

S.A. GOVT. & POLITICS

1993

MAY

Role of security forces a thorny issue

KAIZER NYATSUMBA

ALTHOUGH there is almost common cause among most of the organisations and parties negotiating at the World Trade Centre about the need for a multiparty transitional executive council (TEC) to be established as soon as possible, there is as yet no consensus about the powers of the TEC and its sub-councils.

The ANC and its allies would like a TEC set up as soon as possible, and want it and its sub-councils to have "effective, thorough-going and binding powers".

They envisage a situation where the TEC would be a supreme body, running the country on some issues and with absolute say on matters relating to "the levelling of the playing field" with regard to the forthcoming elections.

Pretoria agrees that the TEC and its sub-councils would have power over matters related to the elections but sees it as a body with advisory powers. As President F W de Klerk said in Cape Town this week, the Government considers itself the legitimate ruler of the country, and says it will surrender power only to an elected government of national unity.

Another potentially divisive issue, which has yet to come up in the multiparty negotiations forum, is the exact role and powers of the TEC sub-council on the security forces.

The ANC would like the security forces "and all other armed formations" to come under joint control by the TEC.

The organisation refuses to have its armed wing Umkhonto we Sizwe discussed separately in negotiations under the question of violence — as Inkatha Freedom Party national chairman Dr Frank Mdlalose tried to do yesterday.

And by "all armed formations" the ANC has in mind not only the police and the SADF — which it describes as "private armies of the regime" — but the KwaZulu Police (KZP), right-wing organisations' "military commandos" and the "independent" homelands' defence forces.

The IFP and KwaZulu — they have separate delegations in the negotiations — do not see the controversial KZP as a "private army", and object vehemently to this description.

Unlike the Government and

the ANC, the IFP and KwaZulu are also opposed to the establishment of a TEC, as well as to the holding of elections for a constituent assembly to write the country's new constitution.

Instead, they would like to see the multiparty negotiations forum as currently constituted write the constitution and present it to the public for approval in a referendum. Only then, they argue, can elections be held.

The IFP and some of its allies in the Concerned Southern Africans Group do not envisage an interim phase during the transition, and are opposed to the installation of a TEC and a government of national unity which would emerge after elections for a constituent assembly.

IFP claim on violence

Spirit of Codesa lives on in revived multiparty talks

THE large number of agreements forged laboriously over many hours at the Codesa 2 negotiations last year are to be used to facilitate progress in the now revived multiparty negotiations — and not consigned to the archives. The detailed agreements, running to hundreds of typed pages, have been summarised by a drafting subcommittee and presented in a consolidated document for consideration by the present negotiators. The aim is to speed up discussion on the Codesa accords by making it pertinent and directed and, wherever possible, to incorporate these agreements into the

Participants in current negotiations include several parties which did not take part in Codesa, including, significantly, the Pan Africanist Congress and the Conservative Party. In a sense the agreements rest on the Declaration of Intent, in which

MASTER AMDELA IS A REASONABLE MAN AN INTERESTING MAN A FRIENDLY MAN...

MASTER NERK IS A MAN OF INTEGRITY HE HAS GONE FURTHER THAN ANY NATIONALIST

IS IT OK TO TALK NOW?

THE ALTERNATIVE
MANDIELA
R193
Arnold Benjamin

PATRICK LAURENCE

nearby all the parties at Codesa committed themselves to the establishment of a united, democratic and non-racial South Africa. The declaration contained an addendum, which — at the request of the Inkatha Freedom Party — stated specifically that the declaration did not exclude adoption of a federal or even a confederal constitution. A clarifying statement by the Codesa management committee stipulated that there was nothing to stop any participant from making submissions on the issue of self-determination. "It may have helped persuade the CP to join the present discussions."

Codesa agreed further that there should be a two-stage "transition to democracy". The first stage included preparations for the holding of free and fair elections for a parliament under an interim constitution, the elections themselves and the drawing up by the interim parliament of a new constitution. The interim parliament would simultaneously serve as a legislature until a new — as distinct from an interim — constitution was implemented. The second stage included the holding of elections under the new constitution and the installation of a new government under it. (The later bilateral accord between the De Klerk administration and the ANC on the need for an

Agreement

A Codesa list of principles on which there was agreement included: supremacy of the constitution; independence of the judiciary; separation of legislative, executive and judicial branches of government; representative and accountable government, meaning multi-democracy and regular elections; and acknowledgement of linguistic, cultural and religious diversity. In addition it was

agreed that a multi-party transitional executive council (TEC) should be established; one of its functions would be to help prepare for free and fair elections of an interim parliament under an interim constitution to be drafted by the parties at Codesa. Several different subcommittees would function under the TEC, including committees on regional and local government, finance, law and order, defence, foreign affairs and elections. The election subcommittee would work closely with an independent election commission charged with "responsibility for holding free and fair elections" and consisting of suitably qualified persons drawn from a broad cross-section of the population. The independent election commission would, however, be independent of the TEC and its sub-committee. On the pending election the Codesa parties agreed that the citizens of the nominally independent TBVC states should participate, and that their votes should be recorded in such a way as to enable them to signify whether or not they were in favour of reincorporation. Bophuthatswana — which did not sign the Declaration of Intent because it did not want to commit itself to reunification until it knew what kind of South Africa would emerge from the process — recorded its reservations about the election arrangement.

Image-makers ready to polish

Star 115/93

MANDY JEAN WOODS

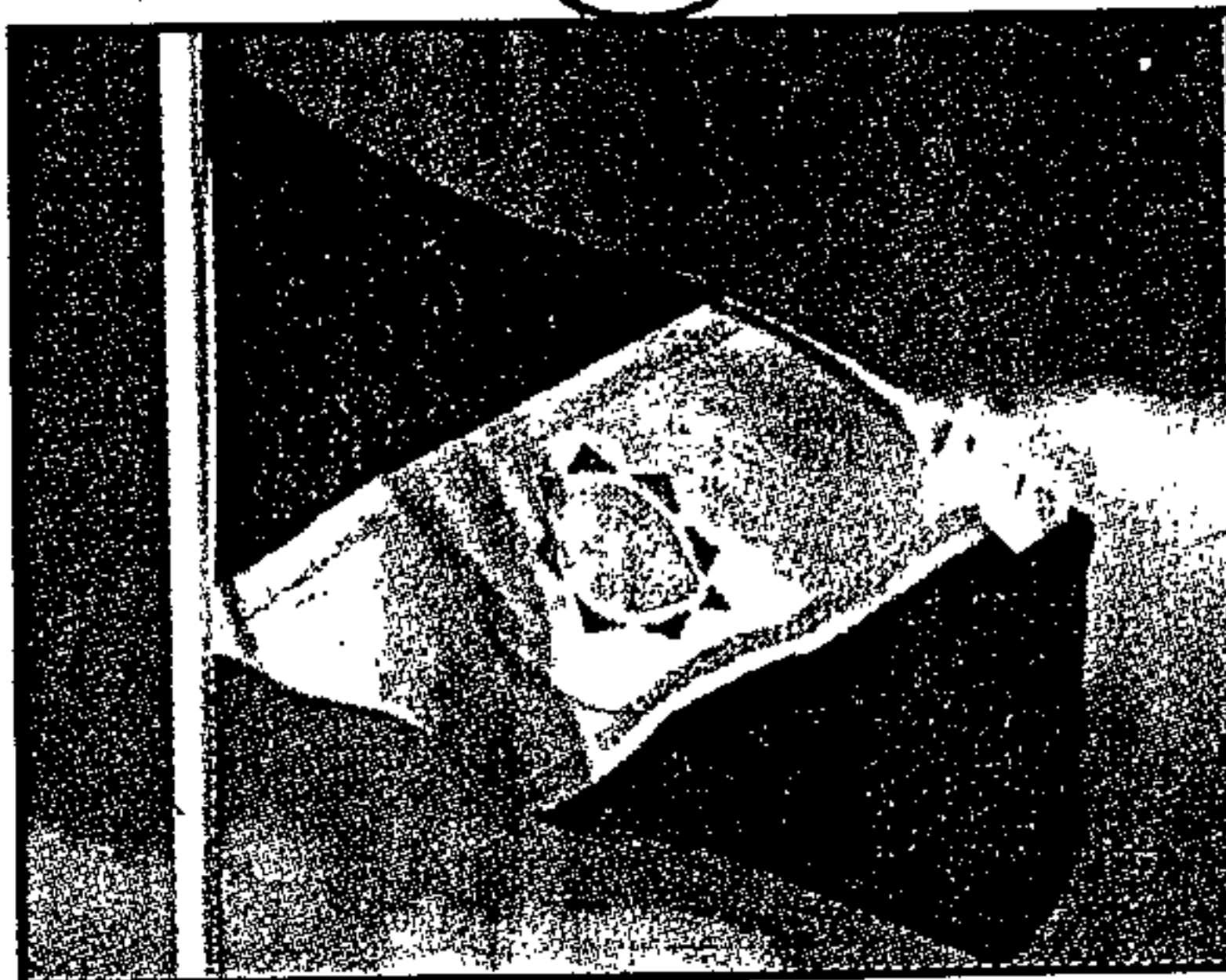
THE age of blow-dried American raz-zamatazz politics may have arrived in South Africa with the opening of a local branch of the world-famous image-makers Saatchi and Saatchi.

Style creators for such luminaries as Margaret Thatcher and Kenyan President Daniel arap Moi — the media image-maker's first client here will be the new-look National Party.

Local advertising agency Saatchi Saatchi Klerck & Barrett (SSK&B) group chief executive officer Jurie Snyman says the move to establish a local branch of the company was prompted by the fact that there is money to be made in Africa in politics.

"There are some 26 countries in Africa which are changing from one-party states to multiparty democracies. All will have to hold elections.

"Madagascar and Angola have just had elections, for example, and Mozambique should hold one in a year's time. Namibia is scheduled to hold an election by 1995 — and all those political



FOLLOW US: The sun, the NP hopes, will shine warmly on all South Africans regardless of race.

Nats set sail under new flag

THE National Party this week unveiled its new colours. Guided by its political consultancy, Communications Africa, the NP has decided on yellow, red, blue, green and white, breaking with its familiar orange and blue corporate look. (304A)

The flag is divided into three panels broken in the middle by a bright sun which will also become the NP's symbol. "The symbolism of the sun is that it shines on everyone, regardless of race or conviction. It stabilises our entire solar system in the same way the NP stabilises SA politics," the party says.

The issue of whether or not the NP should change its name appears to have been hotly debated. But it was decided to retain the name because "our name is more appropriate today than ever before".

parties will be looking for ways to best promote their message and reach voters," he says.

The SSK&B company — Communications Africa — will be headed up by Eldad Louw, a former agency strategic

planning director, who has been associated with various National Party campaigns since 1983.

(SSK&B has handled the NP's election advertising campaigns since 1983, with the exception of 1989; it also handled

the two referendums).

The company has been approached by parties in Zaire and Angola to do work for them, he said.

In picking up election campaigns as a specific business, SSK&B is following the well-trodden path forged by its international affiliate, Saatchi & Saatchi Worldwide, whose latest assignment was for Boris Yeltsin in the referendum last month in Russia.

It also handled the second election campaign of former US President Ronald Reagan and all the election campaigns for Thatcher and John Major.

"It was quite obvious to us from the day we started our push into Africa that the first money to be made was in politics. It is big-budget stuff for which money is made available," Snyman notes.

A South American agency which handled work for the MPLA in Angola is said to have charged a fee of around R9 million; the Kenyan election billings ran to around R3 million.

"Although political advertising in South Africa has always been a sensitive issue, political campaigns are big and legitimate business in Africa and elsewhere," Snyman adds.

CP's Gaye faces murder charge

Star 115193
(304A)
**NORMAN CHANDLER
and SAPA**

GAYE Derby-Lewis, wife of Conservative Party member Clive Derby-Lewis, had been charged with the murder of SACP general secretary Chris Hani, a senior police spokesman said last night.

After hours of confusion following her appearance in the Boksburg Magistrate's Court, Brigadier Frans Malherbe said Gaye Derby-Lewis had been charged with murder, even though no formal charge had been presented in court.

"She appeared on an indictment as a second accused after Janus Waluz, who appeared previously in connection with the same case," Malherbe said.

No bail application was lodged and the case was postponed to May 12, when Waluz would also appear in court.

Earlier Boksburg chief prosecutor Jan Ferreira said he had asked the court for her name to be added to the murder charge sheet drawn up for Waluz.

Police yesterday won an application before Mr Justice Curlewis to hold Clive Derby-Lewis in terms of the Internal Security Act until May 8.

Hit list

The Derby Lewises were detained in the week after Hani's assassination. Polish immigrant Waluz was arrested in connection with the murder several hours after the event, and is being held in terms of section 29 of the Internal Security Act.

Waluz, in whose Pretoria flat police allegedly found a hit list naming nine prominent South African politicians and journalists, has not yet been charged.

Dismissing an application for damages resulting from wrongful arrest, the judge said he did not see anything sinister in Gaye Derby-Lewis having been held in terms of the Act. He did, however, agree with counsel for Clive Derby-Lewis, Hannes de Vos SC, who argued on Thursday for his release, that legislation such as the Act was unfair because it deprived detainees of freedom and access to others. However, when it came to the interests and integrity of the State, such legisla-

● TO PAGE 2.

Hani

● TO PAGE 1.

tion... justifiable.

According to affidavits submitted to the court, police officer Captain Nic Deetlefs said Waluz had told him that Clive Derby-Lewis had given him a gun and silencer and had told him to shoot Hani during the Easter weekend. (304A)

Waluz told Deetlefs he had made five reconnaissance trips to Hani's house before seeing him there on April 10 and seizing the opportunity to kill him.

Star 115193
Meanwhile, people on the hit list allegedly found in Waluz's flat could still be at risk, according to an affidavit by SAP Colonel Adriaan van Niekerk handed to the Pretoria Supreme Court this week.

Supporting the application for the continued detention of Clive Derby-Lewis, van Niekerk said he suspected that more people were involved in a plot to kill those on the list — one of whom had been Hani.

Waluz had said after his arrest that more people would be assassinated despite his detention.

IFP claim on violence to be probed

Star 11/5/93

Talks saved at

the last minute

304A

KAIZER NYATSUMBA
Political
Correspondent

MULTIPARTY negotiations were pulled back from the brink at the last moment yesterday to close on a high note.

A day of drama at the World Trade Centre in Kempton Park saw negotiators seesaw between exasperation and desperation.

Urgency

However, a resolution calling for urgency in the talks and for elections to be held by next April was tabled minutes before the meeting — which looked set for deadlock — ended.

The resolution will be discussed when the national council meets again on Friday.

Earlier, negotiators spent hours nit-picking. At one stage it looked as though the Inkatha Freedom Party was going to walk out. A last-minute compromise proposed by the planning committee



MDLALOSE: In close touch with Buthelezi.

saved the talks.

The negotiations deadlocked when IFP national chairman Dr Frank Mdlalose insisted on reading to the meeting a six-page document accusing the ANC and the Government of collusion in violence against IFP members in Natal. The document, distributed on Monday, called for the disbanding of all "private armies" before constitutional negotiations could continue and elections could be held. It accused the ANC's Umkhonto we Sizwe (MK) of killing hundreds of IFP office-bearers in Natal.

The document said the Government was unwilling to act against the ANC and MK as it did not want to "upset the bilateral appellation".

Talks

● FROM PAGE 1.

global government, the future of the homelands and the question of self-determination. (304A) ANC and Government negotiators expressed satisfaction about the progress in the last minutes of the meeting, saying the decision to create technical committees was an indication of the meeting's success.

Constitutional Development Minister Roelf Meyer and Manpower Minister Leon Wessels later said parties which were more "hesitant than others" about holding an early election had to be allowed to express their reservations.

ANC chief negotiator Cyril Ramaphosa said

the meeting had "recorded rather good progress". He expected the talks to begin tackling "substantive" issues within two weeks and that setting an election date would be "the number one item for next week".

Mdlalose said there had been a difference in approach over the technical committees. The IFP believed they would be called into being only "as and when necessary". He said the IFP feared that the technical committees might try to "do the work we have not asked them to".

Mdlalose said he was disappointed that he had not been allowed to read his speech on violence. "I'm going to consult my principals, but my feeling is that the thing is not over. I must read that speech," he said.

Members of the Afrikaaner Volksunie and the Conservative Party backed Mdlalose, insisting that he be allowed to read the document.

The ANC and its allies strongly opposed the motion. A Transkei government delegate warned that if the IFP were allowed to read the document, Transkei would "rock this forum".

Bophuthatswana Minister of State Rowan Cronje asked for a 15-minute adjournment so that a compromise could be found. The planning committee then asked the IFP to table the document, with the agreement that the question of violence would receive continuing attention.

Orders

Sources said Mdlalose was in constant contact with IFP leader and KwaZulu Chief Minister Mangosuthu Buthelezi in Ulundi during the impasse, and that he was under orders "to read the document in the meeting or not come back to Ulundi".

After an adjournment lasting nearly two hours, the IFP agreed "as an interim measure" to the creation of a technical sub-committee to study the IFP document, discuss violence and liaise with the national peace committee. However, Mdlalose said the sub-committee could be established only after his delegation had reported back to its principal.

The negotiating council also accepted the planning committee's recommendation that technical committees be established to deal with constitutional issues and human rights.

The technical committee on constitutional issues would deal with — and report to the negotiating council — on the form of state and constitutional principles, a constitution-making body, an interim constitution, transitional re-

● TO PAGE 2.

NP changes colour

By Christelle Terreblanche

A LEOPARD can't change its spots, the saying goes. But the National Party's new look is unblemished by the black spot of apartheid. (304A)

Gone are the days of *kragdadigheid*, it seems. The *kruithoring* — powderhorn — NP logo, symbolising its readiness for all eventualities, was thrown out on Thursday to make way for new, non-racial symbols.

Gone also is the party's strong stance against the British, until now symbolized in its flag of the House of Orange in the Netherlands, with its *oranje, blanje, blou* panels.

The "completely New NP" is part of the party's drive to convince South Africans they can win with them in a "New South Africa".

After what the NP terms "extensive research", comprising focus groups of all "race and age groups"; but not sangomas as has been reported, the revamped image

will sport a new logo, symbol, letterhead, flag and completely new colours.

Only one of the existing colours will remain, along with the name. The NP and its consultants seem confident that people of all races, creed, colour, age and gender, will be able to "identify strongly" with the new symbols, said to be "very Africa-orientated".

One thing is certain, the new symbol won't be an owl, found in the research to portray "those who hunt and kill in the night" by blacks, the NP's new target market along with coloured people.

The old *kruithoring* logo came into existence in 1934 when the "purified" Nats broke away from the United Party alliance.

It served the NP through the forties when it was the "party of poor white Afrikaners", throughout the era of the "Verwoerdian dream", disenfranchisement of coloured voters and apartheid legislation.

Despite slight image changes the *kruithoring* and flag also survived



the late seventies "total onslaught" when the NP actively tried to woo the English and business sector, its original adversaries.

Since 2 February 1990, the party has projected itself as the party of change and it became clear that a "make-over" was indispensable. It is expected that the unveiling of the new NP will go hand in hand with the kick-off of the notorious NP election machine — this time for a democratic non-racial election. Whether the spots were washed out, remains to be seen.

South 115 - 5/5/93

The impossible dream?

Laurie Nathan

THE REALISATION of multi-party control of the security forces is made impossible by the problems and difficulties inherent in this political demand. We simply do not have the mechanisms, short of a democratic government, to achieve this.

The current ministries have no control over the security forces, so it is difficult to believe that a multiparty committee will enjoy more success.

Working Group 3 of Codesa, in their report, motivated for a formal sub-committee on defence and law and order. There was agreement in principle on this, although political organisations have not been able to follow through the mandate spelled out in the report.

The difficult question is whether the sub-committee will have executive authority. The government would like it to be an advisory body while the ANC is pushing for a body with executive authority.

An advisory body will have no real influence and will not be a major step forward. If it has executive authority, it could play the role of a ministry of defence and police until a democratic government is elected.

It will need a mandate to pass legislation, the authority to determine where the security forces are deployed, draft a code of conduct and be given the power to begin the process of integration of the security forces.

These requirements, politically sound as they may appear, present almost insurmountable problems. How will the committee reach consensus and exercise executive authority if 26 political parties are participating in it? This is completely incomprehensible.

Even if they reach consensus easily, political control of the armed forces is not operational control. The committee will require a mechanism to implement its decisions from a political level to an operational level.

What is worth establishing, however, is a joint military high command responsible for implementing decisions relating to defence.

Sorting out policing is more difficult. Not only the government has to be contended with but the bantustan police forces as well.

The fact that there is no progressive equivalent to the South African Police would also pose difficulties for the liberation movements.

Another massive problem is the numbers of



parties represented on the sub-committee. Perhaps five to six of the major political players could limit the size and the other parties could be invited to advise the committee.

The sub-committee's decisions could go to a transitional executive council meeting for debate, but to what extent will the committee be allowed to act independently?

Multi-party control of the security forces is only possible under a democratic government. The government would be responsible for the security forces and other parties would participate through parliamentary sub-committees.

I doubt whether political parties will be able to reach agreement on this issue before elections for a democratic government are held.

Political organisations should not be naive about what they can achieve in the short-term. They should rather look at which stepping stones can be put in place to realise the long-term objectives.

The best solution to the problem of the control of the security forces is a massive international monitoring force, like we saw in Namibia.

The army was confined to barracks in the run-up to the Namibian elections and the police were accompanied by not only peace observers, but police observers too.

International monitors present the most attractive option as it is feasible in terms of logistics, finance and politics.

While the demand for multiparty control of the security forces is important politically, players on all sides need to think it through

more extensively.

The problem with a lot of the Codesa and bilateral talks proposals is that there is agreement in principle, but the details are left until later to be worked out.

Details have everything to do with deciding whether a plan is feasible or not.

If the ANC is serious about their demand, they have to come up with viable proposals.

(Laurie Nathan is a defence analyst attached to the Centre for Intergroup Studies at the University of Cape Town).

'We were forced to join NP'

South 115 - 515193

By Christelle Terreblanche

NATIONAL Party MP Mr Nic Isaacs has dismissed as "totally unfounded" allegations that he forced residents to join his party. (304A)

However, SOUTH has found proof that people are forced to join the NP in order to remain in their homes.

Mrs Sabine Hausen, 39, who shares a house with 15 people, was recently told she could not stay in the house she grew up in unless she joined the NP.

Hausen says she has been on a waiting list for a house since 1984, when

Isaacs promised she would get one if she voted for him in a management committee election.

Her sister, Mrs Rose Hendricks, 36, tells the same story.

On Wednesday, Mrs Ursula Parker was evicted from the Skool Street home she was born in after her mother died and after promises that the NP would ensure she kept the house.

Parker said she did not join because she did not know anything about the NP.

"Now I have nowhere to go," she said.

Vote NP — South 115-515193 or get out

By Christelle Terreblanche

CLAIMS that Bishop Lavis residents are forced to join the National Party to get houses, or even to stay in homes they were born in, have been levelled at NP MP, Mr Nic Isaacs — by NP members.

The dissatisfied members as well as others who have been "kicked out" of the party, are demanding an investigation into the "dirty tricks" and Isaacs's conduct in particular.

They also want the party's funds and bookkeeping system to be examined and the way Isaacs allocated business premises.

"Isaacs is guilty of misconduct, mismanagement and possibly fraud," said Mr William Nelson, member of the management committee and the Bishop Lavis Ratepayers' Association.

His statements were echoed by others in the community, who say they are one of the most neglected on the Cape Flats.

Nelson, who did volunteer work in Isaacs's office since he was elected to the committee in 1988, was "fired" recently.

He claims he was threatened by Isaacs that he would be evicted from his house because he was in arrears with his rent, and later told by an NP member he should join the NP in order to keep his house. But he was already a member.

Describing himself as a veteran of the "bush politics", Nelson said he never belonged to a political party, until he received a letter from the NP saying he had joined.

This happened while he was working for Isaacs, shortly after the MP defected to the NP from the Reform Democratic Party in 1991.

After asking questions in the branch about handling of money and 'fraudulent' promises made by Isaacs, who was branch chairperson, he was "fired" by Isaacs and discovered he was kicked out of the branch along with other members.

These include branch treasurer Mr Les van Graan who said he never had access to the books, which was held by Isaacs and the secretary.

After insisting on seeing the books, he was "kicked out" with his wife, an executive member of the



AT HOME WITH THE NP: Rose Handricks and Sabina Hausen with some of the children staying in the house they are allowed to occupy after joining the NP

branch's women's league, of which Isaacs's wife is the chairperson.

Nelson claimed the same problem with the books happened in the women's league and youth league, both under the control of the Isaacs family.

He recounted a range of unfulfilled promises to the community, some made by Isaacs which never materialised.

Among these are floodlights promised to the Matroosfontein Sports Club and R300 000 to the

Bishop Lavis Sports Club as well as land for a church for the New Apostolic Church congregation.

"All I want to do is expose Isaacs because he misuses the community," Nelson says. "When we need him, he is nowhere to be seen."

Mum's the word for women delegates

Star 11/5/93
(304H) (304B)

SOME people might say the multiparty talks are delaying the new South Africa, not hastening its birth, but some of the delegations are at least trying.

After all, the Government has an Indian woman as a delegate to the Negotiation Council, one Xhosa homeland is led by a ginger-haired lawyer, and an Afrikaans-speaking ex-Minister in the Rhodesian Cabinet speaks for the Tswanas.

Rowan Cronje, a Minister under Ian Smith and under President Lucas Mangope since 1982, is — on the conference floor at least — effectively the sole voice of the Bophuthatswana delegation. The Ciskei team is similarly partially mute, leaving the talks to Mick Webb, a King William's Town lawyer, who has been an adviser to Oupa Gqozo ever since the brigadier seized power.

At the other end of the horseshoe-shaped conference floor, Devagie Govender — Minister of Education and Culture in the House of Delegates — sits alongside Roelf Meyer with heavyweights like Tertius Delpont and Faan van der Merwe taking a back seat.

There is a similar situation at the adjoining table where Dawie de Villiers has Mathilda Ngcobondwane alongside him as a National Party delegate. She is involved with the National Party in Tembisa.

Neither Govender nor Ngcobond-

JOHN PERLMAN
Chief Reporter

wane have said a word in two days of talks, but then not many women have, despite the decision taken that every party should include one woman as a delegate — "allow the ladies into our meetings", as Webb put it.

Two delegates sit in the front row of tables and have speaking rights, while advisers sit in the row behind.

On Monday, for instance, 27 men said their say before the first woman spoke up. There was a brief flurry of speeches by women just before lunch, including a tongue-lashing from S Ismail of the National People's Party who said it was no surprise that little progress had been made when the men simply talked on and on. That was said without so much as a glance at her NPP teammate Amichand Rajbansi. But after that, as the debate got hotter the women seemed to go *shtum*.

The only party that has not accepted the instructions on women's delegates is the Conservative Party. That prompted Colin Eglin of the Democratic Party to ask whether the Le Roux on their list was Mrs. or Miss. Even Frank le Roux, member of Parliament for Brakpan, couldn't resist a chuckle.

Admin hold-ups the least of the problem

"HOLDING up negotiations" ... "derailing the new South Africa" ... "spoilers". None of these was particularly complimentary, but the men at whom this invective was directed weren't in the least bit contrite.

Key figures in the Concerned Southern Africans Group (COSAG) — an alliance embracing white right-wing parties and some homelands — this week insisted that they were not responsible for the fact that Monday's opening round of Negotiating Council talks produced only frustration and dismay.

The immediate cause, they said, was the fact that delegates were not given the time or means to prepare properly. "We received the documentation at 10 on Monday morning," said Ciskei's chief negotiator Mick Webb. "Then we were expected to take part in the most important debate yet on the future of our country."

Focused

But the problems ran deeper than mere administrative bungling. COSAG leaders said their view of how the talks should be structured differed significantly from those of the Government and the ANC. And that, it seems, would have generated a fair-sized logjam of its own.

Bophuthatswana's principal negotiator, Rowan Cronje, said: "The Government and the ANC have engaged in certain discussions and reached certain understandings, so they are clearly focused on issues on which they have agreed. We believe bilateral meetings are helpful, but not bilateral agreements ... we are not sure of the parties' degree of open-mindedness when these issues are raised in multiparty talks."

COSAG leaders said urgency was not the sole preserve of the Government and the ANC.

Said Webb: "We also believe that there is an urgency, but we are not prepared to sacrifice any part of the process just to allow an imperfect system to be introduced. We don't believe we should be

Mum's the word for women delegates

JOHN PERLMAN
Chief Reporter

SOME people might say the multiparty talks are delaying the new South Africa, not hastening its birth, but some of the delegations are at least trying.

After all, the Government has an Indian woman as a delegate to the Negotiating Council, one Xhosa homeland is led by a ginger-haired lawyer, and an Afrikaans-speaking ex-Minister in the Rhodesian Cabinet speaks for the Tswanas.

Rowan Cronje, a Minister under Ian Smith and under President Lucas Mangope since 1982, is — on the conference floor at least — effectively the sole voice of the Bophuthatswana delegation. The Ciskei team is similarly partially mute, leaving the talks to Mick Webb, a King William's Town lawyer, who has been an adviser to Oupa Gqozo ever since the brigadier seized power.

At the other end of the horseshoe-shaped conference floor, Devagie Govender — Minister of Education and Culture in the House of Delegates — sits alongside Roelf Meyer with heavyweights like Tertius Delpoit and Faan van der Merwe taking a back seat.

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COSAG leaders say they won't sacrifice any part of the process just to allow an imperfect system to be introduced, writes Chief Reporter JOHN PERLMAN.

place by "the end of 1994. That is our commitment to haste," he said.

The IFP felt the Government and the ANC were using the Negotiating Council and its sub-committees to "move as rapidly as they can to entrench a TEC. They have decided where they want to go, but there is no consensus along the route they are seeking."

Some of the static, the COSAG men said, was the result of mutual mistrust. Said Webb: "Everybody is looking behind the debate for hidden agendas."

Cronje felt accusations of spoiling had "not helped to improve the atmosphere".

Webb said wrangling over the order in which issues were tackled was more than just political point-scoring.

Ciskei wanted violence at the top of the agenda, followed by discussion of the "form of state".

"To have an election date when you don't yet know the constitutional form means you are always working to a crisis," he said. An election date would mean "intimidation and political intolerance is bound to increase. Our first task should be to talk about the violence, to take

all the fuses out of the situation. Then ... the constitutional principles should be determined and referred to a committee of experts."

Felgate said the IFP, which had lost 270 office bearers to violence, wanted the issue addressed first, in a very specific way. "Umkhonto we Sizwe must go, full stop. No party has suffered anything like such casualties. ANC members have died in mob violence and in mass action, but they haven't been singled out for killing in their beds and in their houses. That is serial killing. We have a special claim to say 'no more violence'."

Cronje, describing the wrangling as a "regrettable but inevitable part of the start-up process", said: "Where issues are put on the agenda doesn't matter to me. But there are people who say the negotiations process is unpredictable, with major issues to resolve. How can you set a date and then try to force the process to meet that date?"

Cornerstone

"We would prefer that we determine in broad terms the nature of the constitution at a very early stage, because this influences other issues ... like the boundaries, functions and powers of the various states."

A cornerstone of COSAG policy was a belief in a federal-type state, with significant powers devolved to individual regions. Embodying that in a constitution, rather than setting an election date, would defuse political tension, said Webb. "You won't have Joe Slovo leading an election campaign in the western Cape. The trouble usually comes from outsiders."

COSAG also differed from the ANC and others which believed that the final constitution should be drawn up by an elected assembly. Said Cronje: "All the parties here will not necessarily be part of a new government. We say it is better that the process should be as all-inclusive as possible. The fact that a decision is taken by a majority doesn't make the decision right."

(304A)

Talks end on high note after a day of drama

3047
ARG 1/5/93

KAIZER NYATSUMBA
Weekend Argus Political Staff

KEMPTON PARK. — Multi-party negotiations were pulled back from the brink of a disastrous deadlock at the very last moment yesterday.

They ended on a high note of optimism after a day of high drama at the World Trade Centre.

A resolution calling for a sense of urgency in the negotiations and calling on elections to be held by April next year, was tabled just minutes before the meeting was about to end in deadlock.

Earlier on in the day negotiators had nipped for hours arguing about issues, with the IFP at one stage looking like it would stage a walkout. The talks were saved however by the last minute compromise proposed to the Inkatha Freedom Party (IFP) by the 10-member planning committee.

At the end of a long day, key negotiators had initially described the talks as having been "a waste of time" — and once again accused the IFP of engaging in delaying tactics.

The negotiations deadlocked earlier when IFP National Chairman Dr Frank Ndlalose insisted on reading to the meeting a six-page document accusing the ANC and the government of collusion in violence against IFP members in Natal.

The controversial document, circulated to the press and negotiators at Monday's

meeting, calls for the disbandment of all "private armies" before constitutional negotiations could continue and elections could be held, and accuses the ANC's Umkhonto We Sizwe (MK) of having killed hundreds of IFP office bearers in Natal.

The document says the government was unwilling to take action against the ANC and MK because it did not want to "upset the bilateral apple-cart it is so busy trying to balance".

"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," says the document.

Some key negotiators told Weekend Argus that Ndlalose was in constant contact with IFP leader and KwaZulu leader Chief Mangosutho Buthelezi in Ulundi during the impasse and that Ndlalose was under orders from Buthelezi "to read the document in the meeting or not come back to Ulundi".

Some members of the Afrikaaner Volksunie and the Conservative Party backed Ndlalose, insisting that he should be allowed to read the document. The ANC and its allies strongly opposed the motion.

A Transkei government delegate warned that if the IFP were allowed to read the document Transkei would have to respond "and our reaction will rock this forum".

South Africans losing faith in politics - poll

Star 11/5/93
(304A)

WHITES have lost faith in politicians being able to solve South Africa's problems, according to the latest research by the Omnichek division of Research Surveys.

The research, in mid-March, was conducted in major metropolitan areas with samples taken from 400 white and 400 black men. In addition, 400 whites, in middle to senior management positions, were also interviewed — half of them women.

Between 40 and 50 percent of black men, 25 and older, professed more faith in politicians than two years previously. But only one in four of 18 to 24-year-olds were as positive, while 40 percent of whites had less faith than previously.

Those disillusioned with the politicians (both black and white) had lost faith because politicians had not succeeded in reaching an agreement about the country's future. The next strongest influence was the failure by politicians

CAROLINE HURRY

to end violence.

Samples also showed that most respondents believed their political representatives had put party and personal interests before those of the country. A lower level of agreement regarding these factors was recorded among blacks than whites, suggesting that black politicians are seen to be less self-serving than their white counterparts.

Omnichek director Binky Kellas says the research results underlined the despondency among South Africans regarding the future of the country. "It is also clear that politicians have lost credibility and are faced with a Herculean task to regain the faith of the electorate.

"It is sobering to reflect that the more experienced white politicians, in particular, are seen to put South Africa's interests after those of their parties and themselves," she says.

Now, let's talk about voting, baby

Soukh 115-515193

304A

VOTER education has never seen the likes of this, young men jumping and rapping around the merits of voting.

The Centre For Development Studies (CDS) at the University of the Western Cape has recruited popular rap group, Prophets of the City (POC), to reach the youth.

The "Rapping for Democracy" campaign, part of the CDS voter education programme, hopes to bring the message of democracy across in an "edutaining" way.

POC will tour high schools from May and shows will last about 40 minutes, conveying the meaning and content of democracy and a music and dance demonstration on how to vote.

● All school concerts will be free and any interested parties can contact Melanie Jacobs at tel. 959 2566, or fax 959 2317.

For more information, call 021 959 2566.

New Nat gives apartheid land back to family

SI Times 21/5/93

(304A)

A CALVINIA minister whose family's property was expropriated under the Group Areas Act more than 20 years ago has been offered the land back by a remorseful property developer.

Mr Pierre Jean Gerber, who bought his first piece of land at the age of 11 with money raised by collecting cold drink bottle deposits, said he felt morally obliged to return 12 plots of "Group Areas land" to the original owners for the same low prices he paid.

Mr Gerber, Cape leader of the National Party Youth, said he was "sorry about owning this land", and he wanted to restore it to the rightful owners.

One of them, the Rev Patrick Lionel Krieling, was overcome with emotion this week after being told Mr Gerber wanted to give back the land on which he had grown up.

The vacant plot in the centre of Calvinia in the Western Cape belonged to Mr Krieling's father, who has since died.

Mr Krieling could not remember how much his father received in compensation for the land, but recalled that it was "a mere pittance".

Mr Krieling has served the NG Kerk ministry in a number of towns, but returned to his home town when he retired.

Visiting the land in the heart of the Boland town this weekend, Mr Krieling recognised a

By CHIARA CARTER

tree that was there when he was a child.

But while his childhood home has been demolished, he has never forgotten it.

"Soon I could be drinking tea on a shady stoep here," he said with a smile. "We never dreamt this would happen. I can't wait to meet the present owner. He must be a good man."

Last year, Mr Gerber returned another Calvinia plot to the Anglican Church. The site has special meaning for the town's coloured community, as it once housed a chapel built to commemorate folk hero Abraham Esau.

It was a thanksgiving service for the return of this property that persuaded Mr Gerber he had to give all the land back.

"When I got up to say a few words during the service, the entire community stood up in my honour. There were tears in many people's eyes," he said.

"That's when I realised how terrible it was for communities and families to have lost their land through the Group Areas Act.

"I wish this tragedy had never happened. Now I'm trying to atone for a tiny bit of the injustice. I would hate to have my land taken away at the stroke of a pen."

Mr Gerber, the son of an NGK minister, is now trying to trace the original owners of his other land.



At the

World Trade Centre

NEGOTIATING council delegates who fly into Jan Smuts airport pass an advertising hoarding on their way to the World Trade Centre. Selling trips to Sydney, it reads: "It's time to cross this bridge."

After two long days of negotiating, the council had clearly heeded the sign and taken its first step towards negotiating the transition to non-racial rule — even if Joe Slovo and Cyril Ramaphosa bantered about whether progress could be measured as one inch or several.

The gain came on Friday — an inch or two — when for the first time party-political games were laid aside and the Ciskei's Mick Webb, in his capacity as a member of the planning committee, persuaded the council to adopt a move he personally did not completely support.

With reasoned emphasis he talked the council through the need to set up technical sub-committees that will rope legal and constitutional experts into the process.

Their task will be to transform the raw positions of the 26 parties into submissions which will bring some much-needed structure to the debate. They will also have to marry positions which, once the clutter of rhetoric is cleared, are not always that disparate.

Seven committees will be set up to work this magic on constitutional proposals, human rights, the problem of violence, a commission to ensure independent elections, one to ensure fair media access to all parties, ridding the country of discriminatory legislation, and probably the most contentious, one which will attempt to ease the passage of the Transitional Executive Council.

The technical committees were effectively sanctioned by the council before lunch. By late afternoon it was still trying to work out what it had agreed to.

Uneasy

The IFP and Kwazulu government delegations and their allies remain uneasy about the committees, believing them to be another sign of the council putting the cart before the horse in attempting to sort out crucial issues such as violence at the same time, or even after, discussing the federalism issue.

A technical committee will also — for the moment at least — be the resting place of a highly contentious IFP statement on violence calling for the disbanding of Umkhonto we Sizwe.

After the bizarre sight of the document being debated even though it enjoyed no status — it had been distributed but not read or tabled at that point — the planning committee cut a deal with the IFP's Frank Mdlalose and shuffled the speech off into the committee loop.

The planning committee, on which 10 delegates sit in their personal capacities to formulate proposals for debate by the council, is also the repository of all attempts at public politicking in the council chamber — but not a very secure one. It had tried to block the IFP statement at least twice before Dr Mdlalose — himself a member of the PC — brought it into the open anyway.

Whether it will stay safely in committee is moot as Dr Mdlalose is clearly

Inch by SITIMES 215198 inch talks gaining ground

under pressure from Ulundi to read it into the record come what may.

But, not for the last time, parties to the right of the ANC were reduced to merely recording their objections or reserving their rights to revisit issues as momentum and an impatient public carried them forward.

The SACP's Joe Slovo launched his politicking soon after the council met on Monday, dropping the dreaded (to some) word "elections" into the meeting.

The smaller parties squawked and flapped at the mention of the E-word before Mr Slovo explained that all he sought was the meeting's approval for placing on the agenda the setting of a date by the planning committee.

When the planning committee met in camera to debate the matter, Mr Slovo suggested mid-April 1994. Why not early March, countered another member in the spirit of "more transigent than thou".

Discussion was deferred, but Mr Slovo kept his election theme alive by introducing, just before the council adjourned on Friday, a "Declaration of Intent on the Negotiating Process".

Mr Slovo spoke in support of the resolution — which contains no advance on the government's preferred timetable of elections by April next year — in impassioned terms: "If we want this process to sparkle in the eyes of our people, we must set a date for an election."

The struggle at the World Trade Centre is only partly ideological, only partly between national and local interests; overwhelmingly it is, as was once observed of the framing of the United States constitution, between inertia and energy.

This week, inertia ruled — but momentum is breathing down its neck.

— Claire Robertson



**MANY
HUED:**
State
President
FW de
Klerk at
the launch
of the new
NP
colours in
Cape
Town this
week

Picture:
**TERRY
SHEAN**

Sun rises on a new

look NP

(3044)
By NORMAN WEST
Political Reporter

WHEN State President FW de Klerk first saw the new-look six-colour NP flag — described by cynics as a chameleon's "worst nightmare" — he almost fainted.

By his own admission, he received such a "culture shock" when he first set eyes on the multi-hued flag that it took him 24 hours to recover.

"But then the new flag, colours and symbols just grew on me," he confessed when he launched the party's new "corporate image" in Cape Town this week.

The NP has decided to drop the colour orange from its traditional "oranje, blanje, blou" flag and publicity material. White and blue now feature equally on the flag, along with green.

The "new image" is now dominated by a golden sun with red sunbeams, which Mr de Klerk said he hoped would "shine warmly on all South Africans".

Public relations consultancy Saatchi and Saatchi advised the NP that to change the name of the party before the elections would have been construed as too obvious a ploy.

Foreign relations deal could boost aid

By EDYTH BULBRING
Political Correspondent

THE government and the ANC have agreed on how they want foreign relations to be conducted after June this year.

Their agreement will set South Africa on the path towards the complete normalisation of relations with the rest of the world, opening up avenues for investment and financial aid. (304A) (EP)

The deal, to a large extent thrashed out between the ANC's Thabo Mbeki and Foreign Minister Pik Botha, foresees the establishment of a multi-party sub-council on foreign affairs under a multi-party transitional executive council.

It is expected to be established before July, once agreement has been reached at the multi-party negotiating forum.

The foreign affairs sub-council will dictate and influence the course of SA's foreign relations leading up to elections, it is envisaged — with a view to charting the foreign policy course for a government of national unity.

While the powers of the sub-council will largely be limited to foreign policy — the establishment of diplomatic ties, trading initiatives and international agreements — it is unlikely that the government will appoint diplomats or embark on foreign trips without the agreement of the sub-council.

The government is confident that its membership of the Organisation of African Unity and its full membership of the United Nations will be considered favourably in view of the establishment of the transitional executive council.

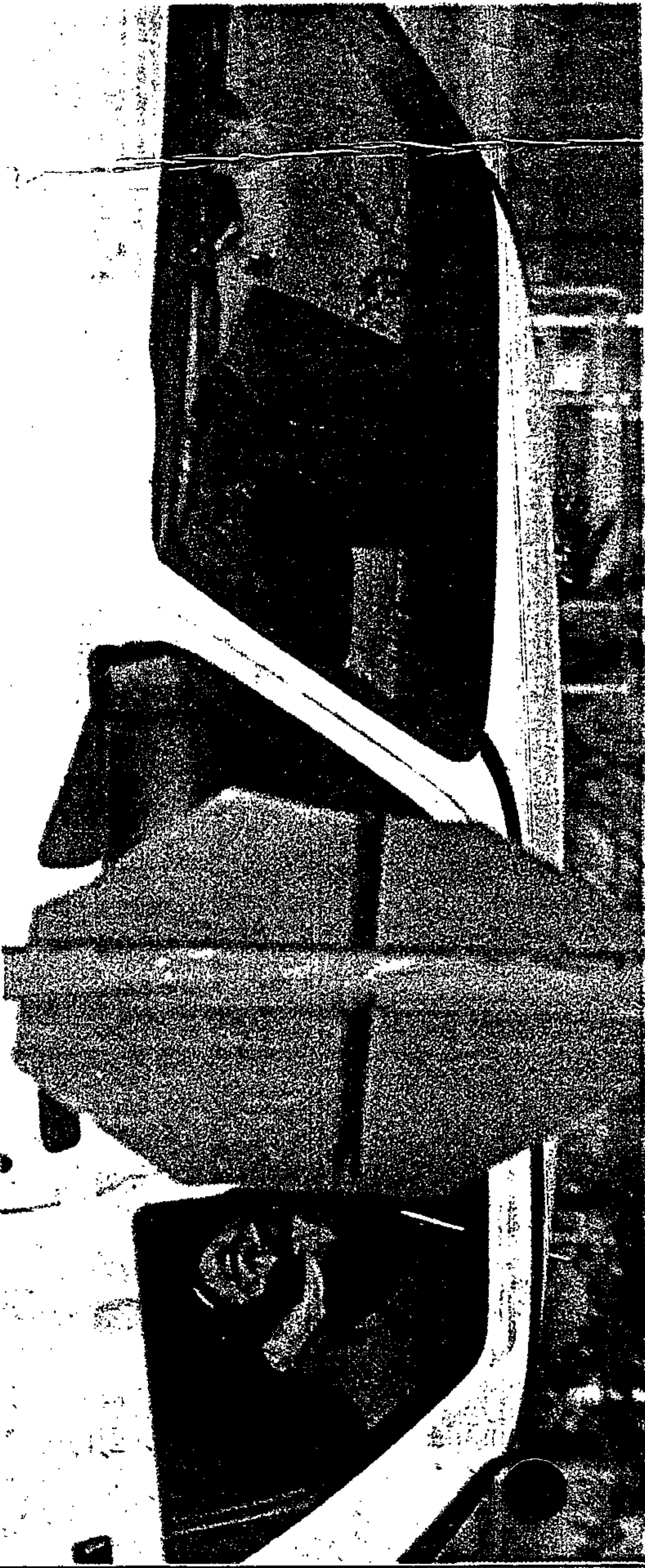
However, the ANC is opposed to these steps until an elected government is in place.

It is, however, prepared to call for the lifting of sanctions once an election date is set — and will promote SA's participation in World Bank aid programmes and access to IMF loans.

The economic benefits that the complete normalisation of international relations will bring are seen by the government as crucial to stability and growth in the country.

Walus and Derby-Lewis complain of long grillings and sleep denial

21/5/93



NEXT STOP PRETORIA CENTRAL PRISON: Police speed away from the Boksburg magistrate's court with Mrs Gaye Derby-Lewis after she was named as co-accused in the Hani murder. Picture: JON HRUSA

GENERAL RAIS PILOT

21/5/93

PLANS for a right-wing power bloc led by retired police and army generals will be disclosed at a mass meeting in Potchefstroom on Thursday.

The generals were asked by Conservative Party politicians to forge an alliance between the squabbling right-wing splinter groups to oppose a future ANC government.

One of their first objectives is the formation of a "White People's Army" drawn from traditionally conservative white quarters - farmers, miners and railway workers.

The "army" is part of a renewed stirring of the right-wing forces after the tensions caused by the assassination of SA Communist Party leader Chris Hani and a burst of spirited attacks on white farmers.

By JOCELYN MAKER,

By NICK OLIVARI

THE man accused of assassinating Chris Hani and the former Conservative Party MP who allegedly supplied him with the murder weapon claim they are being interrogated day and night.

The claim was made this week in affidavits filed with the Pretoria Supreme Court during an application for the release of right-winger Clive Derby-Lewis.

Alleged assassin Janusz Walus and Mr Derby-Lewis is claimed in the affidavits that they were being subjected to extended periods of interrogation after first being deprived of sleep.

In a handwritten affidavit, Mr Walus vehemently denies that any statements the police claim he has made to them about his — or anyone else's — involvement in the murder have been made "willingly or whilst I had been by my full conscience".

He says he is "in a healthy and fit condition", and that he has "no intention to make any statement whatsoever in regard to this matter".

But he adds that since his detention, he has been interrogated for "lengthy periods" and "denied sleep for very lengthy periods before such interrogation".

In an affidavit made to attorney Henne du Plessis, Mr Derby-Lewis, 57, says: "I have already been threatened with death three times while I have been in detention."

He claimed that one night when he was asleep, unknown people had entered the holding area outside his cell and stood outside his door. He had heard voices saying: "We will come and get you... we will kill you."

By JOCELYN MAKER,

New law nails Saffar dodgers



Walus complains of sleep denial

ST. JAMES 215193

304A

□ From Page 1

arrived and only being returned to his cell at midnight. "I am being psychologically broken down."

He added he was being "virtually forced to answer questions and thus denied my right to silence".

In his affidavit, the SAP's Colonel Ivor Human confirmed Mr Derby-Lewis was being questioned intensively. (S.A.)

Denying an urgent application for Mr Derby-Lewis's release, Mr Justice Curlewis agreed with Mr Hennie de Vos, counsel for Mr Derby-Lewis, that the Internal Security Act was unfair as it denied a detainee access to legal representatives and visitors.

But, he said, such legislation was the same the world over, and was intended to uphold the integrity of the state.

He granted the police request for Mr Derby-Lewis to be held for another 10 days under the Internal

Security Act for further questioning.

In affidavits before the court, investigating officers said Mr Walus had told them he had been given a gun and a silencer by Mr Derby-Lewis, and told to shoot Mr Hani during the Easter weekend.

They said Mr Walus had also revealed that Mr Derby-Lewis had given him a "hit list" of nine people who were to be killed, and that he had shot Mr Hani after five reconnaissance trips.

The addresses of those on the list had been supplied to Mr Derby-Lewis's wife, Gaye, by former journalist Arthur Kemp, the court heard.

In his affidavit, Mr Derby-Lewis denied he had ever given orders for Mr Hani or anyone else to be murdered, that he had provided Mr Walus with a pistol and silencer or that his wife had received a hit list from anyone.

State prosecutor Mac van der Merwe told the

court it appeared Mr Derby-Lewis had been involved in the planning of several killings besides that of Mr Hani, and that he was believed to be withholding information about the weapon used to kill Mr Hani. (S.A.)

Less than three hours after Mr Derby-Lewis's application for release was turned down, his wife appeared in the Boksburg magistrate's court in connection with the assassination of Mr Hani.

Mrs Derby-Lewis, 54, listened impassively and declared she had nothing to say after being told she was a co-accused in the Hani murder. (S.A.)

Her surprise court appearance came less than 18 hours before the expiry of her 10-day detention period under section 29 of the Internal Security Act.

She was remanded, and will be held in Pretoria Central Prison until her next court appearance — with Mr Walus — on May 12.

STANBROATS PILOT

→ cont

STimes 215193

New law nails SA tax dodger who split the beans on Mafia

alian engineer who skipped South Africa after defrauding wazulu and the taxman in a multi-million-rand racket, been forced by a new law to settle with his creditors. Fargion now lives in fear of the Mafia for revealing their illegal international money-running deals. tough line taken by the Receiver of Revenue in the case of Dr n is a clear signal to the country of a new determination to hit a who try to hide their wealth and then skip the country to keep of the taxman's

By CARMEL RICKARD

argion fled to England last year to his creditors, ing the taxman he owes R8,6-million. prolonged discussion with representatives of his creditors, region last week to pay R1-million of owed — although months ago he said that he had no t all.

Three days before his estate was sequestered, Dr Fargion cashed a conveyancer's cheque for R360 000 for a bond over property owned by a family trust.

A shocked Monica Seles is assisted after the assailant had stabbed her in the back



RIVALS RALLY TO SELES

Sunday Times Reporter: London

Write prevented by security staff from

PLANS for a right-wing power bloc led by retired police and army generals will be disclosed at a mass meeting in Potchefstroom on Thursday.

The generals were asked by Conservative Party politicians to forge an alliance between the squabbling right-wing splinter groups to oppose a future ANC government.

One of their first objectives is the formation of a "White People's Army" drawn from traditionally conservative white quarters — farmers, miners and railway workers.

The "army" is part of a renewed stirring of the right-wing forces after life tensions caused by the assassination of SA Communist Party leader Chris Hani and a burst of inspired attacks on white farmers.

The death of CP leader Andries Treurnicht has also created a vacuum in right-wing politics.

Spokesmen for the "Committee of Generals" said yesterday that the right-wing power bloc would negotiate for a white homeland. Failing that, armed action would be considered.

The Committee of Generals was formed during a four-hour meeting at the Silverton, Pretoria, headquarters of the Transvaal Agricultural Union on April 21.

Splinter

It includes four of the most senior security officials who served former State President PW Botha during the height of his iron rule.

They are former SADF chief General Constand Viljoen, former army chief of operations and the man in charge of the Conservative Party's mobilisation programme, Lieutenant-

By JOGELYN MAKER, DE WET POTGIETER and CHARIS PERKINS

representatives of more than 100 right-wing political and splinter groups — were retired Police Commissioner Lieutenant-General Mike Geldenhuys and former SAP forensics laboratory head Lieutenant-General Lothar Neethling. General Geldenhuys is not one of the committee members, and General Neethling has subsequently withdrawn from the organisation.

The initiative for the White People's Army came from within the ranks of the CP, the 14 000-strong Transvaal Agricultural Union and the Afrikaner Volksunie.

General Groenewald said yesterday that the intention was not to wrest "the leadership initiative" from the politicians, but rather to forge the right-wing into a coherent power bloc.

□ To Page 2

66 I'm a little u send official inv



PLOT RIGHT

SI Times 215193

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They are former SADF chief General Constand Viljoen; former army chief of operations and the man in charge of the Conservative Party's mobilisation programme, Lieutenant-General Koos Bisschoff; former CID chief Lieutenant-General Cobus Visser; and former military intelligence chief Lieutenant-General Tienie Groenewald.

The fifth member is retired SAP colonel Servaas de Wet, commander of the AWB's military wing, the Wenkommando.

Also at the meeting — convened less than 24 hours earlier and attended by

**By JOCELYN MAKER,
DE WET POTGIETER
and CHARIS PERKINS**

representatives of more than 100 right-wing political and splinter groups — were retired Police Commissioner Lieutenant-General Mike Geldenhuys and former SAP forensics laboratory head Lieutenant-General Lothar Neethling.

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□ To Page 2

PICK 6

GOSFORTH PARK

There were 73 winners with each collecting a payout of R14 268,20. Numbers: 7, 15; 8, 3, 7; 7, 1, 8; 6.

CLAIRWOOD

65 winners each received a dividend of R7 894,20. Selections: 1, 3, 13; 2, 1; 2; 1; 12.

MILNERTON

Only one lucky punter received a payout of R226 915,20. Combinations: 4; 10; 7; 1, 3, 9; 7; 1.

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However, an inform
informal occasions
rettes. With their f
flavour and aroma
to give smoking p

Generals plot with right

□ From Page 1

"The generals were asked by the politicians to establish right-wing unity," he said.

General Groenewald said the committee was the culmination of "months" of behind-the-scenes lobbying. **S Times**

It will hold a press conference this week to spell out its plans for mobilisation. **2/5/93**

Yesterday AWB Commandant-General de Wet confirmed that the intention was to form a White People's Army.

"We have no other choice. Too many people are being murdered and the government has lost control. The right-wing, which was divided, is now standing together as one with a single goal — an Afrikaner volkstaat."

The white Mine Workers' Union, the Iron and Metal Union and Spoor-net's white union, Salstaff, have all pledged their support for the committee.

General Groenewald said: "One of our first objectives will be a show of force, but the generals are not in command — we are there to plan, co-ordinate, advise and suggest what action should be taken."

"Our people have to defend themselves. The government can no longer guarantee law and order in this country. **(SEA)**

"The People's Army is 500 000-strong and they have all had military training. We have the capacity

to enforce law and order."

CP information officer Pieter Mulder said the right-wing was moving into "second- and third-stage mobilisation".

"We will begin to act on fronts other than the political terrain. Up to now we have been strong on elections, but FW de Klerk has blocked us and we have no way to vent our frustration. **(304A) (SEA)**

"I personally don't want war, but our people have their backs against the wall. We are mobilising to defend ourselves," said Dr Mulder, who will take time out from his parliamentary duties to attend the Potchefstroom meeting.

Star 315 175
'Bring back death penalty'

The National Party in Natal adopted a motion calling for the reimposition of the death penalty for armed robbery and murder at a special congress held in Maritzburg at the weekend. NP Natal director of information Dr Johan Steenkamp said the continuing crime, violence, intimidation of political opponents, armed robberies, murders and assassinations were sources of great concern to the party.

(304A)

Smallholder and boy killed

Derby-Lewis's lawyer hits out at prosecutor

By Brendan Templeton

Hani murder suspect Gaye Derby-Lewis's advocate has accused a State prosecutor of breaking a promise to allow him time to appear for his client on Friday.

Derby-Lewis appeared in the Boksburg Magistrate's Court and had her case postponed in the absence of her advocate, Hennie Aucamp.

Aucamp yesterday threatened to take the matter up with the Commissioner of Police and the Attorney-General.

Sapa reports Aucamp said that press stories mentioning his absence had prejudiced him as they did not say why he was not present.

He was informed at 2pm on Friday that his client was about to be charged. But the police officer who contacted him could not give the scheduled time of the appearance, Aucamp said.

"I informed him that it was very short notice."

He immediately called the State prosecutor who agreed to wait until the advocate had time to arrive and represent Derby-Lewis.

"However, in violation of this agreement, the State prosecutor proceeded and the case was postponed in my absence," Aucamp said.

Boksburg chief prosecutor Jan Ferreira said after the hearing that he had asked the court for Gaye Derby-Lewis's name to be added to the murder charge sheet drawn up for Janus Waluz.

The Polish suspect appeared on April 13 in the court in the connection with the death of slain SACP leader Chris Hani.

The detention under Section 29 of the Internal Security Act of Derby-Lewis's husband and President's Council CP member, Clive, was extended to May 8 on the same day.

Magnus's daughter backs MK bomber

By JOCELYN MAKER

THE eldest daughter of one of South Africa's foremost securocrats believes an MK member jailed for his part in a bomb attack is one of the peacemakers who should lead the Afrikaner into the new South Africa.

But though Madelein Malan, 29, expressed her admiration publicly this week for MK's Tokyo Sexwale and ANC secretary general Cyril Ramaphosa, she does not intend to join the ANC.

And her father — former SADF chief and Minister of Defence Magnus Malan — "has not disowned me", she says.

St Times
Proud

Miss Malan — a lawyer who now runs an art gallery in Johannesburg — was prompted to state her views by anger with "right-wingers who have stereotyped the Afrikaners as a verkramppte, khaki-clad, backward people whose only desire is to isolate themselves in a volkstaat".

"These people are totally misrepresenting the Afrikaner. I'm an Afrikaner, too, and there are many of us, mostly young people like Wilhelm Verwoerd, who are proud to be Afrikaners but even more proud to be South Africans.

"We love our country and are here to stay to be part of it and all its people."



MADELEIN MALAN: 'People thought I was echoing my father' Picture: CHRISTINE NESBITT

"We want to lead constructive lives in a normal society, but fear is crippling South Africa and this is forcing many to join the right-wing," she says.

And, rather than entrenching the Afrikaner culture in the new South Africa, she believes "the right-wing leadership is destroying it".

"They claim to be fighting for a cause for a specific nation, but really it's nothing more than sentimentalism for an old order that keeps them together.

"I feel positive about the

changes in the country and its future. The right-wing does not have the copyright on Afrikaners. What we need is a change in the attitudes of people and an acceptance of each other."

Miss Malan says she has always been able to voice her political opinions within her family ranks.

"A lot of people have thought that when I said something I was echoing my father. That's never been true. He always encouraged open family debates," she says.

● See Page 22

Whites losing faith in politicians

JOHANNESBURG. — Whites have lost faith in the ability of politicians to solve the country's problems, while the reverse is true of black people, according to a recent survey by Research Surveys' Omnichek division.

Omnichek director Binky Kellas said between 40 and 50 percent of black men aged 25 years and older professed more faith in politicians than they had two years ago. Whites on the other hand had less faith than they had had earlier.

She said both whites and blacks disillusioned with politicians said they had lost faith in them because they

had not yet succeeded in arriving at an agreement about the country's future.

(304) APR 21/93
The next strongest influence was the politicians' lack of success in bringing violence to an end.

Faith in their political representatives had further been shaken by the fact that they put their parties' interests, as well as their own, before those of the country. Fewer blacks than whites agreed on this.

"This suggests that black politicians are seen to be less self-serving than are their white counterparts," Ms Kellas said. — Sapa.

Time-frame for election on agenda

Star 31/5/93
304A

By Kaizer Nyatumba
Political Correspondent

South African political parties and organisations are expected to adopt a declaration of intent during this week's round of negotiations calling for the country's historic all-in election to be held not later than April next year.

The declaration of intent, tabled towards the end of Friday's Negotiating Council (NC) meeting after a recommendation of the 10-member planning committee, will be debated at the next meeting of the NC this Friday.

Friday's meeting ended just as the important issue was about to be discussed because the meeting — whose progress was earlier delayed by squabbling — had gone on beyond the allocated time.

Urgency

Both the Government and the ANC have called for a sense of urgency in negotiations, and have said the next six weeks — five as from this week — could see binding agreements on a wide range of issues, including a date for the first, all-inclusive one person, one vote election for a constituent assembly.

The proposed declaration says that, given the fact that there is an urgent need to inspire confidence in the negotiations process and offer "a clear vision of the major milestone in the negotiating and transition process", parties represented in negotiations commit themselves to certain important issues.

These include:

- Reaching agreement on binding constitutional principles, the constitutional framework and the constitution-making process within which an election will be held.

- Providing for an adequate time-frame for the implementation of decisions on these matters and procedures for elections.

- Ensuring that the negotiation process moves forward over the next five weeks to set the exact date for an election "that should take place not later than the end of April 1994".

Earlier that day, the question of violence seriously threatened to scuttle the negotiations, with Inkatha Freedom Party national chairman Dr Frank Mdlalose insisting on reading a controversial six-page statement accusing the Government and the ANC of collusion in violence against IFP members.

Although some of the IFP's allies in the Concerned Southern Africans Group said Mdlalose should be allowed to read the statement — which was first circulated to the press and delegates last Monday — the ANC and its allies strongly objected.

A Transkei delegate warned that if the IFP were allowed to read the document, Transkei would have to respond, "and our reaction will rock this forum".

After an hour-long adjournment to reach a compromise, a recommendation by the planning committee was accepted, allowing the IFP to table the document and have it considered by a technical subcommittee on violence.

It was also agreed to set up technical committees to deal with constitutional issues as a package, and to deal with fundamental human rights during the transition. These committees will receive their instructions from the NC and make recommendations to it.

The planning committee — made up of 10 members chosen for their competence and not representing their parties and organisations — will meet at the World Trade Centre today and tomorrow, ahead of Friday's NC meeting.

Govt land dispute plan rejected

GOVERNMENT's plan to set up an independent land rights advisory forum to assist with land claim settlements has been greeted with caution and criticism.

Land Affairs Deputy Minister Johan Scheepers said in Parliament on Friday government did not support the idea of a land claims court proposed by the ANC because government lacked the financial means to implement such structures.

A land claims court would also "create and contribute to conflict" as determining a historic cut-off date was discriminatory.

Scheepers said the court would produce negative socioeconomic impacts because it gave a low priority to "the proper utilisation of land" and the basis of compensation threatened legal titles by not considering land titles.

The Advisory Commission on Land

Allocation (ACLA) did "offer solutions for numerous claims". In cases where the original land was state-owned, the relevant community should be given back its land.

If disputed land was privately owned, alternative state land should be made available, he said.

Negotiations between concerned parties would resolve disputes in other cases, Scheepers said.

An Association for Rural Advancement spokesman said the organisation was "extremely cautious" about the establishment of the land rights advisory forum, as dispossessed communities had not been canvassed.

It was remarkable that government had rejected the land claims court and a moratorium on the sale of

state-owned land — the only two effective short-term measures to resolve land claims, he said.

A National Land Commission spokesman said on Friday the announcement was "another example of unilateral decision-making on behalf of government".

This amounted to signing "a blank cheque for the restructuring of land and rural development policy".

Commission director Joanne Yawitch had rejected consideration for appointment to the forum because its terms of reference had been set by government alone and its decisions could be ignored, she said.

The commission also questioned the effectiveness of ACLA which, contrary to Scheepers' claims, had only settled two land disputes on behalf of the Roosboom and Charles-town communities in Natal.

See Page 4

Advocates call for interim Bill of Rights

THE general council of the Bar of SA has called for the introduction of an interim Bill of Rights enforceable by the courts, including the Appellate Division.

Chairman Brian Southwood said the council reaffirmed its support for introduction of a Bill of Rights and urged negotiating parties to agree on a new constitution at the earliest opportunity.

"Experience in countries such as Namibia has shown that the early introduction of an interim Bill of Rights greatly facilitates and enhances the process of creating such a rights culture," he said.

"An interim Bill of Rights must be accompanied by adequate state provided resources to give all citizens

inexpensive and expeditious access to the courts to enforce their rights."

The council was opposed to the entrenchment of the death penalty in the Bill of Rights, Southwood said.

"The question of whether the death penalty should be abolished because it is unconstitutional and/or in conflict with the Bill of Rights should be decided by the courts."

The widely divergent views of the members of the council's constituent Bars rendered it impossible for it to adopt an unequivocal view. The council was unconditionally opposed to detention without trial even in a state of emergency.

SUSAN RUSSELL

"The general council of the Bar believes the experience of the past decades has demonstrated beyond doubt that the executive cannot be entrusted or trusted with power to detain without trial."

He said it also believed Supreme Court judges should be chosen by a fully independent body in a way which ensured that judicial appointments fell outside the political arena.

It had reaffirmed its view that membership by a judge of any secret organisation was incompatible with judicial office. "This is of particular importance when the secret organisation has political objectives."

The council also supported the appointment of a permanent Human Rights Commission.

e commends iance, police

HARTLEY

and the national peace secretary the relatively peaceful nature of the death of SACP leader Chris Oldstone said at the weekend. The commission unequivocally condemned which accompanied many of the he held. Such conduct resulted in property and looting," he said.

Rival oil firms launch product war

TWO of SA's largest oil companies are engaged in an advertising war over the cleansing ability of their brands of petrol.

Caltex yesterday opened a nationwide advertising campaign defending the track record of its 20-year-old additive, CX3.

The new Caltex cam-

paign came just days after BP said it had come up with a "new generation" petrol capable of reducing dirty engine deposits.

Since its launch in 1973, CX3 has been sold on its ability to keep car engine parts clean.

The new BP newspaper

ad features a photo of a filthy, muddy rally car with the blurb: "BP's new generation petrol. Proved to keep it clean on the inside."

Caltex GM Mike Rademeyer yesterday declined to comment on BP's claims.

BP spokesmen were unavailable for comment yesterday.

DUMA GOUBULE



Delegates, including the ANC's Cyril Ramaphosa, register for the second round of talks at the World Trade Centre, Kempton Park, on

Negotiators pleased by 'major progress'

NEGOTIATORS say major progress was made on Friday, in spite of the appearance that little was achieved.

Several serious problem areas were leapfrogged; seven areas of agreement for moving ahead were identified; a mechanism to structure debate was decided on; and negotiators agreed to tackle talks with a solution-orientated approach.

DP chief negotiator Colin Eglin said it had been decided at the meeting that parties would put forward the names of people they wanted on the seven technical committees. The planning committee would present a structure of these committees at Friday's negotiating council meeting.

There were two methods of approaching constitutional negotiations: either delegations tackled the "hairy problems where lots of difference exists" or smaller committees would look at solutions to issues for debate by council.

"The first approach would have landed us in trouble right at the start of the talks, where parties are still trying to find their feet in working with others. Their positions would have been inflexible, and the possibilities of grandstanding and deadlocks much greater," he said.

Government and the ANC would try to avoid tackling serious differences at the start of the process, rather locking parties into the process and facilitating compromises to achieve agreement.

Eglin said the council had decided to refer issues to be debated to committees with instructions that solutions — not policy positions — be sought. "The committees would look at the areas of agreement and expand these into areas of difference to

encompass as much as possible under the agreed areas before confronting the areas of substantial differences," he said. "This would give the talks momentum and make it easier to deal with the differences later."

The committees would not be negotiating issues on behalf of parties but rather looking at ways of solving problem areas and presenting scenarios to be discussed and negotiated by the council. The issues would be referred back and forth until agreement was reached in council.

It was decided that no single agreement would be implemented until a full package of agreements was in sight.

ANC secretary-general Cyril Ramaphosa said while progress was slow, he was pleased that the major hurdle of appointing technical committees had been passed.

Constitutional Development Minister Roelf Meyer said he was more optimistic than after Monday's meeting, at which no substantive issues had been debated.

The seven areas of agreement on which the committees would start work were an independent elections commission; an independent media commission and telecommunications authority; amending and repealing repressive legislation; the transitional executive council and its subcouncils, giving priority to the issue of armed formations; strengthening the national peace accord and forming a peace corps; fundamental rights during the transition phase; and constitutional matters such as form of state, constitutional principles, and a constitution-making body.

BILLY PADDOCK

Wife of top CP *Sowetan 31/5/93* member charged

■ Mrs Gaye Derby-Lewis in court over the murder of Chris Hani:

THE wife of Conservative Party member Mr Clive Derby-Lewis was charged with the murder of South African Communist Party general secretary Chris Hani on Friday.

Police spokesman Brigadier Frans Malherbe said Mrs Gaye Derby-Lewis had been charged in the Boksburg Magistrate's Court with murder, even though no formal charge had been presented in court and she had not been asked to plead. *(231) (304A)*

No bail application was lodged and the case was postponed to May 12, the date on which Mr Janus Walus will also appear.

Walus appeared in the Boksburg Magistrate's Court on April 13 in connection with the murder of Mr Hani.

Meanwhile, the Pretoria Supreme Court ruled on Friday that top Conservative Party member Clive Derby-Lewis may be detained for another 10 days in terms of Section 29 of the Internal Security Act.

The ruling by Mr Justice Curlewis extends Derby-Lewis' detention for another 10 days as from midnight on Thursday.

The judge dismissed applications against the further detention of Derby-Lewis and his wife Gaye.

Pik Botha visits Tambo's widow with condolences

Star 4/5/93

By Kaizer Nyatumba
Political Correspondent

Foreign Affairs Minister Pik Botha yesterday visited ANC national chairman Oliver Tambo's widow, Adelaide, at the family's Sandhurst, Sandton, home to convey the Government's condolences.

Accompanied by his spokesman Awie Marais, Botha arrived at the Tambo residence shortly before 5.30 pm and spent about 30 minutes in the house.

ANC international affairs director Thabo Mbeki had arrived at the Tambo residence only a few minutes before Botha got there.

Speaking after his meeting with Mrs Tambo, Botha said he had come to pay his respects and deliver the Government's condolences to her.

"This lady has been quite a strong force, standing by her husband for many years.



Pik Botha ... delivered Government's condolences.

"She is so dignified, very strong, very faithful and has been an example to us all," Botha said.

Asked why the Government had not sent a delegation to Tambo's funeral on Sunday, the Minister said that was "a very delicate matter" which could only be discussed by the Government and the ANC.

According to a diplomatic



Adelaide Tambo ... "a very strong, very faithful woman".

source, Botha was a VIP guest at a function at the Carlton Hotel in Johannesburg on Sunday for the many diplomats who flew in for the funeral.

The source said Botha arrived "and threw his arms around Mandela in a bear-hug that lasted a while, to the incredulity of some of the Americans and others who had flown in, but not of those who know him well".

R5-m for societies Star 4/5/93 promoting pluralism

Staff Reporter

Societies promoting democracy in South Africa will soon be able to access R5 million provided by former Hungarian refugee George Soros, now a multi-millionaire.

He floated the 19th chapter of his organisation, the Open Society Foundation (OSF), in South Africa at the weekend with the assistance of the Institute for a Democratic Alternative for South Africa (Idasa).

The OSF said in a statement yesterday it would seek to promote human rights and civil liberties, strengthen a vigorous and autonomous society, promote political pluralism and create an educational system which promoted these values.

Stringent criteria have been laid down for societies hoping to benefit from the OSF fund. They will have to have an ongoing, institution-building impact; have an emphasis on sustainability; mutually reinforce each other where possible; and intend using the funds for delivering of projects.

No beneficiary may promote any form of discrimination and no funding may go to operating expenses; construction; endowment funds; charities, conferences and institutional research; political campaigns or party-political organisations; fund-raising events; inventions or private profit-making ventures; short-term emergency relief; scholarships and bursaries.

OSF board member Dr Alex Boraine said the foundation was thrilled that the University of Cape Town had agreed to allow its deputy vice-chancellor, Professor Michael Savage, two years' extended leave to fill the role of OSF executive director.

Other members of the board are Dr Van Zyl Slabbert (chairman), Fakiler Bam, Anthony Heard, Rhoda Kadilie, Mamphela Ramphele, Khehile Shubane, Peter Sullivan and Helen Zille.

The OSF will be fully operational from July 1 and applications will be considered at the first meeting of the board on July 26.

Boraine said one of the first beneficiaries would be a governance school in the western Cape. South Africa desperately needed more people who understood how government administration should work, he said.

Planners make modest progress

Modest progress was made yesterday at the World Trade Centre when the streamlined negotiations planning committee indicated it would begin to address issues raised by the Concerned South Africans Group, and agreed on a package of proposals to be submitted at Friday's meeting of the 26-party Negotiating Council.

Negotiators stressed that the 10-member planning committee has the power only to make recommendations to the larger forum, but were optimistic that yesterday's deliberations could lay the basis for substantive progress on Friday.

Cosag — whose main members are the Inkatha Freedom Party, the Conservative Party and Ciskei gov-

ernment — wants regions in a new constitution dealt with early and in detail, and wants the issue of violence pushed up the talks agenda. The spirit prevailing in the planning committee could calm Cosag fears.

The planning committee's package of proposals deals with a range of issues, including details for seven technical sub-committees,

guidelines on how to deal with demonstrations and criteria for deciding on new applicants to the Negotiating Council.

"I think we've got very good chances of making real headway on Friday," South African Communist Party chairman Joe Slovo said after the meeting.

● To Page 3

Planners make modest progress

● From Page 1

"I will second Mr Slovo's suggestion," Rowan Cronje of Bophuthatswana said.

"I think by Friday we should get the process really going with the appointment of the technical sub-committees."

The proposals on the sub-committees include timeframes, management, terms of reference and composition.

But Dr Ben Ngubane, senior Inkatha Freedom Party official and leader of the KwaZulu delegation in the Negotiating Council, warned the moment of truth was still to come in multi-party negotiations.

"Substantive issues — that is where the crunch is going to come," he said.

Pan Africanist Congress secretary-general Benny Alex-

ander — who chaired the session — said a letter had been sent earlier yesterday to all 26 parties requesting nominations for the sub-committees.

By Friday the planning committee would have finalised its proposals for the members of the sub-committees, Alexander said. The committee has proposed between three and six members for each sub-committee.

Sub-committees dealing with issues such as a constituent assembly and form of state would need more "political decision-making" and would therefore be bigger in size.

"For those matters which are purely of a legal nature, such as repeal of (discriminatory) legislation (and) prohibiting free political activity, you just need about three people.

"When it's more technical, it is smaller, when it is more political it will be bigger," Alexander said. "We are also going to put forward a proposal on how to deal with demonstrations."

The IFP has already said it wants a separate sub-committee to deal with a future form of state. The party does not want the matter discussed in a sub-committee also dealing with other constitutional matters.

National Peace Committee chairman John Hall attended the planning committee meeting to discuss co-ordinating efforts on violence with the National Peace Accord.

A meeting between the planning committee and the National Peace Committee was agreed to and will be arranged soon. — Political Staff, Sapa.

Government's free rides for politicians, other VIPs

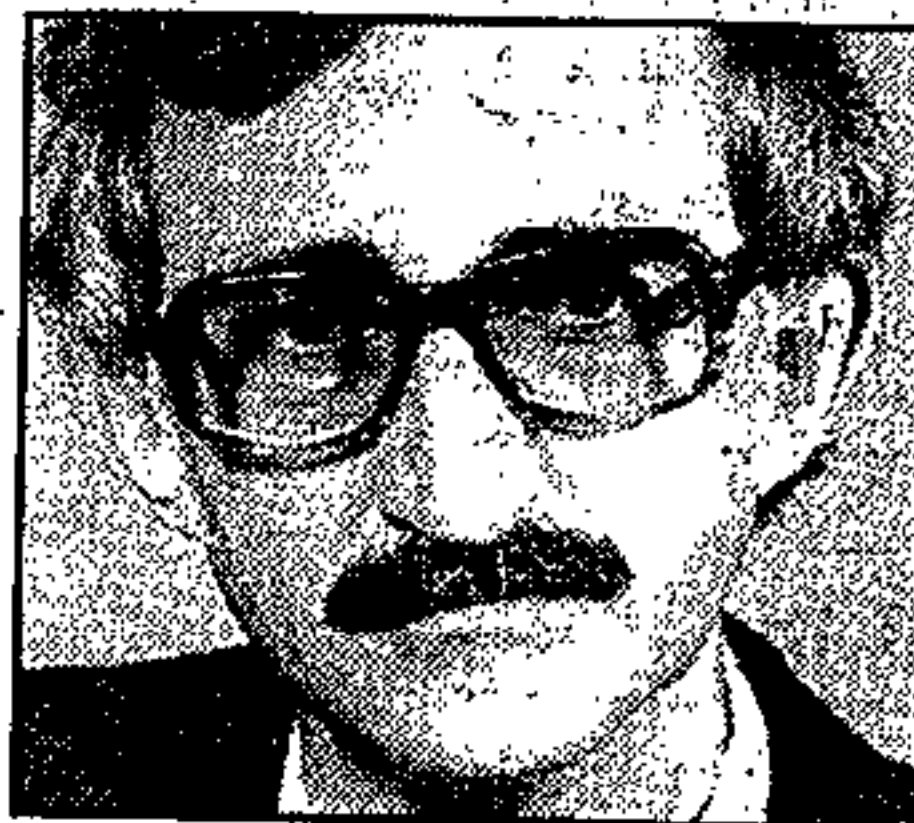
By Chris Whitfield

CAPE TOWN — About 250 cars, including Mercedes Benzes and BMWs, are available at Government garages across the country for the use of political office bearers, judges and other VIPs, Regional and Land Affairs Minister Andre Fourie has revealed.

They cost from R19 500 to R196 700 and had been purchased from 1982 to 1992, he said.

Fourie was responding to a question from the Democratic Party MP for Johannesburg North, Peter Soal.

Those eligible to use the cars for official occasions were Cabinet Ministers, Deputy Ministers,



Andre Fourie . . . cars available throughout the country.

administrators, members of the Executive Committee, judges, commissioners-general, members of the Ministers' Council and other VIPs, including foreign guests.

(b) R26 012 136 has been granted for the establishment of 118 new clinics.

Note:

The management of sexually transmitted diseases is part and parcel of primary health care. It is therefore not possible to identify funds allocated specifically for sexually transmitted diseases.

Expenditure: various categories of education

304. Mr R M BURROWS asked the Minister of Education and Training:

What (a) amount and (b) percentage of the education budget of his Department was spent on (i) pre-primary, (ii) primary, (iii) secondary and (iv) tertiary education during the 1991-92 financial year or the latest specified 12-month period for which figures are available? B702E

THE MINISTER OF EDUCATION AND TRAINING:

(a)	(b)
(i) R 592 447,43	0,02%
(ii) R1 743 657 912,64	49,62%
(iii) R1 041 124 901,43	29,63%
(iv) R 364 317 253,37	10,36%

The above-mentioned amounts are for the 1991/92 financial year since the final amounts

for the 1992/93 financial year are not yet available.

Post Office pension funds: actuarial deficit

312. Mr B B GOODALL asked the Minister of Posts and Telecommunications:

- (1) Whether any pension funds of the Post Office show an actuarial deficit; if so, (a) which pension funds, (b) what are the deficits in each case and (c) in respect of what date is this information furnished;
- (2) when (a) were the last actuarial valuations of these funds undertaken and (b) is it estimated that the funds will be fully funded at the current rate of contributions? B711E

THE MINISTER OF POSTS AND TELECOMMUNICATIONS:

The Managing Director of SA Post Office Limited replied as follows to the hon member's question:

- (1) Yes.
 - (a) Post Office Pension Fund
 - (b) R595 million
 - (c) 1 October 1991
- (2) (a) 1 October 1991
(b) 30 September 2006.

HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

QUESTIONS

Indicates translated version.

For written reply:

Own Affairs:

Visit to Atlantis by State President's wife: costs

24. Mr M A HENDRICKSE asked the Chairman of the Ministers' Council:

Whether any Departments in the Administration: House of Representatives were responsible for any costs incurred in respect of the visit by the wife of the State President to Atlantis on or about 10 March 1993; if so, (a) which Departments and (b) what was the cost incurred in each case in respect of (i) the printing and mailing of written invitations, (ii) the printing of pamphlets, (iii) the catering undertaken, (iv) the transportation of guests and (v) security arrangements? C80E

THE CHAIRMAN OF THE MINISTERS' COUNCIL:

- (a) The Department of Education and Culture: Administration: House of Representatives.
- (b) (i) R2 706,00
(ii) None
(iii) R1 166,66
(iv) None
(v) None

Building contracts awarded to company

25. Mr P C MCKENZIE asked the Chairman of the Ministers' Council:

- (1) Whether any contracts for the execution of certain projects were awarded by the Administration: House of Representatives to a certain company, the name of which has been furnished to his Office for the purpose of his reply, or its affiliates during the period 17 September 1984 up to and including 2 February 1992; if so, (a) what is the name or names of the company or affiliates concerned, (b) for which projects were such

contracts awarded and (c) what was the tender amount in respect of each of these projects;

- (2) whether any other persons and/or companies also submitted tenders in respect of the said projects; if so,
- (3) whether the company referred to in paragraph (1) submitted the lowest tenders of all persons and/or companies that submitted tenders; if not, (a) which companies submitted the lowest tenders in respect of each contract and (b) on what grounds was each contract awarded;
- (4) whether he will disclose whether any member of House of Representatives is or was a director of this company; if not, why not; if so, what are the names of these members? C87E

THE CHAIRMAN OF THE MINISTERS' COUNCIL:

- (1) Yes
 - (a) (b) and (c)
- (2) Yes.
 - (a) Bester Homes (Pty) Ltd—Strandfontein Primary School No 3—R1 350 000,00
 - Bester Homes (Pty) Ltd—Mitchells Plain Secondary School No 9 hall and technical centre—R4 497 440,00
 - Bester Homes (Pty) Ltd—Mitchells Plain Primary School No 52—R1 267 800,00
 - Bester Homes (Pty) Ltd—Cloetessville Primary School No 3—R3 534 500,00
 - Bester Homes (Pty) Ltd—Groendal Secondary School—R4 260 000,00
 - Bester Homes (Pty) Ltd—Mitchells Plain Primary School No 17 and technical centre—R6 174 000,00
 - Bester Homes (Pty) Ltd—Lentegeur Hospital—R2 168 000,00.
- (3) No.
 - (a) George Wimpey SA (Pty) Ltd—Mitchells Plain Secondary School No 9.
- (4) As far as could be determined no member of the House of Representatives is or was a director of the company.

Planning committee to suggest way ahead

Political Staff

THE 10-member planning committee will make recommendations to the Negotiating Council (NC) on Friday about the composition of the technical committees agreed upon last week.

This was said by South African Communist Party chairman Joe Slovo, who is a member of the committee.

The committee — whose members take part in it in their personal capacities and do not represent their parties — met at the World Trade Centre yesterday.

They agreed to make recommendations on both the composition of the technical committees and the time-frames during which they will be expected to report back.

Mr Slovo said the technical committee on constitutional issues would also be expected to make recommendations on the borders of regions as well as on the powers of the regions.

The Inkatha Freedom Party (IFP) and its allies in Cosag, who want "the form of state" to be high up on the negotiations agenda, are in favour of a federal system for South Africa.

After arguing for a long time on the question of violence on Friday, the NC finally agreed to establish a technical sub-committee to look into the issue, and two technical committees to deal with constitutional issues as a package and on fundamental human rights.

The technical committee on constitutional issues will deal with the form of state and constitutional principles, a constitution-making body, an interim constitution, transitional regional government, the future of the TBVC states and self-determination.

The planning committee's meeting for today has now been postponed to Friday.

Right wing plans 'mass action' campaign

THE unified right wing plans to embark on mass demonstrations of power in protest against the deteriorating security situation and the direction of multiparty negotiations.

Outlining a plan of action, former Military Intelligence chief Lt-Gen Tienie Groenewald said the right was intent on ensuring "self-determination".

Groenewald, one of four retired generals planning to unite and mobilise various right-wing splinter groups, said there had been a groundswell of support for the plan and 19 of the 21 organisations involved,

including the CP, had pledged their support for the founding principles.

He denied the grouping would include a "super white army", but said it would negotiate with and advise the existing security forces "on behalf of the more than 90% of the right wing that we represent". Cooperation would last "as long as they (the security forces) are controlled by the legitimate government", not by the ANC.

The committee of generals would also co-ordinate "defence units" such as the Transvaal Agricultural Union's Farm

Watch, which he said would prevent militant right-wing individuals from undertaking "irresponsible actions".

Groenewald said the aim was not to take over political parties' role, but to organise joint actions such as boycotts, stayaways, passive resistance and marches. "We can do anything that the ANC/SACP/Cosatu alliance does, only better, and without arson, looting or loss of life."

CP MP Dries Bruwer said the committee of generals had been formed as a result of the security situation in the country and dissatisfaction with negotiations.

8/07/93 4/5/93
DIRK VAN EEDEN

Reincorporation

'is not an option'

MARIANNE MERTEN
BOPHUTHATSWANA's reincorporation into SA was not a viable option if the homeland's pension fund benefits could not be guaranteed by a future SA government.

Addressing a meeting in Mmabatho on the current position of the government pension fund yesterday, Bophuthatswana Manpower Minister the Rev Simon Seodi said it was clear that there would be little or no control over Bophuthatswana's Sefalana Employee Benefit Organisation (Sebo), if it was merged with the SA pension fund. **6/10/91 4/5793**

The SA scheme was in deficit because it had lent about R40m to government and it was uncertain when the money would be repaid, he said.

It was obvious that funds from Sebo — which had built up a surplus of about R84,1m according to the latest actuary reports — would be used to make up the deficit, Seodi said.

Sebo had given "every Bophuthatswana citizen a very real stake in the country" because contributions were invested and people were able "to see the results".

Sebo had started with assets worth R600m which had increased to about R3bn.

Govt reviewing releases of political prisoners

TIM COHEN

CAPE TOWN — Government was reviewing all the political releases which had taken place over the past three years, Correctional Services Minister Adrian Vlok said in Parliament yesterday.

Vlok was introducing the debate on the Correctional Services Amendment Bill, which provided for the arrest of prisoners released in error.

"There will not be a second Lucky Malaza. We're doing everything in our ability to make sure this does not happen again. If it does, we will have to set it right," he said.

The legislation could affect at least one prematurely released prisoner, Malaza, who is currently being held in Bophuthatswana after allegedly being involved in a bank robbery.

Vlok said that in spite of the more than 10 000 releases processed by his department a month, only a few mistakes had been made.

The legislation also provided that prisoners would serve their entire term of imprisonment, in one form or another.

Prisoners who were not suitable candidates to serve portions of their

sentences in the community would be kept behind bars for the full duration of their sentences, Vlok said.

"We are convinced that this policy will be crime preventative and we believe that it will serve as an important deterrent."

The legislation also proposed a new disciplinary system, which Vlok said would bring SA into line with international practice. This was scrapping corporal and dietary punishments, and instead awarding or withdrawing privileges.

W A Botha (CP Uitenhage) said his party would support the Bill if it would help bring reduce SA's high crime figures.

He said the CP had warned government against political releases of ANC and PAC prisoners.

DP MP Tony Leon said although the DP supported the Bill, it was ironic that while the Correctional Services Department was scrapping corporal punishment, it was not ruled out in the Justice Department's proposed Bill of Rights.

Reconciling economic and political demands

DURBAN — A major dilemma confronting African countries was to reconcile the demands of economic and political liberalisation simultaneously, Small Business Development Corporation MD Ben Volsoo said yesterday. **6/10/91 3047**

Addressing the International Council for Small Business Southern Africa, Volsoo said in practice this meant reducing the role of the state in the economy while at the same time increasing the role of the people in the political process. **6/10/91 4/5793**

This had to be done without succumbing to unrealistic expectations and rampant populism. **4/5793**

"Successful Pacific Rim countries pursued economic growth before they started to pay proper attention to political democratisation," Volsoo said.

Many African countries, in contrast, unsuccessfully followed Kwame Nkrumah's example in Ghana by opting for the primacy of politics. "The simple truth is that a stable, free and responsible political system can only be built upon the foundations of a sound and productive economic substructure."

Small Industries Development Bank of India GM G K Saxena told the conference that efforts by the Indian government and institutions had enabled the small scale sector to develop as an important part of India's economy.

The sector now accounted for as much as 80% of employment and 61% of total value of industrial production in the manufacturing sector, Saxena said. It also contributed 57% to India's 1990/91 exports. — Sapa.

Talks to break deadlock start

■ Focus on technical sub-committees:

THE planning committee for multiparty negotiations yesterday got down to discussing detailed proposals for "deadlock-breaking" technical sub-committees.

The 26-party negotiating council agreed on Friday to establish at least seven technical sub-committees.

The 10-member planning committee met at the World Trade Centre near Johannesburg to discuss proposals for the composition, management, time frames and terms of reference of the sub-committees.

These will include deadlines for first sub-committee reports to the negotiating council and the names of the committee members.

Sub-committees are expected to comprise three or four people. (304A)

The planning committee will present a package of proposals for adoption at the next negotiating council meeting on Friday. The council adopted an explanatory memorandum last Friday which stipulated sub-committees "are not for negotiating substantial issues". — Sapa.

Focus on fear

"FEAR prevails among all of us, black and white..."

"It may be better to fight than surrender..."

"My wife and I never go visiting at night. We would rather be prisoners in our home than be attacked..."

"I am sickened by all the violence in South Africa. Is nobody capable of putting an end to it?"

The voice of the white community in South Africa has never sounded so strident — or so scared.

As they lurch ever closer to apartheid's nemesis, black rule, as violence soars and the economy plummets, conservative whites are not only reaching for their guns.

They are picking up their pens and writing to their favourite newspaper as never before, packing the letters page of the conservative, mass-circulation *Citizen* with their worries.

"So many people are screaming," says veteran editor Johnny Johnson, who reads every letter. "It's the most worrying period I've ever experienced. People are very angry and scared."

The 40-or-so letters that come in each day, make his 135 000-circulation tabloid a sound-board for the mood of what he calls "middle-road, ordinary, decent people".

South Africa's five million whites, outnumbered 5-1 by blacks, have always been prone to nervousness.

They built apartheid as a bulwark against a sea of black impoverishment lapping at their privilege.

But President FW de Klerk demolished the barrier.

White control has all but gone. Just as many whites had feared — particularly in the large working class that distinguishes industrialised South Africa from the colonial Africa of the past — violence and uncertainty followed.

More than 8 000 blacks have been slaughtered in a low-intensity civil war since De Klerk released apartheid clamps in 1990.

Violent crime has reached unprecedented levels, sweeping into suburbs and farms. Whites die daily, in defence of their property.

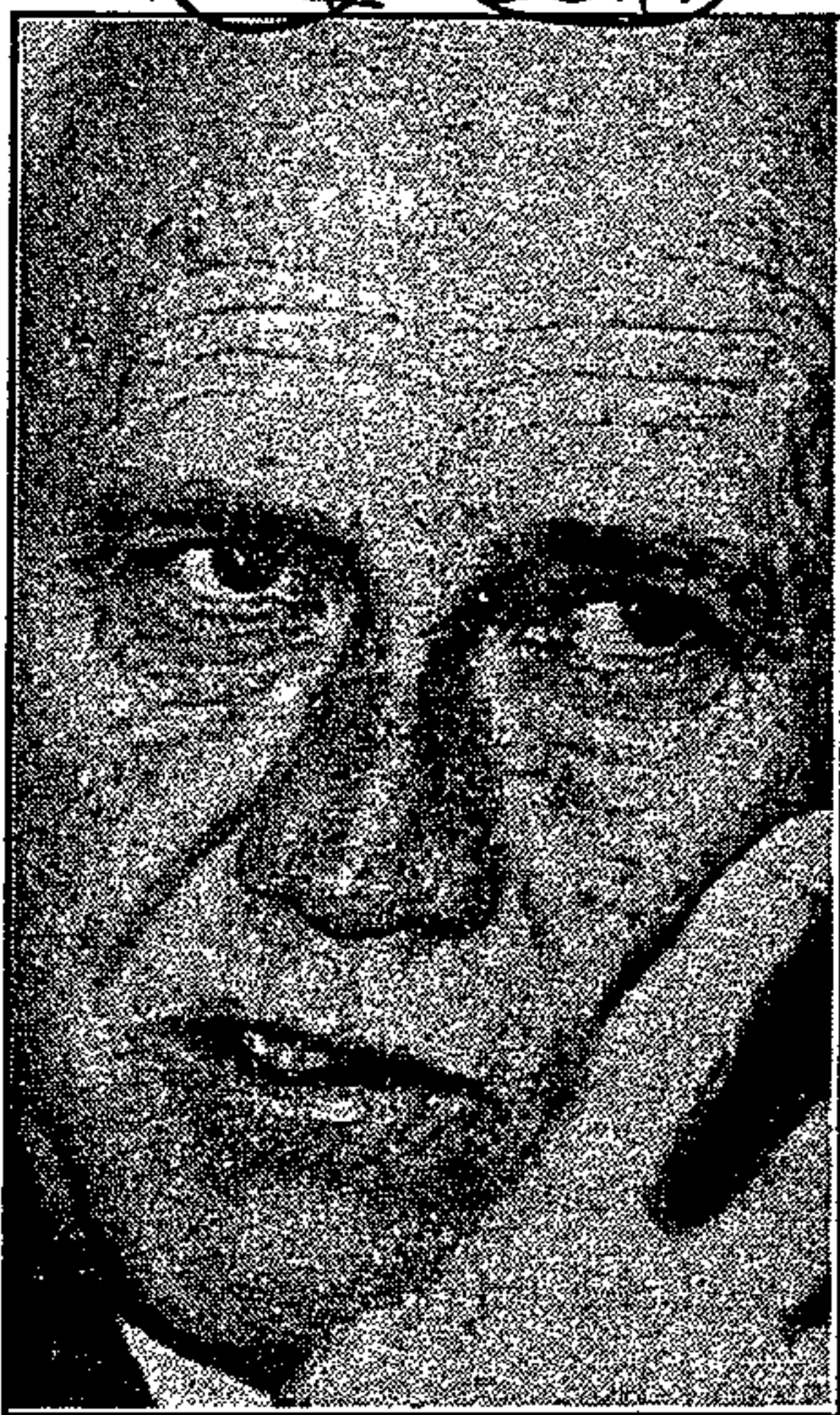
The recent sight of angry young blacks running riot after the assassination — by a white man — of their hero Mr Chris Hani, stoked white fears of black revolutionary terror.

Mr Nelson Mandela says the main threat to peace in South Africa comes from 800 000 conservative whites who last year voted in vain against change in a referendum. He appeals for whites with skills to stay on and make the new, nonracial country work.

The letters pages of the *Citizen* reflect the militancy he talks of. But, as international moving companies report a surge of demand, they also expose fright, frustration, helplessness and

Sowetan 4/5/93

White terror and anger in South Africa has reached hysterical proportions, with many desperately trying to emigrate. Their fears scream from their daily, the *Citizen's* letters page, says a *Sapa-Reuter* Correspondent:



FW de Klerk ... white control has gone.

hopelessness.

Citing a "massacred" economy, collapsing education and highway banditry, "Packing for Perth" wrote: "Thank you Mr Mandela but we decline the offer."

"My family and I will be moving to a country that can offer us a future, a country in which I will have a stable job, my family's safety is much more secure and my children will obtain a satisfactory education."

Mrs DT Schneider wrote that riot, rape and murder undercut Mandela's pleas.

"Why should the 'brains' stay — to be slaughtered by brainless, uncontrolled thugs?" she demanded. "No, Mr Mandela, it is not the past

Our little ones grew up and learned to love this land of hope and promise only to have it wrenched from them

but the present and the future that whites find intolerable."

"Rhodesian", an exile from what is now black Zimbabwe, said his family fled "black Marxist domination".

"Our little ones grew up and learned to love this land of hope and promise only to have it wrenched from them," he wrote.

"There is no future here for them and it's time we were moving on."

A mother-of-two, signing off "Tired", wrote from her smallholding that she can't sleep for fear of radical blacks chanting "one settler, one bullet".

"I have a very strict set of rules regarding safety, for example when the front door bell rings my children must go to my room and not appear until I tell them to," she confided.

Even in the mid-1980s, when South Africa's townships burned in riots that branded the need for change on a stubborn white nation, whites were not so concerned, says Johnson.

"They were in control. Now violence has reached the white suburbs. People live behind bars. There is a feeling that if this is the new South Africa they don't want it."

Many *Citizen* readers blame De Klerk, the white leader who tolled the bell on white rule.

"He's a traitor. That's what they think of him. He's weak, he's handing over," says Johnson.

Wrote "Tired": "FW de Klerk had the 'courage' to embark on a new road but he does not have the courage to draw the line and state the rights of the white people.

"We ordinary people are paying a very high price." — *Sapa-Reuter*.

Inkatha threat to hold up talks

35/11
11/3
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Own Correspondent

JOHANNESBURG. — Inkatha and KwaZulu delegations to the multi-party talks would withhold backing for the negotiations until their demands were met, Inkatha central committee member Mr Walter Felgate warned yesterday.

Sources at the negotiating council, which met on Friday, said they believed the two delegations were under orders from Inkatha president Chief Mangosuthu Buthelezi not to move ahead on any key issue until the form of a future state had been finalised and agreement reached on disbanding uMkhonto weSizwe.

Sapa reports that Chief Buthelezi, at a news conference yesterday, also insisted that violence should be the first item dealt with at multi-party negotiations. "I cannot see how anyone imagines you can have a free and democratic election when people are being killed," he said.

Pessimism

Mr Felgate said: "We cannot even put the negotiations process under way until the form of state has been sorted out. We will also not move on to discussing any substantive constitutional issues until the position of MK is resolved and we have effectively dealt with violence."

Inkatha's tough stance comes at a time of growing pessimism over chances of a summit between ANC president Mr Nelson Mandela and Chief Buthelezi. A preparatory meeting to set the date was due by March 5, but the renewed national negotiations forced a postponement.

ANC representative Mr Sydney Mufamadi said yesterday it could not be left to the multi-party negotiators to organise a summit as they did not have the "intimate understanding that has developed between the two parties". The mere fact that preparations had been under way had contributed to various peace initiatives in Natal.

Joint control of Walvis a step closer

By Chris Whitfield
Political Correspondent

CAPE TOWN — Movement towards joint South African and Namibian administration of Walvis Bay gained momentum yesterday with the tabling in Parliament of legislation arising from agreements between the two governments.

In terms of the Joint Administrative Authority for Walvis Bay Bill, a chief executive officer would be appointed by each government. They would head the joint administrative authority, which would include a management committee.

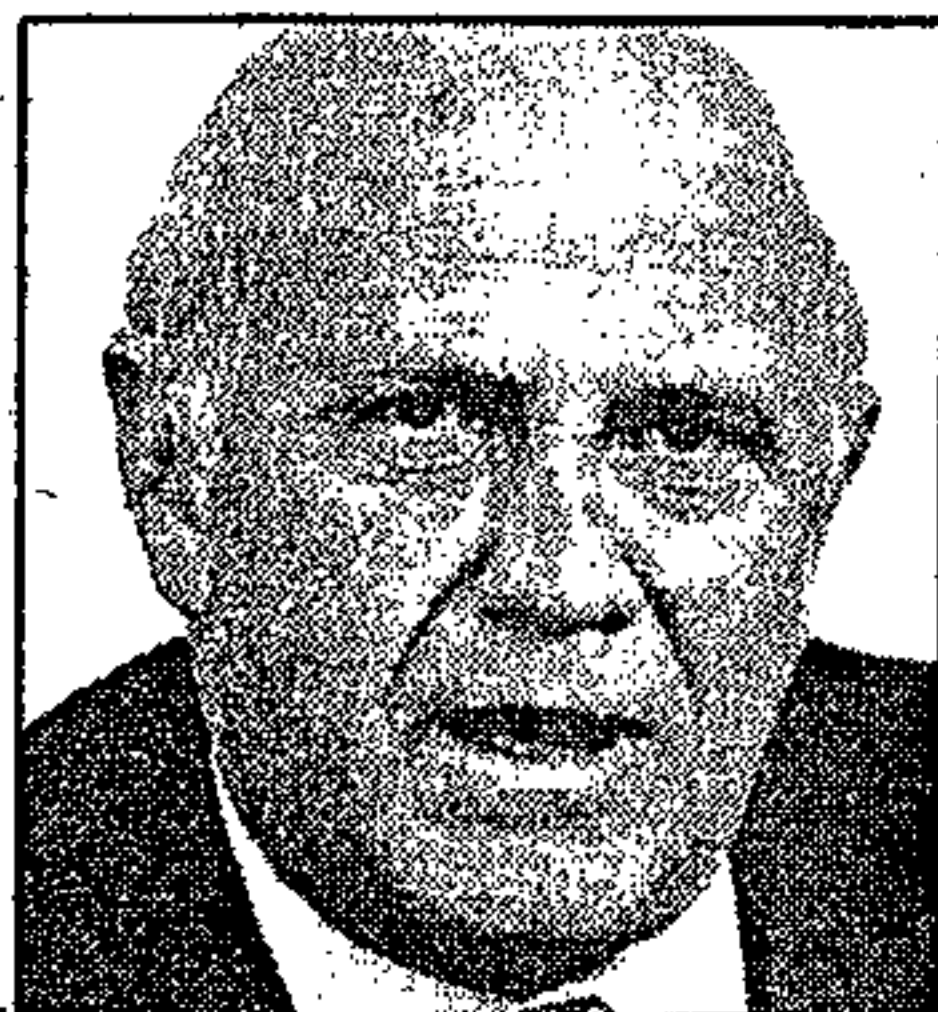
The Bill will give effect to an agreement between the two countries signed on November 4 last year.

In terms of the Bill, the State President may assign "the administration of any law or a provision in a law to the chief executive officers".

Since Namibian independence, the continued administration of Walvis Bay by South Africa has been the source of prolonged negotiations between the countries.

Budget debate

CAPE TOWN — Constitutional Development Minister Roelf Meyer today opens debate on his Budget vote amid increasing signs that Friday's meeting of the negotiating council could be critical to the process.



De Klerk... clear there would be many difficulties.

Star 5/5/93 SA's progress remarkable – FW

Political Staff

CAPE TOWN — It was essential to reach all South Africans during the coming months to explain to them the significance of the coming elections, President F W de Klerk said in Cape Town last night.

Speaking at an International Public Relations Association dinner, he said it would also be necessary to create the circum-

stances in which they would be able to take part freely and meaningfully in the process.

The dramatic change in direction in South Africa just more than three years ago had turned out to be "a long-distance marathon towards our goal of a new and democratic South Africa".

There were no illusions at the outset that it would be an easy race. Given the diametrically opposed ideologies at the outset,

the deep-seated animosities and suspicions, and the legacies of prejudice, fear and envy in the society, it was clear there would be many difficulties.

But remarkable progress had been made, De Klerk said.

Nearly all the major parties in South Africa had been drawn into negotiations, and substantial agreement had been reached on important departure points and goals.

Star 5/5/93 Apartheid victims 'will not vote NP'

People who had been treated as second-class citizens all their lives were not going to vote for the National Party, Mohammed Valli Moosa of the ANC's negotiating team warned yesterday in an address to the Johannesburg Municipal Combined Employees' Union at the City Hall.

He told about 300 members of the largely coloured and Indian union that the National Party had been claiming the support of the majority of coloured and Indian people.

Also addressing the meeting, the head of the ANC's local government unit, Thozamile Botha, said interim local councils to replace existing councils in black and white areas should be in place by July.

These interim councils would be responsible for the rationalisation of services and the unifying of the budgets of the various local authorities in order to address the service crisis facing the country. — Staff Reporter.

Star 5/5/93 Mdlalose accusations referred to Goldstone

By Helen Grange

Accusations made last month by IFP chairman Dr Frank Mdlalose that the Government was involved in a smear campaign against the IFP will be referred to the Goldstone Commission for possible investigation.

A statement by the National Peace Committee (NPC), detailing decisions made at Monday night's NPC executive meeting, said Mdlalose had raised issues relating to criminal action which fell within the scope of the Goldstone Commission and could not be dealt with by the complaints investigating committee.

In his address last Monday to the Negotiating Council, Mdlalose said Government intelligence agencies were involved in a smear campaign against the IFP and were "involved in providing support to those seeking our demise".

He also suggested that the police were deliberately neglect-

ing to investigate perpetrators of violence against the IFP.

The NPC executive on Monday distanced itself from recent inflammatory statements by Winnie Mandela and ANC Youth League president Peter Mokaba.

Speaking at a press conference yesterday, NPC chairman John Hall said the NPC was very concerned with violations of the Peace Accord, which needed strengthening to further bind signatories to its terms.

The option of affording the accord legislative power to punish transgressors was, however, not being considered.

Hall said the greatest obstacles to the Peace Accord's success was the absence of a new political dispensation and the crippling socio-economic situation on the ground.

Action plans would, however, be launched to address immediate threats to peace in the form of mass action, political intolerance and broken-down relations between political parties.

Star 5/5/93 IFP plans to force talks on violence

DURBAN — The Inkatha Freedom Party is planning a programme of mass demonstrations to demand that violence tops the agenda at multiparty negotiations.

Inkatha spokesman Ed Tillet said yesterday that IFP supporters would march and picket in the streets from May 15.

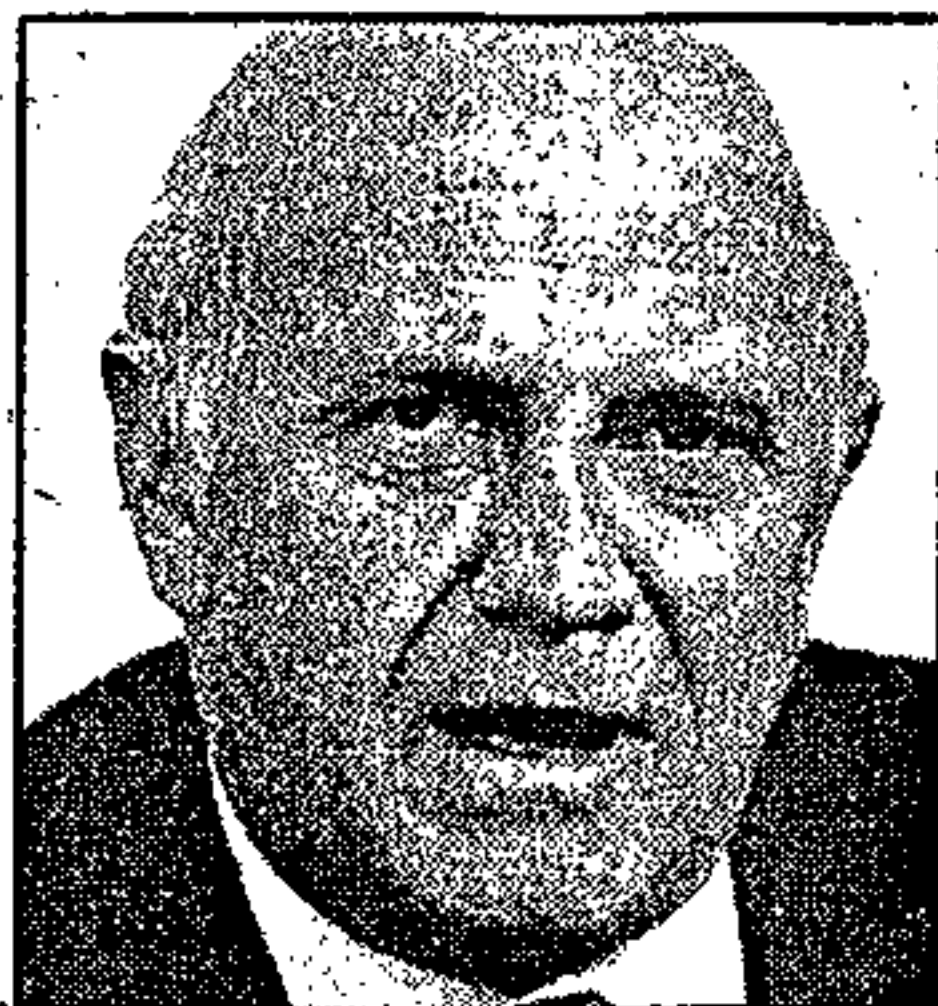
The first march would take place in Durban.

"The IFP's view is that violence has reached such a level that it should be tabled at the top of the agenda at the multiparty forum," he said.

His statement echoed that by IFP president Mangosuthu Buthelezi on Monday.

IFP national chairman Dr Frank Mdlalose attempted to read a statement on violence to last week's negotiating council, but it was referred to a subcommittee on violence.

The memorandum calls for the immediate disbanding of all private armies. — Sapa.



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The memorandum calls for the immediate disbanding of all private armies. — Sapa.

Star 5/5/93

Media have vital role in elections – Minister

CAPE TOWN — Radio and television broadcasting had a particularly important part to play in preparing voters for the coming general election, Minister of Home Affairs Danie Schutte said yesterday.

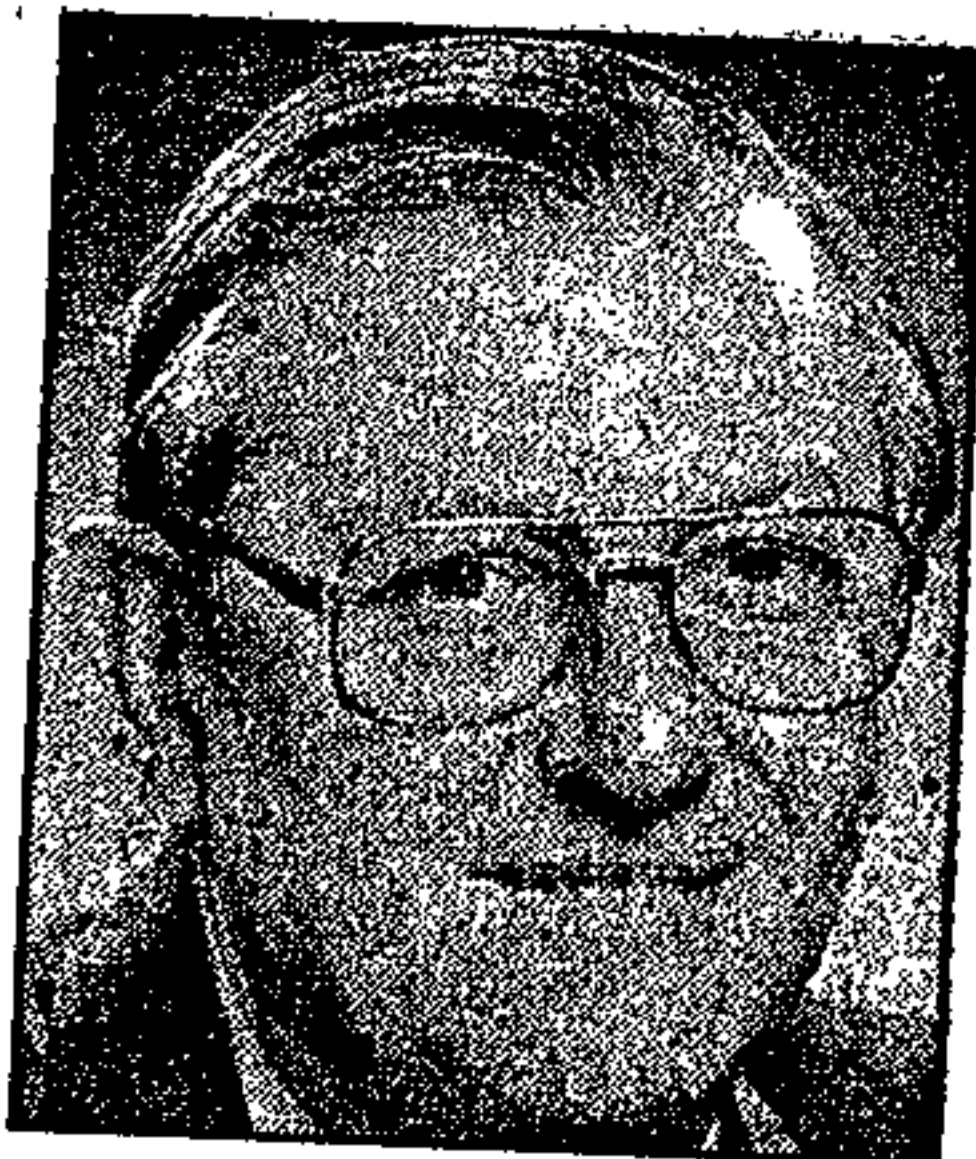
Introducing debate on the Broadcasting Amendment Bill, he said the Government had proved its commitment to an impartial and credible SABC board by increasing its membership and appointing a panel of independent selectors.

The Bill under debate followed extensive negotiations with parties both within and outside Parliament.

It spelt out the process of appointing a new SABC board, laid down criteria and guidelines for new board members, and expanded its membership.

The ANC had no interest in taking over the SABC where the National Party left off, Jannie Momberg (Ind Simon's Town) said.

Speaking in the debate, he said the ANC sought a fair and equal playing field where all



Jannie Momberg ... need for access to unslanted news.

parties would feel secure.

The expansion of the board, envisaged in the Bill, was a critically important phase in giving the country access to unslanted news. No one could deny that the way the SABC distorted the 1992 referendum against the "no" vote was a scandal.

Pieter Groenewald (CP Stillfontein) said the only reason the Bill was on the table was because the ANC was demanding it of the Government.

"This Bill will result in the NP losing control over the media when it believes it can win a one man, one vote election. Just as the Government used the media in the referendum to intimidate the 'no' voter, so will the ANC intimidate the Government in future."

Desmond Lockey (LP Northern Cape) said the Bill ended an era of flagrant interference by the Government in the electronic media. It would bring about a more democratic and representative board.

The new SABC board had the enormous responsibility of ensuring that the SABC reflected all views as fairly as possible in the run-up to the country's first nonracial, democratic election, Peter Soal (DP Johannesburg North) said.

An ombudsman of media commission should be appointed to ensure politicians were denied control of the SABC.

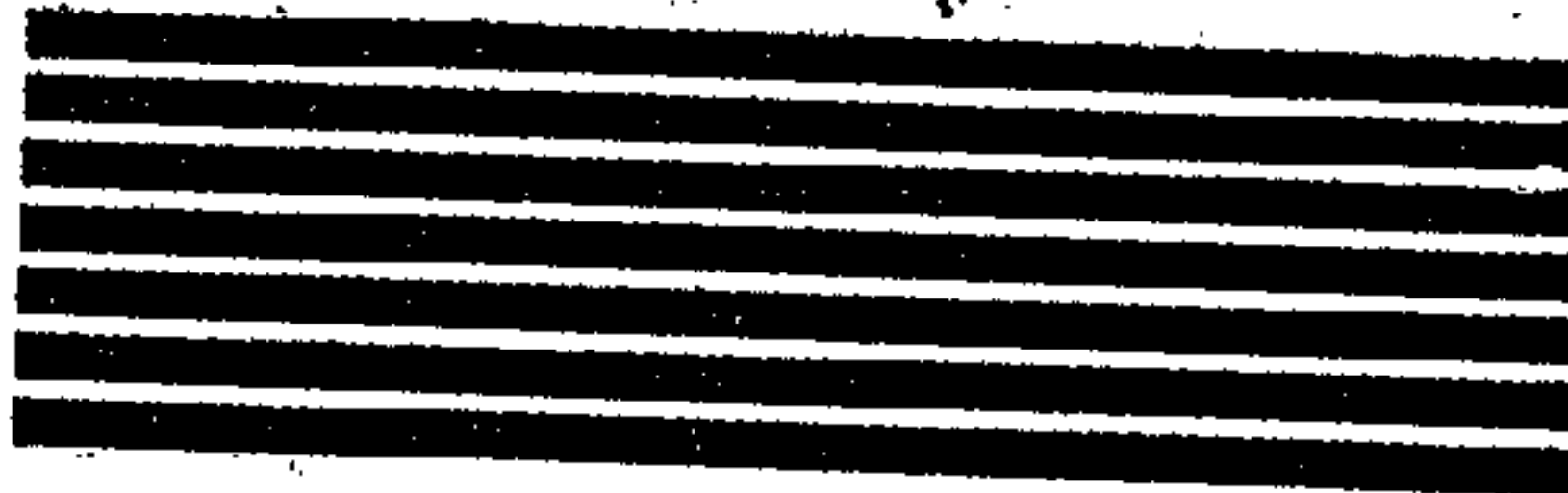
It was not only the NP that was at fault. An example of ANC interference in a recent news broadcast was a demand that a speech by Nelson Mandela be aired in full. — Sapa.

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Council to focus on date for all-in election

By Kaizer Nyatumba
Political Correspondent

A commitment to the holding of South Africa's first all-in election not later than April next year is the first issue to be debated when the Negotiating Council meets at the World Trade Centre this week, according to reliable sources. (204A)

Top negotiators told The Star that the commitment, tabled in a declaration of intent towards the end of last week's meeting, would be the first item on the agenda of Friday's council meeting.

The declaration further commits the 26 parties and organisations represented in negotiations to ensuring that an exact date for the election is set within the next five weeks.

"The question of a date for elections is first on the agenda. It is one of the issues facing us.

"Without getting an election

date, it will give the impression that the negotiations are endless," said SACP national chairman Joe Slovo yesterday.

The Democratic Party's Colin Eglin confirmed that the election date would be the first issue to be dealt with at Friday's talks.

Eglin also said he expected the technical committees agreed upon last week to be formally constituted on Friday, following recommendations to be made by the 10-member planning committee which met on Monday.

Both Slovo and Eglin are members of that committee.

The planning committee — whose members participate in their personal capacities and do not represent their parties — this week agreed to make recommendations on both the composition of the technical committees and the time-frames during which they will be expected to report back.

Star 5/5/93

ET in talks with Kriel

Political Correspondent

CAPE TOWN — AWB leader Eugene Terre-Blanche yesterday held an hour-long meeting with Law and Order Minister Hernus Kriel on "the security situation and matters of mutual concern".

Law and Order Ministry spokesman Captain Craig Kotze did not elaborate on the content, but it is almost certain the

issue of recent inflammatory statements by TerreBlanche would have been raised.

On Monday night TerreBlanche rounded on "that small jellytot De Klerk" and told an overflowing city hall crowd that "Chris Hani was a murderer of people ... a murderer who was murdered".

Kotze said the meeting had been held at the AWB leader's initiative.

Wednesday May 5 1993

11

US paper praises De Klerk

WASHINGTON — In a rare tribute today, the Boston Herald praises President de Klerk's apology last week for the hurt apartheid caused, saying: "There are few leaders today who so impressively combine courage, decency and perseverance in the name of peace."

The paper said he rarely received credit for his efforts.

"Again and again he pushed back the outer limits of what any white politician could dare to do. He freed Nelson Mandela. He legalised the ANC. He forced Parliament to repeal laws of segregation and race classification. He appointed non-whites to his Cabinet. He named a long-time anti-apartheid activist as his ambassador to Washington. He called for — and won — a referendum on whether the abolition of apartheid should go forward.

"His heartfelt words of repentance are a rebuke to lesser men everywhere . . . If only there were more De Klerks to lead the way." — Star Bureau.

Boston tribute to F W's 'courage'

ARG 515793
The Argus Foreign Service

WASHINGTON. — In a rare tribute today, the Boston Herald praised President De Klerk's apology last week for the hurt apartheid had caused, saying: "There are few leaders today who so impressively combine courage, decency and perseverance in the name of peace". (304A)

The newspaper said he was more responsible for the demise of apartheid in South Africa than any other leader but rarely received credit.

"Last Thursday, De Klerk once more showed himself a man of profound integrity.

"His heartfelt words of repentance are a rebuke to lesser men everywhere — in Serbia, in Haiti, in China, in Cambodia. If only there were more De Klerks to lead the way," the newspaper said.

CP leader issues white rallying call

Star 5/5/93
(304A)

BRITS — Conservative Party acting leader Dr Ferdi Hartzenberg last night invited National Party supporters to join the CP's mobilisation drive to fight for white self-determination.

He told 400 people at a public meeting in Brits that "a time will come when the laager will have to be closed in the fight against the communist onslaught".

Hartzenberg said security force generals, scientists and labour leaders would be involved in the mobilisation drive to be launched at a mass meeting in Potchefstroom in the western Transvaal tomorrow.

He said if demands of the Concerned South Africans Group were not met at the multiparty talks, stronger steps would have to be taken in order

to ward off the communist onslaught.

Hartzenberg said: "The nation had been prepared to offer blood in the past. If they are not prepared to listen at a negotiating table, they will force us to adopt the same position we had against Britain (during the Anglo-Boer War)."

He warned that unless the armed wing of the African National Congress, Umkhonto we Sizwe, and the Azanian Peoples Liberation Army were banned or restricted, they would continue with their acts of violence.

He said the current wave of violence was intended to break the "spirit" of whites in the country and that the ANC was committing this violence in order to create a revolutionary climate. — Sapa.

Section 143

National Party ready to take on all comers

THE NATIONAL Party's chief director of information, Springs NP Piet Coetzer, has done his homework.

As the person in charge of the NP's propaganda machinery for South Africa's forthcoming watershed election, he is only too well aware of the fact that the NP will have to rely on more than just its traditional white support-base if it is to be the dominant force it hopes to be in the "new South Africa".

Although his party has ruled this country for more than 40 years, and he himself has been closely involved in election campaigns since 1977, Coetzer knows that the coming election will not be like any other the NP has ever fought since its formation in 1914.

For the first time in history, the NP will have to face those who have been victims of its racial policies over the years and ask them to cast their votes for it. The irony of the situation does not escape Coetzer (46), but he insists the NP led by President F W de Klerk is a new — and completely different — party.

To support his thesis, he points at the fact that the party has just ditched its old symbols and colours, that it has long turned its back on apartheid and is in the process of purging the statute book of the vestiges of any form of discrimination; and that it was NP leader De Klerk who took the bold move to normalise politics.

NP's changing face

Like the astute public relations man he is, Coetzer had planned to attend a memorial service for slain SACP and ANC leader Chris Hani in KwaThema on Sunday, April 18, but was advised by ANC leaders in the East Rand township that it would be dangerous for him to do so.

And he arrived for our interview, held at the NP's office at the World Trade Centre, with a black woman named Itumeleng Mohlala — Coetzer calls her "Itu" — who has just joined his department. The KwaThema-based Mohlala is not just an NP employee, but is also a party member.



ELECTION COUNTDOWN

The National Party hopes to obtain a majority in the country's first all-in election, writes Political Correspondent KAIZER NYATSUMBA.

A few minutes earlier, Manpower Minister Leon Wessels and Public Enterprises Minister Dr Dawie de Villiers had been in the office with their new colleagues who form part of the NP's delegation to the Negotiating Council: two Indian women.

According to Coetzer, the NP started preparing for the forthcoming election shortly after last year's March 17 referendum which, he says, was the NP's "last all-out campaign aimed at whites".

The preparations, he says, have been low-key, and have involved planning, conducting research, appointing personnel and establishing the necessary infrastructure.

Coetzer is confident that just as the majority of whites voted in favour of continued negotiations in the referendum, they will also overwhelmingly cast their votes for the NP in the election.

He says research shows that the NP will get "70 percent-plus" of the white electorate's vote, the same percentage of the coloured and Indian electorate's vote, and "a substantial amount" of the African population's vote. The combined vote, he says, will make the NP "a very strong competitor for coming out of the election as the biggest single party".

"I say that advisedly because the figures we have had access to indicate that it is very unlikely that any party will get majority support — say, 50 percent-plus — in the election.

"We are convinced that South Africa is heading for a coalition government, and there is consensus between the NP and the ANC that at least for the first five years, South Africa should be governed by a government of national unity."

"We are convinced that the majority of South Africans at this stage long for co-operation between the bigger parties in the interest of peace and stability," says Coetzer.

But Coetzer is insistent: while the situation might change later, as of now the NP plans to fight the election as the NP, and not in an alliance with any other party or organisation.

He says not much significance should be given to surveys and opinion polls giving the NP a low percentage of the vote, because it is not possible to measure support for a governing party between elections. Only during election time is there what he calls "a single-minded proposition" which exercises people's minds.

This, he says, was illustrated by the fact that only six weeks after the NP had suffered a crushing defeat at the Potchefstroom by-election early last year, it won the referendum so convincingly.

For the coming election, Coetzer believes the "single-minded proposition" to which the electorate will have to respond, is who is going to govern and who is going to have a major say in the writing of the country's constitution in the constituent assembly. The kind of economic system South Africa will have, and internal security and stability, he says, are "side-issues" which will also feature strongly in debates in the election campaign.

Then, of course, there is the "incumbency factor", which usually works in favor of ruling parties during elections: does he think the fact that the NP is the Government will help the party?

Coetzer says there are two aspects to this: the fact that the NP has been in power for so long — and therefore has experience as a ruling party — could count in its favour, but the fact that it also carries "the baggage of apartheid" could count against it.

The NP, he says, would start its election campaign by short notice, and could contest an election before this year. However, it does an election to be held in the first quarter of next year. According to Coetzer, remains to be done in preparation for an election. □

nately I am not aware of it. If she would write me a letter I would be only too pleased to give her the necessary information that she may require.

Hani funeral: flags half-mast at embassy

*9. Mr J H MOMBORG asked the Minister of Foreign Affairs:†

- (1) Whether it was decided to fly the national flag at half-mast at a South African embassy in the United States of America as a result of the recent death of Mr Chris Hani, if so, who took this decision;
- (2) whether his Department reacted to this decision, if not, why not; if so, what was this reaction?

†The DEPUTY MINISTER OF FOREIGN AFFAIRS:

- (1) Yes, by the South African Embassy to the United States of America.
- (2) Yes. As a result of enquiries by the news media, they were informed that the Ambassador had used his own discretion.

†Mr S P BARNARD: Mr Chairman, arising from the hon the Deputy Minister's reply, may I ask him whether he does not consider it advisable to request the ambassador in America and the other countries in which we have embassies also to fly the flag at half-mast for the five Whites—Whites remember, do not forget that—who were shot and killed by an assassin or assassins?

†The DEPUTY MINISTER: Mr Chairman, I would like to refer the hon member to the reply that the hon the State President has just given on this whole matter.

†Mr S P BARNARD: Mr Chairman . . .

†The CHAIRMAN OF THE HOUSE: Order! I am afraid that the time for questions on general affairs has expired. [Interjections.]

Business interrupted in accordance with Rule 180C (3) of the Standing Rules of Parliament.

INTERPELLATION

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

HOUSE OF ASSEMBLY

Own Affairs:

Vacancies in Afrikaans schools

*1. Mr A GERBER asked the Minister of Education and Culture:

- (1) Whether his Department will fill vacancies in Afrikaans schools against the wishes of the parent community with pupils with other cultural, religious and mother tongue backgrounds than those traditionally shared by pupils at Afrikaans schools; if not, why not; if so, why;
- (2) whether he will make a statement on the matter?

†The DEPUTY MINISTER OF EDUCATION AND CULTURE: Mr Chairman, the interpellator wants to know whether the Department of Education and Culture will fill vacant places in Afrikaans schools against the wishes of the parent community with pupils from another cultural, religious and mother-tongue background than the traditional at such schools. [Interjections.] That is what the interpellator wants to know. [Interjections.] I thought that some of those hon members could not read.

The reply to the question is no, the department is not filling places at schools. The admission policy of about 94% of our schools has been transferred to the management bodies themselves and, even at any Government school, pupils are not placed by the department but admitted by the principal. When the point at issue is vacant places at schools, however, there are two realities that have to be reconciled.

One reality is that in this country there are millions of people without educational facilities who cannot accept that facilities which are available and are largely under-utilised here and there remain closed to them. [Interjections.] It is also a great burden to the taxpayer to provide additional facilities whereas others are under-utilised.

The other reality is, however, that there is a deep-seated need among people to protect the culture, language, religion and the familiar character of their school. The Government has committed itself to this right and will ensure that this right is incorporated in the charter of fundamental rights and in the constitution.

Support also comes from the UN for such a standpoint. On 3 February 1993 Resolution 47135 of the "Declaration on the Rights of Persons Belonging to National and Ethnic Religions and Linguistic Minorities" was accepted. Article 27 was reaffirmed in particular, which reads:

In those States in which ethnic, religious and linguistic minorities exist, persons belonging to such minorities shall not be denied the right, in community with other members of their group, to enjoy their own culture, to profess and practice their own religion, or to use their own language.

We must be realistic, however. Conditions must be of such a nature that the right to education of one's own can be exercised in a justifiable manner. [Interjections.] Communities which desire it must set fair demands and accept joint responsibility for the just maintenance of them.

*Mr A GERBER: Mr Chairman, the purpose of this interpellation is to try to establish for the umpteenth time what the Government means by so-called differentiated education. The reply that the hon the Deputy Minister gave this afternoon did not actually provide any clarity on this question.

This is one of those words again which have been created to make naive Government supporters believe that in a new dispensation they will still have group-specific education for their children. The hon the State President formulated it as follows: "Differentiated education based on religious and cultural values and the mother tongue, with equal governmental support, will remain a right for those who desire it." This is just about what the hon the Deputy Minister also said this afternoon. The impression is therefore being created that the Government also recognises the right of the Afrikaner people to create schools of their own for their children on the basis of culture, religion and mother tongue.

Apparently the hon the Deputy Minister does not know what the hon the Minister of National Education said here on 31 March. He said that he advised governmental bodies, therefore also governmental bodies of half-full Afrikaner schools, to make their vacant places available to the broader community. This can have only one meaning, namely that half-full schools have to be made available to children of other cultures,

religions and mother tongues than the traditional at those schools. This is how I interpret it. The important point is that the NP itself also interprets it like this.

Last week on 26 April the hon member for East London North also interpreted it like this in this House. After I had pointed out the meaning to the hon the Minister of his advice to the management bodies, that hon member shouted, "Hear, hear!" I then said to him, "this means pupils coming from other cultures, languages and religions. Does that hon member want to shout 'Hear, hear!' to that too?" To that the hon member replied, "Hear, hear!" I accept that that hon member is also speaking on behalf of the NP which applauds the fact that pupils from other cultures are admitted to Afrikaner schools. The NP welcomes the fact that pupils whose mother tongue is not Afrikaans are admitted to Afrikaner schools. What is worse, in the words of the hon member for East London North, the NP shouts "Hear, hear" because pupils from strange religions are admitted to Afrikaner schools.

*Mr J H MOMBORG: Hear, hear! [Interjections.]

*Mr A GERBER: There they are shouting it again. [Interjections.] This is the differentiated education with which the Government is trying to pacify the unruly element in its own ranks. This afternoon I ask the hon the Deputy Minister across the floor of this House whether that is the type of differentiated education that the Government wants to offer the Afrikaners of our country. If that is not so, I ask him to repudiate the hon member for East London North. [Time expired.]

*Mr J A JORDAAN: Mr Chairman, as I listened to these two ex-theological students, it brought to mind that beautiful story about the theological student from Tukkies who took a girl to the Hartebesport Dam and, after they had cuddled a bit, she said he could go a bit further. Then he drove to Brits. [Interjections.]

When I listen to this interpellation, I get the idea that one has literally already reached Brits and the other has already reached there figuratively at least.

The crux of this interpellation firstly is the issue of the vacant places. We cannot afford to have vacant places in our schools. [Interjections.]

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attitude with which these proposals are being placed on the table. The attitude is that the local level should also enjoy a high priority. The hon member for Pietermaritzburg North—I am afraid of mixing up north and south—also pointed out that this was a high priority.

It is important that we proceed with this immediately and that we should do so in tandem with the larger developments. We cannot go into a new dispensation while nothing is happening at the local level. Nor can we bring about reform exclusively at the local level, and this is why there should be close liaison.

I appreciate the attitude of the hon members. On more than one occasion we have invited parties to participate in this debate, to participate in the discussion and to make contributions. I want to repeat that invitation today. The co-ordinating council is examining the proposals at present. They will then be worked out further and discussed in detail at the local negotiating forum. We shall create the necessary mechanism in order to introduce them into the national negotiations as well, but it is important for us to receive as many contributions as possible, because the view of the hon members of the AVU and other hon members as to how it affects their people at grass-roots level is important.

In fact, the hon member for Pietermaritzburg North once again emphasised something that was also referred to in the speech, namely that we should also accommodate traditional leaders at local level. [Time expired.]

Mr R F HASWELL: Mr Chairman, local government, as it is currently constituted, is not just facing a crisis, as is suggested in this interpellation. It is largely irrelevant and, in many areas, also nonexistent.

The financial crisis confronting Black local authorities is well known. They generate less than one third of the revenue they are due, and even if everyone paid, they would still not be viable. Many, if not most, White local authorities are unable or unwilling to meet the challenge of one city, one tax base. They are busy budgeting for another business-as-usual year, buttressed by the belief that their terms of office will be extended until the negotiations at national level have run their weary course.

Given this chronic state of affairs, the hon the

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Minister needs to act urgently by doing everything he can to ensure that the next meeting of the Local Government Negotiating Forum on 18 May produces interim local and metropolitan councils. Our towns and cities cannot wait any longer.

This is the message that is coming from places like Kokstad and Vrede. We in Pietermaritzburg could rapidly move towards an interim metropolitan council, perhaps the first in the country. However, we need the go-ahead at the next meeting of the forum.

The hon the Minister still smarts under the label as the man who deadlocked Codesa 2. He now has a golden opportunity to redeem himself as a negotiator by contributing positively and urgently to the creation of interim local government structures. [Interjections.]

THE CHAIRMAN OF THE HOUSE: Order!

Mr R F HASWELL: In short, the country needs agreement at the forum, enabling legislation in the form of a new Interim Measures for Local Government Act and a pooling of financial resources to empower interim local authorities to begin operations by perhaps as early as 1 July this year. This means that the hon the Minister has "min dae" to act. He should do this rather than propose red herrings such as dual voters' rolls. The hon the Minister should deal with the final rather than the interim dispensation. [Time expired.]

Mr M A TARR: Mr Chairman, I should like to make two very brief points. I believe it is important for the hon the Minister to instill in local authorities the sense of urgency which is necessary for them to address this problem.

A second point concerns the question of finance. These negotiating forums require money, and I do not believe local authorities always have this. We also need money for voter education. Many of these people have never voted before and do not know what the powers and functions of local authorities are and what they should do. We need voter education as far as this is concerned. Many of these people do not have a good understanding of the concept of civic responsibility. We therefore need money to educate the voters, and I do not believe that the State is setting aside enough in its budgets for voter education at local level or, for that matter, at central level.

THE MINISTER OF LOCAL GOVERNMENT: Mr Chairman, I react by stating that voter education is indeed very important. As far as urgency is concerned, I did say that we may even get to a point where we shall have elections at local government level before we have elections at central level. This is how urgent I believe the position to be.

Therefore I agree with what the hon member for Pietermaritzburg South has said, apart from his trying to instill in me a sense of urgency on other grounds, namely that of not reaching a further deadlock.

*I am not falling for that one. [Interjections.]

*THE CHAIRMAN OF THE HOUSE: Order!

THE MINISTER: I agree with what the hon member has said. This is why we are in the process of reform. This is why I am inviting parties to support this process. This is also why I cannot for one moment accept the proposal by Sanco that local governments should simply be scrapped at a certain point in time and replaced with appointed local councils. We need a clear, legal, legitimate process. We need to thrash it out, and we need to do so immediately.

Debate concluded.

QUESTIONS

Indicates translated version.

For oral reply:

General Affairs:

State President:

Hani funeral: flags half-mast

1. Mr J H MOMBORG asked the State President:

- (1) Whether he was requested by the National Peace Secretariat to fly all national flags on State buildings at half-mast on the day of Mr Chris Hani's funeral; if so, whether this request was granted; if so, what are the relevant details, if not, why not;
- (2) whether he will make a statement on the matter?

†THE STATE PRESIDENT:

(1) No.

(2) Falls away.

(3) No.

†Mr J H MOMBORG: Mr Chairman, arising from the reply of the hon the State President, if he did not receive such a request, did he not want to do it of his own accord?

†THE STATE PRESIDENT: Mr Chairman, we did not receive a request from the National Peace Secretariat. A few requests were received from members of the public, one written and four telephonic. Exploratory discussions were also held with us by certain people.

If we were to fly flags at half-mast after the demise of prominent members of the South African community, however tragically their death may have occurred, we would have to develop a policy that could apply to all members of the community. In all the conventions of our entire history there are no fixed rules for this, except in respect of heads of state or government.

According to our historic conventions there is one rule, and that is that if someone who served as Minister dies, then the flag will fly at half-mast at State buildings in the place where he is buried. The decision was taken against the background of the convention and taking into account that one would have to develop a new policy which time and again would confront one with the question of how important someone who had died really was. To some people political leaders are very important. To others business leaders are very important. Other sectors of the population, again, have heroes. One would therefore time and again find oneself in a situation which would eventually be chaotic and could end in long-drawn out argumentation. There were therefore no negative intentions, but against the background of the framework of the convention it was judged to be inadvisable.

†Mr J CHIOLE: Mr Chairman, arising from the hon the State President's reply, I would like to ask whether it is true that South Africa's flag was flown at half-mast at the embassy in America and, if so, why? [Interjections.]

†THE CHAIRMAN OF THE HOUSE: Order!

†THE STATE PRESIDENT: Mr Chairman, my information is that it was. It was not a Government

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ment decision. When the matter was brought to my attention, it was felt that it certainly fell within the bounds of an ambassador's powers to take such a decision in respect of the embassy. Moreover, when I was consulted after Dr Treurnicht's death, it was also my standpoint that while the State would handle it in terms of the convention, there would certainly not be any objection if particular city councils were to feel that they wished to do so on account of their autonomy in respect of those particular premises. (3044)

Ministers:

Press freedom

*1. Mr P G SOAL asked the Minister of Law and Order:

Whether, with reference to the reply by the then Minister of Home Affairs to question No 7 on 18 March 1992 regarding legislation allegedly detracting from the free flow of information and restricting the Press from reporting, any steps have been taken or are being contemplated in respect of the repeal or partial repeal of certain Acts, particulars of which have been furnished to the South African Police for the purpose of the Minister's reply; if not, why not; if so, (a) (i) what steps and (ii) when and (b) what are the names of the Acts in question? B694E

The MINISTER OF LAW AND ORDER:

No.

Of the various Acts referred to by the hon member, the reference to the Police Act, 1958 (Act No 7 of 1958) is applicable to the South African Police. Section 27A of the Police Act is at issue here. The provisions of this section aim to protect the interests of the accused as well as the interests of the State. The unauthorized publication of any sketch or photograph of an accused before a trial has been commenced with may be prejudicial to the interests of an accused with respect to an identification parade. Furthermore, the unauthorized publication of any sketch or photograph of a State witness may cause intimidation of such person's family and eventually prejudice the State's case. Viewed against this background it is not this Department's intention to repeal section 27A at this stage.

(a) (i), (ii) and (b) Fall away.

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*2. Mr A GERBER — National Education. [Question standing over.]

*3. Mr A GERBER — National Education. [Transferred to Own Affairs (for 12 May 1993).]

NEC: education forum

*4. Mr R M BURROWS asked the Minister of National Education:

(1) Whether officials from his Department had any meetings with representatives of the National Education Conference to discuss an education forum; if so, (a) when did these meetings take place and (b) what was the outcome of the meetings;

(2) whether he will make a statement on the matter? B729E

The MINISTER OF NATIONAL EDUCATION:

(1) Yes.

(a) On 18 January 1993.

(b) While there is consensus concerning the need for consultation and the participation in the process of education reform of a broad spectrum of stakeholders, no agreement was reached concerning the nature of and mechanism for this consultation and participation.

(2) No.

Mr R M BURROWS: Mr Chairman, arising from the hon the Minister's reply, is it not true that a meeting also took place on 1 April? Further to that, I wonder whether the hon the Minister would give an indication as to whether he would express a commitment to establishing an education forum on as inclusive a basis as possible.

The MINISTER: Mr Chairman, the meeting that took place on 1 April was one between the NEC and me, not officials of the Department. It was a meeting in which I took part personally. With regard to the second part of the hon member's follow-up question, I want to reply that all I want him to do is to exercise a little more patience, perhaps only a few hours, and he will be able to read of my commitment in the newspapers.

Mr R M BURROWS: Mr Chairman, further arising from the hon the Minister's reply, I would like to know, with regard to the date of 18 January which he indicated, whether it is not correct that there were other meetings of officials of his Department and members of the NEC before that date with regard to this particular matter of an education forum?

The MINISTER: Mr Chairman, to the best of my knowledge that was the only meeting that took place between officials of my Department and the NEC. All the other meetings took place between me and the NEC.

Traditional healers

*5. Mr M J ELLIS asked the Minister for National Health and Welfare:

(1) Whether, with reference to the reply to Question No 1 on 27 May 1992, she has given further consideration to including traditional healers in the restructuring of the health-care system; if not, why not; if so, what are the relevant particulars;

(2) whether she will make a statement on the matter? B730E

The MINISTER FOR NATIONAL HEALTH AND WELFARE:

(1) Yes, co-operation has taken place for some time at grassroots level with regard to primary health care. The Interim Committee as well as the Traditional Healers' Council, the latter being a body which continued the activities of the Interim Committee, is now in a position to negotiate with the Department of National Health and Population Development. The proposed agenda includes a discussion of an organisational structure for the control of traditional healers;

(2) no.

Aids unit restructured

*6. Mr M J ELLIS asked the Minister for National Health and Welfare:

(1) Whether the Aids unit run by her Department had to be restructured in 1992; if so, (a) why and (b) (i) how was this unit restructured and (ii) what was the total cost of this restructuring;

(2) whether the matter has been resolved; if not, why not; if so, to what extent;

(3) whether she will make a statement on the matter? B731E

The MINISTER FOR NATIONAL HEALTH AND WELFARE:

(1) Yes,

(a) to bring it into line with the principles suggested by the World Health Organisation, namely that a network of organisations be established to function together as one comprehensive Aids prevention programme and

(b) (i) five functional sections have been implemented, namely:

Aids support; marketing; training and education; research; and administrative services and

(ii) none;

(2) yes, it is indicative of a shift away from a specialist unit situated at Head Office to an expansion which includes the departmental regional offices, the Aids training and information centres, as well as other role-players;

(3) no.

Press freedom

*7. Mr P G SOAL asked the Minister of Correctional Services:

Whether, with reference to the reply by the then Minister of Home Affairs to Question No 7 on 18 March 1992 regarding legislation allegedly detracting from the free flow of information and restricting the Press from reporting, any steps have been taken or are being contemplated in respect of the repeal of section 44 (1) (e) and (g) of the Correctional Services Act, 1959 (Act No 8 of 1959); if not, who not; if so, (a) what steps and (b) when? B733E

The MINISTER OF CORRECTIONAL SERVICES:

Sections 44 (1) (e) and (g) of the Correctional Services Act, 1959 (Act 8 of 1959) are

HOUSE OF ASSEMBLY

Election in April — that's what it looks like now

□ Talks to press for commitment

Political Staff

JOHANNESBURG. — A commitment to the holding of South Africa's first all-in election not later than April next year is the first issue to be debated when the Negotiating Council (NC) meets at the World Trade Centre this week, according to reliable sources.

Top negotiators disclosed that the commitment, tabled in a declaration of intent towards the end of last week's meeting, will be the first item on the agenda of Friday's NC meeting.

The declaration further commits the 26 parties and organisations represented in negotiations to ensuring that an exact date for the election is set within the next five weeks.

"The question of a date for elections is first on the agenda. It is one of the issues facing us.

"Without getting an election date, it (the situation) will give the impression that the negotiations are endless," said South African Communist Party national chairman Joe Slovo yesterday.

The Democratic Party's Colin Eglin confirmed that the election date will be the first issue to be dealt with at Friday's talks.

Mr Eglin also said he expected the technical committees agreed upon last week to be formally

ARG 5/5/73
constituted on Friday, following recommendations to be made by the 10-member planning committee which met on Monday.

Both Mr Slovo and Mr Eglin are members of that committee.

The planning committee — whose members take part in it in their personal capacity and do not represent their parties — this week agreed to make recommendations on both the composition of the technical committees and the time-frames during which they will be expected to report back.

Mr Slovo said the technical committee on constitutional issues will also be expected to make recommendations on the borders of regions as well as on the powers of the regions.

The technical committee on constitutional issues will deal with the form of state and constitutional principles, a constitution-making body, an interim constitution, transitional regional government, the future of the TBVC states and self-determination.

Other technical committees to be established will focus on an independent elections commission, an independent media commission, the Transitional Executive Council, with priority to be given to "the question of security forces and all armed formations" and the formation of Peace Corps.

Mandela calls for changes in JSE

From CHRIS BATEMAN LONDON. — A commission of non-aligned experts should be appointed to review the "unacceptable" control of the Johannesburg Stock Exchange by four major conglomerates and advise a new government, ANC president Mr. Nelson Mandela said here yesterday.

Addressing an international media conference, he said he would urge British business to invest in South Africa as this was now "becoming crucial".

As soon as a date for elections had been announced the international community would be asked to invest.

Mr. Mandela said stiff trade competition from Eastern Europe and hard-headed business sense had prompted the ANC to try to encourage investors by guaranteeing not to expropriate their property and to allow full repatriation of dividends and profits.

Asked about the move by four former police and army generals to consolidate right-wing opposition, he said they were saying "nothing different" from what the late Dr. Treurnicht had always said.

He saw the right-wing as the "greatest threat" because they were entrenched in the system. To allay white fears and stem an exodus, he had met police generals and policy-makers of the Dutch Reformed Church — "the National Party in prayer".

He said: "A great deal of spade work has been done which is paying dividends." Another crucial move would be to lower expectations of blacks because it could take as long as five years before a new government could address serious socio-economic problems.

Billion-dollar pledge for SA

If 'we get it right'

From SIMON BARBER

WASHINGTON. — Western nations may pledge up to a billion dollars (about R3bn) in development assistance to South Africa once an agreement on a transitional executive is reached, according to a top Washington-based consultant who has been advising the World Bank on South Africa.

The need for substantial aid to help a new government meet popular expectations is likely to be addressed when the seven major industrialised countries — Britain, France, Germany, America, Japan, Italy and Canada — hold their annual summit in Tokyo in July, Mr. Witney Schneidman, vice-president of Samuels International, said.

The potential donors to South Africa are considering convening a formal "consultative group" on the World Bank soon after transitional structures are in place.

The bank estimates that, if a five per cent annual rate of four to five billion dollars (R12-15bn) annually, to achieve the annual GDP growth rate of four to five per cent needed to make serious inroads on unemployment and to meet demands for redistribution.

Mr. Schneidman said it was essential that South Africa's political parties agreed as soon as possible on a development agenda so that the aid could be effectively used.

US 'to aid economic reform' — Page 2

BACK IN MUM'S ARMS . . .



TOGETHER AGAIN . . . Mabutte Mgigima, 3, was delighted to be reunited with his mother Mrs Mildred Mgigima (left) yesterday, thanks to the combined efforts of his big-hearted temporary minder Mrs Cyndria Mbali (right) and police, social workers and the Cape Times.

Picture: ANNE LIVING

TODAY

Cloudy, mild

ANC slams gun laws — PAGE 2

The ANC has criticised the government's new gun laws, saying they will be interpreted as a measure to disarm blacks and not whites.

Security meeting — PAGE 2

AWB leader Mr Eugene Terre-Blanche and Law and Order Minister Mr. Henus Kiel yesterday met for over an hour to discuss the deteriorating security situation.

Plan on talks — PAGE 2

The National Peace Committee has asked its executive to prepare plans on issues related to violence.

CAR PRICES SET TO RISE — PAGE 3

Homosexual murders

The murder of homosexuals with intent to rob was prevalent in Cape Town.

Rate cut likely — PAGE 3

There was a greater likelihood of another cut in Bank rate than of rates remaining stagnant or rising.

WP training squad — PAGE 8

Danie Gerber and Gert Smal will be among those missing from a South African training squad when the group is named today.

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'New' expects to attract big vote

The National Party hopes to obtain a majority in the country's first all-in election, writes Argus Correspondent KALZER NYATSUMBA.

424 515/93

(3044)

THE National Party's chief director of information, Springs MP Piet Coetzer, has done his homework.

As the person in charge of the NP's propaganda machinery for South Africa's coming watershed election, he is only too well aware that the NP will have to rely on more than just its traditional white support-base if it is to be the dominant force it hopes to be in the "new South Africa".

Although his party has ruled this country for more than 40 years, and he himself has been closely involved in election campaigns since 1977, Mr Coetzer — who joined the NP while he was a high school pupil many moons ago — knows that the election will not be like any other the NP has fought since its formation in 1914.

For the first time in history, the NP will have to face those who have been victims of its racial policies over the years and ask them to cast their votes for it. The irony of the situation does not escape Mr Coetzer but he insists that the NP led by President De Klerk is a new and completely different party.

To support his thesis, he points to the fact that the party has just ditched its old symbols and colours, that it has long turned its back on apartheid and is in the process of purging the statute book of the vestiges of any form of discrimination, and that it was NP leader De Klerk who took the bold move to normalise politics in the country.

Like the astute public relations man he is, Mr Coetzer was planning to attend a memorial



Mr Piet Coetzer ... "NP a new and different party".

service for slain South African Communist Party and ANC leader Chris Hani in Kwathema on Sunday, April 18, but was advised by ANC leaders in the East Rand township that it would be dangerous for him to do so.

And he came for our interview, held at the NP's office at the World Trade Centre, with a black woman named Iumeleng Mohlala — Mr Coetzer simply calls him "Itu" in short — who has just joined his department. The Kwathema-based Mohlala is not just an NP employee, but he is also a party member.

A few minutes earlier, Manpower Minister Leon Wessels and Public Enterprises Minister Dr Dawie de Villiers had been in the office with their new colleagues who form part of the NP's delegation to the Negotiat-

ing Council: two Indian women.

According to Mr Coetzer, the NP started preparing for the election shortly after last year's March 17 referendum which, he says, was the NP's "last all-out campaign aimed at whites".

The preparations, he says, have been low-key, and have involved planning, conducting research, appointing personnel and establishing the necessary infrastructure.

Mr Coetzer is confident that just as the majority of whites voted in favour of continued negotiations in the referendum, they will also cast their votes overwhelmingly for the NP in the election.

He says research shows that the NP will get "70 percent-plus" of the white electorate's vote, the same percentage of the coloured and Indian electorate's vote, and "a substantial amount" of the African population's vote. The combined vote, says he, will make the NP "a very strong competitor for coming out of the election as the biggest single party."

"I say that advisedly because the figures we have had access to indicate that it is very unlikely that any party will get majority support — say, 50 percent-plus — in the election."

"We are convinced that South Africa is heading for a coalition government, and there is consensus between the NP and the ANC that at least for the first five years South Africa should be governed by a Government of National Unity."

"We are convinced that the majority of South Africans at this stage long for co-operation between the bigger parties in the interest of peace and stabil-



National Party
Nasionale Party

The new National Party logo.

ity," says Mr Coetzer.

And he insists that while the situation might change later, as of now the NP plans to fight the election as the NP, and not in an alliance with any other party or organisation.

He says not much significance should be given to surveys and opinion polls giving the NP a low percentage of the vote, because it is not possible to measure support for a governing party between elections. Only during election time is there what he calls "a single-minded proposition" which exercises people's minds.

This, he says, was illustrated by the fact that only six weeks after the NP had suffered a crushing defeat at the Potchefstroom by-election early last year, it won the referendum so convincingly.

For the coming election, Mr Coetzer believes the "single-minded proposition" to which the electorate will have to respond, is who will govern and who will have a major say in the writing of the country's constitution in the constituent assembly.

The kind of economic system South Africa will have, internal security and stability, he says, are "side-issues" which will also feature strongly in debates in the election campaign. Then, of course, there is the

"incumbency factor", which usually works in favour of ruling parties during elections. Does he think the fact that the NP is the government will help the party?

Mr Coetzer says there are two aspects to this — while the fact that the NP has been in power for so long, and therefore has experience as a ruling party, could count in its favour, the fact that it also carries "the baggage of apartheid" could count against it.

The NP, he says, would be ready to start its election campaign "at fairly short notice", and could be ready to contest an election before the end of this year. However, it does not expect an election until the first quarter of next year.

According to Mr Coetzer, a lot of work remains to be done in preparation for an election, including the training of people to man about 7 000 polling stations throughout the country. He therefore warns against undue haste, saying it is important "in the interest of all parties that the election should be above suspicion."

The NP, reveals Mr Coetzer, plans to spend a lot less than the ANC's R168million to R200million in the election. This, he says, is because unlike the ANC, the NP has been in the game for a long time and has well-oiled machinery and a good infrastructure.

The NP plans to spend "a lot less than R100 000, more in the order of R50 000", he says.

Mr Coetzer was "not at liberty" to disclose how much the NP already had in its coffers, "but we still have a long way to go to reach the target".

ANC rejects protest Bill

THE ANC has rejected a proposed Bill governing mass demonstrations published by Goldstone commission chairman Judge Richard Goldstone last week, because it was not consulted adequately.

"The ANC believes that poor legislation is worse than no legislation at all, but that the outstanding problems with the Bill can be easily resolved," the statement said.

"The ANC welcomed consultations on the previous draft, many of which were incorporated in the redrafted version. However, the commission ignored the ANC's subsequent comments. The Bill is inconsistent in its approach to the right to demonstrate and is difficult to interpret. It fails to establish consistent and simple procedures for demonstrations."

"It imposes a wide ranging statutory civil liability on organisers of demonstrations," the ANC said.

Other problems included the Bill's restriction on demonstrations near courts and Parliament.

Goldstone would not comment yesterday.

Commonwealth rethinks SA role

RAY HARTLEY

THE future of the Commonwealth observer mission to SA hangs in the balance with its Durban office scheduled to close down in weeks and the strong possibility that funding for its observer force may be cut soon.

Mission head Duncan Chappell said yesterday representation had been made to the Commonwealth's London head office in an effort to change the decision to close the Durban office.

Financial constraints had led the Commonwealth to rethink its role in SA.

ANC president Nelson Mandela was scheduled to discuss the future of the mission with Commonwealth secretary-general Chief Emeka Anyaoku in London yesterday, he said. It is believed he urged Anyaoku to retain the mission.

ANC peace desk official Sydney Mafumadi said it would be "most unfortunate" if the mission were to close its offices with elections drawing closer and violence continuing unabated.

Chappell said Commonwealth headquarters was considering replacing observers, who were scheduled to return to their home countries in mid-May, with a smaller team of "technical assistants".

A well-placed monitoring source said it was likely that the mission's Johannesburg office would be reduced to a skeleton staff.

Mafumadi said the ANC believed all international missions should remain in place.

There was a strong possibility that violence would be stepped up by "spoilers" wanting to undermine future elections.

Mission spokesman Colleen Lowe-Morner said yesterday the 10 observers scheduled to leave in mid-May would be replaced by "a new cast of characters" to deal with changing political circumstances in SA.

TIM COHEN reports from Cape Town that the EC has appointed an ambassador-level diplomat to oversee its observer mission which will continue to operate for at least another six months.

Former German ambassador to Addis Ababa Paul Joachim von Stulpnagel said yesterday the existing 16 mission members felt they had made a difference.

Stulpnagel said four or five of the existing observers had asked to remain in SA and the others would be replaced. They would continue to operate within the guidelines set down by a UN Security Council resolution stipulating that observers should work with local organisations to encourage peace.

Stulpnagel, who met Foreign Affairs Minister Pik Botha yesterday, said the existing observers had told him that their mere presence at mass gatherings had played a positive role.

Being policemen, the observers were able to contribute expertise to multiparty discussions about peacekeeping, he said.

Thaw in SA-Zimbabwe links

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HARARE — Zimbabwe's policy of holding SA at arm's length appears closer than ever to being abandoned following a meeting at the weekend between hardline Zimbabwean Foreign Minister Nathan Shamuyarira and his South African counterpart, Pik Botha.

News reports yesterday said Shamuyarira met Botha at an ANC reception in Johannesburg on Sunday where they held informal talks.

Shamuyarira said: "Botha was very friendly and positive in his attitude towards SA," and had expressed the wish that a transitional government be established.

Since independence in 1980, President Robert Mugabe's government

has maintained a policy of "no political contact" with SA — in effect banning members of his cabinet from meeting officially with Pretoria ministers while at the same time maintaining the status quo in trade.

SA is Zimbabwe's largest trading partner, exporting goods worth R239m south of the border in 1991, and importing R936m worth from what was officially termed until recently "the racist republic".

In the last year, however, the policy has weakened significantly, with a visit by Zimbabwean Transport Minister Denis Norman to Cape Town a year ago for official talks with his counterpart Piet Welgemoed.

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Mugabe still maintains, however, that full diplomatic recognition of SA can take place only once a transitional government is in place.

Mugabe last year in Rome met Botha at the signing of the Mozambique peace agreement, and in February Zimbabwean Trade Minister Chris Ushewokunze held formal talks with South African Finance Minister Derek Keys in Cape Town.

Shamuyarira affirmed that the policy of "non-collaboration" would continue.

The policy would remain in force "until there is a new constitution, an interim government and changes have taken place at the top", he said.

— Sapa.

Government debating the dating game

CAPE TOWN — Debate is hotting up in government circles over whether government should specify a target election date.

There had been speculation that Constitutional Development Minister Roelf Meyer would name the target date in debate on his vote today, but sources last night discounted the notion.

Government has repeatedly said an agreed date for elections must be set by the transitional executive council, and that it could not do so unilaterally. Its own "target date", however, would be a different matter, and this strategy does have

support, with one source saying it could help defuse calls for a date to be set.

LINDA ENSOR reports that President F W de Klerk said last night agreement on establishing a transitional executive council was "tantalisingly close".

In a speech to the International Public Relations Association banquet in Cape Town he noted, however, that the negotiation process had been marked by frustrating and unnecessary delays and deviations caused by mass action and withdrawals.

Political Staff

"Recent events such as the assassination of Mr Chris Hani and the violence of the past weeks have shown how easily we might stumble within sight of the finishing line."

De Klerk stressed that communication in negotiations had to be based on a genuine desire to find common ground. "It cannot be based on threats and pressure. The government cannot simply continue to negotiate in forums on a variety of subjects in the face of pressure or threats of unacceptable mass action. It will, under such circumstances, have to consider its position carefully."

NEWS A WB leader tells whites to prepare for war • Walvis Bay connection gets weaker

ET defies De Klerk

Sowetan 5/5/93

■ **DEFIANT RHETORIC** Terre'Blanche

DEFIANT A WB leader Mr Eugene Terre'Blanche made an unequivocal call to arms in Cape Town on Monday night, scoffing at President F.W. de Klerk's threat to have his fiery utterances investigated.

In one of the most popular exhortations of the evening, he urged his followers to take up arms and fight to have Cape Town included in a future Boer state.

"A *volk's* borders are not drawn on paper by academics," he thundered, "but by the chatter of guns, by bombs and cannons, the tears of mothers and the courage of men."

"Prepare yourselves for war," he told a packed city hall.

Unrepentantly belligerent in his scorn of communism and communist "gangsters", he said he would shed no tears for slain SACP leader Mr Chris

invites De Klerk to listen to his speeches:

Hani — "a murderer who ~~was~~ *was* murdered" — and drew wild applause when he said:

"If Hani had persisted in his communism, I would have shot him myself."

He also rounded on "that small jelly lot De Klerk" for visiting ruin on the Afrikaner.

"De Klerk says he will investigate my speeches. Can you believe it? I say he can come and listen."

The A WB would not stand idly by if a political settlement was imposed on the Afrikaner.

"You have pushed the Boers enough. You have pushed us too far."

This is the resistance, tomorrow will be the uprising and the day after that, victory," he shouted.

Reflecting on his organisation's attitude to race, the A WB leader insisted that "we are not racists, but nationalists".

"Our enemies are not necessarily people with other coloured skins. Our biggest enemy is as pale as a corpse, like Joe Slovo ... as pale as milk."

A WB officials refused to allow journalists who were not white to cover the meeting, saying they could not vouch for the reaction of supporters inside the hall.



Dissent on what tops talks agenda

South African 5/5/93

■ Will it be regions or violence as groups prepare to parley?:

By Ismail Lagardien
Political Correspondent

2044

THE Negotiations Council will on Friday consider proposals on the question of how the country will be divided into regions.

The planning committee on Monday agreed that sub-committees would prepare the proposals, along with others, on matters such as public demonstrations.

The decision to look at proposals on regions has been interpreted as a move to placate the Concerned South Africans Group, who insist on the form of the new state before negotiations can commence, and that there should be agreement on the powers, duties and functions of regions.

The decision is expected to ease the negotiation process and Friday's meeting is expected to be productive.

"I think we've got a very good chance of making real headway on Friday," SA Communist Party chairman Mr Joe Slovo said yesterday.

However, sources in the African National Congress and Pan Africanist Congress warned yesterday that it was still too early to make a decision on regions.

The Government insists that the question of violence, should top the agenda.

Minister of Constitutional Negotiations Mr Roelf Meyer has said that he hoped violence would take precedence at Friday's meeting.

NEWS Arson attack on NP member

Club is not partisan say executives

Sowetan 6/5/93

■ **STANDING CLEAR** Community

group wants to be heard loud and clear:

By Isaac Moledi

MEMBERS OF IKAGENG Women's Club have distanced the organisation from their president's alleged membership of the National Party.

The club's members said they had been threatened by unknown callers who said their houses would be petrol-bombed because they belonged to the NP.

A committee member, Mrs Winnie Serobe, said yesterday the situation was worse in KwaThema, Springs, where the club has its head office.

She said after their national president, Mrs Marjorie Mohlala, was quoted in a magazine interview as saying she was a member of the NP, people in KwaThema started associating the club with the party.

She said Mohlala's house in KwaThema had been petrol-bombed

three times.

Mohlala told *Sowetan* yesterday her house was petrol-bombed on April 20 while her family, including her 14-month-old grandchild, were asleep. The fire destroyed bedding and clothes.

On April 23, when the repairs to the house were almost complete, the attackers struck again.

At 4am on Monday this week petrol bombs were hurled into her house. They did not explode.

Serobe said: "Our community organisation is non-political, non-governmental and nonracial and it does not discriminate against any religion. But we don't prevent any member from belonging to a particular political party."

"Mohlala joined the NP as an individual and not as a representative of the organisation. Her membership of a political party has no relevance or bearing on the club because we have members who belong to different political organisations," she said.

(Sowetan)

(304A)

focus on the NP

FACED WITH THE steady erosion of its power in public and especially in the electronic media, the National Party is increasingly using Parliament as its most important election platform.

Almost daily, during debates, NP members of Parliament, parvenu and stalwart alike, pontificate or rant and rave against, in particular, the ANC and the PAC but broadly against everybody in South African politics.

An arriviste politician like the House of Representatives MP for Bonteheuwel, Mr Patrick McKenzie — an FW de Klerk sycophant — is particularly proud and sometimes verges on the subservient when given a chance to speak in Parliament.

Normal democracy

For this opportunity to speak, McKenzie, who in any normal democracy would hardly have a greater political role than that of a common voter, delivers the NP message with infant glee.

In paroxysms of vitriol and clumsy sentences, borrowed, quite obviously, from the rhetoric of everyone who has ever said anything in public, McKenzie regularly praises the NP for its "vision" and for allegedly saving the country from total collapse.

On the Monday of Chris Hani's funeral, shortly after the Speaker, Mr Eli Louw — a former NP Cabinet Minister — refused to allow Parliament to suspend the day's business because of the burial service, McKenzie hailed De Klerk and his party for building a country on the principle of justice.

This speech, to use but one example, will nowhere in the world, except in an NP controlled legislature, be indulged and propagated or even taken seriously.

Independent MP

"So what's new?" a cynical Mr Jan van Eck, an Independent MP aligned to the ANC, says. Van Eck's comments are not isolated.

A Conservative Party member of Parliament, Mr Corne Mulder, agrees and says curtly: "Of course. They've been doing it for years."

There is wider agreement within Parliament about the unfair advantage and the misuse of privilege the NP has in the country's legislature and of the total access it therefore has to the media in the Press Gallery because of its relative strength in the various Chambers.

The Democratic Party's Mr Robin Carlisle concurs.

His party has had to deal with the NP on this basis for decades and Carlisle agrees that this trend is not about to change.

"While there has been no formal structure to level the playing field, the fact is that the election campaign is already under way.

"This means that those who already have

Its power and credibility eroded, the ruling NP now uses Parliament as its most important election platform. Political Correspondent **Ismail Lagardien** examines the unfair advantage this gives De Klerk:

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FW de Klerk ... using influence of Parliament.

30/4

commanding heights are able to use them for electoral benefit, and this would include the NP, which controls the Parliamentary debate."

Mr Desmond Lockey of the Labour Party believes the NP has lost all political power in the country except in Parliament and it will try to win an election with this power "but that's a fallacy".

Critical point

"South Africa has now reached the most critical point in its interregnum. While De Klerk still maintains control of the legal structures in the country he has lost political control and legitimacy throughout the country.

"His only remaining platform is the tricameral Parliament, which has anyway become totally irrelevant to the vast majority of South Africans.

Dwindling image

"Even recent changes, such as the televised *Open Question Time* to the State President, has proved inadequate to prop up his dwindling image."

Lockey believes that Parliament is the last place where the NP has any political standing and would use it effectively.



Indeed, when the NP can it parades sanctimoniously in front of Parliament's cameras.

During the State President's Debate last month, a particularly vituperative Mr Johannes Wessels Maree, a stalwart NP member, attacked the ANC in terms that had not been heard in Parliament since the earliest days of the Total Onslaught.

Apparently oblivious of the motivations for the ANC's armed struggle and the very *raison d'être* of the broader liberation movement, Maree gave a startling insight into the NP caucus' views which, it has been said, differed remarkably in certain instances with that of its most senior leadership.

"Arson, assaults, murders and intimidation by the ANC is continuing unabated. Everything is planned at Shell House (the ANC head office)..."

Torture camps

"Life is cheap for the ANC. The torture camps in Africa proved this. Their actions in South Africa prove this. More than 260 Inkatha leaders have already died," Maree said.

He talked in gruesome detail of other alleged ANC atrocities and reports that have found the movement guilty of torture and of allegedly slaughtering political dissidents in their midst.

Directing himself to the ANC's international backers, Maree said: "The ANC committed crimes and atrocities against their own people in Africa. The reports detail this. These people (the ANC) commit deeds of violence and murder in South Africa. They burn and loot and do everything that goes against the grain of democracy..."

"I appeal to the international community, those backers of the ANC, to stop supporting them."

Listening to Maree last week, it is quite evident that Parliament remains the only place where the NP carries any measure of clout, power or recognition.

"There is no doubt that they will use Parliamentary control at all levels — provincial and national — to retain as much power as possible," Van Eck says.

But worst still, he says: "They will play Father Christmas with taxpayers' money for as long as they have control over Parliament and the Budget, all of which is aimed at gaining votes."

Namibia's anomaly nears end

Sowetan 5/5/93

Ismail Lagardien
Political Correspondent

(D/11)

THE South African enclave of Walvis Bay is moving closer towards incorporation into Namibia.

The Joint Administrative Authority For Walvis Bay Bill, which allows for a joint South African-Namibian authority to manage the area, was tabled in Parliament yesterday.

A memorandum to the Bill explains

■ Bill suggests joint administrative authority with South Africa in overall control:

that South Africa and Namibia had entered into agreements to administer the port jointly.

(304A)

"Legislation is necessary to give effect to these agreements and to establish the joint administration in respect of Walvis Bay," the memorandum says.

Pretoria retained control over the enclave, situated in the centre of the

Namibian coast, after that country became independent of South Africa.

The joint authority will consist of two chief executive officers and a management committee. In terms of the agreements and the Bill, South Africa and Namibia will each appoint a chief executive officer, who will operate by consensus.

SA, Russia 'to co-operate'

SOUTH AFRICA and Russia are ready to explore many areas of co-operation, Minister of Foreign Affairs Mr Pik Botha said yesterday after a meeting in the city with Russian Deputy Minister of Foreign Affairs Mr Boris Kolokolov.

Mr Kolokolov, here as a special representative of Russian President Boris Yeltsin, also met

President F.W. de Klerk and will fly to Zimbabwe today.

Mr Botha said he was confident that South Africa and Russia would move "closer and closer" together. "There is readiness not only to extend the hand of friendship but also to explore the many areas of co-operation, trade, technological exchange and cultural co-operation."

● Mr Botha met Zimbabwean

Foreign Minister Mr Nathan Shamuyarira, whose country has avoided contact with Pretoria, for the first time in Johannesburg this week.

Mr Shamuyarira said he held informal discussions with Mr Botha on political developments in South Africa at a reception hosted by the ANC on Sunday. — Sapa-Reuter

FW: Talks

'so close

to success'

By BARRY STREEK
Political Staff

SUCCESS in the negotiations process was "tantalisingly close", President F W de Klerk said last night.

He also said his negotiating team was in good shape and was setting the pace.

The team "has resisted the calls for early sprints. It has its eyes firmly on the finishing line and will complete the race with strength and success," Mr De Klerk told the International Public Relations Association at a city hotel.

Recent events such as Mr Chris Hani's assassination and the violence of the past weeks had shown "how easily we might stumble within sight of the finishing line".

Mr De Klerk said the release of Mr Nelson Mandela and the unbanning of the ANC and other organisations were the beginning of "what has turned out to be a long-distance marathon".

"We have experienced the frustrating and unnecessary delays and deviations of unnecessary mass action and temporary withdrawals. We have had

to struggle on despite our national agony of violence."

Mr De Klerk said that at the moment international perceptions about South Africa were dominated by "uncertainty and images of violence".

This was only part of a complex national picture, but they had to be addressed.

"If we can succeed with the current negotiations, if all our leaders can exercise restraint over their statements and their followers, we have no doubt that we will be able to produce the right realities," Mr De Klerk said.

Threats

He said communication in negotiations had to be based on a genuine desire to find common ground and reasonable and workable compromises. "It cannot be based on threats and pressure.

"The government cannot continue to negotiate in forums on a variety of subjects in the face of pressure or threats of unacceptable mass action.

"It will, under such circumstances, have to consider its position carefully."

Chris Whitfield argues other parties should take the new image seriously

Nats aiming for SA's black vote

Star 6/5/93
(304A)

THE National Party's bright new flag and logo have given rise to cynical responses: can this particular leopard change its spots so easily?

Critics have been quick to argue that the very name of the party will forever be associated with apartheid, and that cosmetic tinkering does not necessarily equate with fundamental change. We can expect that parties preparing to oppose the NP in elections will adopt a similarly dismissive attitude — but they might be making a mistake in doing so.

The recent unveiling of the sunny new insignia and party paraphernalia — President de Klerk was moved to remark that they had come as a "culture shock" to him — effectively marked the start of the NP's drive for black members. De Klerk chose the occasion to make an apology for apartheid — a move certainly not aimed at whites, and one which duly received widespread media coverage.

The NP has engaged an advertising company to run its election campaign, and is already studying surveys on potential support levels and perceptions in the black community.

The news contained in these has not been all bad, say party workers. Significantly, the NP has recently taken to shying away from talk of an election alliance with the Inkatha Freedom Party. It has discovered that while this might be welcomed by whites, it will drive blacks away. Its research has, incidentally, shown considerable support in the black community for an interim government alliance embracing both the ANC and the NP.

The NP's strategists believe the ANC has lost its "untouchable" status in the townships and many former supporters will have to be convinced of its ability to govern before voting for it.

There must, however, be obvious doubts about the NP's capaci-

ty to recruit significantly in the black community.

Still, there are interesting political nuances to be found. At a recent NP function a Soweto businessman, asked in conversation how he could even contemplate being an NP member, had a simple answer: "I am looking to the future... The past is past."

In addition, in Natal there is a substantial body of black people disillusioned with both the ANC and IFP. Could the NP provide them with a political home?

These disparate signals do not amount to an indication of significant black support for the NP, but the party is feeling encouraged. Those given the responsibility of running the NP campaign extrapolate from their research that no single party will get 50 percent of the vote. Publicly, they say the NP aims to be the senior partner in a power-sharing deal, but in private are more inclined to talk about being a "strong partner".

There have been signs recently of strains within the NP and this has apparently been reflected in a weakening of the party's once-awesome election machinery at grassroots level. Again, though, it would be a mistake for opponents to be lulled into a false sense of security by this.

The NP's campaign chiefs believe the country's first democratic election will be fought more through propaganda than by knocking on doors. Radio — which will surely be deregulated by then — and, to a lesser extent, newspaper and television advertising, will be the battlegrounds.

And what the NP has not lost is its ability to play the political game, coupled with a shrewd sense of timing — witness its performance in the referendum. For opponents to say the NP is a spent political force, as an ANC national executive committee member recently told journalists, could be to fall right into a trap. □

Star 6/5/93

Right wing at negotiations crossroads

By Chris Whitfield
Political Correspondent

CAPE TOWN — The right wing served warning yesterday that it is rapidly approaching a negotiations crossroads.

The Afrikaner Volksunie (AVU) said it was re-evaluating its presence in the talks and the Conservative Party warned that there would be no peaceful settlement if self-determination aspirations were not met.

During yesterday's debate on the Constitutional Development

budget vote, acting CP leader Dr Ferdi Hartzenberg said the aspirations of the Concerned Southern Africans Group would have to be accommodated.

A unitary state would never meet the ideals of all South Africans.

"Our nation was prepared to sacrifice blood in the past. Don't force us into a situation where we have to sacrifice blood again. Don't force us to take measures to make you listen to us," he said.

If negotiations continued while the ANC committed vio-

lence it would be an invitation to other participants to "also follow the rules of the game" and inevitably lead to a civil war, Hartzenberg added.

AVU leader Andries Beyers said the negotiation process was being seriously threatened by the ANC and Government's insistence that it proceed too rapidly. The AVU would request meetings with both organisations "to establish whether our continued participation in the present negotiation process serves any meaningful purpose".

Violent mass action suits the spoilers, warns Meyer

Political Correspondent

CAPE TOWN — The Government is to place mass action on the negotiations agenda and charge that it leads to violence, Constitutional Development Minister Roelf Meyer revealed yesterday.

His comments follow President de Klerk's warning on Tuesday night that the Government could not continue negotiating in forums on a variety of subjects in the face of threats of "unacceptable" mass action.

Meyer, opening debate on his budget vote in Parliament yesterday, was upbeat about negotiations and said: "We are on the threshold of a breakthrough."

But he used the occasion to lash out at mass action and warn that it could play into the hands of those who wanted to delay negotiations.



Meyer... Government to raise mass action at talks.

The negotiations planning committee would recommend that a technical committee on violence be appointed, he said. "I am now already giving notice that the Government will expect that committee to investigate and identify the causes of violence and the organs and persons responsible for it, and to make recommendations. "I am also giving notice that

the Government will adopt the standpoint that, at the present time, mass action leads to violence and gives rise to a climate of violence," he said.

Delays in talks played into the hands of those who wished to derail the process by means of violence. "Mass action that involves violence creates such a danger."

Meyer was bullish about progress in negotiations, saying that although "the process is halting on a razor's edge... we are on the threshold of a breakthrough".

He appealed to all leaders who had the courage to stand up and be counted "among those who have chosen for peace", to utilise the negotiation process to cause peace to triumph.

Turning to the thorny issue of regionalism, he said, in an apparent swipe at the right wing, that "cultural aspirations must not be allowed to destroy our common nationhood and fragment our country into a number

of non-viable sovereign nation-states".

But his speech was laced with references to the need for strong, autonomous regional government structures. He said a matter of major importance in negotiations was the need to agree on the shape and terms of reference of a commission on regional government.

This should submit proposals to the negotiations forum on the phasing in of a new system of regional government. It would also have to make proposals on delimitation of regions and their powers and functions. These would then be embodied in the transitional constitution to "regulate regional government immediately after the election".

Meyer also stressed that the proposed transitional government did not amount to a transitional government, to which the Government is going to hand over its power. It was designed only to prepare for the run-up to elections, he said.

Star 6/5/93

Farmers to test generals' plan

By Paul Bell

Today's meeting of white farmers at Potchefstroom will be the first major test for the initiative by the Committee of Generals, led by former SADF chief General Constand Viljoen, to unify and mobilise right-wing opinion around the drive for a volkstaat.

Farmers are also expected to tell the Government they will defy the extension of the Basic Conditions of Employment Act to farmworkers, and to deliver ultimatums to the Government and the ANC over attacks on white farms.

Up to 10 000 farmers are expected to converge on the A H Potgieter banqueting hall in Potchefstroom from where — if numbers require — they will march to the Olieu Park rugby stadium and convene under the banner of the Transvaal and Free State agricultural unions.

Viljoen, a cattle farmer in the Ohrigstad valley, has been asked to summarise, and draw conclusions on, the discussions on farm security which are expected to dominate this morning's proceedings.

Transvaal Agricultural Union president Dries Bruwer, who is



Constand Viljoen . . . to focus on farm security.

also CP MP for Lydenburg, said he expected farmers to declare "open season" on ANC Youth League president Peter Moka-ba, whose "kill the Boer" chants at rallies after Chris Hani's assassination had inflamed farmer opinion. (304A)

Other issues on the agenda are the worsening financial predicament of farmers and the question of land use, over which farmers expect to face increasing pressure for redistribution from a new government.

The participation of Viljoen is regarded as especially significant because of his role in the Committee of Generals, which has established a subcommittee to consider strategies for the mobilisation of Afrikaners in pursuit of a volkstaat. (304A)

The generals will hold a se-



Koble Coetsee . . . unable to attend the meeting.

cret meeting tomorrow.

Meanwhile, in Cape Town, Justice and Defence Minister Koble Coetsee has also said he is unable to attend the meeting. His decision, writes Chris Whitfield, means that the four Cabinet Ministers who received invitations have turned them down and it is now unlikely there will be any senior Government representation. (304A)

Government sources have, however, rejected suggestions that it had deliberately snubbed the meeting and said the Ministers all had valid reasons for not attending. Other Ministers invited were Hernus Kriel (Law and Order), Leon Wessels (Manpower) and Dr Kraai van Nierkerk (Agriculture).

● Interview with former intelligence chief — Page 13

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(304A)

Azapo to finalise stance on talks

By Kaizer Nyatumba
Political Correspondent

The Azanian People's Organisation will hold its all-important special congress at the weekend to finalise its position on negotiations, Azapo publicity secretary Dr Gomoemo Mookae said yesterday.

The meeting, to take place at the Wilgespruit Fellowship Centre near Roodepoort on Saturday and Sunday, will review Azapo's stance on negotiations.

So far the organisation

has refused to engage in talks with Pretoria.

With the PAC now represented in multiparty talks at the World Trade Centre, Azapo is the only well-known organisation on the Left not involved in negotiations.

Also to be discussed at the weekend congress is the armed struggle and the role it could play to force the Government to surrender power.

Although Azapo has no armed wing of its own, its sister organisation, the Zimbabwe-based Black Consciousness

Movement of Azania, has an armed wing, the Azanian National Liberation Army (Azanla).

Someone claiming to be an Azanla cadre this week claimed responsibility on behalf of the guerilla army for the latest attack on whites in the eastern Cape. At least five people died in the attack, with many others injured.

However, a daily this week reported that a man who described himself as a cadre of the PAC's Apla had also claimed responsibility.

SA urged to promote its image overseas

Star 6/5/93
(304A)

South Africa needed to engage in a vigorous campaign to promote itself abroad instead of waiting until the country's problems were sorted out and a new government was in power, according to British communications expert Sir Tim Bell.

Bell — who was communications adviser to Margaret Thatcher for 15 years — has had a lengthy consultation with President F W de Klerk.

Addressing the Financial Mail's advertising and communications conference in Johannesburg yesterday, Bell said those who believed in

SA's future had to begin now promoting the country's image abroad.

"Whoever is in power, you will have to persuade people that South Africa has an exciting future."

The challenge facing leaders, he said, was to persuade overseas opinion-makers the country was worth investing in. To this end it would be important for people here to begin communicating effectively with the outside world.

Bell had praise for both De Klerk and ANC leader Nelson Mandela for their efforts. — Political Correspondent.

HOPEES run high for talks breakthrough

3049
ARC 6/5/93

□ Negotiators snap awake to SA's agony, set limits to hasten decisions

MICHAEL MORRIS and TOS WENTZEL
Political Staff

HOPEES are running high that negotiations for a new democratic system — resuming in full tomorrow — will achieve major breakthroughs by the end of the month.

An important feature of the negotiations is that time frames are now being attached in an effort to speed up the talks. They are also being streamlined through a system of committees.

The Negotiating Council meets in Kempton Park again tomorrow to ratify a number of technical committees agreed on earlier this week by a 10-man planning committee.

These technical committees will deal with election matters, violence and constitutional matters, including the setting up of a Transitional Execu-

Eglin hopeful for meeting

The negotiation process was now getting underway in a significant way.

Following a very positive meeting of the planning committee this week Mr Eglin was now hopeful for the Negotiating Council meeting tomorrow.

There was also cautious optimism in government and ANC circles today but there were misgivings in rightwing circles.

A flurry of bilateral meetings are expected in the next few days as parties on the right and left move to evaluate their positions and shore up the talks.

The process "is balancing on a razor's edge", government's chief negotiator, Minister of Constitutional Development Mr Roelf Meyer acknowledged in parliament last night.

In a cautiously optimistic assessment, however, he added that negotiators "are on the threshold of a breakthrough".

the violence issue will be high on the agenda and the aim will also be to try and reach early agreement on an election date.

There are hopes that there could be a TEC before the end of June.

Mr Colin Eglin MP, a member of the planning committee, predicted today that there would be intense activity in the proposed technical committees during the rest of the month.

He pointed out that an important issue now was the laying down of time frames for decisions in the next four to five weeks.

One of the main purposes of the resumed talks would be to flesh out decisions taken by the planning committee.

As the continuing high level of violence, and a fresh spate of attacks on whites, turned last night's debate into an intense and often angry exchange

- the government gave notice that it would place mass action on the negotiations agenda in the belief that it "leads to violence",

- the Afrikaner Volksunie said it was re-evaluating its presence in the talks, and

- the Conservative Party warned there would be no peaceful settlement if aspirations for self-determination were not met.

General's statement 'dangerous'

In another development, the ANC described as "short-sighted and dangerous" a statement by Major-General Tienie Groenewald — one of the former SADF officers involved in plans to consolidate the rightwing — that a Boer state could break away from South Africa within months.

General Groenewald said on Tuesday: "I don't think that the South African security forces will ever fight against their own people."

The ANC responded that South Africans would not "allow themselves to be blackmailed into accepting schemes that seek to turn South Africa into another Bosnia".

Violence and Afrikaner self-determination dominated yesterday's constitutional development budget debate.

Mr Meyer lashed out at mass action, warning that it could play into the hands of those who wanted to delay negotiations by violence.

He said the negotiations planning committee would recommend that a technical committee on violence be appointed.

"I am now already giving notice that the government will expect that committee to investigate and identify the causes of violence and the organs and persons responsible for it."

CP MP threatens 'terror, civil war'

LONDON. — Conservative Party MP Dr Corne Mulder has threatened "acts of terror" and "full-blown civil war" if the right wing is not accommodated in negotiations.

Speaking on the BBC's Newsnight programme, Dr Mulder, said: "We'll go all the way with negotiations until we're forced into a situation where we are not being accommodated — then we are forced to go into the third phase ... civil disobedience ... then to full-blown civil war if necessary."

CT 6/5/93
Programme

Also on the programme, Major-General "Tienie" Groenewald, former chief director of military intelligence, said the right wing had 500 000 trained national servicemen at its disposal for secession.

He believed the government had a list of 5 000 prominent right-wingers it intended to detain and he expected to be among these.

The government has dismissed Dr Mulder's claims as "mischievous propaganda".

The founder meeting of the Afrikaner Volksfront, an umbrella body for Afrikaner secessionists, is to be held today.

— Sapa Own Correspondent

(304A)

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Boer state slammed by ANC

The Argus Correspondent

JOHANNESBURG. — Major-General Tienie Groenewald's warning of a Boer state breaking away from South Africa within months was "shortsighted and dangerous", the ANC said last night.

General Groenewald said earlier: "I don't think the South African security forces will ever fight against their own people."

But the ANC said South Africans would not "allow themselves to be blackmailed into accepting schemes that seek to turn South Africa into another Bosnia".

It said white South Africans should not be fooled into thinking General Groenewald spoke for them, and appealed to the international community to warn the general and his "bedfellows" against their planned move.

The general's apparent confidence about the possible connivance of security forces confirmed the failure of the government to act decisively against the rightwing, it said.

White South Africans should not support the perpetuation of "apartheid in a disguised form".

4/16 5/5/73
(3048)

Cosag shuns 'rubber stamp' tag

COSAG was not deliberately delaying the negotiation process, but it would not rubber stamp the wishes of the ANC-SACP/Cosatu alliance, Mr Tom Langley (CP Soutpansberg) said yesterday.

In a debate on the Constitutional Development Vote in parliament yesterday he said the NP and the ANC alliance was trying to force the Declaration of Intent on Cosag.

The president, like the ANC, appeared to be intimidating it and saying that if he did not get his way he would give effect to the Record of Understanding.

The NP, the government and the ANC were trying to call the tune at the negotiations. The agenda had been suspended at the instigation of Mr Joe Slovo, just so a date for elections could be agreed. — Sapa.

Nat coup wish — CP claim

DEPUTY Minister of Constitutional Development Fanus Schoeman said the National Party would rather stage a coup than hand over power to the Conservative Party had the CP won the 1989 general election, Mr Fanie Jacobs (CP Losberg) has told parliament.

Speaking during debate on the Constitutional Development Vote, he said Mr Schoeman had said this to the Labour Party MP for Northern Cape, Mr Desmond Lockey (304A)

Mr Jacobs asked whether the NP would be willing to hand over the keys of the Union Building if the ANC won an election. *ARG 6/5/93*

If the NP crossed the Rubicon of handing over power to the ANC it should know that it would be resisted. — Sapa.

'Nobody believed' FW's apology

NOBODY believed the State President when he apologised for apartheid but then said there had been no intention to hurt anybody, Mr Miley Richards (LP Toekomsrus) told parliament.

Speaking in the Constitutional Development debate, he said this was tantamount to saying there was no intention to hurt people killed in Nazi Germany's Holocaust.

The Group Areas Act had been violent, as had been the relocation of people and detention — as well as the country's

isolation and sanctions against apartheid. (3041)

Dr Frik van Heerden (NP Bloemfontein North) said Mr Richards's LP had been part of apartheid structures, hurting people. ARG 6/5/93

"If apartheid does hurt people, the LP was also hurting people by taking part in so-called apartheid structures. They were part and parcel of hurting people."

The mistake was often made of confusing the concepts of freedom and democracy.

Freedom should be seen as

the destination and democracy the process by which it was to be achieved.

Social economic rights — such as housing, health and work — implied corrective actions which could be achieved through taxation or socialisation.

This, in turn, denied individuals the right to determine their own choices.

Negotiators should have absolute clarity on what kind of democracy they wanted. — Sapa.

Flag decision for Hani's funeral 'based on policy'

Political Staff CT 6/5/93

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THE decision not to fly the national flag at half-mast on the day of SACP secretary-general Mr Chris Hani's funeral was based on previous policy and convention, President F W de Klerk said yesterday.

The government had no ulterior motives in deciding this, he said in reply to questions in Parliament by Mr Jannie Momberg (ANC, Simon's Town). The flag was only flown at half-mast on government buildings when a head of state or head of government died in office.

Minister of Foreign Affairs Mr Pik Botha said the South African ambassador in Washington, Mr Harry Schwarz, had used his own discretion when he decided to fly the flag at half-mast at the embassy after Mr Hani's death.

Star 6/5/93

Marching to Afrikanerland

(304A)



Afrikaners have turned to their generals in past times of crisis. Now right-wing Afrikaners, angered and confused by the present turmoil, are doing so again. PATRICK LAURENCE interviews former military intelligence chief Tienie Groenewald.

TENIE Groenewald, a former head of Military Intelligence and a member of a newly formed Committee of Generals, denies that armed force is on the agenda of Afrikaners committed to the establishment of an Afrikaner state. But, Groenewald stresses, there are no plans to "secretly" fight for an Afrikaner state, Afrikaner nationalists believe in, and will exercise, the right to "self-protection". Groenewald is one of four retired generals appointed to the Committee of Generals after a meeting of fighting organisations on April 20. He insists that the quest for an Afrikaner state will be pursued by peaceful means, including, if necessary, mass action and passive resistance. "A deeper man with a neatly

trimmed moustache, Groenewald (57) outlines the immediate objectives of the Committee of Generals:

- To unify the fragmented Right.
- To maximise pressure for a Volksstaat at the negotiating table.
- To bolster the Concerned Southern Africans Group (Cosag) in multiparty talks on the future.

Cosag consists of two Afrikaner-based parties — the Conservative Party and its fledgling, the Afrikaner Volksunie (AVU) — as well as Mangosuthu Buthe's Zulu-based Inkatha Freedom Party and the governments of Bophuthatswana and Ciskei (which were set up as "homelands" for the Tsuanas and a section of the Xhosas under apartheid rule).

"We see ourselves as strengthening the hand of

Groenewald, however, insists that he was talking hypothetically when he made that statement, in the same way as the African National Congress talks hypothetically when it says that it may have to revert to armed struggle if negotiations break down or if it is constantly obstructed in its quest for an agreed settlement.

Groenewald stresses that the role of the Committee of Generals — which is headed by Con-

stand Viljoen, a former Chief of the South African Defence Force — is to devise a plan of action to ensure that the different political parties on the Right work together towards their common goal, an Afrikaner state.

In no way do the generals plan to usurp the role of the politicians, he says. "I have no political ambitions," he adds. Groenewald, who used to brief the State Security Council

under the administration of President P W Botha, plays a critical role in the 28-member Eenheidskomitee (Unity Committee), an organisation which preceded the Committee of Generals.

EK-25, as the unity committee is known, has sought to unite Afrikaners around the aim of a Volksstaat and, equally important, helped to identify where the state should be located. Andries Beyers's AVU envisages an Afrikaner state with the same or similar boundaries to those proposed by EK-25.

Groenewald produces a map drawn up by EK-25: the state — referred to as Afrikanerland by the cartographer — is located in the Transvaal and the Free State, minus chunks of territory ceded to the Tsuanas in the west and the Sotho, Venda and Shangaan in the north and northeast.

There is another important exclusion: the Bheke, the richest, most thickly populated and ethnically and racially mixed area in the country.

Afrikaners are in the majority in the proposed Afrikanerland, Groenewald says, his finger tracing its way along another map which gives information on the racial composition of the various areas in the envisaged state.

Groenewald remarks that the Afrikaner state will consist of barely 16 percent of South Africa, perhaps even less if subregions where blacks are most numerous are jettisoned.

Looking at the map, one is struck by its similarity to the maps that used to be drawn by apartheid ideologues in the days of Hendrik Verwoerd and B J Vorster. There is, however, one crucial difference: in the old days, blacks were assigned

14 percent of South Africa; today protagonists of the Afrikaner Volksstaat are prepared to restrict themselves to 16 percent or less.

It is for that objective that Afrikaner conservatives are mobilising politically, for which they will negotiate at multiparty negotiations and for which, "hypothetically", they will fight, if necessary.

On the issue of negotiations, Groenewald insists that there can be no elections, as demanded by the ANC, until there is agreement on the form of state for the future South Africa and on the boundaries of its regions.

It will be disastrous, he asserts, to set a date for elections until these questions are resolved: it will merely create an "election atmosphere" in which negotiations will be pushed into the background as politicians manoeuvre for support at the polls. □

Verwoerd to head ANC drive

CAPE TOWN — Wilhelm Verwoerd, grandson of former Prime Minister Hendrik Verwoerd, the architect of apartheid, will spearhead an ANC recruitment drive to woo Afrikaners.

The ANC is to hold its first public meeting next week in the predominantly white Afrikaner town of Parow, constituency of Law and Order Minister Hernus Kriel.

Verwoerd will address the meeting, regarded as a breakthrough by the ANC. It has been billed as the ANC's version of President F W de Klerk's visit to the AWB stronghold of Ventersdorp.

"We feel confident and strong enough to take the NP on in their own backyard. The process will begin in the western Cape and then be carried out nationally. A number of programmes will be announced both here and in Johannesburg in the near future," ANC western Cape assistant secretary Willy Hofmeyr said at a news briefing yesterday.

LINDA ENSOR

He said there was much misinformation about the ANC in the white community.

Verwoerd, a lecturer in political philosophy at the University of Stellenbosch, said he had struggled long and hard with what had happened in SA. This had led his family to regard him as a traitor.

Apartheid was not just a policy, it was immoral and evil and it was the responsibility of Afrikaners who were in a position of power to make a contribution to the emerging society. He felt his membership of the ANC was the best way to do this and felt privileged to be part of the majority rather than of a threatened minority.

Hofmeyr said strict security measures would be enforced at the meeting and the ANC had approached SA and international monitors to assist.

The ANC expected the SAP to play a role and was also investigating the possibility of employing a private se-

curity company to assist with frisking and searching for weapons.

Regional chairman Allan Boesak said it was necessary for the ANC to make whites, and Afrikaners in particular, aware of the organisation's standpoint and intentions.

"It is essential that we build up the nonracial basis of the ANC to be as strong as possible and make people of all races feel at home in the ANC," Boesak said.

Growing numbers of whites were moving towards the ANC as they were disillusioned with the political process, disenchanted with the NP's lack of vision and frustrated by the NP's total inability to break decisively with its past policies.

The lack of moral leadership in the country was starkly displayed after Chris Hani's assassination when ANC president Nelson Mandela emerged as the true leader of the nation. Boesak said these events had given impetus to the movement of Afrikaners into the ANC.

Wits 'maintains its standards'

WITS University vice-chancellor Robert Charlton yesterday defended his institution against rumours of falling academic standards.

Speaking at a Wits Business School seminar, Charlton said the question of what standards were appropriate for SA had become the subject of hot debate, with some maintaining that talk of "high standards" was merely a device for denying access to disadvantaged groups.

He said Wits succeeded in maintaining its world class standards through the controls of the external examiner system, and

KATHRYN STRACHAN

regular inspection of professional disciplines for accreditation purposes.

Quoting the example of an exam taken by doctors emigrating to the US, Charlton said: "The average pass rate of all foreign graduates is 18%; in contrast, the pass rate for Wits graduates is 89%."

Although many of the 6 000 black students — out of a total of 18 500 — had gaps in their schooling, a strong academic support programme gave them the opportunity to bridge the gap, he said.

Govt push to end mass action

Bloom 6/5/93
CAPE TOWN — Government gave notice yesterday that it intended to demand an end to mass action when violence was discussed in negotiations — which were currently balanced on a razor's edge.

Delivering a generally optimistic speech in Parliament yesterday, Constitutional Development Minister Roelf Meyer, however, issued a stern warning on mass action.

Introducing his department's budget vote, Meyer said there were encouraging indications that in coming weeks agreements would be formulated regarding a whole series of key elements of a new constitutional dispensation. "The process is balancing on a razor edge, but we are on the threshold of a breakthrough."

He said the planning committee of the negotiations forum would tomorrow recommend the formation of a specialist committee on violence.

Government will expect that committee to investigate and identify the causes of violence and the organisations and people responsible for it. "I am giving notice that the government will there adopt the standpoint that at the present time mass action leads to violence and

gives rise to a climate of violence."

Government would also test the standpoints of other parties on peace by the extent to which they would be prepared to give practical effect to their recommendations to the committee and their reactions to its recommendations.

However, the process had to proceed simultaneously with these discussions "in a spirit of positive aggression", he said.

Meyer said other important negotiations issues were details of the transitional constitution and the terms of reference and composition of a commission on regional government.

On the date for an election, Meyer said only that government believed this date should be before April next year.

Acting CP leader Ferdi Hartzenberg delivered a fiery response, warning that failure to meet the CP demand for self-determination would lead to bloodshed.

He said Meyer's speech was evidence that the negotiations were regarded by government as a rubber stamp for what it had already

agreed with the ANC. Any group that attempted to deviate from what was already agreed with the ANC was portrayed as a spoiler.

For the CP, self-determination was a principle that should be decided on before the form of state was decided.

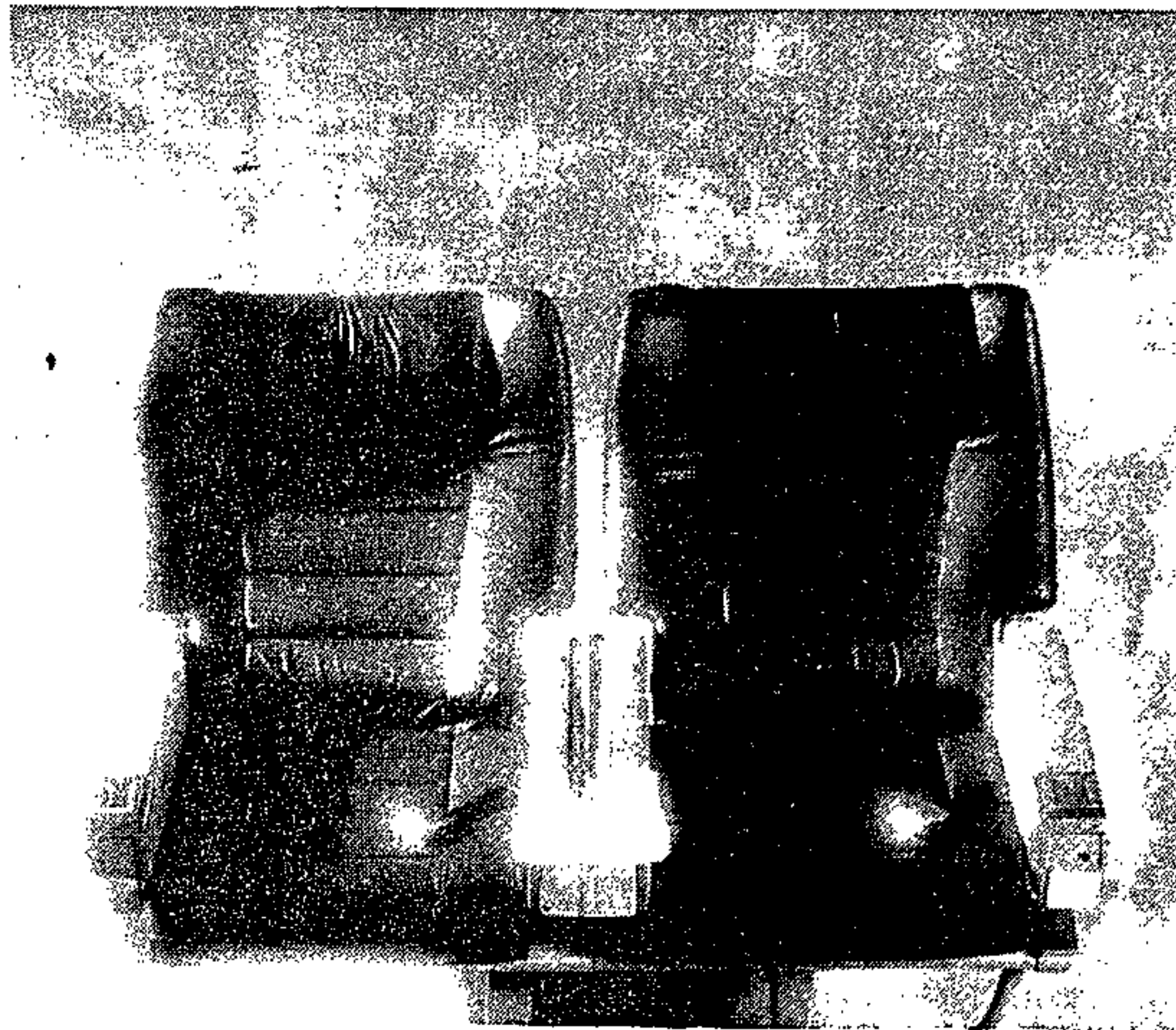
Although the CP was trying to avoid it, failure to acknowledge this principle would lead to bloodshed. "Do not force us to offer blood."

Our political staff reports that Tony Leon (DP Houghton) said a "deal" that was "simply stitched together" by the NP and ANC privately could not be binding on the negotiation process until the other parties had agreed to it.

While every party deserved to have its views taken seriously, a distinction had to be drawn between those negotiating in good faith and those who were not.

Leon said Bophuthatswana President Lucas Mangope had said there was no question of the homeland giving up its independence or control over its security forces. But Mangope's advisers were at the negotiating table. If he had no intention of giving up independence why were they contributing to the creation of structures of which they would never be a part? he asked.

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UK owes SA, says Mandela

Bloom 6/5/93
LONDON — ANC president Nelson Mandela yesterday blamed Britain for sowing the seeds of violent upheaval in SA, telling parliament members "history demands ... that you help us".

Mandela told a bipartisan group of MPs that Britain's Act of Union, forming the constitution which created SA in 1909, paved the way for apartheid. ~~###~~

"Your right to determine your own destiny was used to deny us to determine our own," he said. ~~###~~

The ANC president, who earlier had met Prime Minister John Major, Foreign Secretary Douglas Hurd and Labour opposition leader John Smith, asked MPs to urge the SA government to set a date for elections and to stem violence.

— Sapa-AFP ~~###~~ 304A

NEWS FEATURES Sage Life founder starts a new job • Enterprise seeks to alter attitudes

One more mogul in the SA Cabinet

By Joshua Raboroko

THE NEWLY APPOINTED Minister of National Housing and Public Works, Mr Louis Shill (62), regards his position as a challenge to find solutions to the problem of low-cost housing in South Africa. Shill, currently chairman and chief executive of the Sage insurance and property empire, is to take up his Cabinet post on June 1. He resigned from all Sage board appointments from May 31. Shill was invited by State President Mr FW de Klerk to try to crack the big problem facing South Africa, especially in the black communities. De Klerk's appointment of a businessman to his Cabinet is not the first.

HOUSING CRISIS Minister Louis Shill has to solve the enormous backlog of 1,5 million homes: **304A**

Shill has to solve the enormous backlog of 1,5 million homes: **304A**

As a representative of LOA on the National Economic Forum and various committees of the National Housing Forum, his position might have a tremendous effect. He has in mind strategies to speed up housing programmes that aim at different levels, including:

- Families that have the resources to buy a home — but await signs of renewed action by construction companies;
- Families without access to mortgage finance;

Shill says he is proud to be appointed to the Cabinet and regards the new position as a challenge. He estimates that the backlog in housing in South Africa is in the region of 1,5 million units and he believes this can be reduced if the Government, the private sector and finan-



Louis Shill ... new head of housing.

Earlier he invited former Gencor boss, Mr Derek Keys, to be Minister of Finance.

Keys' coming into the Cabinet has impressed even National Party adversaries in the extra-parliamentary arena as a fresh approach to economic policies.

Shill is clearly also being relied on to win popular support by using business practices — rather than political rhetoric — to solve the housing problem.

He is able to chip in 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.

Fragmentation

Witbank born Shill faces the task of tackling an overhaul of the administration of housing affairs — which has been under severe criticism because of the fragmentation caused by apartheid.

He studied at the University of the Witwatersrand and at Stanford University in the United States.

A chartered accountant, he was one of the founders of Liberty Life in the

cial institutions pay a leading role in solving the problem.

Shill has already put under the microscope the vital link between the actual building of houses and cash resources needed to start operations in the first place.

He is fully aware that this is the link that has often been missing when housing initiatives have ground to a halt.

He is also aware of the anger and frustration the disadvantaged communities — mostly black — have suffered as a result of banks' reluctance to grant home loans to blacks.

"I am convinced this nut can be cracked.

"I believe it is imperative to crack it if a real start is to be made in eradicating the logjam of housing shortage," he says.

He has already caused a flicker of hope by using his high status in the insurance industry to influence the Life Officer Association to launch a special investment development unit.

In fact, many insurance companies, including Sage Life, have shown interest in home building and other projects which provide socio-economically desirable developments.

unemployment or earning below the breadline but with longer term prospects of being able to afford a reasonable house;

●Destitute families that cannot afford to buy a home; and

●Families plagued by violence and whose houses cannot be completed because construction companies fear attacks from township radicals.

"We all have to a role to play in finding ways to help destitute families," he says, adding:

"We must not be content with living in shacks."

He believes that all parties, including political organisations, have a role in solving the problem.

"We need new strategies to start a dynamic, immediate housing programme," he says.

One of the first things he needs to look into is co-ordinating various housing organisations and examining the functions of all the players in both the private and public sector.

Also on his agenda will be a thorough look at all of the land property under the public works department.

focus on culture

LAST WEEK I had the privilege of attending the ANC's culture and development conference at the Johannesburg Civic Theatre. I expected tense, sharp-elbowed debates and was agreeably surprised by the relaxed mood and the festive, exuberant atmosphere that prevailed.

As a former lecturer in Afrikaans at the University of the Witwatersrand, I was particularly interested in the ANC's language policy.

The organisation's goal of conferring equal status on all languages could not be more fair and the lack of prescriptiveness inherent in the policy is refreshing. Only one delegate was in a tit-for-tat mood and adamantly insisted that white schoolchildren should in future be compelled to learn an indigenous African language.

What struck me, though, was the often repeated demand for government involvement in the promotion and development of indigenous languages.

The State can only do so much. It will be up to the speakers to actively nurture the various languages. In this regard Afrikaans can serve as an example: a surprisingly positive example.

When a writer or poet uses Afrikaans as his language of choice, he or she is making a sacrifice. By communicating in Afrikaans, the writer knows that his readership will be limited. Should he decide to use English instead, his audience will increase tremendously. And after all, every writer wants his ideas and thoughts to influence as wide an audience as possible.

However, for many Afrikaans writers, the decision to write in Afrikaans is a conscious one, and taken with the express purpose of contributing to the welfare of the Afrikaans language. Black South African writers need to develop the same attitude.

There are black writers who write a superbly powerful prose — the ANC's cultural supreme, Mr Mongane Serote, is only one example — but many of these writers are writing in English. The accessibility of their work is to the benefit of readers like myself, who are shamefully ignorant of black languages. But the indigenous languages of South Africa will only be promoted once writers use their native tongue and are willing to forgo the luxury of reaching the majority of people.

Sets example

Writers and poets are the artists and sculptors of a language. Their creativity provides spark and inspiration and sets the example for the entire language community.

At the conference, one delegate after another also railed against the powerful status accorded Afrikaans and English, as this causes black South Africans to feel embarrassed about using their own languages.

It should be remembered that the early speak-

ers of Afrikaans had a similar problem. Under British rule, Afrikaans-speaking children were not allowed to speak Afrikaans in school. If they did, they ended up with donkey-ears and a sign around their necks proclaiming: "I shall not speak the Dutch patois." English-speaking teachers scathingly referred to Afrikaans as a "kombuistaal".

Natasha Mostert, who holds an MA in Applied Linguistics from Columbia University, discusses ways of accomplishing this:

Savetun 6/5/93
 (300) (304A) (400)



Wally Serote ... heads the ANC's cultural department

The response of Afrikaners was to make a concerted effort to develop a strong written literature. The editors of Afrikaans newspapers enthusiastically encouraged their subscribers, most of them uneducated people, to send in poems and other contributions.

Leaders in the Afrikaner community made every effort to instil in the speakers of Afrikaans a language pride. This was not easy, as Afrikaans also had to contend with the long shadow cast by Dutch. Many Afrikaners who enjoyed using their mother language considered Afrikaans too

"platvloers" to use in church and rejected the idea that the Dutch Bible should be replaced by an Afrikaans translation.

Afrikaans is the ultimate protest language. It fuelled the movement of Afrikaner nationalism and gave the Afrikaner his identity.

I am not suggesting that black South Africans adopt the chauvinistic attitude that some Afrikaners have about their language. When Afrikaners took over from the British, their language policy can best be described as affirmative action gone mad. But there is a positive message in the Afrikaner's refusal to be ashamed of the Afrikaans language in the face of discrimination and ridicule.

The cultural life of South Africa will be greatly enriched by the blossoming of the indigenous black languages. But more is needed than a sympathetic government language policy. It is up to the speakers. *Voorwaarts!*

New party calls for a 'coloured homeland'

The Argus Correspondent

JOHANNESBURG. — A new political organisation, which calls for a "sovereign and independent state" for coloureds in a new dispensation, was introduced here yesterday.

The organisation, called the National Liberation Front (NLF) and headed by University of the Witwatersrand geography lecturer Malcolm Lupton, has as its main purpose the creation of an independent homeland for coloureds in South Africa.

Mr Lupton, 29, who is the new organisation's general-secretary, criticised both the National Party and the African National Congress, accusing them of regarding coloureds "as expendable pawns" in their efforts to get their votes.

"In their hidden agendas, both the ANC and the NP regard our people as expendable pawns, a mere 'minority group' whose votes are up for grabs in a violent struggle for state power.

"Coloureds should see through these organisations, reject their ulterior motives and stand on their own," said Mr Lupton.

Flanked by fellow central committee members Mr Adrian Conway, 22, and Mr Colin Snel, 26, Mr Lupton said the NP was "a dying party" with a leadership "devoid of a vision", while the ANC was "a black nationalist organisation with which coloureds could never identify".

He said only "unprincipled and opportunistic elements" within the coloured community would join the NP, and that the ANC would get not less than seven percent of the vote of South Africa's three million coloureds in the first all-in election.

Mr Lupton said the NLF had about 500 paid-up members — most of whom were younger than 33 — and had so far received the support of some coloured trade unions.

The Wits University lecturer said the NLF would not endeavour to take part in the multi-party negotiations. However, it would enter into talks with either the incumbent government or any future government "over the mechanisms of a transfer of state power to the coloured state".

CP outlines mobilisation

Swetun 6/5/93
■ Hartzenberg pleads on behalf of 'volk':

By Ismail Lagardien

Political Correspondent

THE Conservative Party was mobilising military generals, scientists and people from across the spectrum behind the concept of self-determination, CP leader Mr. Ferdie Hartzenberg said in Parliament last night. (304A)

Speaking during the Constitutional Development debate, Hartzenberg said the Government should not be surprised that there were military generals who were prepared to sacrifice their blood for Afrikaner self-determination.

Repeating previous threats made by the leader of the Inkatha Freedom Party, Chief Mangosuthu Buthelezi, Hartzenberg said: "There will be no peaceful or lasting solution in South Africa" if the Cosag alliance was not satisfied with a settlement.

Addressing himself specifically to the Minister of Constitutional Development Mr Roelf Meyer, Hartzenberg said "self determination is non-negotiable".

He said Afrikaners had been prepared in the past to sacrifice their blood for self-determination, adding: "If we can't get freedom through negotiations, don't push us to the point where we have to do it again".

"The CP has initiated a serious programme of mobilisation which is meant to be a 'volk's' mobilisation.

"Other groups are being provided for and now you (Meyer) are shocked by the fact that there are generals (mobilising with us). The 'volk' has generals, it has preachers and scientists and they will be in the mobilisation with the generals," Hartzenberg said.

BC adherents racist - Meyer

Sawetan 6/5/93
■ Minister admits Afrikaner insensitivity:

By Ismail Lagardien
Political Correspondent

(304A)

MINISTER of Constitutional Development Mr Roelf Meyer yesterday described Black Consciousness adherents and Africanists as inherently racist.

Speaking during his budget debate in Parliament, Meyer also eulogised the Afrikaner people for their struggle for freedom against what he called Dutch and British domination.

"Today the Afrikaner enjoys a respected identity. We have a modern, vibrant language and culture.

"But not everything we have gained has been gained without offending other South Africans. We would be dishonest and untrue to ourselves if we were to deny that there have been times when we have been insensitive to the needs and aspirations of our black and brown fellow citizens in particular," he said.

"So-called Africanists or black consciousness groups have for decades fought for freedom from colonialism and have attempted to develop an exclusively African school of thought. It is not always clear what they mean by colonialists. Some of them are blatantly racist when they incite hatred against whites," Meyer said.

role ● Cash strapped borrowers can breathe again

Pik has peace plan

HARARE — Foreign Minister Mr Pik Botha is reported to have expressed an interest in a role for President Mugabe of Zimbabwe in promoting peaceful negotiations in South Africa.

Botha is said to have told this to his Zimbabwean counterpart, Mr Nathan Shamuyarira, when they met for the first time at an ANC reception in Johannesburg on Sunday after the funeral of Mr Oliver Tambo.

It was their first meeting and has been interpreted in some quarters in South Africa as a further relaxation of the

■ EMINENT PERSON Nathan

Shamuyarira to sound out Zimbabwean president on promoting negotiations 12:

Zimbabwean government's policy of refusing to have ministerial-level dealings with Pretoria.

Shamuyarira said on his return to Harare that Botha had expressed an interest in a role for Mugabe in peaceful

negotiations in South Africa. In Johannesburg Shamuyarira also met IFP leader Chief Mangosuthu Buthelezi. He said Buthelezi expressed an interest in meeting Mugabe to talk about the situation. - Sowetan Africa News Service.

Marike's visit: Cost admitted

Political Staff

THE government yesterday admitted that the controversial visit of Mrs Marike de Klerk to Atlantis in March cost at least R3 872,66 in public funds — somewhat more than the R13 petrol money claimed by President F W de Klerk.

The chairman of the Ministers' Council in the House of Representatives, Mr Jac Rabie, told Parliament the Department of Education and Culture had spent R2 706 on invitations and R1 166,66 on catering for the visit.

The Democratic Party's Mr Jasper Walsh said it was a gross abuse of funds for the function to have been paid for out of the HoR's budget.

Nominations stream in for forums

Political Staff

NOMINATIONS streamed in yesterday for membership of the seven crucial mini-forums which negotiators hope will be established when public talks resume tomorrow.

Over 60 nominations were received for the 31 places available on the seven "tech-

nical committees" which will make proposals on seven issues identified by the negotiating council last Friday.

The formation of these groups will be the most important issue on the agenda for tomorrow's talks.

The groups will discuss violence, constitutional issues, a

bill of rights, the independent election commission, the independent media commission, the repeal of restrictive legislation, and the transitional executive council.

Negotiators feel the success of tomorrow's discussions will be judged by whether or not these technical commit-

tees are established.

Since the groups only include on average four members per committee, negotiators will be hard-pressed to balance the composition of the mini-forums politically.

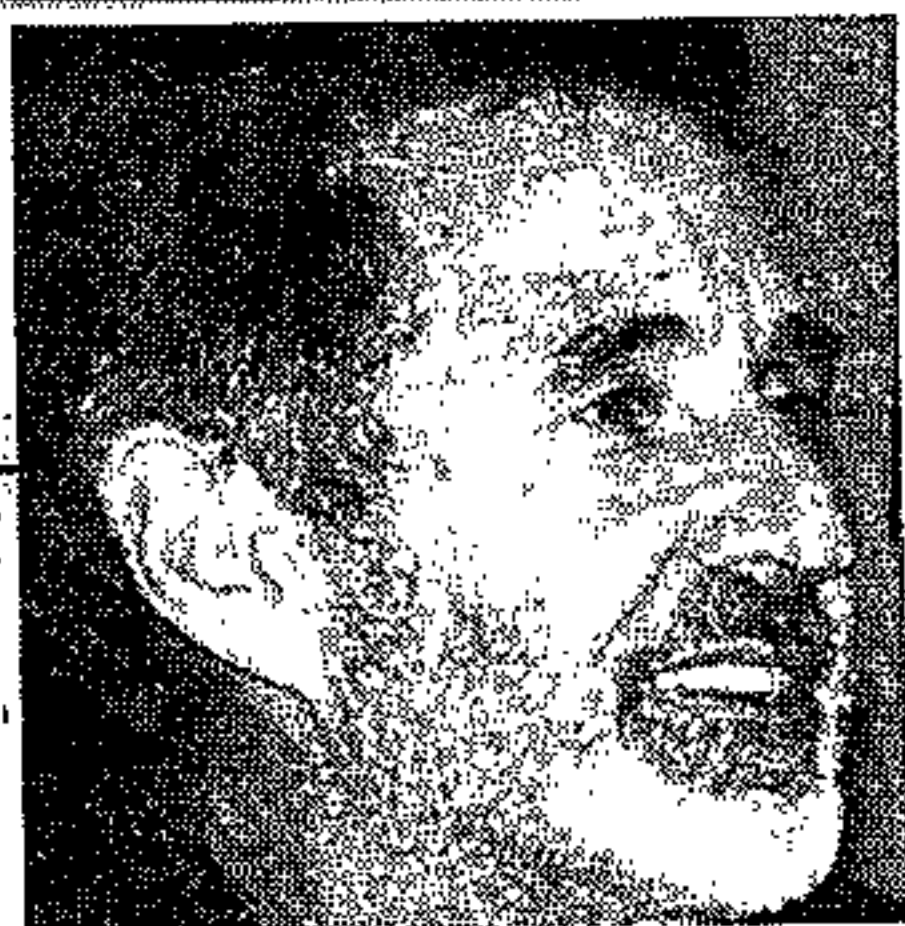
The election date is the first substantive issue on the agenda following a proposal by

(304P) CT 6/5/92

SACP chairman Mr Joe Slovo that the election date be set by the end of May.

The second issue on the agenda is "management and time frames" specifying rules for the mini-forums.

The third substantive issue is the composition and appointment of the mini-forums.



BREYTEN BREYTENBACH

By WILLEM VAN VUUREN

THE transition process has often been set back by actions of the security forces that were seen as proof of the De Klerk Government's pursuance of a twin-track policy embracing both negotiations with and destabilisation of the ANC.

However, the ANC's periodic campaigns of "mass action" appear to be based on a similarly ambivalent commitment to negotiations and expose the organisation itself to accusations of a double agenda.

Various analysts have argued the need for some pact-like co-operation between the major players as an effective means of change toward democracy. And some of the greatest advances thus far indeed seem to have been as a result of agreements between the National Party and the ANC, when both acted interdependently as vital transition agents.

Such a relationship, of course, does not prohibit political rivalry. It is not a coalition in the sense of an election pact, but involves a negotiated compromise to abstain from violent strategies against each other in pursuit of democracy, and to use negotiation and compromise again as means of resolving future disputes.

New challenges

In other words, it requires a durable commitment to peaceful negotiations as an essential condition, which is incompatible with appeals to powerful forces of violence outside the pact (the military or masses) to threaten each other.

NP, ANC must drop tactics of yesterday

304A
CT6/5/93



HERIBERT ADAM

Resolutions of the ANC's 1991 national conference explicitly link negotiations to "international pressure and mass struggle" as a matter of necessity. This creates an official gap for militants who wish to reactivate the uncompromising and aggressive "struggle" spirit of the eighties, which may well have constituted a legitimate response to a repressive total strategy, but can hardly be considered a relevant and constructive reply to the new challenges of transition politics.

Mr Mandela's call for effective positive action is therefore timely: "Perhaps one of the greatest challenges facing any nation in transition is to move away 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 engage our beleaguered people, black and white."

Old myths

Addressing the problem of mass control currently experienced by the ANC leadership, Professor Heribert Adam stated that "the ANC, even more than the National Party, has so far failed to prepare its constituency for the inevitable politics of compromise".

If this is so because the ANC's support base still generally perceives its political role in uncompromising "struggle" terms, it is obvious where the leaders should start their preparatory work. The difficulty, however, seems to be that the leadership is divid-

ed and saddled with influential figures whose rhetoric suggests that they are themselves underprepared for the new politics.

Old struggle myths still seem to inform their thinking: vital negotiating partners are still being portrayed as incorrigible "enemies", to be defeated, not negotiated with. Unrealistic expectations of "total victory" that exclude compromises are still being projected.

The self-righteous claim that their organisation represents the "true democratic forces" simply because it represents a majority still prevails and morally justifies a religious intolerance toward the "false" democratic vision of their opponents.

Two years ago Breyten Breytenbach wrote in an open letter to Mr Mandela: "You will lose nothing but dead illusions if you were to point out the ANC is victim to its own propaganda and the creation of myths and aspirations that could never be satisfied ..."

"We must own up to the unpleasant recognition that the ANC is not (yet) a democratic organisation, that it still shows a hegemonistic drive based on intimidation ..."

Unhistorical

Despite the sustained moderation of Mr Mandela, there are worrying signs that powerful elements within the organisation would rather exploit played-out "struggle" myths for their own strategic purposes of mobilisation and intimidation, to try to seize power, than move away from

myth toward reality in order to deal more constructively with transition requirements.

Only in terms of a very perverse and unhistorical dialectic can further radicalisation, racial polarisation and economic destruction lead to peaceful democratic reconstruction in this country.

Just as improbable as it is that zero-sum power politics, intolerance and violent intimidation through mass action can advance the cause of a negotiated transition, so it is also predictable that the promoters of such a strategy will be extremely tempted to compensate through negative means for failing to fulfil positive expectations.

That is, to try to maintain their radicalised support by showing success through counterproductive "achievements", such as applying better methods of paralysing South African economic life, issuing tougher demands and threats, organising more provocative actions, particularly against whites, and employing more effective means of demonising their political opponents for mobilisation purposes. Thus generating the kind of destructive dynamics in which the Botha regime was caught up in the eighties.

It took considerable statesmanship from government and opposition leaders to get South Africa out of that mess. But we can easily be plunged back into it — by both sides — by responding to today's challenges with yesterday's tactics.

[Professor Van Vuuren teaches in the Department of Political Studies at UWC]

Engineer dies of injuries

Vereeniging consulting civil engineer Johan de Kock (52) died in the Krugersdorp Hospital on Wednesday from injuries received during an attack by rioting youths in Kagiso, on the West Rand. De Kock was one of several people injured by rampaging youths in the township on Monday. — Vereeniging Bureau.

Policeman shoots wife, self

An Alexandra police constable yesterday shot dead his 22-year-old wife before turning his gun on himself and shooting himself in the head. A police spokesman said the off-duty policeman was rushed to Johannesburg Hospital in a critical condition. — Staff Reporter.

Star 115193 Meyer 'doesn't understand'

Azapo yesterday took issue with Minister of Constitutional Development Roelf Meyer's statements on Wednesday that some Black Consciousness adherents were blatantly racist when they incited hatred against whites. "Azapo knows that Roelf Meyer does not understand the struggle against oppression, dispossession and exploitation," said Azapo deputy secretary-general Lybon Mabasa. — Sapa. (115193) (306A)

As a result of the discrimination of being turned away.

member of the Johannesburg Symphony Orchestra.

Policeman culpable for train death

Court Reporter

A Soweto policeman was yesterday found culpable in a Johannesburg inquest court for the death of a train commuter who was shot during a train search in 1990.

Magistrate CG de Lange found that the life of special constable G.P. Mdlati was not in danger when he shot the commuter with a shotgun.

The passenger, whose identity was never established, died of head wounds after the shooting at Chawelo station in Soweto on October 19 1990. An innocent passer-by, Ronald Mthembu (32), was wounded in the jaw.

Poor response to ANC offer to repair graves

Star 116193

The public has responded poorly to an offer from the ANC alliance to repair an estimated 180 graves damaged during the burial of South African Communist Party general secretary Chris Hani, the Germiston municipality said yesterday.

"The reaction from the public has been very poor," Germiston town clerk Tonie Heyneke said. "I don't think we have had more than 10 claims."

He said the ANC attitude was "only repair graves for which claims were made, adding that as time went by there was less chance the public would come forward with claims. Germiston Parks, Sport and Recreation spokesman Johnny Dixon said yesterday 180-plus graves had been damaged — mainly headstones — during Hani's burial at South Park Cemetery on April 19. Damage was estimated at about R60 000. ANC secretary general Cyril Ramaphosa gave an undertaking the day after the funeral that the ANC alliance would repair the damaged graves.

He told a press conference the alliance would assess the damage and because graves were such a "sensitive matter to all our people we will be taking steps to ensure that those graves that were damaged will be repaired."

Heyneke said the arrangement with the ANC was that the municipality would forward claims as they received them. "I have every confidence that the claims will be met." — Sapa.

Woman fined for soliciting

An attractive Johannesburg woman was yesterday fined R200 (or 40 days) for soliciting for the purpose of prostitution.

But more costly for 23-year-old Samantha Smith, who was arrested in Hillbrow on February 9, was her behaviour in the Johannesburg Magistrate's Court.

The day after her arrest, she was granted bail of R200. When magistrate A.M. Muthibi refused her application to be released on warning, Smith began swearing. Muthibi duly found her guilty of contempt of court, and the transgression cost her a further R300 fine (or 90 days). — Court Reporter.

weather

TVL/OFS

NATAL

CAPE

RAINFALL
Pretoria: 0,2 mm
Vereeniging: drops

SUNRISE

SUNSET

MOONRISE

Tomorrow 8.35 am

Today 5.34 pm
Tomorrow 5.34 pm

Today 18.43 pm

TV: Partly cloudy and warm but hot over the north and lowveld.
OFS: Fine and mild.

Partly cloudy and warm, getting cloudy from south with light rain.

Fine and mild in east becoming cold; cloudy and cold over western Cape.

TEMPERATURES WORLDWIDE

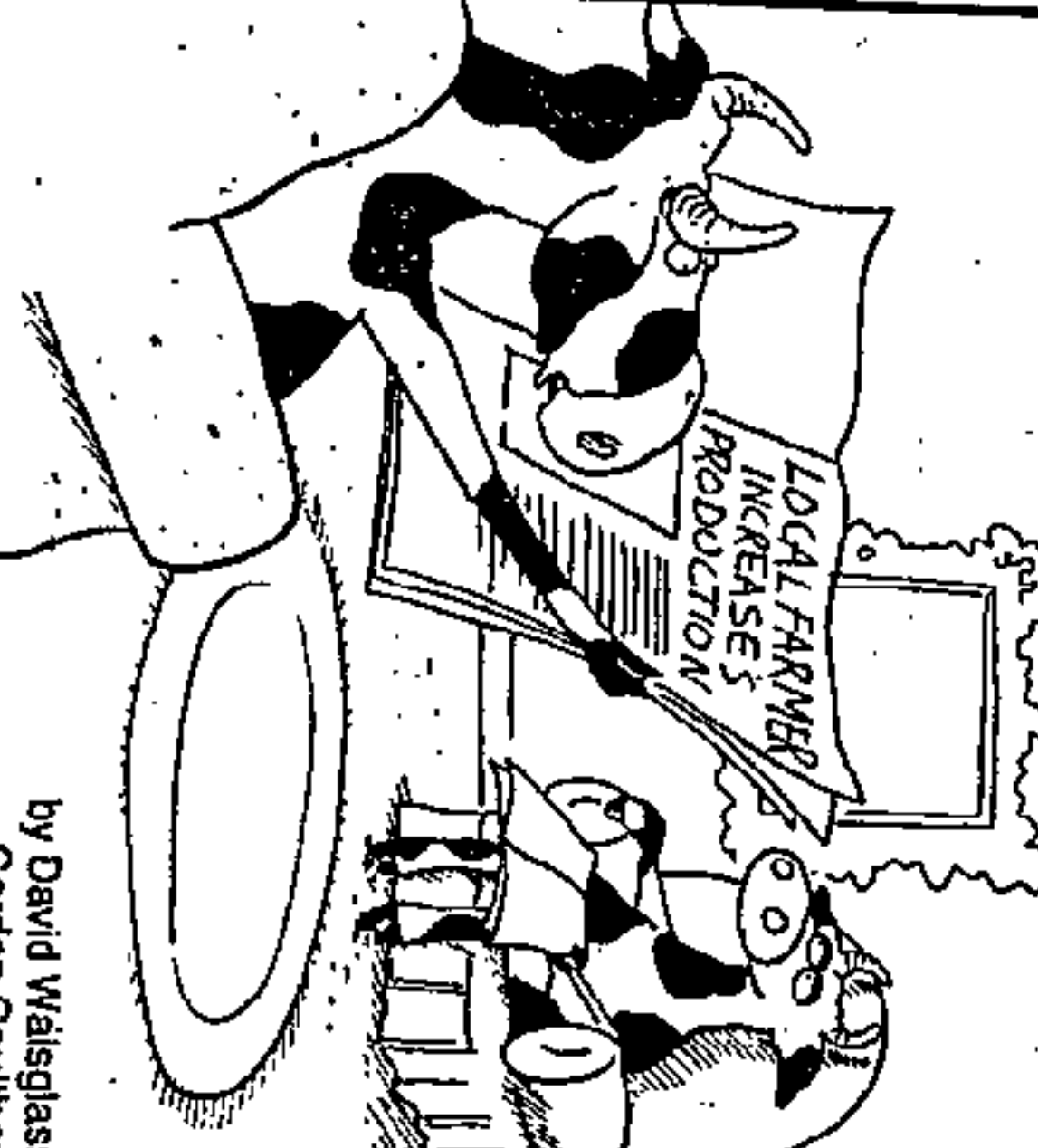
Min	Max	Min	Max	Min	Max	Min	Max
Amsterdam	4 15	Brussels	6 17	Paris	6 18	Pretoria	13 27
Athens	14 23	Cairo	14 25	Perth	11 17	Krugersdorp	10 25
Auckland	14 19	Chicago	7 21	Rome	12 22	Benoni	12 21
Barcelona	24 31	Geneva	12 18	Sydney	12 20	Cape Town	13 16
Bombay	10 19	Lisbon	12 18	Taipei	22 31	East London	13 21
Bellevue	13 18	London	5 14	Tel Aviv	15 25		
Berlin	8 13	New York	16 20	Tokyo	13 22		

TEMPERATURES WORLDWIDE

Min	Max	Min	Max	Min	Max	Min	Max
Johannesburg	10 23	Vereeniging	9 24	Kimberley	12 28	Upington	13 29
Pietermaritzburg	12 28	Port Elizabeth	13 28	Beaufort West	12 23	Matrusburg	12 19
Durban	18 22						

Weather forecasts for the PWV area are available on an automatic answering service. The number is (012) 219621.

Farcus



by David Walsglass
Gordon Coulthart

'Say, here's a place that might be hiring.'

'Cop out' answers to MP's questions

Star 7/5/93

(304A)

(121)

By Chris Whitfield
Political Correspondent

CAPE TOWN — The Government was covering up corruption in some of the self-governing territories, the Democratic Party charged yesterday.

DP MP for Johannesburg North Peter Soal said a response to questions tabled by him on "Christmas bonuses", the purchase of cars and other perks for Cabinet members in the territories was a "cop-out".

Autonomy

Regional and Land Affairs Minister Andre Fourie had replied that information on "bonuses, allowances, policy and procedures with regard to the vehicles" was not readily available. He said the self-governing territories had autonomy over the issues raised in the questions and "I suggest you approach the Chief Ministers".

An angry Soal last night said: "I know they (the Government) have some of the information. I

know a number of the homelands gave themselves substantial Christmas bonuses. There were also irregularities in the selling of cars."

Soal said he believed Fourie had "chosen not to answer the question properly because the public is angry about corruption scandals".

Fourie, in his written reply, said that "from what I could establish motor vehicles for official use in the self-governing territories ... were purchased by means of government contracts, tender and under the motor vehicle financing scheme."

"In most of the self-governing territories motor vehicles were sold on public auction or by tender to the public after an approved amount of kilometres and on recommendation of a board of survey."

Soal said the response was a "dreadful indictment of the Government, because what it means is that Parliament has no control over its money".

Rightwing 'dog' bares its fangs

W. Mail 7/5/79 13/5/79
Weekly Mail Correspondent

THE men who shot up East London's Highgate Hotel last Saturday night chose their target shrewdly. The rather shabby public house, situated on the city's conservative fringe, has become a rallying symbol for the right.

Throughout last Sunday, residents of Cambridge and surrounding blue-collar suburbs flocked to the cordoned-off hotel to ogle and to mutter darkly together. The mood was ugly, and several minor "racial incidents" took place.

A building contractor and "ex-Nat supporter", William Leach, painted on his car an exhortation to President FW de Klerk to resign and "let loose the security forces". The gesture was applauded by passers-by, some of whom stopped to shake his hand and let off steam.

Sim Slabbert calls himself the Afrikaner Weerstandsbeweging's "southern regional commander" (the region comprising the entire Cape

Province, southern Natal and the Free State). This week he acknowledged that East London had become a focal point in "the struggle", and that the AWB was paying the city special attention. (304A) (ZEF)

"Because it's stuck between Ciskei and Transkei, East London has become like a bone being fought over by two dogs. But a third dog will come and run away with it."

The AWB intends being that third, victorious dog. The movement boasts more than 400 trained commando members in the city, most of whom are said to be past or current police and South African Defence Force members.

The chairman of the East London branch of the Conservative Party, Gavin Young, believes the hotel attack will blow new life into the embers of CP support in the city. "After the referendum (on reform last March), our people were less active, less fiery — but now they are coming back." — Ecna

Mass of seething khaki gives lonely Deputy Minister hell

By Paul Bell

The loneliest man at yesterday's "boere saamtrek" in Potchefstroom was Deputy Agriculture Minister Tobie Meyer: the farmers thanked him for coming — and then gave him hell.

He left there a worried man, the jeers and threats of 6 000 angry farmers still ringing in his ears. Today he must return to Cape Town with a message for the Government that the remaining restraints on a now dangerously militant white Right in the Free State and Transvaal may be slipping away.

To the demand by former SADF chief General Constand Viljoen — who received a rousing reception from these increasingly embattled people — that the Government halt negotiations to force the Patriotic Front to control its armies, he could only reply that this was impossible.

To the farmers' howling criticism of the Government's agricultural relief programmes, he could only say that he had listened



Calling a spade a spade . . . a farmer carries the real thing to make his point.

carefully and would convey their distress to the Government.

No one would have been bold enough to say publicly what he claimed in an aside later: that spokesmen for the farmers had misrepresented the situation. Indeed, there was little that he was allowed to say publicly anyway. He was barely allowed

to speak, and even then, the farmers soon booed him back to his seat — after he had stood for several minutes in the teeth of a barracking that would have defied a tank.

And to their angry defiance of a future under ANC rule, not to mention their threats of death to any person foolish enough to try to occupy a white school in the platteland, Meyer could only listen, wan and impassive, and stare unseeing at the mass of seething khaki in the grandstand of the Olën Park stadium.

Dignity demanded that he not react to the taunts of the crowd: but at the end of it all he was clearly drained. He conceded, when asked, that it was "all very difficult".

These, after all, were his people — or had been. He might have been forgiven for wondering how in God's name it had come to this.

On the other hand, as Viljoen said of the murder of farmers, there was nothing here that was new to the history of Afrikanerdom. Rebellion, schism, death, secession: all have had their place

Poll date could be announced on June 2

Star 7/5/93
(304A)

By Chris Whitfield
Kaizer Nyatumba
and Michael Sparks

CAPE TOWN — South Africa could know on June 2 when the country will go to the polls in its first democratic elections.

The Government believes that a negotiating forum meeting scheduled for that date — which will follow an intense month of talks — may be in a position to ratify an agreement on an election date.

Constitutional Development Service communications chief Marius Kleynhans said yesterday: "The forum on June 2 could set the election date."

And ANC secretary-general Cyril Ramaphosa said the process was poised to produce positive, dramatic results in the next "few days".

It was critical for the credibility of the process that a "complete time frame" and election date be agreed by the end of this month, said Rama-

phosa.

However, some tough hurdles have to be overcome. Negotiators are bracing themselves for a showdown at the World Trade Centre today, where the 104-member negotiating council will grapple with a declaration of intent which seeks to speed up the process and ensure the holding of the election by April next year.

The declaration, which would commit all parties to ensuring "the exact date" for the election is agreed within five weeks, will be the first item on the agenda of today's talks.

It will be opposed by the Inkatha Freedom Party and its Cosag partners. IFP national chairman Dr Frank Mdlalose said the declaration was "not what we want".

Yesterday he also rejected the setting of deadlines for agreement — saying the same approach had scuppered the Codesa negotiating forum.

Mdlalose yesterday refused to be drawn on whether the IFP would accept having its controversial document on violence referred to a technical commit-

tee.

On June 2 the negotiating forum is scheduled to meet, review progress and ratify agreements following an intense month-long session of talks involving the negotiations council, planning committee and technical committees.

It is proposed that the technical committees would begin their work on Monday with a view to presenting documents to the planning committee on May 14.

The committees will deal with: the independent elections commission, the independent media commission and independent telecommunications authority, the amendment or repeal of legislation impeding free political activity, the transitional executive council and its subcouncils, and violence.

A technical committee on constitutional affairs has been approved in principle but there will be discussion today on its "brief".

The establishing of another committee on "the peace corps" could also be discussed today.

German neo-Nazi gets funds from SA

By STEPHEN LAUFER

W/M and M/S-13/5/93 (244) 304A
A GERMAN neo-Nazi with links to the organisation paying the legal costs of Chris Hani's alleged assassin, Janus Waluz, has told undercover investigators that he is receiving major funding from South Africa.

The man, Manfred Roeder, has convictions for violent crimes against foreigners in Germany. His name appears on a list of international connections of the World Apartheid Movement, which is picking up the tab for Waluz's lawyers. Roeder visited South Africa early this year.

According to Shimon Samuels, a director of the Simon Wiesenthal Centre, Roeder told journalist Yaron Svoray that he received "between \$30 000 and \$60 000 monthly from sympathisers in South Africa".

The centre tracks Nazis and neo-Nazis worldwide. Samuels was in South Africa this week on a lecture tour. He described Svoray's six-month "sting operation" which exposed links between neo-Nazi organisations in Germany and other countries.

Roeder was sentenced to 13

years' imprisonment in 1982 for his leading role in the bombing of refugee hostels in which two Vietnamese died. He was released in 1990, and soon returned to active neo-Nazi politics.

Roeder arrived in South Africa on January 30 last year for his first visit in 18 years. In an article on his trip which appeared in *Scheinwerfer* (*Spotlight*), an ultra-rightist organ published in Bavaria, he reported having met "two of the leading Boer generals" organising opposition to a negotiated settlement.

In his article, Roeder attacked the negotiations process and hailed Chief Mangosuthu Buthelezi and Inkatha as a "strong force, much stronger than the ANC and Nelson Mandela". He also lavished praise on Ciskei's Brigadier Oupa Gqozo.

Roeder reports having seen Mandela at Jan Smuts airport: "He was dragging himself along, an old and sick man. He has cancer and can hardly walk. The airport was humming with crowds of people, but not one person would take notice of Mandela, nobody looked at him. He has outlived his time."

w/m and 7/5-13/5/93

An 'ou oom may conceal CP conflict

By CHRIS LOUW (2044)

THE spirit of Dr Andries Treurnicht, who had a reputation of skilfully dodging tough decisions, may prove to be alive and well when the Conservative Party chooses its deputy leader next weekend.

The choice is between reactionary Schalk Pienaar, MP for Potgietersrus, and the more moderate Dr Pieter Mulder, MP for Randfontein. Although these two are the strongest contenders, chances are that a compromise candidate may be chosen to act as deputy to Dr Ferdi Hartzenberg, who is sure to be elected the new leader of the party following Treurnicht's death.

Talk in parliament has it that one of the "ou ooms" may be elected to "keep the chair warm" until the conflict within the party has been resolved.

Mulder's political approach is closer to that of the Afrikaner Volksunie, which has rejected apartheid and is campaigning for a federal system which will allow Afrikaners some form of autonomy. They are prepared to find a solution through negotiations. Pienaar is a rightwing hardliner who has little sympathy with negotiations. In speeches, he often threatens armed resistance to a black majority government.

CP leaders fear the election of either one could lead to further polarisation or even a split.

Although Hartzenberg is also a hardliner, it is accepted that the choice of deputy leader will influence the likely direction the party will take—that of moderation or of growing militancy.

Names mentioned as compromise candidates include Frank le Roux, MP for Brakpan, and Jan Hoon, MP for Kuruman. Both enjoy the respect of party members, although they are not seen as politically astute enough to lead the CP in the long term.

Another candidate is Andrew Gerber, MP for Brits. Gerber is an old-style gentleman who would bring dignity to the leadership of a party torn by internal tensions. But observers believe he lacks understanding of the "new politics" in the country.

Govt wants poll date by June

CT 1/5/13

By ANTHONY JOHNSON

Date would

THE government hopes that a date for

JOHANNESBURG. — South Africa's first non-racial election will be announced by negotiating par-

The planning committee organising any savings point. The ANC official added the setting of an election date within the next

progress made by the 26-member negotiating forum of try's people that a solu-

seven technical committees charged the violence gripping with generating pro-

"If we can make progress on the con-

A declaration of intent which negotiating parties committed themselves to express the hope that the negotiation process would "move

The brief of the committees includes drafting proposals on the following issues:

- The form of state (federal or unitary) and the details surrounding a constitution-making body after an election.
- Fundamental human rights during the transition.
- Violence, including the strengthening of the National Peace Accord.
- The Independent Election Commission.
- The Independent Media Commission.
- The repeal of repressive legislation.
- The Transitional Executive Council.



ANGRY FARMER ... A farmer waves a South African flag and voices his disapproval at a meeting to protest against the negotiation process in Potchefstroom yesterday.

'We won't be ruled by ANC'

Own Correspondent

POTCHEFSTROOM. — Thousands of militant farmers and right-wingers yesterday gave the government an ultimatum: "We will not be governed by the ANC."

At a meeting at Potchefstroom's Olen Park rugby stadium, between 7 000 and 12 000 farmers vowed to "wage war" on the ANC and the PAC.

During an Agenda programme on SABC last night, Dr Piet Gouwus, chairman of the OFS Agricultural Union, said "the bottom line" was that farmers would refuse to be governed by the ANC.

FARMERS 'NOT A POWER-BASE FOR GOVT NOW'
See PAGE 2

The Potchefstroom meeting overwhelmingly accepted a four-point ultimatum stating:

● Farmers, although Christian and peace-loving, will not be governed by the ANC.

● The next farmer killed as a result of calls by ANC and PAC leaders will be a declaration of war — and we will defend ourselves with everything in our power.

● The proposed occupation of white schools in rural areas by black radicals will not take place — "even if blood has to be shed."

● Every farmer should join a local SADF commando immediately, but withdraw if the ANC or PAC obtained joint control of the security forces.

Addressing the meeting, which was arranged by the Agricultural Unions of the Transvaal and Free State, former Defence Force chief, General Constand Viljoen, said the negotiation process should be stopped and parties should return to the drawing board.

A call by Transvaal Agricultural Union and Mynwerkersunie officials for Gen Viljoen to lead the farmers was warmly endorsed by the audience.

Gen Viljoen said "terrorists" allowed to enter South Africa were making homesteads unsafe and could not be tolerated any longer.

There should be urgent political action to prevent security from drastically deteriorating over the next six months, he said.

He also warned farmers to prepare themselves because "many farmers will be shot dead" before the problem was solved.

But he added that the struggle could only be won by politicians, and farmers should become politically involved before they took the "big and unpleasant decision of moving on to an armed struggle."

Deputy Agriculture Minister Mr Tobie Meyer, the government's sole representative at the gathering, was jeered when he spoke — as was SA Agricultural Union president Mr Boet Fourie, who was accused of promising on labour legislation.

Gen Viljoen said the deteriorating security situation was the result of government not resisting the ANC in the military field.

He called for a halt to the multi-party negotiations and a return to the situation that pertained at the time the D.F. Malan Accord was signed.

A spokesman for Bôgrefkristakste, Mr Leonard Venter, warned that if the government did not provide financial relief for farmers, farmers might consider withdrawing food supplies from the market.

● The government would not capitulate in the face of violence and threats, the Transvaal leader of the National Party, Mr Fik Botha, said last night, reports Cape Times Political Correspondent ANTHONY JOHNSON.

"Threats of mass action and taking the law into one's own hands will not contribute towards a peaceful solution for our country," Mr Botha said in a statement.

ANC president Mr Nelson Mandela sees the ugly face of racial violence in Britain. — PAGE 2

Rates revaluation

A general revaluation of all properties within the Cape Town municipality will be implemented from July 1. — PAGE 3

Warning for WP

Former Springbok wing Kobus Burger warns that Western Province would continue losing young talent and top players. — PAGE 3

BRITISH SOCCER BONANZA FOR CITY
— BACK PAGE

City best for games

The 2004 Olympic Games should be held nowhere other than Cape Town. — PAGE 7

Top performer

Nedcor reinforced the banking sector's status as a top performer on the JSE. — PAGE 11

Rising optimism

Manufacturers in the Western Cape — who were the most pessimistic in the country in March — have now become the most optimistic. — PAGE 11

Debt warning

South Africa needed a restructuring of government finance to ensure the country did not fall into a debt trap. — PAGE 14

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Threat of secession at defiant meeting of white rightwingers

Star 7/5/93

Farmers reject ANC rule

By Paul Bell

White farmers in the Free State and Transvaal yesterday threw down a secessionist gauntlet to both the Government and the ANC, saying "the world should finally accept" that the Afrikaner volk would not be ruled by the ANC.

This was the bottom line of a series of demands by a rapidly coalescing unity movement on the white Right, calculated to slow down the negotiations process and build pressure there for a volkstaat.

The meeting, at Potchefstroom's Olden Park rugby stadium, was also a prelude to announcements expected in Pretoria today by the Committee of Generals, who have taken charge of co-ordinating strategy towards this objective.

Addressing a crowd of about 8 000 farmers yesterday (other estimates ranged from 8 000 to 15 000), committee chairman General Constand Viljoen, ex-chief of the SADF, called on the Government to stop negotiations in order to pressure the ANC and PAC into regaining control over their armed forces.

"There are those who call for centralised control over the security forces in order to stop the violence," he said. "I have never heard such stupidity in all my life."

He also said he expected more farmers to be killed in the next six months as the negotiations intensified.

Transvaal National Party leader Pk Botha last night hit back at the farmers, saying "the Government will not capitulate before violence and threats", Chris Whitfield reports.

"Threats of mass action and taking the law into one's hands will not contribute towards a peaceful solution for our country." He also warned of racial polarisation, saying balanced decisions and actions must be taken. "It should be remembered that all South Africans, black and white, suffered because of violence and intimidation," Botha said.

In Potchefstroom, the farmers also gave roaring approval to three "ultimatums" on their security:

- Any attempt by black political organisations to mount protest occupations of platteland schools would be met with force. Addressing himself to "black radicals", Free State Agricultural Union president and CP MP for Parys, Dr Piet Gous, shouted: "You will die if you try to take over white schools."

- Immediately the ANC and PAC were given co-responsibility

● To Page 3

Defiant farmers say no to ANC rule

● From Page 1

bility with the Government for the security forces, right-wing Afrikaners would be called on to withdraw from their local commandos and from all arms of the police and defence forces. ● The murder of one more white farmer would be regarded as an act of war by the ANC and PAC, and farmers would respond by defending themselves with all the means at their disposal. To this were allied calls for a rural curfew and hot-pursuit raids into black townships.

Gous summed up the mood and objectives of the white Right by saying that while the ANC was presented to them on all sides as a moderate organisation, this was merely an attempt to pull the wool over the

eyes of Afrikaners. "Therefore I say to the world, the Boer — as a Christian and a peace-loving person — will not be governed by the ANC. Please accept that as final."

Viljoen warned the Government that there would be trouble if the security forces were brought under joint command before the settlement and introduction of a new constitution. He said violence was being directed against whites and farmers because negotiations had reached a critical stage in determining the future form of the State. Those behind it were trying to scare the negotiators.

Viljoen said the security forces had been set an almost impossible task as a result of the Government's decision to allow communists to operate freely in South Africa, and

called on the farmers to support the security forces. "If we don't, who will?" he asked.

Earlier in the day, farmers vowed to disregard the new labour laws that have been extended to farmworkers, and demanded that their leaders refuse even to negotiate the question with the Government.

South African Agricultural Union president Boet Fourie, whom the farmers blame for not representing their views properly to the Government, was loudly booed by the crowd and denied an opportunity to speak.

The farmers also demanded a five-year moratorium on interest payments on farm debt, bans and tariffs on agricultural imports, and the lifting of VAT on red meat.

Right price for tea party

By IAN CLAYTON

THE government has admitted that Marike de Klerk's controversial Atlantis "tea party" in March cost at least R3 873 in public funds — somewhat more than the R13 petrol money claimed by President FW de Klerk.

The chairman of the Ministers' Council in the House of Representatives, Jac Rabie, said this week the Department of Education and Culture in his administration had spent R2 706 on the printing and mailing of written invitations and R1 166,66 on catering. In reply to a question tabled in parliament by the Labour Party's Michael Hendrickse, Rabie said the House of Representatives had not incurred any expenditure on the printing of pamphlets, the transportation of guests or security arrangements. WIMad 7/5-13/5/93

The National Party MP for Mamre, Abe Williams, whose constituency includes Atlantis, was the key figure behind De Klerk's visit to the township. Now the Minister of Sport, Williams was Minister of Education and Culture in the House of Representatives at the time of the visit.

When Democratic Party MP Jasper Walsh questioned De Klerk in parliament about the visit, he said the "direct cost to the state" was R13 for petrol, but if wear and tear was estimated, "the total cost to the state is R276,16".

Quoting leaked documents, *The Weekly Mail* later reported that the House of Representatives had paid a total of R9 232,30 for the visit. While Rabie's estimate is lower than this figure, which was based on a copy of a receipt, the amounts for the invitations was identical — R2 706.

Thunder on the right

*W/mael 7/5-13/5/93
The rightwing took advantage
of a meeting of farmers to
mobilise support.*

By **JAN TALJAARD**
and Sapa

IN the first real manifestation of the rightwing's *volksmobilisasie* (people's mobilisation), more than 8 000 farmers and sympathisers from the white Mineworkers Union gathered for a tumultuous protest rally yesterday in Potchefstroom.

The meeting, at Olen Park Stadium, focused on farmers' grievances, notably legislation extending basic rights to farm labourers and the financial plight of the agricultural sector.

The mood was martial: there were threats of a producer strike by farmers, of countrywide disruption of cities as happened in Pretoria last year, and a resolution that the new labour legislation would be defied.

Deputy Agriculture Minister Tobie Fourie was shouted down when he tried to speak. Farmers jeered when they heard that the ministers of justice, law and order and defence had declined invitations to attend. (304A)

Although organised by the Transvaal and Free State Agricultural Unions for farmers, the meeting had a much broader political importance. Initially addressing farmers' issues, it became increasingly politicised.

Earlier this week acting Conservative Party leader Ferdi Hartzenberg said the activation of the right, which had started with the CP, had grown to become a people's movement, and that 18 different interest groups were being mobilised, including agriculture.

Significantly, the guest of honour was former South African Defence Force chief General Constand Viljoen, whose address on security matters was given a standing ovation. Viljoen is a central figure in the recently formed Committee of Generals (CoG), whose aim is to unify the right and harness it to the aim of creating an Afrikaner volkstaat, if necessary through extra-parliamentary resistance.

The CoG has sent documents to all major parties of the right, asking for their support. So far, the Herstigte Nasionale Party and the Afrikaner Weerstandsbeweging have declined to commit themselves.

Also present at the rally were sever-



No to change ... A gathering in Potchefstroom attracted at least 8 000 rightwingers Photo: KEVIN CARTER

al members of the Volkseenheidskomitee which gave birth to the CoG. They included Jan Groenewald, brother of former military intelligence boss General Tienie Groenewald and another key member of the CoG; former CID chief General Cobus Visser, also of the CoG; boerestaats planner Koos Reynecke; and Afrikaner Volkstaat Stigting head Professor Carel Boshoff.

Viljoen was loudly cheered when he called for the suspension of negotiations as a remedy for the country's violence. The daily murder of farmers could not be tolerated, and commanders of private armies such as Umkhonto weSizwe and Apla had to ensure control over their militias.

Joint control of the security forces before a new constitution was agreed to was "crass stupidity", he added, as this would mean the forces would fall under the control of communists.

Viljoen also said that while Afrikaners had been content to leave politics to "a group of people sitting on the green benches of parliament", the time had now come for them to unite and become politically active once more.

Afrikaner unity could bring a solution without the need for the "great and

unpleasant" step of armed struggle.

Transvaal Agricultural Union president Dries Bruwer said there would be no negotiated settlement in South Africa without farmers' co-operation.

Referring to the "unnecessary" new labour dispensation, he said: "Farmers have no choice but to disobey the law when a disloyal government wants to force it on them."

Decisions were taken that the labour law would not be accepted, farmworkers' strikes would not be tolerated and the agricultural minister would have to bear the consequences of farmers' reactions if strikes occurred.

Leonard Venter of the Aksie said farmers would refuse to serve under a black majority government. He referred to the financial woes of farmers, and specifically their R21-billion debt burden, and warned that if the government refused to give them financial assistance "we will remove food from the shelves". If this failed, South African cities would be besieged by farmers.

Demands included a moratorium on the liquidation of farms, a five-year freeze on interest rates, tariff protection and the dropping of VAT on red meat.

Down to

Pressure mounts as negotiators approach election date deadline

PRESSURE is mounting on negotiators in multiparty talks as the deadline for reaching agreement on an election date and the council approaches.

The deadline, imposed by government and the ANC, is three weeks away and that time only 24 hours of negotiating time have been allocated. After today's meeting the negotiating council, the primary de-bate forum, meets again on May 18.

The past two weeks of talks have achieved little apart from procedural progress and proposals for setting up technical committees.

However, both government and the ANC are optimistic about an imminent breakthrough. Development Minister Roelf Meyer said in Parliament they were "on the threshold of a breakthrough", while ANC secretary-general Cyril Ramaphosa said the process was "poised to achieve a dramatic positive result".

Our political staff reports from Cape Town that government hopes an election date will be announced by negotiating parties by June 2 — the date set by the planning committee for the next major review of progress by the technical committees.

"If we can make progress on the constitutional questions and we can reach some agreement on ways to curb violence, we could have a definite election date by June 2," government spokesman Marius Kieynhans said.

ALAN FINE reports that Ramaphosa said yesterday that if a political settlement was not achieved by the end of May, all could be lost. Speaking at the launch of the ORT Science and Technology Project

BILLY PADDOCK

at Halfway House, he said the ANC had attempted to harness the anger following Chris Hani's assassination. But these efforts had to be tied to a time frame.

SACP chairman Joe Slovo said it appeared that both groups were now aiming to make a psychological breakthrough and get a firm decision on an election date. "Side and the world that we are on the people out. Setting an election date would also help the process pick up momentum."

There was not much chance of reaching a detailed agreement by the deadline but that was not the ANC's demand. "If we look at the deadline to get broad agreements on key issues together then it is attainable. But that is only if we stop the shadow box-ing and all parties act with a measure of goodwill."

Key issues were agreement on the election date, constitutional principles and a transitional constitution. Slovo said the technical committees expected to be set up today, already had standing instruction to complete business by May 18. This meant they would have essential draft legislation on the issues for the negotiating council on the

Star 11/5/93
A speech by Deputy Minister of Constitutional Development Fanus Schoeman, in which he spelt out the functions of the proposed transitional executive council, reinforced the impression that a deal had been struck between the Government and the ANC, Colin Eglin (DP Sea Point) said yesterday.

Speaking during debate on the Constitutional Development budget vote, he said the DP believed negotiations should not be reduced to "a rubber-stamp operation for the big boys in South African politics".

— Sapa (304A)

Star 115195
al Development vote, he
said any decision on the
volkstaat borders would
have to be preceded by
extensive consultation at
grassroots level. 3000)

The CP recognised the
right of those who fa-
voured a unitary or a
federal state, but also
demanded recognition
for its claim to self-
determination within a
confederal system.

AFTER a day spent listening to his colleagues arguing themselves into the ground over minor procedural matters, South African Communist Party chairman Joe Slovo attempted to inject a note of urgency into the multi-party talks last Friday.

Speaking in favour of a resolution to move quickly to set a date for elections, he said: "We need to send a clear signal to the South African people that the new dawn is in sight."

After three years of negotiations, Slovo said, many people were feeling that "we are fiddling while the country burns". It was an impassioned speech that roused the bored and dwindling band of journalists into reaching for their pens.

Whereupon Ken Andrew, of the Democratic Party, responded that while his party supported the resolution, they had planes to catch. He moved that the matter be held over for a week until the next meeting of the negotiating council.

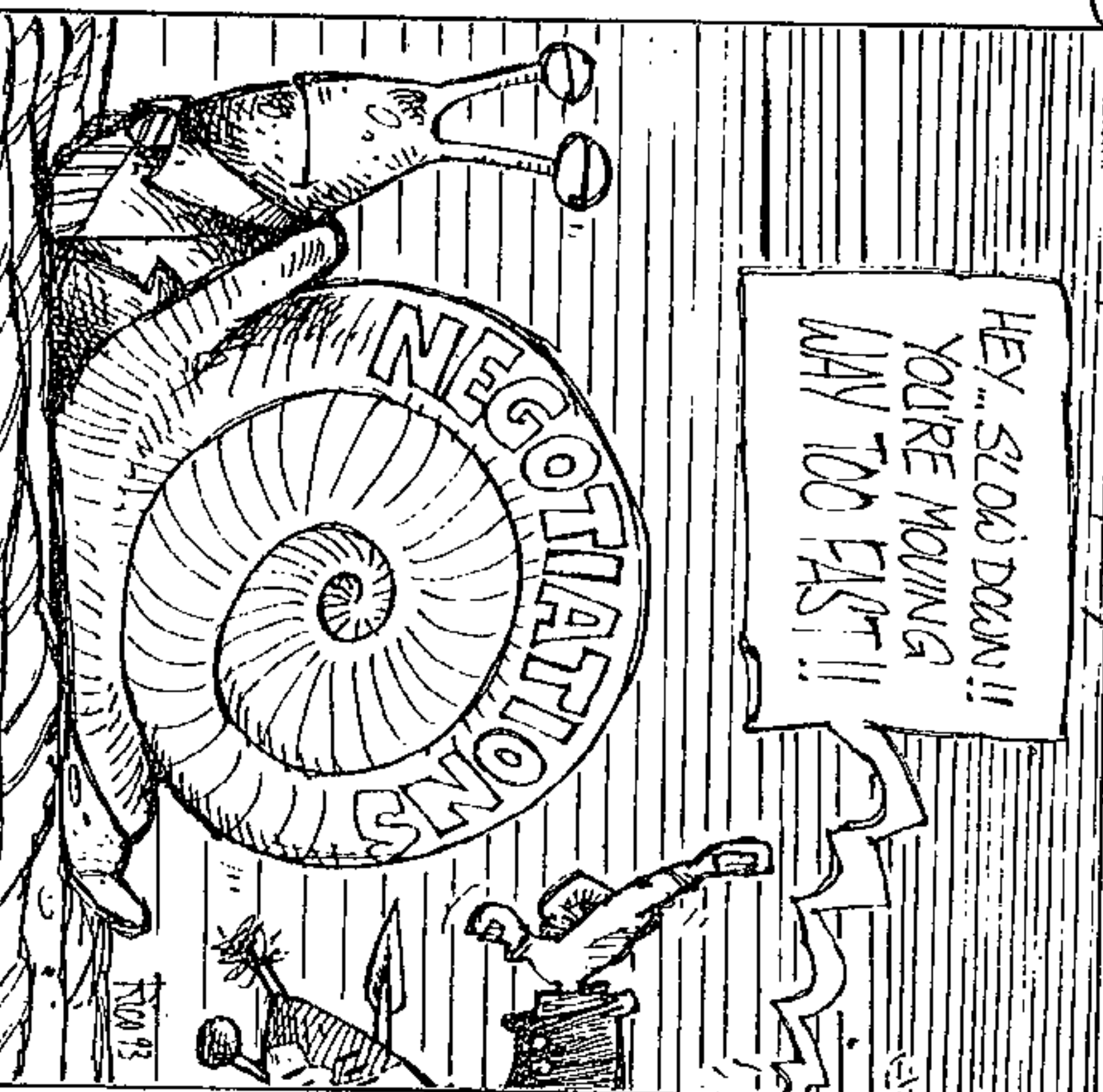
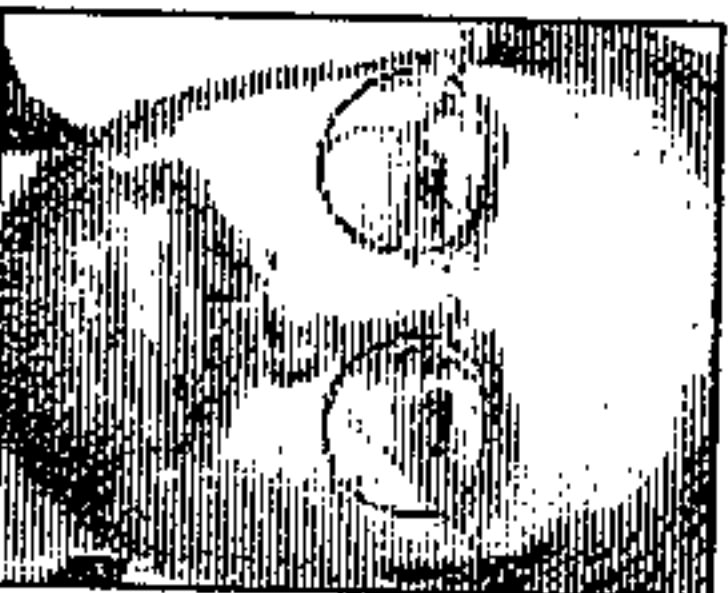
Thus Slovo's plea to "lift the spirits" of South Africa by taking a firm step forward fell almost farcically on deaf ears. The founding fathers of the new South Africa packed their briefcases and went home, having failed once again to dispel the notion of the negotiations as an endless succession of meetings and memos, delays and press conferences, incomprehensible and irrelevant to ordinary South Africans.

Friday's proceedings were held up by Inkatha Freedom Party national chairman Frank Mdlalose's dogged

Briefcase brigade boards planes while SA burns

The Inkatha Freedom Party and the rightwing are hell-bent on delaying elections while thugs mow down people in bars and kill policemen. The only solution is to set an election date and get the Transitional Executive Council up and running

By
PHILLIP
VAN
NIEKERK



until MK, used interchangeably with "violence", is disbanded. Mdlalose was not alone in filibuster-

South Africa where the white man can rule over himself. They collapse like cards in the face of the reality that

agents. But the right have no alternative vision, only a gut racism that takes

Federalism might be the answer. No option can be ruled out. That is what negotiations are for: to devise the best system possible for competent administration, for development, for community life, for redistribution between rich and poor regions, for bringing government closer to the people, for building a nation, for avoiding conflict.

That is why a technical committee has been set up to deal with all the interrelated questions of constitutional principles — in an atmosphere of calm and rational debate about the principles that should guide a new South Africa.

Here the boerestaters can unveil their maps on overhead projectors, Inkatha can argue for what IFP delegate Joe Mathews calls their "bottoms up" approach, and Ciskei's Oupa Gqozo can say why he thinks the homeland ought to exist.

But the IFP has sought to block the nitty-gritty encounters where detail is discussed, preferring to wage ideologically charged debates about whether South Africa should be a federal or a unitary state.

The IFP's Walter Fellgate said it again this week: "We cannot even put the negotiations process underway until the form of state has been sorted out."

The similarity between the IFP and the rightwing is that both are hell-bent on delaying an election as long as possible, if not forever. That is understandable: the Research Surveys poll last year found that the combined Cosag vote would be in the order of

insistence that he read it. It is entirely a long statement accusing the African National Congress and the government of collusion in violence against the IFP.

Everyone present had already had four days to read the statement and one was left with the inescapable impression that Mdlaose was under strict orders from his boss, Mangosuthu Buthelezi, not even to think of reporting back that he hadn't read the whole document into the record.

In the end he didn't; the matter was referred to a technical sub-committee set up to deal with the entire question of violence.

The logic is clear. Umkhonto weSizwe is not the only "private army" in this country, the IFP not the only party whose leaders have been assassinated, the Conservative Party not the only group whose public representatives stand accused of murder.

Yet the IFP, with breathtaking one-eyedness, persisted again this week in trying to block constitutional talks

ing. The C.P.'s Mangosuthu Buthelezi wears an expression of enduring disgust at finding himself at the multi-party talks, sourly nit-picked his way through Friday's session.

Yet just to label the Concerned South African Group (Cosag) spoilers will not make them go away. They claim that all they are trying to prevent is the ANC and the National Party trading through a high-handed deal.

The problem needs to be put another way. If we accept that the multi-party negotiations are essentially about finding a route to democracy in South Africa which meets the white minority's fears of black domination, what does Cosag propose?

The right insist that self-determination and a boerestaat must form part of a settlement, and their committee of generals is implicitly threatening war if it isn't.

The problem is knowing which boerestaat. At last count there were about a dozen versions from a plethora of parties and institutions, pseudo-scientific slabs at carving out a piece of

nowhere in South Africa are whites in a majority.

Retired military intelligence general Tienie Groenewald has threatened a white breakaway state within months, but he has not even revealed where this phantom country comprising 16 per cent of South Africa and where, he claims, whites are in the majority, is located. Is it the Kruger Park?

What happens, then, if the talks fail to deliver what the white right wants because rational debate reveals it is racist in intent and nutty in content? Are these left-over securocrats from the PW Botha era capable of following the footsteps of the great Boer generals, De Wet and De la Rey? Do they have an army?

My guess is that the rightwing will be able to mobilise a lot of people around the emotional issues of self-defence, murders of farmers and threats to kill the boers. Winnie Mandela, Peter Mokaba, Tony Yengeni and Apla, take a bow! You are the right's most effective recruitment

item nowhere. Where are these brave people who will risk their pensions, their families, their farms, their middle-class lifestyles, and go to war for the pipe dream of a boerestaat?

Hendrik Verwoerd, junior, has been exhorting people for more than a decade to come to Morgenron to exercise white self-determination. At last count he had attracted about two dozen families, engaged in a grim pioneer struggle to survive without their servants. A few hundred more have grown beards and donned veldskoene to help Carel Boshoff make the desert bloom in Orania.

The generals are clearly kicking up a lot of dust to enforce their demands at the negotiations, while helping the IFP block the technical committees set up to consider constitutional principles, including the viability of a boerestaat.

The IFP at least has a plan — the kwaNatal constitution, which was released amid much fanfare last year and proposes a federal or confederal constitution for South Africa.

1.1 percent.

There are flaws and still major differences in the route that the NP, the ANC and the majority of parties at the multi-party talks are proposing. No compromise is perfect. But at least it meets the tough task of balancing black aspirations with white fears.

After three years of talks, it is time to acknowledge that South Africa has only one option and not a lot of time.

Up to now the overriding concern at the multi-party talks has been simply getting everybody on board.

But if the price we are to pay for keeping them on is negotiations stretching into infinity and appeasement of anti-democratic parties, then the major parties need to ask those parties to choose whether they want to stay in or go out.

The government has to decide whether to continue to hand the IFP a veto by insisting, as Roelf Meyer did on Sunday, that, come what may, the IFP must be part of the process.

At the end of the day, South Africa is badly in need of direction. Whites are flooding out of the country. Many townships are becoming ungovernable again. Black schools are collapsing in chaos. There is little confidence on the ground that the talks will produce anything worthwhile.

Perhaps setting an election date will not convince the young thugs who mow down ordinary people drinking in bars or who ambush police in Soweto that the armed struggle is past. But it will remove any shred of moral justification for their acts of terror.

The crunch is coming. Technical committees, scheduled to get underway next week, will tackle the hardest work of negotiations. The unflapably optimistic ANC secretary general, Cyril Ramaphosa, says he expects them to sit 16 to 20 hours a day, and to start producing results in a matter of weeks.

In that scenario, the Transitional Executive Council, the multi-party body that will share in the governing of South Africa during the election campaign, ought to be up and running by June.

That, and an election date, ought to begin the process of restoring

Star 7/18/43
The Conservative Party
was prepared to put
forward concrete propos-
als on the borders for its
proposed volkstaat once
the principle of self-
determination had been
accepted by the multi-
party negotiating forum,
CP acting leader Dr
Ferdinand Hartzenberg said
yesterday. (304A)
Speaking during de-
bate on the Constitution.

R93m spent, but not authorised

Political Staff

204A

CAPE TOWN — a major capital project estimated to cost R38m was never approved by the Cabinet and ended up costing R93m, Parliament's joint committee on public accounts said yesterday.

Tabling its second report in Parliament, the committee expressed its concern at the erection of a computer centre at Brakfontein in Verwoerdburg for the Commission for Administration without formal Cabinet approval. *R10M 7/5/93.*

It had been approved in principle "probably by the state security council" as "no formal approval by Cabinet could be submitted for scrutiny to the auditor-general or the committee".

"However, on the assumption that the approval in question, by whomsoever, was granted on the strength of an extremely rough estimate of R38m, that was based on another building and that was expected to escalate to R45m on completion, the committee recommends that in future Cabinet approvals not be sought or granted on so loose a basis in terms of size, shape and cost," the report said.

It added that initial approvals should be submitted "regularly" to the Cabinet or another decision-maker for review.

"The final escalated cost of some R93m was in line with Treasury norms and costs, although difficult to justify in terms of the scaled-down utilisation of the building at present".

It recommended the amount be accepted as legitimate.

Can oil talks, says general

Right wing threatens to strike back

POTCHEFSTROOM — Militant right-wingers yesterday vowed to wage war against the ANC and the PAC unless a series of ultimatums was met.

A gathering of about 7 000 farmers and other right-wingers, united in their opposition to government, overwhelmingly endorsed the demands that:

□ Farmers, although Christian and peace-loving, would not be governed by the ANC. "Even though organisations such as the ANC are portrayed as moderate it is clearly a bluff";

□ The next farmer killed as a result of calls by ANC and PAC leaders would represent a declaration of war — "and we will defend ourselves with everything in our power";

□ The proposed occupation of white schools in rural areas by black radicals would not take place — "even if blood has to be shed"; and

□ Every farmer should join a local SADF commando immediately, but withdraw if the ANC or PAC obtained joint control of the security forces.

Among the line-up of fiery speakers at the meeting were former SADF chief Gen Constand Viljoen, chairman of the committee of former generals co-ordinating the right-wing unity drive; Transvaal Agriculture Union president and CP MP Dries Bruwer; Free State Agricultural Union president and CP MP Piet Gous; and Mineworkers' Union secretary-general Peet Ungerer.

The meeting heard threats of farmers withholding their produce from markets unless government increased the producer price of maize and tackled farm debt. Deputy Agriculture Minister Tobie

DIRK VAN EEDEN

Meiring, government's sole representative at the gathering, was jeered when he spoke, as was SA Agricultural Union president Boet Fourie who was accused of compromising on labour legislation. Speakers insisted that labour rights would not be tolerated on farms.

The venue had to be switched from the town hall because of the size of the crowd. They marched through the town to the Olen Park rugby stadium in a carnival-like atmosphere, carrying SA and Boer republic flags and banners reading "I'm a boer, a farmer, come try me" and "The white race, the master race".

Viljoen, who delivered his speech in English "for the international media", said the deteriorating security situation was the result of government not resisting the ANC in the military field.

He called for a halt to multiparty negotiations and a return to the situation at the time of the signing of the D F Malan Accord. "For as long as we are negotiating, and at the same time allowing terrorists in our country, we are playing into the hands of the communists."

But Viljoen said the struggle could be won only by politicians and farmers should become politically involved before they took the "big and unpleasant decision of moving on to an armed struggle".

Ungerer called Viljoen the "Field Marshal Rommel of the Afrikaner struggle", and said white workers would follow him. Earlier farmer Leonard Wessels said it was clear government felt nothing for the farmer. "They want you off the farms, they

□ To Page 2

Right wing

want your land for the land hungry ANC." Threatening to withhold produce from the market, he demanded that farmers' debt be written off, or at least that a five-year debt standstill be granted.

TIM COHEN reports from Cape Town that NP Transvaal leader Pik Botha reacted sharply to the right-wing threats, saying government would not capitulate in the face of violence and threats.

"Threats of mass action and taking the law into one's own hands will not contribute towards a peaceful solution for our country," he said.

The NP was also "concerned, frustrated and bitter" about the current situation but further polarisation was not the answer. Constitutional Development Minister Roelf Meyer said the CP was playing "a

□ From Page 1

dangerous game" as it was the only party at negotiations holding out for the option of violence if it did not get its own way.

On the question of labour legislation, Manpower Minister Leon Wessels pointed out that while the TAU might reject the extension of legal rights to farm workers, the SAU had already supported in principle their being granted rights.

CHRIS BATEMAN reports from London that ANC president Nelson Mandela said after meeting UK Prime Minister John Major that the right wing wanted to plunge SA into civil war.

"Our task is to avoid this and the ANC is working along the lines to prevent that." The ANC was playing its role "in avoiding such a bloody racist conflict".

● See Page 3

Cracks show as govt strategy remains unclear

Blom 7/15/93

WHILE disputes in negotiations are focused on the rift between the ANC and NP on the one hand and the Concerned South Africans Group on the other, a remaining potential obstacle is the failure by the NP to concede that there will be majority rule in SA.

This is creating further divisions in the Cabinet and explains some of the contradictory messages emanating from it.

The NP/government "inner circle" — President F W de Klerk, the National Intelligence Service, Constitutional Development Minister Roelf Meyer, constitutional adviser Fanie van der Merwe and former NIS boss Niel Barnard — which is dictating negotiating strategy and pushing the party into the future, probably has worked out a clear bottom line. But there is no agreement on this in Cabinet.

Even this inner circle has not yet fully conceded that the NP could end up being the opposition in a new Parliament. Its members believe that the reasons the ANC has accepted the idea of a five-year government of national unity will still prevail after the five-year period has elapsed. They believe the ANC will still

need the white bureaucracy, and that the military, under the control of the NP, will still be an obstacle to outright majority rule.

Centre for Policy Studies director Steven Friedman agrees that it is obvious that there are divisions in the Cabinet and that the NP has not yet conceded to majority rule. He argues that Meyer does not have a mandate from his party constituency, or Cabinet. "He gets his mandate from De Klerk and the NIS."

Not even the full negotiating team is aware of the details of the strategy being pursued by the inner circle. The result is sometimes reflected in perspectives expressed by the likes of Ministers Hennis Kriel and Tertius Delport.

Friedman says that De Klerk may be having problems selling the bottom line NP strategy to his own Cabinet and that is why the divisions are so clear and the strategy seemingly confused. While there is broad agreement on the "deal" between government and the ANC, the interpretation and understanding of the implications are very different.

This results in Kriel and like-minded Ministers on the right of the party grandstanding so as to appear

BILLY PADDOCK

not to be giving up anything, while Meyer concedes the very same ground in talks. An example is the future of the security forces.

Some Ministers firmly believe the NP will still be in government in 20 years while others, like Manpower Minister Leon Wessels, have very different attitudes. Wessels, too, sits on the negotiating team.

Former NP secretary-general Skoffel van der Merwe says that in his time the NP federal congress, constitutionally the party's highest structure, could easily be manipulated by careful stage management.

Friedman agrees that this might therefore be a deliberate strategy. "They act tough and grandstand in public while not worrying about the details. The volk, including MPs, will just follow."

But, he warns, this strategy might work in the short term but in the long term it will backfire and lead to instability.

He says it is quite ironic that, while everyone had believed that the

ANC had the biggest problem selling a deal to its constituency, it was the NP that had ended up with the problem. The ANC had dealt with it in a sophisticated way.

Since the Biko march the ANC leadership has made a conscious effort to prepare its constituency ahead of time and get the agreement of the national executive committee, says Friedman.

When the parties get round to finalising agreements on such issues as regionalism, the transitional executive authority and an interim government and constitution, these divisions and contradictions could see the NP/government teams left out of touch with their constituencies.

Already on Wednesday during his budget vote, Meyer was showing signs of shorting up his support by drawing a very fine and even esoteric distinction between an interim government and the transitional executive council.

The council was not a transitional government to which government was going to hand over power, he said. It was merely a mechanism to level the playing fields. The fact of the matter, as he has agreed to on countless occasions, is that the coun-

cil is the first stage of an interim government and it effectively controls government decisions.

The powers, duties and functions of the council are still a bone of contention between government and the ANC, but even taking government's stated position on the council it will be a de facto super-cabinet.

Political analyst Van Zyl Slabbert has warned on numerous occasions that the party leadership has to keep close contact with its constituency if the settlement is going to have legitimacy.

Government and the ANC's deadline for reaching agreement on an election date and the establishment of the council is only three weeks away, and if this is achieved the reality of interim government will strike home firmly. Already we see the ANC training marshals in police work and its members carrying out citizens' arrests and handing criminals over to the police.

These developments are not lost on the CP and Afrikaner Volksunie, who are ready to pounce and take full advantage of the divisions in the ruling party.

No wonder Meyer says the negotiations are poised on a knife-edge.

LETTERS

Dear Sir,

Election date to top agenda today *Sowetan 7/6/93*

By Themba Molefe
Political Reporter

THE date for elections will be at the top of the agenda when negotiators meet at the World Trade Centre today. *(304 A)*

However, the talks today are likely to be impeded by the issue of violence and the ANC's

■ **Mass action and violence are main stumbling blocks at the talks:**

mass action to demand an election date.

According to decisions taken when the 26-party negotiating council met last Friday, seven technical committees will be formed to formulate proposals on violence, constitutional issues, a transitional Bill of Rights, an independent election commission, an independent media

commission, a repeal of restrictive legislation and a Transitional Executive Council.

Minister of Constitutional Development and Communication Mr Roelf Meyer has announced in Parliament that the Government would demand an end to mass action when violence is discussed by the negotiating council.

IFP marches 'funded'

Sowetan 7/5/93
■ MP wants assurance State won't pay for future action:

By Ismail Lagardien
Political Correspondent

SOUTH African taxpayers, through the KwaZulu government, funded Inkatha Freedom Party protest marches in Johannesburg and Durban last year, Independent MP Mr Pierre Cronje claimed in Parliament last night. (112) (304A)

Cronje produced a copy of an order form from the office of IFP leader Chief Mangosuthu Buthelezi instructing the

KwaZulu Department of Transport to "kindly provide 60 buses to transport Zulus" to take part in a march in Durban on October 10 last year.

Cronje estimated the Durban march to have cost taxpayers "up to R200 000". Another march in Johannesburg could have cost the same amount. (157)

"Can we get the assurance from the Government that the taxpayer will not pay for the programme of mass demonstrations as announced by the IFP," he said.

1 nation

Steir 7/5/93
SA names ambassadors

The Department of Foreign Affairs said in a statement yesterday that Rene Franken had been appointed ambassador to the Slovak Republic; Petrus Cilliers, now in Romania, non-resident ambassador to Moldova; and Hermann Hanekom, now in Zaire, non-resident ambassador to Congo. — Sapa.

(304A)

Hani's Murder Threatens to Restart the 'Chicken Run'

By Paul Taylor

JOHANNESBURG — For a man whose business has never been better, Tom Ansley can't remember feeling worse. His international moving company has been getting 100 phone inquiries a day — twice the usual number — since the assassination of black leader Chris Hani a month ago gave the country its worst bout of nerves in years.

"It's a sad state of affairs," said Ansley, 50, a fourth-generation South African who vows never to emigrate but says he is "desperately" afraid his grown daughters are about to. "Some of the callers don't even want us to come out to their homes to give an estimate. They want a quote over the phone and a moving date as soon as possible. You can hear the panic in their voices."

White South Africans have a name for this sort of behavior. They call it a "chicken run," and they've seen it before, after the Sharpeville massacre in 1961, the Soweto uprising in 1976 and other turbulent milestones of the apartheid era of racial separation.

It is too early to tell if this latest run — touched off less by Hani's assassination than by the intimations of anarchy in the demonstrations among angry black youths that followed — is a passing fright or the start of a long-term flight. Yet either way, the specter of a mass white exodus already occupies a central place in South Africa's transition to black-majority rule. Politically, it operates as a blend of threat, bluff and bargaining chip. Psychologically, it's a hedge, a safety valve and a profound human dilemma.

The rule in the rest of sub-Saharan Africa has been that when blacks take power, white colonizers take their leave. South Africa, however, is different. Whites arrived in the 17th century as settlers, not colonists. As a people, they've been here nearly as long as whites have been in North America.

Although they got the politics famously wrong, they built the most sophisticated economy on the subcontinent. Now, they're hoping to remain economically indispensable

even after they become politically disposable. "To whites, we say we want you to stay, we need your skills," African National Congress leader Nelson Mandela said recently, when reports of a new chicken run first surfaced in the local media.

Ansley says the vast majority will stay, probably even the majority of his callers. "You can tell they're not very proud of what they're doing, and lots of them are making quiet inquiries, just to have a backup plan in place," he said.

Except for a few of the most turbulent years, immigration has outpaced emigration in South Africa throughout the apartheid era. The official 1992 figures were 8,688 immigrants to 4,289 emigrants. Those statistics, however, miss what many experts believe is a sizable unofficial flow in both directions.

Even with all its problems, South Africa is not an easy country to leave. Stringent currency exchange laws effectively limit the assets emigrants can take out with them to about \$60,000 per family. "You have to cheat your assets out, and while plenty of people do it, lots of people don't want to risk it," said Gerald Steward, a real estate broker who says the current chicken run is mild compared with those of 1961 and 1976, when the financial disincentives were not so stiff and "it seemed like every second house had a 'For Sale' sign on it."

For Afrikaans speakers — about 60 percent of the white population — there's a bigger problem: Where to go? Descendants of Dutch, German and French settlers, they have created their own unique language and culture here. There is no motherland to go back to.

Yet even with all these disincentives, Ansley senses a new dynamic that could tilt the calculations toward exodus. "In the past, people left because they were afraid of political change," he said. "Now, they're leaving because they're afraid for their personal safety."

South Africa's 5 million whites are not natural candidates for sympathy. They comprise 13 percent of the population and own 85 percent of the land, control 98 percent of the wealth and have six

times the average family income as the country's 28 million blacks, 3.2 million mixed-race Coloreds and nearly 1 million Asians.

Whites are frightened. The crime rate has skyrocketed in the three years since President Frederik W. de Klerk signaled the end of apartheid. So has political violence. The murder rate is 10 times that of the United States, and although most victims are black, whites seem to talk of little else. Indeed, one of the unspoken white rationales for supporting a negotiated transfer of power has been the expectation that a black government will keep the angry mob at bay more effectively than a white police state.

The aftermath of the Hani killing has cast some doubt on that premise. Mandela and other black leaders appealed for restraint during the period of mourning following Hani's death, but black youths looted and burned their way through places like Cape Town's downtown shopping district — the symbolic heart of the good life that whites have built for themselves here.

Despite those images, Ansley is determined to stay put. He says he is deeply ashamed of apartheid, feels guilty that he personally did not do more to bring it to an end and is looking forward to retiring in five years so he can spend the rest of his life as a kind of missionary, teaching blacks the secular gospel of entrepreneurship.

He has no illusions about what the future may mean. "Nowhere else in Africa when the blacks have taken over have they shown the slightest degree of sympathy for the whites. They will redistribute wealth as fast as they can. There will be massive taxation on people like us. The luxury of our lives will be impossible to maintain." Still, he wants his family to stay. Like many self-made businessmen, he wants to pass along what he has built from scratch — in his case, a moving company with annual sales of \$25 million — to his children. "Perhaps it is selfish, but I still think that opportunities for them here are going to be greater than anywhere in the world. For them to leave is too ghastly to contemplate."

NEGOTIATIONS Fm 715793

Under orders ~~304A~~ ~~411~~ ~~412~~

Last Friday's meeting of the multiparty negotiating council seemed set to implode when the IFP and KwaZulu delegates — clearly under instructions from Ulundi to tighten up their act — seemed set to dig in over settling the questions of violence and the "form of state" before anything else.

However, at the end of the day (and a long adjournment) progress — of sorts — was chalked up in the shape of a planning committee compromise. This was that the IFP document on violence (which the IFP's Frank Mdlalose uncharacteristically insisted he should read in full, even though it had been distributed the previous Monday) would be tabled and that the violence question would receive continuous attention.

The IFP agreed only conditionally to the creation of a technical subcommittee to deal with its document, which basically accuses the ANC and government of colluding in violence against it and of refusing to act on disbanding the ANC's armed wing, MK. Mdlalose let it pass, but said the subcommittee could be formed only after he'd reported to his principal — that is, Mangosuthu Buthelezi. There was almost a feeling of sympathy for the IFP delegates who had to return to Ulundi, having been unable to face down what were eminently reasonable compromises on their negotiating orders.

Thus they were unable to detach "form of State" from "constitutional principles" which the planning committee report, read by Ciskei's Mick Webb, had down as one item among eight (and possibly more) on which technical subcommittees, it was agreed, are to be formed.

The others: Constitution making body/constituent assembly; transitional/interim constitution (for which Buthelezi sees no need); transitional regional and local government; fundamental human rights, transitional executive council, its subcouncils, the independent elections and media committees; future of the TBVC states; and self-determination.

A declaration of intent, which says an election date not later than April should be set within five weeks, was not adopted. ■

THE RIGHT

General retreat

304A 344 254
Fm 7/5/93

The group of four retired security force generals currently active in rightwing politics backed away this week from suggestions that they were planning the military mobilisation of the white Right.

A spokesman for the group, former SADF Intelligence chief Gen Tienie Groenewald, said that he and three other generals were asked by rightwing factions to assist in bringing about political unity. They were not planning the formation of a private army or any violent acts.

The other three are former SADF chief Gen Constand Viljoen, former Army Chief of Operations Gen Koos Bischoff and former CID chief Gen Cobus Visser. The group was formed after a recent meeting in Pretoria attended by about 100 representatives of various rightwing organisations concerned by the lack of political unity.

Former head of SAP forensics Gen Lothar Neethling and former SAP Commissioner Gen Mike Geldenhuys are reported to have been involved in talks with the group though they are not members.

The prominence of former generals in rightwing politics is not regarded as particularly significant. It has been known for some time that many former senior SAP and SADF officers support the CP. Viljoen, in fact, has moved slightly to the Left. He was a CP member but broke away to join the Afrikaner Volksunie.

The CP is said to have strong support within the SAP but most senior officers are considered to be behind government's reform initiatives.

Military analysts say the senior officer corps in the SADF also backs reform, with one important faction wanting even quicker changes, including joint control of the security forces by a multiparty committee — a move that even government has not yet conceded in public. ■

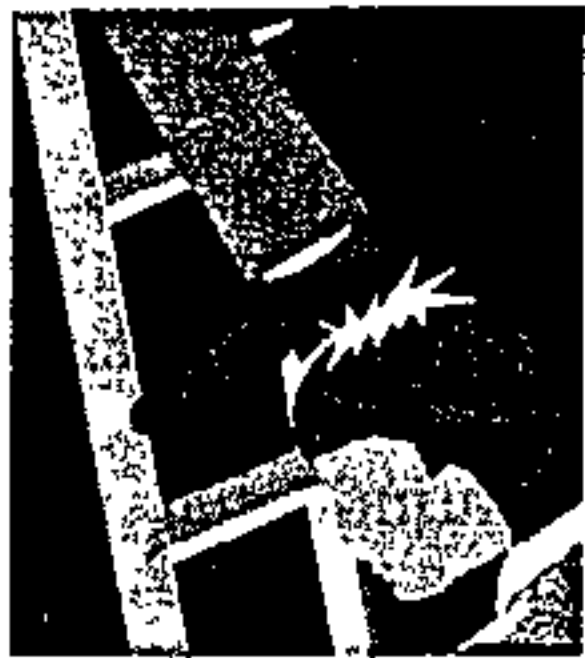
ELECTORAL POLITICS

Concentrating their minds

Getting elected to the new parliament won't be easy

FM 7/5/93

304A



Nothing concentrates a man's mind so wonderfully, noted Samuel Johnson, than the knowledge that he is to be hanged in the fortnight. With elections now likely within a year, the 308 MPs serving out the dying

days of the tricameral system are restless; fewer than a third have much hope of returning. Aspirant MPs in the extraparlimentary opposition are also restless; the corridors of power are beckoning.

But most of those who can expect to get back, as well as the majority of outsiders clamouring to get in, face a tough battle simply to be nominated for possible election. There is now little doubt that SA's first representative parliament will be elected under some form of party list system.

Details are still being considered but current talk is of a 400-member constituent assembly, with 200 elected on a national list and the rest from regional lists. Parties with strong regional support — such as the Inkatha Freedom Party in Natal and the National Party in the western Cape — stand a chance of winning more representation than they would in a purely national poll.

The cut-off for representation is likely to be low — possibly as low as 1% nationally and 3% regionally. In an 85% poll, drawing on an estimated 21m voters, a party would need 178 500 votes to qualify for representation — which would be two seats.

This means that only the leadership elements of the ANC, the NP and the IFP are assured of election. Those three are likely to have no trouble securing the minimum vote.

The first group of new MPs will, therefore, include the likes of ANC president Nelson Mandela, President FW de Klerk, IFP leader Mangosuthu Buthelezi and Walter Sisulu, Pik Botha, Frank Mdlalose, Thabo Mbeki, Dawie de Villiers and Ben Ngubane.

Conventional wisdom gives the ANC about 60% of the vote, the NP 20%, the IFP 10% and various smaller parties the rest. On this basis, in a 400-seat parliament split equally between national and regional lists, the ANC would hold 240 seats, the NP 80, the IFP 40 and smaller parties 40.

But the ANC alliance's projected total is by no means assured. It could be more; it could easily

drop to 200 or even fewer if current forecasts are incorrect. So far, we have only the dubious results of opinion polls to go on; political developments between now and the election could have a dramatic effect on party performances. Either way, the ANC will struggle to accommodate the demand for seats from thousands of loyal officials.

Even those who do get on to the ANC list will be vulnerable at around the 190-210 mark. Most of these are likely to be middle-level leaders from the regions, people who don't make the headlines but work hard for the party — and whose loyalty and commitment are important.

It appears that the ANC may be able to deal fairly effectively with the apparent problem of accommodating its SACP and Cosatu alliance partners on its lists. Though details have not been finalised, it is understood that the list will be compiled following a full consultative process beginning at local level. Regional conferences will vote for candidates, whose names will go forward to a national nomination conference. The final list will be ratified by the national executive committee.

Criteria for nomination are likely to include issues such as local popularity and expertise. It's also probable that each block of 50 names on the list will have to be representative of race and sex. The ANC's election campaign platform is being co-ordinated with its alliance partners, mainly the SACP and Cosatu. These groups will not nominate their own candidates but allow their members to stand for nomination. However, all candidates will be accountable to the ANC and have to campaign within the parameters of ANC policy, regardless of which organisation they belong to. It will be interesting to see how the more radical communists and unionists adapt to this disci-

pline; if they do not, the contradictions in ANC campaigning will be readily exploited by the Nats and Inkatha.

There should be no problem in getting alliance leaders like Cosatu's Jay Naidoo and Chris Dlamini and new SACP chief Charles Ngakula high on the list. The difficulty will come lower down, when place number 200, for example, is allocated.

The ANC's list will also need to appeal to communities in which it struggles for support, such as coloureds in the Cape and whites nationally. Cape regional leader Allan Boesak, though not the drawcard he was expected to be when first chosen, is likely to be high on the list, as are the ANC's five

white MPs: Jan van Eck, Jannie Momberg, David Dalling, Pierre Cronje and Rob Haswell.

The NP faces possibly the most difficult task in drawing up its lists. Rhetoric about winning power aside, it can't be sure of more than 80-100 seats. This would be barely half the num-

ber the Nats now hold in all three chambers of the tricameral parliament.

The NP's campaign efforts will concentrate on coloureds in the Cape; Indians in Natal and the Transvaal; and blacks in the northern and eastern Transvaal, where it believes it can win significant support. It assumes that most whites will vote NP.

Putting coloured, Indian and black faces high on the lists will be important — but at the moment there are very few leaders from those communities backing the NP. No credible black or Indian leader openly supports the NP. Coloureds high on the list will include the two new Cabinet Ministers, Jac Rabie and Abe Williams. However, fortunately for the NP, most coloureds (and probably most Indians) apparently consider De Klerk's leadership as more important.

By the same token, it appears that the NP hopes to use Pik Botha as the main vote-catcher in the northern Transvaal, where he is said to hold sway with traditional leaders in rural areas. It might just work.

The NP has appointed a special committee of its Federal Council, under the chairmanship of Chief Whip Alex van Breda, to determine the most appropriate way to compile its list. The general approach is that the process must be democratic within party structures. Candidates are expected to come from the party ranks following some sort of nomination procedure. The final composi-



Botha



Boesak



Alexander



Dalling



Curry

tion of the list is likely to provide for regional balance, with some mechanism to ensure appropriate representation for all communities within the party.

The IFP's lists are likely to focus on Zulus and whites. The party is said to be losing support among Zulus — but gaining among whites. High on the list will be its three white MPs — the former Nats Jurie Mentz and Hennie Bekker, and Mike Tarr, formerly of the DP. It is possible that more white MPs



Buthelezi



De Beer



Felgate

from both the DP and NP will cross to the IFP before the election. Other whites high on the lists could be negotiator and spokesman Walter Felgate and media director and former journalist Suzanne Vos. Mass white support for the IFP is probably the biggest single threat at this stage to the NP.

The smaller parties face the worst dilemmas. Only three are likely to make even the lowest cut-off mark: the DP, CP and the PAC.

Though it is aiming high, the DP would probably be lucky to win two seats on the national list. Depending on who stands for election they are likely to go to two from Zach de Beer, Ken Andrew, Colin Eglin, Tony Leon, Peter Gastrow, Roger Burrows or Peter Soal.

Nominally, the DP will have to include blacks, coloureds and Indians fairly high on its lists. They are likely to be people such as former Labourites David Curry and Chris April, former University of the Western Cape rector Richard van der Ross and current Delegates MP Mahmoud Rajab. Regionally, particularly in the PWV and western Cape, the DP could do relatively well, perhaps winning another four or five seats. However, the NP is likely to target DP voters for special attention and scare most of them into supporting a strong opposition grouping behind De Klerk.

The tragedy of the DP, as it has been for years, is that the party undoubtedly possesses the best brains in parliament and would probably continue to do so under a democratic system — but the trouble is that most of them just won't be elected under the DP banner. This kind of perception probably influenced Mike Tarr's decision to defect to the IFP, where he will have a much greater chance of being elected.

The DP also has a committee examining the compilation of its lists. Issues being considered include how nominations will be made and who will vote for nominees. The

party's leaders are due to meet this weekend to hear a report back.

The PAC faces similar problems to the DP and is not expected to win more than four or five seats. Top of the list are likely to be people such as PAC president Clarence Makwetu, secretary-general Benny Alexander and former deputy-president Dikgang Moseneke.

The CP, if it contests the election, could win about 10 seats at most — if its supporters aren't frightened into either the NP or IFP camps. Because it does not have to structure lists to suit interest groups, the party's current hierarchy will probably be listed in order of seniority, starting with Ferdi Hartzenberg.

For traditional white parties, the list system will pose new challenges and culture shocks. Instead of rival candidates contesting geographically defined constituencies, with the winner being the one who wins the most votes (which could be a minority of the total in a contest between three or more candidates), voters are asked to choose a party which is then entitled to MPs in direct proportion to the number of votes it wins.

It's a simple and theoretically equitable system, when contrasted with the anomalies produced by the Westminster-style constituency system — but party lists pose greater difficulties for aspirant candidates and for smaller parties.

Parties with concentrated regional support tend to do better under a constituency system. The DP is a good example; in the last election it won more seats in parliament than its proportion of the total vote. The CP, on the other hand, won fewer seats than it would have under a list system.

Perhaps the best SA example of how skewed the constituency system can be is the 1948 general election. The NP came to power by winning 52,7% of the seats in parliament — but only 42% of the votes. The United Party alliance won 51% of the votes — but only 47,3% of the seats.

Under a constituency system, a locally popular figure is better placed for nomination than under a list system, where the favour of party bosses plays a far more important role (*Currents* April 30). But compiling the list goes well beyond simply choosing favourites and strongmen. The lists will be critical in maintaining balance within party structures and in attracting voter support. The composition of a list — the names as well

as the order in which they are placed — could sway voters as much as broader policy and image.

Where, for instance, would the ANC be prepared to place its Youth League leader, Peter Mokaba? Too high, and he could scare moderates; too low, and the youth vote might be alienated.

In the regions, the minimum number of votes needed for representation would vary considerably and would have to be adjusted to compensate for fractions of seats.

A detailed proposal on how this could be achieved was included in a President's Council report on proportional representation published last year. The report, most of which is understood to be based on the ideas of Stellenbosch University political scientist Hennie Kotze, is regarded as one of the most worthwhile exercises the PC has ever undertaken. The research is expected to form the basis of whatever proportional system is finally adopted.

With the multiparty conference scheduled to announce an election date within the next six weeks, negotiators will probably be grateful for the hard work that's already been done.

The announcement of a date will concentrate the minds of all politicians with an eye to election. For those who are fairly senior within the ANC and the NP, the best option is obviously to stay put. Relatively junior ANC members are likely to be prepared to work their way up the ladder of the majority party. Inkatha members are also likely to stay where they are, both for ideological reasons and because they expect a strong showing for the IFP in Natal.

It is the DP and CP that will be watched with particular interest. Some of the younger DP members, in particular, must be seriously considering their options. Assuming they could adapt ideologically, they must calculate what chance they would have of being elected for the ANC, the IFP or the Nats. It is not impossible that, by the time the election takes place, the DP will have disappeared as an electoral entity.

The CP is less likely to suffer defections by MPs but its voter support might collapse under it if conservative whites, resigned to the loss of white supremacy, decide that De Klerk needs all the support he can get. At the last white general election in 1989, and indeed until the referendum in March 1992, rightwingers genuinely believed in the possibility of taking power and somehow reversing De Klerk's reforms. Now that vision — always a mirage — has vanished. It seems that De Klerk could draw many thousands of white voters who did not support him in 1989; the main counterattraction to the Nats will not be the CP or the DP, but Inkatha. ■



Leon



Andrew

LOCAL GOVERNMENT 212

Topping up Fm 7/5/93

The Democratic Party has entered the growing debate on the future of local government by rejecting key aspects of the proposals put forward by government and the ANC.

DP local government spokesman Jasper Walsh says his party can't accept either a qualified, property-based franchise on a second voters' roll, as suggested by government; or the scrapping of existing local councils and their replacement, as an interim measure, with political appointees as proposed by the ANC (*Current Affairs* April 9 and 30).

Walsh says that while the DP recognises in principle that people who pay more rates should be entitled to a greater say in local affairs, SA's "abnormal society" has given a minority of residents an edge in accumulating wealth.

A qualified franchise would perpetuate artificial disparities created by apartheid and is "morally indefensible." He says whites will simply have to accept this as a "cost of apartheid."

Walsh says that while the DP accepts the need for interim measures to give disenfranchised communities a voice in local government, it cannot accept the ANC's proposal for the replacement of existing councils with individuals appointed by the major negotiating parties.

"No matter how inadequate and undemocratic the existing system is, it will be a retrogressive step to replace it with political appointees. A compromise will, therefore, have to be sought."

He says if progress towards a settlement is quick, elections could be held soon. Alternatively, a structure similar to the proposed Transitional Executive Council at national level could be considered at local level.

The DP also rejected government's proposed ward council system, the aim of which would be to retain the "own character" of communities and to give them a say in their "residential environment". Their powers and functions would include regulating "norms and standards", the use of property, the supply of community facilities, security and civil protection. They would have the authority to levy additional rates on residents within the ward to finance their own structures

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CURRENT AFFAIRS

and specific projects within their areas of jurisdiction.

Walsh says the DP is concerned that such a system would run counter to the needs of the broader community.

"Local government's aim is to provide an equal appropriate service to all residents. Needs for additional or better quality services can and should be met by the private sector."

The DP proposes a system of ward representation coupled to an element of proportional representation. Each voter would have two votes. A simple plurality system would determine ward councillors.

The second vote would be for a party or association and would be used as a "top-up" to ensure, as far as possible, that votes cast reflected proportionately the wishes of the voters. Three quarters of the councillors

would represent wards and one quarter would come from the "top-up".

The future financing of local authorities should include an independent audit commission to augment financial transfers from central government.

The transfers would need to continue for as long as it took to upgrade depressed areas and to ensure that services were provided as equitably as possible. ■

IN MY OPINION

ROBERT CHARLTON

Comment on the Senate

[Signature]

Tough lessons from apartheid
stand legislator in good stead

African roots take hold in US Congress

Slam 8/5/93

JIM FISHER-THOMPSON

WASHINGTON — Democracy and equality are not just abstract theories of human behaviour for Elizabeth Furse, the only member of the US Congress born and raised in Africa.

The newly elected representative learnt democracy first-hand in the streets of Cape Town, where she began a life of social activism as a teenager demonstrating against racial injustice.

Now she is bringing a concern for minority rights, women's issues and the environment, learnt in an African setting, to her job as one of 535 national representatives and senators who write the laws for 250 million Americans.

It is about 15 000 km from Cape Town to Portland, Oregon — the district the lawmaker was elected in 1992 to represent in Congress — but it was not that long ago that a young Furse braved the scorn and worse of her fellow whites as she, her mother, and Black Sash demonstrators marched in Cape Town protesting against apartheid. Her mother, Barbara, helped found the Black Sash in the mid-1950s.

The new congresswoman reminisced amid the books and papers of her new office on Capitol Hill, which husband John Platt, a lawyer and vineyard owner in Oregon, was helping to organise.

Sparked her outrage

"I come from a family of six girls and my parents raised us to believe we could become anything we wanted," said Furse. Born in Kenya, she moved as an infant with her family to South Africa in the 1930s. Her father was a British naval officer.

The lawmaker said she felt fortunate as a child growing up in South Africa "because my parents knew that apartheid was wrong and taught us accordingly". But at the same time, she added, "I had very little contact with blacks. We lived in very separate establishments. For example, there were no girls of colour in my school."

Furse credited her mother with having the greatest influence in sparking her outrage at social injustice and an eventual interest in conflict resolution.

Speaking of her mother, who is 95, she said: "She has been a very strong civil rights activist all her life. She was always involved in issues of social justice, especially in District Six in Cape Town. Her principled activism was always an inspiration to me."

Furse married an American doctor who she met in London, where she was a student, and moved to the United States in 1958. While raising two children — Amanda and John — she again became involved in community organising and activism for human rights.

Dedicated to peace

Furse first settled in Los Angeles, where she worked on a self-sufficiency project for low-income women and did volunteer work with one of the largest agricultural unions in California — the United Farm Workers. She later moved to Oregon and from 1980 to 1986 worked with Oregon's Indian tribes in their quest to regain their land.

There "she was instrumental in helping draft three pieces of Indian rights legislation and lobbying Congress for their passage", her husband said.

In 1985 Furse founded the Oregon Peace Institute, an organisation dedicated to teaching peace and non-violent conflict resolution.

Furse noted that she would back a plan presented in Congress last year to help Africans establish a conflict resolution centre somewhere on the continent. "People can't solve other people's problems," Furse said, because "they don't have the proper background of knowledge and experience essential in problem-solving — what may seem like a solution to me might not be a solution in an African context."

Asked what she thought of prospects for a peaceful South African political transformation, Furse responded that she was very optimistic. Ten years ago, she said, "if you had asked me, I would have said there was no chance, but now I'm very impressed with the fact that Mandela and De Klerk are trying to work their problems out".

At the same time, she added: "I am concerned that there be enough education done before the elections so that many people, especially blacks, who are fearful that it is a trick, will be encouraged to come in and vote."

Only 20% of whites trust Mandela

304A
ARC 8/5/93

ONLY one in five South African whites believe that ANC president Nelson Mandela is sincere about wanting to solve the problems in South Africa.

This is the outcome of a survey by Research Survey's Omnichек division which interviewed 500 black men, 500 white men and 800 white women early in March.

The respondents were asked how sincere they thought each of the leading politicians was about wanting to solve the problems of the country.

While most whites did not believe Mr Mandela was sincere, 92 percent of black men believed he was.

President De Klerk surfaced as the only leading politician seen by both black and white South Africans as being sincere, according to the poll.

Two-thirds of all respondents saw Mr De Klerk as being either totally, or quite, sincere.

Inkatha Freedom Party leader Mangosuthu Buthelezi enjoyed the confidence of most whites (to almost the same extent as Mr De Klerk). However, four in five black men felt he was not at all sincere.

Conversely, while most whites doubted the sincerity of PAC president Clarence Makwetu, he, too, succeeded in convincing black men he meant what he said.

Common ground was also found by the two race groups in their assessment of Zac de Beer, leader of the Democratic Party. The DP will be concerned to learn their leader was considered by half the sample to be not at all sincere, undoubtedly a blow to their hopes for the coming election.

— Sapa.

Star 8/5/93

Rightwingers unite to form Afrikaner front

(304A) (304)

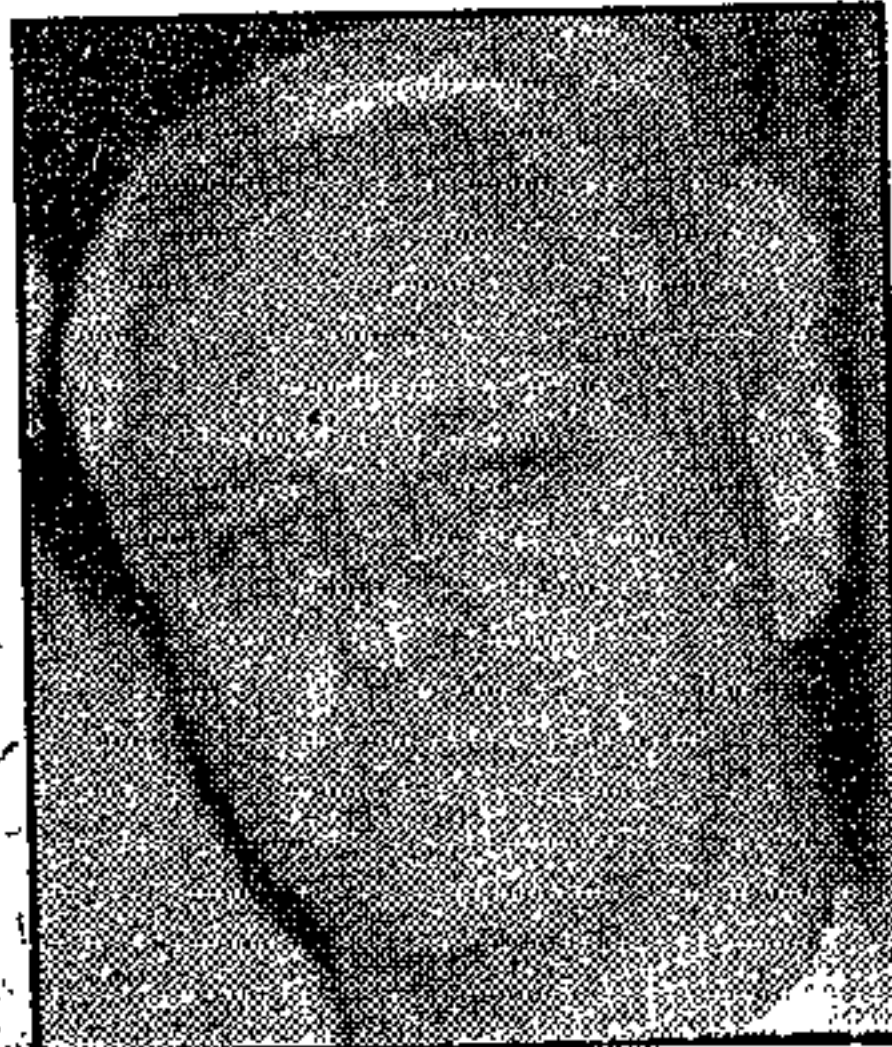
LOUISE MARSLAND

RIGHT-WING groups claimed "a great victory" in Pretoria yesterday when 18 organisations agreed to form a popular front — the Afrikaner Volksfront — to pursue a common goal of self-determination.

The organisations reached agreement, after a five-hour meeting at the Transvaal Agricultural Union offices, on a founding document and the establishment of a working committee to facilitate a plan of action and common strategies. The working group will report back on May 19.

The meeting was chaired by the Committee of Generals (COG), COG chairman and spokesman for the meeting, former SADF chief General Constand Viljoen, said that never before in South Africa's history had such unity been achieved between Afrikaner leaders.

"It is a great victory. We are very happy ... We have united on the importance of the nation's unity. We had many hours of detailed dis-



CONSTAND VILJOEN: Elated over unity.

cussion between people worried about the boerevolk."

Viljoen insisted that the right-wing unity movement would be part of the demo-

● See Editorial on Page 10

cratic process and not part of a military process.

Reading a brief statement, the general said it had been decided to concentrate on the major points of agreement between the organisations, while allowing the different

organisations to continue with normal activities.

"This meeting is united in rejecting the present negotiation process in so far as it is aimed at robbing the Afrikaner of his freedom and right to self-determination. We can differ on certain aspects."

The 160 all-male delegates, dressed predominantly in blue and grey suits, then stood up and gave a rousing rendition of Die Stem.

Noticeably absent was Afrikaner Weerstandsbeweging leader Eugene TerreBlanche, although the organisation was represented in the form of AWB Wenkommando leader "Colonel" Servaas de Wet.

The AWB said in a statement on Thursday that it had not been consulted and would play no part in the Volksfront.

Viljoen was flanked by Conservative Party acting leader Dr Ferdi Hartzenberg, Herstigte Nasionale Party leader Jaap Marais, Afrikaner Volksunie leader Andries Beyers, Professor Carel Boshoff, CP MP Dr Pieter Mulder, Afrikaner Vryheids-

● TO PAGE 2.

Star 8/5/93

Front

(304A) (304)

● FROM PAGE 1

unie's Jan Groenewald and the World Apartheid Movement's Koos Vermeulen.

Viljoen said the involvement of himself and three of his military colleagues was not a co-ordinated military strategy. "We as professional soldiers are neutral, politically. We have an honest-broker role and a co-ordinating role, rather."

He stated emphatically that he would not advise armed action as a last resort, but would also not speculate on alternative ways of achieving the front's aims if the right wing

refused to take part in multiparty negotiations.

"Personally, I have the view that a political solution is the answer and I do not advise armed action. I'm not here to advise on a white army ... when civilised people run into conflict, we try to solve it in a civilised way."

He said that as long as there was a threat of Afrikaner freedom being denied, right-wing unity would prevail.

Viljoen said it was not for him to say whether the goal of self-determination was an Afrikaner state; it was for all the right-wing parties to decide what option was best for the Afrikaner nation.

Whites-only at City Hall

By Justin Pearce

South 8/5 - 12/5/93

IT was whites-only wartalk at Cape Town's City Hall on Monday night (304A). Despite the Cape Town City Council's stated commitment to non-racialism, AWB guards made sure that "people of colour" remained on the pavement.

SOUTH photographer Yunus Mohamed was among those that the armed, khaki-clad guards tried to keep out.

"No people of colour are allowed in," he was told.

Mohamed had to argue his way in, saying he was there as a photographer doing his job. Eventually the AWB guards let him in, threatening to take no responsibility for anything that might happen to him inside the hall.

Other black journalists — and one olive-skinned white journalist — were denied the opportunity of covering the meeting.

A handful of people who attended conformed to the popular stereotype of beefy thugs with no foreheads and no necks. But the majority represented a fair cross-section of the white population of Cape Town.

They listened enraptured as AWB chief Eugene Terre'Blanche called President FW de Klerk a "jellytot", welcomed Chris Hani's murder, and urged armed action to maintain the supremacy of "the white man" in Africa.

● South African National Civic Organisation regional vice-chairperson Mr John Neels said the City Council had made an "unforgivable decision" by letting the AWB use the City Hall.

Cape Town's deputy mayor, Mr Clive Keegan, told SOUTH the City Council was opposed to the exclusion of people from the City Hall on racial grounds. He promised to raise the matter with the City Council executive.

Generals lining up on the right

FRANS ESTERHUYSE
Weekend Argus
Political Correspondent

THE emergence of a military-type "junta" of former generals in rightwing politics could help to control wild and trigger-happy elements who are threatening to start a race war.

This is the view of some strategists. But they warn that a further rise in the level of political violence could lead to uncontrollable conflict and a slide towards anarchy.

The entry of former Defence Force chief General Constand Viljoen into rightwing protest politics at a Potchefstroom rally of up to 6 000 white farmers was seen as significant.

It was in direct contrast to the highly emotional and aggressive stance of far-rightwing leaders like the AWB's Mr Eugene Terre'Blanche.

Professor Mike Hough, director of Pretoria University's Institute for Strategic Studies, said the emergence of a military grouping in rightwing politics was significant in that it was occurring at a time of a leadership crisis in the Conservative Party.

General Viljoen was a man with much influence. His participation at Potchefstroom showed that he could play a role in unifying the fragmented rightwing political groupings.

While it seems unlikely that rightwingers would opt for an armed rebellion or civil war of sorts at this stage, such a possibility could not be ruled out if the level of violence were to deteriorate further.

ARC 8/5/93 (304A)
■ Threats of a violent rightwing backlash against aggression from the left became more menacing this week. Can such polarisation be stopped? And where will it end?

In that event much would depend on the extent of support for the rightwing movement inside the Defence Force and other security forces.

Professor Hough said he thought this week's reported claim by Major-General Tienie Groenewald, former SADF intelligence chief, that rightwing forces had 500 000 men with military training, was "over-optimistic".

An unfavourable factor in the new military-type grouping was the fact that not one of the generals was a politician.

On the ANC side, a large section of young black people no longer seemed to be under control, which could jeopardise negotiations.

Political analyst Dr Wim Booysse of Pretoria said the participation of former Defence Force generals and other former senior officers in rightwing protests was a sign of moves aimed at rightwing unity.

The emergence of the generals in leadership roles would not only help towards unifying rightwing forces. They would provide a leadership that was "more credible and more responsible" than some of the right's existing "wild" political leaders.

However, it was clearly not the intention of the generals to take over rightwing leadership, but rather to guide the movement.

Dr Booysse said he did not regard this as a move towards warlike military action by rightwingers but rather as a bid for better leadership and for more security on farms.

The protest at Potchefstroom — the largest gathering of whites since the beginning of the reform process — was significant in that it reflected the "mood on the ground".

The involvement of former generals was not new and had in fact been a phenomenon in rightwing politics since 1990.

For some time there had been the formation of military or semi-military groups on the right accompanied by the establishment of self-defence and communication units in farming areas.

Dr Booysse said it was clear that if the attacks and killings on farms — seen by farmers as "political murders" — were to continue, more defence action by farmers would follow.

Initially such action was likely to be confined to vigilante-type action, but if the situation continued to deteriorate, organised action on a larger scale could be expected.

In addition to the ex-generals, many former and serving members of the security forces were said to be in sympathy with the right wing.

According to Dr Booysse, they are part of a generation of militarists and securocrats — "the product of 30 years of indoctrination."

Generals form rightwing military front

From page 1

to continue with normal activities.

"This meeting is united in rejecting the present negotiation process in so far as it is aimed at robbing the Afrikaner of his freedom and right to self-determination. We can differ on certain aspects."

The 160 delegates, dressed predominantly in blue and grey suits, then stood and sang *Die Stem*.

Notably absent was Afrikaner Weerstandsbeweging (AWB) leader Mr Eugene Terre-Blanche, although the organisation was represented by AWB Wenkommando leader Colonel Servaas de Wet. Asked whether Mr Terre-Blanche had been invited, General Viljoen replied that all political groupings had been invited to yesterday's meeting.

The AWB said in a statement on Thursday that it had not

been consulted and would play no part in the Volksfront.

General Viljoen was flanked by Conservative Party acting leader Dr Ferdi Hartzenberg, Herstigte Nasionale Party leader Mr Jaap Marais, Mr Andries Beyers of the Afrikaner Volksunie (AVU), Professor Carel Boshoff, CP MP Dr Pieter Mulder, Colonel Servaas de Wet (AWB), Mr Jan Groenewald (Afrikaner Vryheidsunie) and Mr Koos Vermeulen of the World Apartheid Movement. The meeting was also attended by white trade union representatives.

General Viljoen said the involvement of himself and three of his military colleagues was not a co-ordinated military strategy.

"We as professional soldiers are neutral, politically. We have an honest-broker role and a co-ordinating role, rather."

He stated emphatically that

he would not advise armed action as a last resort, but would also not speculate on alternative ways of achieving their aims if the rightwing refused to take part in multiparty negotiations.

"Personally, I have the view that a political solution is the answer and I do not advise armed action. I'm not here to advise on a white army ... when civilised people run into conflict, we try to solve it in a civilised way."

He said that as long as there was a threat of Afrikaner freedom being denied, rightwing unity would prevail.

General Viljoen said the forum had not considered whether it would seek a seat at the multiparty negotiating forum.

One of the Volksfront's first priorities would be to draw up a timetable to achieve its goals. The 16-member working committee would complete

yesterday's meeting and report back to members.

General Viljoen said it was not for him to say whether the goal of self-determination was an Afrikaner state, but it was for all the rightwing parties to decide what option was best for the Afrikaner nation.

He said self-determination need not stop with the Afrikaner nation and again expressed concern at the amount of "indoctrination" to which black people had been subjected by the South African Communist Party and the African National Congress.

Mr Beyers said the group would be applying pressure on the government.

"We are promoting reasonable self-determination — the delimitation of a state in which Afrikaners will be the majority."

Mr Beyers said they had not given the government an ultimatum.

Generals form rightwing military front

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Election date will be Set within four weeks

(2044) CTS 15 193
From PATRICK CULL

JOHANNESBURG. — The negotiation process was given a substantial boost yesterday when all major players agreed that an election date should be set within four weeks. The appointment of seven technical committees was also settled.

And if continued progress is made, the country could know when its first non-racial election will be held by the time the Negotiating Forum meets on June 3.

ANC secretary-general Mr Cyril Ramaphosa described the achievements as a "victory for negotiation" and the government's chief negotiator, Mr Roelf Meyer, said the discussions had been "very positive", reflecting the "sense of urgency" appreciated by all parties.

Mr Meyer said the government was not looking for agreement on the fine detail, but on the principles which would underpin a new constitution; power-sharing and how decisions in a government of national unity would be taken, and on a bill of rights for the transitional period. Stressing the need for urgency, Mr Meyer

said further problems could be expected from radicals on both the left and right.

Mr Ramaphosa added he was "very pleased" — what had been achieved would bring "hope and confidence to millions". The way was now open for huge progress to be made.

The PAC's Mr Benny Alexander said the setting of an election date was "not a sugar-coated pill to pacify the frustrations of the population, but a serious attempt to solve the problems of the country".

The Conservative Party's Mr Tom Langley said he was "very satisfied at the way things went", adding however, that tough substantive issues now lay ahead.

The CP believed these should initially focus on the form of state, self-determination and violence.

After a late start yesterday, the Negotiating Council adopted a Declaration of Intent which binds all 26 parties at the multi-party talks to ensure that the negotiation process is moved forward "sufficiently in the next four weeks to allow the setting of an election date."

The election must take place before the end of April next year.

The Negotiating Council rejected a proposal supported by the CP and the Ciskei government which would have removed both the target date of four weeks and the election deadline.

Negotiators are confident that the four-week target date can be met.

The seven technical committees will address a wide range of issues concerned with violence; constitutional matters; fundamental rights during the transition; the transitional executive council and its sub-councils; the creation of an independent media commission; the creation of an independent electoral commission, and the repeal of discriminatory legislation.

A proposal to form a further technical committee to look at regional issues such as the delimitation of boundaries and the powers and functions of the regions, was referred to the Planning Committee.

All 26 parties supported the appointment of the technical committees after a 90-minute session behind closed doors.

The next four weeks will see a hectic schedule for the negotiators and the technical committees as they work towards meeting the June 3 target date.

The Technical Committees will be briefed by the Planning Committee on Monday and start work immediately. They will be instructed to submit interim reports to the Planning Committee by next Friday and these will be debated by the Negotiating Council on May 18.

Meetings are scheduled for virtually every day the following week, in the build-up to June 3.

South 815 - 12/5/93

Verwoerd to address Parow ANC

By Quentin Wilson

WILHELM VERWOERD was two years old when his grandfather and apartheid's architect, Dr Hendrik Verwoerd, was assassinated in

1966.

Now the 29-year old Verwoerd is taking ANC politics into the heart of his late grandfather's stomping ground: Parow.

Next week, the ANC is to hold

its first public meeting in the traditionally white conservative town, and Verwoerd, together with ANC publicity officer, Mr Carl Niehaus, will address the Parow locals.

"I grew up hearing only positive things about my grandfather," says Verwoerd, who joined the ANC last year. "But my beliefs began to change when I spoke to people whose lives had been wrecked as a consequence of apartheid."

"It is not enough for us as white Afrikaans-speaking South Africans to apologise for the mess apartheid has created."

"We have to take on a large part of the responsibility of building a new nation," he said.

Verwoerd says his ANC allegiance has effectively cut ties with many family members.

But, says Verwoerd, his political home in the ANC has also "liberated" him from "a very narrow, impoverished view of life" and he is happy "being part of the South African majority".

Dr Allan Boesak, ANC Western Cape chairperson, said it will be the first time in ANC history that the organisation has planned a public meeting in a traditionally conservative white suburb. It is time for the ANC to move into the northern suburbs and to educate conservative whites about the ANC.

NP 'sukkel's' to sign up coloureds

South 815 - 1215193

Many political analysts and observers believe that Coloureds could vote for the National Party. But **CHRISTELLE TERREBLANCHE** says they might be wrong, if NP membership figures are anything to go by:

3014P

IT HAS almost become a truism that the National Party will "take" the Western Cape in a national non-racial election. Expecting that there will be a regional or federal government system, the NP believes it could rule the Western Cape.

And just to be sure, the party is putting a lot of its resources and election expertise into the region.

Most of the available opinion surveys suggest that at least 60 to 80 percent of coloureds are pro-NP inclined, despite being disenfranchised by the same party.

This has led several analysts to predict that the NP could have a landslide in the Western Cape.

But a closer look at the membership figures of the two biggest political groups in the Cape — the ANC and NP — does not necessarily reflect this conventional wisdom.

According to internal NP figures leaked to SOUTH, the party might have considerably fewer card-carrying coloured members than the ANC in the Western Cape.

Analysing the available figures is complicated because membership is not documented along racial lines. But the branch figures can be assessed according to group areas and townships.

The ANC has launched 62 of its Western Cape branches in exclusively or predominantly coloured areas. These branches have to have at least 100 members each,

although most have around 200.

This gives the ANC a minimum of 8 000 card-carrying coloured members, excluding those who have signed up in predominantly white or non-racial areas and branches. No up-to-date figures on NP membership could be obtained.

The confidential internal document shows that during July 1991 to June last year, the NP set up 42 new branches in the Boland, the Peninsula, Tygerberg and Southern Cape — almost all in coloured areas.

These branches accumulated an amount of 3 439 signed-up members in that period, some branches having less than 50 members.

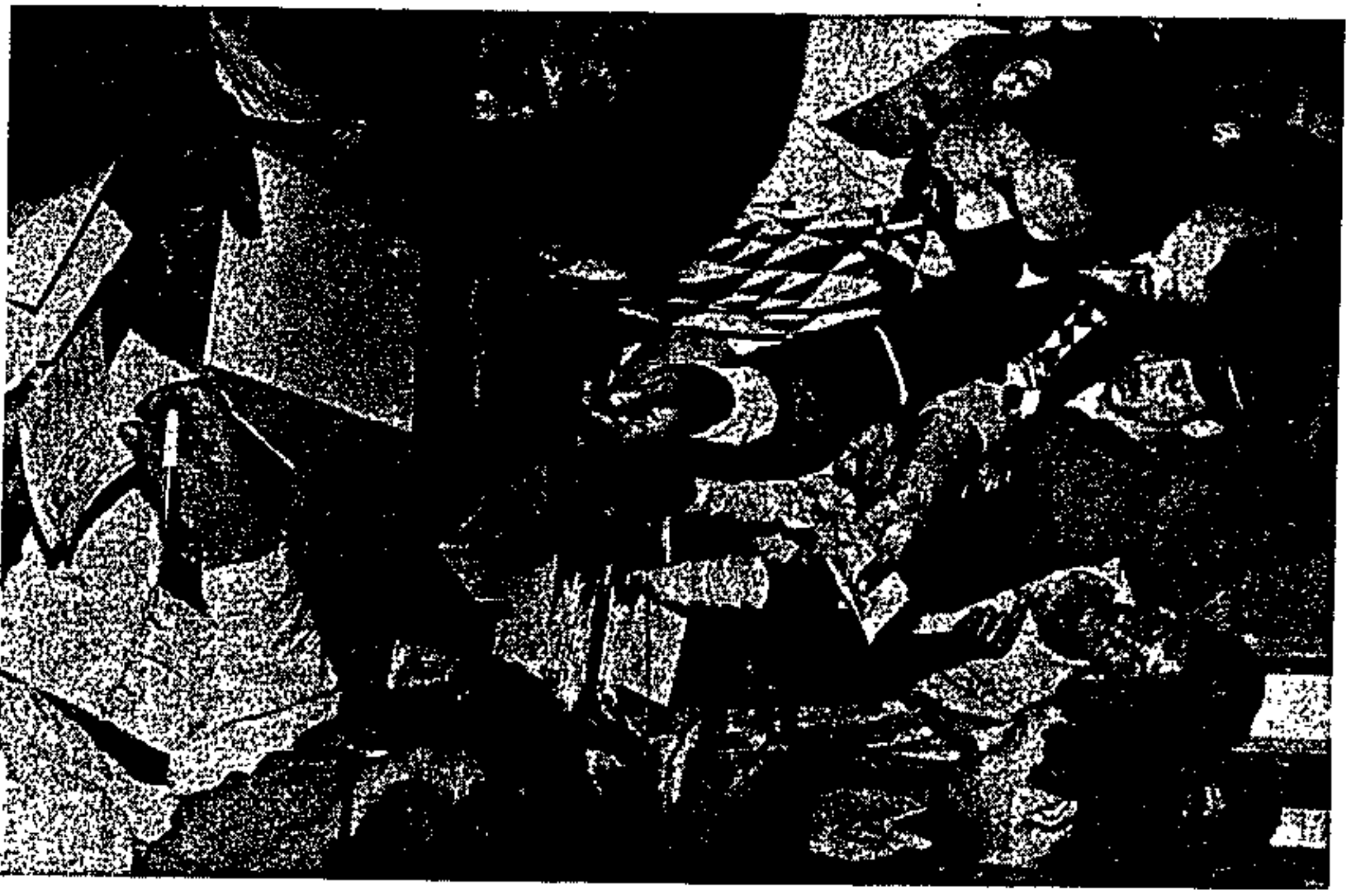
The NP has stressed that it tries to sign up coloured members in existing — traditionally white — branches. So the total could be more by now.

But perhaps if it were so, the NP would not be so coy about disclosing figures.

Mr Carl Greyling, executive secretary of the NP in the Cape Province, says coloured membership is definitely on the rise, and a lot more branches are being set up. He declines, however, to give figures for branches or membership.

A quick analysis of the available statistics, however, makes it doubtful whether the NP matches the amount of coloured card-carrying members of the ANC.

The NP's biggest area of coloured support in the Western



CARRYING A CARD: The ANC has signed up more coloured members than the NP

Cape seems to be Marnie, part of the Atlantic constituency of Mr Abe Williams. The NP had 664 card-carrying members there a year ago.

At the same time, its membership for Macassar, also represented by a NP MP, was 47, in Maitland 25, in Retreat 34, in Strandfontein 51, in Hawston 30, while Robertson

had 80, Heidelberg 87 and Bellar

82. Bonheuwel, which according to myth is now openly NP, had 92 members, while Bishop Lavis wrote in 281 and Elsenriver 184. Of course, membership figures are no indication of electoral support, although they may help a party's campaigning and canvassing.

What is noteworthy is that membership of either the NP or the ANC is only a tiny percentage of the estimated coloured voters in the Cape of Good Hope area. A Code-sa working document put these around 1,5 million and at least half of the nearly three million voters in total in the region.

The assessment that the NP might get up to 80 percent of the coloured vote, also needs to be seen against research showing that 50 percent of coloured people, mainly women, are either uncertain about their alliances or are apolitical. Based on the fact that they admire President F.W. de Klerk and support his reforms in opinion surveys, it is then extrapolated that they might vote NP in an election. In fact, they may constitute a swing vote — and move either way. Some may abstain from voting altogether.

The NP also has to compete with the Democratic Party for the coloured vote, while the Labour Party has the support of at least seven to ten percent of coloureds.

Mr Cameron Dugmore, regional organiser of the ANC in the Western Cape, says the region's own survey shows that at least 30 percent of urban middle class coloureds will vote ANC, and a minimum of 10 percent the NP.

In the case of working class coloureds, more would vote NP.

Dugmore says there has been a flurry of coloureds and whites who joined after the Hani assassination and the Agenda TV debate on the coloured issue.

"We are confident we will take more than 50 percent of the coloured vote in the Western Cape", he says.

A lot could still happen in the run-up to an election. But the NP may 'sukkel' — because rounding up the coloured vote will not be plain sailing.

Fresh hope on date for election

Star 8/5/93

(304A)

KAIZER NYATSUMBA, Political Correspondent

IN A major breakthrough yesterday, negotiators gave millions of South Africans a ray of hope when they adopted a declaration of intent calling for the holding of elections not later than April next year and for the setting of a date for the elections within the next four weeks. The declaration, which was initially tabled

before the end of the April 30 Negotiating Council's meeting, was supported by the overwhelming majority of the 26 parties and organisations represented in negotiations, with Ciskei and the Conservative Party expressing reservations.

"This is the victory of the negotiation process at work," said elated ANC secretary-general Cyril Ramaphosa when the declaration of intent was adopted.

The declaration says that, given the urgent

● See Page 2

need to inspire confidence in the negotiations process and offer "a clear vision of the milestones" reached in the process, parties represented in the talks commit themselves to:

- Reaching agreements on binding constitutional principles, the constitutional framework and the constitution-making process in terms of which an election will be held.

- Providing for an adequate time-frame for the implementation of decisions on "these matters and procedures for elections".

- Ensuring that the negotiations process "moves forward sufficiently" over the next four weeks, "at which

● TO PAGE 2.

Election

● FROM PAGE 1

stage, to set the exact date for an election that should take place not later than the end of April 1994" subject to the two points mentioned above.

Supporting the declaration of intent, Constitutional Development Minister Roelf Meyer said it had always been the Government's position that elections should be held only once binding agreements had been reached on constitutional principles and a transitional constitution which would be written by the negotiations forum and passed by Parliament.

"We believe that four weeks is (adequate) time within which to reach an agreement," Meyer said.

Inkatha Freedom Par-

ty delegation leader Joe Matthews said although the IFP wanted an election around September next year, it found the declaration "sufficiently flexible" and therefore supported it.

Also supporting the declaration were Bophuthatswana Minister of State Rowan Conje, South African Communist Party chairman Joe Slovo, Afrikaner Volksunie MP Chris de Jager and National People's Party leader Amichand Rajbansi.

However, De Jager supported the declaration on condition that private armies were disbanded, violence was curbed, all forms of intimidation were eliminated and "Afrikaners' reasonable demand for self-determination and a strong regional dispensation" were attended to before elections could take place.

Sowetan 8/5 - 12/5/93

Tension in NP caucus

By Christelle Terreblanche

304A

SERIOUS tension has developed in the National Party caucus over the rationalisation plans for teachers by the Department of Education and Culture in the House of Representatives (HoR).

A delegation of MPs has met president FW de Klerk and talks with the Minister of National Education, Mr Pier Marais, were planned for Thursday.

A stand-off has developed between HoR and House of Assembly caucus members.

A number of NP MP's in the HoR

confirmed that friction arose in the Monday night caucus meeting when HoR MP's said they could not justify the rationalisation measures which affected their constituencies. (205)

They also felt it complicated their urgent task of canvassing new NP members.

The MP's did not want to be named, but said they hoped the issue would be resolved soon.

"We are here in Parliament to serve our communities, and right now we cannot explain to them why the NP is going ahead with this," one MP said.

205 (150)

Ray of hope for millions

From page 1

violence, constitutional matters, fundamental rights during the transition, the Transitional Executive Council, the Independent Media Commission and the Independent Telecommunications Authority, the Independent Electoral Commission and the repeal of discriminatory legislation.

Supporting the declaration of intent, Constitutional Development Minister Roelf Meyer said it had always been the government's position that elections should be held only once binding agreements had been reached on constitutional principles and a transitional constitution which would be written by the negotiations forum and passed by Parliament.

"The government's view is that we should move forward as expeditiously as possible to reach agreement on an interim constitution and constitutional principles.

"We believe that four weeks is (adequate) time within which to reach an agreement," Mr Meyer said.

Inkatha Freedom Party delegation leader Mr Joe Matthews said although the IFP wanted an election around September next year, it found the declaration "sufficiently flexible" and therefore supported it.

Also supporting the declaration were Bophuthatswana's Minister of State Mr Rowan Cronje, South African Communist Party chairman Mr Joe Slovo, Afrikaner Volksunie MP Mr Chris de Jager and National People's Party leader Mr Amichand Rajbansi.

However, Mr De Jager supported the declaration on condition that private armies were disbanded, violence was curbed, all forms of intimidation were eliminated and "Afrikaners' reasonable demand for self-determination and a strong regional dispensation" were attended to before elections could take place.

The NC also accepted the planning committee's recommendations that only political parties and organisations which had "proven substantial support in a national-regional context" and intended to participate in the first all-in election in their own names could be allowed to join the negotiations process.

Non-political parties or organisations would not be allowed to join the process.

SOUTH AFRICA'S AGONY: *In a nation gripped by violent psychosis,*

drastic measures are needed to force peace on the intolerant

Star 8/5/93

SCA . (S)

Time for shock treatment

IF PEOPLE will not be tolerant willingly, they must be compelled, argues HENRY LEVER in a controversial article about ways to resolve South Africa's predicament.

THE OLD South Africa, based on apartheid, was an unjust society. The future South Africa, if present indications are anything to go by, will be nasty, brutish and ugly. A foretaste of what the future South Africa will be like emerges from trends which have become evident since the Rubicon was crossed and the country committed itself to negotiate a new constitution.

We have become all too familiar with incidents such as the burning of vehicles, the demands for assassins to be handed to the people to administer justice, the deliberate and cold-blooded shooting of a bus load of schoolchildren, inflammatory remarks to "kill the boere", attacks on the elderly and, above all, the endemic killings of IFP and ANC supporters.

In the worst days of American gangsterism, the rival mobsters could at least say that all they were doing was killing *each other*. For the thugs in the IFP and the ANC, however, anyone who gets in their way is fair game.

THE late Jan Hofmeyr pointed out that throughout the country's history there have been forces pulling South Africans together and others pushing them apart. We now have the best opportunity yet of coming together, but it seems to be slipping rapidly beyond our grasp.

The main culprits for the morass in which we find ourselves are the ANC, IFP, PAC, and National Party, but the Church, and more especially the South African Council of Churches, must share some of the blame.

Once the country had committed itself to a negotiated constitution-making process, it was no longer necessary for churches to continue identifying with resistance movements. Their task then should have



ties acted responsibly and with commitment to the awesome task entrusted to them. Instead, they identified far too closely with the ANC and, as a consequence, are now in danger of losing their moral authority. The basic substratum of violence in South Africa is the conflict between the ANC and the IFP for control of the townships. This was recognised by the Goldstone Commission a long time ago. The IFP was at least able to recognise it and to offer a solution. It is ironic that the one person within the ANC who came closest to recognising it at least in public) was Chris Hani; his death was a tragic loss in a great many respects.

To recognise the underlying cause of violence is to start the process of solving it. Central to that process will be for Mangosuthu Buthelezi and Nelson Mandela to agree to differ, then to appear on many public platforms together as possible and to help their followers understand how violence harms their cause.

The reason why the ANC will not prove of such a *tenacious* is ostensibly that it lends credibility to the IFP. But this stage has long been passed. The IFP has established its credibility and is a major political player in its own right.

The human condition being what is, there is a tendency to put a gloss on unacceptable actions. G.K. Chesterton pointed out that "murder" sounds a lot better if it is called something like "social sub-action". In South Africa we call it violence, intimidation, destruction and pillaging "mass action", reverse discrimination, "alternative action", and mob rule of street justice, "democracy".

HERE is a tendency to say present violence is part of a transitional phase. South Africa is experiencing and that the majority of South Africans will adjust to it in government and will recognise that an accommodation has been made, which will not be easy. But the problem is that violence is becoming endemic. The longer it is the more easily it becomes part of an integrated lifestyle and more difficult to eradicate. This makes it folly to expect

SICKENING SYMPTOM: Political differences are settled with brutal finality and the average citizen has become inured to the horror.



IRON FIST: Martial law is seen as essential to giving the peace players breathing space.

Martial law and a joint ANC-IFP platform are keys to aiding change

electioneering in the future South Africa to consist simply of canvassing, genteel persuasion and *huisbesoek*. The only *huisbesoek* a future South Africa is likely to see will be: "If you don't vote for us, we will burn your house down."

South Africa cannot go back to the old ways, but it moves forward to the future at its peril. What alternatives are available to it?

Declare martial law: It is not an ideal solution, but it is not as bad as it sounds. It will have the advantage of stamping out violence, particularly if it sets out with that one purpose in mind.

It will also give the country the breathing space it so badly needs and allow for evolutionary progress. The principal drawback is that it treats the symptoms and not the causes.

Impose a constitution: Ideally a constitution should be approved by

as wide a spectrum of people as possible. It should include a Bill of Rights, a separation of powers, an independent judiciary, a wider separation between the executive and legislature that prevails now, a devolution of power to regions and entrenched clauses.

ALSO, there must be an upper house representing regions and interest groups with the principal purpose of preventing a recurrence of oppression by one group at the expense of another. But if people will not show tolerance towards each other, they will have to be coerced to do so. The constitution should be imposed unilaterally. People will grow to like it.

There is an Oriental saying that Western people fall in love and

then marry, whereas Eastern people marry and then fall in love (this may account for our high divorce rate). A similar process is likely to apply to an imposed constitution. If the system is seen to work, it will come to be loved.

It will be argued that since the ANC, PAC and the other "liberation (another evil euphemism) movements" have not approved it, they will revert to the armed struggle. However, the moral basis for their doing so, will have gone and they will be seen purely as power-seeking organisations.

Laissez faire approach: This consists of drifting along pretty much as we are doing now and hoping for the best. It is not a real alternative.

United Nations solution: This is the worst possible course. Nineteenth century of United Nations efforts to solve the internal problems of countries

has been either ineffectual or totally disastrous.

Emigration: A solution available largely to the more affluent sections of the population, unless you are lucky enough to be a refugee.

There is one other avenue which remains to be explored and this is more in the nature of a last hope than as an alternative solution. There are many people and organisations outside of the established political framework who possess a great deal of political clout.

These include churches, business organisations, mothers and fathers of victims, writers, artists, scientists, elder statesmen and the majority of decent and peace-loving people in all political organisations who need to muster their support in a last super-human effort to make it known to the leaders of all political forces that the nation has tolerated as much as it can.

BRIDGING THE GAP: Nelson Mandela and Mangosuthu Buthelezi in a 1991 peace drive. They must again project this image to mellow their followers.



There is much merit in locking up all the participants at the multi-party conference and only letting them out once they have arrived at a solution.

SOUTH Africa deserves far better than a simple choice between neo-Nazis on the one hand and militant trade unionists, communists and demagogues on the other. This was precisely the choice which confronted the German nation in the 1930s. Let us all hope that the similarity ends there.

□ The writer is a former Professor of Sociology at Witwatersrand University, Columbia University, New York, Ben Gurion University of the Negev and Haifa University.

De Klerk: No private armies in a South 8/5 -12/5/93 free and fair election'

SADF (President FW de Klerk)

THE SOUTH African Defence Force said their viewpoint on multi-party control of the security forces was spelled out in president FW de Klerk's budget speech last month. De Klerk said:

"The government has indicated its willingness to negotiate the establishment of the Transitional Executive Council (TEC) even before the finalisation of all transitional constitutional arrangements. (304A)

"The government remains prepared to establish such a council as soon as possible..

"It can, however, only do so once there is sufficient consensus among participants in the negotiation process on the following: the TEC's composition, its terms of reference and the nature of its authority in respect of levelling the political playing field to ensure a climate conducive to holding free and fair elections. (304A)

"This clearly also applies to its role in respect of defence and law and order.

"It is clear from the agreements reached at Codesa that the relevant sub-councils will focus their activities mainly on levelling the playing field.

"It is the government's view that this would call for political co-operation and involvement



at multi-party level to ensure that all the parties may participate freely and fairly in the election process.

"If that is what those who ask for joint control want, then I do not foresee any problem in our reaching an agreement.

"How this may best be achieved will have to be the subject of negotiation. However, multi-party involvement obviously cannot imply non-governmental control of the security forces.

"The government also insists that the principle that no political party should be entitled to its own private army also be addressed with a view to ensuring free and fair elections."

Generals back rightwing to 'save SA from communism'

Thousands of Afrikaners poised to support secession

The Argus Foreign Service and The Argus Correspondent

LONDON. — Major-General "Tienie" Groenewald has warned of the possibility of a rightwing "secession" in South Africa in five or six months, backed by an army of up to 500 000 white national servicemen.

If the security forces were called in to curb the rise of a white Afrikaner state, he said, "I don't think that the South African security forces will fight against their own."

BBC-2's *Newsnight* programme yesterday said the former chief director of military intelligence was working with three other former generals to give "unity and legitimacy to a para-military right."

Almost all the representatives of the right interviewed told reporter Robin Denslow that they were prepared to go to war for a white *volksstaat* if the government and the ANC went ahead with a new constitution without the approval of groups who felt strongly about regional dispensation. But, Major-General

Groenewald himself stopped short of threatening imminent war. He said the "committee of generals" would first advocate passive resistance.

If that failed, he said, "we will secede."

But, if that also failed, there was, he said, a "vast military potential" which far outweighed the ANC's force of "trained terrorists."

He added: "I'd like to emphasise I'm not talking about a coup d'état. I'm not talking about illegal action."

"I'm talking about a situation where, if the Afrikaner people should decide — and a political authority should be created to do this, simply by creating unity among the different rightwing groups — to secede, from the Republic, and declare their own *volksstaat*, this is the kind of military capability which they have at their disposal."

Major-General Groenewald said he believed the government had a list of 5 500 prominent rightwingers it planned to detain.

Asked if he was expecting to be among them, he said: "Yes."

Denslow: And what are you going to do to try to avoid that?

Groenewald: Nothing. I think that... you do what you have to do.

And in Pretoria the formation of the organisation is being finalised at a secret meeting today.

The Volksfront will be introduced to a mass meeting of CP MPs and farmers at Potchefstroom tomorrow where platelands security and mobilisation of white labour unions will be discussed.

Participants include General Constand Viljoen, former Chief of the SADF, Lieutenant-General Cobus Visser, former head of the CID, SA Police, Lieutenant-General Koos Bischoff, former Army Chief of Operations, SADF, Lieutenant-General "Tienie" Groenewald, former Head of Military Intelligence, SADF, and General Mike Gel-

denhuys, former Commissioner of Police.

Also at today's meeting will be the AWB which was not among the originals. But, AWB "Commandant-General" Servaas de Wet, a former SADF colonel who heads the AWB's *Wenkommendo*, met the generals.

Among 40 groups involved in the "volksfront" are the Transvaal Agricultural Union (TAU), *Herstigste Nasionale Party* (HNP), AWB, *Boerestaatsparty*, the Afrikaner Volksunie, the CP, sections of the ultra-right Church of the Creator, *Volkseenheidskomitee* (Vekom), *Oranjerwerkers*, *Mine Workers* Union (white), the Iron and Metal Union, the Pretoria *Boerekommendo*, and English-speaking rightwing groups.

CP acting leader Dr Ferdi Hartzenberg last night invited NP supporters to join.

He told 400 people at a public meeting in Brits that "a time will come when the laager will have to be closed against the communist onslaught."

Waiting for an Electoral Act

A NEW Electoral Act must still be drafted and it is premature to speculate what the new one will entail, but it is useful to examine the role that one plays in elections.

The wording of South Africa's old Electoral Act is a forceful reminder of the conscious and cold-blooded manner in which black people were excluded from meaningful participation in the government of their country.

The purpose of the Electoral Act of 1979 is stated as follows:

"To consolidate the laws relating to the franchise, the registration of voters and the election of members of the House of Assembly and of provincial councils; and to provide for incidental matters."

In the section of the Electoral Act listing definitions of items occurring in the act, an "adult" is defined as follows:

"Adult person includes a white person of or over the age of 18 years."

Under the heading, "Franchise" is the following:

"Every white person who is a South African citizen, is of or over the age of 18 years and is not subject to any of the disqualifications mentioned in section 4(1) or (2), shall, on compliance with the provisions of this Act, be entitled to be registered as a voter."

"Every person who was classified as a European on any voters' list in existence at the commencement of the Franchise Law Amendment Act, 1931 (Act No 41 of 1931), and was not otherwise classified on any earlier voters' list, shall be deemed to be a white person ..."

The Electoral Act of 1979 therefore considers "adult persons" to be white by definition. The Act clearly states the exclusion of all people not classified white.

So, which whites did not qualify for the vote? Most disqualifications were based on criminal offences.

The first category of offences was conviction of any of the following crimes in South Africa, the former South West Africa, or in an independent bantustan: treason, murder, an offence under the Terrorism or Internal Security Acts and their equivalent in the bantustans resulting in imprisonment without the option of a fine.

People were also barred from voting or registering as voters if they had been:

- Convicted of an offence under

Register of power

AN ELECTORAL Act also deals with the registration of voters.

In South Africa a chief electoral officer and electoral officers are appointed by the Minister of the Interior and Immigration.

Every electoral officer is placed in charge of specific "divisions" (constituencies) and has to prepare voters' lists for these areas. This is done by taking the old voters' list and then including the names of people who have subsequently applied to be placed on the voters' list.

The Electoral Act also lays out legal provisions governing the following:

- The conducting of elections;
- How to apply to vote as an absent voter;
- Applications to vote as special voters;
- How voting or polling stations should proceed;
- Legally valid election expenses.

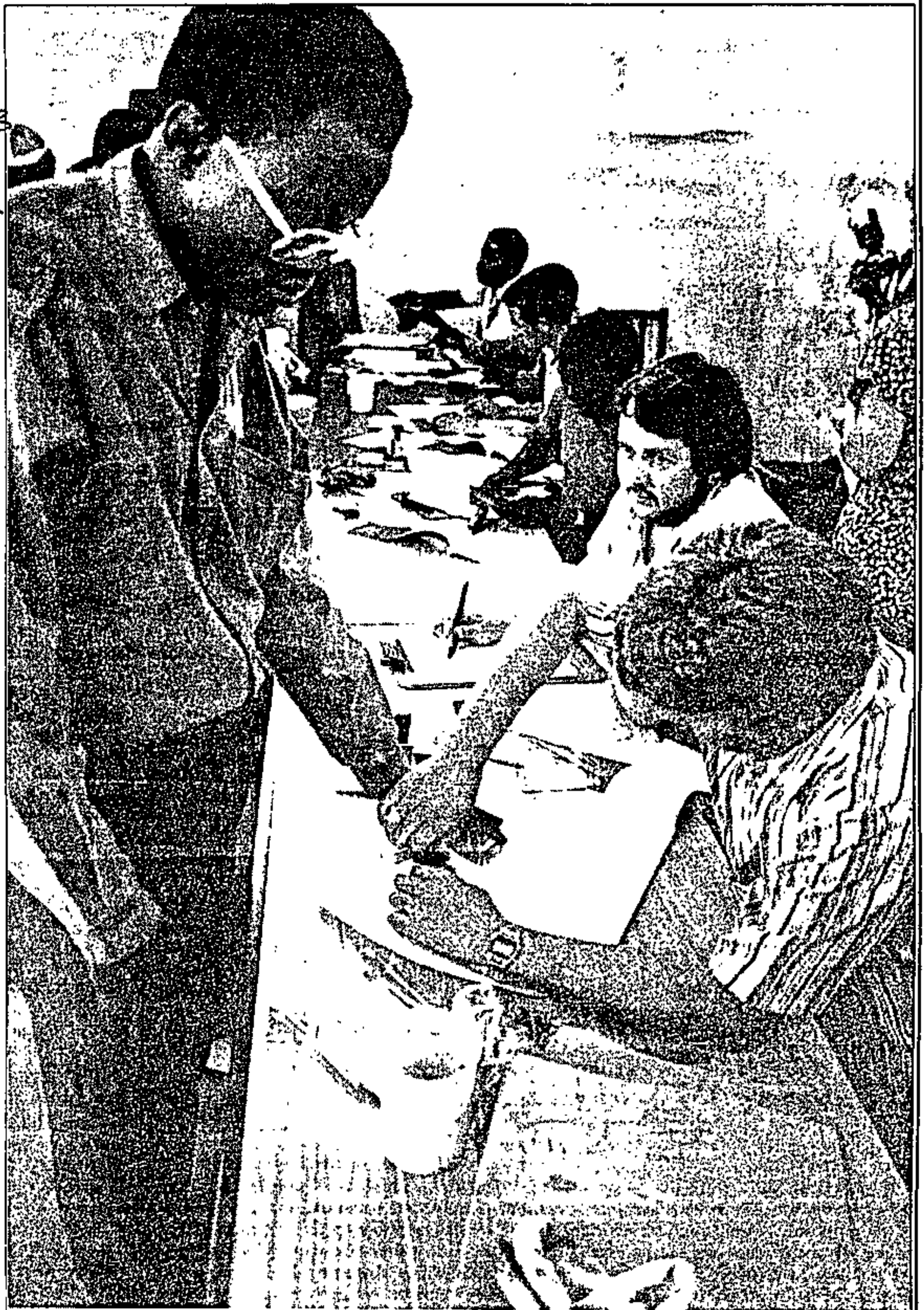
In short, the Electoral Act covers every activity related to elections.

Even at a cursory glance, it is obvious the frame of reference of the old Electoral Act is outdated for the purpose of future non-racial, democratic elections. Significant changes need to be made to include all South Africans.

Depending on whether all the bantustans are going to be re-incorporated, "South Africa" is going to be much larger.

Depending on what type of electoral system is used, voting might not be constituency-based or candidate-based.

The definition of what constitutes treason is also going to have to be modified and the people who might have been excluded from voting on this basis in the past will be allowed to vote again.



REGISTRATION: Namibian citizens wait to register for the country's elections in November 1989

the Abuse of Dependence-producing Substances and Rehabilitation Centres Act resulting in imprisonment without the option of a fine;

- Subject to a court order declaring them mentally disordered;
- Detained as mentally ill under the Mental Health Act, 1973;

- Convicted under the Criminal Procedure Act, 1977, to detention in a reform school;
- Found guilty of any corrupt or

illegal practice at an election.

Unless a court declared people mentally ill, they could not be stopped from voting.

Monitors crucial for credibility

LOCAL and international observers could play a cardinal role in ensuring the success of the coming elections, the Minister of Home Affairs, Mr Danie Schutte, said last week.

He said the acceptability of the poll and perceptions that it was free and fair would be just as important as the result itself.

"If there is any doubt, it could lead to more instability than before," Schutte said.

However, foreign observers

would not be called on to certify the result as being free and fair. This would have to be done by South Africans themselves.

The government would not decide on its own whether and how observers should be used. This was a matter for negotiation.

It was envisaged that legislation on, among other things, the accreditation of observers, would be drawn up by the Electoral Commission and be submitted to the multi-party conference before

being enacted by Parliament.

The National Peace Secretariat could play a major role in appointing observers.

Schutte said the Department of Home Affairs was issuing 60 000 identity documents a month, and this rate would be increased to 90 000. A total of 85 percent of eligible voters already had ID books.

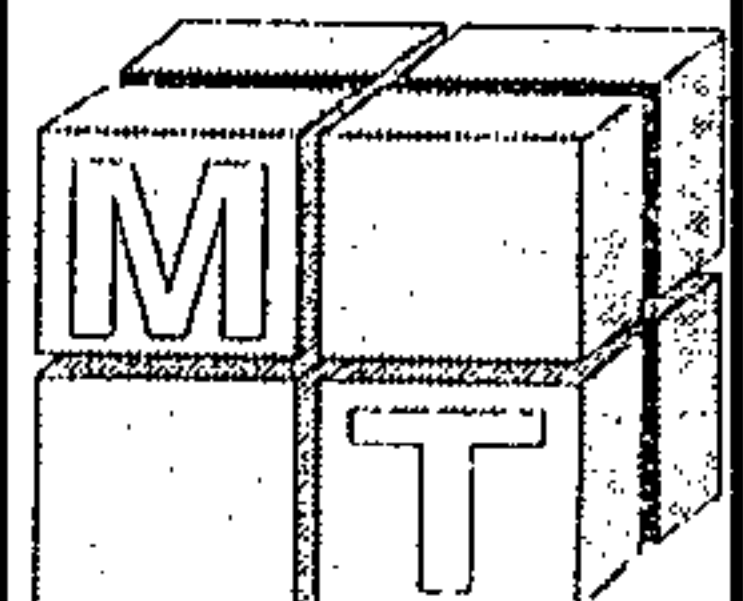
Thousands of voting booths were also being manufactured.

Mr Peter Gastrow (DP Durban

Central) said that if there were to be 10 observers — including local, international and party political representatives — at each of South Africa's seven thousand polling stations, identifying and co-ordinating them would be a massive logistic exercise.

Someone needed to start planning this so that even if negotiators were dragging their feet, a practical programme could be in place when the election date was announced.

THIS PAGE IS A JOINT PROJECT OF MATLA TRUST AND SOUTH



The soft-spoken, grey-haired woman, dressed in a neat wool suit, said that digging bunkers on their farms and taking up arms would be the next step to fighting for what they want. "Today could be the start of the farmers taking up arms," Klingsley's chilling sentiments were echoed by many of the khaki-clad farmers who attended the rally on Thursday.

Speaker after speaker at the meeting, organised by

SIGGING IN THEIR HEELS: The farmers' gathering in Potchefstroom had one message: Enough is enough. And they're prepared to back their demands with whatever it takes.

the Transvaal and Free State agricultural unions, called on farmers to mobilise themselves, their families and even their farmworkers against threats to their security, new labour legislation — and negotiations.

South African flags were waved alongside flags from the old Boer Republic. Banners proclaimed: "Ek is 'n Boer en 'n farmer: kom 'ry."

my" (I am a Boer and a farmer, come 'ry' me). Klingsley's family have been in South Africa for generations and her grandmother was imprisoned in a British concentration camp almost 100 years ago. "We want to farm and be successful, but we will not live under a black government. They number so many, we will be engulfed. We feel we will not have a say."

Leendoringstad farmers Henne Maas and Sas Botha said they would never be able to live under a black majority government. "I feel threatened by the ANC. A black government will take over the country and we will lose our farms. We are here today fighting for our own properties and very livelihood. If we do not stand together, it's over — the end."

They said there was nowhere left to trek and they would take up arms, if necessary, to fight for their country.

Koosie Pleetse, a cattle farmer from Bray in the Vryburg district, said the main problem for the farmer was economics. "The price of petrol is up, diesel is up, maize seed is up — yet we are getting 50 percent less for agricultural products and meat, and consumers are paying more. Where does the money go?"

Photograph: KAREN SANDISON

Khaki-clad Jan du Preez, who farms with game and cattle in the Vryburg district, said he was angry at the proposed new labour laws which provide minimum pay scales and regulate working conditions for farmworkers, and the Government's surrender to pressure from the ANC and Con-

over law and order. They can't even protect the people who provide the country with food.

The bottom line, Transvaal Agricultural Union president Dries Bruwer said to loud cheering, was that there would be no negotiated settlement in South Africa without the farmers' cooperation. "After this meeting, you will be able to tell your grandchildren you were there when the farmers decided. So far and no further."

● Here's to the good, old days. JOE LOUW laments over the demise of old-style shebeens. See Page 9

Relocate SA fugitive, urges Zambia

AFRICA NEWS SERVICE

LUSAKA — Zambia has requested the United Nations High Commissioner for Refugees (UNHCR) to send fugitive South African Katiza Cebekulu to a third country to avoid "misunderstandings" between Zambia and South Africa.

The UNHCR representative to Zambia, Abou Mousa, told Saturday Star in an interview that the Zambian government wanted a rapid solution to the Cebekulu problem.

Cebekulu was a key witness in the Winnie Mandela trial. He escaped from South Africa and found his way to Zambia in March 1991. He has since been languishing in Zambian prisons.

Mousa said Cebekulu had made it clear he would not return to South Africa for fear of his life.

"He is in preventive custody and we are trying to relocate him in another African country so that he can be free. He has expressed fear about going back to South Africa and it is not our intention to send him back."

His going home should be voluntary, Mousa said.

Asked how many countries had been approached regarding the Cebekulu case, Mousa said: "I can't give you the number of countries but I know my head office has done quite a lot. If we find a place for him tomorrow, we will arrange that he leaves." He also agreed that as long as the problem was outstanding, everybody would like to find a solution.

Zambian Minister of Home Affairs Newstead Zimba declined to comment, saying: "I am still waiting for a reply from the UNHCR — you ask them to comment."

Foreign Affairs Minister Vernon Mwaanga earlier this year wrote to the UNHCR requesting it to find another home for Cebekulu.

Prison authorities say they are stuck with more than 100 prohibited immigrants, including Cebekulu. Most of those have been rejected by their governments, and others fear for their lives. Most of them are Zaireans.

FORCED SALE AUCTION OF GOODS STOPPED AT JAN SMUTS AND SUBSEQUENTLY RELEASED AWB Nos 2208784511 AND 22092003122 NOW TO BE SOLD BY PUBLIC AUCTION

WITHOUT RESERVE AT THE WAREHOUSE,
MESSRS QUICKFREIGHT, ISANDO.
PERSIAN AND ORIENTAL CARPETS, RUNNERS AND RUGS

BRIEF DESCRIPTION OF GOODS:
Selection of fine pure silk Hareket, semi-antique Russian Bokhara, Afghan, Baluch, Chinese, Hammedan, Kazachi, silk Qum, Ispahan, large carpets of Yemout, signed Shivan, just to mention a few.

AUCTIONS TAKE PLACE AS FOLLOWS:
SUNDAY 9TH MAY 1993, AT 11 AM
SUNDAY 9TH MAY 1993, AT 3 PM

VENUE: The Warehouse, Messrs Quickfreight, corner Shalwood and Lenei Street, Isando.
VIEW: 1 HOUR PRIOR TO AUCTION.
AUCTIONEER'S NOTE: Every item will be sold individually. Every rug will be sold with a certificate of authenticity and guarantee. This is one of the finest FORM OF PAYMENT. ID required with all personal cheques. Visa and Mastercard cards accepted subject to approval.
DIRECTIONS: Quickfreight is situated directly behind the Southern Sun Airport Hotel, Isando.

APPOINTED AUCTIONEER: STEPHEN HEITZ

Most whites query Mandela's sincerity

CAPE TOWN — Only one in five South African whites believe that ANC president Nelson Mandela is sincere about wanting to solve the problems of this country.

That is the outcome of a survey by Research Surveys' Omnichem division, which interviewed 500 black men, 500 white men and 800 white women in March.

They were asked how sincere they thought each of the leading politicians was about his desire to solve the problems.

While Mandela's sincerity among whites was suspect, 92 percent of black men believed he was sincere.

President de Klerk surfaced as the only leading politician seen by both black and white South Africans as being sincere. Two-thirds of all respondents

saw De Klerk as being either totally, or quite, sincere.

Inkatha Freedom Party leader Mangosuthu Buthe also enjoyed the confidence of most whites (to almost the same extent as De Klerk). However, four in five black men felt he was "not at all" sincere.

Conversely, while most whites doubted the sincerity of the Pan Africanist Congress, this leader, too, succeeded in convincing black men he meant what he said.

Common ground was also found by the two race groups in their assessment of Dr Zach de Beer, leader of the Democratic Party. The DP will be concerned to learn that their leader was considered by half the sample to be "not at all" sincere — Sapa.

Immigration curb soon

MANDY JEAN WOODS

DESPITE its international image of a country riven by violence, South Africa has become the residence of choice for many foreigners, with some SA missions abroad receiving as many as 2 000 inquiries a day!

Given this situation, stricter measures to deal with this increase in applications would be introduced, Home Affairs Minister Dannie Schutte said yesterday.

This situation had become particularly problematic since the opening up of eastern Europe, Schutte said.

"Because the majority of people applying do not qualify, a situation has developed where agents or people applying for permanent residence on behalf of immigrants blatantly assist in making fraudulent representations," he noted.

To counter this, substantial fines — with or without a prison sentence — would be imposed in future.

The capacity of South Africa to absorb prospective immigrants, especially in the prevailing economic climate and particularly in the category of persons wishing to settle here as workers, is extremely limited," Schutte said.

The bona fides of prospective immigrants who claimed to be financially independent or in a position to establish job-creating industries and other acceptable business ventures would be thoroughly investigated, he added.

Talks planning body claims great progress

KAIZER NYATISUBA Political Correspondent

THE 10-member planning committee which facilitates negotiations claims to have made "tremendous" progress on issues it had been asked to make recommendations on, including the name of the process itself and the constitution of technical committees.

The planning committee, whose members participate in their personal capacities and not as representatives of political parties or organisations, yesterday recommended to the 26-delegation Negotiating Council (NC) meeting at the World Trade Centre that the multiparty talks simply be called the Multi-party Negotiations Process.

But even if accepted, it may not mean that debate on the name for the process has necessarily ended.

The planning committee has also nominated people to serve on the seven technical committees whose formation was approved when the NC met last week.

Drawn up by a three-member subcommittee of the planning committee — comprising National Party consultant adviser Fanie Venier, ANC negotiator Mac Maharaj and KwaZulu government representative Dr Ben Ntshane — the nominations are believed to have the blessing of the planning committee.

The various technical committees and the people nominated to serve on them:

- Violence: V Ntshandane, Professor M G Erasmus.
- Fundamental rights during the transition: Advocate G H Grove, Advocate Z Yacoub, Professor L M du Plessis, and H Corder.
- Transitional executive council: Professor D van Wyk, Professor Fink Haysom, Dr J C Henris, and M E Maphelo.
- Independent media commission and independent telecommunications authority: Advocate David Dixon, Dr B de Villiers, Advocate P Pretorius, and former Kwa-Nene Chief Minister Enos Mabuza.
- Independent electoral commission: STK Ndlovu, Professor D Davis, R P Rossenthal, and Advocate L Laubscher.
- Repeal of discriminatory legislation: Advocate Plus Langat, Advocate C Nkabinde, Professor John Dugard, and Professor M G Erasmus.

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FW to speak on national crisis

Star 8/5/92

CHRIS WHITFIELD
Political Correspondent

CAPE TOWN — President de Klerk will issue today what Government sources say will be a "major and very important" response to the mounting political crisis.

It is understood a statement will be released this evening and the sources said it would deal with a "wide range of issues". There was speculation in political circles that De Klerk was poised to take action on security issues. However, sources refused to be drawn on this.

Among the issues likely to be addressed are the growing unease from sectors of the agricultural community over attacks on farmers and the wider security situation.

The Government has already signalled that it intends taking steps to beef up farm security, but these would not include giving arms to farmers.

Other points De Klerk might address are growing bellicosity from both the far Left and far Right of the political spectrum, and the education crisis. He could also touch on constitutional issues.

New Afrikaner front rejects negotiations

PRETORIA — The founding meeting of the Afrikaner Volksfront has rejected unanimously multiparty negotiations aimed at "robbing the Afrikaner of his freedom and right to self-determination".

The meeting also agreed to create unity among Afrikaners and bring about self-determination and created a working committee to report back on these matters at the next meeting on May 19.

The meeting, held in Silverton, Pretoria, yesterday was chaired by the Committee of Generals (CoG) and attended by acting leader Mr Ferdi Hartzenberg, most CP Members of Parliament, most right-wing political

leaders, AWB observer "Colonel" Servaas de Wet and labour union representatives.

CoG chairman General Constand Viljoen told the media afterwards that the national front would concentrate on creating solidarity and finding common ground between the fragmented right wing, which was one of its most important tasks.

"We believe the Afrikaner will stand up in unison in the period that lies ahead," said Gen Viljoen, a former SADF chief.

The different political parties would continue with their activities but a united strategy would be developed on certain unspecified aspects, he said. — Sapa

Cosag (304A) keeps talks on track

Political Staff

JOHANNESBURG. — A secret meeting of the Concerned South Africans Group in Ulundi on Wednesday, called at the initiative of acting leader of the Conservative Party Dr Ferdi Hartzenberg, played a key role in keeping negotiations on track this week.

After last Friday's meeting of the Negotiating Council at which Inkatha Freedom Party (IFP) officials were prevented from reading a lengthy document on violence, an angry IFP president Chief Mangosuthu Buthelezi indicated on his return from London, that he might not be prepared to accept the decision to refer the issue of violence to a committee.

If Chief Buthelezi had insisted that the issue be debated in the Negotiating Council yesterday, the process could once again have become bogged down.

Observers said yesterday it appeared the CP move had kept the IFP in talks.

AWB to hold white election

VENTERSDORP. — The Afrikaner Weerstandsbeweging yesterday declared it would hold a volksverkiesing (people's election) for whites at the same time as a general election was held.

The organisation's executive council said in a statement it would not participate in a general election because it would result in "free nations losing their sovereignty and being forced into servitude under a communist government".

The AWB said white South Africans would instead be called on to support a volksverkiesing in which they could vote in existing constituencies.

"Candidates for the volksraad (parliament) will be appointed by the white electorate in each constituency. Candidates for the post of president will be appointed by the total electorate," they said.

"Following the election, the president will appoint and announce his shadow cabinet."

FW 'only credible leader' for all — Survey

By BARRY STREEK
Political Staff

PRESIDENT FW de Klerk is the only leading politician seen by both black and white South Africans as being sincere about wanting to solve the problems of the country, a new poll has found.

While ANC president Mr Nelson

Mandela was regarded as sincere by 92% of black men, only 21% of white men and 17% of white women agreed.

Chief Mangosuthu Buthelezi was sincere, only 17% of black men agreed.

Almost half of the sample, both black and white, did not believe the Democratic Party leader Dr Zach de Beer was at all sincere.

While 71% of white men and 69% of white women believe IFP leader

PAC leader Mr Clarence Makwetu is regarded as sincere by 73% of black men, but only 11% of white men and 10% of white women agreed, while 53% of white men,

40% of white women and 21% of black men believed former Conser-

vative Party leader Dr Andries Treurnicht was sincere.

The results of the poll were released yesterday by Research Surveys' Omnichek division, who interviewed 500 black men, 500 white men and 800 white women in the metropolitan areas in early March.

They were asked how sincere

they thought each of the leading politicians was about his desires to solve the problems of the country.

Research Surveys' Ms Binky Kelias said that with the first multi-party elections possibly only months away, the various parties and organisations had their work cut out to create an image for their leaders that would have universal appeal.

A ray of hope for millions

304A
ARG 8/5/93

KAIZER NYATSUMBA
Weekend Argus Political Staff

IN a major breakthrough negotiators gave millions of South Africans a ray of hope when they adopted a declaration of intent calling for the holding of elections not later than April next year and calling for the setting of a date for the elections within the next four weeks.

The declaration, which was initially tabled before the end of the April 30 Negotiating Council's meeting, was supported by the overwhelming majority of the 26 parties and organisations represented in negotiations, with the Ciskei and the Conservative Party expressing reservations.

The 104-member Negotiating Council also formally set up seven technical committees to do the spadework on important and sometimes controversial issues in an effort to speed up the negotiations process.

"This is the victory of the negotiation process at work," said elated ANC secretary-general Cyril Ramaphosa when the declaration of intent was adopted.

The adopted declaration has a few amendments which were suggested by the 10-member planning committee, which this week made a lot of progress in its deliberations.

The declaration says that given the urgent need to inspire confidence in the negotia-

tions process and offer "a clear vision of the milestones" reached in the process, parties represented in the talks commit themselves to:

- Reaching agreements on binding constitutional principles, the constitutional framework and the constitution-making process in terms of which an election will be held.

- Providing for an adequate time-frame for the implementation of decisions on "these matters and procedures for elections".

- Ensuring that the negotiations process "moves forward sufficiently" over the next four weeks, "at which stage to set the exact date for an election that should take place not later than the end of April 1994, subject to paragraphs 3.1 and 3.2".

The paragraphs referred to are the two points mentioned above.

Members of the seven technical committees are scheduled to meet the planning committee at the World Trade Centre on Monday to be briefed on their mandates.

The technical committees will be asked to each submit initial reports to the planning committee on May 14, so that these can be tabled when the NC meets four days later.

These committees, which will each consult with experts "on any issues they might consider necessary", will look into

To page 3

AT THE WORLD TRADE CENTRE

THE 10 middle-aged men — seated around a rectangular table on the first floor of the shabby World Trade Centre in Kempton Park — are collectively known as the Planning Committee.

Their job is to smooth the talks-path for the 26-party negotiating council that haggles over SA's future in the full glare of the world's spotlight.

But each one of these men has a mandate from his leader — to cut the best deal possible for his party. And it is here that the compromises that will dictate the course of this country are bashed out before being scrutinised in the public forum.

When the 10 men enter the room, they leave behind them the rhetoric and antagonism that has become the daily fare of the press.

In their "personal capacities" they represent the main political forces in the country.

They are the Concerned South Africans Group consisting of the Ciskei, Bophuthatswana and the Inkatha Freedom Party — but not the CP, the government, the ANC alliance with the Transkei and the Transvaal and Natal Indian Congresses.

On the edges, watching the first round as the government and the ANC struggle to convince the Cosag lobby that their deal is the best course for the country, are the PAC and the DP.

The Planning Committee has less than a month to produce the goods.

Leader of the Cosag lobby is Inkatha's Frank Mdlalose, a medical doctor, the party's national chairman and the planning committee's self-appointed elder statesman.

Stubborn

Dressed in his trademark suspenders, which serve little purpose other than to adorn his robust belly, Dr Mdlalose stands back during much of the debate, graciously allowing his two partners in the Cosag alliance to get hot and sweaty over points that concern his party — in particular, regionalism and violence.

He then timeously intervenes to settle the

room, he is an enthusiastic first-time player, thriving on the process, but subdued by the courtship dance of the government and the ANC of the Cosag lobby. He takes a middle road in promoting the process, careful never to rock the boat.

His neighbour to the left is the slightly built and boyish Constitutional Minister and chief negotiator Roelf Meyer. He takes a fair and apparently honest approach in debate, always maintaining his cool when filed.

When trying to convince the participants, he seldom raises his voice and often uses a self-effacing manner.

Across the table is the ANC's secretary-general and chief

negotiator, Cyril Ramaphosa, who sometimes finds the contents of his electronic diary more interesting than the proceedings. When his intervention is necessary

— and in a manner too smooth even for a margarine advertisement — he slowly and patiently explains his party's viewpoint.

He will magnanimously concede an insignificant point to a Cosag opponent and then shrewdly scores a major advantage in the second breath.

His sometimes patronising style is offset by the Transkei's chief state law adviser Zam Tlusu, who rarely participates unless he makes a considered legal point, places the Transkei's position on record or suggests a logical solution to a problem.

He is admired for his thoroughness, meticulous care for detail and honest approach in seeking compromises.

His calm facilitating style is similarly found in the representative of the Indian Congresses and former Operation Vula operative Pravin Gordhan.

The picture of kind reason and wisdom, he is always tuned in to spotting the acceptable compromise and soothing raised hackles. However, when necessary, he can display the steely resolve of an underground cadre.

The DP's representative Colin Eglin plays a similar facilitating role in his peculiar crusty and

Plotting and planning in the 10-man committee

STimes 9/5/93

304A



CYRIL RAMAPHOSA
He gives a point while he scores an advantage



COLIN EGLIN
The DP man who is able to bring squabblers to heel



On the edges, watching the first round as the government and the ANC struggle to convince the Cosag lobby that their deal is the best course for the country, are the PAC and the DP.

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He then timeously intervenes to settle the feathers with the kindly voice of Cosag reason. He can be stoically stubborn and maintains a tolerant but dignified silence at the waves of hilarity that often convulse the room.

Seated on his left is his Cosag ally, Mick Webb, the overweight and red-faced adviser to Ciskei leader Oupa Gqozo and a King Williams Town lawyer. He is quick to raise his hand to question any perceived slight, over-anxious to go on the attack and is undoubtedly the most dominant voice in the proceedings.

He is bolstered in his querulousness by Bophuthatswana minister of defence Rowan Cronje, a former minister under Rhodesia's Ian Smith and brother-in-law to CP MP Tom Langley.

Meticulously toupeed, he is smooth and articulate, always agreeable to ensuring the continuation of negotiations but careful to often reserve the tiny homeland's right to abstain from binding decisions.

Separating the Cosag lobby from the government representative is the PAC's Benny Alexander, neatly dressed in a suit and tie, having forsaken his grenadilla-coloured wrestling outfit and uncompromising rhetoric displayed at the talks forum last month.

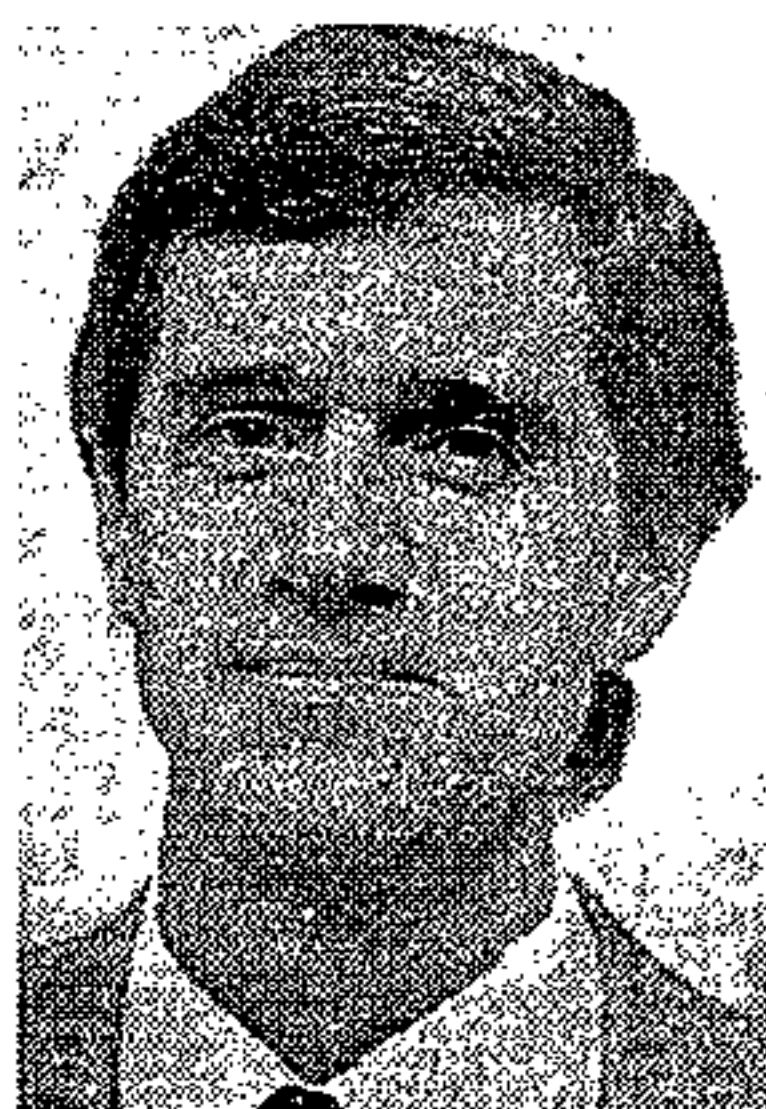
The youngest participant in the



CYRIL RAMAPHOSA
He gives a point while he scores an advantage



COLIN EGLIN
The DP man who is able to bring squabblers to heel



ROELF MEYER
The Minister with a cool, fair and honest approach



FRANK MDLALOSE
The kindly voice of reason who settles ruffled feathers

ponent and then shrewdly scores a major advantage in the second breath.

His sometimes patronising style is offset by the Transkei's chief state law adviser Zam Titus, who rarely participates unless he makes a considered legal point, places the Transkei's position on record or suggests a logical solution to a problem.

He is admired for his thoroughness, meticulous care for detail and honest approach in seeking compromises.

His calm facilitating style is similarly found in the representative of the Indian Congresses and former Operation Vula operative Pravin Gordhan.

The picture of kind reason and wisdom, he is always tuned in to spotting the acceptable compromise and soothing raised hackles. However, when necessary, he can display the steely resolve of an underground cadre.

The DP's representative Colin Eglin plays a similar facilitating role in his peculiar crusty and diligent fashion, but without the keen sensitivity to nuance that the other facilitators display.

Logical

Often forgetting to switch on his microphone, he will irritably boom forth what he sees as the most no-nonsense approach to a particular issue, and for some reason, the rest of the squabblers come to heel.

Communist Party chairman Joe Slovo, habitually dressed in his tired red socks, makes his points best by leaning forwards on his crossed arms.

His arguments are always calm, reasoned and logical, never disregarding principle for consensus, but neither sacrificing progress for political gain.

The proceedings of the 10 are kept for the record by Gillian Hutchings, a seconded employee from the Consultative Business Movement.

Ever watchful over the proceedings is the CBM's Theuns Eloff, head of administration for negotiations who constantly anticipates the moment which will spell either breakthrough or chaos.

— EDYTH BULBRING

Homelands live beyond their means

By KEVIN DAVIE

THE independent and self-governing homelands are spending five times more than they earn.

Revenue shortfalls are particularly acute in the independent TBVC states, which collectively owe R5,8-billion. Transkei's revenue last year, mainly from taxing public servants, was only R780-million compared with spending of R5,2-billion.

Bophuthatswana, the best-off financially, collected revenue of R1,7-billion last year and spent R4,3-billion.

Bophuthatswana this week cut its company tax from 35% to 30% when announcing that its budget had increased from R4,1-billion to R4,9-billion.

The TBVC and self-governing states last year collected R5,3-billion from their own sources and spent R24,4-billion.

The shortfall was partly made up by transfer payments from the SA Government of about R13,8-billion, R2-billion in payments from the SA Customs Union, tax transfers of R509-million and rand monetary area payments of R70-million.

These transfers were topped up by borrowings of R3-billion by the TBVC states, mostly from the SA Government and the Development Bank.

Homeland finances are in the spotlight because of SA's R28,5-billion Budget deficit and disclosures of widespread corruption in the homelands and in the infamous Department of Development Aid.

The SA Government, which has budgeted to increase transfers by 21% to the TBVC states and 22% to the self-governing territories, has been attacked by the Democratic Party for not be-

ing accountable for homeland spending.

The TBVC states audit their own spending. The Auditor-General's office audits the self-governing territories, but these reports are not tabled in Parliament.

A document produced by SAPRO, the secretariat set up to oversee structural adjustment programmes in the homelands, says spending has increased significantly since 1989-90 because of political and socio-economic considerations.

"A further contributing factor was the non-compliance of the TBVC governments to the originally agreed guidelines.

"The situation has subsequently deteriorated to such an extent that R2,5-billion is needed during (1992-93) to cover the deficit of the TBVC states," the document says.

SAPRO chairman Deon Richter says financial management has been neglected over many years with some highly questionable spending.

He says most of the spending on white elephants has been stopped, although "one or two still slip through".

Mr Richter says SA's regional governments have limited income of their own. VAT income, for instance, for the self-governing areas last year was a paltry R34-million.

"Nowhere on the planet will you find regional governments with such a limited revenue basis," says Mr Richter.

Disparities

About 40% of SA's population — the poorest of the poor — live in these areas. Many are of schoolgoing age or pensioners.

Mr Richter says homeland spending was increased this year to equalise pensions. He says there are huge disparities between the level of services provided in the homelands and other areas.

The Democratic Party's Ken Andrew says the homelands are a shambles of incompetence, corruption and waste. He says it is unacceptable that the Government will not take responsibility for the taxpayers' money it transfers to the homelands.

"Rationalisation will get rid of duplication so that services can be provided at a far lower cost."



DEON RICHTER: Most white elephant spending is over Picture: CHRISTIAN

Homelands agree on joint services

By EDYTH BULBRING
Political Correspondent

THE government will introduce, within 10 days, a law which allows the joint administration of services in the six homelands.

The legislation was approved by representatives from the six homelands at a meeting with Regional and Land Affairs Minister Andre Fourie in Pretoria this week.

It will effectively leave the political structures of the states intact, but will remove the administration of a large number of its functions — like the provision of health services and pensions — to the provinces.

Also in draft form is legislation which will allow State President FW de Klerk to proclaim the re-incorporation of the TBVC states once agreement has been reached in negotiations.

This legislation, which

will go to the Cabinet shortly, will be introduced before the end of the parliamentary session and allows Mr de Klerk to amend their status by proclamation in a parliamentary recess.

Mr Fourie said this week the legislation concerning the six territories would allow Mr de Klerk to proclaim the joint provision of services once agreement had been reached with the provinces. (304A)

Lebowa, Gazankulu and the Transvaal Provincial Administration have already had their first steering committee meeting to agree on what functions can be jointly administered to do away with duplication in the region.

There is also a bilateral arrangement with the TPA and Kwandebele while discussions for the setting up of a steering committee for Kangwane still need to be finalised.

1992 a busy year for Home Affairs

Political Reporter

SINCE President F W De Klerk announced the unbanning of all political organisations in his landmark February 2, 1990 speech, 16 000 exiles have returned home.

These are among the interesting statistics contained in the annual report of the Department of Home Affairs for last year tabled in Parliament recently.

According to the report, since November 1990, 10 040 extraordinary travel certificates had been issued to exiles who had applied to enter the country. The United Nations High Commissioner for Refugees took over the task of repatriation from the Department in 1992 during which time 5 947 exiles returned.

The report reveals that a total of 5 737 790

voters' names appeared on the voter's roll by December 31 last year.

Of the total, 3 345 186 had been registered under the House of Assembly, 1 788 440 under the House of Representatives and 604 164 under the House of Delegates.

ID documents

The report also revealed a total of 1 841 614 identity documents had been issued during 1992.

These included first applications and re-issues.

The report said that between February 25 and March 12 last year, in the run-up to the March 20 whites-only referendum, 154 280 identity documents had been issued of which

36 629 belonged to whites.

An average of 10 285 documents had been issued a day in 15 working days which represented an increase of 47 per cent.

The implementation of legislation making it obligatory for drivers on a public road to carry their driver's licences also led to a considerable increase in applications for the re-issue of ID documents.

During 1992, 850 718 birth certificates, 61 846 marriage certificates, and 65 571 death certificates had been issued.

Altogether 220 932 deaths had been registered.

Furthermore, 434 646 SA passports were issued compared with 436 181 in the previous year.

SA will not become another Bosnia, hotheads warned

FW: NO BODYS CAN STOP US

STimes 9/5/93

By EDYTH BULBRING
and JOCELYN MAKER

PRESIDENT FW de Klerk last night issued an unusually blunt warning to right and left-wing extremists that he would use the full might of the state to prevent them from plunging the country into a Bosnian-like civil war.

The government would never surrender to their demands, he said. The only solution to South Africa's problems was the swift installation of a non-racial government of national unity.

Mr de Klerk's warning and call for a speedy transition to multi-party rule were immediately echoed by the ANC, which said it would not allow South Africa to be blackmailed into accepting schemes that would turn the country into another Bosnia.

Mr de Klerk threatened tough measures against extremists the day after negotiators at the World Trade Centre made significant breakthroughs in bringing the country closer to its first non-racial elections.

(30thA)
Pressure

His warning came at the end of a

THE FLIPPING CLEVER LITTLE GIRL WHO WROTE A BOOK AT 8



→
Cassidy

Win R380 000 in the

□ To Page 2
In dealing with right-wing
called up.
would, if necessary, be
Further reinforcements
played around the country.
had been called up and de-
Thousands of servicemen
schools.
disrupt education or occupy
en against people trying to
Strict action would be tak-
said.
mination to use these," he
should they doubt its deter-
power and its resources. Nor
estimate the government's
the right should not under-
"Extremists on the left of
restraint as weakness.
tude as a lack of will and its
to view its responsible atti-
said it was a serious mistake
of the country, Mr de Klerk
government has lost control
growing perception that the
Trying to counter the
Power

Danc

related charges.
Giving evidence
Bence, the SADF's
Pharmaceutical
Colonel MHS Mell
internal and e
investigations in
cases were still b
ducted at 17 milita
tals and sickbays
out South Africa.
Colonel Melliar
court his suspicio

FW: Nobody can stop us

From Page 1
extremism, Mr de Klerk
said the government would
not be deterred from its
course in negotiations,
backed in last year's refer-
endum.
"Those who imagine that
negotiations and a new,
just dispensation can be
stopped are naive," he said.
He also warned the
right-wing against trying
to subvert the loyalty of
the security forces.
However, in attempting
to allay whites' fears of
black domination, Mr de
Klerk said there was no
question of surrendering
power to any specific party
or accepting a constitution
which could lead to the
domination of any popula-
tion group.
He said it was false that
the government was con-

His warning came at the end of a
week of intense right-wing mobilisation
and a growing education crisis which
threatened to take the country back to
the dark days of the school riots of 1976.
Mr de Klerk said the government had
foreseen that, as progress was made
with talks, extremists would try to
place the process under pressure and
even destroy it.
"What we are experiencing is the last
desperate attempt of the left and the
right to disrupt the good progress which
is being made with negotiations," he
said.
If South Africa conceded to extremist
demands, it would be dragged back into
the past. International isolation would
return, sanctions and eco-
nomic collapse would follow,
violence would increase and
a bloody Bosnian-style civil
war would ensue.
"The only reasonable
prospect available to South
Africa... is to proceed
swiftly to the conclusion of
the present negotiations and
the installation of a govern-
ment of national unity," said
Mr de Klerk.
Negotiators representing
26 parties made consider-
able progress at the World
Trade Centre talks on Fri-
day by agreeing that an elec-
tion date would be set by
June 3.
The negotiating council
adopted a declaration of in-
tent which binds the parties
to ensure that sufficient pro-
gress is made in the next
four weeks to allow the set-
ting of a date for an election,
to take place before May
next year.
The parties also agreed to
appoint technical commit-
tees, consisting mainly of
lawyers, to resolve outstand-
ing differences on matters
such as the fundamental
principles of a new constitu-
tion, how the country will be
ruled in the run-up to elec-
tions and the repeal of re-
maining discriminatory leg-
islation.

GOING

Earlier in the week, the
right-wing Volksfront —
led by five of the most sen-
ior securocrats who served
former President PW
Botha — was formed dur-
ing a five-hour meeting at
the Pretoria headquarters
of the Transvaal Agricul-
tural Union.
Hailed as "the start of
unity among the Afrikaner
against a common enemy"
and the only way to ensure
self-determination of all
nations in South Africa, the
Volksfront has the support
of more than 100 right-
wing groups.
The meeting was
chaired by former SADF
chief General Constand
Viljoen.
A 17-member working
committee was elected to
draw up a founding decla-
ration and report back at
the next meeting on May
19.
The Volksfront insists it
is not a military force, and
General Viljoen said after
Friday's meeting that civil
war in South Africa had to
be avoided at all cost.
The group says its pri-
mary objective is to force
the government and the
ANC to place demands for
an independent Afrikaner
homeland on the negotia-
tions agenda.

THEY have leap-frogged to the top of television and radio news bulletins over the past few weeks and have had more than their share of newspaper headlines.

And last week spokesmen for the newly formed "Committee of Generals", which seeks to unite the rightwing, gave as one of their reasons for existence the bolstering of Cosag in multi-party negotiations at the World Trade Centre.

They call themselves the Concerned Southern Africans Group (Cosag) — because some of them cherish their territories' "independence" and therefore do not see themselves as South Africans — and seek to strengthen one another's position in negotiations.

But who are they, and how did they come to be allies, these members of Cosag?

There is a strange political marriage of convenience, and political observers expect it to go the way of all such marriages when the relationship among them sours and the chemistry ceases to exist.

Cosag was formed in Sandton in October following the signing

Cosag tries to flex negotiating muscles

Star 10/5/93

of the September 26 Record of Understanding by President F W de Klerk and ANC president Nelson Mandela.

That agreement, which included the fencing in of hostels regarded as violence flash-points and the banning of the carrying of all dangerous weapons — including "traditional" or "cultural" weapons — angered the Inkhata Freedom Party (IFP) leader and KwaZulu Chief Minister Chief Mangosuthu Buthe.

He immediately suspended contact with the Government, accusing Pretoria and the ANC of having embarked on an "ethnic cleansing" campaign against Zulus.

He said while he was not against the holding of bilateral meetings between the Government and the ANC, he was opposed to agreements reached in such meetings if they had implications for people and parties not represented in the meetings.

The Concerned Southern Africans Group (Cosag) has begun to make its presence felt at the talks to determine South Africa's future. Political Correspondent KAIZER NVATSUMBA puts the spotlight on the group.

Buthelez, whose relationship with De Klerk's Government was gradually cooling off, met in Mthatha with Bophuthatswana President Chief Lucas Mangope and Ciskei military strongman Brigadier Oupa Gqozo.

The three met again a week later in Sandton and extended an invitation to right-wing and homeland groups which shared their antipathy to the ANC and the Government.

Present at that meeting were

Buthelez and his party, Mangope and some members of his government, Gqozo and members of his government, the late Conservative Party (CP) leader Dr Andries Treurnicht and his delegation, Afrikaner Volksunie leader Andries Beyers and his delegation, as well as delegations from other lesser-known groups such as the Afrikaner Vryheid Stigting (Avstig) and the Transvaal Hostel Residents' Association.

Except for the IFP, none of the organisations and parties present could claim that the Record of Understanding had any direct implications for it and its members.

And so Cosag was born, and its first public statement was a call for a multi-party conference which would review both the Record of Understanding and agreements reached in the moribund Convention for a Democratic South Africa.

The group seems to be functioning only at leadership level



Mangosuthu Buthelez... angered by agreement between the ANC and the Government.

— Gqozo and IFP western Transvaal leader Humphrey Ndlovu attended Treurnicht's funeral in Pretoria two weeks ago — but one can hardly imagine any camaraderie between, say, IFP members with their CP counterparts on the ground.

Asked what binds them together, Cosag secretary Johan Ferreira told The Star what they had in common was their opposition to a unitary state in favour of a federal/confederal state providing for self-determination.

Although its KwaZulu-Natal constitution adopted by the KwaZulu Legislative Assembly in December last year is more confederal than federal, the IFP insists it wants a federal system for South Africa.

Gqozo and Mangope do not want to relinquish the power they now enjoy in their respective territories, and would like a confederal system for South Africa. Unlike Buthelez, they have little support in their own backyards.

Gqozo is extremely unpopular in Ciskei, and there was jubilation and excitement on the streets of Mthatha when Mangope was ousted in a coup in February 1988 — before the then President P W Botha stepped in to restore him to office.

The CP and the AVU have support in the Afrikaner community, and both want a confederation. The difference between them is that while the CP remains racist in outlook, the AVU has doffed racism and also embraces "brown Afrikaners" — coloureds — in its vision for an Afrikaner state.

All Cosag members are opposed to the holding of elections for a constituent assembly, and maintain that the multi-party negotiations forum will have to write the country's new constitution before presenting it to the populace for approval through a referendum. Only then, they contend, should elections be held.

While the IFP, Bophuthatswana, Ciskei, the CP and the AVU may be the better known Cosag members — being involved in negotiations — they are by no means the only ones.

With them are Professor Carl Boshoff, Avstig, the Transvaal Hostel Residents' Association, Action Save South Africa, the Volksvriendelike Komitee, Gqozo's African Democratic Movement, Kanyane's Inkatha Party, Natal's Reform Party, KwaNdebele's Sinda waye Party and Transvaal Member of the Executive Council John Mavuso's National Forum. □

There are around 38 million people in South Africa, and the population is growing at more than 2 percent a year. By next May there'll be roughly 39 million of us, by the turn of the century 45 million, by 2020 more than 70 million, and so on. What we need is a population policy — or at least a revamped one — to curtail this growth.

Health Writer: DAVID ROBBINS reports.

POPULATION development, birth control, family planning — call it what you like — is a political issue for the majority of South Africans. Not really surprising, since politics here has been so essentially bound up in the numbers game.

In the 1960s, a Cabinet minister won notoriety by urging every white family to have another baby to bolster the Republic. Those were the days of the "swart gevaar", with the extent of the danger being of course, in direct relation to the size of the black population.

But times have changed. Most people accept that a planned population is essential for development. The country's expanding numbers exacerbate the crises we are experiencing in education, unemployment, housing and health.

It also plays havoc with resources. How long can South Africa remain one of the few countries on the continent to produce all its own food? And it's been estimated that the country's water resources — including regional schemes like the Lesotho Highlands project and another planned for the Zambesi — can support only around 60 million people.

That's the figure at which the Department of National Health and Population Development hopes to stabilise the population by the end of the 21st century. The department's Population Development Programme (PDP) has as its other major objectives the acceleration of social and economic development and



Negotiate devolution or conflict and partition will follow, writes Simon Jenkins

SA's 'Great Barter' continues

THE death of Chris Hani is a tragedy but not a disaster. He was that rarest of politicians, a man who could translate demagoguery into reality. He was charismatic and pragmatic. He understood the balance of power in his country. He had won the confidence of the white-led army, and was a plausible future leader. That is why he was killed.

The result has not been the predicted bloodbath; "political violence" in South Africa is, according to the Race Relations Institute, at its lowest level since 1989, even after Hani's death. Huge efforts have been made by black leaders to end intercommunal killings.

So what is happening? South Africa refuses point blank to conform to the apocalyptic model which analysts have tried to impose on it since the Soweto riots of 1976.

That model is a lurid picture of white fascist repression, bloody black rebellion, white retribution, stern outside intervention, the collapse of order and the advent of black rule. The hands on this clock are always set at five minutes to midnight. Time is always running out. Everything from the birth rate to the price of gold spells doom. Karl Marx may have been wrong everywhere else, but here on the tip of Africa he can make

his last stand.

This is rubbish. I have been visiting South Africa for 15 years, and the model has served neither as analysis nor as prediction. It still underpins news reports, congressional inquiries, sanctions and debates. The one blessing of the model is that for two decades it has kept South Africa politically and economically isolated. Americans, Europeans, the United Nations, everybody has twiddled thumbs and waited for "African-ness" to collapse. It has not done so. This has protected both black and white leadership from the curse of divided societies, meaningful intervention by foreigners.

Meanwhile, sanctions discredited the South African economy and probably strengthened it. The country was not inflated and rotated by IMF and World Bank loans behind a protectionist wall. Imports were cut and exports promoted. South Africa had to manage its budget and restrict capital outflow. Meaning about the economy is second only to rugby as a national sport, but the result of the sanctions is the most powerful commercial machine in the southern hemisphere.

My preferred model to help explain South Africa is different and messy. There is no tidy post-colonial handing over of the seals of office, no lowering of the flag, no

sounding of the last post.

There is simply a continuation of the Great Barter, the negotiated change in the composition of South Africa's ruling elite. The ANC's moderate leadership, tenuously built around Nelson Mandela and the party boss, Cyril Ramaphosa, is as frightened as President de Klerk of full and early elections. Under proportional representation, the ANC is unlikely to gain an overall majority of seats. Its immaturity and factionalism would be on public display.

The barter in which both leaders are involved is as old as the hills. It is that of a ruling elite widening its popular legitimacy in exchange for a share in the spoils of office. Such bartering is far more true to the historic spirit of Afrikanerdom than the futile escape into apartheid of the 1960s and 1970s. It is a barter for group survival.

The deal is taking two forms: co-opting leaders of the ANC into actual government, and setting up a separate, rolling debate on constitutional change. This debate has democracy on the horizon, but with a gulf of fog in between.

Co-option is well under way. To the visitor, South African politicians are extraordinarily pally. They meet at conferences, at seminars, at negotiations, on holiday even. And they talk power. There are no intermediaries, no elder

statesmen, no interfering great power diplomats. It is as if years of isolation have left both sides with nobody else for conversation. When Mandela left Robben Island for a mainland prison, the former state president, P W Botha, was said to have genuinely enjoyed their occasional chats.

President de Klerk and Mandela are likewise close. They made separate television appeals for calm following Hani's killing. They now stand together, joint leaders of their country, despite neither having won a nationwide election. Those who predicted that both of them would by now be undetermined by extremists have been proved wrong.

The finance ministry has a full corporatist structure in place, discussing with the black unions and the ANC's economics team everything from housing policy to the budget. The dismantling of food price control has been delayed, and subsidies have been maintained in response to black pressure. Afrikaner nationalism's socialist roots have been re-fertilised by contact with township politics. Chris Hani was involved in integrating the army command. By the end of the year, De Klerk's interim executive council will formalise this multiracial coalition.

Few involved in the constitutional debate expect or want an immediate handover of power to

the ANC. All know that the result would be a shambles (Africa has come far since the 1960s). Mandela acknowledges that full black rule is unlikely until the turn of the century. He knows that the economy and South Africa's fractious politics need stability and a strong hand at the top if there is to be any progress towards a new constitution. Stability must be built upon a new de facto white-black coalition.

Those who wish to worry about South Africa should worry less about the extremists, hog the headlines and sow mayhem though they do. The centre will hold because it has too much to lose, and the firepower and ruthlessness to keep it. South Africa is too rich a prize to be sacrificed to the guns of the Right or the pangas of the Left.

In any new constitution emerging from the negotiating process, I believe the danger lies elsewhere. The new white-black coalition is already centralist, some would say socialist. All talk of devolving power to regions founders on the twin leaderships' fear of losing power and patronage to the periphery.

The wild card, Zulu Chief Mangosuthu Buthelezi, is demanding de facto independence for Natal. This is being refused. The constitutional thinktanks that bubble round the negotiations are heady

with such words as "confederalism" and "consociationalism", with Swiss and German and American templates of devolution. They murmur about blocking thirds and fancy franchises. They seek geographical codes for differentiation by colour and tribe.

To the parangandrums of the coalition, of black and white nationalism, this is all waffle; they want one South Africa, one central power, one party, one state. Yet if recent world history teaches any lesson, it is that divided societies do not live happily under unitary constitutions.

From India to Yugoslavia, from Ireland to Spain, from Canada to Northern Ireland, sane constitutional reform begins with devolution. Power must be shared not just within the elite but with groups that are best represented by partially self-governing regions. This is not a choice. If devolution is ignored, regions will wield the sessionist veto. Pretoria will never hold Natal to a unitary constitution.

If President de Klerk and Mandela cannot see that, then no consensus will hold for long. Devolution must be negotiated or conflict and partition will follow. Does anyone need telling that today?

—The Times.
● Simon Jenkins is former editor of The Times. □

First cracks in new Volksfront

Star 10/5/93

By Norman Chandler
Pretoria Bureau

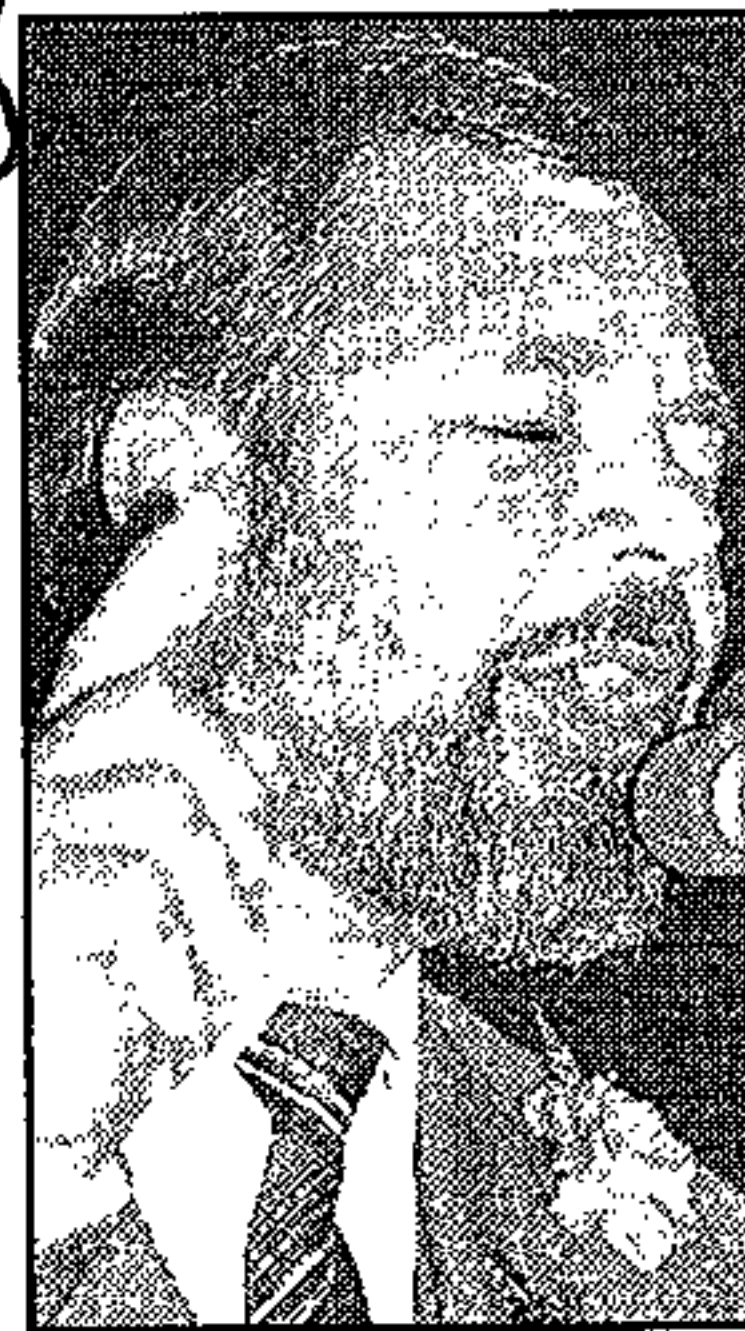
South Africa's fledgling multiparty right-wing movement got off the ground in Pretoria on Friday — but already the AWB, the most important player in the field, is not sure how to handle it.

The organisation's military wing, the Wenkommando, attended the meeting in defiance of a directive from the AWB's Ventersdorp headquarters forbidding attendance and making derogatory remarks about the new Afrikaner Volksfront (AVF).

The self-styled commandant-general of the Wenkommando, former SADF colonel Servaas de Witt, defiantly took his place on the podium along with retired military and police generals, leaders of the Conservative Party and Herstigte Nasionale Party, the World Anti-Apartheid Movement and certain Afrikaner organisations.

Asked why, De Witt said: "We must be represented."

De Witt then said he had not been able to contact AWB lead-



Eugene TerreBlanche
... absent.

er Eugene TerreBlanche to advise him of his (De Witt's) attendance, and said that if there were any disciplinary action taken against him, he would face it head-on.

He believed strongly that the AWB should be present.

At least one other active member of the AWB, in full military dress, mingled with journalists in the garden outside the meeting venue — the headquarters of the Transvaal Agricul-

tural Union — before a press conference.

About 130 representatives of right-wing groups — many of them also involved in commerce and industry, and in all-white labour unions — took part in the founding meeting of the AVF.

They heard former SADF chief General Constand Viljoen tell the press conference that Afrikaner unity was being threatened and that the new group had been formed to promote unity among Afrikaners. There was no mention of whether English-speaking South Africans would be welcome in the AVF.

Viljoen, who, with four other retired generals, had been locked in right-wing unity talks for almost three weeks, said in answer to questions that the AVF would not at this stage be seeking a seat at the constitutional negotiations table. Members of the AVF such as Cosag, the Conservative Party and the Afrikaner Volksunie already take part in the negotiations.

He added that a further meeting on May 19 would ratify decisions taken at Friday's meeting and that the organisation's aims would only then be laid out.

Election timetable agreed

By Kaizer Nyatumba
Political Correspondent

South Africans will know within the next four weeks when the country's first all-in election will be held, according to a major agreement reached in multiparty negotiations at the World Trade Centre on Friday.

In what political observers have hailed as a major breakthrough since negotiations began in December 1991, the 104-member Negotiating Council (NC) adopted a declaration of intent calling for the holding of elections not later than April next year and the setting of a date for elections within four weeks.

The declaration, supported by the overwhelming majority of the 26 organisations and parties represented in negotiations, means that a date for elections will have to be set before June 4.

Observers expect the date to be announced on June 2 when the 156-member Negotiating Forum (NF) — each of the parties has four delegates and two advisers — is scheduled to meet.

Unlike the NC, which is the body which does the negotiating, the NF receives and confirms reports and proposals from the NC for submission to the plenary, which formally adopts agreements.

Only Ciskei and the Conservative Party expressed reservations about the declaration of intent, and their reservations were noted after they had failed to get the NC to amend the declaration to make no reference to a time by which the election should be held.

The Afrikaner Volksunie's Chris de Jager supported the declaration on condition that private armies were dis-

banded, violence was curbed, all forms of intimidation were eliminated and "Afrikaners' reasonable demand for self-determination and a strong regional dispensation" were addressed.

The declaration says that, given the urgent need to inspire confidence in the negotiations process and offer "a clear vision of the milestones" reached in the process, parties represented in the talks commit themselves to:

- Reaching agreements on binding constitutional principles and the constitution-making process in terms of which an election will be held.

- Ensuring that the negotiations process "moves forward sufficiently" over the next four weeks, "at which stage to set the exact date for an election that should take place not later than the end of April 1994".

Gearing up to vote

30419 Arc 10/5/93

TOS WENTZEL, Political Staff

POLITICAL parties are gearing up for an intensive election campaign after agreement at constitutional talks that an election date must be set within four weeks.

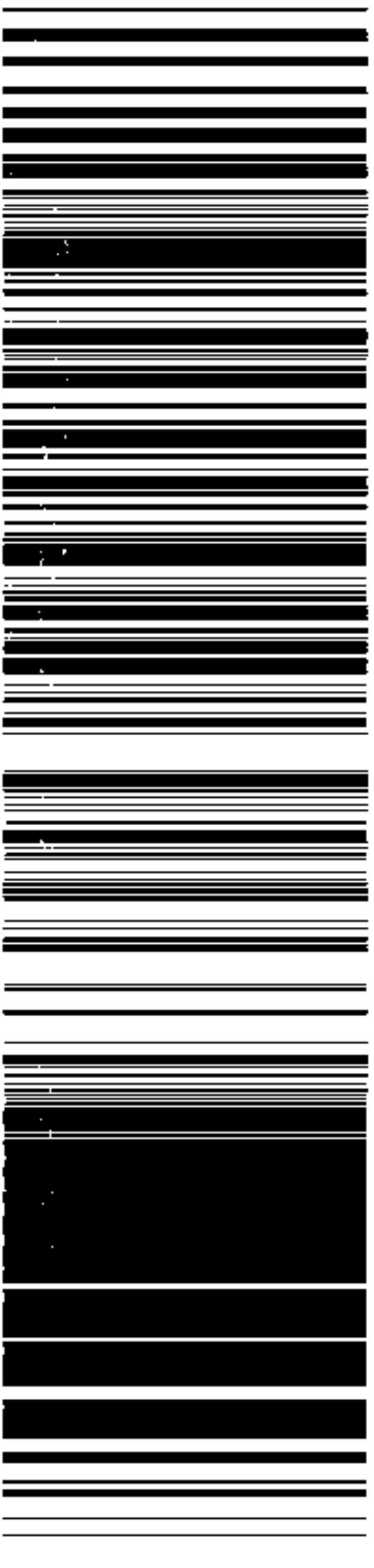
There is general agreement that the election must be held not later than April next year.

The African National Congress campaign is particularly active.

Its main rival, the National Party, is holding fire somewhat, saying it does not want to run out of steam by starting too early. The Inkatha Freedom Party is making special efforts to recruit more whites and the Democratic Party is going all-out to raise money.

The ANC and Inkatha will hold meetings in traditionally conservative Parow this week — Inkatha on Wednesday and the ANC on Thursday.

This month the ANC is to distribute 500 000 pamphlets from Cape Town to Alexander Bay, Plettenberg Bay and Britz in the Karoo.



Cameron Dugmore, head of the ANC organising department, said the aim was to create the clear perception that an election was now inevitable.

The pamphlets, in English, Xhosa and Afrikaans, carry a message from ANC president Mr Nelson Mandela saying: "Now is the time to end racial inequality and unite blacks and whites to work for one country."

More volunteers were being trained in canvassing and voter education skills.

Membership in the region was 65 000.

Since the assassination of Mr Chris Hani there had been an increase in white interest.

Whites had telephoned ANC offices and condemned rightwing actions and a number had come to offices to join the movement.

There had also been a resurgence of interest in so-called coloured areas where Western Cape leader Dr Allan Boesak had addressed meetings.

Nearly 2 000 marshals were being trained to upgrade crowd control and communications skills.

National Party media director Mr Marthinus van Schalkwyk said the party was in the preliminary stages of an election campaign, seeing that certain basic structures were in place and raising funds.

The party did not want to start an all-out campaign at this stage because it wanted to peak at the right time.

Dr Zac de Beer, leader of the Democratic Party, said the party's campaign was going flat out.

One of its main concerns was to raise money.

Staff had been increased and more people could be appointed, depending on fundraising.

It was important that the DP was in a new government as a fragile coalition between only the ANC and the NP could fall apart.

Confirming that the party was gearing up its election campaign Mr Jurie Mentz said Inkatha had not gone out of its way to try to beat the ANC to a meeting in Parow. The meeting had been planned long in advance.

Mr Mentz said there was growing interest in Inkatha.

AWB split on move to unite right

ARG 10/5/93

The Argus Correspondent

PRETORIA. — The AWB's military wing, the Wenkommando, was represented at last Friday's Pretoria meeting of the right in defiance of a directive from the AWB's Ventersdorp headquarters forbidding attendance and making derogatory remarks about the new Afrikaner Volksfront (AVF).

The self-styled commandant-general of the Wenkommando, former SADF Colonel Servaas de Witt, defiantly took his place on the podium along with retired military and police generals, leaders of the Conservative Party and Herstigte Nasionale Party, the World Anti-Apartheid Movement and other Afrikaner organisations.

Asked why, Colonel De Witt said: "We must be represented."

He said he had been unable to contact AWB leader Mr Eugene Terre'Blanche to advise him.

At least one other active member of the AWB, in full military dress, mingled with journalists in the garden outside the meeting at the headquarters of the Transvaal Agricultural Union.

About 130 representatives of rightwing groups took part in the founding meeting of the AVF.

They heard the former chief of the SADF, General Constand Viljoen, tell 72 representatives of the international and local media that Afrikaner unity was being threatened and that the new group had been formed in order to promote it. There was no mention of whether English-speaking South Africans would be welcome in the AVF.

General Viljoen, who had with four other retired generals been locked in rightwing unity talks for nearly three weeks, said in answer to questions that the AVF would not at this stage be seeking a seat at the constitutional negotiation table. Members of the AVF such as Cosag, the Conservative Party and the Afrikaner Volksunie were already taking part in the negotiations.

He added that a further meeting on May 19 would ratify decisions taken at Friday's meeting.

Threat tops bosberaad agenda

ANC bid to avoid fanning right-wing ire

B/DAY 10/5/93.

THA

304A

BILLY PADDOCK

The ANC has called a three-day bosberaad this week to thrash out new strategies "to take the negotiating process into its next phase", with the perceived right-wing threat topping the agenda.

Senior negotiator Joe Slovo said yesterday a central focus of the national working committee meeting would be to look at ways of ensuring that "our members do not play into the hands of the right-wing counter revolutionary forces".

Slovo said ANC members often fuelled or encouraged right-wing backlashes, and the meeting would try to thrash out an internal code of conduct. "We will be looking at the finer details of how our members conduct themselves in all facets of their lives, the slogans we have been using and statements made at our meetings."

He identified a growing concern that mobilisation efforts by the group of retired generals could be aimed at a coup. Slovo did not believe the generals had a strong enough base to carry out a coup successfully, "but they are desperate and we know that anything is possible — and there is potential for them to do a lot of damage".

The ANC was encouraged to some extent by President F W de Klerk's weekend statement which showed "he is not allowing himself to be terrorised by the right wing, and that swift movement to a settlement is the only way to proceed." However, "one problem we have is that De Klerk seems to be contemplating interfering in democratic rights of other people."

Friday's negotiations, he said, had virtually cleared the way to agreement on substantive constitutional matters. With a

view to smoothing the path, the ANC would be taking a closer look at several issues, including refining its stance on regionalism. It would discuss the powers, functions and duties of regions, with the main focus on regional operations during transition. Finality on regional powers would be decided by an elected constituent assembly.

Another NWC member said it was time Inkatha and the Concerned SA Group saw clearly how far the ANC had moved on regionalism. "There are going to be regions with entrenched powers and functions within a unitary structure with strong central control." The bosberaad would have to look at ways of increasing pressure on government either to cut its ties with Inkatha or to drag it into agreement. "Government cannot continue trying to have an alliance with Inkatha while also trying to move with us into a government of national unity. De Klerk must exert pressure on Inkatha and withdraw the funding which allows them to continue operating as spoilers."

Slovo said the ANC was still insisting on some form of joint control of the security forces. But it was not interested in day-to-day control at the level of the SAP's crime control operations. The joint structures "must have the power to influence the command levels so that we can ensure the security forces do not interfere with political process".

Friday's negotiations were considered successful as parties now had a target to work towards, following agreement that an election date be set within four weeks.

Key players miss birth of Volksfront

THE Afrikaner Volksfront, established in Pretoria on Friday, is already showing signs of strain with prominent right-wingers not being invited and others considering it to be a CP plot. *B/DAY 10/5/93.*

The AWB and its leader Eugene Terre-Blanche were absent from the launch, decided upon after five hours of discussion. Terre-Blanche said he had not been consulted, but added he had been in the Cape for two weeks.

HNP leader Jaap Marais said he had opted to join the Volksfront, but felt setting it up was a CP plot to force the rest of the right wing to fall in behind it.

The CP would have about 60 of the 75-80 central management committee members, he said. All of the participating organisations at Friday's meeting had been told to send one or two delegates, but half of the CP caucus had been there.

Volksfront founder and committee of generals chairman Constant Viljoen said Terre-Blanche had been invited.

AWB Wenkommando chief "Colonel" Servaas de Wet was there, but not to represent the AWB. Right-wing sources yesterday said a split in the AWB hierarchy was on the cards.

Terre-Blanche yesterday denied this: "There can never be a split in the ranks of the AWB. None of the generals were consulted. I have not spoken with De Wet yet and I do not know what he did there."

DIRK VAN EEDEN

He was not prepared to say whether there was a possible split between the AWB and De Wet.

Marais said he had held up the launch for three hours, insisting that the political implications of such a body be considered first.

Afrikaner Volksunie leader and MP for Potchefstroom Andries Beyers had agreed with him, he said, and had told the meeting: "You are establishing a new political party with a party structure and political aims."

In the end, the group agreed not to accept the proposed structure of the Volksfront. Rather, they took the proposals as a "point of departure" while a working committee, comprising members of all of the major role-playing organisations, were asked to hammer out a better proposal before May 19, when they had to report back.

Viljoen said yesterday he did not wish to comment because he had to consult with the other Volksfront members first.

However, he said some in-fighting had to be expected at this early stage. The body was not intended to create complete political consensus.

CP leader Ferdi Hartzenberg said yesterday it was not policy to speak to the media on a Sunday. The CP has agreed to disband its own mobilisation action in favour of the Volksfront.

Support for literacy drive

A KEY NUM demand at this year's wage bargaining with the Chamber of Mines — the elimination of worker illiteracy within the industry during the next five years — is broadly supported by the industry. *B/DAY 10/5/93.*

NUM assistant general secretary Marcel Golding says that the success of any productivity or profitability scheme depends on work organisation and skills development.

However, as 90% of unskilled miners were functionally illiterate, this was a major obstacle to attaining high levels of production and therefore profit.

He said mining houses had indicated their willingness to co-operate on eliminating illiteracy and educating workers in the fundamentals of business.

"It is difficult to persuade workers to work harder if they don't understand figures and the interpretation of them," he said.

NUM proposals on adult basic education included employers and the state providing "facilities for classes, paid time off for workers attending and assistance in paying for teachers and the costs of developing teaching materials".

Randgold's human resources executive Richard de Villiers said this was a constructive demand, and would be wholeheartedly supported by the group.

He said its mines already operated

ERICA JANKOWITZ

basic adult education programmes, which were well attended.

Gengold spokesman Andrew Davidson said the group's adult education programmes had the "objective of ensuring more than 80% of its 55 000 workforce were able to read and write by 2000".

Davidson said workers were helped to understand facts and figures concerning the business activities in which they were involved.

Anglo also ran adult basic education in literacy and numeracy, said spokesman James Duncan. There was no uniform approach to this project, and each region approached the project in its own way, he said.

For example, Anglo's West Rand region had launched a project which would also benefit surrounding communities and taught skills related to the work, technological, economic, political and social spheres of life.

At the start the main medium of teaching was the vernacular. The English content of courses increased as candidates progressed.

"The aim is to put 25 600 illiterate and innumerate employees, numbering about 25 600, through the programme by 2000," Duncan said.

IT IS surprising that nobody has thought of it before — or at any rate, thought of it aloud. But now at last there has been a demand in the Press for mediators to be brought into the multiparty negotiations (Business Day, April 30).

If mediators had been at hand when breakdown threatened at Codesa II, the outcome might just have been different. Codesa II broke down when the ANC and government failed to agree on the percentages needed for decisions taken in an elected constituent assembly. But the real issue between the two was majority empowerment versus minority protection. Each side wanted certainty, neither wanted the gamble that a different percentage would have represented. In other words, the issue was non-quantifiable.

Because this was so, mediators would have faced a dispute different in kind from those in commerce, or between employers and labour. There could be no nice calculation of less or more, no balancing of the costs and benefits of one course of action against those of another; above all, the crucial costs of breakdown in the negotiations were, as they still are, incalculable. The Independent Mediation Ser-

A way out of the impasse

B/Dm 10/5/93

(3048)

RADFORD JORDAN

vibe of SA (Imssa) has been suggested as the body best suited to mediate in the negotiations at the World Trade Centre in Kempton Park. Imssa has a decade-long record of success in mediating labour disputes. It has not only shown a high degree of professional competence, but has had an influence in enlarging the scope for mediation in SA.

As an example of this, take the support given by the SA Bar Council and the Association of Law Societies for the Alternative Dispute Resolution Association of SA (Adrasa). This body was recently formed to promote the use of an American tool box of skills in seeking less confrontational, more creative ways of settling commercial disputes than recourse to courts of law.

Adrasa, like Imssa, aims primarily at helping parties to a dispute to



Mediators can make a difference at multiparty talks

avoid losses quantifiable in terms of money. But at Kempton Park mediators would, as we have seen, confront issues not quantifiable in money or at all.

As an analogy, though an imperfect one, take the disproportion between the size of a piece of glass carelessly dropped in the veld and the area of a resulting fire. At Kempton Park, nothing is more certain

than that there could hardly fail to be a vast disproportion between an unfavourable outcome and its cause. If this disproportion is not at once apparent to the parties, how can mediators of even the highest calibre help?

In disputes where gains and losses are quantifiable, experience has shown that mediation almost always brings the parties closer together.

Mediators always leave the last word on whether to settle to the parties, for they may have second thoughts even after an impasse seems to have been reached. But the parties to a commercial or labour dispute have more scope for second thoughts than politicians; these have constituencies which may be split by conflicting preferences as between settlement and showdown.

There is an unusual situation at Kempton Park: government and the ANC would now seem to be so near to a settlement that they are being accused of having cut a deal in private. This suggests that mediation between them would be superfluous. Differences between these two parties and those linked in Cosag are so crucial that mediators — however skilled — seem likely to be ineffective.

What might be of value would be for all participants, or at least the ANC and government, to commit themselves at this stage not to acknowledge in public a threatened breakdown such as occurred at Codesa II before bringing in an agreed body as mediators during a cooling-off period.

□ Jordan is a former political studies lecturer at Witwatersrand University.

BOOKS

Boost for *Swatun 10/5/93* negotiations

SOME of the country's top academic and legal minds from across the political spectrum have been put together to serve on seven technical sub-committees to aid negotiations. (304A)

These would report to the 10-member negotiations planning committee with recommendations by May 16 on violence, constitutional matters, fundamental rights, transitional executive council, independent media commission, independent electoral commission and repeal of discriminatory legislation.

Monday May 10 1993 SOWETAN

NEWS Election date announcement expected soon • Experts for subcommittees

Real breakthrough at talks

By Themba Molefe
Political Reporter

■ Some leaders overjoyed at progress made

THE FIRST real breakthrough in multiparty negotiations came with the agreement on Friday that a date for the country's first democratic elections would be announced by the end of the month.

Significantly and contrary to expectations, 24 of the 26 parties at the heart of negotiations at the World Trade Centre adopted a declaration of intent agree-

ing there was "an urgent need to inspire confidence in negotiations". They agreed general elections should be held not later than April 1994 and an announcement should be expected within four weeks.

Only the Ciskei and Conservative Party expressed reservations, and would not be rushed. CP chief negotiator Mr Tom Langley said the party would not be rushed "into quick fixes" but said he was "well satisfied" with progress.

African National Congress secretary-general Mr Cyril Ramaphosa said Friday's outcome was a "gigantic and monumental step". Pan/Africanist Congress secretary-general Mr Rennie Allister said the talks still lay ahead. Despite their reservations, the CP and Ciskei and their allies in the Concerned South Africans Group — South Africaners, Afrikaner Volksfront, Bophuthatswana, Afrikaner Volksunie and the Inkatha Freedom Party — are still in the process.

Boost for negotiations

SOME of the country's top academic and legal minds from across the political spectrum have been put together to serve on several technical sub-committees to aid negotiations.

These would report to the 10-member negotiations planning committee with recommendations by May 16 on violence, constitutional matters, fundamental rights, transitional executive council, independent media commission, independent electoral commission and repeal of discriminatory legislation.



Accord at talks will end violence

■ OPTIMISTIC VIEW Senior politicians praise
De Klerk for planning to deal with extremists:

By Ismail Lagardien
Political Correspondent

THE ENDEMIC violence in South Africa can be dealt with as soon as multiparty agreement can be reached on its causes and ways of stopping it can be identified. (30/4/93)

This is the view of senior politicians across the spectrum who commented yesterday on President FW de Klerk's statement on Saturday night that Government had a duty to stop violence from the extreme left and right in the country "and would do so" incisively. (24/4/93)

After a week of intensified militancy, especially from the far right, De Klerk said in his late-night statement on Saturday that negotiations would proceed swiftly despite threats from both ends of the spectrum to thwart the process.

"Extremists on the left or right should not underestimate the Government's power and its resources. Nor should they doubt its determination to use these", De Klerk said.

The buildup last week to the De Klerk speech was also significant during last week's parliamentary debate by the Minister of Constitutional Development, Mr Roelf Meyer, who yesterday repeated his position on multi-party agreement on the violence.

"The technical committee on violence (established last Friday at the multiparty negotiations forum at the World Trade Centre) will act as a facilitator and will advise the negotiations council on how to deal, specifically, with violence," Meyer said.

In terms of agreements reached, the technical committee on violence will deliver its report on Friday at the multiparty planning committee and thereafter at the negotiating council on May 18.

This and the setting of a date for elections, possibly on June 3, according to agreements reached at the World Trade Centre last Friday, will give impetus to efforts which could curtail the violence in the country "significantly," political leaders canvassed for their views yesterday said.

Threat 'from radical left' (27/10/94)

DIRK VAN EEDEN

RIGHT-wing leaders said yesterday that the threat of a Bosnia-style civil war in SA would come not from the right, but from the radical left.

However, reacting to President F W de Klerk's statement on Saturday threatening action against the left and the right, they said that to ignore the Afrikaner's right to self-determination was a recipe for strife.

Gen Constant Viljoen, the retired general co-ordinating attempts to unify the right, said it was clear the Afrikaner Volksfront established on Friday had been branded radical and extremist.

He was not prepared to enter into a mudslinging contest with De Klerk, but called on him to "keep his door open" to the Volksfront. If De Klerk could talk to the ANC, which by its own admission was radical, he should talk to the Volksfront.

He said multiparty negotiators, in their

rush to create peace, were ignoring the Afrikaner's right to self-determination. That was the real threat to peace.

AWB leader Eugene Terre'Blanche said if De Klerk had intended to hit the left and the right with the same blow, he had missed the right completely. (304A)

"The violence is coming from the left, but he does not have the courage to speak frankly with them."

HNP leader Jaap Marais said there was no comparison between the left and the right, as the right wing had only threatened war and De Klerk had "nothing to react to. Every time De Klerk hits out at the left, he has to look over his shoulder at what the ANC's reaction will be."

● See Page 2

● Comment: Page 6

BIDAY 10/17/93

focus on talks

MASS action is a democratic right to back legitimate mandates, so argue its advocates and, although they may deny it, its opponents are also using this political tool albeit in a different form.

And to the 104 negotiators at the World Trade Centre — who include bitter enemies representing the left and right — mass action, whatever it means to its proponents, stresses the sense of urgency needed to expedite a negotiated settlement.

Contrary to expectations, progress was made by the 26-party negotiating council on Friday amid heightened mass demonstrations on the left and right.

A new dimension, though, is that the mass protest by white farmers on Thursday was against the progress being made at the World Trade Centre. Disguised as a protest against the "kill the boer, the farmer" slogan, the farmers' intention was to actually voice opposition to any future black government, ostensibly African National Congress rule.

Mass action detractors, notably the Government, however, reckon mass action is extremist and accelerates the country's plunge into civil war.

Exert pressure

The ANC and the PAC maintain that they are liberation movements and as such have to exert pressure on the Government and its cohorts to commit themselves to the eventual transition to democracy.

The ANC has suspended its armed struggle and uses mass action to back its mandates. The PAC maintains it will exchange the bullet for the ballot only when a constituent assembly is in the bag.

Said ANC legal expert and negotiation strategist Mr Mathew Phosa: "Mass action should not be juxtaposed with negotiations. People are impatient and they want negotiations to deliver freedom."

"Mass action is a fundamental democratic right to demonstrate and protest and has nothing to do with violence. There is a deliberate misinterpretation and distortion of what mass action is."

"For instance, during Chris Hani's funeral service at the FNB Stadium on April 19 Mr Desmond Smith, who lived at the neighbouring houses, arrived home to find his furniture being loaded on a truck. I have spoken to him and it was proved the culprits had nothing to do with the ANC nor were they inside the stadium at any time."

PAC negotiator and foreign affairs secretary Mr Gora Ebrahim said: "It is not anyone's right, let alone the Government's, to demand that mass action should stop."

While mass action may be a democratic right ordinary South Africans are praying that the bombardment from left and right does not roll into anarchy. **Themba**

Molefe explores the avenues:

Sweetman 10/5/93

He said pressure was necessary to create a climate conducive to productive negotiations.

"The Government thought it would weaken us by trying to persuade us to abandon arms. Of course, we still say there has still to be a substantive move towards democracy."

"We agree that we need to have a negotiated settlement but say that in order to do that we also need to maintain pressure on the regime. Mass action is one such pressure," said Ebrahim.

Although the PAC sees the negotiations forum divided into four distinct "groupings", it is surprisingly the ANC which says there are two sides at the table.

Ebrahim said the distinctions were of the ANC alliance, the NP/Government alliance, Cosag and the Africanists.

Phosa said it was in fact the liberation movement (ANC alliance and PAC) on the one side and the Government and its supporters on the other.

Said Phosa: "Although De Klerk supports the idea of an interim constitution and transitional executive council, he has not said he opposes a white state. Has he?"

In South Africa mass action — mass protest — is synonymous with the African Congress and its allies and dates back to the days of the United Democratic Front/Mass Democratic Movement in the 1980s, to demand the unbanning of political organisations and release of jailed leaders, for example.

Today, charged up by the assassination of Chris Hani, the ANC alliance wants elections now and mass demonstrations, marches and general protests are the tools with which to hasten the negotiations process.

The ANC's critics, notably the Government and Inkatha Freedom Party on the other hand, argue that apart from being out of step with the negotiations tide, mass action breeds violence and destruction.

State President FW de Klerk last week said the Government would consider its participation in negotiations if mass action continued. On Saturday he issued a strong warning against "extremists".

Chief negotiator Mr Roelf Meyer said in Parliament that the Government would demand an end to mass action when violence is discussed



Policy grievance

A booklet of the South African Council of Churches, *Glossary of Current South African Political Terms*, defines mass action thus: "Organised political protest initiated on a national scale, or at least planned in accordance with a national strategy."

While each demonstration has targeted a specific policy grievance, the underlying objective has been perceived as an attempt to dramatise the extent of a party's political support, and thus strengthen its bargaining hand in negotiations.

The democratic right to participate in peaceful mass action was reaffirmed by the South African Government in its Record of Understanding (September 26 1992) with the ANC.

at the World Trade Centre.

"I am giving notice that the Government will therefore adopt the standpoint that mass action leads to violence and gives rise to a climate of violence," Meyer said last Wednesday.

This means the Government is to demand that the ANC should stop making demands.

The IFP, a leading partner in the Concerned South Africans Group of anti-Constituent Assembly/unitary state parties, has also begun its mass demonstrations to back various demands, including "fair" television coverage.

Already, the IFP has succeeded in drawing attention to a lengthy document titled "Death List" which it submitted at the negotiating council. In it the IFP accuses the Government and ANC of collusion in assassinating its leadership.

An IFP walkout was averted at the World Trade Centre two weeks ago when the negotiating council decided to refer this document to a subcommittee on violence for recommendations.

But as indeed hopes are still pinned on the World Trade Centre ordinary South Africans pray mass action from either the left or right does not roll into anarchy.

Volksfront showing strains

Own Correspondent

JOHANNESBURG. — The Afrikaner Volksfront, which was formally set up on Friday, was already showing signs of strain at the weekend with prominent right-wingers not being invited and others calling it a CP plot.

The AWB and its leader Mr Eugene Terre'Blanche were absent from the launch, which was set up after five hours of discussion. Mr Terre'Blanche said he was not consulted but added that he had been in the Cape for two weeks.

And HNP leader Mr Jaap Marais said he opted to join the Volksfront, although he felt setting it up was a CP plot to force the rest of the right-wing to fall in behind it.

The CP would have had about 60 out of the 75 to 80 central management committee members. All the participating organisations at Friday's meeting had been told to send one or two delegates. But half of the CP caucus had been there.

Volksfront founder and Committee of Generals chairman General Constand Viljoen said Mr Terre'Blanche was invited to the launch.

AWB Wenkomando chief "Colonel" Servaas de Wet was there, but not to

represent the AWB and right-wing sources yesterday said a split in the AWB hierarchy was on the cards.

Mr Terre'Blanche yesterday denied this. "There can never be a split in the ranks of the AWB. None of the generals were consulted. I have not spoken with De Wet yet and I do not know what he did there."

He was not prepared to say whether there was a possible split between the AWB and Mr De Wet.

Mr Marais said he had held up the launch for three hours, insisting that the political implications of such a body be considered first.

He said Afrikaner Volksunie leader and MP for Potchefstroom Mr Andries Beyers had agreed with him and told the meeting: "You are establishing a new political party, with a party structure and political aims."

In the end the group agreed not to accept the proposed structure of the Volksfront. Rather, they took the proposals as a "point of departure" while a working committee, comprising members of all of the major role-playing organisations, were asked to hammer out a better proposal before May 19, when they had to report back.

CP acting leader Dr Ferdi Hartzenberg said yesterday it was not policy to speak to the press on a Sunday.

3049
10/5/93

Whites asked to stay and rebuild

304A
CT10/5/93

JOHANNESBURG. — ANC secretary-general Mr Cyril Ramaphosa has appealed to whites frightened by violence and economic recession to stay in South Africa and help rebuild a nation shattered by apartheid.

"Don't give up . . . now is not the time to go. You have the skills to help make a difference," he told a young white couple at a meeting here.

Mr Ramaphosa condemned whites who fled as soon as their privileges were threatened.

"That attitude is cowardice. They are still just looking after themselves," he told school teachers Mrs Gwynne Arlow and her husband Keith, who have accepted posts in Malawi.

Mrs Arlow told Mr Ramaphosa she wanted to leave because she felt threatened by township anarchy and the anger of black youths who are increasingly turning their fury on whites.

"I see these things on TV and I am terrified. How do they know I never supported the government? We have a lot to offer, but how do I know someone is not going to kill me?"

Restore order

Her husband added: "How can we be sure that the youths with the guns can be controlled?"

Mr Ramaphosa said almost every family had been touched by the violence that has killed about 8 000 people in four years, but the ANC was working hard to restore order.

He said Friday's commitment by main political groups at democracy talks to hold the first all-race election within a year would help to stabilise the country.

"Now we all know where we are going, we can set a course, and we know we will reach our destination. Please believe it will make a difference," he said.

Mr Arlow said he was encouraged by Mr Ramaphosa's commitment, though he said they would still go.

"I feel more hopeful. I think maybe we will come back sooner," he said. — Sapa-Reuter

ANC backs FW 'No Bosnia in SA'

(304A) CTB/5/93

By ANTHONY JOHNSON
Political Correspondent

THE ANC yesterday backed President FW de Klerk's tough warning to fringe elements not to plunge South Africa into a Bosnian-style civil war.

But, the ANC said, the president's warning should be addressed primarily to right-wing "racists" and not to the left-wing.

In a blunt statement this weekend Mr De Klerk said only a speedy conclusion to negotiations and a government of national unity could steer the country from a bloody, Bosnia-like civil war.

Reacting to a mustering of right-wing forces under the "committee of generals" and to the deepening crisis at black schools, Mr De Klerk said buckling to left- or right-wing extremism held profound implications for the country, dragging it back into international isolation.

It was learnt yesterday that the ANC believes Mr De Klerk plans to call an all-race referendum to shore up support for negotiations and a transitional government of national unity.

This is stated in a secret draft document which is to be presented to the ANC's National Working Committee, possibly at the ANC's "bosberaad" this week.

Although the ANC conceded the danger of extremists blackmailing the country into "another Bosnia", it said the threat was mainly from the right and not the left.

ANC spokesman Mr Carl Niehaus said from the ANC's head office in Johannesburg that the organisation was concerned that Mr De Klerk was trying to create the false impression that the National Party was standing in the middle of an equivalent threat from both the left and the right.

He said the threat from "some individuals and smallish groups" on the left could not be compared to the growing radicalism on the right against which the government has shown no inclination to act decisively.

In his weekend statement Mr De Klerk warned extremists to the left and right that the government would not hesitate to use the power and resources at its disposal.

Mr De Klerk said that he rejected the "false impression" that the government was considering giving up control of the security forces.

The president's get-tough statement comes amid growing criticism from jittery whites, including members of his own party caucus, that he was failing to act decisively in dealing with extremists.

● ANC talks to focus on right-wing threat — Page 5

'Don't panic' — Zach

CT 10/5/93
Political Correspondent

IT was "understandable and proper" that South Africa should be afraid given the circumstances prevailing in the country at the moment, Democratic Party leader Dr Zach de Beer said yesterday.

"But reasonable fear is one thing, and foolish panic is another. Let us take sensible precautions, but let's

not be stampeded into silly, dangerous activities," he said. (3049)

The DP leader told a public meeting in Maritzburg that there was "a general feeling of anxiety and depression in South Africa".

"Politicians of the far left and far right have been issuing dangerous threats," he said, but added that the vast majority of South Africans were not extremists.

'FW loses sense of reality'

PRETORIA. — President F W de Klerk's fear of the ANC had caused him to lose perspective of reality, Herstigte Nasionale Party leader Mr Jaap Marais said yesterday.

Mr Marais said in a statement that if Mr De Klerk "acted against the ANC's violence and

restored law and order", the right would support and encourage him and there would be no danger of right-wing extremism.

The HNP leader said Mr De Klerk's weekend statement attacking left- and right-wing extremists in the same breath was done clearly out of fear "because he is scared to only ad-

dress the ANC's violence".

Mr De Klerk had made no comparison between left- and right extremism, Mr Marais said.

"It is the ANC/SACP/Cosatu (alliance's) lawlessness, violence, and deliberate disruption that is busy steering South Africa to chaos," he charged.

Shift in Azapo thinking

Sowetan 10/5/93

■ Delegates could find themselves at Kempton Park:

By Lulama Luti

THE Azanian People's Organisation will announce its decision today on whether or not to join the multiparty talks.

This follows the organisation's two-day special congress which ended yesterday at the Wilgespruit Community Centre (304A)

Top of the agenda at the congress — convened on the recommendation of the organisation's National Council meeting in Bloemfontein last month — was whether or not to uphold the decision not to join the 26 parties (24P)

This position, adopted in 1990, was endorsed at Azapo's 11th congress held in Port Elizabeth last year. A related issue that invoked vigorous debate by delegates was the retention of Archbishop Khotso Makhudu of the Central Africa Province of the Anglican Church as facilitator between Azapo and the Black Consciousness Movement of Azania on the one hand and the Government on the other.

Referring to the "Makhudu option" some delegates voiced their reservations that bilateral talks with the Government could actually lead the organisation to Kempton Park where multiparty talks are being held.

Azapo rejects negotiations

Star 11/5/93 (304A)

By Kaizer Nyatsumba
Political Correspondent

The Azanian People's Organisation (Azapo) has decided against participation in the multi-party negotiations, arguing that the forum as constituted is undemocratic.

Announcing the decision at a press conference in Johannesburg yesterday, Azapo president Professor Itumeleng Mosala said although his organisation was not opposed to negotiations in principle, it would not participate in multi-party talks.

This was because the negotiations forum as presently constituted was "undemocratic and incapable of delivering a lasting political solution for our country and people".

However, Azapo would engage the Government, which was the negotiator wielding

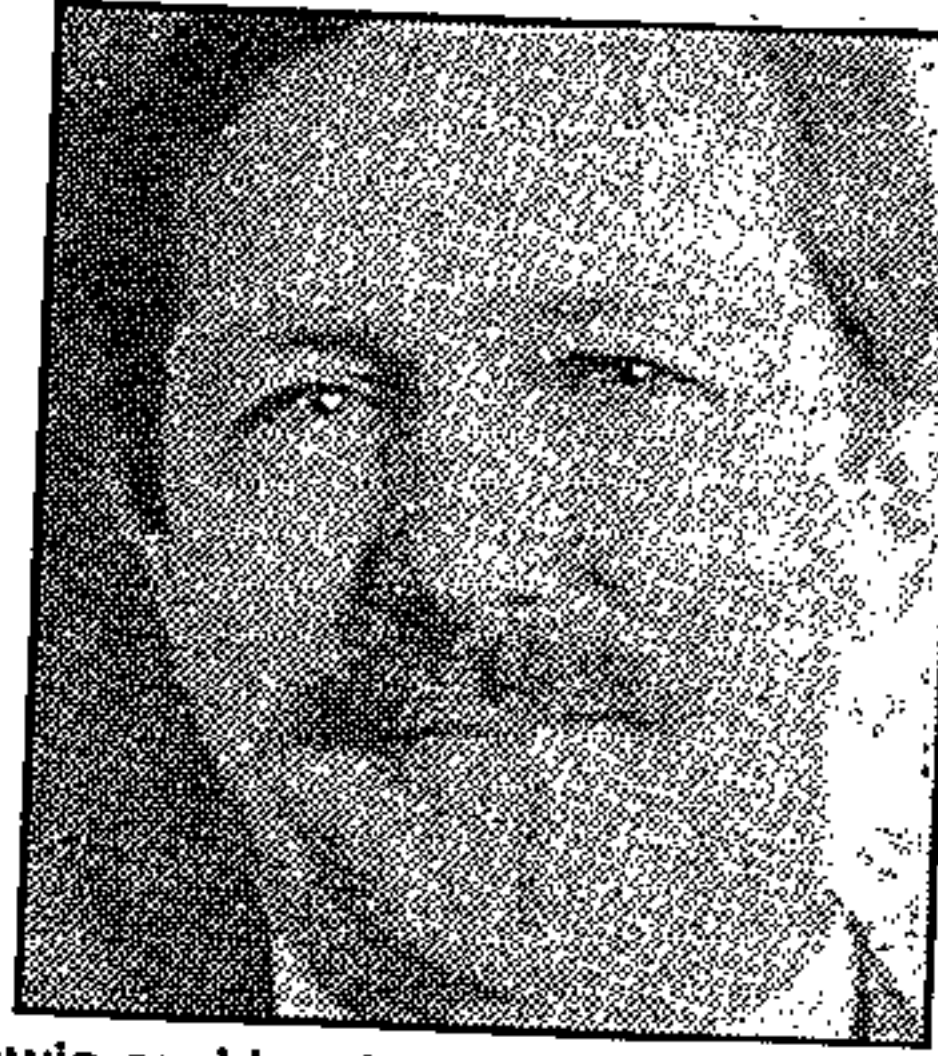
power in the country, in bilateral talks in Botswana soon when discussions would focus on a constituent assembly and a transfer of power to the majority.

The decision was taken at a special two-day national congress at the Wilgespruit Fellowship Centre in Roodepoort at the weekend, attended by 1500 delegates.

Mosala said the meeting with the Government, arranged by Azapo's Botswana-based facilitator Archbishop Khotso Makhuu, could take place "very soon".

Azapo's Zimbabwe-based sister organisation, the Black Consciousness Movement of Azania, would attend.

Mosala said Azapo, which was opposed to a government of national unity, would like the Botswana meeting with the Government "to decide more specifically" on general elections for a new government.



Accused ... Gaye Derby-Lewis and her husband Clive.

Hani suspect Gaye seeks bail

By Anna Louw
East Rand Bureau

Gaye Derby-Lewis, who faces a murder charge in connection with the assassination of Chris Hani, yesterday applied for bail in the Boksburg Magistrate's Court. (304A)

This was her second court appearance since her arrest.

Derby-Lewis, her husband, Conservative Party President's Councillor Clive Derby-Lewis, and suspected assassin Janus Walusz will appear in court again tomorrow.

During the hearing, Mrs

Derby-Lewis wore a blue dress and showed no trace of emotion.

Her legal representative, Harry Prinsloo of Pretoria, applied to magistrate Jurg Viviers to have Derby-Lewis released on bail.

The application was referred to the Attorney-General of the Witwatersrand, Klaus von Lieres, who will make a decision within 14 days.

Boksburg's senior prosecutor, Jan Ferreira, appeared for the State.

Clive Derby-Lewis is also waiting for a review of his bail application, which was lodged on Friday.

Battle lines are forming amid talks of settlement, writes Patrick Laurence

Star 11/5/93

Reality tempers the optimism

POLITICAL conflict is looming in the coming month, which — barring superlative wisdom from South Africa's leaders — will resemble the proverbial clash between the irresistible force and the immovable stone.

Multiparty negotiations have deferred but not averted the conflict. The adoption last Friday of a declaration of intent to set a precise date for a nonracial election in the next four weeks obscures rather than reconciles the divergent interests of the main antagonists.

The irresistible force is represented, primarily, by Nelson Mandela's African National Congress and F.W. de Klerk's National Party but includes a range of political actors from the Transkei government to the Pan Africanist Congress.

Although divided on many issues, they are united in their conviction that a nonracial election for an interim parliament-cum-constituent assembly and an interim government of national unity should be held before the end of April next year.

A loose alliance of conservative forces, the Concerned South Afri-

cans Group (Cosag), constitutes the immovable stone. It includes the Conservative Party (CP), the Afrikaner Volksunie (AVU), the largely Zulu Inkatha Freedom Party (IFP) and the Bophuthatswana and Ciskei governments.

Cosag is strongly opposed to holding an election in the prevailing climate of violence and opposed in principle to the notion of mandating a popularly elected constituent assembly or constitution-making body to draw up a new constitution for South Africa.

Commitment to set "an exact election date" in the next four weeks is linked to, and dependent on, delegates at the multiparty talks agreeing on — in the words of the declaration — "binding constitutional principles, the constitution-making process" and an "adequate time-frame" for implementing these decisions.

These fine-sounding phrases mean that the delegates will have to concur on the form of the future South African state, including the tricky questions of where — and by whom — regional boundaries will be drawn and, as important, what powers will be allocated to regional governments.

In large measure that problem is subsumed in another: who will draft the final constitution, an elected assembly, as agreed by the ANC, the PAC and the De Klerk administration, or the multiparty forum, as mooted by the IFP and its Cosag partners?

Friday's adoption by the multiparty negotiating council of the declaration of intent — like the earlier adoption at Codesa of a similar ringing declaration — has generated an aura of euphoria, a sense that the interlocutors are, at last, moving forward.

But optimism, however sorely South Africa needs it, must be tempered with reality.

Friday's declaration of intent must be juxtaposed with another event which took place at about the same time: the formation in Pretoria of the right-wing Afrikaner Volksfront and its rejection of the "present negotiating process" in so far as it is aimed at robbing the Afrikaner of his freedom and right to self-determination.

The formation of the Volksfront signals the death knell of hopes that the fracturing of the CP last year — which led to the birth of the AVU — was a prelude to fur-

ther fragmentation of the right wing and its disappearance as a potent political force.

It simultaneously serves as a warning that the CP and the AVU — both members of the Volksfront — will withdraw from negotiations if they believe that the principle of self-determination is neglected or dismissed at the multiparty talks. As Ferdi Hartzenberg, acting leader of the CP, puts it: "If that door is closed, we shall not stay there and arrange our own funeral."

The Volksfront's primary objective is to unite Afrikaners in defence of their right to self-determination. Its secondary objective is to stiffen the resolve of Cosag to defend self-determination as a general principle. Both impinge on the negotiating process.

The office of one of the former generals involved in the formation of the Volksfront, General Theunis Groenewald, contains maps which depict more than the proposed Afrikaner volkstaat, the maps, drafted by the Eenhedskomitee (Unity Committee), show the location of proposed states for the Transvaas, the Zulus and the Xhosas.

Thus the fight for an Afrikaner

volkstaat is linked to the struggle for separate states — or autonomous regions within a loose federation — for their black allies in Cosag. The quest for an Afrikaner volkstaat supplements the IFP's objective of a largely autonomous KwaNatal and demands for continued regional autonomy by Bophuthatswana and Ciskei.

It is the potential link between Afrikaner conservatives and, above all, Zulu traditionalists which makes them a force to be reckoned with. Jacob Zuma, deputy general secretary of the ANC and himself a Zulu, admits that he is worried by the prospect of an axis between those sectors of the Afrikaner and Zulu communities.

Another anxiety is beginning to haunt De Klerk's NP: continuing defections from its ranks to a reinvigorated Afrikaner Right. The four retired generals who were involved in the formation of the Volksfront are all former loyalists of the P.W. Botha administration. As new converts to the Afrikaner right wing, they give substance to the NP's fear.

The ANC sees the struggle for an Afrikaner state and for black ethnically based states as a bid to perpetuate apartheid in a dis-

guised form. It warns: "The people of South Africa will not fold their arms and allow themselves to be blackmailed into accepting schemes that seek to turn South Africa into another Bosnia."

Significantly, De Klerk, in his most recent address to the nation, uses similar rhetoric: "South Africa would be dragged back into the past. International isolation would return, sanctions and economic collapse would follow, violent would increase and a bloody Bantustan civil war could ensue."

The only difference is that De Klerk is chastising "extremists of the Left and Right, asserting that both are involved in a 'desperate' bid to disrupt the negotiations."

De Klerk concludes: "The only reasonable prospect available South Africa — if it wishes to avoid such a catastrophe — is to proceed swiftly to the conclusion of the present negotiations and installation of a government of national unity, drawing its authority from a new and carefully crafted constitution."

The problem, however, is that conservative forces see that as a route to servitude, not salvation. □

Minister's Star 11/5/93 video joke irks CP

Political Staff

CAPE TOWN — Correctional Services Minister Adriaan Vlok is in trouble with the Conservative Party because of videos he showed members of the parliamentary Joint Committee on Correctional Services on a recent trip to Robben Island.

The five MPs saw a short film of Dimitrio Tsafendas, in jail for the murder of former Prime Minister Dr Hendrik Verwoerd. It was prepared by Correctional Services staff.

The MPs disliked the video because they thought it was a bid to soften them up for the possible release of Tsafendas.

But what really annoyed the CP MPs on the trip was a "joke video" Vlok showed, in which the Afrikaner Weerstandsbeweging laid siege to the Union Buildings and occupied the State President's office.

The CP MPs stormed out of the hall, refused all food, and demanded to be taken back to Cape Town — at a cost of R950.

This happened about two weeks ago, and was reported in the Afrikaans press at the weekend.

POLITICS

Former generals 'committing treason'

Bolet 3 APR 11 5142

FORMER generals who had told farmers not to return Defence Force weapons issued to them during their military service were committing treason against the men they had once led, said Mr Sakkie Blanche (NP Boksburg).

Speaking during the Budget Vote in parliament yesterday, he said some Conservative

Party MPs were also telling farmers not to report for military service.

In doing so they were gambling with the security of all South Africans.

Mr Blanche said last week's farmers' rally in Potchefstroom had demonstrated the political bankruptcy of the right wing. Mr Daan van der Merwe

(CP Nom) said it seemed the President wanted to use Umkhonto we Sizwe and the Azanian Peoples' Liberation Army to act against Afrikaner nationalists who resisted the installation of an ANC-SACP government.

Mr Jasper Walsh (DP Pinalands) said attempts to retain the Western Cape's demographic characteristics by

discouraging black migration to the area were dangerous.

Some people read into regionalism a chance to retain some form of racially-exclusive privilege.

The DP believed in a federal or regional dispensation, of which the borders were geographically, and not racially, determined. — Sapa.

...ace Volksunie on white homeland

(30417) ARC 11/5/93

□ ANC also to be confronted soon on demand

TOS WENTZEL
Political Staff

THE government and the National Party will face demands from the right wing today for support of its ideal of self-determination for Afrikaners in their homeland.

The ANC, too, will be confronted with this demand soon.

The Afrikaner Volksunie, one of the more moderate right-wing groups which broke away from the Conservative Party, is demanding active support for a "volkstaat" idea instead of just the opportunity to state its case at negotiations.

This was emphasised today by the leader of the AVU, Andries Beyers MP. General Con-

stand Viljoen, former SADF head who now leads the Afrikaner Volksfront, a new coalition of rightwing movements, will also be in the delegation.

The government and NP side will be led by Minister of Constitutional Development Roelf Meyer.

Mr Beyers said the AVU was talking to the government and the ANC to ascertain whether it would be worth its while to continue in negotiations.

It did not only want to have the opportunity to put its case during negotiations without it being supported by the two main participants, the government/NP and the ANC.

Mr Beyers said the AVU feared the negotiation process was being hurried along with-

out any notice being taken of even the moderate approach of his party.

The AVU did not want to create false hope among its followers and if it could not get an assurance on fair self-determination for the Afrikaner it would have to consider withdrawing from the negotiations.

At today's talks, the government is expected to try to reassure the right wing.

While it cannot promise totally separate states for various race groups, the National Party is trying to mollify the right wing and many of its own supporters with the promise that a high degree of federalism and local government will be built into a new constitutional system.

Front 'must not allow itself to be misused'

THE recently-launched Afrikaner Volksfront would make a great mistake if it allowed itself to be misused by radicals and other fringe elements, Mr. Gehill Pienaar (AVU Heilbron) has said. (3044)

Speaking during debate on the Housing and Works Vote, he said the Afrikaner's cause would be harmed if the new movement allowed itself to be misused.

Mr. Pienaar called on rational Afrikaners not to give publicity to "all sorts of political and religious cranks".

Replying to the debate, the Minister, Mr. Adriaan Vlok, said home ownership was a cornerstone of stability.

There would be no peace in South Africa until many more people owned their own homes. — Sapa.

Volksfront against negotiations 'haste'

(304A) ARG 11/5/93
The Argus Correspondent

PRETORIA. — The rightwing Afrikaner Volksfront had been formed to protest against the "unnatural haste" with which the government had entered into negotiations for a new constitution.

This was said on SATV last night by the acting chairman, former chief of the Defence General Constand Viljoen.

Speaking on the Agenda programme, General Viljoen said the Volksfront demanded that the negotiating process, as it was at present, be stopped immediately and that Afrikaner self-determination become part of future negotiations.

He said this demand had to be seen in the light of the current security situation.

"We want to go back to the drawing board. How can we negotiate without peace? In terms of the present conditions we need a constitution acceptable to all. That's the bottom line," said General Viljoen.

But he said he would not call on the Conservative Party or the Afrikaner Volksunie to withdraw from multiparty talks.

He added that a tiger had been let loose in townships as a result of the constitutional negotiations. Daily there was intimidation, murder, robbery and destruction of property.

The Volksfront believed that nothing positive was being done to stop the violence, and that to do something would involve all parties.

FW in secret party drive

3625/11 24665
A cross section of top Natal businessmen and other individuals were entertained by the National Party at a Durban restaurant last night in a secretive recruitment drive — with State President de Klerk as the guest speaker. Over a hundred influential businessmen and community leaders attended the function at the Langoustine By The Sea restaurant, which was by special invitation only. The press and photographers were barred. — Own Correspondent.

Azapo rejects multiparty negotiations

WILSON ZWANE

AZAPO yesterday reaffirmed its opposition to multiparty talks and its commitment to all forms of struggle for liberation, including an armed struggle.

The organisation told a news conference in Johannesburg it would seek the emancipation of the masses through bilateral talks with government.

Azapo president Itumeleng Mosala said a weekend congress had concluded that the current multiparty negotiating forum was "undemocratic and incapable of delivering a lasting political solution".

Publicity secretary Gomolemo Mokae said a democratic negotiating forum would be the one in which only liberation movements and government took part.

Mosala said Azapo's constituency rejected the current multiparty talks as they

had failed to resolve the political impasse. "For that reason, Azapo resolved to limit itself to bilateral talks — on neutral ground — with the regime through the facilitating structure already set up."

Mosala said Anglican archbishop for central and southern Africa Khotso Mak-hudu had been appointed by Azapo to facilitate talks between itself and government. A meeting between the two parties would be held in Botswana soon. Azapo wanted the agenda to include activities of all armed formations, a constituent assembly acceptable to all people and the transfer of power to the majority.

● Picture: Page 5

PRESIDENT F W de Klerk and his NP have been persuaded, quite correctly, that a new constitution cannot contain anything that smacks of a white veto. It seems widely agreed that minority rights must be protected by other means. These would include a justiciable Bill of Rights, a healthy degree of devolution or federalism, and the separation of executive, legislative and judicial powers.

Of course, there are those who still insist on entrenched white rights. To them, allow me to introduce Lani Guinier, a black American lawyer whom President Bill Clinton has just named as the justice department's chief civil rights enforcer. The followers of the late Andries Treurnicht may find her doctrines appealing. In her view, racial minorities must be given a veto on questions they deem to be own affairs.

"In a system shaped by irrational majority prejudice," she wrote in the March 1991 Michigan Law Review, it is essential to find "remedial mechanisms that eliminate pure majority rule". The object of such mechanisms should be "interest proportionality" to ensure that "a permanent, hostile, fixed majority" cannot impede "interest satisfaction for disadvantaged minorities on issues of greatest concern".

In other words (and assuming there is no such thing as rational majority prejudice — a concept Hitler would have loved), should a racial bloc making up only about 12% of the overall voting population decide it wants to continue segregating its schools and neighbourhoods, or wishes to kill taxation or land reform policies that would have a disproportionate impact on its constituency, it should be granted the power to do so.

Now this may all sound very strange coming from one such as Guinier, a classmate of Hillary Clinton at Yale, and for nine years a lawyer with the National Association for the Advancement of

And now, welcome American style neo-apartheid

BDM 11/5193

SIMON BARBER in Washington

Coloured People's Legal Defence and Education Fund, one of the country's premier civil rights organisations. But such is the logic to which the heirs of the late Supreme Court judge Thurgood Marshall, who fought and won the landmark Brown vs Board of Education desegregation case, are now attaching themselves.

Like the Afrikaners before it, the US civil rights movement some years ago concluded that the only way a racial minority could save itself from the depredations of the majority was by insisting on official race classification, with special rights accruing to those groups judged in need of "protection".

Accordingly American law, both federal and state, is now encrusted with clauses reserving percentages of government business for specified minorities and granting members of such groups privileged standing in the courts to sue and obtain damages when they believe they have been subject to discrimination by private and public institutions.

Any employer who uses a test to screen applicants that does not result in the award of passing grades to the correct racial and ethnic mix of candidates must either abandon the

test altogether or rig the results to obtain the desired outcome. Much the same applies to schools and universities. In the case of the latter, the special treatment of chosen minorities extends even to speech codes that penalise the giving of offence to certain groups whose "self-esteem" is judged a higher good than constitutional guarantees of free expression.

In the area of elections, the 1965 Voting Rights Act has been modified by Congress, and interpreted by the courts, to require that voting districts be delimited on the basis of race. On the theory that a black voter cannot exercise his franchise effectively unless he can be assured of his preferred black candidate winning, the electoral map has been gerrymandered into a series of bastions.

All of which, argues Guinier, is inadequate. African-Americans, in particular, still do not have sufficient access to power. They will achieve that only when "simple-minded notions of majority rule" and one man, one vote are abandoned

and replaced with a race-based minority veto. Guinier is not, however, in favour of empowering just any member of her minority. The system, she argued in the Michigan Law Review, must be tilted in favour of "authentic blacks". Authenticity "refers to a cultural and psychological view of group solidarity".

The kind of black leaders who had to rely on white votes for election — Virginia's Governor Douglas Wilder, for example, or even New York's Mayor David Dinkins — did not fall into this category, since they were obliged to pursue a compromise agenda that was not "important to the black community".

Translated into SA terms, this would suggest a constitutional structure that would permit a minority veto to be exercised not by De Klerk or other such "inauthentic" sell-outs to the need to achieve non-white votes, but by real champions of Afrikanerdom, like the CP and the AWP. Clearly, such a structure would be a hard sell.

In the US, Guinier would begin by removing the "winner-take-all" features of any majoritarian electoral or legislative process in which the

minority is identifiable, racially homogeneous, insular and permanent".

Wherever such a minority existed, single member districts would be replaced by multimember ones in which each voter would be given as many votes as there were seats to fill. Votes could be shared out as the voter saw fit, all on one candidate if so desired. Those candidates who obtained the most votes, regardless of whether they had achieved a majority, would be elected.

According to Guinier, this would enable "minority interest constituencies" more effectively to "express the intensity of the distinctive group's interests", and thus presumably to secure election of more "authentic" representatives.

Of course, the authentic would still stand little chance of obtaining a majority in most legislatures with which to press what Guinier suggests will axiomatically be their sectarian cause: after all, if they were not sectarian, then by her lights they would not be authentic.

Her solution is a minority veto on legislation that affects blacks — *en masse*, in other words — and some arrangement whereby minorities would be permitted a number of legislative victories in proportion to the size of their population. "Each group has a right to have its interest satisfied a fair proportion of the time."

Now Guinier may have just been playing around when she wrote the 77-page Michigan article and others in which these thoughts appeared — although all were published by serious academic journals — and certainly she has not thought about the application of her ideas in places like SA and Bosnia.

Even so, her nomination will not sail easily through the Senate judiciary committee and Clinton may face yet another political fiasco. He has chosen to head one of the justice department's most powerful and sensitive offices a woman who appears not to believe in the fundamentals of American democracy — and who would seem to be an ideal candidate to advise the CP.

Row threatens split in AWB

344 DIRK VAN EEDEN 304A
A CONFRONTATION between AWB leader Eugene Terre-Blanche and AWB Wenkommando chief "Commander General" Servaas de Wet loomed yesterday, as De Wet accused Terre-Blanche of "childish behaviour".

De Wet sparked talk of a possible split in AWB ranks by attending the launch of the Afrikaner Volksfront in his "personal capacity".

"I did my duty by attending the launch. This is a 'white Codesa' and we must be there," De Wet said.

He said it was "childish" of Terre-Blanche to allow a "junior general" to make a statement over the weekend that every AWB member who attended the launch had to expect disciplinary action.

Terre-Blanche said he was not prepared to discuss De Wet with the media but the issue would be raised tomorrow when the organisation's "generals" met.

Many AWB supporters were represented by other organisations, such as the CP and the Mine Workers' Union who would rethink their AWB membership if Terre-Blanche was not part of the Volksfront.

Gen Constand Viljoen had the support of not only the right-wing but almost the whole Afrikaner community, de Wet said. Terre-Blanche on the other hand, would only have the support of "the few generals whom he pays salaries".

"But I will not resign from the AWB. If Terre-Blanche wants to get rid of me, he will have to boot me out. I am the leader of the Wenkommando, not he."

SA poised for breakthrough on accord for the future, says FW

PRETORIA — SA had reached the moment of truth and, despite the violence, "something wonderful" was happening in the country, President F W de Klerk said yesterday.

"We are on the brink of a breakthrough to reaching an accord in which a stable and prosperous SA can be built."

"If we can overcome the last few hurdles we stand to play a decisive role in southern Africa," he told an international conference at the CSIR.

It was the third time in a week that De Klerk had expressed optimism about the

negotiations process. Similar sentiments were voiced at the end of last week by ANC secretary-general Cyril Ramaphosa and other key negotiators.

De Klerk said SA was ready to enhance the living standards of the entire population of southern Africa by providing agriculture and its related sectors with the best technology.

Addressing delegates to the conference on cereal science and technology, he said more and more African countries were reaching out to SA as the gateway to sub-Saharan Africa. With the involvement of

GERALD REILLY

the international community, "we can become that."

Political factors that had hampered co-operation were changing. Today SA was back in the international community. "I believe our vision of a just, stable and prosperous SA will become a reality. We are on the brink of a breakthrough."

This would bring about closer co-operation in southern Africa. The dream of a southern African economic community would become a reality.

Agriculture would play a major role. To ensure food security and adequate economic activity to provide a livelihood for a growing population, agriculture, of necessity, had to be developed to its full potential in the region.

SA had the capacity and the desire to make available its technological services to its neighbours on a partnership basis.

SA was not only self-sufficient in food production but was a net exporter of food. The total contribution of farming to the national economy amounted to 35%. Agriculture was one of the most impor-

tant stabilising factors in SA and it was the logical starting point of any strategy to get Africa out of the doldrums.

It was up to leaders in Africa and international agencies involved in Africa to accept the challenge to improve living conditions. The alternative was hunger, famine and destitution.

De Klerk stressed that a thriving agricultural sector could be maintained only if technology kept pace. Research and development in agriculture had had outstanding results. SA had attained the status of leader in food production on the continent.

6/10/93 11:57

Even moderate hearts are hardening

Sowetan & Radio Metro

Talkback

By Abbey Makoe

AFRIKANER leaders such as the AWB's Eugene Terre Blanche were hardening the hearts of even the most moderate blacks.

This was said by callers to the Sowetan/Radio Metro Talkback Show last night.

An Irat Edith of Alexandra Township, told host Tim Modise "white people's land is in Holland".

"Terre Blanche does not have land if the one he talks about falls within the boundaries of South Africa," Edith said.

She said to the best of her knowledge, white people came here many years ago they brought with them "about five or six wives".

When Modise asked her about the multitude of white people in the country, Edith responded: "They are so many today because so many crooks came here".

Last night's show was an open line.

Sinki, who called from Tembisa, criticised both Cosas and the National Education Co-ordinating Committee for comingling with each other before imposing their decisions about school boycotts on the community.

Sinki said Cosas' call to pupils to return to classes was also a mockery as, on Monday, most left class as early as 11am.

He was pessimistic about the recovery of lost teaching and learning time, dismissing claims of "seriousness about catching up" as feeble.

A Watville, Benoni, resident, James, criticised some Radio Metro announcers for using "American jargon" while on the air. He said foreign pronunciation misled children.

Eddie, of Cape Town, said Jay Naidoo of Cosatu was misleading workers in the clothing industry with promises of more money from long-term savings.

Nokuthula of Soweto suggested

there should be a Children's Day, just as there was a Mother's Day and Father's Day, to which Modise said he thought every day was children's day.

"Inkatha supporters sometimes do wrong things. They harass and kill innocent people when they return from their rallies."

Nicolas Tshabalala, Durban

"I was impressed with the way Felicia Mabuza-Suttle handled the issue of the aged on TV."

Pusho, Hillbrow

with Tim Modise



Sowetan 11/5/93 2040 PM

and included prominent businessmen. Police also announced that a 69-year-old pensioner had been arrested after allegedly shooting at a police helicopter because it was "noisy".

Police liaison officer Major Andrew

Military Hospital at Voortrekkerhoogte. The gardener was not injured.

A police helicopter was then summoned to help trace the robbers and as it circled above the pensioner shot at it with a .38 revolver.

No to multi talks

Azapo maintains status quo and 'intensifies struggle'

By Lulama Luti

THE Azanian People's Organisation continues to play its cards close to its chest, opting not to join the multiparty talks. *Sowetan 11/5/93*

Instead, the organisation decided at a special congress in Rodepoort at the weekend to maintain bilateral talks between itself and the Government.

The organisation also resolved to remain Archbishop Khotso Makhulu of the Central and Southern Africa Province of the Anglican Church as facilitator of the talks between Azapo and the Black Consciousness Movement of Azania on the one hand and the Government on the other. *(30/4/93) (11/5/93)*

Addressing a Press briefing in Johannesburg yesterday, Azapo president Professor Mameteng Mosala said his organisation believed the current multiparty talks were never intended to deliver freedom to (black) people.

"We can't be blamed for delaying the process (of negotiation). There have been negotiations for three years and nothing of significance has been achieved."

Azapo also rejected the notion of a government of national unity, saying it believed strongly that there was still a chance that the other members of the liberation movement would join ranks with the organisation and speak with one voice against the Government.

Azapo publicity secretary Dr Gomolemo Mokae said: "In principle, we are not opposed to talks but what we are saying is that the regime has not pointed out clearly that it is ready to relinquish power."

The two-day congress pledged its unwavering support for the BCM and its liberation wing, the Azanian National Liberation Army, saying the struggle had to be intensified on all fronts.



Reason for

houses backlog

No national policy:

THE lack of a uniform national housing policy for South Africa was partly responsible for the country's housing backlog, regional director of the Department of Housing, Mr John Africa, said in Cape Town yesterday.

Addressing the 21st World Housing Congress, he said that until 1985 all State housing projects were undertaken without consultation. *(11/5/93)*

The department's self-help programme, had provided homes for 80 000 people in seven years. — By Joshua Kaboroko and Sapa. *(11/5/93)*

THE Kagiso branch of the African National Congress has vowed that the consumer boycott aimed at white businesses in Krugersdorp will make previous ones seem like a Sunday school picnic. *Sowetan 11/5/93*

The consumer boycott, launched on Saturday, followed the arrest of Mr Clive Derby-Lewis and his wife, Gaye, in connection with the assassination of South African Communist Party general secretary Mr Chris Hani. *(11/5/93)*

Linked to the protestation is a set of eight demands which would determine the resumption of buying in the white Conservative Party-controlled town. These include the resignation of all Krugersdorp city councillors, the installation of an "interim administration accountable to the democratic majority in Krugersdorp" and the provision of security for "all leaders of the people".

Three die in crash

TWO staffers at the Soweto campus of Vista University and a seven-year-old child were killed when their car collided with a taxi on the Old Potchefstroom Road in Soweto on Sunday night.

The dead are Mr Richard

and Khumalo's daughter, Mballi Khumalo (33) of Protea North, was chief librarian at East Rand campus of Vista University. The taxi driver allegedly ran away.

Pig put in coffin

THE Nuuanu firm of undertakers in Honolulu has agreed to apologise and pay about R2 million in compensation for putting a dead pig in the coffin of Mimi Goldberg, whose family's Jewish faith regards pigs as unclean.

It was an accident, the undertakers explained in a statement.

R20 000 grabbed

THREE armed men robbed a petrol station in Athlone, Cape Town, of more than R20 000 yesterday.

The police said the balacava-clad men threatened a petrol attendant before demanding the money and escaping.

Offices vandalised

THE Inkatha Freedom Party's Youth Brigade offices in Gernsion were vandalised by unknown assailants on Sunday night, an official claimed. *(11/5/93) Sowetan*

Star 11/5/93

Govt-Inkatha gap narrows

The yawning gap between the Government and Inkatha Freedom Party in negotiations appears to have been narrowed by a weekend meeting. Sources at the meeting on Saturday said it had succeeded in getting rid of "misunderstandings" between the two organisations. The IFP negotiators will report to leader Mangosuthu Buthe-lezi today. — Political Staff. (304A) (413)

Racist fervour: ANC 'hypocrisy' slammed

CT 11/5/93
By ANTHONY JOHNSON
Political Correspondent

THE National Party has accused the ANC of hypocrisy for calling on the government to act against right-wingers who incite racial hatred.

The NP's director of media, Mr Marthinus van Schalkwyk, said the ANC calls were ironic because prominent ANC members were guilty of "this dangerous and inflammatory practice".

ANC spokesman Mr Carl Niehaus said at the weekend that President F W de Klerk should stop using kid gloves with right-wingers who incited racial hatred.

Mr Van Schalkwyk said that when

ANC members used slogans like "Kill the Boer, kill the farmer" they went undisciplined and the "limp excuse" was given that the slogan did not represent official ANC policy.

"These racist slogans, used by prominent ANC members, certainly contributed to the equally racist remarks and slogans at the meeting in Potchefstroom of right-wing farmers.

"It is the typical pattern of right- and left-wing extremists relying on each other for their strength."

Mr Van Schalkwyk said the solution lay in organisations' disciplining their members instead of trying to find scapegoats.

"The NP supports stronger action against all who incite racial hatred."

FW vision 'near reality'

25/11/93

(30417)

Political Staff

PRETORIA. — South Africa is on the "brink of a breakthrough", President F W de Klerk said yesterday.

And, he added, he believed his "vision of a just, stable and prosperous South Africa" would soon become a reality.

Addressing an international agricultural symposium here, he said he believed that in the wake of this would come even closer co-operation with countries in Southern Africa.

At this point, "the dream of a Southern African economic community will become a reality", he said; the foundations for

this were already in existence.

Mr De Klerk said agriculture would play a major role in this process.

To ensure that food security and adequate economic activity would provide a livelihood for a growing population, agriculture would have to be developed to its full potential in the region.

Star 11/5/83

Halt talks, demands general

By Norman Chandler
Pretoria Bureau

The right-wing Afrikaner Volksfront had been formed to protest against the unnatural haste with which the Government had entered into negotiations for a new constitution.

This was said on SABC TV last night by the acting chairman, former chief of the SADF General Constand Viljoen.

Speaking on *Agenda*, Viljoen said the Volksfront demanded that the negotiating process as it is at present be stopped immediately and that Afrikaner self-determination become part of future negotiations.

Viljoen said this demand had to be seen in the light of the current security situation in the country.

Experts called in

THE negotiations planning committee yesterday met the country's top academic and legal minds who will serve on seven technical sub-committees to aid negotiations. The experts are to begin work immediately and will report to the 10-member planning committee with recommendations by May 16.

Church leaders plan code of conduct for elections

304A RAY HARTLEY

CHURCH leaders are planning to draft a code of conduct for political parties during elections.

A Johannesburg seminar on electoral justice, whose convenors include the SA Council of Churches and SA Catholic Bishops' Conference, will draft the code this week and "outline a procedure for getting it adopted by political parties and other relevant organisations" organisers said.

Canadian political science professor Douglas Anglin, who served as an election observer in Namibia and Lesotho, said yesterday the code could be signed by political candidates and parties.

"A commitment to the code of conduct should be a prerequisite for party registration," he said, adding that penalties including the disqualification of candidates and parties who breached the code should be considered.

An illegitimate election would be "disastrous" for investment and international confidence in SA, he said.

Churches had a "unique and special contribution" to make to the election by defining standards of morality and justice and "selling the election to the voters".

SA should avoid the "administrative chaos" which characterised recent elections in Lesotho, where some polls had opened up to a day late, he said.

Right-wing demands 'can be accommodated'

BIDM 11/5/95 (304A)

TOP negotiators said yesterday right-wing demands for self-determination could be resolved at multiparty talks.

"We can (resolve the issue). The willingness is there. The sincerity is there," Bophuthatswana negotiator Rowan Cronje said before the 10-man planning committee met at the World Trade Centre.

ANC secretary-general Cyril Ramaphosa said: "The best workable options for the country will be put forward by the technical subcommittees . . . and questions like self-determination will in my view be addressed in the correct way (but) not necessarily in the way the right-wing parties are putting it. Self-determination, for instance, has to be seen in its holistic context, not in a very narrow (way) that the right-wing parties are putting across."

He was confident self-determination could be accommodated within a single SA state. "It should be self-determination for the people of SA, not self-determination for a certain ethnic group."

Constitutional Development Minister Roelf Meyer said the question of SA and a separate state was something different to the accommodation of self-determination in one state. "This means basically a difference in approach as far as the CP and the Afrikaner Volksunie are concerned. The CP is proposing secession . . . while the AVU is talking about accommodating Afrikaner self-determination within the framework of a federal state."

He said perhaps the CP was in the same position as Bophuthatswana. "Bophuthatswana is an independent state . . . but they are participating here also to find out how exactly regionalism is going to be structured. That means . . . they are thinking of the possibility of reincorporation — giving up their independence with a view to form

part of a broader federal structure in SA. Maybe the CP can be convinced of the same thing in the negotiating process."

PAC secretary-general Benny Alexander said the solution could possibly be found by looking at what people wanted to protect. For instance, instead of talking about federalism and unitarism, negotiators should rather look at the powers and functions of regions or provinces to protect people's interests. "The unitarists don't want a dictatorship and the federalists don't want a dictatorship. They are both united on what they don't want, therefore they should be able to find a solution."

BILLY PADDOCK reports that the seven multiparty technical committees were landed yesterday with an avalanche of work and tight deadlines to produce draft legislation to form the basis of negotiations. The committees were briefed by the planning committee on their tasks, mandates, time scales and operating methods.

They were instructed to prepare their first report by Friday. It will be evaluated by the planning committee before it is forwarded to the negotiating council on Tuesday next week.

"The technical committees' task is to find the common ground as much as possible and draft proposals that will take into account the varying positions of parties with the view to facilitating agreement," a senior negotiator said.

The ground to be covered by the committees includes constitutional issues such as the form of state; human rights during the transition; violence; an independent election commission; an independent media commission; legislation impeding free political activity; and a transitional executive council. — Sapa.

DP unveils draft Bill of Rights

By Chris Whitfield
Political Staff

Star 12/5/93
304A

CAPE TOWN — The Democratic Party yesterday unveiled its draft Bill of Rights which included provision for affirmative action — but with strong protection for individual rights.

The DP believes its draft straddles an emphasis on equality in the ANC's version and on individual rights in the National Party's charter.

The Bill's clause on equality would outlaw discrimination on the basis of "race, ethnic origin, colour, gender, sexual orientation, age, disability, religion, creed or conscience".

But it acknowledges the need for affirmative action programmes to undo existing inequalities, saying: "Differentiation ... shall be presumed unjustified unless it is part of a rational programme intended to remedy substantial inequality."

The document recognises that there exists what its explanatory notes describe as a "sphere of privacy" in which decisions to differentiate need not be justified.

It entrenches freedom of conscience and religion, saying the State "shall not favour one religion over another". Freedom of the press and of unarmed and peaceful assembly are also protected.

Its clause on "right to life" does not express itself for or against capital punishment. But, under the "right to liberty", it prohibits "cruel, inhuman or degrading treatment or punishment" of persons. It leaves the decision on the legality of abortion to the courts.

'I don't want to lead revolt'

By Chris Whitfield

CAPE TOWN — His role in the newly forged Afrikaner Volksfront was not to create a white army or "lead any rebellion", former chief of the SADF General Constand Viljoen said yesterday.

And the Afrikaner Volksunie (AVU) would stay in negotiations after the Government yesterday said it had "no objection in principle" to the party's vision of self-determination, he said.

Viljoen told the conference — after taking part

in AVU discussions with the Government — that he was known as a responsible person. "I don't see why I should all of a sudden become irresponsible."

His role was as a coordinator and he had said in the past that armed action was always a last resort.

AVU leader Andries Beyers described the Government's statement on self-determination — made after two hours of AVU-Government discussions — as an historic breakthrough.

It also implied "that we can now tell all Afrikaners that, if our cause is formulated realistically and righteously, then we have a substantial chance to achieve our ideals".

Constitutional Development Minister Roelf Meyer, who headed the Government delegation at yesterday's talks, said the Government was convinced that its own constitutional plan could accommodate "a feasible form of self-determination for all, including Afrikaners".

Election date is next step

Star 12/5/93
(304A)

By Kaizer Nyatsumba
Political
Correspondent

Following last week's adoption by the Negotiating Council (NC) of a declaration of intention calling for elections to be held not later than April next year, the next important event in the negotiations process will be the announcement of a date for the country's first all-race election.

The date, expected to be announced within the next four weeks, is expected to exercise the minds of the major political players in the country, and to lead to more visible electioneering by the different political parties and organisations.

Although the four-week period within which the date has to be announced ends on June 4, political observers expect the date to be made public when the Negotiating Forum (NF) meets at the World Trade Centre on June 2.

The 156-member NF — each one of the 26 parties and organisations represented in the multi-party talks has four delegates and two advisers — receives and confirms reports and proposals,

with or without amendments, from the NC.

The NC, in which each organisation has two delegates and two advisers, is the body which does the real negotiating. The next time it meets will be next Tuesday, when it will receive recommendations from the 10-member planning committee and the seven technical committees formed last week.

The most important week in the talks in May will be the one before the end of the month, in which two meetings of the NC will take place.

The meetings, on May 25 and May 28, will review progress made by the technical committees, and might even announce the formation of the long-awaited Transitional Executive Council. They will then prepare reports for the all-important June 2 meeting of the NF.

The planning committee, which facilitates negotiations and makes recommendations to the NC, will meet twice a week between now and the end of the month.

No session of the plenary, which is attended by leaders of the parties and whose function is to formally adopt agreements, is scheduled to take place before June 2. None has taken place since negotiations resumed on April 1.

Star 12/5/93

Threat to negotiations from extremists is growing

Allister Sparks



Friday: "The worst scenario is if the major parties reach agreement but lose control over their own constituencies. Then we'll have a very dangerous situation indeed."

So time is critical. What is needed to neutralise the wild voices on the Left and Right is for the parties of the centre to move forward fast to an agreement and then an election, giving the country a sense of momentum and letting the voters cut the obstructive minority parties down to size.

But this cannot happen as long as there are holdouts: the minority parties of Cosag for their untenable demands; the Conservative Party for its separate white state, unacceptable because there is no part of the country with a white majority which means blacks would have to be forcibly removed from the Boerestaat or disenfranchised; and the Inkatha Freedom Party for a form of confederacy designed to set up Natal for a Katanga-style secession.

Both insist that the form of state embodying these demands must be agreed upon now, before an election, and be binding on the elected constituent assembly which will draft South Africa's new constitution.

The reason they are demanding this up-front decision is that they know the election will reduce them to minority status, too small to achieve what they want in the constituent assembly. Which is also why the major parties will not agree in advance to such Balkanisation.

Meanwhile, the filibuster continues, with the IFP and the right wing holding out for what cannot be conceded — and as time ticks by the threat from the extremists increases.

What is to be done? Some analysts are saying the only way is for President de Klerk to move forward to an election with the ANC and other supporting parties, and if necessary clamp down on the dissenting minorities. But it is doubtful whether De Klerk has the political will to do that.

Dr Van Zyl Slabbert has suggested that De Klerk should hold an all-race referendum to legitimise such a move. But to hold a national referendum and a general election in quick succession in South Africa's present climate of violence is a daunting prospect.

It would also leave the problem of dealing with the dissenters unresolved. Both Inkatha and the rightwingers, with the ex-generals in command, would be certain to oppose the referendum and seek to disrupt it in areas they control.

Implicit in the suggestion, therefore, is that De Klerk would have to be prepared to crack down on the dissenters, perhaps even declaring martial law. For him to act thus against his own kith and kin would be political dynamite.

The only alternative is to try to coax the IFP away from its unholy alliance with the rightwingers. The trouble is that while this may be possible in the give-and-take atmosphere of the negotiating committees, the man responsible for the IFP's decision-making is not there.

While his chief negotiators, Frank Mdlalose and Ben Ngubane, show signs of flexibility in the discussions, Chief Mangosuthu Buthe remains isolated from the chemistry of the negotiating process in his capital of Umtata, surrounded by foreign advisers of dubious motivation.

There is an onus here on those international governments and agencies which have supported Buthelezi over the years and inflated his ego and expectations well beyond what his support on the ground justifies.

Buthelezi is in large measure their creation, just as Jonas Savimbi is in Angola, and if these countries and foundations do not want to see another disaster in South Africa as they are currently witnessing in that ravaged land, now is the time for them to use their influence on the IFP leader to let the process move forward to agreement.

They must persuade him that the near-independent status he demands for KwaZulu-Natal is a non-starter. No constitution-making forum could possibly accept such a thing as a binding precondition. Let Chief Buthelezi argue for it in the elected assembly by all means, but then he must be prepared to accept the verdict of the democratic process.

Every region and every cultural group is entitled to fair consideration in the building of a new nation. But none is entitled to hold the country to ransom. □

Despite the optimistic noises coming from the World Trade Centre, the negotiations are in fact at a particularly difficult and dangerous stage.

On the one hand, agreement is tantalisingly close. The Government and the ANC, representing perhaps 80 percent of the population, have narrowed their differences to a point where they could each agreement right now.

But the deal cannot be closed because the lesser parties in the Cosag alliance — the so-called 'concerned Southern Africans' group — are holding out for demands which the major parties cannot concede.

And while the haggling continues inconclusively, it is becoming clearer by the day that delay is explosively dangerous. In the motionally charged atmosphere following the assassination of Chris Hani and the arrest of three Conservative Party members, the radical wings of both the black left and the white Right are whipping each other up with fiery rhetoric and threats of a race war.

Both the major parties are coming under increasing pressure

from these radical elements. As one key negotiator confided, if there is no agreement by the end of May, the ANC is going to be under heavy pressure to withdraw from negotiations.

It has to be able to show results to its impatient youth: it cannot just sit there month after month getting nowhere.

Likewise with the Government. There was a time when the National Party felt time was on its side, letting the ANC twist in the wind while it put together its own multiparty alliance.

No longer. There is a keen awareness now that the longer the talks drag on the more the Government loses legitimacy, the more the violence increases and the more the National Party loses support to the Conservative Party and, in Natal, to the Inkatha Freedom Party.

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DP unveils its 'libertarian' Bill of Rights

CAPE TOWN — The DP yesterday unveiled a "truly libertarian" Bill of Rights, which includes measures to give constitutional effect to socioeconomic rights.

DP MP and drafting committee chairman Tony Leon described the proposal — no mere "laundry list" of specific provisions — as a radical departure from traditional Bills of Rights.

A key difference is that it does not propose that constitutional issues be decided in the first instance by a special constitutional court.

The proposed Bill has provisions regarding equality and the outlawing of "unjustified differentiation" — differing from the

ANC's and government's proposals.

It contains a provision not included in any other Bill of Rights dealing with "second generation rights", which proposes a mechanism to make "essentials of life" justiciable. The article provides that every citizen shall be entitled to food and water necessary for survival, shelter, basic health care and basic education. Government would decide on how to realise these entitlements, but should its decisions not be reasonable, practicable and affordable, these would be justiciable.

Leon said the effect of the provision

would be that the courts could review policy choices by legislators in this limited category, and on application, issue directives insisting that government attend to the issues.

While second generation rights are normally regarded as unenforceable and thus not justiciable, Leon said their inclusion was necessary because otherwise the Bill would be "empty, cruel words echoing in a wasteland of deprivation and denial".

The Bill provides for an array of enforcement mechanisms, including provisions to secure information from the state, rights to administrative justice and easy

□ To Page 2

Bill of Rights

procedure. 61007 12/5/93

It includes articles on the right to equality, which contains a provision protecting but limiting "private choice", the right to life, liberty, privacy and property. The right to property includes authorisation for the state to expropriate property subject to "proper payment of equitable compensation". The right to life leaves the ques-

tion of abortion and the death penalty to Parliament to decide in the first instance.

Leon said a Bill of Rights alone could never solve all of a country's problems. He quoted US judge Learned Hand as saying: "Liberty lies in the hearts and minds of men and women — and when it dies there, no constitution, court of law or Bill of Rights can save it."

□ From Page 1

focus on liberation

WE ARE MEMBERS of a movement in which one of the most fundamental rights is the right to think. We broke away from white liberal organisations because we would not allow white people to arrogate to themselves the role of thinking for and on behalf of black people.

The freedom of the black person to think, to act, to live, to love — in short — the fundamental freedom to be, is one of the inalienable rights which black consciousness exists to fight for. This freedom is to be exercised everywhere and all the time, outside and inside the organisation.

In this organisation, we think and let think. It has never been a crime to think. It will be a tragedy of unspeakable ideological proportions if the right to think were to be eroded.

Not a crime

This freedom is to be exercised everywhere and all the time. We think and let think.

We do not have a history of ideological labelling as a strategy for criminalising our own members. That practice is not about to start or to be tolerated.

The contrary can only obtain at the cost of a fundamental change in the nature of the organisation and of its relations to some of its members, the present speaker not excluded.

Today, as in 1990 when De Klerk emerged with his strategy of short circuiting the Azanian revolution, the real issues that affect freedom of black people are still being sidelined.

It is instructive to examine the language of politics.

No one, except ourselves, speaks of liberation any longer. There is not even an attempt to disguise the deep-seated reformism.

Not even freedom is envisaged for our people.

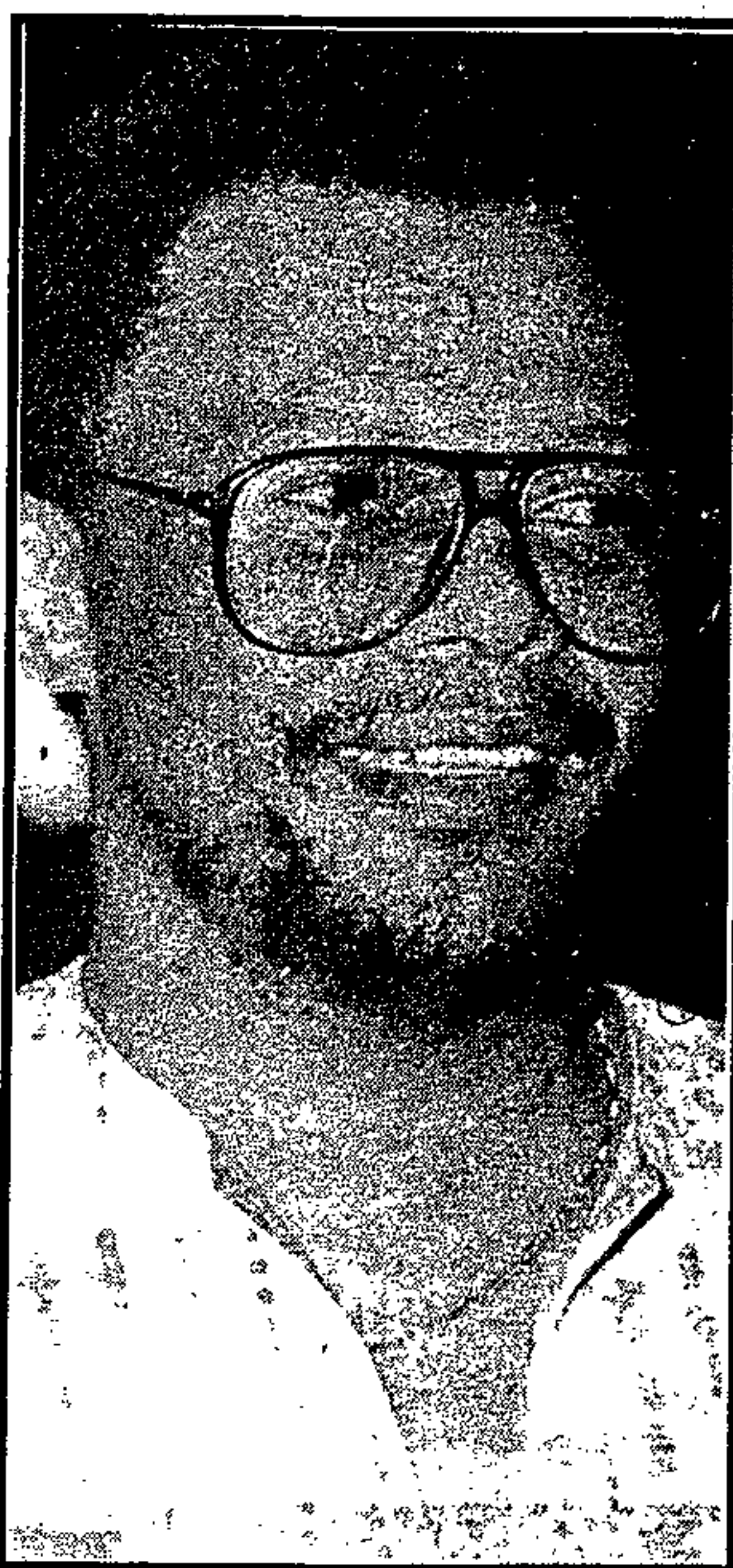
Today, as in 1990, only Azapo continues to insist that (President FW) De Klerk has a constituency that he is answerable to and that elected him. To expect him to serve any other constituency is downright stupid and makes for unforgivably bad politics.

Today, as in 1990, white people continue to despise black people notwithstanding what their international cousins say on their behalf.

They continue to act purely on the basis of white interests and refuse to come to terms with the reality that they have overstayed their welcome in Azania and abused the hospitality of their hosts. It is time plain language is used in talking to white South Africans and in preparing them for a future under black majority rule, if they care to stay.

Unless the settler-colonial mentality of the likes of Roelf Meyer changes, the future may be less than pleasant for the white settlers in this, our land.

This is an edited version of a speech given by **Professor Itumeleng Mosala**, president of the Azanian People's Organisation, at the organisation's meeting at Wilgespruit, Roodepoort, at the weekend:



Professor Itumeleng Mosala ... president of Azapo.

It must be said loud and clear to all white people here and abroad that Azania belongs to the Azanians.

Non-Azanians are welcome here to visit or to settle on terms set by the Azanians themselves. But before that, the situation of theft of the land and the resources of the Azanian land and people must be corrected.

I therefore call on the masses of our people from all walks of life and in all organisations to deal a death blow to the white arrogance which continues to dominate life in occupied Azania.

Our people must fight with all means necessary to take power to rule their country, to rule

Seuetau
12/5/93

their land, to rule their economy, to rule their culture, to carve out their own future, to be people in their own land, through their own culture, on their own terms.

It is the pervasive arrogance of white people which threatens the future of this country. It is an arrogance which displays itself everywhere. It is there in areas of employment; it is there in the schools; it is there in academic circles and especially at universities; it is there in general social relations; it is there in the media; it is there in the entertainment industry; it is there in the economy and in the department of education; it is there on the streets of cities; it is written everywhere.

Everywhere and in everything they do and say white people presume their superiority. Their arrogance is in the churches and if there is a heaven, I will be very shocked if white arrogance does not permeate that area as well.

Our congress takes place at a dangerous time in our country and in the world. There are crises everywhere. And in this country it is our people, black Azanians, who are bearing the brunt of these crises.

There are extremely dangerous flash points around the world today. These include occupied Azania. What is happening in Yugoslavia can easily happen in our country. It is not funny, it is dangerous.

What is happening in Angola can easily happen in our country. And, again, it is the majority of black people who are and will suffer from these crises.

Flash points

We have to be careful not to be party to an attitude of mind that allows our country to slip into chaos, only because white arrogance will not forego the reins of power.

We have a responsibility to save our country by liberating it, by acting rationally and responsibly to save our country by liberating it; by putting the interests of our people and the future of our country above all else.

There is a challenge facing all Azanians which is more than the sum of all our policies and ideologies.

We will not allow the imminent burial of tyrannies for whom the sun is now inexorably setting to go down with our land and our people. Azania must be saved. Azania must be liberated.

THE deeply-entrenched principle, subscribed to by all parties at CODESA, that only Parliament can change the constitution and laws of the land, is important when the question of multi-party control over our security forces is addressed.

Control cannot be handed over without Parliament having passed the necessary legislation, nor can control be given to a non-statutory body.

The National Party supports the agreement reached in Codesa Working Group 3 that a Transitional Executive Council (TEC), with multi-party character, should be established to facilitate the transition to democracy, including the levelling of the playing field and ensuring a free and fair election takes place.

It was also agreed at Codesa that the implementation of the TEC would depend on agreement on a transitional constitution.

At that time it was anticipated the negotiation process would be finalised within reasonable time. This has not materialised since the process has unfortunately been delayed for nearly a year because of the withdrawal from Codesa by the ANC and its allies.

To make up for lost ground the NP supports the view that the TEC should be implemented as soon as possible, even before an agreement on a transitional constitution has been reached, since this can facilitate the reform process and could serve as a powerful vehicle for curtailing violence.

The NP therefore believes an agreement, which spells out the functions, powers and duties of the TEC and its sub-structures, should be concluded without delay.

The suggestion that the TEC should have executive authority over the armed forces is totally unacceptable to the NP because:

- There is no necessity for such drastic action;
- There is no precedent for such a step. In Namibia, for instance, international observers monitored the armed forces and the

CROSS TALK

Armed forces:

South 815 - 12/5/93

'The govt must keep control'

In response to the ANC argument last week in favour of joint control of security forces during the run-up to an election, the National Party gives its views.

JACKO MAREE, Director of Information of the Federal Council of the NP, explains why the government opposes multi-party control of the defence force and police.

The SADF cites **PRESIDENT FW DE KLERK** and police spokesperson **CRAIG KOTZE** says the ANC's argument is inconsistent:

army was confined to barracks. These measures were accepted as sufficient to ensure the playing field had been levelled and that free and fair elections had taken place. The same arrangement would suffice in our elections.

● It is impractical since the TEC will, as an executive body, in effect become a "ministry"

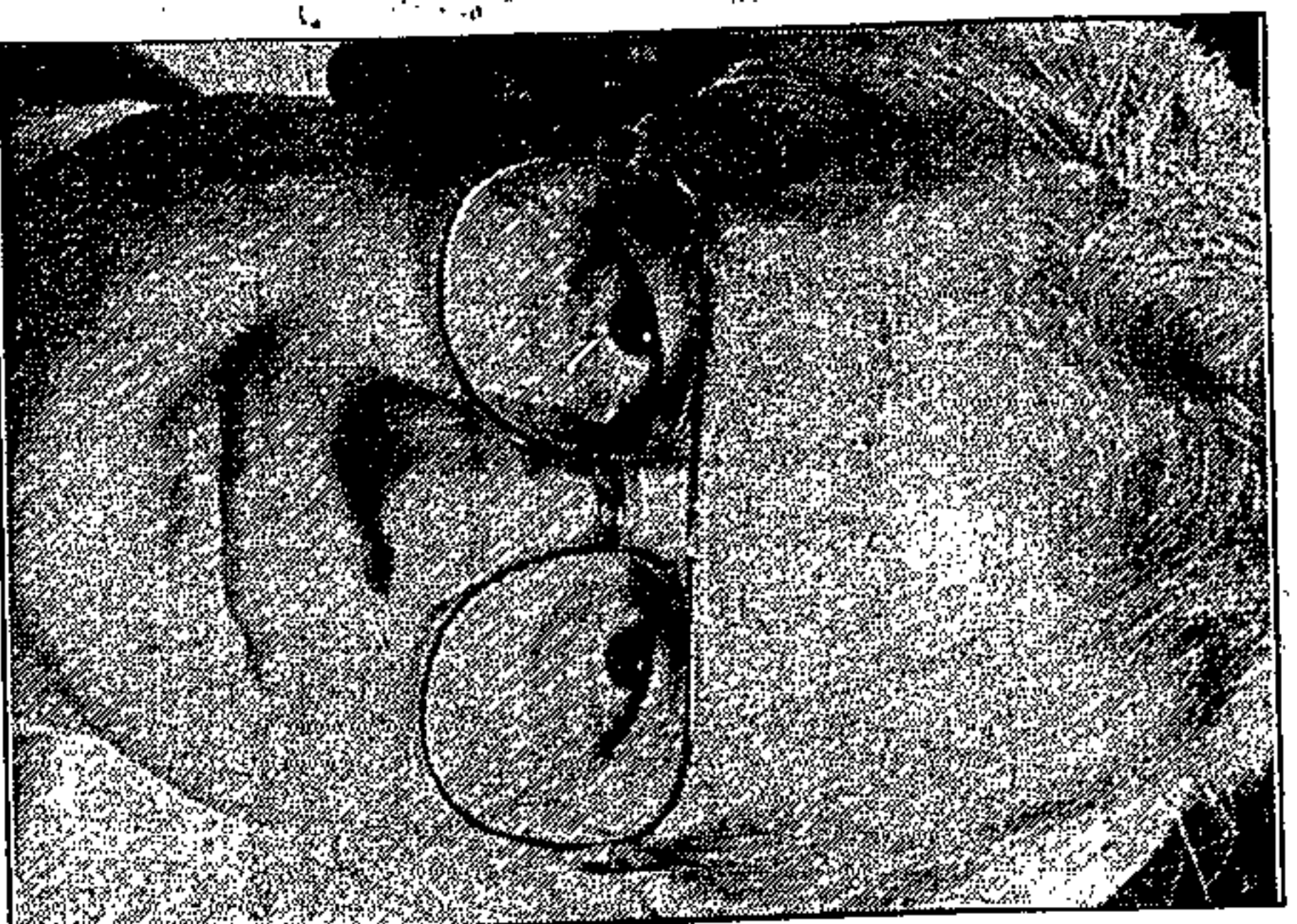
and used for properly designed purposes.

With regard to matters relating to our armed forces all the parties participating at the talks:

- Must have a say and be able to make a political input into the TEC;
- Must share responsibility.
- The TEC cannot possibly:
- Be responsible for the day to day management;
- Have control, or joint control, of the security forces.

The TEC should rather fulfil the following important tasks:

- Monitoring, with or without the assistance of other groups, the actions of the armed forces;
- Seeking and promoting co-operation between the participating parties and armed forces under their command with the view to curtailing violence;
- Ensuring all necessary steps are taken and implemented for a free and fair election.



Parties say no to spoiling tactics

Political Correspondent

POLITICAL parties yesterday undertook not to disrupt meetings held in the Western Cape following a special conference convened by the Western Cape Peace Committee. (304A) (374)

At the conference, the executive of the committee, the police and the African National Congress said they wanted to ensure that both international and local peace monitors attend two meetings — to be hosted by Inkatha and the ANC — in Parow this week. CT 12/5/93

It will be the first time the ANC holds a meeting in the traditionally conservative area. The Peace Committee will also meet with non-signatories of the Peace Accord to discuss political tolerance at meetings in the area. (C.1-5)

The ANC called on the government to "seriously take issue with threats by the right-wing".

ANC regional assistant secretary Mr Willie Hofmeyr said both he and Cape regional secretary Mr Tony Yengeni had received anonymous threats related to their involvement in the meeting.

Mr Hofmeyr said extensive security precautions had been taken to ensure the public's safety at the gathering.

President's Council's last month

Political Correspondent

THE 12-year-old President's Council will wind up business in the middle of next month.

CT 1245193
The 60-member nationalist-dominated body has been used in the past to ram controversial measures into law. (304A)

The PC, which abolished the Senate in 1981, paved the way for the current constitution by tabling its first proposals in May 1982.

The PC's outgoing chairman, Dr Willie van Niekerk, said yesterday that the body would dissolve after discussing its last three reports in mid-June.

Sapa reports that Dr Van Niekerk said the PC would "dissolve permanently" as had been announced by the State President at the opening of Parliament this year.

Right-wingers kept in fold

By ANTHONY JOHNSON
Political Correspondent

THE government yesterday succeeded in keeping right-wingers in the negotiations process by supporting the principle of Afrikaner self-determination within a federal system in which race discrimination was outlawed.

The long meeting in the city yesterday — between the government, the spokesman for the new-

ly-formed Afrikaner Volksfront, General Constand Viljoen, and the leader of the Afrikaner Voksunie (AVU), Mr Andries Beyers — ended with Mr Beyers proclaiming "an historic breakthrough".

Former Defence Force Chief General Viljoen emerged saying he had no intention of leading a "white army" or doing "anything illegal or irresponsible".

Mr Beyers said the breakthrough at yesterday's talks "makes it worthwhile to proceed with our participation at negotiations".

Constitutional Development Minister Mr Roelf Meyer said the government was convinced that a "feasible form of self-determination" for all could be accommodated in its own constitutional plans.

Wednesday May 12 1993 SOWETAN

NEWS Conservative Party's response to occupation of white schools ● News in brief

We may take up arms - CP

Seuethen 12/5/93

■ The Government is not prepared to scrap exam fees:

By Ismail Lagardien
Political Correspondent

THE Conservative Party has threatened to call on white parents to take up arms in response to calls by education groups for black pupils to occupy white schools.

CP Chief Whip Mr Andrew Gerber said in Parliament yesterday that Afrikaners would have to "ensure the safety of their children themselves".

"The CP has no choice but to urge parents to protect our schools with physical resistance. If the plan to occupy white schools goes ahead, it will lead to civil war," Gerber said.

Meanwhile, the director-general of the Department of Education and Train-

ing, Dr Bernard Louw, yesterday said the Government was not prepared to unilaterally abolish examination fees.

He said the flow of resources to schools was being hampered by the unrest in black schools. It was difficult for officials of the DET to deliver basic things such as "toilet paper and chalk".

"The present crisis comes at a very bad time. The longer the stoppage continues, the bigger the damage to education. The Government is accused of providing insufficient services and inadequate education but the longer this (stoppage) continues, the longer the *status quo* will prevail.

"We can't render services. We are stuck with furniture that has to be delivered but can't be delivered because we can't get into the townships," he said.

Right wing convinced to stay in talks

CAPE TOWN — Government succeeded yesterday in keeping right-wingers in the negotiations process by supporting the principle of Afrikaner self-determination within a federal system in which race discrimination was outlawed.

A meeting between government, Afrikaner Volksfront spokesman Gen Constand Viljoen and Afrikaner Volksunie (AVU) leader Andries Beyers ended with Beyers proclaiming "a historic breakthrough".

Viljoen, former SADF chief, emerged from the meeting to say he had no intention of leading a "white army" or doing "anything illegal or irresponsible". He told a news conference: "Armed action was always the very, very last resort — that is

304A TIM COHEN

what civilisation has taught me."

Beyers said the AVU would not withdraw from multiparty talks, and praised the statement by Constitutional Development Minister Roelf Meyer that government's position on Afrikaner self-determination had been "refined" during the meeting. Meyer said: "Government and the NP have no objection in principle to the AVU's ideal of Afrikaner self-determination as part of a federal dispensation in which no form of race discrimination is allowed and in which citizens' rights are

□ To Page 2

Right wing

extended to all inhabitants."

But Meyer questioned the feasibility of AVU plans for a region where Afrikaners would become the majority. He said government was convinced a "feasible form of self-determination" for all, including Afrikaners, could be accommodated in its constitutional plans.

The CP rejected the statements at the news briefing, with chief negotiator Tom Langley saying government's plan amounted to nothing more than the Afrikaner having to be satisfied within a unitary state. This was a recipe for conflict.

Beyers said the AVU would soon meet ANC president Nelson Mandela to discuss the self-determination of Afrikaners.

Meanwhile, BILLY PADDOCK reports that government responded swiftly yesterday to Mandela's call for government to act against the "very serious threat" from the right wing.

A government spokesman stressed that

government would not shy away from acting against the right wing. President F W de Klerk was very serious about "taking them on", he said.

Mandela said: "We hope government is going to carry out its duty of maintaining law and order and of ensuring that people carry out their activities in a peaceful atmosphere. We must take the threat from the right wing very seriously because they are firmly entrenched in government structures." He hoped government would concentrate on the real threat to negotiations, the right wing.

The government spokesman said De Klerk was firm in his commitment "not to tolerate any illegal or unconstitutional pressure from extremists on the left or the right". De Klerk and government did not see the main threat as coming only from the right, but government would monitor right-wing initiatives and act accordingly.

□ From Page 1

30 000 monitors needed for first poll — Bizos

8/04/93 12/5/93
SA WOULD need at least 30 000 monitors to ensure elections were free and fair, ANC legal and constitutional official George Bizos said yesterday.

Bizos said the monitors could be recruited from the SA public and would need elementary training in election procedures and monitoring. Political parties would need to appoint their own observers for each polling station, he told a Johannesburg conference on electoral justice.

Bizos called on religious leaders present to encourage members of their congregations to volunteer to assist with the election process.

The conference was convened by the SA Council of Churches, the SA Catholic Bishops' Conference, the World Conference on Religion and Peace, and the Lawyers' Committee for Civil Rights Under Law.

The ANC envisaged the appointment of an electoral commission comprising between seven and 11 independent people who were not members of political parties.

Bizos said the appointment of members of the commission would have to be negotiated, but representatives of the UN, EC, OAU and Commonwealth should sit on it.

The commission should have its own budget and the power to pass legislation and draw up an electoral law, he said.

It would be naive not to expect some trouble at a first election, Bizos said.

RAY WARTLEY

SA Centre for Intergroup Studies speaker Laurie Nathan said continuing political violence could lead to elections being delayed substantially. "Political violence is the most extreme form of intimidation we are experiencing now and we may experience it during elections," he said.

Planning for the integration of the security forces needed to begin now and a multiparty council with executive powers was needed to deal with security during an election, Bizos said.

Speaking at the same conference, Angolan director-general of elections Onofre dos Santos warned that the euphoria of elections could easily be transformed into anguish if results were not accepted.

"Elections without real democracy may drive one party to power, but also return the country to flames."

Dos Santos said voting patterns in SA, as in Angola, would probably follow ethnic patterns.

Zimbabwean election supervisory committee chairman Prof Walter Kamba said his government's refusal to extend the powers of the electoral commission had limited its ability to operate.

"Free and fair elections are the centre-piece of democracy, but democracy is not an end in itself — it is a means to get to a just and equitable society," he said.

The current stalemate in Congress need not reflect on any SA federal system

Filibuster is an abuse, not a flaw

SMR 13/5/93

3044

3044

Hugh Robertson



WHEN President Clinton won the election, many Americans — even Republicans — welcomed the prospect of an end to the gridlock which had pitted a Democratic majority in Congress against Republican presidents for 12 years, the last four of which saw George Bush veto more legislation from Congress than any of his predecessors.

But in spite of Democratic majorities in both houses of Congress, and a Democrat in the White House, American politics remains mired, this time with the Republican minority in the senate delaying almost every legislative proposal put forward by Clinton or the Democratic majority in endless, numbing filibusters — all seemingly motivated by a partisan spirit of obstructionism.

Time was when a filibuster — a procedural device whereby debate on a Bill can be kept going almost indefinitely — was used only on the rarest occasions, usually over matters of grave national concern. But in the first three months of the present Congress, there have been more filibusters than in any comparable period — and there is no end in sight.

Last week it was a filibuster against Clinton's proposed \$45 billion job stimulus proposal, which finally was abandoned even though the percentage of unemployed Americans continues to be far higher than in any previous "recovery" from a recession.

This week it was the so-called Motor Voter Bill, which would automatically register Americans as voters when they apply for, or renew, their driver's licences. What possible reason could there be for opposing a measure aimed at facilitating the democratic process?

As South African leaders negotiate a new constitution, whispers have reached Washington that they are pondering this perversion of democracy, which allows a party without control of either the legislative or executive branches of government to block any measure put forward by those who

represent the will of the majority. South African leaders should not misconstrue what is happening in America as weakness. Americans have an enviable constitution, a truly masterful system for the management of a dynamic and diverse society. But as the Republicans have demonstrated, it can be abused by those who seem to have forgotten the obligation of every citizen in a democracy to live according to both the spirit and the letter of the concept. Under the federal constitution, each of the 50 states has two representatives in the senate, irrespective of the number of voters in the state. Thus the principle of one person, one vote was watered down to protect the interests of citizens in smaller or less populous states — where many Republican senators come.

In practice, the minority has been made so powerful as to obstruct not only the majority in the senate, but also the majority in the House of Representatives (since both houses must approve a measure before it becomes law, and a senate filibuster effectively blocks even measures approved by the house).

And, of course, the same minority can frustrate the initiatives of a president recently elected on a one person, one vote basis — and then have the gall to blame the president for not achieving much in his first 100 days in office.

Those in South Africa calling for a US-style federal constitution are rational, wise and prescient, for they recognise that if the country is to change into a modern democracy it must move away from the centralised, authoritarian system of the past four decades, and must also accommodate the wishes of one of the most diverse societies in the world.

But in the current negotiations there are said to be those who point with dismay to the apparent paralysis of government in America, and who cite it as evidence of the failure of a system which is punctilious in its protection of minority rights. While their argument against federalism may appear to have been given some credence by the gridlock which obstructs progress in America, they should not confuse the abuse of democracy with the essential principles of democracy. □

ID books for all, (304A) pledges minister APR 13/93

Political Staff

NEARLY everybody aged 18 and over will have an identity document by early next year, according to Minister of Home Affairs Mr Danie Schutte.

And people would need them to vote in the general election expected next April under a new constitutional system.

Mr Schutte said the tempo at which ID documents were issued had increased significantly in the past two years.

In some weeks 60 000 were issued.

The ID documents were suited for use in an election because they largely eliminated the possibility of forgery, and their use is an alternative to registering voters, which would have cost a further R420 million.

Mr Schutte appealed to everybody to get ID documents, and to political parties to motivate their supporters.

Applications could be made at any office of the Department of Home Affairs, or at magistrate's courts.

The first issue of an ID book is free.

HOUSE OF ASSEMBLY

QUESTIONS

Indicates translated version.

For written reply:

General Affairs:

State President: income tax on salary/allowances

298. Mr P G SOAL asked the Minister of Finance:

- (1) Whether the State President is liable for the payment of income tax on (a) his salary and (b) any (i) allowances and (ii) other income received by him; if not, why not; if so, in respect of the latest specified period of 12 months for which information is available, on what amounts was such tax levied, in each case;

- (2) whether any (a) former State Presidents and (b) widows of former State Presidents are liable for the payment of income tax on (i) pensions and (ii) any other personal income received by them; if not, why not; if so, in respect of the latest specified period of 12 months for which information is available, on what amounts was such tax levied, in each case? B663E

The MINISTER OF FINANCE:

- (1) (a) and (b) (i) No.

In terms of the exemption contained in section 10 (1) (c) (i) of the Income Tax Act, 1962, (the Act) the State President is not liable for the payment of income tax on his salary and allowances.

- (b) (ii) Yes.

As a result of the secrecy provisions, contained in section 4 of the Act, which prohibit the disclosure of such informa-

HOUSE OF ASSEMBLY

QUESTIONS

Indicates translated version.

For written reply:

General Affairs:

Ex-member of Cabinet: cash payments/annuities/pension

299. Mr L FLUCHS asked the Minister of Finance:

- (1) Whether he will furnish information on the cash payments, annuities and/or pension paid or payable to an ex-member of the Cabinet, whose name has been furnished to the Minister's Department for the purpose of his reply; if not, why not; if so, (a) how much did this person receive by way of (i) cash payments and (ii) annuities on his retirement as (aa) Minister and (bb) head of the Government Department concerned and (b) what part of these amounts was exempt from income tax;

- (2) whether any annuity and/or pension which this person is receiving from the State at present is exempt from income tax; if so, to what extent in each case;

- (3) whether, in addition to any financial benefits this person receives as a retired Minister, he is still receiving any such benefits as the retired head of the Government Department in question; if so, what benefits? B676E

The MINISTER OF FINANCE:

- (1) No—pension matters are strictly confidential and the amounts can therefore not be furnished.

- (a) (i) (aa) and (bb) fall away.

- (b) Only gratuities payable under the Government Pension Funds and Schemes are exempt from income tax.

- (2) No—pensions (annuities) which are paid under the Government Pension Funds

and Schemes are taxable according to income tables from the Receiver of Revenue.

- (3) Yes—the person concerned was a member of the Government Service Pension Fund and as such, made contributions during his whole service period to the pension fund. He therefore became entitled upon his retirement to a gratuity and a monthly pension for which provision is made in the regulations which control the said Fund. The amounts of the gratuity which he received as well as the pension to which he lawfully had a right, are confidential and cannot be furnished.

Rail Commuter Corporation: offices in

Johannesburg

308. Mr R V CARLISLE asked the Minister of Transport:

- (a) What was the occupancy cost in respect of the offices used by the South African Rail Commuter Corporation in Sandton, Transvaal, as at the latest specified date for which information is available, (b) how is the office accommodation previously used by the Corporation in the Westbank Building in Johannesburg now utilized and (c) why did the Corporation transfer its offices to Sandton? B704E

The MINISTER OF TRANSPORT:

- (a) The Managing Director of the South African Rail Commuter Corporation informed me that the amounts invoiced by Unilever to the South African Rail Commuter Corporation Limited in respect of February and March 1993 were as follows:

	February	March
Basic Rental.....	60 800	68 096
Parking.....	11 360	12 723
Operating Expenses	9 728	9 728
TOTAL	81 888	90 547

The rental amounts, including parking, increased by 12% on 1 March 1993 in terms of the lease agreement.

Self-determination does not mean what Van Tonder believes it does, says Stanley Uys

Victorious Right unthinkable

ROBERT van Tonder, doyen of South Africa's political dinosaurs, was sounding forth on the BBC World Service the other day on the parallel between eastern Europe's insistence on "self-determination" and the Afrikaner Right wing's revolt against a melting pot nation.

Van Tonder, as usual, was drawing the wrong conclusions. There are two different conclusions he should have drawn.

In what was Yugoslavia, for example, "self-determination" has come to mean ethnic cleansing, and the vocabulary of the Right wing in South Africa has become more and more representative of this abominable concept.

Leaders of the extreme Right talk openly now not of the survival of whites, but of Afrikaners. The new front that has been formed is the Volkfront. The images that are being evoked are of the Boer *en sy roer*. Dr Dawie de Villiers, the BBC is told, is not a *ware Afrikaner*. Do these right-wing leaders have any idea of the abhorrence with which the international community regards this pursuit of ethnic cleansing?

The other conclusion Van Tonder should have drawn is that, for all its doubts and disagreements, the United Nations is committing itself increasingly to "interference" in member countries' internal affairs, when these countries overstep the mark.

This concept of the UN policing the world has been strengthened, not weakened, by the fumbling over Bosnia. Even before Bosnia, the Americans had marched into Somalia to keep the relief supply lines open. Precedents are being established that point to a new UN role.

Of course, there will always be differences over when a particular country has overstepped the mark, and many will overstep the mark and get away with it, but let no one be under any illusions that the UN will stand idly by if the Right wing ousts President de Klerk.

No one expects the UN to intervene militarily in South Africa against Van Tonder's fellow-dinosaurs, but I will make the prediction now that it will crash down on them like a ton of bricks. They will not know what hit them.

Van Tonder and the generals should not be surprised if sanctions returned overnight. Even in its darkest hours, the National Party government had influential friends in foreign capitals, but the right wing would have no friends at all.

International opinion supports the De Klerk-Mandela line-up, and if negotiations are wrecked, and De Klerk is ousted, the world effectively will side with the ANC.

The pain of rightwingers who cannot come to terms with what is happening in their country is understandable. Emotionally and intellectually, they just cannot cope. But what do they possibly hope to achieve, except make South Africa a country unfit for their children to live in?

Afrikaner unity has gone out of the window, and right-wing unity is even more remote. The summing of the generals is a sign of weakness, not strength. The formation of a Volkfront would be laughable, if it were not tragic.

If the right wing, by a supreme effort, succeeds in ousting De Klerk, what would they do with their victory? They do not have the vaguest idea of what to do next. Before the week was out they would degenerate into a squabbling rabble. The only legacy they would leave would be of an economic wasteland.

Strutting in their ridiculous uniforms, and buttressing each other with bar-room bravado, they would call upon their heads the wrath both of the black population and of the rest of the world.

There they would stand, a pitifully weak fragmented minority of a minority of a minority.

The generals have been summoned to the right-wing cause to militarise it, and in this way hope fully mobilise it, but this in itself is a vote of no confidence in the political leadership. How are you feeling today, Dr Ferdie Hartzenberg? As your hour comes, it is snatched away from you by a clutch of retired generals.

I think De Klerk will survive this Afrikaner crisis, not only because the right wing is formed of incipient squabblers (how many extremist groups are there now, more than 200?) and because they would reduce South Africa to ruins within months, but because the National Party is taking on a shape which fits in with the future.

In the last resort, South Africa's 5 million whites, I am sure, will act sensibly, as they did in last year's referendum.

The generals and the rest of the extremist leaders should—ask themselves whether they really think they can stand up to an enraged black population on one side and an enraged international community on the other? Then they will really discover what it means to be caught between a rock and a hard place. □

5/10/92

13/8/93

2044

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Victorious Right unthinkable

5/10/92 13/1/93 2044

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Lunatic fringe must not succeed

AKG 13/5/93

FW

Strong action promised against left or right

OS WENTZEL
Political Staff

RESIDENT De Klerk has denied rightwing allegations that the government is not doing anything about mass action or violence.

He was reacting to statements by Conservative Party MP for Virginia, Mr M Beyers, during the president's question time in parliament.

Mr Beyers said Mr De Klerk had stated that the government was not prepared to negotiate under the threat of mass action.

In spite of continuing mass action and violence negotiations had continued and more whites had been killed.

He wanted to know how long these actions would have to continue before negotiations were suspended until order was restored.

Mr De Klerk said Mr Beyers had quoted selectively from what he had said.

He had also stated that instigators of violence would not be allowed to have a veto right to stop negotiations.

There were parties who did not associate themselves with mass action and violence and as long as this was so negotiations would continue.

When there were radical elements from the left as well as the right who perpetrated deeds of violence and made declarations of war they would be dealt with but they would not be allowed to disrupt negotiations.

A small lunatic fringe group could not be allowed to do this.

If there was rolling mass action which spoiled the negotiation atmosphere and if parties in the negotiations tried to apply pressure by mass action

from outside the government would resist this and it would then have an impact on the process.

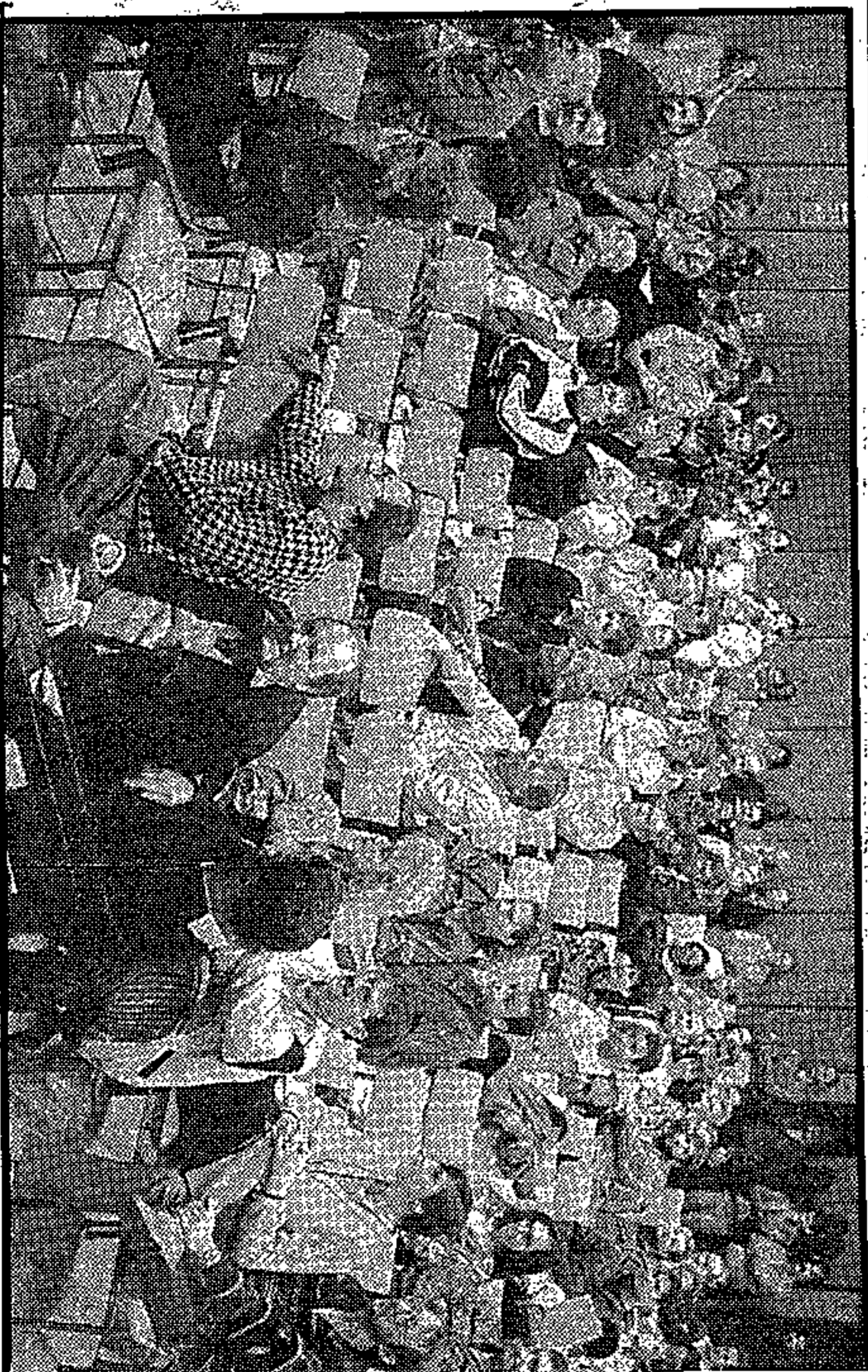
The false impression was created that the government was not taking action.

Firm action was in fact being taken. A march that was deemed to be unacceptable was stopped in Johannesburg last week.

Firm action against unacceptable actions was continuing. Troops and police, the largest number ever, had been deployed.

There were new steps against unlawful possession of arms.

Within a week details of more aid to farmers in certain problem areas would be announced. These steps would be aimed at improving safety measures and ensuring better contact with the police.



PAROW MEETING: The audience at a meeting last night of the Inkatha Freedom Party in the minor hall of the Parow Civic Centre.

Pictures: ANDREW INGRAM; The Argus.

Star 13/5/93

Lunatic fringe won't disrupt talks — FW

CAPE TOWN — The Government would not allow young "chappies" from Cosas or the lunatic fringe to disrupt negotiations, President F W de Klerk said yesterday.

304A
He was replying to a question from J M Beyers (CP Virginia), who asked how long mass action and the murder of whites had to continue before the Government called a halt to negotiations.

Beyers said De Klerk had reportedly warned earlier this month that the Government was not prepared to negotiate under the threat of mass action, and that since then both negotiations as well as mass action and violence had continued.

De Klerk said that, as usual, the CP had read reports selectively and quoted what suited it.

In the last week he had made it clear that the Government would not allow a few organisa-

tions and violent individuals the power to veto negotiations.

If there were elements on the Left and Right who committed acts of violence, the Government would meet them with security measures and other action.

"We will not allow young chappies from Cosas, or any members of the lunatic fringe for that matter, to disrupt negotiations," he said. — Sapa.

ANY BILL of Rights is fraught with complications. And given our historical baggage, the drafters of an SA Bill of Rights face far more pitfalls and temptations to abuse the concept than did, say, their American counterparts.

A Bill of Rights cannot be a simple source of guarantees of individual liberty. Social life is more complicated than that. Almost any action by one individual will affect another.

And, since we are not at the beginning of time, it can easily serve to entrench existing disadvantage and ill-gotten privilege. If, on the other hand, it leans too far in the opposite direction in pursuit of reparation and redistribution it could leave the formerly privileged minority as powerless as its victims once were. Whether there is any moral justification for this, the consequences for future stability and development would be dire.

In addition, the drafters of a Bill of Rights, in the quest for consensus, could be tempted to leave the terms so vague as to be meaningless. On the other hand, a Bill of Rights cannot provide for every possible contingency. That is why it must be open to interpretation by the courts. Furthermore, there are grey areas where precise standards cannot be specified and where social norms often change over time. Here, again, the courts are effectively empowered to detect those changes and set new standards.

This, too, is not altogether satisfactory. To return to the US, public discourse is full of complaints about the Supreme Court in Washington DC, unelected and hence not subject to the public will, effectively legislating about sensitive issues ranging from abortion to affirmative action. In an imperfect world, however, that is unavoidable. The American problem could be mitigated were its selection of Supreme Court judges less subject to presidential and party political whim.

The value of the draft Bill of Rights published on Tuesday by the DP is that (with two exceptions) it confronts these difficulties and dilemmas head on. This is in contrast to the NP whose own proposed Bill is

DP tackles the dilemmas of a Bill of Rights

ALAN FINE

13/04/13/5/93

304A

cynically designed to protect what remains of white privilege; and the ANC whose draft — dressed in terms worthy of the best of the Western world — contains a couple of "small print" disclaimers designed to ensure that individual rights do not get in the way of implementing the organisation's political programme.

Indeed, in some respects the ANC's version is its political policy, and seems designed to ensure that any other majority party would be forced to implement the ANC's mildly socialist or social democratic programme. Whatever the merits of that programme, its enforcement is not the function of a Bill of Rights.

Three issues — discrimination and affirmative action, the "privatisation of apartheid" and so-called second generation (socio-economic) rights — illustrate the rigour of the DP's approach.

□ "The new constitution," argues the DP's explanatory note to article 2 of the draft Bill, "must commit itself to equality and set itself against discrimination, especially racial discrimination." But, it goes on to argue, the Bill will have to differentiate between justified and unjustified discrimination.

affirmative action programmes to undo existing inequalities. However unpalatable it may be, we have to acknowledge, too, that if such programmes are to benefit their legitimate beneficiaries and no one else, they will have to use the same criteria for differentiation as those which brought about the inequality.

The explanatory notes confirm that the DP is alert to this: "Few would argue for state intervention against all discrimination anywhere... The choice of whom to invite into our homes, for instance, falls into that category.... Rather than trying to confine equality (and hence anti-discrimination law) to the public sector... it seems better to recognise that there is a sphere of privacy within which decisions to differentiate need not be justified. But to recognise a sphere immune from intervention against discrimination is to invite racism and other

discriminators to take shelter there. Many will try improperly to expand the shelter given to discrimination by the need to protect privacy." To guard against this, the DP draft Bill confines immunity "to decisions made in the exercise of the kind of private choice designed to preserve personal autonomy". For the same reason, the right to freedom of association is subject to the requirement of equality.

This is not to deny arguments that certain affirmative action programmes — especially those involving quotas — can cause prohibitive inefficiencies and benefit only a small, new elite. To avoid those pitfalls, though, SA will have to rely on the wisdom of the private sector and the new generation of legislators.

□ A central strand of government's proposed Charter of Fundamental Rights published in February relates to freedom of association and, more particularly, the freedom to dissoci-

ated example is private sector employment. This was once considered to be in the private sphere, but now, as the Industrial Court has often asserted, discrimination is unacceptable and unlawful. A similar process is occurring, the DP suggests, with regard to social clubs which have historically chosen to exclude from membership blacks, Jews and/or women.

□ On the vexed question of second generation rights, the DP argues: "Without the basics of life it may be impossible to exercise one's basic rights." So, the draft Bill affirms: "Every citizen shall be entitled to the food and water necessary for survival; to shelter from the elements; to basic health care; and to a clean and healthy environment."

But, it adds, it is the prerogative of the legislatures "to decide how these entitlements are to be realised.... A decision which is reasonable and practicable and which respects the limitations on the resources available to realise the relevant entitlement shall be considered justifiable." In other words, while the social good is one of the goals of the Bill of Rights, and hence the constitution, their best way of achieving it is the province of the relevant, elected law-making body.

The DP document has much else to commend it, including its handling of the right to liberty and the suspension of individual rights — but with strict safeguards — during states of emergency. A great deal of thought has gone into other difficult questions such as which rights are at all derogable and which are not.

The two areas where the drafters have decided to sit on the fence are those of the death penalty and abortion. They have chosen to use the ambiguous US Bill of Rights terminology on the "right to life" and the right not to be subject to "cruel and unusual punishment". On these two clear-cut questions, the DP drafters should surely have been willing to take a stand.

That caveat aside, though, the DP has made a definitive contribution to the Bill of Rights debate — another indication of how the party's contribution to SA politics far exceeds its level of voter support.

Securocrat control of govt absolute nonsense FW

CAPE TOWN — It was absolute nonsense to claim government was a captive of the security forces or securocrats, President F W de Klerk told Parliament yesterday.

Sapa reports that, replying to a question from A S Akoob (NP Laudium), he said the suggestion that SA was controlled by a military junta was an example of distorted and untruthful ANC propaganda.

Government and the security forces had an open and balanced relationship, and one did not dominate the other.

The security forces accepted that they had to operate within the framework of the policy of the day, and government accepted the security forces were specialists, and that they should have the freedom to act according to their judgment within the framework of the law.

Suggestions government had bound the hands of the security forces were simply not true.

De Klerk said he could cite instances where the security forces had said government was going too far when it contemplated strong action.

Our Political Staff reports that Law and Order Minister Hernus Kriel yesterday reiterated there could be no joint control of the SAP at this stage.

Political Staff

He said the ANC wanted only a supervisory role.

Durban Central MP Peter Gastrow said joint control implied joint responsibility and joint accountability.

Gastrow asked why government clung to control of the police. Unless there was some form of joint control the chances of the police being able to act with legitimacy and the support of others were nil.

The ANC wanted to be in a position where it did not have to accept joint responsibility — a position "where they can blame the police", he said.

He asked how the playing field for an election could be levelled when the police were under the sole control of government. Opposing joint control, the CP's Schalk Pienaar said it would effectively mean ANC-SACP control, adding that every incident involving the police would, in any case, be exploited.

In a separate statement, DP law and order spokesman Lester Fuchs called for establishment of a transitional committee on law and order with members appointed by the President on recommendation by the multiparty negotiating forum.

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Sasco call for mass action

GAVIN DU VENAGE

THE SA Students' Congress (Sasco) yesterday called for a nationwide "week of action" in protest against the closure of the University of Bophuthatswana (Unibo).

The call came as the homeland's government was meeting the university's senate in a bid to resolve the crisis. B/OM
The university was shut indefinitely on Tuesday after clashes between members of Bophuthatswana's security forces and students and staff.

Sasco president Robinson Ramaite said the week of action would begin next Monday. Sasco would stage mass rallies, occupy Bophuthatswanan embassies and hold demonstrations.

If this did not bring about the re-opening of the university, Sasco would consider "higher forms of mass action". 13/5/93

The Union of Democratic University Staff Associations said it would support Sasco's campaign.

Church leaders recommend 16 as voting age

CHURCH leaders have strongly recommended that all South Africans aged 16 and older be allowed to vote in elections for a constituent assembly.

The recommendation was made during a three-day conference of church leaders convened by the SA Council of Churches, SA Catholic Bishops' Conference and the World Conference on Religion and Peace.

Institute for Contextual Theology general secretary Fr S'mangaliso Mkhatsiswa said the inclusion of the youth would demonstrate they were being taken seriously. "Sixteen-year-olds have been actively involved in the

RAY HARTLEY

struggle for liberation. We just feel that at the age of 16 people are given fairly serious responsibilities."

World Conference on Religion and Peace spokesman Gerrie Lubbe said the conference had formulated a draft code of conduct for elections.

Its clauses included the right to vote in freedom, secrecy and without fear; the right to hold political meetings without threats by opponents and to express political views without being interrupted or insulted; the

right to attend such meetings; that no one should use language encouraging hatred or violence; that everyone should be given clear information on voting; that election rules should be published in all languages; and that there should be an independent electoral commission.

Lubbe said the conference also agreed to convene a "panel of religious leaders for electoral justice", which would monitor the announcement of the electoral process, from first nonracial elections, to the post-elections period.

Negotiators set against an Afrikaner homeland

B10M713/5793 BILLY PADDOCK ~~SB~~ 804A
NEGOTIATORS and diplomats yesterday warned it would be impossible for the Afrikaner Volksunie or the new Afrikaner Volksfront to establish an Afrikaner homeland without apartheid-style forced removals.

They were responding to Volksunie leader Andries Beyers' optimism following discussions with Constitutional Development Minister Roelf Meyer on Tuesday.

Beyers hailed the meeting as a breakthrough because Meyer said government and the NP supported "in principle" Afrikaner self-determination in a federal system.

An ANC source reiterated secretary-general Cyril Ramaphosa's weekend statement that it supported self-determination for all South Africans, but he questioned the viability of an Afrikaner-dominated homeland. Government supported the principle as long as there was no racial discrimination, but "how can one avoid discrimination when talking of an Afrikaner", he said.

A senior foreign diplomat said there was no easily definable region in SA at present — or in any proposed regional dispensation — where whites were in the majority. "How then can Beyers proclaim that there would be no forced removals in establishing his homeland?"

On Tuesday, Meyer also questioned the viability of establishing an Afrikaner homeland but encouraged the Afrikaner Volksunie to fight for it in negotiations.

Government's position on self-determination had not shifted at all, sources said. At least a year ago President F W de Klerk made the same pronouncements.

tive Party President's Councillor Mr Clive Derby-Lewis, his wife Gaye and Polish immigrant Mr Janus Walus were a short distance from the home and later said they had found a "hit-list" in his

Leaders at 'mercy of NP'

THE leadership of the ANC, PAC and SACP who have been returning to South Africa since 1990, remain in the country at the mercy of the National Party. *Sowetan 13/5/93*

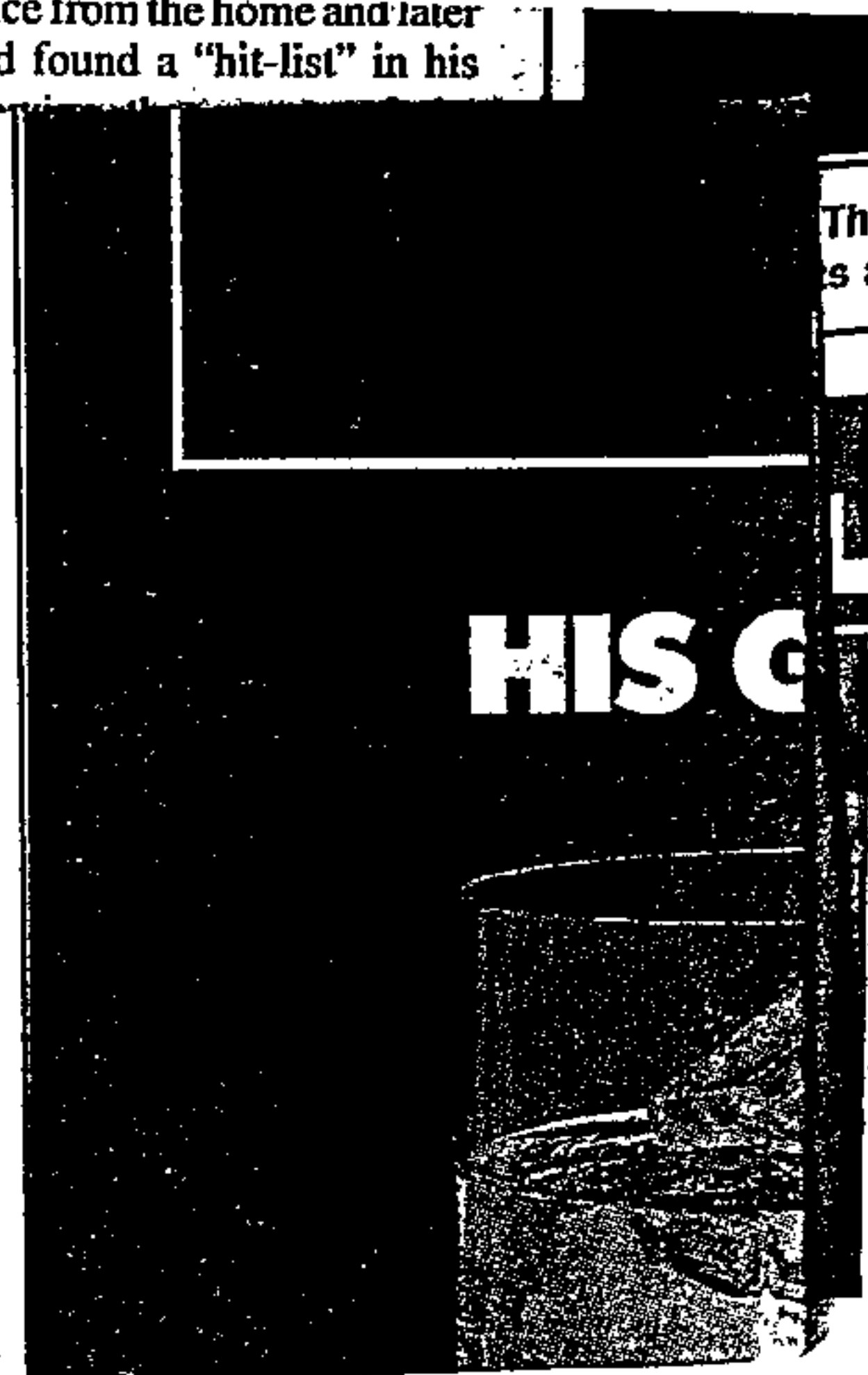
They would not receive absolute indemnity until they had abandoned the armed struggle, the Minister of Justice, Mr Kobie Coetsee, said in Parliament last night. *(304 A)*

"They (the ANC) have only suspended the armed struggle, they have not abandoned it," he said.

He was defending a motion placed before Parliament yesterday which, if passed, will give President FW de Klerk the power to extend indemnity to leaders of liberation movements for another year.

In simple terms, only De Klerk can decide whether the leaders of the liberation movements are arrested *en masse* *(BSE)* *(MPP)*

ANC-aligned Independent MP Mr Dave Dalling said last night the motion was particularly outrageous as it gave the Government a hold over the leaders of the liberation movements, probably in an effort "to make them more pliable in negotiations".



NEWS No charges put to Walus and Derby-Lewis pair as case is postponed

Hani trio get May 21 remand

■ Protesters shout 'shoot the Boer, shoot the farmer',
By Mzimasi Ngudle

ABOUT 100 protesters shouted "shoot the Boer, shoot the farmer" outside the Boksburg Magistrate's Court yesterday when three people appeared in connection with the murder of SA Communist Party leader Chris Hani.

In a five-minute session, Conservative Party President's Councillor Mr Clive Derby-Lewis, his wife Gaye and Polish immigrant Mr Janus Walus were not formally charged and were not asked to plead.

All three were remanded to May 21.

Prosecutor Mr Jan Ferreira asked that the trial be postponed for further police investigations as well as the hearing of a bail application by Mrs Derby-Lewis.

Supporters packed into the small court and stood up when the suspects entered the room, calling "we love you".

Hani was killed outside his East Rand home on April 10. Police arrested Walus a short distance from the home and later said they had found a "hit-list" in his house. Following the arrests of the Derby-Lewis, the police said they believed that Hani's killing was part of a right-wing conspiracy.



STAY OUT ... There were more policemen than demonstrators outside the Boksburg Magistrate's Court when three suspects appeared in connection with SACP general secretary Chris Hani's assassination.

NSB AND SAB ARE
AT EACH OTHER'S

focus on Codesa

CODESA came to an abrupt halt in May 1992 when, refusing to accept the democratic will of its fellow participants, the ANC walked out of negotiations, presented a series of untenably radical demands, and commenced a programme of mass action to back these up with force. Included in this was the overthrow of certain administrations, including the KwaZulu government, which opposed the ANC's attempts to author the negotiations process on its own.

The IFP proposed that a multiparty conference be convened to review the failure and success of both the Codesa and the peace processes so that negotiations could resume.

This was rejected outright by the ANC and later by the Government which, since the conclusion of Codesa, had decided both to appease the ANC and to try, through selective implementation of only certain parts of the earlier Codesa agreement, to engineer a deal for joint ANC-NP rule for up to five years before introducing a democratic constitution and democracy to the land.

The IFP rejected both the bilateral nature of the agreement and the agreement itself, arguing that negotiations had to be the product of multiparty agreement and inclusivity, stating in addition that the people of South Africa could not be expected to wait so long for democracy.

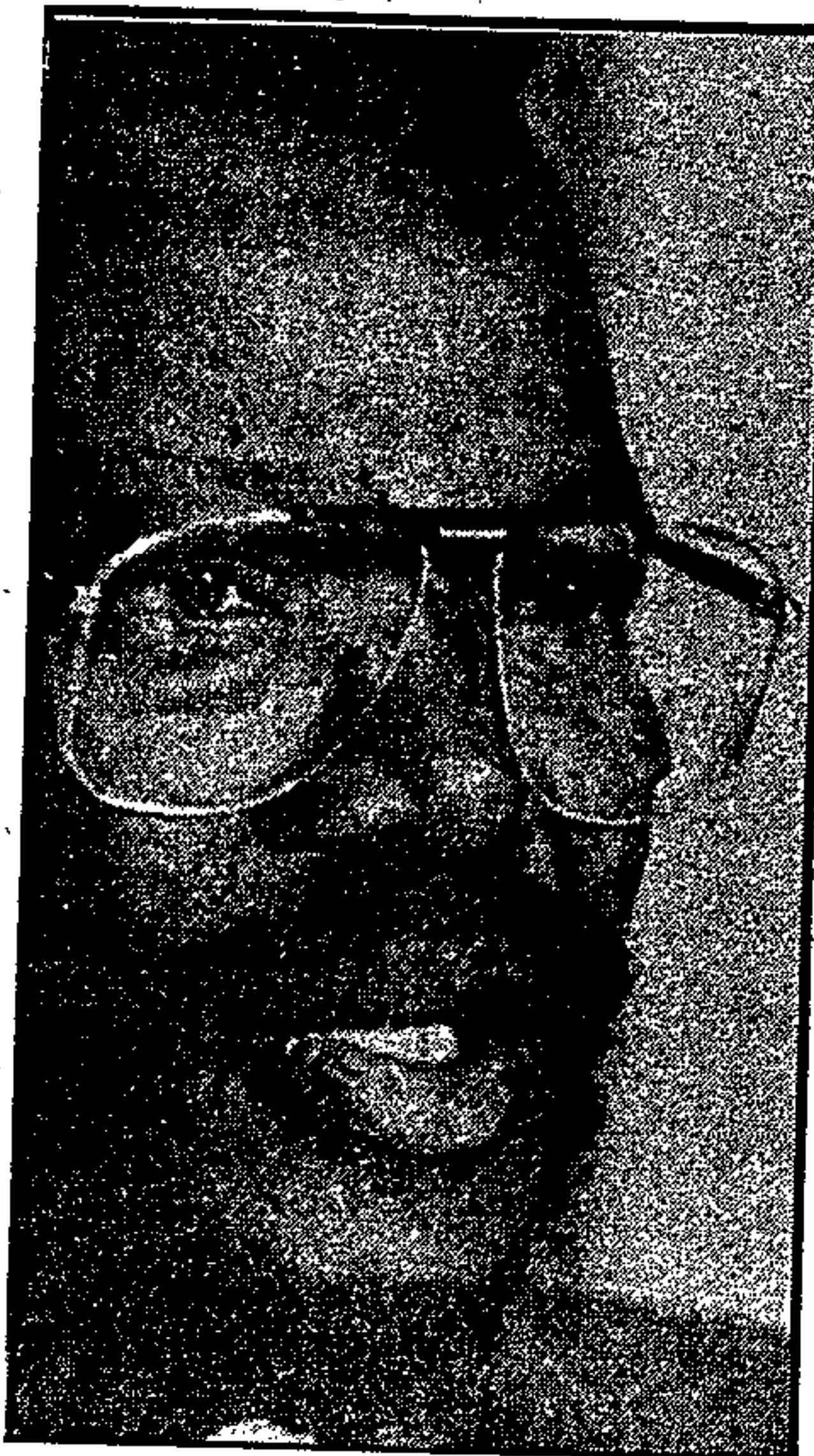
In early 1993 the IFP renewed its calls for greater inclusivity in the negotiation process and for a review of Codesa's agreements. Despite opposition to both these principles by the ANC, this was indeed the decision reached by the planning conference when it first met in early April.

Of great significance is the fact that it has been agreed by all negotiations that the multiparty forum will prioritise the key issue impeding rapid resolution of the constitutional debate — that concerning the form of the future state. The real debate and the real divide is between those favouring federalism and those favouring a unitary state, and little progress can be made until this is resolved.

This was why Codesa broke down: because the ANC was not prepared to even discuss the issue in a forum where those in favour of federalism were the majority and would automatically block the ANC's desire for a centralised, unitary state.

The KwaZulu government, on December 1 1992 adopted a proposed constitution for the State of KwaZulu-Natal as a state within a Federal Republic of South Africa. This constitution is a model of liberal democracy, whose clauses embody the very best that the world has to offer on the entrenchment of individual liberty and the State's obligations to the welfare of its citizens.

KwaZulu Chief Minister **Mangosuthu Buthelezi** gave his party's perspective on Codesa in an address to the *Sawetani* 13/5/93 Foreign Press Association in London recently:



Chief Mangosuthu Buthelezi ... ANC undemocratic

The KwaZulu government and the IFP argue that the people of the regions of South Africa should determine for themselves — by means of a popular referendum — their future relationship with the central government.

It is their view, as well as that of a number of other participants in the multiparty forum, that the negotiating process should be enriched by a process paralleling deliberations at the national level on the federal constitution, and that this can best be achieved by a bottom-up approach to complement the top-down approach.

The proposed process sees a marrying of the two, such that State constitutions representing the popular will of the people of the regions are drafted at the State level and, in so far as they are compatible with the federal constitution, are subsequently endorsed by the multiparty forum.

The IFP believes that, instead of waiting up to five years for the drafting and implementation of

a new constitution (the Codesa route), the entire negotiation, transitional and electoral processes can be finalised by late 1994 at which stage elections will be held and the new democratic governments elected. The noble mission of political liberation from oppression and apartheid for all the people of South Africa will be finally and emphatically achieved.

Other than persuading certain parties of the merits of this vision over alternatives — which is the IFP's goal in the multiparty talks — the only serious impediment to the realisation of this dream lies in the intolerable levels of political violence destroying the country, and geared towards the destruction of the IFP. This, of course, was why the IFP argued after Codesa that both the negotiations and peace processes had to be reviewed.

According to the IFP, there is no way in which a transition to democracy can be premised upon escalating violence and in particular violence linked to an undemocratic political agenda intended to render one major party impotent in the next elections.

There is a low-intensity civil war under way in which the IFP is both the major target and the major victim. Of particular concern to the party is that the forthcoming elections — which it welcomes — be fair and free. Unfortunately, politics in South Africa represent the complete antithesis of this necessary condition, and is instead best characterised as the politics of hegemony through modern weaponry in the hands of private armies and a government unwilling to deal with the problem for fear of upsetting the bilateral deal it reached with the ANC.

The IFP believes the interest of peace can best be served by the disbandment of private armies, by the cessation of the military training of guerrilla cadres; by the handing over of arms caches to an independent authority and the cessation of arms smuggling, and by the re-integration into normal life of such cadres.

Unless this happens, the peace process will fail, and if the peace process fails, negotiations will also fail. Since neither can succeed without the other, the IFP is convinced that negotiators at the multiparty forum must do everything possible to address both the new constitution and violence.

This is the basic position it has adopted in the multiparty talks and which it is confident will be accepted by the forum as the best path to a democratic South Africa.

The medals have been confiscated and will be returned to relatives of the dead war veterans.

Leaders at 'mercy of NP'

THE leadership of the ANC, PAC and SACP who have been returning to South Africa since 1990, remain in the country at the mercy of the National Party.

Sowetan 13/5/93
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(304 A)
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(SACP) *(ANC)*
ANC-aligned Independent MP Mr Dave Dalling said last night the motion was particularly outrageous as it gave the Government a hold over the leaders of the liberation movements, probably in an effort "to make them more pliable in negotiations".

Sowetan regrets the error

IN a report in *Sowetan* yesterday on the closure of the University of Bophuthatswana, a sub-headline inadvertently referred to Turfloop University having being closed until further notice. *Sowetan* regrets the error.

New blueprint spells out way to talks settlement

THIS IS BOTTOM LINE FOR PREAOT

51 Times 23/5/93

By EDYTH BULBRING and
CLAIRE ROBERTSON

LEADERS of negotiating teams at the World Trade Centre were yesterday handed a document which holds the key to a political settlement in South Africa.

The blueprint for a breakthrough is disclosed in a confidential document written by a technical committee consisting of eight legal and constitutional experts chosen by the various political parties to guide debate and help resolve differences.

With only 10 days to the deadline for setting a date for elections, the parties have been told they will have to make significant concessions.

● The ANC and its allies have been told the only way forward is for them to accept a plan protecting the interests of minorities and regions, and establishing clear constitutional principles before an election.

● Inkatha and its allies have been given notice that they will have to accept that an elected body will draft South Africa's final constitution. (30/4/93) (11/5/93)

● And the Conservative Party's hopes for a white homeland were dismissed as a non-starter.

The blueprint will be presented to the "group of 10" planning committee tomorrow and to the 26 parties participating in the



ROBBEN ISLAND'S BEST-KEPT SECRET

THE MANDELA ESCAPE PLAN

A DARING plan to free ANC president Nelson Mandela from South Africa's "Alcatraz" — the maximum security prison on Robben Island — has been revealed for the first time.

Hatched over a three-year period with military precision, the plan was to airlift Mr Mandela in a helicopter flying under the South African flag on New Year's Day 1981, and to take him to a foreign embassy in Cape Town where he would seek political asylum.

Devised in the utmost secrecy,

the plan was committed to writing on sheets of fine tracing paper and smuggled out of South Africa between the cardboard layers of a colourful postcard of Cape Town.

Documents outlining the plan will be seen by the public for the first time at an exhibition organised by the Mayibuye Centre at the University of the Western Cape and the South African Museum, which opens in Cape Town on Wednesday.

● Full report on Page 7

Thokoza battle

51 Times 23/5/93



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The blueprint will be
presented to the "group of
10" planning committee
tomorrow and to the 26
parties participating in the
World Trade Centre talks
on Tuesday.

The report concludes
that "the key to unlocking
the differences that exist
and enabling the process to
move forward is to develop
a set of constitutional prin-
ciples".

"These should be suf-
ficient to offer assurance
to those who are concerned
that their interests will not
be adequately protected if
the constitution is drawn
up by an elected constitu-
tion-making body without
being so detailed as to pre-
empt the work of the elec-
ted constitution-making
body."

The technical commit-
tee's report comes in the
context of significant shifts
by the ANC and the IFP
this week.

Formula

Inkatha's central com-
mittee last Sunday re-
solved to explore ways of
accommodating a suitable
power-sharing formula —
a concept it had been
firmly opposed to.

The ANC in turn accep-
ted that the boundaries of
the regions for the pur-
poses of elections would be
decided at the multi-party
talks forum and that the
forum would decide the
powers, functions and
structures the regions will
have after the first non-
racial elections.

But their shifts, the tech-
nical committee says, do
not go far enough.

It suggests that detailed
and stringent regional
safeguards contained in a
definitive principle binding
the constitution-making
body should include:

- That regions may take
the central government to
court if it punishes regional
opponents or intervenes in
local matters beyond the
scope of a list of criteria
setting out when and how it
may do so;

□ To Page 2

23/05/93

3040

By Chris Whitfield
Political Correspondent

CAPE TOWN — Several leading ANC members could expect full indemnity from prosecution for politically motivated crimes only if the organisation abandoned the armed struggle, Justice Minister Kobie Coetsee said yesterday.

His remarks came after sharp criticism in Parliament from ANC Sandton MP Dave Dalling, who said several top members of the organisation had a sword of Damocles hanging over their heads because the Government had not granted them full indemnity.

Coetsee said: "The sword of Damocles is made of ANC reluctance to abandon the armed struggle... They have only suspended the armed struggle.

Indemnity Star 13/5/93 sword over ANC leaders' heads — MP

Complete amnesty can only go hand in hand with the abandonment of the armed struggle."

Several members of the ANC national executive committee have temporary indemnity in terms of the Indemnity Act of 1990.

According to Dalling they include Thabo Mbeki, Steve Tshwete, Joe Slovo and Umkhonto we Sizwe commander in chief Joe Modise. Yesterday's exchanges came during a de-

bate in Parliament on a notice of motion tabled by Coetsee calling for the extension of the Act for another year.

Democratic Party MP for Houghton Tony Leon said the motion had been tabled because half the ANC executive would be locked up if the legislation were not extended.

"They will not accept the Further Indemnity Act and, to the credit of those who have chosen not to shelter behind the (Act), we support this motion," Leon said.

Dalling said that while he supported the motion, it was outrageous that many among the top leadership of the ANC had not been granted permanent indemnity. He said Coetsee was trying to hold the ANC leaders "hostage".

The extension of the Act was accepted by all parties.

MP's bid to lift ban on food firm

By BARRY STREEK
Political Staff

THE controversial Johannesburg food firm, Protol, and its managing director, Mr Chummy Lempke, had been restricted from all state business — but a National Party MP tried to get the bars lifted.

While the MP, Mr G C Oosthuizen of Pretoria Central, tried to help the company to secure government contracts, NP MP for Queenstown, Dr Manie Schoeman, made representations to President F W de Klerk to intervene against them.

The restrictions on Protol were disclosed yesterday by the Minister of State Expenditure, Mr Amie Venter, when he replied to questions tabled in Parliament by Mr Mahmoud Rajb (DP, Springfield).

He said Protol had been restricted from all state business and was not only limited to the supplying of food to the former Prisons Service.

Protol, which used to supply food to prisons, was blacklisted two years amid allegations of corruption, including payments to officials.

Protol recently tried to regain the contract and the Sunday Times reported that information about new specifications for soya products had been leaked to Mr Lempke and drawn up in such a way that only his company could meet them.

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Southern 13/5/95

Experts at talks begin

THIRTY legal and academic experts appointed to serve on seven sub-committees to aid negotiators began work at the World Trade Centre yesterday. (304A)

Known as technical sub-committees of the negotiations planning committee, their function is to make recommendations on the seven questions at the heart of the multiparty talks. They will also function as deadlock-breakers. The issues are violence, constitutional matters, fundamental rights, a Transitional Executive Council, an independent media commission, an independent electoral commission and the repeal of racial legislation.

Moving capitals cost R3m

Political Staff

THE taxpayer coughed up R2,77 million to transport personnel, equipment and documentation of government departments between Pretoria and Cape Town for last year's two Parliamentary sessions.

President F W de Klerk told Schauderville MP Mr Michael Hendrickse, in reply to a question yesterday, that an additional R9,98m was spent on accommodation for sessional personnel and ministers during the two sessions.

This included rent, levies, municipal services, maintenance on buildings and gardens, cleaning services and buying and upkeep of furniture. Some 800 units are involved.

A further R6,1m went on maintaining this accommodation, while it was not in use.

The most "expensive" department was Foreign Affairs.

'Get IDs before elections'

Political Staff (304A)

THE government yesterday appealed to all political parties to get their supporters to urgently apply for identity documents to qualify as voters for South Africa's first non-racial poll. CT 13/5/73

The Minister of Home Affairs, Mr Danie Schutte, said in a statement that up to 60 000 new identity documents were being issued every week and that if this tempo was increased more than 90% of the population over 18 would have appropriate documents by early next year.

Wits/Vaal violence reduced - Gildenhuys

CAPE TOWN — There has been a general reduction in violence in the Witwatersrand and Vaal areas, which has permitted increased emphasis on violence prevention and social reconstruction, according to National Peace Secretariat (NPS) chairman Dr Antonie Gildenhuys.

"There is generally a significant drop in political violence, particularly in the number of deaths," he said in the NPS annual report tabled in Parliament yesterday.

Peace rallies could be a successful instrument in promoting peace. Efforts were being made to get parties at loggerheads to meet on a grassroots basis as a first step towards reconciliation.

"Joint rallies are the next step in the progress towards peace," the report said.

Peace structures in these areas had been severely tested by the political activities which followed the assassination of Chris Hani.

Negotiations between the ANC and SAP on steps to keep marches and gatherings peaceful had prevented the Wits/Vaal region being declared an unrest area.

Tension still remained high in the Natal region, where the regional peace committee had focused on mediation and the resolution of disputes on a reactive, rather than preventive, basis.

"The regional peace committee has been unable to es-

establish local peace committees in a number of key areas. Political parties laying down preconditions for the formation of committees was a major obstacle."

Workshops had established the three major stumbling blocks as the political climate, shortcomings in the security and judicial systems, and shortcomings in NPA structures.

Problem areas included the Midlands, Mool River, Bruntville and Estcourt, which were extremely tense and militant. There was cautious optimism about progress after valuable co-operation from party representatives, it said.

There had been an improvement in the Port Shepstone area where, six months ago, there were more than 70 killings a month.

Bilateral talks between the ANC and IFP in northern Natal had heralded a change of atmosphere at committee meetings. The two parties had also proposed the implementation of a number of resolutions to strengthen the peace process after the tragic killings in the Table Mountain area between Maritzburg and Durban. — Sapa.



Broeders praise 'open' selection



Grilled ... former Azapo chairman Saths Cooper.



Interviewed ... Methodist Bishop Peter Storey.

By Jacqueline Myburgh

Two former Broederbonders said yesterday they welcomed the "transparent" process of selecting a new board for the SABC, saying they had rejected the secret nature of the Afrikaner organisation.

A seven-member panel yesterday continued to delve into the personal and political background of nominees.

Hendrik Sloet, former Broederbond and chairman of Saambou, who is a member of the SABC board, said he had never "seen on paper" the news policy barring extra-parliamentary organisations from the airwaves. Board chairman Professor Christo Viljoen admitted on Wednesday there had been such a policy.

Sloet said: "I made the deduction when they were not allowed to have their say on TV. In hindsight it was a wrong decision."

The panel, chaired by Mr Justice I Mahomed and Mr Justice P J Schabert, has interviewed 33 nominees during the past two days. More than 50 interviews remain.

A former Radio Moscow reporter for almost 30 years, Dr Phila Ndlovu, was asked to describe conditions in the Soviet

broadcasting corporation.

"Did you not find it utterly suffocating to be told by the party what could be permitted?" asked Mr Justice Mahomed.

"I did," said Ndlovu.

Others interviewed yesterday included: Moeletsi Mbeki, a consultant to the ANC/Cosatu media department; social anthropologist Dr Caroline White; former Azapo chairman Dr Saths Cooper; Methodist Bishop Peter Storey; Sunday Times journalist Carmel Rickard; former Sunday Tribune editor Ian Wyllie; and former NGK moderator Johan Heyns.

● The National Party strongly condemned the hostile style which marked Wednesday's board selection hearings, NP media liaison director Marthinus van Schalkwyk said yesterday, according to Sapa.

● The spectacle on television of Mr Justice Mahomed questioning board chairman Viljoen reminded Afrikaner Volksunie MP for Bethal Chris de Jager of Hitler's SS generals, he said yesterday, according to Sapa.

"We know about the Spanish Inquisition and we saw what kind of inquisition is waiting for South Africa," he said during debate on the Home Affairs budget vote.

Immunity for observers

By Helen Grange

International observers have been granted immunity and privileges similar to those enjoyed by diplomats.

The announcement was made yesterday in an extraordinary Government Gazette.

In terms of the announcement, international observers have been exempted from all forms of taxation and have been granted legal immunity as far as their official duties are concerned.

Visas are also to be issued to them free of charge.

James Canu, spokesman for the UN Observer Mission, said yesterday that foreign observers had been waiting for the announcement.

"It is welcome news. It comes in the wake of communication between the observer missions and the Government on the matter," he said.

Canu said such immunities and privileges were common practice in other countries around the world where international observers were operating.

Foreign observers, he said, would be especially pleased with the news that they would no longer have to pay double tax — both in South Africa and their countries of origin.

Other privileges would not make much difference to the way observers had been operating. "We have had no problems moving around, but it is good to have that right recorded on paper."

86 pc of voters have their IDs

CAPE TOWN — About 7 000 polling stations will be set up for the coming general election.

Issuing of identity documents is going well and about 86 percent of the 22 million eligible voters already have these.

Minister of Home Affairs Danie Schutte said more than 90 percent would have ID documents by early next year.

These would be virtually impossible to forge as a special lamination process and laser printing had been used.

Schutte would not comment, but it seems little is being done in the TBVC states about the election. — Political Staff.

Dawie breaks the ice

By Gerald L'Ange
Star Africa Service

Zimbabwe's crumbling policy of refusing contact with South Africa at ministerial level will be virtually abandoned today when Dr Dawie de Villiers, Minister of Public Enterprises, goes to Harare to sign an agreement to build a power line to Bulawayo from Matimba power station in the western Transvaal.

The policy, which was to have been enforced until apartheid was irreversibly abandoned, has been made impracticable by Zimbabwe's dependence on South Africa for transport and power.

The signing will represent a big advance in Eskom's plans

for a power grid across southern Africa.

The Matimba-Bulawayo project has been pushed forward earlier than planned to give Zimbabwe access to South African power if drought again cuts generation in Zimbabwe, as it did last year.

The line will act as a back-up until another line is built to Zimbabwe from the Cahora Bassa Dam in Mozambique. It will also enable Zambia to draw power through its link with the Zimbabwean grid.

Botswana will also sign the agreement in Harare because, although it will not initially draw power from Matimba, the line to Bulawayo passes through its territory.

24-carat day for JSE buyers

Finance Staff

Gold continued on its bull run overnight — briefly touching a 17-month high of \$370 in New York — as the first words of caution about the "unsustainable" surge in the price were sounded.

After touching the \$370 level, gold fell back slightly to a close of \$368.55. It eased further in Hong Kong this morning to open at \$366.55.

Nevertheless, it was a 24-carat day for investors in gold shares on the JSE yesterday as the market exploded in reaction to gold's surge, which was accompanied by a rise in the platinum price to a 10-month high.

Within 20 minutes of the opening bell yesterday, gold shares had rocketed by more than 10 percent on average and as the gold price remained buoyant the surge in values continued.

At the close, the gold index had soared by an astonishing 192 points to 1636 — more than 13 percent.

The euphoria spilt over into the industrial sector which added 44 points to 4449. The all-share index rose by 124 points to 3888.

"I can't remember when last I saw such hectic activity at the opening bell," shouted stockbroker Tim Michel above the din.

Trading volumes rocketed

as institutions, private investors and foreigners placed huge buying orders for shares in short supply.

Gold's renewed surge since Wednesday was caused by heavy buying of gold by US-based fund investors, reigniting the fire started in the market by high-profile investors Sir James Goldsmith and George Soros three weeks ago.

Additional factors include fears of higher US inflation.

But there were words of warning, particularly from overseas analysts.

The Financial Times in London, quoting analysts and bullion dealers, described the market as "explosive"

and "having lost contact with reality".

Ted Arnold, analyst at Merrill Lynch, said: "It will all end in tears, although, in the short term, the weight of fund-buying can push gold prices up to virtually any level."

Andy Smith, analyst at the Union Bank of Switzerland, said the rally was inspired by options activity while buying of physical gold was dropping steeply.

Gold has now risen by more than \$40 since it hit seven-year lows of \$326.50 just two months ago. The gold-share index has more than doubled after bottoming on November 10.

AWB set to join Volksfront

By Norman Chandler
Pretoria Bureau

Reversing its earlier opposition to the Afrikaner Volksfront, the AWB says it will link up with the new organisation after all.

Eugene TerreBlanche, leader of the AWB, told a public meeting in Witbank last night the AB's decision had been made to "mobilise the volk... to resist the Government's capitulation".

It was also announced at the meeting that the Mineworkers' Union and the Iron

and Steel Labour Union were joining the Volksfront.

TerreBlanche told about 2 000 supporters he expected the announcement of the AWB's decision to be a "great shock to both the Government and the African National Congress".

The AWB boycotted the founding meeting of the Volksfront in Pretoria last Friday. The only representative attending was its Wenkommando leader, "Commandant-General" Servaas de Wet.

Sources in Pretoria said today TerreBlanche had been persuaded not to take action against De Wet.

Ten days ago, TerreBlanche said the Volksfront would splinter the right-wing movement.

A right-wing meeting at the Union Buildings, Pretoria, on May 29 will be addressed by TerreBlanche, General Constand Viljoen, the interim chairman of the Volksfront, and Dries Bruwer, president of the Transvaal Agricultural Union.

No tax on PC pay packages

Members of the President's Council, which is to be abolished on June 30, would be compensated according to precedents set at the dissolution of the senate and provincial councils, President de Klerk said yesterday.

He said the amounts, which he did not specify, would be tax-free.

The packages would be paid out on June 30 and would not include the five percent salary increase envisaged for political officials from July 1. — Sapa

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Negotiators to discuss reports

Star 24/5/93
204A

By Esther Waugh
Political Correspondent

The Negotiating Council's 10-member planning committee meets today to discuss six reports dealing with various aspects of the transition process.

The planning committee will mainly be discussing ways in which the reports can be handled in the meeting tomorrow of the 26-party council.

It is understood that the report by the technical committee on constitutional matters makes several suggestions to maintain momentum in the negotiations process.

Reports

Negotiators were tight-lipped yesterday on details of the suggestions. But it is understood that the committee requested more details from proponents of a confederalist state, including the Conservative Party.

The report — based on submissions by all the participants — apparently identifies two scenarios for the transition. The first is supported by the ANC and the Government who believe that an elected body is best suit-

ed to draft a new constitution.

Others want the negotiating forum to draft the constitution.

The technical committees themselves are not involved in negotiations, but their reports are aimed at facilitating discussions in the Negotiating Council.

The second reports by six of the seven technical committees were compiled after they had received all the submissions from all the groups on Wednesday.

The technical committee on discriminatory legislation is still compiling its second report.

The six reports deal with a transitional executive council, an independent media commission, an independent electoral commission, fundamental human rights during the transition, violence, and constitutional matters.

The planning committee will discuss candidates for a commission on regionalism.

The commission will delineate regions for elections for an interim government.

Tomorrow's Negotiating Council meeting will also discuss these reports.

Afrikaner conservatism is regrouping politically, writes Patrick Laurence and Paul Bell

Thunderclap from the Right

Star 14/5/92
304A

THE immediate significance of the resurgence of the Afrikaner Right under the leadership of retired generals and the emergence of the Afrikaner Volksfront is political rather than military.

The Afrikaner Right is poised to recover from the debacle it suffered last year when, in the space of six months, it had to endure a decisive defeat by pro-reform forces in the March referendum and then the trauma of a schism in the Conservative Party (CP), the biggest and best organised of the right-wing political parties.

Now, however, it has begun to regroup with the aid of four retired generals, including Constand Viljoen, a former chief of the SADF, and Tienie Groenewald, a former chief of military intelligence.

The generals, elected to a Committee of Generals on April 20, have been pivotal in giving the Afrikaner Right an image of respectability.

All four are men of substance, intellectually and materially, and they have added a quality of gravitas and discipline to the cause of the Right.

Viljoen, who is doubtless keenly aware of the limitations on a military option for right-wing Afri-

kanerdom, has been conspicuously restrained in his public statements. He has called for a political rather than military solution, dismissed reports that the Right is forming a secret white militia to resist black majority rule and has described armed resistance as a "last resort".

Viljoen's reputation as a soldier's general — an officer who shared the dangers of his men — has done the Right no harm. Many of the men who served in the SADF under him are today part of the frequently confused and anxious white community.

The generals have helped to give the Right a sense of vision and a coherent and theoretically justifiable policy: an Afrikaner volksstaat and self-determination.

These concepts, once seen as the ideas of zealots and eccentrics, may now gain a degree of credibility they could never have attained while the image of the Right was hostage to the crude fascism of the Afrikaner Weerstandsbeweging (AWB).

Groenewald, the theoretician of the Committee of Generals, appears to have played a critical role in clarifying the vision and giving content, in the South African context, to the notion of self-determination.

His Eenheidskomitee (unity

committee) has played a central role in locating a geographic base for the envisaged Afrikaner state. It places the proposed volksstaat in the Transvaal and Free State — minus the Witwatersrand and huge tracks of land set aside for the "black nations".

Two points are worth noting about the Eenheidskomitee's proposed state. It consists of a mere 16 percent of South Africa and may, in the final analysis, be even smaller. And it is an area where, according to calculations by Groenewald's researchers, whites are in the majority.

As for the historical perspective, it offers no small irony. Where Hendrik Verwoerd, the architect of apartheid, wanted to confine the black majority to hardly more than 13 percent of South Africa, the Eenheidskomitee is willing to restrict Afrikaners — and those whites who identify with them — to 16 percent or even less.

The birth of the Afrikaner Volksunie (AVU) last year is critical to these developments.

Led by Andries Beyers, who won a decisive victory for the CP in the landmark Potchefstroom by-election, the AVU is propagating establishment of a Afrikaner state having borders contiguous with those of the Eenheidskomitee.

The AVU, the most enlightened of the three main Afrikaner right-wing political parties (the CP and the Herstigte Nasionale Party make up the trio), has played a central role in propagating a theoretically justifiable version of the volksstaat.

The justification rests on two pillars: the proposed volksstaat is small and commensurate with the size of the white population; and the rejection by the AVU of racial discrimination, meaning — as Beyers makes clear — that blacks will not be relegated to second-class citizenship in the volksstaat and that there will be no forced removals.

It is significant rather than coincidental that Viljoen is a member of the AVU and that he accompanied Beyers to Cape Town for talks on Tuesday with Constitutional Affairs Minister Roelf Meyer on self-determination.

If the CP has modified Verwoerdian theory by talking about partition rather than apartheid, the AVU has refined it still further by ridding it of race discrimination and investing it, theoretically, with political morality.

The AVU is a pathfinder on the Right in another sense. It was the first of the right-wing political parties to recognise that it would

have to negotiate with Nelson Mandela's African National Congress over the volksstaat, thus showing pragmatic flexibility.

The Afrikaner Right has still to prove that the unity manifest in the formation of the Volksfront is more than a chimera. For the moment, however, the only discordant note has been sounded by Eugene TerreBlanche's AWB.

Adopting a scornfully aloof attitude, the AWB has questioned the credentials of the generals. The AWB's attitude has, however, probably helped rather than hindered the Volksfront.

In the past, and especially during last year's referendum, the AWB has been an embarrassment to the Right. Its bully-boys, its swastika-like insignia and its demagogic leader, whose oratorical style is reminiscent of Adolf Hitler, have enabled the Right's political opponents to portray it as "soft on Nazism".

A resurgent and respectable Afrikaner Right is a major threat to F.W. de Klerk's ruling National Party. It offers fearful whites an alternative to the NP at a time when the NP stands accused by many whites, including some of its own members, of appeasing rather than resisting the ANC.

The pattern of defections from the NP to the Right between February 1990 and March 1992 — re-

versed after the referendum — may be reasserting itself, with dangerous implications for the NP's hopes of winning a decisive majority of white votes.

A unified and co-ordinated Right will impact palpably on negotiations by boosting the forces favouring "self-determination" for black ethnic groups as well as Afrikaners. Beyers has, however, indicated that the AVU's quest for Afrikaner self-determination can be realised through the establishment of autonomous regions in a federal system.

Viljoen has described the white Right's pursuit of a volksstaat as its response to the pressures from the Left for a unitary state. He does not exclude a federal option, implying that there may be more ways than one to accommodate demands for self-determination.

All told, it seems possible that the new, more coherent intervention by the Right will require the negotiators at the World Trade Centre to open more space around the federal/regional issue than might otherwise have been permitted.

If the AVU's verlig view prevails in the Volksfront and if there is a positive response from across the negotiating table — two big "ifs" — a *modus vivendi* may yet be reached between the Volksfront and the ANC. □

Short-lived day of the generals?

304A Wmcl 14/5-20/5/93

UNITY on the far-right — apparently clinched for the first time with the formation of the Afrikaner Volksfront (AVF) last week — may prove more mirage than reality.

Headed by a committee of former South African Defence Force and South African Police generals, the movement has provisionally succeeded in forging all the important parties of the rightwing into a coalition striving for what it terms "self-determination of the Afrikaner".

Beneath the surface, however, confusion, differences of opinion, mutual suspicion, a battle of semantics and animosity are pushing a rather fragile unity to its limits.

The khakibos of "self-determination" does not smell as sweet to everyone connected to the AVF.

To General Tienie Groenewald, seen by many as the driving force behind the formation of the AVF, it means a completely independent *volkstaat*, the so-called "Eastland".

To Andries Beyers, of the

Afrikaner *Volksstaat* (AVU), it means the highest degree of regional autonomy in a federal system. Other *volkstaat* protagonists, such as Avstig's Professor Carel Boshoff, are in favour of "Westland".

The Herstigte Nasionale Party's Jaap Marais sees self-determination as a return to Verwoerdian grand apartheid, while hardliners inside the Conservative Party want the same thing but call it "partition".

Adding to the confusion are those who view the generals — especially Groenewald, with his history of military intelligence, front organisations and dirty tricks — with some apprehension, if not downright suspicion.

In some rightwing circles, fears are widely expressed that Groenewald is a state agent tasked with enticing and neutralising the far-right.

So it was that in the week before the formation of the AVF, CP hardliners caucused into the night, even seeking out the previously shunned

The time of the far-rightwing

generals may dwindle

a lot faster than it

took to arrive,

reports JAN TALJAARD

Marais in order to head off what was sensed to be a coup by the *volkstaters* or the government.

But that was before the huge protest meeting of farmers on May 6 at Potchefstroom.

As former SADF chief Constand Viljoen walked into the stadium to the roaring acclaim of about 8 000 farmers, the Verwoerdiens must have realised that the odds were stacked against them.

Neatly stepping into the power vacuum caused by vacillating rightwing policies and the recent death of CP leader Andries Treurnicht, Viljoen had become the Moses of the rightwing.

Ironically, many of those who hailed Viljoen as the new saviour are old-style partitionists, or from farms outside the proposed boundaries of an exclusive Afrikaner region.

Viljoen's own politics are more in line with that of the AVU, and his Ohrigstad farm falls within the boundaries of "Eastland".

Temporarily, at least, the *volkstaters* are in the driving seat.

The original initiative that led to the formation of the AVF can be traced to Groenewald, a former intelligence adviser to PW Botha and a *volkstaat* ideologue.

An ex-fighter pilot in the South African Air Force, he became chief director of the SADF's military intelligence before the reform process drove him to request early retirement in 1990.

After retiring, he founded the Institute of Strategic Analysis. Initially suspected in some circles of being an SADF front organisation, it later appeared to be a private attempt to interpret the "African National

Congress/South African Communist Party/Congress of South African Trade Unions threat" in terms of "total onslaught" counter-strategies.

Groenewald's brother Jan, a former security policeman, was a member of the Afrikaner Weerstandsbeweging's executive council before he and other leading figures were purged from the AWB in early 1989.

Together with other disaffected AWB members, he founded the Boerevryheidbeweging (BVB), an organisation actively propagating the establishment of an Afrikaner homeland wedging northwards from Pretoria.

Jan Groenewald was also involved in the formation of the Pretoria Boerekommando in early 1992. Organised along the lines of a community watchdog, it is about 1 000-strong and is strongly *volkstaat*-orientated.

On November 8 1991, a meeting of a so-called "Volkstaatraad" (Volkstaat council) was convened in

Pretoria.

Among those who attended were the Groenewald brothers; Dr Wally Grant, former chief executive of South Africa's nuclear programme; Blokkies de Beer, of the Oranjerokers group; and Dr CJ Jooste, also a BVB leader. *Volkstaters* all, this group evolved into the Volkseenheidskomitee (Vekom).

After meetings in June and July 1992, Vekom started to establish regional committees in the rural areas of the Transvaal and the Free State, and a period of consolidation followed.

Two "unity summits" were staged, the second of which was attended by about 100 people, including seven CP MPs.

Significantly, five of the MPs were to break away within a few months to establish the AVU.

The other two — Piet Gouws and Dries Bruwer, respectively presidents of the Free State and Transvaal agricultural unions — chose to remain in the CP for the time being.

But both are widely regarded as sharing the *volkstaat* ideology of the breakaway group, the only apparent difference being that they want to reform the CP from the inside.

The realisation that the era of white parliamentary politics was coming to an irrevocable end and the deteriorating security situation led to increasing militancy in the CP and the launch of its mobilisation programme at its general congress in February 1993.

Another military man, former SADF chief of staff General Koos Bischoff, was appointed chairman of the programme.

The official line was that the CP was mobilising on all fronts in order to realise its rather vague policy of "self-determination".

Meanwhile, Vekom decided to come out of the cold by launching a publicity drive, and held its first public meeting on April 16.

Following shortly after the assassination of Chris Hani and the accompanying militancy and polarisation across the political spectrum, the meeting packed the Pretoria North town hall to capacity.

As reassuring as this must have been to the Vekom executive, the week leading up to Hani's funeral saw the creation of a climate in which Groenewald managed pull off his unification coup.

The time was ripe for the generals and for the formation of the AVF — but it may prove to be short-lived.

By GAYE DAVIS: Cape Town

THE African National Congress, all set to woo white Afrikaners in conservative Parow, found itself pipped to the post by the Inkatha Freedom Party this week.

No sooner had the ANC announced it would be entering the lion's den to hold its first-ever public meeting in the former National Party stronghold, then IFP posters sprouted, advertising a meeting in the same venue a day earlier.

IFP organisers said this week they had not planned to steal the ANC's thunder, having planned their meeting several weeks ago. It was the IFP's third public gathering in the western Cape, all of them so far held in white

Romancing the Whites of Parow

WMA 14/5-20/93

suburbs. Media liaison officer Cloete Breytenbach said more meetings, reaching deeper into the heart of Afrikanerdom in the Boland and along the Cape's West Coast, were planned.

The ANC intends doing exactly the same. Announcing his organisation's recruitment drive among Afrikaners, western Cape ANC chairman Allan Boesak told how Chris Hani's murder had prompted a stream of calls from Afrikaans-speaking whites saying the time had come for them to join the ANC.

"We have a growing conviction that

many white South Africans are totally disillusioned with the political process and the lack of leadership and vision in the NP, which cannot break with its past and can't present anything acceptable for the future," Boesak said.

Ask the IFP why they're focusing their efforts on whites and the answer is almost exactly the same: "We've had a lot of calls from NP, Conservative Party and Democratic Party members, but especially from NP people who feel the party has no leadership and no credibility," Breytenbach said.

(IFP leader Mangosuthu)

Buthelezi offers them hope because he wants a federal system with no dominance by a central government — and he's saying the same things now he said 20 years ago.

The good burghers of Parow may feel flattered at the attentions they're receiving, but would do well to closely scrutinise their political suitors.

Political analyst Robert Schrire, professor of political studies at the University of Cape Town, sees the ANC's move as an imaginative, bold step, but ultimately a symbolic attempt

to demonstrate a commitment to non-racialism which it has so far been unable to realise on the ground.

The IFP, on the other hand, he sees as engaged in realpolitik — trying to present itself as a credible alternative to the NP, and boost Buthelezi's waning image as a national leader.

Buthelezi's appeal to whites, said Schrire, lay in his being a symbol of the tame black man, the guy you can do business with. But, he warned, it was likely this "romantic support" — similar to that whites once showed for Umtata leader Jonas Savimbi — would erode as people came to know more about the personalities involved and what was at stake.

Rabie's white (304A)

'ooms' rile CP

By IAN CLAYTON

COLOURED cabinet minister Jac Rabie hurt and embarrassed the all-white Conservative Party this week when he disclosed that two of his uncles were active members of the CP.

The dark-skinned leader of the National Party in the House of Representatives had to answer for the government, in his capacity as minister of population development, to a CP call for an investigation into an allegedly low fertility rate among whites to see if this posed problems for the Afrikaner volk.

Nominated CP MP Heroldt Pauw, who made the call to deal with the Afrikaner birth rate, interjected: "If you are not a member of the volk, you don't understand it as a problem."

That stung Rabie. He knew perfectly well what a volk was, he retorted. "Two of my uncles are white members of the CP. The one uncle has five children and the other four. So I know what the volk's needs are," Rabie said.

Rabie could have stirred the racial pot even further: one of his "white" uncles has been a CP branch chairman for years.

CP MP defends letter about Holocaust

By Chris Whitfield
Political Correspondent

CAPE TOWN — A Conservative Party MP has defended a letter to a right-wing American publication in which he lauded a controversial historian, who questioned whether the Holocaust took place, as a "hero of the truth unsurpassed in our times".

Louis Stofberg, the MP for Sasolburg, said he was not "anti-Jewish".

In the letter to the Institute for Historical Review (IHR) Newsletter he congratulated Canadian author Ernst Zündel after that country's Supreme Court had overturned a conviction

for publishing a revisionist booklet about the Holocaust.

Stofberg said in the letter to the November 1992 issue of the newsletter that he had just received the "good news" about the court finding. "Our enemies have done everything, and their worst, to stop him."

"They have failed, and revisionism can go forward with greater confidence than ever before that victory will be ours," he wrote.

He told The Star yesterday that his interest in the case stemmed from his desire for press freedom, and claimed that such august publications as the Washington Post had also

welcomed the court decision.

He admitted that, being of German descent, he would like to believe that the Holocaust had not taken place. However, he understood and sympathised with the strong feelings of Jewish people about the issue.

Zündel, a German-born publisher living in Toronto, was convicted in 1988 under Canada's so-called "false news" law for publishing the booklet.

He was sentenced to nine months in jail. He appealed and last year the Supreme Court found that the legislation violated the freedom of speech provisions in that country's Charter of Rights.

CP's Stofberg linked to neo-Nazi

WJW mail 14/5-20/5/93

SENIOR Conservative Party MP Louis Stofberg has publicly linked himself to international neo-Nazi organisations by writing in praise of those who deny the reality of the Holocaust.

This follows disclosures that another CP luminary, Clive Derby-Lewis, has links with several ultra-right organisations in Europe.

The Weekly Mail has a copy of a letter Stofberg sent to the Institute for Historical Review (IHR) in California, in which he praises Canadian Ernst Zundel as "a hero of the truth unsurpassed in our times".

Zundel's name appears on the official US government Watch List of people prohibited from entering the United States. He is the author of *The Hitler We Loved and Why*, *UFOs: Nazi Secret Weapons?*, and *Secret Nazi*

Further links between South African rightwingers and neo-Nazi groupings have been exposed: a senior CP MP has written a letter praising those who say the Holocaust never happened.

By **STEPHEN LAUFER**

Polar Expeditions, among other works glorifying the Nazis.

Zundel has also been arrested in Germany many under anti-Nazi laws. In a recent interview, he said of the statutes: "Because of the draconian nature of Germany's Allied-imposed, undemocratic laws, no writer could express an opinion other than one of major irrele-

FORWARD WITH CONFIDENCE

I have just received the *IHR Newsletter* for October with the good news that Zundel has won in Canada's Supreme Court. Please convey my congratulations and good wishes to Ernst Zundel. Like the IHR itself, he is a hero of the truth unsurpassed in our times.

Our enemies have done everything, and their worst, to stop him. They have failed, and revisionism can go forward with greater confidence than ever before that victory will be ours.

304A

The Weekly Mail that although he had never been to Europe and had therefore not seen concentration camp sites, "it looks like what we've heard is not exact. Everything we've heard about the Holocaust doesn't seem correct."

"I am not an expert, but I've read a

lot, and I don't know whether Auschwitz and the Holocaust existed. I accept that my Jewish friends would say they did, but it seems as though there's more to this."

Asked whether he felt the IHR was neo-Nazi, Stofberg said: "I know you are trying to pin me down as a Jew-hater and baiter. Frankly, I hate nobody — but I don't like people who hate us either. I'm a rightwinger, we had our concentration camps too, you know."

The IHR, which published Stofberg's letter, is the focal point for a group which calls itself "the Revisionists".

Operating under the guise of scholarship, they seek to revise historical perspectives on the Holocaust, in which six million Jews died, arguing that it did not happen or wasn't as bad as reported. They have claimed that Auschwitz and other death camps were built by the Allies after the war in an attempt to smear the Nazis.

Contributors to the organisation include British historian David Irving, a frequent visitor to South Africa with close links to a major neo-Nazi publishing house in Munich; and Robert Faurisson, a former literature professor at the University of Lyon. Faurisson was twice convicted for promoting racism and denying the reality of the Holocaust.

Also involved in the IHR are former Rhodesian politician and apartheid activist Ivor Bensen and the Swede Ditleb Felderer. Bensen reported to the 1990 IHR conference on "the crime, and the cover-up of the century: the murder of Russian Tsar Nicholas II and his entire family by a distinctly non-Russian cabal ... and its implications for nationalism and internationalism under the shadow of Zion".

The Swede claims Anne Frank's diary is a hoax. He was convicted for distributing anti-Semitic hate mail, including locks of hair and pieces of fat he alleged belonged to Holocaust victims.

Commenting on Stofberg's links to an international neo-Nazi organisation, South African Jewish Board of Deputies director Seymour Kopelovitz said: "It is scandalous in today's world that an MP should deny the Holocaust. Support for Nazism is equal to support for racism."

"South Africans need to reject Stofberg's message, not just because it is anti-Semitic, but because it is racist in a society attempting to free itself from centuries of racism."

Buoyant volksunie planning own area

By CHRIS LOUW 14/5-20/5/93. (304A)

THE Afrikaner Volksunie (AVU) is in a buoyant mood. After getting the National Party to concede to the principle of "the Afrikaner's right to self-determination", plans are already under way for an Afrikaner-dominated area with Pretoria as its centre.

The next step is to get the African National Congress to also endorse this principle, the AVU's chief negotiator, advocate Chris de Jager, said this week.

Contact has already been made with the ANC to find a suitable date for discussing the issue.

De Jager — who is also the AVU's spokesman on justice — conceded that his movement's ideals would only be achieved if they, unlike most of the *volksstaat* demands, were practical. He disclosed that an Afrikaner-dominated area is now being planned to stretch from Pretoria into the eastern Transvaal. Afrikaners will be in the majority in this area, he said, but there would be no racial discrimination or forced removals.

De Jager refused to disclose the exact boundaries of the Afrikaner area, saying that the AVU was still discussing the details with "countries which we expect to be our future neighbours". However, a map of the area was being drawn up and would be made public soon.

The Afrikaner-dominated area "will not necessarily be a federal or confederal state within the country", according to De Jager. "We don't want to give it a name or limit it to a specific concept. It will be something uniquely South African and its relationship with the rest of the country will also be unique."

Representatives of the AVU had a meeting with Constitutional Development Minister Roelf Meyer on Tuesday in which, they say, Meyer conceded the "right of the Afrikaner nation to self-determination". The concession followed AVU threats that it would walk out of negotiations if its aspirations were thwarted before

they could be discussed around the negotiating table.

Meyer's stance — he told a joint press conference that the National Party had no objection in principle to the AVU's ideal of Afrikaner self-determination as part of a federal dispensation — was afterwards described by AVU leader Andries Beyers as "an historic breakthrough".

However, the AVU is aware that it will need the support of other parties to the negotiations, including that of the ANC. According to De Jager, discussions were already on track with what he termed "the Natal area", which includes Chief Minister Mangosuthu Buthelezi's kwaZulu.

Asked whether he expected to receive a sympathetic hearing from the ANC, De Jager said it was not the AVU's aim to "create revolution".

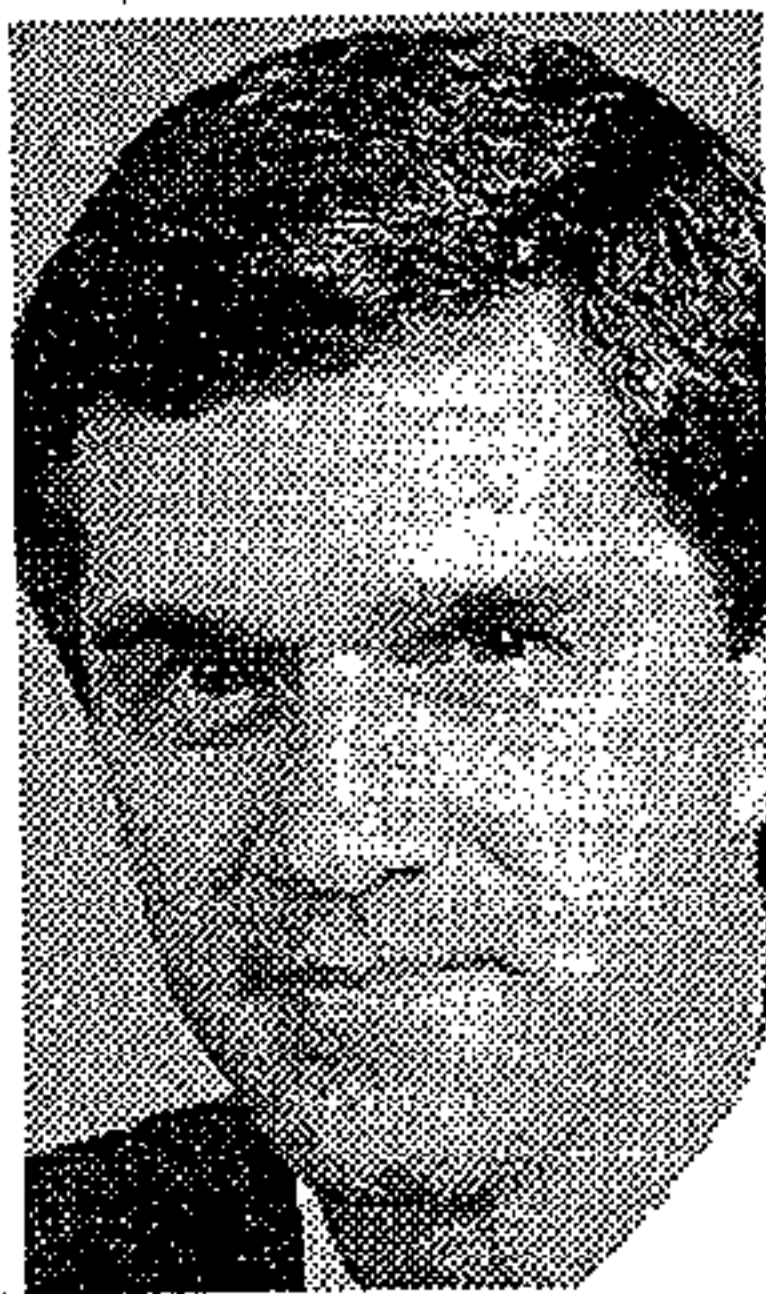
They would rather achieve their goal to get a "home base" for Afrikaners through negotiations. "If the ANC is not prepared to accept the reasonable aspirations of Afrikaners, there will not be peace in South Africa."

De Jager said the AVU could now claim to be the party representing Afrikaners. The National Party was "open for all" and could not serve the interests of a single population group any longer. "They stand for one new South Africa and one nation."

AVU youth leader Vorster Gauche told *The Weekly Mail* from Pretoria that there had been noticeably more public interest in the AVU in the last week and a half. He ascribed it to the influence of the four generals who have taken it upon themselves to mobilise the right, as well as to the more militant mood in the CP, which tended to drive moderates away to the AVU.

Rightist parliamentarians are also taking renewed interest in the activities of the AVU.

Independent MP Koos van der Merwe said the concession that the AVU wrought from Meyer could not be underestimated. "I am really excited," he said.



Concession ... Roelf Meyer

Shards of optimism grow out of crises

By David Beresford
in Johannesburg

OPTIMISM is a variegated quality: to some it is the refuge of the unworried and to others the triumph of the will. To continue nursing optimism about South Africa is perhaps to invite the charge of failing to read one's newspapers, or to tune in to the radio. Rampaging students, racial massacres, threats of secession — superficially the country is sliding to disaster. But there is a strong case to be argued that optimism about South Africa's future is to be discovered from a realistic assessment of it.

Perhaps the main reason for optimism is that the country has a sense of direction — unlike Northern Ireland or the Middle East. The problem (as in those two other cockpits of conflict) is self-evident. The general direction in which a solution can be discovered has been identified and, in the case of South Africa, society has set off down the path. A momentum has been created in this country which has a dynamic, a logic all of its own. Crises loom, at times they even arrive, but almost magically they vanish — somehow gobbled up by the intolerant force of progress.

The process is one which frequently wrong-foots the media. The news industry, understandably but unfortunately, thrives on disaster, or the anticipation of it. In South Africa one has constantly to remind oneself of the evanescent nature of "crisis". All week there has been a sense of crisis about a student revolt, schoolchildren going on the rampage in townships infuriated, in this time of high expectations for blacks, at the government's failure to reform the education system. The "crisis" threatened to come to a head on Friday with a march by 50,000 students through Johannesburg. A previous march led to clashes and looting. This time, it was feared, the commercial capital could be reduced to mayhem.

Shortly after midday a local radio station was excitedly reporting that students and security forces were mustering, peace monitors were desperately mediating, the atmosphere was tense and clashes seemed imminent. I arrived on the scene 10 minutes later to find some abandoned barbed-wire entanglements thrown up in front of the city library and a couple of schoolgirls munching apples amid the swirling traffic of another mundane Johannesburg lunch-hour. A crisis had vanished.

Another "crisis" is that posed by rightwing whites with the creation of the "Committee of Generals", talk

THE chief director of South African military intelligence in the mid-1980s — Maj-Gen. P H Groenewald — claims that the right-wing group being organised by the Committee of Generals to fight majority rule would have 500,000 men ready to defend a proposed "white fatherland".

of secession and the emergence of the former head of the South African Defence Force, General Constand Viljoen, as a unifying figure.

The white right has long been recognised as a major obstacle on that journey to the new South Africa. The recent assassination of Chris Hani, demonstrated how easily rightwingers with guns and sufficiently murderous intent can foment a real crisis on the country. Nelson Mandela, among others, continues to see them as the real stumbling block. Is it now manifest in the little general?

Driving back from Potchefstroom and the gathering of belligerent

He confirmed in an interview for BBC Television this week that he is working with three other former generals, "including Constand Viljoen (see below), former C-in-C of the South African Defence Force, and "70 different right-wing organisations".

Boers at which General Viljoen made his first public appearance as the putative hero of the right, I found myself playing with a fanciful conspiracy theory. It was that the general was in fact an agent of the National Intelligence Service (NIS), South Africa's senior intelligence agency which is believed to be strongly supportive of President F. W. de Klerk.

The scenario had it that, in the wake of Hani's murder, NIS director Mike Louw called an emergency meeting at the agency's HQ and demanded what had gone wrong. "I thought we had the right-wing riddled," he railed at his subordinates.

Why the hell didn't we anticipate it?

The head of his rightwing desk protested: "They're too fractured." He gestured at the smug-looking head of the ANC desk: "They've got Shell House [ANC headquarters] bugged from top to bottom. I've got to watch 20 maverick organisations, half of them don't think much less write. They blew Hani away on impulse. How can I anticipate anything?"

"Well, unite them," demanded Louw. "Behind whom? That neo-Nazi buffoon TerreBlanché?"

Impatiently Louw pulled out his battered address book, looking for someone with an anti-communist

reputation — the skeleton key to rightwing hearts. A messenger duly arrived at General Viljoen's retirement farm in the Eastern Transvaal where he found the little man digging his potato patch. Flashing presidential credentials he announced: "General, your country needs you!"

It is, obviously, all too fanciful to be true. But it is an instructive fantasy, because it illustrates how the emergence of a General Viljoen could play into President de Klerk's hands and in the end contribute to the peace process. There are inherent dangers, for the very reason that he is not working to a hidden agenda, General Viljoen could find himself heading a force he has harnessed, but is unable to control.

But he is a general, used to command. And above all he is a highly intelligent man who, one suspects, does recognise the unstopable dynamic which is leading to the new society. For that reason he could well be the man who ends up delivering the right to the negotiating table. A man who offers further cause for optimism.

**Hartzenberg
tipped as
near certainty**

TIM COHEN (301A)

CAPE TOWN — CP deputy leader Ferdi Hartzenberg is almost certain to be elected leader of the party when CP delegates meet for a special congress in Pretoria tomorrow.

A three-way tussle for the deputy leadership is on the cards. *Borm*

Parliamentary sources said yesterday Hartzenberg would be elected by delegates from the 116 CP constituencies. *14/5/93*

The 75-odd members of the national executive, who will vote for a deputy leader if a vacancy occurs, would probably have a choice between the pro- and anti-negotiations wing of the party. These were represented by Schalk Pienaar and Pieter Mulder.

A compromise candidate would be Cape leader Jan Hoon, who is regarded as an "elder statesman" by the party members.

After the elections, the new leader would set out the party's vision in a speech to the congress, which follows the death of Andries Treurnicht last month.

Meanwhile MP and former CP information chief Koos van der Merwe said the CP was "finished". He expressed the hope that former SA Defence Force chief Constand Viljoen would lead the "genuine Afrikaners" to self-determination.

The Afrikaners had a credible leader in Viljoen and the CP's influence was no longer an issue, he said.

The new formation held out great promise.

Lawyers allege Von Lieres cover-up of police brutality

6/08/93
LAWYERS for Human Rights (LHR) suggested yesterday that Witwatersrand Attorney-General Klaus von Lieres and Wilkau SC and the SAP were attempting to cover up acts of police brutality by denying monitors access to dockets.

Earlier this week, LHR national director Brian Currin also accused Transvaal Attorney-General Jan D'Oliveira SC of similar actions.

Both Von Lieres and D'Oliveira have denied strongly they are involved in a deliberate cover-up and say the claims are grossly defamatory and unjustified.

The row has prompted the national peace secretariat to make the issue a priority item on the agenda of its May 22 peace committee meeting.

The LHR assertions followed an SABC Agenda programme this week on police brutality in which police reporting officer Jan Munnik claimed his investigations were being frustrated by the SAP and Von Lieres, who refused to give him access to dockets he asked to see.

"The refusal of the SAP to allow him (Munnik) access to dockets was based on an opinion received from the attorney-general of the Witwatersrand.

"This smacks of a cover-up and renders Munnik's appointment useless and a waste of taxpayers' money," Currin said in a statement.

Munnik, an advocate, was appointed a police reporting officer in terms of the national peace accord.

Von Lieres said yesterday his involvement in the matter had been to supply the SAP with a legal opinion on the interpretation of existing laws and provisions of the

STEPHANE BOTHMA

peace accord in relation to the status of privileged police dockets.

Von Lieres said Currin's accusations were "defamatory, malicious and destructive of the attorney-general's integrity".

Sources said Von Lieres had demanded SABC TV offer an apology, with the same prominence as the Agenda programme.

Quoting from the peace accord, Von Lieres said signatories acknowledged that the provisions of the accord were subject to existing laws, rules and procedures.

If a clash of interests existed between the accord and existing laws and rules, the provisions of the accord could not prevail above the law.

"On the principle of the matter I gave the police an opinion," he said, adding his opinion had corresponded with that of the police's own legal experts.

"I have never seen or met this Munnik. I don't know him, and he has never approached me regarding any problem concerning any access to a docket," he said.

Procedures, clearly spelt out in the accord, stated that the unit investigating alleged police torture should submit a written or verbal report to the police reporting officer on the progress and outcome of investigations, he said. This did not include making privileged police dockets available.

The SAP said yesterday it had adhered strictly to the peace accord. Contents of police dockets were regarded as privileged information and would therefore not be made available to the police reporting officer.

Forum date postponed a day

6/08/93
THE negotiations forum at which the date for nonracial elections is expected to be announced has been postponed a day and will now meet on June 3.

The rest of the Kempton Park negotiations schedule has also been reorganised.

And it was learnt yesterday that four members of the peace secretariat had been seconded to the new technical committee dealing with violence. They join the ANC's Sydney Mafumadi and Inkatha's Walter Felgate on the committee, which also has a government member sitting on it.

Yesterday was the deadline for parties to submit proposals to the seven technical committees, which were briefed for their tasks on Monday.

The committees report to the planning committee today. The planning committee facilitates the process.

Sources said government's proposals were "merely a refinement" of the constitutional proposals released by Justice Minister Kobie Coetsee at the beginning of the year. They dealt primarily with principles to be included in an interim constitution and those that should remain in the final constitution.

The technical committees have until May 25 to deal with an avalanche of work to prepare recommendations and draft legislation which will form the basis of the

BILLY PADDOCK

negotiating council discussions on May 25 and 28.

The council will then negotiate on key issues and reach as much common ground as possible in time to report back to the negotiating forum on June 3.

Negotiators do not believe they will have reached agreement on details of the transition process by this date, but are aiming for the setting of an exact election date and obtaining agreement on broad principles for the way ahead.

Meanwhile, an important bilateral meeting between government and Bophuthatswana that was due to take place this week was cancelled. No firm date for a future meeting was set. Two government meetings with the CP this week failed to make any progress and were described by government sources as "difficult".

However, in a meeting with Afrikaner Volksunie leader Andries Beyers, Constitutional Development Minister Roelf Meyer managed to make headway and kept the right-wing party in the process after threats that it might withdraw.

Beyers hailed the meeting as a "break-through" and said he saw a future for his party remaining in the process and making a meaningful contribution to it.

Immunity granted to observers

PRETORIA — SA had granted diplomatic immunity and privileges to about 100 UN, Commonwealth and OAU observers, deputy Foreign Affairs director-general Jeremy Shearar confirmed yesterday.

As SA was not a signatory to the UN convention on diplomatic immunity, a Government Gazette extraordinary had been issued to cover the international observers operating in SA, he said.

The immunity and privileges granted to the observers were similar to those enjoyed by foreign diplomats. In terms of the announcement, the international observers had been exempted from all forms of taxation, would be issued with free visas and had been granted legal immunity in the fulfilment of their official duties.

Our political staff reports from Cape Town that Home Affairs Minister Danie Schutte told a news briefing that at least

(3047) ADRIAN HADLAND

1 000 international observers would be necessary to monitor SA's first nonracial election. The ANC has estimated that at least 30 000 monitors would be needed to ensure that the elections are free and fair.

The Minister later told Parliament that more than 90% of South Africans entitled to vote were expected to have the required identity documents by the time the election took place.

He said 18-million to 22-million people would be entitled to vote and that an average of 43 600 identity documents were being issued to prospective voters every week. *6 DM 1415793*

Government was opposed to the registration of voters as this would cost the taxpayer an additional R420m.

President's Councillors miss out on pensions

CAPE TOWN — A row broke out in the Nationalist-dominated President's Council last night after an announcement that most of the 60-member body would not qualify for pensions and gratuities.

President F W de Klerk announced that only members who had served for five years or more would receive a pension for life, prompting angry councillors to claim that they had been betrayed.

It is understood that NP caucus members were promised on at least four occasions that they would be "properly looked after" when the 12-year-old council was

disbanded.

De Klerk last night insisted that the compensation offered to the 60 members was "fair".

The members face retrenchment after the council is disbanded on June 30.

De Klerk offered some flexibility, saying members' benefits would be calculated to the year-end.

Council members who have served for less than five years are likely to receive a single payout amounting to twice their

pension contributions, plus 5% interest.

About two-thirds of the members fall into this category.

Members who have served for more than five years will get one-third of their current salaries for life plus a gratuity.

Labour Party members are considering consulting Cosatu with a view to instituting legal proceedings against government.

□ CP President's Councillor Clive Derby-Lewis will receive a pension and gratuity. As a former provincial councillor, Derby-Lewis will qualify for a golden handshake as well as a life-long pension.

TIM COHEN

ANC uses celebrities to woo Afrikaners

THE ANC will today announce a major drive, to be backed by personalities such as ponytailed folk singer Anton Goosen and Wits scientist Johan Prins, to win the hearts and minds of Afrikaners.

Goosen, whose songs include the cynical *Boy van die Suburbs*, writer Madelein van Niekerk and several others are expected to shock the Afrikaans cultural world by publicly proclaiming their ANC membership at a media briefing.

A spokesman for the personalities said ANC secretary-general Cyril Ramaphosa and ANC spokesman Carl Niehaus would launch the initiative at the briefing.

An advertising campaign calling for

RAY HARTLEY (304A)

democratic elections and demanding government action against the right wing would also be launched in the *Vrye Weekblad* newspaper today, the spokesman said.

The advertising campaign, which was not an ANC initiative, would be endorsed by prominent Afrikaner personalities who were not necessarily ANC members, including actress Grethe Fox and offbeat musician Johannes Kerkorrel.

The spokesman said many Afrikaners had joined the ANC after the assassination of SACP general secretary Chris Hani, but no precise figures were available.

B10A7 14/5/93



Frane Ginwala



Ellen Kuzwayo



Thandeka Mgoduso



Albertina Sisulu



Dr Mamphela Ramphele

Other candidates

- Professor June Sinclair
Department of Justice
- Dr Nono Makhudu
Affirmative Action
- Mrs Zanele Mbeki
Small Business Development
- Ms Ruth Mompoti
Foreign Affairs
- Ms Nompumelelo Jafta
Department of Justice
- Mrs Asha Moodley

Women Ministers

- Dr Rina Venter
National Party MP
Minister of Health and Welfare
- Sheila Camerer
National Party MP
Deputy Minister of Justice.

Women in Parliament

OUR CHOICES Women elect their Ministers for the future non-sexist South African government:

By Pearl Majola

SOUTH AFRICAN WOMEN, especially blacks, have over the years looked enviously at the Margaret Thatchers and Corazon Aquinos of this world.

Should we have a democratic, non-sexist government that will give women equal opportunities to take up cabinet posts, which women should be in Parliament and why?

Sowetan spoke to some women leaders across the political spectrum and from community-based organisations to find out.

Ms Gill Noero of the Democratic Party said new portfolios would have to be created because the present ones did not represent all the needs and interests of the majority of the people.

Her choice is Ms Dene Smuts, a DP MP. Her portfolio would be Youth Empowerment and head of Constitutional Courts.

"Dene Smuts has done a lot of work in youth empowerment. The idea of constitutional courts would be to guard against the violation of human rights."

Mrs Angie Makwela of the Career Women's Association of South Africa emphasised the need for affirmative action and the need for women in Parliament who will be able to work with grassroots women and develop them.

Her choice is Ms Anne Letsebe for Social and Community Services.

Letsebe is a lecturer in the School of Social Work at Wits University. She is co-convenor of the National Women's Coalition and president of the South African Black Social Workers' Association. She is knowledgeable and has a genuine concern and commitment to gender related issues and the welfare of the community.

Ms Nomonde Jafta of the Imbeleko Women's Organisation said she would elect any woman who would be able to do the job.

She prefers women who communicate with grassroots women.

She suggested: Ms Thandeka Mgoduso, a psychologist, as Minister of Health and Social Welfare and Ms Mojanku Gumbi, constitutional affairs secretary for Azapo for Minister of Constitutional Affairs. Gumbi is an advocate and director of the Black Lawyers Association's Legal Education Centre.

Ms Lindiwe Zulu of the ANC Women's League said South Africa had a wealth of capable and qualified women leaders.

One of her choices is Ms Thelma Mthiso of the SACP for Human Resources and Social Welfare.

"She has always been interested in the welfare of our people. In Uganda she encouraged

comrades to get to local schools and universities," she said.

Her other choice is Ms Bongiwe Njole who would be in the Ministry of Agriculture and Environment. Njole is one of a few women who have a special interest in agriculture. She has worked with the ANC's Land Commission.

Mrs Winnie Scrope of the Ikageng Women's Club said her main concern was education. These are her candidates:

Mrs Ellen Kuzwayo, well-known for her community work, would be put in charge of education. "Kuzwayo pays a lot of attention to education, both for the young and the old and is involved in, among other projects, adult literacy," Scrope said.

Mrs Albertina Sisulu as State President. "Sisulu has a cool head, is organised, committed and able to listen. Those are the most important leadership qualities," she said.

Mrs Ntombentle Zungula of the African Women's Organisation stressed the importance of sound economic and justice systems for the new South Africa.

These are her choices: Ms Ntombentle Zungula, an attorney from Butterworth, Transkei. She would take the position of Minister of Justice.

"She understands and can interpret every facet of South African law and politics. She is a determined, decisive, disciplined and straight forward woman," said Zungula.

Ms Nomthetho Simelane for the Finance Ministry. Though a South African, Simelane is head of Economics at the University of Swaziland.

"The use of land for economic balance has been one of her main emphases. I feel she would be able to rescue us from the present economic crisis."

Ms Suzanne Vos of the Inkatha Freedom Party said there were many women worthy of considerations for jobs in Parliament, both within IFP and outside.

She would elect Professor Harriet Ngubane of the University of Cape Town for the Department of Women's Affairs.

"She understands the issues facing women and can make a valuable contribution in changing things."

Mrs Rabette Kabak of the Women's Lobby which was formed to educate women on the drawing up of the new constitution and whose aim is to fight for a non-sexist South Africa. She chose Dr Frane Ginwala and Dr Mamphela Ramphele for Women's Affairs and Health and Human Services respectively. Ginwala is convenor of the National Women's Coalition and head of the ANC's research department. Ramphele is the vice-principal at the University of Cape Town and well-known for her community work.

Women face stiff penalties

Sex selection of babies may be outlawed:

Sowetan Correspondent

BOMBAY, India — Lata is an Indian housewife with three daughters and a growing desire for a son. She is pregnant again and determined to abort if tests show a female foetus. But women like Lata may not be able, legally, to avail themselves of abortions related to sex selection for much longer.

A national law to regulate the misuse of amniocentesis and other tests that can detect the sex of a foetus could be passed in the next three months.

In amniocentesis, a hollow needle is inserted through the abdomen of a pregnant woman to obtain amniotic fluid from her womb. It is usually performed to detect genetic abnormalities. The procedure carries a small risk of miscarriage.

The law's most controversial aspect has been its penalising of women. Women, as well as doctors, who use the test to detect and then abort female foetuses face up to three years in jail, although so far none has been charged. "A woman should not be punished."

"Her choices are determined by family pressures and society."

"No family feels complete unless they have male children," says gynaecologist Geeta Pandya, who offers a controversial sex pre-selection technique.

A 32-year-old woman attending her clinic faces typical family pressure. The woman, who has two daughters, had two abortions after tests showed the foetuses were female.

Ever since it was introduced in parliament in 1990 the draft legislation has been sidelined by other issues — falling governments, political upheavals and religious disputes.

"Every time, something more important comes up," says Chaitika Shah of the Forum Against Sex Determination and Sex Pre-selection, a Bombay-based group that campaigns against the misuse of technologies such as amniocentesis.

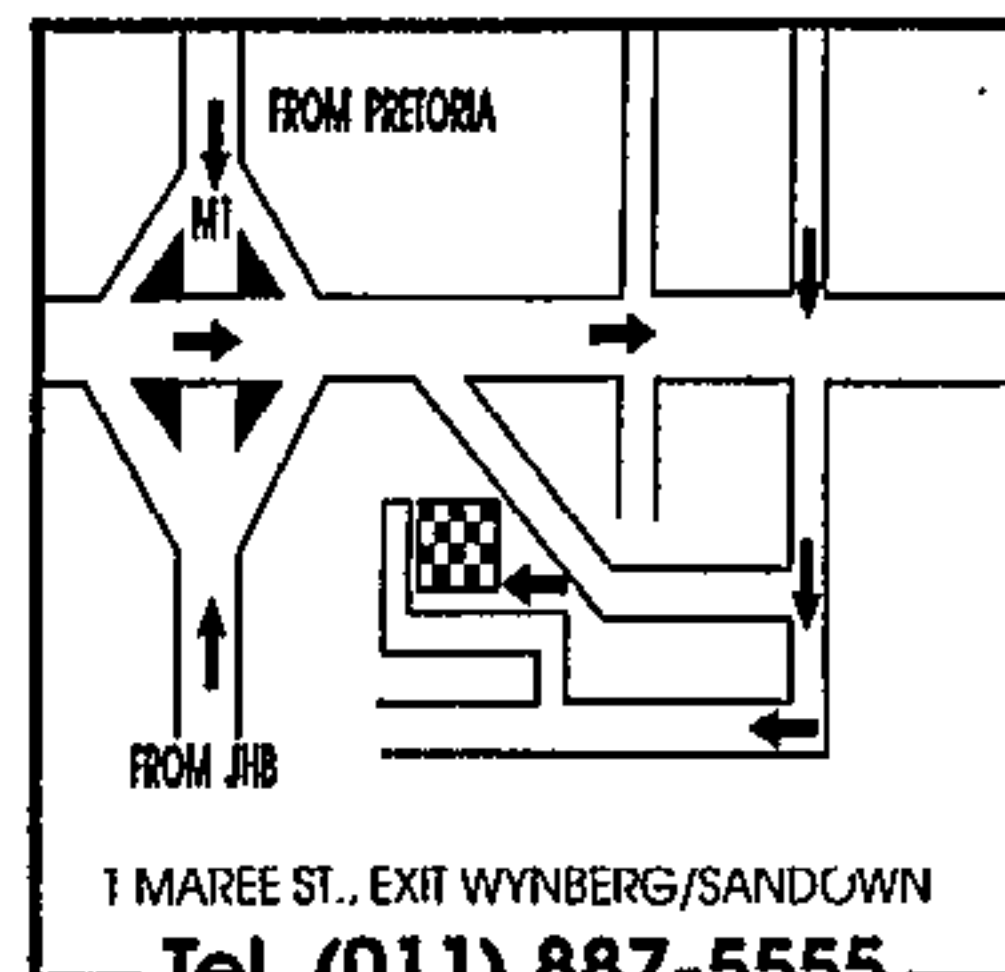


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A SOUTHERN SUN & ACCOR MEMBER

News in brief

Bodies unearthed

POLICE in the Northern Cape have found the bodies of a young woman and her five-month-old baby boy in a shallow grave at Middelputs in the Kuruman district.

Police spokesman Captain SM Slingers said yesterday Griet Olyn (22) and her son Jan were from the farm Springbok in the Middelputs district.

New trade links

TRADE links between South Africa and Nigeria moved a step closer to being formalised with the arrival in Johannesburg yesterday of a high-powered delegation representing Nigerian business and government interests. *Sowetan 14/5/93*

Under the auspices of the recently formed Nigerian-Southern Africa Development Consortium, the delegation proposes to increase economic activity between the oil-rich West African state and Southern Africa with South Africa playing an important role in creating a strong African economy.

Golden handshakes

MEMBERS of the President's Council, which is to be abolished on June 30, will be compensated according to precedents set at the dissolving of the Senate and the provincial councils, President FW de Klerk said yesterday. *Sowetan 14/5/93*

De Klerk said two considerations would also apply. *(30/4/93)*

These were that members were prevented from finishing their terms and being elected for another term. Retirement packages would be paid out on June 30 and would not include the five percent salary increase. *(25/4/93)*

Council to make call

CAPE Town householders will be encouraged to run bed-and-breakfast establishments. *Sowetan*

The Cape Town City Council says residents will benefit financially, tourism will be enhanced and architectural heritage preserved. A pamphlet says more tourists in Europe stay in bed-and-breakfast and self-catering establishments. *14/5/93*

PRESIDENT Bill Clinton's administration in the United States is clearing the way for a huge international programme of investment and development aid to bolster a non-racial government in South Africa.

But it is clear that the package, which could bring in up to R9-billion every year to reconstruct the country's battered economy, would only be set in motion after a transitional government has been created and the African National Congress drops its call for international sanctions.

It is also clear that many components of the reconstruction programme, described as an initiative similar to the international community's effort to build democracy in the former Soviet Union and Eastern Europe, would depend on a reduction in political violence in South Africa.

A senior state department official in Washington said in a telephone interview that Democrats have reached informal agreement with their Republican counterparts in Congress to repeal anti-apartheid laws that bar certain types of trade and financial deals between US institutions and South Africa.

The official said the aid package would only be set in motion after a Transitional Executive Coun-

Billions will flow in if violence stops

WJW will 14/5 - 20/5/93 (280) (304) (306) (308) (310) (312) (314) (316) (318) (320) (322) (324) (326) (328) (330) (332) (334) (336) (338) (340) (342) (344) (346) (348) (350) (352) (354) (356) (358) (360) (362) (364) (366) (368) (370) (372) (374) (376) (378) (380) (382) (384) (386) (388) (390) (392) (394) (396) (398) (400) (402) (404) (406) (408) (410) (412) (414) (416) (418) (420) (422) (424) (426) (428) (430) (432) (434) (436) (438) (440) (442) (444) (446) (448) (450) (452) (454) (456) (458) (460) (462) (464) (466) (468) (470) (472) (474) (476) (478) (480) (482) (484) (486) (488) (490) (492) (494) (496) (498) (500) (502) (504) (506) (508) (510) (512) (514) (516) (518) (520) (522) (524) (526) (528) (530) (532) (534) (536) (538) (540) (542) (544) (546) (548) (550) (552) (554) (556) (558) (560) (562) (564) (566) (568) (570) (572) (574) (576) (578) (580) (582) (584) (586) (588) (590) (592) (594) (596) (598) (600) (602) (604) (606) (608) (610) (612) (614) (616) (618) (620) (622) (624) (626) (628) (630) (632) (634) (636) (638) (640) (642) (644) (646) (648) (650) (652) (654) (656) (658) (660) (662) (664) (666) (668) (670) (672) (674) (676) (678) (680) (682) (684) (686) (688) (690) (692) (694) (696) (698) (700) (702) (704) (706) (708) (710) (712) (714) (716) (718) (720) (722) (724) (726) (728) (730) (732) (734) (736) (738) (740) (742) (744) (746) (748) (750) (752) (754) (756) (758) (760) (762) (764) (766) (768) (770) (772) (774) (776) (778) (780) (782) (784) (786) (788) (790) (792) (794) (796) (798) (800) (802) (804) (806) (808) (810) (812) (814) (816) (818) (820) (822) (824) (826) (828) (830) (832) (834) (836) (838) (840) (842) (844) (846) (848) (850) (852) (854) (856) (858) (860) (862) (864) (866) (868) (870) (872) (874) (876) (878) (880) (882) (884) (886) (888) (890) (892) (894) (896) (898) (900) (902) (904) (906) (908) (910) (912) (914) (916) (918) (920) (922) (924) (926) (928) (930) (932) (934) (936) (938) (940) (942) (944) (946) (948) (950) (952) (954) (956) (958) (960) (962) (964) (966) (968) (970) (972) (974) (976) (978) (980) (982) (984) (986) (988) (990) (992) (994) (996) (998) (1000)

The United States plans to mobilise about R9-billion a year for South Africa once certain conditions are met. By ARTHUR GAVSHON and EDDIE KOCH

cil has been set up. This was confirmed by the US ambassador to South Africa, Princeton Lyman, who told the 702 Breakfast Club last month that his administration was trying to "mobilise support for economic development in the South Africa" and it was possible "to anticipate some \$2- to \$3-billion (About R6- to R9-billion) annually".

Lyman noted that the World Bank was likely to be a major source of multilateral finance, but stressed it could take up to two years for capital to arrive in the country once the Bank had made a decision to grant loans.

"That means that unless the Bank begins now, a newly elected government a year from now will

be faced with as much as two years before being able to utilise this assistance for the pressing needs of the population."

He urged those involved in efforts to create a non-racial government to begin the preparatory work for World Bank assistance immediately.

The ambassador welcomed the ANC's decision to drop all demands for international sanctions once a TEC has been set up rather than after the holding of non-racial elections. "Once this call is made, we will work with states and local governments in the US to repeal these restrictions."

The state department official in Washington said the package would be made up of:

- US allocations will continue in the areas of education, health and other social services.

- The World Bank and International Monetary Fund will galvanise a multi-donor package of development aid and would expect to have a say in how the money is used.

- Some \$5-billion (about R15-billion) could be rescheduled with extended redemption terms and easier interest rates.

- Clinton's officials will encourage the disinvestment movement to be dismantled with US state and civic bodies being urged to switch their funds into development aid instead. This would depend on the violence subsiding.

- The possibility of US pension funds being used to invest in housing, transportation and black business in South Africa was being investigated. This would be a way of easing pressure on America's national deficit.

"These are our intentions," said the state department official. "But neither the US government nor the international community would find it easy to do so if there is to be a serious upsurge of civil violence threatening a Yugoslav-style situation of insurrection."

Sweden 145193
Observers exempted

PRESIDENT ~~IV~~ *of Sweden* has granted immunity and privileges similar to those enjoyed by diplomats to international observers.

According to an announcement published in a *Government Gazette* extraordinary, international observers have been exempted from all forms of taxation and have been granted legal immunity as far as their official duties are concerned.

(304A)



President's Council pension deal fair — FW

TOS WENTZEL
Political Staff

PRESIDENT De Klerk has announced what he describes as fair compensation for members of the soon-to-be-abolished President's Council, but some members are unhappy.

Only those who have been on the council for five years will get pensions and gratuities when the council ceases to exist on June 30.

Mr De Klerk said members would be compensated according to precedents set when the Senate and provincial councils were dissolved.

Those who had five years or more pensionable service qualified for reduced pension and gratuity benefits calculated according to years of service.

December 31 would be taken as the retirement date, notwithstanding that the council would be dissolved six months earlier.

Members who had fewer than five years pensionable service would be given a single amount.

Some Nationalist members have complained that Mr De Klerk promised them a better deal.

A concession has been made in that they qualify for a reduced pension after five years while members of parliament get pensions only after 7½ years.

Council member Clive Derby-Lewis, who has been charged with the murder of Chris Hani, qualifies for a pension and gratuity.

A council source said the exact amounts to be paid out were still being worked out.

Councillors were members of the parliamentary pension fund where they paid full premiums.

Members who did not qualify for pensions would get back their pension contributions along with a premium as a retrenchment deal.

Pensions would be roughly R50 000 a year, about one-third of an MP's annual salary.

Gratuities were likely to be about R154 000.

□ 86 percent of 22 million eligible voters have ID documents

7 000 poll stations planned

TOS WENTZEL
Political Staff **APG 14/5/93**
SOME 7 000 polling stations will be set up throughout the country for next year's general election under a new democratic system.

Meanwhile, the issuing of identity documents is going full tilt and have been issued to about 86 percent of the 22 million eligible voters.

According to the Minister of Home Affairs, Mr Danie Schutte, more than 90 percent will have ID documents by early next year.

He said his department was acquiring the necessary equipment needed for the election.

Some 11 000 polling booths had been delivered and another 5 100 were being manufactured.

About 5 500 new ballot boxes had been delivered and another 4 700 were being manufactured.

So far 14 000 ultra-violet lights had been delivered and another 8 200 were being ordered.

Mr Schutte said it would be virtually impossible to forge the ID document. A special lamination process and laser printing was used.

The department was liaising with the TBVC countries.

Although Mr Schutte would not comment it appears as if little is being done in these areas.

The Director General of Home Affairs, Mr Piet Colyn, dismissed allegations that large numbers of illegal immigrants in the Northern Transvaal had acquired ID documents which would make them eligible to vote.

He said that at most there could be about 10 000 such people.

ID documents issued to foreigners usually stated they were not South African citizens.

Mr Schutte said that, as there would be so many polling booths, a large number of foreign observers, probably more than 1 000, would be needed.

In the government's view the national peace secretariat should be drawn in to monitor the election and to handle the accreditation of all monitors.

Mr Schutte disclosed that Russia had asked for information about the way the referendum was run last year. This was given through diplomatic channels.

Lunch with his wife as Archdeacon ends fast

Staff Reporter

A FORTNIGHT of fasting and prayer in the crypt of St George's Cathedral has ended for the Anglican Archdeacon of Athlone, the Venerable John Freeth.

Weighing about 6 kg less than he did two weeks ago, Archdeacon Freeth said his fasting was prompted by deep concern about the negotiating process which he believed was "the only viable way forward to peace".

During his fast he was constantly in contact with the World Trade Centre in Kempton Park, being kept up to date on talks.

From there he heard of the breakthrough in constitutional talks a week ago when an agreement was reached that an election date would be set within a month.

He said he felt involved personally in that breakthrough.

"During this time I have prayed with my mind, concentrating on newspaper articles reporting specific debates and on different role-players.

"But I have also given myself over to spiritual prayer. It was this kind of prayer which allowed me to empathise on an incredibly deep level with different people, even those with whom my personal politics do not agree."

About seven years ago Archdeacon Freeth fasted in support of the End Conscription Campaign and last year he fasted for two weeks after the Boipatong massacre.



Picture: ROY WIGLEY, The Argus.

BREAKING THE FAST: The Archdeacon of Athlone, the Venerable John Freeth, ends his two-week fast for peace by lunching with his wife Jilly in the Crypt Restaurant at St George's Cathedral.

con Freeth fasted in support of the End Conscription Campaign and last year he fasted for two weeks after the Boipatong massacre.

"I'm lucky because I am physically very fit and I have a tough constitution," he said.

He drank water during his fast and his health was monitored

by his doctor.

He said he was grateful for visits by about 120 people.

He met his wife Jilly for lunch in the Crypt Restaurant yesterday afternoon.

What did he have?

"I'd love some bacon, but it might be a bit much for me so soon after the fast."

Man killed in N1 crash

Staff Reporter

A MAN was killed and three were injured today when their car left the N1 freeway near Kraaifontein.

The injured were taken to hospital after the accident about 4 am near the bridge at Klipheuwel. The accident happened while the car was travelling towards Paarl.

The dead and injured have not been identified.

F-word robbery suspect sought

Crime Staff

PENINSULA Murder and Robbery Squad detectives are searching for alleged F-word bank robber Allan Roger Hiebner after he failed to appear in court yesterday.

A warrant was issued in the Cape Town Magistrate's Court yesterday for the arrest of 45-year-old Mr Hiebner of Kenilworth and his R5 000 bail was

provisionally forfeited to the State.

The warrant took immediate effect and the bail forfeiture order will be made final if Mr Hiebner fails to appear in court on May 28.

Mr Hiebner, who is facing charges of armed robbery, was arrested in March after a report in the weekly Argus series Unsolved Crimes.

Focus on reconstruction

This country has many memorable legends and a considerable store of cultural artifacts we have ignored at our peril.

My attention was brought to this by a black South African, Dr Stanley Letanka, now living in Britain.

A few years before I started the thinking on Nation Building, Dr Letanka, a family friend from the days of the old Sophiatown, said he and other expatriates were exasperated by and weary of the same tired political argument, the same angry rhetoric.

The world, he said, needed something new, something more inspiring and visionary, particularly from strife-torn places like South Africa.

Dr Letanka was a visionary. He said these things a few years before Mikhail Gorbachev introduced his world-shaking reforms in Russia and before Mr FW de Klerk's speech in 1990. He opened, for me, visionary vistas, touched on creative impulses that were lying dormant in me and I dare say many of my folk.

So, in 1988, soon after I became Editor of *Sowetan*, I wrote a paper on an idea that came to be called Nation Building. I painted a canvas that took some South African history into account, that informed itself of some African history and part of the history of the world.

Before I touch on that, let me bring you to the present by drawing a view, a type of legend surrounding the spate of burials we have recently had.

South Africans were given a view that was exclusively black when the SABC showed the Chris Hani and Oliver Tambo funerals. For the first time in many years white South Africa was let into a drama-filled picture of black life — the good, the dignified and the anger.

Chris Hani's death was symbolic in more ways than one. The political aphorism that says the tree of freedom is watered with the blood of martyrs was given what was to me effective and striking demonstration. Many who did not previously think much of Mr Hani came out in total solidarity. Others, including the State President, were shaken by the reaction to the death of this man, who was generally regarded as some red hot terrorist or worse.

It was a cathartic experience for blacks who may have and probably are still having doubts about the suitability of negotiating with the once hated and totally mistrusted enemy.

Oliver Tambo's funeral was not as emotive, perhaps, because he died a natural death but also because he did not strike the radical chord in many young people who saw him as part of the Old Guard.

The 1960s are a significant historical era to start this story. It was then that the late British Prime Minister, Harold Macmillan, delivered

This is a speech delivered by
Aggrey Klaaste, Editor of
Sowetan, at the Liberty Life VIP
convention held at Sun City:

Sowetan 14/5/93.

his "winds of change" speech. The democratic winds of change which he had imagined would blow through South Africa and the continent ran red with blood for many years.

Dr Kwame Nkrumah told black leaders to seek the political kingdom first and everything would fall into place. To his and everybody else's surprise nothing fell into place after Uhuru.

In America Martin Luther King gave his "I have a dream" speech. That dream, for many black Americans, is something of a nightmare.

Finally, in 1960, the ANC and the PAC were banned, a watershed event whose effects are felt today.

These events that, for the benefit of my discourse, must include the way the Afrikaners built their nation, "*Die Volk*", before and after 1948, to contextualise the Nation Building thinking.

South Africa must use the black population as the foundation to one nation. That foundation has been destroyed by apartheid.

Historical events

Nation Building uses these major historical events to inform the route to that eventuality. For if those actors who influenced the history of the past had dwelt more urgently on rebuilding and reshaping the oppressed or colonised people, the democratic winds of change would have started 30 years ago.

Steve Biko and his Black Consciousness apostles had hold of part of these truths. They recognised the damage caused to blacks, the damage to our bodies, to our minds and to our spirits. They spoke of a process of building that they described as conscientisation.

They created a confrontationalist Black Power position which led to Biko's death.

They might not have said it but in the end they probably believed that all South Africans should be involved in repairing apartheid's damage.

Today the same process has different definitions; some call it redistribution of resources, some call it black advancement and others say it is affirmative action. At *Sowetan* we give it a broader socio-political and economic description; we call it Nation Building.



As a newspaper we are able, or have a choice (a difficult one in fact) to stay clear of ideological definitions that narrow or limit the creativity of the idea. The idea itself is common sense. Unless the majority of blacks are turned into useful, productive, healthy and satisfied parts of our society, there will never be peace in South Africa.

We can and must do it together. It will need the commitment and the combined resources of all South Africans. We have done some of the spade work. We have traversed the difficult terrain of matching white financial resources with black manpower. We have traversed and in a special way overcome the age old race problems involving co-optation at the best of times and selling out at the worst.

We have to a large extent succeeded in impressing politicians from the entire spectrum of black politics. We have not been able to impress our ideas on Afrikaners or other white rightwingers. But we will.

We wish to educate all South Africans that blacks in particular need to be developed economically, spiritually and otherwise for our united survival. That will lead to a diminution of political and criminal violence.

Finally, we will tell our Afrikaner fellow South Africans and others who might be fearful of blacks that people who are proud of who they are, who have a grip on the essential ethical ideas like Ubuntu in their armoury, will not necessarily wish to crush the self-determination of others. We will tell them it is perfectly in order for them to have their "*Boerestaat* or *Volkstans*" but to have them rather as a colourful and effective part of the total South African race tapestry; a rainbow coalition of black, Asian, so-called coloured, Afrikaner, English and other races.

The Nation Building ethos finds the social engineering of the apartheid architects as distasteful and unacceptable as that which wishes to force the various South African tribes, black, white and brown, together in a multiracial melting pot.

We have excellent Asian communities that should be an example to the type of diverse ethnic and even exotic, if you like, communities that can make up the South Africa of the future.

Star 14/6/93
**No tax on PC
pay packages**

Members of the President's Council, which is to be abolished on June 30, would be compensated according to precedents set at the dissolution of the senate and provincial councils, President de Klerk said yesterday.

He said the amounts, which he did not specify, would be tax-free. (204A)

The packages would be paid out on June 30 and would not include the five percent salary increase envisaged for political officials from July 1. — Sapa. (204A)

Star 14/5/93
394A

AWB set to join Volksfront

By Norman Chandler
Pretoria Bureau

Reversing its earlier opposition to the Afrikaner Volksfront, the AWB says it will link up with the new organisation after all.

Eugene TerreBlanche, leader of the AWB, told a public meeting in Witbank last night the AB's decision had been made to "mobilise the volk... to resist the Government's capitulation".

It was also announced at the meeting that the Mine-workers' Union and the Iron

and Steel Labour Union were joining the Volksfront.

TerreBlanche told about 2 000 supporters he expected the announcement of the AWB's decision to be a "great shock to both the Government and the African National Congress".

The AWB boycotted the founding meeting of the Volksfront in Pretoria last Friday. The only representative attending was its Wenkommando leader, "Commandant-General" Servaas de Wet.

Sources in Pretoria said today TerreBlanche had been persuaded not to take action against De Wet.

Ten days ago, TerreBlanche said the Volksfront would splinter the right-wing movement.

A right-wing meeting at the Union Buildings, Pretoria, on May 29 will be addressed by TerreBlanche, General Constand Viljoen, the interim chairman of the Volksfront, and Dries Bruwer, president of the Transvaal Agricultural Union.

Talks: Initial reports today

Political Staff

THE initial reports by the seven technical committees set up at the multi-party talks last Friday are to be presented to the Planning Committee today.

The first reports are to be considered by the committee and presented to the Negotiating Council when it meets on Tuesday.

The hectic schedule of meet-

ings agreed to last Friday is aimed at announcing an election date on June 3.

Despite the rapid-fire setting of deadlines there is still doubt whether the promised breakthrough on constitutional issues will be achieved.

Inkatha Freedom Party (IFP) national chairman Dr Frank Mdlalose said on the SABC yesterday that predictions of an imminent breakthrough were ex-

travagant.

Although the IFP would prefer a speedy settlement, several hurdles remained, he said.

The continued violence and the need for agreement on fundamental constitutional principles had yet to be debated. It was also imperative that private paramilitary forces be disbanded.

Dr Mdlalose also warned against raising the expectations of the nation.

'Thousand monitors'

AT least 1 000 international observers would be needed to monitor South Africa's first non-racial elections, the Minister of Home Affairs, Mr Danie Schutte, said yesterday.

The ANC has estimated that at least 30 000 monitors will be needed.

Mr Schutte told a media briefing in Cape Town that at least 1 000 observers would be needed to watch the 70 000 polling stations.

In a special gazette yesterday, Presi-

dent F W de Klerk granted international observers immunity and privileges similar to those accorded to diplomats. CT 14/5/93

Mr Schutte later told Parliament that more than 90% of South Africans entitled to vote were expected to have the required identity documents in time for the election. (304A)

He said that 18 to 22 million people would be entitled to vote and an average of 43 600 identity documents were being issued every week.

FM 14/5/93

304A

BILL OF RIGHTS

Deeply sensible

Not only is the Democratic Party's proposed Bill of Rights (published this week) mercifully brief and devoid of ideological jargon, it is framed in such a way that final interpretation is placed where it belongs — with the Supreme Court.

The document is a liberal beacon that government and the ANC should consider using to light paths through their own tortuously detailed and contentious draft Bills published in recent months (*Current Affairs* February 14).

Chairman of the DP's drafting committee, Tony Leon, says the document is a serious attempt to create a balance between equality and the liberty of individuals.

The drafters deliberately avoided cramming DP policy into their document — a charge that has been made repeatedly against government and the ANC — in the belief that most policy claims (jobs, minimum wages, access to land and so on) are not constitutional rights.

The Bill is rooted firmly in the liberal philosophy of the DP and its predecessors. Among other things, it guarantees equality, freedom from discrimination, the right to life, dignity, privacy and liberty, freedom of speech and religion, the right to buy and sell

movable and immovable property, entitlement to the "essentials of life", the right to administrative justice and information and freedom of learning and education.

"Unjustified" discrimination on the grounds of race, ethnic origin, colour, gender, sexual orientation, age, disability, religion, creed or conscience is not allowed. Differentiation will be considered justified to preserve "personal autonomy" such as the choice of friends or marriage partners and other actions to secure privacy.

It will also be justified, especially in the short term, to undo past inequalities through affirmative programmes, but only for as long as is necessary to assist the beneficiaries.

The drafters note that however unpalatable it might be, the same criteria that brought about the inequality (that is, race in most cases) will have to be used to remedy it. Differentiation could also be justified, for example, to give separate religious education or to segregate lodgings by gender to protect women against sexual harassment.

The Bill outlaws attempts to use the right to privacy or freedom of association to "privatise" apartheid by the creation, for example, of racially exclusive clubs or residential areas.

The same principle could apply to the barring of certain groups, such as Jews or women, from private clubs. However, the drafters accept that the boundaries of priva-

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CURRENT AFFAIRS

cy are constantly shifting and cannot be defined by a Bill of Rights or the Constitution. Therefore, the court entrusted with interpreting the relevant clauses of the Bill would have to define and redefine the boundaries over time "as society's conception of that idea matures and develops."

Perhaps the most controversial aspect of the Bill is the clause providing for "entitlement to the essentials of life". It is the DP's proposal to accommodate the so-called second and third generation rights (such as the right to housing, education, health care and jobs).

The drafters argue that certain basic conditions, such as the means of survival, are necessary for democracy and should be protected by the Constitution. However, the manner in which the entitlements are realised is a matter for the legislature and executive. But such decisions must be justifiable, honest and rational.

Where a decision is not justifiable — for example, failing to supply essential services to a particular community for no good reason — it can be challenged in court, but the court will not be required or permitted to make policy choices. It will simply review the choices made by legislators and officials and effectively force them to justify their decisions. They will be morally obliged to rethink unjustified actions.

The right to administrative justice places a



DP's Leon ... aiming for effective enforcement of rights

similar obligation on government. It entitles people — or classes of people — who are adversely affected by government action to a lawful, reasonable and procedurally fair decision on the action and guarantees that reasons for the action will be given by government. The drafters believe this clause will foster a governmental process that is accountable and participatory and will require public officials to thoughtfully and deliber-

ately consider their decisions.

The Bill also protects the right to life, but takes no stand on capital punishment, preferring to leave parliament to legislate on the issue and the court to determine whether such legislation infringes any entrenched right.

Provision is made for the Bill to be suspended as a consequence of the declaration of a state of emergency and then only under certain conditions.

Leon points out that at least half the Bill deals with enforceability mechanisms, including "novel" provisions to secure information from the State and ease of procedures to allow the poor and inarticulate to approach the courts for relief.

"Fundamental to our Bill is recognition of the fact that without effective means of enforcement, legal rights will become little more than moral claims, readily ignored when the forces of government find it convenient to do so."

The DP's proposals will now be circulated as a discussion document to stimulate further debate and also referred to a panel of experts — not all DP supporters — for further refinement.

There is little doubt that the document provides a number of important possible compromises on key issues contained in government's and the ANC's Bills and is, therefore, worth serious study. ■

Afrikaners break from NP

Staff Reporter

AFRIKANERS were "coming out of the closet" to break from the National Party and the right wing, prominent Afrikaners said yesterday.

Afrikaans musicians, academics, theatre personalities, politicians and lawyers are to meet the ANC's secretary-general, Mr Cyril Ramaphosa, at the ANC's headquarters in Johannesburg today,

and address the media.

They are to do so under the banner of "the hijacking of the image of Afrikaans-speaking South Africans by the government and right-wing organisations".

Afrikaners present will include songwriter Anton Goosen, University of the Witwatersrand material sciences lecturer Dr Johan Prins, Afrikaans and Neder-

lands lecturer and author of the acclaimed novel *As Die Nood Hoog Is* Mr Wilhelm Liebenberg, theatre director Mr Christo Leach, Mr Andries Nel of Lawyers for Human Rights, freelance theatre director and the event's organiser Ms Ansie Kamffer, and ANC spokesman Mr Carl Niehaus. CT 14/5/93

Dr Prins said he saw it as a "rebirth" for Afrikaners.

Radicals and rumps

FM 14/5/93

(304A)



Prof Alf Stadler, head of the department of political studies at Wits University, puts into perspective the sometimes unnerving features of our political transition.

Beyond the confusion and turmoil that SA is experiencing, a pattern is emerging in political positions and debates. It became evident in the stalemate of the Eighties: the intense mobilisation of opposition could hurt the regime but not overthrow it and the regime could contain but not defeat the opposition. The result was February 2 1990.

This outcome deeply influenced the character of political conflict and debate. It determined that the leaders of the NP and the ANC/SACP/Cosatu alliance would negotiate around the premise that there will be a basic continuity in the State system.

Both partners made significant changes in policy and strategy. The government had to effect an internal reform without a reliable electoral base, in the face of an apathetic bureaucracy and hostile elements in the security establishment. ANC leaders had to extricate themselves from making the country ungovernable while avoiding alienating constituencies which remained committed to mass action. It also softened demands for the radical reconstruction of the economy.

The continuities in the State, the attempt to demobilise mass action without alienating its leaders and the formation of a consensus involving the main political actors are not rare in recent transitions. Similar developments took place in Italy after 1944, Kenya during the Sixties and Zimbabwe during the Eighties. All experienced intense mobilisation against the regime, with a broad spectrum of opposition combining in a liberation

struggle involving mass action, industrial strife and peasant rebellion. These culminated in a broad coalition. Conservatives predominated; radicals were minor partners.

The new regimes retained important features of the old: arbitrary powers; continuities in the civil service, judiciary and security apparatus; and controls over political activity. Radicals were extruded from the alliance, marginalised and sometimes criminalised. Virtual one-party states were established in Zimbabwe and Kenya, and a stable conservative coalition in Italy.

This pattern suggests that there will be three main elements in our political life: a centrist coalition, a radical opposition and the rump of the old regime.

The main force will be a centrist coalition dominated by those leaders occupying the key positions in the NP and the ANC/SACP/Cosatu alliance, who are committed to the notion of national unity, maintenance of law and order, and economic growth combined with a degree of land redistribution, some of it symbolic.

Among them, they could initially command the support of upwards of 80% of the electorate. They will supply the main elements of the leadership, policies and ideas of the next decade. The ANC will constitute the most important element in this coalition; it will of course itself be a coalition of diverse interests in African society — businessmen and professionals, unionists, civics and traditional leaders. The Nationalists could disappear as a distinct group but the space they occupy will probably attract support from conservative coloureds and Indians as well as most of the whites.

The radicals will seek support from groups opposed to or apathetic towards the compromises demanded of the participants in the centrist coalition. Without a clear political identity or leadership distributed among all the main African movements, these radicals

sense that a new political constitution will expose a huge constituency which will not benefit from changes in the State's policies or the complexion of its policy-makers. They will be susceptible to demands for more radical measures. How the centrists will deal with the challenge from the radicals will partly depend on the way the radicals play their hand.

There are several options: co-option, inoculation and repression. Co-option involves bringing opponents into government. It is a strategy that usually fails as political divergences become difficult to paper over. Inoculation involves taking over some of the opposition's policies or strategies, enough to render them impotent but insufficient to produce significant changes. (Land redistribution policies are important strategies aimed at disarming radicals.)

Changes will come slowly for the unemployed, the uneducated and the people in the countryside.

Radicals might be tempted to try to force the pace through an effort to seize power or disrupt government, thus inviting repression.

One element of the rump of the old regime, the white far Right, could be propelled by dreams of a restoration into armed uprising or terror.

The other part of the rump, comprising elements in the homelands which will be unable to gain sufficient support to win a place in the national political arena, might also wage campaigns of violence against opponents.

There is a real possibility that repression will be used against either or both of the groups — the radicals and the rumps — that will occupy the peripheries of the political society.

They will offer a new regime that takes decisive action against them the opportunity to win a great deal of political support.

FM 14/5/93

TRANSITION

304A

The centre can hold

The political breakthrough for which both government and the African National Congress tell us we are poised is wonderful news, coming after much mayhem, indiscriminate slaughter and pervasive fear.

Division rather than unity is the more usual outcome of such morbid situations. Indeed, with the farmers massing in Potchefstroom and black schoolchildren turning on their teachers and almost everyone besides, there is certainly evidence of growing social strain in our broader society.

Why, therefore, should we take seriously the "something wonderful" that President F W de Klerk says is emerging from the constitutional talks? The answer is that, for some time now, despite the frequent setbacks and the obvious obstruction from reactionary and radical fringes, the leadership of the National Party and the ANC have been enlarging their common ground.

Both sides know that whether they gain power or not in an election based on universal franchise, both would be irrelevant if anarchy should consume the country.

Both know that the prospects for peace and democracy are critically dependent on the performance of an economy that experienced a decade of declining growth in the Eighties and has shrunk during the first three years of the Nineties, with new fixed investment now so low that we are consuming our future means of sustenance.

Both know that black education has to be improved if what Lord Macaulay called the race between education and democracy to produce responsible citizenry is to be won.

Both feel the constraints of a common impotence — the government, because it cannot move towards either democracy or economic revival without the explicit support of the ANC, and the ANC, because it does not have the legitimacy of responsibility in government.

Both lack the moral rigour and political cohesion of their former ideologies: socialism for the ANC and apartheid for the Nats. They are both ideologies that have been exposed as socially and economically bankrupt.

The ANC has watered down its collectivism to demands for anti-trust laws and a policy of affirmative action. Both have had such dubious utility in the US that they are unlikely to be vigorously pursued.

The Nats are embracing capitalism with all the rigour of recent converts — but implementing the reforms necessary for its achievement with what might be considered circumspection by some and cunning subversion by others.

In addition, the ANC has a leadership that is lacking in vigour and is fearful of losing support in a demographic situation that does not necessarily favour its often assumed dominance.

Should most Indians and coloureds,

some Zulus and nearly all whites vote for the Nats — and with a significant proportion of young ANC supporters below voting age — the ANC will have a tough election fight on its hands.

For their part, the Nats are understandably reluctant to use their former instruments of oppression to enforce social order, in case such action should fan an already inflammatory social fabric and erode their reform credibility.

The elites on both sides have something else in common — a shared inclination for individual power and prosperity.

Almost all fundamental dissent between the two has either disappeared or is disappearing. Common cause is greater across the narrowing leadership gap — though ostensibly it is widening at grassroots level.

The prospects are robust for rapid agreement. With them goes a tacit understanding that speed is important if they are to become tangible.

The outcome will most likely be a government of national unity, embracing ruling elites who are more class-conscious than race-conscious and who increasingly seek to make common cause with business rather than the trades unions.

The attitude of the ANC to the first Derek Keys Budget made that very clear: what criticism there was came from the unions, not from the mandarins in Shell House, who claimed they would have conceived something similar.

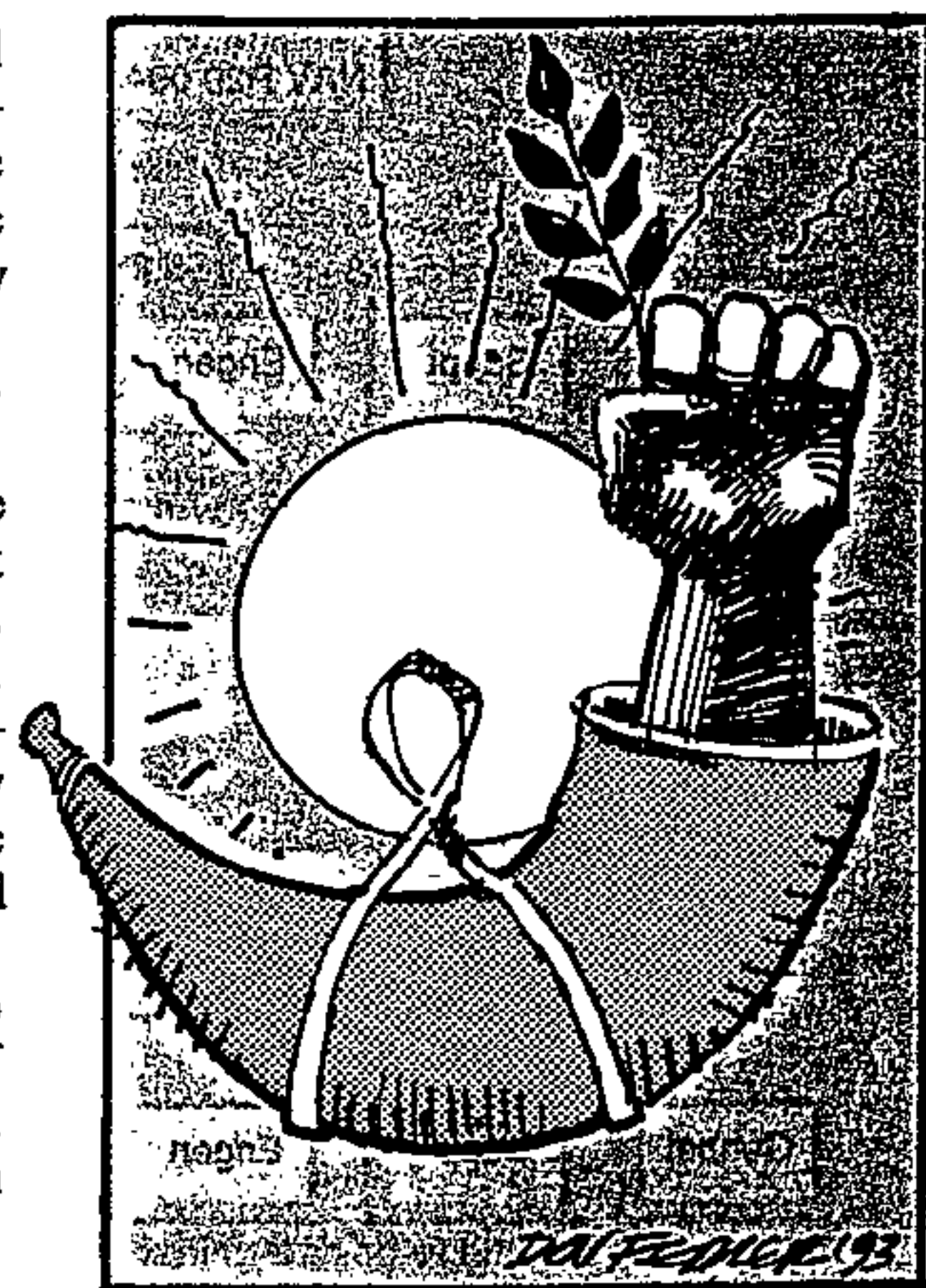
Once the elites are united in government, sharing in the responsibilities inherent in that role, many of the demands for education, housing, electrification and other social facilities will assume a new — and less daunting — proportion. For current aspirations extend far beyond the deprivations caused by apartheid and are as much the consequence of industrialisation and urbanisation as they are of that unfortunate social experiment.

Where social policy falls short of calming rebellious youth, the governing elites will draw on their legitimacy by election to justify whatever authoritarian measures might be required.

Increasingly, the dissenting groups and ideologues, the radical or conservative minorities will be stigmatised as disruptive of good order.

The great potential for their marginalisation seems to have penetrated with precision to neighbouring and client capitals, especially Ulundi.

There is nothing novel in this interpretation. In similar circumstances, the outcome of independence in countries like Kenya and Malaya was much the same. What is required of a new administration if order is to triumph over anarchy is the capacity to recognise the public interest in the broadest sense and the determination to pursue it with vigour, honesty and good government. ■



NEGOTIATIONS FM 14/5/93.

Consensus breaks out

After a month of stress and tension triggered by the Hani assassination, last Friday's meeting of the 26-party negotiating council ended on a note of high optimism, pulling SA back from the jaws of disaster and leaving it staring at a settlement instead.

Little wonder that President F W de Klerk has since been sounding so upbeat about the future. "Something wonderful is happening in the country," De Klerk said, referring to an imminent breakthrough in the talks, when he addressed delegates at an international science and technology conference this week.

The political centre appears to be firming — not least because of threats from the extreme Left and Right to trash negotiations and bring on a race war. The danger in April's events seems to have had a chastening effect on all the players, hardening their resolve to find each other across the negotiating table.

"This has been one of the most constructive meetings ever at the World Trade Centre," chimed the leader of the NP delegation, Public Enterprises Minister Dawie de Villiers, after the May 7 indaba. "I noticed an urgency to get on with it. The whole spirit was good." It was indeed, and seemed to have rekindled the bonhomie that marked the early days of Codesa.

Even the Inkatha and KwaZulu government teams, in contrast to the previous week, seemed far more relaxed and in tune with the flow towards consensus. The way now seems clear, after weeks of procedural wrangling, to resolving substantive constitutional issues, based on draft formulations by technical subcommittees, the first of whose reports are expected at today's meeting of the planning committee.

De Villiers's sentiments were echoed by government's chief negotiator, Roelf Meyer, who said the agreements had vindicated his optimism in the negotiations process, the PAC's Benny Alexander (who has taken so well to the process after his time spent dissembling over the activities of Apla), and the ANC's Cyril Ramaphosa.

Said Ramaphosa: "We see the resolutions on the formation of technical subcommittees and the setting of an election date within the next four weeks (for elections to be held not later than April), as a clear victory for the negotiation process, whose stature is raised. It will inspire confidence among our people." For, aside from the national interest, progress — specifically towards one man, one vote elections — is vital to the ANC's leaders. They need to contain the mass action hotheads in the organisation who argue that three years of negotiation have not advanced the cause.

Ramaphosa said the resolutions adopted

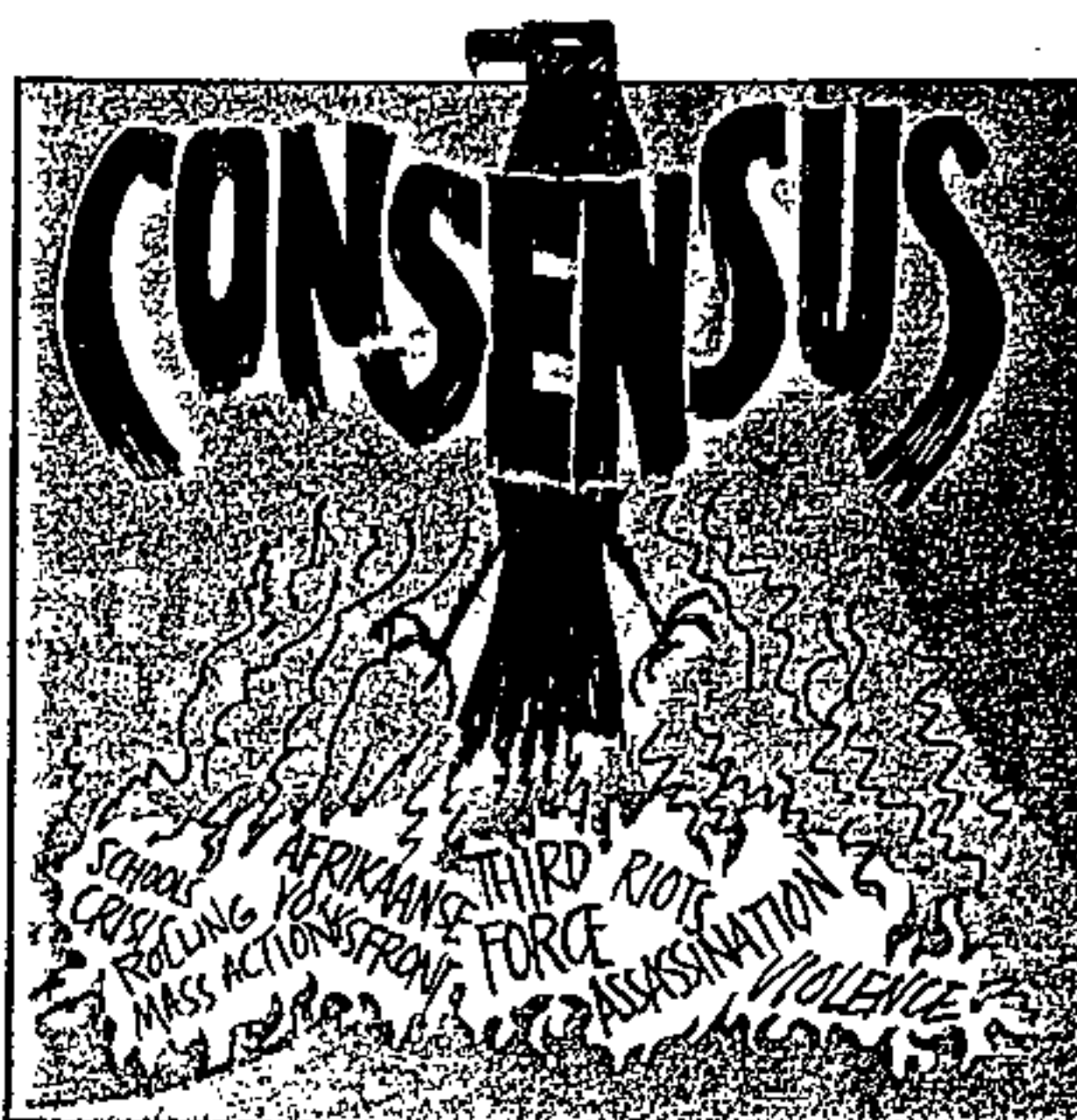
would ensure speedy progress. Describing the decision to set an election date within a month as a "gigantic step," he said announcement of the actual date would "shoot like a star across the SA sky ... We've now come to grips with the real negotiating process and are proceeding with urgency."

Regionalism, too

Another important development was unanimous agreement to a late suggestion by Bophuthatswana negotiator Rowan Cronje for the planning committee to consider appointing another technical committee to look into the boundaries, functions and powers of regions. This, said De Villiers, was something the NP had urged in bilateral talks. "Unless there is agreement on this issue, progress won't be forthcoming. This is therefore a very constructive decision," he explained, adding that the day's events augured well for the future.

Ramaphosa, asked if the gap could be bridged with the CP on regionalism, said that "negotiations are about trying to find one another and reaching compromises." He looked forward to negotiating with the CP on the regional question.

Meyer, who singled out the agreements on setting up technical committees charged with constitutional matters and on the question of violence, said important outstanding



issues concerned: how a transitional constitution would function; the decision-making procedure and functions of a transitional executive council; regionalism; and power-sharing. It was not possible to expect final detailed agreement on a constitution, but, rather, on principles and the ways of taking the process forward. The decision on setting an election date had shown that consensus could be developed within a few meetings, across a spectrum ranging from the CP to

the PAC.

The CP's Tom Langley and Ciskei's Mick Webb, however, reserved their positions on the declaration of intent that includes setting an election date.

The Afrikaner Volksunie supported the declaration on condition that: a decision was reached accommodating "the Afrikaners' reasonable demand for self-determination and a strong regional dispensation"; violence was curbed and intimidation ended before an election is held; and private armies were disbanded.

Asked why consensus had broken out, Meyer said all 26 parties had indicated their commitment to the process. "The feeling I got was of urgency to make progress and overcome the difficulties of this period."

Of concern to the press after the meeting was the question of the rightwing mobilising under retired generals, following their Potchefstroom *saamtrek* the previous day at which the Afrikaner Volksfront was launched under a bewildered-looking former SADF chief, Constand Viljoen.

The closer we moved to a settlement, said Meyer, the more we can expect this kind of thing — which is aimed at preventing one coming into being. It was a danger from Left and Right extremes and partly reflected uncertainty as to the next step. The best way to cope with it was to ensure clarity in the process. Ultimately, it was only through a negotiated political settlement that a solution would be brought about, said Meyer, adding that the extremists had to be brought in to the process.

The CP and AVU, as representatives of the right wing, were part of the process and both had indicated in parliament that they wanted bilateral talks with government. The AVU was meeting De Klerk on Tuesday and the CP's Ferdie Hartzenberg had agreed in principle to a similar meeting. As to groups such as the AWB, "the security forces are always in a state of preparedness." AWB leader Eugene Terre'Blanche had last week met Law & Order Minister Hernus Kriel — suggesting that matters were under control.

Don't incite

De Villiers emphasised the need for all political leaders to reduce inflammatory statements and create a climate conducive to tolerance.

SA Communist Party chairman Joe Slovo — who, it emerged this week, might be on an assassination hit list — said the ANC alliance supports a government of national unity "precisely as a way of clipping the wings of such (rightwing) forces. We must be careful not to play into the hands of the Right by demagoguery. They will be only too ready to

CURRENT AFFAIRS

FM 14/5/93.

exploit the odd diversion of people caught up in the heat of emotion rather than talking sense." This seemed to be a reference to the war talk of people like ANC Youth League leader Peter Mokaba. (H) (304A)

What about the ANC's rolling mass action plans, in view of the progress at the talks? The campaign had been announced after Hani's death to inject urgency into the process, Ramaphosa explained. However, "we also said we would keep the matter under review." Such a review will presumably be part of the three-day *lekotla* of the ANC's national working committee, which got under way on Tuesday somewhere in the Cape. It was to be presided over by Nelson Mandela, who returned on Tuesday from his trip to London and Bonn.

The ANC leadership has deep misgivings about launching into another round of mass action — and succeeded in judiciously containing and "channelling it constructively" in the wake of Hani's death.

There was also cause for optimism in Ramaphosa's response to questions about the education crisis. "While we support the students' struggle, the ANC has always said that classes and schooling should not be disrupted.

"They have sent a clear message to government and the Cabinet's announcement (on setting up an education forum) is a clear result of the protests." ■



HELPLESS: Doreen Sakayi helps her ailing father, Martin Qwanyasha, to get dressed

Photo: Yunus Mohamed

NP in 'money tricks' in Atlantis

South 15/5 - 19/5/93

By Christelle Terreblanche

After Mrs Marike de Klerk's expensive "state" visit to Atlantis, it now seems as though the taxpayer could be footing the bill for the National Party's (NP) membership drive in this constituency.

Picture this: Outside a government building in Atlantis dozens of desperate unemployed people line up for emergency aid from the Department of Welfare in the House of Representative's (HoR) aid scheme — often their only income.

The department has good news for them — a letter is distributed to inform them that government aid has been increased to more than R200 a month per adult and more than R60 for a child.

The catch? This is printed beneath an NP letterhead showing the party's new colours and sun

logo.

And it is signed by the NP's MP for Mamre, Mr Abe Williams, also the Minister of Sport and of Welfare.

The money, the Department of Welfare in the HoR says, has been allocated from the department's budget.

The Democratic Party is incensed. Mr Jeff Leonard, the party's chairperson in Atlantis, wrote to state president FW de Klerk this week, asking him to repudiate Williams in public.

"I would like to convey in the strongest possible terms the DP Atlantis branch's dissatisfaction and disappointment with this extremely disgraceful behaviour of the NP, using taxpayers' money as though it belongs to your party," Leonard wrote.

Williams could not be reached for comment.

15/5/93

SA set to spread diplomatic wings

(304A)

FOREIGN STAFF

SOUTH Africa's acceptance back into the mainstream of international affairs is leading to a rapid expansion of diplomatic missions abroad.

A total of 26 new missions are planned in the near future. Most of the new missions will be in the Middle East, Africa, India and Pakistan.

Rusty Evans, Director-General of the Department of Foreign Affairs, said recently that SA was on the threshold of a new era in international relations. He said the department's priority in terms of communication strategy should lie with Africa, and southern African in particular.

At present, SA is represented in 79 countries, either by embassies, consulates, honorary consulates, trade missions, representative offices and a cultural office. From the middle of the year, foreign relations policy is expected to be decided by a multiparty sub-council under the authority of a transitional executive council.

Council grants repri

Rates

mine toll increases

SECUNDA. — The bodies of 49 miners have been lifted to the surface following the worst mining disaster to hit the country in six years and the second major disaster to hit Middelbult Colliery, where 33 miners lost their lives in 1985.

Specially-trained teams are working against the clock in a search for four miners still missing following the methane gas blast which rocked the Middelbult Colliery near Secunda on Thursday afternoon, but ho

Interim reports keep talks on track

JOHANNESBURG. — Multi-pointed last week and then party negotiations are still on track for all-race elections to be held within a year, senior negotiators said yesterday after receiving interim reports from seven technical sub-committees.

"Considering the technical sub-committees were only ap-

The reports, which are in- tended to facilitate negotia- tions in the 26-party negotiat- ing council, will be debated by the council on Tuesday.

This will mark the start of the chairman of yesterday's the "substantive" process of negotiations", Mr Eglin said.

"All the rest has been pro- cedural. We now move out of

The forum is a bigger ver- sion of the negotiating coun- cil and its job is to debate council recommendations.

Recommendations adopted

are binding on participants.

"We are now beginning to lay the blocks in terms of building this house (new South Africa)," ANC secre- tary-general Mr Cyril Rama- phosa said after the planning committee meeting. "I am very optimistic, even at this stage." — Sapa

Multi-party talks still on track for elections in a year

Dr.

(30/11)

ARC 15/5/93

KEMPTON PARK. — Multi-party negotiations are still on track for all-race elections to be held within a year, senior negotiators said after receiving interim reports from seven technical sub-committees.

"Considering the technical sub-committees were only appointed last week and then briefed on Monday afternoon, it is our view they've done a remarkable job to produce interim reports," said Mr Colin Eglin of the Democratic Party and the chairman of yesterday's planning committee

meeting at the World Trade Centre.

The reports, which are intended to facilitate negotiations in the 26-party negotiating council, will be debated by the council on Tuesday.

This will mark the start of the "substantive process of negotiations", Mr Eglin said.

"All the rest has been procedural. We now move out of procedure into substance."

"We are now beginning to lay the blocks in terms of building this house (new South Africa)," ANC secretary-general Mr Cyril Ramaphosa said after the

planning committee meeting. "I am very optimistic, even at this stage."

Constitutional Development Minister Roelf Meyer said that if the negotiating council focused on three key areas — binding constitutional principles, constitutional process and the constitutional framework in the next few weeks — "I really think breakthroughs are possible".

Mr Meyer said the issue of violence in all its facets would also have to be dealt with "satisfactorily". — Sapa.

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How accurate are election polls?

POLLSTERS have become the unsung saviors of our age — announcing the discovery among voters of hidden anxieties, alarming trends, fear, loathing and (too often) sheer unmovable apathy.

But in a world where experts still can't predict the weather three days in a row, just how reliable are opinion polls? And in a country dizzy with rumours, do we need them?

Today, polls have become the weapon of choice for political parties — for if promises are made to be broken, opinions are made to be changed. And polls straddle that process by crunching the numbers, measuring the opinions, and making “scientific” deductions that enable politicians to set about consolidating or changing voters’ opinions.

Questions are designed and asked in sequences aimed at gaining the trust of respondents. The sample — the 1 000 or so people interviewed — is assembled with statistical

methods to ensure it is representative.

Interviewers are selected, trained and deployed in ways least likely to alienate respondents. In some townships, official permission is sought from civics. Pilot surveys are done to detect pitfalls beforehand. Control surveys are done afterwards to double-check data. And so on.

Black communities are often blitzed. Interviewers try to drop in, fill their quota of interviews and leave before word gets around.

The surprising thing about polls is they seldom go wrong because too few people are interviewed. A sample of a few thousand people can accurately reflect the opinion of a hundred million or more people. Yet you can interview half the country’s population and still end up with a disastrously wrong poll.

The secret to accuracy is what the bean counters call representativeness, which is determined by two major factors: Randomness and distribution width.

● Randomness means simply that each person in the target community must have an equal chance of being interviewed; the interviewees (the sample group) must be chosen absolutely at random.

● Distribution width means the sample group must reflect in correct proportion the various subgroups in that community. (If women aged 18 to 21 years constitute one-third of people in the area being polled, they should make up one-third of the sample group and so on.)

Any poll has a built-in mystery section: Respondents who refuse to answer, or opt for the “don’t know”, or “uncertain”, categories. The bottom line — as most pollsters announce — is that polls come festooned with footnotes.

What they can do is determine trends, trace the ebb and flow of political sensibilities.

“Within certain parameters you can make certain deductions,” says Louise Stack of the Centre for Policy Studies.

Given the novelty and unevenness of opinion polling in South Africa — not to mention the complex realities pollsters try to convert into data — one expects controversy. Still, as the Human Sciences Research Council’s Mr De Wet Schutte reminds us, polls are at the moment the “only indication of where political support lies”.

As we waddle towards our first non-racial democratic vote, politicians will be scrutinising poll results — much as their forerunners inspected the lie of the bones or the entrails of small animals for clues about their futures.

Already, polls have undermined the standing of Chief Buthezi and his Inkatha Freedom Party. They have hushed the National Party’s blusterings about winning the vote. They might also have smoothed the African National Congress’s election strategy with realism. What that yields, come election day, we will see.

For now, though, South Africans

at least have a glimpse, smudgy as it may be, of compatriots’ political sensibilities. It certainly won’t bring us closer together, but it might give fair warning of some surprises ahead. — **WORK IN PROGRESS**

22 Voter education

Waiting for a new and fair Electoral Act

South 15/5 - 19/5/93

THERE are still a number of outstanding matters to be resolved in negotiations before elections can actually be held.

One is the drafting of a new Electoral Act. This will involve the creation of a suitable structure to do so, and the nominations of individuals to perform the task.

After examining the present Electoral Act last week, we have an idea of the areas a new one will have to cover. (BOLA)

Reports indicate the new electoral act will be drafted by the Independent Electoral Commission, which still has to be created.

People nominated to this structure will have to represent as broad a spectrum of opinion as possible, so all views are considered in the process.

It has also been suggested such a structure should run the entire election process. However, none of these issues have been formally agreed to yet.

Elections in South Africa have been supervised by the Home Affairs Department. Since Home Affairs is controlled by the government, many people believe it should not preside over elections.

Some of the concrete agreements acknowledged in the media are:

- The electoral system will be based on proportional representation;

- There will be "universal franchise" — all citizens over 18 may vote.

It has also been recognised that in order for elections to be free and fair there will have to be impartial control of the media.

The SABC in particular, since it is state television and the only television service the country has, will have to fall under impartial control.

The fact that proportional representation will be the system used means the emphasis will be on political parties rather than candidates. Parties will draw up lists of candidates and voters will not get to pinpoint a specific person. When they vote for the party, they automatically



SPEAKING OUT FOR THE RIGHT TO SPEAK OUT: These people marched to the SABC in Auckland Park to hand over a petition listing their demands for a democratic broadcasting system

Photo: Elmond Jiyane, Dynamic Images

ly vote for the candidates on the list.

Candidates are then allocated seats in the order they appear on the list. So if a party has a list of 60 names, and wins 40 seats, the first 40 names, in the order they appear on the list, gain seats.

Whether there will be both national and regional lists is not clear. Neither is it clear how national and regional lists would work simultaneously for one election.

We also do not know what system of identification will be required at the polls.

Another question that arises is that of geographical demarcation.

The present Electoral Act applied in "South Africa the former South West Africa, and the 'self-governing territories'". In addition, it applied exclusively to whites.

So, what decisions are going to be made in connection with the TBVC states — the "independent" homelands?

The provisions of the present Electoral Act bar some from voting or registering as voters either indefinitely, or for a set period, for conviction of certain criminal offences.

A major redefinition of treason will have to be written, because this is one of the crimes which resulted

in people being barred from elections under the present Act.

The new Act will also have to clearly specify what constitutes unfair electoral practices.

This will involve regulations governing the amount of money parties may spend on election campaigns, and legal and illegal funders.

The new Act will have to stipulate how parties must register themselves, because there are a number of ways of registering.

Another important issue will involve access to people on private property. How do parties gain access to black farmworkers living

on a farm owned by a white farmer, for example?

It is obvious that apart from redefining the framework of the present Electoral Act, many new issues will have to be considered which might affect the freedom of the election process before election day.

The fact that the country is still demarcated largely along group areas lines, the existence of independent bantustans with their own laws and the fact that large numbers of black voters live on privately owned property makes one wary of an election process that does not take these problems into account.

Picture:
TERRY SHEAN

VIVA VERWOERD! VIVA!



SOLIDARITY ... Wilhelm Verwoerd acknowledges chants of support after he declared apartheid 'a failure and an injustice' at an ANC meeting in Parow

SI Times 15/6/93
Wilhelm breaks apartheid mould

By NORMAN WEST
Political Reporter

IF the old ideologue and apartheid patriarch, Dr Hendrik Frensch Verwoerd, had heard his grandson, Wilhelm, on Thursday night proclaiming the virtues of the ANC and denouncing the NP, the oubaas would surely have turned in his grave.

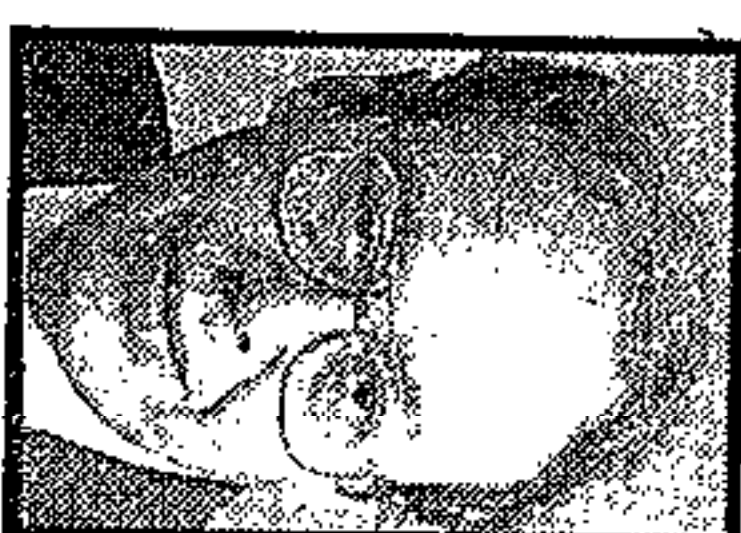
At Parow Wilhelm came to bury the past and declare his grandfather's apartheid policy a failure and an injustice.

And, some would say almost "miraculously," the victims of apartheid accept-

ed his confession of the sins perpetrated by his forefathers. They were prepared to forgive unconditionally, and there could have been no greater symbol of that forgiveness than the rendition of the ANC's national anthem, *Nkosi Sikelel' iAfrika*, in Afrikaans as a tribute to Wilhelm and the new brotherhood the ANC is seeking with Afrikaners.

The Afrikaans version had its own irony — it was translated, among others, by Professor Dirkie de Villiers, son of IL de Villiers, the composer of *Die Stem*, which is traditionally regarded as the national anthem of white South Africa.

New shock for the Broederbond



□ Van Wyk

FRANS ESTERHUYSE

Weekend Argus
Political Correspondent

■ The mounting crisis in the Afrikaner Broederbond has come to a head as yet another top Broeder quits the secret society.

IN another major blow to the Afrikaner Broederbond, the rector-designate of the University of Stellenbosch, Professor Andreas van Wyk, has resigned.

Professor Van Wyk's resignation came at a time when prominent candidates for the new SABC board were being grilled about Broederbond links at this week's public hearings at the World Trade Centre.

This unprecedented pressure on members or former members of the secret society is seen by observers as "the writing on the wall" for the Broederbond. The public grilling of

Broeders in crisis

■ From page 1
bond will be compelled to abandon its secrecy by the end of the year — something that will virtually mean the end of the organisation.

The question arose as to what the effect of Professor Van Wyk's resignation would be on many other people at Stellenbosch University who occupied senior positions.

"No matter how painful it might be for many people who are still members of the Broe-

12/15/1973

30419

in the wake of Weekend Argus reports last week about a wave of recent high-level resignations that plunged the secret society into a survival crisis.

The resignations — including rectors, professors and top management officials at several Afrikaans universities in the Transvaal and Free State — resulted in new pressures at Stellenbosch on Professor Van Wyk to quit.

He confirmed yesterday that he had resigned from the Broederbond.

In a brief statement issued through a spokesman in his office, Professor Van Wyk said: "I confirm that I have already, some time ago, begun to reduce my outside connections and that I am at present not a member of any secret or confidential organisation. I have no further comment."

Campus sources said all indications were that Professor Van Wyk resigned on Monday. They noted that he, like other top Broeders who resigned recently, apparently was reluctant to say exactly when he quit. This may be part of a strategy to conceal the extent of the Broederbond's mounting crisis.

indicate the pattern of things to come in a new South Africa.

National Party MP for Newton Park, Mr Sakkie Louw — an outspoken critic of the Broederbond — said: "The time has come for the Broederbond to disband. For too long it has been a source of division among Afrikaners.

"The fact that so many prominent people now suddenly resign from the Broederbond proves that the organisation has become totally irrelevant in the new South Africa."

Mr Louw also has been quoted as saying that when people of Professor Van Wyk's stature resigned from the organisation, the writing was on the wall.

Professor Sampie Terreblanche, professor of economics at the University of Stellenbosch and a former Broeder, said: "The resignation of Professor Van Wyk is welcomed, but it is a pity it did not happen a year earlier.

"I suspect that with the Van Wyk resignation the Broeder-

■ To page 3

lised that in the new South Africa there simply will not be room for such an organisation.

"It is time that senior politicians, and virtually the whole Cabinet, also should realise this," said Professor Terreblanche.

A row about Professor Van Wyk's Broederbond membership erupted last year after his appointment as the new rector and vice-chancellor of Stellenbosch University with effect from July 1 this year.

In July last year, 77 academics from 23 university departments called on him in a petition to quit the Broederbond.

In October, Stellenbosch students also circulated a petition calling on him to resign from the Broederbond.

The calls were backed by the campus newspaper, Die Matie.

While the controversy raged openly, hardly any public response came from Professor Van Wyk. Until this week's disclosure, the general impression was that he doggedly refused to quit the secret society.

Further confirmation of the Broederbond's crisis came yesterday in the form of a *Nasionale Pers* report quoting top Broederbond sources.

The report said the organisation "most probably" would cease to exist in its present form before the end of this year.

Nat MP speaks out against teacher cuts

By Lorelle Bell

South 15/5 - 19/5/93

A National Party MP has signed a memorandum criticising the government's rationalisation programme for teachers in the Department of Education and Culture in the House of Representatives.

(30/4/93)
Mr Lester Sampson, NP MP for Diaz, added his signature to a memorandum issued by the George Regional Education Board.

The memorandum said rationalisation will affect the education of children, increase teachers' workload, create tension between teachers and departmental officials and add to unemployment.

It suggests that if any group is called upon to make sacrifices and face rationalisation, it should be white teachers.

"It is publicly known that I am against the rationalisation," said Sampson, referring to his support for the memorandum.

Sampson is one of a group of NP MPs in the House of Representatives objecting to rationalisation.

(22/5/93)
"We are busy negotiating with the government to try to work something out.

"It's our children's future and we want calm in the communities," he said.

Afrikaner homeland still a hurdle

CHRIS WHITFIELD
Political Correspondent

CAPE TOWN — A negotiations crunch over self-determination for Afrikaners in their own territory is still looming in spite of support by the Government for the principle.

The two major players in the process — the Government and the ANC — have their own ideas about self-determination, and both will provide cold comfort for volkstaters.

Constitutional Development Minister Roelf Meyer said this week that the Government was "convinced that a feasible form of self-determination for all, including Afrikaners, could very well be accommodated within its own constitutional plans".

This was a reference to the "checks and balances" to protect minorities that the NP wants built in to a new constitution, and by no means stretches to a volkstaat.

He went on to announce that the Government and National Party "have no objection in principle against the Afrikaner Volksunie's (AVU) ideal of Afri-

ANC to hold talks with Right

The ANC has decided on immediate steps to enter into talks with the Committee of Generals and the right-wing Afrikaner Volksfront (AVF) to seek a peaceful solution to the country's problems.

This emerged yesterday when the ANC issued a statement after holding three days of talks at an undisclosed venue on the current state of play in South Africa.

The decision of the Afrikaner Weerstandsbeweging

and the Mine Workers Union to join the AVF was indicative of the growing momentum of the white ultra Right, the ANC said, adding that "bellicose racism" offered no real solutions to the problems of such people. "The ANC remains convinced that a peaceful solution, in the interests of all South Africans, can be found through negotiations," it said in announcing the move to engage the new front in talks.

— Sapa.

kaner self-determination as part of a federal dispensation in which no form of race discrimination is allowed and citizen rights are extended to all inhabitants".

In effect, Meyer — speaking after heading a Government delegation's meeting with the AVU on Tuesday — was agreeing that the issue should be aired at negotiations and that the Government would support such discussion.

The ANC's Carl Niehaus also agreed that self-determination should be on the agenda at talks, but the AVU and others in favour of self-determination would have to accept the "rules of democracy" in negotiations.

Conservative Party negotiator Dr Pieter Mulder contended that Meyer's "in principle" agreement was anything but an "historic breakthrough", as AVU leader Dr Andries Beyers had felt moved to comment.

He pointed out that the Government had already placed self-determination on the talks agenda before Codesa broke down in May last year and it was now being addressed by a negotiations technical committee.

However, Beyers did point to a positive spin-off when he said the Government's stance "makes it worthwhile to proceed with our participation in negotiations".

Some observers believe the lifting of hopes in right-wing circles by Meyer's statement may also have been a shrewd move to boost the moderate AVU over the increasingly militant CP.

They point out that the AVU's profile has been sharply raised in recent weeks by its role in the Afrikaner Volksfront and, in particular, its association with former SADF chief General Constand Viljoen.

They also say the AVU's softer approach towards attaining an Afrikaner homeland may find a more sympathetic hearing from the ANC in a meeting being arranged at present.

Groundwork laid for nitty-gritty negotiations

Star 15/5/93

ESTHER WAUGH
Political Correspondent

THE foundation has been laid for the first substantive negotiations to take place on Tuesday. (304A)

Discussions will be shaped by the preliminary reports of seven technical committees. The reports were discussed yesterday by the planning committee.

However, Constitutional Development Minister Roelf Meyer cautioned that the Negotiating Council would not be able to take decisions — "with very few exceptions" — at Tuesday's meeting.

After yesterday's planning

committee meeting, negotiators were unanimous in their praise for the work of the technical committees. (411)

It was understood that most of their preliminary reports contained details of the Codesa agreements and reports.

Not all the 26 participating groups have yet sent their submissions to the technical committees. The deadline for submissions is Wednesday.

Interim reports will be sent

to all negotiators today to enable them to prepare for Tuesday's meeting.

The previous Negotiating Council meeting, three weeks ago, was marked by complaints that negotiators received documentation only an hour before the meeting began.

The chairman of yesterday's planning committee, Democratic Party negotiator Colin Eglon, said the agenda for the Negotiating Council would not be cluttered with procedural matters. It would focus on violence and constitutional issues.

The technical committee on

constitutional matters has recommended that a commission be appointed to consider regional boundaries.

The issue will be discussed on Tuesday.

ANC secretary-general Cyril Ramaphosa said it was still possible to reach agreement by the end of the month on transition.

He said a three-day meeting of the ANC's national working committee focused on the organisation's approach to the negotiations process and ways of dealing with the right wing.

ANC frowns on PC payouts

THE announcement by President De Klerk that members of the President's Council (PC), which is to be abolished at the end of June, will be entitled to tax-free retirement packages "continues the practice of golden handshakes for those who upheld apartheid", the African National Congress said yesterday.

In a statement in Johannesburg the

30477 ARG IS 5/83
ANC said it did not see the need for such payouts for members of the "discredited President's Council" because of its dissolution.

"Is the precedent being created whereby, as apartheid institutions are dissolved, those who ran them are rewarded for the rest of their natural lives?" — Sapa.

(S) THE politicians stayed away from the World Trade Centre this week and, for the first time since the negotiations council first sat there three weeks ago, real debate beckoned.

Having last week agreed that they would, in the course of this round of talks, set a date for an election, the parties were still light years away from civilly discussing the myriad issues which have to be settled before this can happen.

But during the week, teams of lawyers and academics moved into the warren of offices in Kempton Park and began sifting through the rhetoric of posturing and previous agreements.

Recruited to groups with the no-nonsense name of technical committees, they set about, generally in a no-nonsense way, plucking from these wads of documents outlines of what must be debated by the politicians. Where the council delegates had sat, mired in fear, arrogance and bluster, seeing and hearing no farther than their own "solutions" on a range of issues, the technical committee members bustled with purpose and zeal.

With no gravitas, a leading member of the constitutional issues committee grabs a moment of Inkatha Freedom Party adviser Walter Felgate's time in the corridor to ascertain the IFP's bottom line on regionalism.

The discussion is informal, brief and fruitful. In minutes rather than months, the constitutional issues group has a clearer picture of bottom lines and points of possible compromise.

It was able to produce one of the few concrete suggestions to emerge this week — that the boundaries of the country's regions be discussed by a regional demarcation commission.

The constitutional-issues report, in particular, earned the praise of the "committee of ten" — the planning committee which attempts in its own way to structure the debate and nurse in private the grievances of delegates.

As thorough and professional a document as could be asked for after less than a week's work, it was produced by a group which included two men, Professor Marinus Wiechers and advocate Arthur Chaskalson, who cut their constitutional teeth in Namibia.

They are so adept at sorting posturing from positioning that they had to restrain themselves from drawing up a quick draft constitution this week. The committee could not restrain itself from offering to do so — "if we receive instructions to that effect" — in its report.

Two other reports are in for a hammering: first, the transitional executive councils group committed the sin of expressing an opinion — "there is a need for TECs".

The Cosag parties, who believe no such thing, will not lightly forgive such an error in the reading of its brief by this TC, which went a step further than merely structuring the debate as it was asked to do.

The violence committee got its brief right — but that is about all it did, listing little more than the members present and the task before them, turning in what one

delegate called a "puerile" report. Alone among the TCs, the violence committee has as a member a man who also sits on the negotiations council — Mr Felgate, on the TC in his capacity as a member of

the Peace Secretariat. From the very start, the violence group looks set to fulfil predictions that it will perfect the art of keeping a contentious issue at bay, endlessly winding its way through the committee loop.

For the rest, an intellectual honesty — and an absolute refusal to drizzle self-serving leaks the way of the press — has set the stage for the first real debate this week.

The delight at the prospect was not shared by all. At least one Cosag delegate has already branded the coming debate a "phony debate" and the progress as lateral at best.

While the TCs have presented an outline for what must be debated, Cosag is stuck on the order in which the form of state, violence and regionalism must be addressed.

Once again, the fear has been raised that momentum — or even a suspected, secret, cut-and-dried deal between the government and the ANC — will bulldoze the smaller parties.

Once again, they play in private their bloody trump: predictions, if not threats, of violence if their needs are not met in negotiations.

The reports from the seven technical committees were rushed off to the 26 delegations yesterday. On Tuesday, they will be asked to debate the issues raised.

The TC members will observe this debate, receive further written input from the delegations the next day and, judging by present form, once again sort it all out for the politicians on the negotiations council by the next week.

— CLAIRE ROBERTSON

Academics and lawyers take over — and real debate beckons

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AR COMMUNICATIONS



The DP unveils its plan to win the last war

SI Times 16/5/93

304A

THE overriding need to stabilise this society before it slides into irreversible conflict means, necessarily, that the new South Africa will be born a less-than-perfect democracy. Whatever Mrs Winnie Mandela may say, three years has simply not been enough time for constitutional debate.

We have before us three rival bills of rights — from the ANC, the government and the Democratic Party — offering three rival visions of the future, and they are all, to some degree or other, flawed.

Of the ANC's bill of rights I can do no better than echo Business Day's perceptive commentator, Alan Fine — it seeks to entrench ANC policies in the constitution so that even its opponents will be committed to carrying them out. The NP's ideas, purportedly modelled on the work of the Law Commission, which has already repudiated that claim, are beneath discussion.

The DP's version is better, but it also falls short of satisfying the liberal agenda, which is to cast the free individual as the centrepiece of a system based on just law. It sets out not primarily to secure liberty, but to undo the injustices of apartheid. It is a plan to win the last war.

Any good bill of rights begins with a profession of faith, preferably but not necessarily in its preamble, which acts as a guide to its interpretation in the future. The American profession of faith is to be found in the famous words of the Declaration of Independence that all men are created equal and endowed by their Creator with inalienable rights to life, liberty and the pursuit of happiness, and the American courts uphold those ideals above all else.

The German constitution calls on all Germans to achieve the unity and freedom of Germany. The Universal Declaration of Human Rights begins by recognising that the inherent dignity and the equal rights — not the equality — of all human beings are the foundation of "freedom, justice and peace".

The DP version is subtly, but importantly, different from all these. It transmutates the universality of rights — equal rights for all — into "equality", undefined and unqualified, which is

then elevated to a position of primacy, alongside human dignity, in the hierarchy of rights.

Liberty comes a poor second. While the bill of rights guarantees the standard freedoms — conscience, speech, press, assembly — it puts forward a view of liberty which is parsimonious and grudging, hedged about with qualifications, and it leaves no doubt that the primary purpose of the new South Africa will be to ensure equality, not of rights but of outcomes.

In effect, it tries to build into the constitution a system of reparations for past discrimination and, distrusting the mechanisms of a free society, it is forced to entrench bureaucratic procedures in the very foundations of the state. The only way to do this is by authorising reverse discrimination, using the very criteria that apartheid used to select its victims.

Here the DP finds itself in the same dilemmas that used to bedevil Verwoerdian ideologues: how does one define victims by race? The problem is the same whether one wishes to discriminate against them or in their favour, and the procedures are obscene. The DP, embarrassed by its own cleverness, finds the same answer as Verwoerdians: change the terminology.

Bad, old apartheid is labelled "discrimination"; good new apartheid is labelled "differentiation". It's Tweedledum and Tweedledee.

THERE is another problem: how does one prevent "differentiation" from shading over into "discrimination", as apartheid's "differentiations" tended to shade over, increasingly, into cruder forms of racism?

To bridge this ideological gap, the DP has invented the concept of "rational differentiation". Examples of rational differentiation are affirmative action, single-sex hostels and separate religious instruction. "Irrational" discrimination is that excessive freedom of association which leads to exclusive clubs and similar evils.

Is cultural instruction "rational"? Afrikaans-only schools? German schools? Jewish shul? The matter is

beset with such complexity and difficulty that, in the end, the drafters run out of ingenuity. They toss to the courts the whole problem of deciding what is rational differentiation and what is irrational discrimination, and how to rescue equality from the threat of liberty.

Alan Fine, who distrusts free markets, is jubilant. The DP's determination to undo the wrongs of the past, he says, refutes the self-satisfied chortlings of conservatives who think a bill of rights can be exploited to preserve their ill-gotten gains. It also puts paid, he thinks, to the "free marketeer" argument that the market will "optimally" eliminate inequality based on past discrimination.

The implication, of course, is that "optimal" results will be achieved by bureaucratic methods, or by judicial manipulation. Intelligence abdicates, and faith takes over. We are back to rule by *amptenare*.

SIMILARLY, the DP gets into tight corners when it seeks to entrench "entitlements" — the right to food, water, shelter, basic health care, a clean environment — and again it casts itself on the bureaucracies and the courts to decide what, in any given circumstances, is "basic" health care, or "reasonable" entitlement. The courts will make it up as they go along.

What courts? The Steyn court which the DP's predecessors criticised so bitterly for conducting an eccentric assault on English influence in the law? The Rabie court, which it accused of being "executive-minded" or "security-minded"? The Corbett court, which I would call establishment-minded?

Personally, I would prefer an independent constitutional court, but if we must be subjected to the whims and prejudices of "nine wise men", we should at least, as liberals, direct them to value liberty above all else.

Otherwise, when the struggle for liberty resumes, as it must do, the bill of rights itself will become what the communists call "a site of struggle".

KEN OWEN

Training for democracy

21 Times 16/5/93

ANTHONY HOLIDAY surveys the debate on what the term 'university' ought to mean in a South African context

304A

BEHIND the intriguing question as to which political groupings will have the lion's share of power in the forthcoming government of national unity lurks a series of more profound and profoundly troubling dilemmas.

How, and in what sort of intellectual environment, can an elite corps of governors and administrators be educated to run South Africa's first non-racial democracy?

This issue, or cluster of related issues, is being discussed at various levels and in a variety of forums. But it is being addressed with special intensity at the University of the Western Cape, where plans to develop a school of government have been announced.

The school's main task would be to train high-quality personnel for democratic government so that people with highly-developed analytical abilities and moral sensibilities can be channelled into elected, appointed or career positions in executive departments, legislatures, trade unions and the like.

Because much of this training would take place at a post-graduate level, it would ride tandem with the aim of

generating critical research into political theory and practice with the broad objective of strengthening democracy.

These ambitions make it clear that UWC rector Jakes Gerwel and his team of planners envisage an institution which goes well beyond the managerialist banalities of training in public administration. They aspire to create an ethos of service.

All this is very laudable. But, as Marx observed, "the educator himself must be educated". The ultimate milieu in which the governors of the "new South Africa" will receive their education in governance is doubtless the "community" — local, national and global. However, the immediate environs in which this training must take place are those of a university — and there is considerable debate as to what the term "university" ought to be taken to mean in the South African context.

Into this debate is pouring a plethora of offerings, some inspired by theories — liberal, Marxian and post-modernist — which paint pictures of what a university ought to look like, with varying degrees of clarity.

For the liberals, the university is a place where an individual person's "useful" capacities are allowed to flourish. For the Marxists, it is a "site of struggle" where "hegemonies" are established and contested; where research "produces" knowledge as a factory produces commodities.

For the post-modernists, it is a concatenation of "discourses" or "texts".

From this theoreticians' Tower of Babel will emerge the arena in which those charged with preserving the nation's integrity — its claims to be governed for and by its people — will be schooled in their trade.

Now it is true that the word "university" does not have a fixed meaning in the way that words like "dog" or "cat" have (more or less) fixed meanings. Its meaning may change over time to include new features and dispense with old ones. But it does not follow that we may change its meaning to suit our pet theories or that we do not here and now have any notion of what it means.

We have some idea of what it is to be educated at a university because we are willy-

nilly heirs to a tradition which includes this form of education. That tradition includes such things as loving subjects for their own sake and seeing the spin-offs in the form of acquired "skills", which the study of such subjects may also confer, as incidental to that love.

Our sense of what a university ought to be — like our sense of what life in a state governed in accordance with the principles of justice ought to be like — may be a fuzzy one. But it is not the worse for that. The picture's lack of definition may deprive our procedures of confidence. But confidence in politics and in educational matters is often a dangerous thing.

We need, perhaps, to remind ourselves that the tradition of educating people for government stretches at least as far back as Plato's Socrates, who said that in his ideal republic, the love of contemplation of the Form of the Good for its own sake would be so strong that there would be "as much competition among good men to avoid power as there now is to get it".

□ ANTHONY HOLIDAY teaches philosophy at UWC.

CP chooses a moderate as Hartzenberg's deputy

By CLAIRE ROBERTSON

THE Conservative Party yesterday elected moderate Pietersburg general practitioner Dr. Willie Snyman as its deputy leader in what is seen as a compromise.

While there were no surprises in the election of fiery Dr. Ferdie Hartzenberg to succeed the late Dr. Andries Treurnicht, the choice of Dr. Snyman as vice-chairman was unexpected.

After several votes involving five candidates, ranging from hardliner Schalk Pienaar to the pro-negotiations Schweizer-Reneke MP Dr. Pieter Mulder, Pietersburg MP Dr. Snyman got the nod.

Discounting any split, Dr. Snyman, an old friend of Dr. Hartzenberg, said he was "completely behind the leader".

The new leader — only the second in

the party's 11-year history — was rapturously received by about 800 delegates at the extraordinary congress in Verwoerd-burg yesterday.

In his acceptance speech, a visibly moved Dr. Hartzenberg reinforced his party's commitment to securing "self-determination and freedom" for his folk.

"Negotiations are on the go and we are there with one goal — to negotiate for self-determination. If we cannot get this, we will not negotiate for anything else."

"We are prepared to negotiate for a future, not a funeral."

Although a compromise candidate for the deputy leadership was predicted in some quarters, Dr. Snyman's name was not mentioned. However, delegates were pleased with the respected centrist.

C/Press 16/6/93
ANC captures Afrikaner hearts

IN the Cape this week the ANC invaded the NP's heartland and proved itself capable of providing a viable political vehicle for Afrikaners (304A)

It also proved it was able to mount a serious challenge to the NP among both the white and coloured communities of the western Cape by addressing their concerns for the survival of their Afrikaans heritage. (412)

Wilhelm Verwoerd spoke in conservative Parow, commanding everyone's attention much like his grandfather did. But the message was as different as the occasion - bringing together the very people his grandfather had tried to drive apart.

Crocker book lifts lid on behind-the-scenes talks and events that led to the increasing isolation of SA



By 1986, the imperious reign of President PW Botha was under increasing pressure at home and abroad. Dr Chester Crocker, US Assistant Secretary of State for Africa, was sent by President Ronald Reagan on a last-bid peace mission. It failed. In this extract from Dr Crocker's book, *High Noon in Southern Africa*, he recalls those fraught weeks that ended with South Africa's certain march to isolation.

ON JANUARY 13, 1986, I arrived at PW Botha's Cape Town office bearing a letter from Ronald Reagan. In it, he urged Botha to seize the initiative and take bold steps on reform and negotiation, pledging to offer support and credit along the way.

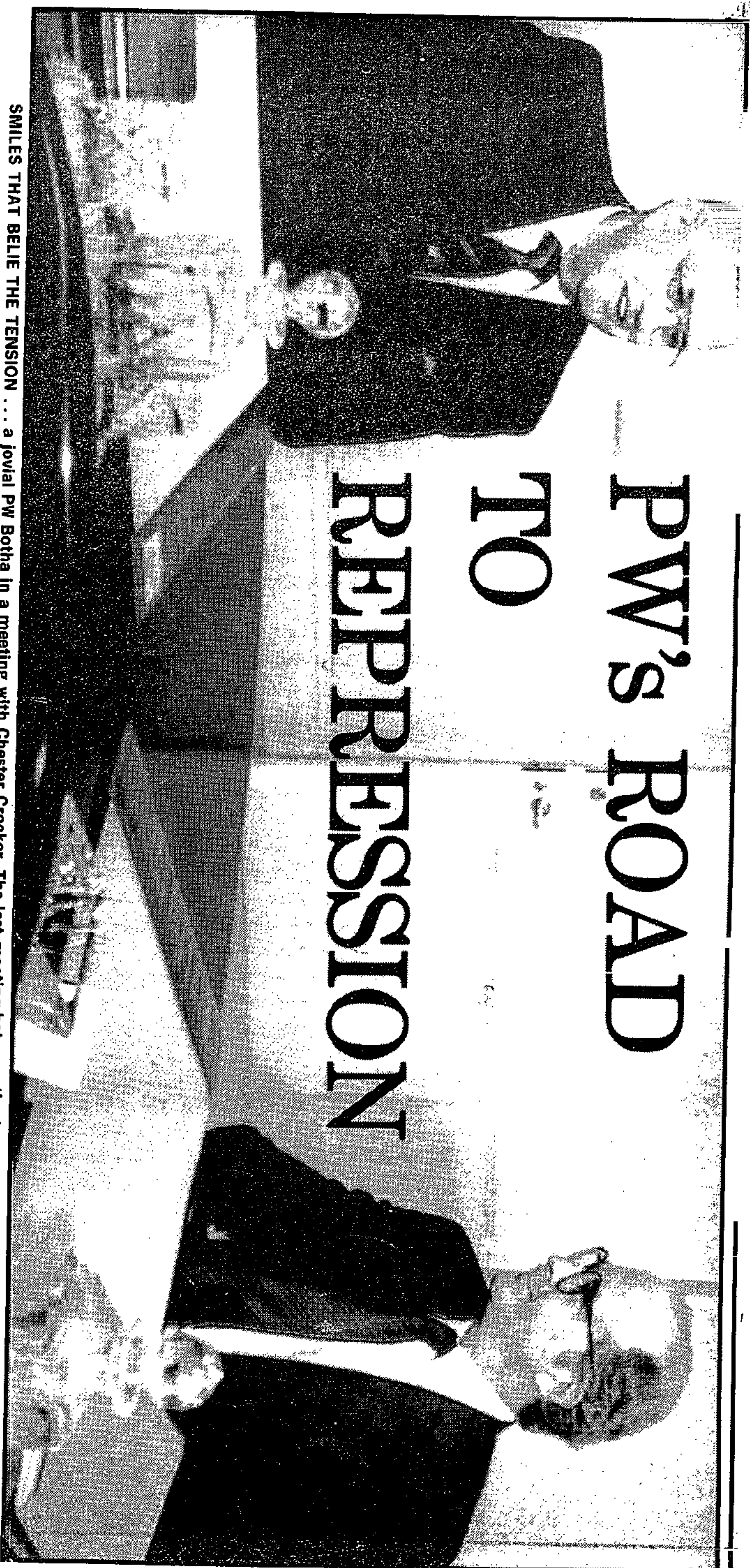
I was primed to elaborate: if there was a "context" which we could support, we were prepared to suggest the possibility of a meeting between the two leaders.

But Botha was expert at missing opportunities. Events of the past year — including our own actions and signals — had wounded him severely.

be possible if we could agree on the necessary political context. This would require major moves by Pretoria to create a climate for talks with black leaders. PW Botha's "ratcatcher" was less than pleased.

Around the time of Van der Westhuizen's return, PW Botha replied to Reagan's letter. It was a plaintive message. All the pressure was being placed on one side. The West was building up expectations that went beyond his political limits. Botha appealed for less one-sidedness from Washington, for a moratorium on punitive actions.

In the same breath, he endorsed the basic line of the



PW's ROAD TO REPRESSION

SMILES THAT BELIE THE TENSION ... a jovial PW Botha in a meeting with Chester Crocker. The last meeting between the two was to turn into a chilling encounter

'Something snapped in the man: ^{304A}ST Times 16/5/83

'xenophobic anger overtook his common sense'

Thereas .. ore gn .. n .. s .. er
Pik Botha welcomed me
varmly ("You've been away
oo long"), his president stood
tiffly and asked "Why are
ou here?" as I entered his
office. Before I could reply,
he wanted to know if I had
net secretly with ANC
eaders in Lusaka before
orning.

He then proceeded to hand
me a boilerplate document
prepared by his foreign min-
istry and distributed to a
wide range of know-nothing
Western visitors.

The West had become de-
icant and soft. We applied
lounge standards, blasting
Libyan terrorism and back-
ing Israel's counter-terrorist
actions, but ignoring the evils
of ANC violence.

Botha was too proud to
open up to me. He was too
angry at history to concede
his need for help from a coun-
try he perceived as a prin-
cipal source of his problems. It
was a chilling encounter. It
would also be our last.

But Botha's diplomats
seemed much less hostile.
They appeared interested in
the notion of announcing a
"date certain" for imple-
menting a Namibian settle-
ment if a Cuban withdrawal
could be worked out.

It was possible the Reagan
message would not be dis-
missed, after all.

Pik Botha had spoken of
the possibility of paying us a
return visit. But General
Pieter van der Westhuizen
arrived in Washington first,
showing up as I returned.

The new secretary of
Botha's State Security Coun-
cil camped in our midst for
days. He was shopping for
support for his boss.
I told Van der Westhuizen a
presidential meeting might

Commonwealth Commit-
ment
Persons Group initiative call-
ing for matching commit-
ments to end violence on all
sides.

BOTHA was prepared
to release Mandela
in return for a pledge that he
would not "personally" be in-
volved in violence. Unlike his
tone with me, Botha's mes-
sage was respectful and ap-
preciative. He really wanted
that visit.

He must have believed it
was within reach. After all,
he knew that the idea for such
a visit had well-placed sup-
port in Washington.

Botha's January 31 1986
speech to Parliament con-
tained some interesting ele-
ments. There was a firm
commitment to terminate
the hated pass laws. The
president announced his in-
tention to "negotiate" the
creation of a "national statu-
tory council" to serve as a
multiracial advisory forum
pending further constitu-
tional change.

Finally, Botha offered a
new wrinkle on the release of
Mandela: he could be freed as
a humanitarian gesture if the
Angolans would free a cap-
tured SADF special forces of-
ficer and if the Soviets would
free Andrei Sakharov and An-
atoly Shcharansky.

This speech offered a wel-
come contrast to the Rubicon
precedent. But it was not
basis for an invitation to
Washington. How should we
proceed?

Leaving aside the domestic
politics, we viewed a possible
Reagan-Botha meeting as a
key component in a strategy
that would unfold between
Washington and Pretoria.

On the other hand, the
South African government
viewed such a visit as an end
in itself a symbolic act of US
recognition of Southern Afri-
ca's most important leader.
Pretoria, we judged, was pre-
pared to pay for such a visit
— but clearly not any price.

I met Pik Botha in Geneva
on February 12-13 1986,
armed with an elaborate
series of steps we wished
Pretoria to take, sequenced
with supporting moves we
would be prepared to make.

The scenario carried all
the way up to the beginning of
black-white negotiations and
the scrapping of all apartheid
laws. Supporting moves
ranged from Botha's possible
visit to providing help with
banks and the eventual re-
moval of existing US pres-
sures.

Pik Botha made a valiant
attempt to dress up his brief.
But after hours of formal dis-
cussion, an exasperated
Botha said he could not seem
to give me the "clarity" I
needed to facilitate a meet-
ing. In fact, our questions had
forced him to freelance be-
yond his normal expansive
limits.

At a private dinner, Pik
Botha told me: "We can't pos-
sibly meet your price."

Back in Washington, I
found the air was full of talk
about a possible presidential
emissary to "reaffirm" on be-
half of the White House the
terms for a possible visit.

South African Ambassador
Herbert Beukes appeared to
be under instructions to as-
certain the prospects for such
an emissary.

Beukes informed me that
"other voices" were already
asking why Pik Botha and I

had failed to organise a presi-
dential visit. In mid-March, it
came to my attention that
(CIA director Bill) Casey had
told PW Botha that I was sup-
posed to have invited him to
Washington during my Janu-
ary visit.

In March, Pretoria lifted
the partial state of emergen-
cy and released most of the
remaining detainees. The
Commonwealth EPG tabled
a "matching commitment"
formula with Pretoria, Man-
dela and the exiled ANC
which aimed at establishing
agreed conditions for the
start of negotiations.

THE Commonwealth
initiative had Mande-
la's support and the support
of some within the Pretoria
government (including
several senior ministers in
periodic contact with Man-
dela). PW Botha had lots of
reservations, but had not
rejected it.

In early April, in response
to Thatcher's request, Rea-
gan wrote (to) Botha endors-
ing the initiative and urging
that he explore fully this op-
portunity to bring the vio-
lence under control and begin
the process of dialogue.

When I met Pik Botha in
Geneva again on April 21, I
found him far more upbeat
about reform prospects. The
foreign minister now agreed
with me that 1986 had be-
come the crucial year.

The Commonwealth group
idea had many positive fea-
tures — not least as a means
of getting the Mandela issue
resolved and bringing other
black leaders to the negotia-
tion table, whether the ANC
chose to participate or not.

But Botha was still search-
ing for an external safety net:
Pretoria wanted to obtain
American and British guar-
antees that South Africa
would not be hammered by
further sanctions in the event
that all hell broke loose upon
Mandela's release and the
government was obliged to
crack down again.

He must have known that
no foreign government could
offer his security establish-
ment such a blank cheque,
but the question told us what
he was facing at home.

When details of the pass
law reform were published
on my return to Washington,
we hailed the move as "a
major milestone on the road
away from apartheid... per-
haps the most conspicuous
discarding of discriminating

laws in recent South African
history". But this was to be
the high-water mark of 1986.

WITHIN weeks of
lifting the state of
emergency, urban unrest be-
gan to escalate once again.
Beneath the surface, the
government remained pro-
foundly split. Some saw the
Commonwealth EPG as an
ideal vehicle for forcing the
ANC and its allies to make
hard choices. Others wanted
to prevent negotiations until
the government had smashed
the black resistance move-
ment. Security force planners
were straining at the leash to
mount strikes against neigh-
bours.

In late April, we began
hearing ominous South Afri-

can comparisons of our mid-
April strike on Libya and
their "anti-terrorist" strategy
in Southern Africa.

We and other major West-
ern nations also began to re-
ceive urgent South African
appeals that the Western
powers address the issue of
violence in South Africa at
their upcoming Group of Sev-
en economic summit in
Tokyo.

African policy officials in
several Western govern-
ments, including ours,
worked hard to get some ap-
propriate language on South
Africa into the draft commu-
nique. But we lost this battle.

It was a major blunder to
ignore Botha's appeal for a
signal that we were at least
paying attention to the deli-
cate process under way in his
country.

Something snapped in the
man: xenophobic anger over-
took his common sense. With-
in two weeks, the EPG initia-
tive and the tentative hopes
for reform and negotiation
lay in ruins.

Botha unleashed his secur-
ity establishment and turned
decisively toward the road of
repression.

The partisans of polarisa-
tion — in Western capitals, in
black Africa, in the Common-
wealth, among black South
African opposition leaders
and within Botha's govern-
ment — would soon have the
upper hand.

● *High Noon in Southern
Africa: Making Peace in a
Rough Neighbourhood* by
Dr Chester A Crocker is
published by Jonathan Ball
and will be released in
South Africa on May 24.

Mandela and FW to share US medal of freedom

PRESIDENT FW de Klerk and ANC president Nelson Mandela will hold a historic joint meeting with President Bill Clinton when they visit the US to receive a joint honour on American Independence Day, July 4.

The two South Africans will stand together before Philadelphia's famed Liberty Bell to receive gold medals struck in honour of leaders and organisations deemed to have followed in the traditions of America's founding fathers.

The ceremony — near the spot where America declared its independence in 1776 and where its founding Fathers gathered to write its constitution in 1789 — will be rich in symbolism, linking South Africa's transition to the birth of America's democracy.

Agreement

On a more practical level, President Clinton will see both leaders as he prepares for his first summit with the seven major industrialised countries in Tokyo on July 7.

It is hoped he will carry with him a powerful message that South Africa must be helped over the daunting economic hurdles to democratic transformation.

Key to the success of this will be agreement by South African parties on a transitional executive and an

By SIMON BARBER
Washington

election date that will have enabled Mr Mandela to call for the removal of remaining sanctions.

The Philadelphia ceremony and the meeting with Mr Clinton will focus American attention on South Africa and could be a powerful vehicle for impressing on state and local politicians that the time for sanctions is past.

The Philadelphia Freedom Medal has also been awarded to Polish leader Lech Walesa, former US President Jimmy Carter and late Supreme Court Justice Thurgood Marshall, the driving force behind the American Supreme Court's historic 1954 decision on desegregation of schools in the southern states.

A South African government spokesman yesterday confirmed that Mr de Klerk would travel to the US in July to accept the award. However, he said, the details of the meeting with President Clinton had not yet been finalised.

Generals behind new right-wing force

Military front!

3044

LOUISE MARSLAND
Weekend Argus Political Staff

RIGHTWINGERS have formed a powerful new political bloc, bringing 21 organisations together in Pretoria under the title of the Afrikaner Volksfront.

Former SADF chief General Constand Viljoen spearheaded the move, which will pursue a common goal of self-determination.

The group includes the leader of the AWB Wenkommando, who defied the orders of the AWB political leadership to join.

The organisations reached agreement — after a five-hour meeting at the Transvaal Agricultural Union offices — on a founding document and the establishment of a working committee to facilitate a plan of action and common strategies. The working group will report back on May 19.

General Viljoen, spokesman for the Committee of Generals (CoG), who chaired the meet-

President F W de Klerk is today expected to issue a response to the mounting political crisis in the country. The "major and very important" response will deal with a range of issues.

ing, said that never before in South Africa's history had such unity been achieved between Afrikaner leaders. "It is a great victory. We are very happy... we have united on the importance of the nation's unity. We had many hours of detailed discussion between people worried about the boerevolk. The different groups have 'found' one another regarding the striving for unity among the Afrikaner." General Viljoen insisted that the rightwing unity movement would be part of the democratic process and not part of a military process. Reading a brief statement, the general said it was decided to concentrate on the major points of agreement between the organisations, while allowing the different organisations

To page 3

DP aims for 15 pc in poll

HERMANUS — The Democratic Party is aiming to win 15 per cent of the vote in South Africa's first democratic election.

DP national chairman Ken Andrew told a media briefing at the weekend that reports forecasting a poor DP performance in elections "fly in the face of the evidence available to the DP from voter research".

Research indicated dropping levels of support for the NP in all communities, a trend he believed would continue.

He added that the DP had a solid support base and was growing fast. (304A)

Hartzenberg Star 17/5/93 takes reins of (304A) Conservatives

By Norman Chandler
Pretoria Bureau

Dr Ferdi Hartzenberg was on Saturday elected leader of the Conservative Party and successor to party founder Dr Andries Treurnicht.

Hartzenberg (57), a former Minister of Education and Training in the National Party Government, left the Cabinet of President P W Botha with Treurnicht in 1982 when the National Party split over the issue of power-sharing.

Hartzenberg's hard-line attitude manifested itself in the 1980s when, as Minister of Education and Training, he refused to authorise repairs at schools involved in education boycotts, with the result that several schools in the Cape and Free State had to close.

Born at Sannieshof, in the western Transvaal, on January 8 1936, Ferdinand Hartzenberg studied agriculture at the University of Pretoria, from where he graduated with a masters degree, later completing a doctorate with



Hartzenberg... the new CP leader.

a thesis on early growth in beef cattle.

He became Member of the Provincial Council for Lichtenburg in 1965 and MP for the same constituency in 1970.

He was appointed chairman of the Bantu Affairs Commission in 1974 and became Deputy Minister of Bantu Development in 1976. He was appointed Deputy Minister of Development in 1978 and in 1979 was appointed Minister of Education and Training. He held the post for three years before resigning from the NP.

Moderate Star 11/5/73 chosen as deputy

By Chris Whitfield
Political Correspondent

CAPE TOWN — The moderate Dr Willie Snyman got the nod at the weekend as the Conservative Party's deputy leader. (3044)

CP insiders say a major consideration in choosing Snyman was new party leader Dr Ferdi Hartzenberg's fire-brand image. Many felt the moderate element of the party should also be represented in the leadership.

Snyman, a medical doctor and Pietersburg MP since 1975, is described as "deceptively mild-mannered; he can be tough".

The new leadership team is not thought likely to change the party's approach to negotiations.

Snyman was one of 22 National Party members who in 1982 voted against a caucus motion of confidence in P W Botha, its leader.

After being expelled from the NP he became a founder member of the CP. He became the party's defence spokesman last year after several years as health spokesman.

● Hardliner gets nod —
Page 3

CITY

ANC won't fight poll as a political party

ARG 17/5/93 (194) (20417)

□ Yengeni says change would send out 'wrong signal'

DENNIS CRUYWAGEN
and TOS WENTZEL
Political Staff

THE African National Congress will not fight the first nonracial election as a political party, but as a broad liberation movement which includes its ally, the SA Communist Party.

ANC regional secretary Mr Tony Yengeni said registering as a political party now would send out the wrong message to the world.

"They'll think things have changed. It will be the wrong message. We don't have a new democratic and social order in South Africa."

The ANC would consider becoming a political party only after the adoption of a new constitution reflecting that fundamental changes had taken place.

Mr Yengeni said the question of financial support for the ANC might well have played a role in the decision to remain a liberation movement.

Norway, one of the ANC's traditional supporters, has assured the movement "we will not abandon friends when they are about to succeed".

Norway is constrained from giving money to political parties.

Sweden has said the ANC will lose R35.5 million a year if it fights an election as a political party.

Swedish law prohibits assistance to political parties.

The present legal position in South Africa is that parties have to register to take part in elections.

They do not have to register formally as parties, but legally they would probably be regarded as such.

Director General of Home Affairs Mr Piet Colyn said that without some form of registration, it would not be possible to get the names of those standing on to ballot papers.

Provision had to be made, among other things, for cases

where the name of one party was so near to that of another that one had reason to object.

In the coming election, the names of parties on ballot papers would be even more important than in the past, as there would be a system of proportional representation.

This meant only the names of parties, not of individual candidates, would appear on ballot papers.

Mr Colyn emphasised that all the rules for an election next year would have to be negotiated. So far, agreement had been reached that there would be an electoral commission to work out details.

At present, there were no restrictions on overseas funding or how and how much parties could spend.

The experience in some overseas countries, including the United States, could lead to some rules on these issues.

This would have to be worked out by the proposed electoral commission.

RALLYING CRY: Mr Tony Yengeni, ANC regional secretary for the Western Cape.



DP expects to run third in poll

MICHAEL MORRIS
Political Correspondent

THE Democratic Party believes it will get more than 18 percent of the national vote in next year's all-in elections.

On the basis of opinion surveys so far, party strategists believe the DP will come third after the ANC and the National Party.

DP national chairman Mr Ken Andrew said that although the party rated its present support at seven percent of the total vote (three percent of the black vote, 18 percent of the white, 14 percent of the coloured and 13 percent of the Indian), he believed its potential

ARG 17/5/93
was at least 18,3 percent.

The party aimed to hold the balance of power in the new parliament and wield significant influence on post-transition policy-making.

The DP wanted to shake off its image as a liberal opposition-cum-mediator and planned in an election campaign to sell itself as a more aggressive contender for power in the new parliament. (3049)

According to Mr Andrew's assessment of opinion surveys, the ANC will win 49 percent of the total vote (70 percent of the black, two percent of the white, 15 percent of the coloured and 15 percent of the Indian), the

NP 17 percent (seven percent black, 42 percent white, 40 percent coloured and 43 percent Indian), the DP 15 percent (eight percent black, 24 percent white, 40 percent coloured and 40 percent Indian) and the IFP seven percent (seven percent black, eight percent white, one percent coloured and one percent Indian).

Mr Andrew gave the PAC six percent overall and the Conservative Party four percent.

But, he cautioned, his figures were based on a summary of recent independent opinion surveys, which left sentiment among rural blacks almost unexplored.

Award 'will symbolise new SA'

By Hugh Robertson
Star Bureau

WASHINGTON — In the eyes of many Americans, South Africa's government of national unity will begin on July 4 when President de Klerk and ANC president Nelson Mandela jointly receive the 1993 Philadelphia Liberty Medal and the accompanying \$100 000 (R318 000) prize.

The announcement of the award followed agreement from the two leaders to attend the award ceremony together, according to members of We the People 200, the organisation sponsoring the event.

Whether or not there has been agreement by then on an interim government and a date for South Africa's first nonracial elections, many Americans now closely monitoring events in the country believe that the joint visit to the US will symbolise the sort of nation-



F W de Klerk ... passing the baton.

al unity which many here hope to see emerge from current negotiations.

De Klerk and Mandela are virtually certain to meet President Clinton during their visit, but whether they do so jointly or separately has not yet been decided and may well depend on



Nelson Mandela ... accepting the baton.

the degree of progress in negotiations.

Clinton is expected to attend the ceremony which is to take place at Philadelphia's historic Independence Hall, where the Declaration of Independence was signed 217 years ago. It is likely to be the focal point of the

US's national day celebrations on July 4.

A traditional July 4 parade will take place before the medal is awarded.

The Philadelphia Liberty Medal and prize was established in 1988 to honour "an individual or an organisation — from anywhere in the world — that has visibly demonstrated leadership and vision in pursuit of liberty of conscience or freedom from oppression, ignorance or deprivation".

The international selection panel which chose De Klerk and Mandela includes prominent leaders in the fields of politics, business, science, and the arts.

Commenting on the award today, South Africa's ambassador to the US, Harry Schwarz, said: "Many people have, and continue to contribute towards the democratisation process in South Africa, but none more than President de Klerk and Mr Mandela."

Suspect in court today

LLOYD COUTTS

MAN suspected of masterminding a plot to assassinate SACP chairman Joe Slovo is expected to appear in the Johannesburg Magistrate's Court this morning. Police spokesman Capt Nina Barkhuizen confirmed yesterday that John Beck, a 38-year-old former SA Air Force radio technician, would be charged with conspiracy to murder. According to reports, Beck was arrested at his flat in the Johannesburg suburb of Parktown North on Thursday following claims by a Hungarian immigrant, John Psenak, that Beck had tried to recruit him as a getaway driver. Psenak, a police informer, alleged the plot involved shooting Slovo from an Air Force communications tower in Observatory, Johannesburg, as Slovo emerged from his home. The assassination was to have been carried out between May 15 and 21.

Parties to debate concrete proposals

FUNDAMENTAL progress can be made at tomorrow's negotiations council meeting because parties will have before them a comprehensive document on the future form of state and constitutional principles to be included in a transitional constitution.

A source in the 10-man planning committee said the technical committee dealing with the myriad of proposals on constitutional matters had been able to get straight down to work and "they really produced something substantial that the council can discuss fruitfully and systematically".

The other committees had not made as much progress because they had not had enough input from parties to fully exercise their briefs.

Apparently the committee dealing with the transitional structures will submit a fairly substantial report recommending that a transitional executive council and sub-councils be established.

This is likely to result in censure from the Concerned SA Group, and possibly the negotiations council as a whole, because it

is not part of the committee's business to make such recommendations.

The committee on constitutional principles also believes it has made such good progress that it could draft an interim constitution right away. The committee includes Unisa's Marinus Weichers and advocate Arthur Chaskalson who both were involved in drafting Namibia's first constitution — Weichers on the side of the DTA and Chaskalson for Swapo.

This committee has also put forward a recommendation that the sensitive issue of drafting regional boundaries be sorted out by a regional demarcation commission.

Negotiators said yesterday they were impressed by the progress made in the constitutional committee, where the members managed to piece together an outline and a foundation document to be used by politicians as a basis to negotiate.

The committee had considered a variety of proposals from different parties and looked to find where compromises were possible and drafted these into its report.

BILLY PADDOCK

Profit after tax

DP to drop 'nice guy' image

HERMANUS — The DP is planning to shed its "nice guy" image, emphasising instead its potential as the balance of power in a new government in which it aims to achieve at least three Cabinet seats.

At a DP weekend briefing, members spelled out the new approach and potential of the party, which they said could gain 15% of the total vote, 60 seats, in a new Parliament.

Recognising that the impending election would be decisive for the party, members said the DP was no longer interested in playing a "facilitator/mediator" role. The DP was more interested in emphasising its capacity to govern effectively, and could adopt slogans like "NP/ANC rule or DP government" and "Make the DP your guarantee of good government".

The DP had established a "war chest" specifically for the election campaign, the Helen Suzman Trust, and aimed to raise R20m in SA and overseas.

DP national chairman Ken Andrew said, based on a survey of opinion polls conducted independently so far, it was clear that even with its current support, the DP was sure to make up part of the new government. The DP's support now consisted of 3% of black voters, 18% of white, and about 13% of coloured and Asian voters, indicating 7% total voter support. The surveys showed the DP's potential was 12% of blacks, 25% of whites, 43% of coloureds

and Asians, indicating a total potential support of 18.3% of the electorate.

In addition, the surveys showed NP support waning fast across the board, the ANC holding its black support, and the DP losing black support but gaining elsewhere.

Andrew said there were good reasons to believe the cut-off point for an interim Parliament would be 1% of the total vote, partly because the multiparty forum was likely to be decided on an inclusive, low figure. In addition, the ANC was likely to support this because it would want to minimise the possibility of being in a Cabinet with only the NP as partner.

Speculating about a possible outcome of the election, Andrew said the ANC was likely to get 49% of the total vote, 197 seats and 10 Cabinet posts. The NP would get 17% of the total vote, 69 seats and four Cabinet seats — only slightly more than the DP.

The IFP would get 7% of the total vote and it, the PAC and the CP would get only one Cabinet seat each.

Party leader Zach de Beer said the DP would have to be more strident in its approach, and would probably campaign on two fronts: the DP as the party of peace and the DP as the party with members potentially best at governing.

Mandela gets a bear hug in northern Cape

Own Correspondent

KIMBERLEY — ANC president Nelson Mandela received a tumultuous reception in Kimberley and Upington on a visit to mobilise the coloured vote.

He met businessmen, religious leaders, teachers, students, police and SADF officers, and Upington's mayor and town council.

But it was the coloured community the ANC had clearly come to court. At a meeting in Upington some members of the audience, overcome with emotion, wept.

Keimpes teacher Able Olivier told Mandela it was a very emotional day.

"I want to ask one thing, Mr Mandela," he said. "Can I come up and hug you?"

The audience roared its approval when Mandela hugged him.

Mandela had the crowd on their feet when he made his opening remarks in Afrikaans.

Speaking to about 5 000 people at the Upington Stadium later, Mandela said he was convinced the ANC had the full support of the "so-called coloured community".

Referring to the NP's wooing of the coloured vote, Mandela said the party had to be destroyed because it was not fit to govern.

"Have you forgotten how they persecuted you, how they took away your land, how they took away your vote? They want to use you to disguise their racism," Mandela said.

Keys announces tariffs review

8/08/93 17/5/93

CAPE TOWN — Finance Minister Derek Keys told Parliament that a simplified tariff system was being drawn up which could lead to a review of SA's offer to GATT's Uruguay Round.

Opening the debate on his Trade and Industry portfolio, Keys said SA had developed a "greatly more complicated set of tariffs and tariff structures than most countries have" — which he said was hindering the free flow of international trade.

Keys said the Trade and Industry Department, the Board on Tariffs and Trade and the Industrial Development Corporation had formed a team for the tariff review.

It was examining the rationalisation of the tariff system and the improvement of rebate and drawback procedures.

"This work is being done in the light of the offer on tariffs made in 1990 to GATT (the Gen-

eral Agreement on Tariffs and Trade) and takes account of the import surcharge which presently exists," Keys said.

This could lead to a review of the offer made to GATT. Those parties who could be affected would be consulted.

The Trade and Industry Department said last year that it had offered to cut tariffs on about 42% of all lines. This would, over five years, replace all formula duties on these lines with ad valorem duties, with maximum levels of 30% on consumer products and 15% on other products.

Keys said that rationalisation of tariffs did not imply an immediate lowering of rates, saying there was room for simplification without changing tariff levels. But there was no getting away from the fact that SA had to prepare itself for a "progressive reduction of tariffs on certain products".

Keys said he was examining more effective export incentive options. Under the terms of GATT, SA would not be allowed to entrench export incentive rebates, but could phase them out over a number of years.

According to official figures, government paid out R1,3bn in export-linked rebates of up to 20% in 1991/92.

Keys also said that rising levels of grey imports and high revenue-sharing payments to Botswana, Lesotho, Namibia and Swaziland meant that a review of the Southern African Customs Union was unavoidable.

He said grey imports on which customs duties have not been paid had "clearly increased during the past year".

Stef Naudé, the Trade and Industry Department's director-general, had signed a new five-year contract, Keys told Parliament. — Reuter.

Talks on SA-EC links

3044

STEPHANE BOTHMA

A CONFERENCE to discuss new links between SA and the EC will be held in Brussels in June.

Organised by the SA Foundation and Forum Europe, the event will focus on the new trade and political links with the EC once SA's political reform process is firmly established.

Speakers will include SA Reserve Bank governor Chris Stals, ANC international relations expert Aziz Pahad, Saffo chairman Len van Zyl, the Belgian Foreign Commerce Minister Robert Urbain and the European parliament's external relations committee chairman Willy de Clercq.

In all, there will be 40 top-level speakers, and topics on the programme will include the scope of a new political relationship, an industrial partnership, SA's future as an advanced financial marketplace and the EC's possible role in confronting economic challenges in SA.

The conference will be held on Monday June 28 and Tuesday June 29, and organisers say it will reflect the increasing warmth of EC relations with SA.

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Role of SA's diplomats to 'change fundamentally'

PRETORIA — SA's re-entry into the international community would necessitate a fundamental change in the role of its diplomatic staff, Foreign Affairs director-general Rusty Evans said last week.

The defensive public relations function adopted in the past by SA's 1 000 overseas diplomats was already virtually obsolete as SA's political situation changed and the private sector moved in to attract investment and trade.

With the increasingly sophisticated communications technology now available, diplomats would also no longer be required to undertake extensive political reporting and analysis tasks, he said.

"Why write up a report and send it to Pretoria in a diplomatic bag when we have direct computer access to all our embassies?" he said.

Communication between governments was now taking place at the highest level so attempting to elicit a change in the attitudes of governments through their minor officials was also becoming less important, Evans said.

"President F W de Klerk is our best diplomat. His relations with the Clinton administration and with European and world leaders is critically important to our standing in the international community".

Instead of these increasingly obsolete roles, SA's diplomats would have other tasks on which to focus.

A priority was the establishment of economic relations with other countries pro-

ADRIAN HADLAND

viding information for potential investors and support for SA businesses wanting to expand overseas.

A second shift in the role of the diplomat was participation in multilateral international bodies such as the UN, EC, Southern African Development Co-ordinating Conference, the IMF and the World Bank.

"Countries which are members of the UN, for instance, must provide staff to the organisation's secretariat on a quota basis," said Evans.

"We are going to be asked more and more for SA officials to be seconded to these international bodies".

These new emphases, together with the prospect of opening up to 40 new diplomatic missions over the next few years, meant "the whole nature of SA's foreign service is going to be transformed", Evans said.

Critical to this metamorphosis was adequate training as well as the broadening of the service into a more representative organisation.

The Foreign Affairs Department confirmed that up to 27 new diplomatic missions were expected to be established in the next 18 months.

The focus of these new missions was the Far East, Africa and the Middle East.

"Foreign affairs will be a whole new ball game in the not too distant future presenting a tremendous challenge for this department and for the country as a whole", Evans said.

Telkom plans to lift capex by 7%

TELKOM is budgeting to spend more than R2bn in capital expenditure in the current financial year — a rise of 7% from last year.

Telkom acting senior GM finance Peet Bierman said at the weekend some of the projects planned this year were the installation of a detailed billing system at a cost of R67m and R50m on community services projects. Other projects planned were upgrading existing client services and establishing 75 new client services at a cost of R20m. An "income integrity project" was also planned at a cost of R100m.

Bierman expected operating expenditure (including finance charges) to rise 13% to about R7,5bn.

TIM MARSLAND

He said pre-tax income was expected to be about R900m from the estimated figure of R850m previously. Telkom expected to pay tax of about R400m this year compared with last year's bill of about R430m.

Telkom did not plan to raise any new loans in the current year, although loans of about R1bn would be refinanced.

Bierman said budgeted average debt of R9,3bn, consisting of R3,5bn foreign loans and R5,8bn domestic loans, would not rise when compared with last year's figure.

Telkom's debt equity ratio improved to 2,0 from 2,3 at the end of March last year.

Economy set

ANC won't fight poll as a political party

□ Yengeni says change would send out 'wrong signal'

**DENNIS CRUYWAGEN
and TOS WENTZEL**
Political Staff

THE African National Congress will not fight the first nonracial election as a political party, but as a broad liberation movement which includes its ally, the SA Communist Party.

ANC regional secretary Mr Tony Yengeni said registering as a political party now would send out the wrong message to the world.

"They'll think things have changed. It will be the wrong message. We don't have a new democratic and social order in South Africa."

The ANC would consider becoming a political party only after the adoption of a new constitution reflecting that fundamental changes had taken place.

Mr Yengeni said the question of financial support for the ANC might well have played a role in the decision to remain a liberation movement.

Norway, one of the ANC's traditional supporters, has assured the movement "we will not abandon friends when they are about to succeed".

Norway is constrained from giving money to political parties.

Sweden has said the ANC will lose R35.5 million a year if it fights an election as a political party.

Swedish law prohibits assistance to political parties.

The present legal position in South Africa is that parties have to register to take part in elections.

They do not have to register formally as parties, but legally they would probably be regarded as such.

Director General of Home Affairs Mr Piet Colyn said that without some form of registration, it would not be possible to get the names of those standing on to ballot papers.

Provision had to be made, among other things, for cases

where the name of one party was so near to that of another that one had reason to object.

In the coming election, the names of parties on ballot papers would be even more important than in the past, as there would be a system of proportional representation.

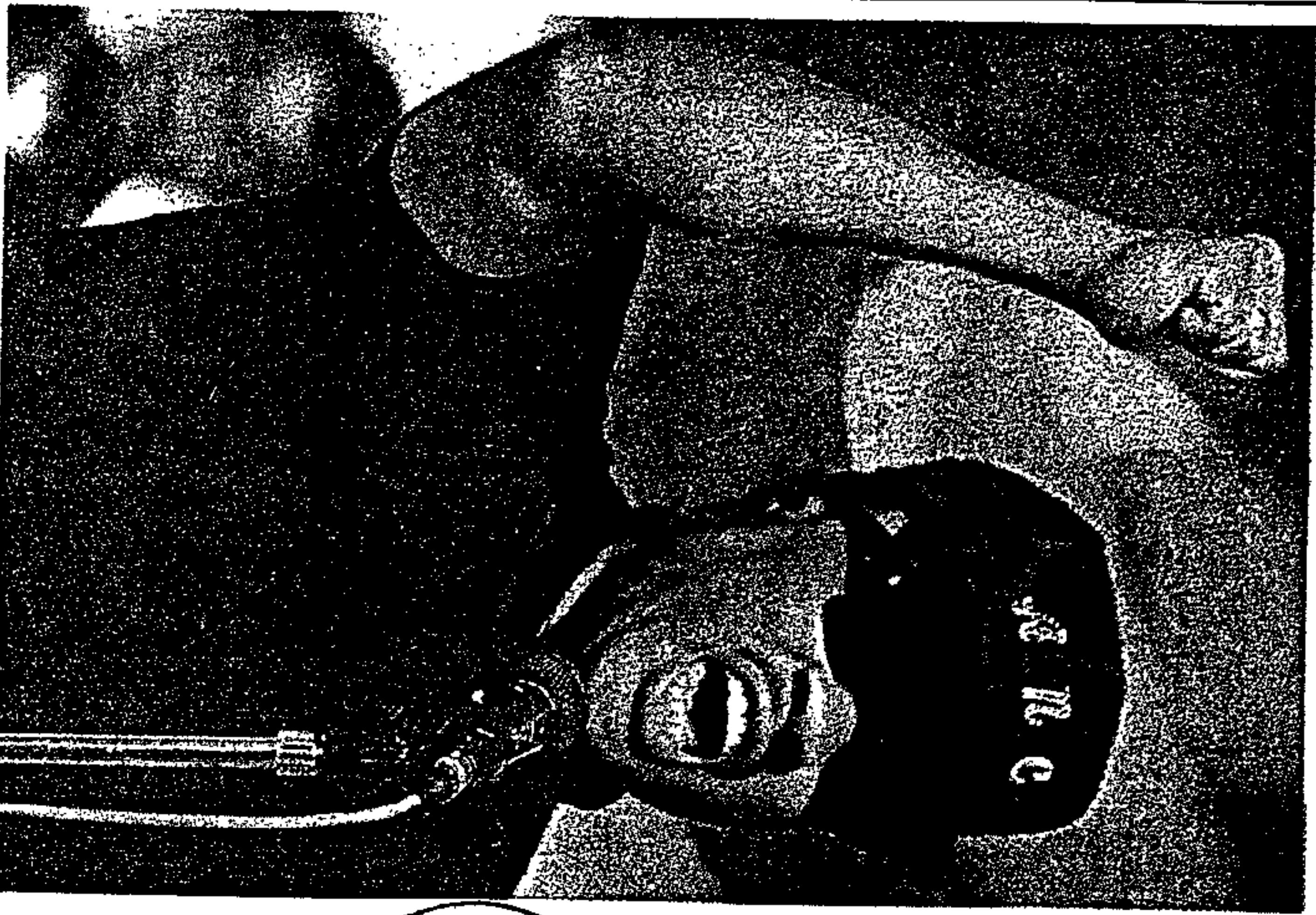
This meant only the names of parties, not of individual candidates, would appear on ballot papers.

Mr Colyn emphasised that all the rules for an election next year would have to be negotiated. So far, agreement had been reached that there would be an electoral commission to work out details.

At present, there were no restrictions on overseas funding or how and how much parties could spend.

The experience in some overseas countries, including the United States, could lead to some rules on these issues.

This would have to be worked out by the proposed electoral commission.



RALLYING CRY: Mr Tony Yengeni, ANC regional secretary for the Western Cape.

Volksfront set for formal launch

By Norman Chandler
Pretoria Bureau

The largest right-wing grouping in the country, the Afrikaner Volksfront, is to be formally established in Pretoria this week. (304A)

Linking the majority of the major conservative organisations — the Herstigte Nasionale Party is no longer involved — the Volksfront will press the Government and the ANC to heed demands of Afrikaners for self-determination.

It plans to unify the Afrikaner nation and to seek a volkstaat.

The Volksfront meeting on Wednesday is expected to appoint a management committee, to be known as the general mobilisation council, which will direct its day-to-day activities and, according to sources, be the political arm of the organisation.

The Volksfront was formed as a result of efforts made by retired defence force and police generals — the so-called Committee of Generals (COG) — who had decided the Afrikaner was losing political influence.

The driving force behind COG is retired Chief of Military Intelligence General Tienie Groenewald.



Driving force . . . retired Chief of Military Intelligence General Tienie Groenewald.

tary Intelligence General Tienie Groenewald.

COG and the Volksfront are temporarily headed by General Constand Viljoen, former Chief of the SADF.

Viljoen and Groenewald held meetings throughout the country prior to the Volksfront's founding meeting in Pretoria.

Represented at the meeting were the HNP, Conservative Party, World Apartheid Movement, Iron and Steel Workers' Union, Afrikaner Volksunie, Afrikaner Volkswag, Afrikaner Vryheidstigting, Volkseenheidskomitee (Vekom), the all-white Mine Workers' Union, Boerevryheidsbeweging, Pretoria Boerekommando, Oranje-werkers, Church of the Creator, Free State Agricultural



Temporary head . . . former Chief of the SADF General Constand Viljoen.

Union, Transvaal Agricultural Union, and organised business and industry groups.

The Afrikanerweerstandsbeweging officially boycotted the meeting, although its military wing, the Wenkommando, was present. The AWB has since announced its intention to join the Volksfront.

The HNP has withdrawn because its leader, Jaap Marais, believes that "it won't work because of differences of opinion over self-determination".

He also says the general mobilisation council will be entering the political arena and deciding on policy "although it has been said that each organisation can retain its own identity and its own policies. How is this then going to work?"

number NDZ/002T

Sowetan 15/9/92
New CP boss elected

DR FERDI Hartzenberg was elected unopposed as the Conservative Party's new leader at the weekend.

"Compromise candidate" Dr Willie Shyman, MP for Pietersburg, is the party's new deputy leader.

This was the outcome of a special congress in Verwoerdburg following the death last month of CP leader Dr Andries Treurnicht. (3044)

Election needs to be 'free and fair', Dhlomo warns

DURBAN. — The executive chairman of the Institute for a Multi-Party Democracy, Dr Oscar Dhlomo, said a new and unfamiliar electoral system will be used in the coming elections in South Africa. CT11/5/93

He said there was an absolute need that the election be seen to be free and fair.

Dr Dhlomo was speaking at the conference on election monitoring in Durban, where more than 100 political, civic and religious organisations have gathered, reports said.

He said effective monitoring and ob-

serving were crucial.

The unconditional acceptance of the result of the election was of utmost importance, especially to minority parties and those who would lose their privileged status, he said.

The historic lack of a democratic culture of political tolerance, the continuing violence and the likelihood of intimidation emphasised the need for credible, acceptable and impartial monitors, he warned.

Election monitoring experts from countries like Kenya, the Philippines and the United States are participating in the conference. — Sapa

DP seeks 'balance of power' in new govt

By ANTHONY JOHNSON
Political Correspondent

HERMANUS. — The Democratic Party hopes to hold the balance of power in a multi-party government of national unity by capturing 15% of the vote in South Africa's first non-racial election next year.

DP strategists told a media briefing here at the weekend the party aimed to win 60 seats in the 400-strong Parliament — earning three posts in a 20-member cabinet.

The chairman of the DP's national council, Mr. Dave Gant, said the party would need about 2.7 million votes in next year's poll.

DP national chairman Mr. Ken Andrew said that, based on research by three major independent companies, the ANC would capture about 49% of the vote, making it far and away the largest party.

The NP could get about 17% of the total ballots cast — 7% of blacks, 42% of whites, 40% of coloureds and 43% of Indians.

The DP's estimated total 15% vote was based on 8% of blacks, 24% of whites and 40% of coloureds and Indians.

He predicted the Inkatha Freedom Party's total of 8% would comprise 7% of blacks, 8% of whites, 1% of coloureds and Indians.

The 7% total for the PAC would include 8% of blacks, no whites, 2% of coloureds and 1% of Indians.

The CP, fighting the election separately, could only expect to garner 4% of the total vote — 24% of whites, 1% of coloureds and no blacks or Indians.

In terms of these estimates, the ANC would win 197 seats (and 10 cabinet posts), the NP 69 (4), the DP 60 (3), the IFP 26 (1), the PAC 23 (1), and the CP 17 (1). About eight of the 400 seats would go to smaller or regional parties, he predicted.

Mandela, FW win medals

PHILADELPHIA. — President FW de Klerk and African National Congress president Mr Nelson Mandela were named winners of the 1993 Philadelphia Liberty medal and will receive the prize on July 4, organisers said on Saturday. **CT 11/5/93**

The two leaders were cited for their efforts to reform South Africa's apartheid system in the spirit of the medal which honours the ideals behind America's founding. **(3041)**

"They have mutual goals for South African peace and understanding among their people," said a selectors' spokesman. — Sapa-Reuter

CP chooses Snyman as Hartzenberg's deputy

17/8/93 60417

PRETORIA — Dr Ferdi Hartzenberg was chosen unchallenged as the Conservative Party's new leader at the weekend.

"Compromise candidate" Dr Willie Snyman, MP for Pietersburg, was chosen as deputy leader, defeating moderate Dr Pieter Mulder and fiery Dr Schalk Pienaar.

This was the outcome of a special congress in Verwoerdburg which followed the death last month of CP leader Dr Andries Treurnicht.

Addressing the congress, Dr Hartzenberg, MP for Lichtenburg, said the CP only participated in the negotiation process to negotiate for self-determination because it would not submit to ANC rule in a unitary state.

The CP stood for a confederacy, and its caucus was already drawing up a constitution for the volkstaat.

The CP would claim as the minimum land for its volkstaat all parliamentary constituencies held by them.

— Sapa

Whites' optimism now at 'record low'

Star 18/5/93

White optimism in a new South Africa plummeted to record lows after the assassination of Chris Hani last month, according to the findings of a recent survey.

"With black-on white violence apparently increasing, it seems unlikely the spirits of the white electorate will lift significantly in the foreseeable future," the Omnichek division of Research Surveys said yesterday.

It conducted a study among 800 white women in the metropolitan areas during the week of Hani's death.

It said 63 percent felt less optimistic about a future South Africa than they had six months before.

"The assassination of Chris Hani had a profound impact on the mood of whites in the country, taking levels of optimism, which were already at a record low, even further down," Omnichek said.

It said the first attack on whites by the Azanian People's Liberation Army in September 1992 had caused levels of optimism "to plunge to hitherto unrecorded lows".

"These results lend urgency to the need for an election date to be set, and for the politicians to be seen to be reaching agreement on the vital issues facing the country," Omnichek director Binky Kellas said.



Hani . . . "profound impact on mood of whites".

Sixty-six percent of Afrikaners compared to 60 percent of English-speaking white women were less optimistic, but measurement among 800 black women in major metropolitan areas did not show a similar plunge.

"It seems black households are stuck in a Slough of Despond and that their mood cannot become any less negative than it already is.

"Further contributing to their apparent resilience and ability to weather any storm is undoubtedly the fact that they are surrounded daily by violence and destruction." — Sapa.

Star 18/5/93

CP 'won't plan own funeral'

CAPE TOWN — The Conservative Party would only stick to negotiations as long they led to self-determination, but would pull out once this option was closed, leader of the Opposition Dr Ferdi Hartzenberg (CP Lichtenburg) said yesterday.

Speaking in debate on the Administration's Vote, he said the CP would not stay at the negotiating table to make its own funeral arrangements.

It seemed that negotiations were being used to rubber-

stamp agreements between the National Party and ANC, he said.

(3044)
The CP had to mobilise to achieve the freedom of the volk.

The CP invited all NP members to join, other than four who had initiated the inevitable slide to revolution and blood-letting.

ANC leader Nelson Mandela's call at the weekend for its followers to join Umkhonto we Sizwe, and his offer to give them guns had amounted to a declaration of war. — Sapa.

Broeders to move more into the open

304A

APR 18/5/93

TOS WENTZEL
Political Staff

AFTER operating in secrecy since the 1920s, the exclusively white male Afrikaner Broederbond is to move more into the open and could admit women and blacks as members.

It could also change its name, possibly to the Afrikanerbond, chairman Professor Peter de Lange said today.

A process of reform to enable the organisation to remain relevant under changing circumstances was taking place and a new draft constitution had been distributed to more than 1 400 branches, he said in an interview.

He denied that the Broederbond, which is 75 years old, had been a sinister political pressure group, but conceded that its secret membership and the secrecy of its operations had led to this image.

It had not been a secret movement when it started in 1918, but intimidation of members at work in the 1920s had led to a decision to keep its membership and operations secret.

"It is, in fact, a 'think-tank' responsible for exploratory and experimental thinking in the 1980s, especially on political changes that had become necessary.

"In its early days it had planned especially on economic issues affecting Afrikaners and the urbanisation process in which Afrikanerdom was involved.

"But the interests of Afrikaners were not seen in isolation from those of others.

"Its members are dedicated people willing to work without recognition. The Broederbond has not acted as a pressure group."

It was not specifically tied to the National Party, although most of the top members of the government were members. It also had members in the Conservative Party and the Democratic Party.

Professor De Lange confirmed that a number of prominent members had resigned recently.

Among them are Professor Andreas van Wyk, rector-designate of the University of Stellenbosch, Professor Flip Smit, rector of the University of Pretoria, Professor Cas Crouse, rector of Rand Afrikaans University, Dr Willem de Klerk and Mr Hendrik Sloet of the FAK.

● Meanwhile the student representative council of the University of Stellenbosch has praised Professor Van Wyk for his decision to resign from the Broederbond, according to the Education Reporter.

Professor Van Wyk had confirmed his loyalty to the university and shown it was his top priority, SRC chairman Mr Andre van der Spuy said yesterday.

De Klerk set for July meeting with Clinton

CAPE TOWN — President F W de Klerk will meet US President Bill Clinton in July.

De Klerk yesterday confirmed he had accepted an invitation to visit the US, along with ANC president Nelson Mandela, to receive a joint award on July 4 for promoting the traditions of the American founding fathers.

"I plan to attend the function," he said outside Tuynhuys yesterday.

The ANC has indicated that Mandela will visit the US, thereby setting the stage for a joint meeting with Clinton shortly before he attends his first G-7 summit with the seven major industrialised nations in Tokyo on July 7.

The ANC said yesterday Mandela would visit the US for 12 days from June 25.

If sufficient progress is made in negotiations, the two SA leaders could make a joint plug for the lifting of sanctions and the need for investment in SA.

Meanwhile, Sapa-AP reports from Philadelphia that Clinton has agreed to present the 1993 Philadelphia Liberty Medal to De Klerk and Mandela.

Clinton confirmed earlier this month that he would attend the ceremony on Independence Day, mayor Ed Rendell said.

The Liberty Medal, established in 1988, honours an individual or organisation that has demonstrated leadership and vision in the pursuit of liberty or freedom from oppression, ignorance or deprivation.

Previous recipients were Polish Presi-

dent Lech Walesa in 1989, former US president Jimmy Carter in 1990, former Costa Rican president Oscar Arias and the French medical and human rights organisation Médecins Sans Frontières (Doctors Without Borders) in 1991.

Last year, the medal went to former US Supreme Court judge Thurgood Marshall, the first black to sit on the high court.

Martin Meyerson, president emeritus of the University of Pennsylvania who chaired the international selection panel, praised De Klerk and Mandela for their tireless work to reform SA.

"They have mutual goals for SA peace and understanding among their people," Meyerson said. "They are men of vision and determination, and they epitomise the ideals behind the Liberty Medal."

SA ambassador to the US Harry Schwartz said the joint award was a fitting recognition of their work.

"The joint award symbolises the determination of South Africans to not only hold a universal franchise election and a government of national reconciliation as soon as possible but to create a just economic system and meaningful improvement in living standards," Schwartz said.

"Independence Day in the US will this July 4 have a particularly important meaning for most South Africans."

UK editor 'open' to Lonrho paper offer

CHRIS BATEMAN

LONDON — The editor of the Observer, Donald Treford, confirmed yesterday that if his boss Tiny Rowland made him a formal offer to start an SA newspaper, he would give it "serious consideration".

Treford said the Lonrho chief — who has vast investments in Africa — had mentioned Press projects in SA and Nigeria, adding that he would "like me to stay on with Lonrho and look after their media interests".

However, he scotched reports that anything definite had been decided for SA.

"I'm still editing the Observer and I haven't thought of what I'm going to do afterwards — Tiny mentioned that this might be the kind of thing I might like to have a look at (setting up an SA newspaper)," Treford said.

While Treford did not contradict Rowland's assertion at the weekend that he had "an editor available from London" to launch an SA newspaper, he said reports that "anything is definite" were "way off beat".

He had met the ANC's Pallo Jordan several months ago, gaining the impression that the organisation was "not ready to own or have any direct association with a newspaper yet".

ANC spokesman Carl Niehaus said yesterday the ANC would have no editorial control over a proposed new newspaper financed by Lonrho.

Niehaus said any such publication would be totally independent, with the ANC merely "facilitating" its establishment. The organisation would also not own shares in the publication. Niehaus stressed that the project was still in the investigative, speculative stage.

ANC shifts its stance on regionalism

B/DAM 18/5/93

304A

BILLY PADDOCK

A BREAKTHROUGH in constitutional negotiations is on the cards following significant shifts on regionalism by the ANC in its submissions to multi-party negotiations.

The ANC's new position would go a long way towards accommodating the anxieties of the Concerned South Africans Group (Cosag), and in particular Inkatha, political observers said.

One source said the development was of such a nature that "Inkatha, and maybe even Bophuthatswana, would have difficulty in rejecting it easily".

The ANC's new stance was contained in a submission to the technical committee compiling documents on the various parties' policies on constitutional principles.

Attempts to obtain a response yesterday from Inkatha on the ANC's submission were unsuccessful.

The negotiating council meets today to consider reports of the seven technical committees and it is expected that parties could start substantive talks on constitutional principles, including the future form of state and regional powers. The Cosag parties have insisted that these items top the agenda.

The ANC's submissions to the technical committee on constitutional principles calls for national, regional and local governments to be set up democratically — with each having legislative and executive

powers and functions. It implies that regions would also have their own constitutions and that their powers, functions and duties would be entrenched in the new national constitution.

Constitutional Development Minister Roelf Meyer is so optimistic at the new development that he says there is no longer any substantive difference on regionalism at the talks.

Meyer said negotiators were at the point "where a regional dispensation which has the hallmarks of federalism is in sight. It is something SA has never had before."

One source close to the committee working on the submissions said parts of the ANC's document came "straight from the Consultative Business Movement's report on regionalism and they have moved much further from the position they held after their national conference on regionalism".

One negotiator on the 10-man planning committee said yesterday the constitutional committee's report was extremely comprehensive and provided a good basis to start negotiating substantive issues. The report would provide a "workable and real compromise that could lead to a breakthrough in the talks". This would clear the way for the other issues to be tackled more quickly than anticipated.

□ To Page 2

ANC shift

18/5/93

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□ From Page 1

He said the ANC's submission would go "a long way to lessen the fears for Cosag even though it would not accommodate the CP's position of a confederal dispensation". It was now up to negotiators to "grasp the nettle and make good what the technical committee has started".

The one issue that would have to be negotiated carefully was the relationship between central and regional governments. Inkatha and others in the Cosag fold were demanding, among other powers,

control over regional security forces, which government and the ANC would reject. "It is now also time for Inkatha and Cosag to move and compromise accordingly in the spirit of goodwill," he said.

Another source said it was unlikely finality on regionalism or a transitional executive council would be reached by June 3. But there would be sufficient progress for the ANC to satisfy its commitment to supporters that an election date would be set and a broad enough agreement reached on transitional structures.

Whites' optimism reaches rock-bottom

WHITE optimism about a new SA plummeted to record lows after the assassination of SACP general secretary Chris Hani last month, a recent survey found.

"With black-on-white violence apparently increasing, it seems unlikely the spirits of the white electorate will lift significantly in the foreseeable future," Research Surveys Omnichek division said yesterday.

In a survey of 800 white women in the metropolitan areas during the week of Hani's assassination, Omnichek found 63% of respondents felt less optimistic about a future SA than they had six months before.

This was after the first attack on whites

by Apla last September had caused levels of optimism "to plunge to hitherto unrecorded lows".

"These results lend urgency to the need for an election date to be set, and for the politicians to be seen to be reaching agreement on the vital issues facing the country," Omnichek director Binky Kellas said.

A survey among 800 black women in major metropolitan areas did not show a similar plunge.

"It seems black households are stuck in a slough of despond and that their mood cannot become any less negative than it already is," Omnichek said. — Sapa.

(304A)

B107 12/5/93



Good to have you home, Baby

ON TOP OF THE WORLD ... Newly crowned World Boxing Organisation flyweight champion Jacob "Baby Jake" Matlala is being welcomed by fans at his home in Meadowlands, Soweto, yesterday after his sensational win against Pat Clinton in Glasgow, Scotland, at the weekend.

PIC: SELLO MOTSEPE

FW, Mandela to

meet on crisis

Sowetan 18/5/93

Sowetan Reporters and Sapa

THE SA DEMOCRATIC Teachers Union has cancelled both meetings with the Department of Education and Training and the National Education Department.

But in a major effort to defuse the volatile situation resulting from the education crisis, State President F W de Klerk and ANC president Mr Nelson Mandela are to meet, possibly within days.

Sadtu was scheduled to meet with the DET today and another meeting with the NED was to be held tomorrow.

Sadtu said yesterday they had already communicated their dispute on salaries and rationalisation to De Klerk's office.

Minister of National Education Mr Piel Marais was expected to step in yesterday "as a matter of urgency" to avoid a deepening of the education crisis. The National Peace Committee yesterday has also moved to stem the tide of destruction of the past weeks.

The chairman of the NPC, Mr John Hall, yesterday said he was prepared to help any attempts to defuse any further incidents of conflict and wrangles around education.

"I am disappointed that opportunities for win solutions may have been missed through lack of communication and the structures of the peace accord will continue to offer their facilities to try to overcome shortcomings and difficulties," Hall said yesterday.

Meanwhile, the Southern Transvaal region of Congress of SA Students said the march through Johannesburg today would go on as planned, whether or not permission was granted.

Cosas spokesman Mr Vitalious Xaba said: "It is our right to gather ... it is freedom of assembly. It's not a question of permission being granted or not but a question of discipline."

The build-up to the national teachers' strike next Monday got off the ground yesterday as pupils and teachers in major cities took to the streets in protest against the education crisis.

Durban at standstill

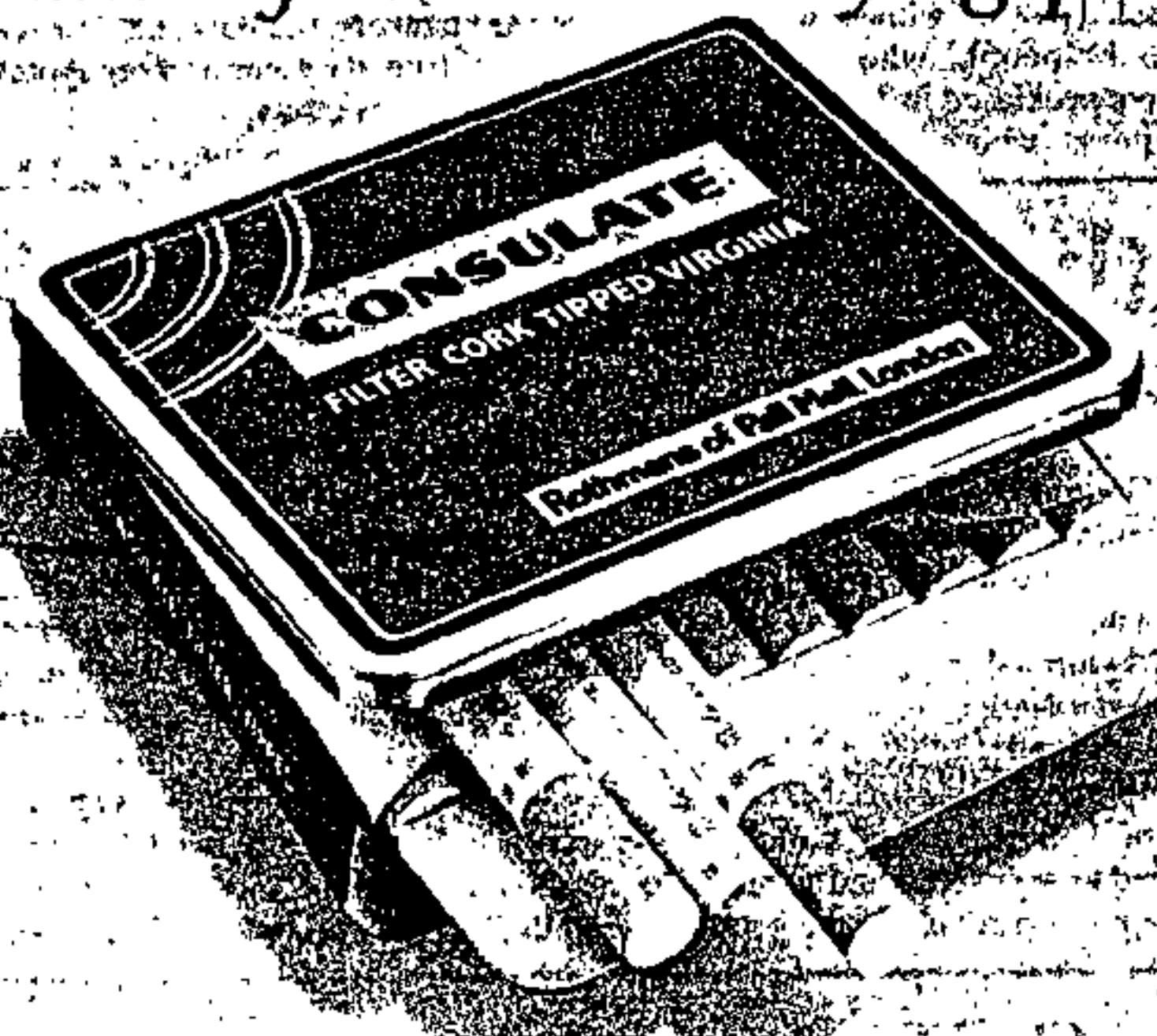
In another development, about 2 500 technician and university students brought Durban's city centre to a standstill yesterday.

This was during a march to protest against the education crisis in general and the problems at the University of Bophuthatswana in particular.

Meanwhile, students at the University of Zululand near Empangeni boycotted classes in protest against the appointment of Professor Charles Dlamini as rector of the university.

Students claimed that Dlamini's appointment was an undemocratic process and was against the views of a large constituency of the university.

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MADE IN SOUTH AFRICA UNDER THE DIRECTION OF ROTHMANS OF PALL MALL, LONDON ESTABLISHED 1898

CON 51EU

By Esther Waugh
Political Correspondent

No final decision has yet been made on the prosecution of 70 people implicated in the Bisho massacre of at least 28 demonstrators, according to Ciskei Attorney-General Willem Jurgens. However, Jurgens said it was "inappropriate to identify individuals at this stage".

The preliminary indictment lists 70 people, including ANC and SACP leader Ronnie Kas-

Bisho charges still to be decided

ris, and 69 members of the Ciskei Defence Force (CDF).

The first accused is the field commander — a lieutenant-colonel — of all CDF personnel deployed on September 7 1992 who allegedly acted beyond his authority by:

- Not ordering troops to fire only single shots at a break-away group from the stadium.
- Allowing troops not to shoot

at demonstrators other than those in the breakaway group.

● Allowing grenades to be fired. According to the indictment, the officer requested permission by radio from CDF deputy commander Colonel Dirk van der Bank to fire on a break-away group, led by Kasrils.

Van der Bank relayed the request to CDF commander Brigadier Marius Oelshing, who gave

permission for single shots to be fired at the group.

The indictment said permission to order CDF troops to shoot was "obtained and given on false information". It was preliminary recommendation that the lieutenant-colonel be charged with murder, attempted murder and culpable homicide.

According to the draft charge

sheet, Kasrils is to be charged with culpable homicide and was "the direct precipitating cause of the shooting".

The indictment said that by leading the group out of the stadium, Kasrils: "... outflanked not only the Ciskeian Police ... neutralising them as the primary law enforcement agency, but also the personnel of the National Peace Secretariat who were in front of the police line, thus bringing the group into direct and sudden confrontation with the CDF".

Abuses in ANC camps possible, inquiry told

By Mokone Molete

The ANC's head of security during its years in exile yesterday admitted that human rights abuses could have taken place in the organisation's camps, but said this was not normal policy.

Mzwandile Piliso told a commission of inquiry led by Dr Sam Molsuanyane that the ANC had a code of conduct which did not encourage the use of torture to obtain information.

Admitting, under questioning, that abuses could have taken place, Piliso explained that the organisation operated under what it perceived to be conditions of war. He said many agents (of the South African Government) presented problems to the ANC.

"Under normal circum-

stances these agents were interviewed, except in 1981 when we heard that there was a plan to overthrow the leadership of the ANC. In that instance there were cases of people being manhandled."

He pointed out that those under his command were expected to adhere to a strict code of conduct which discouraged abuses.

Referring to Angola's infamous ANC Quatro camp, linked to many allegations of torture, he said a tribunal set up by the organisation to review complaints had been slow to act, due to work pressure.

Earlier, former ANC secretary-general Alfred Nzo told the commission that he never found the Quatro camp to be a bone of contention among inmates.

Negotiations at critical juncture

By Esther Waugh
Political Correspondent

Negotiations enter a critical phase today with the start of the first substantive constitutional talks in the resumed negotiations process.

The meeting of the Negotiating Council at the World Trade Centre will discuss preliminary reports from seven technical committees.

These reports deal with constitutional matters, including self-determination and the form of state, violence, a transitional executive council (TEC), fundamental human rights during the

transition, an interim constitution, independent media, electoral commissions and the repeal of discriminatory laws.

A proposal by the committee on constitutional matters that a regional commission be formed to determine the boundaries of regions is expected to be discussed in the 26-party negotiating council.

The negotiating council will have to decide today how these reports are to be discussed.

However, Constitutional Development Minister Roelf Meyer has cautioned that no decisions, "with a few exceptions", will be taken.

Participating groups have to

submit their submissions to the technical committees by 5 pm tomorrow and the discussions will be open-ended until all submissions have been received.

Negotiators believe that the value of the submissions is that parties will now be forced to make their positions known publicly.

ANC secretary-general Cyril Ramaphosa has indicated that his organisation will table a resolution today on the Joe Slovo assassination plot.

PAC secretary-general Benny Alexander predicted a heated debate on the reports from the technical committees on the TEC and constitutional matters.



I nursed my hostage. Benrthin

The DP Bill of Rights could bridge the divisions in SA, claims Tony Leon

A shield... and a sword



MORE than 50 years ago, Judge Learned Hand, the aptly christened wise man of American jurisprudence, cautioned Americans not to place their reliance on a Bill of Rights. He observed: "I often think that we place too much faith on Bills of Rights, constitutions and courts of law. Liberty lies in the hearts and minds of men and women — and when it dies there no Bill of Rights, no constitution and no court of law can save it."

the exercise of his or her fundamental freedom (to practise his religion or her culture, to be inviolable in his home and in establishing her family, for example). But it will also empower the individual: the citizen of the new South Africa will be able, under our Bill, to enforce a minimum code of conduct from the new government, without which other democratic rights remain in the realm of abstract theory.

Unlike the ANC and the National Party, however, we have not attempted to ram our policy proposals or political manifesto into the Bill of Rights. Our drafting committee — consisting of DP members of Parliament and specialist academic consultants — did not believe that every, or even most, policy claims qualified as constitutional rights.

We did attempt to formulate a core of essential rights for the courts to adjudicate. In so doing we had special regard for the need to establish conditions of equality and for the restoration of dignity — the denial of which has caused the dark stain of apartheid on the fabric of our society.

Our Bill of Rights therefore commits the new South Africa to equality — and sets its face against racial and gender discrimination. The DP charter outlines

"unjustified differentiation" based on grounds of race, gender, sexual orientation, age and disability.

Despite the generality of this thrust, it also recognises that precisely because such discriminations in the past have created pervasive inequality, we also have to give legal recognition to the need for affirmative programmes to undo existing inequalities. Our Bill authorises such programmes — but to prevent the quest for equalisation destroying fundamental liberties, we have drawn this clause tightly. "Rationally" is the test any such programme has to meet. A programme would not be rational if, say, it was not focused to reach its intended beneficiaries, or if it continued to operate after it had done its work.

Justified differentiation, which our Bill will also legalise, will allow for desirable distinctions. It may be desirable, for instance, to educate members of different religions separately, and for that reason it may be necessary to differentiate certain schools on the grounds of religion.

We also recognise a sphere of privacy which our document defines as "the decisions made in the exercise of the type of choice necessary to guarantee personal autonomy". This category will prevent the Orwellian state from intruding into every nook and cranny of private life.

But this is not an invitation for

racists and other discriminators to seek shelter by privatising apartheid. We have drawn this clause narrowly — and have invited the courts to determine, in the light of this clause, the shifting boundaries of privacy. The courts will have to interpret and redefine these boundaries as society's conception of that idea matures and develops.

A key point in our Bill is also the rebuttal of the Government's absurd and contradictory notion that while rights should be enforceable against the state (so-called vertical application), it should not be applicable as between individuals, or horizontally.

Most of the rights contained in the Democratic Party Bill are terse, simple and easy to understand. This is crucially necessary if it is to take root in the hearts and minds of citizens. Several, however, are elaborate and detailed. We make no apologies here. It is in these sections which provide for fundamental civil liberties and procedural safeguards that precision was required. Our history has taught us to take elaborate measures against oppression.

A distinctive feature of our Bill is its enforceability mechanisms. These too are detailed in this

charter, including novel provisions to secure information from the organs of state, innovative rights to administrative justice and ease of procedures to allow the poor and hitherto to approach the courts for relief. Fundamental to our Bill is recognition of the fact that without effective means of enforcement, legal rights will become little more than moral claims, readily ignored when the forces of government find it convenient to do so.

Our Bill takes the view that policy formulation — from the detailed provision of health services to the allocation of housing — is the preserve of parliament, not the constitution. We hope that governments — and their policies — will change to meet changing circumstances. But because the promises of a Bill of Rights could be empty, cruel words echoing in a wasteland of deprivation and denial, we provide for a standard of justification which empowers the citizen to obtain from government the entitlements to the means of survival.

This article, together with associated provisions relating to equality and affirmative action, is tightly drawn. This Bill does not, therefore, provide a laundry list of demands of government rational, honest justifications for policy decisions providing such entitlements.

Our document also provides the legal building blocks for honest, accountable government located in the framework of a participatory democracy. It is an attempt to foster democratic decision-making, the surest guarantee of good government.

It is not the province of this Bill to determine the hierarchy of the future court structure. However, the committee was unanimously of the view that the constitution should allow the Bill of Rights to be enforceable through the existing Supreme Court structure, with a final appeal lying with the Appellate Division which might, in turn, provide for an expert constitutional appeal court. We do, however, warn of the significant danger of vesting sole power for constitutional interpretation in one, specially created court. Such a device could become too contentious, powerful and politicised.

It is hoped that the Democratic Party's draft Bill of Rights offers the reality of an open democratic society governed by principles of personal freedom and simple justice, anchored in the rule of law.

● Tony Leon MP is chairman of the DP's Bill of Rights drafting committee.

Boom in DP Cape branches

Political Staff

THE number of operational Democratic Party branches in the Western Cape had quadrupled since the beginning of last year, DP regional director Mr Stuart McLoughlin said yesterday.

"It is going better and better for us in the Western Cape," he said.

At the beginning of 1992, the DP had 14 operational branches in the Western Cape. It now has 58 branches in the region.

CT 18/5/93

3047

DP: CP should 'fight at table'

THE CP should realise the only place that it could fight for self-determination was at the conference table, DP MP for Constantia Mr Roger Hulley yesterday said. Speaking during the debate on the Budget of Ministers Council chairman Mr Adriaan Vlok, he said self-determination should be correctly seen as the "free expression of individual will".

304P
But his statement came as CP leader Dr Ferdi Hartzenberg said the CP would only negotiate as long they led to self-determination, but would pull out once this option was closed.

Dr Hartzenberg said the CP would not stay at the negotiating table to make its own funeral arrangements.

He added it seemed that nego-

CT 18/5/93
tiations were increasingly being used to rubber-stamp agreements between the NP and ANC.

Also yesterday, CP defence spokesman Dr Willie Snyman said the party would have no other choice but to reconsider participating in part-time military service if members of uMkhonto weSizwe were absorbed as an organisation into the SADF.

Whites' hopes plummet — survey

304A
CT 18/5/93

JOHANNESBURG. — White optimism in a new South Africa plummeted to record lows after the assassination of South African Communist Party secretary-general Mr Chris Hani last month, according to the findings of a survey.

"With black-on-white violence apparently increasing, it seems unlikely the spirits of the white electorate will lift in the foreseeable future," the Omnichek division of Research Surveys said yesterday.

It conducted a study among 800 white women in the metropolitan areas during the week of Mr Hani's murder.

Impact

It said 63% of the respondents felt less optimistic about a future South Africa than they had six months before.

"The assassination of Mr Chris Hani had a profound impact on the mood of whites, taking levels of optimism, which were already at a record low, even further down," Omnichek said.

Sixty-six percent of Afrikaners were less optimistic, compared with 60% of English-speaking white women. — Sapa



Optimism as ANC shifts position

304A
CT18/5/93

Own Correspondent

JOHANNESBURG. — A breakthrough in constitutional negotiations is on the cards following significant shifts on regionalism by the ANC in its submissions to multi-party negotiations.

The ANC's new position would go a long way towards accommodating the anxieties of the Concerned South Africans Group (Cosag), and in particular Inkatha, political observers said.

The ANC's new stance was contained in a submission to the technical committee compiling documents on the various parties' policies on constitutional principles.

Attempts to obtain a response yesterday from Inkatha were unsuccessful.

The negotiating council meets today to consider reports of the seven technical committees and it is expected that parties could start substantive talks on constitutional principles, including the future form of state and regional powers.

The ANC's submissions call for national, regional and local governments to be set up democratically — with each having legislative and executive powers and functions. It implies that regions would also have their own constitutions and that their powers, functions and duties would be entrenched in the new national constitution.

Constitutional Development Minister Mr Roelf Meyer is so optimistic at the new development that he says there is no longer any substantive difference on regionalism at the talks.

AN ELECTION DATE could not be set unless there was broad agreement on constitutional principles and a Bill of Rights, Democratic Party negotiator, Mr Colin Eglin, said at the weekend.

Eglin, a member of the 10-man Planning Committee at the Multiparty Negotiating Process, briefed the media at a special workshop held at Hermanus, east of Cape Town.

He said the DP believed it would also not be possible to follow the direction of the present process without first putting a Charter of Human Rights in place for the transitional stage.

The acceptable constitutional principles would approximate those established in the Codesa process which were being considered as the basis for agreement at the World Trade Centre talks.

The DP would be presenting its position, broadly supporting these principles, but with additional conditions it believed were essential if the other parties were intent on proceeding.

Basic statement

These included a basic statement that the form of government would be federal in nature with appropriate and adequate legislative, executive and fiscal autonomy and responsibility constitutionally entrenched.

Another necessity was a specific provision for a government of national unity lasting four to five years.

The need for greater clarity in the separation of the legislative, executive and judiciary functions of government needed to be written into the agreed on constitutional principles.

Guarantees for the openness and transparency of government was also a prerequisite.

Sub-committee

Eglin said these proposals were contained in the party's input to the relevant technical sub-committee dealing with constitutional principles.

"There can be no election date announced on June 3 (when the Multiparty Negotiating Forum convenes next) unless broad agreement is reached on the constitutional principles," he said.

The reason for this was what the DP considered the back-to-front way the two main players, the National Party and the African National Congress, wanted to conduct the constitution-making process.

They wanted to hand over power and then draw up a constitution.

"But power cannot be handed over in a vacuum. The Multiparty Forum must draw up an interim constitution."

Although it may be politically interim, whatever constitution was in place would be the only one and therefore had to contain all the neces-

Mr Colin Eglin, a senior member of the Democratic Party's negotiations team, says an election date for South Africa's first inclusive elections cannot be set yet, writes a

Sowetan Correspondent:

Sowetan 18/5/93



Colin Eglin ... no election date yet.

(304A)
sary checks and balances.

The DP, Eglin explained, believed the correct process was to draw up a constitution first and then hand over power in terms of an election fought on the basis of the new constitution.

"The tendency to be democratic is stronger while negotiating for a new constitution. Parties are least inclined to be democratic when they are already in power.

"If we are to follow the present process as agreed to at Codesa, we believe checks and balances have to be built into the constitution now."

Newly elected

Constitutional power should be handed over to a newly elected legislature-constituent assembly and executive only on the basis of a constitution containing all the constitutional principles agreed to by the MPNP, incorporating all the constitutional structures, separations of power, checks and balances and Bill of Rights that are necessary to ensure that the new constitution is in fact democratic.

“If we are to follow the present process as agreed to at Codesa, we believe checks and balances have to be built into the constitution now”

Eglin said it had to be considered that a year or two after the elections the constitution-making body cum parliament may still not have arrived at a new constitution.

A clear majority could even just adopt the existing constitution as a final one with whatever flaws it contained.

The DP therefore believed the process should first agree on constitutional principles which must form the basis of the first democratic constitution and any subsequent amendments to it.

National unity

The MPNP must then draw up such a constitution incorporating the concept of an interim government of national unity.

The MPNP must agree on the procedures and percentages whereby a new parliament can amend it to produce a "final" constitution, on the body which will adjudicate whether any amendments are in keeping with the principles and a time scale to ensure the new parliament will in fact produce a "final" constitution.

According to the DP's proposals, agreement on a Transitional Executive Council and its sub-councils, directed at levelling the playing fields for the election, should be reached at the same time.

Only once agreement on all these elements had been achieved, can the TEC be brought into being and an election date announced, formally starting the election process.

After the elections the new parliament and interim government of national unity could be installed and the regional and local government structures phased in, Eglin said.

(3) Yes, from the South African Agricultural Union for the continuation of the scheme.

(4) Yes. A media statement will be issued depending on the finalization of assistance measures and the outcome of the negotiations with the Department of Local Government and National Housing.

Senior Certificate: examination fee

*7. Mr A GERBER asked the Minister of National Education:

(1) Whether it is the intention to reduce the compulsory examination fee for the Senior Certificate examination in respect of the various education departments; if not, why not; if so, what are the relevant particulars;

(2) whether he will make a statement on the matter? B809E

THE MINISTER OF NATIONAL EDUCATION:

(1) The Ministers responsible for the provision of education released a statement on 31 March 1993 according to which the Government authorized individual departments of education to reduce the 1993 Senior Certificate examination fees by a maximum of R24,00 from R72,00 to R48,00 with the provision that the loss of income be borne from their own funds or effected savings.

The hon the Minister of Education and Training has since announced that the 1993 Senior Certificate examination fees for the Department of Education and Training have been reduced by R24,00, while the Department of Education and Culture: House of Delegates have also reduced their fees by R24,00.

(2) Yes. The Government is at present consulting role-players with regard to the levying of examination fees and will make an announcement as soon as a decision has been taken.

Business interrupted in accordance with Rule 180C (3) of the Standing Rules of Parliament.

HOUSE OF ASSEMBLY

INTERPELLATION

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

Own Affairs:

Afrikaner universities: ANC/SACP alliance

*1. Mr H D K VAN DER MERWE asked the Minister of Education and Culture:

(1) Whether he intends taking any steps to ensure that universities considered to be Afrikaner universities do not fall into the hands of the ANC/SACP alliance; if not, why not; if so, what steps;

(2) whether he will make a statement on the matter? B858E, INT

*THE MINISTER OF EDUCATION AND CULTURE: Mr Chairman, firstly I should like to know what is meant by a university that is considered to be an Afrikaner university. In other words, is there a difference between an Afrikaner university and an institution that is considered to be such a university?

Concerning the further question as to what an Afrikaner university is, I presume that by that the hon interpellant means a university with Afrikaans as the medium of instruction and an ethos that reflects mainly the Afrikaner culture. There are such universities, of course, and I presume that it is in fact that medium of instruction and ethos that the hon member is concerned about. I share his sentiments in this regard. The best protection of the character and nature of a university, any university, lies in its autonomy. That autonomy is already one of the strong points of the university system in South Africa.

The protection of the autonomy of an institution is of vital importance to the university system of our country. The Government considers itself to be committed to the preservation of the autonomy of institutions, in a future dispensation as well, and will ensure this. The principle of autonomy has already been incorporated in the draft charter of fundamental rights. I am striving for the consolidation, stabilisation and expansion of the autonomy of our universities. This is the obvious and best way of protecting their nature and character.

*Mr H D K VAN DER MERWE: Mr Chairman, I should like to quote what Oswald Spengler wrote in his work *Jahre in der Entscheidung* at the beginning of the century. I am going to read the English translation, because my German is not very good. It states:

The White races have descended from their erstwhile position. Yesterday they gave orders, today they negotiate and tomorrow they will have to flatter to be able to negotiate.

I think Spengler, if he could have looked at the present situation of the Whites in South Africa, would have said their negotiations were followed by dishonourable surrender, and that that aggressive destruction of the property and cultures of the White civilisation. [Interjections.]

The hon the Minister and his party are now also working on their constitutional structures which they want to establish in Southern Africa. They are destroying the education facet of the Afrikaner's culture with their entire approach to Southern Africa. This question was most probably formulated in this way by the officials. I do not know whether the hon the Minister still understands who and what the Afrikaner is and which properties in this Southernland belong to the Afrikaner.

In March I asked the hon the Minister a question about the universities, and the Afrikaner universities in particular. I asked him whether he was aware of the fact that lecturers and students at some Afrikaans universities were doing their best to ensure the Africanisation of Afrikaans universities. By that I mean that they should become Black. The hon the Minister then said he was aware of that. I went on to ask him, arising from the hon the Minister's reply, whether he agreed with that. He then replied that it did not fall within his sphere of competence and that in any event he would not be presumptuous enough to interfere in discussions that were taking place in the academic sphere at tertiary institutions.

I want to tell the hon the Minister that he must not hide behind the autonomy of universities today. In Southern Africa there is a history of two standpoints in regard to the essential nature of a university. Wits and Ikeys and similar universities had a completely different standpoint on the matter. We on the Afrikaner side

said the universities in Stellenbosch, Potchefstroom, Bloemfontein and Pretoria were universities whose foundations were established and embedded in the milieu of the Afrikaner. [Time expired.]

*Mr J A JORDAAN: Mr Chairman, we understand that in his dreams the hon member plays the role of the CP's university establishment committee. The DP decided to compose a manual for him. On the title page of the manual the following words appear: "Opgedra aan Rissipit, Oud-Tuks akademikus, tans woord-lengtespesialis". The title of this manual is: "Die Bittersteikfonteinvolkstaatsuniversiteitsin-stellingskomiteehandleiding". I think the hon member can practise his arithmetic and count the number of letters. He will find more than 41, which was the length of his longest word the other day.

I quote a few excerpts from the text for hon members:

As die voorsitter hande in die hare is, kry jou hande in sy hare met realistiese standpunte.

The guidebook also says that the chairman may not mislead the proverbial blind in the CP by using the voice of Jacob but the hands of Esau. Furthermore the chairman must accept that a bill of rights will, in the first place, guarantee the academic freedom of universities, and that every university will determine its own ethos and character, and not the State. It also states that the State must pay all universities a subsidy on an equal basis, and that the State may not discriminate on the basis of the ethos and culture of the university. Moreover the manual also states that naturally universities must be able to approach donors in order to raise funds. They can ask for money in the same way.

I am satisfied that Afrikaners at the universities that are at present Afrikaner universities and Afrikaans universities are capable of dealing with matters themselves, without taking entirely to heart the first two points in the hon member's manual, and that he should not interfere with those universities.

*THE MINISTER OF EDUCATION AND CULTURE: Mr Chairman, the hon member Mr H D K van der Merwe said he wondered whether I still understood who and what an Afrikaner was. I want to remind the hon member that as recently as last week the esteemed

HOUSE OF ASSEMBLY

CP frontbencher, the hon member for Meyer-
ton, placed on record in Hansard that he felt
that I was a good Afrikaner. I honestly cannot
believe that there are such serious differences of
opinion in CP ranks.

The hon member said I was hiding behind
autonomy, but the point is that both the medium
of instruction and the general ethos of a univer-
sity are the result of the interaction between the
institution and the community that is served by
the institution. The ethos of a university is not
something that is or could be forced on the
institution from outside. It is the embodiment of
forces within the university and the community
it serves. This reflects the dynamics of the aca-
demic milieu of the institution.

Surely the hon member Mr H D K van der
Merwe is also part of the academic milieu of
certain institutions. I want to ask him what he is
doing, in his general conduct and in respect of
universities, to maintain the character and ethos
of universities that are important to him.

*Mr H D K VAN DER MERWE: Mr Chair-
man, I want to tell the hon the Minister that I
hope the discussion on these matters will con-
tinue for a long time. I hope the milieu in this
country will be such that these discussions can in
fact continue. I just want to ask the hon Minister
who is sitting next to the hon the Minister of
Education and Culture whether he recalls our
ideals and standpoints with regard to Afrikaner
universities during the years we were students
together. I still stand by them.

In his party and in the nation that the hon the
Minister wants to build in South Africa he wants
a reflection of the population structure. In other
words, his party must have a Black majority in
order to govern. He maintains the same stand-
point with regard to all other facets of his
department, also as regards universities. He is
integrating education in Southern Africa.

The hon the State President is holding talks with
Mr Mandela today. What are they about? Let
me quote to hon members what is happening
today in the education systems of the other
population groups. He wants to involve Whites
in this milieu, from the pre-primary to the
tertiary levels. I quote:

The crisis in Black education—boycotts,
chalk-downs, burning of classrooms, attacks
on headmasters and teachers, stoning of

HOUSE OF ASSEMBLY

police and delivery vehicles—is about to
deepen.

The other day Mr Mandela told young people in
his community who could not control themselves
that they should simply join uMkhonto weSizwe
and he would give them enough weapons. The
hon the Minister does not have any idea of what
the reality in Southern Africa is today. The
right-wing front, which was established to con-
sider every facet of the Afrikaner people in
Southern Africa, was not established too late.

My experience is that communists and leftists
are being pampered at our universities today.
They are being allowed to continue with the
destruction of the Afrikaner. "Zo zongen de
ouden, zo piepen de jongen." The NP establish-
ment, the Broederbond and everyone who goes
along with that, have proceeded to corrupt our
young people, so much so that they no longer
attach any value to the heritage of the Afrikaner
people.

The CP is very serious about these matters. We
shall proceed with negotiations as far as we can,
but we are mobilising in respect of every facet.
In this Chamber today I want to tell every
student and former student of Afrikaner univer-
sities that we shall have to mobilise ourselves in
order to save what belongs to us.

*THE MINISTER OF EDUCATION AND
CULTURE: Mr Chairman, I just want to tell
the hon member who wants to mobilise that it
will not be possible to maintain the character of
any university in South Africa by way of mobi-
lisation. If that is the hon member's purpose, I
think he is mistaken.

I want to remind him that the principles of
academic freedom and the administrative auton-
omy of institutions did not start with the history
of South Africa. This is a process that has taken
900 years to crystallise. During that time expe-
rience has taught us that a sound distance should
be maintained between the government of the
day and universities.

If the hon member now wants us to interfere
there, I want to tell him immediately that it will
be a retrogressive step in South Africa. We are
proud of the development of our universities.
We do not want to create a situation in which
our universities have virtually no autonomy and
in which they are technically in fact administered
as State departments.

Right at the outset the hon member quoted a
passage and subsequently said I wanted to inte-
grate education in South Africa. The issue here
is not Afrikaner universities. The issue is White
universities. I think that in future we shall be
able to conduct a more meaningful debate if the
hon member would rather ask his questions
directly, for example what is going to be done to
preserve White universities. In this way we shall
at least be able to argue about the facts. The hon
member need not conceal his question in such a
way that it is difficult to debate with him.

Debate concluded

QUESTIONS

Indicates translated version.

For oral reply:

Own Affairs:

Service contracts of teachers: negotiations with
governing bodies

*1. Mr R M BURROWS asked the Minister of
Education and Culture:

Whether, in the light of Regulation 6 (7) of
26 February 1993, teachers are permitted to
negotiate their own service contracts in re-
spect of unsubsidized posts individually with
school governing bodies; if not, why not; if
so, what are the relevant details?

THE MINISTER OF EDUCATION AND
CULTURE:

No, according to Regulation 6 (7) of the
Regulations relating to Governing Bodies of
State-aided Schools, excluding State-aided
Schools for Specialised Education, governing
bodies may employ persons in unsubsidised
posts "Provided that the conditions of service
and other service benefits of such persons
who are employed in teaching posts, shall be
negotiated between the governing body con-
tained or a body authorised thereto by it, and
the organised teaching profession as rep-
resented by the bodies and associations re-
cognized in the province or region concerned
under the Education Policy Act, 1967 (Act
No 39 of 1967): Provided further that if a
teacher is a member of a particular recog-

nised teachers' association, the negotiations
shall be conducted by such association or
body authorised thereto by it."

Mr R M BURROWS: Mr Chairman, arising
out of the hon the Minister's reply—I am ad-
dressing him in his legal capacity—is it not a
fact that individuals have the right to negotiate
their own contracts of employment according to
the common law in South Africa? If that is so,
is the statement which the hon the Minister has
just read out not a total violation of the individ-
ual's right to negotiate his own contract of em-
ployment?

THE MINISTER: Mr Chairman, I paid a lot of
attention to this matter before I made a deci-
sion. When I applied my mind to it at the time,
I knew the hon member for Pinetown, for in-
stance, would oppose any decision I decided to
take. Nevertheless, on the basis of the advice I
received at the time, I thought I had made the
right decision in the interests of education as it
exists today.

Mr R M BURROWS: Mr Chairman, further
arising out of the hon the Minister's reply, if an
individual school wished to employ an individ-
ual teacher and pay him or her out of its own
funds, and if that school and teacher negotiated
their own contract of employment in violation
of the regulation which the hon the Minister
has just read out, would the hon the Minister
act to prosecute either the school or the teacher?

THE MINISTER: Mr Chairman, that is a hypo-
thetical question which I would prefer not to re-
ply to. All I can say is that I have had lengthy
discussions with the TFC on this matter. They
regard this in a very serious light and assured
me that the whole process would be ap-
proached in a very lenient and flexible manner.

Mr R M BURROWS: Mr Chairman, further
arising out of the hon the Minister's reply, did
he carry out any negotiations with the Model C
schools themselves in respect of this particular
matter?

THE MINISTER: Mr Chairman, there are ap-
proximately 2 000 individual Model C schools.
Of course it would have been completely im-
possible for me to negotiate with all of them.
However, I did negotiate with parties who gave
me the assurance that they represented a num-
ber of such schools in particular instances.

HOUSE OF ASSEMBLY

New-found seriousness at negotiating council session (3049)

ANC 19/5/93

□ Meeting on substantive issues goes off without a hitch

ESTHER WAUGH
Political Staff

JOHANNESBURG. — The negotiating council's session at the World Trade Centre was mostly characterised by a new-found seriousness but it had its lighter moments.

Delegates were clearly relieved yesterday that the first meeting to discuss substantive issues went off without a hitch.

This prompted Communist Party chairman Joe Slovo to commend Inkatha Freedom Party chairman Dr Frank Mdlalose on his handling of the meeting.

"If your conduct and your political acumen match one another, the future is bright," Mr Slovo said. But Dr Mdlalose was quick off the mark and jokingly remarked: "I don't know if that is a kiss of death."

Just before this exchange, Conservative Party negotiator Thomas Langley told the meeting in Afrikaans that at the next meeting he would speak only in Afrikaans and his party's documentation



Mr Joe Slovo

would be presented in the same language.

This led Communist Party delegate Dr Essop Pahad to remark that from now on he would be speaking only Gujarati.

As the meeting was nearing its end, Mrs J Gouws of the Afrikaner Volksunie told delegates that when she first



Dr Frank Mdlalose

joined negotiations she was anxious about the "rush" to reach an agreement. But now that she had witnessed the "amicable relationship" between Dr Mdlalose and ANC secretary-general Cyril Ramaphosa her fears had been allayed.

It appears that Members of Parliament seem to forget

that they are at the World Trade Centre and not in Cape Town. Some bow to the chairman when they leave and return to the council chamber. Some also refer to the "honourable members".

The last chuckle came at an African National Congress Press conference. Mr Ramaphosa, Mr Slovo, Mr Mac Maharaj and Mr Carl Niehaus were sitting in front of a huge television screen.

Suddenly the colours blue, white and orange appeared behind them.

When they noticed this, one of them said: "It's the NP colours." But Mr Niehaus said: "It is the flag."

Then the technician responsible explained that the orange was actually red. At this point Mr Slovo showed renewed interest and jokingly said: "Is there red?"

In the short negotiations tradition, it was decided that only blue would appear on the television screens.

After the joint government-National Party conference, government spokesman Marius Kleynhans inadvertently said: "The PAC will now take over from the government."

Canada will step up aid for SA

JOHANNESBURG. Canada today reaffirmed its commitment to help ease the transition to democracy in South Africa by announcing it was pumping an additional R14,4 million into its support programme.

External Affairs Minister Barbara McDougall said this after talks with African National Congress president Nelson Mandela.

She said assistance for public sector reform was being increased by R14 million to R21 million and R420 000 had been provided to support community-based policing in South Africa.

"Canada is very encouraged by the recent and significant progress in the multiparty negotiations in South Africa," said Mrs McDougall.

"Canada will continue to provide both political and practical support to the process we expect to lead to a new democratic and non-racial South Africa."

Mrs McDougall is on a three-day visit to South Africa. She will meet President De Klerk in Cape Town today. — Sapa.

APR 19/5/93

3044A

Tutu to meet Clinton today over SA



President Clinton



Archbishop Tutu

HUGH ROBERTON
The Argus Foreign Service

WASHINGTON. — President Bill Clinton will have a 30-minute meeting with Archbishop Desmond Tutu today.

It will be Mr Clinton's first private meeting with a prominent South African since his inauguration four months ago.

Before the meeting, Arch-

bishop Tutu will have extensive discussions with other senior US officials, among them the Assistant Secretary of State, Mr Clifton Wharton, and the Deputy Assistant Secretary of State for Africa, Mr George Moose.

Archbishop Tutu will also meet members of congress and today he will speak at a banquet to mark the opening of a conference on southern Africa

organised by the African American Institute.

The major part of the archbishop's discussion with Mr Clinton will focus on developments in South Africa.

However part of his mission in the US is, with other Nobel Peace Prize recipients, to focus international attention on continuing repression in Burma and the imprisonment there of leading opposition figures.

Survival 'depends on clear vote result'

4 DAY 19/5/93 304A

BUSINESS had to push for a "definite result" in the country's first democratic elections if it wanted to survive, a conference on voter education was told in Johannesburg yesterday.

Consultative Business Movement executive member Leon Cohen told the conference organised by the Continuing Education Programme that a clear cut result was needed to avoid polarisation, which would lead to violence and ultimately the collapse of the economy.

"The issue is not to influence people's vote, but to influence employees to exercise their vote," he said.

Engen human resources consultant Mel Palmer told the conference that

GAVIN DU'VENAGE

business had clear cut reasons for getting involved in the election process.

By encouraging employees to vote, a decisive victory for the winning party would head off the "Angola option", Palmer said.

Getting people to accept the result would also be difficult, but by promoting voter education, people would be encouraged to cast their ballots and accept the final decision.

With 20-million prospective voters, business would have to help with logistical arrangements, and give time

off to workers who were involved in education programmes, as well as marshaling at polls.

Employees represented an influential force in their communities, as they had jobs, skills and respect, he said.

Promoting voter education among workers would have positive effects in the larger community.

However it was important that business was not perceived as biased to any party.

The emphasis had to be on education, and not on politics, he said.

In this respect, the trade unions could play an important role in the education process.

ANC clears way for talks breakthrough

8/0AM 19/5/93

BILLY PADDOCK

THE ANC yesterday backed down on its demand that an elected constituent assembly be the only body to decide on the powers, functions and duties of regions — clearing the way for the most significant breakthrough in negotiations in the past two years.

Yesterday at the World Trade Centre the ANC accepted a resolution giving the technical committee the go-ahead to formulate recommendations on the structures, powers and functions of regions.

"The effect of this is that we have shifted the decision-making process forward and are showing doubters that we are serious about moving speedily forward," one ANC negotiator said. If the details were properly negotiated in the council, the elected body could approve them.

The aim of the ANC's decision is to accommodate the fears of, among others, Inkatha. It also signals acceptance that the multiparty forum could decide on such issues. Negotiators speculated that the trade-off the ANC sought was for Inkatha to accept the establishment of a transitional executive council.

Senior Inkatha negotiator Walter Felgate said that taken with the ANC's concession that regions should have original powers and that central government should have overriding powers only in areas where there were concurrent powers, Inkatha should have very little problem in accepting this position.

He welcomed the move but cautioned against overoptimism. Until these were written in stone and a constitutional court had been established to prevent the ANC from "changing its mind during the inter-

im government stage", his party would be suspicious.

DP negotiator Colin Eglin said: "The concession by the ANC on original powers is very significant and once we have decided on the constitutional principles, it is effectively written in stone."

The 26-party negotiating council yesterday urgently instructed the technical committee to complete this work as the powers and functions of regions were "crucial to issues such as the form of state and self-determination, and will be a fundamental part of the constitution".

The committee was also instructed to make recommendations on constitutional principles and the constitution-making process. The resolution binds the council to getting a commission on regional boundaries off the ground by next week, to report back within six weeks.

The council also accepted what ANC secretary-general Cyril Ramaphosa termed "a major breakthrough on self-determination that will give certain parties great comfort". This was the technical committee acknowledging that self-determination was a right.

The committee said it was a right in the sense of making one's own choices, developing potential, securing one's well-being and not being subjected to undue external pressure and domination.

Indications from other negotiators are that the CP could walk out of the talks as its demand for a separate Afrikaner homeland would not be accommodated.

It is also understood that government

□ To Page 2

Talks

8/0AM 19/5/93

□ From Page 1

and Inkatha are pushing to make the interim constitution as comprehensive as possible, allowing the elected interim government little scope to make too many substantive decisions. Throughout proceedings yesterday, they pressed the technical committee to draft a fundamental and comprehensive Bill of Rights.

The committee looking at a transitional executive council was at pains to point out that it had difficulty with its brief because no decision on the council's establishment had yet been taken.

Felgate was concerned about the ANC submission to bring the TBVC states and self-governing states under its authority as

this reduced the powers of KwaZulu's legislative assembly.

But DP negotiator Ken Andrew said Inkatha had agreed to this at Codesa. It was impossible to contemplate all these separate authorities having their current powers in a run-up to elections.

Most of the reports from the technical committees were just noted because they were preliminary. Their members were instructed to prepare a second report by Friday.

The negotiating council would meet again on Tuesday, when serious discussion on the reports was expected to begin.

● Comment: Page 3

NEWS Harding blockaded by radical

Talks at a point of 'no return'

Sowetan 19/5/93

■ Moment of truth has arrived for Conservative Party:

THE ANC and the Government last night agreed that negotiations were reaching a point of no return after yesterday's successful meeting of the 26-party negotiating council.

The key players were confident that a date for the first democratic elections would be announced before June 3 when the negotiating forum meets.

Constitutional Development Minister Roelf Meyer said the "moment of truth" for the Conservative Party had arrived because it was clearly seeking a "cessationist option".

The key points to emerge were the "demystification" of the right of self-determination and consensus that all constitutional principles were inter-related and could not be dealt with separately.

Negotiators said this meant that the Concerned South Africans Group had effectively waived their insistence that the form of state be decided before anything else.

The main achievements were:

- A report be drafted on constitutional principles which will form the broad outline of a new constitution;
- Draft legislation be prepared for an independent media commission and an independent electoral commission; and
- A regionalism commission submit recommendations within the next six weeks on the boundaries, powers and functions of regions.

The debate was overshadowed by the first item on self-determination in the constitutional technical committee's report.

ANC general secretary Mr Cyril Ramaphosa and the NP's Dr Dawie de Villiers proposed that the report from the constitutional technical committee be dealt with in a "holistic manner".

They argued that the principle of self-determination had an impact on other constitutional principles such as regionalism, the form of state and a fundamental Bill of Rights.

1992/3 BOOKINGS NOW OPEN

FREE

Talks at 'point of no return'

By Esther Waugh
and Kaizer Nyatumba

The ANC and the Government last night agreed that negotiations were reaching a point of irreversibility after yesterday's successful meeting of the 26-party Negotiating Council.

The key players were confident that a date for the first democratic elections would be announced before June 3, when the negotiating forum meets. And Constitutional Development Minister Roelf Meyer said the "moment of truth" for the Conservative Party had arrived because it was clearly seeking a secessionist option.

The key points to emerge were the "demystification" of the right to self-determination, and consensus that all constitutional principles were interrelated and could not be dealt with separately.

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ANC secretary-general

Cyril Ramaphosa and National Party negotiator Dr Dawie de Villiers proposed that the report from the constitutional technical committee be dealt with in a "holistic manner". (304A)

They argued that the principle of self-determination had an impact on other constitutional principles such as regionalism, the form of state, and a fundamental Bill of Rights.

Many delegates echoed Natal Indian Congress negotiator Pravin Gordhan's view that the technical committee had dealt with an emotional issue in a clinical way.

Afrikaner Volksunie negotiator Chris de Jager said he was happy that self-determination was a right and not a favour.

But CP negotiator Thomas Langley said he did not

share the euphoria of the others.

He claimed that a unitary state was the point of departure of the technical committee's report. In fact, it was a classic Soviet view, he said.

In its submission the CP said a number of states — and at least two, an Afrikaner state and a new South Africa — should be negotiated.

However, Meyer warned that the time had come for the CP to submit its constitutional plan so that all delegates could evaluate the implications of the party's secessionist option.

PAC secretary-general Benny Alexander said afterwards that no party could disagree with self-determination in a national context, (but) the PAC would never agree to the creation of many states within one country.

ANC backs down on

CT 19/5/93

Own Correspondent

JOHANNESBURG — The ANC yesterday backed down on its demand that an elected constituent assembly be the only body to decide on the powers, functions and duties of regions — clearing the way for the most significant breakthrough in negotiations in the past two years.

At the World Trade Centre yesterday the ANC accepted a resolution giving the technical committee

the go-ahead to formulate recommendations on the structures, powers and functions of regions.

"We are showing doubters that we are serious about moving speedily forward," one ANC negotiator said.

The aim of the ANC's decision is to accommodate the fears of, among others, the IFP. It also signals acceptance that the multi-party forum could decide on such issues. Negotiators speculated the

trade-off the ANC sought was for the IFP to accept the establishment of a transitional executive council.

Senior IFP negotiator Mr Walter Felgate said that taken with the ANC's concession that regions should have original powers and central government should have overriding powers only in areas where there were concurrent powers, the IFP would have little problem in accepting this position.

But he cautioned against over-optimism. Until a constitutional court had been established to prevent the ANC from "changing its mind during the interim government stage", his party would be suspicious.

Government delegation leader and Minister of Constitutional Development Mr Roelf Meyer told a press conference afterwards he was "convinced the most important part of today were the unanimous

resolutions on constitutional matters."

He was referring to the technical committee on constitutional issues which was mandated, as a matter of urgency, to make recommendations on the question of constitutional principles, the structure, powers and functions of regions, and the constitution-making process itself.

"Those three issues will tell us within the next few weeks whether

we can achieve agreements on the matters that we have included in the Declaration of Intent on April 30 (to set an election date).

"If these three matters can be resolved I have no doubt that the constitution-making process in South Africa is well on its way."

CP delegation leader, Mr Tom Langley, squashed speculation after yesterday's meeting that the CP planned to walk out of the talks because it wanted a separate state.

regions

(3047)

Mandela, FW meet

PRESIDENT F W de Klerk and ANC president Mr Nelson Mandela will hold a crisis summit in the city today in a bid to defuse the education crisis sweeping the country.

The meeting — coupled with 11th-hour talks between ANC Western Cape leader Dr Allan Boesak and National Education Minister Mr Piet Marais on Friday — prompted the government to postpone a major education news conference for today.

A senior government source last night said there were "very encouraging developments" which may help to defuse the mushrooming education crisis.

CALL TO BACK TEACHERS' STRIKE

— PAGE 5

The emergency meetings will take place against a background of two days of sharp clashes in education debates in Parliament.

Yesterday, following the cancellation of a Johannesburg march by chief magistrate Mr O de Meyer, the Congress of South African Students (Cosas) said it would not apply for permission to stage mass protests, opting instead to replan strategies.

Also, church leaders in Johannesburg yesterday agreed to request an urgent meeting with Mr De Klerk after meeting representatives of the South African Democratic Teachers' Union (Sadtu) and the National Education Co-ordinating Committee.

Other indications of turmoil include:

- Opposition MPs in the House of Delegates (HoD) and House of Representatives (HoR) this week walked out in protest at the crisis.

- A walkout by Labour Party MPs in the House of Representatives.

- A mass march by HoR teachers through the city centre today.

- The cancellation of mid-year examinations at DET schools.

Government and opposition MPs yesterday clashed on how the crisis should be handled.

The chairman of the Minister's Council in the House of Assembly, Mr Adriaan Vlok, denied that the "lost generation" was the creation of the NP and accused the ANC of consistently abusing pupils "as part of the struggle to overthrow the regime".

The HoR Minister of Education, Mr Pieter Saai-man, last night said the Ministers Council would not allow organisations with "political motives" to tell them how to manage education.

He said the "negative mass hysteria" in education circles had nothing to do with education, but the propaganda had effected teachers who had "swallowed ghost stories," about mass dismissals as truth.

Crisis Summit

OT 19/5/13

19/5/13

Goodbye packages

About half the 60 members facing retrenchment at the end of June, when the President's Council will be abolished, have not served long enough to qualify for pensions and tax-free gratuities.

They will simply be paid back their pension fund contributions — now about R650 a month — plus 5% and an equal amount paid by the State. Members who have served for five years or more will receive pensions calculated in terms of the law on political office bearers.

The only concession is that the minimum period of office to qualify for a pension under the law has been reduced from seven-and-a-half years to five. All members have also been allocated an additional six months' service for the purpose of calculating payouts.

In terms of the arrangement, members who have served at least five years will receive a tax-free gratuity of some R96 000 plus a monthly pension of about R2 600.

Those with more than five years' service will receive higher amounts pro rata up to a maximum of 15 years' service in the case of pensions, but with no limit for gratuities. Service accumulated elsewhere, such as parliament, will be added for the purpose of calculating payments.

Full democracy in new SA might be postponed, reports Garner Thomson

One form of oligarchy for another

THE fact that the two main partners in South Africa's new deal would rule without Chief Mangosuthu Buthelezi raises the possibility that the country's new government might have to resort to authoritarian measures to contain the resulting unrest.

This is the warning contained in the International Institute for Strategic Studies' latest Strategic Survey, for 1992-93.

Thus, a white oligarchy would transform itself, not into full-blown democracy, but into a multiracial oligarchy, it adds. "Once again, full democracy in South Africa might be postponed to emerge after decades of repression, could once again disappear." Whether or not that prophecy is fulfilled depends on whether the

Government and the ANC can strike a deal on real federalism, the IISS says. "There is every reason — save one — why federalism, with the maximum devolution of powers to regional and local authorities, should be accepted as the answer to South Africa's potent ethnic mix and its mutually suspicious and fearful minorities."

But the ANC, having striven to win the keys of Pretoria and all the patronage that entails, is "unwilling to deny itself the prize", especially as it sees in the Government's desire for federalism simply a device once more to divide and rule the black majority.

Neither is it likely that Chief Buthelezi will give up without a struggle his plans for a semi-autonomous Natal-KwaZulu, it believes, although the two-day conference at the beginning of March to plan for a new multiparty convention in April saw Inkatha representatives "present and conciliatory".

However, despite the success of the March meeting, South Africa's non-racial government was still far from its destination.

"In the months that lie ahead, the ANC and the Government will certainly squabble over the appropriate division of the spoils, while attempting to cope with threats as diverse as an estranged Winnie Mandela and her army of youthful radicals, the Apla terrorists, the dihard racists of the Right, the former spies of the 'dirty tricks' brigade, the Zulu imps of Inkatha, and the murderers who gunned down six Inkatha schoolchildren on the eve of the March talks," the IISS predicts.

But those threats were the reason why, between the Government and the ANC at least, a deal has been struck and will probably price of delay. After the 'nightmare year' of 1992, both the Government and the ANC appear to have decided that it is a price neither they nor South Africa can afford.

"As President de Klerk put it during his 1993 address to Parliament, every South African faced a choice 'either to support constitutional change and everything reasonably required for its success, or to retire into the laager and prepare for bloody struggle'."

"By April 1993, it appeared that, for the two main parties at least, the choice had been made." □

Sun sets on own affairs but few enjoy the view

Star 20/5/1983

By Chris Whitfield
Political Correspondent

CAPE TOWN — The sun set on a corner of apartheid yesterday, but no one seemed to notice.

The three racially exclusive chambers of Parliament met to pass what, barring a disaster in negotiations, will be their last "own affairs" budgets.

With the agriculture, local government and health portfolios already amalgamated into

"general affairs", the tricameral system introduced with such fanfare by P W Botha in 1984 is on its deathbed.

But in the three Houses the small chunk of history barely raised so much as an eyebrow, let alone a mention.

In the whites-only House of Assembly, chairman Helgard van Rensburg closed proceedings without acknowledging the moment, pausing only to wish members a safe and pleasant long-weekend.

In the House of Delegates — the preserve of Indian MPs for

the past nine years — a chance for a last hurrah was lost as the National Party managed to stave off a combined opposition attempt to prevent the passing of the Education and Culture budget vote.

The voting went 18-14 against the combined Solidarity, Democratic Party and Inkatha Freedom Party forces.

In the House of Representatives — for coloureds — the Labour and Democratic parties also voted against the Education and Culture budget vote, but were beaten 41-26.

DP chief whip Roger Burrows was one member of Parliament aware that a chapter was being closed.

He said after the sitting that the system "greeted with such enthusiasm in 1984 as the precursor of white culture ended in farce. It was a vain hope to think that racial protection could be afforded by a system like own affairs."

As the NP had now discovered, the emphasis should rather be on the preservation of individual rights, he said.

304A

A woman in line for a top legal post is fighting an 'apartheid' battle for US blacks

Mirror image of SA nightmare

Hugh Robertson



LANI GUINIER is a name few South Africans will recognise. But in the next few weeks, and perhaps for the next four years, she seems destined to be at the vortex of a racial controversy which South Africans will understand with more clarity and intimacy than perhaps Americans themselves.

She is President Clinton's nominee to be civil rights commissioner of the justice department, and her views on race, and the constitutional relationship between racial minorities and majorities, lie somewhere between those of Eugene TerreBlanche and the Broderbond.

The irony of appointing to such sensitive post a black woman who in South Africa would be regarded as an exponent of constitutional apartheid — or, if looked at harshly, then at least of racial minority veto powers — appears to have been lost on the White House.

Instead, with some degree of political acuity, the Clinton administration appears to have been more concerned with appointing someone who stands at the vanguard of the "new" US civil rights movement, a person who is "politically correct" perhaps even before her time.

Lani Guinier, a professor of law, sees the US constitution as an instrument of "permanent majority hegemony", and in several articles in law journals, and in speeches, she has railed against the system for precisely the same reasons as, in his way, Eugene TerreBlanche opposes the concept of black majority rule in South Africa.

The problem with Guinier, as with TerreBlanche, is her inability to view constitutional government outside the narrow perspective of race. That whites and blacks in America have a growing spectrum of common interests which transcend their racial differences apparently is beyond her comprehension or, worse, the capacity of her imagination.

Thus she has proposed a system of "group" rights, virtually indistinguishable from those propounded by the intellectual elite in the Broderbond. Racial groups, specifically racial minorities, she believes, should have constitutional guarantees and privileges not granted by the constitution to the majority of citizens.

For instance, she has argued that racial minorities in the US should have the power to veto a range of decisions by the majority. She proposes a complicated system of proportional representation to achieve this, in which race would be the sole criterion in

determining who would exercise the veto.

There is no room in her imagination for blacks who might concur with the majority, or whites who might differ from the majority. In her book, apparently, all blacks think alike and all whites essentially are part of a racially exclusive conspiracy against blacks.

She has declared that "authentic black leaders are those elected by black voters" and she has conceded that her proposals could eventually lead to the formation of political parties based principally on race.

Guinier, indeed, was one of the prime movers behind the new Voting Rights Act under which all constituency boundaries, or voting districts, in the US were redrawn so as to concentrate blacks into certain constituencies where they would comprise the racial majority, thus ensuring the election of a black member of Congress.

The upshot, so far, has been increased representation for blacks in Congress. But the days when white congressmen had to pay close attention to the concerns of black Americans, who frequently could swing an election one way or the other in racially diverse constituencies, are gone.

This has led to a revealing anomaly in which economic and social forces are thrusting Americans inexorably towards a non-racial society in which more powerful elements than race are binding people together, while the political system is pulling instead towards the wasteland of racial exclusivity with leaders like Guinier at the helm.

At a time when the black middle class is being increasingly integrated into mainstream America, the avant-garde tugs persistently towards apartheid. On university campuses blacks claiming to speak on behalf of their fellows, demand separate social amenities.

In appeals to the Supreme Court, black communal leaders, again claiming to speak on behalf of a majority of blacks, place the emphasis not on a single, non-racial, school system, but on a system founded upon the old apartheid dictum of "separate but equal".

While apartheid in South Africa is denounced, the very people denouncing it support a system in America which cannot function constitutionally without such imperatives of apartheid as racial classification, territorial separation (at least in voting districts), and "group" rights.

There is a grim inevitability about the consequences of such political leadership. South Africans can testify to that as they struggle to free themselves from the nightmare of apartheid. Hopefully, enough Americans will recognise the mirror image of the same nightmare before it becomes a reality here as well. □

2048 Star 20/5/93

\$10 dive

after 05/20/13

By KATHARINE BUTT

WHAT goes up too quickly — must come down. And the price of gold bullion did just that in New York last night. Gold closed at \$373.75 — almost \$10 down on the Geneva afternoon fix of \$383.50, which was the highest level since the Gulf War.

Confirming analysts' fears that the price was rising far too fast to be sustainable, gold sank swiftly on profit-taking and producer sales.

"Active physical selling was reported from South Africa, Australia and Russia," a dealer said.

In unprecedented trade earlier on the Johannesburg Stock Exchange, the Gold Index shot up 13.3% as bullion prices rose in Europe. And buoyed by the gold price, the financial rand ended seven cents firmer against the dollar.

Dealers said foreign demand for SA gold shares, as well as heightened speculator activity, bolstered the unit.

05/20/93

30419

By ANTHONY JOHNSON
Political Correspondent

PRESIDENT F W de Klerk and ANC leader Mr Nelson Mandela remained locked in a marathon bargaining session over the education crisis until late last night at Westbrooke mansion in the Groote Schuur Estate.

Sources at the talks interpreted the drawn-out nature of discussions as a positive sign that negotiators were "grappling with substantive issues" and would not try to refer all problems to the still-to-be formed education forum.

Earlier plans by the government to

refer all thorny issues to an education forum were strenuously opposed by the ANC which wanted the immediate suspension of exam fees and retrenchments.

Both leaders were assisted by high-powered support teams as they battled to find a compromise to the country's mounting education stand-off.

Both sides have also warned that the crisis could degenerate into a repeat of the 1976 education clashes.

Stuents in both camps said late last night that negotiators had sent out few signals — positive or negative — about how the talks, which started about 5pm, were progressing.

All insiders would say was that the education crisis had completely dominated the talks which were intended to deal with a wide range of issues, including violence and the negotiating process.

●Talk with guns' — Gwala

- Principals say 'no' to talks
- Kids suffer if teacher numbers cut
- Parents take over teaching classes

See PAGE 2

Sensitivities were heightened by an earlier COSATU threat that if the education crisis was not speedily resolved, protest action could "spread like wildfire" to other sectors in South Africa.

But he said the government did not believe that "any definite decision" would emerge from the meeting as the decisions defusing the crisis should be taken "after wide consultation with representative and recognised role-players in the education field".

Mr Steward said that the government was making "urgent" efforts to "establish an education forum which would include all the recognised role-players in the field."

Late last night ANC sources said the organisation would not be satisfied with a mere referral of problems to the mooted education forum and that "we hope that clarity will come from this meeting on the burning issues".

In particular, the ANC wanted a sus-

ANC discovered that the government planned press conferences and briefings with journalists without a provision being made for the ANC to put its case across.

Plans for the briefings were put on ice and the two sides decided to agree jointly on a strategy for channelling progress reports on the talks.

In the House of Delegates yesterday the ruling National Party narrowly averted defeat by 18 votes to 14 after opposition MPs launched a stinging attack on Education Minister Mrs De Vries.

Mr Geyser, a member of the National Party, accused Mrs De Vries of "botching" her

City doctor and wife in death pact

By JACKIE CAMERON
A RETIRED top city psychiatrist and his bed-ridden wife have died in an apparently well-planned act of euthanasia.

The bodies of Dr Montague Russell Clarke, 79, and his wife

"This is terribly sad for the family. However, if one looks at this as though the two of them have chosen euthanasia to move onto a better place, then it's wonderful."

The caretaker of the building

"I didn't expect anything like this,"



Apla gang
held for ⁽²⁷⁸⁾CR20/5/92
farm killing

ARE YOU OVER
FOR YOUR PREP
USE SCALA PHA

Corruption runs too deep for SA to know extent

Star 20/5/93
(3044)

DEBATES about corruption can be misleading. Take estimates of corruption's costs. The ANC has said that corruption in South Africa is of the order of R9 billion annually. Nonsense, Finance Minister Derek Keys told a National Party fund-raising dinner.

Public sector corruption was no more extensive than private sector corruption.

DP finance spokesman Ken Andrew estimates Government wastage and corruption to be at least R1,2 to R1,4 billion.

The Auditor-General, on the eve of his agency's functional autonomy from the executive branch, has weighed in with his own estimate, more along Keys's lines: less than 1 percent of spending.

Are such estimates likely to be useful in thinking about what corruption costs? Probably not. First, in South Africa as elsewhere, the fact is that we will never know the extent of corruption. For obvious reasons, documentation is difficult.

Moreover, based on experience in other countries, we know that the number of accusations of corruption do not necessarily correlate with the extent or seriousness of corrupt acts.

Charges of corruption are usually more likely when systems are changing, be the changes political, economic or administrative.

With the advent of democracy and freer markets, accusations may increase even if prevalence is reduced. This is because information becomes more available, and new freedoms allow such information to be disseminated and discussed.

Other things being equal, corruption scandals are more likely to emerge in democratic polities, in free-market economies, and in businesses in transition away from authoritarian managing styles.

There is an even more telling reason why the usual estimates are misleading. Corruption is much more damaging than the amount of money that changes hands. Policies are distorted to enable corruption.

How should one analyse the harm caused by various kinds and degrees of corruption? Academics have debated this topic for years, and much has been learnt.

Research over the past two decades has overturned the benign verdict passed by some high school scholars, who tended to liken corruption to a necessary lubricant, or perhaps to a glue holding otherwise fragile polities together.

Since then, we have learnt that despite superficial similarities, a bribe has virtually nothing in common with a market price, a gift or a tip. The real cost of bribes is the way they distort incentives.

Corruption leads citizens to worry about how to influence officials instead of how to increase production, cut costs and improve quality. Corruption induces officials to worry less about how to provide service to the public and more about how to service themselves.

Over the past two decades, the results of corruption have become obvious, especially in the poorest places on the planet. Some forms of corruption are relatively harmless, such as speed money to customs officials or people violating silly foreign exchange controls.

But many forms of corruption severely distort incentives. Especially when corruption becomes systematic, it leads to spirals of waste and inefficiency, predator elites and the alienation of citizen from state.

I would go further, but pursuing such questions can actually distract our attention from the real issues at hand. On topics as loaded as corruption, it is so tempting to launch into general

attacks and global speculations, so tempting to be rhetorical.

For example, many people would be happy to discuss, at great length and with great fervour, the ultimate moral causes of corrupt behaviour, or whether corruption is more prevalent in South Africa or other parts of Africa or Japan or America, or whether the public sector is more prone to corruption than the private sector.

In my work on anti-corruption strategies in many countries, I find that overcoming this tendency to moralisms and comparisons is a necessary first step to effective action.

Consider an analogy. Suppose a doctor has an emergency patient on the operating table. Before proceeding, he wishes to have a discussion. "What do we mean when we speak of a disease or illness?" he asks philosophically. "How many cases of this disease are there in South Africa? What about other countries?"

The discussion might be academically interesting. But as he investigates and pontificates the patient dies.

Shouldn't the doctor rather say: "How do we treat diseases like this?" And "What sorts of preventive medicine and public health measures can make a difference?"

In no case," President de Klerk remarked during ques-

tion time on March 10, "where corruption or maladministration has been revealed were there any facts to show that the Minister in charge knew about it. When we discovered irregularities we took firm action and continue to do so."

But corruption should not be conceived as a disembodied irregularity or the act of a scoundrel. Corruption is a problem of systems of information, incentives and rules. To combat it, one must think through these systems and change them.

On this subject of corruption that so vexes and perplexes us, there are many blind alleys of debate to avoid, and many encouraging paths to follow.

I find myself increasingly optimistic, so much so that I see the emergence of scandals as itself a positive sign, not only in South Africa but, just to name recent examples, in Italy, Russia, Spain and Pakistan.

Even in developing countries we can learn from success stories at the various levels of government and in the business world.

● The author, an American, has just left the Lester Town Chair of Economics at Yale. School of Organisation and Management to become a professor of economics at the University of Natal (Durban). His six books include *Tropical Gangsters*, *Adjust to Reality*, *Beyond State vs Market* as well as *Controlling Corruption*, which has been translated into Spanish, Russian, Portuguese and French.

Inkatha move delays talks on settlement

By THEMBA KHUMALO

DESPITE some progress made in multiparty talks at the World Trade Centre on Friday, Inkatha has warned that it might pull out if the negotiating forum pressed ahead with a constitutional settlement without properly addressing the question of violence.

The warning came through a lengthy document which Inkatha general-secretary Dr Frank Mdlalose unsuccessfully tried to read to the delegates on Friday.

Other delegates objected strongly to Inkatha being permitted to present the paper to the forum because of the serious allegations it contained which would warrant a response from the government, the ANC and the Transkei government.

After a two-hour delay it was agreed that the document be referred to a special technical committee which will report to the forum next Friday.

The detailed document on violence, which Inkatha said was spurred by the ANC and the government "connivance" to sideline it, said it would be folly for the negotiating forum to hasten the fixing of an election date while violence continued unabated.

Killed with AK-47s

"The fact of the matter is that the IFP can't see its way through to negotiating a settlement if this forum continues to pretend that the violence only needs to be sorted out later.

"When is later? What happens in between? Are we to lose another five or 15 or 25 leaders? Is there to be a repeat of the nine massacres in Natal/KwaZulu that took place in the last few months of last year, mostly committed by hit squads in uniform?" Inkatha asked in the document.

It maintained that 270 of its leaders have been systematically killed with modern weapons, including AK-47s.

Among those who allegedly called for the killing of Inkatha leaders was the late SACP leader Chris Hani and several ANC leaders in Natal, the movement claimed. It said Hani had in the past publicly called for the murder of Buthelezi and members of the IFP Central Committee.

Inkatha said it found it strange that despite the Groote Schuur and Pretoria Accords and the National Peace Accord, the government was party to an agreement permitting the continued training of the "self-same cadres that are being deployed against us in SA".

It accused Pretoria of being party to another pact that put all the blame on political violence on Inkatha, whose hostel supporters were to be fenced in like animals while totally exonerating those attacking them.

The document also called for the banning of private armies, both from the left and the right and called on Pretoria "to stop treating MK with kid gloves".

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

Spanner in the

Press 2/5/93

works



President Clinton and Archbishop Tutu at the White House.

US ready to help, says Tutu

PETER FABRICIUS
The Argus Foreign Service

WASHINGTON. — President Clinton has indicated he will be ready to give South Africa an economic "kick-start" once a multiparty transitional executive has been installed.

And this could happen by the end of this month, Anglican Archbishop Desmond Tutu said yesterday after a 30-minute meeting with Mr Clinton — the first he has had with a prominent South African since he took office in January.

Archbishop Tutu said details were not discussed, but Mr Clinton had expressed willingness to help a transitional government off to a good start — partly because the South Afri-

can economy would be the engine that drove the economy in Southern Africa and further afield.

Archbishop Tutu was said he was confident enough with the progress in negotiations to expect that by the end of May he would be able to call on Mr Clinton to lift remaining sanctions — especially those that blocked South African access to International Monetary Fund and World Bank loans and facilities.

If South Africa were to wait until a final government was installed before investment began, people's expectations would have "gone through the roof."

"The world is waiting to help us and what we heard in the

Oval Office is that the US is ready to give us a kick-start. We need investment and we have very considerable sympathy from the president."

During his meeting with President Clinton and his staff, vice-president Al Gore raised the possibility of South Africa joining a wider effort to bring aid to war-torn Southern Sudan, Archbishop Tutu said.

This effort could help weld together South Africans who had grown apart because of apartheid.

Mr Gore's suggestion came after Archbishop Tutu complained that Africa was being marginalised and pleaded for those African countries pursuing democracy to be rewarded.

OUR FAMOUS DELICIOUS

Malan daughter pro-ANC

JOHANNESBURG. — The daughter of former Defence Minister Magnus Malan, Ms Madelein Malan, would prefer to be led by leaders in the ANC than by right-wing extremists. "I've been feeling like that for quite a while," Ms Malan said yesterday.

"I felt like writing to these people (right-wingers) and hearing their comments, but I didn't get to writing."

"When I see them on TV, I feel resentment about their talking about Afrikaners because they're trying to speak for a whole group and they don't speak for all Afrikaners."

Ms Malan said she was "positive" towards the ANC. *CT 20/5/93*

"There are some people who are really good leaders and they could lead this country into a very good future." — Reuter *(304A)*

Canada to raise its stake in democracy

By ANTHONY JOHNSON
Political Correspondent

CANADA announced yesterday that it would provide an extra R25 million rand to facilitate the transition to democracy in South Africa.

Canadian External Affairs Minister Mrs Barbara McDougall said after talks with ANC president Mr Nelson Mandela yesterday that her government was injecting an extra 10,3 million Canadian dollars (about R24,72m) into the programme.

She said assistance for public sector reform was being increased by 10m dollars (about R24m) to 15m dollars (about R36m), and 300 000 dollars (about R720 000) had been provided to support community-based policing in South Africa.

Sapa reports that Mrs McDougall, who is also the chairwoman of the Commonwealth Committee of Foreign Ministries on Southern Africa, said: "Canada is very encouraged by the recent and significant progress in the multi-party negotiations in South Africa."

"Canada will continue to provide both political and practical support to the process we expect to lead to a new democratic and non-racial South Africa."

Mrs McDougall will meet President F.W. de Klerk at Westbrooke this morning and will fly with Foreign



REASON TO SMILE . . . ANC president Mr Nelson Mandela shares a joke with Canadian External Affairs Minister Mrs Barbara McDougall before a meeting in Johannesburg yesterday. Picture: AP

Minister Mr Pik Botha to Johannesburg on Friday. The two will address a joint press conference at Jan Smuts Airport.

● Mr Botha will visit Egypt, which is about to assume the chairmanship of the Organisation of African Unity, next week.

While in Cairo Mr Botha is expected to meet with the foreign ministers and heads of state of several African countries.



Congenial talks . . . US President Bill Clinton meets Archbishop Desmond Tutu in the Oval Office at the White House. Picture: AFP

US offers economic boost

By Peter Fabricius
Star Bureau

WASHINGTON — President Bill Clinton has indicated that he would be ready to give South Africa an economic "kick-start" once a multiparty transitional executive authority had been installed — and this could happen by the end of this month.

Anglican Archbishop Desmond Tutu said this on Wednesday after a meeting with the American president.

Tutu said no "nitty-gritty" details were discussed. But Clinton had expressed willingness to help a transitional government get off to a good start, partly because, once the South African economy was running, it would be the engine driving the economy of

southern Africa.

Tutu was confident that negotiations in South Africa were progressing so well that by the end of May he would be able to call on Clinton to lift remaining sanctions, especially those which prevent South African access to International Monetary Fund and World Bank facilities.

Investments

Tutu's conditions for calling for an end to sanctions are that the negotiating partners must set a date for the first democratic elections and establish a transitional executive authority that incorporates multiparty control of the security forces.

He said he would then also call for investments. Tutu told a conference

of the African American Institute on Wednesday that the affluent West was suffering from "donor fatigue".

The conference, devoted to an examination of the ways in which the US could aid Africa, is to be addressed by prominent Americans, including Secretary of State Warren Christopher.

"Aid has made little difference to the lives of those who it was intended to help, finding its way far too frequently into the coffers of thoroughly corrupt and grossly inefficient ruling elites intent on a fast buck, of tinpot military dictators who have cared not one iota about human rights and civil liberties," Tutu said.

He said Africa should demilitarise as quickly as possible.

Generals launch a leaky ship of unity

By JAN TALJAARD
SHAKY as she goes ... The Afrikaner Volksfront (AVF) was formally launched this week, but even before the battle for Afrikaner self-determination could be joined on the high seas of broader South African politics, the front was already shipping water.

While a jut-jawed Constand Viljoen and his fellow generals were seemingly still standing firm at the helm of the folk's Good Ship AVF, definite changes were afoot on its lower decks and engine room.

As smaller opportunists such as Koos Vermeulen of the World Apartheid Movement were forced to walk the plank in the week leading up to the official launch, Wednesday's meeting was marked by attempts by the Conservative Party to assert itself within the front.

CP MPs constituted the majority of delegates and voters at the meeting and duly elected their leader, Ferdi Hartzenberg, as chairman of the AVF's executive council. Although



Never too young ... Three youthful AWB supporters model the warlike new look

Photo: KEVIN CARTER

18 different groups took part in the founding meeting, five CP members were eventually elected to the eight-member council.

The odds may shift even more in favour of the CP. Herstigte Nasionale Party leader Jaap Marais was elected to the council, but has declined to accept a seat until such time as the HNP executive has discussed the matter. If he stays out, Marais' place will be taken by another CP MP, Andrew Gerber.

It is almost a foregone conclusion

that Marais and the HNP will not become part of the AVF. Marais has strong reservations about the role of the generals in the front, while his interpretation of "self-determination" differs vastly from that of the others.

Even more significant is the fact that no member of Andries Beyers' Afrikaner Volksunie (AVU) was elected to the executive council of the front.

The AVU also refused to support a clause in the founding document relating to the rejection of a unitary

state in which other nations will rule over the Afrikaner.

While the AVU agrees with the broad principle of the clause, the real issue on which they differed with other parties was the granting of citizenship in a future Afrikaner region.

Beyers, who would dearly love to sell a morally acceptable policy to the world, has no objections to the granting of citizenship to other races in an area ideally dominated by Afrikaners.

The role of the Afrikaner Weerstandsbeweging and its leader, Eugene Terre'Blanche, in the front remains something of an enigma. Terre'Blanche has not attended a single AVF meeting in person, but was elected to its executive council.

The AWB was represented at the meeting by the relatively unknown Fred Rundle.

Until recently, Rundle was not an AWB member, having been more deeply involved in the CP in Johannesburg, where he was a regional organiser for the party.

But as Viljoen and the other generals try to navigate the AVF through the treacherous founding shallows, it would be premature to forecast the possible demise of the AVF.

Smaller groups may hive off along the way, taking the ideal of complete rightwing unity with them. But the chances are that the AVF will consolidate itself in the near future as the major power bloc to the right of the government.



NEGOTIATING fatigue among ordinary people gets little attention from media too absorbed by the interesting debates at the World Trade Centre.

However, events following the death of Chris Hani — the increasing defiance of orders from African National Congress by various sectors of the mass democratic movement, the seriousness of the rightwing threat with the emergence of the Committee of Generals, Inkatha's version of mass action and the increasing popularity of the Pan Africanist Congress on account of Azanian People's Liberation Army (Apla) rhetoric on armed struggle — all highlight the growing crisis of confidence in the negotiation process.

This has nothing to do with the celebrated achievements of the process so far: the release of political prisoners, return of exiles, lifting of some of the repressive laws or even the lifting of some sanctions, reintegration of South Africa to international sport and academia; and the many medals and support for ANC leader Nelson Mandela and President FW de Klerk as messengers of peace in South Africa. These have fallen short of the real thing — a lasting political settlement. The result is a nation losing patience with, and increasingly less confident in, the negotiation process.

With no by-elections taking place, it is difficult to assess adequately white support for De Klerk. However, there is evidence of a strong rightwing consolidation among those opposed to the negotiation process — enough to suggest that if a whites-only general election were to be held today, the National Party would lose.

Mobilised behind this group includes:

- The disgruntled white working class whose frustration with lost trade union power was expressed in their request that their members attending Conservative Party leader Andries Treurnicht's funeral should be accorded the same treatment by employers as their black counterparts during Hani's funeral

- Farmers who are increasingly uncertain about their future and incensed by Apla's racial attacks.

On the other hand, De Klerk can count on the old Democratic Party support-base of the mainly English-speaking middle class, industrialists and business. These stand to benefit from an internationally integrated South Africa.

In the absence of scientifically reliable and quantifiable frame of analysis, these indicators point to strong support for the anti-negotiations group among whites. This is probably more so as the negotiation process has failed, certainly so far, to sow a rift between the ANC and South African Communist Party, or diminish Mandela's or the ANC's standing in the black community.

Among blacks, there is a sense in which the continued support for the ANC is more a function of both the stature of its leader, Mandela,

The masses are getting restive

W/M 21/5 - 27/5/93
BOYA
Ordinary South Africans, cut off from the intricate negotiations at the multi-party talks, are getting restless at the slow rate of progress on change.

By **SIPHO PITANA**, of the University of Fort Hare

and the absence of a serious alternative, than its performance in the theatre of struggle since February 1990. The organisation has survived many unpopular policy decisions and errors in political judgment that would not have been possible by others.

These include the suspension of the armed struggle at the height of what was perceived to be state-sponsored violence; the seeming inability to provide adequate responses to the violence that saw many of its supporters killed; its review of many of its socio-economic policies, proposing increasingly more reformists and gradualists policies than previously was the case. At the negotiation table, similarly, the organisation seems enthusiastic for a compromise. The negotiators are thought to be unaccountable and not reporting back sufficiently to the grassroots.

There is also a growing criticism of the ANC for negotiating on substantive constitutional issues even before the election of a constituent assembly. These include issues to do with regional structures or federalism, economic policy (which should be party policy rather than a constitutional matter), a Bill of Rights and others. True or otherwise, the disquiet on these matters can cost the organisation critical votes.

The strongest criticism of the negotiation strategy is its abandonment of all other forms of struggle. The armed struggle, although suspended, is in fact abandoned. The sanctions campaign is being relaxed programmatically in line with progress at the negotiation table. Mass action is embarked upon only when there are hitches at the negotiation table. All of this for the success of the negotiation strategy.

The consequence of this has been the demobilisation of organised grassroots support structures, which has had a negative effect on the branch and regional structures of the ANC. Only regions such as Bophuthatswana, Natal and Border have been able to sustain their strength as they have been organised against the violence of the Bantustan regimes.

Hani's murder did not only anger the black community, it also unleashed the previously dormant frustrations with the negotiation process. For the first time, the understandably passionate plea for peace from Mandela was not uniformly heeded by his supporters.

Contrary to suggestions that the organisation is losing control of its members, evidence suggests that only those constituencies who received a different message from their regional or sectoral structures and leaders acted against the sentiments of Mandela's statement. These developments point to less a lack of control, or even internal divisions, than to an irreversible movement for mass involvement in the politics of transformation through mass action.

However, recent public differences between the ANC on the one hand and the South African Democratic Teachers' Union and the Congress of South African Students (Cosas) on the other show the difficult challenge facing the organisation in trying to calm down the masses.

The open defiance of ANC western Cape chairman Alan Boesak by pro-boycott Cosas students was one of the early signals of this schism. The public tongue-lashing of Peter Mokaba by Mandela and the subsequent threat of disciplinary action was not well received by youths. The anger of the masses is reaching bursting point.

The deep rumblings outside the World Trade Centre highlight the urgency of the political settlement. The voice of reason is increasingly losing ground. The theatre of war is becoming more attractive. Its consequences are dire for a country that holds a ray of hope for socio-economic recovery of not only southern Africa, but the continent as a whole.

The obvious case for a negotiated settlement is not so obvious to those uncertain about what the future holds for them and those impatient with racial oppression and unduly prolonged process of change.

This is a challenge to South Africa's leadership to move hastily before it is too late.

● **Sipho Mita Pitana** is a political sociologist at the University of Fort Hare.

We should take the Right's ideas more seriously, argues Chris Whitfield

Is the volksstaat idea so crazy?

THE mood of Cape Town, like other centres, has been changed by politically related developments since the April 10 killing of Chris Hanu. Soldiers now stand guard on bridges straddling the N2 highway just beyond the airport, where the squatter shacks press up against the roadside. Army Buffels patrolling that highway bear testimony to the township anger that was unleashed after the assassination and, in this case, vented on passing motorists.

But the other lesson from developments in the wake of Hanu's death — and with implications that are nearly as serious — has merely been noted. It seems astonishing that the damage-causing potential of the right wing, as comic as some of its manifestations may be, is not being addressed urgently in spite of the obvious evidence offered by the Hanu murder. The Government clearly retains direct responsibility for maintaining law and order, and whether it is taking sufficient action against the motormouths from both sides of the political spectrum is already the subject of heated debate.

Observers have pointed out that the recently founded Afrikaner Volksfront — and in particular the

disciplined, pragmatic control that the likes of General Constand Viljoen bring to it — will probably reduce the threat of violence from the right wing in the short term. That may take us through the critical next few weeks, but the right wing will not disappear. The search must surely be for a medium-to-long-term solution, and one that lies beyond police action.

Conservative Party politicians will tell you that the greatest concern of Afrikaners right now is they face a loss of their identity: "We don't have an England to run to", is how they put it. The CP MPs say that concern is fuelling emotions and giving rise to the increasing war talk from the Right. Constitutional Development Minister Roelf Meyer effectively acknowledged the problem last week when he emerged from a meeting with the Afrikaner Volksfront to tell the world that the Government had no objection "in

principle" to the creation of an Afrikaner state within a federal South Africa. The obvious question that arises is what to do about the problem? Is the answer to accede to some form of an Afrikaner state? Support for such a volksstaat is coming from unusual quarters.

Democratic Party Green Point MP Henrie Bester, an Afrikaner, points to the symbol of identity that Israel has become for Jewish people around the world. Although many of those Jews living in Johannesburg, New York and London would not contemplate the almost frontier lifestyle of Israel, they are among its most determined and generous backers.

Bester's proposal is for what he calls a "challenge" to Afrikaners rightwingers. Give them a territory — he suggests part of the north-western Cape and, perhaps, bits of the OFS and Transvaal — where Afrikaners are a majority

or close to it. The state should be part of a federation but with certain unique characteristics: some controls over immigration and limited access to the fiscal base of the rest of the country.

"The challenge is that if enough Afrikaners feel strongly about it, they must vote with their feet (by moving there)", says Bester. The state should have the option of becoming a normal partner in the federation — a full fiscal partner bound by normal laws — if it so wishes.

Bester is convinced that the majority of Afrikaners will commit themselves to a new, non-racial South Africa but feels the volksstaat should be offered to "defuse a situation that could potentially destabilise the entire process to democratisation. I don't think we should allow pure enthusiasm for a neat and ideologically

consistent solution to cloud our minds to the fact that there might be other people hell-bent on opposing that idea," he says.

A problem is to divorce the whole concept from what many — probably correctly — see as its racist origins. The AVU has attempted to do so by its vision of an Afrikaner state where people of all races would have full rights and there would be no such activity as forced removals. The CP, biggest and best organised of the right-wing parties, might find the movement towards acceptance of the volksstaat ideal is best pursued by a similar approach.

Its belligerent and conditional approach to negotiations (which it says it will abandon if it does not get its way) is too reminiscent of the old National Party from which it sprung to be palatable to important players in the constitutional process. □

Keep talking - Commonwealth

By Helen Grange

The Commonwealth Observer Mission to South Africa (Comsa) has called on politicians not to let recent events, including the PAC arrests, derail the negotiations process.

The appeal was made yesterday by visiting Commonwealth Secretary-General Chief Emeka Anyaoku.

He was present at the release of Comsa's second report on violence in South Africa, and announced the pending arrival of another group of Commonwealth observers — including experts in elections monitoring — in July.

"Part of the reason for my current visit is to consult broadly on how the Commonwealth can contribute to the success of the negotiations," the chief said.

Anyaoku, who arrived on Tuesday, has already met ANC leader Nelson Mandela, President de Klerk, IFP leader Mangosuthu Buthelezi and PAC leader Clarence Makwetu.

He said speculation that the Commonwealth was considering withdrawing from South Africa was unfounded.

Comsa chairman Duncan Chappell called for a concerted effort to build a culture of political tolerance, especially as violence would probably escalate



Anyaoku . . . South Africans must become tolerant.

in the run-up to the elections.

Summarising Comsa's report, covering the period from February to May, Chappell said it noted that "some of the worst forms of political intolerance" had been witnessed after the murder of Chris Hani.

The report pointed out that until the Hani assassination, there had been a marked decrease in violence in the PWV area.

Positive developments noted are, among others:

- The resumption of negotiations with a far broader participation than in the past, and indications that an election date would soon be set. The report commends the broad consensus that negotiations should not be held hostage to violence.
- Greater respect for Peace

Accord structures, and their increased efficacy.

- Some hopeful beginnings to building a culture of political tolerance, including the restraint called for after Hani's assassination.

The report, however, notes that graffiti, slogans and chants "underscore a rise in intolerance at the very time when it is crucial that inflammatory remarks give way to considered political debate".

It recommends that practical suggestions be made on the holding of marches, which should be better planned. It is critical of the draft legislation put forward by the Goldstone Commission on public gatherings, which it views as "unduly restrictive".

The report also recommends banning the display of weapons at public gatherings and a comprehensive policy for dealing with weapons, including a buy-back scheme.

The TBVC states should also be reincorporated at the earliest possible date, with Pretoria using pressure if necessary, the report suggests.

The report is highly critical of the State's correctional system, which it says is "bursting at the seams, yet which is expected to cope with ever-increasing numbers of inmates".

Ministering to women's needs

W/maul 21/5 - 27/5/93

304A (257) (353A)

SISTERS have decided to minister to themselves — at a conference earlier this month, women's delegates decided to lobby for a women's ministry.

Their demand was fuelled by the technical committee membership lists of the negotiating forum announced on the same weekend. Of the 43 members, only five are women. And there are no women on the constitutional committee.

"I am ashamed of my organisation," said the African National Congress' Frene Ginwala at the conference. "How are a bunch of men going to produce a non-sexist constitution?"

Only after a long struggle was it agreed earlier this year that each of the 26 teams negotiating the country's future should have at least one woman member.

About 200 women representing business, academia, labour and the rural areas met a fortnight ago to map out a parliamentary road. They decided that a women's ministry would free resources and give gender issues clout. A women's minister would sit in the cabinet and be at the cutting edge of policy and law-making.

But, many delegates were concerned that gender issues would be "ghettoised" by creating a separate ministry.

They warned that, depending on the commitment to this ministry, it could end up being under-resourced and under-staffed.

It could also go the way of the women's ministry in Malawi, which is little more than Kamuzu Hastings Banda's entertainment wing, serving tea and embellishing public functions.

For some conference delegates, therefore, women's desks in government departments and in regional

A women's ministry is on the agenda. Will it fight for gender issues? Or will it merely provide the 'tea girls' of the cabinet?
By **FERIAL HAFFAJEE and JACQUIE GOLDING**

and local government structures were a popular option. "These desks would ... look after women's interests within a department," said Cathi Albertyn of the Gender Research Project at the University of the Witwatersrand.

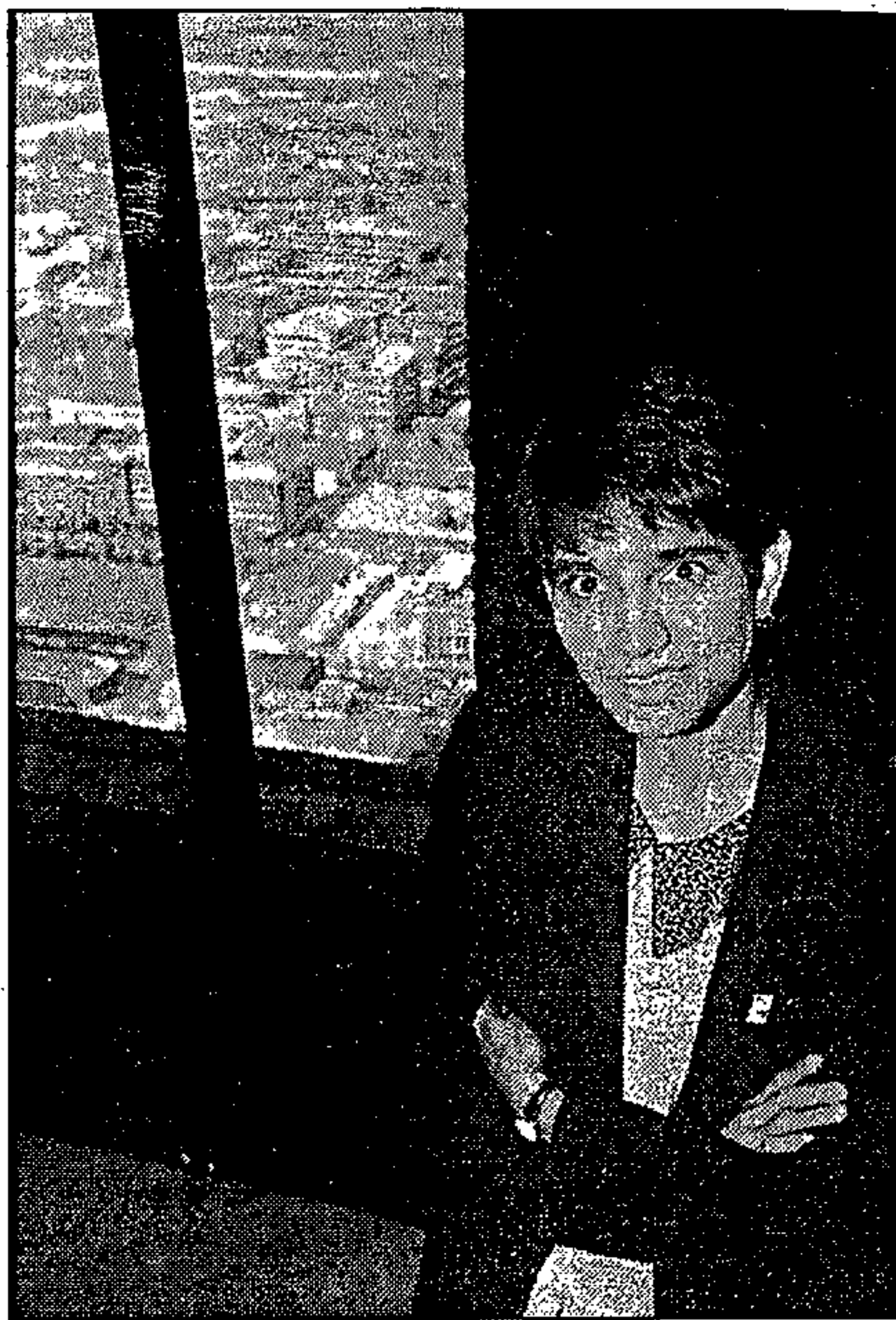
Other likely mechanisms in a new government are state-funded parliamentary committees — to check all draft legislation for its gender sensitivity — and independent advisory councils to research, review and report on gender issues to parliament.

But, as Ginwala says, these "beautiful models" are useless without enforcement mechanisms. Means of enforcement include an equal opportunities commission which would investigate discriminatory employment practices, a human rights commission to probe human rights abuses and an ombudsman.

Legal enforcement could be assisted by clauses guaranteeing women's equality in a Bill of Rights, a women's charter and a women's litigation fund, which would fund test cases.

These are lofty concepts which need to be debated. More essential is the building of a strong women's movement, says Pregs Govender, the project manager of the Women's National Coalition.

"There has not been a sustained, nationally co-ordinated movement



Pregs Govender ... "Women have organised around political issues, not women's issues"
Photo: LUANNE CADD

focusing on gender-specific issues, like violence against women and the right to control one's own body," she says.

Instead, women have organised around political issues. The 1956 march on the Union Buildings and the Crossroads women who stripped to shame policemen bulldozing shacks are etched in the country's history books.

To break the silence of women in the negotiations process, the WNC has started a campaign "to help women identify their needs and to (make an) impact on the constitution-making process".

It is an ambitious project, touted as

the "biggest participatory research project ever". Fieldworkers will go out this year and find out where women are in the country, and which organisations they belong to.

In a Freedom Charter-like exercise, they will document the diverse needs of South Africa's women.

From the conference, it emerged that these may include demands as diverse as water for the women of Moutse to tax reform for professional women.

After sifting through the demands, five key needs will be determined and campaigns around each of these planned, to get women involved in the transitional process.

DP sure of seven percent of vote

By CHRIS LOUW

THE Democratic Party has unveiled its highly optimistic voting projections for South Africa's first non-racial elections.

Based on independent research and polls on voter attitudes, the DP believes it is sure — even before starting to campaign — of seven percent of all the votes cast, and has the potential to secure 18 percent.

Current trends show that the African National Congress' support is growing steadily; the National Party is consistently losing support; support for the DP is growing among whites, coloureds and Asians; the Inkatha Freedom Party is losing black support while gaining white support; the Conservative Party has grown by 30 percent among whites; and the Pan Africanist Congress stands on a steady nine percent of urban black support.

However, the DP admits these figures are based on limited information and ignore voter sentiment in the rural areas — almost half the country's voters.

Accepting that 400 members will be chosen on a proportional basis for the constituent assembly that will double as parliament, the DP's projections are that the ANC will win 197 seats (49 percent of the vote), the NP 69 seats (17 percent), the DP 60 seats (15 percent), the IFP 26 seats (seven percent), the PAC 23 seats (six percent), the CP 17 seats (four percent) and other parties eight seats.

If a cabinet of 20 members is formed representing all the parties proportionally, the DP's projection is that the ANC will have 10 cabinet members, the NP four, the DP three and the IFP, PAC and CP one each.

The DP is hoping to draw at least five percent of the African vote. Its ultimate aim, according to national council chairman David Gant, is to hold the balance of power in the cabinet.

NP strategists steal the constitution

THE drawing up of a new constitution by stealth — that is what South Africans experienced this week. Yesterday, National Party strategists were satisfied that they are setting “in stone” the conditions under which a future government will rule the country.

At the same time, they are ensuring that the NP’s effective participation in a transitional government of national unity will be protracted for as long as possible. Decisions by the negotiating council on Tuesday to refer crucial issues to technical committees have given reality to the spectre — as recently predicted by political analyst Fredrik van Zyl Slabbert — that real democracy may only arrive in South Africa by the year 2000.

Although the first countrywide non-racial elections for a constituent assembly will probably only take place early next year, the outlines of the future constitution for a democratic South Africa are already taking shape at the World Trade Cen-

The NP has effectively sealed the parameters of the new constitution, while strengthening its hold on power.

By **CHRIS LOUW**

tre in Kempton Park.

Major concessions by the African National Congress this week helped not only to ensure that the process continued, but also served to set the parameters of the new constitution. The effect of these concessions was that the present multi-party negotiation forum will have a much greater influence on the shape and substance of the ultimate constitution than the ANC would have liked.

Decisions such as the determination of constitutional principles before a constituent assembly is elected will ensure that the parameters in which the ANC can manoeuvre will “effectively be writ-

ten in stone”, to quote Democratic Party negotiator Colin Eglin.

In the process, the NP is succeeding in laying down conditions which will prolong its hold on power for another few years.

The ANC is sure to win a considerable majority of representatives to the constituent assembly. This would ensure that the organisation has a decisive say in the formulation of the new constitution.

However, NP strategists — pre-empting a landslide victory for the ANC in the constituent assembly — are determined to curb as far as possible the powers of the elected constitutional body. This week they scored a major victory when the ANC agreed to refer, among others, decisions on the structures, powers and functions of regions to a technical committee.

The effect of the ANC’s concession is that the final decisions on regions will now be taken by the

multi-party forum representing 26 different parties — not by the democratically elected constituent assembly, where the ANC would have been in a position to force through its decisions.

In March, the ANC’s mouthpiece, *Mayibuye*, when explaining the movement’s official regional policy, stated that the constituent assembly “will have full authority to decide the boundaries, powers, functions and structures of the regions”.

It was also expected the transitional executive council would appoint a delimitation commission to settle the electoral boundaries and to make recommendations on the final powers and functions of the regions to the constituent assembly.

But this week’s decisions by the negotiating council preclude the constituent assembly’s authority, and mean that the multi-party forum will now have the final say.

The ANC’s concession on the issue is seen as a determined effort to keep the Inkatha Freedom Party locked into the negotiations. The IFP demands strong regional government, insisting that the form of government be determined before the election of the constituent assembly.

The ANC was also playing straight into the hands of NP strategists. Commenting on decisions taken by the 26-party negotiating council this week, Stellenbosch political scientist Rocky Gagiano said the process of incrementally writing a constitution for the country was well under way.

“The NP’s strategy is to lock as many preconditions in as possible so that the ANC will not be in a position to dilute them once it is the majority party,” he said. “In the end, it will basically be left with filling in the detail of a new constitution, while the parameters within which it can manoeuvre are set by the multi-party forum, which is not an elected body.”

The conditions that are set now will ultimately determine the format of a future constitution. Referring important issues to technical committees for approval by the multi-party forum will seriously limit the scope for the ANC in the constituent assembly, and will ensure that the constituent assembly will function on a much lower level of autonomy.

The NP’s strategy, according to Gagiano, “is to stretch the transitional process out as long as possible in order to ensure that it stays part of the future regime. It is already determining the conditions on which the NP is expecting to become part of the new transitional government. This strategy is informed by the interests of people in government who want to maintain their positions of power.”

The NP is insisting, for instance, that a cabinet be appointed by the constituent assembly/transitional government in proportion to the number of votes each party receives, and that decisions be taken on a basis of consensus.

This means the NP will have an effective say in the governing of the country for the lifespan of the constituent assembly, which will probably be five years, and perhaps even longer while apartheid’s legal entanglements are being sorted out.

A decision taken on Tuesday that a report be drafted of constitutional principles which will form the broad outline of a new constitution, will similarly narrow down the scope left to the constituent assembly.

Gagiano described the NP’s strategy as “quite justified”. The ANC, he said, had little choice but to make concessions: “If it is asking too much, the government won’t be allowed by its own constituency to deliver.”

Back to school call by Cosas

Sowetan
21/5/93

■ Pupils will get regular briefings from Monday:

By Sipho Mthembu and Sapa

PUPILS will be ordered back to school if the meeting between President FW de Klerk and ANC leader Mr Nelson Mandela — which was in progress until late yesterday — produces tangible results.

This assurance was given yesterday by Congress of South African Students president Mr Moses Maseko. (S) (S)

But the SA Democratic Teachers Union said it would not commit itself because the meeting between the two leaders would not reach finality. It would only lay the groundwork for a meeting between the union and the Department of National Education. (S) (S)

"They (the leaders) can agree on broad education issues such as the education and training forum but the salary issue is an employer-employee question," said Sadtu general-secretary Mr Thulas Nxesi. (S) (S)

Cosas has called on all pupils to report to school on Monday so that they could get their regular briefing from their leaders. (S) (S)

The leader of the United Nations observer mission, Miss Angela King, had earlier called on pupils to use demonstrations sparingly and urged them to go back to school and register.

Responding to this, Maseko said they would call an urgent meeting with the observer mission to "clarify the issue". "I think they don't understand the underlying issues. Their call for pupils to register is cause for concern. It makes us question their neutrality," Maseko said.

DET suspends matric exam fees

Govt, ANC smooth over schools crisis

B/DAM 21/5/93

304A

TIM BOHEN

CAPE TOWN — Nearly 10 hours of talks between delegations led by President F W de Klerk and ANC president Nelson Mandela have laid the foundations for a resolution to the education crisis.

Government and ANC delegations emerged last night with a "potential breakthrough" after their scheduled two-hour meeting on Wednesday stretched over two days in two cities — Cape Town and Pretoria.

Among the most significant agreements reached was a government undertaking that education departments could suspend the R48 matric examination fee while efforts to resolve the crisis continued.

Sapa reports the Department of Education and Training immediately announced the suspension of fees for the November matric exams. Candidates who had paid would be reimbursed as soon as possible.

Government also, for the first time, set a target date for the establishment of the education forum and said the plight of the poorest paid teachers would be addressed during this financial year.

No joint statement was issued after the meeting, with the ANC delegation rushing to Johannesburg to brief the SA Democratic Teachers' Union (SadtU). But deputy government spokesman Richard Carter said: "The parties have drawn a lot closer on all three problem areas (the education forum, exam fees and teachers' salaries). They have agreed to work together."

A government statement after the meeting said: "The government is at present considering all the inputs of the role-players it has consulted during the past weeks. We welcome constructive proposals made

by the ANC in this regard."

It welcomed the ANC commitment to promote the establishment of the education forum as quickly as possible, and expressed the hope that the discussions would remove the perception that government was not seriously committed to this goal.

It said that with the necessary co-operation of all role-players, such a forum could be established before the end of June. "We believe that a properly constituted education forum would be the appropriate mechanism to address the many complicated issues."

Government also backed down on its insistence that examination fees be paid, saying ANC proposals provided a good basis to resolve the problem without compromising the user charge principle. "Against this background, government has decided that any education department can suspend the payment of exam fees for 1993 pending negotiations."

Government acknowledged that the proposed 5% salary increase was inadequate and that there were special categories in the teaching profession and in the public service that merited sympathetic attention. While government remained firm that it could not move materially beyond budgeted amounts, it was prepared to take a fresh look at the plight of "certain limited categories". This would include teachers at the bottom end of the salary scale.

Given the successful continuation of overall cost-cutting plans and an improvement in the economy, government expected it would be possible to make funds

□ To Page 2

Exam fees

available later in the financial year. ANC spokesman Carl Niehaus described the meeting as "constructive", but added that it remained to be seen how far government was prepared to go in meeting the demands of pupils and teachers. The ANC and government had agreed that the forum should meet by the end of June and that further negotiations needed to be held to clear up remaining obstacles.

The final decision on the teachers' strike remained with SadtU, he said. Sapa reports

that SadtU welcomed government's decision "to open negotiations on the education crisis", saying the possibility existed that the strike could be called off. It would meet education authorities tomorrow.

Also at the two-day talks were Education and Training Minister Sam de Beer, Education Co-ordination Minister Piet Marais, Finance Minister Derek Keys, ANC secretary-general Cyril Ramaphosa and ANC education head Cheryl Carolus.

B/DAM 21/5/93 From Page 1

New right-wing body racist, says Volksunie

BIDM 24/5/93

DIRK VAN EEDEN

AFRIKANER Volksunie (AVU) leader Andries Beyers has dubbed the CP-dominated Afrikaner Volksfront "racist".

Beyers said yesterday the AVU had joined the Volksfront to "remain in contact" but would have no power in determining its course of action as the executive committee was dominated by the CP. He claimed it wanted to reinstate racism and apartheid, and his party could not go along with this.

HNP leader Jaap Marais said it was becoming clear that the CP was using the Volksfront to launch a right-wing "coup".

While the only thing unifying the right wing was its opposition to government, he said the Volksfront was not prepared to engage in "open battle" with government.

"There is no agreement about the form self-determination should take, but the CP is trying to force down its ideas."

The Volksfront seemed set on negotiating an Afrikaner volkstaat. The HNP could not become a member because it was opposed to negotiations and did not want a volkstaat only for Boere-Afrikaners but

for all SA's different peoples.

Beyers signed the Volksfront's official founding document on Wednesday, but recorded his opposition to a clause implying that only conservative white Afrikaners could become citizens of a future volkstaat. "This is not self-determination but domination. We cannot go along with that."

The Volksfront's executive committee, chaired by CP leader Ferdi Hartzenberg, is made up of five CP members, two representatives of organised white labour, four former generals, AWB leader Eugene Terre'Blanche and the HNP's Marais.

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If you thought you would be seeing the last of President FW de Klerk after next year's election, think again — the National Party has devised a way of keeping him in the government of national unity without his being demoted to the status of a mere cabinet minister.

The plan to set up a council of state to "advise" the new president, the leader of the most popular party, who will probably be Nelson Mandela, was let out this week by Inkatha Freedom Party chief executive officer Joe Matthews, in a briefing to foreign correspondents.

As things stand, the National Party and the ANC have tentatively agreed that after the first election, every party that gets more than five percent of the vote will be assured a cabinet seat. Twenty percent assures four cabinet seats, and so on.

In addition, the government is demanding that every party with more than 10 percent will get a seat on the council of state, a modification of the NP's original constitutional proposal of a rotating presidency. If the IFP attains the 10 percent mark, De Klerk's original proposal of a tria-ka will be up and virtually running the country for the next five years.

It is thus appropriate that De Klerk and Mandela should be consummating their long awaited marriage at the symbolic city of Philadelphia, the site of the American constitutional conference, on July 4, with United States President Bill Clinton as the best man. They will be receiving a Liberty Prize, good practice for getting used to sharing things in public.

The timing of the award could not be better. De Klerk will not want talks to bog down or collapse in June, the crunch month.

The government of national unity for a limited period is the key to the whole process, the central compromise that opens the gateway to democracy. Yet power-sharing has not even been raised in any form at the negotiating council which ground on this week with its efforts at finding consensus on more basic questions.

The definition of "self-determination", drawn up by the eminent team of legal experts in the constitutional technical committee reads rather like a bland political science tutorial.

It was presented to the negotiating council on Tuesday by constitutional fundi Marinus Wiechers who had to explain carefully, like a physicist explaining nuclear fission to a convention of boilermakers.

Though the academics on the technical committee, wary of being accused of exceeding their mandate, have been careful not to take decisions that mean anything, ANC secretary-general Cyril Ramaphosa declared that the report on self-deter-

Slowly negotiating a marriage of mixed minds

W/maail 21/5-27/5/93
As Bill Clinton acts as FW de Klerk and Nelson Mandela's best man in Philadelphia, negotiators at the World Trade Centre are haltingly moving towards democracy

By
PHILLIP
VAN
NIEKERK



mination was a breakthrough.

The Afrikaner Volksunie's Chris de Jager agreed with Ramaphosa, saying he was glad that self-determination had at last been recognised as a right and not a favour.

But the Conservative Party's Tom Langley, flashing a dirty look at his erstwhile colleagues in the Afrikaner Volksunie, said he did not share their euphoria. In fact, he said, what we had been led to believe was a rather innocuous definition was really a "classic Soviet view of self-determination".

He cited Webster's third new international dictionary to prove that there was a definition of self-determination dearer to the heart of the CP — one that did not spring from the assumption that South Africa was a unitary state.

Solidarity between the white rightwingers had evaporated: De Jager was accepting self-determination, whatever that might mean, within a united South Africa. Langley wanted a Boer republic. One could only wonder how the Afrikaner Volksfront will be able to agree on whether to serve koeksusters or boerewors at their inaugural rally.

And what hope then for the Concerned South Africans Group cranking out a joint policy that goes beyond mutual fear and loathing of the ANC? Immediately after the debate,

Matthews made it clear that Inkatha would never support an Afrikaner state and said the demands of his Cosag allies could be met within a democratic federal state.

He dismissed out of hand suggestions that the IFP might itself secede and take kwaZulu/Natal out of the new South Africa. With the same ingenuousness that has allowed him to describe his party's route to democracy as the "bottoms up" approach, Matthews, himself a Tswana, said the Zulus were predominant in South Africa.

"We are the Serbs of South Africa", he bragged, without a hint of irony.

After the lunch break the topic of Yugoslavia arose again. South African Communist Party chairman Joe Slovo weighed in with warnings of what happened when self-determination was demanded in isolation from human rights as the CP was doing with its Afrikaner state. He raised the spectre of ethnic cleansing, of turning people into second-class citizens simply because of their ethnic identity.

Substantive discussions had begun. Yet there was still shadow boxing. Once again, real progress was in the margins.

For some time, the negotiators have been operating by keeping the hot

potato ahead of them. The really contentious issues have been sandwiched in a wodge of paper, pushed from negotiating forum to negotiating council to technical committee back to negotiating council back to technical committee.

The potentially divisive issue of federalism has been atomised so that the question of boundaries has been dispatched to an ideologically neutral commission whose terms are defined in such a way that the bantustans will surely disappear.

The debate on the powers and functions of regions will centre on questions such as whether it is better for the police, hospitals, roads, and so on, to be run by the central government or the regions.

On the surface, things are taking shape at an almost glacial pace. Yet it all adds up to a dramatic stride towards a settlement.

What can't be underestimated is the role of the negotiating council as a gigantic group therapy session. Here at the World Trade Centre Ramaphosa, whose sense of humour is regarded by the rightwing as the ANC's most dangerous weapon since sanctions and the armed struggle, chuckles and cracks jokes with the likes of Bophuthatswana's Rowan Cronje and the IFP's Frank Mdlalose. Perhaps if Buthelezi ever came to

the centre, he too might be seduced into conviviality.

The question then is: how can the rest of the country be made to share this gaiety?

The view from outside the World Trade Centre is of a place in quarantine, isolated from the rest of South Africa by a razor wire fence. Outside, a restless, fearful spirit pervades the land.

Yet, just as a battle is most intense before a truce is signed, nearly all of this — the mobilisation of the right, the assassination of Chris Hani, the consumer boycotts, the rising tide of black resistance and white fear — is not a threat, but a reaction to events at the World Trade Centre.

South Africa is making halting strides towards democracy, not just in the narrow sense of an impending election, but in the gradual acceptance of principles such as transparency and accountability. In many ways, the SABC hearings have been the first official signs of the new South Africa.

What has been most surprising was not the Broederbond past, but Big Brother Frederik van Zyl Slabbert's intolerant attitude toward American soap operas, which he told the hearing he finds "extremely irritating".

It is instructive that the man tipped to chair the board — and one of the most brilliant political analysts in this country — has such a poor understanding of the medium in which he is both player and proposed governor.

To clamp down on soap operas would spark the middle-class equivalent of a bread riot. "Give me Alf (the furry little creature who travels through space) any day before Slabbert on Sunday," was a typical response from a local viewer.

Yet it's a measure of how far we have come that a black judge can grill the former governors of the SABC about their Broederbond past, that the ANC can have open hearings into the abuse of detainees in its camps, that a group of left-liberal lawyers can advance their own ideas through the Democratic Party's Bill of Rights as a form of opposition to the ANC's stifling omnibus of collective rights.

One day soon we will wake up to find there is an election date, a deal, a transitional executive council, an election campaign. How it came about only God and a handful of negotiators at the World Trade Centre will really know.

By all means, send De Klerk and Mandela to Philadelphia — if they can make a deal they will deserve it — but send Ramaphosa and Roelf Meyer to Sarajevo.

I suggest, if South Africa does reach a settlement shortly, that Lord Owen and Cyrus Vance move aside for the real pros.

Who will man the ministry?

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WHILE it's easy to predict who's going to be the next president of the country, candidates for a future women's minister are more hotly debated.

●Sari-clad Frene Ginwala, the head of the African National Congress' Research Department is a favourite. Ginwala is a lawyer by training and the convenor of the Women's National Coalition. She has shown herself to be unafraid of rapping the boys on the knuckles when they ignore the interests of the sisterhood.

●Lydia Kompe, of the Women's Rural Movement, is also a frontrunner. Described as a "woman with oomph", she has worked for decades with dispossessed communities with the Transvaal Rural Action Committee. Kompe recently turned her attention to organising women in rural areas into self-help projects and into the Women's Coalition. "She has a strong sense of the feelings of grassroots women," was one comment.

●Zanele Mbeki was nominated because she is concerned with "social and economic upliftment". As the head of the Women's Development Bank, she also has the skills to wring money from depleted state coffers. Mbeki is Thabo Mbeki's wife (not that this is important). As he's tipped to be future minister of foreign affairs, the state would not have to fork out money on two ministerial residences and entourages — they could share.

●Mamphela Ramphele was also nominated. Her seminal works on poverty and on policy initiatives to combat it, are her most glowing references. But this woman also knows how to break through glass ceilings — she is the first black woman vice-chancellor of the University of Cape Town. "She is the sort of person who will ensure she is accountable to women," said her nominee.

●Although young, Pregs Govender, project manager of the Women's National Coalition, is another candidate. A former official of the South African Commercial Catering and Allied Workers Union, she has tackled her WNC job with the vigour of a seasoned unionist and is intent on breathing life into such oft-touted concepts as "empowerment" and "grassroots control". Govender helped establish the Worker's College, South Africa's largest permanent training institution for workers and unionists, at the University of the Western Cape.

Natal hawk's remarkable rise on high as NP dove

Chief government negotiator Roelf Meyer took a Natal NP rightwinger on a hunting trip, totally mesmerising him and setting him on a new, more promising political path. (30/11/93)

By FAROUK CHOTHIA

A ONE-TIME National Party right-winger in Natal, Johan Steenkamp, has emerged as the strongest ally of chief government negotiator Roelf Meyer in the province.

As Meyer takes the NP towards power-sharing with the African National Congress, he is facing stiff opposition from senior Nats in Natal, including provincial leader George Bartlett and MPs Piet Matthee and Jaco Mare, who would prefer a close relationship with the Inkatha Freedom Party.

But Steenkamp — together with Danie Schutte, a potential challenger to Bartlett for the provincial leadership — is acting as a counterbalance.

What sets Steenkamp apart are his vicious attacks on the IFP leadership, against the background of his past reputation as an NP "hawk".

Parliamentary sources say his conversion is largely due to the efforts of Meyer, who once took him on a hunting trip and had "totally mesmerised" him. Since last year, Steenkamp has held the key post of national vice-chairman of the NP's study group on constitutional development, and is a rising star within the party.

Lavishly praising Meyer in an interview this week, Steenkamp said: "He is a brilliant, hard-working and devoted person with an extremely difficult job. He needs all the support he can get."

In contrast, he said of Bartlett: "He is my provincial leader and I respect him. If I have differences with him, I will discuss those with him and not with newspapers."

In an unprecedented broadside in parliament last week, Steenkamp accused IFP national chairman Frank Mdlalose of being "childish". He also told IFP president Mangosuthu Buthelezi not to behave like "a cornered rat" in the negotiations.

Steenkamp is unrepentant: "I was speaking in my capacity as the vice-chairman of the NP study group on constitutional development, not as part of the parochial Natal debate."

"In the past 10 days, nothing has happened within the ranks of the NP to repudiate my statement."



Verkrampstes in technicolour ... Johan Steenkamp has remained consistent in one respect: his long-standing opposition to Inkatha Photo courtesy The Mercury

After pushing hard for a pre-election alliance with Inkatha, the Bartlett faction is apparently coming to terms with the fact that this will not happen. But they still prefer a conciliatory approach to the IFP, again in sharp contrast with Steenkamp.

"I will not take a paternalistic approach to Inkatha," he said. "With an election looming, Inkatha has been trying to undermine the NP's support base. It's appropriate that the NP defends itself."

But why ditch Inkatha for the ANC?

"Inkatha is no longer regarded as the main spokesman of the disenfranchised. Political events have placed Buthelezi on the back burner. This has led to frustration, but it is not our problem," Steenkamp said.

He added that "more synergy" had developed between the ANC and the NP in the past two years than between the NP and the IFP. "This is a good development. It is essential that the two good players understand each other."

He also stressed that the ANC, unlike Inkatha, was committed to a government of national unity. "Inkatha wants to govern on its own — if it can."

Steenkamp sees the IFP as playing the role the Conservative Party has traditionally

played: "It is capitalising on white anxieties, concentrating on that. It won't last; the CP has shown us this."

He is also on record as saying: "The CP are the verkrampstes in monocolour. It is my prayer that the IFP won't become the verkrampstes in technicolour."

An MP since 1987, Steenkamp's about-turn from being an NP hawk is remarkable. He was one of the last Nat parliamentarians to accept the demise of the Group Areas Act, and campaigned against "infiltrators" in whites-only areas. In 1988, he expressed his opposition to a "unitary one-man-one-vote South Africa; in other words, black majority government".

With a doctorate in nuclear science, he has remained consistent in one respect though: his long-standing opposition to Inkatha.

While Steenkamp is a thorn in Bartlett's flesh, the NP leader's major challenger in Natal is Schutte, who is regarded as a close ally of President FW de Klerk.

With effect from the beginning of last month, Schutte was appointed Minister of Home Affairs. As the only Natalian in the cabinet, other than Bartlett, De Klerk has put him in an ideal position to emerge as the successor to Bartlett — a man with whom the state president is becoming increasingly impatient.

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FOREIGN AFFAIRS

Rejoining the world

The most interesting area of activity in government work now must be the foreign service, which is poised to establish up to 27 new missions abroad in the next 18 months — probably 12 in the next nine months — mainly in Africa, the Middle East and Asia (see box).

Many more countries are on the verge of setting up diplomatic missions here. The trigger will be establishment of a transitional executive council (TEC) which could be in place within a month.

Depending on how far the negotiations have gone, SA could, in September when the UN General Assembly sits, make a return to the world body after a 20-year effective exclusion. Leading SA's return to the UN is said to be close to the heart of Foreign Minister Pik Botha, who was SA's UN representative when it was suspended from the General Assembly in 1974. Botha, the world's longest-serving foreign minister, could thereafter bow out of the post — and perhaps take over Defence, a seat being kept warm by Justice Minister Kobie Coetsee.

Crucially, in terms of the ANC's policy of a "phased maintenance" of sanctions, which is tied to the transitional process, people-to-people sanctions were lifted in October 1991. All other sanctions except military and oil, it has said, would be lifted after the installation of an interim government of national unity. Military and oil sanctions should go after an elected democratic government is installed. In February the ANC decided the following sanctions should be lifted after the establishment of the TEC and independent electoral and media commissions, as well as enactment of a "transition to democracy Act": diplomatic relations, gold coins, trade and trade credits, new investment, loans and other financial links.

However, it added that no representatives of the "white minority regime" should be granted accreditation by any international organisation, "this being a matter which can be resolved only once the interim government of national unity is established." Multiparty TEC structures would be the appropriate governmental institution with which to enter into any official agreements, it said.

It is likely that the TEC will also include a subcommittee on foreign affairs. Whether this would simply ensure that the department is even-handed and does not favour one politi-

cal party over another, or whether it will be able to dictate to government where it may establish foreign missions, are presumably matters yet to be resolved in negotiations over the powers of the TEC.

SA missions abroad have doubled since 1989. Pretoria is now represented in 79 countries (88 career missions) with:

- Embassies in 52, of which nine are non-resident missions, and there are 17 consulates-general in 10 of them;
- Consulates in eight countries where SA has no embassies;
- Representative offices in eight countries where SA has no embassies or consulates;
- Trade missions in three countries — Mozambique, Swaziland and Zimbabwe;
- Honorary consulates in seven countries where SA has no other representation — Bolivia, Colombia, Guatemala, Iceland, Ireland, Monaco and Reunion; and
- A cultural office in the People's Republic of China, the SA Centre for Chinese Studies.

In deciding where to set up missions, says a department spokesman, evaluation has to be made of where SA's interests lie. The trade and investment potential of such links are most important. Another consideration is cost; so, in certain areas, one mission could be accredited to two or more countries. Foreign Affairs' budget (excluding the aid it channels to TBVC states) is a modest R800m, about 0.8% of the national Budget. An increase would be more than justified in view of potential economic gains.

Foreign Affairs Director-General Rusty Evans observes that "to the extent that there is a process of political transformation taking place in SA, it has had an inevitable impact on SA's international position and status. Over the past two years, the department has been confronted with a whole range of opportunities.

"In the first place, SA's relations with Africa have opened up to the extent that almost all countries have established some form of dialogue with us and we have had to review our priorities vis-à-vis the continent."

Normalisation of foreign relations, Evans adds, is directly linked to the political negotiations process. Hence the OAU and other regional structures such as the Southern African Development Community have not yet changed their basic policy on SA. "But the point could shortly be reached where constraints will no longer exist and we will have to determine how we will conduct our relations with those organisations." The same applied to a number of other international areas such as the Arab countries, the UN and its agencies.

Though normal relations with Africa are vital for political reasons, the main motivation is trade, investment and commercial gain — especially with the Middle East and Far East.

Japan, for example, will soon resume its position as SA's main trade partner, says Evans, and there will be an increase in trade with other Pacific Rim countries.

EXPANDING ABROAD

Possible South African missions to be established in the next 18 months include: Bahrain, Congo, Cyprus, Egypt, Ethiopia, Ghana, India, Indonesia, Iran, Ireland, Jordan, Malaysia, Mexico, New Zealand, Nigeria, Oman, Pakistan, Philippines, Qatar, Saudi Arabia, Sri Lanka, Syria, Tanzania, Tunisia, United Arab Emirates, Uganda, Venezuela.

Established embassies: Albania (nonresident ambassador — NRA), Argentina, Australia, Austria, Belgium, Bophuthatswana, Brazil (embassy in Brasilia and consulate in Sao Paulo), Bulgaria, Canada (embassy in Ottawa with consulates in Montreal and Toronto), Chile, Republic of China (Taiwan), Ciskei, Ivory Coast, Croatia (NRA), Czech Republic, Denmark, Estonia (NRA), Germany (embassy in Bonn and consulates in Hamburg, Munich, Frankfurt and Berlin), Finland, France (embassy in Paris and consulate in Marseilles), Gabon, Greece, Hungary, Israel, Italy (embassy in Rome and consulate in Milan), Japan, Latvia (NRA), Lesotho, Lithuania (NRA), Luxembourg (NRA), Malawi, Malta (NRA), Netherlands, Norway,

Paraguay, Poland, Portugal, Republic of Korea, Romania, Moldova (NRA), Russian Federation (embassy in Moscow and consulate in St Petersburg), Slovak Republic, Slovenia (NRA), Spain, Switzerland (embassy in Berne and consulates in Geneva and Zurich), Transkei, Turkey (embassy in Ankara and consulate in Istanbul), United Kingdom (embassy and consulate in London), United States (embassy in Washington and consulates in New York, Chicago and Beverly Hills), Uruguay, Ukraine, Venda.

Diplomatic relations established — missions not yet opened: Armenia, Azerbaijan, Georgia, Kirghizstan, Tajikistan, Turkmenistan.

Legation: Sweden.

Other diplomatic missions: Angola, Botswana, Kenya, Madagascar, Morocco, Namibia, European Community in Brussels, UN in New York, Geneva and Vienna, Zaire, Zambia.

Consulates without diplomatic representation: Cape Verde (nonresident consul — NRC), Hong Kong, Mauritius, Rwanda (NRC), Seychelles (NRC), Sao Tomé and Príncipe (NRC), Singapore, Thailand.

Buthelezi, Mandela to meet

Political Staff

AFRICAN National Congress president Nelson Mandela has accepted Zulu King Goodwill Zwelithini's proposal that he and Inkatha Freedom Party leader Mangosuthu Buthelezi should meet to discuss an end to violence. **APG 21/5/93**

Mr Mandela asked the king to facilitate the meeting "as soon as possible".

Responding to King Goodwill's call last week that the two leaders meet, Mr Mandela said he wanted to express his and the ANC's "profound understanding" for the concern shown by the king for a speedy end to the violence which had claimed thousands of lives in the country.

Observers have interpreted the king's call as an attempt by him to rise above party politics and distance himself from the IFP, an organisation with which many thought he had close links.

Chief Buthelezi has expressed his satisfaction with the positive reply by Mr Mandela to the proposed meeting between the two leaders, reports Sapa.

An IFP statement in Ulundi said yesterday the meeting was a necessary step towards reducing violence in South Africa.

Egypt sets conditions for SA to join OAU

CAIRO. — South Africa must form a transitional government and distance itself from white minority rule in other ways before it will be welcome in the Organisation of African Unity, Egypt's foreign minister said yesterday.

Egypt hosts the next OAU summit on June 28. Foreign Minister Mr A Moussa said the agenda would include discussions on whether South Africa could join. Upon formation in 1963, the OAU called upon members to sever diplomatic ties with apartheid South Africa.

CT 21/5/93
● Foreign Minister Mr Pik Botha arrives here on Sunday on the first official visit by a South African foreign minister in 35 years. — Sapa-AP

SA 'needs Marshall Plan'

JOHANNESBURG. — ANC leader Mr Tokyo Sexwale called on the world this week to put together a Marshall Plan for South Africa to defuse what he called a "time bomb".

Mr Sexwale, leader of the ANC's Johannesburg region, said the ANC leadership had stepped in to control outrage at the murder of Mr Chris Hani.

"What we did was merely to delay what I consider to be a

time bomb. We are in control, but there is a potential for getting out of control," he told reporters.

"The Marshall Plan is the critical element," he said, reminding the world of its moral responsibility to rehabilitate a country ruined by what had been condemned as a crime against humanity, apartheid.

In the short-term he believed constitutional negotiators would succeed in putting together a

democratic constitution.

In the medium-term political leaders would have to battle to inculcate a democratic culture and instil a sense of legitimacy in the new institutions.

The long-term, delivering the hopes and expectations of a majority immured in poverty, was the real problem, he said.

"We're not going to achieve that alone in South Africa without assistance from outside," he said. — Sapa-AFP

(3047) CT 21/5/93

CURRENT AFFAIRS

FM 21/5/93 (304A)
thy and convincing voters that the new democratic centre cannot be built on the "flawed foundations" of the NP.

The DP's efforts will be financed partly through the newly formed Helen Suzman Foundation Trust. The trust hopes to raise R20m, including substantial amounts from governments, organisations and individuals overseas, which it can now do in terms of recent legislation. ■

DEMOCRATIC PARTY FM 21/5/93 No surrender (304A)

The Democratic Party claims that it could win 15% of the overall vote in the constituent assembly elections scheduled for next year. This would give the party 60 seats in a 400-seat assembly and possibly three posts in a 20-member Cabinet — presenting the DP with a decisive role in both bodies which are likely to require two-thirds majorities for major decisions.

DP national chairman Ken Andrew believes most analysts are erroneously writing off the party as a marginal organisation that would be lucky to make the assumed cut-off of 1% of votes needed to win any seats at all. He says independent research shows this to be incorrect. The findings indicate that the DP is supported by about 3% of metropolitan blacks and has the potential to win over 12% of the black electorate.

Support among whites is indicated at 18% (25% potential); coloureds 14% (43%); and Indians 13% (43%). This means the party would draw 7% of the total vote and now has

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the potential to increase its share to just over 18%.

Andrew has "no doubt whatsoever" that the DP will comfortably exceed the 5% needed to be allocated a Cabinet seat. This is based on the assumption that it can attract 3% of the black vote (about 380 000 votes) and 10% each of white (306 000), coloured (183 000) and Asian (55 000) voters. This means a total vote of 924 000 based on a total potential electorate of 21,3m and an 85% poll. To win 15% of the seats the party will need to attract 2,7m votes. (In the 1989 "whites-only" election the DP won 451 000 votes (21%) in the 103 constituencies it contested (out of 166).

Andrew says trends over the past year indicate:

- Among metropolitan blacks, ANC support is holding steady at 80%, Nat support has dropped from 11% to 5% and DP support from 5% to 3%;
- For whites, ANC support is steady at 1%, NP support has dropped from 60% to 47% and DP support has risen from 14% to 18%;
- Among coloureds, ANC support has increased from 8% to 22%, NP support has decreased from 84% to 59% and DP support has increased from 5% to 13%;
- For Indians, ANC support has increased from 10% to 18%, NP support has dropped from 75% to 69% and DP support has increased from 11% to 13%.

He also says the research shows that the IFP is losing black support (down from 3% to 2%) and gaining white support (up from 6% to 9,5%). The CP is gaining white support (up from 15% to 20%) and the PAC is holding steady with 9% of black support.

Based on a combination of current support, potential support and trends, Andrew says a possible 1994 election result could be: ANC 197 seats (10 Cabinet posts); NP 69 (4); DP 60 (3); IFP 26 (1); PAC 23 (1); CP 17 (1) and eight for other parties that could win seats on the regional lists. However, he concedes that the margin of error could be significant.

DP leaders acknowledge that it is an unprecedented challenge to win a substantial number of seats but they are convinced the party is increasingly perceived as a serious contender. They say the DP needs to develop an image of being more than merely the "nice guy," a public watchdog and a facilitator. The party needs to project itself as an important part of the next government, instead of simply a good opposition party.

Differentiating between the DP and the NP in the minds of many voters might be a problem but party strategists believe they can convince potential supporters that even though the NP has moved away from apartheid and embraced many DP policies, it remains incapable of good government.

They also believe that the legacy of apartheid will be a far greater burden to the NP in black, coloured and Asian communities than is generally believed. The DP's campaign is likely to be a combination of "NP bashing," projecting the DP as capable and trustwor-

(*) cont →

Schlemmer warns of fragmentation in SA

1310AM 2/5/93
PRETORIA — The "locomotive" of SA's negotiated transition might be wobbling on the tracks, rattling and blowing off steam, but its pace and direction are being maintained, says Human Sciences Research Council vice-president Lawrence Schlemmer.

Writing in the HSRC publication Prospects, SA in the Nineties, he said the transition process would almost certainly continue "if for no other reason than the negative 'constraint' of nowhere else to go".

However, Schlemmer warned that SA could slide into the kind of fragmentation which could lead to civil war.

"For all its faults and problems, a coherent De Klerk administration is the only effective guarantee of basic order in a society with a proven capacity to tear itself apart."

The prospects of avoiding further fragmentation depended to some extent on the success of President F W de Klerk's 10-point plan to quell violence, and particularly attacks attributed to Apla.

Realism suggested, however, that the 10-point plan would not succeed completely.

Some kind of dramatic response from government was essential to reassure parts of the political spectrum.

Had right-wing parties been able to produce a coherent and achievable alternative to De Klerk's agenda they would prob-

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GERALD REILLY

ably have split the government after the Codesa breakdown, Schlemmer said.

Observers were beginning to ask whether the governing party and its support structures could hold together long enough to enter the new government of national unity.

If, for example, serious dissent were to emerge in the public service or the security forces, or if a large contingent of NP MPs were to defect to Inkatha, government's credibility and ability to secure a deal with the ANC would be prejudiced seriously.

As government prepared to enter what promised to be the final round of negotiations before an open election, most of the reassurances which comforted its constituents in 1990 and 1991 had fallen away.

The recent Budget, bringing VAT and fuel price increases, tax bracket creep, cutbacks on public spending on middle class services and a meagre 5% pay rise for public servants would ensure the final 15 months of the recession would be most painful.

The "bastion of reassurances", the SABC, had started to anticipate a new order.

A new board was likely to lean away from government and no longer emphasise the establishment's position in the news.

Afrikanerdom may never be the same

By RAY HARTLEY

AFRIKANERDOM may never be the same following a week in which the ANC launched a major drive to win the hearts and minds of the people who brought the NP and apartheid to power 45 years ago.

ANC spokesman Carl Niehaus, who is spearheading the ANC's initiative to win Afrikaner support for its policies, says the organisation is stepping up efforts to "get the message to every part of SA, every community".

Last week he addressed a mass meeting of Afrikaans supporters in Parow alongside Wilhelm Verwoerd, grandson of apartheid icon Hendrik Verwoerd. The Stellenbosch University choir sang an Afrikaans version of Nkosi Sikelele i'Afrika at the meeting.

Afrikaner personalities, including folk singer Anton Goosen and diamond scientist Johan Prins, have publicly endorsed the ANC's call for the announcement of an election date.

In a letter published in Business Day this week, Madelein Malan, daughter of former Defence Minister Magnus Malan, said she would prefer to be led by people like the ANC's Tokyo Sexwale and Cyril Ramaphosa than people proclaiming themselves to be fighting a cause for a specific nation.

Niehaus says the small group of Afrikaners who have openly associated themselves with the ANC represent the beginnings of greater support. "These are the initiators. There is a larger group that moves more slowly behind them," he says. The ANC has not confined itself to publicly wooing Afrikaners. Niehaus has also addressed several closed meetings of the Rapporteurs.

He says these meetings, some of which have gone on into the early hours of the morning, have been characterised by "a very genuine feeling of wanting to know about the ANC".

Recent moves to consolidate the right wing are generating a "counter response" from a larger group of moderate Afrikaners who have come to terms with democratisation and are upset by the caricature of Afrikaners as khaki-clad militaristic conservatives, he says.

Niehaus believes a major catalyst for the movement of Afrikaners in the direction of the ANC is the erosion of the NP's moral leadership in the white community.

"In the last few weeks, since the assassination of Chris Han, the ANC has been acting as the *de facto* government. Mandela

has been playing the role of national leader while De Klerk has become only the *de jure* president. The ANC has become the organisation that is able to govern and control," he says.

The silent majority of Afrikaners are rooted in SA and driven by a desire to get on with their lives under a new government, he says.

Many of the Afrikaners who have associated themselves with the ANC have become disillusioned with the NP's apparent delaying of the transition process.

One such person is Wits scientist and former NP member Johan Prins. He says he would be proud to be associated with a democratic SA and wants to "grab the opportunity or be left behind".

Prins feels bitter about "being conned" into joining the NP when he was young, and is now considering joining the ANC. He says the NP is facing a "crisis of morality" and is showing a lack of leadership in its last days of power.

But Prins warns that the growth of the right wing is being helped by attacks on farmers and the elderly. He says there is a growing number of Afrikaners who know somebody who has been attacked on farms and smallholdings, and this is creating a

general climate of fear about change.

Prins says Afrikaners must sustain itself without artificial support from the state. If it is a language with a role in SA, it will survive without being made compulsory at white schools, he says. In a future SA, schools should teach English and one other language of the pupils' choice.

Prins is cynical about the public abandoning of the Broederbond by public figures. "All they are doing is going deeper underground," he says.

Folk singer Anton Goosen, who penned the cynical *Boy van die Suburbs*, which looks at the lifestyles of Afrikaner youth, recently changed tack and teamed up with SA reggae superstar Lucky Dube.

He says his announcement that he is an ANC member won't affect his musical career, as he plans to reach all South Africans with his new musical style.

While the ANC's recent overtures to Afrikanerdom are unlikely to win the majority of Afrikaans speakers to the organisation, they have made the point that the political categories of the old SA are rapidly falling apart.

Nothing symbolises this more than the shouts of "viva Verwoerd" from young Afrikaners at the Parow meeting.



Deadline drives multiparty debate

MEMBERS of the seven technical committees at the multiparty talks are under intense pressure to finalise their second reports by the end of today so that the negotiating council can debate them next week.

It is expected that the council will start discussing substantive issues on Tuesday.

The committee dealing with violence will have a tough job trying to fulfil its brief of suggesting ways to lessen violence, while the constitutional principles committee will have to shoulder a considerable task in trying to find ways of accommodating vastly different viewpoints on the future SA.

This week the council instructed the constitutional committee to act with urgency in drafting a report on constitutional principles, as well as a report on the structures, powers and functions of regions. It also has to present proposals on how the constitution-making process should be tackled, including an agenda of how items should be debated to achieve maximum efficiency.

The committee will be taking the full CP proposal on self-determination into

account in its second report. In the first report, the CP set out its argument.

Constitutional Development Minister Roelf Meyer has challenged the CP to come forward with a workable position. He said this week that the summary of the party's argument indicated the CP was threatening secession.

The committees dealing with the independent electoral commission, media commission and telecommunications authority are expected to have draft legislation prepared in time for Tuesday's meeting.

The committee dealing with the repeal of discriminatory legislation is expected to have made substantial headway in identifying which legislation, including that of the TBVC states, should be repealed.

Parties also have until this afternoon to submit nominations for members of the commission that will investigate regional boundaries. On Tuesday the council is expected to give the commission its mandate to start work and instruct it to report back within six weeks.

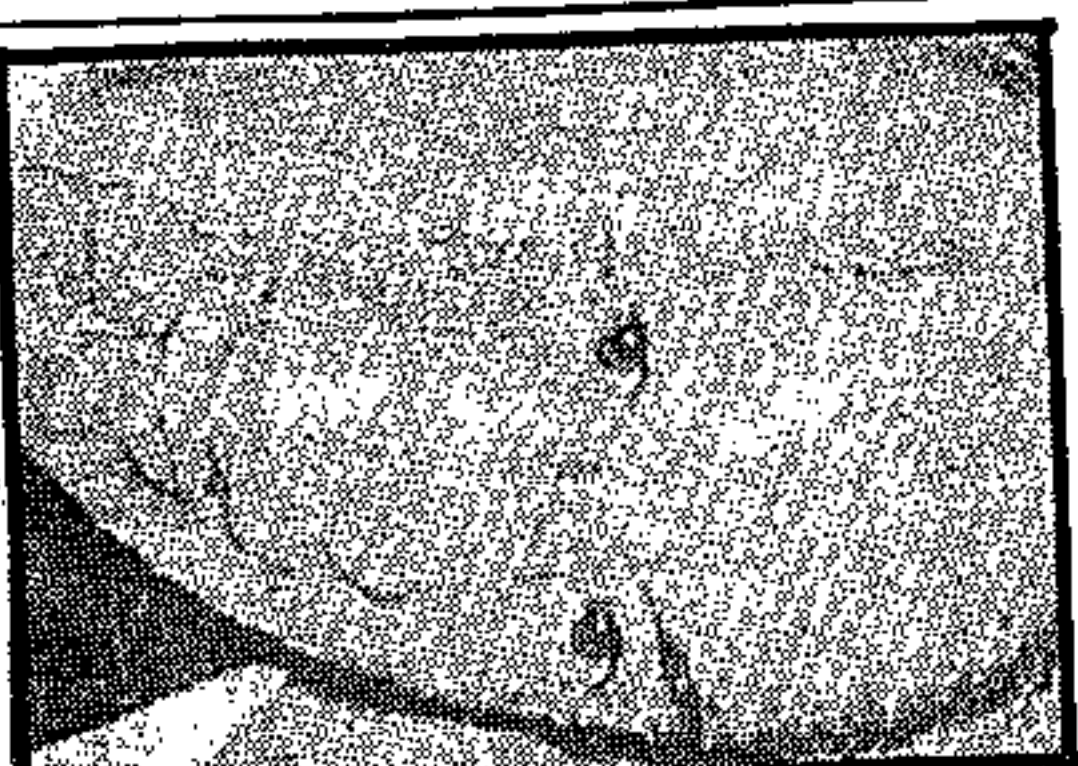
BILLY PADDOCK

US government ready to set up aid package for SA's transition

PETER FABRICIUS
Weekend Argus Bureau



□ Bill Clinton



□ Warren Christopher

WASHINGTON — United States President Bill Clinton's administration sent out strong signals this week that it would move swiftly to provide economic support for a transitional government in South Africa.

Secretary of State Mr Warren Christopher said here yesterday that once a transitional executive council (TEC) had been put in place and a date set for elections, the US government would work with its G-7 partners "to help South Africa re-enter the global economy".

There are strong indications that the TEC could be established and a date set for elections within weeks.

"We have urged the World Bank and the parties in South Africa to begin planning projects that will translate into economic growth," Mr Christopher said at the annual conference of the African-American Institute, an organisation of black Americans dedicated to helping Africa.

"The American business community should be part of the effort to help the people of South Africa build a strong and vibrant economy once the progress towards democracy is irreversible."

Mr Christopher's remarks follow President Clinton's assurance to Archbishop Desmond Tutu earlier this week that his administration would be ready to give South Africa an economic "kickstart" once a TEC was launched.

Neither Mr Clinton nor his foreign minister provided details of their proposed economic assistance, although at the very least it would be sure to involve lifting restrictions on South African access to International Monetary Fund and World Bank facilities.

At its last meeting, the G-7 countries, an informal club of the world's richest nations, promised financial assistance to the South African transition.

At the African-American Institute conference, Mr Christopher also reassured other African countries that the US administration intended resisting pressure to scale down its proposed development aid for Africa this year.

US official sources said this reassurance could be regarded as a coup for Africa in the light of strong pressure to slash the aid package as part of the effort to reduce the mammoth US deficit.

Mr Christopher warned that US aid would be conditional. The US and the international community would be more willing to support African countries that had embarked on "serious reform".

South Africa 22/5/93



They're embarking on a trek away from conservatism

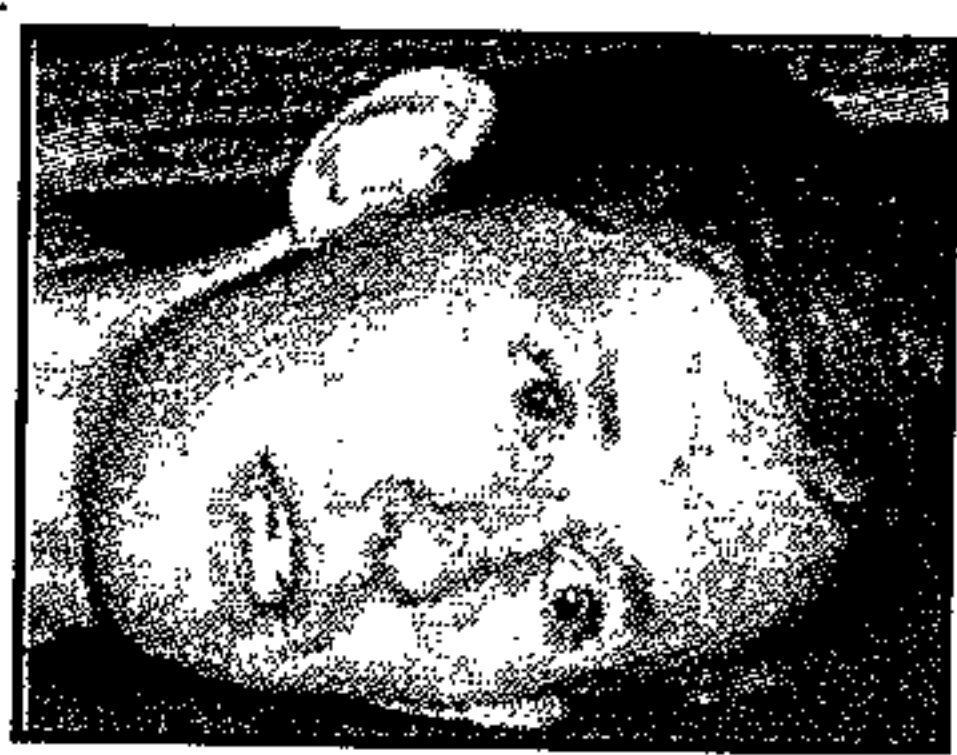
New breed of Afrikaners

WHAT makes young Afrikaners, growing up in conservative families which can trace their roots back to the Great Trek and beyond, give their support to people their parents regarded as deadly enemies?

Madelein Malan, daughter of former Defence Minister Magnus Malan, caused a stir this week when she wrote to a newspaper castigating the Afrikaner right wing, saying she would rather support certain ANC leaders.

And last week, Wilhelm Verwoerd, grandson of apartheid's architect Dr Hendrik Verwoerd, attended an ANC rally in Parow at which an Afrikaans version of Nkosi Sikelel' iAfrika was sung for the first time — translated by the son of the man who composed Die Stem.

THE youthful bearers of historic Afrikaner names like Verwoerd and Malan find they have more in common with a different sort of nationalist ethos, writes LOUISE MARSLAND.



A NEW SYMBOL:
Wilhelm Verwoerd.

blood boil is the conservative, verkrampt and racist image given the Afrikaner by right-wing leaders: "There are lots of people who feel the same way as I do. We have had enough now. The right wing does harm to people like myself and other Afrikaners."

Verwoerd said: "It is wonderful no longer to be part of a tiny, threatened minority group. It is actually a question of justice. Apartheid was not just the failure of a well-meaning experiment — it was a moral failure, an injustice."

Malan insists she and others like her have not forsaken their roots, and that Afrikaner culture is like any other culture in the world — very rich, with much to be proud of. "It is the right wing that make us shy of our heritage. They are proclaiming Afrikaner culture for themselves. We can be proud of our roots without agreeing with the oppression that there was."



PROUD TO BE AN AFEKANER: Madelein Malan in the art gallery she runs in her spare time.

● Photograph: STEVE HILTON-BARBER

"There is a new breed of Afrikaner youth. They feel they have been brought up in a society, promised certain things, and now they are out in the real world and are

Anger

Malan says her letter was written out of pure anger. "These people are putting a copyright on Afrikaners, and I am sick and tired of the right wing speaking for me and others."

She added: "There are many Afrikaners, mostly young people like Wilhelm Verwoerd, who are proud to be Afrikaners, but may be more proud to be South Africans. We do not want to leave this country — not only because we have nowhere else to go, but also because we love it and are part of it and its people."

"If I were to be part of the future of South Africa, I would, like Verwoerd, prefer to be led by people like Tokyo Sexwale and Cyril Ramaphosa, than by people proclaiming themselves to be fighting a cause for a specific nation, when it is nothing more than sentimentalism for an old order that keeps them together."

Malan has a law degree, works as a conference organiser and runs an art gallery. Her relationship with her family is "excellent" and she believes her father is "sort of" proud of her for stating her opinion.

What really makes her

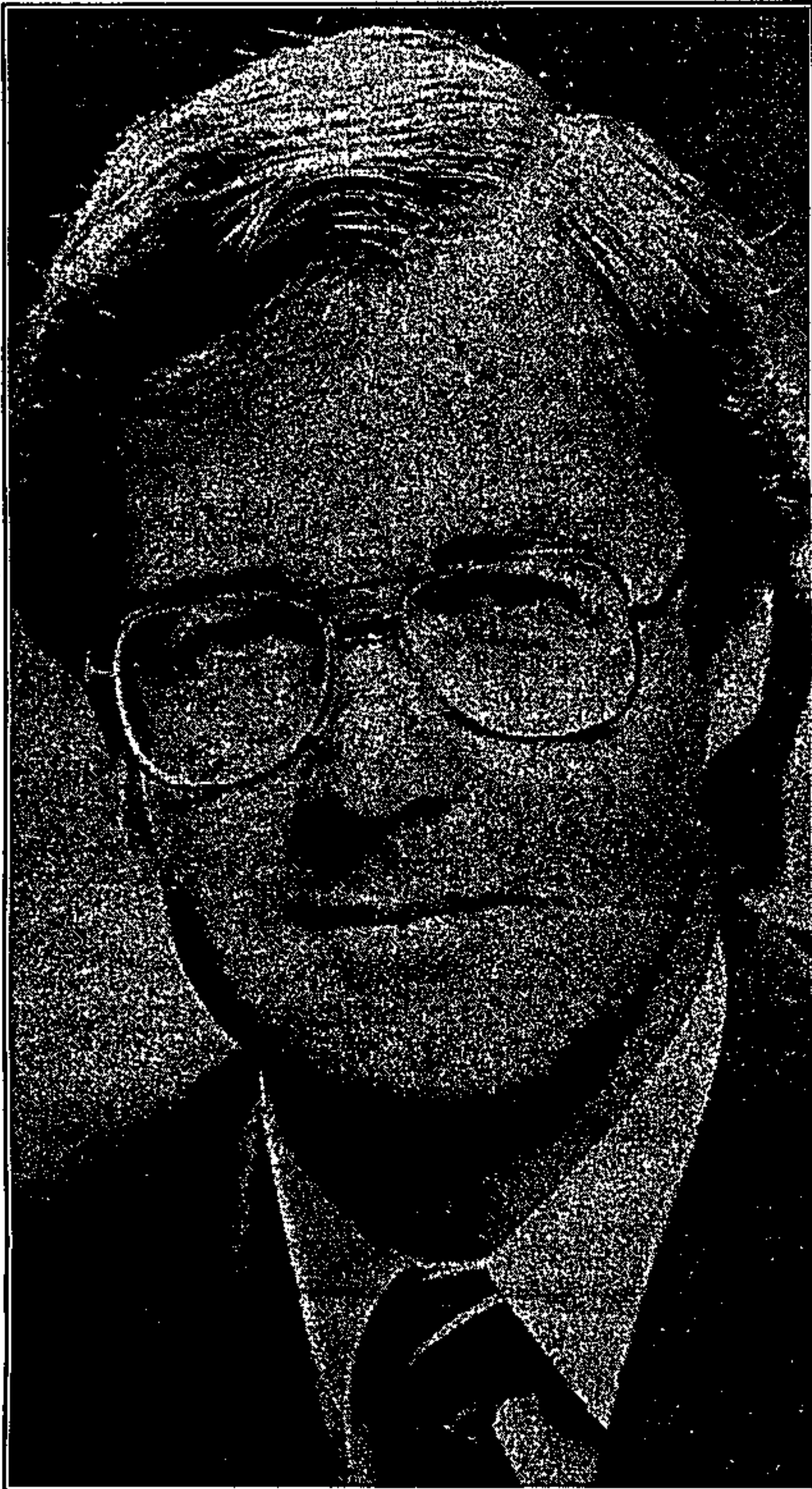
mind to people of all races. They don't see themselves as the last generation of Afrikaners, but rather as South Africans who are prepared to stay and make a contribution to their country."

Cries of "Viva Verwoerd" rang out when Wilhelm, a senior Stellenbosch philosophy lecturer and former Rhodes Scholar, told the Parow rally: "I am much more than just the grandson of a symbol. I am the symbol of a new generation which wants to stand up for democracy."

Fears

Verwoerd told the audience he had grown up traditionally Afrikaans and Nationalist. As recently as 1988, when he had "reluctantly" shaken the hand of South African Communist Party leader Joe Slovo during a student mission to Lusaka, he felt almost a traitor to his brother, who was doing military training at the time.

He said he understood the feelings and fears of fellow Afrikaners, especially with relatives, such as his uncle, Professor Carel Boshoff, devoting their energies to establishing an Afri-



PETER GASTROW: 'Joint supervision amounts to no more than a watching brief'

CROSSTALK

'Joint control of the SAP, not a watching brief'

South 2215 - 2615193

PETER GASTROW, Democratic Party spokesperson on Law and Order, explains why joint control of the police force is essential to ensure a free and fair election:

304A

THERE is agreement among negotiating parties that the playing field needs to be levelled if there is to be a free and fair election. There also seems to be agreement that, during the election campaign, the South African police should not conduct themselves in such a way that their actions favour any of the competing parties. How can this be achieved?

Minister Hemus Kriel's proposal is multi-party supervision (of the security forces), but sole control by the government.

The ANC's position until now has been for joint control. Joint supervision amounts to no more than a watching brief.

Different parties will be kept informed about what is happening within the police and they will be able to make an input into decisions about how they are to be deployed.

The final decision, however, remains with the government. So does final responsibility and accountability.

Joint control, on the other hand, suggests joint decision-making, joint responsibility and joint accountability.

Joint control is therefore a far more effective mechanism to ensure that the playing field is levelled and that the police force is not misused by the government.

It also makes the police's task easier, because

they will be operating with the mandate from those who exercise joint control.

Statements made by the ANC's Mac Maharaj suggest that the ANC is considering a shift in position from joint control to joint supervision. This would bring the ANC in line with the government's position.

The reason for the apparent shift by the ANC is presumably the fear that there could be a political backlash if it was to assume co-responsibility over the actions of the police force.

Short-term political considerations by the ANC are understandable, but to abrogate joint control would certainly not be in the national interest or in the longer term interests of the ANC.

It would leave the government in sole control of the police and would result in the police becoming highly politicised.

The police are also likely to be used as a political football by all opponents of the government. Every incident in which police are involved will be exploited.

When a new government is elected next year, it will rely on this very same police force to maintain stability. A battered police force which has had to bear the brunt of the election campaign will be demotivated and difficult to depend on.

Joint control is therefore absolutely essential for a fair and free election, and for the sake of stability after a new government has been elected.

From Codesa to Multi-Party Forum

CONSIDERING the negotiators of the agreements may not all be elected to a Constituent Assembly, what guarantees are there that the Assembly will stick to negotiated agreements? (304A)

There is agreement in principle from Codesa on the need for a statutory Act to define the framework within which the constitution is drafted, and according to which elections are conducted.

This will ensure the Constituent Assembly adheres to negotiated agreements and limits dispute over the constitution which emerges.

Preparatory steps towards defining this Act would be agreement on the broad and general principles that the constitution should include.

The elected Constituent Assembly would then have a legally defined framework satisfactory to all parties involved, within which to draft the constitution.

There would also have to be agreement on the finer details of the proportional representation system to be used. On the basis of this agreement, the Act would also ensure elections are conducted in the manner agreed on.

Another concern centres around

creating a body to supervise the process until a Constituent Assembly exists. One of the names suggested for such a structure is a Transitional Executive Council.

This Council is intended to prevent the present governing body from being both player and referee in the run-up to an election.

In other words, the structure which ensures everything is prepared for an election should not be one with a personal stake in the election.

The main task of the Transitional Executive Council would be to level the playing field before an election. It would have a number of sub-councils to look into the following:

- Law and order
- Defence
- Public finance
- Regional and local government
- Foreign affairs.

In addition to these sub-councils, it would have two commissions operating under its supervision.

One of these, the Independent Electoral Commission, would have the task of overseeing everything necessary in preparation for the holding of elections.

The second would be an Inde-

pendent Media Commission, which would be charged with ensuring that the media falls under impartial control, thus ensuring equal access for all parties contesting the elections.

The above is more or less what has been covered by Codesa.

Now the Multi-Party Forum has taken over its tasks. The Forum has agreed to set up seven technical committees to look at the following:

- An independent media commission;
- An independent electoral commission;
- A transitional executive council and its sub-structures;
- Repressive legislation;
- Constitutional principles and the form of state;
- A constitution-making body and procedures;
- The ending of violence and the building of a peace process.

Not all parties agree with the above procedures. However, the purpose of negotiation is precisely to achieve majority consensus in disputed areas.

There has already been significant progress at the multi-party talks, as it has been agreed elections will be held before the end of May 1994.

14 voter education

What your vote will mean



TALKSHOP: Three years ago political leaders raised the hopes of South Africans when they met at Codesa, but they have still not reached finality on the process to elections

South 22/5 - 26/5/93

THE negotiation process has been underway for three years now and still there is no finality on the process to elections.

When Codesa collapsed in June last year, certain agreements had already been reached.

At the multi-party forum which is continuing the talks, seven technical committees have been set up to review aspects of the agreements.

For this reason, it is not clear yet whether the agreements will serve as the basis for the way forward to elections, or whether they will have to be discussed again because all the parties involved in the multi-party forum were not present at Codesa.

Let's review the agreements that

had already been made before the multi-party forum came into existence.

They were as follows:

- The first non-racial democratic elections will be to elect a Constituent Assembly. This body will have a dual responsibility — it will draft a constitution, and also serve as an interim government.

- It will consist of 400 seats. Of this, 200 seats will be filled from national lists, and the other 200 from regional lists.

- It has been agreed in principle to use a proportional representation electoral system. There will be both national and regional lists.

The finer details of the system are still to be worked out. The existence of two lists does not mean voting twice. One vote per person will count both at the national and

at the regional level.

- The country will be divided into electoral regions. This is distinct from constituencies, which are candidate-based. People will vote in their designated regions for parties, not candidates. (304A)

At regional level, votes will be counted and added up to make the national total of votes cast for specific parties.

From this national total, 200 seats will be divided up among the various parties in the Constituent Assembly, in direct proportion to the number of votes they win on the national level.

The remaining 200 seats will be allocated on the basis of the result of regional lists. This means that parties which have countrywide support will win a great number of votes from the national lists.

Parties whose support is regionally rather than nationally dispersed would win great numbers of votes in the regions where they dominate.

The regional lists will give smaller parties a greater opportunity to win seats than they might have on the basis of only national lists.

In all proportional representation systems there has to be prior agreement on the number of votes a party must win to qualify for seats. This is called the threshold figure.

There has been no agreement yet on the threshold figure to be used in South Africa.

In many other countries that use proportional representation, the threshold figure hovers around five percent. This means that a party must win five percent of the total number of votes cast in order to qualify for seats.

The higher the threshold figure, the fewer the number of parties that gain seats and vice-versa. Care has to be taken that the threshold figure is neither too high nor too low.

If it is too high, then parties with substantial support may not gain seats. If it is too low, it can encourage the emergence of many small parties which force an emphasis on minority issues.

A balance ensuring that minority views are taken into account, while not detracting from the interests of the majority, has to be found.

The Constituent Assembly will co-opt an executive/cabinet on the basis of election results to ensure that each party is represented in the same proportion as the number of votes they won.

The Constituent Assembly will mandate the interim government.

White support for Nats takes a dive

WHITE support for the National Party has shown a massive decline, bringing the party's popularity to the lowest level recorded, the Omnichek division of Research Surveys said yesterday. The division, which measures voting intentions on a regular basis, said in a statement that 500 white males and 800 white females were interviewed in the PWV area, Durban, Bloemfontein, East London, Port Elizabeth and Cape Town.

The interviewees were asked which party they would vote for in an election.

The research showed that since October 1992 support for the National Party had slid from about 40 percent of white voters to one in four.

According to the Omnichek re-

port support for the Conservative Party has increased, particularly among white men, from 21 to 29 percent.

Omnichek said the CP had also gained support from voters aged between 18 and 34 years old.

Most CP supporters came from the PWV area and were Afrikaans-speaking, the report said.

The results showed white women were not yet prepared to commit themselves to the right wing, a high percentage indicating "they did not know which party they would vote for".

Omnichek's director, Binky Kellas, said "the dramatic swing in voting intentions was an indication of the impact of Apla activities and the escalating incidence of black on white violence". — Sapa.

Blacks will shun the ^{3041A}broeders

Aug 22/5/93

FRANS ESTERHUYSE
Weekend Argus Political Correspondent

PLANS for drawing people of colour into a reformed Afrikaner-Broederbond appear unlikely to succeed.

Opinion-makers of various shades, including academics and former broeders, say that even if the Broederbond were to shed its racist image, its secrecy, and its whites-only membership rule it is highly unlikely that people of colour would want to become members.

"What can such an organisation offer them after deliberately excluding them for so many decades on the grounds of race and colour?" one critic asked.

They were reacting to statements by Broederbond chairman Professor JP (Peter) de Lange about possible reforms to the movement.

Professor de Lange indicated that the Broederbond, after operating in secrecy since the 1920s, might move into the open and could admit women and blacks as members.

He said a process of reform to enable the organisation to remain relevant under changing circumstances was taking place and a new draft constitution had been distributed to more than 1,400 branches.

This confirmed a report in Weekend Argus last Sunday that the end of the road had come for the Broederbond in its present form. It was expected to disappear from the scene as a whites-only secret society for men before the end of this year.

Western Cape poet, writer and philosopher Professor Adam Small, professor of social work at the University of the Western Cape, said he did not think any person of colour could even entertain the thought of joining an organisation like the Broederbond.

■ Is there a future for a reformed Afrikaner-Broederbond with black broeders among its members?

"I feel scandalised by the very thought of joining. After all the havoc created by the Broederbond over the apartheid years, the very suggestion that it might now admit people of colour becomes laughable. Perhaps one should see the funny side of it. It is very funny indeed.

"Whatever one wants to say should be said in public. And when it comes to democracy, an important issue is that there must be the largest possible measure of openness in one's thinking and in one's life.

"There is simply no room for a secret organisation within a democratic system. It seems absurd that people who were at the receiving end of oppression for so many years should now go to the side of the Broeders to belong to the Broederbond — or maybe even to a Sistersbond," Professor Small said.

A former member of the Broederbond told Weekend Argus he saw no future for the movement, even if it were to reform itself.

"The sooner they (the Broeders) realise that the game is up, the better it will be for them and for a new South Africa," he said.

"It is amazing that the Broeders apparently don't realise what an extremely negative image the organisation has, not only among all other groupings but also abroad."

He suggested that instead of trying to reform, the Broederbond should disband.

"An appropriate occasion for this would be the 75th anniversary of the Broederbond, to be celebrated on June 5," he said.

Cape Flats civics flock to DP

By Christelle Terreblanche

NEARLY 40 executive members of Cape Areas Housing Action Committee (Cahac) affiliated civics and residents associations have joined the Democratic Party (DP) in the past two months.

And this figure is set to triple soon, says DP Western Cape regional organiser, Mr Edgar Louw. Louw started the DP's recruitment drive in March, targeting community leaders in particular.

He says up to 75 percent of civic executive members from Belhar, Mitchells Plain, Delft, Blue Downs

and Heideveld have joined the DP, bringing "significant numbers" from their communities with them.

The same trend exists in Sienberg, Retreat, Hanover Park, Lentegur and Atlantis.

Among the new DP recruits are well-known community figures and activists, like Mr Kevin de Vos, Ms Carolyn McKay, Ms Carol Jackson, Pastor Willem Burger and Mr Jerry Sijun.

"This shift became more discernable when (Retreat civic leader) Mr Joe Marks and his son, Joey, joined in March," says DP MP for Green Point, Mr Hennie Bester, who is spearheading the party's recruitment drive in the

Western Cape.

At a weekend briefing DP leaders emphasised that the party could emerge from the election with more than 10 percent of votes to hold the balance of power between the NP and ANC, thus remaining a significant force in politics.

"We have to emphasise that the DP is not recruiting the civics and ratepayers associations as such or taking over the civics," says Mr Joey Marks, secretary-general of Cahac, but talking in his capacity as a DP member.

"Cahac civics remain non-aligned and members have the right to belong to any party they choose."

Marks and Louw point out that intimidation in the townships is one of the prime reasons for this shift of erstwhile UDF and civic leaders to the DP.

They believe people identify with the DP's policy, especially on housing and the economy.

"But the real reason community leaders are signing up, is because the DP has been of service to us," says Mr Stanley van den Berg of the Delft Ratepayers Association.

"The National Party has been making all kinds of promises to us, but they are nowhere to be seen. On the other hand people see the ANC as a black-orientated party. We prefer to be in the middle."

You need ID to vote

THE DEPARTMENT of Home Affairs has increased the pace at which they are issuing identity documents (ID) in preparation for the elections. *South 22/5-26/5*

Since the beginning of this year 708 807 identity documents were issued, 147 889 more than during the corresponding period in 1991, Mr Danie Schutte, Minister of Home Affairs, said.

An average of more than 43 000 identity documents have been issued weekly since the beginning of this year and nearly 60 000 were issued during some weeks.

"It is expected that the tempo will continue to increase as we near the election and that more than 90 per cent of the South African population of 18 years and older will hold identity documents by early next year," Schutte said.

"This brings us nearer to the ideal of enabling every eligible South African citizen to vote in the coming election," he said.

The identity document is by far the most suitable document for use in an election, as it just about eliminates the possibility of forgery, and also serves as a voter registration process.

A separate registration process would have cost the taxpayer a further R420 million.

1993 "I wish to appeal to those South Africans who do not yet have identity documents, as well as to all political parties and other groups in the country, to motivate their supporters to do what is necessary," Schutte said.

22/5-26/5/93

South

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EXCLUSIVE

The new SA's 10 *Star 22/5/93* 'backroom boys'

HERE they are. This the first picture of the 10 "backroom boys" who in effect manage the negotiating process at the World Trade Centre — the negotiations that will decide the shape of the new South Africa. (304A)

The committee, whose members take part in their "personal capacities", facilitates the agenda for negotiations undertaken by the 104-member Negotiating Council, which is the body doing the real talking.

Sitting, left to right: Joe Slovo (SACP), Colin Eglin (DP), Dr Frank Mdlalose (IFP). Standing, left to right: Cyril Ramaphosa (ANC), Zamdela Titus (Transkei), Roelf Meyer (Government), Rowan Cronje (Bophuthatswana), Benny Alexander (PAC), Pravin Gordhan (Natal Indian Congress) and Mick Webb (Ciskei). Flanking them are Gillian Hutchings (extreme left) and Theuns Eloff (extreme right) of the Consultative Business Movement, which is responsible for administration.

Can SA now break the strangleglehold of union?

If it is true that the delegations to multi-party talks have achieved a breakthrough on the question of regionalism and regional powers, we could be on the point of hacking through a slipknot which has — from a federalist point of view — been strangling the country all these decades.

Yet "if" is the operative word. It remains to be seen whether the ANC, the Nats and others have the same conception of regionalism as the IFP, the DP and others.

Federalists say the very fact that the debate is still going on proves that union — provinces under an all-powerful central government — has failed. They also argue fairly compellingly that if the well-organised Transvaal delegation had not been able to stampede the National Convention of 1909 into union instead of federation, all kinds of things could have happened and all kinds of things not.

Apartheid could never have established itself as national policy. The only places it could have had a foothold would have been in the Transvaal and Free State.

In a federation, a central parliament would not have been able to frustrate the colour-blind constitutions of the Cape and Natal. True, the colour-blindness was largely theoretical insofar as it affected the African communities — especially in Natal — but it was a point of departure. And the extraordinary thing is that, until the 1983 tricameral constitution, individual Natal Africans still had the theoretical right to petition the State President (who inherited the powers of the colonial governor) for inclusion on the voters roll.

For apartheid read any other kind of crazy ideology with which a future central government might be tempted to flirt. In a federal/regional dispensation, the regions/provinces might be

The more things change, the more they stay the same. Eighty-four years ago they were arguing about federation versus union.

Today the same argument has become rather more vehement,

writes political commentator GRAHAM LINSOTT.

able to frustrate many such excesses.

To revert to the early days, Zimbabwe would almost certainly have become a member of a Federation of South Africa. A Southern Rhodesian delegation attended the National Convention but, in a subsequent referendum, this very British colony shied away from full union.

Botswana, Lesotho and Swaziland would almost certainly have become members as well. The South Africa Act (basis of our original constitution) provided expressly for their incorporation — the relevant clauses were removed only in the 1960s — but the British made clear from the outset that this would not be countenanced under a racially-based constitution.

But the Cape constitution?

And if South Africa had followed this federal path, would Namibia not have joined as well? Could the United Nations have objected to a colour-blind Cape-style constitution?

The outcome, the federalists argue, would have been a vast country of immense potential, with at most two of its states/provinces pursuing localised apartheid which would eventually have fizzled out.

So much for what might have been. What is possible now?

Much must depend on what those with an instinct for centralism are prepared to concede. When they speak of regionalism, do they mean something approximating to the provincial council system, which Mr P W Botha was able to summarily abolish in 1986 when it no longer suited him? Or do they mean the reserved regional powers, the right to raise regional taxes and the balance between central/federal and regional/provincial government which is characteristic of true federations?

If the latter, the ANC and the communists have moved light years.

If the former, we can expect a great deal more grinding negotiation, based ultimately on the essentially negative potential of Zulu traditionalists and Afrikaner conservatives to make a great deal of trouble if their vital interests are not safeguarded.

If the latter — well, South Africa could then be on the way to taking the potential shape of the early years. Botswana, Lesotho, Swaziland and Namibia are already in a customs union with us. There would tend to be a blurring between these states and South Africa's federal regions/provinces. The Transvaal — or the PWV component anyway, if that province is to be sub-divided as many seem to wish — would be economically and demographically pre-eminent among them all.

However, a debate of 84 years is not resolved that easily. One suspects that some very tough negotiating still lies ahead.

Yet delegations to the multi-party talks must be as aware of that as anybody. And they sound decidedly upbeat, in a way they surely would not risk without good reason, given the recent history of breakdown and disappointment. The question is being thrashed out in advance of elections, which is encouraging.

Could we at last be on the point of hacking through that strangulating slipknot?

ARC 22/5/93
(3044)

Star 22/5/93
... and in Egypt, too

CAIRO — Pik Botha's trip to Egypt next week is the first official visit to the country by a South African foreign minister in more than 35 years. The three-day visit, starting on Monday, is the strongest indication so far of revitalised relations between the two countries. — Sapa

(304A)

Star 22/5/93
Terror fund pays millions

CAPE TOWN — A total of R13 403 226 had been paid out by the State President's Fund for victims of terrorism or their dependants since 1983, Minister of National Health Dr Rina Venter said in Parliament yesterday. She said 1 810 applications had been approved. The largest single payment was to L Barbas as a result of a shooting incident in Krugersdorp in 1991, where R64 365 was granted for medical and funeral expenses and short-term financial assistance. — Sapa (204A) (244)

Right-wing groups form new body to challenge Front

Star 22/5/93
304A

NORMAN CHANDLER
Pretoria Bureau

EIGHT semi-militant right-wing organisations associated in a group styling itself "Volks Action Front" have joined the Herstigte Nasionale Party in refusing to become members of the umbrella Afrikaner Volksfront (AVF) movement, established in Pretoria this week.

However, a group known as Die Verkenners — yesterday described as a "cultural-political" organisation set up by rightwingers, some of whom are understood to be HNP members — has allied itself with the AVF.

There was speculation in military and political circles that this group could be made up of dissatisfied SADF members from reconnaissance units based in Durban and Phalaborwa, but this could not be confirmed.

The United Federal Party (UFP), which describes itself as a centrist party, and the Boerestaat Party are among those which have not joined the AVF. The other six are described as "phantom freedom fighter" organisations. Their names have not been divulged.

Not representative

According to the UFP, "the AVF has been intentionally withholding a major revelation on its membership to the detriment of semi-militant organisations".

The AVF, it said, was not representative of all right-wing bodies. The Committee of Generals which co-ordinated the formation of the AVF had consistently ignored the Volks Action Front, the UFP said.

"As early as April 23, the Volks Action Front released a press statement saying several organisations had formed the Action Front to muster support nationally and call for the restoration of the volkstaat through passive secession or UDI. The generals were informed of this, but they have ignored us."

This week, the HNP declined to link up with the AVF until a meeting of its head committee, scheduled for May 31, had decided on the issue.

HNP leader Jaap Marais said that as far as the HNP was concerned, one of the principles of the Volksfront was to call for a white election. This had been rejected by General Constand Viljoen, former chief of the SADF and co-ordinator of the Committee of Generals.

Women beef up talks teams

Staff Reporter

ALL political negotiating parties have hastened to beef up their delegations with women — at the risk of losing out on representation.

All delegations have been required to add one more member, who has to be a woman.

Inkatha's spokeswoman Ms Suzanne Vos, who successfully argued for compulsory female re-

presentation earlier this year, said yesterday that there was nothing to prevent the leader of the delegation from being a woman.

"Considering that 54% of our voters are women, you cannot keep excluding women," she said.

National Party Deputy Minister of Justice Ms Sheila Camerer said yesterday that it had also

been decided that more women would be included on the technical committees.

ANC spokesman Mr Ronnie Mamoepa said that women had always been prepared in the fight against apartheid.

"They will not be 'accompanying the leader' to the negotiations. They will be there in their own right for their own merits," he said.

ANC, Afrikaners in joint committee

CT 22/5/93 (3041)

JOHANNESBURG. — The ANC and the Afrikaner Volksunie (AVU) yesterday formalised bilateral contact to discuss the AVU's proposals for self-determination of the Afrikaner.

The two delegations at the talks were led by ANC president Mr Nelson Mandela and AVU leader Mr Andries Beyers.

They announced at a press conference afterwards that a joint committee had been set up to discuss the AVU's constitutional proposals.

Asked whether the ANC and AVU had discussed, even in the broadest terms, a proposed geographical area for an Afrikaner volkstaat, Mr Mandela said: "The whole demand for the acceptance of the principle of self-determination would at some stage in the course of the debate also identify areas which might accommodate this demand."

"But no decision has been taken because we think that the demand as formulated by the AVU may create a lot of problems and there are other ways of addressing the question which will be examined by the joint committee." — Sapa

Regions will have the right to choose

3041A 23/5/93

MONDAY morning at a primary school in East London, 1996:

Children are gathered in a hall decorated with the interim flag of South Africa. Assembly starts with the national anthem — *Nkosi Sikelel' iAfrika* — and is led in English.

The hall was built with taxes paid by a Johannesburg businessman. The chairs were bought with money raised through VAT in a Cape Town supermarket.

After assembly, the Std 3 class will study history from the curriculum set by the Kei Education Department. It will be neither racist nor sexist, and, hopefully, not revisionist.

Similar scenes are happening in schools all over the country — in Xhosa, Zulu, Afrikaans and Sotho — because the parents of these schoolchildren have just elected their regional governments, two years after the first national elections.

The flag, the anthem, the education authority, the money and the languages are all the practical work-

ings of the regional dispensation to be decided by the Constituent Assembly next year.

Kei, along with another seven or eight probable regions to be at least geographically defined within months, will have its own education authority in charge of primary and secondary education. Because it is not a wealthy region, it will have received money from the central government to build the school.

Powers

Each region will be allowed to choose its own language for official use as long as it also uses the "language of record" — and none shall be racist or sexist, because every law passed and every official programme set must comply with the spirit and the letter of a non-discriminatory bill of rights.

Just what areas the regions will have jurisdiction over is moot.

Some powers will clearly rest with the regions. These will include some health, some education, some tax-

ation, the environment, water affairs, welfare, housing, transport, roads and traffic control, industrial development, horseracing and gambling — and the ability to fine or imprison people who break any laws made to control these areas.

The national government will be exclusively responsible for defence and foreign affairs.

Areas of contention include which tier has the right to control the police, agriculture and land affairs and commerce.

There is also no clarity yet on how and on what regions may impose their own taxes on — and which tax revenues go straight to central government and which accrue to the region, to be passed on to the centre for redistribution.

VAT and income tax may go to the central government; perhaps fuel tax could be at the discretion of the region.

What does seem to be agreed is that there will have to be a measure of redistribution by a fiscal commission.

BALLOT papers in South Africa's first democratic elections will probably be counted three times when voters go to the polls next year to elect both national and regional governments.

One ballot is expected to elect members of the National Assembly, regional representatives of the Assembly (or a second chamber) and, by extension, members of regional administrations.

The ballot will first be counted to decide who will occupy 200 national seats in the new parliament. Seats will be allocated in

How the *STimes* ballot 23/5/93 will work

proportion to the number of votes received by each party. (304A)

There are two options for deciding how another 200 seats in the national parliament will be allocated between regions. Either the region's total number of seats will be fixed by the number of votes cast in that area or each region

will be allocated the same number of seats.

Depending on where you cast your vote, it will be counted a second time to elect the 200 regional representatives to Parliament. The support gained by parties in each region will determine how many regional representatives they may send.

The ballot will be indirectly counted a third time when elected representatives from each region elect a group of about five people to serve on regional administrations. This group will, in turn, elect a regional administrator.

The new SA takes shape

WITH a prudent nip and tuck here and there, these two maps form the basis of what South Africa will eventually look like.

Somewhere between the seven regions proposed by the government and the ANC's 10 — and the eight areas into which the country is now split, taking into account the four homelands — lies the future.

Neither map cuts into Inkatha territory, leaving Kwa-zulu safely lumped with Natal and thus heading off some IFP objections.

The rest of the homelands and self-governing territories are ignored, and must be phased into the rest of the country as soon as possible.

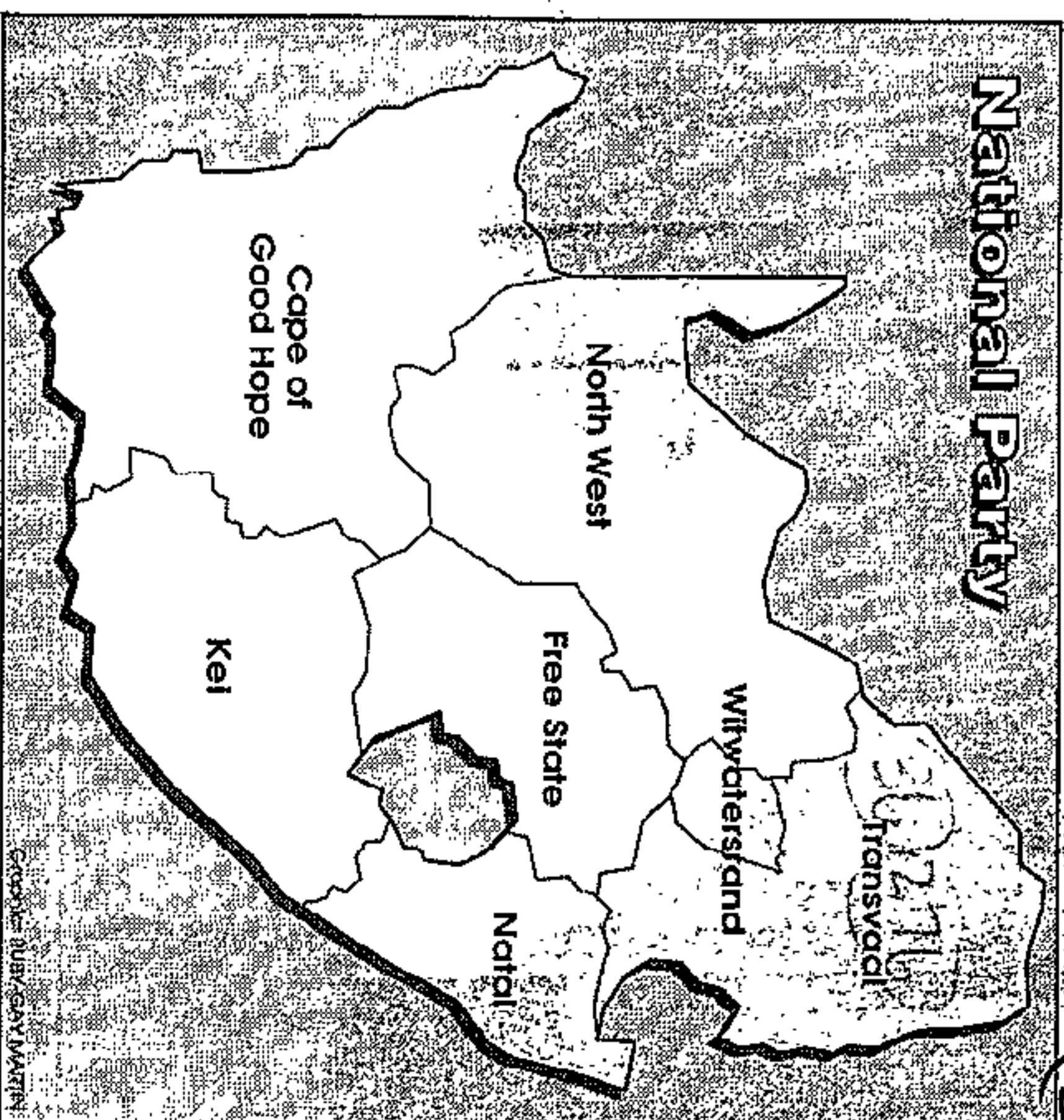
In the opinion of a team of experts assembled by the Consultative Business Movement earlier this year, both proposals meet relevant criteria for the demarcation of regions.

They seem to have abjured political gerrymandering in favour of logical geographical boundaries, they do not ride roughshod over historical boundaries and are fairly sensitive to the need for balance between the comparative wealth and size of areas.

The team's view that ethnic

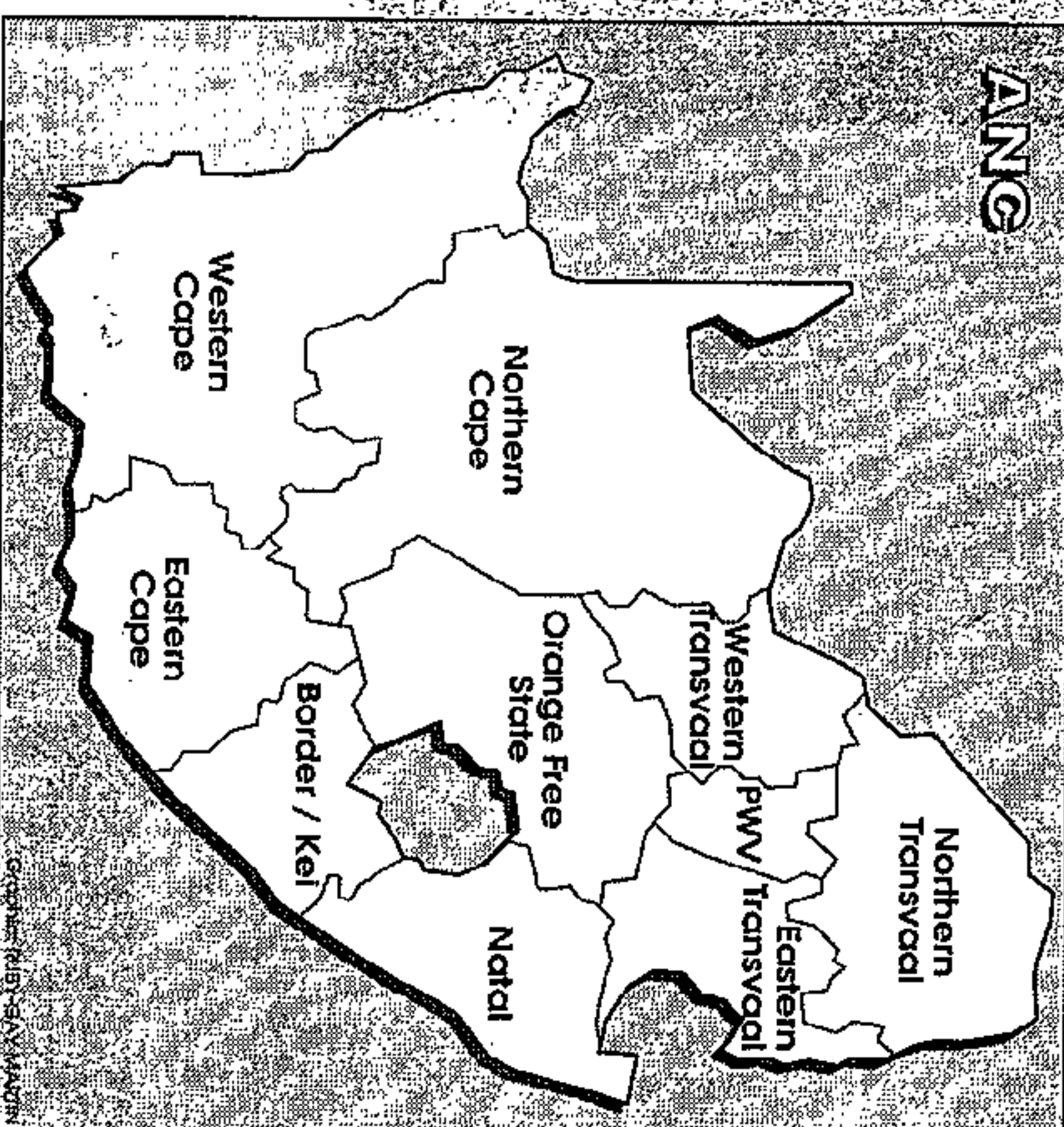
A picture of how South Africans will vote and be governed has begun to emerge from agreements reached and documents tabled by World Trade Centre negotiators. CLAIRE ROBERTSON reports

(30/11)



The government's proposed seven-region plan

divisions should not form the basis of regions found an echo in the Negotiating Council this week when a proposal that traditional tribal boundaries be taken into account did not even have a second. A regionalism commission will start work within weeks when it will hear submissions



The 10-region plan favoured by the ANC for a new SA

from political parties, tribal leaders and other interested parties before reporting on the boundaries of the regions. These suggested boundaries

In both maps the PWV region is split, leaving surrounding rural areas without the "mother-ship" city that the western Cape and Natal areas enjoy.

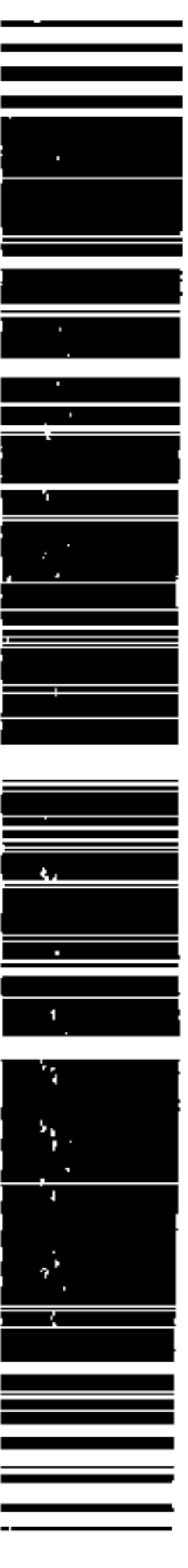
The PWV is also disproportionately wealthy and populous, accounting for more than 20 percent of all voters.

The north-west region proposed by the government follows the area favoured by the Bophuthatswana government.

While it makes more sense than the Northern Cape/Western Transvaal split of the region proposed by the ANC, it grabs areas on the outskirts of Pretoria which logically belong to that city.

The third problem area involves the border between the Kei and Natal areas. The two maps are in agreement on the areas, more or less, but while the ANC reverts to the 1910 provincial boundary, the government uses the present provincial boundary which was drawn when the Transkei, which now occupies that space, entered the picture.

The government's proposal has Xhosa-speaking East Griqualand and Umzimkulu parcelled into Zulu-speaking Natal, which could become a "sensitive issue", the team noted.



A death to point the way

S/Times

23/5/93

KEITH TANKARD argues that in Chris Hani, South Africa has found its first truly national hero

(304A)

THE tragedy of South Africa is that the many peoples who make up our state have little history in common.

We have always been a divergent lot, fighting on different sides in every conflict, seeing each other forever as the enemy.

Yet nations are forged out of history. They feed on the fertile soil of great deeds, with national heroes, common victories in war and a shared suffering in defeat.

These are the bricks of nation-building. Without them, it would seem, people will simply remain people, segmented into clans, tribes, races and classes.

The French became the French during centuries of united struggle, against the English in the 100 Years War, against the Germans in the 30 Years War, against the English and the Germans in the Seven Years War and against the Germans again in the Great War and World War 2.

They have Louis XIV, Napoleon and Gambetti to honour. They have monuments to national greatness, admired by the common people. The same is true for the English and the Germans.

Perhaps not so the Italians. Since unity in the mid-19th

century, they have only Mussolini and a series of defeats in two world wars to look back to. They are still a nation largely in the making.

The United States, on the other hand, is a good example of a modern state which has gone out of its way to foster nation-building.

It does, however, have some marvellous foundations on which to build. The early fathers, such as George Washington, Thomas Jefferson and Abraham Lincoln, to name just a few, are glorious examples of national heroes.

What is remarkable about these men is that they can be respected by all of America's citizens, of whatever race, colour or religion. The reason is that they can all be made to stand for heroic virtue, justice, honour and peace.

South Africa is in an unfortunate position. It has no common heroes, great events or catastrophes which the majority of its population can look back to with reverence.

Our statesmen and our wars have always been divisive rather than unifying phenomena. The Frontier Wars were white-on-black confrontations, the South African War an English-on-Boer one.

Even the two world wars

are not really celebrations of our national unity, for there was none and still is none. Instead, each population group looks to its own heroes, in isolation of the greater community.

The Afrikaners have looked to the Great Trek, the so-called covenant and the South African War as the "great events" in the creation of the volk.

They celebrate Paul Kruger and the Voortrekker leaders as their heroes. But this is isolated hero-worship and builds only a parochial volk, not a nation.

These are not the heroes of the black community nor of English-speaking whites. The former have different heroes, the latter hardly any at all.

South Africa is therefore not yet a nation.

The recent assassination of Chris Hani is, in an abstract sense, an interesting phenomenon. Though the deed would appear as stupid as any ever committed in South Africa, it might be productive in our nation-building.

Whatever one thought of Hani before his death, his murder has galvanised the people of our future nation.

Never before have so many people of such diverse back-

grounds been united in horror of such a deed. Never has so wide a spectrum seen such a need for immediate solutions to our problems.

Although radicals at both ends of the political scale would like to see confrontation, the vast majority in the centre have found common ground in the slaying of this one man.

He was a true hero for the majority of the black population and, for the weeks prior to his death, he was valiantly fostering the principles of freedom, peace and justice for all. That is a message with which most South Africans can identify.

It seems certain that Chris Hani Day will become a public holiday. This must be the accepted thought of the majority in our country.

Hani's assassination, however, is much more important than the creation of just another holiday. If the peoples of South Africa are not torn apart in a bloody civil war, we have at last found our first truly national hero.

That in itself, of course, will not create a nation. There must be much more to it than that. But it is a start.

□ Dr Keith Tankard lectures in history at Rhodes University.

Strong proposals effectively guarantee liberty of the individual

31 June 23 1963
(3044)

KEN OWEN has already risked his credibility on the extravagant claim that Chief Justice Corbett's judgment restraining a magazine from publishing private information obtained by illegal phone tapping ranks with the closure of The World as a blow to press freedom.

He now stakes his reputation on an incompetent reading of the Democratic Party's draft bill of rights.

Owen's first complaint is that the DP's bill of rights "puts forward a view of liberty which is parsimonious and grudging, hedged about with qualifications".

Remedies

But Owen cites no such qualifications and offers no evidence whatever of parsimony or grudgingness.

The truth is that the safeguards of liberty in the DP's bill are the strongest proposed by any party.

The DP's proposals would entrench freedom of con-

TONY LEON and ETIENNE MUREINIK take issue with Ken Owen's criticism of the Democratic Party's bill of rights

science, religion, assembly, association, speech, press and thought; freedom from undue search, seizure, and self-incrimination; freedom from cruel, inhuman or degrading treatment.

Unlike the ANC's and the government's draft bills, the DP's would fully protect academic freedom and freedom of information.

Alone among the rival bills, it requires state-controlled media to ensure diversity of opinion.

The bill's remedies against maladministration — which go far beyond any previously on the negotiating table — and its comprehensive rights of fair trial would secure individual liberty far more effectively than all Owen's hot rhetoric.

Indeed, over half the bill gives the citizen concrete remedies and safeguards

democratic society", and to comply with South Africa's international law obligations — constraints far stricter than in the much-admired Canadian equivalent.

Luxuries

What is more, most of the rights in the DP's bill are made absolute and unlimited.

All of which makes Owen's objection on the score of liberty just plain silly.

Owen's second gripe is about equality. What excites most of his venom is that the bill permits what might otherwise be outlawed as discrimination if it is part of a rational programme intended to remedy substantial inequality.

It is, no doubt, this feature which inspired Owen's verdict that the bill "sets out not primarily to secure liberty, but to undo the injustices of apartheid. It is a plan to win the truth, as anyone in

touch with reality knows, is that the war against apartheid is far from won — and to win it, we need to aspire to both liberty and equality.

We cannot possibly hope for equality until we begin to undo inequality. Until then, the liberties we prize so much will remain luxuries to be enjoyed by the privileged.

This is something the entire political mainstream recognises, including the government, whose bill explicitly permits affirmative action.

Owen's opposition to this kind of permission — and it is permission, not compulsion — puts him to the right of the government, among the pre-De Klerk reactionaries who think that justice means freezing the huge disparities in opportunity

wrought by decades of racial domination into immutable law.

Owen's final sally is against the entitlements in the bill to the essentials of life: to the food and water necessary for survival, to shelter, from the elements, to basic health care, to a basic education and to a clean and healthy environment.

Guardian

Here Owen's complaint is that the bill gives generous powers to the courts. Again, the problem is the casualness of Owen's reading.

The provision immediately after the one which Owen cites makes it plain that it is the prerogative of the law-makers and the executive to decide how to deliver these entitlements.

The courts come into the picture only when they review the actions of those organs of government to ensure their reasonableness.

This widely-acclaimed provision gives the courts the role merely of guardian against government neglect and abuse.

The problem — whether it is when Owen offers hysterical censure of a perfectly reasonable judgment of a highly respected chief justice or when he fulminates about the DP's bill — is that he simply does not seem to take the trouble to read before he rants.

● Tony Leon, MP, chaired the DP's bill of rights committee. Etienne Mureinik, Professor of Law at Wits University, served as a consultant to the committee.

By BRIAN POTTINGER

THE man who guided US Africa policy through eight tumultuous years remains undiminished in his belief that South Africans have a peaceful political settlement within their grasp.

Dr Chester Crocker, former US Assistant Secretary of State for Africa Affairs, rattles off the country's advantages.

"There is a very impressive depth of high-quality people in every field — you can see it while travelling abroad. South Africans are running important agencies all over the place."

South Africa, he adds, is so much better off than most other developing countries — so much better than Russia, for example.

Yet, these optimistic endorsements are offered diffidently. In South Africa this week on business and to promote his book, *High Noon in Southern Africa* (Jonathan Ball), Dr Crocker is aware that in Africa, the race between glory and calamity is always close.

"Last time I visited here, Codesa 2 fell apart. I considered waiting until the negotiations were seriously on track before coming this time," he jokes.

As US Assistant Secretary of State for Africa between 1982 and 1989, this soft-spoken Georgetown University academic was the architect of the much-misunderstood policy of "constructive engagement" — an attempt to draw all the southern African players into dialogue aimed at ensuring the withdrawal of Cuban and South African forces from Angola, independence for Namibia and non-racial democratic elections in South Africa.

His biggest mistake, he now ruefully admits, was giving the policy a name. In the event, it was seized upon by left-wing critics of the Reagan administration as a love-in with the National Party and by right-wing critics as an attempt to sell out to the communists.

He found himself constantly opposed and sniped at by conservatives in the US administration, many of them prompted by a glowering President PW Botha, who had a liturgical suspicion of the Americans and was wont, in Dr Crocker's words, to "throw china around the kitchen".

In the end, the policy, or a form of it, triumphed and the regional objectives were met. Dr Crocker does not believe it could have occurred earlier.

CHANGE

"It is always possible to say to people in office at a certain time, 'Look how many people died during your tenure.' It's cheap-shot analysis. If there was an alternative in the early 80s, I would have loved to have known what it was."

Ironically, he believes, a settlement between the people in South Africa could have come sooner.

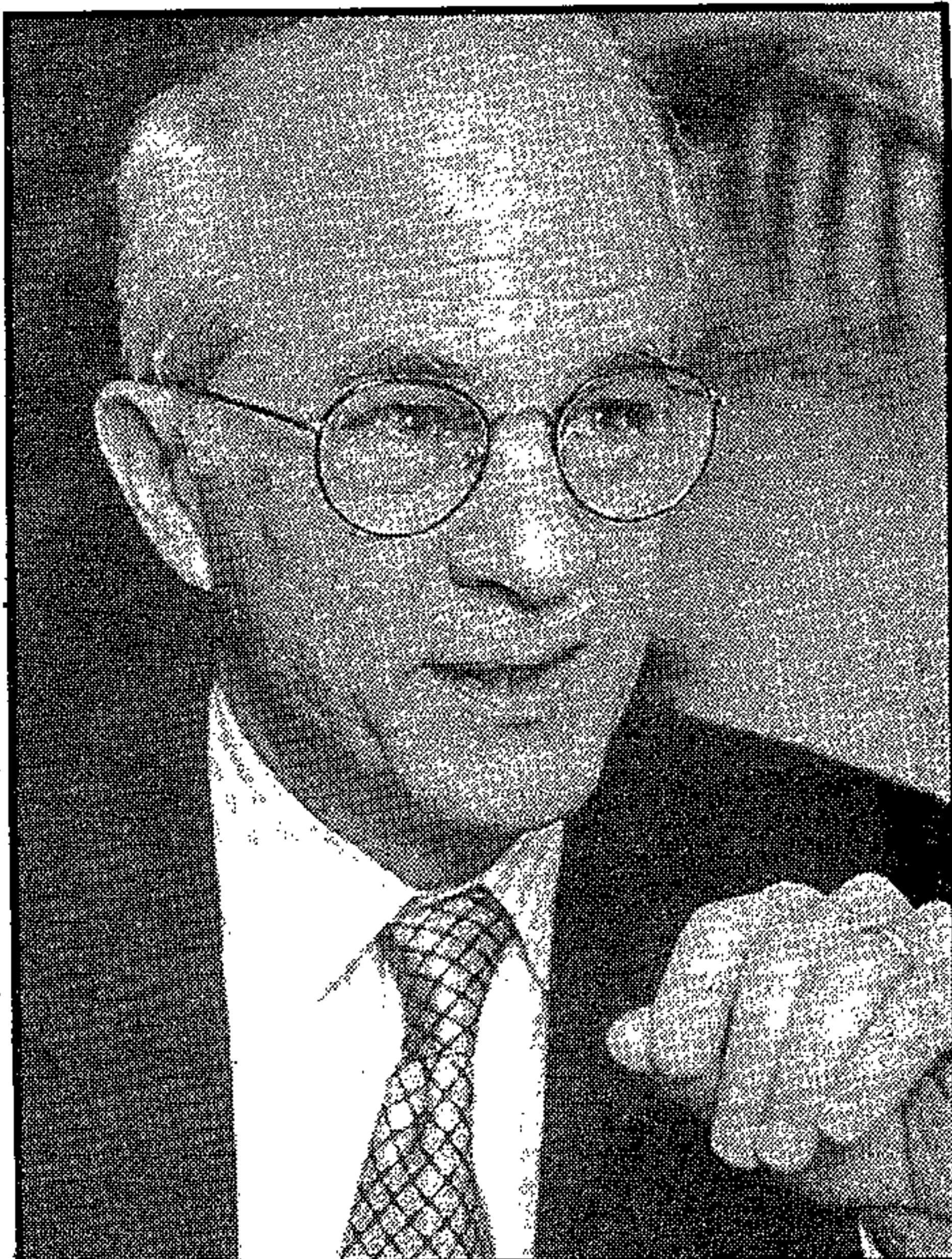
"I knew a lot of people who wanted change and were hopeful that even under former President PW Botha, it could have happened."

"It must have been sheer hell for them to have endured some of the bad news of the 80s."

South Africa's challenges, he says, will be to right the economy and build up legitimacy of institutions and policies.

"The economy cannot be a battleground as it has been for 20 years."

Chet — the 'constructive engager' — rides back into town with hopeful news for SA



CHESTER CROCKER ... optimistic Picture: JON HRUSA

"This place is a microcosm of all the great struggles and hopes and aspirations of all history. It is more inspiring to be here rather than in a God-forsaken Bosnian town where people are learning about apartheid at gunpoint. The people here are so much more human beings than the tribal leaders in, say, the former Yugoslavia."

On legitimacy, "What is missing, is legitimate policies around which you can build defences. Once that happens, you get people pulling together in a dramatic and uplifting way."

Dealing with people in Africa, admits Dr Crocker, is an acquired taste.

His favourite anecdote concerns the signing of the peace accord over Angola and Namibia in 1988. At a time of ostensible rejoicing, the US delegation was treated to a belligerent speech by the Cuban delegation and an outburst by SA Foreign Minister Pik Botha, who challenged the Cubans to come and debate human rights issues "outside".

George Schultz, US Secretary of State, presiding at the ceremony, turned quietly to Dr Crocker and said: "This is some bunch of people you have been dealing with."

Dr Crocker noted the important role the region's military commanders played in the peace process.

"The Cuban style was to

stuff and puff and wear lots of medals to impress. The South Africans always looked as if they had just come from a braai.

"The Cubans would say things like, 'Why do you not just get out of Angola so we do not have to push you out?' General Jannie Geldenhuys, chief of the SADF, would look at them and say: 'Look, I don't want to detain you with the history of 1899 to 1902, but we did keep the British rather busy for a while.'"

FASCINATION

"Eventually, the two sides reached each other." Why his particular fascination with South Africa?

"This place is a microcosm of all the great struggles and hopes and aspirations of all history. It is more inspiring to be here than in a God-forsaken Bosnian town where people are learning about apartheid at gunpoint. The people here are so much more human beings than the tribal leaders in, say, the former Yugoslavia."

● See Page 34

AT THE WORLD TRADE CENTRE

THE World Trade Centre is not an attractive building. It is too new, for one thing, and looks impermanent, a honeycomb of pressed-fibre walls and spun-fibre floor tiles.

It has displays of pine furniture kits behind glass cases where Parliament has Thomas Baines seascapes on teak wainscoting, petulance where Parliament still echoes to the ghosts of sharp debaters like HF Verwoerd or crusaders like Helen Suzman.

Well, the prefabricated World Trade Centre began gaining a patina of its own this week. Days after the best session of the Negotiating Council yet on Tuesday, the atmosphere was still lighter, the banter and smiles flowing in the new mood of optimism.

The session began with the Afrikaner Volksunie's Mrs J Gouws complaining that the council was "rushing through negotiations for a new South Africa with a speed that dwindles you into the air".

Eight hours later she declined to carry through her request to debate the speed issue because of the "amicable atmosphere" between chairman and IFP delegate Frank Mdlalose and Cyril Ramaphosa of the ANC.

"Today we really did meet like responsible people negotiating the future of our country," she said.

The council had ratified an ANC suggestion which reached it via the technical committee on constitutional issues, to the effect that a commission be established to draw the boundaries of the country's new regions.

But along with this, it suggested that the powers and functions of the regions during the interim government period be debated by the council.

This went a long way towards allaying Inkatha fears about future autonomy.

With that, the atmosphere lightened, there was light-hearted joshing and the players settled into their roles.

Joe Slovo had a burst of eloquence (he does this once a week); Amichand Rajbansi spoke many, many times, usually to castigate the media for not reporting, by implication, his many, many contributions to the debate.

Frank Mdlalose was avuncular and charming, giving as good as he got from the floor; issues were debated and the pale blue chamber rang with laughter and applause.

Once again the lingering misgivings of the smaller parties were swept aside in the euphoria of having achieved another step forward (or sideways, as the people

would see it).

The conspiracy theories of a secret deal between the government and the ANC the right-wing groups cling to, were hardly disproved by the nods, winks and note-passing between the two throughout the afternoon.

And one was left with a sense of poignancy that this Camelot-like atmosphere will probably be short-lived.

Even the scholarly, amicable atmosphere of the constitutional issues committee may not be able to continue much longer under the pressure it will face in the coming weeks.

Until now it has managed to identify and categorise issues to be decided by the council. It will be confronted in the next few weeks with reporting to the council on

Camelot-like ambience of fragile talks

such prickly matters as the CP's insistence on self-determination, homeland style.

Thus far the eight men — joined this week by Advocate Michelle Olivier from the Department of Foreign Affairs — have worked well together, dividing the massive task before them along conceptual rather than political lines.

A political party's nominee to the committee may not even know the latest submissions from his party, let alone having to advocate them.

But, largely due to this committee, and the ANC's sudden attack of transience, the council this week shored up enough goodwill to see it through at least some of the rough times ahead.

The fact that these are being seen as real negotiations was demonstrated charmingly at the end of the week.

The public has stayed away from the World Trade Centre. If they notice it at all, it is just another converted warehouse along the highway near Jan Smuts — large black letters proclaiming Trade Mart (soon to be Trade-Off Mart ...) along its facade.

But on Friday afternoon 54 Ladysmith trainee teachers filed through its maze of corridors with a mixture of awe and delight.

Along with the Union Buildings and the planetarium, the World Trade Centre had been placed on their history tour itinerary — surely recognition of sorts.

And the first group of students to tour the building thought it was perfect.

Said Thulani Shabalala, 26: "The negotiations should be in a brand new building — this is where new history will be made."

— CLAIRE ROBERTSON

NP threat to withhold indemnity

Political Correspondent

THE government yesterday threatened to withhold permanent indemnity from the ANC's top leadership until the organisation formally abandoned the armed struggle and its "private army" uMkhonto we Sizwe. (252) (304A)

A row erupted in Parliament yesterday when the ANC accused the government of trying to "hold hostage" leading members of the ANC.

ANC-aligned MP for Sandton, Mr Dave Dalling, said during a debate on the extension of provision of the Indemnity Act for another 12 months that it was "outrageous" that the ANC leadership had not yet been given permanent indemnity. In an attack on Justice Minister Mr Kobie Coetsee, he said the "nit-picking, obstructionist" minister was attempting to hold the Sword of Damocles over leading ANC members like Mr Joe Slovo, Mr Thabo Mbeki and Mr Steve Tshwete.

Mr Coetsee immediately hit back, saying that "the sword of Damocles is made of the ANC's reluctance to abandon the armed struggle".

By Brendan Templeton

ANC president Nelson Mandela's call for the voting age to be dropped to 14 was rejected outright by other political parties yesterday.

Mandela made the call yesterday and on Saturday while speaking at rallies in northern Natal.

The ANC was perfectly correct in calling for a lower legal voting age, particularly because previous white elections had led to tragic mistakes, he said.

Mandela said the ANC would exert "tremendous pressure" to support its proposal.

"They say a person under 18 can't think correctly and make

ANC's 'Vote at 14' call wins no support

Star 24/5/93

a wise choice.

"We reject that and demand the voting age should be from 14," he said.

But political spokesmen from other parties pointed out that the voting age was set at 18 in all democratic countries.

Democratic Party leader Zach de Beer said: "I take note of Mr Mandela's argument that some of these youngsters have fought for freedom.

"This argument was used years ago and was always met with the statement that all sorts of juniors and even animals have taken part in wars, but this did not entitle them to the franchise."

Conservative Party leader Dr Ferdi Hartzenberg accused the ANC of trying to ensure it could intimidate children into voting for it.

"It's absolute rubbish ... if

you take a 14-year-old and give him the vote, you might as well give it to a 10-year-old.

"Schoolchildren are easily intimidated as they are not responsible voters. If this was the case, then it would have been started in democratic countries many years ago," he said.

Home Affairs Minister Danie Schutte said on Saturday that Mandela's suggestion would not receive serious consideration in a civilised country.

"Internationally, 18 years is regarded and used as the most acceptable voting age and there is no reason why the reduction of this age should even be considered in South Africa," Schutte said.

New MP

chosen to succeed

Dr T

By Jacquelin Myburgh

A descendant and namesake of Voortrekker leader Louis Trichardt has succeeded the late Conservative Party leader Dr Adries Treurnicht as MP for Waterberg in the northern Transvaal.

The new CP MP, 57-year-old Louis Trichardt, told *Die Star* yesterday he would be sworn in on Wednesday.

Trichardt, cattle farmer at Alm in the Waterberg district, was appointed MP after a nomination election on Saturday. According to new laws, no election was held, but this internal nomination was opposed by Professor Johan Schabert of Brits. Trichardt said he won 53 votes from executive members of CP branches in the Waterberg to Schaart's 51.

Trichardt is chairman of the local agricultural union and was CP Waterberg council chairman for the past year.

He plans to strive for unity of right-wing groups in the Waterberg and hopes the recently formed Volksfront will unite all rightwingers. His wife, Karyna, is chairman of the CP women's branch in the northern Transvaal. They have four children.

PRETORIA — A white policeman affably hands a megaphone to an ANC activist calling for the end of white minority rule, an image of new, tentative co-operation between South Africa's traditional foes.

White police wrestle to the ground a white right-winger who shot dead two black protesters. ANC township officials hand over to police thugs who killed a journalist. Police and ANC organisers huddle at rallies to stop looters and rioters.

As South Africa takes halting, violent steps towards multiracial democracy, co-operation once unthinkable is emerging between the ANC and its erstwhile police enemies.

The ANC still accuses the police of shooting unarmed township protesters and senior police officials question the organisation's ability to control its followers.

Since the April 10 murder of SACP leader Chris Hani, the two sides have been thrown together to save the country from violent disaster. At least 80 people have been killed in unrest since Hani's death.

Mourning Hani

But police and the ANC have struck delicate, unprecedented deals to ensure potentially explosive rallies were largely orderly.

"Co-operation was good," ANC secretary-general Cyril Ramaphosa said last month after police and ANC marshals working together ensured mourning ceremonies for Hani that drew tens of thousands of people were mainly peaceful. "What has been played out this week is instructive — this is the embryonic stage of joint control of the security forces."

The police force is 60% black and the government late last year appointed its first three black generals.

Except for one day of urban riots and some isolated incidents, Hani's funeral and other memorial events were largely peaceful as police and ANC officials consulted to ensure right-wingers did not attack protesters and township anger did not spill out of control.

Defuse tensions

"The co-operation has been superb," said a United Nations observer in Pretoria, where ANC officials and police walked side by side to maintain order at a march.

At one point a policeman lent ANC organiser

Signs of new co-operation between foes

Donsie Khumalo his megaphone so his supporters could hear calls for majority rule.

The march on police headquarters was banned by the city council but police said they had decided to let it go ahead to defuse tensions.

"They've been very disciplined," Colonel Royce Menton said of the ANC marshals, looking on calmly as they delivered a statement at the headquarters calling for the end of the government he serves.

"The co-operation has been exemplary, an example for the rest of the country," Khumalo agreed.

Oppressing force

But while collaboration may be emerging on the ground, many on both sides of the old war are slow to be convinced.

Many angry blacks in the miserable townships still see police as the invading, oppressing force after years of sending in armoured trucks, shooting protesters and beating suspects with impunity.

The State President, Mr De Klerk, addressing fears of his anxious constituency, says the ANC cannot adequately control its followers and that mass action plans could spark a race war.

But he may have to come to terms with a redrawing of battle lines, say political commentators.

"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," editor Ken Owen wrote in the Sunday Times.

"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." — Sapa-Reuter

ARC 24/5/92 (304A)
New CP member

JOHANNESBURG. — A farmer from the Thabazimbi area in the north-western Transvaal, Mr Louis Trichardt, has been appointed the Conservative Party's new Member of Parliament for the Waterberg constituency.

Mr Trichardt, 56, succeeds the former CP leader, Dr Andries Treurnicht, who died recently. — Sapa.

7 Mandela's call 'opportunism' say academics, politicians

Child vote' scorned

(304A)

ARC 24/5/93



TOS WENTZEL and SHARON SOROUR
Political Staff and Labour Reporter

MR NELSON Mandela's call for the voting age to be lowered to 14 was greeted with dismay and derision in political and academic circles today.

Mr Mandela was accused of political opportunism and it was pointed out that 14-year-olds hardly had any legal responsibility.

After first proposing the lowering of the voting age on Saturday Mr Mandela has since defended the suggestion.

The Minister of Home Affairs, Mr Danie Schutte, has rejected the proposal.

"Such a move would clash with internationally accepted standards and would not enjoy serious consideration in any civilised country."

"Eighteen is internationally regarded as the age at which people are given the vote."

A spokesman for his department said he was not aware of countries where the voting age was as low as 14.

Professor Robert Schrire of UCT said the statement showed that the ANC was under a lot of pressure, especially among the youth.

"It is a political gesture to try to consolidate support. This was not Mr Mandela's finest hour."

"While this appears to be a short-term gesture, in the long-term the radical youth brigade is unlikely to support the staid middle class and middle-aged ANC leadership."

Mr Jannie Gagliano, lecturer in political science at the University of Stellenbosch, said the call "smacks of political opportunism."

"The vast majority of the black population is young. It can be argued that, in the political struggle, they have been politicised beyond their age."

"But it's doubtful whether people of 14 can have a proper grasp of political issues."

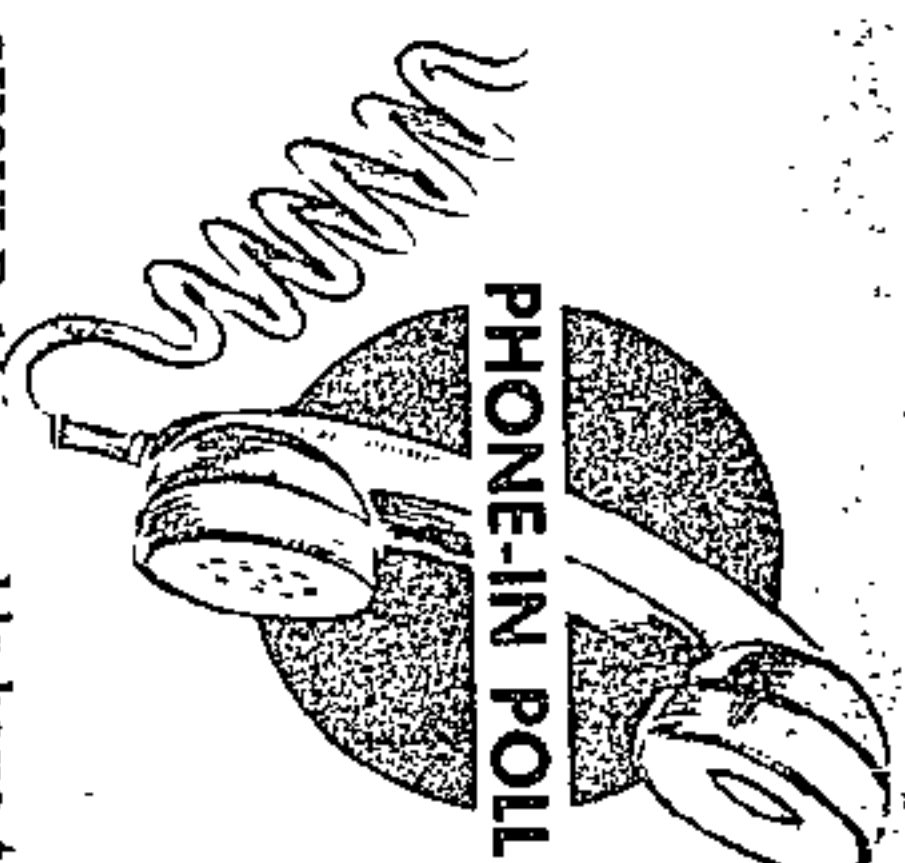
"The approach appears to be that if people are old enough to take part in the struggle they are old enough to be voting fodder for the nation."

A legal expert pointed out that 14-year-olds had extremely limited legal responsibility and could not be employed or given prison sentences.

One exception was the creation of a presumption that a 14-year-old may be responsible for rape.

Mr Mandela has repeatedly defended his controversial call.

He said at a rally in Newcas-
tle that he was aware his earli-
er plea on behalf of the chil-



SHOULD 14-year-olds have the vote? Call us at 488 4584 or 488 4216 until 9pm and tell us your view.



"I always thought that when a politician kisses a baby it's to get the mother to vote for him — not the baby!"

RAIN

(Details, page 2)



304A

24/5/93

dren had provoked a lot of comment in the Press.

He said it had been claimed that nowhere in the world had such a thing been done, but added: "We know of seven countries — there may be more — where the age is less than 18 and in some cases as low as 14."

"There is a country where anybody who is married can vote. If you want to increase the vote for democracy, children of 10 can get married," he concluded with tongue-in-cheek.

Mr. Mandela defended his view on the voting age again when questioned on the issue at a Press conference.

He referred to the "tragic mistakes" made by voters of 18 and older since 1948, when they had voted for the National Party.

Constitutional expert Dr Denis Worrall, Democratic Party MP for Berea, said he was not aware of any country where the voting age was below 18.

"It would be extremely difficult to give any rational justification for this," he said.

"I think the whole concept of voting implies an exercise of rationality and ability in a reasonably dispassionate way, to be able to evaluate policies and issues and it does imply a certain maturity and a level of emotional and intellectual growth."

Ms Dene Smuts, DP spokesman on Home Affairs, said allowing people of 14 to vote would introduce a new logistical complication to South Africa's pending election.

● Democratic Party MPs today calculated that there are about 3.8 million people from all population groups in the 14 to 18 age bracket in South Africa and the TVBC states.

SACP workshop on election role

Political Staff

304A

THE SA Communist Party is to convene a workshop to discuss the implications of contesting elections under an ANC banner.

A three-day SACP conference was held in Johannesburg at the weekend to discuss the party's role during the transition.

Other topics discussed were the dangers of destabilisation and counter-revolution, its role internationally and strategies during the transition.

An emphasis of the conference was that the SACP wanted an independent role during the transition but simultaneously wanted to strengthen the tripartite alliance and the broad democratic movement.



Hani culprits' lawyers apply for more time

Sewakeur 24/5/93
■ Defence team wants to prepare:

By Mzimasi Ngudle

LAWYERS for three suspects in the murder of South African Communist Party leader Mr Chris Hani have indicated they will apply for a further postponement when the trial resumes in the Rand Supreme Court on June 23. ~~(304A)~~ (304A)

The suspects, Mr Januz Walus, Mr Clive-Derby Lewis and his wife Gaye, were remanded in custody after the Attorney-General, Mr Klaus von Lieres, said the granting of bail was likely to "adversely affect public safety".

All three lawyers told magistrate Mr Jurg Vivier in the Boksburg Magistrate's Court on Friday that they had not been consulted and needed more time to prepare the defence case.

Walus, dressed in a brownish-grey suit, stood emotionless when it was announced that the three would face charges of murder, conspiracy to murder and illegal possession of a firearm and ammunition. ~~(304A)~~

The bespectacled Derby-Lewises, both clad in navy jackets, smiled uneasily, waving to family and friends as they were taken back into custody.

NEWS FEATURE *Tshepo Khumbane urges mothers to rely on themselves rather than men*

■ HOLLOW TALKS: *Multiparty*

indaba may not improve things:

THE talk about a new democratic order in South Africa means very little to women. The point is that even the multiparty talks, presently thrashing out a new dispensation for the country, may not have the will and the capacity to improve the fortunes of the country's women.

It is women themselves who must take up the cudgels and relentlessly fight on to better their lot.

One such woman who has found a meaning in the credo of self-sufficiency is Ms Tshepo Khumbane.

Khumbane's life centres around teaching rural women to fend for themselves, thereby removing the dependency syndrome that usually makes them "bask in the sun and look far afield to their men to bring food parcels and money from the cities".

Often those food parcels and money are not forthcoming, what with the husbands having "settled" with their more sophisticated concubines in the big cities of gold and misery.

Instead of the rural women weeping and complaining that "uhaba ka Siphiso" has not been home for years, Khumbane helps them realise that they can do something for themselves.

How does she do that?

Grow vegetables

She teaches women in rural areas to grow vegetables and raise chickens. What they do not consume they may sell in order to swell their coffers.

Employed by the Environmental and Development Agency, Khumbane also strives to uplift people's lives in the rural areas by making them realise they are people with dignity, deserving of respect. She retrains them in old community methods, dismantled by the Government through its resettlement policies which decimated African existence in the rural areas.

Just as it is important to educate the rural folk about self-sufficiency, women must be sensitised about their independence, that they are simply not

By Joe Mdhlela



COUNTRY WOMEN ... Will the talks improve their lot?

appendages of men. They have equally an important role to play in a society. The challenge facing women today is: should they accept that they are living in a society that is man-made, or should they say men are just as dependent on them as women are to them? As an attempt to address these issues, the women want to establish if the current negotiations will pass laws that will give them equal status to men.

Faced with the knowledge that they account for 53 percent of the total

population, women refuse to accept that they are entitled to less in education and training. In the workplace women still occupy 17 percent of the positions available in the middle management.

They are also paid less than men in most sectors. For every rand earned by a man, a woman doing a job of equal value only earns 60 cents.

These, and other contentious topics about women's fight to correct the injustices may be viewed on TSS at 9pm tonight.

Women must take up cudgels for their rights

Sowetan 24/5/93

304A

Talks speed up as poll deadline nears

Own Correspondent

JOHANNESBURG. — The deadline in 10 days for the setting of an election date has forced negotiators to set aside an extra day to work through a volume of material from seven technical committees.

The negotiating council is to meet tomorrow, Friday and next Tuesday in the hope of achieving agreement and recommending to the negotiating forum that an election date be announced on June 3.

Consensus reached two weeks ago in the council was that the 26 parties would discuss setting an election date once they had completed talks on constitutional principles.

But negotiators are concerned that they have not made sufficient headway in striking compromises that will

allow discussions on these principles to be dealt with satisfactorily before June 3.

One source said the second report of the technical committee looking at constitutional principles had left "too much to the negotiating council to deal with and has merely sketched out the two scenarios the council will have to decide on".

One alternative is that propagated by the ANC and government — that a transitional executive council be established in the run-up to elections for an interim government that will also act as a constitution-making body. The second, favoured by Inkatha and the Concerned South Africans' Group, is that the final constitutional principles be decided on by the negotiating forum with a group of experts drafting the constitution prior to elections.

1 nation

Star 24/5/93 FW, Mandela to meet Clinton

President de Klerk and ANC president Nelson Mandela will meet US President Bill Clinton in July. De Klerk and Mandela are travelling to the US to receive the Liberty Award on July 4. Mandela is expected to attend an Organisation of African Unity meeting in Egypt at the end of June before travelling to the US. The two leaders will meet Clinton separately. — Staff Reporter.

(3044)

(11)

(11)

Talks 'must go on' -- PAC

Sawetani 24/5/93

MULTIPARTY negotiations and intense struggles on every front had to go hand in hand, Pan Africanist Congress president Mr Clarence Makwetu said on Saturday.

He was speaking at Boipatong, in the Vaal Triangle, at a rally to mark the Organisation of African Unity's "Africa Liberation Day".

"The only purpose of the current multiparty talks at Kempton Park must be to prepare the way for elections for a constituent assembly," Makwetu said.

"Participants must therefore be very careful not to entangle themselves in matters pertaining to the details of the future constitution as they have no mandate from the masses to do so. (304A)

"The current negotiations process must go hand in hand with intense struggles on every front."

Makwetu said only through elections based on a common voters roll would the masses be able to express

■ Participants must not confuse issues:

themselves on the country's constitutional future.

On the issue of a future form of state and self-determination, he said the PAC remained committed to a unitary state in which everyone enjoyed equal status before the law with individual human rights firmly entrenched.

"We will not succumb to pressures and threats by former generals of the South African Defence Force," Makwetu said in an apparent reference to the newly formed Afrikaner Volksfront.

Constituent assembly

"We do not agree on their request to postpone talks until they have consulted their racist following."

Elections for a constituent assembly would afford everyone an opportunity to express their views, he added.

"We are engaged in a de-colonisation process and not a spoils-sharing exercise.

"Africa belongs to the African people and all those who pay their loyalty to Africa are welcome to help build our nation."

He denounced the proposed transitional executive council as "nothing but a classical colonial native advisory board clothed in fancy terminology". — Sapa.

'SA needs more aid than US can give'

From NEIL LURSEN

WASHINGTON. — Expressions of moral support from the world community are important, but what South Africa needs now is the commitment of funds from the industrialised nations, says South African ambassador Mr Harry Schwarz.

In an interview here, Mr Schwarz said South Africa looked to the Group of Seven (G-7) nations — scheduled to meet in Tokyo in July — for a much larger aid package than any that would come from the United States alone.

Mr Schwarz was asked to react to a speech on Friday in

which US Secretary of State Mr Warren Christopher promised to work with G-7 partners to help South Africa re-enter the global market once a Transitional Executive Council was in place and an election date had been set.

Mr Christopher said the World Bank and parties in

South Africa should plan development projects now and that US businessmen should be part of the effort to build a democratic South African economy for the benefit of the region.

Mr Schwarz said the positive approach in the speech was welcome. However, it was

necessary for the G-7 conference to make a commitment to South Africa as it had done for the Russian Federation — "a commitment of actual funds and the mentioning of figures that will actually come".

The US was having difficulty integrating foreign aid.

2047 CT 2415148

Reduced voting age 'possible'

Election date to be set within a week

NEWCASTLE — ANC president Nelson Mandela said yesterday a date for SA's first democratic elections would be announced by the multiparty forum, and not by his organisation.

Reuter earlier reported Mandela at a rally in northern Natal announcing that the ANC would unilaterally announce the election date.

Clarifying the issue at a news conference afterwards, Mandela said a decision on the date of elections was being discussed at multiparty negotiations and that the date would be announced at that forum.

He also repeated the ANC's call that the legal voting age be reduced from 18 years to 14 years and said he was "not pessimistic" that this demand would be achieved in negotiations.

Commenting on the NP's rejection of the 14 year voting age, Mandela said: "The NP and the ANC have on countless occasions taken different positions on a variety of issues — I'm not pessimistic."

Earlier in the day, Mandela told a 3 000-strong crowd of mainly Indian businessmen: "We have decided to announce before the end of May an exact day for elections before April next year."

Multiparty negotiators were reported to have privately decided on an election date and had been expected to announce it jointly at a meeting of their leaders on June 2.

The planned June 2 announcement was considered a compromise to meet the demands of ANC supporters and government's desire not to appear to be forced into making an early announcement.

This and Mandela's call to lower the voting age appeared to be aimed at appeal-

ing to militant black youths angered at the slow pace of democracy talks.

BILLY PADDOCK reports that the deadline for setting an election date in 10 days time has forced negotiators to set aside an extra day to work through a volume of material from seven technical committees. The negotiating council will now meet tomorrow, Friday and next Tuesday in the hope of achieving agreement to recommend to the negotiating forum that an election date be announced on June 3.

Consensus reached two weeks ago in the council was that the 26 parties would discuss setting an election date once they had completed talks on constitutional principles. But negotiators are concerned that they have not yet made sufficient headway in making compromises that will allow discussions on these principles to be satisfactorily dealt with before June 3.

One source said the second report of the technical committee looking at constitutional principles had left "too much to the negotiating council to deal with and has merely sketched out the two scenarios the council will have to decide on".

One alternative is that propagated by the ANC and government — that a transitional executive council be established in the run-up to elections for an interim government that will also act as a constitution-making body. The second, favoured by Inkatha and the Concerned South Africans Group, is that the final constitutional principles be decided on by the negotiating forum with a group of experts drafting the constitution prior to elections.

Concessions granted by the ANC on re-

To Page 2

Elections

gionalism, to accommodate Inkatha and in exchange for agreement on going the transitional route, are labelled by the technical committee as not going far enough.

The technical committee argues that the ANC should concede that regions be allowed to take central government to court if it interferes in regional issues beyond what is agreed upon in talks.

It also warns that Inkatha will have to accept that an elected constitution-making body will draft the final constitution.

Yesterday negotiators said tomorrow's meeting of the council would have to get down to some "real negotiating over regional matters". Until this issue was resolved to the satisfaction of all parties

they would not be able to move ahead. One government negotiator said the committee looking into setting up a transitional executive council had finalised its report, but could not move forward until the negotiating council reached agreement on how the process would work.

He said the key was to get agreement on the powers and functions of regions and a commitment from the ANC that it would regard this agreement as binding in talks during the period when an interim government was finalising the constitution.

ANC negotiator Mohammed Valli Moosa said the ANC would consider any agreements reached in bilateral talks or in the forum as binding.

From Page 1

The decline of Afrikanerdom's secret organisation is analysed by Patrick Laurence

Top Broeders are backing out

Star 25/5/92

304A

THE demise of the once powerful Afrikaner Broederbond seems imminent, following the resignation from the secret and elitist organisation of several top Broeders.

Those who have quit the Broederbond include Andreas van Wyk, rector-designate of the University of Stellenbosch and, critically, the man who was tipped to take over from the present Broederbond chairman, Pieter de Lange.

Van Wyk, having resisted mounting pressure from lecturers and students at the university to resign from the Broederbond, has finally surrendered.

His capitulation is contained in an unequivocal, if judiciously worded, statement: "I confirm that I have for some time begun to reduce my outside connections and I am at present not a member of any secret organisation."

Van Wyk's resignation — which occurred despite reported attempts by De Lange to stiffen the resolve of Broeders at Stellenbosch to retain their membership — must be seen in the context of another development: the announcement by three more Afrikaner luminaries that they had

quit the Broederbond.

The three are: Wimpie de Klerk, professor at Rand Afrikaans University and brother of F W de Klerk (who himself is or was a Broeder); Hendrik Sloet, former chairman of the influential Federation of Afrikaans Cultural Societies; and Pieter Potgieter, moderator of the NGK, the biggest and most powerful of the three Dutch Reformed Churches serving the Afrikaans community.

Their announcements, made during public hearings of nominees for the new SABC board, signals that membership of the Broederbond has become a liability in the new age of transparency, an encumbrance to be shed rather than an asset to be sought.

When top Broeders quit rather than face the opprobrium of belonging to a secret organisation with an invisible agenda, then — to quote Sakkie Louw, National Party MP and outspoken opponent of the Broederbond — "the writing is on the wall".

Louw is not alone in his prediction. It is reinforced by a headline in the Afrikaans daily newspaper Beeld: "Broederbond to disappear."

The Broederbond's survival cri-

sis raises two interrelated questions: why has it occurred and what does it signify?

The Broederbond's woes should not be seen in isolation. They are part of the wider trauma for Afrikaners and Afrikaner organisations associated with the end of Afrikaner political hegemony. The Broederbond's fate is mirrored in that of the National Party (NP).

Like the Broederbond, the NP is struggling to survive as a meaningful force. It is beset by enemies from within and without, by Afrikaners who see its adaptations as capitulation, by black nationalists and white radicals who suspect that its reforms are a tactical retreat rather than a change of heart.

The foment in Afrikanerdom has affected the Broederbond adversely: the formation of the Herstigte Nasionale Party in 1969 and the Conservative Party in 1982 saw the expulsion of their sympathisers from the Broederbond and the establishment of rival organisations, notably the Afrikaner Volkswag, headed, significantly, by a former Broederbond chairman, Carel Boshoff.

As Henne Kotze and Anneke Greyling, of Stellenbosch University, have noted, the Broederbond

has a symbiotic relationship with the NP. It has played an important role in promoting reform or "renewal" in the NP, particularly in the 1980s.

Looking back it is clear that the Broederbond was in advance of the NP in advocating reform in the 1980s.

In 1986 it argued in a "working document" that a new constitution should be drawn up by all major political forces — including by implication the ANC — and that Afrikaner survival would not be threatened if a black man occupied the presidential office or if a majority of the Cabinet Ministers were black.

In 1989 the Broederbond elaborated on its working document with specific constitutional proposals, which, observers noted at the time, were remarkably similar to those adopted by the NP in its five-year "action plan".

Since President de Klerk assumed office in September 1989, however, a reversal of roles has occurred: until then the Broederbond was the pace-setter, prod- ing and pushing the NP further down the road to reform; afterwards it was the NP that took the lead, forging ahead on its own.

Thus to illustrate the point: in 1990-91 when the NP took the — for it — bold decision of opening its membership to South Africans of all races, the Broederbond remained an exclusive organisation open only to selected white Afrikaner Protestant men.

Since November last year, as De Lange made clear in an interview with The Star, the Broederbond has begun to debate two critical questions: whether it should open its ranks — on a selective basis — to Afrikaners, irrespective of colour or gender; and whether — and, if so, to what extent — it should move away from its secret modus operandi.

But, as documents leaked to Vrye Weekblad show, Broeders have moved very cautiously on these questions, opting for minimal rather than radical change.

They have agreed to excise the word "white" from the clause relating to membership, meaning that "brown Afrikaners" can be admitted at the invitation of existing white Broeders, but they have voted to retain the shroud of secrecy over its membership list and its general activities (while agreeing to release selected documents for public scrutiny).

sent to members by its 18-strong executive committee, the Broederbond's moves are prompted in part by the awareness that it might be proscribed under a new political order. The memorandum talks of the need for "contingency planning" to meet possible future developments.

But the Broederbond is now in danger of being overtaken by events as members from its upper echelons scramble to quit the organisation before they are identified by political foes as members of an "Afrikaner Mafia" plotting in secret to retain their power in the new South Africa.

Unless the Broeders move quickly to make the Broederbond an open organisation pursuing legitimate cultural aims, they risk being remembered as the inheritors of the worst rather than the best elements of the Broederbond's past.

Short of a bold shift away from secrecy they will be seen as the successors of the men who proclaimed in a Broederbond circular 60 years ago: "Brothers, our solution for South Africa's ailments is not that one party or another shall obtain the whip hand but that the Afrikaner Broederbond shall govern South Africa." □

maurice (manuella) says today "and mobilised."

Optimism, doubts on setting of poll date

Star 25/5/93

By Esther Waugh
Political Correspondent

Decisions on several fundamental constitutional issues will have to be taken within the next seven days if an election date is to be set by next Tuesday.

Negotiators at yesterday's planning committee said decisions had to be taken on the constitutional principles which would shape a new constitution, the constitutional process and regionalism.

ANC secretary-general Cyril Ramaphosa and Constitutional Development Minister Roelf Meyer were confident last night that an election date could be set at next week's first meeting of the negotiating forum.

Meyer said the Government would be "going full out (to set the date) without putting other parties under undue pressure".

But he said there was no chance of progress unless clarity was achieved about the constitutional principles and process. No more than a week was needed for this.

It was now necessary to see



Ramaphosa... confident about election date.

whether difference could be bridged, he said. (304A)

But Bophuthatswana government negotiator Rowan Cronje and IFP chairman Dr

Frank Mdlalose expressed doubts that enough progress could be made this week for the election date to be set on Tuesday.

Cronje said the negotiators had not yet "faced up" to who would draft the constitution and whether regions would be determined before or after elections.

Hullabaloo over youth vote plea

By BARRY STREEK

ANC president Mr Nelson Mandela's controversial call for the voting age to be reduced to 14 turned into a major political embarrassment when it was revealed no country in the world has such a low limit.

And only one country in Africa has a voting age under 18—Seychelles, where the limit is 17.

Mr Mandela's call was slammed by the National, Democratic and Conservative

parties.

But the ANC's spokesman, Mr. Carl Niehaus, said there had been "over-reaction" to Mr. Mandela's statement.

He said the ANC had "definitely not" taken any decision to reduce the voting age to 14.

The DP's education spokesman, Mr. Roger Burrows, said, "an analysis of 150 countries' electoral systems indicated that 19 countries had voting ages of 21, nine of 20, three of 19, 112 of 18, three of 17 and

four of 16.

"The absurd suggestion that children of 14 should be permitted to vote in South Africa's first attempt at democracy cannot be seriously considered," he said.

The NP's executive director, Mr. Olaus van Zyl, said Mr. Mandela's call was "rejected as political opportunism".

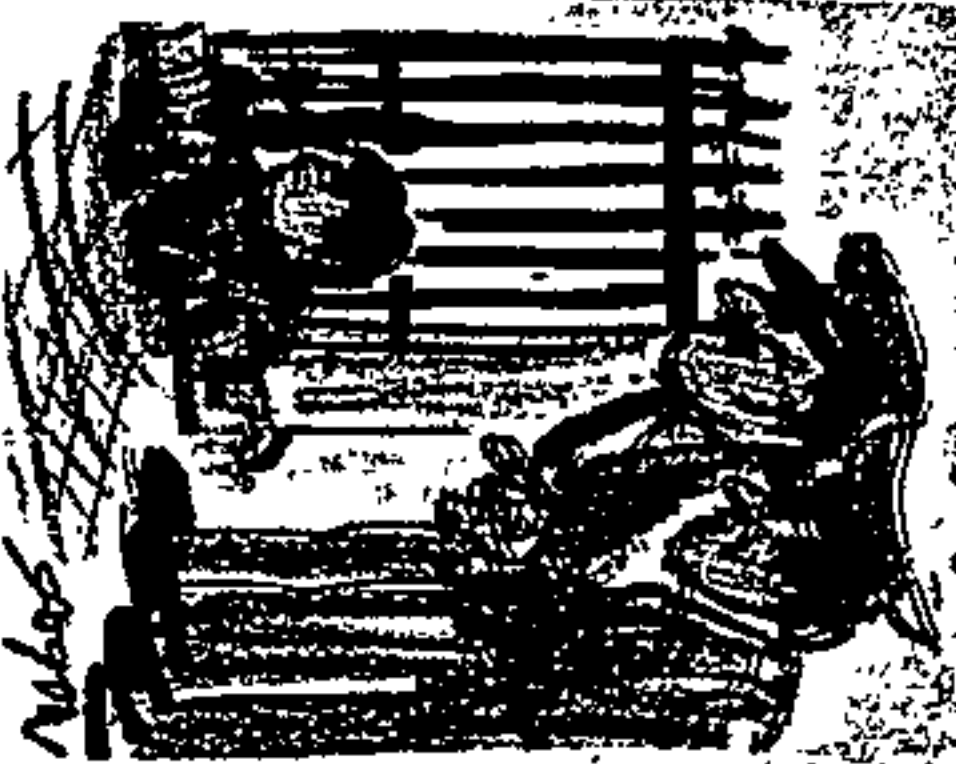
He also rejected the ANC Youth League's call for a debate on the topic.

The ANCYL yesterday expressed support for Mr. Mandela's call, saying "the reality of the situation is that we have youth from the age of 10 who are politically conscious".

The CP's Mr. Daan van der Merwe said the call was the most misplaced and most dangerous statement by the ANC, and urged the government to break its "dangerous and stupid" alliance with the ANC.

City pupils want the vote — Page 4 (30419)

Crack of dawn



It had to come to this, Sergeant. He's protesting the vote for five-year-olds.

BUSINESS BRIEF

Gold (Ldn) (close) \$377.25
Gold (NY) (close) \$374.15
Dollar R3,1935/65
BD 100 5596.4
FT index (100) 2825.6
Dow Jones 3508.0
Nikkei 20476.2

CAPE TIMES MON-FRI



TV ad refused over nudity

Staff Reporter

THE SABC has acknowledged that it refused to flight a computer software commercial on TV1 because it contained nude scenes.

The Pastal Software commercial for a computer software package centres on painted topless female figures. It ends with a close-up of painted breasts showing off the nipples.

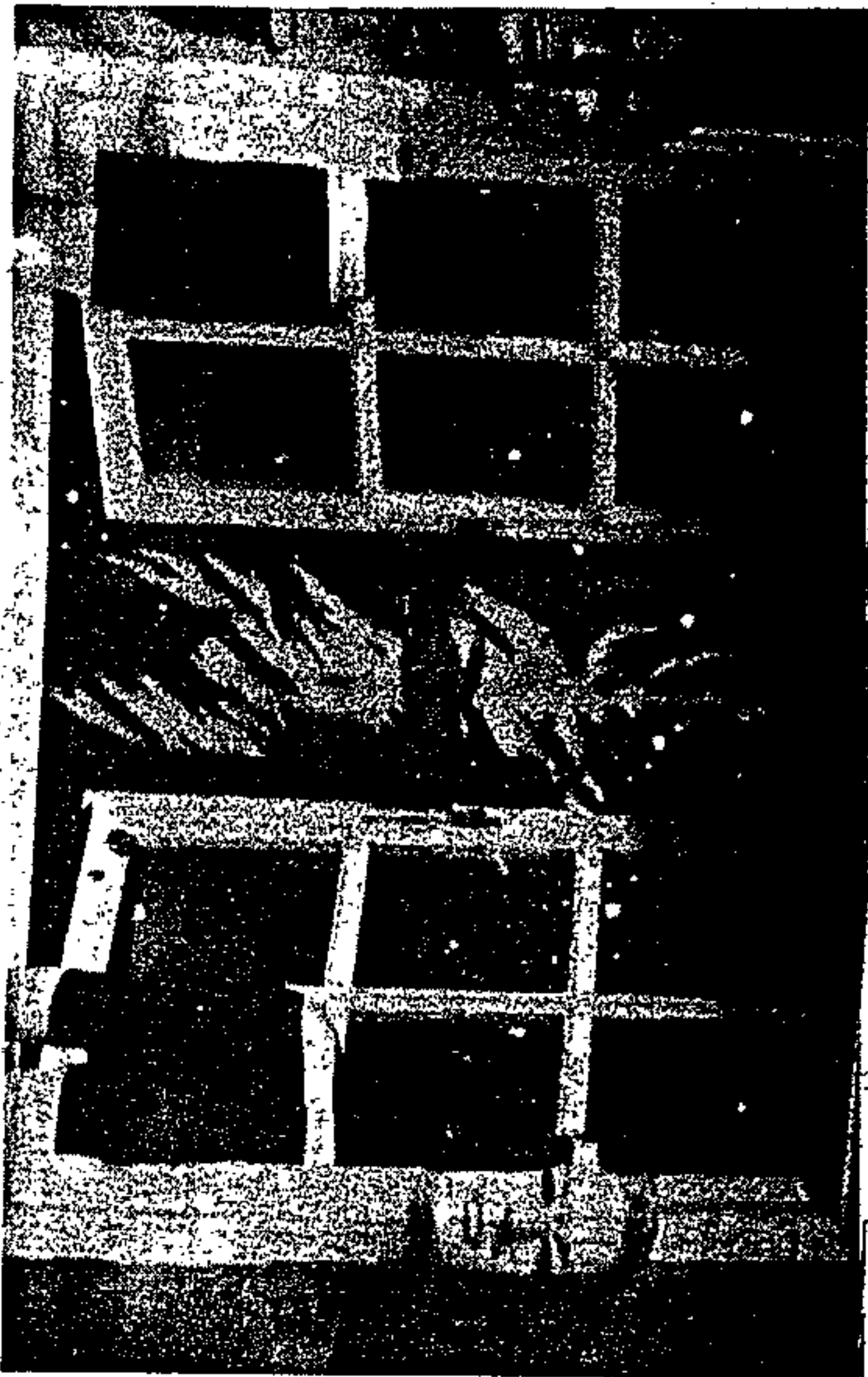
The commercial was screened in full for the first time on Saturday by M-Net during the Miss Universe pageant.

However, it did not receive any airplay on TV1 during the Super 10 rugby final.

Pastal Software managing director Mr. Ivan Ferrer labelled TV1's decision as "scandalous".

He said the message was of "adaptable accounting software" to suit the needs of any business. "There is nothing offensive in the ad at all. It has great artistic value."

The head of TV1's advertising and sponsorship, Mr. Ferdi de



OFFENDING SCENES... An image from the television commercial which the SABC is refusing to screen in full. The commercial was screened for the first time on M-Net at the weekend.

Witt, said there was "no truth" that TV1 had banned the commercial because of the nipples.

"A large section of our audience are sensitive to nudity. As a station, we reserve the right to be responsible to our viewers."

have retained" its artistic merits had the scenes been removed. M-Net programme publicity officer Mr. Marlon Abrahams said M-Net had screened the commercial as it had been "tastefully done and beautifully shot".

"It was not offensive."

Mandela call 'is highly unusual'

From CHRIS BATEMAN

LONDON — Political analysts here say ANC president Mr. Nelson Mandela's call to lower the voting age to 14 is "highly unusual" and that they know of no country where it is below 18.

Professor Patrick Dunleavy, chief lecturer in Modern Political Theory and Voting Behaviour at the London School of Economics (LSE), said most liberal democracies had had a franchise age of 21 until the early 1970s, when it was dropped to 18.

"It's not necessary to come below that because the trend in the West has been for people to stay in education longer and not become active in the workforce until 18," he said.

Prof Dunleavy predicted Mr. Mandela's demand would stir debate in academic circles.

"He's a very influential figure and making an interesting proposal."

Professor Jack Spence of the Royal Institute of International Affairs said Mr. Mandela was "trying to keep the youth in line".

Dr. Margot Light, senior lecturer in International Relations at the LSE, said a lower voting age would "swell the black vote enormously".

"I assume the suggestion is to give youths a vested interest in the system, rather than have alternative politics."

Star 25/5/93
AWB march in Westonaria
(3044)

About 100 AWB members marched to Westonaria police station to hand over a list of demands yesterday. They demanded that police prevent black mass action in white areas. They said any opposition to their demands would be regarded as "treason". Their declaration ended: "Westonaria is our town. The whites are the boss and apartheid is the law." — West Rand Bureau (218)

brief

Swetlan 25/5/93

SA holding back

SOUTH Africa will not grant official recognition to the MPLA government in Angola until a fully representative administration is in place. (S) (3047)

A Department of Foreign Affairs spokesman, responding to a call by ANC leader Mr Nelson Mandela that the Angolan government be recognised, said it would be inappropriate to grant recognition until a fully representative government was in place. (257)

18 is ANC policy on right to vote

Sowetan 25/5/93

Sowetan Correspondent

■ **14 YEARS** Official comments on

Mandela's call to lower the voting age:

THE OFFICIAL ANC policy was that the vote should be extended to all South Africans from the age of 18, Mr Zola Skweyiya, head of the organisation's department of constitutional affairs, said yesterday. (S.A) (304A)

Skweyiya responded to an inquiry about ANC voting policy in the wake of Mr Nelson Mandela's controversial call for the voting age to be lowered to 14 by reading from the ANC's submission to the present multiparty talks.

"Persons Entitled to Vote: All South African citizens who have attained the age of 18 shall be eligible to vote for the electoral process."

Elaborating, Skweyiya said: "We maintain (the qualifying age for the vote)

should be 18 and that all citizens of South Africa within the borders of 1910, including Transkei, Venda, Bophuthatswana and Ciskei, should be entitled to vote."

On Mandela's call for the franchise to be extended to 14-year-olds, Skweyiya referred to a recent seminar organised by church leaders: "In that seminar I think they came out with a statement that the youth have contributed to changes in South African and that they should be given a say in the changes that are taking place."

Aleah Bacquie, international Press officer of the South African Council of

Churches, confirmed that the lowering of the voting age had been discussed at a seminar of religious leaders — rather than merely Christian leaders — on May 10-12.

But the qualifying age that had been mooted was 16, not 14, the age at which people were issued with identity documents and at which blacks had been required to carry "passes" until the pass system was abolished, Bacquie said.

The reason for the proposal was that the youth had contributed to the "liberation struggle" and that they had been "targeted for arrest, torture and detention".

Extending the vote to 14-year-olds would stall elections —

RAY HARTLEY
and GERALD REILLY

31 May 25 1993

204A

1993

experts

LIVING 14-year-olds the vote could delay SA's first nonracial elections by at least 18 months, political scientists said yesterday. They said that to extend the vote to the estimated 1.8-million 14- to 17-year-olds would create massive logistical and organisational problems, leading to delays.

They were responding to ANC president Nelson Mandela's proposal to lower the voting age to 14. While politicians heaped scorn on the proposal, the ANC Youth League endorsed it, saying the ANC feared militant youths would destabilise an election if they were excluded.

League spokesman Parks Mankahlana said youths could pose a "serious problem" they could mobilise to undermine the election. But he conceded that the minimum age of candidates in the election would have to be higher than 14.

TIM COHEN reports from Cape Town that derision greeted Mandela's proposal when it emerged that no country in the world gave 14-year-olds the vote. Parliamentary officers asked the ANC to prove his statement that at least seven other countries had voting ages of less than 18 and the ANC sent back information derived from the now outdated 1991 edition of World Factbook, produced by the Central Intelligence Agency. It cites, for example, 16-year-olds voting in Yugoslavia, but the country no longer exists.

DP education spokesman Roger Burrows said an analysis of 150 countries' electoral systems indicated that 19 countries had voting ages of 21, nine of 20, three of 19, 112 of 18, three of 17 and four of 16. This information was obtained from a 1993 Inter-

parliamentary Union study.

In Africa, only one country has a voting age under 18 — the Seychelles, where the limit is 17 — and some set the limit at 21.

Burrows said: "The absurd suggestion that children of 14, whatever horrific of heroic experiences they have undergone, should be permitted to vote in SA's first attempt at democracy cannot be seriously considered."

NP executive director Olaus van Zyl called Mandela's idea "ridiculous". Stellenbosch University political science department head Prof Hennie Kotze said

the countries mentioned by Mandela were hardly shining examples of democracy. Wits University political studies head Prof Alf Stadler said the population figures showed unemployed and school-going youth could "wag the political tail", their political clout could help to neutralise the votes of taxpayers and workers who had the maturity to make political decisions.

He also said it would be an impossible task to prepare voters' lists and issue identity documents to the huge number of teenagers by next April.

Monuments to SA's chequered history 3049

CAPE TOWN — While there is nothing to stop a new government from pulling down the edifice associated with the tricameral Parliament, that part of the building built before 1988 is about to become a national monument.

At the opening of the new National Monuments Council complex last night, President F W de Klerk said Tuynhuys in Cape Town and Pretoria's Union Buildings would also become national monuments.

De Klerk said other state-owned build-

TIM COHEN

ings earmarked for monument status in terms of their architectural or historical significance were his own residence, Westbrooke; other Ministers' homes, Croote Schuur and Kleine Schuur; and historic buildings Rheeziht and De Meule. So too were his Pretoria residence, Libertas, and the Palace of Justice, housing the Transvaal Supreme Court.

He said if there had been a tendency in the past to concentrate on the European

part of SA's heritage, the solution did not lie in "overheated" debate about "Eurocentrism". The solution lay in doing more for conservation in areas that had not enjoyed sufficient attention.

This process had already begun, he said. The Mapungubwe site, the Dzata ruins, the metal smelting sites at Phalaborwa and thousands of other archaeological and rock art sites were testimony to the variety of cultural heritages that were protected by conservation legislation.

**Don't worry
be happy**
304A
8/09M 25/5/93
Political Staff 25/5/93

CAPE TOWN — DP MP for Constantia Roger Huley last night appealed to South Africans "bogged down in a mood of doom and forboding" not to emigrate.

Addressing the DP's AGM in his constituency, he said he personally felt "a great sense of optimism" about SA's future.

Acknowledging that there was a great deal of bad news which was "unsettling and unacceptable", he said good news actually outweighed the bad.

There were five reasons for optimism:

- There had been a great deal of progress in constitutional talks, which could lead within weeks to a federal system in SA — something the DP and its predecessors had always advocated. *25/5/93.*
- There had been "a great thaw" in ordinary human relations in the fields of politics, business, sport and entertainment.
- Most South Africans were moderates.
- The economy, despite the long recession, remained resilient and was poised for growth; and
- SA had a high calibre of "top leadership".

Wessels announces

training task group

8/09M 25/5/93.

CAPE TOWN — Manpower Minister Leon Wessels yesterday announced that the National Manpower Commission had been charged with a host of tasks, including revision of labour legislation.

Wessels also announced the establishment of a task group to develop a national training strategy, because SA spent huge sums on training without visible return.

Speaking in Parliament, Wessels said the newly reconstituted commission would be examining, among other things:

- "Modernising" labour laws;
- A code for good labour practices;
- The establishment of labour standards;
- The question of increased productivity;
- The principles which would give rise to legal actions in court;
- The question of a minimum wage;
- Dealing with AIDS in the workplace;
- Harmonising labour legislation;
- Labour-related questions raised by government's normative economic model;
- The ratification of international labour relations conventions;
- The effect of not abiding with agreements on collective action; and
- The political involvement of unions.

Another topic to be dealt with was programmes for the unemployed.

He said trade union, management and state representatives had been appointed to a 15-member task force to advise the Manpower Minister on a national training

TIM COHEN

strategy. Headed by National Training Council chairman Ray Eberlein, the group would focus on in-house training, encouraging entrepreneurship and community participation.

The task group would make contact with as many leaders in the field as possible in an attempt to identify and harness the energy being pumped into developing SA's human resources.

Government and the private sector spent huge sums on training, but jobs still seemed to "disappear like mist before the morning sun", he said.

Members of the department had travelled abroad to study vocational education and training systems, and although many solutions had been posed, the consensus seemed to be that a national strategy was necessary, he said.

Sapa reports that during the debate, Tony Leon (Houghton, DP) said industrial councils should be scrapped as elephantine, anachronistic and fascist structures that throttled small businesses.

The cosy relationship between big business and the trade union confederations was hurting the prospects of job creation, he said.

Industrial councils — administering 187 agreements covering 24 500 employers and 735 000 workers — throttled small businesses and were undemocratic.

Plea for a rethink on maize price

GERALD REILLY

PRETORIA — A strong plea was made to government again yesterday for a rethink on the producer price of maize which has been fixed at an "unrealistic" R410 a ton, according to Nampo.

Yesterday Maize Board chairman Jan Schabert and Nampo president Cernels Claassen told Agriculture Minister Kraai van Niekirk that large numbers of farmers would go "belly up" unless the price was adjusted. *8/09M 25/5/93.*

Last week Cabinet rejected a plea from Nampo and the board for a producer price of R430 a ton.

Nampo said yesterday's plea was supported by a well documented warning that the industry faced a disaster unless

farmers were placed in a position to profit from the 8-million ton crop.

Van Niekirk will report the outcome of yesterday's meeting with the Maize Board and Nampo to tomorrow's Cabinet meeting. The Cabinet decision on whether or not the producer price is to be increased will be announced at a press conference addressed by Van Niekirk on Thursday.

However if Cabinet approved an increase it is likely to set off an angry reaction from the big yellow maize users as well as consumer organisations.

Push to speed up negotiations

304A BILLY PADDOCK

THE multiparty negotiations planning committee yesterday increased pressure on the constitutional principles technical committee to produce concrete proposals for debate today.

There is concern among parties that sufficient progress will not be made this week to enable an election date to be announced next week.

The committees handling constitutional principles and the transitional process were instructed to provide today's negotiating council with clear proposals which could result in agreements by Friday.

Constitutional Development Minister Roelf Meyer said issues confronting parties have been around a long time and "lengthening the time by another three months will make no difference... We must be able to deal with the substantive issues this week and agreement is attain-

able if we can bridge the differences." He said regionalism was the key to bridging the gaps and he hoped this would form part of today's debate.

SACP negotiator Joe Slovo said there were several areas where consensus existed on constitutional principles and he hoped today's meeting would be able to cement these and produce an agreement. ANC secretary-general Cyril Ramaphosa was optimistic that sufficient progress would be made by the end of this week for the council to recommend the announcement of an election date to the forum meeting next Thursday.

Negotiators hope debate on draft legislation for an independent electoral commission and a media commission will move the talks forward.

VERIE GLEN
DATE
RPARK



Official ANC policy: vote from age 18

Star 25/5/93

304A

By Patrick Laurence

Official ANC policy was that the vote should be extended to all South Africans from the age of 18, Zola Skweyiya, head of the ANC's department of constitutional affairs, said yesterday.

He responded to an inquiry about ANC voting policy in the wake of Nelson Mandela's call for the voting age to be lowered to 14 by reading from the ANC's submission to the present multiparty talks.

"Persons entitled to vote: all South Africans citizens who have attained the age of 18 shall be eligible to vote for the electoral process."

On Mandela's call, Skweyiya referred to a recent seminar organised by church leaders: "In that seminar I think they came out with a statement that the youth have contributed to changes in South Africa and that they should be given a say in the changes taking place."

The call stunned the political establishment and even shocked senior ANC members. An ANC official, who declined to be identified, told Reuters yesterday: "It's an unlikely scenario."

But he conceded that "what Madiba (Mandela) says today

is often 'law' tomorrow".

Aleah Bacquie, international press officer of the SA Council of Churches, confirmed that lowering the voting age had been discussed by religious leaders on May 10-12. But the qualifying age mooted was 16, not 14, he said.

● Allowing 14-year-olds to vote would introduce a new logistical complication to the pending election as they would not have identity documents, DP spokesman on Home Affairs Dene Smuts said in Cape Town yesterday, reports The Star's Political Staff.

She said the 14 to 18 age bracket included between one and two million people, and it was politically significant. These people would electorally come into play at a second election.

● Giving the vote to 14-year-olds would simply be to constitutionalise Cambodia's killing fields here, Tony Leon (DP Houghton) said in Parliament yesterday. He said he and his colleague Roger Burrows had been unable to trace a single country that allowed 14-year-olds to vote.

● The ANC Youth League expressed support for the call, reports Sapa. It said: "The reality of the South African situation is that we have youth from the age of 10 who are already politically conscious and mobilised."

Optimism, doubts on

MP: Unrest cause of Star 25/5/93 emigration

Political Staff

CAPE TOWN — A senior National Party MP told Parliament he knew of a "whole department" at a university whose members were preparing to emigrate. (20/4/93)

Dr Francois Jacobsz expressed deep concern about the emigration of highly skilled South Africans, many of whom were being recruited by other countries, such as Canada. (20/4/93)

Emigrants were packing their bags not because of concern about the future constitution and its implications, but rather the unrest situation.

Speaking during the Manpower budget debate, Jacobsz said: "Our country cannot afford this and our efforts to achieve economic growth will be detrimentally affected."

Stop blacks at schools — CP

Sowetan 25/5/93

■ Conservatives want urgent meeting with Education Minister to scrap exam fees:

By Ismail Lagardien
Political Correspondent

THE Conservative Party has called on white parents to "physically" prevent black children from entering white schools.

The CP yesterday also called for an urgent meeting with the Minister of National Education, Mr Piet Marais, to demand that the matric exam registration fee for white pupils be also scrapped.

Reacting to Marais' remark that the Government would consider suspending the fee for "poor whites", the CP's spokesman on education and culture, Mr Andrew Gerber, said this was indicative of the racism of the National Party "against whites".

Gerber said Marais was apparently not aware of the fact that there were many black people who could afford the exam fee.

"Whites are sick and tired of all the concessions the Government has made in education under pressure of communists and their allies."

"The suspension of exam fees for black pupils is a slap in the face of white parents who are struggling to make ends meet," Gerber said.

And in a separate statement, Gerber said the CP had been forced to react to the "brutality and explosiveness of the situation in the country" and especially in view of the proposal that black pupils occupy white school.

He said white parents who expected the Government to protect their schools from occupation by black pupils were deluded.

"The CP therefore calls on all parents to prepare themselves to physically defend any onslaught on their schools from May 26 onwards," Gerber said.

Pupils want to vote in election

25/5/93 (2047)

Staff Reporter

CITY pupils questioned about whether they would like to vote in the next general election were nearly all enthusiastic — but most displayed ignorance of politics.

Celeste Le Fleur, 17, of Garlandale High School in Athlone, said that children also needed to get their message across as their "lives will also be affected by who is elected".

Marion Le Fleur, 16, also of Garlandale, agreed, saying children had "always been left in the dark".

Lynn Marston, 15, of Spes Bona High School admitted that she did not know much about politics but said children should be informed.

A 16-year-old girl from Athlone, who did not want to be named, said 16 was an acceptable voting age.

Natasha Maasdorp, 17, of Cathkin Secondary School, said: "I would like to have the vote. I am also a part of this country."

Felix Matini, 16, from Guguletu, said: "Many kids are involved in political organisations and are active in politics."

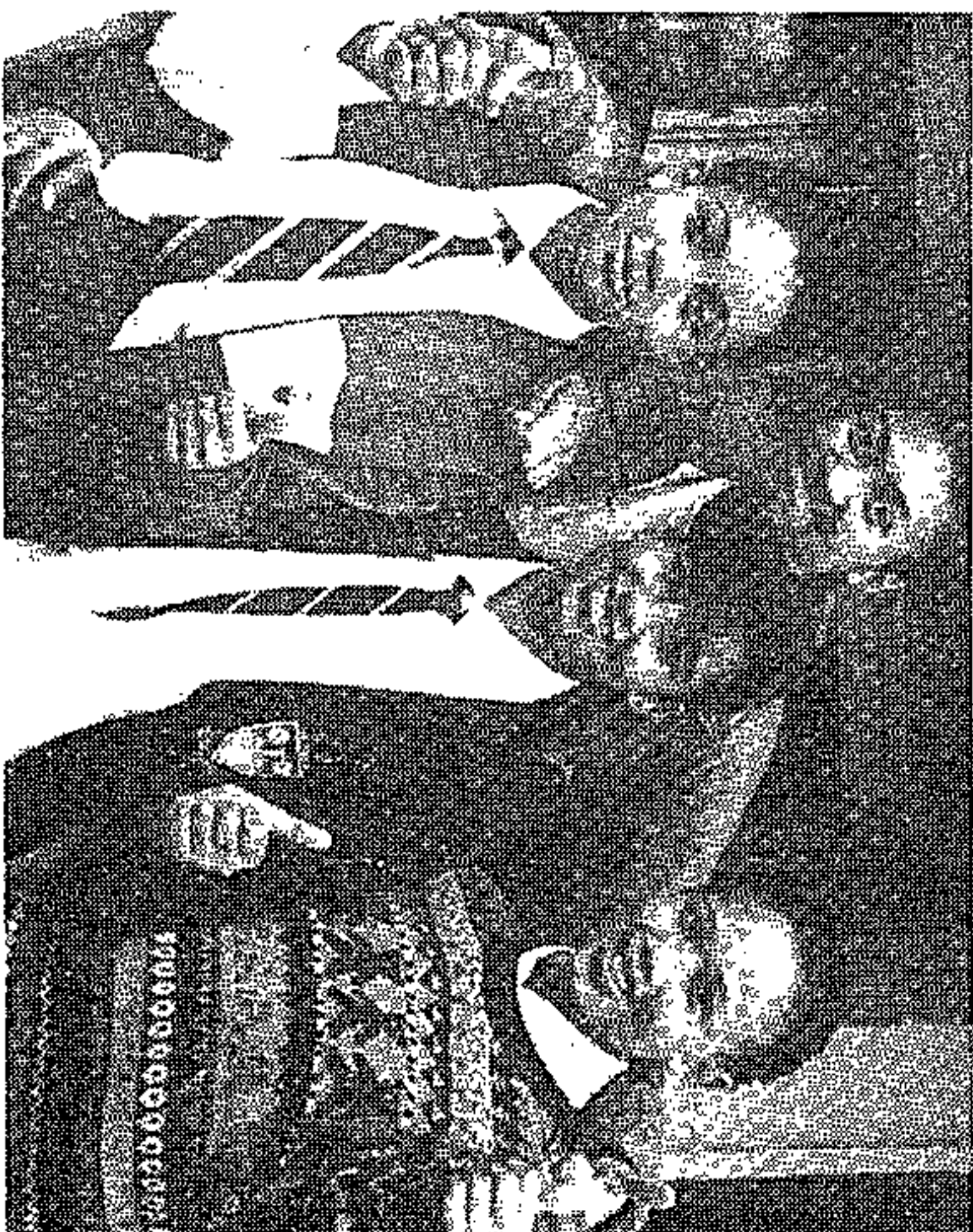
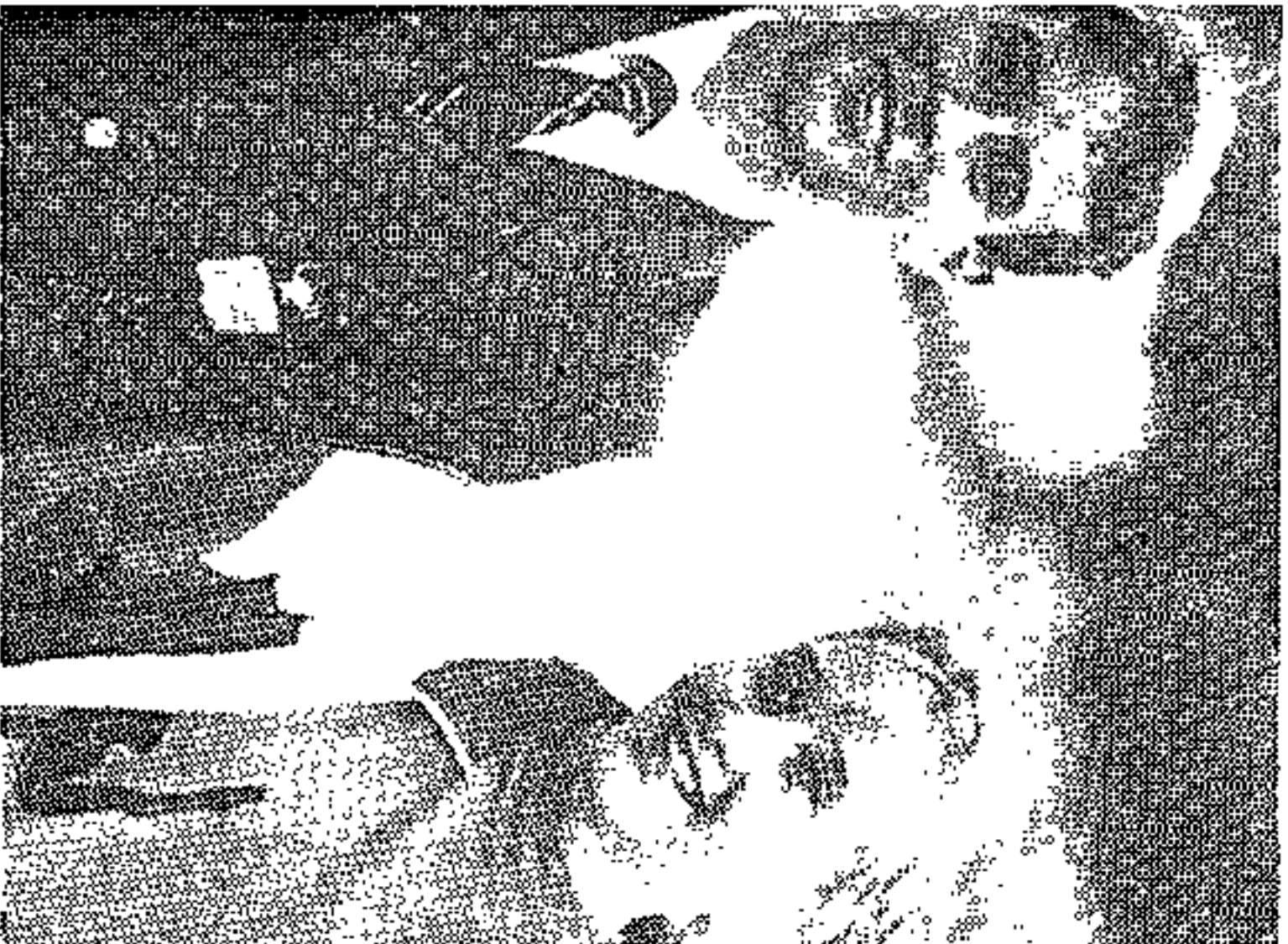
"I think it has been too long that we have been struggling for liberation. Even we children are hoping for a free country."

Monde Nilashi, 14, and Isaac Matroos 14, of Guguletu agreed. Monde believed children should be allowed to vote because they could "see what is happening".

Mark Cumming and Carole Messham, both 14 and of Norman Henshilwood, said "most kids are immature and should not be allowed to vote".



POLITICALLY AWARE . . . Monde Nilashi, 14 (left), and Isaac Matroos 14, both from Guguletu, said children knew about political organisations and knew what was happening, so they should be allowed to vote.



NO VOTE . . . Mark Cumming and Carole Messham of Norman Henshilwood: "Most kids are immature and should not be allowed to vote."

YES VOTE . . . Celeste Le Fleur, 17, of Garlandale High School, Lynn Marston, 15, of Spes Bona High School, and Marion Le Fleur, 16, also of Garlandale, would like to vote as kids "also needed to get their message across".

Pictures: STEWART COLMAN

HOPE . . . Felix Matini, 16, of Guguletu: "Even we children are hoping for a free country."

Star 26/5/93
304A

Shared power 'beyond 2000' - FW

CAPE TOWN — President F W de Klerk in effect rejected black majority rule yesterday, insisting the National Party should play a central role in a coalition government lasting into the next century.

In an interview with the Financial Times, De Klerk said power-sharing between the country's main political parties should be entrenched as a permanent principle in any final constitution.

He made clear that fundamental differences

on power-sharing between the Government and the ANC had still to be resolved.

He denied seeking formal veto powers for the National Party in any new government, but argued that South Africa would in future have to be governed on the basis of consensus on fundamental issues between the main players.

That might, he said, involve the creation of an executive committee comprising party leaders, with the chairman-

ship rotating between them, to deal with fundamental principles. He implied that real power should lie with that body, with a future president acting as head of state, not of government.

The obvious thing would be for the main role players, immediately after an election, to work out a policy framework for the next five years ... "almost the Magna Carta for that five years", he said. — Financial Times News Service.

y 26 1993

UN report puts SA on top in Africa

Star 26/5/93

304A

By Mike Littlejohn

NEW YORK — South Africa leads all countries on the African mainland in human development, according to a new United Nations report.

The republic, which is listed as a developing country in the economic context, ranks 85th in a human-development index, just behind Saudi Arabia and just ahead of Sri Lanka.

With the world's highest longevity and high per capita income, Japan again ranks top in this annual index, prepared by the UN Development Programme.

South Africa is listed among a group of states with "medium" human development,

which includes Botswana, China, Cuba, Iraq and South Korea. Seychelles is the only state in South Africa's region to be ranked ahead of the republic, at 63.

Mahbub ul Haq, a former Finance Minister of Pakistan, led the team that prepared the report. Because of objections by several states to a "freedom index" that appeared in past reports, this was dropped from the latest one.

The difficulties arising from the preparation of a document of this scope and magnitude are apparent in the fact that while being ranked one ahead of South Africa, Saudi Arabia has been accused of violations of human rights, including slavery. Saudi women are still not allowed to drive cars. Yet the country has

escaped the opprobrium that South Africa has borne at the UN for years.

A box of information in the report about blacks in South Africa says they "continue to live in a world apart" as the white 5 percent of the population owns 88 percent of all private property.

"Half the population, mostly black, lives below the poverty line," it is stated. "Many poor black children are being stunted by malnutrition One third of the black population over 15 (some three million people) is illiterate."

The report says three-quarters of black teachers are either unqualified or underqualified, so the education system "perpetuates a vicious circle of deprivation and discrimination".

Changes to permit joint voting on Bills

Political Staff

CAPE TOWN — Changes are to be made to the constitution to allow MPs of the three Houses to vote together for the first time in the history of the tricameral Parliament.

This simple-majority rule will come into play as a deadlock-breaking mechanism if one of the three Houses refuses to pass a Bill.

At present, if one of the Houses rejects a Bill, it is referred to the President's Council to break the deadlock.

In effect, this means rubber-stamp approval.

In terms of the Constitution Amendment Bill tabled in Parliament this week by Constitutional Development Minister

Roelf Meyer, the President's Council is to be dissolved.

Disputed Bills will go to a joint sitting of the three Houses.

A majority of members present will decide whether to accept or reject the Bill.

This use of a simple majority differs from the National Party's stand at multiparty negotiations.

There, it is demanding that Bills presented to the first democratically elected parliament would have to be passed by a two-thirds majority.

In the unlikely event of one of the Houses opposing the NP on any Bill in the last months of the tricameral Parliament, the NP could easily have the Bill passed at a joint sitting, as it holds 167 of the 308 seats.

Bills revoke *Star 26/6/193* homeland autonomy

Two Bills to facilitate reincorporation of the self-governing territories into SA were tabled in Parliament yesterday.

The main objective of the Revocation and Assignment of Powers of Self-Governing Territories Bill is to provide for the manner in which the autonomy of self-governing territories can be revoked. (304A)

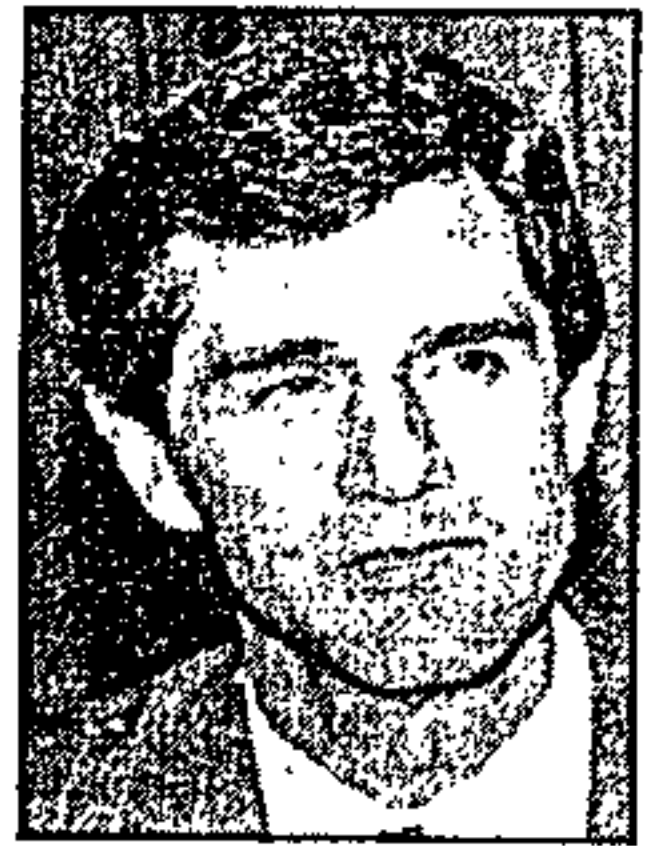
The Bill empowers the State President to revoke the legislative powers and executive authority of any self-governing territories, provided he has the consent of the government of the particular territory.

The Joint Administration of Certain Matters Bill empowers the State President to place certain matters, at present administered in separate departments and in the self-governing territories, under a single department. — Sapa.

Kriel expected to face special session of negotiating council

Govt told: Explain PAC crackdown

Star 26/5/93



Roelf Meyer ... apparently heard about the swoop as he arrived for talks.

By Esther Waugh
Paul Bell
and Philip Zoto

South Africa's delicately poised negotiations at the World Trade Centre may have survived yesterday's furore over the nationwide police crackdown on the Pan Africanist Congress, but the Government is under pressure to explain why the action was taken at this critical time and who knew about it beforehand.

The crackdown on the PAC is expected to lead to a heated debate in the weekly Cabinet meeting today.

PAC gears up for D-Day - Page 19

The Government came under pressure yesterday in the negotiating council for swooping on one of the negotiating partners.

But Cabinet Ministers at the negotiating table — Roelf Meyer, Leon Wessels, Tertius Delpont and Dawie de Villiers — apparently did not know of the PAC raid. They only heard about it when they arrived yesterday morning at the World Trade Centre.

Law and Order Minister Herens Kriel said he was briefed by two generals of the impending raid on Monday afternoon.

This development placed the Government and National Party negotiators in an awkward situation and led several negotiators to question whether President de Klerk or the securocrats were running the country.

Kriel is expected to face a special session of the negotiating council tomorrow evening to explain the tim-

ing of the raid. Kriel would not say last night whether he would attend the session.

Negotiators said elements in Government were "wreckers" who deliberately wanted to derail the process.

The damage to the negotiations process was temporarily limited by the commitment of all the groups to negotiations.

Although the PAC suspended its participation in yesterday's meeting, it has not pulled out of talks.

PAC sources said today the organisation's president Clarence Makwetu would call a meeting of national executive members in Johannesburg to set a date for a full NEC meeting within the next few days. The PAC will then decide on its participation in negotiations.

The organisation has, however, clearly stated that its presence at tomorrow's meeting will depend on the Government's action within the next 48 hours.

The basic demands — supported by the Patriotic Front members at the negotiating table — are for arrested PAC members to be immediately charged or released and for confiscated documents to be returned.

Earlier Kriel told Parliament that 73 PAC and Apla cadres, including seven "top structure" members, had been held, and unlicensed automatic rifles, pistols and ammunition seized.

The arrests had been linked to crimes of murder and attempted murder, petrol-bomb and other attacks on the police, complicity in attacks on civilians, illegal possession of firearms and hand grenades, and the planning of further attacks on the police and civilians.

Questions are now being asked about how the decision to act was taken, and which Cabinet Ministers knew of the raid beforehand.



Displeased ... PAC president Clarence Makwetu, who flew from Transkei to Johannesburg yesterday after receiving news of the arrest of senior colleagues, arrives at Jan Smuts Airport. Picture: Jacob Rykliff

In a statement last night, Law and Order Ministry spokesman Captain Craig Kotze said that contrary to media reports, key Cabinet Ministers did not attend a meeting on Sunday where police reportedly briefed them on the raids.

"This is simply not true,"

Kotze said. "These arrests were not a Government decision. They were made by the South African Police in the normal course of their duties."

Kotze told Sapa today 11 of the 73 people held on Tuesday had been released after questioning.

CP call to mobilise after murder on plot

CAPE TOWN — All able-bodied men and women should join the CP's mobilisation action in the Roodeplaat area following the weekend shooting of 43-year-old Gert Alberts, its CP MP, Daan du Plessis, said yesterday.

Condemning the murder and attack on Alberts's elderly mother at their Leeuwfontein plot on Sunday night, Du Plessis

said the attack had filled the CP with revulsion.

Alberts was fatally wounded by AK-47 fire. (304A)

Newly installed burglar bars had not stopped Alberts from being shot from outside.

"This leads us to ask how long whites must still endure this kind of attack. How many whites still have to be killed by

terrorists before the Government does something about it?"

Declarations of disapproval were no longer sufficient.

"An appeal is made to every able-bodied man and woman in the constituency to join the mobilisation action. The Government can clearly no longer protect us. We'll have to do it ourselves," Du Plessis said. — Sapa.

US plans cash, technical support for SA elections

ARL 26/5/93

(304A)

□ Ambassador maps out road and pitfalls ahead

JOHANNESBURG. — The United States plans to lend substantial financial and technical support to South Africa's electoral process.

The US ambassador to South Africa, Princeton Lyman, told an American Chamber of Commerce function yesterday: "This is our most important priority over the next year."

Mr Lyman said the international service arms of the Democratic and Republican parties, as well as a leading political think-tank group, were preparing to join forces "to provide a wide variety of technical help" to an election in South Africa.

This would involve aiding voter registration and the setting up of an independent electoral commission to ensure the country succeeded in achieving

a free and credible election result.

"A South Africa election must first and foremost be legitimised by people inside the country, rather than outsiders in the country," he said, referring to the planned thrust of US involvement.

The participation of the international community in the country's transition process would depend on South Africa's independent electoral commission.

"However, we expect there will be a call for an international presence during an election and the international community is prepared to lend a great deal of support and presence to the electoral process."

However, the ambassador said there were a number of issues "which go to the very

heart of what an election will be about" that had to be resolved.

Firstly, the role of the proposed transitional executive council needed to be clearly defined. The degree to which sub-councils would have authority or advisory power would also have to be laid out.

Furthermore, the degree of consensus necessary in a government of national unity, as well as its responsibility and functions, would have to be clarified.

Thirdly, the control of the security forces during the transition process and in an election was vital to the future.

Mr Lyman said, lastly, that political violence was a problem but it should not hold up progress on constitutional talks. — Sapa.

PAC Radio: Tense Cabinet meets

ARG 26/5/93
(30441)



Mr De Klerk

MICHAEL MORRIS
and **DENNIS CRUYWAGEN**, Political Staff

TENSE discussions are under way in an extended Cabinet meeting at Tuynhuys today as police question 62 Pan Africanist Congress and Azanian People's Liberation Army members arrested in yesterday's controversial pre-dawn swoop.

Deputy Ministers and senior officials have been drawn into the Cabinet talks as the government grapples with the grave political implications of the police action against the PAC at a critical point in the negotiation process.

Mounting speculation over tension between hawks and doves in the Cabinet centres on the revelation that the government's chief negotiator, Mr Roelf Meyer, was kept in the dark about the raids while Minister of Law and Order Mr Hernus Kriel was fully briefed by senior officers.

Mr Kriel said he had told President De Klerk of the police operation.

He defended his decision to act against the PAC at this stage in the negotiations, saying the timing was not linked to negotiations.

But the action has threatened to plunge the negotiation process into crisis and has drawn scathing fire from some of the government's most important talks partners.

Some suspects arrested in the swoop could be brought to court and charged today, or be released.

Eleven of the 73 detainees were released yesterday.

Forty-two of the 62 are being held under Section 50 of the Criminal Procedure Act, which means they must appear in court within 48 hours of arrest, or be released.

The other 20 are being held under Section 19 of the Internal Security Act, which means they can be held for 10 days.

Mr Kriel told parliament he had ordered police to complete their investigations as soon as possible and bring the suspects to court, or release them.

He said 73 PAC and Apla cadres, including even "top structure" members, had been held, and unlicensed automatic rifles, pistols and ammunition seized.

The arrests had been linked to crimes of murder and attempted murder, petrol bomb and other attacks on police, complicity in attacks on civilians, illegal possession of firearms and handgrenades, and the planning of further attacks on the police and civilians.

While the delicately poised negotiations at the World Trade Centre appeared to have survived yesterday's furore over the crack-down, the government is under pressure to account quickly for why the action was taken at this critical time.

The real test will be on Thursday night when the 26-party negotiating council will debate the raids on the PAC, as well as a resolution passed by the council condemning the swoop.

Yesterday's negotiating council meeting was suspended at the request of the PAC which has indicated that it will reassess its participation in the negotiation process today and tomorrow.

Much depends on how the government reacts to the three demands contained in the negotiating council resolution — to charge or release suspects, to explain the swoop and to return confiscated material.

"The ball is not in the court of the PAC, it is in the court of the regime," PAC negotiator Mr Gora Ebrahim said.

"The resolution clearly states that. Our response will be based on how the regime responds," he said.

PAC president Mr Clarence Makwetu, who cut short a trip to the Border region, said the PAC would not go back to the talks until its members had been released.

He has asked members of his 55-member executive committee not arrested to be on standby for an emergency meeting, likely to be held in Johannesburg today or tomorrow.

● See page 4.

Apla warned of 'full might' of law

A STATEMENT purportedly issued by the Azanian People's Liberation Army threatening "soft targets" was merely a smokescreen designed to obscure the real cause of the police swoop against Pan Africanist Congress and Apla members, Law and Order spokesman Captain Craig Kotze said today.

He warned: "Attacks by Apla on innocent civilians

will be met with the full might of the South African Police and other security forces".

The purported Apla statement, faxed to Sapa yesterday morning, said loss of life was unavoidable and the safety of soft targets was in doubt as a result of the arrest of 73 PAC/Apla members during the nationwide police crackdown. Eleven of those arrested have since been released.

Captain Kotze said the police action was against "PAC and Apla policies designed to systematically murder people on the basis of race, farm ownership and membership of the security forces".

He reiterated: "The government has repeatedly stated that one cannot negotiate and wage a race-based terrorist war at the same time". — Sapa.

CT 26/5/93

604A

Final knell for the PC

26/5/93
Political Staff

LEGISLATION scrap-
ping the 60-member
President's Council was
tabled in Parliament
yesterday — bringing an
end to another structure
of the tri-cameral Parlia-
ment. (304A)

The council will cease
to exist on June 30.

The National Party-
dominated council's
main function was that
of a deadlock-breaking
mechanism to be used
when there were dis-
putes between the
Houses on legislation.

The resolution of leg-
islative disputes will
now be undertaken by
Parliament itself at joint
sittings of all three
Houses.

DAY, Wednesday, May 26 1993

Committee proposes 18 as minimum voting age

3/07/93 304A
A NEGOTIATIONS technical committee yesterday recommended 18 as the minimum voting age — in line with the ANC's submission to the committee.

The recommendation is in proposals for a draft independent electoral commission and comes in the wake of the proposal by ANC president Nelson Mandela that children of 14 and older be allowed to vote.

It was also learned that nobody under the age of 18 could join the ANC itself, but could join only its Youth League.

The committee's proposal was yesterday presented for debate by the 26-party negotiating council at the World Trade Centre. The draft election Bill defines eligible voters as "all SA citizens of 18 years and more, including citizens of the TBVC states, with the exception only of such persons as may be disqualified from voting by reason of criminality, mental disorder or other provisions of this Act and of the regulations".

The draft legislation makes detailed recommendations for SA's first non-racial elections, scheduled to be held before the end of April next year.

BILLY PADDOCK

An Independent Electoral Commission will, in terms of the draft, assume responsibility for conducting democratic national elections for a new Parliament to function in terms of an interim constitution.

The commission will be required to determine and certify the final results of the elections within a period of 21 days after completion of the ballot. It will also declare whether elections have been free and fair.

The draft proposes the commission should not have more than 11 members, and at least eight have to agree on the result of an election for it to be certified.

If the commission found a poll was partly unfree and unfair, it would be empowered to take appropriate steps to achieve a free and fair election result, the report stated.

"This could enable the commission to take limited action in a particular region, without having to hold a completely new national election, in the event that there were unacceptable conditions in a limited area only."

The draft makes provision for the secondment of representatives from

accredited international organisations and/or foreign governments.

Prospective electoral commission members may not have held political office in the three years prior to the date of the transitional elections and, upon ceasing to be a member of the commission, will not be eligible to accept appointment to any public office for three years.

The draft envisages that the commission set up three separate directorates: an Election Administration Directorate; an Election Monitoring Directorate; and an Election Adjudication Directorate.

The administration directorate's responsibilities would include voter education, determining the eligibility and identification of voters, enforcing the electoral code of conduct and promulgating regulations governing political advertising.

The monitoring directorate would have investigative powers and the adjudication directorate would serve as the final arbiter of claims and disputes affecting the campaign, conduct and results of the elections.

Opinion polls would be prohibited during a period of six weeks before the transitional elections began.

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Patrick Laurence examines Mandela's call for the voting age to be lowered

Playing to rebellious gallery

NELSON MANDELA'S call for the qualifying age for the vote to be lowered to 14 has taken South Africa

by surprise, astounding his political opponents and perhaps even catching some officials in the African National Congress off guard.

His call, made during a tour of Natal, comes in the wake of, and in contradiction to, an ANC submission to the multiparty negotiation forum that the qualifying age for the vote should be 18.

The timing of Mandela's call and his apparent willingness to contest the official ANC view, as defined in the submission to the multiparty talks, suggests that his stand was prompted by political considerations in the past few days.

One view, expressed by Ken Andrew of the Democratic Party and Piet Coetzer of the National Party, is that Mandela is attempting to gratify the restless youth in the black community.

"It has more to do with placating a rebellious youth constituency than influencing the constitutional negotiations," Andrew declares. Coetzer argues: "It is clear

to all of us that the ANC has lost control and influence over large sections of its youth."

There is some evidence to support these contentions: during the student boycott in protest against examination fees, ANC calls for them to return to class were largely ignored.

The celebrated case involving Allan Boesak, ANC chairman in the Western Cape, is pertinent: when he urged protesting students in the Western Cape to desist from actions which could jeopardise their lives, Vuyiso Tyhahisa, a student leader declared in full view of television cameras: "Comrade Boesak is ill-informed. We are in charge, not Comrade Boesak."

Mandela's reaction to calls by young blacks for guns is also relevant. Instead of rebuffing them and urging them to concentrate on their studies, he has advised them to join the ANC's guerrilla army, Umkhonto we Sizwe, so that they could have guns as members of a disciplined force rather than as individuals.

These episodes support the inference that Mandela's call for the

vote to be extended to 14-year-olds is a bid to get on-sides with them, to placate them in order to retain their allegiance.

There is, however, an alternative, more cynical explanation doing the rounds among journalists. The supposition is that the ANC is in the process of making major concessions at the multiparty negotiations and that the call to enfranchise 14-year-olds is a diversion, an attempt to camouflage its reported conciliatory stance at the talks.

Mandela's rationale for extending the vote — that children from the age of 12 have contributed to the "liberation struggle" and are therefore entitled to the vote — is interpreted as an obfuscatory dance of dust and flies.

But, against these interpretations, ANC officials and/or ANC sympathisers argue that the pressure to lower the voting age has not built up suddenly but, on the contrary, has been maturing steadily over the last few months.

Ronnie Mamoepa, a spokesman for the ANC's department of information and publicity, recalls that Mandela first raised the ques-

tion of lowering the voting age at an election workshop at the beginning of the year.

Mandela challenged the orthodox view that 18 was an appropriate age to receive the vote during a discussion at the workshop. Mamoepa says, quoting his leader as countering objections with the argument that 14-year-olds who are old enough to fight for freedom are old enough to vote when it is won.

At that conference, Mamoepa adds, Mandela listed seven countries where people younger than 18 can vote: Afghanistan, Brazil, Cuba, Iran, Indonesia, North Korea and Nicaragua.

Mandela, according to statements attributed to him during his Natal visit, now believes that these countries have established an international norm to which South Africa should conform. "Our country should be no exception," he is reported to have said.

Zola Skweyiza, the ANC's constitutional expert, points to another link in the chronological chain leading to Mandela's advocacy of giving the vote to 14-year-olds: a conference of religious leaders where the idea of lower-

ing the qualifying age to 16 was mooted.

But to show that Mandela's stance is the product of a process, and not a sudden whim, does not explain why he chose to go public on what had been an in-house debate and still less why he decided to contradict the official ANC position in the midst of delicate negotiations.

The ANC Youth League backs his call and rejects "with contempt" those who interpret Mandela's plea as political opportunism. The Youth League labels them "apologists of the National Party".

But there is no doubt that the ANC would be the immediate and main beneficiary of a decision to enfranchise South Africans from the age of 14. ANC support is concentrated overwhelmingly in the majority black community and it is primarily black voters whose numbers will be augmented if teenagers between 14 and 17 are added to the estimated 22 million eligible voters.

J M Calliz, a demographer with the Development Bank of Southern Africa, notes that the median

age of the black population is 17.1, meaning that half the black community is 17 years old or younger.

Enfranchisement of the 14-17 age cohort will add 4.7 million black voters to the electorate, against, in round figures, 320 000 whites, 202 000 coloureds and 60 000 Indians.

But any gains Mandela may make for the ANC, by pacifying the restless teenagers in his constituency with sympathetic rhetoric, are likely to be lost in the long run.

Mandela has implicitly put himself and the ANC in the same camp as regimes which, with one or two exceptions, are seen as tyrannical by the established multiparty democracies. He has reinforced anxieties first raised by his proclamations of fraternity with, and admiration for, Yasser Arafat, Fidel Castro and Muammar Gaddafi.

A future ANC government may thus find its task of attracting foreign investment to the "new South Africa" complicated, a development which may make it vulnerable to the same angry and disaffected youth. □

NEWS Government 'hawks' are accused of deliberate attempt to sabotage negotiations

SOUTH AFRICA'S DELICATELY poised negotiations at the World Trade Centre appear to have survived yesterday's furore over a nationwide police crackdown on the Pan Africanist Congress.

The Government, however, is under severe pressure to account quickly for why the action - whose timing has been widely criticised - was taken at this critical time.

After several sharp attacks on the Government by its key negotiating partners, a special session of the negotiating council was called for tomorrow to discuss the implications of the crackdown. Pressure is being brought to bear on

Talks appear to be on track

■ Kempton Park negotiations hang 'on thin thread' after raid on PAC members:

Law and Order Minister Mr Hennus Kriel, who was briefed by his two top officers in the hours before the swoop, to explain to the session why the police felt they could wait no longer before acting against the PAC.

Kriel would not say last night whether he would go or not. Earlier in the day he told Parliament that 73 PAC and Apla cadres, including seven "top structure" members, had

been held, and unlicensed automatic rifles, pistols and ammunition seized. The arrests had been linked to crimes of murder and attempted murder, petrol bomb and other attacks on the police, complicity in attacks on civilians, illegal possession of firearms and handgrenades, and the planning of further attacks on the police and civilians. The PAC, which immediately suspended its participation in yesterday's

But it was also characterised by calls for measures to protect negotiations.

PAC negotiator Mr Gora Ebrahim said his movement's presence would depend on the Government's reaction within the next 48 hours.

The PAC has demanded the immediate release of those arrested, the return of confiscated documents, compensation for damage to properties and a firm undertaking that police would not repeat such an action.

ANC general secretary Mr Cyril

Ramaphosa said elements within the Government were "wreckers" who deliberately wanted to derail the negotiations process.

The Government had endangered the negotiations process by launching this "unwarranted attack". He said negotiations were hanging by a very thin thread.

Referring to Cabinet Ministers who said they had no prior knowledge of the raid, Ramaphosa asked: "Is FW running the country, or the securocrats?"

judgment error

Democratic Party chairman Mr Colin Eglin said if Meyer and Kriel did not know about the raid, then "who was governing the country? If they have known about the swoop, then it was a serious judgment error."

The majority of negotiators accepted a resolution calling on the Government to charge or release those held, immediately, to return confiscated material, and to take steps to undo the damage done to the negotiations process.

The Government, National Party, Afrikaner Volksunie and the Bophuthatswana Government reserved their positions on the resolution.

Three Bills open the way to reincorporate homelands

CAPE TOWN — Three Bills published yesterday will clear the way for reincorporation — with their consent — of the six self-governing states. *BIDM*

The Revocation and Assignment of the Powers of Self-Governing Territories Bill empowers the President to issue a proclamation revoking the legislative powers and executive authority of self-governing territories. *265193*

In order to do so, the President must have the consent of the territory's government or be acting at that government's request.

The Bill empowers the President to retain powers and authority or to assign these powers to another person or body, the Bill's memorandum says.

The Bill also seeks to enable the President to assign the administration of a law in force in a self-governing territory to another person or body.

The second Bill, the Joint Administration of Certain Matters Bill, empowers the

TIM COHEN

President to proclaim that matters currently administered by a department in SA and separately in self-governing territories be administered in a single department.

The Bill also empowers the President to amend or repeal laws in order to facilitate such joint administration.

The third Bill, the Regulation of Joint Executive Action Regarding Certain Land Bill, makes provision for joint administration of land which belonged to the SA Development Trust.

The Bill's object is to authorise the President to give effect to agreements between government and the governments of self-governing states.

Executive actions with respect to the land will be carried out jointly by the relevant government ministers and the ministers of the self-governing states in terms of agreements reached, the Bill's memorandum says.

May 26 1993

NEWS

Pik on oil mission to Egypt

Star 26/5/93
304A

CAIRO — South African Foreign Minister Pik Botha held talks in Cairo yesterday in the latest stage of a campaign to deal directly with Middle East oil suppliers after years of isolation caused by apartheid.

"Now that apartheid has gone, the gates are wide open for us," said Botha after meeting Egyptian Foreign Minister Amr Moussa and touring the pyramids at Giza.

Economists said South Africa was trying to profit from the gradual end to its

racist politics by dealing directly with oil suppliers in the Middle East and seeking new markets for exports.

Industry sources say countries such as Egypt and Oman have sold crude oil to South Africa for years despite a UN embargo. But the sales have taken place through independent traders and Pretoria has had to pay a premium.

South Africa has also been unable to export goods to the Middle East to offset the cost of importing oil from the area, which economists estimate at between \$500 million and \$1 billion a year.

Botha would not comment directly on oil ties, but said a recent South African trade fair in the Gulf had yielded contracts worth \$225 million for South African firms.

Botha visited Oman and Qatar, two important oil producers in the Gulf, last month. Delegations from the United Arab Emirates, Bahrain, Tunisia and Jordan have been to South Africa.

South African businessmen visited Egypt and Gulf countries last year and South African banks have opened links with banks in Egypt, the UAE and Bahrain.

An industry source said South Africa was Egypt's second largest oil market after Israel and could account for up to 60 000 barrels per day (bpd) of Egypt's 250 000 bpd total exports.

Botha said South Africa was looking to promote trade in all areas, naming agriculture, technology transfer and industrial goods.

South African defence manufacturers are also interested in Gulf Arab states, practically the only major expanding arms market. — Sapa-Reuter.

'Independents' elected in Krugersdorp wards

By Glen Elsas
West Rand Bureau

An "autonomous Nationalist" and a "totally independent representative of the people" won by-elections in two Krugersdorp wards yesterday.

Marie Mourau was elected councillor for Krugersdorp West — a ward that has been right-wing for many years.

She described herself as "totally independent" and said the result of the by-election proved people were "sick and tired of politics in council matters".

Mourau received 292 votes while the official AWB candidate, Joey

Swanepoel, got 207. Suspended AWB wenkormando colonel Henry de Beer managed 27 votes. Lodewyk Hurter got 151, Johannes Lategan 183 and Johannes van der Nest 11.

Turnout in the ward was a modest 28,4 percent.

Rayne Snyman, the "autonomous Nationalist", beat Johannes Harding of the Conservative Party by more than 200 votes in Ward 11, which covers part of Noordheuwel. The count was 555-338 in a 24,8 percent turnout.

Said Snyman: "I am obviously elated but my feet are sore from all the canvassing."

Hani was CP leader, say some school pupils

Staff Reporter

SOME Cape school pupils who will be voting for the first time next year don't know the name of the leader of the National Party — and others believe that Mr Chris Hani was leading the Conservative Party when he was murdered.

But Mr Nelson Mandela was named as the leader of the ANC by

most of the pupils interviewed in a snap survey on political awareness conducted by the Cape Times yesterday.

A group of five Guguletu pupils, all 18, said they believed the leader of the National Party was "a white guy". All agreed that Mr Cyril Ramaphosa or Mr Mandela would be the next State President

and the ANC would get their vote.

None of the group had ever heard of the Democratic Party or knew who the leader of the IFP was. Mr Hani was the leader of the Conservative Party who had died recently, one pupil volunteered.

"No ways should 14-year-olds be allowed to vote — they are just children," said 18-year-old Phum-

zile Sigaga of Guguletu.

Langa matric pupil Phumla Tshetsha, 18, knew the names of all of the leaders of the political parties — and agreed that 14-year-olds should not vote.

A Mitchell's Plain pupil believed that elections were taking place this month. She also thought Mr Hani had been leading the Conser-

vative Party.

Bo-Kaap school pupils Gamza Maker, 17, and his brother Riedewaan, 16, reeled off the names of the leaders of South Africa's political parties with ease.

Both agreed that 14-year-olds should not be allowed to vote. "Mandela will say anything to get the vote," said Riedewaan.

3044A
CP 26/5/93

Process hanging by a thin thread — Ramaphosa

'Gestapo' arrests slammed

CT26/5/93

THERE was deep anger from the PAC yesterday following the swoop on PAC members by police, while the arrests were welcomed by the Conservative Party.

The swoop, which was evaluated by the police and a select group of cabinet ministers at the weekend, was condemned by Patriotic Front alliance negotiators as "Gestapo-like".

PAC secretary-general Mr Benny Alexander, who was briefly held by police yesterday, told a press conference that the arrest of a number of PAC members was aimed at driving the organisation out of talks.

"The regime has decided to arrest all PAC negotiators and leaders to force the PAC to withdraw from negotiations during the crucial coming week when the most important decisions on the future of our country are about to be taken."

"They further want to push through a decision on the Transitional Executive Council which will reduce the African majority to advisors of De Klerk."

He said the PAC arrests were not connected with alleged Apla activities.

Democratic Party negotiator Mr Colin Eglin said last night that while his party unreservedly condemned violence, the government had a duty to ensure that "the police did not act in a manner which undermined the negotiations process."

Mr Eglin said he had "no doubt" that Mr Kriel had undermined the negotiations process and set it back "some time".

The CP spokesman on law and order, Mr Schalk Pienaar, yesterday welcomed the arrests but criticised the government for not including members of the ANC and its military wing, Inkhonto we Sizwe, in the swoop.

The consistent position of the government was that one could not negotiate and conduct armed struggle at the same time, government spokesman Mr Dave Steward said.

"The government has, on numerous occasions, urged the PAC to clarify its position in this regard. Thus far the attitude of the PAC leadership has been equivocal," he said. — Staff Reporter, Own Correspondent, Sapa (304A)

From page 1

nades and the planning of further attacks on police members and civilians."

The minister said that every suspect was being questioned in connection with a specific crime, or complicity with regard to such crimes, or because the suspect might be in possession of information on criminal acts.

Mr Kriel said those arrested were being held in terms of the Criminal Procedures Act which allows for 48-hour detention, and the Internal Security Act which allows for 10-days detention.

He said to cheers of approval from right-wing benches that "no one has been arrested because he is a politician or a member of a political organisation". (304A)

Among the top structure of the PAC/Apla leadership detained include Mr Enoch Zulu, Mr Jackie Seroke, Mr Thomas Likotsi, Mr Waters Tloboti, Mr Maxwell Ndamathavanani, Mr Abel Dube and Mr Raymond Fihla. CT26/5/93

By ANTHONY JOHNSON
Political Correspondent

THE delicately poised negotiations process was plunged into disarray yesterday by the nationwide security crackdown on at least 73 members of the PAC leadership and its military wing, Apla.

The pre-dawn arrests led to the suspension of constitutional talks after a furore at the World Trade Centre and accusations from the ANC and PAC that the government was staging a last-gasp attempt to torpedo a planned announcement of an election date next week.

"The process of negotiations is now hanging by a very thin thread," a clearly angry ANC secretary-general Mr Cyril Ramaphosa warned last night.

"The action by the security forces against the PAC is the greatest travesty of justice."

"This process is now in serious jeopardy."

He added that the government should be sitting at the negotiating table, acting as a negotiator "but also as our jailers".

One of those arrested in the swoop was PAC secretary-general Mr Benny Alexander, who claimed he escaped from a police vehicle after a neighbour opened the vehicle's back door.

Mr Alexander said he went to the PAC's Johannesburg offices where he managed to contact the press. He was rearrested at the offices a few minutes later, but then later released.

But Law and Order Minister Mr Hennus Kriel defended the action on the grounds that sufficient "prima facie" evidence existed to arrest PAC suspects for crimes ranging from murder to the illegal possession of firearms.

The row has also exposed apparent division in the government over negotiations strategy which could become an issue at today's cabinet meeting in Cape Town.

The crackdown is said to have acutely embarrassed the government's chief negotiator, Mr Roelf Meyer, who denied that he had any prior knowledge of the raids.



ARRESTED ...
Mr Benny Alexander



TO DECIDE ...
Mr Clarence Maxwell



UNREPENTANT ...
Mr Hennus Kriel



NOT CRIMINALS ...
Ms Patricia De Lille

Mr Hennus Kriel is said to have been in the future stance of the PAC towards negotiations will be discussed with Mr Makweu during the next 24 hours.

Absent from the talks is likely to be the senior vice-president of the PAC, Mr Johnson Mlambo, who managed to evade yesterday's police net and is understood to be taking refuge in the Transkei.

Earlier, Mr Kriel told a hushed Parliament that there was sufficient "prima facie" evidence to arrest highly placed PAC and Apla members who "it now seems ... are allegedly involved in crime".

He said the arrests of at least 49 members of the PAC were linked to the crimes ranging from "murder and attempted murder, petrol-bomb and other attacks on the SA Police, complicity in attacks on civilians, illegal possession of firearms and gre-

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Right wing's one step forward

DIRK VAN EEBEN

RIGHT-wing unity seems likely to become official today with the expected launch of the Afrikaner Volksfront in Pretoria.

The Volksfront — a brainchild of four generals, organised agriculture and right-wing political parties — will play a key role in facilitating joint right-wing action.

The first meeting to discuss the launch of the Afrikaner Volksfront was held two weeks ago under the chairmanship of former general Constand Viljoen. Prominent participants were the CP, Afrikaner Volk-sunie and Herstigte Nasionale Party.

Also present were representatives from white worker's unions and cultural organisations.

It was expected that the Volksfront

would officially be formed at the first meeting. However, HNP leader Jaap Marais insisted the implications of the movement had to be discussed further. A committee, made up of representatives from most of the parties, was asked to do this.

AWB leader Eugene Terre'Blanche and Boerestaat Party leader Robert van Tonder were not present at the first meeting, but have since pledged their support.

Terre'Blanche announced at an AWB meeting in Witbank last week that he would join the Volksfront in a protest march to the Union Buildings in Pretoria on May 29.

Death knell for President's Council

TIM COHEN

30477

CAPE TOWN — Draft legislation was published yesterday which will end the decade-long existence of the President's Council and shift its deadlock-breaking role to a joint sitting of Parliament.

The constitutional change proposed in the Constitution Amendment Bill will permit all three Houses sitting together to take decisions jointly for the first time.

The council's deadlock breaking role was enacted in the 1983 constitutional amendments to decide on general affairs legislation not passed by one of the Houses. However, this role has become irrelevant because the NP this year gained a majority in all three Houses.

The NP will hold a majority of 28 votes when all 308 MPs sit together. It also

currently has 100 of the 178 MPs in the House of Assembly, 46 of the 85 MPs in the House of Representatives and 22 of the 45 in the House of Delegates.

The Bill also allows for the four chairmen of President's Council committees to remain in office for two months after the enactment of the Bill.

The Bill provides that any Bill in respect of which there is a disagreement between the Houses may be referred by the President to a joint sitting of the three Houses. The President may call a joint sitting whenever he deems it desirable and when he is requested to do so by all three Houses.

World awaits clear signal from SA, says Crocker

B/DAY 26/5793.

RAY HARTLEY

INTERNATIONAL investors were looking for clear signals from all SA's political parties that the world should engage in SA economically before they would decide to invest here, former US Assistant Secretary of State Chester Crocker said yesterday.

"Investors are looking for more than one news bulletin. They are looking for a track record as well as the news bulletin. They are looking for some announcements, they are looking for some invitations," he said in an interview.

"They are looking for clear signals which must come from the highest level from all parties, saying 'now is the moment at which we want the world to engage here'."

Crocker cautioned that to be effective, such signals would have to be accompanied by greater clarity on SA's future economic policy.

"Some people are going to say: what about the emerging policies of a transitional government, what about the policy statements that need to happen about all sorts of economic matters? They are not there yet."

Referring to negotiations, Crocker said he believed there was a "balance



● CROCKER

Picture: ROBERT BOTHA

of impatience" among negotiators.

"I hope that is the case, because you cannot blow too many opportunities in this world when you are building a negotiated revolution.

"I definitely believe that this is the window (to the subregion). An entire year was lost after Codesa II and a huge price was paid. We can't remain

optimists if this gets messed up again," he said.

Crocker remained optimistic because of SA's talented leadership. "There is a sense in which time is passing for the leadership, and I think they know it, not least because the gap between the negotiators and the general public is huge.

"I do believe that there is a negotiating culture that has developed over the years. There is clarity about who the players are, clarity about what their positions are; the issues that are outstanding are no secret, and people know each other.

"SA's number one priority is SA, and if the handshake can take place and the TEC starts to function and we move towards the elections ... the main focus will be on how to build consensus about policies in SA.

"That is probably the number one policy," Crocker said.

There was a "tremendous gap between people who participate in the process and people who don't.

"I think there is always a sort of struggle between the people who are trying to shape events by talking about the future and negotiating it on the one hand and the happenings on the ground, and when those things get out of control there are very dangerous times," he said.

'No link' in PAC arrests

THE timing of the detention of 73 PAC members was not in any way linked to developments in the constitutional negotiation process, Minister of Law and Order Mr Hernus Kriel said yesterday.

Replying to debate on his vote, he said the SAP had detained people it believed to be involved in specific crimes, or who could shed light on criminal activity.

Those who were involved in the armed struggle had to accept the risk of arrest and prosecution.

The PAC arrests were linked to crimes of murder and attempted murder, petrol bomb and other attacks on the SA Police, complicity in attacks on civilians, illegal possession of firearms and handgrenades, and the planning of further attacks on the police and civilians, he said.

"I would... like to state quite clearly that no one has been arrested because he is a politician."

He said police had been investigating crimes to which members of the PAC and Apla were allegedly linked for some time. They now believed there was enough prima facie evidence to arrest suspects.

"Unfortunately, it now seems that there are highly-placed PAC/Apla members who are allegedly involved in crime," he said.

Each of those arrested was being questioned in connection with a specific crime, or complicity in such a crime, or because he could have information on crimes.

W Cape detained men 'not criminals'

FOUR Western Cape PAC members arrested in a pre-dawn swoop were not criminals, PAC national executive committee member Ms Patricia de Lille said yesterday.

Those arrested are Mr Sizakele Mahluthshana, regional organiser of the South African Chemical Workers' Union (Sacwu), Mr Nkosemti Naki, Mr Michael Siyolo and Mr Siphwe Makwezo.

Police also searched the Sacwu's city offices in Atlantic House.

Mr Mahluthshana's relatives said police kicked the door of his house open, searched his house and confiscated PAC documents.

And workers at the PAC offices in Salt River said police confiscated documents and pamphlets after a long search of their premises yesterday morning.

"I know these people. They are not criminals. As far as we are concerned they have a clean record in the black community and the PAC," Ms De Lille said. "To make these allegations is criminal." — Staff Reporter, Sapa

There was a perception that the police had not informed him of the arrests. This was incorrect, he said. He had been fully briefed on the arrests by the Commissioner of Police and a General Le Roux.

Mr Kriel said politicians should not interfere with the duty of the police to investigate crime. He had given no instructions to either prosecute or not prosecute anyone.

There should be a clear dividing line between politics and criminal investigations, and this was the case with yesterday's arrests. He had asked the police to finish the investigations as soon as possible, and to bring the suspects before court or to release them. — Sapa

FW on muddle over exam fees

Star 27/5/93
304A

CAPE TOWN — President de Klerk yesterday acknowledged that he shared the blame for confusion over how the scrapped matriculation exam fees would be financed.

Replying in Parliament to a question from Baldeo Dookie (Ind, Red Hill), he said the shortfall resulting from the scrapping of the fees would have to be made up by savings in individual departments — a process requiring "sacrifices".

He also denied that the Government had given in to irresponsible claims by teachers and pupils after his crisis talks last week with ANC president Nelson Mandela.

The Government had not given in on the issue of salaries, or on rationalisation that was already under way.

It had taken a reasonable view on exam fees, saying they

could be suspended by departments pending negotiations.

There had been confusion over the issue when one Minister said the resulting shortfall would be funded from outside sources while others had said the lost revenue would be made up from departmental savings.

This was a result of insufficient communication, for which he also took blame.

It had been decided that the shortfall would in fact be funded from departmental savings, a principle which applied to all education departments.

If funds did come from outside the departments they would be used to alleviate the sacrifices which would now have to be made.

De Klerk said it was not true that the Government negotiated only with Mandela on education. The Ministers of Education and senior officials had nego-

tiated with various organisations over a fairly long period.

The troublemakers, the people causing the crisis, lived in the shadow of the ANC. Mandela, who had asked to see him, had certainly been in a good position to assist in solving the crisis.

"When I talk to Mr Mandela I talk to a leader who has influence on the very organisations which are at the root of the problem," he said.

De Klerk said it was not possible to simply establish one department of education now, rather than in April next year, because the integration of education had to be done in an orderly way and through negotiation.

"You can't turn a big ship around in a few seconds," he said. "Therefore we need not be pushed. We will be working as hard as we can." — Sapa

● "We will go it alone" — Page 5

Mandela and ANC 'agree *Star 21/5/90* on voting age'

Political Correspondent

ANC president Nelson Mandela abides by the organisation's national working committee's (NWC) view that the voting age should be 18 years, according to ANC spokesman Carl Niehaus.

Although the NWC said yesterday that 18 was a "reasonable" voting age, the debate was open for further discussion.

Mandela said in Maritzburg at the weekend that 14 should be the voting age for the first democratic elections. *(S.A.A)*

The NWC decision followed a discussion yesterday of Mandela's statement. *(S.A.A)*

In terms of a draft Independent Electoral Commission Act to be presented to the Negotiating Council tomorrow, 18 years is proposed as the voting age.

Negotiators to hear Kriel explain police swoop on PAC

Crucial day for talks

By Paul Bell
and Esther Waugh

Prospects of an early breakthrough in the resumed negotiations hinge on a special session of the Negotiation Council tonight when Law and Order Minister Hermus Kriel is called to account for the crackdown on the Pan Africanist Congress.

It is the first time a Cabinet Minister has been called to account for his actions by the forum.

Government negotiators are expected to take a back seat and let Kriel do all the explaining.

Although the future of negotiations does not appear to be in jeopardy at this stage, they have been put under severe pressure by Tuesday's police swoop.

The Government has come under fire over its handling of the crackdown, but the PAC itself is under growing pressure not to abandon the negotiations.

Demands that those arrested be charged or released became pivotal to the speedy or delayed resumption of negotiations. Police have released 19 of their 73 suspects, including two national executive members of the PAC, Mike Matsobane and Raymond Fihla.

Yesterday's weekly Cabinet meeting went on into the night as implications of the crackdown, and the Government's response, were discussed with a view to tonight's session where some forum members can be expected to be highly critical.

And, against the backdrop of the Government's acute sensitivity to the need to explain itself rapidly, military intelligence sources leaked news of the infiltration of an Apla unit into Natal, allegedly tasked to "kill whites".

Timing

President de Klerk, responding in Parliament yesterday to criticism of the Government's timing, said he had been told the operation had been planned for last weekend, until police discovered that many of their targets would be away.

He had been informed of the intended action late on Monday, after he had returned from a public engagement, shortly before the swoop began. His approval had not been sought because the raids had been handled as a police, rather than a political, matter.

Speaking in Johannesburg yesterday, ANC president Nelson Mandela said the arrests should not be allowed to create panic.

"We have been negotiating since 1986 and we have had countless problems since then. This is one of those problems. I'm sure the democratic process will be strong enough to overcome this problem," he said.

● To Page 3

Crucial star 21 151 913 day for talks

● From Page 1

As pressure to preserve the talks intensified, the PAC sent a clear message that it remained committed to negotiations.

PAC secretary for legal and constitutional affairs Willie Seriti confirmed his organisation's position had not changed since it walked out of talks on Tuesday — it had not withdrawn from negotiations and would return to the table only when the Government met three key demands.

At a press conference yesterday PAC president Clarence Makwetu said the movement would not — and could not — go back to substantive negotiations until the Government had responded to the movement's demands for redress. The PAC would, however, attend to tonight's special session.

The PAC will attempt to press the council to offer the Government an ultimatum on the continuation of the talks. On Saturday its national executive council will meet to review participation.

Asked whether he rejected any possibility that there might be substance to the SAP's allegations of criminal action on the part of those held, Makwetu said: "Of course I do. They searched my house and came out with a few papers. They have still not come to charge me with anything."

Makwetu enunciated five demands to the Government:

- Charge or release those arrested in Tuesday's swoop.
- Return all property seized by the police.
- Tell the movement which documents police have copied.
- Offer a public apology to the PAC and pay for the damage to its various offices.
- Compensate those who were "wrongfully arrested".

Makwetu added that despite conflicting statements from "the regime" on who took the decision, the PAC held "the regime" as a whole responsible.

Sapa reports that 45 PAC members were arrested after demonstrating and ignoring warnings to disperse outside the organisation's headquarters yesterday.

The demonstrators were planning to "hand themselves over to police".

4 PAC SUSPECTS appeal in court today

Political Staff

304A
FOUR PAC suspects arrested in Tuesday's controversial pre-dawn raid were to appear in court in Soweto today as embattled Minister of Law and Order Mr Hernus Kriel prepared to face critics at the World Trade Centre tonight.

The ANC's decision to remain at the talks table indicated that the negotiation process was still on track, in spite of the absence of the PAC.

While the government closed ranks to brazen out the controversy over the pre-dawn raid on the PAC, criticism — and questions of political accountability

TROUBLE IN THE TOWNSHIPS

ARG 27/5/93 — pages 5, 17

— continued to mount.

As four PAC suspects were due to face charges of illegal possession of ammunition, Mr Kriel was preparing to account for his actions at a special session of the negotiating council tonight.

It is the first time a Cabinet minister will be called to account for his actions by the forum.

Government negotiators are expected to take a back seat and to let Mr Kriel do the explaining.

Although the future of negotiations does not appear to be in jeopardy at this stage, they are under pressure after the raid on the PAC.

The government has been criticised strongly over the swoop and the PAC is under growing pressure not to abandon negotiations.

Demands that those arrested be charged or released are pivotal to the speedy resumption of negotiations.

Police have released 19 of the 73 arrested, including national executive members Mr Mike Matsobane and Mr Raymond Fihla. There are 54 in custody.

The PAC demanded the release of all suspects and the return of all confiscated material before it would consider returning to the talks table.

In a further development, Apla commander and PAC defence secretary, Mr Sabelo Phama, said by phone from his headquarters in Tanzania: "We are going to act brutally and ruthlessly at what they have done."

Sowetan 27/5/93
'Voting age stays 18'

THE ANC's national working committee has maintained its policy of keeping the voting age at 18 and older, despite ANC president Mr Nelson Mandela's call at the weekend for the voting age to be lowered to 14. (111) (3044)

The ANC said yesterday: "Debate on the voting age is neither conclusive nor closed and Mr Nelson Mandela's remarks, made in Pietermaritzburg over the weekend, should be contextualised within that national debate." A voting age of 18 years and older was "reasonable".

'Masterbond gave kickbacks to Urban Foundation staff'

LINDA ENSOR

CAPE TOWN — Masterbond agents gave Urban Foundation employees kickbacks to invest R15m of the foundation's money in Masterbond, the Nel commission into the collapse of the Masterbond group heard yesterday.

A former Masterbond agent in the Transvaal, Mark Galbraith of Galbraith & Associates, said the foundation's employees were paid "commission" for monies invested with Masterbond.

RAY HARTLEY reports that Urban Foundation CEO Sam van Coller said yesterday the matter of a R15m investment in Masterbond by the foundation's treasury unit, of which R10m had been recovered, had been referred to the SAP's Commercial Crime Unit.

"The investment in Masterbond was made by the manager of the treasury unit contrary to the investment criteria laid down by the foundation's investment committee at the time," he said.

Van Coller said the R15m did not involve money donated to the foundation, but consisted of money "from treasury trading operations which were linked to the foundation's housing operations at that time".

The foundation had submitted an insurance claim for the unrecovered R5m.

Galbraith also told the commission how at a convention in October 1990, life assurer Fedlife's representatives had promoted an equity participation scheme involving Masterbond investments. He said the scheme was described as a safe investment offering substantial returns.

The representatives said Fedlife had earmarked R40m of annuity and pension fund money for investment in the scheme.

Galbraith said that on the basis of these representations, agents for IPC, which was

associated with assurance brokers Galbraith & Associates and which owned 40% of Masterbond Holdings, had begun marketing the scheme. However, he said in a letter to Fedlife he established that Fedlife's investment division had cautioned against taking part in the scheme.

Fedlife invested R18m of "sacred pension fund money" in the scheme, using IPC to sell it. Galbraith said Fedlife had, since Masterbond's liquidation, reached an agreement with investors on the funds.

Galbraith told how he spent three hours with former Masterbond chairman Kops Jonker the day before the group was provisionally liquidated. Jonker made no mention of the pending court action, assuring Galbraith Masterbond had a bright future.

Another witness, Sidney Goodwin, who was Masterbond's main agent in the Transvaal, told the commission how a R30m bond was registered over Mykonos Weskus in October 1990, about a year before the property was valued at R47m.

He suspected that the valuation had been structured to accommodate the two-thirds bond rather than to reflect the value of the property.

He claimed Financial Services Board executive officer Piet Badenhorst authorised the early payment of Masterbond funds deposited with Pretoria Bank on condition that the money was invested in a specified way. In fact, R12m was invested in a noninterest-paying Fancourt Holdings bond. The funds, Goodwin said, were not used for development but to repay R12m of a debenture bond into the short-term debenture bond pool.

SA will not push to join OAU, says Pik

CAIRO — Foreign Minister

Pik Botha said yesterday SA already had "virtually normal" ties with most African countries and would not actively push to join the OAU.

His three-day ground-

breaking trip to Cairo was

the latest stage of a charm

offensive by Pretoria to

normalise ties with Arab

countries before nonracial

elections. Botha said SA was looking for a location for a trade office in Cairo and a high-level Egyptian business delegation would visit SA next month.

But Cairo has made clear it will open diplomatic ties only as part of an OAU initiative.

"We're looking forward to the day we can take our

place (at the OAU) but it's not a matter we are going to push," Botha told a news conference.

Botha said trade between SA and other African countries had doubled in the past two years.

He described a UN oil embargo, still in force although now openly flouted, as a total failure. — Sapa-Reuter.

New Delhi air link 'soon'

MARIANNE MERTEN

AIR India was expected to establish air links with SA before the year-end, former Indian cabinet minister Karan Singh said yesterday on his arrival in SA.

Singh is to attend celebrations marking the centenary of Mahatma Gandhi's arrival in SA. He will also meet Indian leaders throughout the country.

He said SA tourists had been denied the pleasure of travelling to India for too long. SA had had a "very negative image" in India, but since ANC president Nelson Mandela's release from prison and changes started by President F W de Klerk there had been an upsurge of interest.

Singh will visit Johannesburg, Durban and Cape Town "to meet leaders of the African people, leaders of all races and denominations and friends in the Indian community".

Upon his return, Singh said he would write and lecture on his visit. "I'm not going to pass up the opportunity of talking about SA which hardly anybody else (from India) has visited."

Former Indian cabinet member Karan Singh arrived in SA yesterday for a week-long visit.

Picture: GARTH LUMLEY

Entrenched power-sharing out of the question ANC

BILLY PADDOCK

THE ANC rejected out of hand President F W de Klerk's insistence on entrenching multiparty power sharing in the final constitution, ANC publicity chief Pallo Jordan said yesterday.

He was responding to an interview with De Klerk published in yesterday's edition of the London Financial Times.

In the interview De Klerk was reported as demanding indefinite coalition government and a minority veto for whites in any future government.

De Klerk was quoted as saying power sharing among the country's main political parties should be entrenched as a permanent principle in any constitution after next year's elections.

The country would then have "to be governed on the basis of consensus on fundamental issues between the main players", he said, adding that it might involve the

creation of an executive committee of party leaders with the chairmanship rotating between them to deal with fundamental principles.

Jordan said government and De Klerk would always hold out for minority veto powers and would try to construe any agreement in that way. "But for us it is out of the question."

"Our adoption of the principle of a national unity government for a limited five-year period is to do with reconciliation and reconstruction and to reduce the polarisation in the country."

To entrench minority powers and a minority veto in a constitution would serve to undermine the very task of forging reconciliation "and undo everything we are trying to do in building a new nation", he said.



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Govt's crisis management badly shown up

B10M7 21/8/93.

3041

IF THE past few weeks are anything to go by, President F W de Klerk must be looking forward to the day he can hand over the reins of power, rather than regretting his imminent loss of authority and prestige.

The reason is that SA's battle-scarred government has emerged badly from three major challenges it has faced over the past few weeks.

The death of SACP leader Chris Hani saw government severely criticised for its lacklustre and belated intervention in a potentially crippling crisis. The education crisis saw government at first go on the offensive and then beat a hasty retreat, emerging as malleable even in the hands of schoolchildren.

And finally, the arrests of the PAC members, including a large part of its executive, without informing its own chief negotiator beforehand, saw government as a negotiations spoiler at worst and poorly co-ordinated at best.

However, the irony of the cumula-

tive fiascos is that they resulted not from government doing the wrong thing, but rather from government doing the right thing in a hamfisted way.

Whether De Klerk's low profile during the Hani crisis was deliberate, which government members now argue, is a moot point. Whatever the case, it was significant that government was severely criticised not only by its opponents, but also most severely by its own supporters. The criticism was aimed mainly at the fact that ANC president Nelson Mandela was allowed to occupy centre-stage unchallenged.

In response, government argues, possibly correctly, that if it took a high profile in the crisis, it would have set itself up as a target in a highly emotional atmosphere. Nevertheless, the conclusion is inescapable that government looked more than at any other time, like the caretaker government it in fact is. Perhaps that is what hurt most.

TIM COHEN in Cape Town

The "education crisis" was more complex, but the result was the same. The shaky foundations were set early this year when Education Co-ordination Minister Piet Marais announced the formation of an education forum. But somehow things went wrong. By announcing formation of the forum without first properly briefing teachers' organisations and the political groups, particularly the ANC, government's announcement was treated with suspicion. Marais was rather bewildered at first that political and education organisations rejected what they had been calling for all along.

After deciding not to give in to pupils' calls for the scrapping of

exam fees, government finally did so, after a marathon session of negotiations at top level. A more laborious and confused process is hard to imagine.

But it is the PAC arrests crisis that is potentially the most divisive. Here again, in principle, government was not wrong. To have arrested people who allegedly committed heinous crimes is the very function of the police, security forces argue. It has little, if anything, to do with the politicians, they say.

However, to disregard the effects it would have on the negotiation process was so short-sighted as to appear this aspect was deliberately ignored. What is clear is that Law and Order Minister Hennis Kriel's popularity in the NP caucus is likely to rise dramatically, and since this is the body that will decide whose names go on the party's candidate list in the elections, he may have aims which are outside his official line function.

It is an open secret that there is tension between Kriel and NP Cape leader Dawie de Villiers, and it is just possible that Kriel will make a bid for the leadership at the party's Cape congress in September.

His bid, however, would be likely to fail because the large number of new coloured Cape NP members would be more likely to vote for the person who facilitated their joining the party. But political commentators say that what lies at the root of this peculiar series of fiascos is a confusion on the part of government about whether it should deal with violence before arriving at a political settlement, or whether this is only possible after a political settlement is achieved.

This confusion, in turn, is based on a broader problem. After years of ruling, De Klerk's government must now govern. The finesse and delicacy required to win over sectors and organisations, rather than simply issuing orders, are clearly lacking.

LETTERS

Business urges negotiators to avoid impasse

~~1/11/93~~ GRETA STEYN (304A)
THE SA business community has urged negotiators at the multiparty talks to heed the disastrous economic consequences of a political impasse. ~~1/11/93~~

Their message is that SA cannot afford a "devastating" setback of the kind that occurred after the breakdown of Codesa.

The Business Forum — representing umbrella organisations for commerce, industry and agriculture — is to table a statement on the economy at the negotiating council meeting in Kempton Park tomorrow. It had originally intended to table the statement on Tuesday.

The forum said in a statement yesterday: "Another political impasse will lead to more business closures, the withdrawal and withholding of investment, a further flight of capital and skilled manpower and further loss of job opportunities." The business sector could not fulfil its function as the engine of the country's economy in a climate of uncertainty, instability, disorder and violence.

Every political party had a burden of responsibility to create conditions — especially regarding the promotion of peace — in which a prosperous, nonracial SA could be attained. 5/10/93 21/5/93

The forum appealed to the participants to show flexibility, the ability to compromise and realism to keep negotiations on track towards an early conclusion. SA "desperately" needed a political solution acceptable to most South Africans and the international community, and which would stand the test of time.

The transformation was at a critical stage and the negotiations process appeared vulnerable and fragile. "Unless the resumed political negotiations succeed, the impact on employment and the economy — which is in its fifth year of recession — will be devastating."

Organisations represented by the forum include the Afrikaanse Handelsinstituut, SA Chamber of Business, Bifsa, Chamber of Mines, Council of Southern African Bankers, Fabcos, Nafcoc, SA Agricultural Union, Saccola, Seifsa, SA Property Owners' Association and the Life Offices' Association.

ANC rejects voters of 14

Political Staff

THE ANC's national working committee (NWC) has rejected Mr Nelson Mandela's "demand" that the voting age for South Africa's first non-racial election be slashed to 14 years.

In a clear bid to finally bury Mr Mandela's controversial call in Natal last weekend the NWC or ANC "cabinet" said that 18 was a reasonable voting age.

In a statement yesterday, the NWC said it had discussed Mr Mandela's "contribution" regarding the reduc-

tion of the voting age but that the consensus had been that all South African citizens of 18 and over should be enfranchised. The NWC's view on this remained unchanged.

The NWC said the "exact shape and character of a future electoral system" had become a matter of national discussion. A growing consensus that a system of proportional representation would be best suited for the country had emerged.

Mr Mandela's comments should be "contextualised" within this national debate.

CT 27/5/93

FW questions role of generals

Political Staff

CT 27/5/93

PRESIDENT FW de Klerk questioned yesterday whether the role of the Committee of Generals that set up the Afrikaner Volksfront was purely political or if the Conservative Party wished to draw on their military skills.

Mr De Klerk said the CP should reveal the nature of its relationship with one of the officers, General Tienie Groenewald.

The Democratic Party MP for Umhlanga, Mr Kobus Jordaan, had asked Mr De Klerk who "the real" Gen Groenewald was and if his in-

volvement with the official opposition was "pure, bona fide politics".

Mr Jordaan said there were rumours linking the Volksfront to Ciskei, Bophuthathwana and KwaZulu and external funding.

Mr de Klerk said it was the duty of the National Intelli-

gence Service to investigate threats to the state. However, the NIS was not conducting a witchhunt against the Volksfront.

CP deputy leader Mr Willie Snyman said Gen Groenewald was merely concerned with the freedom of the Afrikaner volk.

Consensus on govt forum (2047)

17/5/93
FIFTEEN major role players in local government have agreed on the desirability of establishing a local government negotiating forum for the Western Cape metropolitan area. (253)

At an exploratory meeting on Monday, 15 groupings including the ANC, PAC the city council and other municipalities, agreed in principle on establishing a forum.

A 15-person committee was set up to prepare proposals on terms of reference, representation and other questions.

Negotiations face 'critical' 24 hours

By ANTHONY JOHNSON
Political Correspondent

NEGOTIATIONS face "a critical 24 hours" in the wake of the PAC pull-out from multi-party talks and the government insistence that an end to violence was "as important" as progress in negotiations on a new democratic order.

The future of the negotiations process will be debated by 26 parties — including the PAC — at the World Trade Centre tonight following the crackdown on the PAC which the organisation's leader Mr Clarence Makweu yesterday con-

demned as a "declaration of war". After yesterday's tense extended cabinet meeting President P W de Klerk offered scant hope of a compromise and defended the nationwide swoop on the PAC leadership which plunged the negotiations process into crisis.

He claimed the arrest of scores of senior PAC officebearers, including members of the organisation's negotiating team, did not require his approval because the action had "no political motivation whatsoever" but was related to purely criminal activity.

"As important as negotiations may be, we must also bring murder and violence to an end," Mr De Klerk told MPs in Parliament.

However, Mr De Klerk ducked questions from opposition MPs on why he did not even bother to inform his negotiating team about the crackdown.

But government negotiators yesterday swallowed their pride and expressed the hope that the process could still be salvaged — including next week's planned announcement of an election date. And Mr Mandela yesterday also

seemed hopeful that the talks could be salvaged.

He said the democratic process was strong enough to overcome the problem caused by the police swoop on the PAC.

As negotiations last night hung in the balance, Police Commissioner General Johan van der Merwe said 19 of the 73 people arrested were still being held but he failed to say when anyone would be charged or appear in court.

PAC secretary-general Mr Benny Alexander said the arrests had "nothing to do with criminality"

and Mr Makweu said the PAC demanded the immediate and unconditional release of all those arrested and the return of computers and documents seized in the raids.

The PAC's national executive will meet this weekend to review the situation but the PAC has decided to embark on a programme of nationwide mass action to press home its demands.

In Parliament yesterday Mr De Klerk maintained the police action should not be used as an excuse to derail negotiations because it was

merely a case of "the law following its normal course".

Mr De Klerk said he had not been informed of Tuesday's morning's raids until later on. His approval had not been sought, because this was not a political decision but a police one.

He said no one should allow the fact that the law had been allowed to take its course to throw the talks off track, adding it was high time it was realised that important as the negotiation process was murder and violence had to end.

Dept of Plural Relations to go

Political Staff

AN old apartheid relic, the Department of Plural Relations, is to be scrapped legally in terms of a bill tabled in Parliament yesterday.

The department to govern the lives of black people was called the Department of Bantu Administration and Development, the Department of Plural Relations and Development and then the Department of Co-operation and Development.

(304A)

FW says 'no' to majority rule

LONDON. — President FW de Klerk said in an interview published here yesterday that power-sharing between whites and blacks should be "entrenched" in a new constitution, effectively rejecting black majority rule.

"A winner-takes-all model is the worst possible model there can be for South Africa," he told the Financial Times, adding: "I do not intend to sign a bad agreement." (304A)

The president conceded that eventual power-sharing need not be achieved in "exactly the same way as it is achieved in a government of national unity" but the sharing of power inherent in an electoral system based on proportional representation would not be enough, he said. CT 27/5/93

"There must be limitations on the power of any government," he said.

South Africa would have "to be governed on the basis of consensus between the main role players", he said. This might involve the creation of an executive committee comprising party leaders. He implied that real power should lie with that body. — Sapa

Star 28/5/93
Mokaba offends DP Youth

CAPE TOWN — The Democratic Party Youth lodged an official complaint yesterday with the National Peace Secretariat against ANC youth leader Peter Mokaba after statements made by him at a meeting of the South African Students' Congress on the University of the Witwatersrand campus on Wednesday. (304A) (S)

At this meeting, DP Youth national chairman Fred Nel said in a statement, Mokaba had repeated his chant of "kill the farmer, kill the Boer" as well as remarks like "shoot to kill: shoot the Boer".

Mokaba had also called on students to launch a retaliatory attack on Wits University, Nel said. — Sapa.

Agenda could present a problem

PAC-Govt bid to bridge gap

Star 28/5/93

By Esther Waugh and
Chris Whitfield

As the Government and PAC went into their crisis talks this morning, indications were that a wide gap still existed between the two organisations.

But there were clear signs that both were determined to find solutions and to keep negotiations on track.

Constitutional Development Minister Roelf Meyer said the first item on the Government's proposed agenda would be the PAC's "continued commitment to violence. We will set the meeting agenda and attend to some urgent matters."

However, PAC negotiator Gora Ebrahim was adamant that his organisation would only discuss its demands relating to Tuesday's pre-dawn swoop by police on its members. "There is no time for anything else at the meeting," he said.

Ebrahim indicated that further talks would have to be convened to discuss other matters.

The PAC's "bottom line" demands are that its detained members be released or charged and its seized documents be returned.

Law and Order Minister Hernus Kriel, who had faced an unprecedented roasting from Government critics, said "the principle that nobody is above the law still stands".

Only "side issues" were discussed last night, he said.

Meyer, on the other hand, declared the meeting had been successful.

The breakthrough last night came after the Government came under withering fire from most of its negotiating partners over the swoop on the PAC, with the ANC and SACP demanding Kriel's resignation.

A clear majority of the parties at last night's special meeting of the Negotiating Council was opposed to the swoop on Tuesday morning when 73 PAC members were arrested.

Necessary

But, as negotiators wrapped up their work at 12.30 am, it appeared that the talks process would continue with the PAC on board.

At the beginning of the meeting Kriel defended the raids, saying information gathered in police investigations made them necessary.

He said documentation seized in the raids was being processed and "should further arrests be made it is quite likely that PAC top structure personnel could be further implicated".

He named the leaders whom police were investigating serious charges against as national executive council member Enoch Zulu, national organiser and negotiator Maxwell Nmadzivanani, intelligence chief Abel Dube, political affairs head Jackie Seroke, publicity head Waters Toboti and economic affairs head Dr Solly Skosana.

Kriel said police also found evidence that Apla

From Page 1

members had been instructed to commit robberies and steal vehicles for resale to finance their campaign of "crime and violence".

Forty-three PAC members were released at 9 am yesterday. Another 28 are still being held under Section 29 of the Internal Security Act.

ANC secretary-general Cyril Ramaphosa and SACP negotiator Joe Slovo said Kriel should resign.

Kriel had listed 49 violent incidents which the SAP attributed to Apla and said the PAC policy of talking peace while "unashamedly propagating and waging a racist terrorist campaign" was morally indefensible.

He said police were in possession of documents containing "sketched plans of various police stations and names and addresses of SAP and SADF members to be killed" by Apla.

He added that a detained Apla member had "admitted that he was instructed by a senior Apla commander, now in Transkei, to observe pubs where whites gather" to murder whites.

Late last night resolution was reached after



Under attack . . . Hernus Kriel and President's Councillor M Olckers listen to criticism of the Minister's actions.

a closed session of the 10-man planning committee pointed to the need for negotiations to continue uninterrupted.

It urged the PAC to remain part of the process and for the Government, political organisations and security forces "to do everything possible to create harmony, peace and a conciliatory climate for negotiations".

PAC secretary-general Benny Alexander revealed that the raid had scuppered a planned round of talks with the Government.

Kriel took a bashing from almost all negotiat-

ing parties, who slated his failure to provide substantial evidence of the need for the swoop.

Ramaphosa noted that "for the first time a Government Minister has been summoned to give an account of his and his department's actions".

He warned that it could happen again.

In another development, National Peace Committee chairman John Hall has sent a strong message to a negotiating planning committee demanding a meeting of the Peace Accord signatories to recommit themselves to the accord.

De Klerk's negotiating stance is firmer than many realise, argues the Financial Times

Keeping white hands on wheel

See 28/5/93

244

PRESIDENT F W de Klerk is not about to hand over power to a majority-rule, winner-take-all black government. Not now, not ever.

As the country's constitutional negotiators rush headlong to announce a date for the first multi-racial elections, they would do well to remember De Klerk's bottom line. He will only share power, not abandon it altogether, and the National Party (which is now open to all, though it remains white-dominated) must be given what amounts to a veto on significant decisions within a coalition Cabinet based on power-sharing.

De Klerk refuses to use the word veto, rightly concerned that his opposite number, Nelson Mandela of the African National Congress, could never accept an overt white veto over the decisions of a largely black Cabinet.

But since the day in 1990 when De Klerk announced he would end exclusive white rule, he has never abandoned his guiding principle that minority parties must be guaranteed a large measure of power in the new South Africa,

meaning in practice that the National Party must be promised a share of power, or there will be no deal. His oft-repeated vision of a happy multiracial future for South Africa is based firmly on the reality that whites retain a share of power for the foreseeable future.

This fact does much to deflate the optimism generated by the 26 parties negotiating South Africa's new constitution. And they have yet to resolve the most fundamental constitutional issue of all: where will the real power lie in the new South Africa?

True, much progress has been made on this issue over the past year, as the gap has narrowed between the ANC's demand for majority rule and the National Party's offer of power sharing. But ANC officials have so far offered to seek National Party agreement only on the most important issues, such as the decision to declare war or a state of emergency, while De Klerk insists on consensus on a broader range of issues.

And, crucially, the ANC insists that power-sharing must be volun-



President de Klerk... won't sign a bad agreement.

tary, not entrenched in the constitution. The National Party is concerned that the ANC would not honour a voluntary agreement, once it had finally tasted power (especially if it wins a large majority of the vote).

In a recent interview with the Financial Times, De Klerk made his demands clear.

"We are talking about the need, in a government of national unity, to be governed on the basis of consensus between the main role players when considering fundamental issues.

"With regard to matters of average importance, one can always have an agreement as to how differences between them can be settled. But with regard to the fundamentals, there needs to be consensus," he said.

What will concern De Klerk's opponents is his insistence that multiracial power sharing must be a permanent principle of government in South Africa, despite the fact that three-quarters of the population is black, and that black leaders are prepared to countenance only a limited period of power-sharing.

It requires a leap of faith to believe that the ANC will accept such limits to majority rule that it will sign away its right ever to rule South Africa on its own. ANC officials categorically reject permanently entrenched power-sharing, and insist that even within the first multiparty Cabinet, consul-

tation with other leaders must be voluntary.

It is especially difficult to see how big issues such as power-sharing along with devolution of power to regions, and the mechanism for writing a new constitution can be resolved within the constitutional talks.

But De Klerk remains optimistic: the negotiation is progressing well in regard to power-sharing, he said, adding: "I believe that a settlement and an agreement on how you structure a government of national unity will be achieved."

On the issue of devolution of power to regions, of crucial importance to parties such as the Inkatha Freedom party, the president seemed confident of early resolution: "I think common sense is prevailing. I've never worried about the possibility that on this issue we won't make progress," he said, noting that Inkatha is well on board the constitutional talks at the moment.

De Klerk expressed little concern over other potential threats to the progress of negotiations,

whether from the right-wing Conservative Party or the potential alliance between the Conservative Party and the Inkatha Freedom Party.

Similarly, he considers the threat of the unruly fringe of radical black and white supremacists was generally overestimated.

"The overwhelming majority of all South Africans are... reaching out towards an agreement that can bring stability, and which builds a bridge between, on the one hand, the need for security among those who have much to lose and the need for opportunity for those who have backlogs to catch up with."

Only time will tell whether De Klerk's optimism is justified. But his determination to fight his corner in the constitutional battle to fight simultaneously for the moderate South Africans he hopes to represent in the next election and for the Afrikaners he represents by birth cannot be doubted. "I do not intend to sign a bad agreement," he said. And if the ANC, or any of the other 24 negotiating parties, believes he will they had better think again. □

Kriel puts a brake on negotiations

By CHRIS LOUW

ON Monday, hours before the raids on Pan Africanist Congress members later that night, African National Congress MP Jan van Eck referred in parliament to the "destructive role" played by Law and Order Minister Hernus Kriel.

Van Eck, MP for Claremont, said Kriel was the leader of a hardline group in the National Party caucus. He also asked for the South African Police to stay out of politics.

This was what Van Eck had to say: "The honourable minister of law and order has played a generally destructive role within the NP cabinet by being the most serious braking influence on the negotiating process. Everybody outside this House, as well as within their (the NP's) caucus, knows that he is the leader of a hardline group in the cabinet and the caucus.

"With the active assistance of specifically the honourable minister of local government (Tertius Delpont), he has been actively undermining the negotiating team of the honourable state president, namely the honourable minister of constitutional development (Roelf Meyer) and the honourable minister of public enterprises (Dawie de Villiers), whom he (Kriel) plans to oust as leader of the NP in the Cape.

"... He is doing this because he believes, in the words of his own supporters, that the NP negotiating team is giving too much to the ANC. Today he had the cheek ... to refer sanctimoniously to the fact that there is a tendency among people not to listen to their leaders or recognise leadership ... We want the police to stay out of the political arena."

Hawks humiliate the 'softies'

W/Week 28/5-3/6/93

(3044)

In the week the National Party celebrated its 45th year in power, the hawks in the cabinet took the initiative. NP negotiators — contemptuously branded "softies" by their hard-line opponents — were publicly humiliated and forced to take a back seat.

The Tuesday morning raids on members of the Pan Africanist Congress signalled a new, tough approach by the government. While questions are being raised as to exactly who ordered the raids — and who knew about them and who was left in the dark — the NP cabinet on Wednesday came out in support of the hardliners in its ranks, led by Law and Order Minister Hernus Kriel.

Sources said the entire cabinet meeting on Wednesday was taken up by discussions of the raids. Strong objections were raised by the three cabinet ministers involved in the negotiations in Kempton Park.

Starting because they had not been warned about the actions taken against their PAC negotiating partners. Constitutional Development Minister Roelf Meyer, Public Enterprises Minister Dawie Viljoers and Manpower Minister Leon Wessels angrily crossed swords with Kriel during the meeting.

At the heart of the conflict is the question of whether a political settlement must wait until the violence has subsided, or whether it should be reached as soon as possible to ensure that all the negotiating parties take responsibility for peace.

Rifts between the NP cabinet hardliners, led by Hernus Kriel, and the 'softies' — including the government's negotiations team — blew up this week with the police raids on the PAC.

By CHRIS LOUW

Minister Tertius Delpoort — believe that law and order must first be established so that the NP can "negotiate from a position of power".

The hawks are acutely aware that the NP is losing white support to the right. They are extremely worried about the new assertiveness of rightwingers, including the involvement of former generals in the political arena, as well as mass actions such as those planned for Pretoria on Saturday.

Meyer, who only heard about the raids on the radio on Tuesday before he left for the World Trade Centre, made no effort to hide his disappointment. The degree to which he had been sidelined by his colleagues was graphically illustrated on Wednesday evening when he was completely ignored when entering the House of Assembly.

Meyer sat by himself, his head resting on his hand. He was later joined by De Viljoers, who quietly spoke to him before moving back to his own seat.

This week political observers had little doubt that Kriel — for long the major "hawk" in the cabinet — had finally displayed his disdain for his colleagues in the negotiations. The fact



Militant ... The PAC's slogans provoked white fear, leading to Hernus Kriel's crackdown

Photo: GUY ADAMS

that he did not even inform his Cape provincial leader, De Viljoers, about the police action, gave further credence to growing rumours that he has his eyes on the Cape leadership.

De Klerk this week admitted that he had only been informed on Monday evening after returning home from a

function, and that his permission was not asked. His pronouncements after the raids, however, made it clear that he had quickly adjusted to the hawkish sentiment prevailing in his cabinet.

During the law and order debate in parliament on Monday, Kriel refused to answer questions about the PAC, saying that he would only do so the next day. That night police clamped down on PAC members country-wide.

On TV's *Agenda* programme on Wednesday De Viljoers tried to put a brave face on his public humiliation. He finally admitted that he would have preferred to have been

informed of police actions. "When negotiating it is always better to have as much information as is available," he said.

Figures close to Meyer are speculating about possible political motives for the crackdown. "It is possible, but not really probable, that the minister was not informed because Kriel wanted to protect his integrity as negotiator," said one source.

Most observers believe the raids were intended as a shot across the bows of NP "softies". Political analyst Harald Pakendorf said they could indicate tensions specifically in the Cape NP, which has not yet purged itself of its conservative elements, as happened in the Transvaal when the Treurnicht group broke away in the early 1980s.

Claremont MP Jan van Eck had little doubt that the police action was politically motivated. "One only has to look at who has a vested interest in derailing the negotiating process," he said, comparing police actions with those of the "third force". It would be interesting to know who "selectively came together" to discuss the crackdown before it took place, Van Eck said.

Kriel, the only cabinet member to command popular support in the NP, has for some time been making *ragging* noises. He has been supported by Delpoort and Justice Minister Kobie Coetsee.

Democratic Party MP Kobus Jordaan said yesterday that Kriel had now "drawn the line" in the NP's infighting. "He is part of a group that believes the negotiators are selling out to the ANC. They are hell-bent on showing that the NP still has the power to influence events."

Observers do not believe that the events of this week will significantly influence the negotiations themselves, although it is clear that the NP will shift emphasis from consensus at all costs to a more aggressive stance.

Top US attorney to advise on election

304A
ARG-28/5/92

MICHAEL MORRIS
Political Correspondent

A MEMBER of the Watergate prosecution, leading United States attorney Charles Ruff, is to chair a panel to advise the Goldstone Commission on curbing violence and intimidation in the coming election campaign.

Mr Justice Richard Goldstone announced yesterday that Mr Ruff, Acting Attorney-General of the US and US Attorney for the District of Columbia, would present his panel's report to the Goldstone Commission on the first of several days of public hearings in Cape Town on August 2.

The hearings will continue until August 13.

Mr Justice Goldstone said he believed the advice of the panel "will enable the commission to better advise the president, the Electoral Commission and the political parties".

The panel includes Dr John Olivier, director of the Centre for Conflict Analysis of the Human Sciences Research Council, Professor C Shearing of the University of the Western Cape, an expert on policing and a member of the Police Board, Professor T Geldenhuys of the University of South Africa, an expert on policing, Professor Otty Nxumalo of the University of Zululand, an observer during the recent Zambian elections, and Ms Dren Nupen, who has had wide experience of trade union and community elections in South Africa.

Others on the panel are Mr Ignatius Klynsmith, a Rustenburg attorney and president of the Transvaal Law Society, Professor Ron Gould, deputy chief electoral officer of Canada, Professor Walter Kamba, former vice-chancellor of the University of Zimbabwe and chairman of the Zimbabwe Electoral Commission, Professor J Elklit of Denmark, who has observed elections in Nepal, Bulgaria and Kenya, Mrs Theresa Stiggner-Scott of Ghana, a former High Court judge in Zimbabwe and now Ghana's Ambassador to France.

Mr Justice Goldstone said the commission intended calling other experts and community leaders to address its public hearings.

They include Professor Laurence Schlemmer of the HSRC.

Government to free leaders, movement to address armed struggle

PAC violence deal

AKG 28/5/93

2049

Political Staff

THE government and Pan Africanist Congress today defused the negotiations crisis with a far-reaching agreement on violence and the arrests of PAC members.

The PAC took the highly significant step of undertaking to discuss its "commitment to armed action and its position on violence" at a meeting of its national executive tomorrow and take to a bilateral meeting with the government on Tuesday "a clear unambiguous report on its positions in this regard". For its part, the government agreed:

- To release PAC national executive committee members Mr Thomas Likotsi, Mr Waters Thoboti and Dr Solly Skosana immediately.

- To charge PAC political affairs secretary and negotiator Mr Jacki Seroke with possessing an unlicensed firearm and bring him to court today.

- To submit a "further report" on PAC executive members Mr Enoch Zulu, Mr Maxwell Nmadzivhanani and Mr Abel Dube to the meeting on Tuesday and.

- That the police would return equipment and material seized from the PAC and not required for further investigation or prosecution from today.

Details of the agreement were announced in a joint statement by Constitutional Development Minister Mr Roelf Meyer and PAC secretary-general Mr Benny Alexander after a 1½-hour crisis meeting between the government and the PAC at the World Trade Centre today.

Compromise hailed

The meeting followed a resolution emerging from last night's marathon session of the negotiating council to discuss Tuesday's pre-dawn swoop on PAC members.

The compromise was immediately hailed by fellow negotiators, with ANC secretary-general Mr Cyril Ramaphosa saying it provided fresh evidence of the need for the process.

Mr Meyer said the agreement was "an example that problems, differences and difficulties can be resolved in negotiations".

Democratic Party leader Dr Zac de Beer — who was kept fully informed on progress by the DP team at Kempton Park — said: "It's a great relief."

He added: "I am convinced that the talks will proceed even more rapidly than would have been the case if this whole episode had not arisen."

Meanwhile, Sapa reports Lawyers for Human Rights said today the release of 43 PAC members without being charged "tends to strengthen suspicions that the motive for the mass detentions was political and not law and order".

A statement issued on behalf of the organisation's national director, Mr Brian Currin, called on President De Klerk to investigate the incident and to fire those responsible for "this malicious blunder".

The statement called for the release of the remaining PAC members being detained under section 29 of the Internal Security Act.

The statement said if there was evidence that crimes had been committed, those responsible should be charged so they "could be tried and sentenced appropriately, if found guilty".

Kriel resists 'quit' call

ARG 28/5/93

Argus Correspondents CHRIS WHITFIELD and ESTHER WAUGH at the World Trade Centre in Johannesburg

(304A)

THE government last night faced withering fire from its negotiating partners after Law and Order Minister Hernus Kriel's charge that some PAC leaders may have been involved in murder.

A clear majority of the parties at last night's special meeting of the negotiating council were opposed to the government swoop on Tuesday morning when 77 PAC members were arrested and many demanded Mr Kriel's resignation.

Mr Kriel strongly defended the raids, saying information gathered in police investigations had made them necessary.

He said documents seized in the raids were being processed and "should further arrests be made it is quite likely that PAC top structure personnel could be further implicated".

He named the leaders whom police were investigating serious charges against as national executive council member Enoch Zulu, national organiser and negotiator Maxwell Nemadzivhanani, intelligence chief Abel Dube, political affairs head Jackie Seroke, publicity head Waters Toboti and economic affairs head Dr Solly Skosana.

Mr Kriel said police also found evidence that Apla members had been instructed to commit robberies and steal vehicles for resale to finance their campaign of "crime and violence".

PAC representatives Gora Ebrahim and Benny Alexander refused to back down from their demands that the remaining members in prison should be released or charged and that damage to the talks should be "undone" by government.

Forty-three PAC members were released yesterday. Another 28 people are being held under Section 29 of the Internal Security Act.

Four PAC members appeared briefly in the Protea Magistrate's Court in Soweto yesterday in connection with charges of illegal possession of ammunition.

The case was postponed to June 10 and the men remain in custody.

As the debate ran late into last night the organisation's continued participation in talks was still in the balance.

Mr Alexander disclosed that planned bilateral meeting with the Government had already been scuppered. He pointed to statistics of the number of policemen charged for assault last year, saying Apla "is not the only one involved in violence".

ANC secretary-general Cyril



Law and Order Minister Hernus Kriel shakes hands with Transkei leader Bantu Holomisa last night. Government negotiator Mr Roelf Meyer is on the left.

Ramaphosa demanded to know if Mr Kriel had "paused for a while" to consider the effect on negotiations before going ahead with the arrests.

SACP negotiator Joe Slovo said the "greatest service" Mr Kriel could give the negotiating process was to step down from office.

Mr Kriel remained unbowed, describing the arrests as an "honest attempt by the SAP to stop further people from being killed and not an attempt to derail the process".

Mr Kriel had earlier also listed 49 violent incidents which the SAP attributed to Apla and said the PAC policy of talking peace while "unashamedly propagating and waging a racist terrorist campaign" was morally indefensible.

Mr Kriel said Mr Nemadzivhanani "may be an accomplice in the murder of Mrs Sandra Swanepoel in Letsitele (near Tzaneen) on April 28".

He said information had been "received that on April 2 he met the leader of the Apla task force which carried out the attack".

He said Dr Skosana was "allegedly involved in co-ordinating Apla task forces on the East Rand and also the housing, funding and medical care of Apla members".

Mr Zulu was being investigated in connection with a 1977 killing.

He said Mr Dube was "possibly connected to a murder in the Western Cape".

NEC member and PAC negotiator Jacki Seroke was being investigated on a charge of illegal possession of a firearm. Another NEC member Mr Toboti was being investigated for alleged involvement in unspecified crimes.

Mr Kriel also defended the government against charges of ignoring inflammatory statements from other quarters, saying the results of a police investigation into these had been handed to the Attorney-General.

He said police were in possession of documents containing "sketched plans of various police stations and names and addresses of SAP and SADF members to be killed".

He added that a detained Apla member had "admitted that he was instructed by a senior Apla commander, now in Transkei, to observe pubs where whites gather" to murder whites.

Mr Kriel said "no political decision" had been made to arrest PAC and Apla members and "this action was taken on the initiative of the SA Police in line with normal law-enforcement principles".

He defended the timing of the raids saying it was unavoidable that such actions were carried out in the early hours.

In another development, National Peace Committee chairman John Hall is to present a message to a negotiating planning committee at the World Trade Centre today demanding an urgent meeting of the Peace Accord signatories to re-commit themselves to the accord.

Dr Hall will call for regional and local leadership of the signatories to also sign this time.

It was earlier believed that he would deliver the message in an address to the special meeting of the negotiating council last night.

In the strongly-worded and emotional message, Dr Hall unequivocally slammed the way in which politicians have treated the Peace Accord, signed last September.

When African National Congress president Nelson Mandela declared last weekend that the voting age should be lowered to 14, every other political organisation, from the Pan Africanist Congress on the left to the Conservative Party on the right, reacted with amazement that so impetuous an idea should emanate from so measured a man.

But nowhere was the surprise greater than in the ANC itself. Zola Skweyiya, head of the ANC's department of constitutional affairs, reiterated that official ANC policy put the voting age at 18. An ANC negotiator was more blunt: "One of the very few things we have managed to agree with the government on was that the voting age would remain at 18. Now we read in the papers that Mandela will table his request at the negotiating forum."

Mandela has even out-radicalised the radical youth of his own organisation: the ANC Youth League (ANCYL) had previously called for the voting age to be lowered to a more reasonable 16. Now the league has come out in support of the 14-year-old proposal, but the truth is that even it is astonished at Mandela's stand. The ANC's national executive committee recently rejected ANCYL's proposal for a lower voting age and, at a conference on election monitoring held in Durban only two weeks ago, ANCYL deputy president Lulu Johnson told delegates the league had conceded to the ANC's wishes.

So what is going on? Senior ANC sources feel that Mandela's demand can only be a negotiating ploy, and that he would be willing to settle at the more acceptable 16. But this strategy could backfire terribly: an alienated youth constituency might become even more disenchanted with its leadership once the 14-year-old sticking-point is compromised upon.

As well as being politically risky, Mandela's remarks were clearly without adequate homework. He stated that he knew of at least seven countries where the voting age was lower than 18, including Brazil, Nicaragua, Cambodia, Afghanistan and North Korea. Of these, only Brazil has an entrenched and successful democracy, and even there the voting age is 16, and not 14.

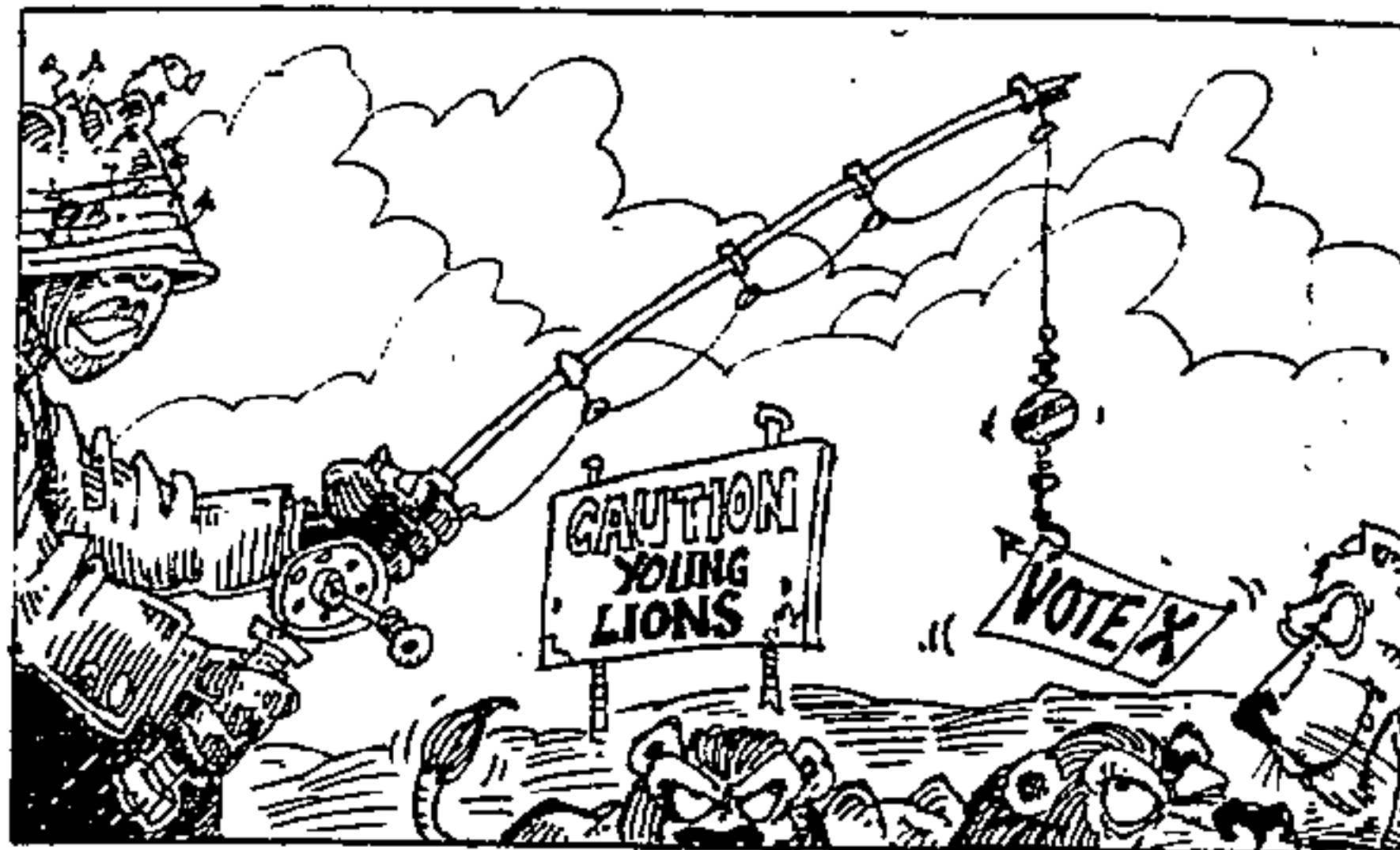
The North Korean example is as laughable as the Cambodian one is ominous: the reason for the low voting age in the latter country is an attempt to bring the young murderers of the Khmer Rouge into the system. They have rejected the palliative, however, and threaten to plunge the country back into civil war after last week's elections.

Commentators have seen Mandela's stand as naked electioneering: political analyst Professor Sampie Terreblanche said earlier this week that the ANC had a vested interest in lowering the voting age, as the percentage of blacks younger than 18 was approaching 80 percent. Democratic Party leader Zach de Beer said he was "deeply disturbed" at what "seems to be a victory for political

Will the vote win back the youth?

Wm and 28/5 - 3/6/93

Nelson Mandela's suggestion that the voting age be lowered to 14 has caught even the ANC by surprise — and raised serious questions about how the marginalised youth can become integrated into society. By MARK GEVISSER



opportunism over good sense and judgment".

Inkatha spokesman Ed Tillet said: "This is a politically expedient ploy resulting from the fact that the ANC's national leadership has come under increased pressure from militant youth who are impatient with the process of change and who see the leadership as being too conciliatory."

This problem has been particularly acute in Natal, where Mandela made the statements.

The ANCYL has responded that criticism of Mandela's statement "has so far come from those who stand to lose something from the advent of democracy and the granting of political rights to blacks". But this is not true: even the ANC's main competitors for the constituency of radical black youth have slammed the suggestion. The PAC youth wing said 14-year-olds were simply too young to shoulder the responsibility of voting.

And Azanian People's Organisation spokesman Gomolemo Mokae said: "While we recognise that, due to apartheid, young children have been forced to take mature decisions, we feel that there is danger in deifying the youth. Some have taken the 'young lions' name too literally, and we have seen demonstrations of the worst animalistic instincts. We must find a way of accom-

modating the youth while not ending up with a monster that could swallow us all."

While no-one except Mandela and the ANCYL has gone as low as 14, the arguments for a younger voting age are precisely to prevent a restive youth from "swallowing us all". And these arguments have come from some very respectable quarters.

At a recent seminar, religious leaders from the South African Council of Churches, the South African Bishops Conference and the World Conference on Religion and Peace reached consensus on a 16-year-old voting age. Behind the rhetoric, their reasoning was as follows: the greatest threat to democracy in this country is the possibility that the process — and thus the electoral results — will be rejected, as happened in Angola.

Barry Gilder, spokesman for the Matla Trust, which is spearheading voter education put it this way: "It is critical to persuade the militant youth that this process is a good thing. They are more likely to accept this if they feel they are able to have their say and be part of the process."

In a well-motivated discussion paper on the issue, the ANCYL notes that "youth from a very early age have played a key role in the struggle

against apartheid... To deny a section of the youth the right to participate in [the] election to usher the end of apartheid, is denying their contribution in making such an election possible in the first place."

Clearly, the pressure for lowering the voting age comes from the fact that there is already highly politicised youth in South Africa. E senior social work policy-maker Dr Leila Pa argues: "It does not necessarily follow that because children have had to behave like adults under apartheid, they have the emotional and intellectual maturity of adults. In fact, it could be argued that they are more vulnerable and therefore entitled to stronger protection precisely because they have grown up in a conflict-ridden and authoritarian society."

The issue boils down to a very difficult constitutional question: do children have the right to part of their country's electoral process, or do becoming voters abrogate their rights by giving them the premature status of adults and thus depriving them of their legal privilege as minor? National Children's Rights Committee director Shirley Mabusela has noted that "we need to recognise the abnormality of the South African situation and be open to all suggestions". Nevertheless, she felt the implications of 14-year-old voters are "far-reaching", as "a lot of other legal provisions would have to be reviewed".

The ANCYL counters that the age for right and protection are already differentiated in South Africa, where a 14-year-old can obtain a firearm licence, where 16-year-olds can get married without special consent and be criminally liable where 17-year-olds can be conscripted, take out life insurance and consent to medical surgery, as where children as young as six have been detained without trial under a state of emergency.

Certainly, Mandela's remarks have raised critical issues: if the "marginalised youth" are indeed South Africa's greatest problem, creative ways will have to be found to include them in the democratic process.

In Uganda, for example, an elaborate system of youth councils has been set up to elect special youth MPs; even there, however, only 18-year-olds can vote for these members, and the system has been criticised within Uganda as tokenism.

A similar comment could be made about Mandela's proposal: will a lower voting age really guarantee young people a voice in the system, or will it merely be used as a political ploy while more difficult issues like education and employment are ignored?

And because the abnormality of this country has put boys (and the occasional girl) on the receiving end of gunfire, does that mean they have the right to vote? "Our children," said Mabusela, "have a right to enjoy childhood without being burdened with the responsibility of deciding what direction the country should take."

WHICH THE GENERALS?

Wimand 28/5 - 31/6/93.

(3047)

By JAN TALJAARD

WHEN Constand Viljoen and his band of real-life generals meet up with the tin soldiers of the Afrikaner Weerstandsbeweging at a mass rally at the Union Buildings tomorrow, it will be with some well-founded apprehension.

Those who have tried to enlist the AWB's constituency in the past have more often than not found themselves outmanoeuvred by that master opportunist, Eugene Terre'Blanche.

Originally intended as an AWB affair, the *saamtrek* has become one of the first moves in the newly formed Afrikaner Volksfront's (AVF) *volksmobilisasie* (people's mobilisation) and is intended as a show of rightwing unity. Viljoen, Terre'Blanche and two white unionists, Peet Ungerer and Peet Cilliers, are among those billed to speak, and a march from the Union Buildings to Strydom Square is planned.

During the past week, the real-life generals may have been thinking back to Republic Day 1986, when a similar unity initiative resulted in Terre'Blanche deliberately stealing the show to the detriment of Conservative Party leader Andries Treurnicht, Volkswag leader Carel Boshoff and Herstigte Nasionale Party leader Jaap Marais.

The four leaders were supposed to have met at a house before a mass rally to be held in the amphitheatre of the Voortrekker monument. As a show of unity they were then to enter the amphitheatre together.

When the other leaders arrived at the house a message from Terre'Blanche awaited them to the effect that he had been delayed. They were to proceed to the amphitheatre and he

would catch up along the way.

Terre'Blanche arrived independently half an hour later accompanied by men in gasmasks and with banners and drums. From the moment of that well-rehearsed entrance, the day belonged to him.

In 1988 Terre'Blanche once again upstaged other rightwing leaders at the culmination of the Volkswag's Great Trek celebrations at Donkerhoek. While Treurnicht and Boshoff politely listened to his speech and the surrounding hills resounded with the chants of "AWB! AWB!", Terre'Blanche had disappeared when their turn came to speak.

The prologue to this Saturday's rally does not bode well for those who hope Terre'Blanche's involvement in the AVF will be as painless as possible.

Caught unawares by the formation of the AVF, Terre'Blanche initially came out in belligerent opposition to the front. In an apparent attempt to co-opt his constituency, he was nevertheless elected on to the executive council of the AVF.

Terre'Blanche is uncomfortable about the fact that his position as the strongman of the right is in danger of disappearing. Taking note of the spontaneous following commanded by Viljoen, he had no choice but to fall in for fear of being sidelined.

This week Terre'Blanche was, for the first time, present when the AVF's executive committee met. But, as with almost everything in which the AWB leader is involved, the meeting was not without drama that at times bordered on the farcical.

The meeting, in the Pieter Neethling building in Central Street in the Pretoria CBD, was supposed to have

been a low-key affair. But Terre'Blanche arrived with great fanfare, with black-clad Ystergarde members cruising up and down in front of the building to protect their leader.

Sources inside the AWB say Terre'Blanche has been catching flak from AWB hardliners who are not happy with the soft line the AVF, and especially Viljoen, is taking. Some hardliners even expect Terre'Blanche to openly oppose Viljoen tomorrow by publicly denouncing any negotiations with the African National Congress and cutting his ties with the AVF.

It is unlikely that the shrewd Terre'Blanche will act before he has had a chance to see for himself the effect Viljoen has on the rally.

Viljoen, seemingly becoming more adroit in the ways of politics as time goes by, has already addressed the contentious issue of his association with the AWB.

He told University of Pretoria students on Tuesday that the AWB had a different culture and style to his own. This did not bar the AWB from participation in the AVF, as parties were allowed to keep their differences while presenting a unified front. And, Viljoen added, the AWB had to be given credit, because the movement was active. The rest of the *volk* were content to leave politics to those in parliament.

Nevertheless, Viljoen will not be taking any chances tomorrow. The AVF's Koos van Rensburg said all the other leaders would arrive together at the Union Buildings.

"I do not think Terre'Blanche will try to embarrass us, because he knows he will then never ever be able to count on our support again."

Big day for thousands of rightists

Star 28/5/93

By Norman Chandler
Pretoria Bureau

Thousands of rightwingers are expected to converge on the Union Buildings in Pretoria tomorrow for a meeting called by the extremist Afrikaner Weerstandsbeweging (304A).

The AWB says it will be one of the biggest all-white gatherings in the country's history. It is being held to protest against the security situation as well as appeal for Afrikaner self-determination and unity.

The meeting will be addressed by the former Chief of the SADF, General Constand Viljoen, now chairman of the Generals Co-ordinating Directorate of the new Afrikaner Volksfront (AVF); Eugene TerreBlanche, leader of the AWB; and farmers' leaders.

It is understood that the newly appointed leader of the Conservative Party, Dr Ferdi Hartzenberg, may also be on the dais. Hartzenberg, Viljoen and TerreBlanche are all executive members of the AVF.

It is estimated that up to 50 000 could be at the meeting, which will be preceded by a march through the streets, starting at 10 am.

Speeches on the lawns of the Union Buildings are scheduled to start at 1 pm so that rugby fans can attend the Northern Transvaal-Western Province match at Loftus Versfeld later in the afternoon.

Kriel in the dock

Soweto 28/5/93

By Themba Molefe
Political Reporter

THE NEGOTIATIONS PROCESS was early this MORNING saved from the brink of collapse when the Pan Africanist Congress and the Government agreed to meet urgently to resolve their differences.

At the end of a special session of negotiators at the World Trade Centre, the 26 parties agreed that the Government was not justified to detain the national leadership of the PAC and 75 of its members. (304A) (BPP)

In a resolution adopted the council reaffirmed its commitment to the negotiation process and that the PAC should remain in the talks.

Most of the negotiators called for Kriel to resign after ordering the arrest of 75 PAC members, including members of its national executive council, in pre-dawn raids on Tuesday.

But a defiant Kriel told the 104 negotiators that even the PAC president Mr Clarence Makwetu and other top leaders could be further implicated and detained. (SPP) (BPP)

He tried to substantiate reasons for the massive crackdown by saying there was prima facie evidence which preceded the action.

Referring to the timing of the arrests, Kriel denied they were aimed at derailing negotiations but at preventing the suspects from going away as there was going to be a long weekend.

In his address to the negotiating council, PAC general secretary Mr Benny Alexander had earlier turned down a request by the Government for an urgent bilateral meeting.

Other leading participants at the negotiating council meeting called for Kriel's head because

of the swoop on the PAC.

ANC general secretary Mr Cyril Ramaphosa demanded Kriel either resign or be dismissed immediately.

"He (Mr Kriel) is the one single Government minister who does not want the PAC at the negotiating table," claimed Ramaphosa.

"You (Mr Kriel) are becoming a danger to this negotiating process. Therefore, you must resign or be dismissed immediately."

Pravin Gordhan, of the Natal Indian Congress, also said Kriel must be relieved of his duties, and the South African Communist Party, the Intando YcSizwe Party and the Inkatha Freedom Party also criticised the police action against the PAC.

Leon Wessels, of the National Party, strongly defended the police swoop.

"The National Party is engaged in bringing about a just and fair dispensation for all South Africans. We are unequivocally committed to this process. But no one should be above the law, both now and in the future.

"The National Party firmly believes the SAP acted against the PAC in pursuance of its mission. The law must now take its course," he said.

●Meanwhile, the police yesterday released 43 of the 75 PAC members who were detained in the swoop. Four members of the PAC appeared in the Soweto Magistrate's Court yesterday on charges of illegal possession of ammunition.

Police yesterday said 28 "suspects" were remaining in detention under Section 29 of the Internal Security Act, which provides for 10 days' detention without trial.

●Meanwhile, 38 PAC supporters, chanting "every policeman, every farmer deserves a bullet" and "one grenade, 10 settlers", were arrested during a demonstration Pretoria yesterday. They were later released and warned to appear in court.

AN ACQUAINTANCE whose anti-apartheid credentials go back to the '60s, and who today runs a smallish business, tells of an encounter with a relative — a brash, young up-and-coming mainstream businessman. "You spent all those years demonstrating, and that period in detention," the young man sneers. "I was at Thabo Mbeki's 50th birthday party. Where were you?"

That, perhaps, illustrates the coming of the new SA. A new class of politicians — the revolutionaries who are to become the rulers — become the ones to whom the businessmen must turn if they traditionally operate on the basis of personal favour of the bureaucracy. And that process could mean renewed disappointment and frustration for those who have been fighting — or at least waiting — for justice. It is a pattern that was followed throughout the decolonisation of Africa, and it threatens SA now too.

This is the context of the proposed deal between Macmillan Bolewa and the ANC-linked Thebe Investment Corporation, in which Thebe would receive a generous cut of profits on the sale of school textbooks in return for acting as a link to the presumed new ANC government.

There is, of course, nothing illegal in such an arrangement — indeed, some would present it as an example of inspired entrepreneurship. There is also not yet any deal in existence, as Macmillan and Thebe hasten to point out in arguing that any publicity is premature. There is also nothing in the proposed contract to suggest that it would entitle Macmillan to a monopoly in the sector. But, in reality, this is how it has worked out for Macmillan in Swaziland, Botswana and elsewhere to the detriment of the education systems. (The Swapo government in Namibia apparently blocked a similar proposal.) Thebe argues it is an independent company. But the ANC's role in the company's formation, and the presence on the board of ANC official Tokyo Sexwale, means that, even if one were to accept that argument,

It's not too early to try corrupting the govt-in-waiting

By Alan Fine

ALAN FINE

the requirement that justice be seen to be done would be absent. (Enos Mabuza, described in yesterday's story as ANC-linked, insists he resigned all political posts and memberships and is simply an independent businessman.)

Senior ANC officials, including education department head Cheryl Carolus and her deputy Lindelwe Mabandla, were sufficiently outraged by the proposal to raise the alarm, and it is unlikely to see the light of day. This, however, is just one example of a far-sighted operation attempting to pave the way to a lucrative future, and there will be others.

Tiny Rowland's Lounrho, like Macmillan, has made a killing in post-colonial Africa by timeously building relationships with the new rulers. And his proposed pro-ANC newspaper is the basis for his SA initiative.

There are other, less clear-cut, examples. There is the well-known hotelier who is developing an extremely cosy relationship with at least one highly placed ANC leader. That this hotelier once admitted paying a R2m bribe to a homeland leader for sole gambling rights "because that is how things work around here" does not mean he has a similar plan in mind right now. And the two may have developed a genuine friendship. But the relationship, alone, is sufficient



Tito Mboweni has called for an ANC code of conduct.

to worry concerned ANC insiders. Similar thoughts have been expressed about the businessman's club initiated by broker Sydney Frankel. In return for generous contributions to ANC coffers, members receive private political briefings from

secretary-general Cyril Ramaphosa. Once again, there is nothing inherently untoward in this arrangement. But in the absence of total transparency about donations to political parties (and corporate "gifts" to party office bearers) the potential for suspicions of favour purchasing will come to the fore if and when donors' businesses earn state contracts in the future.

A further potential snakepit occurs: applying certain ANC minds is the possibility of corporate directorships. With the shortage of black company directors and an imperative to increase their numbers, certain talented ANC personalities can expect to be sought after. Among the potential candidates most often mentioned are Tito Mboweni and Steve Tshwete.

Well and good, but the possibilities for conflicts of interest, even in the period before an election, are endless. There has been talk for some time within the ANC of a code of conduct for senior officials which would, among other things, forbid party officials to hold directorships — but nothing has been finalised.

Mboweni confirms that he has received "four or five" offers of directorships. He has rejected the offers on the basis of possible conflicts of interest — he will serve only on boards of non-profit-making bodies. But he believes there is a strong case for a code of conduct, including the

requirement that party officials declare all their private financial interests and supply statements of assets and liabilities.

There is also potential for less than open dealings in the numerous national, regional and local negotiating forums which have been established around the country in the fields of development, local government, housing and the like — nearly 100 in the Transvaal alone, according to one estimate.

Already, these bodies have been allocated tens of millions of rands in taxpayers' money. And when foreign aid starts to roll in the amounts will increase to hundreds of millions or more. Even at this early stage, though, when these forums have conducted little more than feasibility studies and pilot projects, there are complaints about contracts being concluded on unfair bases. For example, it is alleged that a "politically correct" Wit's academic has received major research commissions. Independent researchers believe such commissions should be put out to tender.

Ken Owen argued last month in his Sunday Times column that SA's present interregnum is a brief period between NP rule and ANC rule when the "trough" has run dry — when there are no prospects for corruption because there is no one really in power to corrupt.

He is wrong on two counts. First, it is not too early to begin attempts to corrupt the new government even before it is in power.

Second, however, Owen's apocalyptic vision of rampant corruption and underhand influence peddling in the future as in the past need not materialise. For example, the vigilance of Carolus and Mabandla will, it seems, prevent the Macmillan deal from being concluded. And there are those like Mboweni and others painfully conscious of the potential for corruption and pressing for rules of conduct to eliminate, as far as possible, the potential for that corruption and influence peddling.

Ultimately, the degree of openness in public life, and especially where finance is concerned, will determine whether the future SA becomes another Italy or Nigeria.

PAC arrests weaken govt negotiators' hand

8/10/73 28/5/93

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GOVERNMENT's daring brinkmanship and public closing of ranks after the clampdown on the PAC might have won it short-term gains, but in the longer term it has weakened its negotiators' hand and virtually ensured the come-uppance of Law and Order Minister Frensch Kriel and his security establishment.

President F W de Klerk's poor and uncharacteristically flustered performance in Parliament on Wednesday indicated all is not well in Cabinet and that he does not have a firm hand on the tiller.

Hardliner Kriel scored a limited victory for himself and government in the eyes of NP supporters and especially those who were accusing it of going soft on violence. But government negotiators were extremely angry at Kriel's action which left them defenceless on the negotiating floor. They knew nothing of the PAC arrests and appeared sheepish in the face of blistering and humiliating attacks from negotiating partners.

A senior government source said this week there was "absolutely no doubt that Kriel knew the implica-

tions of the action", and that moving on PAC president Clarence Makwetu and secretary-general Benny Alexander in the middle of the night would have serious repercussions for negotiations.

One negotiating Minister said privately that even if the action was justified and had to happen on Tuesday, there was no need to carry it out in "the bad old days way" by breaking down doors and removing innocuous items such as T-shirts.

It can only be assumed that Kriel did not fully apprise De Klerk of the extent of the operation, otherwise Minister Roelf Meyer would surely have been notified.

De Klerk's bluster, under intense questioning, that there was no political motivation for the raids indicated he had lost touch with the vital stage of the negotiating process. He has done himself no credit in the eyes of the international community by supporting Kriel's action, and his failure to instruct Kriel to charge or release immediately those arrested did further damage.

BILLY PADDOCK

Kriel might have shored up the steady trickle of NP members defecting to the right wing, and undermined to a limited extent the risk of a white revolt.

The talks were not derailed. An election date and draft legislation for a transitional executive council and its subcouncils are still attainable goals within weeks, if not days.

The ANC is not prepared to cling to the PAC and follow its threat to pull out of talks, even though this might result in a further loss of supporters to the more radical PAC. It is staying in the negotiating process despite its severe criticism of government. Taken with its position over the Chris Hani assassination, the ANC is locked in and will not withdraw while there is the potential to achieve its goal.

The week's events showed that negotiations have reached what appears to be an irreversible stage, and

there is now little chance that they can be wrecked.

The PAC is in a difficult position, but it has handled its crisis constructively so far, and not painted itself into a corner.

On Tuesday its foreign secretary Gora Ebrahim expressed the organisation's outrage in cool terms, and set its demands in a way calculated to put pressure on government and gain the negotiating council's support. Makwetu has also given government space to charge or release its members and meet the negotiating council's demands.

Should government play tough, the PAC still has the option of taking a final decision at the national executive meeting this weekend.

It is known that the PAC is committed to staying in the negotiations process, and many negotiators, including government, have been pleasantly surprised by the "very constructive role Benny Alexander has played" in the planning committee. The PAC needs a face-saving way of staying in, and has left this ball in government's court.

But it appears government wants to capitalise on its gains, having seen that the process has not been derailed. It is forcing the PAC's ambivalence onto the negotiating table, and hoping the council will serve as a forum to move the PAC to suspend its war on whites and the security forces. The PAC seems ready to do this, and compromise is in the air.

But while government has achieved all these short-term gains, it has played into the hands of the ANC and PAC. Kriel's action has strengthened the hand of the ANC in its demands for joint control of the security forces, which Kriel has adamantly rejected.

ANC secretary-general Cyril Ramaphosa on Tuesday made it clear the ANC would push even harder for multiparty control over the security forces, "so that this kind of thing can never happen again". His position will be strongly supported by the majority of the parties on the negotiating council, and government will have a tough job trying to avert the move.

LETTERS

Draft lays down election provisions

By Esther Waugh
Political Correspondent

A draft Independent Electoral Commission Bill is to be presented today to the 26-party Negotiating Council for discussion.

An independent electoral commission will be appointed in terms of the Bill to supervise elections for an interim government.

The draft Bill proposes that all South Africans, including homeland citizens of 18 years and over, would be allowed to vote in the first democratic elections.

The commission, comprising between seven and 11 members, would function independently from Government or other official bodies.

The draft legislation provides for the secondment of representatives from international organisations and foreign governments. The commission can be dissolved only by the State President upon advice of the transitional executive council in Parliament after the elections have been confirmed as free and fair.

The draft legislation envisages that the commission establishes three directorates.

An election administration directorate would determine the eligibility and identification of voters, and enforce a proposed electoral code of conduct. It would also administer the disclosure by political parties of contributions to election campaigns exceeding R1 000.

An election-monitoring directorate would have investigative powers, including the right to issue and execute search warrants and seize evidence of infringements of the electoral code of conduct.

An electoral adjudication directorate would be the final arbiter in disputes about conduct in the elections.

The independent electoral commission would have to certify the final results within 21 days of the voting and declare "whether, and if so to what extent, such elections have been conducted in a manner which has been substantially free and fair".

Should the commission find the results "partly unfree and unfair", the Bill empowers it to "take limited action in a particular region, without having to hold a completely new national election".

Help Promised to South Africa

By John M. Goshko

WASHINGTON — The United States offered last Friday to help South Africa regain its former importance in world economic affairs as soon as the black majority and the white minority government set the stage for multi-racial elections.

"South Africa's successful transition is important for Africa, the United States and the world," Secretary of State Warren Christopher said in a speech outlining President Clinton's Africa policy. Christopher emphasized the importance the administration intends to place on promoting democracy and respect for human rights on the continent.

South Africa, with its vast mineral wealth and industrial base, has the most advanced economy in Africa. But in recent years, the tensions and uncertainties caused by its racial divisions subjected the country to sanctions, boycotts and flight of foreign investment that forced it out of the mainstream of world trade and financial activity.

"The United States will help — and we expect other industrial democracies to help as well," Christopher said in describing the administration's plans for working with South Africa after President Frederik W. de Klerk's government and leaders of the major black groups agree on terms for a changeover to majority rule.

"Once a Transitional Executive Council has been put in place — and a date for elections has been set — we will work with our part-

ners (in the group of seven leading industrialized democracies) to help South Africa reenter the global economy," he said.

Addressing the African-American Institute, an organization of scholars and specialists in African affairs, Christopher said the end of the U.S.-Soviet rivalry allows the United States now to pursue "a productive new relationship" with Africa. He said that Clinton intends to jettison the Cold War considerations of the past and make promotion of democracy and human rights the foundations of his policy.

"During the long Cold War period, policies were often determined not by how they affected Africa, but by what advantage they brought to Washington or Moscow," Christopher said. "Thankfully, we have moved beyond the point of adopting policies based on how they might affect the shipping lanes next to Africa rather than the people in Africa."

As an example of this new approach, he cited Clinton's announcement last Wednesday reversing 17 years of U.S. policy by recognizing the Angola government.

Christopher, who criticized Jonas Savimbi of UNITA for seeking a military solution in Angola, also had harsh words for another longtime U.S. ally, Zaire's President Sese Seko Mobutu. For almost three decades, the United States courted Mobutu and overlooked the corruption and oppression endemic to his rule. However, in recent months, as Zaire has tottered on the brink of anarchy and bank-

ruptcy, the United States has reversed course and called for Mobutu to step aside.

"The people of Africa know where their future lies: not with corrupt dictators like Mobutu, but with courageous democrats in every part of the continent," Christopher said.

As a sign of Clinton's intention to give Africa more attention, Christopher noted that the administration is seeking to increase country-to-country aid to sub-Saharan Africa from the present level of about \$667 million to \$800 million next year. However, that sum must be split among 47 countries. By comparison, aid to Israel — the country that gets the largest share of U.S. aid — has been running at \$3 billion a year.

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In a speech to the annual conference of the African-American Institute, Edward Jaycox, vice-president for the Africa region, said the bank would no longer dictate development plans.

Acknowledging that the World Bank had failed to devise solutions to Africa's economic problems, Mr. Jaycox said in future the bank would help fund African governments to write their own development plans and would use most of a \$20 million economic research fund to support studies commissioned by Africans themselves rather than bank economists.

Putting the noose to the vote

W. M. 28/5-3/6/93

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WITHIN weeks the tricameral parliament will unilaterally decide on whether 300 South Africans should be hanged. At the same time, the government's key negotiating partner, the African National Congress, vehemently opposes capital punishment.

In an apparent response to the spate of alleged Azanian People's Liberation Army attacks on whites, President F.W. de Klerk announced at the end of March that a free vote would be staged in parliament on the death sentence.

A spokesman for the Ministry of Justice confirmed that the vote, which would decide whether the moratorium on hanging should be extended or terminated, was expected to take place at the end of this month. It now looks set for June.

In his controversial address to parliament, De Klerk said the "wave of cruel murder and homicide, the current disrespect for human life and the delays in the negotiation process" made it difficult for the government to maintain the moratorium on hanging.

In many cases, the connection between current violence and those on death row is far from clear. Professor of Public Law at the University of Cape Town, Hugh Corder has argued: "The lifting of the moratorium now will mean that people who were sentenced to death at least four years ago, and whose crimes have nothing to do with the present violence, will be hanged forthwith."

Shortly after the assassination of South African Communist Party general secretary Chris Hani, the SACP reaffirmed its strong opposition to the reinstatement of capital punishment. SACP politburo member Jeremy Cronin said Hani's murder had not in any way changed the party's conviction that "hanging is a barbaric way of punishing people that does not resolve anything".

"The SACP advocates a humane form of punish-

Despite opposition from its negotiating partners, the government will ask parliament to vote on the resumption of the death penalty. By ALEX DODD

ment that effectively deals with the root causes of crime. The whole problem can't even be approached until there is major moral and socio-economic reconstruction," he said.

"We need a legitimate court system in which the judges who pass sentences are conscious of the socio-economic problems which are a huge motivating factor behind the perpetration of crimes."

Head of the ANC's legal department Matthew Phosa said the party was "deeply disturbed" by the government's recent moves to reconsider the moratorium on hanging, adding that the ANC would campaign against its reinstatement.

"We've had the death penalty in this country and crime continues — Johannesburg is the murder capital of the world. We don't think the death penalty has a deterrent effect."

"We feel the government's support of capital punishment is motivated by a spirit of revenge," said Phosa. "This is evidenced by the renewed debate around the subject which has only come as a result of the killing of a few white people. Nobody was shouting for the death penalty in response to the more than 8 000 deaths in Natal."

Pan Africanist Congress legal head Willie Seriti said the state should take the lead in showing people that all human life should be valued and that there was no reason to deliberately take the life of another human being. In South Africa, the death penalty had been justified on racial grounds. Seriti pointed to the 1947 Lansdown Commission report, which declared: "It is

common knowledge based on the experience of the courts that, in the mind of the undeveloped native recently brought into contact with Western civilisation, the sanctity of human life is a matter of less concern than it would be to the Western man."

The Democratic Party, by contrast, has equivocated on hanging — in its proposals for a Bill of Rights, it ducks the issue. DP MP Peter Soal said DP members would vote in parliament according to their personal convictions — although he, personally, favoured the abolition of the death penalty.

On the pro-hanging side of the debate stand the National Party, the Inkatha Freedom Party and the parties of the far right.

De Klerk has publicly expressed his support for the restoration of capital punishment, saying it "should be part of the legal system and retained in a limited sense", as has Law and Order Minister Hennis Kriel and Correctional Services Minister Adrian Vlok. In a random survey by the *Sunday Times*, all NP MPs — white, coloured or Indian — emerged as pro-hanging. IFP spokesman Ed Tillet said the IFP had not formally adopted a policy on the death penalty. "However, there is widespread support within the party for the imposition of the death penalty in certain carefully defined circumstances," he said.

For Boerestaat Party leader Robert van Tonder, the abolition of the death penalty in an African country would be "disastrous".

"Since the moratorium there haven't been proper sentences so people have been doing as they like, with no consequence. We have a large element of non-Western people here and they haven't got our age-old tradition of democracy and our old Christian culture."

"Africans have been expendable under the death penalty ever since Dingaan and Chaka and the other chiefs. Their system of justice is to kill people. That's the only system of justice they understand."

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A question of judgment

Perhaps nothing should surprise us any more, dulled as we are by routine massacres, an endemic education crisis and the general cycle of hope and despair. Even so, ANC president Nelson Mandela's remarks about giving 14-year-olds the vote are astonishing. As Cape Town political scientist Robert Schrire has pointed out, Mandela will come to regret having made them.

What can Mandela have been thinking of? Surely he cannot in his patrician heart believe that children should vote. The more obvious and cynical explanations have already been put forward by puzzled and anxious observers: that Mandela is trying to court and placate teenagers who would otherwise ignore his appeals to reason; and that the ANC is desperate to build electoral support.

If the first, Mandela is being naive indeed if he thinks that the feral children who roam the townships will give permanent allegiance to anyone but their own savage codes. If the second, he is doubly naive, because there is no guarantee that enfranchised teenagers would support the ANC; they would be more likely to vote for the PAC, or even more radical

adolescent groupings that would inevitably spring up to take advantage of the new constituency.

Even the Azanian People's Organisation, known for its quixotic policies and dangerous rhetoric, has made a more moderate call. Spokesman Gomolemo Mokae has argued that the voting age should be lowered to 16 — but also warns that "lionisation" of the youth often went to their heads.

"Even up to this day," says Mokae, "we are still reaping the whirlwind of such deification of the youth. Some of them still exhibit the rabid intolerance and animalism of the mid-Eighties."

Other ANC leaders were clearly taken aback by Mandela's call; official ANC policy is that the vote should be extended to all South Africans aged 18 and over. Now they will have to try somehow to undo the damage — and already the wild children are savouring the prospect of more time off school to campaign. We have enough problems without this.

So much for the immediately dangerous aspects of Mandela's absurd call. The sad and more profound part is that we must begin seriously to question his political judgment. ■

Leaders 'won't get together'

Own Correspondent

JOHANNESBURG.

Hopes dimmed yesterday that ANC president Mr Nelson Mandela and Inkatha leader Chief Mangosuthu Buthelezi would meet soon.

Mr Mandela, who has said he was happy to meet Chief Buthelezi if Zulu King Goodwill Zwelithini brokered the meeting, said yesterday the king had withdrawn as a facilitator of the meeting. ANC spokesman Mr Carl Niehaus said the withdrawal did not necessarily mean that a meeting between Chief Buthelezi and Mr Mandela was off.

"It does, however, complicate matters," Mr Niehaus said without elaborating. The king apparently called on the two leaders in recent weeks to meet and address violence.

CONFLICT is mounting within National Party ranks between "reactionaries" and "realists" over how to deal with Inkatha — and this could prove the last straw which breaks party unity.

Strategy in regard to the Inkatha Freedom Party highlights deeper policy divisions within the NP, and specifically whether to seek an ethnic solution to South Africa's constitutional problems.

If Nat rightwingers did leave the party, they would probably join forces with Andries Beyers' Afrikaner Volksunie, with whom they already have behind-the-scenes contacts. The last straw could be the failure of multi-party negotiations to satisfy demands for "Afrikaner self-determination".

The NP reformers, on the other hand, are becoming increasingly frustrated by Inkatha inroads into NP support in Natal and on the Rand. Recent polls indicate that nationally, Inkatha may have more white than black supporters.

A close inspection of recent Hansards shows that senior Nationalists have been openly contradicting each other on Inkatha, with conservatives urging closer ties with the IFP and a reformist group castigating the Zulu-based party.

When President FW de Klerk embarked on his current course of negotiations, few NP members had any doubt that they would face a future election with the IFP as an ally.

The sharp attack on the IFP during April's provincial debates by the vice-chairman of the NP's constitutional study group, Johan Steenkamp, was widely reported. But while Steenkamp has serious problems with the IFP, his chairman in the same study group, Frik van Deventer (NP, Bloemfontein-North) often walks around in parliament proudly sporting an IFP tie.

In his speech in the extended public committee on provincial affairs, Steenkamp accused the IFP of trying to project itself as the "last remaining representatives of what can be termed the noble savage". He questioned the IFP's commitment to democracy and referred to the "mediocre leadership structure". People who were "not qualified to be corporals are made generals by the IFP", he said.

He also said the party suffered a "serious lack of intellectual and academic support", adding that there are "no intelligent, educated, dynamic Zulus surrounding Buthelezi".

In the same debate senior Nat MECs in Natal — including Timo Volker, and the administrator, Con Botha — waxed lyrical about joint control of the province by the NP and Inkatha. Volker strongly defended the Joint Executive Authority (JEA) in Natal which consists of members of the provincial executive council and Inkatha.

While the NP's negotiators want the multi-party forum to find consensus on a regional dis-

Ally or enemy? Inkatha could divide NP unity

W/Mail 28/5 - 3/6/93

An inspection of recent Hansards reveals increasing division within the National Party over how to deal with Inkatha. By **CHRIS LOUW**

pensation, Volker defended the IFP's highly contentious constitutional proposals.

"I believe that the regional functions and powers of Natal-kwaZulu should not be subject to any concurrent and overriding legislative powers of a central government, or for that matter of an elected constituent assembly," Volker told the committee. "The empowerment of the Natal-kwaZulu province, its powers and functions, should be by the people of Natal."

Not all Nats agree with these sentiments.

At roughly the same time, a diametrically contrasting view was expressed by another senior Nat, Chris Fishmer. In the April 6 and 7 provincial debate on the Transvaal, he said: "We are still waiting on members of the IFP in parliament to tell us why they are not interested in participatory democracy and why their constitutional proposals for Natal are still only making provision for a winner-takes-all situation. Why are they only presenting constitutional proposals for Natal and not for the rest of the country?"

Fishmer also insisted that the IFP "must still tell us what their share is in the violence and what they are going to do to stop it".

Apart from revealing the lack of any coherent strategy in the NP, the conflicting approaches of Nat MPs also serve as an acid test of their political verkramptheid or verligtheid — in other words, whether they accept that negotiations will inevitably bring democracy.

Developments since the unbanning of the African National Congress have deepened the confusion in NP ranks.

These include Inkatha's adoption of its regional constitution for kwaZulu/Natal, which displays strong secessionist elements and which was drawn up by conservative American experts with little understanding of the South African situation.

On April 7 this year, former Democratic Party MP and now Inkatha defector Mike Tarr conceded that the IFP's constitutional proposals were secessionist in nature — although he added that they were negotiable.

Verligte Nats find this assurance difficult to accept. They point to a resolution by kwaZulu that the proposals should be adopted by the Joint Executive Council and be ratified by the South

African government. This completely ignores the present negotiation process, yet from recent pronouncements by IFP leader Mangosuthu Buthelezi it has become clear that he insists on using the document as his settlement blueprint.

The folly of an Inkatha-NP alliance has been most strongly highlighted by the DP MP for Umhlanga, Kobus Jordaan, a former official of the Department of Constitutional Development and key architect of the negotiations process. During the Natal provincial debate Jordaan repeatedly pointed out that the JEA

had little legitimacy.

Jordaan based his assertion on figures relating to the last elections in kwaZulu and Natal. In the 1989 election for the Provincial Administration, 66 percent of eligible white voters cast their ballot. For the House of Delegates, there was a 24 percent turnout and for the House of Representatives a turnout of 21 percent.

The voting percentages in kwaZulu are significantly less impressive. In the 1988 election, of three million potential voters only 780 000 with Zulu citizenship certificates could vote. Five constituencies were contested and only 12 000 in fact voted.

"If anyone tells me those two groupings (the NP and Inkatha) can govern Natal/kwaZulu in the interim period and in the new dispensation, and take decisions in the process, I will say it is not possible."

In an interview in Cape Town last week, Jordaan attributed the differing approaches in the NP towards the IFP to arguments between reactionaries and realists in the party. "The reactionaries are suffering from the illusion that they still have the power to determine the country's future. They argue that democracy cannot work in Africa."

"What is needed, according to them, is an elite group who connive together, who shrewdly pull the strings in the background."

These Nats, including cabinet ministers, have strong ties with Inkatha and the AVU. Behind the scenes they are also getting discussions going with the Conservative Party. Instead of finding a constitutional solution together with the ANC, they believe they should destabilise the ANC as much as possible to weaken the organisation.

Buthelezi is aware of the conflict. This is one of the reasons why he invited the conservative Local Government Minister, Tertius Delpont, to open the kwaZulu Legislative Assembly this year, and not verligte Constitutional Development Minister Roelf Meyer.

But in the end Steenkamp may prove to have the last say about the future direction of the NP's relations with Buthelezi.

The IFP, he said in April, can't save the Afrikaner. "It finds it difficult enough saving itself."

Regional focus urged for SA

REGIONAL bankers ended their three-day meeting in Somerset West yesterday amid general agreement that a post-apartheid SA should avoid inward-looking protectionism and invest more in the region.

Conference organiser and Financial Mail editor Nigel Bruce told a media briefing that the central and commercial bankers were concerned there would be a preoccupation with the reconstruction of South Africa rather than the region.

They also fear that South Africa would tend to dominate regional trade and that investment in their countries would

be in balance this out.

In a statement, the bankers said that their meeting had been "informal and private" and that they had adopted no resolutions that would commit their governments to any plan of action.

However, they decided to form a committee of central bank governors to examine various issues of common concern "to provide momentum to the general process of change" in the region.

Key points of agreement that had emerged included the need for greater regional co-operation in fiscal and monetary policy.

Bruce said the fact that many were undertaking IMF structural adjustment programmes meant that there was already a great deal of harmonisation of regional fiscal and monetary policies. The bankers felt that this should be more closely co-ordinated.

They also wanted to see the dismantling of regional exchange controls and tariff barriers and gradual moves towards creating a regional trading bloc.

This could be preceded by the enlargement of the preferential trade area for Eastern and Southern Africa and the Southern African development

community to include South Africa.

They accepted the point made on Tuesday by Finance Minister Derek Keys that South Africa could not afford to enlarge the Southern African customs union.

The bankers said the Development Bank of Southern Africa should become involved in the region as a whole and that commercial banks should set up small business units to make more funds available to small businesses.

They would also like to see infrastructure improved on a regional basis and a greater co-ordination of aid projects

Mokaba draws protest by DP

THE Democratic Party Youth lodged an official complaint yesterday with the National Peace Secretariat against ANC youth leader Mr. Peter Mokaba after statements he made at a meeting of the South African Students' Congress on the University of the Witwatersrand campus on Wednesday.

At this meeting, DP Youth national chairman Mr Fred Nel said in a statement, Mr Mokaba had repeated his chant of "kill the farmer, kill the Boer" as well as remarks like "shoot to kill: shoot the Boer".

He had also called on students to launch a retaliatory attack on Wits University, Mr Nel said.

— Sapa CT2815/93

mitted killing a man to obtain his vehicle for Apla's use (304A)

Mr Kriel said PAC national organiser Mr Maxwell Nemadziyhanani was being held on two charges of illegal possession of a firearm and ammunition, and was being investigated for possible links to the murder of Ms Sandra Swanepoel in Letsitele on April 28.

He said economic affairs head Mr Solly Skosana was allegedly involved in co-ordinating Apla task forces on the East Rand. Documentation had been found detailing activities of these forces, including the planned murder of seven SAP members and six SADF members.

More PAC members may be arrested

CT 28/5/93

Political Staff

JOHANNESBURG. — The government last night took an uncompromising stand on the clampdown on the PAC, with Law and Order Minister Mr Hernus Kriel warning that more arrests could follow.

Mr Kriel, explaining the actions of the SA Police to a special session of the negotiating council, said police were still sifting

through masses of documents seized and "it is quite likely that PAC top structure personnel could be further implicated".

He said: "I wish to say that a seat around the negotiating table does not give any person or political party/organisation the right to commit murder and other crimes."

The PAC last night reversed an earlier decision and turned down a request by the government for an urgent bilateral meeting.

Angry PAC secretary-general Mr Benny Alexander said the proposed bilateral meeting had been "scuppered" by Mr Kriel's speech to the council.

Mr Kriel said the police action on Monday and Tuesday had not been timed to coincide with the negotiating council meeting or the start of his budgetary vote on Monday.

"The police were ready to act before the long weekend, but quite a number of those to be questioned or arrested were not at home. So we delayed it."

He said one detained Apla member had admitted he was instructed to observe bars where whites gathered, with the purpose of attacking and murdering them. The member had also ad-

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Raid started before FW told

CT 28/5/93

By ANTHONY JOHNSON
Political Correspondent

PRESIDENT F W de Klerk yesterday disclosed that this week's controversial countrywide swoop on the PAC was already underway when he was informed of the operation.

He also told a press conference in Cape Town a few hours before last night's debate at the World Trade Centre on the PAC crackdown, that he had been given "no details" when first informed of the raids.

He said there had been no political agenda in the action.

Mr De Klerk said he had been told by the police that "we can expect a number of prosecutions — but some may be released and others have already been released".

So far, 43 of those detained in Tuesday's 4am raids have been released, four have appeared in court and the rest are being held under Section 29 of the Internal Security Act which allows their detention for up to 10 days before they have to appear in court.

Mr De Klerk denied the arrests had been "a fishing-expedition".

He said the PAC's armed wing, Apla, had a policy which involved attacks on police, and "deeds of terror". It was to

be expected that in the execution of this policy they would "come into contact with the law".

In Parliament yesterday, Constitutional Development Minister Mr Roelf Meyer told MPs that the PAC had to be confronted with its adherence to the armed struggle while continuing constitutional negotiations.

Mr Meyer, who was embarrassed at the World Trade Centre after being left in the dark about Tuesday's raids until after they had taken place, has nevertheless closed ranks behind his cabinet colleagues on the need for the PAC to make a clear choice — to negotiate or wage the armed struggle.

Meanwhile, the ANC yesterday repeated its call for the resignation of Minister of Law and Order Mr Hernus Kriel, who led the government defence at the World Trade Centre last night of the raid on PAC leaders.

The ANC accused those who planned the raid of being intent on creating an atmosphere that would generate greater polarisation.

"Minister Kriel has again plunged South Africa and the negotiations process into a major crisis, and must be dismissed with immediate effect," the ANC said.



AVO

Friday May 28 1993 SOWETAN

NEWS Commonwealth observers to remain in SA ● 1

Calls for election date

Themba Molefe
Political reporter

THE announcement of an election date would build a culture of political tolerance, according to the Commonwealth Observer Mission to South Africa.

In its second report on violence in South Africa released by its chairman Professor Duncan Chappell, Comsa says despite an upsurge in violence since the assassination of South African Communist Party leader Mr Chris Hani in April, there had been positive developments during the past four months.

"Evidence of an emerging culture of political tolerance can be discerned amid the legacy of bigotry and hatred still evident in South Africa today..."

"In the wake of the assassination (of

■ **Comsa notes that a culture of tolerance is taking off:**
Sowetan 28/5/93

Hani) there have in fact been encouraging signs that a new sense of urgency and realism is permeating political negotiations.

"Setting an election date is crucial to provide a focus for the nation. We urge that there be no further delay in setting such a date."

(304A)
Comsa called for better planning of marches and demonstrations, the banning of weapons at public gatherings and the reincorporation of the TBVC states at the earliest possible date.

The report comes only days after another escalation of violence involving ANC and IFP supporters in East Rand townships which left at least 52 people dead.

The release of the report yesterday

coincided with a visit to South Africa by Commonwealth secretary general Chief Emeke Anyaoku.

He told a Press conference in Johannesburg that Comsa would not withdraw from South Africa despite recent media reports to the contrary.

"I am here to consult as broadly as possible on how the Commonwealth, both through Comsa and in other ways, can continue to contribute to the success of the negotiations and to the establishment of a stable nonracial democracy in South Africa."

Anyaoku endorsed Comsa's appeal to the Pan Africanist Congress to "continue their participation in the multiparty negotiations" following this week's arrest of 73 members.

AWB 'baffled' by govt discord over police swoop

VENTERSDORP. — The right-wing Afrikaner Weerstandsbeweging yesterday said it was baffled by government "discord" following Tuesday's police action "against criminal elements within the Pan-Africanist Congress". **CT 28/5/93**

The AWB said in a statement it was clear certain individuals in the government preferred to promote successful negotiations with "outspoken terrorists" rather than maintain law and order.

The AWB warned of chaos and anarchy if the security forces were under joint ANC/SACP/PAC-SADF command. — Sapa **(304A)**

PRESIDENT FW DE KLERK is a troubled and lonely man. He sits at the rudder of the National Party, a derelict and decrepit vessel that is drifting powerless towards a rocky promontory upon which its only hope, a political settlement, sits patiently in waiting.

If he could just get there; before the National Party comes apart while he presides over it, De Klerk would be a happy man.

He is caught quite literally, between what he thinks is good for the country and what his restless, divided caucus expects from him.

Wearing him thin, on the one hand, is a faction in the NP caucus, led by Mr Roelf Meyer, the Minister of Constitutional Development and Government's chief negotiator, that is in favour of a political settlement (in spite of the swirling violence in the country) through which peace can be attained in South Africa.

On the other hand, De Klerk is under pressure from a faction which wants "the restoration of law and order first" before a political settlement can be achieved.

This faction is led by the bellicose Minister of Law and Order, Mr Hernus Kriel, who, with the Gestapo-like swoop on the PAC, this week became Prince Valiant of the NP's jittery caucus that has been so desperately without a leader since the assassination of Chris Hani...

Kriel's stumbling block

But at the centre of Kriel's surge for power in the National Party caucus stands a tiny, frail, former dominee and Afrikaner national hero, a former Springbok rugby captain and the present Minister of Public Enterprises, Dr Dawie de Villiers.

De Villiers was resuscitated by De Klerk after former Prime Minister, Mr PW Botha, dumped him. De Villiers is therefore, very much a De Klerk man and heavily indebted to the President. De Villiers is however, also the leader of National Party in the Cape Province — the biggest of the four federal branches of the party.

It is this seat, of obvious power, that Kriel wants so badly and for which he has been making a play in recent weeks. Especially since Hani's death.

Hani's death drove home to the NP caucus the reality of the strength of the ANC leadership and inherent weakness of De Klerk — as a man of great stature in the restless black community.

Elsewhere, too, De Klerk and the reformists in his Cabinet have failed the party, but most of all white power.

No public meetings

Not since the referendum has De Klerk or any senior National Party member held any significant public (National Party) meetings.

Caucus sources also tell pitiful stories of the lack of report-back meetings by NP Members of

FW de Klerk is a President caught between what is good for the country and what his restless, divided caucus expects from him.

Political Correspondent **Ismail**

Lagardien looks at the situation:

Sowetan 28/5/93



FW de Klerk ... under pressure.

304A
Suddenly, there are very few reformists left in De Klerk's Cabinet

Parliament, of the dwindling support base and of the horrible failure to attract credible black leadership or measurable support in the indigent African community.

So opposed has a large section of the NP caucus become that the liberal Minister of Manpower, Mr Leon Wessels, as well as the distinctly Machiavellian Meyer, for some bizarre reason, are seen as traitors by their colleagues.

Defenceless reformers

Backbenchers, the most vocal and rumbustious lot in Parliament, refuse to rush to the defence of Meyer and Wessels — standard Parliamentary procedure in a manner of speaking — when they (Meyer and Wessels) come under attack from the Conservative Party.



A perfect example of this was during the Manpower debate on Monday, when Wessels came under fierce criticism from the CP's Mr Kobus Beyers.

Beyers reminded the Minister that it was he (Wessels) who first apologised for apartheid. Wessels sat stoically and nodded, saying: "So!?"

Beyers then went further. Referring again to Wessels, he said: "If my memory serves me correctly, he is the only member of the Cabinet who has publicly stated that in his heart he had written off the national symbols, the anthem and the flag."

Wessels smiled confidently and looked around him for support but there was none...

It was Kriel's acolytes who surrounded Wessels.

Presidential throne

With the immediate objective of taking De Villiers' throne, Kriel stands within arms length of the national leadership of the NP — the Presidency. De Klerk's job; his ultimate objective.

If Kriel can get the Cape seat — the biggest, by far, of the four provinces — he will attract the support of the ultra-conservative Natal MPs under the Inkatha-leaning Minister of Mineral and Energy Affairs, Mr George Bartlett.

If this happens and it could still at the Cape Congress later this year, Kriel could walk into the Presidency...

And that is what he wants. That is what he had in mind when he swooped on the PAC this week. That is what he did when he attacked the "ANC criminals" in Parliament recently.

If the NP MPs could have carried Kriel from the House of Assembly after he confirmed the PAC arrests on Tuesday, they would have.

Suddenly, there are very few reformists left in De Klerk's Cabinet.

The question now is: Will the tide of change in South Africa carry De Klerk's shaky craft to steady waters, and eventually, to land — or will Kriel get to the Presidency first?

Either way, De Klerk might be the National Party leader that will preside over the party's demise...

Given the will and the recent rate of progress (and other things being equal), multiparty negotiators may just complete their agenda by Tuesday — in time for the Negotiating Forum on June 3 to announce a date for the first nonracial election.

CURRENT AFFAIRS

The all-party negotiating council had three sessions set down before then in which to complete its work. Government and the ANC, confident that agreement would be in the bag by this Friday — on issues which have after all been knocked about for a long time now — were pushing hard. Inkatha and its Cosag allies were less upbeat about meeting the deadline, which was laid down in the declaration of intent adopted by the council on May 7.

Talks in the council were set to reach a turning point at the World Trade Centre this week as parties got to grips with substantive issues. Top of the agenda were: constitutional principles; the structures, powers and functions of regions/states/provinces; and the constitution-making process. Agreement on these key, complex and inter-related issues would undoubtedly take the process forward.

At Monday's meeting of the council's 10-man planning committee, it was decided to ask for more refinement to the proposals for debate, which had been outlined in the second report of the technical committee on constitutional matters.

The constitutional committee includes Prof Marinus Wicchers (chairman); advocates Arthur Chaskalson, Dikgang Moseneke, B Ngcobe and M Olivier; Firoz Cachalia of the Wits Centre for Applied Legal Studies; and professors G E Devenish, W Olivier and F Venter.

These technical committees are not forums for negotiating substantive issues, but are instruments of the council for producing systematic reports to facilitate negotiation. Their reports are reworked, based on council discussions, until agreement is reached. In a sense these committees (there are seven, ranging from one on violence to fundamental rights in the transition) happen to go some way to meeting Inkatha's call for the final constitution to be written by a committee of wise men.

The constitutional committee's second report notes "broad agreement that the most suitable form of government for the future will involve the allocation of powers to central and regional governments." As requested by the council, they examine on a "holistic basis" the interrelated issues of constitutional principles, regional powers and functions, the constitution-making process and how council discussions of these issues can best be structured.

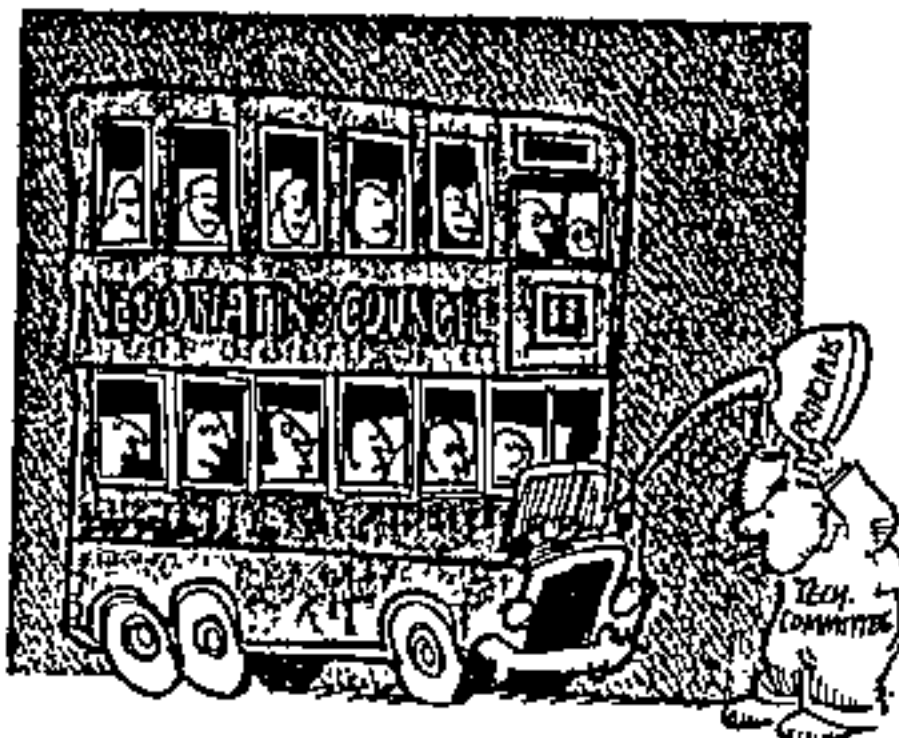
Drawing on party submissions and the work done at Codesa, suggestions are made in a broader context which takes in the issues of self-determination, the form of state and the constitution-making process.

The report notes that debate on the constitution-making process and regional powers and functions, based on written submissions from participants, could be tense. On the one hand, there's concern as to the legitimacy of the constitution-making process by those who say the constitution should be written by a democratically elected body. On the other, there are those concerned that their interests

will not adequately be protected if decisions are taken by a majority in such a body.

Could the two be reconciled through a set of constitutional principles, to be binding on the subsequently elected body and to provide sufficient assurances to those (minority) parties with fears?

Yes, says the committee: "The key to unlocking these differences and moving the process forward is to develop a set of constitutional principles." These, it adds, should be sufficient to offer assurances "without being so detailed as to pre-empt the work of an elected constitution-making body. They should guarantee that the constitution will be democratic in substance as well as in



form, that basic rights will be respected and upheld, and that mechanisms will exist to prevent the abuse of power by the government of the day."

The principles should incorporate basic rights of political participation, multiparty democracy, checks and balances, separation of powers and secure state/provincial/regional representation in order to ensure the protection of minority and regional interests. They should provide a clear framework for the drafting and adoption of a future constitution.

However, it is suggested that the principles should not have the character of constitutional provisions as such, but should establish clear parameters within which the constitution must be drafted.

They must also be formulated in clear language, capable of effective judicial interpretation and adjudication.

The committee says that with a few exceptions consensus has so far emerged on:

- Democracy in the form of universal adult suffrage at all levels of government (the report was written before ANC president Nelson Mandela threw votes for 14-year-olds into the pot);
- Supremacy of a rigid constitution, whereby the validity of all laws and acts of government is made subject to consistency with the constitution, and such consistency being justiciable by an independent judiciary;
- The inclusion in the constitution of a set of fundamental rights, authoritatively protecting the individual in a non-discriminatory manner against the State and all its organs;
- Separation of executive, legislative and

judicial powers;

- Constitutional distribution of powers of government among democratically elected national, regional and local institutions; and
- Constitutional recognition and accommodation of the variety of cultures, religions and languages.

On regionalism, the committee says it is evident that most parties consider the form of state as a matter directly linked to the way in which powers and functions of the State are distributed on central, regional and local level, and the way in which these powers and functions are exercised.

A primary observation is that all states in the world, unitary or federal, must and do decentralise some powers and functions in order to govern effectively. The major difference between unitary and federal states is that in the former the central government retains the ultimate say (even if it cannot act at will).

The committee concludes that there is no universally accepted definition of federalism. It is not convinced that, in a discussion of the form of state, it would be useful or possible to use preconceived concepts such as unitary or federal states. "A more expeditious way of dealing with the matter of the form of state would be to consider all those separate issues which have a bearing on the form of state."

There is not much comfort in the report for the Conservative Party's confederal demands. A confederation is not a form of state, it says, since a confederation by definition is a combination of separate, independent states which in effect co-operate according to the rules of international law. Those who favour confederation are asked for more clarity on their proposals, in particular the territory and population of the envisaged separate state, and how they will meet international law requirements of secession and self-determination.

Regarding the integrity and viability of regions, the committee believes consideration should be given to the need for special procedures for amending the boundaries, powers and functions of regions. This could include a special role for regions when changes are made affecting their sphere.

It stands to reason that regions will have divergent financial and developmental capabilities, says the report. Provision could be made for a fiscal commission to be involved in the allocation process, and for an objective standard to be followed, which would be justiciable and guard against power abuse.

The committee asked for greater debate by the negotiators on the question of exclusive, concurrent and residual powers; and more explanation from particular participants of what they have in mind on "asymmetry" of powers.

There appear to be mutually exclusive approaches to the constitution-making process, which in turn affects the process of transition. Allowing for differences in emphasis and detail, there are two broad camps.

On constitution-making — those (the ANC camp) who want an elected assembly

to act as a constitution-making body, as opposed to those (Inkatha/Cosag) who want the present negotiating forum to have that task.

On the transition — those who want it done in one phase (Inkatha), as opposed to those who want two or more phases (ANC and government).

The committee called for "significant resolution" on this matter if progress is to be made.

Historically, says the committee, the two predictable modes of constitution-making have come to be: *pourvoir constituent*, where a new constitution comes into being after a revolution or collapse of the old regime, and *pourvoir constitutive*, where the existing order is amended and thus the new order derives its legitimacy and continuity from the old. The present impasse exhibits features of both.

Suggested ideas for reconciling disputes: a special role for regions in the formal amendment procedure of the constitution, especially on matters affecting regions; the concept of regional representation in the central legislature; a list of justiciable criteria limiting the party at the centre from penalising regional opponents; and agreed criteria for the determination of regional boundaries and powers.

In addition, justiciable and binding constitutional principles, special majorities and entrenched and justiciable rights are suggested as a means of reaching consensus.

NEGOTIATIONS are poised to move into their most critical phase yet as participants gear themselves for a week in which the country could know when it will go to the polls in its first ever democratic elections.

Yesterday exhausted negotiating council members had to cut short their work.

But both ANC secretary-general Cyril Ramaphosa and Constitutional Development Minister Roelf Meyer were optimistic that an election date could be set at a negotiating forum meeting on Thursday.

However, both cautioned that a lot of work

lay ahead and the Inkatha Freedom Party's Dr Frank Mdlalose expressed concern at the "galloping" pace and a failure to get to grips with the issue of violence.

The seeds of a far-reaching compromise between those parties concerned at the process to be followed towards a new dispensation and those apparently reluctant to embrace regionalism have also been sown.

Ramaphosa indicated Tuesday's negotiating council meeting would be critical. It will deal with the constitution-making process, and a clear linkage between ANC compromises on regionalism and an IFP shift on how the process should run has begun to emerge.

Ramaphosa said agreement could be reached if there was "linkage between constitutional principles and the constitution-making process. Therein lies an area for settlement. If we can reach progress on Tuesday, I think we can arrive at an election date on Thursday."

Truncated

Meyer said that from the Government's perspective, "we can still say it (an announcement on Thursday) is still attainable." He cautioned "extensive debate" lay ahead and also expressed concern "that we have not made significant progress on the violence issue".

emergency session to discuss the arrests of PAC members.

The fragility of the process had been thrown into sharp relief by the raids. The spotlight has now moved to the PAC national executive committee meeting today in Johannesburg. In terms of a joint statement by PAC secretary-general Benny Alexander and Meyer, the PAC undertook to "discuss its commitment to armed action and its position on violence".

The organisation further undertook to give "a clear unambiguous report" on these positions at a meeting with the Government on Tuesday. The Government agreed to release certain key PAC members and return those documents police had seized and which were not required for investigations.

PAC sources said the organisation was unlikely to suspend its armed struggle or to sign the National Peace Accord after the NEC meeting. However, it may commit itself to peace.

Government sources have indicated that it would press for compliance to earlier resolutions taken by the negotiating council. These resolutions committed parties to peace and barred them from further participation if they did not do so.

The talks

FROM PAGE 1

Felgate. The 15-member commission on regions was also appointed during the day.

It will make recommendations within six weeks on the delimitation of regions for elections as well as their implications for the "structures of the constitution".

There was considerable relief among negotiators that a potential crisis had been defused yesterday when the Government and PAC emerged from an early-morning meeting with a compromise agreement.

It allowed the PAC to stay in the process and was hailed by key negotiators as an indication of the resilience now inherent in negotiations.

"It was an indication that the negotiating council's roots are firmly anchored," Meyer said. "It was the first time the resumed process had been subjected to these types of demands."

"The fact that all parties are at the end of the week still at the table is in itself significant," he said.

Ramaphosa said that although Law and Order Minister Hernus Kriel had tried to "sabotage" negotiations, they had been salvaged by Thursday's

Critical week for election date

Monday will be make-up-break day

Yesterday's debate on the technical committee's report on violence was truncated after several negotiators raised concerns about its contents. A proposal by Meyer that the technical committee expand its report to indicate what conditions were necessary to eliminate violence was adopted. It will report back on Tuesday. Meyer was supported by Ramaphosa and IFP negotiator Walter

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Freecom — but from what?

South 29/5 -216/93

Much publicity has been given to the Free Cape Movement since it's inception last year. Yet, with national negotiations at a fairly advanced stage, little is known about what this movement will do if it's leaders do not like the outcome.

CHRISTELLE TERREBLANCHE looks at the available evidence:

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THE FREE Cape Movement's militant language has toned down slightly, but there has been no commitment from them on the process of negotiations.

Instead they are quick to say they are not politicians. This is confusing.

The Movement's mission statement, drafted by prominent politicians, including Mr Roger Hulle, DP MP for Constantia and Mr Willem Steenkamp, NP member of the President's Council, reads like this:

"To obtain for the unique Western Cape Region the greatest degree of freedom and self-government in a future South Africa, so that all Cape people, regardless of race, colour, creed or gender can control their own political and economic destiny."

To prove this uniqueness, they claim the region is "a mature and war-free society, unlike the rest of the country". They also claim: "We are the people of the Western Cape."

The question remains: What does the Movement intend to do to achieve this goal?

The Movement claims to have nearly 10 000 members, of which



CAPE CRUSADER: Christopher Hill, chairperson of the Free Cape Movement, makes his feelings clear

So what are they going to do with this support, the alliance and the "referendum"?

"There are no talks," says current chairperson Mr Christopher Hill, an ex-Zimbabwean born in Scotland, when asked whether he thinks elections should take place next year.

"The whole thing has been decided between the government and the ANC and they are just going through the motions."

Hill believes the Movement can have little impact on negotiations. Yet, it styles itself as a pressure group and claims to have had bilateral talks with a wide range of politicians, including administrator of the Cape Mr Kobus Meiring and Cape NP leader Mr Dawie de Villiers.

"These people admit that there is little or no difference between us, but they won't come out openly to support us," Hill laments.

Asked about where the movement stands in the political spectrum, Hill

ducks the issue. He eventually says he regards everything left of the NP akin to "Joe Stalin himself".

"We are very definitely anti-socialist," he later states.

Throwing out lines like: "we are sick and tired of being told what to do" and "all dictators are equally bad, whether they are white or black", Hill comes over more like Jimmy Swaggart than a politician.

Among the prominent members of the Movement are Mr Robert Hall, a controversial American businessman who settled on a Western Cape farm and Mr Nic Myburgh, Western Cape IFP leader, previously associated with government intelligence.

Hill claims well-known figures from both the ANC and NP will soon join openly, among them an unidentified deputy minister.

According to him the Movement's powerbase includes people from all walks of life, but few young people. At it's meetings a significant

'We will destroy the squatters with prosperity'

amount of German speakers and ex-Rhodesians have been spotted.

Hill claims coloured membership is growing, because of the "fear of violence" and "the squatter problem".

So what does the movement intend to do about these problems?

Once autonomous, the Western Cape will be able to limit the effect of the violence, they claim. Regarding the squatters, Hill says: "We will destroy the squatters with prosperity, because they are consumers."

This is an interesting statement. The language is militant capitalist, it presupposes growth and wealth and it states that squatters are useful to the movement's leaders.

Reading between the lines, it becomes clear the movement's main objective is to keep Western Cape resources put. Hill believes the region could become a kind of California, with even its own foreign representation.

And this is where the most ambiguous part of the Movement comes in. Although claiming to be federalists, their language clearly suggest they are secessionists. A number of politicians have described this as disturbing, because following this line could lead to violence and economic decline.

Hill denies secessionist tendencies, saying the movement's definition of federalism is more accurate than that of other parties and organisations.

His only explanation is a question: "Why is the ANC/SACP alliance so afraid of federalism?"

Bomber talks of peace

ARG 29/5/93 (304A)

SELF-CONFESSED school bomber Mr Koos Botha, Conservative Party MP for Vonderboom, has made a remarkable journey between two worlds — from the politics of violence to the politics of negotiation.

There was a time — less than two years ago — when he believed violence was the only option left to rightwing Afrikaners. Today he is actively involved in negotiations for an end to violence and for a peaceful settlement at the World Trade Centre, Kempton Park.

He is now a member of the moderate rightwing party, the Afrikaner Volksunie (AVU), led by breakaway former Conservative Party MP Mr Andries Botha. Mr Koos Botha has taken part in recent negotiations with ANC leader Mr Nelson Mandela and is a member of the AVU's delegation to the multi-party constitutional negotiations.

What makes Mr Botha's political transformation all the more remarkable is the message he has brought about the fruits of violence, and the futility of it all.

One of the hardest lessons he learnt was that the person who gets into trouble through acts of violence has no friends. He is deserted even by the tough-talking politicians or activists who encourage such acts.

"I was on my own," Mr Botha told Parliament last year in an amazing speech in which he admitted he blew up a Pretoria school, claiming he had been inspired to do so by the Conservative Party leadership. Referring to his arrest and appearance in a Pretoria court, he said: "That day in court I looked desperately around me to find my comrades-in-arms. I was on my own, however. That was the loneliest moment of my life."

■ A warning has come from a man who has experienced the futility of political violence: Beware of war-talk from self-styled, tough-talking heroes of South Africa's crisis — they will be the first to let you down when the going gets tough.

FRANS ESTERHUYSE
Weekend Argus Political Correspondent

The saddest of all was the feeling that I had been completely abandoned."

In his office at Parliament this week, Mr Botha said that "an axe" was still hanging over him and his future as he continued his activities as politician, parliamentarian and negotiator.

His trial for his alleged involvement in the July 1991 bombing of Hillview School, Pretoria, which was to have housed exiled ANC children, has been postponed to August 16, he said.

In the meantime he has applied for indemnity in terms of the government's indemnity legislation, and was still awaiting the outcome.

"If I am not granted indemnity, the law will take its course," Mr Botha said.

Mr Botha was arrested on April 29 last year. He subsequently appeared in court. The case against him and four other men charged with terrorism was postponed.

Before flying off to another round of multi-party talks in Kempton Park this week, Mr Botha spoke of his fears that political violence could reduce the country to a wasteland and of his belief in peaceful negotiations as the only option for South Africans.

He said he and his political colleagues in the AVU had decided to sign the Peace Accord and intended to get fully involved in the negotiation process.

"I think we must all be serious in our pursuit of peace. All responsible parties must now stand together and save what can be saved. It is certainly not acceptable that people practise violence while taking part in a negotiation process."

Mr Botha was elected as Conservative Party MP for Vonderboom in the 1989 general election. In March 1992 he took leadership for saying in a speech the time had come for Afrikaners to negotiate their future with all relevant parties, including the ANC.

The outcome of his clash with the CP leadership was that he was expelled from the party, and became an independent MP.

He joined the AVU about a month ago because he felt he shared the views of the AVU members who had broken away from the CP. They were people who wanted to get away from racism and who believed in positive negotiations for Afrikaner self-determination.

Mr Botha said he was in favour of a federal system in which Afrikaners could feel at home in at least two regions — one in the Pretoria/Eastern Transvaal region, and the other in the Western Cape, stretching from Humansdorp to the West Coast and up to the Orange River.

On the AVU's talks last week with Mr Nelson Mandela and other members of the ANC, Mr Botha said he found a "positive" response from the ANC to the AVU's proposals. Agreement



□ **KOOS QUILTS:** Mr Koos Botha, the Conservative Party's Member of Parliament recently charged with the bombing of a school that had been set aside for the use of returning political exiles, poses outside Parliament in Cape Town after quitting Parliament pending the outcome of his trial.

ment was reached on establishing a joint committee with the ANC for further talks.

"There is a 10-to-one chance that next year this time Mr Nelson Mandela will be presi-

dent of the Republic of South Africa," Mr Botha said. "In my view his success as a president will depend on the measure to which he accommodates the demands of the Afrikaner. An

orderly settlement is possible, but if he thinks he can wipe us off the table he will not be a good president. Instead we would then be likely to have much drama and little peace."

PAC and state ⁽³⁰⁴⁷⁾ defuse crisis situation

Weekend Argus Correspondent

JOHANNESBURG. — The government and Pan Africanist Congress have defused a negotiations crisis with a far-reaching agreement on violence and on the arrests of PAC members.

After a 90-minute meeting at the World Trade Centre yesterday morning, the government and the PAC announced that:

■ The government would release PAC national executive committee members Mr Thomas Likotsi, Mr Waters Thoboti and Dr Solly Skosana immediately.

■ PAC political affairs secretary and negotiator Mr Jacki Seroke was to be charged with possessing an unlicensed firearm and brought to court yesterday.

■ A further report on national executive committee (NEC) members Mr Enoch Zulu, Mr Maxwell Nemadzivhanani and Mr Abel Dube would be submitted to a PAC-government meeting on June 1.

■ The SAP would return equipment and material seized from the PAC and not required for further investigation or prosecution.

For its part, the PAC made the highly significant step of undertaking to discuss its "commitment to armed action and its position on violence" at a meeting of its NEC tomorrow.

It would report back to the June 1 bilateral meeting with "a clear, unambiguous report on its positions in this regard", said a joint statement issued by the Minister of Constitutional Development, Roelf Meyer, and PAC secretary-general, Benny Alexander.

Talks set to move to most critical phase yet

■ From page 1.

tion date on Thursday."

Mr Meyer said: "From the government's perspective we can still say it (an announcement on Thursday) is still attainable."

But, he cautioned that "extensive debate" lay ahead and also expressed concern at "the fact that we have not made significant progress on the violence issue".

Yesterday's debate on the technical committee's report on violence was cut short after several negotiators raised concerns about its contents.

A proposal by Mr Meyer that the technical committee should expand its report to indicate what conditions were necessary to eliminate violence was adopted. It will report back on Tuesday.

Mr Meyer was supported by Mr Ramaphosa and IFP negotiator Mr Walter Felgate.

The 15-member commission on regions was also appointed during the day.

It will make recommendations within six weeks on the delimitation of regions for elections as well as their implications for the "structures of the constitution".

The commission has to make recommendations on the delimitation of regions within six weeks of its establishment.

The commission's co-chairmen are Mr Bax Nomvete and Professor Flip Smit. Other members are Professor Deon Basson, Ms Ann Bernstein, Mr Paul Daphne, Mr A du Plessis, Ms Betty Govinden, Ms Lulu Gwagwa, Mr Justice J A M Khumalo, Dr Evonne Muthien, Chief Ncamashe-Burns, Professor W Nkuhlu, Professor I Rautenbach, Mr Koos Reyneke and Professor Anna Steyn.

There was considerable relief among negotiators that a potential crisis had been defused yesterday when the government and PAC emerged from an early-morning meeting with a compromise agreement.

It allowed the PAC to stay in the process and was hailed by key negotiators as an indication of the resilience now inherent in negotiations.

Mr Meyer said: "It was an indication that the negotiating council's roots were firmly anchored."

Mr Ramaphosa said that although Law and Order Minister Mr Hernus Kriel had tried to "sabotage" negotiations they had been salvaged by the Thursday emergency session.

Talks set for most critical phase . . .

Weekend Argus Political Staff

NEGOTIATIONS are poised to move into their most critical phase yet as participants gear themselves for a week in which the country could know when it will go to the polls in its first democratic elections.

Yesterday, exhausted negotiating council members had to cut short their work, but both African National Congress secretary-general Mr. Cyril Ramaphosa and Constitutional Development Minister Mr. Roelf Meyer were optimistic that an election date could be set at a negotiating forum meeting on Thursday.

However, both cautioned that a lot of work lay ahead and the Inkatha Freedom Party's Dr. Frank Mdlalose expressed concern at the "galloping" pace and a failure to get to grips with the issue of violence.

The seeds of a far-reaching compromise between those parties concerned at the process to be followed toward a new dispensation and those apparently reluctant to embrace regionalism also have been sown.

Mr. Ramaphosa indicated that Tuesday's negotiating council meeting would be critical.

It would deal with the constitution-making process, and a clear linkage between ANC compromises on regionalism and an IFP shift on how the process should run had begun to emerge.

Mr. Ramaphosa said agreement could be reached if there was "linkage between constitutional principals and the constitution-making process."

"If we can reach progress on Tuesday I think we can arrive at an elec-

■ To page 3.

Mandela rules out pessimism

Weekend Argus Correspondent

JOHANNESBURG. — Anyone who stayed out of South Africa's negotiations would be politically sidelined, ANC president Mr Nelson Mandela said yesterday. (30419)

Speaking at a Press conference at the ANC head office here, Mr Mandela said that in spite of the recent drama in multiparty negotiations after this week's arrest of PAC members, "there is no reason to be pessimistic about the future".

"You will notice the way we (negotiators) handled demands

like self-determination from the right wing ... and the PAC crisis, in spite of sharp differences. ARG 29/5/93

"I am optimistic ... the democratic process is strong enough to weather all storms."

Mr Mandela was conciliatory when he was asked if he still trusted the government after Tuesday's police raids on PAC members.

"This should not lead to any extraordinary panic," he said, and in an apparent reference to the PAC's threat to withdraw from negotiations, added: "Anyone who stays out of the

process will definitely be sidelined."

Asked about a meeting with IFP leader Chief Mangosuthu Buthelezi, Mr Mandela said he had been prepared to meet the Inkatha leader after King Goodwill Zwelithini reportedly volunteered his services as facilitator.

The king, however, had apparently been misquoted and a meeting was therefore not possible.

The ANC leader said, violence was a feature of the kind of transition South Africa was going through.

Will PAC clamp- down wreck negotiations?

South 2915 - 216193

By Christelle Terreblanche

WHILE state president FW de Klerk said the raid on PAC and Apla members this week had no political motive, the political consequences could be critical for the peace process.

Some observers do not believe him and suggest the raid could be a calculated effort to destabilise both the National Party and the liberation movements.

They point to an ongoing power struggle between so-called hawks and doves in the NP in which Minister of Law order Hennis Kriel is said to play a leading role.

But during his question time in parliament on Wednesday, De Klerk said he was informed about the raid on Monday night when it was already in progress.

"It was not necessary for Kriel to seek my approval, since the police had prima facie evidence that the people apprehended were involved in serious crimes," he said.

But MP's close to the negotiation process still want to know why the government's and NP negotiators, Mr Roelf Meyer and Dr Dawie de Villicers, were not informed, bearing in mind the political ramifications of the action.

Some even say it was tantamount to banning the PAC.

"There is no need for this to

derail negotiations, once the law takes its normal course", De Klerk countered.

But opposition MP's are concerned that the government is not in a position to invoke the full force of the law.

"If in the next few days the people apprehended, especially the leaders, are not formally charged in court, the government would have serious problems on its hands", says Mr Peter Gastrow, DP spokesperson for Law and Order.

"If they are brought to court on serious charges, then the process need not derail. If they don't and even if the process stays on track, the police will have even less credibility during the transition than before."

"If PAC leaders are jailed for less than very serious offences and withdraw from negotiations, the ANC will most likely also withdraw in solidarity," says Jan van Eck, Independent MP for Claremont and ANC member.

The action has brought to the fore severe differences in emphasis inside the government.

While De Klerk has said the negotiation process and the maintenance of law and order are of equal importance, Kriel has said several times in parliament that there can be no election as long as violence continues.

South 29/5 - 2/6/83

Local monitors can play a vital role

South Africa is not the only country where violence has the potential to disrupt a free and fair election.

International speakers at the Durban conference included experts from Kenya, Chile, the Philippines, Lesotho, Zambia and Northern Ireland.

There were also speakers from countries monitoring the situation in South Africa for the United Nations or Commonwealth.

Of special interest for South Africans trying to cope with endemic violence were contributions from Chile, Kenya, the Philippines and Northern Ireland.

Mr Brian Feney, an executive member of the Social Democratic

Labour Party of Northern Ireland, said: "Violence is not a reason for not having an election. You tend to find that people who are involved in violence don't want elections anyway, and it's a way of disrupting proceedings," Feney said.

"Elections don't guarantee solutions. They do, however, provide you with a tool with which to begin addressing problems."

He also stressed the importance of parties being involved in the process because "if you are not involved, you can walk away".

Feney presented a mind-boggling scenario of the violence in Northern Ireland which made South African events pale by comparison.

304A In Ireland there were constant problems with security forces. And because the society was so divided, it was fairly easy to prevent or delay voters from getting to the polls.

Security forces erected roadblocks in certain areas on election day, which was tantamount to affecting the vote of a certain party.

"This is a subtle form of intimidation because even if the security forces are exceptionally polite, the mere presence of heavily-armed men is enough to frighten some people," Feney said.

"Others get tired of waiting in the queue caused by the roadblock and decide to turn back and go home."

"There are many forms of intimidation. Putting a polling station in the wrong place is tantamount to disenfranchising people. People must feel safe going there."

Feney stressed the importance of domestic election monitoring and observing teams, saying there were all kinds of signals that only local people could pick up and realise something was wrong.

He said electoral fraud was rife in Northern Ireland. "Dead people always vote in our elections."

Only domestic monitors could check voters' rolls before elections to ensure the names of the dead had been removed.

14 Voter education Monitoring body for elections

A conference on election monitoring and observing in Durban last week set in motion the establishment of a domestic elections monitoring organisation in South Africa.

More than 200 delegates from across the political spectrum adopted a proposal giving the Independent Forum for Electoral Education a mandate to initiate the setting up of a domestic monitoring organisation.

Opening addresses at the gathering were delivered by Dr Oscar Dhlomo and Dr Beyers Naude.

Stressing the vital need for election monitoring and observing in South Africa, Dhlomo said the unconditional acceptance of election results was even more important in the case of minority parties or those that lose elections.

"They should be given no reason to cry foul," he said.

Dhlomo said research done by the Institute for Multi-Party Democracy, which he heads, showed there was little awareness among political organisations of the need for an independent, non-governmental organisation to be involved in domestic election monitoring than of the need for international observers.

This was reinforced by many international speakers at the conference who said domestic monitors and observers were crucial to complement international groups performing the same function.

They said no-one was better equipped to spot some types of election fraud than the people of the country themselves.

It would be hard for international observers to spot if refugees were being imported for voting purposes, for example. It would also be difficult for them to spot intimidation given that it was very subtle and could only be understood within the context of a comprehensive knowledge of the customs of a country.

Naude's address focused on issues which could impact on monitoring activities.

He referred to the endemic vio-

lence, crisis in black education, frustrations at grassroots about delays in the negotiations process and massive unemployment.

Naude said these issues might pose a threat immediately after elections if nothing was done to address them now.

"If this crisis in black education is not solved very soon, our country may be sitting on a time bomb. It may become difficult to control the forces of anger and aggression which have built up over many years of failure to address the legitimate demands of black people," he said.

He also said unemployment in South Africa was being viewed as

a normal fact of life even where it was blatantly abnormal. In Alexandra township, for example, there was a population of about 300 000 with 65 percent unemployed.

"What effect has this on the youth who may decide 'to hell with a negotiated constitution, I want bread!'" Naude said.

He appealed to political negotiators to address the growing frustration at grassroots level at the delay in achieving a final solution.

"Please take care that all the valuable work done is not jeopardised by a lack of faith on the part of people who feel, 'these people are just playing games'."



BUSY BUT BLIND: Although these international UN monitors play a vital role in elections, local monitors are still needed

Election date to be set soon — Eglin

VICTORIA FALLS — An election date will be announced soon in South Africa in order to have majority rule in place by next April, Democratic Party national chairman Colin Eglin told a Zimbabwe Chamber of Mines congress at a venue near the Victoria Falls yesterday.

Eglin said that although there had been no shift in most of the statutes, a shift in "de facto political power" had been achieved,

with the National Party Government consulting the ANC on most issues in the country.

Recent murders and massacres in South Africa signified a growing rift between the negotiating partners on the one hand and frustrated militant supporters on the other.

"This has tended to delay the negotiating process," he said.

Eglin, who is part of the DP's negotiating team at the multi-party talks, said the Government's crackdown on PAC officials, although not surprising, had been very badly timed.

"It was done just as we were preparing to attend the talks. Those of us who were involved in the process were shattered, considering how hard it was to pull the PAC to the negotiating table," he said. — Sapa.

New hot

seat at

Trade

Centre

**ESTHER WAUGH and
CHRIS WHITFIELD**

A WEEK of political turmoil has exposed a yawning gap between the Government's negotiators at the World Trade Centre and some of their Cabinet colleagues. (304A)

Top Government sources are adamant that the differences are more about style than substance, and that talk of a split should be ignored.

However, their political opponents believe that hawks in the Cabinet are bent on destroying, or at least manipulating, the process.

Baptism of fire

Government sources said differences existed between those who had been exposed to "the mood of South Africa" at the World Trade Centre and those in Parliament who were exposed only to "the mood of whites".

At the World Trade Centre, Kriel faced a baptism of fire at the Negotiating Council on Thursday night — the first time he had attended a council meeting.

Of more political significance was the fact that it was the first time a Cabinet Minister had

● TO PAGE 2.

Hot seat

● FROM PAGE 1.

had to account for his and his department's actions before the Negotiating Council. Kriel was warned by ANC secretary-general Cyril Ramaphosa that it could be repeated. (304A)

The flip side of the coin is that it has created a precedent — one apparently insisted on by the Government — and other parties can also be called to give account of their actions.

Kriel fared poorly in the session. He appeared to deliberately duck questions, particularly those on why he did not inform Minister of Constitutional Development Roelf Meyer and the other Ministers at the

negotiating table.

He was subjected to harsh criticism, especially from Ramaphosa, and he was told that he was a danger to negotiations. SACP chairman Joe Slovo said the "best service" Kriel could do for the negotiating process was to resign.

The fact that constitutional talks are still on track is due in no small measure to the commitment by all groups to negotiations.

The Patriotic Front members in the Negotiating Council urged the PAC to remain in the process and not to fall into "the trap set by Kriel".

The PAC was still there yesterday. Kriel was not, his place once again being filled by Roelf Meyer. Has Kriel fallen into his own trap?

Enoitive

ney. Looking thin. unsha-

One 14-year-old, one ballot?

'Rather let us drive cars'

Hard to penetrate the bubble gum

A RANDOM survey

has disclosed that middle-class white 14-year-olds would rather have the age limit for driving licences lowered than be given the vote.

They also know more about the plots of TV soap operas than the state of the nation.

Giggling self-consciously, while biting their nails and coyly squirming in their seats, a group of white, middle-class teenagers from the south of Johannesburg proudly professed absolute ignorance of the political situation in their country.

What becomes clear is that they do not want the vote, do not care if they are given the vote and would probably not even exercise their right to vote if handed to them on compact discs. The general response to questions of a political nature were: "Uh ... I don't know."

LOUISE MARSLAND

think he was with Inkatha," said Natasha, flicking back her glossy mane of hair.

When Jason asked why Mandela had been freed from prison, another answered that it was because his life sentence "was finished".

The one exception who boasted that he knew what giving 14-year-olds the vote would mean was "the boof" of the group, Warren Adams (15), who said he watched a lot of television news. "Some kids are aware that Nelson Mandela wants us to vote because he wants to

get the younger blacks to vote for him. They aren't so well educated and Mandela could brainwash them," he said confidently.

To him, the most important political leaders are F W de Klerk, Mandela and "Whatsname" (Buthelezi). "But we would rather go out with our friends and play cricket," he admitted.

Lana believes that the voting age should be left at 18, even though, in her opinion, most 18-year-olds also did not know much about what was going on, especially her older brother and his friends who "talked rubbish all the time".

HEY kid, d'ya wanna vote? JOE LOUW and LOUISE MARSLAND bounced the question off some 14-year-olds and came away wondering what the ANC could possibly have had in mind when he suggested lowering the voting age. When the names Mandela and De Klerk pierced the adolescent haze, it did not lead to a political discussion — it made them giggle ...

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LOUW and LOUISE MARSLAND

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IF EITHER Nelson Mandela or F W de Klerk were to make it past most Soweto 14-year-olds they'd have to be able to rap like MC Hammer, dribble a ball better than "Shoes" Moshoeu and read comics.

No amount of talk about democratic government or electoral responsibility will do. Most kids that age just chew their bubble gum intently, and if that kind of talk goes on even one sentence more, they simply blow a bubble, and when it pops they're out of there ... double time. In an afternoon of

JOE LOUW

searching, I tried in vain to have a discussion about politics with 14-year-olds. Most just stuck their fingers in their mouths and giggled.

I found two — Moses and Sechaba, both Std 5 pupils in Klipspruit — on their way from a chore.

Did they know who Mandela was? Of course. And FW? "Who? A white man," comes the response from Sechaba. What does FW do? "Well, he's a white man who is ... uh." Did either know what it means to vote? "Yes," says Moses. "It is to say ..." — then sit

lence. Who would they choose? "Mandela." It's unequivocal. But neither could explain why.

Thandeka Twala is in Std 6, parents both professionals, wants to be a chemical engineer, does well at school, likes rap music and magazines. Very likeable. But she just doesn't like or have any interest in politics, she says. What if she had to choose between FW, Mandela and MC Hammer? She hedges her bets. "All of them."

Gabisile of Dobsonville goes to school in Mayfair. She likes *Upbeat* magazine, maths and English and her favourite TV car-toon is Mickey Mouse.

Asked about politics, she giggles, hides behind other kids, then bolts.

What soon became clear was that Mandela made an astute suggestion with his proposal that 14-year-olds should be allowed to vote. Once his name was mentioned, support for him was solid. I couldn't find a single kid in Soweto who said they'd vote for FW. So I tried another tack. What if Mandela told them to vote for FW? No ways. Even Johnson Ramotsoa, a Grade 1 dropout, shakes his head. "Okay, what if somebody gave them R100 to vote for FW? Nope, it was Mandela every time.

In fact, they know more about their cricket heroes and favourite actors than the policies of the politicians. And they are more worried about the loads of homework forced on them, and the lack of their parents' ability to help them, than having a say in running the country.

Jason Murphy (14) of Brackendowns said he was not interested in voting. "We don't have enough insight. All I know is that blacks and whites are fighting and we will probably have civil war ... I wonder who would win?" he mused.

Another youngster, Stuart Chase (14), could not name the leaders of the various political parties, he managed to identify — the NP, DP and KP. "We'd vote for who our parents do," he said.

The most important thing to Lana Richie and Natasha Bredenkamp, both in Std 8 at Mondeor High, is to get through school, have fun and wear the trendiest clothes when they go to the mall.

"We hear what is going on from our parents, but I'm not really interested in politics," said Natasha. Her friend Lana replied that when her parents started discussing politics, she left the room.

They are more concerned at how many black kids each had in their schools and the vague "civil war" that was sure to come from all the blacks and whites fighting each other.

"Who was Chris Hani again?" asked one teenager, mildly curious. "I

Poll: White support for NP lowest

By BARRY STREEK
Political Staff

A HUGE drop in white support for the National Party had reached its lowest ebb yet at one in four whites, a new opinion poll has found.

Support for the NP has slid from about 40% of voters in October to 26% among white men and 25% among white women, the April poll found.

Research Surveys' Omnichack division, which released the results yesterday, found that the support for the Conservative Party had increased, particularly among white men, from 21% to 29%.

However, CP support was still not as high as that in the late 1980s. The 43% support given to the NP by white males in October last year, dropped to 30% in March this year.

and 26% in April, while CP support grew from 21% in October to 23% in March and 29% in April.

The 39% support given to the NP by white women in October last year, dropped to 31% in March and 25% in April. CP support was 16% in October and March, rising to 19% in April.

In April, 17% of white men and 27% of white women did not know which party they would support.

The Democratic Party received 1% backing among white men and 4% among white women. The Inkatha Freedom Party received the same level of support. The ANC received 1% of support among both white men and white women.

The poll was conducted among 500 white men and 800 white women in the main metropolitan areas.

SA 'likely to rejoin Commonwealth'

30419

CT 29/5/13

By AUDREY D'ANGELO
Business Editor

SA IS likely to rejoin the Commonwealth once a fully representative government is in place, Commonwealth Secretary General Emeka Anyaoku said in Cape Town yesterday.

He told a media briefing, between sessions of the World Economic Forum at the Mount Nelson, that — once a date for elections had been set and there was agreement among the leading political players — "a quick consultation" would allow for the lifting of economic sanctions by Commonwealth members.

Discussing the outlook for southern Africa as a whole Trevor Manuel, head of the ANC Economics Department, said the mindset that SA would be the locomotive for economic growth and that "everybody must dance to our tune" must be changed.

And Adewale Sangowawa, vice-president of the African Develop-

ment Bank, from the Ivory Coast, pointed out that at present the problems and needs of SA's own economy were enormous.

"We don't see the SA economy dominating those of neighbouring countries. We see SA becoming part of a regional economy in which each will complement the other."

But, Sangowawa said, SA industry would have to become more competitive in world terms. The effect of sanctions and protective tariffs had made it inefficient.

However, Sangowawa said he expected SA to become a strong member of the African Development Bank and one of its beneficiaries. "We cannot talk of the integration of this sub-region without SA."

World Bank vice-president Edward Jaycox said his recently reported comments that the bank was ready to lend SA \$1bn under a new political dispensation had been based on the fact that "we have been working on possible de-

velopment projects in SA worth about \$1bn."

"But this is not a pledge and does not indicate anything about possible levels of lending to SA."

"Lending will be open-ended, given the needs of the country and its economic performance, and has to be within its creditworthiness."

Jaycox said it was difficult to say which institutions these projects could be launched through. Many SA institutions "are either in transition or are not accepted by all."

Archibald Mogwe, Botswana's acting Minister of Commerce and Industry, Kumbirai Kangai, Zimbabwe's Minister of Agriculture and Ronald Penza, Zambia's Minister of Finance said they expected SA to join the SA Development Conference (Sadec) countries as an equal member.

These countries would eventually form a region in which there would be free trade with no Customs barriers and no need for passports to cross each other's borders.

Crossing the threshold

S1 Times 30/5/93

STANLEY MOCOGA castigates political leaders for the lack of direction they are showing at this crucial juncture

THE fragile peace process is being seriously threatened by a number of events that have occurred in the closing days of this month.

Those who look at South Africa from outside are beginning to have doubts about whether we are a normal country. The lack of direction and cohesion, and the way different parties and political organisations are simply "doing their own thing", is causing chaos.

At this time, there is no need for armed marches, pre-dawn swoops, Apla attacks on civilians or education boycotts when the real issue is negotiation. And the process of negotiation is so far down the line that even the most myopic of politicians and military strategists should realise that resorting to violence will only delay us crossing the threshold into a new South Africa, and further harden the hearts of those who do not desire peace, justice and reconciliation.

The sheer volume of violent incidents — all totally unnecessary — that have occurred do not speak of a nation whose leaders pledged themselves to peace, justice and reconciliation when they signed the Peace Accord.

Indeed, the manner in which

the leaders who signed that accord have allowed their followers to run amok, treating life with scant regard, leads one to wonder whether they really understand the implications and consequences of committing themselves to a new South Africa in which peace will reign.

I call on these leaders, and their followers, to demonstrate their integrity by coming out strongly in favour of peace. No act of violence can be condoned, whoever the perpetrator.

Three major incidents in the last weeks could either separately, or jointly, scuttle the peace initiative:

● First, the march by ANC alliance supporters in Thokozani last weekend. Was this really necessary? And, if indeed it was so, why were the Inkatha supporters intent on disrupting the march when they knew, based on recent history, that their actions would inevitably lead to blood being shed?

● Second, the massive swoop on members of the Pan Africanist Congress and Apla. This was done in a manner reminiscent of the worst days of apartheid. While the due process of law might uncover criminal activities,

which need to be prosecuted,

the high-handed way in which the security forces apprehended the PAC and Apla members has undermined the process of negotiation. Given the peace structures in place, other methods could have been used to achieve the same ends.

● Third, the disruption of education. I question the wisdom of those involved in organising this disruption at a critical time in the country's history. Threats of boycotts and chalk-downs by teachers simply inhibit progress in the process towards change and undermine the confidence of young people who will be needed to play a full part in the future of South Africa.

Finally, I repeat my call for a joint peace-keeping unit (JPU). Criticism that such a unit is unviable and that there is no time to form it do not hold much weight. That is like saying that we only have time for violence instead of having time to put in place instruments that can ensure a peaceful transition.

The idea for a JPU was highlighted during the Bisho massacre when I and a group of National Peace Committee officials had to dive for

cover when we were caught between ANC demonstrators and firing Ciskei troops.

The root cause of this violence is fear and a deeply-rooted insecurity felt by all the people. A Joint Peace-Keeping Unit would comprise members of all the opposing armies and police forces in the country. It should operate under an agreed, experienced international command, and would be accountable to a specially created element in the National Peace Accord structures and have a clear identity, with uniforms, flags, vehicles and helicopters.

A small group of JPU members would be effective because it would include people whom the various political and ethnic groups in the country could feel they could trust.

With such a unit in place, South Africans of all races could finally look forward to seeing peace and harmony established in our beautiful country. We want nothing less.

□ DR STANTLEY MOCOGA is vice-chairman of the National Peace Accord and Presiding Bishop of the Methodist Church of Southern Africa.

DEMOCRATIC PARTY
MP for Constantia Mr
Roger Hulley "positive-
ly" distanced himself
from the newly-formed
Inkatha Freedom
Party-aligned Free
Cape Movement (FCM)
this week.

Mr Hulley, one of the
drafters of the move-
ment's mission state-
ment — in an open
letter to the move-
ment's chairman Mr
Chris Hill — said he
was no longer involved
with the FCM.

Mr Hulley's decision
to break ties with the
movement — which
punted itself as not be-
ing aligned to any po-
litical movement when
it was formed several
months ago — follows
several controversial
placard demonstrations
and allegations of rac-
ism.

"I distanced myself
some months ago as a
result of certain differ-
ences of approach be-

Hulley
SI Times
quits
[Cape Movement]
Free
3015 193
Cape
(304A)
Movement

By AVESHA ISMAIL

tween us," Mr Hulley
said.

He said he would,
however, continue to
support the sentiments
of the movement's mis-
sion statement which
called for maximum
federal devolution for
South Africa.

"I thought that the
role of the FCM was to
operate as a non party-
political think-tank and
a pressure group which
would actively promote
understanding and sup-
port of the benefits of

federalism as it would
affect the future of the
Western Cape," Mr Hul-
ley said.

He said he became
unhappy with the tac-
tics adopted by the
movement "particular-
ly in respect of its open
alignment with certain
parties and its hostility
to others".

Such an approach was
counterproductive to
any attempt to promote
consensus around the
federal idea, and is in-
deed party-political it-
self, he said.

"Your recent public
link with Inkatha and
your placard demon-
stration at the Parow
ANC meeting have in
my view now fatally
compromised the FCM
in this respect," he
said.

Mr Hulley said he
would continue to ac-
tively pursue the feder-
al goal through the es-
tablished and
committed channel of
the Democratic Party.



We are now risking the ultimate catastrophe

(304A)

8 Times 30/5/93

IF YOU believe in leprechauns and fairies, you will believe that the police rounded up 77 PAC leaders in the normal course of their duties, that President de Klerk's Cabinet is united, and that the National Party is still capable of governing. Adults know better.

Mr Hernus Kriel, all muddle and bombast, struggled through his explanations to the World Trade Centre, evidently oblivious to the effect he was causing by forgetting or mispronouncing names, cracking inappropriate jokes, fumbling ineptly through the questions and even misidentifying one of the major players.

Behind him sat a stony-faced Roelf Meyer, who is on familiar ground in the new South Africa, and beside him sat that decent man, Leon Wessels, trying vainly to steer the Minister of Law and Order across the gulf that separates a dying parliamentary oligarchy from the nascent processes of mass democracy. It was a hopeless task. Like the bull at a bullfight, Mr Kriel combined belligerence with bewilderment.

Besides, he was simply not credible. A police spokesman was already on record as saying that the week's mass arrests were carried out in the early hours of Tuesday morning because they happened to come to fruition just as, by wondrous coincidence, the multi-party talks were reaching their moment of truth: the death knell of the last white republic.

Oh no, said the police commissioner, the raids were deliberately timed to coincide with the Minister's vote in Parliament, so that he could deal with the inevitable questions. No, no, cried Mr Kriel himself, the raids were planned for the weekend, but delayed because, in true South African fashion, everybody had scattered for a stretched weekend.

Where I grew up, people had a phrase for this sort of thing: *Hulle lieg mekaar vas*.

The Nationalists are experts in blatant dissimulation, but I cannot recall any previous occasion on which the dissimulation has been quite so inept. The evidence of ineptitude, indeed, is

overwhelming: the attorneys-general were summoned to a meeting, but nobody could get it together, so only one of them was properly consulted; Mr Kriel swears he carefully considered the political implications of the raid, but he did nothing about it; the police claim to have had evidence to justify their actions, but were plainly embarked on a fishing expedition to find evidence they didn't have.

The State President was kept in the dark until it was too late to stop the raid, and the government's chief negotiators were not told at all. At the World Trade Centre, confusion reigned, and in the end, the government's claim to keep control of the security apparatus lay in ruins; buffoonery at the highest levels supports no claim to such power.

All this, however, is part of a pattern. The government's inability to exercise political control or leadership was demonstrated after the assassination of Chris Hani, when it ceded to the ANC leaders the task of restoring calm.

Its inability to maintain law and order, whether in Natal or the East Rand or on the farms, has been demonstrated to bloody excess; the raids on the PAC were, after all, a substitute for the arrest and conviction of the actual murderers — a repetition of the useless tactics followed by the National Party from 1952 until 1990, which brought the government, in the end, to its knees.

THE government's inability to run the school system is no longer doubted, and its pitiful backdown after its attempt to levy examination fees has demonstrated this weakness in the most vivid fashion. The truth of the matter, as everybody in the country now knows, is that President de Klerk and his government, with their army and their police, can do only what the true leaders of the black population permit them to do.

When they try to get tough, as they did when they carried out their Neanderthal raid on the PAC, Mr Kriel ends up being summoned to the World Trade Centre like a naughty schoolboy where he ends up humiliated, his credibility

ruined and his authority drained away.

Does the National Party still exist, except in name? I really don't know. President de Klerk daren't fight a by-election; his backbenchers are flirting with other parties; and the word from the constituencies is that voters are disillusioned and disaffected on a massive scale.

Unless negotiations are quickly concluded, so that the transitional executive can deal with the country's mounting real problems — economic depression, political warfare, and the regime of crime — this country risks the disintegration of political authority, the ultimate catastrophe.

FORTUNATELY, the main players seem to have grasped the point. President de Klerk in Parliament, his negotiators at Kempton Park, and even the luckless Mr Kriel, have done what they could to restore the process. At the World Trade Centre, in a rare demonstration of leadership, Mr Kriel's jurors maintained a tone of moderation and decency. The atmosphere was not destructive.

President de Klerk, in an act of supreme statesmanship, changed course on February 2 1990 in order to be able to negotiate from strength, but as the process draws to an end, he finds himself negotiating from weakness. He has only one important card left in his hand: the ANC's fear of what might happen if President de Klerk himself were to falter.

Behind the gravity at the World Trade Centre, behind the careful rhetoric and the intense lobbying, behind the concerted efforts on all sides to limit the damage and herd the PAC gently back into the talks, lay this thought: was the police raid merely, as it seemed, buffoonery? Or was it an attempt, mounted from within the Cabinet, to undercut the negotiations at the very point where power shifts, finally and irrevocably?

Pray we need never know the answer.

KEN OWEN

If PAC secretary-general Benny Alexander looked like the loneliest man at the World Trade Centre on Thursday night, it was just an illusion. On this occasion his party had the backing of even its enemies

Picture: JOHN HOGG



Hernus Kriel's crackdown
white faith in the govern-
EDYTH BULBRING sa
government's hand at



IT WAS A TIME FOR ALL GOOD MEN TO
30/5/93 THE PARTY ... AND THEN ALONG CA

THE DESTINY

304A

PRESIDENT FW de Klerk arrived back at his Groote Schuur residence on Monday night after opening the new headquarters of the National Monuments Council.

He was relaxing with Marika over a nightcap with his last John Rolfe before retiring when his peace was disturbed by an urgent phone call from Law and Order Minister Hernus Kriel.

The conversation was tense. Mr Kriel informed Mr de Klerk that police had begun a sloop on the homes of 77 members of the PAC. The operation was in progress.

The action against the PAC in the early hours of Tuesday morning had come after "extensive and exhaustive investigations", Mr Kriel told a sceptical negotiating council at the World Trade Centre on Thursday evening.

It was not a political action, it was normal police business, Mr Kriel, Mr de Klerk and Cabinet ministers emphasised this week in mantra-like unison. No man can be above the law, they argued.

Mr Kriel concedes he paused for several moments to consider the implications for the negotiation process.

However, he did not pause long enough to pick up the telephone to inform government negotiator Roelf Meyer or his Cape leader and NP negotiator Dawie de Villiers. Nor did he inform the president until it was too late.

Driving to the World Trade Centre on Tuesday morning, the news broadcast on the radio was the first indication Mr Meyer received that all was not well.

He was anticipating spending a fruitful day negotiating crunch issues on regionalism and constitutional principles that would see government securing what for it was the best deal available.

Instead, he spent the morning fielding hostile questions from his negotiating partners.

The past week has been one of theories. Was Mr Kriel attempting to undermine Mr de Villiers in an attempt to usurp his leadership of the Cape caucus? Did he have his sights set on a presidential coup? Was he trying to undermine negotiations?

As one Cabinet minister put it: "When I travel to Lesotho to hold talks about possible joint co-operation, I automatically send the president a memo beforehand. And if I were to raise the price of a commodity, I inform Mr Meyer — just in

case it impacts on negotiations."

But what emerged at the World Trade Centre on Thursday night during a three-hour grilling of Mr Kriel by the majority of the negotiators was that political opportunism, rather than heavy conspiracy, had turned into a major bungle.

The climate in which the raid on the PAC came was one in which the government is perceived to have lost control of the country. A haemorrhaging and disintegrating NP caucus has begun to turn towards the right-wing and Inkatha.

The bad weather started with the government ceding moral authority to ANC leader Nelson Mandela as he and other ANC moderates battled to restore calm in the wake of the assassination of SACP leader Chris Hani.

IT deteriorated with the accelerated attacks on white farmers and civilians in the face of inflammatory statements by unrepentant PAC leaders, happy to wage war outside the negotiating chamber at Kempton Park.

And it brewed into a storm last week over the education crisis, where Mr de Klerk was sent in to sort out the chaos that four ministers of education were unable to resolve.

He went into talks with Mr Mandela as a statesman and

emerged a humiliated horse trader, having capitulated to the demands of a mob of schoolchildren not old enough to vote.

MPs reported that their disillusioned and embittered support base, perceiving that the NP could no longer guarantee their present or their future, was drifting towards the tough rhetoric of the right-wing.

The police were demoralised and perceived that their attempts to combat crime were being thwarted by negotiators intent on securing a settlement at any price.

The clamour of the constituency resounded in the Cabinet. On the one side was Mr Meyer, Mr de Villiers and with them those who believed the sooner the government secured a constitutional deal the better for the country.

On the other, those like Mr Kriel, Defence Minister Kobbie Coetsee, and Planning and Provincial Minister Tertius Delpoit, who believed that shoring up the party was all-important and dependent on restoring law and order.

Enter Mr Kriel, dressed as superman. For him to have sought the approval of the Cabinet doves would have involved hours of wrangling and requests for further time until a breakthrough had been reached on June 3.

Uppermost in his mind was this week's law and order budget debate, where he anticipated a thrashing from all opposition parties at the

police's inability to crack down on violence.

In authorising a raid on the PAC, Mr Kriel imagined he would restore the faith of white South Africans in the police force, the government, the National Party and, of course, Hernus Kriel. For a few days this week he was right.

He was received with acclaim and enthusiasm in the budget debate. Accolades were heaped on him at the NP's caucus meeting on Thursday morning.

His Cabinet colleagues were not so enthusiastic on Wednesday morning, but they, too, conceded that violence had to be tackled — although there was a measure of censure at his not informing negotiators of the crackdown.

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...at Benny Alexander looked
...at the World Trade Centre
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Picture: JOHN HOGG



Hernus Kriel's crackdown this week was an attempt to restore white faith in the government and boost his own standing. EDYTH BULBRING says that in the process he weakened the government's hand at the negotiating table



WAS A TIME FOR ALL GOOD MEN TO COME TO THE AID OF THE PARTY... AND THEN ALONG CAME HERNUS KRIEL THE DESTROYER

ST Times 30/5/93

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Kriel. Debate 21/5/93

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Debate in Cabinet contin-
ued until 11.45 on Wednesday
night. The conclusion was to
present a united front in sup-
porting Mr Kriel's actions
and try to keep talks on track.
MEMBERS crossed
their fingers, hop-
ing Mr Kriel would be able to
justify the police action at the
World Trade Centre. "We all
just prayed he had done his
homework," one minister
said afterwards.
But on Thursday night, Mr
Kriel was mauled.
His inability to explain how
"extensive and exhaustive"
investigations had led to the
arrest of a man who had
spent the last two years in
hospital and was confined to

a wheelchair was compound-
ed by behaviour that bor-
dered on crassness - he
didn't know many of the
negotiators names, mispro-
nounced those he did and in-
correctly identified others.
All his police investiga-
tions had resulted in was the
release of 42 of the 77 arrest-
ed and the appearance in
court of four.
What was revealed over
the three hours was a man
who had embarked on a
major political action in the
guise of restoring law and
order without having checked
his facts.
But Mr Kriel's actions are
more serious than just an-
other example of government
disunity, attempted back-
stabbing and bungling.
Mr Kriel leaves the negoti-
ating team with a seriously

weakened hand. In the next
few weeks the government
will have to argue against the
multi-party operational con-
trol of the security forces. In
the light of this political
opportunism, the negotiators
don't stand a chance.
After June 3 it will have to
sell a negotiated settlement
to a white constituency whose
confidence in the government
can only have been under-
mined by yet more evidence
of ineptitude.
It is a problem not only
occupying the early morning
hours of the government nego-
tiators, but also the ANC,
which needs the other big
player to deliver its constitu-
ency.
The hour is too late for one
side of the negotiating table
to collapse under the full
weight of bungling supermen.

Big business in push for election date

ST Times 30/5/93

By EDYTH BULBRING
Political Correspondent

AS the June 3 deadline to announce an election date looms, business leaders this week met delegations from the government, the ANC and the Concerned South Africans Group (CSAG).

The businessmen's aim was to push for a swift settlement while also keeping all the parties in the talks.

The business leaders were led by the Consultative Business Movement's co-chairman Murray Hofmeyr. Those present included Premier's Peter Wrighton and Murray and Roberts's David Brink.

Both the ANC and the government are keen to announce an election date on June 3 at the negotiating forum.

But Cosag insists that certain issues, such as the principles governing a new constitution and the way elections should be held, need to be settled beforehand.

The ANC, which has come under increasing pressure from its constituency to pro-

duce conclusive results after three years of negotiation, has warned of mass action after June 3 if no election date is announced.

Mr Hofmeyr said Cosag representatives clearly had a problem with the June 3 deadline and with the urgency that they felt had been forced on them.

"We had to say to them that we understood their difficulties in making a commitment on important issues in such a short time," Mr Hofmeyr said.

"But we are all in this together and one has to find a basis on which there can be agreement in a fairly short period."

He said the discussions with the delegations focused on the question of speed and inclusivity to see how to achieve the best settlement.

Mr Hofmeyr said the ANC told the businessmen it was anxious to announce an election date on June 3 and then afterwards do whatever else was necessary to accommodate Cosag.

He said businessmen were keen to do what they could to help achieve the best resolution in difficult circumstances.

"Business clearly feels that it is important to avoid a let-down or give the impression that the process has broken down.

"But, clearly, this must be seen against the other consideration, which is making the settlement as inclusive as possible."

Mr Hofmeyr said it was not clear whether the June 3 decision was going to be "make or break".

"The feeling is that the process should not drag on for weeks and months. If a resolution on elections is not reached on June 3, then it will have to be reached shortly afterwards," he said.

Concern

Another participant who attended the talks said the businessmen's underlying message to political players was that business was deeply concerned about the negotiations progress and that, should there be a breakdown and the economy knocked again, it would take a long time to recover.

He was not optimistic that the negotiating forum would announce an election date on June 3 as there were so many firm agreements that needed to be in place before.

Business's concern over the negotiations process was reflected in a Business Forum statement.

"Another political impasse will lead to more business closures, the withdrawal and withholding of investment, a further flight of capital and skilled manpower and further loss of job opportunities. Business confidence, already at a very low level, will suffer another blow," it said.

Ex-PAC fighter takes Nat post

STIweo 30/5/93

By BRIAN SOKUTU

WHEN former PAC fighter David Chuenyane, 50, took up arms against the ruling National Party in the 60s, he never thought he would one day trade his PAC membership card for the NP's.

He was a member of the then Pogo (meaning standing alone in Xhosa), which is remembered for unleashing a wave of attacks on white civilians in South Africa after the banning of the PAC, ANC, SACP and other extra-parliamentary organisations.

The organisation was later replaced by the Azanian Peoples Liberation Army (Apla).

In 1964, Mr Chuenyane left South Africa to undergo military training in Tanzania in an attempt to overthrow the racist white government.

Today, almost 29 years later, he has changed tactics. He occupies a modest but immaculate office in Eliott Street, Johannesburg, where he heads a six-member team as the NP's election co-ordinator in the Greater Johannesburg and Soweto areas.

Mr Chuenyane is the NP's most senior black official and a member of the party's national information and management committee. His task is to woo black township support for the formerly whites-only political party.

Surrounded by NP literature and bright posters in his office, Mr

Chuenyane — a tall, neatly dressed and articulate man — has no regrets about his decision, despite being branded a "sellout" and "traitor" by his former comrades-in-arms.

What makes a former Pogo fighter join the party which most blacks hold responsible for apartheid?

"I was impressed by State President F.W. de Klerk's February 1990 speech," says Mr Chuenyane.

"The following year, I flew from the United States to spend six weeks in South Africa, where I assessed the situation before returning to the US."

"I regarded Mr de Klerk's February speech as giving exiles like myself an opportunity to come back home."

"Three months later, I returned to South Africa to stay in Mapeta. I joined the National Party last October after making a study of all political organisations and parties."

"I realised that all parties were striving for the same thing — an end to apartheid. And the NP had just opened its doors to all races."

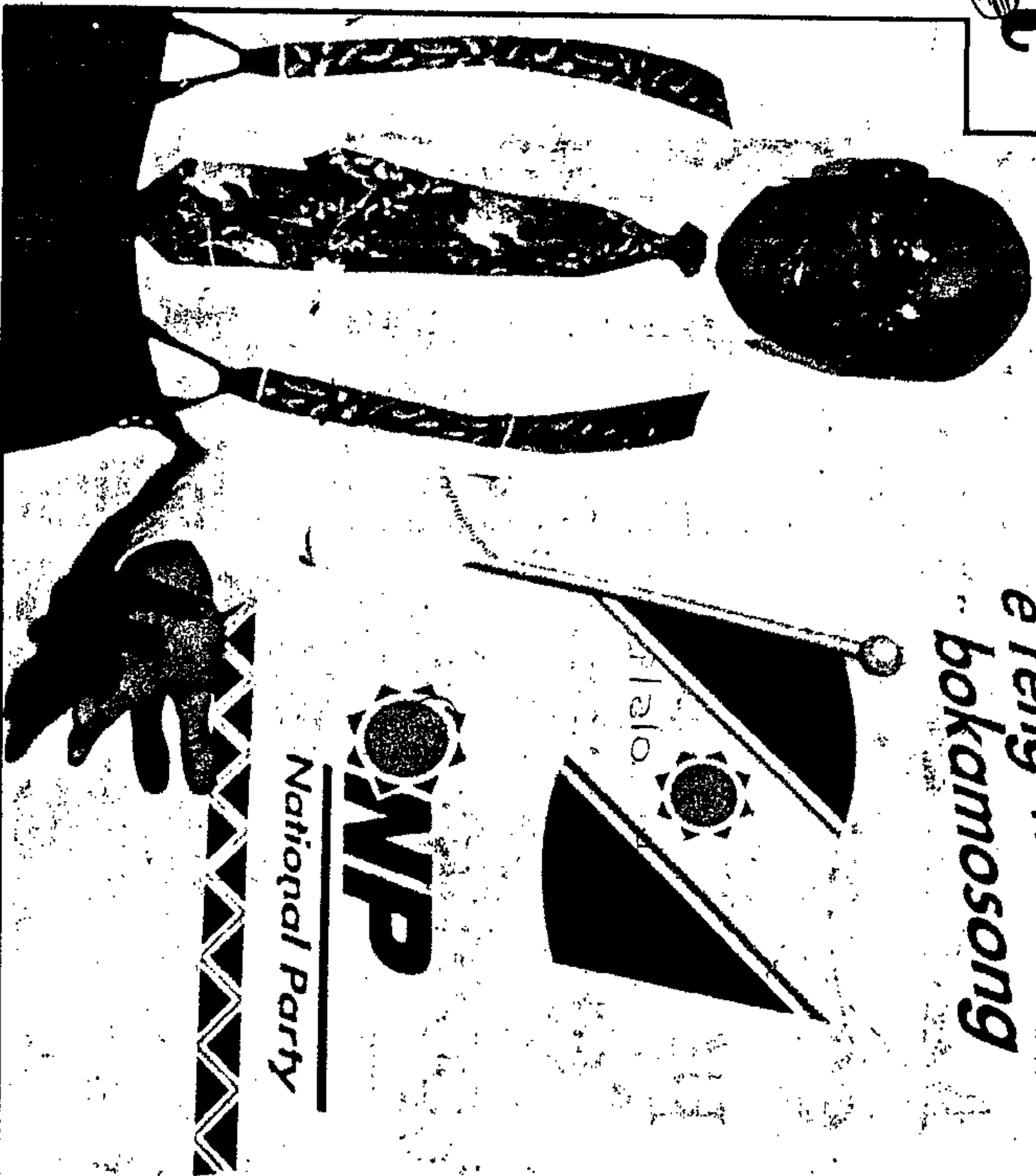
Vision

Mr Chuenyane, who describes himself as "an NP adviser", believes the NP's recruiting of blacks is "genuine".

"The NP has a vision — to build a new South Africa where everyone will enjoy equal rights, good education, housing, health and a joint government."

"I thought it best to try changing people from inside rather than outside. Instead of polarising blacks and whites, let us work together and be part of the decision-making."

More o be le tulo
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ABOUT TURN... Former Pogo fighter and exile David Chuenyane displays his new party political colours

joined the ANC and the change the situation in the country."

"I should have the freedom to pursue the struggle I began in the 60s. We're now dealing with a new NP, and it has the power to

of two, has a master's degree in theology from the Mennonite Biblical Seminary in California and a string of other degrees, including a BSc in electronics from Fresno University, also in California.

His family live in the United States, where he went to further his studies after becoming disillusioned with Pogo in exile.

Picture: CECIL SOLS

Religious leaders to monitor elections

SI Times 30/5/95

304A

THE country's religious leaders are set to embark on their biggest joint project — a multi-faith panel to monitor all aspects of the forthcoming elections.

In a clear sign that they believe an election date will be announced soon, senior represen-

By CARMEL RICKARD

tatives of the Buddhist, Jewish, Hindu, Bahai, Muslim and Christian faiths met earlier this month for a weekend conference focusing on electoral justice.

During their seminar, hosted by the World Conference on Reli-

gion and Peace, the US-based Lawyers for Civil Rights Under Law, the SA Council of Churches, the Southern African Catholic Bishops' Conference and the Christian Service Organisations' Network, delegates examined a number of crucial election issues.

Part of the motivation to establish the new "panel of religious leaders for electoral justice", was the delegates' belief that the religious community was one of the few sections of society in the country which "possesses public integrity and is accepted as capable of a politically impartial judgment".

The panel would be a symbol of the religious community's concern that the election process be just, and that peace and stability be established, they said.

Significant

It would provide a mechanism for religious leaders to comment on aspects of the election and to intervene if this became necessary.

They intend the panel to monitor the whole electoral process.

The religious leaders have a number of immediate priorities. For example, they have undertaken to help create a climate which will allow free democratic political activity throughout the country.

They also intend setting up a country-wide voting rights and complaints monitoring process, deploying several thousand trained monitors drawn largely from the religious community.

These monitors will work closely with other elections monitors, and will document patterns of voting rights abuses, political intimidation and violations of electoral law.

The panel is to establish a full-time secretariat which will keep religious leaders informed of significant developments in the run-up to elections and during the election process itself.

The religious leaders recommend that when parties register to participate in the elections, they should at the same time be required to sign a code of conduct. The religious leaders have already completed a draft code for discussion with the parties.

R60 000 for new apartheid signs

Citrus
By MONWABISI
NOMADOLO 20/6/93

APARTHEID signs may soon be coming back to Springs on the East Rand after the local CP-controlled town council decided to erect them by July 30. (30/4)

A recent council meeting decided that 137 such signs could be purchased between July 1 and July 30.

To show they are serious, the council has contracted a private company to manufacture the signs within 12 months in a contract worth R60 000.

Ironically, Springs was one of the last towns to remove "whites only" signs from public amenities.

According to council spokesman Frans Swart the signs were provided by tender and then approved by the council.

The town council is still engaged in a legal battle concerning the two Springs swimming pools closed by the council when the Separate Amenities Act was repealed a few years back.

The matter is still awaiting a decision in the Rand Supreme Court.

KIEFF MEYER



C Press 30/6/93

CYRIL RAMAPHOSA



TALKS ON TENTERHOOKS

By DESMOND BLOW

PAC decision may
make or break
negotiations

(SFB)

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(204A)

PAC national executive committee members were yesterday locked in a secret meeting to decide whether to stay in the multiparty talks.

High on the agenda will be whether to suspend the armed struggle.

This follows a week of raids and detentions of PAC leaders which were seen as a return to the worst of the Vorster and Botha "police state" era.

The old "Charge or Release" slogan was echoed by most of the delegates at the negotiating committee meeting at Kempton Park on Thursday night.

As a result of a meeting between the PAC and government on Friday, three of the detained PAC leaders were released - Dr Solly, Skosana, Walters, Tobot and Thomas Likosi.

Tobot told City Press yesterday that the arrests of the PAC leaders was "an eye-opener that the regime was not ready to accept majority rule".

Although the NEC has not passed its resolution yet, it would not be amazing if we come out with a resolution calling for the talks to be held outside the country under a neutral chairman," he said.

The government will report on the position of other PAC detainees - including NEC members Enoch Zulu, Maxwell Nmadzinyanani and Abel

The PAC's Jali Seroke was also released after being charged with illegal possession of firearms.

In terms of a joint statement issued following the PAC government meeting, the PAC has undertaken to "discuss its commitment to armed action and its position on violence" and to give a "clear, unambiguous" report at Tuesday's meeting.

Negotiators are questioning whether De Klerk or the securocrats are running the country.

Law and Order Minister Hennis Kriel said he was briefed by two generals on Monday afternoon that the raids would take place that night, and De Klerk has said he did not interfere as it was a police and not a political matter.

The government's delegates to the negotiating commission, ministers Roelf Meyer and Dawie de Villiers, were apparently not briefed.

ANC secretary-general Cyril Ramaphosa and South African Communist Party chairman, Joe Slovo, both called for Kriel's resignation.

Die TAAAL is nie om

HEITA daar! Say this and you're definitely assured a place around the table with *die manne, die ouens*, the kind that rule the townships.

"Heita!" is a popular greeting used by the Mapantsula, *die clevvers*, who make up the young generation of township blacks. Sometimes tsotsis, they are usually elaborately and expensively dressed.

Heita daar! means "Hello, there", with *daar* pronounced in a soft, short outburst, coming out as *Daf*.

This is not 'n *moegoe* (sucker) so taal. It is "die fly-taal" of the townships; the *tsotsi-taal* which has become the lingua-franca of urban SA.

Tsotsi-taal is also a language that had its genesis during the urbanisation of blacks at the turn of the century, with some dialects (here and there) stolen from most ethnic groupings, but mostly Afrikaans to engineer its uniqueness. Those who got to master the *tsotsi-taal* saw themselves as speaking with the voices of the land. A *lekker taal, hierdie tsotsi-taal*.

It is the jargon of the townships, colourful vocabulary born out of the joys and pains of Kofifi (Sophiatown) and similar squalid black settlements of the time around the Reef. The language of District Six and the Malay Camps; the language of the township underworld. You're perceived as a downright *moegoe* if your tongue is lacking in the masterly use of the *tsotsi-taal*.

Those who do not master it are referred to as "*kal-koene*", another Afrikaans word stolen for exclusive use in *tsotsi-taal*, but used in a derogatory way. It means "sucker" or "turkey" in more explicit terms. A turkey is a simple bum, the one not "with-it" in the township lingo. Often the bums are also referred to as *skapies* (from the Afrikaans *skaap*).

There is a lot of savvy in these *tsotsi-taal* communicators and it is not uncommon to overhear a conversation around a township shebeen table going like: "*Hoe'zet* (How's it going?) my broer?"

The reply: "*Lewe is swaar my broer, maar wat kan 'n man se? Niks! Ons sukkel almal.*"

Or something along these lines: "*Het jy gehoor? Die moegoe is klaar sat* (meaning dead).

Then the surprised response: "*Moenie praat ... wanneer het hy gehemel? Dis slegte nuus, gooi my nog 'n dop* (brandy)." Well, if this is not more of Afrikaans than *tsotsi-taal* itself, then surely the Afrikaans language needs to be redeveloped. And if *tsotsi-taal* is so much part of Afri-

"Afrikaans is overwhelmingly the child of the Netherlands, and in another sense it is also overwhelmingly the child of South Africa. It is idiomatically rich and a great deal of this richness is indigenous." (Alan Paton - *Towards the Mountain*). Was Afrikaans then really the underlining gripe behind the students' rebellion of June 16 1976? If so, then how come *Tsotsi-taal*, Afrikaans' step-language, is so well accepted in the townships? Features Editor LEN KALANE looks at the striking similarities between the two languages, both so very South African, and concludes that they are here to stay. (304F)



ALL TYPES ... Sophiatown veteran Peggy "Bel-Air" Senne.



OURS TOO ... ANC leader Terror Lekota said blacks had a claim.

kaans, then why the fuss, if any, in the township about Afrikaans?

You'll remember that the whole country got swallowed up in flames - all because of Afrikaans.

The Class of '76 wouldn't have a thing to do with it. For the uninitiated, we're talking June 16 1976, when the country went up in smoke as the result of the great student rebellion - largely in protest against Afrikaans being made the compulsory medium of instruction.

It caught everybody by surprise. Everybody, including *die ou toppie van die toeka dae van Kofifi* who couldn't help but exclaim: "*Wat gaan aan met die kinders ... wat probeer hulle?*"

To him, it didn't make sense. The kids of '76 couldn't just vent their anger like this all because of Afrikaans! Indeed, the Afrikaans language has been so very much part of our culture, the township folk culture ...

Caught equally by surprise, *nogal*, was the late Dr Andries Treurnicht, the then Deputy Minister of Bantu Administration and Development and Bantu Education, the man who had ignited it all. If anything, the term "Dr No" was a direct result of the '76 tragedy.

He had said: "I am not aware of any real problem."

Three weeks after Treurnicht's statement, we had June 16.

But why the sudden rebellion? Maybe the answer lies

in Patrick "Terror" Lekota's address last week, when the ANC official gave a talk at a DET symposium on the future of Afrikaans.

He said: "It was not the fault of ... Afrikaans (that it) became the language of the oppressor, but the fault of the people who spoke the language."

Just maybe, maybe there lies the rot!

The students of '76 are thought to have been fighting against *kradadigheid* more than the Afrikaans language issue.

When the country went up in flames, ostensibly over the Afrikaans issue, Treurnicht was again heard saying: "In the white areas of South Africa where the government erects the buildings, grants the subsidies and pays the teachers, it is our right to decide on language policy. The same applies to schools in areas where there is no compulsory education. Why are pupils sent to school if (our) language policy does not suit them?"

According to the *Reader's Digest Illustrated History of South Africa*, that same day in parliament, Justice Minister Jimmy Kruger accused the University Christian Movement of having "initiated a polarisation between black and white and the development of black power consciousness".

"The other question one has to ask oneself," Kruger continued, "is why the young people walked with their fists in the air? Why do they walk with upraised fists? Surely this is the sign

of the Communist Party?"

On June 18, the same year, Prime Minister John Vorster broke his silence with a typically tough speech: "The government will not be intimidated," he told parliament. "Orders have been given to maintain order at all costs."

These "orders" were banning orders, closure of schools, calling in police reinforcements and placing the army on alert. Hundreds of people were killed, many injured and buildings were destroyed. Feelings were running high.

Could Afrikaans have been the sole spark of this kind of anarchy? Afrikaans, our language, part of our own *tsotsi-taal*, so South African? Later developments suggested otherwise! Lekota adds: "Afrikaans can be sure of its future in South Africa because the language grew out of this country and is part of it."

He also told the DET's surprised audience: "Afrikaans is here to stay. The language is also that of our ancestors who were slaves in the Cape. Afrikaans is more from South Africa than English. Its idiom is more from Africa than English. It developed here. It learned from the mountains, the people, the animals, the birds and the climate of the country."

He told the symposium that what Afrikaans needed was a movement to change its image to that of a language which freed people.

"However, the future of the language is secure. In 1955 at Klipspruit the ANC accepted that when the day

of freedom comes, every South African will have the right to an own language and culture."

Lekota said that according to ANC policy every community will have the right to determine the language to be used in its schools - provided those schools are open to all.

"If Eugene Terre'Blanche wants his school, he can have it. But if my child wants to go there and is prepared to accept the discipline and I am prepared to pay the fees, then he must be able to attend that school."

Lekota said the ANC wanted English to be the language of official records, but all the other languages, including Afrikaans, would have equal status to that of official languages.

English was chosen because it is an international language: "When we speak to the OAU or the UN, we speak English."

He also referred to expressions in Afrikaans that over the years gained legitimacy in the townships. He mentioned the words *dop, dompas, boetie, bra, cheese-kop, banggat*, and *kaalgat*.

"There (in the townships) Afrikaans is a language of the people while English is a language of the learned people," concluded Lekota.

Peggy "Bel-Air" Senne is a colourful character of the Kofifi era, a former gangster himself now living in Soweto. He had this to say: "*Ja, my broer, is waar during our times we didn't see a person as Zulu, Tswana, Pedi, or what have you. Sophiatown was a community made up of all the African language-speaking people, including the Indians, Chinese and coloureds. Ons het ook boere gehad in Newlands en Westdene ...*"



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Training philosophy in the transitional period
Trainers as internal consultants in organisations
Multi-skilling - an answer to unemployment
The effect of political changes and the role of trainers in shaping the New South Africa
The effectiveness of the emerging training groups in Region - G.
Please contact:
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Exclude masses at your peril

CPress 30/5/93

AS SA continues to grapple with its constitutional future in the midst of deepening upheaval, it is important that some perspective is brought into the political debate.

The absence of a strong and independent media in the country has only exacerbated the lack of clarity and objective analysis at a crucial time in the country's history. South Africans do not have much information upon which to make informed opinions and choices on issues that acutely affect their lives and future.

Patriotism

SA does not have a culture of democracy or political accountability. To its white citizens, patriotism meant giving unquestioning loyalty to successive white minority governments.

Among blacks, often the imperatives of keeping banned organisations alive meant sacrificing accountability and democracy. Policy debate remains shallow and invariably contaminated by outright bias and dishonesty. The constitutional negotiations at the World Trade Centre in Kempton Park are largely negotiations between the elites of the various participating parties, most of whom have no demonstrable support whatsoever. The public remains cut off.

The cause of democracy in SA is undermined. The inherent dictatorial character of most politicians is only matched by the complacency and naivety of the public.

Contrary to the assumptions of Pretoria's apologists, the principal motivation of the February 1990 liberalisation announcements was less a desire to embrace democracy than a survival instinct in the face of overwhelming domestic and international pressure on the apartheid state.

The economy could no longer support the political status quo and President De Klerk and his government acceded to changes more out of need than desire.

SA will be faced with the problems of expectations. The black majority expect improved circumstances in the often-talked about "new SA".

The problem is that the most probable political settlement is unlikely to deliver on such expectations. Apart from the in-

What are the prospects for stability in South Africa by the year 2000? This is the question EUGENE NYATHI, director of the Centre for African Studies and an acknowledged professional speaker on politics and economics, asked at a South African-German Chamber of Commerce and Industry luncheon meeting in Johannesburg this week. Nyathi sets out possible scenarios facing the country once a constitution-making body is in place.

(30/4/93)

(30/4/93)

ability of the economy to underpin the settlement reached, a future government may not wield the power necessary to affect the needed structural transformation.

SA's Gross Domestic Product (GDP) continues to lag far behind the population growth rate of 2.5 percent a year.

Another problem is that the talks are structurally flawed. Most participating parties do not have any support, which robs the process of the very legitimacy it is supposed to deliver.

Effective leverage

In essence the constitution-making body will be a public relations exercise to rubberstamp a constitution whose essentials shall have been determined in advance at the Kempton Park talks.

The emerging compromise between the parties amounts to an agreement to pre-empt democratic constitution-making.

The SA government appears to have succeeded in locking the ANC into a relation on terms favourable to the former and its constituency. Despite the ANC's stronger numerical following, its leadership has failed to translate it into sustained effective leverage at the negotiation table.

Ultimately, negotiations are about leverage. Other than the potential to use mass action, the ANC has no leverage on government.

When ANC leaders returned from exile, they were so intoxicated with the



illusion of a quick settlement they ignored their real strength, the masses. Structures put together by the surrogate United Democratic Front (UDF) have been neglected.

Simultaneously, security agencies of the state accelerated the process of decay by unleashing a ruthless campaign of selective assassination of scores of civic, community and other leaders. Barring some unforeseen crisis, and despite likely hiccups on the way, SA seems headed for a settlement in 1994.

The government is keen to conclude a settlement during the current parliamentary term, while the ANC leadership is in such haste to reach agreement that they are prepared to accept almost any settlement.

The 1994 settlement will be largely weighted against blacks and is unlikely to deliver the needed structural change. The emphasis of the settlement will be a strategic co-option of the black elite, both political and professional.

For the majority, conditions will remain as they are or quite possibly get worse.

The Joe Slovo-authored "Sunset Clause" has since been adopted as an official ANC document. In the name of reconciliation, the document effectively guarantees civil service jobs for at least 10 years after a political settlement.

A future ANC government can expect to come under pressure from its constituency to employ more blacks in

the civil service, a move that will further bloat its ranks. The net effect of such levels of government spending will keep taxes high and continue to divert precious resources from the more productive private sector.

Clearly the author of the Sunset Clause knows many things – but economics is not one of them! The waste and tax implications of the Clause will condemn this country economically.

Politically, the policy will undermine an ANC government's ability to embark on desperately-needed qualitative "affirmative action" programmes in the civil service, a potentially explosive issue to its constituency.

The question of whether or not the settlement will stick is pertinent.

The principal beneficiaries of the 1994 settlement will be whites and a small black elite.

If this combined elite act consciously to extend the benefits of the settlement to more and more South Africans, it is possible that over the medium-to long-term, the majority of people will identify with the settlement and act in ways that will stabilise the country and register steady progress.

Selfishly

Another scenario is possible. If the new combined black and white elites act selfishly and secure only their narrow interests, they could very quickly alienate the majority who would respond negatively.

Public disillusion and the lack of improvement in quality of life will galvanise public resistance against the settlement.

At that point, the moral authority of leaders like Mandela and others associated with the 1994 settlement will have virtually disappeared, leaving them vulnerable to serious challenge.

Ultimately, it is important to realise that democracy is more than one person, one vote. It includes a multiplicity of committed centres of power in a configuration that ensures stability and continuity. Therein lies our greatest challenge ever.



POP IT IN HERE BUB... An organiser assists a voter to cast a mock vote. Political parties and organisations were out on the streets this week testing voter awareness.

WALDMAN BY PICS: AMY

SA's first authentic general election seems inevitable and some parties and groups have ventured out on the streets to test the electorate. Some of their findings were technical - is an "X" with its classroom association of "incorrect" too confusing? However, the general public response was ambiguous. The idea of really having a say seemed too good to be true. Yet underlying this deep cynicism lurked an equally fierce determination to taste the prohibited power of a vote.

By AMY WALDMAN

AT Kempton Park, the scent of an election date is in the air. In anticipation, voter education efforts by independent organisations and political parties are moving forward. Those efforts reflect the excitement generated by the prospect of elections, but also the concern, cynicism and confusion.

At the Randburg CBD taxi rank, the ANC sets up a cardboard polling booth and ballot box every Saturday, and passersby stop to learn how to vote. An ANC organiser explains, "An X is not bad, like in school. It doesn't mean you don't like the party." He holds up a sample ballot. "Don't make your X too small or too big."

They step up to take their turn, at first shyly, then confidently. After they vote, ballots are removed from the box, checked to make sure they are correctly marked and counted up. The ANC usually wins.

The ANC ballot lists party names and symbols. The fake ballot which the DP uses has no symbols. Until an Electoral Act is passed no one knows whether the ballots will be with or without symbols, in colour or black and white, with or without photos of party leaders.

And while the ANC thinks that only an "X" will do, others say almost any mark will be acceptable. Mipho Keagile of the Matla Trust says: "Parties with literate voters will push for having an X be the only mark. Parties with illiterate voters - who have learned that an X means 'wrong', or is for a signature - will push for any mark to be acceptable."

Electoral Act

Keagile says people in workshops often become despondent when they find out that no rules are final - including the necessary form of ID - until an Electoral Act is passed.

Some concerns are even more basic. The Black Sash provides a sheet which allows people who have never held a pen before to practise making Xs. To reach diverse and semi-literate audiences, the Sash also uses a play of two women discussing the vote.

Both Matla Trust and the Sash are making special efforts to reach rural women who cannot easily leave their home and work to learn how to vote.

"Too many voter education programmes are holding conferences and talking about what needs to be done," says the Sash's Gill De Vlieg. "Maybe they'll have it all figured out by the election, but then it won't do much good."

Start doing, she says and you'll learn what needs to be done. De Vlieg says she has been asked, "Why should we vote?" and "Do we have to vote?" There is no law, she says, but it is important for democracy.

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Press 30/5/93

(304A)



LONG WAIT... The black majority have waited all their lives for a real vote. Few were prepared to

Keagile says the "voter motivation" section of the Matla Trust workshops try to convince people that their votes are history-making.

That people need motivation may depress those who have fought so hard for the vote. But for many, the prospect of voting means as much fear as liberation.

Tensions between Inkatha and the ANC in Natal are so high that voter education workshops no longer announce sample results, for fear of provoking retribution against those in the minority.

De Vlieg says the question of violence arises frequently in workshops: "How will a new government end the violence?" For some, elections seem the only hope; for others, the workshop is a place to talk about a hopeless situation.

"No one can see who you are voting for. It's totally secret. If your employer says you must vote NP, you can vote ANC, then say you voted NP," the ANC organiser tells the Randburg crowd.

Keagile says the fear comes not just from the

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of

CRACY

Press 30/5/93

SAME BOAT? ...
Everybody wants something different out of the election, but for domestic workers, such as this woman attending a meeting in Sandton, the issue was how hard they worked for so little.



Politicians find deep suspicion and desire on streets

understand the difference between a Transitional Executive Council, Constituent Assembly, Interim Government and Government of National Unity, but things aren't so clear for the man and woman on the street.

"If there's an interim government, there is no State President, so why are we having non racial elections?" Goodman Lekwakwa demands of an ANC official in Randburg. He adds: "Do we vote for a State President once, and then is he president permanently?"

Lekwakwa gets sorted out, sort of. But there are limits to how much of the twists and turns of the negotiation process anyone can absorb. "Especially with real rural people, if you take them and bombard them with a lot of knowledge, you actually leave them with nothing," Keagile says.

Taste

Interpreting the policies of different parties can also be mind-boggling. The ANC both gains and loses followers for its supposedly communist beliefs. "I don't care if the ANC is communist, I don't give a damn. I don't know what communism is, but I want to taste it just like I tasted apartheid capitalism," says Mphalla Motlakeng, of Juikse Park.

A DP explanation of the importance of regionalism elicits an indifferent response from most of the domestic workers at a meeting in Sandton. Local control, national control: what the workers really want to talk about is how hard they work for so little pay, with so few breaks.

Voter education cannot teach people how to tell the difference between an empty promise and a realistic one, or between a slogan and a policy. De Vlieg says: "We can only encourage people to be cautious of promises - the economy cannot produce instant housing and water."

Keagile believes, however, that most people will not vote on issues in the first election. "Right now they are just looking for a new government - to vote is to change."

This time around, despite the delays, concerns and confusion, the act itself will be most important. He describes a workshop where during the mock voting, the power generator failed. "We bought candles and kept going in the dark, because people wouldn't move from the queue until they voted."



real vote. Few were prepared to vote for the "black local authorities"

the question of violence arises from the question of how will a new government be? For some, elections seem the only way. "The workshop is a place to talk about see who you are voting for. It's totally employer says you must vote NP, you then say you voted NP," the ANC the Randburg crowd. the fear comes not just from the

prospect of intolerance among parties, but also from the potential presence of Home Affairs officials or the police and army at the polls.

"We have to convince them that there will be international observers and representatives of all parties," he says. "Intimidation shouldn't stop an election. There has been fighting in Northern Ireland almost since they started having elections, and still people go to vote."

The technical committees at Kempton Park may

Proud to be 'incorrect'

Hit by all sides but Seremane is still fighting for his freedoms

Chris 3016193

IN the 1960s Joe Seremane did time on Robben Island. In the 1970s he was detained and tortured. In the 1980s he was banished to Bophuthatswana and worked for the South African Council of Churches.

Today Joe Seremane works full-time for the government that detained, tortured and exiled him. He is an assistant director at the former Bureau of Information, now the South African Communication Service (SACS), where he writes two columns for government-produced newspapers.

Cynical

And he is cynical about many aspects of the liberation movement. He says he has just learned that his brother, Timothy, who went into exile and was never heard from again, may have been tortured and possibly killed while in ANC detention at Quatro.

Throughout his personal journey through South African history, Seremane has retained his independent and outspoken viewpoints. He has also been steadfastly committed to reconciliation.

He has worked for SACS for just over a year. He used to see it as the enemy camp. "It was part of the

system and I did not have a nice impression of the Bureau of Information."

He drew official attention while helping mediate conflict in Bekkersdal, after he had resigned from the SACC. People from SACS approached him to "come and help us break stereotypes".

He began by giving seminars to government departments and white communities about negotiations, where he would say: "Being black and oppressed doesn't make me an angel; the fact that you're white doesn't make you right."

The people he works with, he says, acknowledge they were wrong. "They were raised this way. They couldn't see outside their upbringing of looking at us as 'poor blacks'. They want to help, and how can you deny them that? They wouldn't let us prove ourselves as human beings - now will we do the same thing to them?"

In his columns *A Worm's Eye View* and *Wandering Soul*, he

sounds off on whatever inspires or outrages him. He says he has full editorial freedom, including the right to criticise the government. "I wrote a column on mass action where I said it was a democratic right, used responsibly and understood, and people had to be allowed to exercise it."

His views are usually controversial - no side escapes his criticism. "Civics represent, spearhead and articulate the grassroots heartbeat. You can't dispute that. What is disputable, however, is the quality of civic leaders," he wrote recently.

People who claim he has abandoned his political convictions by working for the government are lying, he says. "I've re-examined them and chucked away ruthless bigotry and empty prejudices. I was not brought up to be anti-white - it's shallow."

In the past, the official attention Seremane attracted was less than favourable. He was on Robben Island from 1963 to 1969 for agitating for the PAC. In April 1976 he was picked up again and held for 28 months, much of it in solitary confinement and including severe torture. "I saw nothing of the Soweto uprising," he says. "It was a story to me."

It was in 1976 that his brother went into exile. If the allegations are true, says Seremane, he is bitter because no one in the ANC ever told him his brother's fate.

"At least when the system tortured me, when they were through with me they had the courtesy to take me to my people and dump me and say: 'Here is your rubbish.' But these people didn't even do that."

Soon after his release in 1978, Seremane began expressing his anger and hope through the pen. He embarked on a letter-writing cam-

paign to the *Rand Daily Mail* and the *Mafikeng Mail*. Under a variety of aliases, such as "Justice Lover" and "Black Savage", he sounded off on anything that crossed his mind, usually with a religious undertone. He remains a committed Christian.

Being confined to Bophuthatswana gave Seremane an appreciation of life in rural areas. Of the cities, he says: "The social fabric has been shredded, but people think they have all the answers. The leadership, however, will come from the rural areas, as it always has."

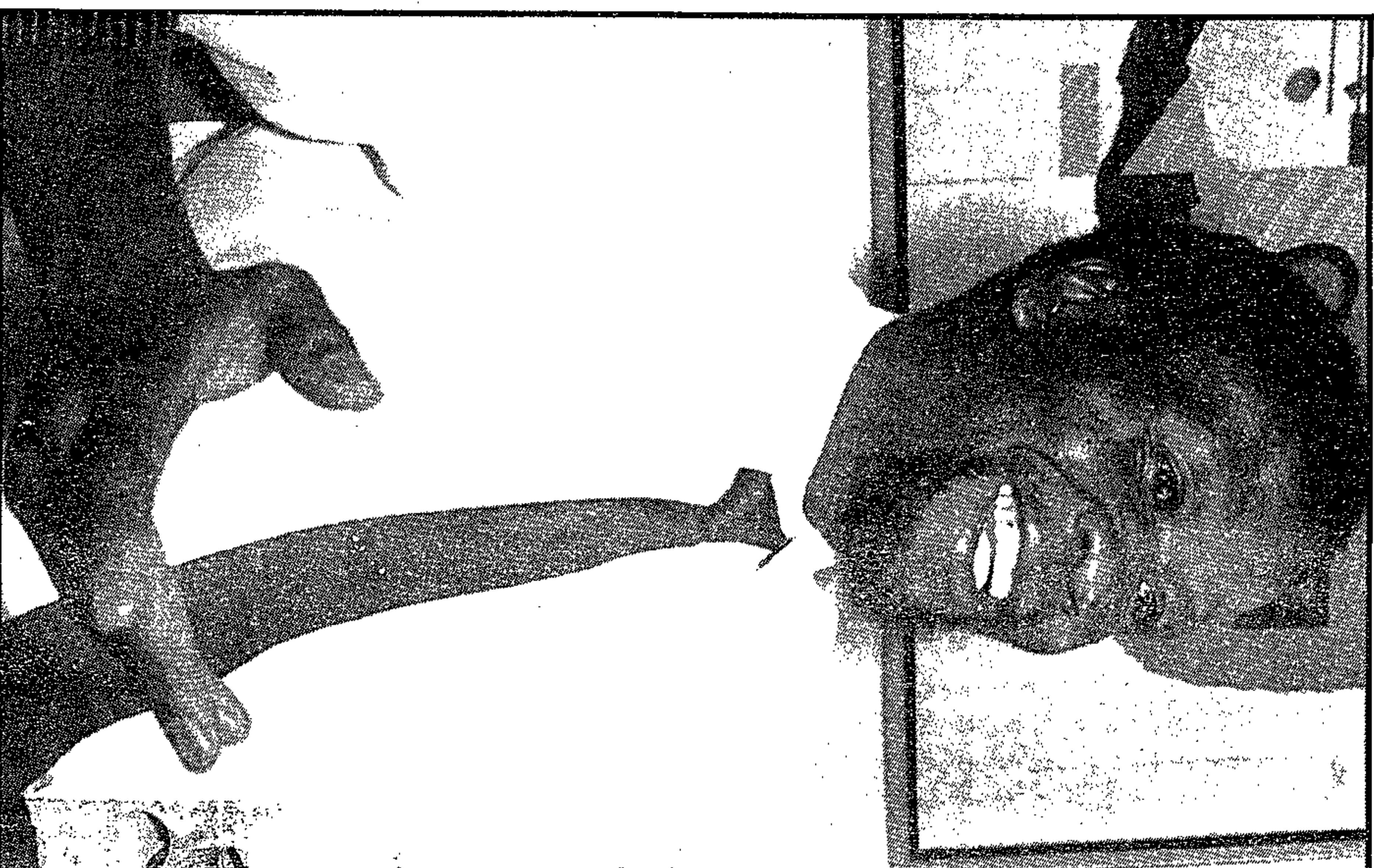
Loyalties

He resigned from the South African Council of Churches after 12 years. One criticism was that the Council had become partisan: "No one was willing to look at the relationship between ideology and theology in the liberation movement".

Would he vote for the NP? He pauses, and says he doesn't think so - right now. "This election is about loyalties, not policies," he says.

But he is not sure any party has earned his vote. "The leadership of the liberation movement need to remember that they stand on the shoulders of the little people."

And he worries: "When we have power will we dispense it justly?"



FREEMAN... Joe Seremane has fought for opposing political sides, but his real enemy is intolerance and political abuse.

East Rand death toll

now at 68

By JUSTICE MOHALE

THE death toll in the East Rand townships of Thokoza and Kaitshong has risen to 68, with the discovery of six more bodies yesterday morning.

The hacked bodies of six men were found by residents in Sale and Mavimbela sections.

Witnesses said the victims died after they were chased down the road by three armed men. One man was allegedly shot twice in the back at close range.

Five others were apparently attacked as they returned home from work.

At least 25 houses were looted and torched during yesterday's rampage.

See Page 5

Terre'Blanche threatens war if demands not met

Press 3015113

3044

THOUSANDS of armed white rightists, rallying outside the seat of the SA government yesterday, threatened war if they failed to win an independent Afrikaner state.

The petition gave government six months to draft a constitution that would provide for Afrikaner self-determination in a sovereign state.

"The Afrikaner is girding up. There is a head-on collision coming," Gen Constand Viljoen, co-dictator of the Volksfront, told the crowd of 3,000.

"All participants in the negotiations... must recognise our right to self-rule. If not, the Volksfront and AWP will regard it as a declaration of black bystanders as they headed for the government's Union Buildings in Pretoria.

Terre'Blanche, flanked by members of the AWP's elite, Ystergarde, in black uniform, pressed home the bellicose message.

An aide to AWP leader Eugene Terre'Blanche, then handed police a petition.

"Let my people go. If you do not let my people go to their own land, I promise there will be war," he said.

On their way, marchers charged at blacks who stood watching from the pavement. They lashed out with fists and boots but the blacks fled and no one was seriously injured.

Terre'Blanche said Afrikaners had a divine right to the land.

"We do not have an agreement with the United Nations over land," he said. "We have an agreement with God himself."

"We are white because God made us that way... from far away, you can recognise us as the bearers of God's light in Africa."

In a gesture to Afrikaner unity, Terre'Blanche for the first time shared a platform with Viljoen, who helped set up the Volksfront last month to unify the fragmented white right.

The AWP leader offered troops if Viljoen chose to fight.

"If you want to fight, general, I will be your corporal. General, the thousands of AWP members here are yours," Viljoen told the crowd to prepare themselves for self-defence.

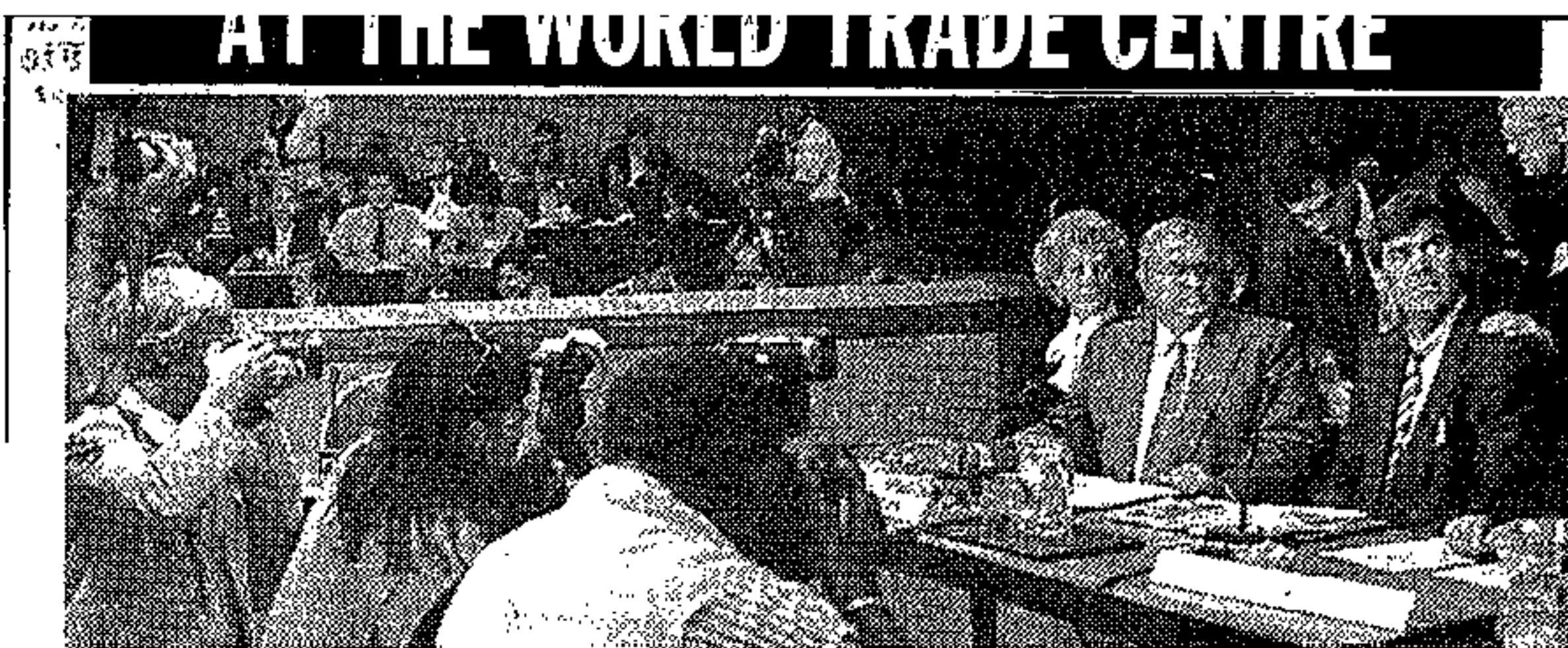
"There might be a bloody struggle. If we have to sacrifice ourselves, our cause is just," he said.

"But he added: 'If we should take to weapons it would be a very great disaster.'"

Viljoen has previously said he hopes for a political solution.

The far right has grown more vociferous in its demand for self-determination since black militants launched a series of attacks on white farmers and as negotiators make progress towards setting a date for the first all-race elections. — Sapa-Reuter

Blacks



IN THE SPOTLIGHT: Hernus Kriel at the council Picture: JOHN HOGG

THE Minister of Law and Order took on the negotiating council this week. He lost.

Fresh from the tired atmosphere of Parliament, Hernus Kriel faced the hungry young contenders — not the PAC, but the People.

For the first time, a Cabinet minister, with the status of a medieval duke in this country, was summonsed to account for his actions.

For the first time, the People got to ask the government, in public and to its face: "How could you do this?"

The fight was on the People's turf (the People having only recently acquired turf) and the very fact that the minister had answered the summons at all augured for victory. Mr Kriel's performance sealed it.

The minister arrived at the World Trade Centre flanked by his seconds.

He was there to justify his men having detained 77 PAC members in a pre-dawn swoop on May 25, just hours before the start of an eagerly anticipated and promising negotiating council session, and hours before his law and order budget vote in Parliament.

Asked how he felt before the big fight, Mr Kriel took refuge in facetiousness: "How do I feel? With my hands."

Then it was into the ring, the brightly lit blue and grey negotiating council chamber, where he would soon feel a couple of shots to the jaw.

Ritual

Uncertain of the tone to adopt — far from Parliament, addressing a motley crew of (mainly black) politicians — he settled for sounding like the treasurer of the PTA delivering his annual report, flat and stilted.

No cries of "skande" or "hoer, hoer" eased his passage. Instead, he faced the basilisk stare of the ANC's Cyril Ramaphosa, faced anger and sharp questions instead of the ritual of the gentleman's club in the Gardens.

The government's chief negotiator, Minister of Constitutional Affairs Roelf Meyer, had surrendered his customary front row seat to Mr Kriel, and sat back with a look that clearly said: "You made this mess; you clean it up."

It will, of course, be Mr Meyer's mess in coming weeks, long after Mr Kriel is safely back in Cape Town, leaving his Cabinet colleague with loss of face, at the very least, after it became known that he had not been consulted about the raid.

But on Thursday evening, Mr Kriel stumbled all alone through the mis-

pronunciation of the names of PAC detainees, fluffing the names of council delegates as he gave increasingly hollow assurances that he supported the negotiating process.

He tried a similarly tired joke to pass off his ordeal afterwards, but, when pressed, conceded that it had been "rough".

Rallying to dismiss the five hours of public and private talks as "letting off steam and making personal attacks", he claimed to have ensured that "the real principle stands".

The real principle was that no one — and by implication particularly those

at the talks — was immune from prosecution. He got in one telling shot that briefly took the council back from its hear-baiting to a concern all but ignored by many there. Accused of attempting to upset the talks

"just when they were going so smoothly", he replied: "Yes, things are going smoothly here — but they are not going so smoothly outside this room, where people are being killed."

The delegates were careful not to condone violence, to concentrate not on perpetrators being prosecuted, but on the timing and method of a pre-dawn raid on homes and offices that resulted in the release, only days later, of more than half the people picked up.

Sharp questions teased out the minister's tenuous justification.

When the PAC revealed that one of the men arrested, Louis Baloyi, had just days before left hospital in a wheelchair after a car accident two years ago, the chamber giggled.

When the minister came to deal with this in his reply to questions, he provoked outright guffaws with his halting admission that "Baloyi was released yesterday after it was discovered that he had ... a ... problem."

He and his impressive team of officials failed on such simple matters as arithmetic. Asked how many were arrested, charged and released, he gave some figures and suggested the council do the sums. Unfortunately, the council did do its addition and came up with three unaccounted for PAC members.

Mr Kriel had the last word during the debate, giving what amounted to a stolid two-fingered gesture to the council when he ignored many questions and taunts to close with merely restating his position.

But the next day his policemen complied with a council resolution and released more PAC men.

— CLAIRE ROBERTSON

Kriel faces the People — and loses

51 Times 30/5/93

204A

Parties under pressure to fix election date

By MIKE ROBERTSON,
EDYTH BULBRING and
CLAIRE ROBERTSON

SOUTH Africa's political leaders are racing against time to meet Thursday's deadline for announcing a date for the country's first non-racial elections.

Top businessmen led by Consultative Business Movement chairman Murray Hofmeyr arranged special meetings with the government, the ANC and the Cosag grouping this week to warn that the country could not afford another Codesa 2-style breakdown of talks.

For President de Klerk a special warning signal flashed in the form of a poll that showed that only one in four whites now supports his National Party.

The ANC, too, is under mounting pressure.

Not only are radicals in the organisation threatening to create mayhem unless quick results are achieved in talks but the organisation is becoming increasingly concerned about its ability to govern in future.

Arrests

Shocked by figures which show capital flight amounted to as much as R5-billion in the first four months of this year, ANC leaders appealed to the rich not to desert South Africa now.

Negotiators this week succeeded in riding out the crisis brought on by the mass arrests of PAC members. But the underlying reason for the raid — white anger at the National Party's inability to govern remains.

This was brought home by the new poll that shows that white support for the NP has dropped to its lowest level ever.

A Research Surveys poll of 1 300 white men and women in metropolitan areas showed that only one in four whites now backs the NP. Among white men the CP (29 percent) now has more support than the NP (26 percent).

The degree of confusion among whites was evi-

APLA: PAC LEADER STICKS TO HIS GUNS

By NORMAN WEST
Political Reporter

THE PAC would not disown its military wing, Apla, just to appease the government, PAC publicity secretary Barney Desai said yesterday.

Speaking at a special PAC national executive meeting called to respond to the government's crack-down on congress members, Mr Desai also warned that the organisation intended taking a tough line when it met the government on Tuesday.

"Let them charge those against

whom they claim they have evidence of criminal acts," he said. "But we will not strike any deals on Tuesday."

The organisation has so far refused to suspend the armed struggle waged by its military wing.

Mr Desai said only after the government had given an undertaking to "cease its Gestapo tactics and agree to a date for democratic elections to put in place an elected constituent assembly, will the PAC be prepared to discuss a cessation of hostilities."

THE WEEK KRIEL PLAYED SUPERMAN

Page 19

denced by 27 percent of men and 48 percent of women saying they either didn't know which party they would vote for or would not vote at all.

This news will strengthen the hand of Cabinet hardliners like Law and Order Minister Hernus Kriel who believe cracking down on lawlessness should now take precedence over achieving a negotiated settlement.

Securing the early announcement of an election date is critical for ANC President Nelson Mandela and his chief negotiator Cyril Ramaphosa.

Ungovernable

They held this out to ANC radicals when arguing, in the wake of the killing of Chris Hani, that the organisation should not quit negotiations. They now have just four days to deliver on that promise.

An indication of the kind of pressure they are now under was provided by radical ANC Youth League leader Peter Mokaba.

"The youth will be uncontrollable and will make the country ungov-

□ To Page 2

Election deadline

From Page 1

ernable if the date for the country's first democratic elections has not been determined by June 3," he told students at Medunsa this week.

The ANC's national executive committee will meet to reassess its continued involvement in negotiations in the week following the June 3 deadline.

Both Mr Ramaphosa and his government counterpart Roelf Meyer were cautious about whether the Negotiating Forum (the body appointed to ratify negotiators' decisions) would be able to meet on Thursday to approve an election date.

The main obstacle is the opposition of the third major player in negotiations, Inkatha, to announcing an election date before World Trade Centre negotiators have decided the future of regions and a detailed framework for a national constitution.

A user's guide to the SCF and NEF

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The settlement will bring a transitional executive council (TEC), an election date, the end of sanctions, renewed access to the International Monetary Fund as banker of last resort, annual loans from the World Bank of \$1-billion, R1-billion from the African Development Bank and an estimated pro-democracy bonanza of about \$1-billion from the international donor community.

Some of this cash will attract other money. The World Bank, for instance, put up less than 5% of the finance for the R11-billion Lesotho Highlands water scheme, its involvement acting as the catalyst to attract the other 95% of funds.

This is not to say that the capital haemorrhage of the recent past will be replaced with net inflows. About R8-billion in liquid financial investment is still waiting to leave.

Negotiations are a hell of an experience. Comment by KEVIN DAVIE

But the gold mini-boom brought in about R900-million in share investments in a mere three weeks. Investment in SA can have little to do with politics.

World economic recovery remains the best hope to awaken the economy from its slumber. A settlement will be a bonus, not a cure-all.

With the TEC will come the sub-council on finance (SCF), a six-member committee of politicians which will have a big say in how the economy is run. Details of the SCF are sketchy and subject to negotiation, but this is what is on the table.

The TEC, to be formed from the 26 political parties at the multiparty talks, will nominate six people (no more than two from any one party) to form the SCF. Experts may be seconded by the TEC to join the committee.

It will be one of five sub-councils charged with ensuring a free and fair election. Its powers are likely to be considerable and to impact on all

aspects of economic life, including the Budget and functions of the Treasury.

The SCF is also likely to play a crucial role in rubber-stamping the next cycle of the debt accord and to sanction SA's new role with the international community, particularly the IMF and World Bank.

The SCF will acquaint itself with economic developments and objectives. It must be consulted about State expenditure, the composition of expenditure, the level and composition of taxes and the financing of the Budget deficit.

The SCF will also be represented on all function and budgetary committees. It will receive reports of spending against budgeted amounts and will scrutinise all taxation and financial legislation.

It may make recommendations concerning privatisation and will be able to request investigations by the auditor-general into allegations of corruption.

The SCF will, some observers say, be a super version of the National Economic Forum (NEF) and will get input from this negotiating body.

The question, then, is will the new SA not be still-born, strangled by its own umbilical cord of committees and bureaucracy?

The NEF, for instance, more than six months ago set itself a six-month deadline to show results from its short-term working committee.

This deadline has come and gone and the committee is still deliberating. How long will its long-term committee take?

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The new government will use these forums. Our best minds will interface, producing high-quality, consensus-driven advice for the government.

If you have any doubts, listen to Japie Jacobs, special adviser to the Minister of Finance.

Known for his straight talking and for being short tempered with positions he deems to be ignorant, Dr Jacobs says of the NEF: "It's a hell of an experience. Never in our history have we faced debate of this nature."

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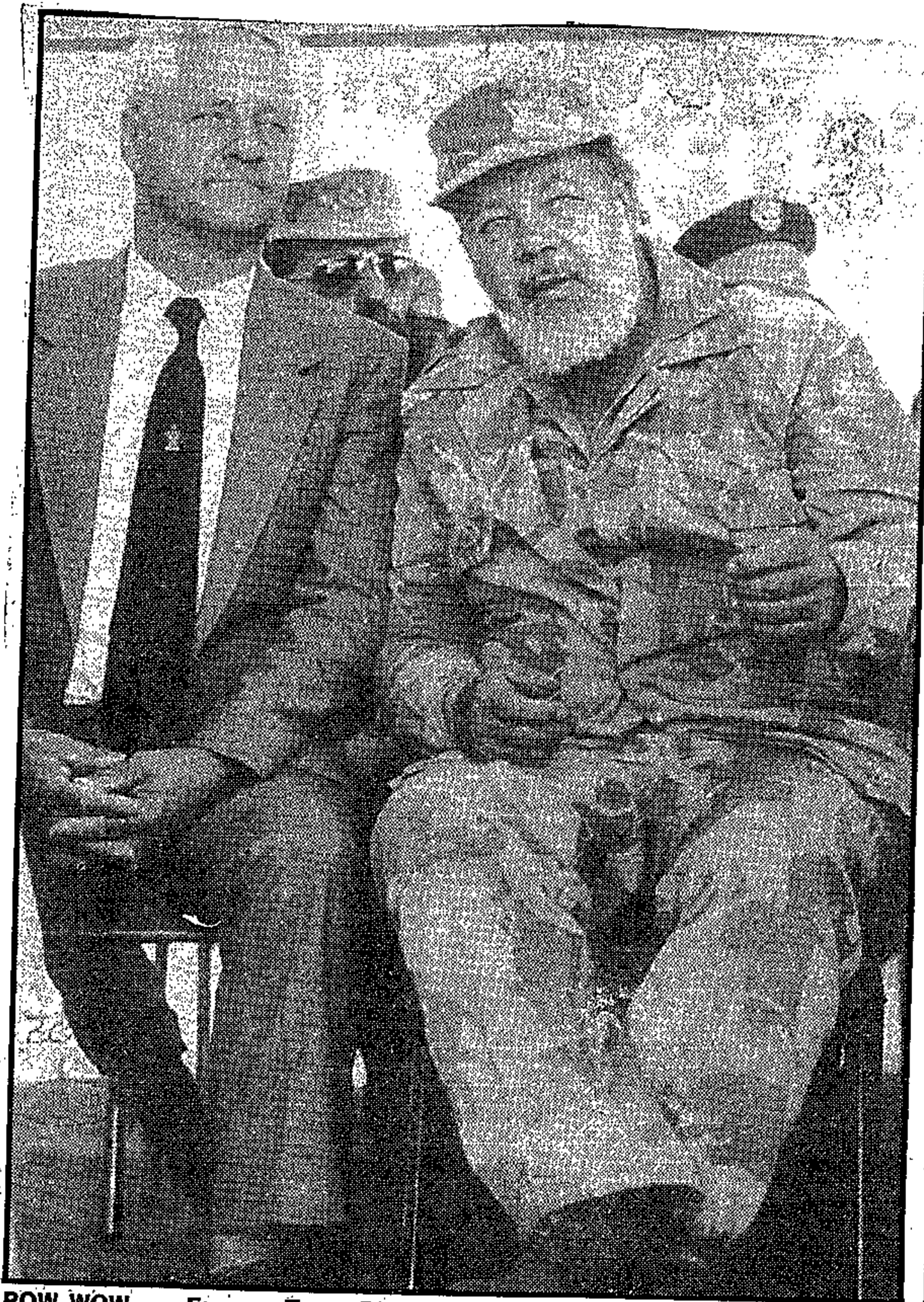
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POW WOW ... Eugene Terre Blanche and General Constand Viljoen at the right-wing rally in Pretoria yesterday
Picture: JOHN HRUSA

Corporal Eugene offers to sign up

By JOCELYN MAKER and DE WET POTGIETER

DRESSED in a new Desert Storm-style camouflage uniform and sporting a cap with gold braid, AWB leader Eugene Terre Blanche said yesterday he would happily serve former SADF chief General Constand Viljoen as a corporal in the event of civil war.

At a right-wing rally which drew a mere fraction of the expected 50 000 supporters, the real general was wearing a green pinstripe suit and matching tie. As the smell of boerewors wafted

over the gardens at the foot of the Union Buildings in Pretoria, a military flavour was in evidence.

Dressed in black, members of the AWB's Ystergarde stood guard around the podium, while platoons from the Ruiterkommando, Stormvalke, Wenkommando and the mounted unit formed up on the grass.

In a speech, Mr Terre Blanche told General Viljoen that if the Volksfront wanted to fight for the freedom of the Afrikaner, the AWB would provide thousands of troops.

"We give the government six months to restore law and order and to negotiate self-determination with us. If they do not meet this, we will negotiate over the barrel of a gun," Mr Terre Blanche warned.

The more moderate General Viljoen reiterated his statement that the Afrikaner would not be subjected to rule by a "communist" ANC government in a unitary state.

After the speeches, the crowd marched to Strydom Square, then dispersed ... in time to watch the rugby on TV.

STimes 30/5/93
(304A)

It's payout time for 'fat cats'

Sit Times 30/5/93

By NORMAN WEST: Political Reporter

THE 60 members of the President's Council — some so bored with their duties that they have often been seen sleeping during public debates — are to be rewarded handsomely with tax-free golden handshakes.

A Bill scrapping the 12-year-old council, which cost the taxpayer R10,7-million a year, was tabled in Parliament on Tuesday, and the council faces its final demise on June 30.

Members with five years or more service will get pensions and gratuity benefits commensurate with their time in office. Those who have served less than five years on the council will get a handsome one-off tax-free golden handshake.

Deadlock

An additional bonus six months will be added to service periods in accordance with the precedent set with the abolition of the senate and provincial councils.

The resolution of disputes over legislation will now be undertaken by Parliament itself at joint sittings of all three houses.

In terms of the Constitution Amendment Bill, these joint sittings will inherit the deadlock-breaking function previously carried out by the President's Council.

A simple majority of all 308 MPs will be required for legislation to be passed, rejected or amended. The three houses currently vote separately.

But the balance of power will not be affected as the NP — which had an in-built majority of 15 on the President's Council — will hold a majority of 28 votes when all 308 MPs sit together.

Last week also saw the historical ending of official separate "own affairs" budget votes, assuming elections will be agreed upon for an interim government. The President's Council was the brainchild of former State President PW Botha and the authors of the Republic of South Africa Constitution Act, No 110 of 1983.



CLIVE DERBY-LEWIS
Golden handshake

Parliament. Because the constitution that heralded the tricameral parliament did not make provision for blacks, most South Africans were automatically excluded from the council.

Political commentators have found it difficult to take the council seriously, and even members have confessed to being bored with its proceedings.

During many public debates, the chairman of the council had to ask members to wake up sleeping benchmates, much to the amusement of spectators and journalists.

Evidence

To keep the council busy, the government occasionally gave it issues to "investigate". But its "findings" and "recommendations" were seldom taken seriously.

A case in point was the council's latest assignment — to investigate daylight-saving in South Africa. The council's committee on social affairs spent many months behind closed doors "investigating" and hearing evidence. Then, in a 70-page report, it concluded that the introduction of a system of daylight-saving held no worthwhile advantages.

Members who have had five years' service will get an annual pension, estimated to be about R50 000, for life, and gratuities of about R150 000. Among those who will receive the golden handshake will be Mr Clive Derby-Lewis.

Members with less than five years' service will get a refund on their pension contributions made to the Parliamentary Pension Fund, along with a premium as part of their retrenchment packages.

The government will regard December 31 as the last day of the council's operations to give members a further six months for calculating their tax-free retrenchment packages.

Mr de Klerk said, when he opened Parliament in January, that the demise of the council "would leave a gap", and legislation would have to be tabled for a "temporary arbitrating mechanism".

This "temporary arbitrating mechanism" will be the more democratic joint sessions at which coloured, Indian and white MPs will decide on controversial issues by a simple majority.

Govt, PAC prepare for tit-for-tat

Star 31/5/93

By Esther Waugh
Political Correspondent

The PAC and Government go into tomorrow's second round of crisis talks with widely divergent views.

The PAC national executive committee (NEC) — convened to discuss last week's police crackdown — emerged on Saturday saying the organisation would not suspend the armed struggle.

It was prepared only to discuss the mutual cessation of hostilities with the Government. "There has to be two-way traffic and not a one-sided suspension," said a senior PAC source.

In terms of a PAC national conference resolution, taken in Umtata last April, the organisation could not suspend the armed struggle until the ballot had been secured, the source said.

It is likely that both the PAC and Government will enter tomorrow's bilateral talks without having fulfilled their sides of the "bargain".

In terms of a joint statement issued on Friday by Constitutional Development Minister Roelf Meyer and PAC secretary-general Benny Alexander, the PAC undertook to "discuss its commitment to armed action and its position on violence" at Saturday's NEC meeting. The organisation further undertook to give "a clear, unambiguous report" on these issues at tomorrow's meeting.

The Government undertook to release certain key PAC mem-

bers and return those documents police had seized and which were not required for investigations. (SCLA) (M)

Top Government sources said it would require the PAC to suspend its armed struggle and to sign the National Peace Accord.

The Government indicated it would press for compliance with earlier resolutions taken by the Negotiating Council. These resolutions committed parties to peace and barred them from further participation in negotiations if they did not do so.

Another top PAC source said that if the Government had not complied with its side of the bargain, the organisation would report this to the Negotiating Council meeting tomorrow afternoon. It would also not enter into further talks with the Government. Damage to PAC homes and offices would be discussed at tomorrow's meeting.

Negotiations enter a critical week with the Negotiating Council facing a severe backlog after the delay caused last week by debates on the PAC raids.

Crucial decisions on fundamental constitutional issues, including regionalism and constitutional principles, are to be taken this week if negotiators want to keep to an earlier decision to announce an election date on Thursday.

● Senior SADF and Umkhonto we Sizwe officials met last Monday and Tuesday to discuss a future defence force. Sources on both sides were tight-lipped about the contents of the meeting. However, they said progress was being made and talks were at a "sensitive" stage.

to clean up the streets.

Picture: Joao Silva

Focus on business in the transition

By Shirley Woodgate

More than 68 percent of future voters will be taking part in an election for the first time, many of them illiterate as well as unsure of procedures and principles, according to PG Bison managing director Leon Cohen.

Clearly, this means voter education of employees could be a significant contribution by business to free and fair elections, he says.

"Business should be aware that voter demonstrations of are needed. be a distribution of profits accruing from," he adds.

"Business as already become a valuable player in the peace process, but we have to widen the involvement. Specific issues like voter education would visibly demonstrate that we are

indeed committed to democratic processes."

Cohen is one of the top-line speakers at The Star/Consultative Business Movement Conference for Active Change on June 25, aimed at addressing problems facing the business community as the country moves into political transition.

Voter education is merely one aspect which the business machine can use as a means of playing an active role in the transition.

Other aspects of business involvement in political change will be addressed at the one-day seminar, which will be addressed by leading South African personalities and high-powered president of Dutch-based Philips International, Jan Timmer.

Fill in the coupon on Page 8 and post it off today if you wish to book a seat.

Its name is Shawane

Star 31151413

(3044)

It's a picture all too familiar to millions of television viewers. Angry mobs tearing down statues, ripping familiar street names, and changing the names of airports, schools or hospitals as well as those of cities and towns.

It's called democracy. It has happened in countries with names which have receded into story — the once-mighty Union of Soviet Socialist Republics, Rhodesia, Tanganyika, do-China, Malaya, Belgian Congo.

And now it may well be Africa's turn as the transition period gets under way, probably in a scant few weeks with the appointment of the transitional executive council. Places named after politicians are almost certainly to be altered by a new government in a year or two.

Cities and towns such as Verderburg, Durban, East London, Port Elizabeth, Germiston, Bloemfontein, Pietermaritzburg or Pietermaritzburg are, all on the

line, it would appear.

And then there's Louis Botha Airport, H F Verwoerd Airport, P W Botha Airport, Ben Schoeman Airport and a host of other similarly named landing fields. Even internationally-recognised Jan Smuts Airport, named after one of the four men who wrote the preamble to the United Nations Charter and who helped steer the world back to peace after World War 2, could be affected.

Lucie Moller of the United Nations Centre on Geographical Names at Pretoria's Human Sciences Research Council says before change is undertaken, there should be careful consideration of each name.

In a country such as South Africa, with its many different national groups, from Zulus to Afrikaners, the choosing of a particular name could be offensive to one or other group.

And to chop-and-change at the whim of a political party or group in power is not only costly but downright confusing for the man-in-the-street, if he

What's in a name? That's the dilemma facing South Africans, comfortable with place names, some of which are hundreds of years old, as the age of the New South Africa lies just over the horizon, says NORMAN CHANDLER of The Star Pretoria Bureau.

knows what street he is in...

Land Acts, municipal documents, deeds and a huge number of company and house addresses will all need to be altered, at a massive cost to the taxpayer.

Legislation is at this moment being prepared, says Moller, for the removal of offensive names, especially those of post offices, farms and geographical features.

Kaffertvler and Boesmansriviermond are just two of a thousand names which are safe bets for alteration.

There is also the fear that anything to do with the Voortrekkers could be altered as well — even the Voortrekker Monument could come in for radical alteration unless wiser counsel prevails.

The swing of the pendulum is

getting wider, however, and Moller notes that requests for name changes now include those of areas named after past and present leaders and cabinet ministers of the National Party.

The mostly hotly-debated are those honouring former prime minister Dr H F Verwoerd. Not only does Verwoerd have hospitals and airports named after him, but also the town of Lyttelton was renamed Verwoerdburg and a shopping centre in the town called Verwoerdburgstad.

The latter has now been renamed, probably because the owners are thinking ahead, to Centurion Centre.

"The removal of names that are potentially offensive to any specific group may be long overdue, but careful considera-

tion of each name is necessary, and the feelings and attitudes of the specific groups should be probed very diplomatically," says Moller.

Already, alternative names for cities and towns exist in South Africa. Even Soweto — once-upon-a-time known as South Western Townships — and other black residential areas have their Tambovilles, Mandela Parks, Hani Parks, etc., in place of names given to the areas by municipal authorities.

Cape Town certainly did not start out in life as "Cape Town". Moller points out that the Table Bay area was first known to the original inhabitants, call them Strandlopers or the San, as "Huigas". Along came the Portuguese with their "Cabo de bona Esperanza", the Dutch with "Kaap de Goede Hoop", the British with "Cape Town", and the later Afrikaans translation of "Kaapstad".

Up the coast is Port Elizabeth, now known to Xhosa-speakers as "Bhayi", and then

there is Durban with its well-known Nguni name of "eThekweni".

It's a good bet that, like Salisbury in the former Rhodesia, which was 11 years ago renamed Harare after the city's adjoining black township, Bloemfontein will probably be called "Manguang" after its township.

Johannesburg has tribal names — the well known Nguni name of "eGoli" and the Sotho or "Rauteng". It is thought that the name Soweto may continue to refer to the predominantly black area south-west of the city, particularly as it is internationally recognised.

Will Pretoria remain the capital at least under the name which remembers Andries Pretorius, the Voortrekker leader?

There are indications that Pretoria may escape the axe but if it doesn't, stand by for "Tshwane" or, like Saigon became Ho Chi Minh City, it could end up as Oliver Tambo City or Chris Hani City. □

Volkstaat

or war,
Star 31/5/93
warns

Right

Thousands of armed white rightists, rallying outside the Union Buildings in Pretoria on Saturday, threatened war if they failed to win an independent Afrikaner state.

"The Afrikaner is girding up. There is a head-on collision coming," General Constand Viljoen, co-ordinator of the Afrikaner Volksfront (AVF), told the crowd of 3 000, many of whom carried shotguns or pistols.

An aide to AWB leader Eugene TerreBlanche handed police a petition directed at the 28 parties negotiating a transition to black majority rule. It gave them six months to draft a constitution that would provide for Afrikaner self-determination in a sovereign state.

"All participants in the negotiations must recognise our right to self-rule. If not, the AVF and AWB will regard it as a declaration of war," the petition said.

TerreBlanche, flanked by members of the AWB's black-uniformed Iron Guard, pressed home the message.

"Let my people go. If you do not let my people go to their own land, I promise there will be war," he said.

Lashed out

On their way, marchers charged at blacks who stood watching from the pavement. They lashed out with fists and boots but the blacks fled and no one was seriously injured.

TerreBlanche said Afrikaners had a divine right to the land. "We do not have an agreement with the United Nations over land," he said. "We have an agreement with God Himself. We are white because God made us that way ... from far away, you can recognise us as the bearers of God's light in Africa."

In a gesture to Afrikaner unity, TerreBlanche for the first time shared a platform with Viljoen, who helped set up the Volksfront last month to unify the fragmented white Right.

The AWB leader offered troops if Viljoen chose to fight. "If you want to fight, general, I will be your corporal. The thousands of AWB members here are yours."

Viljoen told the crowd to prepare themselves for self-defence.

"There might be a bloody struggle. If we have to sacrifice ourselves, our cause is just," he said.

But he added: "If we should take to weapons it would be a very great disaster."

Viljoen has previously said that he hopes for a political solution.

The far Right has grown more vociferous in its demand for self-determination since black militants launched a series of attacks on white farmers and as negotiators make progress towards setting a date for the first all-race election. — Sapa-Reuters.

Set election Star 31/5/93 date or else, (304A) says Mokaba

The country's negotiating teams have until Thursday to announce the date for the first democratic elections, ANC Youth League president Peter Mokaba said on Friday.

Speaking at a ceremony at Medunsa to commemorate Chris Hani and Oliver Tambo, Mokaba warned that if an agreement on an election date were not reached by Thursday, the youth would make the country ungovernable.

He said he had met ANC president Nelson Mandela earlier that day and informed him that Umkhonto we Sizwe members should be allowed to carry arms and protect township residents.

ANC Natal Midlands leader Harry Gwala supported the call for the voting age limit to be reduced from 18 to 14. — Pretoria Bureau.

Kriel says unrest must stall vote

By ANTHONY JOHNSON
Political Correspondent

AS negotiators rush to meet the Thursday deadline for announcing an election date, the Minister of Law and Order, Mr Hernus Kriel, has warned that an election cannot be held in the current climate of violence.

The minister also dismissed claims of a split in the cabinet over negotiations strategy and the handling of violence.

Mr Kriel told Rapport newspaper that the NP had believed for some time that negotiations had to be tackled in tandem with the violence.

"But if a political settlement is reached now, I would say you could not hold an election — the climate of violence would not allow it."

Meanwhile, the PAC said at the weekend that an end to its armed struggle might be in sight if an agreement could be reached this week on an election date.

Publicity secretary Mr Barney Desai said at a special executive meeting of the PAC that the PAC was not yet ready to suspend Apla's armed struggle.

However, it would be prepared to

discuss "the cessation of hostilities" once a date for democratic elections had been settled.

Potential stumbling blocks in the way of a swift agreement among the 26 parties at the World Trade Centre on a poll date include a long list of constitutional issues that have to be thrashed out in the next few days.

Tomorrow's bilateral meeting between the government and the PAC on the organisation's stance on violence, the armed struggle and the crackdown on several of the PAC's leaders could lead to further fireworks.

Arrests

Mr Kriel told Rapport he was satisfied that the police had briefed him properly and said the Apla raids had been aimed at clamping down on the brains behind the violence.

The police were not obliged to tell him in advance about planned arrests and he had no power or right to tell the Commissioner of Police who should or should not be arrested.

He had intended to inform his cabinet colleague and chief government negotiator, Mr Roelf Meyer, of the raids early on Tuesday but had not been able to contact of him.

CT31/5/93

304A

'New era of stability' (2047)

Political Staff

DEMOCRACY in South Africa would usher in a new era of stability and self-confidence in Southern African, Mr Colin Eglin, chairman of the Democratic Party's caucus, said in Zimbabwe at the weekend.

The ending of apartheid would have a significant impact on the region, but this would not be as spectacular as some would believe, he said at the annual convention of the Zimbabwean Chamber of Mines.