ANC and became independent members of Parliament.

The five — Mr Jan van Eck, Mr Dave Dalling, Mr Jannie Momborg, Mr Robert Haswell and Cronjé — could not sit as ANC MPs for many reasons, among which were the fact that they were not elected to Parliament on that basis.

They remained, however, in Parliament as independents, primarily because the ANC was not and is still not registered as a political party.

Known as the famous five to everyone except former colleagues in the DP, to whom they are known more as the farewell five, the ANC-aligned independent MPs have changed the paradigm of debate and argument in Parliament since their crossing.

Their speeches are a lot more activist-oriented than leadership- or politician-like. During debates they speak often of the injustices of the State in the black community and greater South Africa than of policy, but all the time as activists.

While Van Eck is well-known in Cape Town's townships — he has for many years been an activist and human rights campaigner in the black community and has more than once been arrested or teargassed by police — Cronjé and Haswell have done human rights work in the Natal Midlands, where most of the violence in that province is concentrated.

'The dog on a short leash'

When they first joined the movement Momborg and Dalling were relatively new to ANC politics but had both informally and for a number of years leaned closer to the ANC than those members of the DP who still remain.

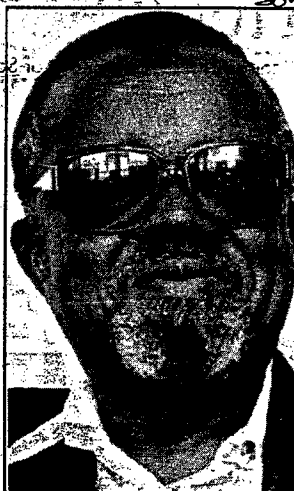
Cronjé's reasons for joining the liberation movement — and his four colleagues agree — are summed up perhaps in a tale he tells of "the dog on a short leash".

A dog, he says, is tied down on a short leash. The liberals will write a protest poster and demonstrate that it is wrong and unjust to keep a dog tied on a short leash. The reformist National Party will lengthen the leash, Cronjé says, but only the liberation movement will free the dog.

The five were joined later in the year by two MPs from the rapidly-becoming-defunct Labour Party, Mr Sam Louw from the Western Transvaal and Mr Artur Roper from Alra Park on the East Rand.

The seven have in a small way represented the ANC's voice in Parliament. In his first speech as an ANC member, Cronjé said that while it was an honour and a privilege for him to speak as the

One year ago the ANC had five members — DP defectors — in Parliament. Today the organisation, though still not a political party, has a stronger voice, reports **Ismail Lagardien:**



ANC's Harry Gwala ... peaceful?

first ANC member in South Africa's Parliament, that privilege should have gone to, among others, Mr Oliver Tambo or Mr Nelson Mandela.

Haswell is the firebrand of the seven. He believes, for example, that the notion that the ANC's Natal leader, Mr Harry Gwala, is militant and bloodthirsty is NP propaganda.

Peace-loving

Haswell believes that Gwala is one of the country's most peace-loving and conciliatory "and intelligent" leaders — and he tells Parliament this regularly.

In a speech on Wednesday, the first anniversary of his joining the ANC, Haswell pointed out that President FW de Klerk was not the *de facto* president and that Mandela was.

During his speech Haswell was particularly

scathing in an attack on an NP member of Parliament, Mr Johannes Maree.

"The honourable member for Klip River (Maree) has now twice verbally assassinated Harry Gwala and I say to him enough is enough. While your president (De Klerk) warns of a race war, Harry Gwala painstakingly tells the people that this is not a race war," Haswell said.

Balier in the same speech, Haswell, addressing De Klerk, said: "Mr *de jure* President (Mandela) is the *de facto* president) we are not asking you to lay down your life (as Mr Chris Hani did) but we are asking you to join the chorus of millions who demand that you, too, say: *Hamba Kahle Amabhungu* ..."

Between Haswell and Cronjé, more Zulu words and phrases have perhaps been used in Parliament than ever before.

Eulogy

Ending off a splendid eulogy for Hani, also this week, Cronjé said: "*Hamba Kahle, comrade. Hamba Kahle Umkhonto.*"

Cronjé remains humble about speaking as an ANC member in Parliament, remembering always that he was not elected in this capacity, but says the biggest frustration is that when De Klerk attacks Mandela in the Chamber, the balance of power prevents him from defending the ANC president.

In a joint statement released on Wednesday by the seven ANC-aligned MPs they sum up their year of "comraderie".

"They have been ostracised by their former colleagues and constituents and are still being treated in Parliament as lepers, the statement, obviously written by Momborg, says.

"But that is a small price to pay in comparison with so many comrades.

"Outside of the struggle it is customary and sexist to express the 'behind every man' bit of tokenism but a woman's place is in the struggle.

"In fact, most of our wives joined the ANC well before we did. So alongside, if not well in front of every comrade, stands a woman."

Most of Momborg's children have been members of the ANC for many years. Dalling's wife joined the movement when it was not very safe to do so.

304A
Sowetan 23/4/93

CP unity won't survive Treurnicht

Andries Treurnicht has kept the Conservative Party together through

his accommodating attitude and sheer force of personality. But the divided CP is unlikely to survive his death on Thursday evening, reports CHRIS LOUW

30447

a means of entreaching while "rightists" is uncertain where the other four CP MPs stand

"white rights" must be clearly protected in a future constitution and violence suppressed by any means necessary before elections take place.

"The friends to the new South Africa must be firmly embedded before we enter," was how one MP explained their position. "We reject Roelf Meyer's attitude of rushing into a half-baked thing and hoping for the best."

The "realists" are also deeply suspicious of

President PW de Klerk, whom they see as "leaning towards the softies". They accuse him of treating the ANC with "kid gloves". His reaction to the violence is described as "vultures under a single people tree (nothing more than a soft farf)".

At least 20 current CP MPs are included in the group of hard right rightwingers who will shed no tears if negotiations come to an abrupt end, while 12 are seen as realists who view negotiations as

Names mentioned as "hard rightwingers" include those of Hartzenberg, Pieter, Kobus Beyers, Willem Botha, Willie Botha, Joseph Chole, Piet de la Rey, Andrew Gertser, Jan Hoon, Charl Herzig, Dean Nel, Arie Oost-huyzen, Arie Paulus and Dr. Harold Pauw.

Tensions foreseen in the CP if Hartzenberg takes over the leadership sparked wide speculation within rightwing circles as to possible breakaways and realignments. The more moderate group of CP MPs are hoping that the violence following the murder of Chris Hani will give the "hawks" the upper hand over the "doves".

This, according to rightwing sources, could lead to a complete realignment, with the "hard right" moving closer to the AWP and the rest of the extra-parliamentary rightwing, and the "realists" joining forces with a revamped, more "kragdadig" NP.

"The 'realists' will find no breathing space under Hartzenberg as leader," said a rightwing observer.

The "hard right", led by Hartzenberg and Pienaar, see little use for the present negotiations process. The "realists", on the other hand, accept the inevitability of negotiations, but insist that

Conservative Party leader Andries Treurnicht died in a Cape Town hospital on Thursday evening following a heart bypass operation at the weekend. His death touched off extensive speculation in parliament about possible realignments in rightwing politics.

The 72-year old Treurnicht was admitted to hospital last week for a heart bypass operation. Twice during the operation last Sunday doctors feared for the worst before pulling him through.

When he died on Thursday evening, two of his daughters were at his bedside, along with MP for Witbank Wynand van Wyk, a former church minister who said a last prayer for the dying man.

The chief whip of the Conservative Party, Frank Le Roux, said Treurnicht was "a very genuine Christian and an example to all of us in the leadership he gave."

Cape National Party leader Dr Dawie de Villiers said it was to Treurnicht's credit that in the last months of his life he had led the party to the negotiating table. He had always spoken out against violence and his gentlemanly conduct commanded respect across the political spectrum.

In spite of Treurnicht's reputation as a hardline conservative, there is agreement that he was the only person who could hold the widely divergent sections in the CP together.

It is generally accepted that the far-rightwing Ferdie Hartzenberg, current deputy leader of the party, is likely to take over the reins. The only other serious contender is the equally fiery Schalk Pienaar, MP for Potgietersrus. Pienaar's age, however, is expected to count against him in the leadership stakes. He is not yet 40.

Whoever gets elected, there is little doubt that Treurnicht's successor will move the CP even further to the right, putting the party's decision to take part in negotiations under severe strains.

Moderates in the CP are watching the growing tensions in the ruling National Party with more than the usual interest. They are hoping that the "hawks", including Law and Order Minister Hennis Kriel and Local Planning Minister Tertius Delpont, will gain the upper hand over the "doves", represented by Constitutional Development Minister Roelf Meyer and the NP's Cape leader, Dawie de Villiers.

If the hawkish sentiment becomes dominant in the NP, a breakaway from the CP becomes possible. At least 12 MPs — described as "CP realists" — may then, according to speculation, join the NP, with at least 20 current CP MPs moving even further to the right.

The most likely candidate, Hartzenberg, is still an ardent believer in the system of apartheid and the homelands. He threatened on television this week that his "volk" would resist with arms any negotiated settlement which amounted to a democratic government dominated by the African National Congress. Hartzenberg is also believed to have close contacts with elements in the Afrikaner Weerstandsbeweging (AWB).

Andries Beyers, leader of the Afrikaner Volkswaag, which broke away from the CP because of its earlier refusal to participate in negotiations, this week confirmed that Treurnicht served as "patron" to the more moderate members of the party. His unwillingness to commit himself, led to the breakaway of the Volkswaag. "We knew his accommodating attitude was going to get us nowhere," said Beyers.

SA's Poles fear a backlash

Wimail 23/4-29/4/93
By STEPHEN LAUFER

SOUTH AFRICA'S Polish community is battering down the hatches amid fears that the origins of Chris Hani's alleged killer, Janus Walusz, could give rise to virulent anti-Polish sentiment. Shocked and disturbed, they are grappling for explanations which will exonerate them of any perceived role in the assassination.

For some, denial looks like a safe haven. "As a university graduate, Walusz never served in the army; he doesn't come from a gun-using tradition," said one Pole, who spoke on condition of strict anonymity. "He can't have done it; he was a rally driver, he could have got away if he had wanted to. Besides, a shooting like this one is not in the Polish tradition. We sent the cavalry against German tanks."

Many people are actively packing their bags or at least thinking about leaving South Africa, says Waldemar Wojtowicz, president of the Polish Association in South Africa, the country's largest Polish cultural organisation.

And a celebration of the 50th anniversary of the arrival in South Africa of several hundred young refugees from the Nazi rape of Poland, scheduled for next week, has been cancelled.

Revealing prejudices imbibed over years from the broader white community, Polish leaders, scared of being quoted by name, have expressed deep fears of a general

backlash by blacks angered at the killing. "The backlash will not be political, but criminal. It is about directing appetites at white property," said one.

Community leaders point to the essentially apolitical attitudes of most of the estimated 15 000 Poles in South Africa, and talk proudly of their hard work and achievement. But they admit that the circumstances of the arrival of a large portion of the community could be interpreted as having shored up apartheid.

Roughly 3 500 Polish immigrants came to South Africa in the early 1980s, economic refugees lured by promises made by the South African embassy in Vienna of a cornucopia under the southern sun.

At the time, thousands of Poles who had managed to leave their country were being housed in a refugee camp outside the Austrian capital. Most were waiting for United States or Canadian visas when they were approached by South African diplomats looking for skilled white immigrants.

"The offer was too good to refuse," remembers one recruit. "We were promised housing, jobs, a new start in life." Most of those who opted for South Africa had university degrees. About 500 were doctors, and most have ended up in the public health system, many in hospitals serving predominantly black communities.

Unlike many larger immigrant

communities, South African Poles have never been particularly visible. To the older generation, which has been here since soon after World War II, taking care of a strong intellectual and artistic tradition has been at least as important as political involvement.

But many who arrived in the early 1980s were also virulent anti-communists, and some deliberately chose South Africa over the US or Canada because of its more militant stance against "the evil empire".

The depth of anti-Soviet sentiment seems directly to have influenced the choice of subject for a Polish monument in a Johannesburg park. This commemorates the massacre of 4 250 Polish officers on Stalin's orders in the Katyn Woods in 1939. The Katyn atrocity is central to anti-Soviet lore in Poland.

The erection of the monument in 1981 was at once an expression of deeply felt sentiments and an attempt to identify the Polish community more closely with white South African anti-communism.

But despite these attempts at reorientation, the Polish community remains fearful. Culturally and ideologically "Poles apart" from the majority of South Africans, they fear, as one community figure put it, that Chris Hani's death will lead to "an ANC policy declaring us unwelcome because we supported apartheid by our presence".

Violence gives 'hawks' advantage

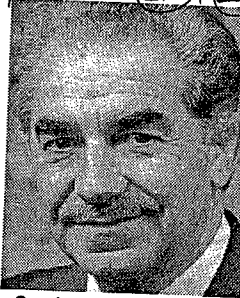
W1 Mac 23/4 - 29/4/93.
By CHRIS LOUW

THE mass action and incidents of violence that followed the death of Communist Party leader Chris Hani have given the "hawks" in the National Party the upper hand — at least for the while.

NP parliamentarians this week were openly expressing contradictory views in speeches in parliament. Relations with the African National Congress, the issue of joint control over the security forces during the transition and the future role of regions are clearly issues on which Nat MPs hold widely divergent opinions.

On Monday former defence minister Gene Louw, who hardly ever took a stance while serving in the Cabinet, amazed colleagues with a hardline speech in which he rejected any possibility of joint control over the security forces.

Louw's speech — in which he described the Defence Force and the police as the "king and queen" in the political chess game — directly contradicts agreements reached between the ANC and the NP's negotiation team. When the team, under the leadership of Constitutional Development Minister Roelf Meyer, last year agreed with



Gene Louw ... Hardline speech the ANC that a defence sub-council would become part of the transitional executive structures, they in fact also agreed to joint control of the armed forces.

This was repudiated by Louw. "The army and police force," Louw said in his speech, "are assets which cannot be moved around like political pawns. They are the queen and king of the chess players. You do not give them away before properly having decided on a future constitutional dispensation ... and before it has been put into effect."

On Tuesday a rising star in the

NP, the verligte Chris Fisser, MP for Rissik, voiced a completely different sentiment when he congratulated the ANC for the way they succeeded in controlling their angry supporters during the Chris Hani marches.

This contradicts views expressed by, among others, Local Government and Planning Minister Tertius Delpoit, who has accused the ANC leadership of losing control of their followers.

During Tuesday's session it was also noticeable how self-assured Minister of Law and Order and chief "hawk" Hernus Kriel appeared. At one stage he sat next to President De Klerk with such authority that the State President had to remove his attache case from his desk to make space for him.

Normally NP MPs are very aware of their position in the party hierarchy, and they keep a respectful distance from De Klerk when addressing him. Opposition MPs thought Kriel's attitude was that of someone who knew he had the NP rank and file behind him, rather than De Klerk's more careful approach.

with Mail 23/4 - 29/4/93
**Dance to
democracy**

By REG RUMNEY
IT'S a novel idea, but will it make the Top 40?

One of South Africa's top rap groups, Prophets of the City, has joined forces with the Centre for Development Studies (CDS) to educate the youth about voting. The "rapping for democracy" tour of high schools starts next month. It is an extension of the CDS' voter education programme. (304A)

In the project, funded by the Danish Ministry of Foreign Affairs, the Prophets will put on a show lasting about 40 minutes. Apart from explaining the concept of democracy the show will also have a dance demonstration of how to vote. (282)

Intrigued by the idea of putting rather dull but worthy concepts into a popular music form, this reporter tried his hand at rewriting this story in rap. He's sure the Prophets will do much better.

*Now listen people do
you know how to vote?
Cast your ballot or
you'll miss the boat
to freedom and peace.
To make your choice
you gotta raise your
voice.*

*UWC Development
Studies
have called in their rap
buddies.*

*Now the Prophets of the
City*

*Are "rapping for de-
mocracy".*

*Project Vote will travel
through the land
doing their thing to
make people understand
and through a dancing
show too
tell the new voters what
to do.*

There is no time left

Guardian/W. in W. mail 23/4-29/4/93

COMMENT

THE DEATH OF Chris Hani, buried tumultuously on Monday, at Boksburg is a crucial moment in South African history. We cannot tell yet whether it will be remembered as the prelude to a fresh crisis of violence or as the spur to a renewed search for the right way. But everyone from President de Klerk to the Sowetan teenager waving an ANC flag knows, logically or instinctively, that it puts South Africa at the crossroads. ~~23/4~~ 30/4

It was predominantly the black community which mourned Chris Hani, guarded by ANC marshals who have begun to show — not before time — a more convincing sense of organisation. Though white individuals also mourned, the dominant image has to be that of their apprehensive residential suburbs guarded by heavily-armed police and soldiers. An event of this kind was bound to place the fragile new links of inter-communal understanding under terrible strain. Circumstances have compounded the damage. Regrettably, no conspiracy theory can be regarded as too far-fetched in the murky underground of white South African politics. The arrest of a leading figure in the Conservative party suggests what many have long suspected. Extremism of the kind practised by the Afrikaner Resistance Movement (AWB) may be merely the visible outcrop of a more centrally located conspiracy against democratic change.

There is always a temptation in these situations to blame "extremists on both sides". For too long this has been a convenient alibi, obscuring the structural links between

the government, the security forces, and acts of provocative violence which have more recently come to light. The ANC leaders as much as those of the National Party now have their reasons for seeking to locate the "trouble-makers" on the fringe of their own ranks or beyond.

But there is simply no point in labelling an unemployed, uneducated black youth in Soweto, armed with a club and prepared to use it, as an extremist. Such people in their many thousands are the logical product of a system where schooling has been disrupted and underfunded for decades and where discrimination in housing, health and jobs is part of everyday existence. Very little has changed here in the three years since the white government began to repeal apartheid. Whatever remedial efforts are made nothing will change significantly until that government too changes.

"Speed is of the essence", said Nelson Mandela. He recognises correctly that his own gradualism has been overtaken by events. Haste of course carries its own dangers. A gradual process of transition towards majority rule if initiated, for example, 30 years ago after Sharpeville, would have been a far safer course of action. Nor will a shift in the political balance of power lead easily or quickly, without dislocating the country's economy, to the transfer of resources needed to improve life significantly for most blacks. But the logic of Mr Mandela's specific demand for "an election date now" is overwhelming and should be vigorously supported from abroad. South Africa has already waited far too long.

Hani buried, page 6
Stanley Uys, page 12

Worthy aid in march to democracy

Review Suppl to Kwana 23/4-29/4/73.

WAITING FOR DEMOCRACY
(Community Law Centre, Durban, R10.00)

AMONG the recent spate of voter education materials is *Waiting For Democracy/Ukuthindela. Inando Yentlali* published by the Community Law Centre (CLC) in Durban. The book, directed at rural people, uses comic strips to good effect to reflect the debates around voting and elections. The bilingual English/Zulu text is also helpful to English-speaking people working with Zulu-speaking communities.

The story is set at a rural paralegal

office, where members of a community legal team conduct a workshop for the local people. The dialogue between the characters effectively conveys the tensions of federalism, while Roy, a liberal white lawyer and the only member of the group ever to have voted before, gives us a

from Sipho, a young activist, but it is Sipho's grandfather, a long-suffering rural pensioner, who voices the plea of the oppressed for peace and order.

The last word on voting and election procedure is given by a visiting African political scientist. Speaking at the launch of the book during the Human Rights Day commemoration in December last year, Doreen Bennett, a member of one of the CLC's rural paralegal committees, said: 'For all these years we have been

totally blank. Everything was just hidden from us ... Not all people in our rural communities will know that they have the right to vote peacefully for ... We need no longer rely on all the stories we have been hearing. This book will help to overcome the confusion felt among many of our fellow South Africans. ... Copies may be ordered from the Community Law Centre, telephone (031) 202-7190.



W/Man 29/4-29/4/83

Dance to democracy

By REG RUMNEY

IT'S a novel idea, but will it make the Top 40?

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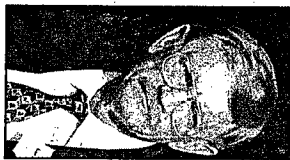
Star 24/4/93

consequences and fought F W de Klerk's bid for changes in South Africa right to the end.

News

Can verkramp Ferdie keep party from crumbling?

MICHAEL MORRIS



IRREPRESSIBLE: Ferdie Hartzenberg was described as being "so verkramp you could plough with him".

CAPE TOWN — Impressive Conservative Party deputy leader, Dr. F. D. Hartzenberg, was described as party "so verkramp" that he was so verkramp that you could plough with him.

There is no doubt about it. Hartzenberg is a man of many talents. He is a brilliant speaker, a brilliant writer, a brilliant politician. He is a man of many talents. He is a brilliant speaker, a brilliant writer, a brilliant politician. He is a man of many talents. He is a brilliant speaker, a brilliant writer, a brilliant politician.

See Page 4 and editorial on Page 10

But he had not neglected politics. He was an active National Party worker and had been a member of the National Party for many years. He had been a member of the National Party for many years. He had been a member of the National Party for many years.

His political career has been varied and often controversial. He became Deputy Minister of Development in 1978. He became Deputy Minister of Development in 1978. He became Deputy Minister of Development in 1978.

Some analysts have suggested that the CP might disintegrate. The death of Treurnicht, combined with an increasing spotlight on the CP's internal divisions, has led some to believe that the CP might disintegrate. The death of Treurnicht, combined with an increasing spotlight on the CP's internal divisions, has led some to believe that the CP might disintegrate.

'Real' talk

STAR 24/4/93

304A

After Hani assassination, a sense of urgency prevails

THE negotiation process has survived the crisis caused by Chris Hani's assassination, and "real" negotiations are set to start on Monday.

It was agreed at a two-day planning committee meeting which ended yesterday that urgency was essential.

Since Hani's murder two weeks ago, ANC president Nelson Mandela and President de Klerk have made optimistic estimates about the timetable for the transition to democracy.

While the ANC wants an election date to be set and a transitional executive council (TEC) installed before the end of May, De Klerk said in Parliament this week that these issues could be agreed on "in six weeks".

It was agreed at Codesa that a TEC and various sub-councils would level the political playing field in the run-up to the first democratic elections for an interim government.

Speaking after the planning committee meeting yesterday, Constitutional Development Minister Roelf Meyer said a TEC could be negotiated within the next six weeks.

**ESTHER WAUGH,
Political
Correspondent**

ANC secretary-general Cyril Ramaphosa agreed that consensus on a TEC was attainable by the end of next month. The process was under pressure and the urgency injected in negotiations would produce results.

Democratic Party negotiator Colin Eglin said if agreement could be reached on the "overall constitutional principles then the mechanisms for installing a TEC can be met within the deadline".

However, Bophuthatswana government negotiator Rowan Cronje said his government was in principle opposed to a TEC. It wanted the multiparty negotiating forum to draft the constitution and hold elections before the end of the year.

Inkatha Freedom Party chairman Dr Frank Mdlalose said his party was opposed to a TEC with executive powers.

The key issue to reach agreement on remains the scenario for the transition. The Government and ANC — and their allies — want a TEC to be installed and

elections to be held for an interim government and a constitution-making body.

The Concerned South Africans Group, on the other hand, wants the new constitution to be drafted by the negotiating forum, after which elections will be held for a new representative government.

The planning committee's meeting marked the first time key negotiators had sat down together since Hani's murder. The two-day meeting at the World Trade Centre discussed the implementation of two resolutions on violence and the transition taken at the negotiating forum on April 1. Reports on both resolutions will be presented to the negotiating council on Monday.

It is understood that the report on the transition proposes forming four technical committees to make proposals on an independent electoral commission, an independent media commission, discriminatory legislation, and a TEC.

The chairman of this week's meeting, Transkei government representative Zam Titus, said: "We as negotiators have taken note of signals ... given to us to speed up the process. We will speed up the process." However, he stressed that negotiators would not "skim over" issues for the sake of merely adding impetus to the process.

Titus said there was "enough in the report to come up with constructive suggestions on the way forward".

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Buthelezi warns SA of crucial decisions

SOUTH Africa has reached a crossroads that can make or break the country's future even before new multi-party negotiations get off the ground.

This warning comes from KwaZulu leader and Inkatha Freedom Party (IFP) president Chief Mangosuthu Buthelezi on the eve of next week's resumption of multiparty talks.

He said South Africa had come to a point for "final and irreversible decisions" on the choice between a federal system and a centralised authoritarian government.

His warning — voiced before and after a three-hour session of talks with President De Klerk — made it clear that Chief Buthelezi meant business.

His meeting with Mr. De Klerk was one of his first major appointments since his return from Rome where he and President Lucas Mangope of Bophuthatswana had talks last Sunday with United Nations secretary-general Dr Boutros Boutros-Ghali.

Although details of Chief Buthelezi's talks with President De Klerk and Dr Boutros-Ghali have not been disclosed, observers expected the trials

■ On the eve of next week's resumption of multiparty negotiations, KwaZulu leader Chief Mangosuthu Buthelezi has issued a warning to political leaders. South Africa, he says, is on the brink of irreversible decisions on the future form of government.

FRANS ESTERHUYSE

Weekend Angus Political Correspondent

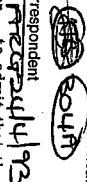
of these could become apparent at next week's negotiations in which 26 organisations, parties and governments are to take part.

Several groups, including the IFP, have taken the stand that, before all else, the negotiators must decide if South Africa is to have a federal or a unitary constitution.

The urgency of such a decision — as he saw it — was emphasised by Chief Buthelezi this week at Stellenbosch where he addressed a meeting of the Free Cape Movement, which also was campaigning for a federal system of government.

Chief Buthelezi said: "We are faced with the question of whether or not we, as South Africans, are going to get it right the very first time."

"Just imagine that it has taken 83 years for those in power



to admit that the Union of South Africa was a mistake. It has taken 43 years for the ruling National Party to admit that they were wrong all these years.

"Are we going to commit another blunder because of the unseemly haste with which the media and even international representatives are urging us to move to elections, just any elections?"

"Must we again live under another blunder for nearly a hundred years before we can correct whatever mistakes we commit now?"

Chief Buthelezi said that was why the IFP considered the form of state — federal or unitary — as a priority issue for the multiparty negotiations. It was an issue that had to be resolved "from the very beginning".

One of his key arguments

was that there could be no possibility of moving to a constituent assembly through a unitary formula, in the hope of being able to move afterwards to a federal formula.

"Federations have never been structured that way by unitary governments committed to absolute power and full control at the centre," he said.

Outlining the options facing the negotiators, Chief Buthelezi said: "We either can accept an uncertain process of transition of our society which will empower the forces of mass action, intimidation and violence with the full functions of a centralised and authoritarian government — or, we have the option to struggle for an alternative process which can ensure freedom and democracy in our country with the checks and balances of a federal system."

He warned that the general direction the National Party and the ANC/SACP alliance appeared to be taking would lead to another authoritarian regime in a unitary state.

Chief Buthelezi rejected proposed compromise solutions based on the argument that there should be "strong re-

gions" rather than federal states.

His perception was the international community was beginning to realise that federalism was the only solution to the South African dilemma — and we were very heartened when the government of the United States of America took an official position supporting federalism for South Africa.

However, people in the NP still seemed to have doubts, according to Chief Buthelezi.

He rejected outright any suggestion that secession of individual regions could be considered as an option in South Africa.

At a lunch for the media in Cape Town, Chief Buthelezi lashed out at the government for apparently yielding to threats, and at the ANC/SACP/Cosatu alliance for "holding the country to ransom by demanding a lengthy period of restrictive mass action and by labelling various crucial political demands".

"We find it totally unacceptable that the forthcoming negotiations, designed to determine the essential structure of the future South Africa, should be conducted under threats of blackmail and intimidation."

Exiles find Parliament so stuffy...

DENNIS CRUYWAGEN
Political Staff

304A
1993

NEVER in his 10 years on Robben Island did Leruma Kalako once think he would walk into Parliament as a voteless person to be entertained by MPs who were members of the ANC.

Neither for that matter did his comrade in the struggle for liberation, veteran ANC leader Mr Reggie September.

But this week the two former exiles went into the heart of the beast which the NP has used since 1948 to pass apartheid legislation.

They were not at the head of a chanting throng, faced by police with shotguns or police dogs.

The occasion was to mark the first anniversary of the ANC's presence in the House of Assembly.

ARG 24/4/93
Their hosts in Parliament's VIP dining room were five former Democratic Party MPs — Mr Jannie Momberg, Mr Jan van Eck, Mr Dave Dalling, Mr Rob Haswell and Mr Pierre Cronje.

There too was House of Representatives MP Mr Jan Louw, one of two coloured MPs now wearing ANC colours as do the five former DP members.

The rest of the company included militant ANC regional secretary Mr Tony Yengeni and his deputy Mr Willie Hofmeyr.

"The closest Mr Kalako, an Umkhonto we Sizwe soldier turned politician, had previously come to Parliament was when he led protest marches which ended outside the seat of government.

"This was the first time I'd been inside. If we agree to march to Parliament during our mass action campaign I hope it won't end at Parliament's gates — that we'll go in."

Mr Kalako, ANC deputy head in the Western Cape, said he didn't see much.

"My first feeling was that very soon this Parliament will be turned into a people's parliament."

He did see portraits of former prime ministers and National Party politicians. "They were the people who for years were eager to implement separate development which has crumbled."

He said the paintings should be removed and placed in an apartheid museum, along with other statues erected in honour of apartheid disciplines, once a new government was in power.

Mr September said he looked forward to returning to Parliament "when our people are there and have the right to take part in debates and to pass legislation". He found Parliament very stuffy and pompous.

"I said to those chaps I hope our people will not be required to wear suits in summer. This is Africa. I know Parliament is a serious place, but we don't have to follow the British tradition."



■ **PRINTING PREPARATIONS:** A flood of ID book applications have kept Mrs Wilna van den Berg of the Department of Home Affairs busy matching pictures to fingerprints.

'Run-up to polls soon'

MARTIN CHALLENGOR (304A) ARG 24/11/93
Weekend Argus Political Correspondent

DEMOCRACY could come to South Africa in six weeks time when political parties start their election campaigns, Minister of Constitutional Development Mr Roelf Meyer, said in Gordon's Bay last night.

He was addressing a National Party briefing for the parliamentary Press Gallery.

After the Boipatong massacre in June last year, it took three months for political groups to get back to the negotiation table, said Mr Meyer.

Now, after a similar crisis with the murder of Mr Chris Hani, everybody was keen to get back to the negotiation table. This showed "how far we have actually succeeded in the negotiation process already".

The negotiation council is to meet

on Monday at the World Trade Centre in Kempton Park.

Mr Meyer said the 26 negotiating groups had to agree on issues like the transitional government, otherwise there could be no talk of an election "because we are not even talking about the same process".

There also had to be consensus on how the government of national unity would be composed and how it would take decisions.

However, unless there was consensus "on how the subject of regionalism is going to be dealt with during the transitional phase, we will not reach consensus on the process".

Some parties would not enter the transitional phase unless they were satisfied with the arrangements for regional government during this period.

■ See story on page 14.

Ferdi the right choice for the

MICHAEL MORRIS

Political Staff

IRREREPRESSIBLE Conservative defector Koos van der Merwe once said of Dr Ferdi Hartzenberg, Treurnicht's successor as party kingpin, that he was so verkramp, so rigid, that you could plough with him.

There is a certain pastoral apleness to Koos's bitter remark, and Hartzenberg's opponents know too his steely talents as a debater.

But, politically, it is true enough that farmer-cum-politician Ferdi Hartzenberg is as *unbustable* as forged iron in his rightist constancy.

The new, possibly interim, leader of the CP has mastered a furious, swash-buckling style of politicking that may prove inappropriate in a delicate era for the white Right.

There is undoubted uncertainty in the CP about its future and there have been suggestions that, in the ab-

■ Dr Ferdi Hartzenberg takes the reins of the Conservative Party as it mourns the death of fellow Vervoeirdian Dr Andries Treurnicht ... and doubt grows about the destiny of the Right.

sence of Dr Treurnicht's intellectually and emotionally stabilising influence, Dr Hartzenberg might be unable to neutralise the differences and contain the pressures.

Born in 1936 on his father's farm, Klein Uitsig in the Western Transvaal, Dr Hartzenberg's love of agriculture grew from an early intimacy with the harsh, yet also gratifying, routines of a rural existence.

It is with affection that he recalls his farm-school days ... of getting to the classroom in rainy weather "with dung stuck between your toes, and getting hell for it".

He matriculated in Potchefstroom in 1953 and took up agricultural studies at Pretoria University. He was ac-

knowledgeed as a brilliant student and emerged in 1959 with a master's degree.

After working as a researcher for the Department of Agriculture in the 1960s, he returned to his books and, in 1972, completed a doctorate with a thesis on a statistical analysis of early growth in beef cattle.

But he had not neglected politics. He was an active National Party worker and, in 1964, became a successful NP candidate for the Transvaal Provincial Council.

Six years later he became MP for Lichtenberg, his home region.

His parliamentary career has been varied and often controversial. He became Deputy Minister of Develop-

ment in 1976 and was promoted to the Cabinet, as Minister of Education and Training, in 1979.

He punished schools involved in boycotts by refusing to spend money on urgent repairs. Several schools were closed down in the Eastern Cape and Free State. Yet, black teachers' training colleges were considerably improved and new colleges, as well as Visser University, were formed during his tenure.

Politically given that Vervoeird was his chief inspiration, the pressures of the late 1970s and early 1980s that impelled the Nationalists to begin looking seriously at power-sharing and at seeking some limited kind of rapprochement with the black major-

ity, filled Hartzenberg with disquiet.

His firm conviction remained that the chief objective of South African politics was to reduce conflict by granting each "nation" its own right to self-determination.

His, Treurnicht's and the others', implacable opposition to P W Botha's power-sharing concept, led to the 1982 In 1982 and the formation of the Conservative Party.

Since then, Dr Hartzenberg has maintained prominence as a verkramp Conservative, reportedly resisting moves within the party to alter with the times.

Does he still have the capacity to resist?

Some analysis have suggested it is not impossible that the CP might disintegrate.

Right?

Much to be done to educate illiterate on how to vote, but

Election: A long way

2049 124

■ As urgency increases for the holding of South Africa's first nonracial election, the Department of Home Affairs braces itself for the mountain of practical work ahead.

WILLEM STEENKAMP

Weekend Argus Reporter

THE coming nonracial general election will be the biggest in this country with an estimated 21 million people being eligible to vote.

Although political parties and organisations are bandying election dates about, organising an election involving 21 million voters, many of them living in remote areas, is a massive undertaking which needs months of thorough planning.

Issues which have to be resolved include the format of the ballot paper, polling station sites and the appointment of impartial election officials who are acceptable to all parties.

The major stumbling block is the high illiteracy rate. More than 45 percent of all black South Africans are illiterate and voter education will be crucial to ensure people understand and exercise their democratic right to cast their vote.

Mr Piet Colyn, director-general of Home Affairs, said that before any election could take place, a suitable electoral system had to be adopted.

"Because South African society is largely fragmented, the President's Council Committee for Constitutional Affairs felt a proportional electoral system would be the best.

"In such a system, all citizens of 18 years and older have only one vote and vote for a party list or for independent candidates."

Mr Colyn said an important criteria was that the electorate understood the system.

Such understanding remained one of the core elements of the legibility of any electoral system for a deeply divided society like South Africa.

But, said Mr Colyn, care had been taken not to pre-empt a new constitutional dispensation and preparations by his department were done in such a way as to support any political and electoral system that might be decided on.

Mr Colyn said misconceptions and deep-rooted tribal beliefs were also factors that had to be considered in educating people for a democracy.

A survey by Rhodes University's media research and training unit found there was great misconception about ballots, particularly in rural areas.

The survey reported: "Some people thought the cross one made on a ballot paper was either a signature, a bad mark or something one got for being absent from school. Many potential voters did not even know who Nelson Mandela or F W de Klerk were."

It said that at a Natal seminar to educate domestic workers on how to cast a vote, a circular mock polling station was built to prevent the so-called tokoloshe from hiding in any corners.

"This cultural belief in the tokoloshe also is held in other areas of the country and underlines the importance of educating would-be voters that their ballots are secret — even from the tokoloshe."

From a conference in Namibia recently held by the Washington-based National Institute for Democracy in International Affairs, it transpired that

Mr Colyn said 16 000 ballot boxes had been made for the planned 7 000 polling stations around the country. More than 85 percent of all potential voters already had ID books.

However, Mr Colyn was positive that by the time the election arrived, about 93% of those eligible to vote would have ID documents. This was much higher than had been the case elsewhere in Africa.

Politicians calling for an election "now" might be opportunistic. Parties involved in the new all-party negotiating forum had not been able to reach consensus even on naming the new forum.

The issue of choosing a name would seem simple compared with deciding on an electoral system, and the issues surrounding it.

The call for an election "now" might still echo for many months to come and even a date early next year might be too close to be practical.

experience gained in other countries had shown the media should be controlled by an independent commission long before transitional elections, in order to establish credibility.

Mr Colyn said it was also vital that independent monitoring of pre-election activities and of the actual elections took place to ensure they ran smoothly. Legislation making monitoring possible was essential when developing a new constitution.

Although no election date had been set yet and much still needed to be done to ensure a free and democratic election, preliminary arrangements were well advanced.

books on track to go

IFP: 'Govt, ANC in cosy alliance'

JOHANNESBURG. — The government has lashed out at the IFP for its accusations that President F.W. de Klerk's administration is in cahoots with the ANC in the training of uMKhonto we-Sizwe (MK).

The IFP said in a statement it circulated to participants of the negotiating council at the World Trade Centre, near here, yesterday that it was deeply disturbed by the cosy relationship between the ANC and the government.

"We know the government and the ANC have a cosy agreement on MK being permitted to train its cadres," IFP national chairman Dr Frank Mdlalose said in a statement.

"We also know these cadres are being deployed in Natal/KwaZulu and that they are coming into the region with hit lists of IFP leaders and, crucially, that the government is fully aware of this," Constable M. M. Mokoena said. Communications Minister Mr Roel Meyer

said last night the IFP comments were "unfortunate and premature".

Cape National Party leader Dr Dawie de Villiers said: "We were astounded by the harshness and the inflammatory nature of the statement."

PAC secretary-general Mr Benny Alexander also expressed dismay, saying his organisation feared its current position might be jeopardised. He said the IFP might overhedge real advances made in negotiations. Sapa

3444

MPs pay tribute to Treurnicht

By ANTHONY JOHNSON

MEMBERS of Parliament from all parties yesterday paid moving tributes to Dr Anthonio Treurnicht during a special joint sitting of Parliament.

The front bench in the Chamber of Parliament formerly occupied by the Conservative Party leader was adorned with a long-stemmed iris, recognising the major role Dr Treurnicht played in Par-

liament and extending sympathies to his wife and four daughters who were supported by all parties.

The South African flag at the SA embassy in Washington was lowered to half-mast.

Ambassador to the US Mr Harry Schwarz spared a brief row when he lowered the flag to half-mast after the assassination of SACP leader Chris Hani.

● Sapa reports that the Pan-Africanist Congress yesterday expressed condo-

lences to Dr Treurnicht's family.

● A special memorial service will be held for Dr Treurnicht in the Groote Kerk in Cape Town on Monday, Mr Jan Hoon said yesterday. (2044)

The funeral will take place in Bregoria on Tuesday next week. (1344)

● The all-white Mineworkers' Union representing some 45 000 members has demanded paid "time-off and transport" to attend memorial services next week.



"NOT FAIR" ... NP KwaThema worker Ms Itumeleng Mohlala, whose home was petrol-bombed on Tuesday, addresses a press conference at which NP chief information officer Mr Piet Coetser said there couldn't be free elections with present ANC intimidation. Picture: HAROLD KING

NP slams ANC 'intimidation'

By **ANTHONY JOHNSON**
Political Correspondent

ANC intimidation against and attacks on National Party members had reached such levels that there was no question of a free and fair election at the moment, NP chief information officer Mr Piet Coetser said at a press conference yesterday.

He accused the ANC/SACP/Co-satu alliance of embarking on a deliberate strategy to try and "neutralise" the NP at the polls by attacking party members and workers.

ANC spokesman Mr Carl Niehaus rejected "with total contempt" claims that his organisation had embarked on a

deliberate campaign to intimidate its electoral rivals.

He said the ANC had borne the brunt of acts of intimidation.

One example Mr Coetser mentioned of attacks on NP workers was the petrol-bomb attack on Tuesday night on the KwaThema home of Ms Itumeleng Mohlala, who was present at yesterday's press conference.

CT 24/4/98

Polls date to be set this month

304A
24/4/93

By ANTHONY JOHNSON
Political Correspondent

GORDON'S BAY. — The government hopes to announce a date for South Africa's first non-racial election by the end of next month.

The government's chief negotiator, Mr Roelf Meyer, told a briefing here last night that the 26 parties at the multi-party talks which resumed at the World Trade Centre this week had agreed that negotiations should concentrate on only the key issues facing the country over the next six weeks.

The Minister of Constitutional Development reinforced the confident prediction by President F W de Klerk earlier this week that an election date could be set by the end of May if satisfactory progress was made at multi-party negotiations.

He said the mood of negotiators at the talks was completely different from that after previous crises, such as the Bopapatong massacre. "This time around everybody is eager to get back to negotiations as soon as possible," he said.

Mr Meyer said the parties had decided over the past two days to focus on five core issues during the weeks ahead:

- Security matters: Parties had to reach agreement in the next six weeks on what should happen to South Africa's security forces and various armed formations.

- The process of the transition: "We have to get agreement first on the process which will be followed during the transitional phase before it will be possible to settle on issues like naming an election date".

Critical

- Power sharing: Consensus still had to be reached on how a government of national unity would be composed.

- Regionalism: It is critical that parties reach consensus on how regional affairs will be handled during the transitional phase.

- Violence: All parties agreed that this issue had to be satisfactorily handled if there were to be free and fair elections.

What if we didn't know how to vote?

Soc 71 24/4 - 28/4/93.

IN THE opening scene of "Moments", a narrator asks: "What would happen if people went to elections without knowing how to vote?"

Supporters of the Inqwe Party are on stage, waiting for election results. They are confident and optimistic, sure they have won.

But they have lost because they used their cross to mark those parties they did not support.

The psychological impact of the "X" used to signify an incorrect

answer is examined by the cast.

The issue of democratic rights and duties is demonstrated by actors when they try to persuade party supporters not to resort to violence because they have lost the election.

The potential effects of ignorance and apathy on the part of the electorate is driven home. Responding violently to losing an election is also depicted as being contrary to democratic principles.

The Matla Trust play depicts

typical township scenarios, which are often humorous or poignant, to carry its message across.

In one scene a group of school pupils is shown waiting for the voter education trainers to come and address them.

One of the students is reading a newspaper. When asked what the news is, he responds: "There is no more news in this country, there's just blood, blood, blood."

Another group of students are discussing their looting of shops the

day before. When the voter education appears, they find some students believe voting will result in them getting to live in mansions in Sandton and drive luxury cars.

The voter educators correct this idea and explain that changes voting may introduce would be related to basic human needs and rights.

Pensions might be increased and pensioners may be paid by post instead of exhausting themselves standing in long queues, the educators explain.

More schools and hospitals could be built and education might become free and compulsory, the students are told.

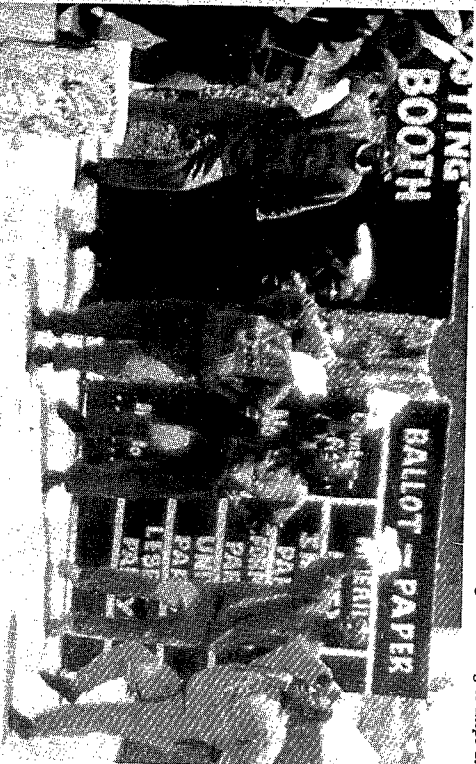
When students ask when they should vote for, they are firmly told no one has the right to tell them who to vote for. Voting is private and occurs in secrecy.

Another scene shows a community gathering being addressed by the voter educators.

"What should I do if my 'mandat' tells me to vote for her party?" is one question.

Related questions concern fears that bosses will try to tell people how to vote. The educators respond by driving home the message that voting is done secretly. "You are always alone in the voting booth. No one knows who you voted for. That is your security and safety."

The play shows the immense cynicism to the idea that blacks will ever truly experience real change in their present living conditions. It also reveals the distrust of any government- or police-related activity.



COME AND VOTE: Members of the cast of 'Moments' outside a 'voting booth'

30/4

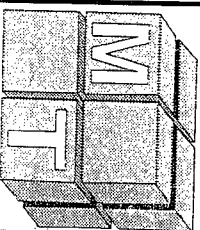
At one point the educators are asked "who does you people, are you puppets of the government?"

Another contentious issue is the presence of police outside the polling station and the difficulty people have in accepting they can ever play a neutral role.

In the final scene the interior of a polling station is shown and all the officials concerned with the voting process are introduced to the audience and their tasks explained.

Then actors, who at this stage are sitting among the audience, go to vote. Each step is easily seen from the floor, beginning with the presentation of some form of identification to the last step where voters' hands are marked with invisible ink to prevent them voting more than once.

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TRUST AND
SOUTH**



CP braces itself for a bitter power struggle

5 Times 25/4/93

EDYTH BULBRING: Political Correspondent

THE outcome of the power struggle for the deputy leadership of the CP will have a decisive impact on the future of a party struggling for relevancy. (304A)

Following the death of CP leader Dr Andries Treurnicht on Thursday, there is no dispute that his deputy, Lichtenburg MP Ferdi Hartzenberg, will lead the party.

Western Transvaaler Dr Hartzenberg, 57, is an uncompromising hardliner to the right of his predecessor.

He has an uncomplicated vision of the future. A surrender of white power to an integrated political system will mean the end of Afrikaner society.

He will oppose it — through Parliament and outside of it, whatever that may eventually mean.

But the outcome of the battle for the deputy leadership between Potgietersrus MP Schalk Pienaar and Schweizer-Reneke MP Pieter Mulder will be crucial in determining the direction of the party and whether Dr Hartzenberg will be able to keep it intact.

Mr Pienaar is known to lean to the right of the party, while Mr Mulder's political sentiments veer more towards the Afrikaner Volksunie.

A victory by Mr Pienaar will set the CP on a course that can only mean its speedy departure from multi-party negotiations and more defections by members to the left of the party dissatisfied with the new direction.

Historic six weeks that will make or break South Africa

BIG PUSH TO AVERT CHAOS

S 1711w00 25/1493

By MIKE ROBERTSON
and EDITH BULLBRING

(SOUTH AFRICA)
SOUTH AFRICA'S political leaders will meet tomorrow for a final push to avert chaos by nailing down an agreement that will set the country on the road to majority rule within six weeks.

President FW de Klerk said this week that it would be the most crucial and decisive period in South Africa's history.

"We dare not allow a handful of violent people ... to turn this country into a mess," he said.

Echoing the urgent need for a breakthrough, the ANC's secretary general, Cyril Ramaphosa, said the next six weeks would be critical for South Africa.

"If we do not deliver in that time the negotiations process will become irreversible," he said.

The country's two foremost political leaders — Mr de Klerk and the ANC's Nelson Mandela — have their credibility, authority and, ultimately, their political lives riding on a successful outcome of the talks.

Already in the wake of the assassination of SA Communist Party leader Chris Han and the resulting violence, the authority of both leaders has been seriously undermined.

Radical

Even members of Mr de Klerk's own cabinet feared his response to the report

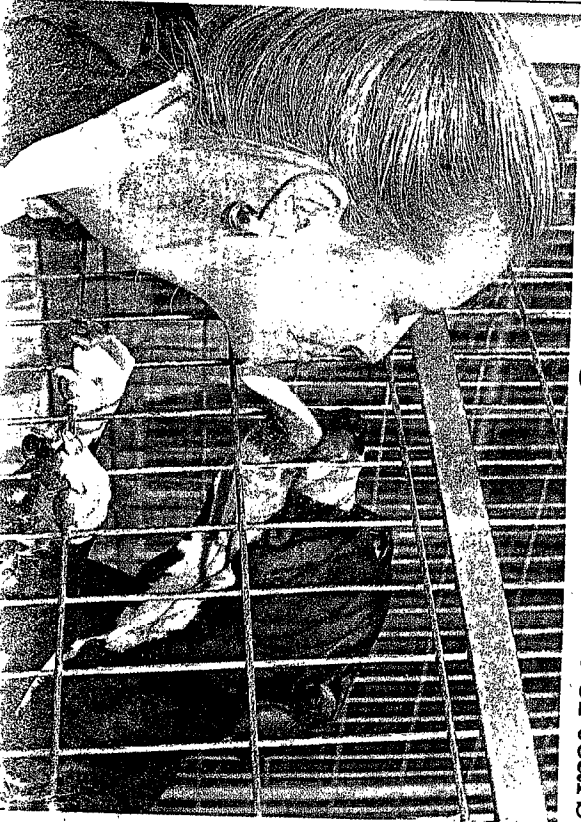


MY SHOW ... it's all happening for Kate Norrington in the West End

Our Kate

in 1 hour

A little love for a dog from the street of tears



President FW de Klerk said this week that it would be the most crucial and decisive period in South Africa's history.

"We dare not allow a handful of violent people ... to turn this country into a Yugoslavia," Mr de Klerk told Parliament.

Echoing the urgent need for a breakthrough, the ANC's secretary general, Mr Cyril Ramaphosa, said the next six weeks would be crucial for South Africa.

"If we do not deliver in that time the whole negotiations process will become discredited," he said.

The country's two foremost political leaders — Mr de Klerk and the ANC's Mr Nelson Mandela — have their credibility, authority and, ultimately, their political lives riding on a successful outcome of talks which resume at the World Trade Centre today.

Already, in the wake of the assassination of SA Communist Party leader Chris Hani and the resulting violence, the authority of both leaders has been seriously undermined.

Radical

Even members of Mr de Klerk's own caucus regard his response to the recent violence as feeble. And the conspiracy exposed following the Hani assassination suggests that his grip on an armed and dangerous white right wing is increasingly tenuous.

Mr Mandela, on the other hand, is under threat from radicals on the left. His estranged wife, Mrs Winnie Mandela, last week called on the youth to oust the moderate leadership of the ANC. Tens of thousands walked out during Mr Mandela's speech at the funeral service for Chris Hani at the FNB stadium this week.

To effectively cope with the threat posed by these groups, however, requires a government that has public backing to restore order.

It is for this reason that both major parties are now intent on reaching a political settlement — even if it means bulldozing through agreements against the opposition of smaller parties such as the Conservative Party on the right, and the PAC on the left.

Speaking in Parliament this week, Mr de Klerk repeated that there could not be a political settlement without major parties like the ANC and Inkatha.

But, for the first time, he warned smaller parties: "If there is sufficient consensus amongst the major role players, not parties with very little support, then we can go ahead without the others."

The government and the ANC are aiming to have the first phase of joint rule — the appointment of a Transitional Executive Council — under way by the end of June and non-racial elections before April next year.

Thereafter, as they see it, the country will be ruled by a government of national unity, consisting of the parties that receive five to 10 percent of the votes in elections.

The elected Parliament

□ To Page 2

PUSH FOR PEACE

□ From Page 1

will draft a final constitution. The only limitation on this body will be constitutional principles agreed upon by the World Trade Centre body in the next six weeks.

The major sticking points are the joint control of security forces and the form of state in the new South Africa.

This weekend SADF deputy head Lieutenant-General Pierre Steyn and MK chief-of-staff Siphiwe Nyanda were meeting in a final effort to find a solution to the security force issue.

The major stumbling block on the form of state is Inkatha's stand on not agreeing to elections unless there is approval on strong regional government. The ANC, which opposes this, will have to compromise if Inkatha is to remain on board.

But compromises are in the offing.

Inkatha's Ben Ngubane was party to a proposal this week that draft legislation on an elections commission be prepared even before the issue of regionalism has been dealt with.

And Mr Ramaphosa also indicated that pragmatism was the order of the day when he said there was no alternative but to reach a political settlement soon.

Order TV n: eld

CK OLIVARI

Members searched the night to find the killers of an anti-apartheid activist and a colleague who was shot in a Vaal townships on Friday.

Three men, one of TV equipment, were taken to the police. In Thisago, 49, after being the lower arm. A cameraman was also taken to London. Cliffs Saunders — killed by a group of youths near the

WORLD RIGHT-WING NETWORK

A BRITISH activist has been identified as the kingpin in an international right-wing organisation headed by Clive Derby-Lewis, now being held in connection with the Chris Hani assassination.

Andrew Smith, chairman of the extremist London-based Western Goals Institute, was the go-between in setting up a network of international contacts for right-wingers in South Africa.

Last year Smith, 32, spent several weeks in South Africa taking part in an AWP-organised protest march at the SABC and campaigning for the No vote in the referendum.

In June, following the referendum defeat, Mr Smith and Mr Derby-Lewis set up a scheme to train white South Africans in the use of firearms to counter a perceived "terrorist onslaught" from the ANC. It involved the use of mercenaries from the SADF, the former Rhodesian army and Britain's crack SAS.

"Only a well-armed, well-trained white community can resist this horrendous violence," wrote Mr Smith in a document launching the programme.

The project was under

UK activist is linked to Derby-Lewis's rightist group

By PETER MALHERBE in London and JOHN FRASER in Brussels

the "overall direction" of "commandment" Derby-Lewis, a former commanding officer of the Witwatersrand Rifles, who took over as president of Western Goals in February last year. He succeeded the notorious Salvadorean right-wing death squad

leader, Major Roberto D'Abissou.

As the European Parliament came under pressure this week to investigate the links between right-wing groups in Europe and their South African counterparts, the vital role played by the Western Goals Institute has emerged.

Founded in the 80s to "promote the goals and values of Western civilisation", the institute forged links with right-wing groups in Europe, southern Africa and the US.

Western Goals openly embraces European leaders such as the neo-fascist Italian Social Movement (MSI) MP, Alessandra Mussolini and France's National Front Party leader Jean-Marie Le Pen.

FRAUD

Late last year the organisation was thrust into the limelight after its vice-president, Greg Lauder-Frost, was linked to international arms deals.

It was reported that Lauder-Frost, now jailed for fraud in Britain, had offered Russian arms for sale to an American businessman in October last year. He was allegedly put in touch with the American by Mr Smith.

Mr Smith has been instrumental in arranging access for Mr Derby-Lewis to top right-wing circles. In 1990 Mr Derby-Lewis not only met Jean-Marie Le Pen, but was Western Goals' delegate to the World Anti-Communist League conference in Brussels.

In 1989, Western Goals hosted the visit to Britain

of Conservative Party leader Dr Andries Treurnicht.

Mr Smith later wrote to Dr Treurnicht offering his "international network of friends and allies" to promote the South African conservative cause.

It is not known if any deal was struck between Dr Treurnicht and Mr Smith. It was clear that Western Goals was seeking financial support. In a letter to Mr Smith in May last year, Mrs Gaye Derby-Lewis wrote: "As far as your problem is concerned, Clive is discussing it with Treurnicht at the moment, but as you know I don't have much faith in any of them to get anything off the ground."

"Everything is in the doldrums here - the people are demoralised, there is no real leadership and frankly I feel very downhearted. I cannot see much hope with the leadership material at the moment. Things may change, however, so all is not lost."

Right-wingers face extradition to SA

EXTREME right-wingers in Europe could face extradition to SA after a European Parliament probe into outside involvement in the killing of Chris Hani.

The EC Assembly's Committee on Civil Liberties has been asked to draw up a report on links between those believed to be behind the murderer and far-right groups in Europe.

The demand follows the arrest of CP MP Clive Derby-Lewis for protesting last week.

"There is growing evidence of small groups of people inside political parties in Europe which may be sponsoring violence in SA," said Glyn Ford, leader of the British Labour Party's European MPs.

CONCERNED

Mr Ford said there was strong evidence to suggest links between Mr Derby-Lewis, the Western Goals Institute and the Conservative Party's Monday Club.

"Clive Derby-Lewis is also linked to French National Front leader Jean-Marie Le Pen, who has appeared with him at meetings, but I am also concerned about links with similar groups in Spain, Germany, Italy and other EC countries."

Mr Ford, who is a long-time campaigner against racism, and fascism, hopes the European Parliament inquiry will uncover evidence of support by European groups for South African right-wingers.

"This might include details of funding and technical know-how for the activities of these South African extremists in their attempts to undermine progress towards majority rule," said Mr Ford.

He is also seeking a public hearing, in which evidence can be aired on links between European and SA right-wing groups.

"If we do find such evidence, it would amount to proof of illegal behaviour. This would open the way for the South African authorities to seek the extradition of European sympathisers who may have been involved in the assassination of Chris Hani."

On Thursday, the European Parliament passed a motion condemning the Hani killing and calling for a public inquiry in SA into the activities of the AWP, and for "effective and strict control" of the security forces.

European MPs called for free elections to be held in SA as soon as possible.



SILENT PROTEST... Andrew Smith of the extremist London-based Western Goals Institute, during a protest at the SABC in March last year

Move to the of the world's Virginia ci

Democracy rules

in run-up to voting

NEGOTIATORS from the three main political parties agreed this week to begin drafting legislation that will establish an independent body to manage the country's first non-racial national elections.

The agreement was concluded by the government's constitutional adviser, Mr Fanie van der Merwe, the ANC's Mr Mac Maharaj and the IFP's Mr Ben Ngubane.

Given Inkatha's opposition to the holding of elections before agreement is reached on whether SA should be a feder-

al or unitary state, Mr Ngubane's support for the proposal on the electoral commission is significant.

It indicates a new flexibility by the IFP in forging ahead on matters on which agreement can be reached, while continuing to argue on issues on which there are major differences of opinion.

The complex proposals by the three men are constructed in a manner which will allow this to happen.

The aim is to avoid clashes that might lead to any of the parties walking out of the talks before substantial agreements have been concluded.

Negotiators believe that once such agreements

EDYTH BULBRING
Political Correspondent

have been concluded, it will be difficult for any major participant to walk out without attracting considerable opprobrium.

The latest proposals were approved by the 10-person planning committee at a closed session at the World Trade Centre on Friday.

They will be submitted tomorrow to the multi-party negotiating forum, which represents all 26 parties, for final approval.

Given their approval by the diverse political parties on the planning committee, the proposals are

unlikely to be blocked or substantially amended.

The parties represented on the planning committee include the Bophuthatswana government, the PAC, Inkatha, the government and the ANC.

There are five proposals. The first recommends that a committee should produce draft legislation for the setting up of an independent election commission.

This commission would be responsible for conducting and monitoring elections. It would also act as adjudicator and arbitrator on matters of dispute.

The commission would be made up of people who

are not political office bearers, and could include seconded international experts.

The commission would announce the results of the election, which would include citizens from the TBVC states, and would have the power to certify whether the poll had been free and fair.

It would also be responsible for a code of conduct committing the parties to peaceful electioneering, with penalties for offenders.

The second proposal is for the establishment of a committee to prepare draft legislation for an independent telecommunications authority and an independent media commission in the run-up to elections.

The telecommunications authority would regulate the allocation of licences, and determine their conditions.

The media commission would ensure fair play in the run-up to elections by monitoring the electronic media to ensure impartiality and compliance with licensing conditions.

Laws

There would be a code of conduct for all licensed broadcasters, as well as one specifically applicable to the SABC and the TBVC territories.

The code would stipulate that all parties have fair access to air their views.

The third proposal recommends the formation of a committee to draw up a list of laws which should be repealed to allow free political activity in South Africa and the TBVC states.

The fourth proposal recommends that a committee be appointed to draft proposals on the transitional executive council, using Codesa agreements as terms of reference.

The fifth proposal recommends the establishment of a committee to discuss armed formations and the defence forces.

This committee would also discuss the formation of a peace corps and measures to strengthen the National Peace Accord.

SITIMES 25/4/93

3049



Assassination or killing frenzy: faces of chaos

3045
25/4/93

LET us look, then, into the abyss. Nearly 30 years ago I went to a village, deep in Zambia's Luangwa Valley, where all the inhabitants had been slaughtered, by fire and panga, because they refused to join Kenneth Kaunda's party, Unip.

No life was spared, neither woman nor infant nor beast. The mice that had scurried from the burning huts were neatly sliced in half. A Zambian soldier, stiff with British-taught discipline, stood immobile as tears ran down his cheeks.

The memory of that day came back to me this week as I read of the Staffordshire terrier, tied helpless to a tree, that was doused with petrol and set on fire by the township louts who raided the Crown Mine village while their leaders delivered their eulogies to Chris Hani in the nearby FNB stadium.

I cannot pretend to understand these killing frenzies. They occur when pubescent males, breaking free of all restraint, form hunting packs to pillage and to burn. Armed with modern weapons, like Pol Pot's child-soldiers in Cambodia, they can lay waste an entire civilisation.

A week ago I was startled to see, when I joined the Chris Hani protest march for a short distance, how many of the marchers were lean, mean, dead-eyed township youths, who had constantly to be forced back into line by sjambok-wielding ANC marshals. The hunting packs are not yet loose amongst us, but they snarl and snap at the fringes of civilised order, and sometimes they break through to kill, to maim, to burn, or simply to set a dog on fire.

President de Klerk can do very little about them. The immense political capital which he built up, by his own courage and foresight, on February 2 1990, has been frittered away in manoeuvres to release notorious killers, attempts to placate restive civil servants, or schemes to prop up pensions and retire old cronies.

He tried to privatise the apartheid machine, and failed; he intended to restore fiscal discipline, and failed; he hoped to contain the national debt, and failed; he was determined to lay down

the foundations of a constitutional democracy — a *rechtsstaat* — and he has failed at that. He has not even articulated his vision, in terms which people might have understood, and he has left his own followers frightened and bewildered.

Mostly, he has squandered his political strength in efforts to preserve an economy which the ANC had targeted as white South Africa's soft under-belly, and he failed at that too. His strength, and his political support, steadily drained away until, a fortnight ago, he was forced to stand aside from a national crisis and let Mr Nelson Mandela, Mr Cyril Ramaphosa and Mr Tokyo Sexwale handle it.

The immense military machine, built up at the cost of so many billions, stands useless, its nuclear weapons dismantled, its ageing aircraft grounded, its rockets and wondrous artillery pieces pointing uselessly into an empty sky. Only a thin line of policemen, undermanned and over-stretched, holds the hunting packs at bay.

The hunting packs are not nearly so dangerous, of course, as the highly trained, well-armed right-wingers who strain at their leash. For the moment, they are still restrained by a system of order — they have jobs, and addresses, and identities; they pay mortgages, and operate bank accounts, and use their own telephones. They can be identified, traced, arrested.

F President de Klerk must look upon the hunting packs with fear and loathing, Mr Mandela must view the potential ferocity of the right-wing killing squads with loathing and terror. If the hunting packs raise the spectre of Pol Pot, the right-wingers and the idle war machine raise the spectre of Serbia.

Everybody knows these things, though nobody likes to articulate them. They loom over the negotiations that start next week, driving a search not for democracy but for order. President de Klerk cannot govern unless Mr Mandela calms the masses and beats off the hunting packs; Mr Mandela will not be able to govern unless President de Klerk firms the reins of army,

police and civil service and keeps the right-wing at bay.

This is the basis of the deal that will surely be struck in the next six weeks. At a dinner recently, I said mockingly to one of the most urbane members of the ANC that I had abandoned hope of democracy — I was prepared to contemplate an ANC government. He had the grace to laugh, but it was only half a joke.

The shape of the future South Africa will be determined not by bargaining in the next six weeks, but by the majority of an elected constituent assembly. That assembly will be bound by some agreed principles but, as Chief Mangosuthu Buthelezi rightly fears, the bonds will not be strong. They have not been skillfully tied.

THE Nationalists have forgotten, if they ever knew, the currency of democratic ideas; they strike only self-serving deals. The ANC does understand the currency, and works to undermine it, as Albie Sachs does, for example, when he opposes the right of the courts to review the administrative actions of officials in the new South Africa (on the spurious grounds that nothing must hamper the holy will of the majority, as interpreted by its high priests).

It hardly matters. The fight for democracy will resume, albeit in new ways against new oppressors, at the very birth of the new South Africa. It is a wearying, but not unfamiliar, prospect.

What does matter now is to shore up the faltering order — the political legitimacy, the lines of command, the disciplined forces, the apparatus of justice however rough, the controlled application of fear and punishment which alone can curb both the hunting packs and the killing squads.

The threat, as both Mr Mandela and President de Klerk well know, is that South Africa stands at the edge of the abyss, which is anarchy. They know, too, that if they are to survive, they must now strike a deal.

KEN OWEN

OBITUARY

THE most poignant memory of Dr Andries Treurnicht is one of him at his most vulnerable.

Emerging from the Pretoria's Van Der Hoff Hall on February 24 1982 after being soundly defeated by FW de Klerk for control of the Transvaal National Party, he found he could not open his car door because of the crush of onlookers and journalists.

"Please," he pleaded, "just let me get into my car."

That perception of genteel frailty lived on until his death this week in Cape Town at the age of 72.

Dr Treurnicht, it is true, was later to go on to greater things. He took 16 National Party members into his Conservative camp, fought two general elections, secured the support of half the Afrikaner nation and a third of the white vote and eventually became leader of the Official Opposition.

Unlike the cruder protagonists of the right, he remained gentle, a constitutionalist, cerebral, distant and even academic. Because of all this he was unsuccessful as a politician.

Andries Treurnicht was born in February 1921 in the Cape Province.

A churchman and journalist, he came to active politics quite late in life.

Power

He was elected MP for the far northern Transvaal constituency of Waterberg in 1971 and the following year won an even more decisive victory when he was chosen chairman of the Afrikaner Broederbond.

From that position of baleful subterranean power his accession to cabinet was assured.

He paused briefly in 1976 to become Deputy Minister of Bantu Administration, just in time to preside over the Soweto student revolts which inaugurated the first major step in South Africa's long transition to black majority rule.

In 1978 he became leader of the Transvaal National Party, then the most powerful and fundamentalist arm of the party, and the following year he was appointed a junior minister.

His tenure was never easy. The Cape NP leader and militarist, PW Botha, was prime minister. He was impatient for a form of technocratic social change which would provide the camouflage of reform but keep the reality of white power.

Dr Treurnicht, with his tiresome defence of segregated Post Office queues, was an obstacle.



ANDRIES TREURNICHT ... he knew that black rule was inevitable

Dr No

3 Times 25/4/83
wavered

(304A)
as the

right

burned

And so fierce guerrilla war erupted in the National Party and at the end of the day, a three-year day, Dr Treurnicht and his believers were driven out, derided by the National Party and its press.

Fought

Yet Dr Treurnicht knew the consequence of Mr Botha's reforms in a way Mr Botha never did.

He saw its inevitable conclusion would be a black government and the abdication of white political power and fought it at every step thus earning himself the sobriquet "Dr No".

But if he was more prescient than Botha, he was politically less adept.

He faced only one important choice in his political life — war or jaw — and that choice he confused and ultimately fluffed.

When radical Afrikaner nationalists and other white extremists finally comprehended the extent of the betrayal wrought by President FW de Klerk,

they opted for war in all its forms — assassination, murder, subversion and revolt.

The armed legions of the ultra-right grew. Dr Treurnicht wavered: his rhetoric sometimes hovered on the revolutionary, his politics were placatory.

Faction

When others in his party decided it was time to negotiate a future he again wavered.

A faction broke away, the party haemorrhaged, he entered unstable alliances with other right-wing factions but eventually conceded to enter negotiations for the transfer of effective power to a black majority.

— BRIAN POTTINGER

CAPE TOWN — Conservative Party leader Dr Andries Treurnicht (72) died suddenly in Cape Town yesterday evening, bringing an end to an era in right-wing politics.

His death adds to the CP's woes and robs the right wing of a widely respected father figure.

He died in City Park Hospital at 6 pm of ventricular fibrillation — critical loss of heart rhythm — following a massive heart bypass operation at the weekend.

Last night devastated CP members of Parliament said a successor as party leader could be chosen only by a full congress, but no date had been set for this.

In a statement last night, President de Klerk expressed shock at the death 'which has left a void in South African politics'.

As a church leader, cultural leader, editor and politician, Treurnicht had made an active contribution to Afrikaner interests and the country, "Although we were

'A courteous, determined man' — Page 6

at opposite poles of the political debate, I have always respected him and we could differ with dignity."

CP chief whip Frank le Roux said Treurnicht's death was a severe loss to the party and Afrikaner nation.

Treurnicht, a domineer, was not only a political leader but a spiritual leader of the Afrikaner people.

The Star's Washington Bureau reports that the flag outside the South African embassy in the city was flown at half mast today, this time as a mark of respect for Treurnicht.

Last week the flag was flown at half mast in honour of Communist Party general secretary Chris Hani following his assassination — a step which drew wide comment in South Africa.

An embassy spokesman said the decision to honour Treurnicht was taken "in the light of the fact that, like Mr Hani, he headed a major political movement in South Africa, was a recognised leader, and also because he was Leader of the Opposition in Parliament".

ANC spokesman Carl Niehaus said the death came at a critical time when senior members of the party were apparently implicated in the assassination of Chris Hani.

In terms of the CP constitution, deputy leader Dr Ferdi Hartzenberg, MP for Lichtenburg, will stand in as leader until the congress. He is, however, popular among the party's grassroots members and widely expected to assume the leadership.

Treurnicht is survived by his wife Engela and four daughters. Funeral arrange-

● To Page 2 ●

Treurnicht dies

● From Page 1

ments are not known.

CP members said last night he had been a unifying factor in the party, often easing tensions between the more moderate elements and its hardliners.

President's Councillor and leader of the CP in Natal, Carl Werth, said Treurnicht was a man of the greatest stature and was highly respected by his opponents, and loved and revered by his party colleagues.

Observers pointed out that he had recently led the party into multi-party negotiations.

However, Treurnicht will also be remembered for his insistence, as Deputy Minister of Bantu Education in 1976, on Afrikaans as an official medium of instruction at black schools — a move which has been described as the spark

for the riots that swept the country that year.

Treurnicht — dubbed the Lion of the North by his supporters — has been CP leader since it broke away from P W Botha's National Party on March 20 1982.

He had been an MP since 1971, representing the National Party in the Waterberg constituency. After his defection to the CP he resigned, but held the seat in a May 10 1983 by-election.

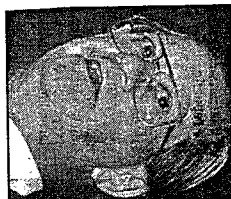
Labour Party leader, the Rev Allan Hendrickse, said it was sad to hear of the death of a man who, while a political foe, was always a dignified and honest fighter in what he believed in.

Treurnicht would be remembered for having pursued his own political line with considerable skill. Democratic Party leader Dr Zach de Beer said last night.

Political Correspondents

Treurnicht's sudden death a severe blow to CP

Star 23/4/93



Treurnicht to be buried tomorrow

Dr Andries Treurnicht is to be buried in Pretoria's Heroes' Acre tomorrow, alongside the architect of apartheid, Dr H F Verwoerd, and several Anglo-Boer War generals, a CP spokesman said yesterday.

Treurnicht (72) died in Cape Town on Thursday night from complications following heart surgery.

The funeral service will be held at the ~~Bosman~~ Street Church on the corner of Bosman and Vermeulen streets, Pretoria, at 11 am.

It will also be broadcast to Church Square, where the CP expects a huge crowd.

The cortege will then move to Heroes' Acre in Church Street. — Staff Reporter.

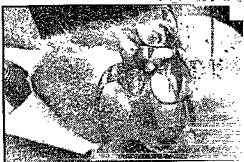
Patrick Laurence on the threat to a political settlement from the Right

Hour of maximum danger

Simon 26/4/73

South

2004



THE assassination of Chris Hani is a reminder that the South African Right should not be dismissed as a bunch of vociferous roughnecks destined to be swept out of the reckoning the imminent enfranchisement of millions of blacks.

The prime suspect in the killing, hit-born Janus Walusz, is a member of the neo-fascist Afrikaner Weerstandsbeweging (AWB), according to reports, of the Third Foundation, a right-wing organisation named after one of the arch segregationists in our history, Colonel C.F. Stallard.

The founder of the Stallard Foundation, Olive Derby-Lewis, a South African-born wife of a British-born doctor, has been detained for espionage about the assassination of Hani. They are being held under the Internal Security Act, a part of the series of the measures against them.

The arrest of these suspects confirms the possibility that Hani may have been the victim of a conspiracy, a belief entrenched in the comrades in the ANC and the South African Communist Party (SACP) within minutes of news of his death.

The guilt or innocence of the suspects and whether Hani was killed by a lone gunman or by several conspirators must be left to the courts to determine. An important and interrelated question, can, however, be posed: do potential assassins lurk amidst the plethora of rightist organisations and how seriously should the right wing be taken?

The answer to the first half of the question is: "Yes, emphatically." A member of the rabidly racist Wit Wolwe, Johan Strydom, has boasted of a hit list containing the names of leaders of the ANC-SACP alliance. The murder list cannot be dismissed as the fantasy of a political lunatic.

One needs to think of Barend Strydom, the Wit Wolf who acted on his fascist impulses in November 1968 and murdered eight blacks in a shooting spree, or of AWB leader Eugene Terreblanche, who is telling his followers he would have liked to have killed Hani "in open battle".

One needs to recall too that the murder weapon in the Hani killing was, according to police, part of a consignment stolen by Piet Rooda, a leading figure of the far-right Orde Boersvold, who in 1960 tried to launch the "Third War of Freedom" and who, like Strydom, has been freed as a political offender.

In assessing the threat of ultra-Right organisations it is important not to overrate their significance. They are constrained by their minuscule size and by their propensity to feud among themselves and split and re-split.

Thus the Wit Wolwe, whose membership is tiny, are split into two warring factions: the Israelites, who believe in God, and the Church of the Creator, who, despite their name, do not.

As political consultant Jan Talsma notes, both fervently propagate white supremacist beliefs: the Israelites do so with a butressing theology which lands whites but not Jews as descendants of the lost tribes of Israel; the Church of the Creator does so with the rationale of a racist ideology which asserts that "our race is our religion".

Terreblanche, the founder of the AWB, has quarrelled with two of his disciples: Jan Groenewald, a co-founder of the AWB, broke away in 1969 to form the Boere Berydsweging, Rudolph served ties with the AWB last year and now speaks in the name of the Orde Boersvold.

The feuding ultra-Right organisations tend to grow in number but the ultra-Right as a whole does not seem to grow in size. To cite a high profile case: Strydom is — or was — an AWB member but pretends to identify himself as a Wit Wolf.

But the minuscule nature of the ultra-Right may, in some ways, make it more rather than less dangerous. Without any hope of winning significant electoral support, even among the minority white community, their fanatical members are more inclined to seek extreme remedies.

Strydom's shooting spree — which he sought to justify as the start of the "Third War of Freedom" (the first two having been fought by the Boers against the British in the 19th century) — is arguably an example of murderous fanaticism born of political impotence.

As South Africa's first non-racial election approaches and, with it, the certainty of a black or largely black government, the danger of disparate action from the ultra-Right increases. The handing of 30 pieces of silver to President de Klerk in Parliament is a sign of the ugly mood.

The divided nature of the ultra-Right is dangerous for another reason: it might mean that police have to keep track of several conspiracies rather than a single one.

South African right-wing fanaticism is made more explosive by the input of European and American neo-fascist movements through South African organisations with international contacts including Derby-Lewis's Stallard Foundation and Koois Vermeulen's World Apartheid Movement.

The ultra-Right is not completely isolated on the lunatic fringe. It is connected with the pro-partition Conservative Party (CP), which is committed to functioning within the law and which recently took up a seat at the negotiating table.

One of the most important links is the AWB. The CP allows its members to belong to the AWB, arguing that the AWB is a "cultural organisation". The AWB, in turn, interacts with rival ultra-Right organisations and shares members with some of them. Derby-Lewis's Stallard Foundation provides another nexus between the CP and the ultra-Right. The significance of these connections is two-fold:

● The CP's rhetoric about the right of a people to fight for self-determination has an unambiguous consequence: it funds, as Professor Janus Groenewald, of the University of South Africa, argues to legitimate violence in the collective mind of the ultra-Right.

Andries Treurnicht, the CP leader until his death last week, has talked of a "Third War of Freedom", the phrase used by Rudolph to justify his armed revolt in 1960 and by Strydom to vindicate his murderous action in 1968.

The mainstream of the right-wing CP and its offshoot, the Afrikaner Volksunie, has apparently realised that it will not be given a chance to oust De Klerk in another whites-only election. It has joined the negotiating table, suggesting that the danger of rebellion might have passed.

It, however, fails to realise its dream of an Afrikaner state at the negotiating table, the hour of maximum danger may still lie ahead. □

'SA agreement possible by June'

Foreign Editor

Princeton Lyman, the US ambassador to South Africa, believes a constitutional agreement could be reached by June.

"All parties have to come to grips and the Government and the ANC have to make some tough decisions and compromise. They cannot stretch it out," he said.

"Both sides have been doing much preparation and have ideas on how to resolve the issues involved", he said in an interview.

"What has not been joined is the political decision to accept this or that solution. If you do not have a deadline you can debate these issues forever."

Lyman believed the Government appreciated the situation but had not resolved at Cabinet and party level how far it was prepared to go.

"While all issues cannot be resolved overnight, they certainly can be done by June. These

are not issues which have not been studied for months and months."

Lyman said if the general election date was indeterminate, much grassroots support for the negotiations would be lost. What the assassination of communist party leader Chris Hani did was to bring that dilemma to the surface.

Thus, it was natural for the ANC to say that an election date was vital. Otherwise, to hold the population in support of what was a complicated negotiating process was going to be difficult.

The ambassador said the United States government had been concerned for some months that there had been a lack of urgency in the negotiations. But once the South African Government and others had begun mentioning a timetable for elections, Washington was pleased to note that extra-parliamentary groups immediately began preparing for elections.

Pik's visit boosts ties in M East

By ANTHONY JOHNSON
Political Correspondent

RELATIONS between South Africa and the Middle East have received a major boost following a ground-breaking visit by Foreign Minister Mr Pik Botha to Jordan, Oman and Qatar during the past week.

South Africa is to establish diplomatic relations with the three Arab countries soon and the week-long visit is also expected to reap major benefits in trade, as well as scientific and technological co-operation.

Qatar and Oman, which have large liquid gas reserves, showed particular interest in Sasol and Mossgas.

"The visit has helped to normalise our relations with the Arab world," Mr Botha's spokesman, Mr Awie Marais, said last night.

A decision was expected "shortly" on the establishment of full diplomatic relations between South Africa and Qatar. Jordan and Oman are considering opening "interest offices" here.

Mr Marais said visa requirement between the Arab states and South Africa could be "eased and lifted", providing a boost to business and tourism.

● Further evidence of improving relations with the Arab world was the arrival in Johannesburg yesterday of a delegation from Tunisia. South Africa and Morocco have already established "interest offices".

regarded as good, he added. I revealed or more than N.Y. Ma.

High hopes

2041 CT 24/4/93



Mr Nelson Mandela

Time is running out — Mandela

Political Staff
The stage is set for a breakthrough in multi-party negotiations which will put South Africa on its way to a new dispensation. The NP, the ANC and Inkatha all sent out positive signals on the eve of the talks.



TAMBO'S LIFE OF SERVICE TO ANC

— PAGE 5

Tough bargaining starts tomorrow as the Congress political parties meet to the important agenda of the multi-party talks. The first day

There are two main problems facing the new dispensation: the hand-off to elections and the allocation of resources between central and regional government.

- The National Peace Accord and the National Peace Accord Committee will be set up to deal with the security forces
- The Transitional Executive Council and the provision of arms formation and the security forces
- An independent electoral commission
- An independent telecommunications authority
- The repeal of some current laws and amendments to others

SAYS

Mr. Nelson Mandela, government of national unity and line we guarantee that the challenge was to move beyond slogans and

Mr. Mandela said the process was "irreversible" and that the new dispensation would be "a new dawn for South Africa".

4 die in... 2



A special kind

'People may differ politically but they respect each other's views'

Taking the pulse

Nov 26/4/83

304A

WITH the first one man, one vote election only months away, TOS WENTZEL of The Argus Political Staff visits the rural areas of the West Coast and Boland to take the pulse of political opinion there. Today, in part one of a two-part series, he ventures up the West Coast.

AS the new South Africa draws nearer people in the rural areas up the West Coast and in the Boland are engaged in an intense political debate.

Many of those of colour are flexing their political muscles for the first time while many whites, supporters of the once all-powerful National Party, are resigned to losing their political supremacy.

Their hope now is fixed on guarantees for minorities in a new constitutional system but they are worried at the same time about what they regard as the way in which the government is giving in to the ANC.

Among rightwing whites, claiming that their numbers are growing as disgruntled Nationalists join them, there is a mood of defiance and threats to "fight" against a government dominated by the ANC.

The mood varies from excitement to apprehension bordering on despondency.

In these areas, still among the calmest and most stable in the country, there however remains a mood of political tolerance.

In two long trips along the West Coast and into the Boland, I spoke to key local figures and people in the street about the attitudes, hopes and fears in their communities.

Among many the talk is not only about politics — many of the rural people of colour are still not so politically aware in spite of the efforts of political parties to woo them. The talk is often about

socio-economic problems.

A shrewd observer and a well-liked local personality among many groups in Saldanha is Mr James Erasmus, a supporter of the Democratic Party who is employed in the personnel department of Sea Harvest.

His one disappointment is that the DP is doing so little to establish more of a presence in the rural area. He feels that it could play an important role as a moderating influence and as an established party with a clean political past and no apartheid baggage.

Much interested in church work, Mr Erasmus is a member of the Saldanha Safety Association. This body tries to work with the Peace Accord structures, the churches and political parties to ensure stability in an area plagued by many socio-economic problems.

The main one is unemployment. Some young coloured matriculants, even when they can find work, are having to do menial jobs.

Liquor and drugs are problems among the young. There are gangster elements among young people aged between 11 and 20. Law-abiding citizens are being intimidated, according to Mr Erasmus. Some illicit shebeen interests are involved in this.

People have been reluctant to join a proposed neighbourhood watch scheme.

Politically people are generally getting along well, a tradition in the area.

"People may differ politi-

cally but they respect each other's views. There has not been any chaos at any of the political events here," said Mr Erasmus.

Even the burning of tyres and pieces of wood at the entrance to the coloured township of White City at Saldanha and at the Sea Harvest factory on the day of commemoration last week was rather half-hearted. The barricades were soon cleared, in one case after negotiations with the police.

This led, however, to the closing of all factories in Saldanha that day, something which could not have scored points for the ANC among the coloured workers who clearly wanted to work.

There was a cheerful mood in Diazville as preparations were made for the protest march.

The crowd that gathered appeared to be more curious than wildly enthusiastic about the ANC and the protest.

The ANC has some articulate leaders and spokesmen in the area. One big plus point for the movement is its close involvement with the the Food and Allied Workers Union (Fawu).

According to Mr Edgar Solomon, chairman of Fawu, the great need is for more job creation and there is sharp criticism about the way fishing quotas are allocated.

There are claims of favouritism in that quotas have sometimes been allocated to interests with no local ties.

The local people must benefit more, Fawu maintains.

There is also dissatisfaction about a new squatter camp, Middelpoos, near Diazville where people maintain that they have to pay levies to the Saldanha municipality but no services are being provided. Indications are that conditions in this area will be even more miserable in a wet winter.

Mr Johnson Mankay, secretary of the ANC in Saldanha, is confident that his movement enjoys the support of the vast majority of the people in the area and that this support is growing.

Now the task is to educate people who have never voted.

The Rev Elliot de Bruyn, co-ordinator of the alliance of ANC, SACP and Fawu called for a peaceful demonstration at the start of the march in Saldanha. He said that those who took part had nothing to fear.

In the end it turned out to be a peaceful occasion.

He emphasised that one of greatest problems in the area was high unemployment and housing problems. Many people had been unemployed for more than a year and many were forced to live in overcrowded conditions in the backyards of others.

The claims of great support for the ANC are not shared by all. Coloured people in the streets of Saldanha and nearby Vredenburg, who did not want to be named, maintained that the National Party was drawing substantial support in the coloured community in spite of its apartheid past.

They accepted that the party had genuinely reformed itself by ditching apartheid and believed that it could bring about more stability than the ANC. It emerged that there was some fear of blacks and some resentment of their competition economically among coloured people.

The National Party, which is in trouble with many of its white supporters, is bound to try to capitalise on this.

The NP is very active among coloured people in the area which falls in the Marmre constituency of the House of Representatives with Mr Abe Williams, Minister of Sport, as the MP.

Mr Wilfred Aarends, one of the party chairmen, said there would be "substantial support" for the NP among coloured people.

He had the impression that events and disruptions being linked to the ANC in Saldanha last week could be used to the party's advantage. There were however issues such as power sharing among all race groups at local government level in the area which still had to be resolved.

He conceded that the ANC also enjoyed "reasonable support".

The protest march and a commemoration service on Wednesday drew considerable support from coloured people.

These are early days. The election campaigns of the various parties are only now slowly getting off the ground.

● In part two tomorrow: Both the Nats and the ANC have their problems and the CP is keen to take advantage.

Hard bargaining starts today

POLITICAL parties this week get down to the nuts and bolts of planning SA's transitional government period.

The tough bargaining starts today at the World Trade Centre near Kempton Park when 26 political parties meet in the negotiating council — the most important body in the four-tier multiparty talks.

It is hoped the council will make enough progress in the next six weeks to allow the negotiating forum — where leaders such as ANC president Nelson Mandela and President F W de Klerk meet — to give the final go-ahead for the way forward.

Government chief negotiator Roelf Meyer said at the weekend all parties had agreed that in the next six weeks negotiations should concentrate on key issues. Government hoped a date for SA's first

non-racial election could be announced by the end of May.

Ways to strengthen the national peace accord and combat violence would be high on today's agenda, a source said yesterday.

A two-day meeting of the planning committee last week recommended to the council that four technical committees be established to prepare draft legislation for the transition period. It was decided that smaller "technical" committees could do this job more efficiently than the 104-member council.

It is expected that the recommendations will be accepted by the council.

The committee has suggested the four

☐ To Page 2

Bargaining

technical committees, consisting of about six people each, formulate legislation on:

- ☐ the transitional executive council;
- ☐ an independent electoral commission;
- ☐ an independent telecommunications authority and an independent media commission; and
- ☐ the repeal of some current laws and amendments to others.

The committee looking into the transitional executive council would also devote time to drawing up proposals for dealing with the contentious issue of joint control of armed formations, the source said.

Another committee will formulate proposals on strengthening the peace accord.

The recommendations of the planning committee clearly indicate that government and the ANC are at the helm of the process. Last week both parties made it

clear they were determined to force the pace of the talks and move the process in the direction of their vision for the future.

There is likely to be argument on the violence issue as the CP, not represented in the planning committee, seeks to stress that private armies of the ANC and PAC should be disbanded before talks begin.

It is understood that the death of CP leader Andries Treurnicht will not immediately affect the party's decision to participate in the talks. Speculation is strong that deputy leader Ferdi Hartzenberg will take over the leadership role. While he is a hardliner, he is expected to temper his views to keep the party together. Deputy leadership of the party is likely to be hotly contested between Randfontein MP Pieter Mulder and hardliner Schalk Pienaar.

☐ From Page 1

Elections on the cards

Sowetan

26/4/93

(3049)

By Ismail Lagardien
Political Correspondent

■ Date for first democratic polls may
be announced within six weeks:

SOUTH Africa should have a Transitional Executive Council and possibly a date for an election within six weeks, President FW de Klerk said at the weekend.

De Klerk also said it was possible that the actual election would be held before the end of the year if a breakthrough in negotiations could be made within weeks.

Therefore, De Klerk said, the ANC's programme of mass action was fallacious and tantamount to preaching to the converted.

"About the Government's own commitment to the speedy finalisation of the negotiating process there is no doubt. We are in a hurry," De Klerk said.

The Government has already prepared draft legislation for the TEC and for a new Electoral Act, which it was prepared to table at multiparty negotiations.

The composition, terms of reference and nature of

authority of the TEC have yet to be determined and the negotiating council must agree on a date, he said.

De Klerk said it should be possible to reach agreement within six weeks on the following:

- The process leading up to the election;
- The establishment of the TEC to oversee the levelling of the playing field;
- The establishment of an Independent Electoral Commission and details of a new Electoral Act as well as the delineation of electoral boundaries;
- The establishment of a Commission of Regions for the purpose of delineation of boundaries for the purpose of a transitional constitution; and
- The provisions of such a constitution that provide for a transitional constitution for a government of national unity for a period of five years and legislature elected on the basis of proportional representation as well as regional government.

Many may be unable to vote

304A

CT 26/4/93

By ANTHONY JOHNSON
Political Correspondent

ONE in 10 adult South Africans may not be able to vote when the country's first non-racial elections are held.

Millions could be disqualified from voting because they do not have acceptable proof of identification.

The Minister of Home Affairs, Mr Danie Schutte, said at the weekend that 84% of the possible electorate outside the TBVC homelands had so far been issued with the requisite identity or temporary identity documents.

However, virtually no work had yet been done to ensure that the estimated 3.5 million potential voters in the predominantly rural independent homelands are in possession of proper documentation.

Mr Schutte said it was possible that more than 90% of the 22 million adults would have official identity docu-

ments on election day.

"More than 60% in the African context is regarded as good," he added.

He said the Department of Home Affairs was supplying 60 000 new identity documents a week and that the number could be increased substantially.

The ANC has insisted in the past that citizens be able to use any document as proof of identity, but Mr Schutte said a move away from official identity documents to, say, driver's licences, would "create a very dangerous situation".

He noted that large numbers of foreigners — such as Mozambicans in the Eastern Transvaal — could have a "substantial effect" on the outcome of elections in some regions if they managed to vote.

It is understood that a draft bill outlining proposals for the establishment of various structures to run and monitor the election will be submitted at the multi-party talks today.

High hopes

(3049) CT 26/4/93 hopes

Time is running out — Mandela

Political Staff

THE stage is set for a breakthrough in multi-party negotiations which will put South Africa on its way to a new dispensation. The NP, the ANC and Inkatha all sent out positive signals on the eve of the talks.

Tough bargaining starts today at the World Trade Centre near Kempton Park, when 26 political parties meet in the negotiating council, the most important body in the four-tier multi-party talks.

There are two main problem areas to be resolved — the role of security forces in the run-up to elections and the allocation of powers between central and regional government.

But the council is expected to make enough progress in the next six weeks to allow the negotiating council — where leaders such as ANC president Mr Nelson Mandela and President F W de Klerk meet — to put the stamp of approval on legislation for a Transitional Executive Council to prepare the ground for elections.

Speaking at the weekend, Mr Nelson Mandela said the only answer to the country's problems was a government of national unity and time was running out. The challenge was to move beyond slogans and rhetoric towards positive and constructive action.

"Perhaps one of the greatest challenges facing any nation in transition is to move from protest, defiance and resistance to building and reconstruction. Similarly in our own case we have to move from slogans and rhetoric to constructive and concrete programmes that will actually engage our beleaguered people, black and white," Mr Mandela said.

He said the deaths of Mr Oliver Tambo and Mr Chris Hani would not adversely affect negotiations.

The only negative effect their deaths could have on the negotiation process was that talks would proceed without their wisdom and advice, Mr Man-

TAMBO'S LIFE OF SERVICE TO ANC



— PAGE 5

dela told a news conference on Saturday.

Mr Mandela renewed calls for the announcement of an election date.

South Africa's problems could be solved only by a government of national unity, he said. "Time is not on our side and a solution must be found soon".

The peace process was irreversible but Mr Mandela expressed fears that Mr Tambo's death could "deepen the anger and bitterness on the part of the youth".

The National Party government's chief negotiator, Mr Roelf Meyer, said the government hoped a date for South Africa's first non-racial election could be announced by the end of May.

Ways to strengthen the National Peace Accord and combat violence would be high on today's agenda, a source said yesterday.

Four technical committees will be set up to formulate legislation on:

- The Transitional Executive Council and the direction of armed formations and the security forces during the transition;
- an independent electoral commission;
- an independent telecommunications authority and an independent media commission; and
- the repeal of some current laws and amendments to others.

SADF

Progress on the disbandment and integration of uMkhonto weSizwe (MK) and other armed formations into the SA Defence Force is also expected to be made this week, after the SADF held discussions with representatives of MK at the weekend.

Last night the SADF spokesman, Colonel Les Weyers, said it would be "imprudent" to comment on the content of yesterday's talks between Lieutenant-General Pierre Steyn and MK Chief of Staff, Mr Siphiwe Nyanda, held at the weekend.

But he said the SADF was involved in discussions with "a spectrum of political parties" regarding the role of the defence force during the process of transition.

● Many may be unable to vote — Page 2

Poll date possible within six weeks

Star 26/4/93
(304A)

By Esther Waugh
Political Correspondent

Negotiations were formally resumed three weeks ago, but the first "real" negotiations get under way today at the World Trade Centre.

The key issues for discussion at the meeting of the 104-member negotiating council are recommendations on the transition process through a transitional executive council (TEC), an election date, and controlling political violence.

Since the assassination of Chris Hani two weeks ago, President de Klerk and ANC president Nelson Mandela have made optimistic estimates for agreement on the TEC and an election date. Both sides expect these issues to be agreed within the next six weeks.

The transition recommendations were drafted by a drafting committee made up of Government constitutional adviser Fanie van der Merwe, ANC ne-

gotiator Mac Maharaj and Inkatha Freedom Party negotiator Dr Ben Ngubane.

However, this does not mean an agreement has been reached by the Government, ANC and the IFP as the three negotiators do not represent their respective organisations and parties on the committee.

The recommendations include establishing technical committees on an independent electoral commission, on an independent media commission, on discriminatory legislation and a TEC aimed at levelling the ground in the run-up to the first democratic elections for an interim government.

Negotiators are still, however, to agree on a scenario for the transition.

While the Government and the ANC — and their allies — want the installation of a TEC, an election for an interim government, and the drafting of a new constitution by elected representatives, the Concerned South Africans Group (Cosag) wants the multiparty negotiating

forum to draft a new constitution after which elections will be held for a new representative government.

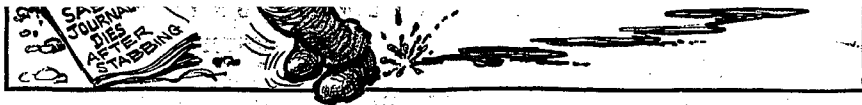
Recommendations on curbing violence will also be presented to the negotiating council. These are expected to include measures aimed at strengthening the National Peace Accord and a technical committee considering the future of the security forces as well as all armed formations.

Decisions taken at the negotiating council have to be ratified by the negotiating forum before they are finalised by a plenary session at which organisations' leaders will be present.

Today's meeting of the negotiating council will be the first at which the press will be allowed to observe proceedings.

On Friday security forces placed barbed wire fencing around the perimeter of the centre in anticipation of any protests today.

And the meetings of the planning committee last week were also held amid tight security.



focus on talks

THE NEGOTIATION process has entered its most decisive period when the country's leaders will over the next six weeks try to achieve measurable progress in the country's transformation.

After the stupendous events of the past two weeks, starting with the assassination of Mr Chris Hani, the death of Dr Andries Treurnicht, the leader of the Conservative Party, and that of Mr Oliver Tambo, a seriousness, rather than an urgency, has settled over the process.

Hani's death was a greater crisis for the country than that of Treurnicht or Tambo and therefore had a greater impact on the process.

While Tambo's death will have little or no effect on South African politics, Treurnicht's absence at the top of the CP could see the start of a power-struggle for political leadership and consequently, direction, among the travellers of the parliamentary far right.

Tambo's death leaves a vacuum in the midst of the ANC which, like that left by Hani, will be hard to fill. The circumstances surrounding Hani's death is what makes his absence so far-reaching.

It was, nevertheless, Hani's death that was perhaps as serious a setback, or blow, as the incident at Boipatong last winter, which resulted in the death of almost 40 people and caused the ANC to stop all political contact and formal negotiations with the Government.

It took three months of tough negotiating between the ANC general secretary, Mr Cyril Ramaphosa, and Mr Roelf Meyer, the Minister of Constitutional Development, to get the process back on stream again.

However, with Hani's death it was markedly different; the main protagonists in the process were adamant that negotiations had to continue.

The senior political leadership on all sides of the spectrum were serious about the fact that Hani's death should not cause the process to stall.

It would be playing into the hands of those behind Hani's death and whose apparent objectives were to spike the negotiation process, the chairman of the South African Communist Party, Mr Joe Slovo, said.

Right answer

A cry, immediately after Hani's assassination, went up for an election date and the appeal was directed at the Government who, it was assumed, had the legal responsibility to call an election.

A similar call went out for the creation of the Transitional Executive Council and its sub-councils which, according to agreements already on the table, were to "level the playing field" for elections.

The Government rose, in this instance, to the

The cumulative effect of the deaths of three political leaders, Oliver Tambo, Andries Treurnicht and — most important — Chris Hani, on the negotiation process is discussed by Political Correspondent Ismail Lagardien: *Sowetan 27/4/93.*



Chris Hani ... assassinated.

occasion and delivered the answer that nobody expected: the right one.

He or his Government could not call an election date or the install the TEC unilaterally, President FW de Klerk said.

Guided by his legalistic disposition, he said that he, and therefore the Government, was bound by decisions that had already been reached at Codesa and in negotiations — that an election date had to be agreed upon in multiparty talks.

But there was another element; before a date could be set for an election and the TEC installed, a series of agreements had to be reached.

Among these, to start with, were the finer details of the TEC.

Speaking during his Budget debate in Parlia-



ment last week, De Klerk said the Government was particularly interested in reaching agreements in the next six weeks on the creation of the TEC.

"It can, however, do so only once there is sufficient consensus among the participants in the negotiation process as to the following: the TEC's composition, its terms of reference and the nature of its authority in respect of levelling the playing field to ensure a climate conducive to holding free and fair elections.

"This clearly also applies to its role in respect of the subjects of defence and of law and order," De Klerk said.

The negotiators who therefore meet at the World Trade Centre between yesterday and the end of May will have to concentrate on matters of substance and on the actual process much more than before.

The less serious issues, such as a name for the forum, will have to be pushed aside.

Prominent

Having said that, the issues that are most prominent are the details of the TEC and its councils, especially the ones on law and order, defence, the independent electronic media and election committees and as part of this the demand for joint control of the security forces.

The Government wants also to see agreements reached on a commission of regions — which will be responsible for the delineation of regions, primarily for elections but also so they can be in place during interim rule — as well as constitutional principles for interim rule and thereafter.

"Then, once there is clarity, we can reach agreement on the provisions of a transitional constitution within six weeks, which should provide for a transitional government of national unity for a period of five years, a legislature elected on the basis of proportional representation and regional government during the transitional phase," De Klerk said.

It is safe to say, therefore, that if all the parties presently involved in multiparty negotiations are kept happy with the process a date for an election and the creation of the TEC's can become a reality by the end of May, mass action notwithstanding.

Talks Stalled

Political Staff

The first day of "real substantive negotiations" failed to realise expectations or move beyond procedural matters yesterday when members of the Concerned South Africans Group (COSAG) took advantage of an "administrative hitch" to stall the process.

As a result the 104 delegates representing 26 parties and organisations were un-

Ramaphosa blames IFP

able to get their teeth into any of the so-called substantive issues" and the talks were adjourned until Monday. "I am not impressed by talk of urgency — it leaves me stone-cold," Inkatha Freedom Party delegate Mr. Joe Mathews said. Mr. Roel Meyer, ANC secretary-general, Mr. Cyril Ramaphosa expressed "deep disappointment" at the lack of progress. "The urgency had to be injected into the talks."

"The IFP is trying to wreck negotiations," Mr. Ramaphosa said after the day's talks. "I am not sure if it is a deliberate move outside Johannesburg."

Mr. Ramaphosa told a news briefing last night that there were ways of "lighting a fire under those who are stone-cold and injecting them with a sense of urgency."

Mr. Mathews said his party was not intent on "dragging the process out" but he believed "dragging this country state" by the government, and the ANC, who he said were trying to steamroller the process.

The problem arose when the consolidated document of Codesa reports, which all delegates had agreed to discuss, failed to reach some delegates in various parts of the country because of a courier problem. These delegates only received their documents yesterday morning.

Members of COSAG refused to discuss the reports, saying they needed more time

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and proposed the postponement to Friday. After lengthy debate this was accepted.

Mr. Ramaphosa said a detailed document of all the content agreements and a summary of the reports would be issued on April 1 — the consolidated document merely crystallised these.

"We need deadlines, as millions are relying on us and we cannot go on with this kind of uncertainty," he said. "If you do not know these reports and their contents by heart, if you do not, you have no right to be here."

All parties expressed cautious optimism that the talks would make a great deal more progress.

Talks Stalled

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Political Staff

Ramaphosa blames IFP

able to get their teeth into any of the so-called "substantive issues" and the talks were delayed until Friday.

Mr. Ramaphosa said after the day's proceedings at the World Trade Centre in Johannesburg that there were ways of "lighting a fire under those who are above-board and injecting them with a sense of urgency".

Mr. Ramaphosa said his party was not intent on delaying the process but it was "by the by" that they had to be dragged into a hurry.

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Members of COSAG refused to discuss the reports, saying they needed more time

● IFP Govt, ANC in costly alliance — Page 2

Business Day SURVEY

Pretoria is working hard to shed its image as a civil service city. A marketing directorate has been created to sell the city nationally and internationally as a safe metropolis with ample opportunities for development. **STEPHANE BOTHMA** reports.

Jacaranda City hopes to keep capital status

WHETHER you love the place or hate it, Pretoria should retain its status as the country's capital in a future SA.

Not only will basic practicalities such as established government departments and allied interests make decentralisation an unviable proposition for a future government, but city fathers are actively promoting the continuation of Pretoria as the administrative capital.

City officials, in close co-operation with the private sector, are painstakingly planning the future of the city — taking all aspects into consideration to meet the changes in store for Pretoria.

"It will not take a great effort to retain our city's importance as SA's capital," Pretoria marketing director Peet du Preez believes.

Reduction

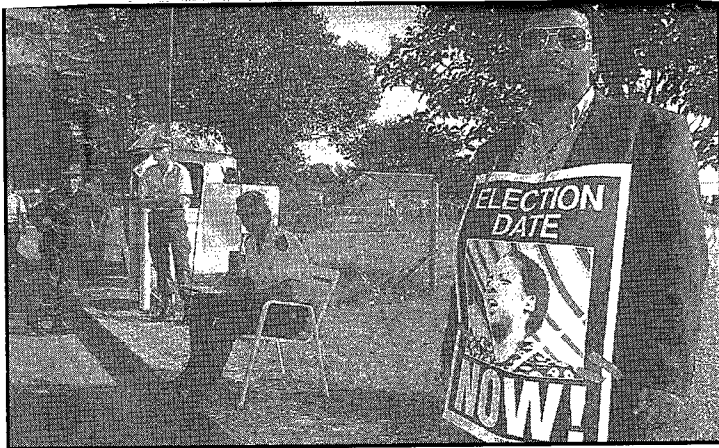
However, the current emphasis on shifting certain state functions to regional authorities could result in a reduction of the city's civil service functions.

Referring to the large number of foreign embassies, including the new R50m American embassy and the planned Australian embassy, the large number of government departments and auxiliary services, Du Preez says Pretoria is too established as the centre of administration to change.

Those promoting Pretoria realise the Jacaranda City is perceived by some to be a conservative city with a small-town civil service mentality and lacking soul. But this is not the truth, they say.

Du Preez believes no need exists to change the "green, safe and clean" character of Pretoria, but only to change people's perception of the city.

Several experts are being consulted on ways to change Pretoria's conservative image, and a comprehensive marketing drive to bring this about will be launched soon, is all Du Preez is prepared to disclose at present.



TIME TO VOTE: An ANC protestor stands at the gate of the venue of the multi-party talks which resumed yesterday at the World Trade Centre in Kempton Park. There was a strong police presence, with razor wire encircling the grounds.

Nats astounded by IFP jibe of 'cosy' alliance with ANC

JOHANNESBURG. — The government has lashed out at the Inkatha Freedom Party for its accusation that President De Klerk's administration is in cahoots with the African National Congress in the training of Umkhonto we Sizwe (MK).

In a statement circulated yesterday to participants in the negotiating council at the World Trade Centre near Johannesburg, the IFP said it was deeply disturbed by "the cosy relationship between the ANC and the government".

"We know the government and the ANC have a cosy agreement on MK being permitted to train its cadres and we know they are being trained overseas and in Africa as well as Transkei.

"There may be no formal

agreement between the government and the ANC to this effect, but we also know these cadres are being deployed in Natal/Kwazulu and that they are coming into the region with hit lists of IFP leaders; that they are importing large quantities of arms and ammunition; and, crucially, that the government is fully aware of this," IFP national chairman Dr Frank Mdlalose said in a statement.

In response at a Press conference last night, Minister of Constitutional Development and Communications Mr Roelf Meyer said the IFP comments were "unfortunate and premature".

Cape National Party leader Dr Dawie de Villiers said his party was "astounded" by the

statement.

"We were astounded by the harshness and the inflammatory nature of the statement."

The NP found it strange the IFP had not made the accusations when Mr De Klerk met IFP leader Chief Mangosuthu Buthelezi recently.

Mr Meyer said the government would give a more detailed response when it confronted the IFP at the negotiating council meeting on Friday.

At another Press conference, the Pan Africanist Congress also expressed dismay at the IFP statement.

PAC general-secretary Mr Benny Alexander deplored the sniping between the ANC and the IFP. — Sapa.

ANC puts culture under spotlight

The Argus Correspondent

PRETORIA. — Museums, monuments and memorials all came under the spotlight in a presentation by the ANC's Heraldry Commission during the Cultural and Development Conference at the Civic Theatre in Johannesburg.

Professor G T Sirayi of the Museology Department of Fort Hare University said on behalf of the ANC it was important that current structures be "democratised". ARG 27/4/93

In a future political dispensation museums would become repositories of the material culture of the nation, and educational programmes would be linked to the museum services, he said.

Professor Sirayi said a Heroes' Acre was planned for victims of conflict and arrangements would be made for the care of graves outside South Africa.

National memorials commemorating the struggle of the people of South Africa would be considered, he said.

The ANC deplored the National Party's unilateral restructuring of national heritage institutions, and vestiges of the apartheid era might be destroyed, he said.

The ANC would consult the people on a new national coat-of-arms and flag.

Free access would be given to archives, which would be restructured according to international standards, and ANC records seized by the State would be held in democratised archives.

New negotiations bogged down by row over administrative hitch

By [redacted] 2/14/93

BILLY PADDOCK

THE first day of "real substantive negotiations" failed to realise expectations of a more beyond procedural matters as members of the Concerned South Africans Group took advantage of an administrative hiccup to stall the process.

Constitutional Development Minister Rudi Meyer and ANC secretary-general Cyril Ramaphosa expressed "deep disappointment" at the lack of progress and said a sense of urgency had to be injected into the talks.

But Inkatha's Joe Matthews said: "I am not impressed by talk of urgency — it leaves me stone cold."

Ramaphosa told a news briefing there

there were ways of "lighting a fire under those who are stone-cold and injecting them with a sense of urgency."

He said the ANC was working to a six-week deadline to achieve the establishment of a transitional executive authority and secure an election date. "At the end of that period those parties who are serious about negotiations will have to consider options to isolate those parties."

Matthews said his party was not intent on delaying the process but it refused to be dragged into a unitary state by government and the ANC, who he said were trying to steamroller the process.

The problem arose when the consolidation

of documents of Codesa reports, which all delegates were to have received, failed to arrive until yesterday morning. Members of the Concerned South Africans Group refused to discuss the reports, saying they needed more time and proposing a postponement to Friday. After lengthy debate, this was accepted.

Ramaphosa said a detailed document of all the Codesa agreements and a summary had been given to delegates on April 1. He said the consolidation of documents, merely consolidated, had been given to delegates on April 1. He said these under seven headings.

"We need deadlines as millions are rely-

ing on us and we cannot go on with this haphazard business. Each member here should know those reports and their contents by heart. If you do not, you have no right to be here," he said.

It was clear that the members of the group would not accept the recommendation that six technical committees formulate draft legislation for discussion by the negotiating council until the form of state has been dealt with.

Ramaphosa said Inkatha had agreed on April 1 to technical committees being set up to report this now means that was to delay the process.

Meyer suggested that while parties be

given until Friday to discuss the recommendations, the planning committee should at the same time present recommendations on the other substantive constitutional issues. This was accepted.

"We want to keep to the timeframes set in November and we believe that if the planning committee prepares properly so well as the process is clear before us, then those who still object will have to make their position clear," Meyer said.

The negotiating council decided that an election date would be discussed at Friday's meeting and charged the planning

To Page 2

Hitch blows 2/14/93

[redacted] (SAB)

From Page 1

A document circulated to the media by Inkatha on violence, alleging ANC and government collusion to commit violence on Inkatha members, also drew a sharp reaction from government and the ANC.

Ramaphosa said the appropriate place to deal with these matters was in bilateral

discussions, while Meyer — accusing Inkatha of party political games — criticised the organisation for ignoring the threat of violence set up to deal with violence.

Nonetheless, all parties expressed cautious optimism that Friday's meeting would get down to substantive issues.

Picture Page 3

SACP in call for democracy

JOHANNESBURG. — The newly-elected SACP secretary-general, Mr Charles Nqakula, says the SACP has opted for a more vigorous programme to "democratise" the country.

Mr Nqakula said negotiations would now have to be "driven by the people" and that if no constitutional settlement was reached by the end of May 1993 — then "the voices of the masses will have to be heard".

He said right-wingers who were threatening negotiations would have to be neutralised.

Sapa

CT 2114/93



MOURNING . . . Dr Andries Beyers, leader of the Volksunie, leaves the Grootte Kerk yesterday where a memorial service was held for Dr Andries Treurnicht, former leader of the Conservative Party. *(30/11/92) CT 21/4/92* Picture: STEWART COLMAN

Packed Treurnicht service

Staff Reporter

MOURNERS from organisations across the political spectrum attended a memorial service for Dr Andries Treurnicht, the former Conservative Party leader, in the city yesterday.

Parliamentarians, a lone armed AWB Ystergarde member, ANC MP Mr Jannie Momborg and

CP leaders attended the packed lunch-hour service in the Grootte Kerk.

The coffin bearing Dr Treurnicht's body arrived at Jan Smuts Airport from Cape Town yesterday afternoon draped in a South African flag.

Dr Treurnicht will be buried at Pretoria's Church Street West

cemetery today — near the grave of Dr H F Verwoerd who was buried in Heroes' Acre.

The funeral is to be broadcast live on SATV between 11am and 12.30pm.

SABC spokesman Mr Percy van Roolen said part of the funeral of ANC chairman Mr Oliver Tambo would be broadcast live on Sunday on TV1.

Make parties pay up

Political Staff

LEGISLATION should be introduced to make political organisations or parties responsible for financial losses suffered during actions of their supporters, the Democratic Party MP for Hillbrow, Mr Lester Fuchs, said yesterday.

The "so-called mourners" at the memorial service for Mr Chris Hani had dishonoured his memory by razing seven houses at the Crown Mines village, he said in Parliament during the National Housing Vote.

He said ANC leaders had not lifted a finger to stop the carnage.

QUESTIONS

Indicates translated version.

For oral reply:

General Affairs:

Question standing over from Wednesday, 21 April 1993:

State President's salary

*1. Mr D LOCKEY asked the Minister of Finance:

Whether, in the light of the fact that the head of state of the Republic receives a tax-free salary and that the current British monarch has indicated that she will pay tax as from 1 April 1993, consideration is being given to deciding the sections of the law in terms of which the State President's salary is tax-free; if not, why not; if so, what are the relevant details?

C51E

THE DEPUTY MINISTER OF FINANCE:

No. Although it is so that the British monarch has now offered *inter alia* to pay income tax, this offer—

(i) is based on the payment of tax on a voluntary basis; and

(ii) will apply only to income received from private sources and income from her Privy Purse to the extent that the income is used for personal purposes.

Monies and facilities provided for the Queen out of public funds for head of state duties will continue to be tax-free.

As far as the head of state of the Republic is concerned, it has always been the position that he is taxable on his income from private sources as the exemption in the Income Tax Act is restricted to the salary and emoluments paid to him by the State.

Any possible change in this disposition can only be accomplished during the negotiation process and in such case a recompensing adjustment will have to be made to the amount of the remuneration to compensate for any tax the head of state will have to pay.

HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

THE DEPUTY MINISTER: Mr Chairman, this matter is not under discussion now. The hon. the State President pays all other tax such as VAT and all other taxes that may be applicable. [Interjections.] This question deals only with the income tax that he pays and the other matters have nothing to do with the particular question. If the hon member wishes to ask a question on any other matter, he must place it on the Question paper.

Mr D LOCKEY: Mr Chairman, further advice from the hon the Deputy Minister's reply, I

wish to put the following to him. He said that the hon the State President pays all other tax. In consequence of a previous debate, it came to light that the State President is also exempted *inter alia* from customs and excise duty. The hon the Deputy Minister is therefore misleading the House.

THE DEPUTY MINISTER: Mr Chairman, I can investigate that, but as far as I am aware, the hon the State President is exempt from income tax in terms of section 10 (1) (c) (i) of the Income Tax Act.

We must share the burden.

My question is what moral right does this Government have, year by year to ask those who are amongst the poorest South Africans to pay more tax for a weaker and more corrupt government, when the Head of State himself is not prepared to make a sacrifice in this connection?

THE DEPUTY MINISTER: Mr Chairman, I will reply with pleasure, but not in the political and untimely style of the question. Since the Income Tax Act of 1914—and that is something which we took over from the Westminster system . . . [Interjections.] that hon member must please give me a chance to reply to the question . . . It has been written into the relevant Act that the Governor-General and his personal staff did not pay income tax at the time. That principle has to this day remained in our tax system. It was therefore taken over and the Head of State today does not pay tax on the official remuneration which he receives from the State. However, if he has other sources of income, he does, like any ordinary taxpayer, pay tax on all such sources. That is the situation and if it is to be changed, it must be in accordance with negotiations to be conducted on a new constitution and the position of Head of State in terms thereof.

Mr D LOCKEY: Mr Chairman, further advice from the hon the Deputy Minister's reply, I want to ask him whether he does not think that if the Head of State of the Republic of South Africa were to pay tax, he would not allow Cabinet Ministers to waste state funds such as R2.7 million on overseas buildings and R2.9 million paid to themselves for the inconvenience of continuing to live in their own homes.

HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

If one lives in the never-never land of the CP, if one liked one could even have a tortoise by picking a dwarf with a catapult on its shell [Interjections.]

One can install a machine gun in an ornate microphone. The hon member is right in at least one respect. If any person wants to arm any aircraft anywhere at all time, he can do so, but the SA Air Force says that our people with this aircraft is to train pilots and not to arm it. Our phase of training for pilots to use the aircraft as a weapon happens in a next phase where we use the impacts. [Interjections.]

*Mr. P. J. GROENEWALD: Mr. Chairman, the question is how is one to give a guarantee to the Swiss Minister of Defence that this aircraft cannot be armed? That is the point at issue. [Interjections.]

There is only one manner in which this guarantee can be given and that is that a totally different structural change must take place in the wing of the aircraft. It must be completely redesigned and that will influence the fragile life of that aircraft. [Interjections.]

I can understand that the hon member for Walmer is also in favour of this because he was in the SA Air Force. To say that we are disloyal toward the SA Air Force is completely untrue! The question here is what total effect it will have on the South African aircraft industry.

At one stage this Government was in favour of the development of a Rooivalk helicopter and, as a result of the lack of funds, they could not proceed with this. Then the argument was not whether it was a proven aircraft or helicopter, and then the technology of the people who manufactured the Rooivalk helicopter was good enough.

That hon Deputy Minister announces to everybody that not even an NGT aircraft exists in South Africa. He had better take a look at what is standing in a hangar. He does not know what is going on. It is hanging in an aircraft hangar. The NGT exists and is physically observable in that hangar.

It is said that all the requirements are being met. In my hand I am holding the non-negotiable requirements that were set by the Air Force. The PC-21MK II does not meet all the requirements which are set. It does not meet the performed training missions or the navigation

HOUSE OF ASSEMBLY

missions, although this is a non-negotiable requirement.

In the second place, it does not meet all the requirements of manoeuvrability, which is also a non-negotiable requirement. It cannot execute the flick manoeuvre. Why are they proceeding with this?

If we look at the other requirements, such as the critical field length, we see that it does not meet this either. On the contrary, I said a previous debate that it exceeded the set criterion by 1,300 feet. Worst of all is that our own South African aircraft meet all these requirements and that is what the question is all about.

If there is talk about loyalty, I want to ask what the hon Deputy Minister's loyalty is toward the people of South Africa. Why should a foreign aircraft be purchased? That is what the question is all about.

If the Deputy Minister wants to give a guarantee that the aircraft cannot be armed . . . [Time expired.]

*THE DEPUTY MINISTER OF DEFENCE:

Mr. Chairman, the hon member asked what loyalty this Government had. The loyalty of the Government is to the people of South Africa to give its trainee pilots of the future a decent and safe aircraft in which our boys can be trained. Today the hon member received a written reply to the question that he handed in. In that he will see that 76 points about the Ovd aircraft make it completely unacceptable to the South African Air Force.

*Mr. P. J. GROENEWALD: And the NGT?

*THE DEPUTY MINISTER: The NGT does not exist. I asked Dr. Clark of the CSIR as a technological demonstrator to come and demonstrate that aircraft to me, and I am a pilot with 18 000 flying hours. I can give the hon member the verbatim report of Mr. Johan Alberts who himself admits that the Ovd is a laboratory aircraft. Air Force pilots have flown it for 140 hours altogether and it has not yet been upgraded. Mr. Johan Alberts, the Managing Director of Deaal, which was the tenderer for the Ovd aircraft, himself admits that the NGT still only exists on paper. The Ovd exists now but it has not yet been upgraded. The NGT exists merely on paper. [Interjections.]

The hon member would do well to establish the

facts. He permits himself to be prescribed to by certain people, however, including some little known teacher or other, who provides the SABC with programmes. They are all people with a specific interest in this situation and the fact that the hon member gave the House here his attention are blatant untruths. [Interjections.] He must stop making us look suspect now. [Interjections.] We are trying to make the best aircraft available in South Africa at the best price to our Air Force. [Interjections.]

*THE CHAIRMAN OF THE HOUSE: Order! The time for the first interpellation has expired. We are going to deal with another interpellation, but if . . . [Interjections.]

Is the hon member for Durbal correct not answered . . . [Interjections.]

AN HON MEMBER: Fancome!

*Mr. R. M. BURROWS: Mr. Sir? [Interjections.]

*THE CHAIRMAN OF THE HOUSE: Order! If the hon member is not interested in what the Chair has to say, he is perfectly welcome to leave the Chamber, as are all hon members.

We are going to deal with another interpellation but if this does not take place with greater order, I foresee that our numbers will not remain at full strength until the end of the interpellation.

debate concluded.

General election: International/local observers

2. Mr. P. H. GASTROW asked the Minister of Home Affairs:

Whether the Government envisages a role for international and local observers and monitoring during the run-up period to any general elections; if not, why not; (a) what role (b) what procedures will be followed in this regard?

(304P) BT196 INT

*THE MINISTER OF HOME AFFAIRS: Mr. Chairman, it must be said at the outset that the Government will not decide on its own whether or how international and local observers will be allowed to function in the forthcoming elections. This is essentially a matter to be negotiated with all of the proposed independent election commissions which will propose an electoral act

and electoral regulations. This will then be put before the multiparty conference, and thereafter put before Parliament for enactment. This electoral act and regulations will deal with the accreditation of international and national observers for the election campaign.

As far as the Government's view is concerned, we are in favour of allowing official international and national observers during the election. The fact of the matter is that the next general election will be of crucial importance. Not only will the result of the election determine the future of this country, but its acceptance level, in other words, the credibility of that result, will also determine the future of this country. It will be just as important as the election result on its own.

If there were any doubt as to whether the election was free and fair, one could end up with more instability and uncertainty than before. Angola's election is a very good example in this regard. The Government, therefore, holds the view that the election should not only be free and fair in all its facets, but that it should also be perceived and experienced as such by all.

In this regard observers, international and national, can play a cardinal role. Intimidation is the main concern during the forthcoming general election, and we have had very recent experience that the presence of international observers has had a moderating influence as far as this is concerned.

With regard to the way in which observers can be utilized, there are basically two possibilities. The first possibility is that a monitoring committee could be established by the independent electoral commission and that the committee could be empowered to accredit national and international observers.

Another possibility which should be given serious consideration at this stage is that the National Peace Secretariat, which has extensive experience as far as working with international observers is concerned, could play a major role in this regard.

*Mr. P. H. GASTROW: Mr. Chairman, quite clearly any final decisions can only result from negotiations, but it is urgent to obtain the views of the major players in order to start making preparations for this exercise. During the last few months of the run-up to the election, scores

HOUSE OF ASSEMBLY

of meetings will be held every day. Thousands of observers and policemen will be busy in all parts of the country as people that the election campaign remains as peaceful as possible.

On the election day itself, a massive operation will have to be undertaken. We are talking about approximately 21 million voters. If there are to be 3 000 voters per polling station, we will have about 7 000 polling stations. If each polling station is to have approximately 10 local enforcement officers from the Police and Defence Forces, some 70 000 policemen and law enforcement officers will be active, at the polling stations alone, on that day. If each polling station is to have approximately 10 observers—partly people from the political parties, partly independent South African observers and partly international observers—members will be active at the polling stations. There will be some 20 000 international observers, some 21 000 independent South African observers and some 28 000 political party representatives.

We are dealing with a massive operation. We want information, and I think someone needs to start to plan this. Someone needs to start working on the criteria which could be adopted. Where are these polling stations going to be? Who is going to co-ordinate them? What standards are going to be applied? How are the South African observers and independent monitors going to be identified, checked or selected?

We are dealing with a massive operation as far as logistics are concerned. It has international implications in the sense that numerous international agencies will want to come in. Many of them will be from the United Nations. Others will be from the African Union. There are positions of relevance for themselves. These are all matters which will have to be dealt with well in advance, so that even though the negotiations are dragging their feet, at least the practical arrangements for the election campaign and for election day can be in place once the election date is announced. If we do not do that now, as late as the constitution and the principles might be, the election may well be messed up as a result of last-minute efforts which were not properly thought through.

Mr L F STOFBERG: Mr Chairman, as is happening with increasing frequency, the hon the Minister is not laying his cards on the table HOUSE OF ASSEMBLY

with this House and with the people out there. There is a simple reason for this. He made out that the reason he now needed international assistance to monitor the situation was that it was much more serious. He needs assistance here, not to prevent the whole process of the election from getting out of hand, but because the PAC, for example, say they will have voters to be able to vote from the age of 18 years.

The PAC is a very important role-player today. Allowing people to vote from the age of 16 years is totally contrary to the practices and traditions of this country. [Interjections.]

The following was reported in *The Citizen* of 17 April 1993, and I quote:

The PAC's Azanian National Youth Union announced the campaign to change the legal voting age from 18 to 16 (years) as part of its programme of action.

This is the thing. It is not only a case of voting, but also one of action. The Government is not telling these voters that the ... [Interjections.]

Mr L F STOFBERG: That is the PAC. However, the ANC itself is quoted as saying the following in the *Cape Times* of 26 April 1993, and I quote:

The ANC has insisted in the past that citizens be able to use any document as proof of identity, but Mr Schutte said that the ANC, from official identity documents to, say, address letters, would create a very dangerous situation.

All these factors—and I can only refer to 14 of them in two minutes—indicate that the Government has created a situation in itself and will get out of hand. The Government needs help from outside to save it, while it is people.

Mr L F STOFBERG: That is the PAC. However, the ANC itself is quoted as saying the following in the *Cape Times* of 26 April 1993, and I quote:

The PAC's Azanian National Youth Union announced the campaign to change the legal voting age from 18 to 16 (years) as part of its programme of action.

Government has nothing to hide and has laid its cards on the table in the past, and is prepared to lay its cards on the table now and in the future. [Interjections.] That is why this Government is not afraid of having observers in this country. [Interjections.] That member says the Government needs help.

Why would one want observers? Their function is to provide assistance, but to observe on behalf of their principal who is not in South Africa. It is not to provide assistance. [Interjections.] That hon member should take a closer look at what it means to observe. He should also take cognisance of what the UN has decided in respect of the role of observers and monitors in sovereign states.

In November last year the UN accepted guidelines in respect of this role. A specific decision was taken that when it came to the role of the UN as an observer in a sovereign state, that the question of assistance is not at issue. What is at issue is observing. South Africans must decide about the result of an election in South Africa themselves. The bodies we set up will have to decide on this. However, because we have nothing to hide and for the sake of the evidence which we want to oppose, it is essential that we allow observers.

The hon member for Durban Central said this was a massive undertaking. I readily concede that, and it is therefore vital that we start to make the necessary preparations for this now. I want to give him the assurance that as far as the Department of Home Affairs is concerned we are making those preparations.

Mr M SMUTS: Mr Chairman, it is clear to us that the Government has not done sufficient to be thinking in this field, but it is just as clear that the CP does not think at all.

THE HON MEMBER: You are also becoming a member.

Mr M SMUTS: Both local and foreign monitors are going to play an important role. The foreign monitors legitimise the election process, although their independent international role is indispensable, there is obviously the problem as they do not understand the conditions and specifically the languages at grassroots level, should like to refer to the Zambian experience.

and focus the attention of hon members on the importance of the function of local monitors in creating confidence among the electorate itself so that the election can go smoothly. In Zambia two monitoring bodies were established. The first, the Zambian Independent Monitoring Team, which consisted of prominent individuals, had a certain degree of confidence and was then supplemented by a second group that was created among certain so-called NGOs, the non-governmental organisations.

It was the second body, the Zambian Election Co-ordinating Committee which played the critical and successful role of monitoring and creating confidence, and for the following reasons. This body represented sectors. It was not made up of individuals, but of sectors. Those sectors were the legal profession, women's organisations, the church and students. They therefore had a nationwide basis and an existing relationship of trust with the public. The head of this body was a person of impeccable character, and he was assisted by an efficient secretariat.

Let us hope that the proposed election commission will encourage South Africa's NGOs to play a similar role, particularly in view of the figures mentioned by my hon colleague.

Mr P H GASTROW: Mr Chairman, the hon the Minister gave us the assurance that the department was already engaged in preparations. However, this is precisely where the problem lies. One cannot prepare in a vacuum. The foreign observer groups have no idea whether they should start planning at this early stage or how this should be done. The local independent monitoring groups are in the same position, and the same applies to the peace structures. Not one of those bodies knows how to start planning or precisely what the Government and the other role-players have in mind. The result of this is that they are all sitting on their hands and waiting for a decision to come from somewhere so that the planning can continue.

The planning that is being done by the department at present can only go as far as the ballot boxes and the technical aspects of the election itself.

At the moment there is no clarity as far as the role of monitoring groups and observers is concerned, and therefore nobody can start with the planning. For example, foreign observers are waiting for an invitation to come here or an

indication of whether they are in fact going to play a role. [Time expired.] (3047)

*THE MINISTER OF HOME AFFAIRS: Mr Chairman, I believe the hon member for Groote Schuur made a positive contribution, and this also applies to the advantages she mentioned.

I merely want to mention the fact that up to 60 000 ID documents are being issued by this department at this stage, and that soon this figure will increase to 90 000. This is proof that this department is doing everything it possibly can at the moment.

*AN HON MEMBER: Per month?

*THE MINISTER: I am talking about per week. [Interjections.] As a result, 85% of possible voters already have those identity documents.

I want to suggest that in the context of Africa, in which it is calculated that 60% is a very high percentage, this percentage is already a very good indication at this early stage of the thorough work that is being done by this department.

As far as the election is concerned, detailed planning is already being done in regard to the number of ballot boxes that will be needed. The number is 7 700. I can tell hon members that thousands of ballot boxes have been and are being manufactured in preparation for this. [Interjections.]

I nevertheless believe that the hon member for Durban Central did have a point. I think it is important that we should reach a decision on the structure of these issues as soon as possible, and this should take place at the military conference as soon as possible. If it does not take place at this conference, the Government will have to take the initiative.

Debate concluded.

QUESTIONS

*Indicates translated version.

For oral reply:

General Affairs:

Krysan forest: elephants

*1. Mr J CHOULE asked the Minister of Water Affairs:

HOUSE OF ASSEMBLY

(1) Whether his Department has made a survey to determine how many elephants there are left in the Krysan forest at present; if not, why not; if so, what is the relevant figure in respect of the last specified date for which information is available;

(2) whether any research has been done on the potential rate of increase of these elephants; if not, why not; if so, what are the findings;

(3) whether promises have been made by the authorities that the number of elephants will be supplemented; if so, (a) when and (b) in what manner; is it intended to carry out such promises; whether he will make a statement on the matter?

B991E

*THE MINISTER OF WATER AFFAIRS:

(1) No, as the elephants do not move around in a herd and are only sighted by chance in the Krysan forest. Continual monitoring has revealed that there are currently four elephants, including a cow and a calf, an old bull and a young animal—probably a bull—present in the forest.

(2) No, as it is of no use to do research on the potential rate of increase of such a small group of elephants. The present number of elephants is too small to be a viable breeding group.

(3) Yes.

(4) 26 April 1991.

(b) The relocation will commence once the conditions set as a prerequisite for the relocation of the group of elephants has been met.

(4) Yes. The Department of Water Affairs and Forestry and the State Attorney are at present negotiating with the Rhino and Elephant Foundation for a grant, which will exempt the State from any claims which may arise from the relocation of the elephants in the forest. Although the settlement surrounding the continued existence of the elephants in the forest is uncontentious and supported, the State must also look to the interest of the public, especially where the forest

is a popular place of call and is reversed by walking and hiking trails. The events in the recent past when the actions of elephants resulted in loss of life have again drawn attention to this important aspect. Once the State has been expedited to its satisfaction from claims, the relocation programme can commence.

Factory production

*2. Mr J CHOULE asked the Minister of Home Affairs:

(1) Whether the 6 to 9 period moving averages of the physical volume of factory production is showing a downward trend; if so, (a) since what date and (b) what was the percentage decrease during the period 1 May 1989 up to and including 31 December 1992;

(2) whether he will make a statement on the matter?

B992E

*THE MINISTER OF HOME AFFAIRS:

(1) (a) The 6 to 9 period moving averages of the physical volume of manufacturing production show a downward trend since approximately the end of 1988.

With the official publication of the monthly physical volume of manufacturing production a 13 period weighted moving average, after the effect of seasonal variation has been eliminated, is calculated (the so-called Henderson curve). According to this data the volume of manufacturing production showed a decrease of 9,7% from October 1988 through to July 1992, after which it increased by 1,3%. Over the period October 1988 to December 1992 the decrease was 8,0%.

(b) 7,8% (according to the aforementioned 13 period weighted moving average).

(2) No.

Criminal proceedings: open court

*3. Mr A J LEON asked the Minister of Justice:

(1) Whether he or the Department has received proposals from the South African

Law Commission on draft legislation relating to circumstances in which criminal proceedings may not take place in open court; if so,

(2) whether he intends introducing legislation to amend section 153 of the Criminal Procedure Act, 1977 (Act No 51 of 1977), with a view to giving effect to these proposals; if not, why not; if so, when;

(3) whether provision will be made in such legislation for an intermediary to act as a shield between court processes and child witnesses in respect of crimes relating to child abuse; if not, why not; if so, what provision;

(4) whether he will make a statement on the matter?

B943E

*THE MINISTER OF CORRECTIONAL SERVICES (for the Minister of Justice):

(Reply partially laid upon the Table with leave of House):

(1) Yes. In its Report on the Protection of Child Witnesses the South African Law Commission proposed that a new section (section 153A) be inserted in the Criminal Procedure Act, 1977 (Act 51 of 1977), to *inter alia* provide that—

(a) a child under the age of 18 years who testifies be assisted by an intermediary; and

(b) a child under the age of 18 years may give evidence elsewhere other than in an open court.

(2) No. It is not intended to amend section 153 of the Criminal Procedure Act, 1977. The proposals of the South African Law Commission have already been effected in sections 1 to 3 of the Criminal Law Amendment Act, 1991 (Act 135 of 1991) which on account of technical reasons has not yet been put into operation.

(3) Yes. Above-mentioned legislation already provides for this. Section 3 of the Criminal Law Amendment Act, 1991, inserts section 170A in the criminal Procedure Act, 1977, whereby the relevant part determines as follows:

HOUSE OF ASSEMBLY

Big aid offers for reformed SA, says judge

30411
■ Goldstone brings message of hope:

Soeken 28/4/93
THE United Nations, the United States Government and the World Bank have promised generous and non-partisan aid for the political transition in South Africa. Goldstone Commission chairman Mr Justice Richard Goldstone said yesterday.

Addressing a Press conference in Cape Town following his visit to the United States, he said the offers of help were non-prescriptive and reflected the international community's wish to ensure the success of South Africa's first democratic government.

Goldstone said foreign experts could be called in to help the commission's inquiry into the prevention of violence and intimidation during South Africa's first nonracial elections.

During his two-week trip, the judge met members of the UN Security Council, the UN Special Committee on Apartheid as well as senior officials in the US State Department and World Bank, and legislators in the US Senate and House of Representatives.

"My strong impression is that there are many good and positive benefits waiting for South Africa as soon as a representative and legitimate transitional executive council is in place, and even more so when we have a government of national unity."

The powerful US anti-apartheid lobby had substantially transformed itself into a strong pro-democratic South Africa campaign which supported all South Africans working for a peaceful and democratic country.

Goldstone said financial aid from the World Bank and the International Monetary Fund was virtually assured provided South Africa moved rapidly toward a political settlement. — Sapa.

NEWS Blacks shooed away from T

ANC, NP warned of bully tactics

Soweto 28/4/93
■ Lucas Mangope fears 'incalculable consequences':

BOPHUTHATSWANA leader Chief Lucas Mangope has warned of "incalculable consequences" should the South African Government and the ANC steamroll their agreements through at the multiparty talks.

Opening the Bophuthatswana parliament in Mmabatho yesterday, Mangope said emphasis was being placed on timetables and the implementation of measures which had yet to be negotiated and agreed to by all parties involved.

"There is a naive belief that the reaching of agreement, regardless of the content of the agreement, and the holding of one man, one vote elections will be an

instant panacea for all the problems of Southern Africa.

"I humbly submit that nothing could be further from the truth.

"If the eventual solution of the problem does not address the realities of the Southern African situation, and is not inclusive, then I have very real fears of a conflagration of immensely destructive proportions."

Mangope suggested the Government and the ANC were fast losing grassroots support and had decided to force through their constitutional blueprints "before this loss of support becomes too apparent". — *Sapa*.

reurnicht burial • World help around the corner

Dr No laid to rest

Sowetan 28/4/93
Sowetan Correspondent

304A
■ SOMBER FUNERAL Thousands

pay their last respects to rightwing leader:

ABOUT 1 000 mourners packed the NG Kerk and its hall in Bosman Street, Pretoria, while thousands gathered in Church Square to pay their last respects to Dr Andries Treurnicht.

Mourners at the church included Ministers Dawie de Villiers, Adriaan Vlok, the Ciskei's Brigadier Oupa Gqozo, and mayors from cities countrywide.

The South African flag-draped coffin, carried into the church at 11am, was closely followed by Mrs Engela Treurnicht and other members of Treurnicht's family. It was flanked at both sides by a group of CP Youth members from universities and

technicians in Pretoria, Potchefstroom and Johannesburg.

The mood at the church was quiet and sombre, with most people dressed in dark suits and many of the women wearing hats.

Dominee Kobus Potgieter led the service.

In a largely biblical tribute, CP leader Dr Ferdi Hartzenberg praised Treurnicht as a "great leader, friend, spiritual father and praying leader".

"The strength of his idealism, the fire of his patriotism and the wonder of his nationalism will live on in the hearts and

mind of our people," he said.

At the entrances to Church Square, black pedestrians, clearly identified on the basis of their race alone, were waved away by elderly white men and asked to walk around the perimeter of the area.

Most black passersby, however, decided of their own volition not to run the gauntlet of the all-white gathering.

The crowd was peppered with AWB members in black or khaki uniforms. A number of others in plainer khaki wore just the Vierkleur badge. Also attending in uniform were some members of the SAP and SADF.

IFP may be sidelined, ANC warns

3049/117
CT 28/4/93

THE ANC will not tolerate any further delays in the negotiating process and yesterday warned the IFP it may be sidelined if it continued to place obstacles in the way of reaching a political settlement.

ANC spokesman Mr Carl Niehaus was commenting on the allegation by the IFP that the government was in cahoots with the ANC in training uMkhonto we-Sizwe and that cadres were to be deployed in KwaZulu.

A senior NP source in Natal also expressed dismay at the stance taken by IFP negotiators at the World Trade Centre this week. He described it as "unhelpful".

The statement was issued by the IFP's Mr Joe Mathews and Dr Frank Mdlalose.

Yesterday IFP spokesman Mr Ed Tillet said one could not hold elections or draw up a constitutional blueprint when violence was "spiralling out of control".

He said there was a systematic campaign to decimate the Inkatha leadership across the board. At least nine

Mangope firm on freedom

Own Correspondent

JOHANNESBURG. — President Lucas Mangope dug in his heels yesterday on reincorporation, saying there was no question of Bophuthatswana's giving up its independence.

He said his government was surrendering nothing and least of all would it consider relinquishing control over its security forces.

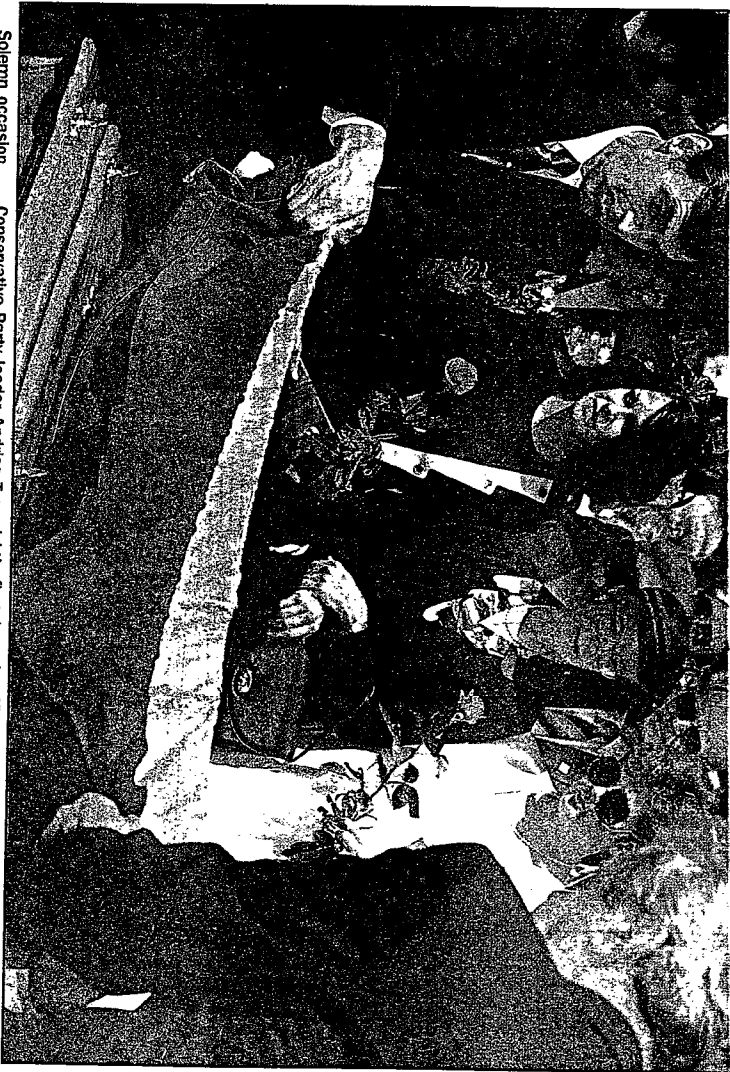
President FW de Klerk said last week that progress had been good in talks with TBVC leaders on reincorporation and that if there was no intransigence by any parties, the matter could be resolved by June.

senior Inkatha leaders had been killed in the last month, including KwaZulu Legislative Assembly member Sipiwe Gumede of Umbombo.

The statement should be seen in that context, Mr Tillet said.

Mr Niehaus, however, said the IFP allegations had created "a very serious situation" and the ANC believed that it was trying to delay negotiations.

General Bob Rogers, DP defence spokesman, said Inkatha's allegation was "totally untrue". He also said it looked as if Inkatha was placing an obstacle in the way of talks.



Solemn occasion . . . Conservative Party leader Andries Treurnicht's flag-draped coffin at the graveside yesterday. His widow Engela is flanked by two of their daughters.

Pretoria Correspondent

About 1 000 mourners crowded into the NG Kerk and the hall in Bosman Street, Pretoria, and thousands more gathered in the street and on Church Square to pay their last respects to Dr Andries Treurnicht, yesterday.

Mourners at the church included Ministers Dawie de Villiers and Adriaan Vlok, Ciskei leader Brigadier Oupa Gqozo and the mayors of several cities.

The South African flag-draped coffin was followed by Treurnicht's widow, Engela, and members of his family.

It was flanked by a group of CP Youth members from universities and technicians in Pretoria, Potchefstroom and Johannesburg.

The Rev Kobus Potgieter, a former moderator of the NGK, led the service. Two uniformed policemen were stationed at the corner of Verrallen and . . .

Pretoria centre packed for Treurnicht funeral

Star 28/4/93

Treurnicht as a "great leader, friend, spiritual father and praying leader".

The strength of his idealism, the fire of his patriotism, and the wonder of his . . .

people," he said.

● Courtesy surprise at funeral — Page 23

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 BLOUSE

SA promised 'generous, non-partisan' aid

THE United Nations, the US government and the World Bank have promised generous and non-partisan aid to South Africa's political transition. Mr Justice Commission chairman Mr Justice Gubbins said yesterday, Cape Town following his intervention in the United States, he said

the offers of assistance were non-partisan. He said the international community should ensure the success of South Africa's first democratic government, and that the aid should be called in to assist the country during elections. The hearings will come to an end in May.

There are many good and positive things going on in South Africa as soon as a representative and executive council is in place and so when we have a government of national unity, said the judge.

Mr. Princeton Lyman yesterday said the US government was examining the use of US pension and bonds for housing development in South Africa.

Speaking at the SaeftRadio 702 business breakfast in Johannesburg, Mr Lyman said his government was hoping to announce a new US investment in South Africa next month. Mr Lyman said he was not aware of private investment from abroad or private investment from abroad.

He criticised the ANC for not calling for an end to sanctions as early as possible. He said it took 12 months to two years between the end of the project development and implementation. — Sapa, Own Correspondent

BY NINETEEN NINETEEN NINETEEN NINETEEN

Courtesy surprise at Treurnicht funeral

Star 28/4/93

(304A)

YESTERDAY I was one of a few blacks who attended Conservative Party leader Dr Andries Treurnicht's funeral at the Bosman Street NGK in Pretoria.

I went to Pretoria expecting to be given a rude reception, but that did not happen.

Instead, I was treated most courteously by the mourners, with some of them even making way for me at the end of the church service as I walked towards my car and they walked towards the Church Street West cemetery, where the CP leader was laid to rest.

I did not go to the cemetery, however, because I did not feel that would be a safe thing for me to do. I thought there would be people there — to the Right of the CP in the political spectrum — who might not take too kindly to my presence.

But inside the church I was safe. CP acting leader Dr Ferdi Hartzenberg and his fellow MPs were in attendance, and so were some foreign government representatives and a sprinkling of homeland government representatives.

For the record, Ciskei military ruler Brigadier Oupa Gqozo was one of the mourners and guests of honour. And so was the Inkatha Freedom



KAIZER NYATSUMBA, Political Correspondent (above), attended the funeral of Dr Andries Treurnicht yesterday.

Party's western Transvaal-based Humphrey Ndlovu.

According to the official invitation list, which I saw, the governments of Bophuthatswana and QwaQwa had also been invited. The names of Afrikaner Weerstandsbeweging leader Eugene TerreBlanche and the Herstigte Nasionale Party's Jaap Marais were on the list.

Treurnicht's few black friends who attended the funeral all belong to organisations which are part of the Concerned

South Africans Group, which slowed down the pace of negotiations at the World Trade Centre on Monday.

Correctional Services Minister Adriaan Vlok represented the National Party, and the Government was represented by Public Enterprises Minister Dr Dawie de Villiers.

A relaxed Rev JE Potgieter conducted the service, showered Treurnicht — whom he said had "fought the good fight" — with praise, and preached about Abraham's willingness to kill his son Isaac as a sacrifice to God after he had been asked to do so.

Unlike slain South African Communist Party leader Chris Han's expensive and colourful coffin last week, which was draped in ANC and SACP colours, Treurnicht's casket was modest. On top of it was the South African flag.

Hartzenberg paid a glowing tribute to Treurnicht, and said he was confident the late CP leader would say, like Paul in the Bible (2 Timothy 4:7-8): "I have done my best in the race, I have run the full distance, and I have kept the faith. And now there is waiting for me, the victory prize of being put right with God." □

Call to protect monuments

Star 28/4/93

304A

Own Correspondent and Sapa

Conservation policy had to be reviewed so that South Africa's monuments could enjoy the same legal protection as declared national monuments, Minister of National Education Piet Marais said yesterday.

In debate on his budget vote he replied to Daan van der Merwe (CP nom), who asked what the NP was doing to protect the Afrikaner's cultural heritage, and said there would be "very big trouble" if an ANC government meddled with the Afrikaner's monuments.

Marais said the National Monuments Act provided for the proclamation of national monuments, which then enjoyed legislative protection, but the National Monuments Council, which made the recommendations for proclamation to the Minister, did not recommend monuments as such.

In a presentation by the ANC's heraldry commission during the Cultural and Development Conference at the Civic Theatre in Johannesburg this week, museums, monuments and memorials all came under the spotlight.

Presenting a paper on behalf of the ANC, Professor G T Sirayi of the museology department of Fort Hare University said that although it was not a blueprint for heritage resources, it was important that current structures be "democratised".

The ANC deplored the NP's unilateral restructuring of national heritage institutions. Vestiges of the apartheid era might be destroyed, Sirayi said.

Free access would be given to archives which would be restructured according to international standards, and ANC records seized by the State during the apartheid years would be held in democratised archives.

New mass action campaign may be steered away from economy

BRUCE CAMERON
Business Staff

NEW-FOUND and developing consensus among political parties, business and labour is likely to ensure that the forthcoming mass action campaign in the wake of the Chris Hani assassination is aimed away from economic targets.

Gradually agreement is developing that the battered economy should be removed from the arena of conflict-politics.

In the process, the government has started to move away from autocratic decision-making and the ANC appears to be accepting that it may well be heating itself by using the economy as a political club.

Progress has been made since Finance Minister Mr Derek Keys bluntly warned all political parties and the government of the consequences of delaying political agreement and went ahead last year with the national economic forum. The forum, although it lacks decision-making powers, is already quietly starting to produce results.

And it is probably because of the easing of tensions through the forum that Mr Keys was able to navigate the Budget, and particularly the four-percent increase in VAT, into decidedly calmer waters than the tempest that greeted the introduction of VAT.

The forum is proving successful in other ways. The forum is searching for both short-term and long-term political solutions, with South Africa's enormous unemployment the most pressing problem.

Cosatu, which over the years has been adamant about minimum wages, has been quietly giving way on this point for public

works' programmes, while the government also appears to be accepting that the stalled programmes require community support.

It is not without purpose that many aspects of this year's Budget leaked out before delivery like water from a rusty old bucket full of holes.

Not only were many key details common knowledge before Budget Day, but Mr Keys went out and negotiated a deal with Cosatu under which he agreed to Cosatu demands for a zero VAT rating on a range of products in return for the hike in VAT.

It is this openness in the Budget process that Mr Keys is talking about when he refers to "transparency".

The government has committed itself to discussing with forum members the Budget as well as its greater proposals contained in the recently published normative economic model on which it would like to base economic recovery.

It has also established a series of function committees which will assist in budget planning. Different factions of business, labour and political parties are being invited to join the committees.

The almost reckless attitude of the ANC to the economy three years ago has mellowed considerably, with studied and serious remarks being made by the ANC.

Although the ANC has painted itself firmly into its sanctions position it often catches overseas visitors by surprise by its attitude to foreign investors.

The ANC now correctly points out that some of the main reasons for foreign investor wariness are the result of the lack of politi-

cal agreement and uncertainty about what the economic politics of a post-apartheid government will be.

On the assumption that it will be the next ruling party the ANC's economic spokesmen are now going from platform to platform attempting to reassure potential investors with commitments of economic reasonableness.

Its representatives abroad have also been instructed to reassure potential investors and actively garner their future support.

Mr Trevor Manuel, head of the ANC economics department, has identified the problems of foreign investors — from the need for political stability through to consistent economic policies; repatriation of profits and sales of assets; and even the eventual lifting of exchange control and the scrapping of the two-tier exchange rate system.

He realises there is a large question mark over the ANC's ability to deliver, given the expected pressures on the fiscus with the high expectations of the ANC constituency.

This is why Mr Manuel talks of a redirection of spending priorities, public performance auditing and long-term budgeting.

Significantly it has been Mr Manuel who has signalled that there will be caution over any economic tactics in the mass action campaign.

There are still wide differences between the NP and the ANC on economic policy and even gaps in ANC economic policy, but it appears the all important economic debate is making faster progress than the debates in other political arenas.

He criticised teachers' plans

ANC to demand election date at rally



Mr Yengeni

DENNIS CRUYWAGEN, Political Staff

A DEMAND that the government set an election date by the end of May will be made at an ANC alliance May Day rally at Athlone Stadium.

This was announced by the ANC, the SA Communist Party and Congress of South African Trade Unions today.

ANC Western Cape secretary Mr Tony Yengeni said there would be no marches to Cape Town on Saturday.

Other demands would be joint control over the police and SADF and a reconstruction pact to outline the economic policies of a democratic government which will meet the needs of the poor and oppressed.

He said the alliance believed Athlone Stadium was the best venue for the occasion.

He said the example of the memorial service for Chris Hani at the FNB Stadium in Johannesburg had shown how big crowds could be handled.

"We will be able to speak and move people around. We don't want to turn it into a party political day and it should be seen as a family day."

But Cosatu regional secretary Mr Jonathan Arendse said the alliance reserved the right to march in central Cape Town.

"We are not going to be told by anybody not to go into Cape Town. We will learn from our mistakes and organise better."

Mr Yengeni said a broad programme of mass action in the Western Cape would be presented at the Athlone Stadium rally.

Consultations were still taking place between the alliance and other organisations.

Mass action was essential because people were getting frustrated with little or no gain made in negotiations, he said.

"We are afraid if there is no progress at all the stage will be set for a serious explosion. I can't say how long this will take."

Mr Yengeni said this year's mass action would be different from last year's because the ANC did not want to alienate people.

Mr Arendse said consumer boycotts had not been ruled out, but specific businesses rather than white businesses would be targeted.

Govt and ANC learn a lesson

BILLY PADDOCK

GOVERNMENT and ANC negotiators said the lesson they learned from Monday's negotiations was to be better prepared and to focus on substance and content. **B10PM**

Government chief negotiator Roelf Meyer and ANC negotiator Mac Maharaj forecast that Friday's talks would make better progress.

Maharaj predicted that the planning committees' proposals that six technical committees be set up to deal with the Codesa reports on issues such as a transitional executive council, independent media commission and armed formations would be accepted by all the parties.

He pointed out that all the parties had accepted the resolution of the negotiating forum on April 1 that technical committees would enhance the process. **28/4/93**

Meyer denied claims by Inkatha and the Concerned South Africans Group that it and the ANC were trying to steamroller the process, stating that the timeframes and the way forward had been discussed with these parties in bilateral talks.

He admitted that this was the fundamental difference between parties as Inkatha and its allies rejected the need for interim structures. However, he was still hopeful that government and the ANC could sell their plan to the objecting parties.

He said negotiating parties should not allow themselves to be distracted by side issues, but should focus on moving forward speedily.

Mangope digs in on independence

BILLY PADDOCK

BOPHUTHATSWANA President Lucas Mangope yesterday dug in his heels on the issue of reincorporation, saying there was no question of the territory giving up its independence. **28/4/93**

He told the opening of the territory's National Assembly: "There is no question whatsoever, I repeat no question whatsoever, of Bophuthatswana giving up her independence."

He said his government was surrendering nothing, and least of all would it consider relinquishing control over its security forces. "That is our bottom line. That is where we stand at present. We merely want self-rule... no more... no less."

However, Mangope said: "Let me hasten to add that Bophuthatswana is not inflexible or intransigent."

President F W de Klerk said last week that progress with leaders of the TBVC states on reincorporation was good and that if there was no intransigence by any parties on the issue, it could be resolved by June.

Mangope said because Bophuthatswana had enjoyed "such remarkable success we will be ignored by any future central government in SA while the former independent and self-governing states which ran themselves into the ground through maladministration, mismanagement and corruption will bleed the system in order to catch up with the rest of

us". As a result Bophuthatswana would stand still for years and its resources would be redirected to other lesser developed areas.

This was one of the main reasons his government demanded that the boundaries, powers and functions of regional states in a new dispensation had to be determined at the multi-party forum and not be left to "the whims and prejudices" of an elected interim administration.

"In other words the form of state for the new SA must be finalised before anything else at the present negotiations," Mangope said.

Principles of a new constitution needed to be finalised at negotiations and approved in a referendum before elections were held.

This would obviate the need for a transitional government and a transitional executive council. It would also allay the fears of many who suspected the course being charted would lead to the same sort of benign dictatorship of the old SA.

He warned against government and the ANC proceeding with the reform process and excluding parties which were not co-operating with them and said it would be a mistake to underestimate the importance of Bophuthatswana in the negotiations

'Generous assistance' awaits SA

CAPE TOWN — The UN, the US and the World Bank have promised generous, non-partisan assistance for the political transition in SA, says Goldstone commission chairman Judge Richard Goldstone.

Addressing a news conference yesterday after returning from the US, he said the offers of assistance were nonprescriptive and reflected the international community's wish to ensure the success of SA's first democratic government. **30/4/93**

Foreign experts could be called in to assist the commission's inquiry into the prevention of violence and intimidation during elections.

While in the US Goldstone met members of the UN Security Council and the UN Special Committee on Apartheid as well as US state department and World Bank senior officials, and legislators.

"My strong impression is that there are many good and positive benefits waiting for SA as soon as a representative and legitimate transitional executive council is in place, and even more so when we have a government of national unity," he said.

The US anti-apartheid lobby had substantially transformed itself into a strong pro-democratic SA campaign which supported all South Africans working for a peaceful and democratic country.

Financial assistance from the World Bank and IMF was virtually assured provided SA moved rapidly towards a political settlement.

Members of the US House of Representatives and the Senate foreign relations committee appreciated the need to begin amending or repealing the 150 statutes which prohibited assistance to SA. — Sapa.

BUSINESS DAY, Wednesday, April 26 1995

Govt 'hijacking forum'

BY GAVIN DU TOIT

GOVERNMENT was yesterday accused of trying to turn the national local government negotiating forum into its own advisory body by the non-statutory delegation to the forum.

The delegation, comprising ANC local government department head Thomsen Botha, said that while all parties had the right to put forward proposals, these should be made through the forum.

The delegation also rejected a number of Delegation's proposals, including one that a voting list be drawn up according to property ownership rights.

The delegation met yesterday to draw up a formal response to Local Government Minister Tertius Dabon's proposal, made in Parliament last week, on reforming local government legislation. These included a call for early elections at local level, and to local authorities.

The delegation also rejected a number of Delegation's proposals, including one that a voting list be drawn up according to property ownership rights. The delegation said it wanted a single voters roll for all residents within a local constituency.

Sario president, Moses Mphahlele, left, and ANC local government spokesman Thomsen Botha at yesterday's news conference in Johannesburg.



CP leader Treurnicht laid to rest

PRETORIA — CP leader Andries Treurnicht was laid to rest yesterday in Pretoria's Church Street West cemetery amid tight security.

From early yesterday, several major streets were closed and a number of uniformed and plainclothes officers watched proceedings closely.

With the city's Bosman Street NG Kerk overflowing with relatives, political representatives and sympathisers, about a thousand people sat quietly in nearby Church Square listening to the funeral service being relayed through loud speakers.

The service was led by Ds Kobus Potgieter, who said Treurnicht, who had spent 26 years in public life, had worked ceaselessly and never contemplated "retiring with a package". Sapa reports. His departure had come at a crucial time for both the country and the volk.

Acting CP leader Ferdi Hartzenberg

ADRIAN HADLAND

also paid a short, non-political tribute.

After the service the cavalcade drove slowly around Church Square before travelling west 1km to the cemetery. Onlookers hung out of office windows and lined the streets to watch the procession of about 2 000 mourners, including some uniformed AWB and Boerekommando supporters.

As mourners sang Die Stem, Treurnicht's coffin, draped with an SA flag, was lowered into the grave just a few metres from Heroes' Acre, where prominent figures such as Hendrik Verwoerd are buried.

Among those who attended the funeral were Correctional Services Minister Adriaan Vlok, for the NP, and Public Enterprises Minister Dawie de Villiers, for government, and homeland delegations.

● Picture: Page 2

SEP 28 1993
Pik, Tunisian Minister talk

Minister of Foreign Affairs Pik Botha held exploratory talks with the Tunisian Deputy Minister of Foreign Affairs, Sadok Fayala, in Cape Town yesterday.

(304A)

Many guard Treurnicht's last journey

Own Correspondent

PRETORIA — CP leader Dr Andries Treurnicht was laid to rest yesterday in Pretoria's Church Street West cemetery amid tight security.

His grave, prepared by students of the University of Pretoria, was situated a few feet from the fringes of heroes' acre and close to Dr Treurnicht's former political ally Dr Hendrik Verwoerd.

Several major streets were closed and numbers of uniformed and plain-clothes officers watched proceedings closely.

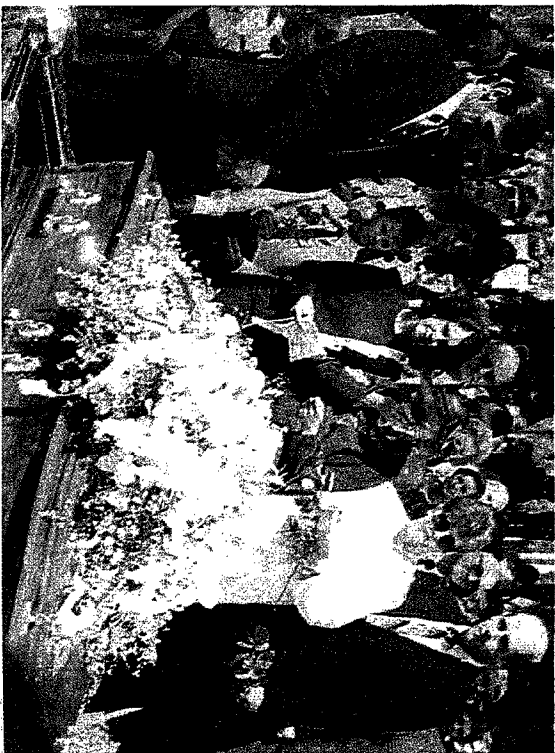
With the city's Bosman Street NG Kerk overflowing with relatives, political representatives and sympathisers, about a thousand people of mixed race sat quietly in nearby Church Square listening to the funeral service being relayed through loud-speakers.

The sound of the Rev Kobus Poygieler's final commendation echoed through the city's CBD interior as two circling helicopters and a barking police dog.

Dr Treurnicht had departed at a crucial time for both the country and for the folk. Rev Poygieler said in his address.

Following the service, the cavalcade drove slowly around Church Square before travelling west to the cemetery.

About 2 000 mourners, including some uniformed AWB and Boerekommando supporters, accompanied Dr Treurnicht's coffin, draped with an SA flag.



FAREWELL . . . Mrs Engela Treurnicht (centre with hat) weeps as the coffin of her husband Conservative Party leader Dr Andries Treurnicht is lowered into his grave at his funeral yesterday in Pretoria's Heroes' Acre where other Afrikaner leaders are buried.

was lowered into the ground as mourners sang Die Stem.

Among those who attended the funeral were former Law and Order Minister Mr Adriaan Vlok on behalf of the NP, and Public Enterprises Minister

Dr Dawie De Villiers, who represented the government.

Flags at all council properties in Cape Town were flown at half mast yesterday, city council spokesman Mr Ted Doman said yesterday.

Picture: AP

What the ultra Right is reading

Star 28/4/93 304A

Ultra right-wing groups in South Africa are using their international connections — particularly extremist groups in the United States and Europe — to smuggle into the country a variety of banned literature on sabotage and guerilla warfare.

The Star is aware of a variety of "do-it-yourself" books and pamphlets on weapons, explosives and rebellion currently studied by right-wing extremists.

A number of gun "factories" have already been established and a recent test — on a farm in the Transvaal — of 2,5 kg of "homemade" explosive is said to have "gone very well".

Rightwingers are circulating within their cells photocopies of, among others, a booklet purportedly compiled by the ANC's armed wing, Umkhonto we Sizwe (MK), for the training of township cadres in sabotage and terrorism.

Worried

Rightwingers say they are increasingly worried that "the white man's guns will be confiscated" by a future ANC government and that if their "resistance" and "freedom war" is to continue, they have to provide themselves with arms.

According to right-wing sources, sympathisers in the US and Europe have provided rightwingers with a variety of books and pamphlets.

One of the most important is Ripley's Underground, which is frequently used by the Irish Republican Army and provides detailed instruction on how to manufacture explosives and other destructive devices. Although the manual is banned worldwide, photocopies have been circulated widely among members of the IRA and right-wing extremist groups.

Ripley's Underground found

Books on weapons, explosives and rebellion are currently being studied by right-wing extremists in South Africa. They use connections abroad to supply the literature, report BRENDAN SEERY and JACQUES PAUW.

its way to both the right wing and the ANC in the early '80s. Evidence will probably be led soon at the inquest into the June 1985 murder of eastern Cape activist Matthew Goniwe that members of Military Intelligence's "Hammer Group" confiscated a copy of the manual that was found in the car he and his comrades were travelling in when they were intercepted and murdered.

Some of the books, such as *The Anarchist's Cookbook* and *The Poor Man's James Bond*, are available over the counter at specialist shops in the US. However, because the material they contain would be considered subversive in South Africa, they are sent into the country with false covers.

The Poor Man's James Bond contains detailed lists of where to obtain further literature. Readers are told that publications such as the US Army's Special Forces pamphlet on DIY "tin-can hand grenades" can be bought in surplus shops for as little as \$5 (about R16).

It is known that two young right-wing fanatics who died in a shootout with police in the Kalahari desert in November 1991, Jurgen White and Jurgens Grobbelaar, were in possession of terror instruction manuals.

Grobbelaar and White were members of the Afrikaner Nasionaal-Sosialiste (ANS), an extreme right-wing and neo-fascist organisation whose members were previously involved in acts of murder and sabotage.

A journalist for Independent Television News, Pearlie Joubert, recalled this week how three members of the ANS blindfolded her in 1991 and took her to a house in Pretoria where she was introduced to their very sophisticated computer system.

She said they gave her print-outs of instructions on how to organise cells, manufacture bombs and make contact with other international right-wing and neo-Nazi organisations.

Among the details supplied by the smuggled literature are instructions for:

- Homemade explosives.
- Homemade hand grenades.
- A 16-shot "shotgun" which can be assembled in a home workshop.
- A simple, yet effective, pistol.
- Petrol bombs.

Lethal chemicals

- How best to place explosives in car petrol tanks.
- Chemical and electronic timing devices.
- A "witches' brew" of lethal chemicals which can be used for assassinations.

The alleged MK booklet contains simple descriptions, with line drawings, of how to make petrol bombs and incendiary devices, among other weapons of war. For township cadres, the pamphlet describes how best to set fires for maximum destructive effect.

Until the early '80s, MK published a booklet called *Dawn*, which gave simple instructions on the manufacture of petrol bombs and other explosive devices. It was widely distributed among cadres.

Given the right wing's closeness to certain elements in the security forces, it is probable the pamphlet was copied from material captured over the years.

4. Voter education

The Moments of power

20/17/14 24/14 28/1/13 30/1/13 (1/13)

V

OTHER education needn't be boring. A Matla Trust play presenting key issues in voter education has to date entertained potential voters at over 60 performances.

By using theatre, a Matla project is able to visually translate concepts such as democracy into real life situations which audiences easily understand.

Because it relies on the spoken word, the play can reach illiterate audiences and address them in their own languages.

Theatre is a flexible medium which can be adapted to keep up with whatever decisions are reached about the method of voting that will be used, the type of identification voters will have to present, and so on.

Printed words and film are not as flexible because once produced they cannot be changed.

In 1992 Matla Trust contacted a Johannesburg-based group of actors called Ukhukanya (which means "to light up" or "enlighten") Theatre Group, to write a script based on themes suggested by the Trust.

The play was officially launched in October 1992 at the Funda Centre in Soweto. It is called "Moments" and was written and directed by Peter Nwenya, Doreen Maz-

Ibuko and Willie Tshaka.

Themes throughout the play stress that violently resolving political dissatisfaction is contrary to the principles of democracy.

Once the results of free and fair elections are announced, the losers must be bound by them and not resort to violently overthrowing the party that has attained power.

The play shows ignorance, apathy or even over-confidence can result in a party losing an election, despite having massive support.

Actors stress that intimidation can be neutralised by people simply agreeing to vote for whatever party they are told to support while knowing the vote is secret and no one can find out who they voted for.

This theme, explaining the nature of the secret ballot and the powerlessness of intimidation to determine peoples' vote is constantly stressed.

It also demonstrates that truly free and fair elections can only take place if the electorate is accurately informed about how voting works.

It is only if the electorate makes free choices that results will truly be fair, "Moments" stresses.

The play has already been performed at over 60 venues in the Transvaal and Orange Free State.

Matla Trust is considering taking the play to other regions.



REHEARSING: An 'elderly' voter is helped through the polling station in 'Moments'

Culture to counter crisis

■ **NINE MONTHS** Programme for Saturday

mornings and one night a week: (204A)

By Mzimkulu Malunga

A MAJOR training scheme aimed at stimulating a "culture of development" is to be launched in Soweto next Monday.

This nine-month programme in development studies is championed by the Institute for African Alternatives, an organisation established to seek developmental options for African countries as many of the continent's economies plunge into crisis.

IFAA Soweto office's education officer Mr Danny Kekana says the programme aims to equip community-based organisations with the ability to transform different groups into developmental units.

The programme is being co-ordinated by former lecturer in development studies at the University of Dar es Saalam Dr Ernest Maganya.

Training has been broken into three categories. The major one which is compulsory focuses on stimulating the culture of

development, says Kekana.

Two other sections concentrate on basic issues of running an organisation effectively such as communication skills, organisational methods and office administration. These sections also cover gender issues and affirmative action and are optional.

Students have to complete seven courses to qualify for a certificate in development studies issued by the Centre for Continued Education at Wits University.

The fee for the course is R150 a participant.

Kekana says the participation of civic organisations, trade unions and other community structures in the running of the country is crucial for development in South Africa.

The course will attempt to answer questions relating to alternative strategies this country could follow to impact on lives of ordinary people.

Classes will run on Saturday mornings and once a week in the evenings.

The IFAA's Soweto office number is 938-1485.

Awkward moment for CP as succession battles loom

Andries Treurnicht was buried in Pretoria on Tuesday. But as they say: "Die stryd duur voort" — the struggle continues. PATRICK LAURENCE reports on the CP Treurnicht left behind.

THE DEATH of CP leader Andries Treurnicht comes at an awkward moment for the party and its cause: self-determination for the Afrikaner people and those whites who identify with them.

The CP is a newcomer at the negotiation table, having taken a seat there less than a month before Treurnicht's death last Thursday after undergoing heart surgery.

Fears — or, perhaps in some cases, hopes — have been expressed that Treurnicht's death will activate a power struggle in the CP between hardliners and pragmatists, with fatal consequences for the party.

One doomsday scenario is that Treurnicht's deputy, Ferdi Hartzenberg, will succeed Treurnicht and lead a CP walkout from the negotiating forum.

One element of the scenario is virtually certain to materialise: the election of Hartzenberg as the new CP leader.

Hartzenberg, perhaps the last of Hendrik Verwoerd's disciples, is a committed conservative and a reluctant convert to the idea of negotiating with the ANC, still less the SACP and the PAC.

His commitment to Verwoerdian thinking is best illustrated by his major campaign speech during the by-election battle for Potchefstroom last year. Responding to taunts to

produce a map showing the boundaries of the proposed white homeland, he referred to 1975 plans to place all of South Africa under white rule, except the less than 14 per cent allocated to the 10 tribal homelands.

Even in retrospect his speech boggles the mind, suggesting as it does that he was unaware the unbanning of the ANC and the freeing of Nelson Mandela the year before had completely changed the political situation.

Unlike Treurnicht — who struggled long to reach a modus vivendi with P W Botha before breaking with the National Party in February 1982, and who last year tried hard to reach a compromise with the CP rebels who broke away to form the Afrikaner Volksunie (AVU) — Hartzenberg is not a compromiser.

He is combative and confronts his opponents head on, within and beyond the CP. His aggressive style has led Sampie Terreblanche, of the University of Stellenbosch, to predict that his take-over as CP leader might well be the party's death knell.

Schalk Pienaar, one of the CP's rising stars and, like Hartzenberg, a fiery debater, rejects predictions of either a succession dispute or a tussle between hardliners and pragmatists.

He insists Hartzenberg's

succession — which he says is not in dispute — will not affect the CP's decision to participate in negotiations.

The CP is a principled party, Pienaar says, and its decision to take part in negotiations was prompted by the desire to explore its ability to advance the cause of "self-determination".

Thus, the presence at or absence from the negotiating table of the CP will be determined by whether the present negotiations advance or retard the cause of self-determination, not by the personality of its leader, Pienaar says.

However, several observers predict that tensions between CP members who resist the advent of a unitary state under the ANC and those who prefer to take the route of negotiations followed by the AVU, may be brought to the fore by a different succession battle: one over who will succeed Hartzenberg as deputy leader.

Here there are two contenders: Pienaar, who has warned of a 50-year war if the CP does



Hartzenberg... a late convert to talks.

not achieve its objective of a white fatherland, and Pieter Mulder, who, while as committed to an Afrikaner homeland, is more prudent and conciliatory.

If Pienaar wins, that will signal that hardliners have taken control of the party and lead to the exodus of pragmatists, these political observers forecast.

Whatever happens on the succession front, the crunch for the CP, and possibly for South Africa, will come when self-determination is debated in the negotiating forum. If it

is rejected by the ANC, then the chances of a CP withdrawal are strong.

Withdrawal will be a moment of truth for the CP: it will be confronted with an awesome choice between either becoming a pressure group, protesting in vain against the formation of a united, democratic and non-racial South Africa, or making common cause with the ultra-rightist organisations, with their para-military forces and talk of armed resistance.

The CP has hovered uneasily between being a parliamentary party — it won a third of the white votes and 39 of the 166 elected white seats in the 1989 general election — and being an extra-parliamentary organisation.

Its ambivalence is manifest in its decision to allow its members to join the neo-fascist AWB, whose leader, Eugene Terreblanche, constantly warns he will unleash his para-military forces to prevent an ANC takeover and to prevent "betrayal" by President de Klerk. □

Star 29/4/93

Tutu urges reparation for evils of apartheid

By Brendan Templeton

Reparations for apartheid would be necessary if South Africa were truly to move to a democratic society, a panel which included Archbishop Desmond Tutu said last night.

The conclusions were made at the inauguration of the Students for Human Rights society at the University of the Witwatersrand. The panel included Lawyers for Human Rights director Brian Currin and ANC negotiator Frenk Ginwala.

"To ignore the past is to allow it to return to haunt you, and to deal with it inadequately is a sure recipe for it to re-emerge somewhere else," Tutu said.

While all South Africans had to congratulate President de Klerk on the brave steps he took in February 1990, it was necessary that more

steps were taken.

"We all want reconciliation, but some people seem to think reconciliation comes cheaply. Reconciliation depends on forgiveness. Forgiveness depends on confession and confession depends on contrition," Tutu said.

To show that the desire for reconciliation was genuine, it would be necessary for those who gained from apartheid to make reparations.

Ginwala said it was necessary for everyone to construct a new society after free elections.

Currin said taking away apartheid laws was merely like removing the scaffolding from a building. The scaffolding of apartheid may be removed, but the squat monument would remain. It was necessary to remove the monument of apartheid and all the evil it contained.

Talks focus will be on violence, transition

By Esther Waugh
Political Correspondent

The focus of tomorrow's meeting of the 26-party negotiating council is likely to remain on violence and recommendations for the transition process.

Debate on these recommendations was postponed at Monday's negotiating council meeting until tomorrow because documentation did not reach the delegates in time.

A three-man subcommittee was instructed by the April 1 negotiating

forum meeting to draft recommendations based on two resolutions on the transition and violence.

They have recommended that four technical committees be appointed to look into a transitional executive council (TEC), an independent electoral commission, an independent media commission and discriminatory legislation. These areas concentrate on the run-up to the interim-government elections.

However, the Concerned South Africans Group does not agree

that a scenario for the transition should include a TEC and elections for an interim government of national unity. They want the negotiating structure to agree on a constitution and that a referendum be held before elections take place for a new government.

Recommendations on violence are that a technical committee be appointed to consider ways of strengthening the National Peace Accord. It is further recommended that a technical committee considers establishing a peace corps.

Elections must be legitimate judge

CAPE TOWN — All South Africans who want peace should ensure that the first nonracial election is legitimate, Chairman of the Goldstone Commission, Mr Justice Richard Goldstone, said yesterday. (322)

"If the first election is not legitimate, we are in big trouble. Even if there is violence and intimidation, the level should be such that it does not destroy the election's legitimacy," he said in an address to the Cape Town Press Club.

The Commission was going to set up an inqui-

ry into the potential for public violence and intimidation in a national election and would be following the same procedure as its investigation in marches and public gatherings.

It would be an important exercise in democracy and discipline, as submissions would be called for in which members of the public could express opinions on subjects including how meetings should be held and who should do the policing.

It was hoped submissions would also be made

by political parties, the SAP, the departments of Justice and Home Affairs and international bodies in South Africa.

"We have asked them to say what they see as their role in the election and what the rules and regulations should be. The proposed Electoral Commission can then accept or reject these suggestions.

The input would then be examined by a panel of experts.

"We can perform an important service to the Electoral Commission if we can make recommen-

dations which are the result of public debate and consultation."

He said people tended to honour agreements more readily when the agreements were reached after democratic consultation — as had happened in the many peaceful marches and demonstrations that were held after the death of Chris Hani.

He had not received any requests for the Commission to become permanent, even after the installation of a new government. — Sapa.

Cosag warns of trouble ahead

By Kaizer Nyatsumba
Political Correspondent

The Concerned Southern Africans Group (Cosag) yesterday gave notice that negotiators at tomorrow's negotiating council meeting at the World Trade Centre were heading for another round of confrontation.

Speaking after their meeting in Mmabatho yesterday, Cosag members said they were con-

cerned about threats to exclude from negotiations those "retarding the process".

Bophuthatswana Minister of State Rowan Cronje said although Cosag might not be "the biggest players in the opinion of some", collectively it represented millions of people.

"Nobody should underestimate our anger just because we do not throw stones. We have

the chance to get it right," Cronje said.

IFP chairman Dr Frank Mdlalose, whose party circulated a statement at Monday's talks alleging a conspiracy by the Government and the ANC with regard to violence against IFP members, said Pretoria and the ANC were labelling them spoilers because they wanted some issues resolved before elections.

(3044)
Star 29/4/93

Referendum 'could open the way' 304A

A NATIONAL referendum could solve the political impasse at multiparty negotiations, Institute for a Democratic Alternative for South Africa director Van Zyl Slabbert said on Tuesday. 810AM

Posturing by some negotiators at the multiparty talks would make things more difficult for the country to obtain a government of national unity, he said. 29/4/93

A referendum would help to speed up the process and prevent a national tragedy, he added.

ANC economics department head Trevor Manuel said on Tuesday S. would not attract foreign investment until there was political stability and a violence-free climate.

The country would have to take account of the domestic circumstances in considering future international links, he said at the Idasa economics conference at Warmbaths.

Manuel said the economic management of SA was hinged on waiting for a windfall to occur from price increases in gold and other commodities. — Sapa.

No deadline for talks progress - FW

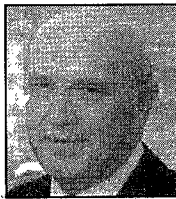
CAPE TOWN — The Government would seriously consider sensible initiatives for progress in negotiations if it appeared that the multi-party talks were close to a dead end at the end of May, President FW de Klerk said yesterday.

Speaking in State President's Question Time, he said the Government, however, was not thinking of "absolutely unilat-

eral action", and that there had never been any intention of setting up a specific six-week deadline for progress.

He also said there were no grounds for the recent Inkatha attack on the Government for its alleged role in violence in Natal. (304A)

He had been asked whether the Government would consider steps to set up an interim multi-



President de Klerk . . . will consider options.

party executive authority if the talks did not achieve specific goals.

De Klerk said this would depend greatly on the precise progress made in the next five weeks.

"We never thought we should be rigorously bound specifically to six weeks," he said. "If at the end of six weeks one is on the edge of a breakthrough, one would want to push on." — Sapa.

Steps could be taken to avoid dead end ²⁰⁴⁴ ARC 29/4/93 FW

TOS WENTZEL
Political Staff

PRESIDENT De Klerk has indicated that the government could go ahead with transitional arrangements if the multiparty negotiations do not come to firm conclusions by the end of May.

He was speaking in his regular question session at a joint session of parliament.

Mr Hennie Bester (DP Green Point) asked Mr De Klerk what the government would do if the multiparty negotiations did not agree within five weeks on significant steps he had envisaged.

He wanted to know whether the government would then, as a matter of urgency, be prepared to take steps to set up an interim transitional authority.

Mr De Klerk said a lot would depend on the progress made in the five weeks. The government had never thought that it should be rigorously tied to such a period.

If after that period a breakthrough point had been reached attempts would be made to promote this.

But if the negotiations were near to a dead end the government would have to give serious attention to seeing what sensible initiatives could be taken to ensure progress.

Mr De Klerk was asked about a recent statement by Chief Mangosuthu Buthelezi that he was not in favour of the drawing up of a constitution by a legislative assembly.

Mr De Klerk said Chief Buthelezi was not only his responsibility. It was also the duty of others in the negotia-

tion forum to persuade all participants to become fully involved.

Mr De Klerk told Mr Douglas Gibson (DP Yeoville) that he did not think negotiations to draw up a new constitution need take a year. It was important that a new constitution should be the result, not of "storm tactics" but of fundamental and bona fide negotiations.

Mr WP Doman (Nat Vasco) asked Mr De Klerk about the "inciting" statements by people like Mrs Winnie Mandela, Mr Peter Mokaba and Mr Tony Yengeni.

Mr De Klerk said the statements were being investigated in terms of existing legislation, as were some by AWB leader Mr Eugene Terre'Blanche.

The police would co-operate with the Attorney-General, and there was the possibility of prosecutions.

Mr De Klerk told Mr Desmond Lockey (Labour, Northern Cape) that it was up to parliament to cut his salary.

Mr Lockey wanted to know why Mr De Klerk, as head of "this corrupt and bankrupt government" demanded more taxes while he refused to pay taxes.

Mr De Klerk said the government was annually allocating more money to the disadvantaged, to better health and educational facilities and to the elimination of discrimination.

It was therefore a distortion to imply that taxes were being spent on corruption.

As far as his income was concerned, he paid taxes on his private income.

President pays no tax and has no plans to do so

CAPE TOWN — President FW de Klerk pays no income tax as head of state and he is not planning to follow the British Monarch by becoming a taxpayer.

Deputy Finance Minister Theo Alant said yesterday it had always been the position in the republic that the head of state paid tax on his income from private sources. The exemption, in terms of the Income Tax Act, was restricted to salary and emoluments paid by the state.

In reply to a question in Parliament from Northern Cape MP Desmond Lockey, Alant said any change to this dispensation could be made only during negotiations and if this happened an adjustment would have to be made to his salary to compensate for any tax he would have to pay.

Lockey raised the same issue during question time, with De Klerk stating that removing exemption would also affect the President in a new dispensation.

Lockey had asked whether it was fair in hard economic times for the President to refuse to pay a cent of his "royal" income of R21 090 a month.

De Klerk said his salary was determined by Parliament. "If they feel I am getting too much they are welcome to reduce it."

Sapa reports that in answer to another question, De Klerk said government would seriously consider sensible initiatives for progress in negotiations if it appeared that the multiparty talks were close to a dead end at the end of May.

Political Staff

But government was not thinking of "absolutely unilateral action", and there had never been any intention of setting up a specific six week deadline for progress.

Green Point MP Hennie Bester had asked whether government would consider setting up an interim multiparty executive if the talks did not achieve specific goals. De Klerk said this would depend on the progress made in the next five weeks.

In answer to a question from Sandton MP Dave Dalling, De Klerk said government had never threatened the TBVC states to give up their independence.

A recent government document on re-incorporation had been drawn up not as a threat, but as a basis for discussion, because government believed it would be better for them to become part of a SA in a strong system of regional government.

Dalling also asked whether De Klerk believed it was correct for the SA taxpayer to foot the bill for illegitimate governments which were blocking negotiations.

De Klerk said by focusing on the Ciskei and Bophuthatswana, and not mentioning Transkei, Dalling showed that his concerns were politically inspired, and not genuinely concerned with the TBVC states.

The TBVC governments were not illegitimate, as they had been brought into existence in terms of SA's laws and constitution.

Norwegian offer to tackle SA Violence

CAPE TOWN — The Norwegian government has offered financial and technical assistance to set up an institute for the study of public violence under the umbrella of the Goldstone commission.

In addition to a financial grant, two highly skilled, internationally experienced consultants would be seconded to the violence-monitoring institute for the initial eight months.

Norwegian Foreign Minister Johan Jørgen Holst said in a statement yesterday that a mission was sent to SA last year to inquire the type of assistance which could be offered to address violence.

After consultations the mission had identified the need for a comprehensive communication service to combat public, which was an important lesson in discipline and democracy.

Submissions from the UN, EC Commission and the OAU on the possible role these organisations could play in the SA election had been requested, Goldstone said he also hoped for submissions from community organisations with grassroots support on the fears people had of the elections.

The inquiry's recommendations would be submitted to the Independent Electoral Commission.

Goldstone said there had been no formal suggestion that the Goldstone commission become a permanent fixture of society after elections.

LINDA ENSOR

A panel of SA and foreign experts would be appointed as Goldstone felt it would be foolish not to benefit from the experience of elections in Asia, Africa and even Europe.

The panel would evaluate representations made by local players and then make recommendations which could be negotiated between the players with the view to reaching an interim agreement.

The methods adopted in the inquiry into the rules and regulations governing marches and demonstrations would be applied, Goldstone said an advantage of this method of operation was that the major players were forced to debate the issues in public, which was an important lesson in discipline and democracy.

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Goldstone said there had been no formal suggestion that the Goldstone commission become a permanent fixture of society after elections.

Parties set deadline for talks proposals

BILLY PADDOCK

POLITICAL organisations involved in multiparty negotiations have until this evening to submit proposals to speed up tomorrow's negotiations.

They also have to table their proposals on the planning committee's recommendations to form six technical committees to formulate draft legislation. The planning committee is expected to meet well into the night to prepare all the documentation and collate the proposals for the negotiating council meeting tomorrow.

Negotiators were adamant that final preparation should be done, and vowed that the meeting tomorrow would see progress.

Part of the agreement at Monday's talks, which failed to move beyond procedural matters, was that all parties fully acquaint themselves with the Cedrus reports and hand in their proposals by 5pm today to the planning committee.

It was also agreed on Monday that because tomorrow's meeting was set to discuss constitutional issues, parties should prepare proposals well in advance to ensure time would not be wasted.

The recommendations from the planning committee was that six technical committees be set up to consider issues such as a transitional executive council, an independent media commission, armed formations, an independent telecommunications authority and an independent elections commission.

Tomorrow's meeting will also have to consider the planning committee's recommendation on violence, ways of strengthening the peace accord and the possibility of setting up a peace corps.

Parties will debate whether elections are necessary for interim structures.

They will also be dealing with the type of state a future SA will have, constitutional principles and the way forward for the transitional process.

FW launches undersea cable system

CAPE TOWN — The SAT-2 digital, optical fibre undersea cable system, spanning the Atlantic Ocean to the northern hemisphere, was officially launched by President F W de Klerk last night.

In his speech, De Klerk expressed confidence about reaching agreements which would rapidly lead to the establishment of the proposed transitional executive council, a transitional constitution and Bill of Rights and national elections.

He said the budgeted cost of the cable system, financed by 15 co-owning telecommunications bodies supplying services to Europe and the US, was R800m. Telkom bore R500m of the costs.

The co-owners from 14 different countries would contribute to maintenance on the basis of the number of channels purchased, Telkom said yesterday.

Laying of the cable was completed in October last year. It replaced the SAT-1 which became operative in 1969 and would be withdrawn at the end of June.

The new cable, with a total length of 9 512km and submerged at a depth of more than 4 000m for most of its length, would be connected to the global optical fibre network. Its southern terminal would be at Melkbosstrand near Cape Town and its two northern terminals at El Medano in Tenerife and Funchal in Madeira.

The cable would provide 7 680 speech channels between Cape Town and Madeira, 7 680 between Cape Town and the Canary Islands and 7 680 between Madeira and the Canary Islands. The SAT-1 had 360 speech channels.

The system was supplied by a British/French consortium consisting of STC Submarine Systems and Alcatel Submarcom.

De Klerk has had the first official video conversation via the new cable with Portuguese Prime Minister Cavaciao Silva and a Spanish foreign affairs official.

LINDA ENSOR

NP to unveil its new face

Political Correspondent
THE National Party will
unveil its new image to-
day.

The new look — in-
cluding different
colours and symbols — is
geared to making the NP
more appealing to voters
across the spectrum.

The NP's new image is
the product of months of
research and consulta-
tions with opinion
leaders. (S44)

The NP said last night
that President F.W. de
Klerk would be making
a significant announce-
ment about the future of
the NP at a briefing this
afternoon. CT 29/4/93

'Mass action in order' — FW

A PROGRAMME of rolling mass action was in order as long as it was conducted with great responsibility, President F W de Klerk said yesterday.

Addressing a news conference after hour-long talks with visiting Norwegian Foreign Minister Mr Johan Jorgen Holst at Tuynhuys, he said the National Party would qualify to sit in the same government with the president of the ANC, Mr Nelson Mandela, and other parties.

He said it was for new structures in the Transitional Executive Council to set an election date.

If good progress was made, elections could take place by the end of the year. CT 29/4/93

The talks with Mr Holst had been incisive, constructive, and in-depth. (3047) (37)

Mr Holst said he had obtained a commitment from the South African government that there would be a fully democratic solution. The talks had been constructive and he left with great hope. — Sapa

● FW hits out at demonstrators — Page 2



TALKS ... Mr De Klerk and Norwegian Foreign Minister Mr Johan Jorgen Holst. Picture: BENNY GOOL

Star 29/4/93
CP to choose new leaders

The new leader of the Conservative Party will be chosen at a special party congress in Pretoria on Saturday May 15. CP sources have said that there was no doubt that deputy leader Dr Ferdi Hartzenberg would take over from Dr Andries Treurnicht as leader. At issue was who would become deputy leader. — Sapa. (304A)

'Hani was slain to stop talks'

By Bronwyn Wilkinson

CP President's Council member Clive Derby-Lewis and Polish immigrant Janus Waluz plotted the assassination of SACP chief Chris Hani because they were worried about the direction of South African politics after February 1990, it was claimed in the Pretoria Supreme Court yesterday.

Hani and eight other prominent South Africans, whose names appeared on a "hit list" found in the flat of alleged assassin Waluz, were identified as enemies of Derby-Lewis's own political aims, SAP advocate Mac van der Merwe said.

He was arguing during an urgent SAP application for the detention of Derby-Lewis for another 10 days under section 29 of the Internal Security Act.

Derby-Lewis did not appear in court, the hearing was adjourned until today and Derby-Lewis will stay in detention pending the court's decision.

He wanted to bring about political change by halting negotiations, and killing Hani was one way to do this, Van der Merwe told Mr Justice Curlewis.

According to affidavits, Derby-Lewis told police investigators he had not seen Waluz since 1990, but later he said this was untrue and he had seen him recently.

The pair had planned the Hani assassination together, and Derby-Lewis had instructed Waluz to carry out the assassination, supplying him with a weapon to do so, the court was told.

Waluz was arrested soon after Hani was assassinated on April 10 and Derby-Lewis was arrested last Saturday.

Advocate Bernice de Vos, appearing for Derby-Lewis, said he had denied telling police he had either plotted the Hani killing or instructed Waluz to carry it out.

Arguing that police needed to detain Derby-Lewis for an-

'Hani slain to stop talks'

From Page 1

other 10 days, Van der Merwe said he was withholding information on the conspiracy surrounding the Hani assassination and the planned killings of other people he had identified as his political enemies.

De Vos argued that it was impossible for police to say Derby-Lewis had more information.

But the judge pointed out that in his affidavit, Derby-Lewis had said he was prepared to give the police more information if his own rights were guaranteed and he was assured that his information would not incriminate him.

"This can only mean that he has more information to give," Curlewis said.

Van der Merwe said that police had also questioned Keith Darroll, who was held for questioning on Wednesday, and they wanted to put to Derby-Lewis

some of the information Darroll had given them.

He said Derby-Lewis had also refused to tell police where the Hani murder weapon had come from.

De Vos argued that the police simply wanted to detain Derby-Lewis further in the hope that he would incriminate his wife, Gaye, who is also being detained under section 29 of the Internal Security Act.

He said there was no proven link between Derby-Lewis obtaining the gun and the assassination, and the fact that he refused to say where the gun had come from could not be grounds for further detention.

The judge said it was impossible to believe that one person would have carried out all the planned assassinations on the hit list, and that the full ambit of the conspiracy would be revealed sooner or later.

The court heard Waluz had

told police under questioning that, despite his arrest, the assassinations would continue.

De Vos argued that for Derby-Lewis to be detained under section 29, the SAP had to show that the motive of the murder was political and that the alleged assassins intended to effect political change.

The judge said Hani's assassination could not be considered an "ordinary crime", and although section 29 detention was unfair and stringent, the police were worried about a conspiracy that could affect the stability of the State — not just the present Government as such.

The hearing continues today, as will two applications for the Derby-Lewis' release, although Gaye Derby-Lewis must be released or charged tomorrow morning since the SAP would have had to bring an application yesterday for her continued detention.

NEWS Alleged assassin on Hani killing • Tip-off led police to search for explosives

CP man 'gave me gun to shoot Hani'

THE ALLEGED ASSASSIN of Mr Chris Hani has claimed that top Conservative Party member Mr Clive Derby-Lewis gave him a gun and a silencer to shoot the South African Communist Party chief.

This is what Mr Janus Walusz, the man accused of assassinating Hani, allegedly told police, according to documents filed in the Pretoria Supreme Court yesterday.

Legal counsel for the police were applying for an extension of the 10-day limit on Derby-Lewis' detention under Section 29 of the Internal Security Act

CP CONNECTION Janusz Walusz makes startling claims in court papers:

in connection with the assassination. Reference was also made in the documents to an affidavit in which Derby-Lewis admitted he had identified certain "enemies".

He said in the affidavit that he had decided that Hani and these "enemies" should be killed.

Affidavits made to and by police conducting the investigation were

handed in the application before Mr Justice Curlew.

Derby-Lewis will know today whether he is to remain in detention.

Justice Curlew's withheld judgment in yesterday's application by General Mpumali Tloane that the detention period be extended for another 10 days.

Derby-Lewis' wife, Gaye, is expected to be released today. - *Supra*.

Sowetan 30/4/93.

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No hassle over white president

Source 2014/93
ANC president Mr Nelson Mandela would be prepared to serve under a white president in a future South Africa, he said in an internationally televised interview yesterday.

Speaking live on CNN, Mandela said he did not believe the African National Congress was losing touch with its grassroots supporters and accused the mass media of being selective in their reporting of his being booed at the memorial of the late

■ Nelson Mandela is prepared to serve under one: *(initials)*

South African Communist Party chief Chris Hani. *(306A)*

Replied to a question from interviewer Brent Sadler, Mandela said the ANC was concerned with ideas and not with colour.

"If the people of SA want a white man, we will consider ourselves bound by their verdict," he said.

Chance for redemption *Star 30/4/93* as talks restart *(30/4)*

By Kaizer Nyatumba
Political Correspondent

Negotiators will get another chance to redeem their disappointing performance on Monday when the multiparty Negotiating Council (NC) meets again at the World Trade Centre today.

The meeting, which comes after yesterday's 10-member planning committee meeting, is expected to deal with issues which the April 1 gathering of the negotiating forum mandated the NC to consider.

The 104-member NC — each one of the 26 parties and organisations represented has two delegates and two advisers — is the body in which "real" negotiations take place.

The lack of progress, which ANC and Government negotiators attributed to "spoiling tactics" by the Concerned Southern Africans Group (Cosag), was also caused by some members of Cosag who said they had not received certain important documents on time.

IFP national chairman Dr Frank Mdlalose launched a scathing attack on the Government and the ANC, accusing them of collusion in violence against Inkatha members.

The IFP, Mdlalose said, was not impressed with the manner in which slain SACP leader Chris Hani's murder was "being cynically used as a gambit to make unilateral demands over the timetable of change".

The eight issues the NC has to decide are constitutional principles, a constitution-making body, a transitional constitution, the form of state, a transitional regional government, fundamental human rights in the transition, the transitional executive council and its sub-councils, and the reincorporation of the homelands.

3 homelands to join SA

soon - Pik

CAPE TOWN — At least three of the TBVC states would return to South African jurisdiction soon, Foreign Affairs Minister Pik Botha predicted yesterday.

Introducing debate on the foreign affairs vote, he said he hoped the TBVC states would be reincorporated soon, because public services in Transkei and Ciskei were collapsing.

He and his department remained concerned about misappropriation in the TBVC states.

"The worse the misappropriation becomes, the more difficult it will be to repair the damage."

However, the Government had established controls and procedures, such as joint financial adjustment arrangements and measures to strengthen financial management.

Significant progress had been achieved in reducing budgetary deficits but towards the end of the 1980s increased allocations had been made to these states to eliminate pension backlogs.

Botha said Bophuthatswana's financial position was different from that of the other TBVC states as it had a much broader income base. — Sapa.

2011-12-21

- Blue symbolised the sky and water of South Africa which we all share.
- Green was for South Africa's nature, agriculture and the prosperity for all.
- White was for "peace and national unity among all South Africans".
- The golden lines symbolised the country's wealth "in which all its people should be able to share by means of free and dignified expression of talent".
- The diagonal panels in the flag symbolised movement and energy — "a breakaway from the traditional, but static, horizontal or vertical panels".

PRESIDENT F W de Klerk yesterday said he was more than sorry for apartheid.

Unveiling the colours, logo and flag of the "new" National Party, the NP leader said his party "deeply regretted" the misery which apartheid had inflicted on fellow South Africans.

"Deep regret goes much further than saying you are sorry. Deep regret says that if I could turn the clock back and if I could do anything about it, I would have wanted to have avoided it."

"Yes, we say we are sorry," the NP leader told a



disadvantaged communities in the name of private development in areas such as education and housing. He said apartheid had been particularly damaging, many people had been particularly poor, and that the NP would have to take a long-term view of the country's future. Six job reservations and the pass laws as distinct from the Bantu Education Act were the most important in a clear bid to bury the ghost of apartheid in the past. He said the NP was not "deeply sorry" for the effects of apartheid but that "apartheid belongs to the past." He said the NP was now "deeply sorry" for the effects of the Bantu Education Act, but that the NP could not go any further. He said the NP was now "deeply sorry" for the effects of the Bantu Education Act, but that the NP could not go any further. He said the NP was now "deeply sorry" for the effects of the Bantu Education Act, but that the NP could not go any further.

long to a dream of separate nations and states, even though they were not prepared to accept that. "This we regret and it is for this reason we are working on a new constitution.

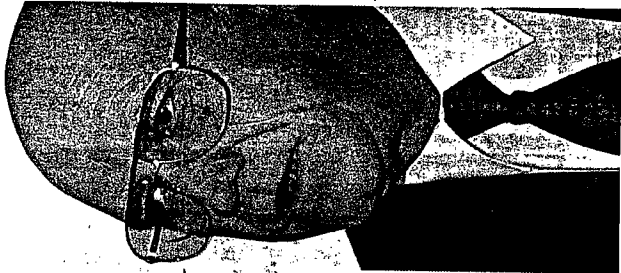
"It was never our goal to deprive people of their rights and to cause misery. However, separate development and apartheid led to just that." Mr De Klerk said the new colours, logo and flag were not merely "a cosmetic exercise of a public relations trick".

They represent the new National Party, rid of the

The integration of people of all colours into NP ranks had already proceeded "very far".

● The Democratic Party's national chairman, Mr David Gant, said last night the NP's cosmetic al-

They represent the new National Party, rid of the baggage of the past and fit and ready for the new



APOLOGISED ... FW de Klerk:

tempt to change its image "will not hide the party's record of repression, discrimination, corruption and maladministration or erase the mess in which this government has landed this country's citizens."

I regret apartheid, says FW

CAPE TOWN — After years of hesitation, President F W de Klerk finally said it.

At a function yesterday to unveil the NP's new colours, logo and flag, De Klerk said he and the NP were "more than sorry" for the misery inflicted by apartheid on "South Africans."

But De Klerk added that he did not believe the architects of apartheid were vicious people: at one time apartheid was considered a verligte mechanism in NP circles to bring about people's freedom.

"Deep regret goes much further than saying you are sorry. Deep regret says that if I could turn the clock back, and if I could do anything about it, I would have wanted to avoid it," he said.

De Klerk said that while the NP's past was used against it by its political adver-

saries, "what we will use against them is their present". The NP's new image and symbols were not cosmetic; they "represent the new NP has once again taken the lead over its opponents. They are still carrying the burden of the past with symbols of conflict and struggle, such as spears and shields, and of discredited ideologies, such as the hammer and sickle."

De Klerk said the NP's new flag, which bears a more than passing resemblance to the Namibian national flag, came as "a bit of a shock" when he first saw it on Tuesday, but by yesterday it had grown on him to the extent that he was enthusiastic about it.

The flag is dominated by an image of the

☐ To Page 2

Apartheid

sun, flanked by gold, diagonal panels, and blue and green sections. The sun, intended to be a peculiarly African image, was carefully canvassed in opinion polls, and anthropologists — but not sangomas — were also consulted.

The sun, De Klerk said, "shines on everyone regardless of race or conviction". It "stabilises our entire solar system — in the same way that the NP stabilises SA politics".

The symbolism of the flag was given as:
☐ Red sunbeams: the warmth the NP conveys in its message;

- ☐ Blue: the sky and water which all South Africans share;
- ☐ Green: SA's nature and agriculture which belong to all;
- ☐ White: peace and national unity;
- ☐ The golden lines: SA's wealth; and
- ☐ The diagonal panels: movement and energy.

DP national chairman David Gant said that the NP's cosmetic change to its image "will not hide the party's record of repression, discrimination, corruption and maladministration, or erase the mess in which this government has landed this country's citizens".

☐ From Page 1

I regret apartheid - FW

Political Staff

CAPE TOWN — President de Klerk said last night he deeply regretted the miserable experiences of black people under apartheid and wished the country could have avoided that era.

He chose the occasion of the unveiling of the National Party's new colours of blue, white, green, yellow and red

to say sorry for apartheid.

De Klerk singled out forced removals, attacks on people's dignity, restrictions on their freedom and job reservation. The NP should have realised these miseries.

However, the NP had renewed itself. It had scrapped apartheid, opened its doors to all South Africans and broken "with that which is wrong with its past".

The NP was not afraid to

say that "in as much as previous policies led to misery, we deeply regret that".

Separate development and apartheid had disrupted people, and the NP deeply regretted the way these policies had worked out.

The term "deeply regretted" went further than just saying sorry, De Klerk said. "It implies if I could turn the clock back, and if I could do anything about it, I would."

De Klerk said the former leaders of the NP were not vicious people. Separate development had to be seen in historical perspective.

At the time, separate development was a verligte policy compared to the policies of colonial powers.

Apartheid had not worked because of demographic and economic realities and because of the inseparable interdependence among all the people of South Africa.

While much had been done in terms of housing and education, "the damage which was done was more".

"For instance, the removal of people ... I think that control over movement of people had a negative effect on many, many people."

A new government should guard against falling into a reverse pattern of racial discrimination, he added.

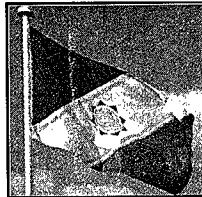


NP shows new colours

CAPE TOWN — The new National Party logo and colours — unveiled yesterday — were not a cosmetic or public relations exercise to get rid of a past image, but an honest statement of what the NP really was, President de Klerk said yesterday.

Speaking as leader of the NP at the launch of the new logo, colours and flag, De Klerk said the party had already changed its image.

"It is now necessary to



change its visual image. We are not dealing with public relations tricks.

"It is a statement that we have broken with that which was wrong in the past and are not afraid to say we are deeply sorry.

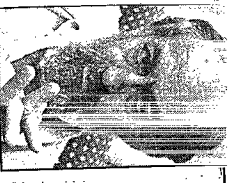
"I hope the sun will shine warmly on all South Africans and we are working towards a dispensation to create a place in the sun for all," he said. — Sapa.

Apartheid may be dead but be warned, racism is not, writes Victor Nell

The fox behind the wolves

STYL 30/4/93.

30414



HRIS Hani was buried on April 19 the Jewish Day of Remembrance for Enslaved People. In Cape Town and in the Witwatersrand-Vaal area.

His six million Jews. In that way does this concatenation of symbols suggest a way forward for a country that is dying on its knees, ripped apart by violence, and, ripped apart by violence, trying to hold its breath and rising like a heavy heart to face a new day? What is the meaning of this funeral in a dying country?

I have not consciously thought of this for many years, but the funeral of Hani's assassin, on April 19, and his burial on the fifth anniversary of the Warsaw Ghetto uprising — Chaim Nakhla, C.K. pressing — suggests that it is a necessary to do so.

Appartheid in South Africa may be dead, but racism is not. Civil war? A race war? Yes, that is the fate towards which this country is being propelled with a deadly and at breakneck speed by the dark forces that want to reap the bitter fruits of war.

How far the shadow of the Holocaust reaches! The European ambassadors, peace workers and policing experts I have talked with in the past week are unanimous in believing that there are forces in this country nested in secret enclaves within the security establishment, dispersed rather than

centralised, operating semi-autonomously in Natal, in the Border region, in Cape Town and in the Witwatersrand-Vaal area.

Their purpose is to destroy the peace process wherever large gains have been made or are about to be made by the carefully targeted killing of community leaders or the random slaughter of innocent people.

This is the old pattern. The new pattern is racist killing, of which Hitler would have been proud: hooded black men, with absolute military precision, kill white people in their golf clubhouse, or when they are just driving their children to school. Then, reinforcing the racist character of the attack, comes the Afrika claim: an untold voice, telephones, a newspaper to say the Azanian People's Army has struck again.

Nothing in the past two years has done more than these so-called Afrika killings to set black and white against one another and to terrify the white community out of its wits.

If destabilisation, then Afrika: if apartheid did not exist, it would be necessary to invent it.

Chris Hani's murder came days after Mandela's courageous call for the "animals" in ANC ranks to be rooted out. The murder was exquisitely timed to set Mandela's political

courage at naught, and, through Hani's smashed head and bleeding body, give a clear message to the self-same impatient radicals that Mandela had addressed.

It is a chilling message. Don't talk, talk means nothing, the whites are killing our leaders, the terror it brings are destroying this country. The economic recession that should have long ago bottomed out continues to deepen.

Unemployment soars, and the confidence the business community now has in the future will have to be measured with a micrometer.

Is there a fox? The people I have spoken to say there is no proof, one cannot make accusations without evidence.

True. But sometimes the absence of evidence is itself the evidence. It skilful operatives from within the intelligence community are at work, that trade mark will be that clues are blatted away, and perpetrators made invisible.

What rewards to these destabilising forces seek? First prize would be the indefinite postponement of majority rule on the grounds that the country has become ungovernable and that free elections cannot take place while a war is going on.

Second prize would be to delay or a heavy centrist and right-wing vote if there is an election. Thirdly, to entice people generally more to the right and vote for a whomsoever promises the toughest law and order programme.

I did a random telephone survey on political preferences in the Johannesburg northern suburbs recently. I spoke to shocked and frightened people. "When I go to work in the morning," said a businessman, "I only want to be worried about getting stuck in the traffic. I don't want to worry about being hijacked and killed."

One after the other the people I spoke to talked not about politics and ideology, but about A-Z's and their fear of violence.

Because of the violence and its increasingly racist tone, people who can't vote with their feet are going to vote for the Right. And if the right wing doesn't get a majority it will have enough power to make sure that its supporters in the security establishment continue to prosper.

Hani's murder escalates the demoralisation and panic in South Africa to new heights. Political leaders, whether one likes them or not, are symbolic national figures. When a John Kennedy or Ronald Reagan is assassinated, the shock waves go round the world. Someone we personally know, an

anchor for good or ill in our lives, has gone.

If Hani, who is next? The horror that will be unleashed on South Africa if a black gunman in the next week or two were to murder a white political leader, or if the next target of the fox is another high-profile black politician, is too terrible to contemplate. Meanwhile, racist threats multiply, and people arm themselves for war.

Who is the fox behind these wolves and their steadily escalating reign of terror? Who will snare the fox?

It no longer seems likely that the fox is in the service of the Government and under central control. The dirty tricks no longer serve Government interests. The vigour and purposefulness of the police investigation into the forces behind Hani's killing reinforce this view.

It is more likely that there is not one fox, but many, and these forces live and plot somewhere within the security establishment, clandestinely funded through devious channels by forces in South Africa and abroad (this is the age of mediocrism politics).

What really matters is not who runs the foxes, but how to neutralise them. At this time, there is only one answer, and that is power-sharing control of the security establish-

ment, with the institution of transparent regional and local lines of accountability. From the uniformed men and women on the street to the people they serve.

Intentionally, there are well-accepted models of police structuring that compel compliance with a code of conduct and standards of service, and make regional and local police commanders accountable to the communities they serve, not to their political masters.

Under such a system, the fox cannot survive. A racist spectre haunts this beautiful country. There are forces at work that actively promote the ugliest forms of racist fear and racist hatred.

But decency survives. The Partisan Song, sung by Jews around the world on the Day of Remembrance, begins with these words:

"Come what may, you mustn't say this is the end. The day is here when we can shout to all the world. We are still here!"

In brotherhood, in peace.
 ● Professor Nell is a commentator by psychologist working on violence prevention programmes in Johannesburg. He lived in Israel for 10 years and was working as a journalist during the Eichmann trial.

FM 30/4/93

(304A)

ELECTIONS

Think again FM

30/4/93

One of the few things not in dispute among the major political groupings, as they negotiate transition to democracy, is the future electoral system. It is now the conventional wisdom that a system of proportional representation (PR) will be best, probably the variation that makes use of party lists.

Under our present system, based on British practice, the names of individuals appear on the ballot paper; party affiliation is not even mentioned. This is the first-past-the-post system. The elected individual then represents the people in a geographically defined constituency; if a majority of his electors are not happy with his performance, they can kick him out at the next election. Thus, though party allegiance is important, the elected politician must ultimately answer to the people who voted for him.

Party list PR means that a party is allocated seats in the legislature (and regional and local councils) according to its share of total votes cast. So, if the new parliament has 400 seats, and the ANC wins 60% of the national vote, it would get 240 seats. At present voters elect individuals; under the party list system they would vote only for a party. This system obviously places enormous power in the hands of party managers and MPs are no longer directly unaccountable to voters: all they need to do to stay in parliament is to make sure they stay high up on the party's list.

At a time when SA appears to have embraced PR without question, it is ironic that several countries are questioning its value — in particular, Italy. In a referendum last week, 83% of Italians voted to change the system of election to the Senate from PR to first-past-the-post. The vote was so overwhelming that similar reform is expected for the lower House — and indeed all political elections in Italy.

The reason for the change in Italy is simple: PR was inefficient and conducive to corruption and, therefore, crippling.

The party list system had been approved in a referendum in 1946, in an attempt to prevent any one party — such as communists or fascists — from ruling. The result was 50 governments in 47 years, with enormous power placed in the hands of a handful of party managers. In order to achieve a governing majority, deals were constantly made to suit parties rather than the country.

Corruption flourished: elected MPs proved accountable to those who bribed

them rather than the voters. At present more than 250 of the 945 elected Italian senators and deputies are under arrest or investigation for corruption or links with the Mafia.

Even in countries which have not plumbed such depths of corruption, such as Israel and Sweden, PR has caused problems in governing. Because smaller parties are so easily given a say, forming a government often depends on building a broad coalition. This in turn means that smaller parties must be bought off — and that larger parties can be held hostage by tiny splinter groups. This has happened frequently in Israel.

Everyone accepts that SA's political geography — black townships and white suburbs — means that the present constituency system cannot be carried forward undiluted. Yet it should not be assumed that there will always be two or three major players to ensure efficient government. Weak government may be good for business in a stable democracy; in a country in transition, it could be lethal.

The German system bears a second look. There half the parliamentary seats are regulated by PR and half by the constituency system. In this way half the MPs are directly accountable to voters and the role of the party bosses is reduced, while the mood of the country as a whole is still broadly reflected — and government has been able to govern.

Derby-Lewis aware of a plot ⁽³⁰⁴⁾ police ⁽³⁰⁴⁾

ADRIAN HADLAND ⁽³⁰⁴⁾

PRETORIA — Police interrogators were convinced CP member Clive Derby-Lewis was withholding information concerning a wide right-wing conspiracy to assassinate political leaders, the Supreme Court in Pretoria heard yesterday.

Police thus sought to extend his detention under Section 29 of the Internal Security Act for a further 10 days.

In papers before the court, it was alleged that Derby-Lewis and Janusz Walus, a suspect in the murder of SACP leader Chris Hani, had become concerned by the direction of SA politics since February 1990. People who opposed their political aims were identified and it was decided to eliminate them, the court heard.

SAP counsel Mac van der Merwe said Walus's certainty — even after his arrest — that further political murders would be carried out pointed to a wider conspiracy which threatened the security of the state and the current political process.

Information being collected by SAP investigators, including that supplied by Keith Darrel (released after questioning on Wednesday), would be put to Derby-Lewis over the next 10 days to ascertain the scale of the conspiracy, Van der Merwe said.

Judge T J Curlew, who adjourned the police application until today, stressed that Derby-Lewis had categorically denied he had had anything to do with the murder. He said he was astounded and horrified by

☐ To Page 2

Derby-Lewis ⁽³⁰⁴⁾

Derby-Lewis's trial by media. ⁽³⁰⁴⁾

Derby-Lewis was in a very difficult situation; he had been deprived of the right to remain silent and yet an extension was being sought by police on the grounds that he was withholding information.

"Here is a person against whom there are serious allegations, but how does he deal with it?"

The judge said he was puzzled that no application to hold the hearing in camera

⁽³⁰⁴⁾ had been requested. It was very upsetting that information contained in court documents would go out to the public.

The court was told that an extension of Gaye Derby-Lewis's detention order would not be sought and that she would be released by tomorrow.

Two urgent interdicts, brought by Derby-Lewis's stepson Andre Glaser for their release, were postponed until today.

☐ From Page 1

POLITICS

New Nat sun rises

THE OLD ... AND THE NEW SYMBOLS

Political Correspondent
MICHAEL MORRIS
and Sapa

CASTING itself as a party of renewal, the National Party has changed its colours and its logo in a bid to reflect its political reformation.

Dominated by a yellow and red sun motif, the new party symbol comes with the message that the NP offers everyone "a place in the sun".

Unveiling the new look, President De Klerk said: "This is not a cosmetic exercise. We are not dealing with PR tricks."

"This is a serious and honest statement of what the NP really is ... a party that is prepared to serve all South Africans, with support throughout the country, reaching out to the future and which has broken with all that was wrong in the past."

He said the NP was not afraid to say that "in as much as past policies caused misery, we deeply regret it."

Mr De Klerk was asked whether the regrets he expressed for the miseries caused by his party's past policies could not be extended to an apology.

He said the terminology used, "deeply regret", went much further than saying "sorry".

"Let me say if I could turn back the clock and could do anything about it, I would avoid it. In that sense, yes, I am sorry."

However the implementation of these policies eventually turned into racial discrimination.

"For that, we are deeply sorry," he said.

While much was done for disadvantaged communities in the name of separate development in areas such as education and housing there had been negative consequences through discrimination for many people. The NP was now deeply sorry for the effects of this discrimination. Apartheid had been particularly damaging when it came to forced removals such as District Six, job reservation and the pass laws.

Mr De Klerk said the logo change was not intended to "escape from the image of the past" so much as to create an image that matched the present policy and approach of the party.

He said he did not believe people would vote — or not vote — for the party because of its logo.

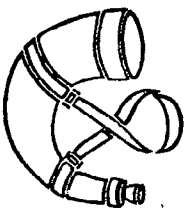
"It's not a vote-catcher, but it's a question of identity, of saying who we are visually."

Mr De Klerk added that he did not believe it would evoke a negative reaction from traditional NP supporters.

The flag, strongly resembling the design of the Numban flag, has as its most prominent feature a diagonal bar and green corners top and bottom. In the white band is the gold sun with red rays.

He said the party was proud of its new colours and carried a message that the party was firmly rooted in Africa.

"I hope the sun will shine warmly on all South Africans and we are working towards a dispensation to create a place in the sun for all."



The powder horn, the NP's first symbol.



The arrow-thrust, symbol of the reforming 90s.

But the name stays the same

TOS WENTZEL of The Argus Political Staff

A change of name for the National Party has been firmly rejected by its leadership.

At the unveiling of the party's new colours and logo President De Klerk said more and more people agreed that the name reflected what the party was and where it wanted to take the country. It was now a locally new party.

A statement issued by the party's information service said the National Party had been renewed.

"We have left apartheid behind, opened our membership and have brought about renewal within our party."

"Shouldn't we therefore re-name our name as well? It was decided not to because our name is today more appropriate than ever before."

"We are open to anyone who believes in peace, justice and prosperity for all, who

rejects domination and believes in stability for progress. More people in our country share these values than those who reject them."

"In contrast mass organisations members show conflicting values, from peace-loving to militant and radical, socialists to supporters of a free-market system, from communists to Christians. This forces their leaders to constantly change their tune."

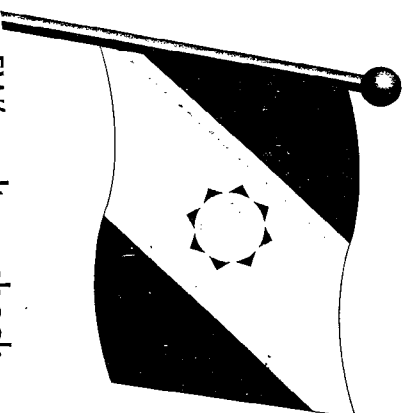
"Countrywide this increasingly leads to disillusionment of thousands of their supporters with the result that they are turning to us, who put national interest first. This makes us a national party."

"The values of the NP are clearly visible for all to see. We speak and we live it."

"When negotiations break down it is the NP who brings the participants together."



A new symbol dawns ... an African sun, in new colours.



FW's culture shock

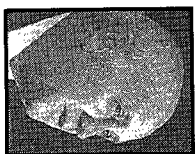
Political Correspondent

PRESIDENT de Klerk was shocked when he first saw the new-look National Party logo ... but it grew on him.

He admitted yesterday that

his first glimpse of the yellow and red Africanised sun-motif induced "culture shock".

"But after sleeping on it, I found it had grown on me and now I'm very enthusiastic about it," he said.



President De Klerk



Mr Nelson Mandela

De Klerk: Press on with talks

Mandela: Reform is working

Argus Correspondent NORMAN CHANDLER reports

A call for constitutional negotiations to be expedited was made by President De Klerk on international television on the eve of the today's round of multiparty negotiations.

ANC president Nelson Mandela said on the same programme "reform is not only working but has achieved very significant results in the last three years ... there is no reason why problems arising in the future cannot be resolved."

Speaking on the special CNN programme, South Africa Beyond ... Mr De Klerk said tension was taking its toll among moderates of all population groups who were deeply disturbed by the continuing violence.

Moderates expect a new set of circumstances, such as a stable atmosphere, and elections to be free and fair.

President De Klerk — who claimed to have millions of supporters for a non-racial

National Party — said Mr Mandela, with some other leaders of the ANC, had played a responsible role in the current situation but added: "The leadership is not doing enough to distance itself from the radicals."

He and the National Party would not like to see South Africa governed by the ANC because of the organisation's alliance with communism.

The government had, he told interviewers Brent Sadler, not "gone soft" on the ANC.

Mr Mandela told CNN anyone who had thought the peace process in South Africa would proceed smoothly "was not aware of our situation ... our shattered economy in the South Africa of today."

Despite this, the reform process was working — in particular with the unbanning of political organisations, return of exiles and the repealing of legislation "we have laid down the principles for a new South Africa."

Hope for rapid progress as talks resume

304A
ARCT 30/4/93

The Argus Correspondent

JOHANNESBURG. — Negotiators will get another chance to redeem their disappointing performance on Monday when the multiparty Negotiating Council (NC) meets again at the World Trade Centre today.

The meeting, which comes after yesterday's 10-member planning committee meeting, is expected to deal with eight issues which the April 1 gathering of the negotiating forum mandated the NC to consider.

The 104-member NC — each one of the 26 parties and organisations represented has two delegates and two advisers — is the body in which real negotiations take place.

Monday's meeting ended disappointingly after the day was spent on arguments about procedural issues.

The lack of progress, which ANC and government negotiators attributed to "spoiling tactics" by the Concerned Southern Africans Group (Cosag), was also caused by some members of Cosag, who said they had not received some important documents on time.

Inkatha Freedom Party national chairman Frank Mdlalose launched a scathing attack on the government and the ANC, accusing them of collusion in violence against IFP members.

Dr Mdlalose said the IFP was not impressed with the manner in which slain South African Communist Party leader Chris Hani's murder was "being cynically used as a gambit to make unilateral demands over the timetable of change", and he urged that violence should not be addressed as a separate issue apart from con-

stitutional negotiations.

"Frankly, we hold little hope for a successful transition to democracy unless the question of political violence is addressed, and addressed properly. Constitutional negotiations cannot succeed on their own in taking the nation forward", said the IFP leader.

The eight issues the NC has to decide are constitutional principles, a constitution-making body, a transitional constitution, the form of state, a transitional regional government, fundamental human rights in the transition, the transitional executive council and its sub-councils and the re-incorporation of the homelands into South Africa.

Planning committee members were cautiously optimistic yesterday about today's meeting but would not comment further.

Intimidation, violence ruled out 'if elections are to be legitimate'

304A
AR 30/4/93

DENNIS CRUYWAGEN
Political Staff

SOUTH AFRICA will be in trouble if the country's first non-racial elections are not legitimate, says Mr Justice Richard Goldstone.

He told the Cape Town Press Club violence and intimidation did occur in other countries during elections.

But if it occurred here, the levels had to be such that they would not destroy the legitimacy of elections.

"There's no question that if the first elections in South Africa are not legitimate we're in big trouble."

He said everybody who wanted peace and a democratic form of government would have to ensure the elections were legitimate.

He said a committee of the Goldstone Commission would begin looking at the prevention of election vio-

lence during a sitting in Cape Town in July.

Political organisations and police were expected to make submissions and recommendations.

"It's my hope we get submissions from organisations with grassroots support, and churches and women's organisations.

He said there had been no request or suggestion that the commission should continue its work after elections.

"I have not given it a great deal of thought. I believe that in a country where there's a more democratic government many of the things we've been doing would have been done by government institutions and not independent commissions."

He said judges should not be doing the sort of job he was doing.

Denel rakes in net revenue of R298m

CAPE TOWN — Denel, established a year ago after the privatisation of sections of Armscor, earned a net revenue before tax and dividends of R289m, Parliament heard yesterday.

Public Enterprises Minister Dawie de Villiers said Denel had a total revenue of R2,818bn in its first year, from which a R60m dividend would be paid to the state. R54,3m had been provided for income tax payments.

Introducing debate on his vote, he said six enterprises reported directly to him — Eskom, Transnet, Denel, Alexkor, Foskor and the SA Forestry Company.

Robin Carlisle (DP Wyberg) said it was thought National Sorghum Breweries (NSB) was in serious financial trouble. He urged De Villiers to play "open cards" with Parliament about NSB and organisations under his control.

Roger Hulley (DP Constantia) said the SA economy was one of the most overprotected, rendering an export-led recovery impossible. Eskom, a state-owned monopoly which had been described as a "Stalinist dream", had failed in bringing electricity to disadvantaged communities.

Cehill Pienaar (AVU Heilbron), said in creating bodies such as Abakor, Parliament was creating economic Frankensteins that would do the economy no good.

Services in Transkei and Ciskei 'about to collapse'

CAPE TOWN — Foreign Minister Pik Botha told Parliament yesterday the reincorporation of Transkei, Venda and Ciskei should take place as soon as possible. Services in Transkei and Ciskei were in "a state of collapse", he said.

His department remained concerned about mismanagement and misappropriation in the TBVC states. The worse this mismanagement became, the more difficult it would be to repair the damage. However, government had established controls and procedures and significant progress had been made in reducing budget deficits.

Botha said Bophuthatswana was different from the other states because it had a broader income base and it recognised the value of effective control over scarce resources.

In debate on the Foreign Affairs vote Peter Soal (DP, Johannesburg North) said a secret government report had apparently concluded that the four "independent" homelands were not financially viable. He called on Botha to provide more insight about the report.

He said the TBVC states were "a visible, expensive example of NP failure".

If Bophuthatswana President Lucas Mangope believed there was no question of the homeland giving up its independence, "what is a delegation of his doing at the multiparty talks?" Soal asked.

Political Staff

In Transkei, "a military dictator runs rings around the SA government and muddies the negotiation process by constant revelations which may or may not have any credibility. He tweaks the nose of the SA government with amazing regularity."

Botha warned SA it had to face "new dangers" in the changing world order. "With the shakeout after the Cold War, we are witnessing the world settling into a cold peace, in which the arms race is replaced by an economic race," he said.

If SA continued to consume its creative energies in internal strife and in protracted negotiation, it would fall so far behind that it might never catch up.

"We cannot compete in the new world unless our attention and our talents are directed towards providing our people with the means towards this end."

"A world preoccupied with a competition for economic success, with the important countries of the world engaged in the pursuit of higher technology, will have little time for those who fail to get their belligerent past and animosities behind them."

He said SA was now represented in 79 countries and had signed a record number of international agreements, which enabled South Africans to travel more freely.

Whites losing faith in politicians

poll

Political Staff

CAPE TOWN — Whites are losing faith in politicians' ability to solve their problems, two public opinion surveys have found.

Research Surveys said yesterday between 40% and 50% of black men older than 25 professed more faith in politicians. Only one in four of those between 18 and 24 were as positive; 39% of whites had less faith than they had earlier while only 19% had more faith.

The poll, among 400 white males, 400 black males and 400 white managers, was held in March.

Markinor found metropolitan adults increasingly disillusioned with SA's political leaders.

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De Klerk and Mandela are ready to share power

5/04/93

SCA

PRESIDENT F.W. de Klerk and ANC president Nelson Mandela said yesterday they were ready to share power despite their differences, but De Klerk said the ANC was unfit to run SA alone.

In back-to-back interviews with CNN, both leaders were unusually conciliatory towards each other following two weeks of bitter accusations in the wake of SACP general secretary Chris Hani's assassination.

"The atmosphere is again improving," De Klerk said. "Obviously we went through a very bad patch... but things are calming down again."

Despite repeated questioning, neither man would say who should be SA's next president, but Mandela said the ANC was willing to accept anyone chosen democratically — even if that person was white.

"We've made it clear we are concerned with ideas, not colour."

De Klerk said Mandela had the personal qualities of a president, but the ANC lacked the experience necessary to rule SA. "I think Mr Mandela has the typical qualifications, personal qualifications and qualities, expected of people who fill high office."

But the ANC was unacceptable "because of their adherence to communism".

However, Mandela said the ANC

was ready to govern. "This is the organisation that is best equipped to pull the country out of the present situation."

De Klerk said the ANC leadership had not done enough to distance itself from radicals in its ranks.

The NP had shed its radical element 10 years ago when it had undergone fundamental reform. It had found that accommodating conflicting views had had a stagnating effect on the NP and since it had taken a clear line, there had been a new dynamism and direction in the party.

Asked if right-wing radicals posed a threat to the negotiations process, De Klerk said it was up to responsible political leadership to reach an agreement that did not play into the hands of right- or left-wing radicals.

"Negotiations must give rise to an accord offering security, stability and peace to the overwhelming majority of South Africans."

He denied that there was a plan to arrest thousands of right-wingers before an election.

Government was moving away from detention without trial and wanted a state where people were charged under existing laws. Government was acting firmly, justly and in a balanced manner to address violence and was avoiding strong arm

methods, which would only increase the eventual conflict.

Both men committed their parties to a negotiated settlement and said the issue of a specific election date was not significant. "I don't think we should attach any significance to the fact that no specific election date has been set," Mandela said. De Klerk said an election date could be set as soon as negotiators had agreed what voters would be asked to elect.

Mandela expressed optimism about the outcome of negotiations, and said he did not believe the ANC was losing touch with its grassroots supporters.

□ In an interview in yesterday's Independent newspaper in London, Mandela said De Klerk must take bold action to join SA's democratic forces or risk being branded "chicken-hearted".

He said he respected De Klerk's integrity as a negotiating partner, but he blamed De Klerk for "his timidity towards the entire (white) right wing". De Klerk still clung to the belief that he could unite the Afrikaner nation, Mandela said.

Mandela warned that right-wing extremists posed a serious threat to SA's transition. "They want to plunge this country into a racist, bloody civil war." — AP-DJ, Sapa-Reuter.

NEGOTIATIONS

Who will blink first?

Fm 30/4/93

Government and the ANC may have seriously underestimated opposition in the multi-party negotiating forum to their efforts to whip other delegates into line behind bilateral agreements reached in private meetings. It now seems that they will have to offer significant compromises to ensure commitment by the IFP, at least, and others in the Concerned South Africans Group (Cosag) to the

id, it was simply a useful tool that presented itself on the day. Had it not been available, another reason would have been found to stall the proceedings. Says Andrew: "There is a need for urgency, but important underlying problems are being glossed over. The ANC and government may be under pressure, but some other parties don't see the situation in the same light."



six-week schedule laid down by President F W de Klerk.

This week's first meeting of the negotiating forum at the World Trade Centre in Kempton Park stumbled over a relatively petty administrative issue (some delegates claimed they did not receive their documentation in time to study it thoroughly), but the underlying dissent among Cosag members over the entire process was palpable, according to some observers.

The attitude was summed up by IFP negotiator Joe Mathews, who told delegates bitterly that talk of urgency by the ANC and government "leaves me stone cold."

In addition, IFP delegation chief Frank Mdloshe issued a document in which he accused government and the ANC of conspiring against it.

At the end of the day, a frustrated ANC secretary-general Cyril Ramaphosa accused the IFP of trying to wreck the talks. Government's chief negotiator, Constitutional Development Minister Roelf Meyer, said he was "disappointed" at lack of progress on the first day. But both men seemed to miss the real issue: Cosag's concern that it is being bulldozed into positions which members have neither discussed nor accepted.

DP negotiator Ken Andrew says a "fundamental problem" is that the ANC and government pay lip service to a multilateral process and inclusivity but really reach bilateral agreements and accuse dissenters of being obstructionist. He says the two parties must decide which process they want to follow.

Though the complaint on Monday about not receiving documents in time seemed val-

Andrew says there are also problems of organisational insecurity and ambivalence, in that not all parties want to work towards a truly nonracial democracy. There are also vested interests. Groups represented by two-thirds of the 26 delegations will probably disappear after elections; so they want to maintain a platform for as long as possible.

The nature of the process is different to that of Codesa. It is more inclusive, having drawn in the CP and PAC. The IFP is no longer a lonely and sometimes insecure voice of dissent as it often was on various issues at Codesa. Inkatha now has a number of vocal and confident allies to bolster its opposition and challenge seriously the "sufficient consensus" needed to reach agreement when it wishes to do so.

In addition, says Andrew, the current talks did not begin with a declaration of intent. "These talks are based on the assumption that all delegates agree with the Codesa declaration of intent, but some don't. We are not working towards a goal that has been agreed on and that's problematic. If you don't know what you are trying to achieve, it's difficult, if not impossible, to agree on how to achieve it. That's the position we are now in."

Today's meeting of the negotiating council (a scaled-down version of the negotiating forum) will attempt to break the logjam by debating the formation of six or seven technical committees to examine key aspects of the transition. The issues that have been proposed are: an independent electoral commission; the State-controlled media; the scrapping of repressive legislation to ensure unrestricted political activity; the Transi-

tional Executive Council (TEC) and its sub-councils and also the security forces and other armed formations; the strengthening of the peace process; and the establishment of a peace corps. It is possible that a seventh committee will be established to concentrate on constitutional issues.

If they are established, the committees will work independently and report initially to the 10-member planning committee.

Andrew says the formation of the technical committees would be an important mechanism to achieve multilateral consensus on the issues but they are not a foregone conclusion. As is the case with the overall process, the committees are based on the assumption that all parties agree with the issues they will investigate.

Based on Monday's meeting, it seems that government's six-week timetable will be difficult to achieve. It wants agreement on the formation of a TEC and an election date by the end of May. Whether the IFP and other Cosag members will continue to stall the talks — and possibly even pull out — depends largely on what concessions government and the ANC are prepared to make.

On the other hand, says Andrew, withdrawal from the process would carry a high price for the IFP. It is unlikely to pull out unless no reasonable alternative is available — and then only in conjunction with its Cosag allies.

SACP Fm 30/4/93

Biding time

The loss of Chris Hani, the SA Communist Party's general secretary and leading light, might have been a mortal blow to the party — had it intended carving out a separate role for itself by fighting next year's general election on its own, rather than as part of the ANC alliance.

Hani had a particular magnetism not nearly matched by anyone else in the party (or the ANC/SACP/Cosatu alliance, for whom the loss is even greater). Yet, given its roots and style of operation, the SACP is not the kind of party that is especially dependent on one individual, argues Wits University's Tom Lodge. Hani's death, therefore, is unlikely to cause significant change in the party's fortunes or direction.

It believes, however, that "there is now a real possibility of pushing forward rapidly for the realisation of our basic transitional demands — an election date to be announced within weeks, a transitional executive council and joint control of armed forces."

The party's direction is to be spelled out at

Talks impasse needs mediator's skills

6/10/73 30/4/93

ALAN FINE

intervention. But sometimes it becomes the only way for an agreement to be reached if serious conflict is to be avoided.

LAST year the Independent Mediation Service of SA (Imssa) mediated in 507 industrial disputes. It has, since its formation less than 10 years ago, done so in 3 000 such cases. More recently it has become involved in similar ways in a growing number of community conflicts where it has intervened to assist the building of peace structures and defuse potentially violent situations. In the vast majority of these cases, the intervention has led, directly or otherwise, to a settlement.

Is it not time for the political negotiators at the World Trade Centre to begin thinking seriously about the possible necessity of mediation in their case some time in the near future?

Mediation has become a fine art. It is not always necessary or appropriate — the first prize in terms of future relationships is for parties to settle disputes without third party

intervention. But sometimes it becomes the only way for an agreement to be reached if serious conflict is to be avoided.

Mediation is "indicated" — to use the medical term — in particularly circumstances. Most, specifically, mediation becomes valuable where parties have become stuck in the rut of positional bargaining — parties sticking religiously to positions starkly incompatible with those of their bargaining partners who are doing the same. In such cases, negotiators become blinkered and refuse to see possibilities of creative compromise even when these exist.

There is hardly a better way of describing the present situation among negotiators at the World Trade Centre. The ANC and govern-

ment have more or less worked out a process of transitional, executive elections to an interim government and constituent assembly and negotiations in the assembly of a new constitution. The Concerned South Africans Group (Cosag) — led by Inkatha, the Bophuthatswana government and the CP — on the other hand, insists on the negotiation of a new constitution before any elections take place.

These incommensurable differences over procedure mask the real differences and concerns of the parties. The ANC, particularly, fears that

Cosag will hold out forever for a constitutional settlement on its terms.

It fears, not unjustifiably, that those homeland and segregationist white parties are seeking a political dispensation hardly different to the current one.

Government, too, is anxious for a settlement on terms reasonably in line with traditional democratic norms. Until those groups presumed minimal support can be shown at the polls, the NP/ANC view holds, those parties will be able to continue wielding more influence than the support bases justify.

Cosag, meanwhile, fears being steamrollered at a constituent assembly by a dominant NP/ANC grouping. And they (Mangosuthu

Buthelez and Lucas Mangope, at least) fear losing their struggle for a constitution which provides for a substantial decentralisation of power — which they hope will allow them to remain as significant regional leaders.

The CP bottom line, however, is less clear.

The point is that, on the substantive issue of regionalism — the most difficult constitutional issue — there are possibilities of agreement. The ANC has shifted substantially, although perhaps not yet sufficiently, from its initial insistence on a pure unitary state. But those possibilities are not even being explored as all parties get bogged down in purely procedural disputes and show little imagination as to how they are going to resolve their differences.

In a month or so, if they have not managed to get much further, it will be a job for Imssa — I.N.E.

REVIEW

Multiparty row looms as committee prepares to steer debate to real issues

6/10/79 30/4/73

BILLY PANDOCK

30/4/73

TODAY's multiparty talks could erupt in a row between government and the ANC on one side and Inkatha and the Congress South Africans Group on the other.

The 38 parties are meeting to focus on violence and the transition process.

Sources in the ANC and government said they were concerned that the Cosag parties were intent on stalling the process and could latch onto "any conceivable excuse, as they demonstrated on Monday".

They would cause "a substantial row" ANC secretary-general Cyril Ramaphosa in particular did not intend to allow a re-

peat of Monday's proceedings, at which no real negotiations took place.

The planning committee met last night to prepare the groundwork for today's meeting. The committee was looking at ways of ensuring that debate was concentrated on substantive issues of process and constitutional matters.

Violence is the most sensitive agenda issue. Parties are concerned that Inkatha will pursue its claim of a conspiracy between the ANC and the security forces to undermine it and kill its members.

Inkatha national chairman Frank Mdl-

has raised this in his speech on Monday.

When the matter was postponed to today, the text of his speech was released to the media. Inkatha refused Constitutional Development Minister Roelf Meyer's request to withdraw the document.

One source said that even if Inkatha did not pursue the matter in the forum, government and the ANC would release statements today on the document, making counterclaims to undermine Inkatha's position.

On Wednesday after a Cosag meeting, Mdlalose insisted that the issue of violence had to be addressed correctly and openly and indicated that his party would not back off from Monday's position.

Government and the ANC are known to be keen to avert mud-slinging in the talks, and they will attempt to steer controversy to committees.

Today's meeting of the negotiating council will try to break the logjam in talks by discussing the formation of six technical committees to examine key transitional issues. These are an independent electoral

Talks

6/10/79 30/4/73

are required. It also rejects elections for an interim government.

There are indications that Inkatha will not — at this stage — turn this into a make-or-break issue. ANC and government negotiators believe that with the international community and the media watching today's events closely, the Cosag alliance partners will try to avoid a repeat of Monday. Instead they will wait until the matter returns to the council in the form of planning committee recommendations.

30/4/73 From Page 1

Cosag nonetheless wanted yesterday that government and the ANC were heading for confrontation if they tried to force the pace and turn the council into a rubber stamp. It insisted on dealing comprehensively with its key concerns: to negotiate first the form of state for the new SA, and regionally.

The council will also be discussing the setting of an election date but is not expected to decide on this today.

See Page 8

commission, a media commission and telecommunications authority, a transitional executive council and subcouncils, control of armed formations, legislation, strengthening of repressive legislation, strengthening the police according to the formation of a peace corps.

To Page 2

Whites 'losing faith' in leaders

By BARRY STREEK
Political Staff

WHITE people were losing faith in the ability of politicians to solve their problems, two public opinion surveys have found.

Research Surveys, which released their results yesterday, found that 39% of whites had less faith than they had earlier, and

only 19% had more faith.

On the other hand, between 40% and 50% of black men over the age of 25 professed more faith in politicians than two years ago.

Markinor found in its survey that metropolitan white and black adults were becoming increasingly disillusioned with South Africa's political leaders. Most whites and blacks did not

believe that their economic situation had improved, and half the whites and a third of blacks believed the situation would deteriorate even further in the coming year.

It found that 41% of blacks and 43% of whites did not believe that there was any prospect of a happy future for all races in South Africa.

Row expected today at multi-party talks

Own Correspondent

CT 30/4/93

(Soud)

JOHANNESBURG. — A row is expected to erupt at today's multi-party talks between the government and the ANC on the one hand, and Inkatha and the Concerned South Africans Group (Cosag) on the other.

ANC and government sources said they were concerned the Cosag parties would stall the talks and would latch onto "any conceivable excuse as they demonstrated on Monday".

This would cause "a substantial row", particularly from the ANC as its secretary-general, Mr Cyril Rama-

phosa, has no intention of allowing a repeat of Monday's proceedings where no real negotiations took place.

Today, the 26 parties are due to discuss the violence and the formation of six technical committees to examine key transitional issues.

These are an independent electoral commission, media commission and telecommunications authority, a transitional executive council and sub councils, the repeal and amendment of repressive legislation, the strengthening of the peace accord and the formation of a peace corps.

ANC 'ready to rule country'

CT 30/4/93

(304A)

By ANTHONY JOHNSON
Political Correspondent

THERE was "no doubt whatsoever" that the ANC was ready to govern the country, Mr Nelson Mandela said yesterday.

Interviewed on a CNN programme, South Africa Beyond..., the ANC leader said his organisation was "already involved in government" and was "best equipped to pull the country out of its present mess".

Asked whether he was personally ready to assume the reins of power, Mr Mandela initially said he "may have doubts" about himself, but later said he would "obey" if voters told him to take the job of state president.

However, he added that he would be prepared to serve under a democratically elected white state president if that was what the voters wanted.

Setting of date not significant — Mandela



INTERVIEWED ...
FW de Klerk



PREPARED ...
Nelson Mandela

Mr Mandela said he "attached no significance" to the fact that no election date had been set, adding that in fairness to Mr De Klerk "he has said he will set a date before the end of May".

He said it had been agreed a Transitional Executive Council (TEC) would be installed not later than June and that elections would be held in the near future.

Mr Mandela said the reform process had achieved significant results in the last three years. Serious problems had been resolved in that period and he could see no reason why current problems could not also be overcome.

He said anyone who thought the process would proceed peacefully without hitches was not well informed.

The ANC president said that although the ANC did not regard the government as being legitimate and representative, Mr De Klerk was state president and it would "not be possible to bring about peace without his co-operation".

During his interview, Mr De Klerk praised the "responsible" role Mr Mandela had played in trying to ensure peace during a politically volatile period in the country's history.

Conciliatory

Speaking in the same programme, President F W de Klerk described Mr Mandela as person vested with "the personal qualifications of a person in high office", adding that he respected the ANC leader "as a man".

However, Mr De Klerk said he believed that the National Party had substantial support among all races and could end up as the largest party after the country's first non-racial elections.

In a remarkably conciliatory exchange, which was beamed live to millions of viewers worldwide, South Africa's foremost political leaders appeared committed to restoring confidence in the country's future.

Uncertainty

He expressed the hope that a broadly accepted government of national unity could relegate radicals on the left and right of the political spectrum to a "lunatic fringe".

Mr De Klerk said he had not been prepared to heed the advice of some and embark on "strong-arm" security measures to deal with the latest uncertainty, as this could have plunged the country into "a very deep conflict".

STATE PRESIDENT'S OFFICE**No. 693** ~~3041~~ (3041) **30 April 1993****APPOINTMENT OF MINISTERS AND A DEPUTY MINISTER AND CHANGES IN PORTFOLIOS**

1. It is hereby notified for general information that the State President has, in accordance with sections 24 and 27, read with section 20, of the Republic of South Africa Constitution Act, 1983 (Act No. 110 of 1983), decided to administer the National Intelligence Service with effect from 1 April 1993 and to appoint the following persons as Ministers/Deputy Ministers and make the following changes in portfolios:

(a) With effect from 1 March 1993:

Mr Jacob Albertus van Wyk as Minister of Water Affairs and Forestry.

(b) With effect from 1 April 1993:

Mr Hendrik Jacobus Coetsee as Minister of Justice and of Defence.

Mr Samuel Johannes de Beer also as the Minister responsible for the Office of the Commissioner for Administration.

Dr Elizabeth Hendrina Venter as Minister for National Health and Welfare.

Mr Pieter Gabriel Marais also as Minister for Education Co-ordination.

Mr Jakobus Albert Rabie as Minister of Population Development.

Mr Abraham Williams as Minister for Sport.

Dr Bhadra Ranchod as Minister for Tourism.

Mr Jacob Albertus van Wyk as Minister of Environment Affairs and of Water Affairs.

Mr Andrew Fourie as Minister of Regional and Land Affairs.

Mr Daniel Pieter Antonie Schutte as Minister of Home Affairs.

Mr Glen Morris Edwin Carelse as Deputy Minister for Welfare.

Mr Yakoob Mahamed Makda as Deputy Minister of Local Government.

Mrs Sheila Margaret Camerer as Deputy Minister of Justice.

2. The State President has also in accordance with sections 24 and 27, read with section 21, of the Republic of South Africa Constitution Act, 1983 (Act No. 110 of 1983), decided—

(a) to appoint Mr Adriaan Johannes Vlok as Chairman of the Ministers' Council of the House of Assembly with effect from 1 March 1993;**(b) to constitute the Ministers' Council of the House of Assembly with effect from 1 April 1993 as follows:**

Mr Adriaan Johannes Vlok as Chairman and Minister of the Budget and of Housing and Works;

Dr Elizabeth Hendrina Venter as Minister of Welfare;

KANTOOR VAN DIE STAATSPRESIDENT**No. 693** **30 April 1993****AANSTELLING VAN MINISTERS EN 'N ADJUNK-MINISTER EN VERANDERINGE IN PORTEFEULJES**

1. Hierby word vir algemene inligting bekendgemaak dat die Staatspresident kragtens artikels 24 en 27, saamgelees met artikel 20, van die Grondwet van die Republiek van Suid-Afrika, 1983 (Wet No. 110 van 1983), besluit het om met ingang van 1 April 1993 die Nasionale Intelligensiediens te administreer en om die volgende persone as Ministers/Adjunkministers aan te stel en portefeuljeveranderinge aan te bring:

(a) Met ingang van 1 Maart 1993:

Mnr. Jacob Albertus van Wyk as Minister van Waterwese en Bosbou.

(b) Met ingang van 1 April 1993:

Mnr. Hendrik Jacobus Coetsee as Minister van Justisie en van Verdediging.

Mnr. Samuel Johannes de Beer ook as die Minister verantwoordelik vir die Kantoor van die Kommissie vir Administrasie.

Dr. Elizabeth Hendrina Venter as Minister vir Nasionale Gesondheid en Welsyn.

Mnr. Pieter Gabriel Marais ook as Minister vir Onderwyskoördinerings.

Mnr. Jakobus Albert Rabie as Minister van Bevolkingsontwikkeling.

Mnr. Abraham Williams as Minister vir Sport.

Dr. Bhadra Ranchod as Minister vir Toerisme.

Mnr. Jacob Albertus van Wyk as Minister van Omgewingsake en van Waterwese.

Mnr. Andrew Fourie as Minister van Streek- en Grondsake.

Mnr. Daniel Pieter Antonie Schutte as Minister van Binnelandse Sake.

Mnr. Glen Morris Edwin Carelse as Adjunkminister vir Welsyn.

Mnr. Yakoob Mahamed Makda as Adjunkminister van Plaaslike Regering.

Mev. Sheila Margaret Camerer as Adjunkminister van Justisie.

2. Die Staatspresident het kragtens artikels 24 en 27, saamgelees met artikel 21, van die Grondwet van die Republiek van Suid-Afrika, 1983 (Wet No. 110 van 1983), besluit om met ingang van—

(a) 1 Maart 1993 mnr. Adriaan Johannes Vlok as Voorsitter van die Ministersraad van die Volksraad aan te stel;**(b) 1 April 1993 die Ministersraad van die Volksraad soos volg hier saam te stel:**

Mnr. Adriaan Johannes Vlok as Voorsitter en Minister van Begroting en van Behuising en Werke;

Dr. Elizabeth Hendrina Venter as Minister van Welsyn;

Mr Pieter Gabriel Marais as Minister of Education and Culture;

Dr Barend Leendert Geldenhuys as Deputy Minister of Welfare and of Education and Culture;

(c) **to constitute the Ministers' Council of the House of Representatives with effect from 1 April 1993 as follows:**

Mr Jakobus Albert Rabie as Chairman;

Mr Abraham Williams as Minister of Welfare;

Mr Gerald Norman Morkel as Minister of the Budget and of Housing;

Mr Pieter Willem Saaiman as Minister of Education and Culture;

Mr Cecil Barnard Herandien as Deputy Minister of Housing; and

(d) **to constitute the Ministers' Council of the House of Delegates with effect from 1 April 1993 as follows:**

Dr Bhadra Ranchod as Chairman and Minister of the Budget;

Mr Soobramoney Vythilingham Naicker as Minister of Housing and of Welfare;

Mrs Devagie Govender as Minister of Education and Culture;

Mr Yakoob Mahamed Makda as Deputy Minister of Housing and for Welfare.

3. The State President has also in accordance with section 25 of the Republic of South Africa Constitution Act, 1983 (Act No. 110 of 1983), appointed Mr George Shepstone Bartlett as Acting Minister of Public Works with effect from 1 April 1993.

DEPARTMENT OF FOREIGN AFFAIRS

No. 722

30 April 1993

PRESENTATION OF CREDENTIALS

It is hereby notified that Mr Willem Petrus Steenkamp was received by the President of the Republic of Gabon on 1 April 1993, on which occasion he presented his Letter of Credence as Ambassador Extraordinary and Plenipotentiary of the Republic of South Africa to the Republic of Gabon.

(4/2/208)

No. 723

30 April 1993

PRESENTATION OF CREDENTIALS

It is hereby notified that Mr Llewellyn Crewe-Brown was received by the President of the Republic of Malawi on 19 March 1993, on which occasion he presented his Letter of Credence as Ambassador Extraordinary and Plenipotentiary of the Republic of South Africa to Malawi.

(4/2/151)

Mnr. Pieter Gabriel Marais as Minister van Onderwys en Kultuur;

Dr. Barend Leendert Geldenhuys as Adjunkminister van Welsyn en van Onderwys en Kultuur;

(c) **1 April 1993 die Ministersraad van die Raad van Verteenwoordigers soos volg hier saam te stel:**

Mnr. Jakobus Albert Rabie as Voorster;

Mnr. Abraham Williams as Minister van Welsyn;

Mnr. Gerald Norman Morkel as Minister van Begroting en van Behuising;

Mnr. Pieter Willem Saaiman as Minister van Onderwys en Kultuur;

Mnr. Cecil Barnard Herandien as Adjunkminister van Behuising; en

(d) **1 April 1993 die Ministersraad van die Raad van Aengevaardigdes soos volg hier saam te stel:**

Dr. Bhadra Ranchod as Voorster en Minister van Begroting;

Mnr. Soobramoney Vythilingham Naicker as Minister van Behuising en van Welsyn;

Mev. Devagie Govender as Minister van Onderwys en Kultuur;

Mnr. Yakoob Mahamed Makda as Adjunkminister van Behuising en van Welsyn.

3. Die Staatspresident het ook kragtens artikel 25 van die Grondwet, 1983 (Wet No. 110 van 1983), mnr. George Shepstone Bartlett met ingang van 1 April 1993 as Waarnemende Minister van Openbare Werke aangestel.

DEPARTEMENT VAN BUITELANDSE SAKE

No. 722

30 April 1993

Geloofsbriefoorhandiging

Hierby word bekendgemaak dat mnr. Willem Petrus Steenkamp op 1 April 1993 deur die President van die Republiek Gabon ontvang is en dat hy by daardie geleentheid sy Geloofsbrief as Buitegewone en Gevolmagtigde Ambassadeur van die Republiek van Suid-Afrika in die Republiek Gabon oorhandig het.

(4/2/208)

No. 723

30 April 1993

Geloofsbriefoorhandiging

Hierby word bekendgemaak dat mnr. Llewellyn Crewe-Brown op 19 Maart 1993, deur die President van die Republiek Malawi ontvang is en dat hy by daardie geleentheid sy Geloofsbrief as Buitegewone en Gevolmagtigde Ambassadeur van die Republiek van Suid-Afrika in Malawi oorhandig het.

(4/2/151)

IN April this year women won an important victory of inclusion in the negotiations at the World Trade Centre. The lack of media coverage of the ANC Women's League demonstration at Kempton Park and important proposals put forth by the ANC and Inkatha at the forum, has led to the marginalisation of this important victory. Nevertheless, women will be present in each delegation at Kempton Park.

The tragic events of the past few weeks have correctly resulted in calls for action to set the transition process in motion. Issues of immediate concern include: the establishment of an independent electoral commission (IEC) to administer democratic elections; the creation of an independent media authority; the reintegration of the TBVC areas; agreement on the composition and rules of a transitional executive council (TEC); and measures to ensure joint control over security forces.

A further decision over the type of state (federal versus unitary) has been insisted upon by some parties.

Decisions on each of these issues will have important consequences for South African women across the political and social spectrum. Thus, negotiators must consider the impact of their decisions on women, who will make up the majority of participants in a democratic electoral process.

First, women's participation on the IEC is critical. The rules established by the IEC, including the reintegration of the homelands (where many more women than men live), delimitation of constituencies, and the location of polling sites, will significantly affect women's participation in elections.

If the IEC decides to regulate the selection of parties' electoral lists, then quotas or fixed targets for the numbers and placement of women on party lists should be considered.

Furthermore, IEC voter education must consider that one of the largest groups of voters will be rural, illiterate women.

Many women have argued that a code of conduct accepted by political parties must articulate women's unique concerns, such as violence against women, intimidation of domestic workers, farmworkers and other vulnerable women. An electoral process that does not permit women voters to participate in an environment free from violence, coercion and intimidation will not be free and fair.

Second, an independent media must seek to publicise women's issues during the electoral process. Women's organisations must be given equal time to present the views and opinions of women.

Women candidates and national figures must be promoted, not ignored, by the

Women's voices will be heard at last



Women, who will make up the largest group of voters in the elections, will now take part in the negotiations towards democracy.

**By RHODA KADALIE and
AMY BIEHL**

media. Representatives of the diverse spectrum of South African women must be included on a restructured SABC board. The media will be integral to the education of women as voters and promoting their confidence in the process.

Third, women must be part of the TEC. Without a presence in the most powerful body of the transitional period, the commitment to include women in the World Trade Centre talks can only be viewed as political opportunism and electioneering by male political leaders.

Fourth, women must contribute to discussions over the security of the process. The security concerns of women have continually been ignored despite the fact that women and children are arguably the most insecure groups in South Africa. Women are victims of "politically motivated" and domestic vio-

lence.

The insensitivity of security forces to women victims of violence and the failure of the Peace Accord structures to involve women, among other issues, must be part of security discussions.

Fifth, the critical implications of federalism or regionalism for women have not been considered in the current debate. Negotiators must carefully examine how the powers delegated to regions affect women.

Situations where states are given control over "social welfare issues", where states have the power to legislate issues such as abortion, or where a state constitution provides for a greater jurisdiction of customary law, could have a tremendous impact on women.

The constitution of the state of kwaZulu, provides an interesting example of the implications of federalism for women. On one hand, it proposed to "recognise and protect the application of traditional and customary rules". This would have important legal repercussions for kwaZulu women.

On the other hand, it provides a clause for "procreative freedom", permitting women to "terminate an unwanted pregnancy when safe". The implication of state powers in this case could result in an interesting scenario where men flock to kwaZulu to reap the legal benefits of customary marriages and women rush to the state to obtain legal abortions.

Women across the political and social spectrum are making their voices heard on issues such as federalism, customary law, security, constitutional equality and economic empowerment.

Yet, women negotiators will be accountable to their political parties and not the broad and diverse constituency of South African women. Thus, links between women negotiators and women's organisations, such as the Women's National Coalition, women's sections of political parties, the Rural Women's Movement, trade union women, women's anti-violence campaigns and other regional and grassroots bodies, must be maintained and strengthened during this process.

Negotiators must remember that women are more than 53 percent of the voting population. A transition process that does not consider their safety, their equality and their unique experience of racial and gender discrimination will be inherently flawed.

●Rhoda Kadalie is gender equity coordinator and Amy Biehl a Fulbright scholar at the University of the Western Cape.

Three power blocs in struggle for future SA

Star 20/4/93

The future of South Africa is being debated at the World Trade Centre. Political Correspondent KAIZER NYATSUMBA explains what is happening, and why.

WHEN negotiations began at the World Trade Centre outside Kempton Park this week, many believed the negotiators would move with speed towards an agreement.

This would lead to a Transitional Executive Council (TEC), elections for a constituent assembly and, eventually, a government of national unity and reconstruction.

Expectations were high before Monday's Negotiating Council meeting, which proved to be a failure.

The two parties which matter most, the Government and the ANC, had told South Africans the next six weeks would be the most crucial in the country's history.

Not only would agreement on a TEC be reached, but a date for the watershed one-person one-vote election would also be set.

They had pointed out that the country continues to bleed economically, that the violence is scaring off potential investors, and that millions of South Africans are beginning to lose confidence in a negotiations process which has yet to yield meaningful results since it began three years ago.

After Monday's meeting, however, hopes began to fade.

Earlier, Inkatha Freedom Party's Joe Matthews had told other negotiators: "I am not impressed by talks of urgency ...

They leave me stone-cold."

The 104-member Negotiating Council — each of the 26 organisations and parties has two delegates and two advisers — convenes again today. Will it do better this time?

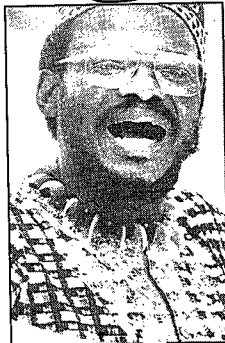
It is important to understand that there are three power blocs in the negotiations, and to know what they each want out of the process.

Until the collapse of Codesa 2 in May last year, there were two strong power blocs: the ANC and its allies on the one hand, and the Government and its cohorts on the other hand.

Siding with Pretoria on a number of issues were the IFP, the governments of Bophuthatswana, Ciskei and QwaQwa, and some minor tricameral parliamentary parties. The ANC could count on the support of the South African Communist Party, the Transvaal/Natal Indian Congress, the Labour Party and the governments of Transkei, KaNgwane, Lebowa, KwaNdebele and Venda.

And so "sufficient consensus" meant an issue had to have the support of both the Government and the ANC, who would each sell it to their allies.

This explains why negotiations broke down in Codesa 2 when the ANC and the Government failed to reach agreement on the percentages needed for decisions to be taken in an elected constituent assembly.



Buthelezi ... angered by agreement

This situation changed, however, when on September 26 last year ANC president Nelson Mandela and President F W de Klerk signed a Record of Understanding, which included the fencing-in of hostels identified as flashpoints of violence, and a ban on the carrying of weapons, including "cultural weapons".

The agreement so angered IFP leader Chief Mangosuthu Buthelezi that he consulted fellow homeland leaders Brigadier Oupa Gqozo of Ciskei and Chief Lucas Mangope of Bophuthatswana, as well as right-wing groups such as the Conservative Party and the Afrikaner Volksunie.

Together they formed the Concerned Southern Africans Group (Cosag). What they had

in common then was fierce opposition to Pretoria and the ANC, whom they accused of entering into secret deals. What binds them together now is their commitment to federalism — some say confederalism.

And so there are now at least three power blocs in the talks, comprising the ANC and its allies, the small but vociferous Cosag group, and the Government/National Party delegations. For "sufficient consensus" to obtain, an issue must now have the support of each of these blocs.

Not belonging to any of these groups are the Pan Africanist Congress and the Democratic Party, which fall somewhere between the Government and the ANC groups.

For the ANC and its allies, urgency is the name of the game. The Government shares this concern, but, as the IFP's Matthews said on Monday, talk of urgency leaves the Cosag group "stone-cold".

Concessions

Observers believe the Cosag group wants to slow down the process until it can extract concessions on regional powers in a future dispensation, and have the constitution written by the multi-party forum as opposed to an elected constituent assembly.

Except for the IFP, Cosag members are small parties, and they realise that by themselves they do not stand much chance of making it into the constituent assembly, which the Government calls a constitution-making body.

If, as some observers fear, filibustering is indeed Cosag's strategy, it might further delay the negotiations process.

The problem is complicated by the fact that each of the parties represented in the forum, regardless of its size, has the same say.

That means parties like QwaQwa's Dikwankwella Party, Gqozo's unpopular Ciskei government and Amich Rajbansi's "one-man" Natal People's Party have as much ability to slow down the process as either the Government or the ANC. □

OBITUARY

Andries Treurnicht

By Stanley Uys *304A*

LIKE DR D F Malan, who became South Africa's first apartheid prime minister in 1948, Dr Andries Treurnicht, who has died aged 72, was a minister turned newspaper editor turned politician.

After taking a PhD at Cape Town University, it was just upwards — editor of the DRC weekly *Die Kerkbode* in 1960, invited in 1967 by prime minister John Vorster to become editor of a new daily newspaper in Pretoria (Hoofstad), a National Party member of parliament in 1971, chairman of the powerful Afrikaner secret society, the Broederbond (1972-74), a deputy minister in 1976, leader of the National Party in the Transvaal in 1978, and a full minister in 1979. By then he was an acknowledged right-winger, known as "Dr No" for his opposition to reforms.

In 1976, as deputy minister of Bantu administration and education, he was partly responsible for triggering the uprising by Soweto youth.

By 1978, he was protesting against ideas floating in the party that parliament should be opened to mixed-race coloureds and Indians (the plan was realised in 1984). Coloureds, said Treurnicht, were "our 12-year-old children and must remain under guardianship".

The eighties were a decade of piecemeal apartheid reform, and Treurnicht braced himself for a confrontation. Never a brave politician — he chickened out of joining the first right-wing breakaway from the National Party in 1969 — he plucked up courage at last in 1982 and led a no-confidence vote in parliament against prime minister P W Botha, followed by 22 National Party MPs. Treurnicht and Dr Ferdie Hartzenberg resigned from the cabinet and formed the Conservative Party with 18 MPs.

Treurnicht won his Waterberg seat in a byelection, and his party went from strength to strength. In the September 1989 general elections Treurnicht's party won 39 of the 166 parliamentary seats.

Treurnicht was not cut out for the increasingly violent nature of South African politics. A cautious, courteous man, schooled in the old style of thundering but ultimately disciplined politics, he was ill at ease with his party's links with Eugene TerreBlanche's Afrikaner Resistance Movement and generally with the emergence of right-wing crazies.

He had the Afrikaner's unique ability to read the writing on the wall while standing with his back to it. He told an interviewer prophetically: "In the end, the government together with the ANC will have to suppress our people."

Andries Petrus Treurnicht, born February 19, 1921; died April 22, 1993.

Guardian 1993-6-17-304A

Guardian 1993-6-17-304A

As the motorcycle formation and the black hearse transporting Andries Treurnicht's body wheeled slowly around Church Square in Pretoria, thousands of voices were spontaneously raised in *Die Stem*.

Those gathered on one side of the road started singing seconds before the group on the square, and remained a few bars ahead until the penultimate line, which they sang out to all could conclude: *Ons vir jou Suid-Afrika* in unison.

The disjointed, low-key rendition of the national anthem reflected the rather flat atmosphere at the square, notable among other things for the virtual absence of the Afrikaner Weerstandsweg.

Perhaps this was a conscious Calvinist attempt to say: "Look, we keep to the church script when we bury our leaders. We know how to behave like Christians."

What was equally notable was the confident curiosity of the black onlookers. Three men were holding an animated conversation about the Conservative Party leader's funeral in a shop entrance.

Elias Luhengo was the most forceful: "The way Dr Treurnicht was, he didn't belong to us. He oppressed us, but I won't judge him. He will be judged when he goes to the Heaven place, that's when he must explain what he was doing on earth. The Bible said, he must go see his judge."

He was in no doubt about Treurnicht's fate: "He's going to be burnt by fire. I don't think it will be that easy for him to be pardoned."

Luhengo carried an enormous sense of being on the right side of history.

Two weeks earlier, before Chris Hani's funeral, a white man in the South Park cemetery had expressed very different emotions: "So tell me about this new South Africa," he said. "I am just a stupid truck driver. I've got three kids? What am I going to do? Where am I going to go?"

He had no faith in the negotiations: "Look what happened to Jan van Riebeeck. He negotiated with the Hottentots, and he came up short. He traded his gold for their cattle, and at night they came and stole the cattle back."

"No," he said, shaking his head. "The only thing to do is stay here and fight." Many whites, like the truck driver, are panicked by the imminent prospect of majority rule.

"They are scared and afraid," says Jan Kleynhans, a businessman and farmer and two-time parliamentary candidate for the CP in Kroonstad. "They can't look into the future, into tomorrow."

"People are murdered on the farms every day," he says. "I don't even go to the shop to buy a newspaper without taking a pistol with me."

The 40 farmers in his area are linked by citizen band radio. Every night before going to bed they check in with one another to see whether they are all okay. No one goes out after 5.30pm.

"I can see no light at the end of the tunnel. Our own young people want to make war," says Kleynhans. "My father fought in the Boer war. He always taught us that war does no good. It is devastating."

Fear has bred a new desperation that some believe makes the right more dangerous than ever. Political analyst Wim Booysse says that

The skippad retreats into its shell

Wim mail 30/4 - 6/5/93.



Ja, nee ... Conservative Party leader Andries Treurnicht will be 'judged' when he goes to the Heaven place' Photo: GUY ADAMS

Conservative Party leader Andries Treurnicht's legacy is one of impotence in the face of inevitable change — and bully boys with sjamboks and shotguns



By PHILLIP VAN NIEKERK

rightwing politics is entering a more serious phase of resistance, a glimmer of which was seen with the assassination of Hani.

One's ability to assess the danger is clouded by the theatricality of rightwing politics. Many Afrikaners love melodrama, and AWP leader Eugene Terre'Blanche has it all: the public booming voice of the poet, the private slapstick Eugene of the Jani Allen soap opera.

Three years ago the combined right gathered at the Voortrekker Monument to launch the third freedom struggle. There was a lot of sound and fury and threat, but little came of it. Instead, we have had phoney hunger strikes, and the planned assassination of Jaap Marais' huddies. Even the Hani assassination appears to have pre-empted and aborted a wider conspiracy.

Kleynhans, like many rightwingers, is critical

of the Hani assassination. He believes it was a move that only united blacks and made them more anti-white. If there is anyone else out there ready to pull another trigger, hopefully he will keep that in mind.

But it would be foolhardy to dismiss the desperation. One man with a gun can wreak havoc. By all accounts, Terre'Blanche has been sidelined in his own organisation by more serious militarists.

Booyse claims that the right has formed into small cells, harder to detect, planning violence.

With the unravelling of the alleged Clive Derby-Lewis "cell" and what even the police now believe to be a conspiracy to assassinate the leadership of the ANC, the question has to be asked: what else is waiting out there?

Conspiracies are not new in this country. The third force, whatever it is, whoever its members

are, has systematically attempted to sabotage peace and dwarfed the bluster of the fascist rightwing. One of its most blatant operations was the murder of 19 people at Sebokeng on the night of the Hani vigil.

The more dominant form of violence from the rightwing is that of bully boys with sjamboks: attacks on defenceless people in dark alleys, to reimpose the white man's rule over the majority as it has been since Van Riebeeck's time — rule by terror.

That has gone forever, and no amount of violence by small groups of fanatics can bring it back. Even the tiniest drop in the Free State today has experienced a consumer boycott or some other form of organized resistance.

The CP Mobilisation Council is trying to rebuild the right, but there can be no attempt to remake the state or to reinstate *baaslap* and old-style apartheid. There is talk about a Boersstaat but that, too, makes as much sense as the Flat Earth Society.

The political impotence of the right is the message of the life of Andries Treurnicht.

He will be remembered for sparking the 1976 students' rebellion in Soweto for his insistence that Afrikaans be retained as a medium of instruction in black schools, an event that began almost two decades of resistance that will culminate next year in majority rule.

He will also be remembered as the man who led the far right into a crushing defeat in last year's all-white referendum, clearing the way for the demise of white minority rule.

He will finally be remembered as the man who failed to provide direction to his followers as President FW de Klerk took the country away from white minority rule. The point is it wasn't all Dr No's fault. He was against the tide of a historical saga that is bigger than all of us.

The CP has joined the negotiations where, as a big player in the Concerned South Africans Group, it is involved in a rearguard attempt to block movement. But it has no positive vision to offer.

There is a growing sense of inevitability when one talks to rightwingers. A gigantic psychological step has been taken. Whether they admit it, reluctantly or otherwise, they have conceded defeat. There will be a majority black government, a government in which the African National Congress will play the leading role, in a very short space of time.

A friend of mine, an Afrikaner, reminds me of the similarities at the end of the Boer war. "There is a long tradition of posturing. They like to kick up a lot of dust, then do a cost-benefit analysis. When the people who went to fight in the battles saw the way the tide was turning, they made a cost-benefit analysis and went home."

For many scared whites, the next stage will be crossing the threshold to majority rule, discovering that with Nelson Mandela as president you can go to bed at night and wake up to find your car and your farm and your civil service pension have not disappeared.

That will be the moment of knowing that while change is inevitable, war is not. The world will not come to an end. We need to get there soon.

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NEGOTIATIONS towards a democratically elected constituent assembly by early next year are on track, despite last-ditch efforts by homeland leaders and conservatives to delay the process.

Angry public utterances this week by political leaders amount to pre-negotiation posturing, belying an underlying realisation that they have little option but to follow the democratic process through. They included:

● Strong statements by kwaZulu's Inkatha Freedom Party and Bophuthatswana's president Lucas Mangope, which are little more than bravado. Inkatha accused the government and the ANC of collusion in murderous attacks on IFP followers, while Mangope said there was no "question whatsoever of Bophuthatswana giving up independence".

● The African National Congress' threat to resort to unprecedented mass action if its deadlines are not met. This was equally hollow and served only as a warning and a show of force.

● President FW de Klerk's assurance on Wednesday evening that South Africa would not unilaterally reincorporate the TBVC states. This was little more than diplomatic posturing.

The reality is that the "independent" homelands will in the end have no option but to become part of a unified South Africa. Their bluff will be called the moment the two major players — the National Party and the ANC — start implementing the transitional executive structures on which they have agreed.

The TBVC states are almost entirely dependent on South Africa for their annual budgets. If the government and the ANC go through with the agreed process, the "independent" homelands will depend next year for their budget allocations on an unsympathetic ruling constituent assembly dominated by the ANC.

The mere thought of losing their financial privileges — including membership of the Southern African Customs and Trade Union — will help concentrate their minds.

Despite the air of political uncertainty created by tough rhetoric following the postponement of the negotiations on Monday, government officials are privately confident the process is on track. Undisturbed by the bluster of the past week, they say only that it would be "preferable" to take along all the negotiating parties — and especially the IFP — rather than strike a bilateral agreement with the ANC.

But if push comes to shove, there is no doubt the government and the ANC will go it alone.

A countrywide referendum to break the deadlock and to approve the transi-

tion process, as suggested by Dr Frederik van Zyl Slabbert this week, has now become a distinct possibility. The advantage would be that the major parties in the negotiations could phrase the referendum question to suit themselves, as the government did when it embarked on the present road of reform.

If an overwhelming majority vote yes to a question such as "should we proceed with an elected government of national unity?", the no-voters will immediately lose the moral argument, as happened with the Conservative Party after the last white referendum.

The government's insistence on implementing its agreements with the ANC was confirmed on Wednesday when De Klerk repeated his assurances that a transitional executive council (TEC) would be in place by June.

Addressing parliament, he said: "If it appears at the end of May or early in June that we are close to a deadlock, the government will very seriously consider whether initiatives can be undertaken to allow the process to continue."

Addressing a news conference at Tuynhuys on Wednesday after talks with visiting Norwegian Foreign Affairs Minister Johan

Jorgen Holst, De Klerk said it was for the new structures in the TEC to set an election date. If good progress was made, he said, elections could take place by the end of the year.

Ironically, De Klerk may find more resistance within his own ranks to his plans to force through the process. Many Nats, both in the cabinet and in the caucus, believe strongly that the form of state must be finalised by the present negotiators, rather than by an elected constituent assembly which they accept will be ANC-dominated.

They want the boundaries, powers and functions of regional states in a new dispensation to be determined by the present multi-party forum, and the principles of a new constitution to be referred to experts and approved by a referendum before elections for a new government.

The differences find expression even within the NP's negotiating team, with Constitutional Development Minister Roelf Meyer preferring a constituent assembly to make the final decisions, and Local Government and Planning Minister Tertius Delpoit insisting that the present forum finalise the constitution.

Caucus members who are unhappy with the government's strategy include cabinet minister George Bartlett, who wants closer co-operation with Inkatha. Other Nat MPs who would prefer to accommodate Inkatha in the process include Natalians Piet Mathee, Aubrey Thompson and Jaco Maree.

Tough talk: A blast of hot air

*W/Max 30/4-45/93
Angry public statements
by political leaders
this week amount
to little more than
pre-negotiation
posturing, reports*

CHRIS LOUW

By Norman Chandler

A call for constitutional negotiations to be expedited was made by President de Klerk on CNN television yesterday on the eve of the latest round of multiparty negotiations.

ANC president Nelson Mandela said on the programme: "Return is not only working but has achieved significant results... there is no reason why problems arising in the future can't be resolved."

Mandela, questioned on whether he perceived he was losing his grip on the ANC and about actions taken by ANC youth during and after the funeral of Chris Hani, said: "There was nothing wrong in the youth being angry when a

I'm not vacillating - FW

leader was assassinated. We were able to restrain the youth and control the crowds.

"If I was losing my grip, they would not have cheered me when I told them I was working (for peace) with everyone, including De Klerk. I have not noticed I am losing my grip."

Speaking on the CNN programme, *South Africa Report*, De Klerk said tension was taking its toll among moderates of all groups who were deeply disturbed by the continuing violence. De Klerk was vacillating on elections, De Klerk said, he did not believe a specific date

was that important, particularly as he had several months ago announced "an African time schedule".

"I am not vacillating. I am not holding back," he told interviewer Basil Sander. "I am not holding back."

Asked whether the political climate had improved since the April 10 death of Hani, De Klerk said he thought this was the case, after the absolutely atrocious murder of Mr Hani. De Klerk — who claimed to have millions of supporters for a bourgeois National Party — said Mandela, along with some other leaders of the ANC, had played a responsible role in the current situation

but added: "The leadership is not doing enough to distance itself from the radicals."

Mandela told CNN that anyone who had thought the peace process in South Africa would proceed smoothly "was not aware of our situation... our shattered economy in the South Africa of today."

Despite this, the reform process was working, in particular, with the unbanning of political organisations, the return of exiles and the repeal of legislation "we have laid down the principles for a new South Africa."

It was not possible to bring about peace in South Africa

without the co-operation of De Klerk, he said. When asked whether there would be acceptance of a new government being "led by a white man", Mandela answered: "It was not a question of colour. We are concerned with ideas and not colour."

Chief Mangosuthu Buthe, 24, leader of the Inkatha Freedom Party — which was described by the interviewer as important because "all are aware the negotiation process cannot succeed in Inkatha's absence" — said violence that had occurred in other African states would be "like a Sunday school picnic compared to that which would take place in South Africa" if Inkatha were excluded from the political process.

CONSERVATIVE PARTY

Fm 30/4/93

Dinosaur implodes

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The white Right faces further fragmentation following the death last week of CP leader Andries Treurnicht. Former CP MP Koos van der Merwe doubts whether the party can remain intact. He says Treurnicht was the only unifying factor.

It is generally accepted that deputy leader Ferdie Hartzenberg, a hardliner opposed to negotiations with the ANC and SACP, will be elected to succeed Treurnicht at a special caucus meeting this weekend.

A tussle for deputy leadership is likely between hardliner Schalk Pienaar (MP for Potgietersrus) and moderate Pieter Mulder (Schweizer-Reneke), though a compromise candidate may step in to avoid a divisive power struggle.

Van der Merwe predicts that Mulder will be elected. He says Pienaar does not have sufficient caucus backing. However, a Hartzenberg-Mulder team creates a dilemma for the CP by exposing the party's two rival factions: the one opposed to negotiations and the other seeking a "realistic and attainable" solution. The two are irreconcilable.

Van der Merwe says Treurnicht was able to keep the CP together because he did not choose sides. He believes the CP will now enter a period of consolidation and "artificial

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unity" but will fail to achieve it.

The negotiation process will exacerbate divisions in the party and expose the fact that it does not have its own plan to present to the negotiation forum.

It seems that the CP may splinter to both the Left and Right. Mulder could lead a break to the Afrikaner Volksunie and Pienaar may break away to form a new hardline party inside parliament for as long as the tricameral system continues and then as an extra-parliamentary rallying point for rightwingers. Government sources say they are concerned about the possibility of Hartzenberg leading the CP out of the multi-party talks, but predict a split if this happens.

The longer-term implications of a hardline takeover in the CP are more disturbing. The party has some fairly capable leaders who have so far kept clear of the militant Afrikaner Weerstandsbeweging.

If they choose to leave parliament and the negotiation process and help lead a white extra-parliamentary resistance movement, the prospects of achieving lasting peace may be severely undermined. ■