

S.A. GOVT. & POLITICS

1993 - JANUARY

Men who could turn the tide

SPR 21/93 3044

THE NEGOTIATIONS

Roelf Meyer

MEYER, the Minister of Constitutional Development, contacted ANC secretary-general Cyril Ramaphosa immediately after the ANC broke off talks in June — their daily dialogue was a lonely flicker of light.

September's Record of Understanding between Nelson Mandela and F W de Klerk gave public backing to deals cobbled together in private. But Meyer's firefighting role is far from over.

Another Boipatong could easily disrupt talks. And ironically, as elections draw nearer, Meyer will have to deal with National Party hawks, like Justice Minister Koble Coetsee, Law and Order Minister Herinus Kriel and Natal leader George Bartlett. They believe that wooing the ANC has already cost too much and put ties with the Inkatha Freedom Party at risk.

Meyer has backing, but as electoral advantage begins to take precedence over nurse-maiding the talks, Meyer will find himself pushed to drive harder bargains with the ANC.

Cyril Ramaphosa

RAMAPHOSA, the ANC's chief negotiator, is an important link with the ANC grassroots. A powerful presence on TV, he also marched in front in the mass action campaign and at Bisho. His role will get more complicated in 1993. The ANC's militants resent giving the Government an inch. Other supporters are growing weary. Fruitless negotiations could leave the ANC open on the left. More bloodletting works to the advantage of the Right. Both spell damage at the polls.

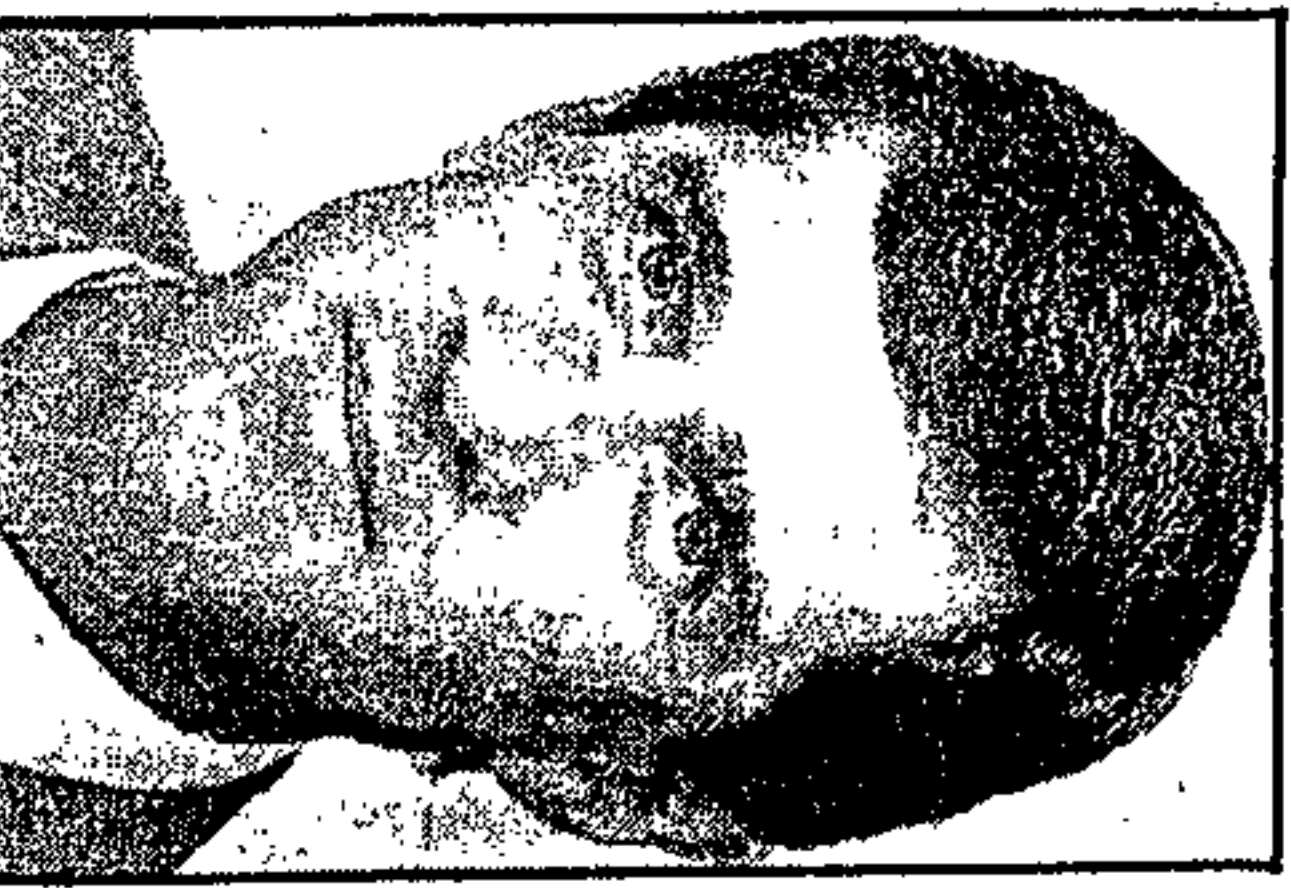
With that in mind, Ramaphosa and others must be deeply concerned at the ANC's lack of campaign readiness.

Frank Mdlalose

DR MDLALOSE, chairman of the IFP, is working with Meyer to restore soured relations. He is also heading talks with the ANC.

The best the IFP-ANC talks can produce is a wary truce. In dealing with the Government, Mdlalose and the IFP have a tough choice. Stic to their demand for "independence" and hope that the National Party Right will back them? Or return to the belief an IFP-NP alliance could win an election?

NEGOTIATIONS, the economy and the violence will dominate 1993 as in the year just past. Chief Reporter JOHN PERLMAN looks at a handful of individuals whose performance in the coming year can make a difference.



ROELF MEYER: His firefighting is far from over.



CYRIL RAMAPHOSA: Role will get more complicated.



FRANK MDLALOSE: Talks can bring a wary truce with ANC.



DEREK KEYS: Has a rough 1993 ahead of him.



JAY NAIDOO: Helped limit the damage of the protests.



TITO MBOWENI: Says it won't be easy to get out of the mess.

THE ECONOMY

Derek Keys

THE ANC's Trevor Manuel recently praised Finance Minister Keys for evaluating "every decision he took on the basis of whether a future democratic government would be comfortable with it".

But Keys still has a rough 1993 ahead of him. Cosatu president John Gomo this week warned that tax increases could spark mass action. Keys's offer of relief for basic foodstuffs in exchange for a higher VAT has also drawn criticism.

Keys has said SA cannot afford increased social spending and warned that 30 000 government jobs must go. He won't be popular. Will the political rows leave him time for the longer-term planning tasks?

Jay Naidoo

NAIDOO, Cosatu secretary-general, was a key figure in efforts to limit the damage that the mass action stayaway eventually produced. Similar diplomacy this year will call for a careful balancing act. On the one hand, workers are mindful of job insecurity and will not take action lightly. On the other, living standards are under assault.

In economic forums, broad agreements of principle will be easily reached, but nuts-and-bolts proposals — wage freezes and so on — will reveal whether workers, bosses and the Government can combine to pull the economy around.

Tito Mboweni

MBOWENI (33) is the ANC's key spokesman on economic affairs. The economy is a "hot issue" among rank-and-file members, he says.

The year 1993 may not require the ANC to commit itself to detailed policy that could fan fires at grassroots level. But in a recent issue of the ANC journal Mayibuye, Mboweni warned: "To get out of the mess will not be easy."

The ANC says it will challenge the giant monopolies. Nevertheless, Mboweni has tried to assure business of the workability of ANC economics. In a recent interview he said nationalisation was "just one of the policy instruments which can be used in pursuit of national economic objectives... I don't think the ANC would want to keep on expanding the public sector without taking due regard of the maintenance of confidence in the economy."

Business respect for ANC thinking would make joint action on the recession easier. It could also help the ANC. A convincing economic policy could turn business friends into financial backers.

THE VIOLENCE



3h **JAY NAIDOO:** Helped limit the damage of the protests.



TITO MBOWENI: Says it won't be easy to get out of the mess.

Tito Mboweni

MBOWENI (33) is the ANC's key spokesman on economic affairs. The economy is a "hot issue" among rank-and-file members, he says.

The year 1993 may not require the ANC to commit itself to detailed policy that could fan fires at grass-roots level. But in a recent issue of the ANC journal *Mayibuye*, Mboweni warned: "To get out of the mess will not be easy."

The ANC says it will challenge the giant monopolies. Nevertheless, Mboweni has tried to assure business of the workability of ANC economics. In a recent interview he said nationalisation was "just one of the policy instruments which can be used in pursuance of national economic objectives... I don't think the ANC would want to keep on expanding the public sector without taking due regard of the maintenance of confidence in the economy..."

Business respect for ANC thinking would make joint action on the recession easier. It could also help the ANC. A convincing economic policy could turn business friends into financial backers.

THE VIOLENCE

Judge Richard Goldstone

GOLDSTONE'S investigations nailed the security forces on some counts but acquitted them on others. This even-handedness went some way towards restoring faith in justice and the law.

The long-term value of Goldstone's work, though, will be in establishing procedures that can be used in future systems of justice and law and order.

One part of Goldstone's work — the commission on mass demonstrations — is likely to find expression in legislation this year. But with the work on his desk certain to pile up again, Goldstone's challenge will be to see how the credibility and effectiveness of his work can be emulated as widely as possible.

Lieutenant-General Pierre Steyn

JOINT control of the security forces will be one of 1993's thorniest issues, and men who command respect on the other side of the barricades will be invaluable. Steyn, the SADF Chief of Staff who conducted the investigation that led to last week's purge of senior army officers, has his admirers in opposition political groups.

There have been claims the purge was a smoke-screen and left Army Intelligence chief General Joffel van der Westhuizen — implicated in the Matthew Goniwe murder — and others unscathed.

But the rise or fall of Steyn's stocks in 1993 will say a great deal about the readiness of the SADF to place itself under broader political control. In theory he should take command of the SADF when General Kat Liebenberg retires this year. A successful restructuring of the SADF would be a giant boost for the peace effort.

Johnson Mlambo

THE PAC congress in April relieved Mlambo of his post as commander-in-chief of the Azanian People's Liberation Army (Apla). But this is political sleight of hand. As both deputy president of the PAC and military commander, Mlambo was a living contradiction of the PAC's claim that it had no influence over Apla. The damage Apla can do is not limited to the victims of its attacks. The sudden fierce conflict in the eastern Free State, with the Right mobilising, has suddenly raised the spectre of race war.

The PAC last year began talking, but that is now on hold. Mlambo has a foot and influence in both camps. If the PAC is to put a brake on Apla, he is the one who will have to say so unequivocally.



GOLDSTONE: Even-handedness.



STEYN: May take over from Liebenberg.



MLAMBO: A foot in both camps.

OUTLOOK FOR 1993: It's a time when SA could either be shaped or consumed
in a melting pot of irresistible political and economic forces

The year of the crucible

Star 2/1/93

304A

IT IS the basic optimism of the human race which leads us to believe that the billion-year-old routine of planet earth entering a new orbit around the sun can somehow make our lives new, different and better.

South Africa has seldom needed to cling to such a hope more than it does now with the soil still fresh on thousands of graves, the great uncertainty of our political future and with our economy starting the new year on a life-support machine.

If the optimism with which we celebrated earth's new orbit is to translate into a real "happy new year" we need to remind ourselves, as an English author of some note did a few hundred orbits back, that the fault (and implicitly the solution) lies not in the stars, but in ourselves.

South Africa's future has not been predetermined, leaving us helpless pawns and mere witnesses to the unfolding of some cosmic design. The slate ahead is clean, providing South Africans and their leaders with the opportunity to write what we will.

When the earth begins yet another orbit in about 364 days hence, the southern tip of Africa can be batted in sunshine or it



people with little or no access to formal political mechanisms of expression will express their anger and frustration in the only way available to them — through violent acts.

There seems little or no prospect that the socio-economic upliftment required to give people a real stake in the country will be possible in 1993 and the formal structuring of the black political environment which would allow for the expression of political differences through legitimate channels is a long, slow process.

While the real problems associated with violence will continue to prevail for much of the year, at least the "Third Force"-type activities will show a marked decline as the government of the day at least begins to act to pull its security establishment into line.

If the violence continues at anything like 1992 levels, it will make the negotiation process much more difficult. The possibility of holding any kind of election in the present climate is remote. The environment must be stabilised first and that seems like too big a task to be accomplished in just a single orbit of the sun.

It implies that as far as domestic political developments are concerned 1993 could almost be divided into two sections. The first few months of the year should see fairly rapid progress toward a settlement

When the earth begins yet another orbit in about 364 days time, the southern tip of Africa can be bathed in sunshine or it can be a dark, devastated wasteland. The next 364 days are that important — it will be the year that makes or breaks South Africa.

HERE are two powerful and interrelated forces which will help determine what South Africa looks like one year from today. The first contains the consequences of the dynamic and our domestic and political transition and the second, over which we have less control, is the performance of the global economy.

As far as the latter is concerned South Africa has cause for concern. The economic giants of the global system — the United States, the European Community and Japan — start the year in deep recession where the prospects for growth are much higher than 1.5 percent or 2 percent seem remote.

The United States and the EC will spend much of the year and a few more after this one) struggling to reduce growing budget deficits which have been real impediments to economic growth over the past 12 months.

The size of these deficits is such that they soak up all available capital — money which should have been spent on investment which generates growth and creates jobs. That trend will continue into 1993 and while there are signs that the global economy will perform better in 1993 than it did in 1992, the improvement will be so slight as to make no real difference to those of us on the very edge of that global economy.

There will simply not be enough growth at the "centre" to allow for any meaningful "trickle down" to the periphery. Germany, one of the locomotives of global growth for decades, is struggling to absorb the cost of reunification which is

causing inflation, high interest rates and social and political instability. This inflation, high interest rates and instability sends ripples through the global system which become a tidal wave by the time they reach the southern tip of Africa.

Japan is struggling through its worst economic downturn since the end of World War 2 and the cracks of its domestic political rockface are growing alarmingly wide — more ripples. The United States, even with ill-advised fiscal stimulation of its economy, will grow by 2 percent at most and that will not be enough to ease its deficit and unemployment problems — still more ripples.

FAST and central Europe and the former Soviet Union have established a "first claim" on any developmental and investment capital which may escape the deficit and core investment nets. The potential for instability in east/central Europe and the Commonwealth of Independent States (CIS) is the first concern of the "core" nations such as the US, EC and Japan and these economies have become giant sponges soaking up money — often into a bottomless pit. And still the ripples come.

NOW, as seldom before, South Africans need to draw on their fortitude as they are swept along in a vortex of influences which feed on each other and which will, in the next 364 days, decide their destinies. GARY VAN STADEN reports.

The implications of these series of ripples for the South African economy are fairly severe — no investment permitted (even if domestic conditions permitted such a move), very little development aid, only a very slight upturn in our economy (again domestic political conditions will be paramount), a growing budget deficit as the government spends more and more and collects less and less, and the prospect that our 1992 trade surpluses are replaced by a current account deficit.

The budget deficit will almost certainly imply tax increases — most likely indirect taxation such as VAT and petrol levies. The picture is not totally dark as some economic growth will take place, but we cannot realistically expect that the surge of growth our economy needs to sustain the political transition and to invest in the future will materialise.

Which brings us to the domestic political situation and the close link between domestic

politics and economic growth. It is not so much a link as a "Catch 22", because while the political process depends to a significant degree on economic growth and a redistribution of wealth and socio-economic upliftment, economic growth is the hostage of the political process. Even if global conditions permitted foreign private investment on a substantial scale, domestic political conditions are such that the risk is not worth the potential return.

There are two issues of paramount importance as far as the domestic political situation is concerned. First, the levels of violence must be reduced and, second, we must have clarity on where the negotiation process is going and how we intend to get there. The issue of violence is the most important.

Private investors in the global economy are far more concerned about stability than they are about the ideological leanings of any particular regime. There is little to indicate that

1993 will be a lot better in this regard than 1992, although the intensity of the violence in Natal and the PWV (the core areas of the problem) should decline. But 1993 will not see the end of the conflict simply because few of the underlying causes have been adequately addressed.

Forget about political competition and ethnicity as root causes. Political competition does not have to be expressed in violent terms and the real problem of ethnicity is the exploitation of this concept by elites such as Chief Mangosuthu Buthelezi and the Inkatha leadership.

WE HAVE wasted so much time already attempting to treat these symptoms of the problem rather than the underlying causes. Political intolerance, largely the consequence of a lack of formalised political structures in much of our country, and our history of attempting to force unwanted and unrepresentative structures on the majority of our people and poor socio-economic conditions are the real problem areas.

It is a statement of the obvious that poor and alienated

are concerned 1993 could almost be divided into two sections. The first few months of the year should see fairly rapid progress toward a settlement with a new multiparty mechanism installed fairly early in the year.

A transitional authority should be in place by the end of the first quarter, or at least by the end of the second.

HIS will also help to speed up the process and even the levels of violence should show some decline. But then the issues become more complicated.

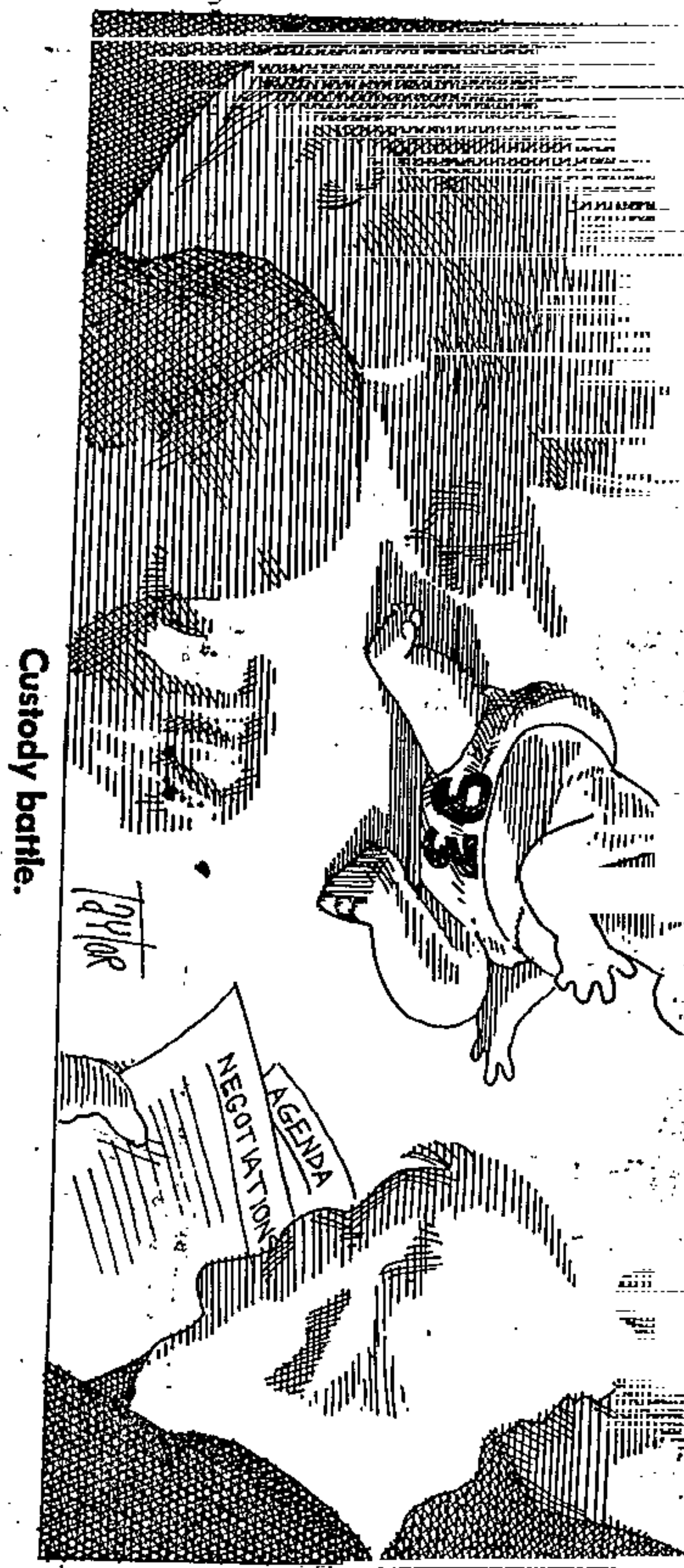
Constituent assemblies, interim constitutions, federalism, minority protection and government of national unity will raise the political stakes and progress will become far more difficult and protracted — a protraction our economy will have great difficulty sustaining. As the certainty of the early months of 1993 gives way to the uncertainty again, the economy will suffer.

Economic constraints will grow more acute and without clear progress toward an election late in 1993 or early 1994 the year would have been a failure. The signs are there that these problems can be resolved, with clear signals of willingness to compromise emerging from the major players in this political game.

The year 1993 will be the crunch year. Clear progress toward a final settlement must be made and an environment conducive to free and fair elections created. Our economy, given prevailing global conditions, cannot sustain another year of failure.

The earth's new orbit around the sun brings no guarantees of success only the opportunity to revive the innate optimism in all of us. If nothing else, 1993 must be the year of living hopefully.

The author is political analyst at Kaplan and Stewart Inc. Stockbrokers and a senior researcher (PhD), department of politics, University of Leicester, England.



Blacks and whites filled with gloom – survey

Pessimism rules SA

Star 2/1/93

THERE is a definite trend towards pessimism among all South Africans in their outlook for the year ahead, according to a Gallup Poll carried out by the Markinor Research Group.

Markinor said findings showed that blacks were equally pessimistic about 1993, with 41,7 percent of whites and 40 percent of blacks feeling that things will be worse.

Stalled negotiations

In a similar poll for 1992, only 32 percent of whites and 29 percent of blacks indicated they lacked confidence in the future.

"This is the first time since 1989 that optimism among blacks has dropped below 100 on the Markinor Annual Optimism Index," according to Markinor director Peter Scott-Wilson. "This is undoubtedly attributable to the stalled political negotiations, the deepening

economic recession and the increase in violence, especially among 'soft' targets."

He said that from 1982, when the poll was first held, until 1985, optimism among South Africans was low largely as a result of the introduction of the state of emergency during that period. The trend began to change in 1986, and with the outcome of the general election in 1987 impacting positively on South Africans' views of the future, optimism rose steadily up to 1988.

However, overall optimism dipped again from 1988 to 1989 as township violence escalated. From then on, as optimism among whites dropped, confidence among blacks rose — no doubt because of the release of ANC president Nelson Mandela and the implementation of President de Klerk's reform programme.

"In fact, towards the end of 1989, blacks for the first time showed more confidence in the future than whites. The turning point came in 1991 when

white optimism suddenly rose and black optimism dropped."

Scott-Wilson said blacks living in the Vaal Triangle were "dramatically" more pessimistic (75 percent) than those living in Pretoria (25,4 percent), while those living in Cape Town were the most optimistic (44 percent).

Conversely, whites living in Cape Town were the most pessimistic (44,8 percent), with those in Port Elizabeth and East London (40,4 percent) and Bloemfontein (40,1 percent) the most optimistic about the future.

Asked about the economic situation in the country during the past year, only 1,1 percent of whites and 2,5 percent of blacks felt it "got a lot better", while 59,5 percent of whites and 30,6 percent of blacks felt it "got a lot worse", showing a markedly greater degree of pessimism among whites.

Far more whites (53,4 percent) than blacks (37,2 percent) felt 1993 would be a troubled year, while only 10,4 percent of whites as opposed to 23,3 per-

cent of blacks felt it would turn into a peaceful year.

Among the whites, the Afrikaans-speaking (58,3 percent) were more pessimistic than the English-speaking (49,2 percent). Last year, only 33 percent of white South Africans thought the year ahead would be a troubled one. Whites in Bloemfontein and blacks in Cape Town were the most positive about peace.

Rising concern

The most negative whites were those in the PWV area and the most negative blacks those in the Vaal Triangle.

"Clearly, there is a rising concern for the country's future," Scott-Wilson said.

The poll was conducted among 2 300 urban adults — 1 000 whites and 1 300 blacks — and was part of an international year-end poll conducted in 36 countries by Gallup International. — Sapa.

FREDERIK VAN ZYL SLABBERT looks at the challenges confronting South Africa in the New Year

Codesa was unreal and smooth. Negotiations now are more real and messy

SITINGS 3/1/93

POLITICAL analysts talk about the world going through a new wave of democratisation. It started in the early 70s in Portugal and Spain, and spread from southern Europe to Latin America, central and eastern Europe and, more recently, to south-east Asia, Africa and China.

The fact that they talk about a comparable process means certain core values have been identified, typifying democratic political systems — adult franchise, multiparty competition for political power and the peaceful change of government, constitutional protection of civil liberties and so on.

Not all countries become stable or consolidated democracies, but virtually all of them share in common the quest for democracy. There has been an exponential increase in the number of countries experiencing democratisation in the last 20 years and, with it, an explosion of information and knowledge about the problems and possible outcomes of the process.

Such information and knowledge can be useful to help us understand the dynamics of our own transition. Contrary to the impression sometimes created by our leading politicians, we are not the only multicultural/racial/ethnic country experiencing problems of transition. We are also not the only case where a dominant minority tries to negotiate itself out of exclusive power in order to play some role in the future.

Research shows there is no single path to democracy, and one cannot spell out a list of preconditions which have to be met in order to be a successful democracy. Conversely, there is no single or inherent reason why SA could not become a stable, functioning democracy. At the same time, it is well to remember that the fact that major political leaders commit themselves to democracy does not guarantee the inevitability of the outcome.



Hope after happy hour

SITINGS 3/1/93

of polarised crisis cascaded throughout the whole country.

Most disturbing, perhaps, was a fairly common attitude among all politicians that the economy was somehow a resource operating in a separate vacuum, independent of what politicians said or did, and that it was always available to be tapped into at will.

It is to the credit of Derek Keys and others that they drove home the fact that the economy was bleeding to

critically important during and after transition.

A National Economic Forum is highlighting the importance of the economy and the need to have consensus on economic and development policy. We also see the emergence of forums on housing, health, education, local government and electricity.

The creation of these forums draws in a wide range of expertise and helps to move a range of critical issues beyond partisan political

break-up of Codesa highlight three interrelated problems that have to be resolved if we are to succeed. The dynamics of our transition are such that there can be no economic development without political legitimacy.

However, we cannot negotiate political legitimacy if we do not have acceptable stability or the non-partisan maintenance of law and order. For better or worse, we have to address problems of stability, legitimacy and

form the vitally important roles of combating crime, controlling political violence and helping townships, villages and suburbs to maintain community stability.

We are not out of the woods yet, but developments in these areas look better for 1993 than they have since 1990.

In addition, private militia — like Apla, MK, Aquila etc — have to be disbanded. Together with other security forces — for example, the

to be strictly circumscribed. Both right and left-wing militancy will have to be repressed and constrained, otherwise it will gnaw away at the centre and threaten a fragile developing stability.

It is vitally important that parties who may differ strongly with one another, but are prepared to coalesce at the centre in order to manage transition, have to agree on the status, legitimacy and role of the military and police.

Again, in this regard, the omens for 1993 look more realistic and promising than the two preceding years. South Africa, like many countries today, is caught up in a wave of democratisation. As we start 1993, we hover on the threshold of hope. It is, however, hope tempered by, and born out of, two years of frustration, disillusionment,

threat to our transition.

LEGITIMACY: legitimacy in the form of demonstrable consent for the process of government depends on popular acceptance of a constitution and democratic elections under it.

But before this can happen, there must be a conscious adoption of democratic rules. They must not be so much believed in as applied, first, perhaps, from necessity, and gradually from habit. The very operation of these rules will enlarge the area of consensus step by step as democracy moves down the crowded agenda" (Dankward Rustow).

In short, a critical mass of politicians and parties have to agree on the rules of the game in terms of which legitimacy will be established — not only nationally, but also on the regional and local levels.

If no consensus on these rules develops in the centre, flanking and militant fringe parties will play havoc with stability. Without serious attempts at establishing transitional legitimacy, no effective development can take place. In this regard, 1993 looks much better than 1992.

DEVELOPMENT: If, in 1993, South African politicians and political groups cannot reach agreement on which areas of economic development and policy should be removed from partisan political contestation, then economic stagnation will continue. This will affect problems of stability and legitimacy.

WE simply cannot afford enduring and inconclusive bickering on issues such as nationalisation, land reform, property and prioritising on development areas such as housing, education and health.

Transition in SA is not only about the formal transfer of political power — it is also about redistribution and equity.

Again, in this regard, the omens for 1993 look more realistic and promising than the two preceding years.

South Africa, like many countries today, is caught up in a wave of democratisation. As we start 1993, we hover on the threshold of hope. It is, however, hope tempered by, and born out of, two years of frustration, disillusionment,

POLITICAL analysts talk about the world going through a new wave of democratisation. It started in the early 70s in Portugal and Spain, and spread from southern Europe to Latin America, central and eastern Europe and, more recently, to south-east Asia, Africa and China.

The fact that they talk about a comparable process means certain core values have been identified, typifying democratic political systems — adult franchise, multiparty competition for political power and the peaceful change of government, constitutional protection of civil liberties and so on.

Not all countries become stable or consolidated democracies, but virtually all of them share in common the quest for democracy. There has been an exponential increase in the number of countries experiencing democratisation in the last 20 years and, with it, an explosion of information and knowledge about the problems and possible outcomes of the process.

Such information and knowledge can be useful to help us understand the dynamics of our own transition. Contrary to the impression sometimes created by our leading politicians, we are not the only multicultural/racial/ethnic country experiencing problems of transition. We are also not the

only case where a dominant minority tries to negotiate its sell out of exclusive power in order to play some role in the future.

Research shows there is no single path to democracy, and one cannot spell out a list of preconditions which have to be met in order to be a successful democracy. Conversely, there is no single or inherent reason why SA could not become a stable, functioning democracy.

At the same time, it is well to remember that the fact that major political leaders commit themselves to democracy does not guarantee the inevitability of the outcome.

ONE of the critically important factors during a successful transition to democracy is flexible, pragmatic leadership in responding towards each other and the constantly changing political, social and economic conditions.

In the initial stages of our own transition, it was a cause of serious concern to observe the extent to which political leaders across the spectrum had hopelessly underestimated the complexity of the process they had subjected the country to.

Confident and simplistic predictions abounded in the first 18 months after February 1990. Elections and interim governments were promised and re-promised. When they did not materialise, we were subjected to round after round of dreary breast-beating, moral one-upmanship and transparent scapegoating.

The ability of parties to frustrate each other's intentions was deliberately ignored, and there was a total lack of appreciation of the role of the civil service and, particularly, the security ele-



Hope after happy hour

of polarised crisis cascaded throughout the whole country.

Most disturbing, perhaps, was a fairly common attitude among all politicians that the economy was somehow a resource operating in a separate vacuum, independent of what politicians said or did, and that it was always available to be tapped into at will.

It is to the credit of Derek Keys and others that they drove home the fact that the economy was bleeding to death precisely because politicians were not prepared to nurture and protect its relevance through transition.

Now, for the first time since February 1990, there are modest grounds for hope and optimism about our transition in 1993. This can be said because of the consequences of escalating and arbitrary violence, the state of the economy and growing international scepticism about our will to succeed.

It seems that — not a moment too soon — some humility and realism has developed in, and between, our politicians. Almost as if in a moment of lucidity, they collectively had an awareness of how they were stuffing up this country.

In this context, the breakup of Codesa was a good thing. As long as it continued, it fed the illusion that the process of negotiated transition was under control.

During its life, in fact, many important problems were either being ignored or neglected. Codesa made us put all our negotiations eggs into one basket — when it ground to a deadlock, a sense

critically important during and after transition.

What has happened since the break-up of Codesa? First, the issue of violence began to enjoy sustained and focused attention. In a profoundly important development, most parties — including the government — agreed to receive an envoy of the United Nations Security Council and, subsequently, observers to monitor the violence and process of negotiations.

Third, the style of negotiation between leaders and groups changed significantly. Codesa was an artificial forum where strength did not necessarily negotiate with strength.

After the break-up, the negotiations became bilateral and much more articulated. Bilateral discussions highlighted what had to be resolved between two parties before multiparty discussions could be successful.

Almost paradoxically, bilateral talks paved the way for more inclusive multiparty talks. We now see the emergence of some common plan of transition between major parties, with identifiable phases and problems that have to be resolved.

One senses a critical re-orientation is taking place between the government, the ANC and Inkatha on how the process should evolve this year. Public pronouncements have become more modest, pragmatic and realistic about the way forward.

Codesa was unreal and smooth. Negotiations now are more real and messy. Developments since the

break-up of Codesa highlight three interrelated problems that have to be resolved if we are to succeed. The dynamics of our transition are such that there can be no economic development without political legitimacy.

However, we cannot negotiate political legitimacy if we do not have acceptable stability or the non-partisan maintenance of law and order. For better or worse, we have to address problems of stability, legitimacy and development.

In addition, private militia — like Apla, MK, Aquila etc — have to be disbanded. Together with other security forces — for example, Transkei, Ciskei, Venda, Bophuthatswana and homeland and police forces — they have to be reintegrated and rationalised. The public carrying of weapons of any kind also has

to be strictly circumscribed. Both right and left-wing militancy will have to be repressed and constrained, otherwise it will gnaw away at the centre and threaten a fragile developing stability.

It is vitally important that parties who may differ strongly with one another, but are prepared to coalesce at the centre in order to manage transition, have to agree on the status, legitimacy and role of the military and police.

There can be no effective negotiations for legitimacy if there is no acceptable and effective "stability". The continuing absence of stability has been the most constant

frustration.

I hope we have learnt what does not work and what to avoid. If we have, then we may dare to cross that threshold where hope is not

WE simply cannot afford enduring and inconclusive baggling on issues such as nationalisation, land reform, property and prioritising on development areas such as housing, education and health.

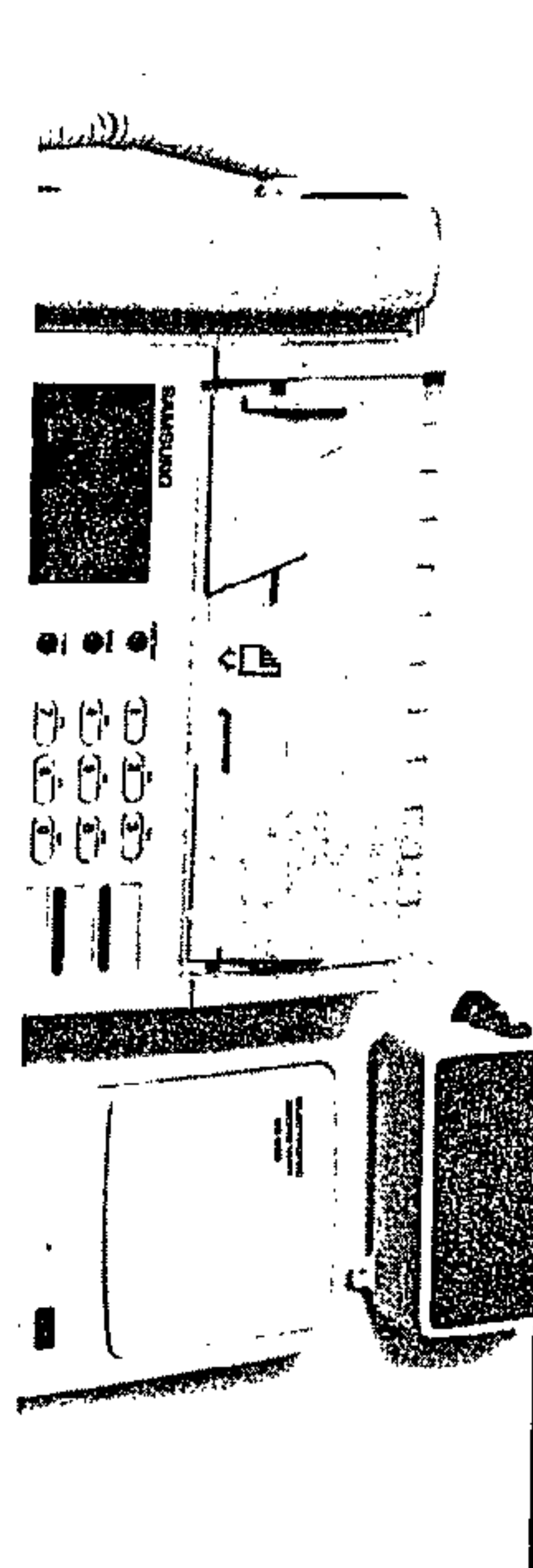
Transition in SA is not only about the formal transfer of political power — it is also about redistribution and equity.

Again, in this regard, the omens for 1993 look more realistic and promising than the two preceding years.

South Africa, like many countries today, is caught up in a wave of democratisation. As we start 1993, we hover on the threshold of hope. It is, however, hope tempered by, and born out of, two years of frustration, disillusionment, and sometimes even despair.

I hope we have learnt what does not work and what to avoid. If we have, then we may dare to cross that threshold where hope is not

AS A MATTER OF FACT, IT'S AN ANSWERING MACHINE, TOO.



THE ANC's demand for speedy elections was motivated by the need to address the economic crisis in SA, ANC president Nelson Mandela said in his new year message.

"Such an election would mark the end of decades during which our country was ravaged in an undeclared war. SA urgently needs a 'Marshall Aid' plan to address the consequences of such devastation."

Mandela said the whole world stood ready to welcome SA with open arms, with aid and investment, sporting and cultural exchanges. However, they would only do so with a democratically elected, legitimate government representative of all South Africans.

"Addressing the serious economic crisis cannot be delayed; this motivates the ANC's urgent demand for speedy elections," he said.

Mandela said the greatest disaster confronting SA was violence.

"Despite ... our repeated efforts to achieve both free political activity and a climate of political tolerance, 15 000 people have now lost their lives," he said.

"The extent of disregard for black life has been underscored by the almost hysterical response to the tragic killings in King William's Town, Queenstown and Ficksburg.

"While we unequivocally condemn such blatant acts of naked terrorism, our outrage is against all acts of terror, be they

Time for talking is over, say SA leaders

Ciprien 3/1/93.

perpetrated against black or white unarmed and defenceless citizens."

PAC president Clarence Makwetu said 1992 had been a year of contrasts between promises of peace and the grim realisation of violence, promises of democracy and continued minority rule, and promises of economic recovery while in reality the economy continued its downward slide.

His organisation remained committed to the decisions taken by the Patriotic Front in 1991 and remained ready to discuss with other parties ways to set up an elected Constituent Assembly.

"To this end we believe that the new negotiations forum could be established by February 1993, that voter registration be started by March 1 1993 and that elections for a constituent assembly unfettered by prior deals be held by October 1993," the PAC president said.

For all its squandered opportunities and violence, 1992 was the year in which the basis was laid for a breakthrough in negotiations in 1993, said SACP general-secretary Chris Hani.

In his new year's message, Hani said 1992 was the year in which "the wheels began to come off (State President FW) De Klerk's double agenda".

"More than anything else, this was the result of the most extensive mass campaigning in our history, from June through August."

He said 1993 had to be a year of continuing mass involvement in the transition process.

"We must move into 1993 with the determination to bring peace to the squatter camps, peace to the hostels and townships. But we know that this requires not pious wishes, but ongoing and all-around pressure on, and exposure of those in power."

"The year 1993 must be a year in which we carry forward the struggle for a more just, peaceful and equitable world order," Hani said.

An interim government in SA will be "a non-racial bantustan" and represent no more than the latest homeland to gain independence, said Azanian People's Organisation president Itumeleng Mosala.

Mosala said in his New Year's message that 1992 had been a year of betrayal for black South Africans.

"I wish all Azanians a year of justice. Only justice can bring about happiness and prosperity," he said. - Sapa

THE

3044

YEAR

AHEAD

NEWS Constituent assembly polls expected this year • Rector must stay suspended

Prepare for elections - Cast

Sowetan 4/1/93

THE Civic Associations of the Southern Transvaal has called on "the oppressed masses" to get organised in anticipation of elections for a constituent assembly later this year.

Cast president Khabisi Mosunkutu called on township residents to establish an election committee in each street to ensure that residents were in possession of identity documents and informed about the process involved.

Liberation movements

Mosunkutu said Cast would carefully examine the 'election campaigns of the different liberation movements.

It would voice its support for the party whose programme most suited it's needs and which was most likely to defeat the National Party at the ballot box.

Pressed on the point, he stated that Cast would however allow individuals freedom of choice when it came to the vote. Referring to proposals tabled in the

Street committees must help residents get IDs, poll information:

Sowetan 4/1/93

Witwatersrand Metropolitan Chamber aimed at bringing together the municipalities of Johannesburg and surrounding townships, Mosunkutu said Cast believed any interim arrangements in this regard should emerge from guidelines drawn up at a national negotiating forum.

"It is important to have a national consensus framework worked out at a national negotiating forum for the interim. We believe that the civics involved in such a move would need to review their stance very carefully.

"Now is the time to surge forward in a coherent way and not in a disjointed fashion. All civics must support the national negotiating forum, which would help bring about uniformity in negotiations at local level," Cast said. - *Sapa*.

News in brief

Sowetan 4/1/93

SRC rejects move on rector

LETTERS asking parents to agree to the reinstatement of the Tshiyi College of Education rector should be ignored, the QwaQwa Students' Representative Council has said.

The rector, Mr WR Botha, was suspended in February after student dissatisfaction with his administration.

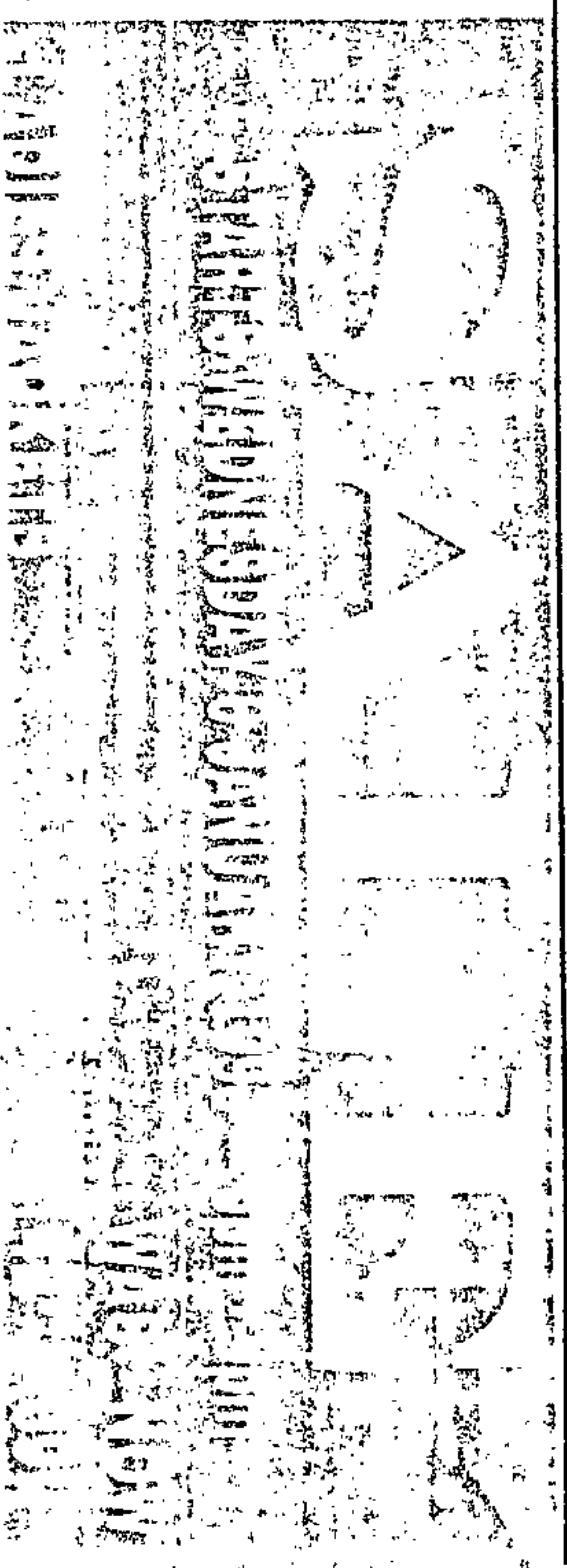
An SRC spokesman, who asked to remain anonymous, said the self-governing state's education Minister DT Mokoena, sent a letter to parents which they had to sign to enable the rector's reinstatement.

'Azapo aims to free blacks'

Sowetan 4/1/93
The SRC called on all parents to ignore the letter until the college opened on January 27.

THE AZANIAN Peoples Organisation believes that the primary aim of the struggle is the liberation of black people and everything else secondary, deputy general secretary Mr Lybon Mabasa said on Saturday.

Speaking at the funeral of a unit commander of the Azanian National Liberation Army, Seema Mabele, in Odendaalsrus before 1 500 mourners, Mabasa said: "as long as black people remain in bondage violence will exist in the communities." *Sowetan 4/1/93*



Patrick Laurence reflects on the risk of a war of secession in South Africa

Cracks are beginning to show

STAFF 4/11/93

SOUTH Africa, beset by deep-rooted political conflict and weakened by an ailing economy, faces a new danger as it starts the new year: secession and dismemberment.

Long haunted by the spectre of Lebanon, South Africans can no longer look calmly at developments in Yugoslavia. Secession and a war for territory lurk on the horizon as South Africa continues its perilous odyssey from the old apartheid order to an uncertain future.

The threat of secession has been made tangible by Mangosuthu Buthelezi, Chief Minister of KwaZulu and president of the Inkatha Freedom Party (IFP).

Appalled by the prospect of a unitary state controlled by an African National Congress-dominated central government, Buthelezi has proposed an alternative constitution: one providing for largely autonomous regions or states.

To that end, Buthelezi, a politician of immense energy and matching determination, has been the driving force behind the adoption by the KwaZulu Legislative Assembly of a constitution for KwaZulu and Natal.

The assumption behind his

move is that his IFP, together with its allies, will win majority support in the Zulu-dominated area of KwaZulu and Natal.

The next item on his agenda is to persuade the authorities to put the constitution to the people of KwaZulu and Natal in a referendum.

Working on the axiom that politicians do not risk referendums unless they are sure they can win them, Buthelezi must be reasonably confident that the constitution will be accepted if it is put to the vote.

Buthelezi's constitution is nominally one which provides for the establishment of a "Federal Republic of South Africa," in which KwaZulu-Natal or KwaNatal will be a partially autonomous state.

But the constitution actually seems to be closer to providing for a confederation of largely independent states, in which the component polities retain all the powers which they do not specifically concede to the confederal government.

The balance of power between the central government and KwaNatal in the proposed "federation" would clearly lie with KwaNatal, which would be able to veto the deployment of federal

troops in its territory and the imposition of taxes by the federal government.

Thus the new constitution states: "The state of KwaZulu-Natal is a sovereign member state of the Federal Republic of South Africa. (It) recognises its obligations toward the Federal Republic of South Africa... in so far as they do not infringe on the rights, powers and liberties guaranteed to the citizens and state of KwaZulu-Natal."

A distinguishing feature of a confederation is that the member states can withdraw or secede if they are dissatisfied or feel that their autonomy is threatened.

It has a particular resonance in the context of Buthelezi's assertion that KwaZulu has the right to "negotiate out of whatever contractual relationship the rest of South Africa establishes with the ANC."

Buthelezi's bargaining position can be summarised succinctly: either agree to the proposed federal-cum-confederal constitution or face the threat of secession by KwaZulu and Natal.

His initiative must be seen as a response to the rapprochement between President de Klerk's administration and the ANC, as re-

lected in their September 26 record of understanding and in their three-day bush indaba last month.

But the accord — which aims at reviving multiparty negotiations, establishing a transitional government and leaving the task of drawing up a final constitution to a popularly elected constituent assembly — has aroused anxiety in the National Party that De Klerk has conceded too much to the ANC.

De Klerk's decision to suspend or dismiss 23 military officers for suspected involvement in irregular or unlawful activities will have increased the unease among rank-and-file NP members.

Buthelezi has appealed over De Klerk's head to the NP members in Natal, with some success. Having wooed Natal's whites at a meeting in Durban City Hall, he held a public meeting in Pretoria where he courted Afrikaners to join him in escaping the threat of being held in thrall by an ANC-dominated central government.

The Conservative Party (CP) and the Afrikaner Volksunie (AV) favour an autonomous Afrikaner state. Between them, they have the allegiance of at least as many Afrikaners as De Klerk, if not more.

They are Buthelezi's natural allies in his quest for a confederation or a loose form of federation.

Significantly, the CP and the AV have joined hands with Buthelezi to form the Concerned South Africans Group, a broad alliance united by opposition to, and fear of, the ANC, and advocacy of a dispensation which will guarantee the rights of regions against the central government.

With them in the emerging coalition are Lucas Mangope and Oupa Gqozo, leaders of the nominally independent states of Botswana and Ciskei, both of which were established under the apartheid doctrine.

Like Buthelezi, Mangope and Gqozo favour an essentially confederal formula — albeit one presented as a federal prescription — which will leave the power of their polities largely untouched.

This trio of black leaders is vehemently opposed to the notion that a popularly elected constituent assembly should be empowered to draft a new constitution for South Africa.

They contend that South Africa's first popular election should come after the constitution, not before it; they argue consequently that a new constitution

should be drafted by a representative multiparty conference or national convention of political leaders, not by the majority party after the elections.

Their stand has caused their political enemies to accuse them of seeking to impose a constitution on the country, of having contempt for "the people" and of subverting democracy.

Whatever epithets may be hurled at them, they represent a potentially powerful bloc, one which is poised to generate centrifugal forces of secession if its members do not get their own way.

The ANC, fully aware of these perils, has accused the IFP of opting for "enforced balkanisation on the model of the bantustan past."

It requires no great perspicacity to predict that debate about the boundaries and powers of regions will be the major issue in constitutional talks this year, as it was last year.

Whether a compromise can be found, and a war or wars of secession averted, will be the supreme test for the politicians, particularly De Klerk, whose revived rapport with Nelson Mandela and past friendship with Buthelezi places him in the position of a potential intercessor. □

Gloom abounds in South Africa

Sowetan 4/1/93.

(11/1) 304A (11/1)

THERE IS A DEFINITE TREND towards pessimism among all South Africans in their outlook for the year ahead, according to a Gallup Poll carried out by the Markinor Research Group.

Markinor said findings showed that blacks were equally pessimistic about 1993, with 41,7 percent of whites and 40 percent of blacks feeling that things will be worse.

In a similar poll for 1992, only 32 percent of whites and 29 percent of blacks indicated a lack of confidence in the future.

"This is the first time since 1989 that optimism among the blacks has dropped below 100 on the Markinor Annual Optimum Index," according to Markinor director Peter Scott-Wilson.

"This is undoubtedly attributable to the stalled political negotiations,

■ DOWNWARD SPIRAL Blacks,

whites lack confidence in the future:

the deepening economic recession and the increase in violence, especially among 'soft' targets."

The poll was conducted among 2 300 urban adults - 1 000 whites and 1 300 blacks - and was part of an international year-end poll conducted in 36 countries by Gallup International.

He said from 1982, when the poll was first held, until 1985, optimism among South Africans was low largely as a result of the introduction of the State of Emergency during that period.

The trend began to change in 1986 and with the outcome of the general election in 1987 impacting positively on South Africans' views of the fu-

ture, optimism rose steadily up to 1988.

However, overall optimism dipped again from 1988 to 1989 as township violence escalated. From then on, as optimism among whites dropped, confidence among blacks rose - no doubt because of the release of African National Congress president Nelson Mandela and the implementation of State President FW de Klerk's reform programme.

Mr Scott-Wilson said blacks living in the Vaal Triangle were "dramatically" more pessimistic (75 percent) than those living in Pretoria (25,4 percent), while those living in Cape Town were the most optimistic (44 percent).

Spate of bilateral talks aimed at charting course to multi

POLITICAL negotiators will tackle their task with renewed vigour this week, in a bid to get a multiparty forum off the ground by the end of February.

In the next three weeks there will be a spate of bilateral talks between the various major parties struggling to break deadlocks and overcome obstacles to full talks on a new constitution.

Negotiators from the three major parties — government, the ANC and Inkatha — have said while there has been increased convergence on many crucial issues such as the economy, regionalism, human rights and

minority protections, talks are generally more difficult and the bargaining tougher.

This week a government team, led by President F.W. de Klerk, will meet a delegation from the Concerned South Africans Group (Cosag), including leaders from Kwa-Zulu, Bophuthatswana and Ciskei as well as members of the CP and Afrikaner Volksunie.

The meeting on Friday and Saturday is seen as very important by government and the NP following divisions over Inkatha leader Mangosuthu Buthe's stance after his rejection of the government/ANC record

of understanding in September.

A government source said the main objective of this meeting would be to show that the record of understanding went no further than agreements reached in principle at Cosag, to listen to Cosag's objections and suggestions for restarting multiparty talks and to bring the delegation up to date on where government/ANC bilateral talks were moving.

A priority would be to allay fears that government and the ANC were clinching se-

cret deals that they would foist upon other parties. Government hoped this would help pull Buthe's back into the main negotiation process.

ANC and Inkatha delegations have been hard at work over the past couple of weeks, discussing a proposed meeting between the two organisations' leaders.

Last week the parties appeared to make limited progress and after nine hours of talks decided to form working groups to resolve contentious areas, including that of free political activity in KwaZulu. Another full round of talks will take place on January

party forum

15 in Durban where the parties hope to set a date for the summit.

Sources in the ANC and Inkatha said while progress seemed slow this was a clear indication that superficial agreements were being avoided and delegates were getting to grips with the issues. They were pleased with the discussions and insisted that proper preparation was vital to ensure the meeting of leaders was successful and would lead to a major reduction of violence in Natal.

ANC and government negotiators had not been idle over the holiday period, working in

□ To Page 2

Negotiations

small groups to clear up minor contentious issues in order to prepare the way for the second stage of an extended bilateral meeting starting on January 20, one senior ANC negotiator said.

Government and ANC spokesmen have refused to divulge details of the discussions, merely saying they are in preparation for the talks later this month.

The two parties hope to reach finality on the stages of the process towards a non-racial election for a constitution-making body.

From Page 1

tentatively scheduled for the end of this year.

At the same time, other multiparty forums are making progress on a range of issues such as the economy, housing, health, education, local government and electricity.

Since the national economic forum was launched, a new realism has crept into these discussions and progress has apparently been made in setting priorities for the Budget in March.

Options for local authorities under the spotlight

WILSON ZWANE

LOCAL Government Minister Tertius Delpont will meet the SA National Civics Organisation (Sanco) on January 13 to discuss a draft document on options for future local government structures. *610 AM 5/1/93*

The document was finalised last month by a working group of the local government negotiating committee comprising government and Sanco representatives.

The document has been circulated to Sanco regions and contains three options for local government:

- The inclusion of extra-parliamentary groups in the Council for the Co-ordination of Local Government Affairs;
- The scaling down of the Council for the Co-ordination of Local Government Affairs to make it more cost-effective and less unwieldy; and
- The establishment of a new forum for local government.

Civics Association of the Southern Transvaal (Cast) general secretary and Sanco negotiator Dan Mofokeng said yesterday Sanco would push for the acceptance of the third option.

Cast president Kgabisi Mosunkuthu hoped an interim agreement would be reached and be developed at subsequent meetings.

He said an interim agreement was necessary as a host of issues, including the resolution of rent and services boycotts, hinged on it.

No comment could be obtained from Delpont's office.

Sanco president Moses Mayekiso said recently the time was not ripe for his organisation to advise members to suspend boycotts of rent and services.

Suspension of boycotts depended on "sufficient movement towards the democratisation of government at local and national levels", the scrapping of the Interim Measures for Local Government Act and the Provincial and Local Authority Affairs Amendment Act and the forging of a single tax base for towns and neighbouring townships.

Govt, ANC make progress in talks

610 AM 5/1/93 *304A*
BILLY PADDOCK

GOVERNMENT and the ANC had made a lot of progress in talks and negotiators on both sides expected far-reaching discussions to be concluded by the end of January, sources said yesterday.

A joint committee set up by the parties at their December bosberaad was busy fine-tuning proposals on a range of issues, ANC negotiator Mohamed Valli Moosa said yesterday.

He said both sides had presented ideas on the constitutional process, violence, armed formations in the country and the resumption of multiparty talks leading to elections.

"In the committee we are looking towards making significant progress by the end of January with the two parties holding far-reaching discussions at our extended bilateral talks which will last quite a few days."

Talks are scheduled to start on January 20 and last about five days.

His optimism was shared by a government negotiator, who added that bilateral negotiations with the ANC should not be seen in isolation from a whole series of bilateral talks taking place on a range of levels "on an almost twice-weekly basis".

He said bilateral talks were deemed by most parties to be beneficial to the process and designed to ensure that

when multiparty talks resumed they would not run into the same start-stop problems experienced at Codesa.

Codesa was important in getting parties together but did not provide the conditions for them to come to grips with issues seriously and fully negotiate them, he said.

Bilateral negotiations were a lot tougher with parties making slower progress. But a "far firmer foundation" was being laid, he said.

Valli Moosa agreed that the seemingly endless rounds of preparatory talks were achieving success.

Government was meeting the Concerned South Africans Group on Friday in an attempt to resolve obstacles between it and the three homeland leaders — Mangosuthu Buthelezi, President Lucas Mangope and Brig Oupa Gqozo — as well as CP leader Andries Treurnicht and the Afrikaner Volksunie.

The ANC was regularly meeting other parties in the patriotic front, as well as Inkatha, the Bophuthatswana government and other groups in the hope of reaching the necessary convergence by the end of February to allow a multiparty forum to resume during March, said Valli Moosa.

Mandela to speak at Joseph funeral

RAY HARTLEY

ANC president Nelson Mandela will speak at a requiem mass for veteran anti-apartheid activist Helen Joseph at St Mary's Cathedral in Johannesburg on Thursday. *610 AM 5/1/93*

ANC spokesman Carl Niehaus said yesterday Anglican Archbishop Desmond Tutu would deliver a sermon at the mass, which would also be addressed by ANC stalwart Albertina Sisulu.

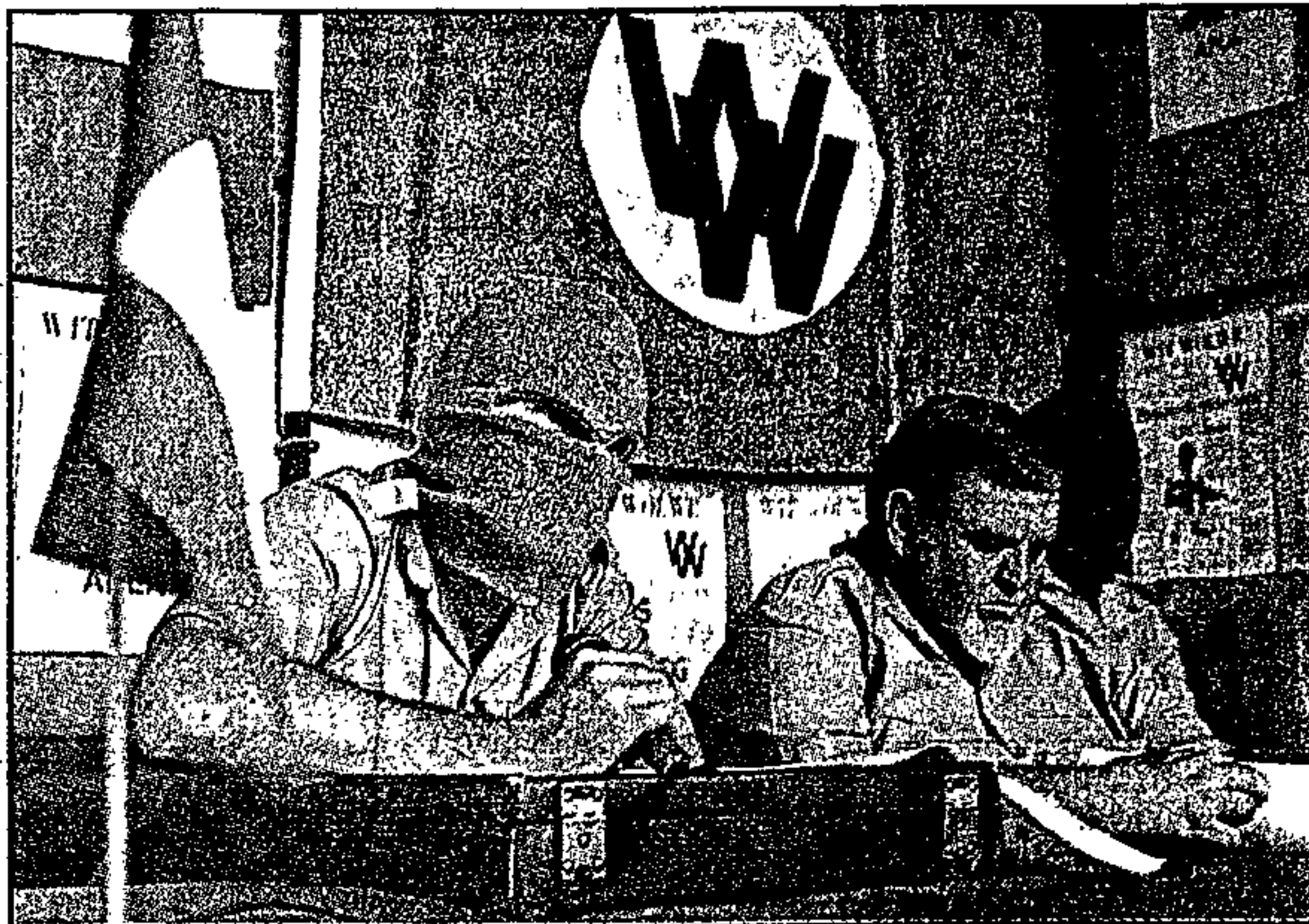
Joseph, who died on Christmas Day at the age of 87, will be buried in Soweto's Avalon cemetery alongside

fellow ANC Women's League founder Lilian Ngoyi.

Niehaus said the ANC would provide buses to transport mourners to the cemetery, but members of the public were requested to provide their own transport to ensure smooth progress from the cathedral to Soweto, he said.

Rev Timothy Stanton will conduct proceedings at the graveside.

A traditional purification ceremony would be held in Soweto later on Thursday, Niehaus said.



Threats . . . a balaclava-clad man claiming to be the Wit Wolwe chief of staff and a man calling himself "Boerstaat" Bosman at a Brits press conference yesterday. Picture: Joao Silva

Wit Wolwe deliver ultimatum

By Bronwyn Wilkinson

BRITS — The extreme right-wing organisation the Wit Wolwe yesterday promised to launch a series of attacks against the military wings of the PAC and the ANC and their supporters unless the Government took drastic measures against the organisations by January 12. (304A)

At a press conference in a tin shack on the

farm of the parents-in-law of Wit Wolf leader Barend Strydom, the organisation said it was preparing another list of demands for President de Klerk to which he would be given 30 days to react — or face "military action". (304A)

The conference on the farm Sieg-en-Heil was attended by five balaclava-clad men in khaki and addressed by "Boerstaat" Bosman, who refused to give his rank in

the organisation, and a masked man calling himself the Wit Wolwe's chief-of-staff.

Every black person had to be regarded as the enemy, they said.

None of the men would declare how many members the organisation had.

Strydom did not attend the conference as his parole conditions confine him to the magisterial district of Pretoria.

Major SA players in US dog box

5702 6/1/93-

US politicians are unimpressed with the performance last year of both the South African Government and the ANC, reports HUGH ROBERTSON from Washington.

THEY might not say so on the record, but most of the influential African specialists in the United States generally had a low opinion of the political talents and negotiating skills shown by the major parties in South Africa in 1992.

Surprisingly, since he is known for his bland and cautious statements, probably the most candid remark encapsulating this widely held view came from the Assistant Secretary of State for Africa, Herman Cohen, when he said at a media briefing last month: "I am not satisfied with the performance of any of the parties in South Africa."

By way of a jocular aside, he added: "How's that for evenhandedness?"

In the Senate, in the House of Representatives, in the State Department, the US Treasury and, who knows, in the Pentagon and the Central Intelligence Agency, there appears to be a consensus that the South African Government and the ANC are engaged in some bizarre competition to see who can outdo the other in ill-advised statements and inept decision-making, with both emerging triumphant.

The year started well for the Government, when President de Klerk announced a white referendum to determine whether or not whites wanted the Government to proceed with negotiations aimed at full democracy. The ANC's criticism of the referendum was lost in a deluge of praise from the US media and US officials. But to many Africanists in the US, De Klerk failed to capitalise on his win. The day after the result was announced, some of them say, should have been the day De Klerk tackled white opponents in the military and security establishment.

His long and unexplained failure to take action against manifest wrongdoing in the military and police, wrongdoing exposed more than two years ago in official inquiries into the CCB and certain police shootings, have puzzled many Americans who are otherwise sympathetic. Indeed, disciplinary steps strongly recommended by judges who investigated various actions by the police as far back as 1990 still have not been taken.

Thus it was not surprising to Americans that Mr. Justice Goldstone should have rebuked the Government in the wake of the Boipatong massacre for having failed to act on his recommendations aimed at preventing such atrocities and the perception — actively promoted by the ANC — that De Klerk had some interest in allowing the military and the police an unfettered hand, gained credence.

The fact that long after all the judicial recommendations, long after the inquiries, and long after the tragedies at Boipatong, Bisho and elsewhere, De Klerk should have ordered an investigation into the role of the military in South Africa's violence and, as a result of police work undertaken partly by the Goldstone Commission, should have dismissed generals and others of high rank for their alleged role in the violence, was reported on extensively — but the praise that might have come De Klerk's way if he had acted far earlier was missing.

Probably the biggest complaint against the ANC in 1992 was the rashness of many of its decisions and actions. The shooting at Bisho, for instance, was widely covered but so was the role of radicals who were accused of having provoked the incident. There was also much questioning of the wisdom of the campaign of mass action, which some in Washington saw as a bid by ANC radicals to wreck negotiations and attempt to force a settlement on the other parties.

ANC radicals also were seen to be behind the collapse of Codesa 2. When the deadlock over a so-called white constitutional veto was reached, the ANC's official position was that it would consider withdrawing from further negotiations. In Washington the impetus for that threat was seen to be the radicals who are viewed with great scepticism, the more so because they are suspected of being unwholesome about negotiations any way.

There is a pervasive belief in Washington, enunciated as much by the State Department as by Democrats and Republicans on Capitol Hill, that the only forces that would gain from a breakdown in negotiations would be those irrational extremists on the Left and Right who refuse to negotiate and who apparently believe their interests can be served by violence and confusion.

That is why Washington was so aghast when Codesa 2 collapsed, the campaign of mass action began, and the Bisho tragedy ensued. What supported American fears was the convenient way in which the horror of the Boipatong massacre was seized upon as a reason for breaking off talks with the Government. Where previously a simple deadlock in negotiations was cited implausibly as a reason why the ANC might pull out, suddenly that rationale was abandoned and Boipatong was held up, in almost indecent relief, as a more persuasive reason for ending the talks.

Few in Washington were convinced, and the resulting UN Security Council meeting on the massacre, at which the ANC failed to provide the evidence which it claimed to have of Government collusion in the massacre, produced a strictly neutral resolution which did not apportion blame. But the UN meeting had some unsung benefits for South Africa. Aside from the ANC learning that the UN was no longer the plaything of the liberation movements, the ANC was also left in no doubt that the UN was determined to ensure a negotiated settlement in South Africa.

Insofar as ANC radicals may have spurred the decision to abandon Codesa, the UN meeting must have been a disaster for them. Nothing last year more reinforced the pressure for a resumption of negotiations than the talks behind the scenes which took place quietly during that debate. So forthright were the African countries in their support of resumed talks that the PAC itself made discreet overtures in a lobby of the Security Council chamber to the Minister of Foreign Affairs, P. K. Boda, about the possibility of joining the negotiating process.

Earlier the PAC, as much as the ANC, was given unambiguous warnings by African countries, again behind closed doors, that the world would not accept a settlement in South Africa that was not reached by negotiation. Revolutionary dreams of armed struggle, mass action and rendering the country ungovernable were rudely dashed in the sleek office towers that cluster around the UN's headquarters in Manhattan.

As the negotiations deadlock went on, alarm in Washington grew. At the height of the crisis, the US offered the services of its Secretary of State, James Baker, as a mediator to get talks resumed. Baker's interest in Africa was known to be faint, but with klaxons sounding at the National Security Council and the White House, his prestige and influence were made available to the Government and the ANC, separately. Incredibly, both sides rejected the US overture.

Washington continued to agonise as it saw both the Government and the ANC feed the fires of the far Right and far Left, and questions flew about the city. Why did the ANC set out such radical demands as a precondition to resuming negotiations, demands which the Government probably could not meet? Was this a move by radicals to ensure talks did not resume?

What political leadership would fail to see that the only way to end the violence would be through rapid progress towards a truly democratic society? But there were also some shrewd insights which gave hope to the stalwart. If the ANC was playing so hard to get, it must have believed absolutely that the Government was genuine in wanting negotiations to succeed. After all, it would have been absurdly pointless for the ANC to have drawn up a long list of preconditions if it felt the Government wasn't interested in successful negotiations.

And so the faint flickers of hope were kept alive. But will they survive the inevitable tempest of change that comes when a new administration takes over at the White House? Few are willing to say, since so little is known about the foreign policy that President Bill Clinton will apply anywhere, let alone to South Africa. There are some hints, however.

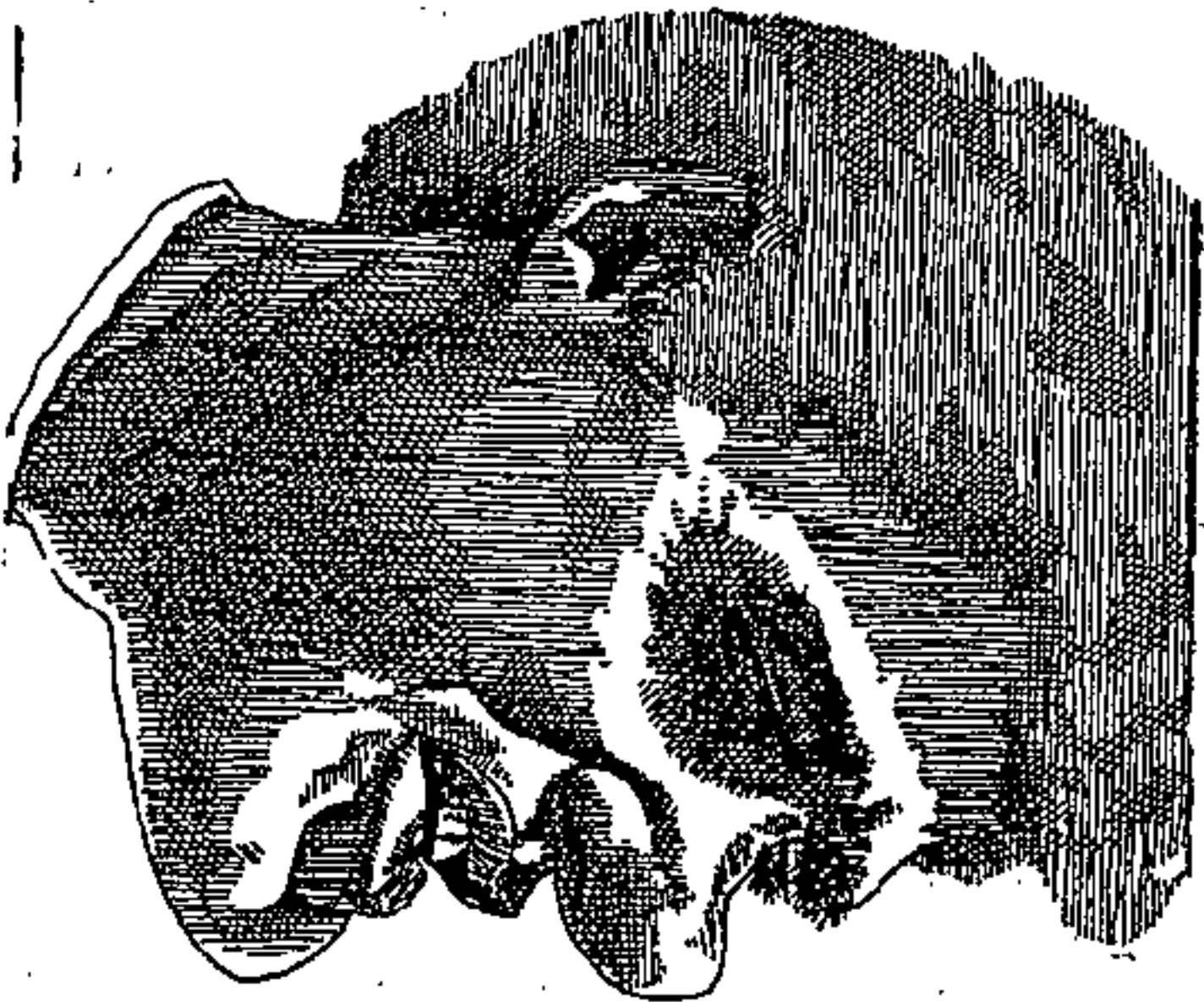
Most of those who will have the final say on South Africa policy are veterans of the Carter administration, though they have matured and grown wiser in the interim. They are honourable, principled people who remain imbued with the Carterian passion for spreading democracy and human rights.

They also believe as avidly as their predecessors that economic freedom is an indivisible part of true democracy. So, while they might be a little tougher on the Government, they are unlikely to embrace the ANC's radicals with much enthusiasm. In an article under Carter's name, but written by an adviser, support is given for a continuation of local sanctions until an interim government is in place in South Africa.

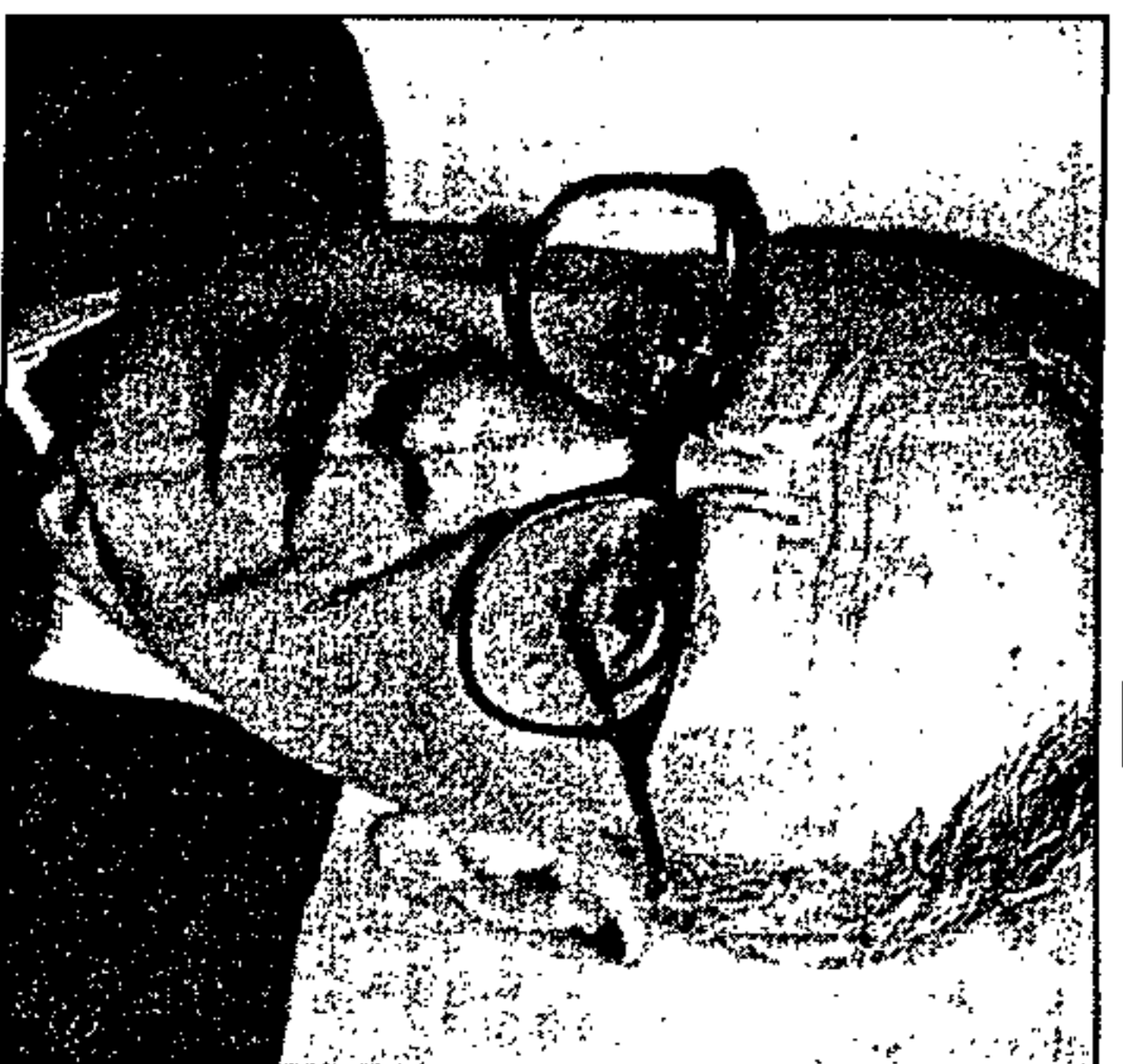
An area of major disagreement with the Government — and feasibly with a future government — will be Armscor's programme for the development and sale of advanced weapons of mass destruction. Clinton himself has said that an end to the proliferation of such weapons will be a cornerstone of his foreign policy — and he does not mean only nuclear weapons. As Armscor is aware, the new sanctions imposed last year by the Bush administration related to the production of certain missiles and missile systems, among other things which South African newspapers are not free to report.

In trying to assess Clinton's style, his friends in Arkansas say one thing that should never be forgotten is his capacity to strike deals. And here they sound a word of caution for South Africa. The whole of Africa is fading from public and political attention in the US except, perhaps, among black Americans. Watch out for South Africa becoming a bargaining chip as Bill the Dealmaker seeks to lubricate some fairly drastic legislation through Congress, where he will need the support of the Congressional Black Caucus.

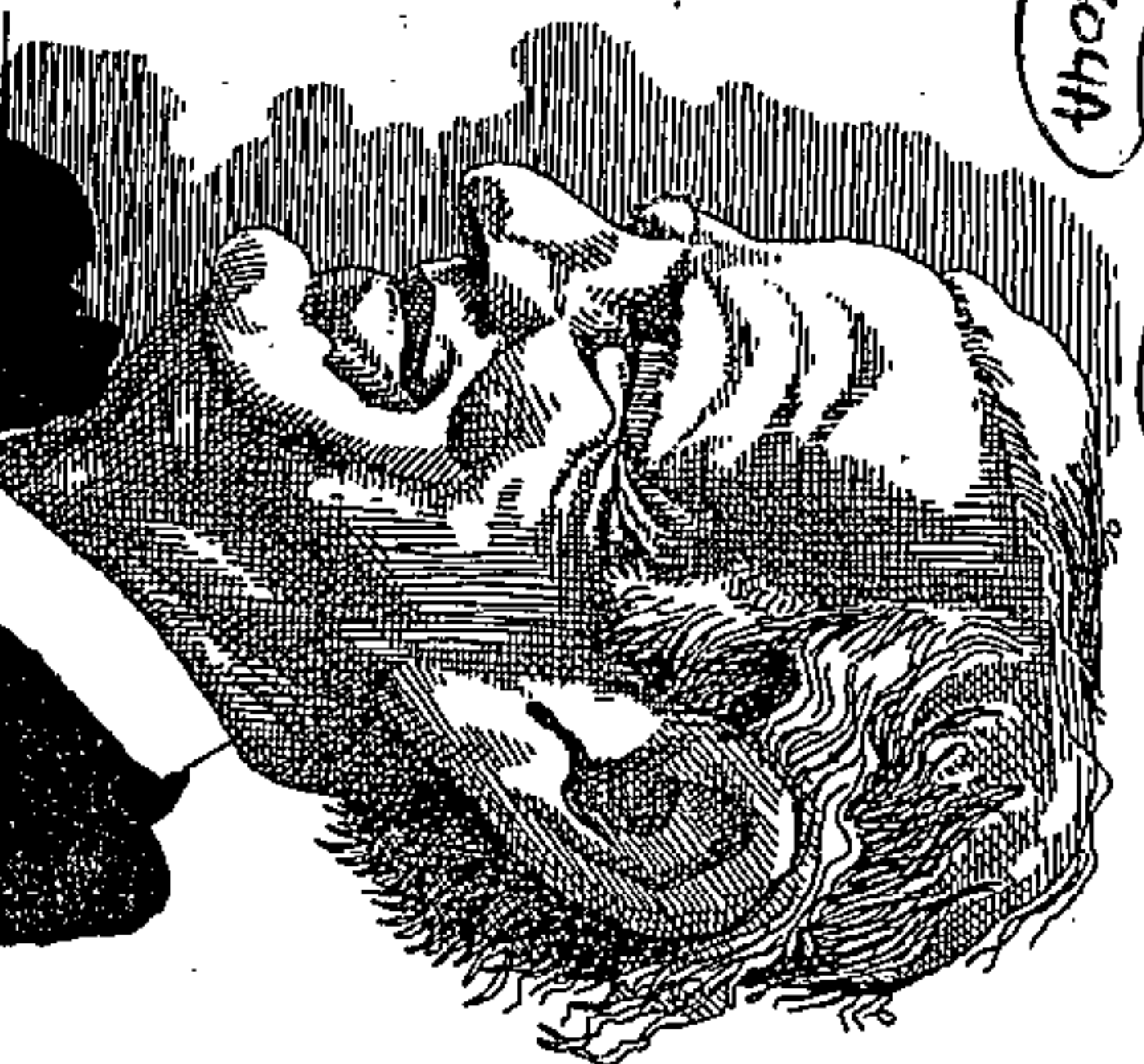
And watch out, too, they say, for a White House obsessively focused on domestic issues, to the extent that Africa — already a stepchild of US foreign policy — will become more of a nuisance than an area of major concern. — Star Bureau. □



Clinton... SA could become his bargaining chip.



Cohen... candidly critical of SA negotiators.



Baker... offer to mediate turned down.

Sowetan 6/1/93

THE NEXT three weeks could prove to be the most eventful in the negotiations process of the past three years in South Africa.

Agreements reached and decisions taken between now and the end of January, when Parliament opens, should determine the pace of political developments over the next year and possibly give a lot more clarity on elections for a constitution-making body mooted for later this year.

Bilateral discussions between the Government and its political opponents; between the African National Congress and its Patriotic Front allies, and among members of the Concerned South Africans Group (CSAG) - the loose affiliation of separatists from the homelands of Bophuthatswana, Ciskei and KwaZulu and the leaders of the Conservative Party and Afrikaner Volksunie.

The ANC and the Government, the main players in the negotiations process, will meet regularly over the next three weeks in informal sub-committees which were established during a lengthy "lekgotla" between the two from December 9 to December 11 last year and will centre on agreements and positions of mutual understanding on issues relating to the envisaged two phases of the transition.

These talks include discussions on the elements, composition, structure, jurisdiction and actual character of an envisaged electoral commission; the role and control of the electronic media; and details of the portfolios of law and order, defence and foreign affairs.

'Recommendations'

The ANC and the Government emphasise that none of the agreements reached between them over the next few weeks, and which are expected to be ratified by a second "lekgotla beraad" between the two parties on or about January 20, will be binding on other parties.

While these agreements do not detract from those reached at Codesa, they will be tabled at the new multiparty forum "as recommendations" when it resumes, possibly in February.

The ANC and the Government believe that there is an urgent need to unblock the flow of developments after negotiations collapsed so unceremoniously on May 16 last year.

Since then the country has gone through a bitter period that should not be given a chance to repeat itself, key negotiators on both sides feel.

The CSAG, comprising KwaZulu Chief Minister Mangosuthu Buthelezi, Ciskei's Brigadier Oupa Gqozo, Bophuthatswana Chief Minister Lucas Mangope, CP leader Dr Andries Treurnicht and Mr Andries Beyers of the Volksunie, will meet President FW de Klerk on Friday and Saturday.

This meeting is primarily to "clear up the

The pace of development in South Africa will be determined by agreements and decisions taken between now and the end of January, when Parliament opens. **Ismail Lagardien**, Political Correspondent, reports (304A)



Oupa Gqozo



Mangosuthu Buthelezi



Andries Treurnicht



Andries Beyers

misconception" that the Government and the ANC were clinching "secret deals" that would be foisted on the rest of the country, State sources have confirmed.

It is, however, part of a continuing process of bilateral discussions which, it is hoped, will speed up the process.

Once consensus is reached on the restructuring of Codesa with all its former participants, including those who initially stayed out, multiparty negotiations could resume by the end of February or in March.

If Codesa does resume by March and the bilateral agreements which are being worked out are of such a nature that multiparty negotiations

can go straight into a plenary session, far-reaching announcements, especially on elections, could be made.

A big question mark hangs over whether De Klerk can get past the obstinate CSAG, whose broader objectives differ fundamentally from those of the rest of the country.

Buthelezi has said that he (and presumably his region) can "negotiate out of whatever contractual relationship the rest of South Africa negotiates with the ANC".

Besides leaving room for extended conflict, this places Buthelezi and the province of Natal on the path of secession and the country on the edge of the abyss on which Yugoslavia is teetering.

'Whites reject interim govt'

(306A)

STML
7/1/93

A vast majority of white South Africans oppose the immediate implementation of an interim government — while most blacks are not averse to the idea, a Human Sciences Research Council (HSRC) survey has found.

Professor Lawrence Schlemmer, general manager of the council's Social Dynamics Group, writes in the HSRC's Information Update that the results of the survey may "indicate problems ahead for the Government in particular".

Far more information should be directed at voters concerning the implications of an interim government, he said.

One of the questions respondents had to answer was "Do you think the De Klerk Government should immediately resign in favour of an interim government?"

Eighty-four percent of whites rejected the notion, against only 27 percent of blacks.

In another set of statistics, which omitted all qualified and intermediate responses, only 51 percent of black ANC-SA Communist Party supporters wanted the present Government to be replaced by an interim government. — Sapa.

Strydom purges Wit Wolwe

By Esther Waugh and Sapa

Only days after issuing an "ultimatum" to the Government, the Wit Wolwe (WW) organisation is riven with splits.

Self-styled WW leader Barend Strydom — the convicted mass murderer — announced yesterday he was suspending all members who also belonged to the ultra-right-wing "Church of the Creator".

At issue appears to be a series of complex, quasi-theological differences of opinion.

The most prominent victim of the split in the ranks of the WW is East Rand Boerestaat Party leader Izak "Boerstaat" Bosman, a retired railway worker who is apparently a member of the fundamentalist church group. Bosman was the only member of the WW who did not wear a balaclava at a press conference this week.

Reacting to the announcement, a right-wing source told The Star: "Strydom is splitting an atom." The source said: "He split the WW into six members on the one hand, and half a

dozen on the other."

The actual size of the WW organisation has long been the subject of speculation, with police at one stage saying they had not discovered evidence of WW branches anywhere.

According to Pretoria-based information broker Jan Taljaard, who specialises in right-wing matters, the Church of the Creator subscribes to the principles of the "White Man's Bible" written by American Ben Klassen, world leader of the movement.

'White-black split on interim rule' 304A

PRETORIA. — The vast majority of whites definitely oppose — or are unenthusiastic about — the immediate installation of an interim government, but most blacks are not against the idea, a Human Sciences Research Council (HSRC) survey has established.

Professor Lawrence Schlemmer, general manager of the HSRC's social dynamics group, writes in the HSRC's Information Update that the results of the survey may indicate "problems ahead for the government in particular".

One of the questions respondents had to answer was: "Do you think the De Klerk government should immediately resign in favour of an interim government?"

Eighty-four percent of whites rejected the notion while only 27 percent of blacks were opposed.

In another set of statistics produced by the HSRC, all qualified and intermediate responses were omitted.

According to these figures only 51 percent of black Afri-

can National Congress/SA Communist Party supporters definitely endorsed the present government's replacement by an interim government. Only four percent of black ANC/SACP supporters definitely opposed the idea.

Only one percent of white National Party supporters definitely liked the idea of an interim government. Seventy-four percent were definitely against it. *APR 7/11/93*

Eighty-nine percent of those aligned to the Azanian Peoples' Organisation were definitely in favour of an interim government. None objected strenuously to the idea.

Only 44 percent of Pan-Africanist Congress supporters were in favour of an interim government and six percent were definitely opposed to the move.

Sixty-nine percent of Conservative Party supporters opposed the idea of an interim government and only four percent were in favour of the present government being replaced by such a body. — Sapa.

DP hopes high for peaceful township meeting

Staff Reporter

THE Democratic Party will host another township meeting on Monday which they hope will be peaceful.

At the last DP township meeting chairs were hurled at two of the party's MPs.

In a statement yesterday the DP said the meeting, to be held at the

Umntu Centre in Guguletu, will mark the start of a major new drive to expand its existing branches in black townships and to launch many new ones nationally this year.

At a meeting in Khayelitsha on December 14 last year, members of the audience threw chairs at DP MPs Mr Robin Carlisle and Mr Jasper Walsh and regional expansion

committee member Mr Steve Ntsane.

Mr Carlisle, MP for Wynberg, and Mr Ntsane will speak at the Guguletu meeting, as will Mr Siyathemba Malinga, DP youth co-ordinator in the Eastern Cape.

An ANC spokesman said yesterday that it would not stop any organisation from holding meetings

at venues of their choice. The ANC would not disrupt the meeting, but could not be held responsible for "the anger of the community where they hold meetings".

Guguletu branch ANC representatives would attend the meeting "to ask constructive questions" and attempt to stop any disruption. Mr Carlisle said he was grateful

for the ANC's undertaking not to disrupt the meeting, but said that in his approximately 20 years experience of public meetings, disruptions were caused by political players and not the community.

"I do not believe that the community will break up the meeting. We hope to have a quiet meeting with no disruptions," he said.

Meetings aim to get talks back on track

STAR 7/1/93

By Esther Waugh
Political Reporter

304A

The first in a series of crucial bilateral meetings aimed at re-starting multiparty talks gets under way in Pretoria tomorrow when the Government meets the Concerned South Africans Group (Cosag).

The meeting will provide an important indicator of prospects for an early return to Codesa-style talks — if the group can be persuaded to join a multiparty negotiating forum.

A Government source said yesterday the focus of the talks would be the resumption of multiparty talks.

Cosag — the Inkatha Freedom Party, Bophuthatswana and Ciskei governments, the Conservative Party and Afrikaner Volksunie — was formed in protest against the ANC/Government Record of Understanding reached in September.

IFP leader Mangosuthu Buthe broke off constitutional talks with the Government following the Record of Understanding.

Cosag will meet in Pretoria today to determine its strategy for the two-day meeting with the Government.

Key Cosag-Govt talks

By Esther Waugh
Political Reporter

Crucial talks between the Government and the Concerned South Africans Group (Cosag) aimed at reconvening a multiparty negotiating forum start in Pretoria today.

These talks — the first in a series of bilateral meetings — are regarded as an important indicator of the speed with which a full-scale multiparty negotiations forum could be convened.

The management committee of Cosag — the Inkatha

Freedom Party, Bophuthatswana and Ciskei governments, Conservative Party and the Afrikaner Volksunie — gathered in Pretoria yesterday afternoon to plan its strategy for the meeting.

The agenda for the two-day meeting will be determined today when the groups meet at the Presidentsie in Pretoria.

AV member Andries Beyers said last night he was hopeful the meeting could pave the way for multiparty negotiations.

Observers expressed "cautious optimism".

Survey findings on interim rule queried

By Esther Waugh
Political Reporter

Diplomats and researchers are not alarmed at a survey finding that the majority of whites are opposed to an interim government.

Both groups have pointed out that the way the question was phrased could have an impact on the finding.

One of the questions in a Human Sciences Research Council (HSRC) survey, published this week, was: "Do you think the De Klerk Government should immediately resign in favour of an interim government?"

Eighty-four percent of whites rejected the notion,

against only 27 percent of blacks.

Centre for Policy Studies researcher Louise Stack — who stressed that she had not seen the survey — said a negative question might have affected the result, particularly in the light of the the overwhelming support for negotiations last March.

A diplomat said the HSRC question could easily have been misunderstood as saying that an interim government should be installed without further negotiations taking place.

"Had the question been 'Should an interim government come after negotiations?', the result could have been very different," he said.

WHEN negotiators sit down for the next round of multiparty talks, they will do so with guns at their heads. It may be their last chance to find a formula for interim government and the constitutional process before the country sinks into irreversible chaos.

As parties push frantically ahead with bilateral talks, hopes are high that a multiparty forum will be in place by early March at the latest.

This time the African National Congress and the government will not have the luxury of scoring constant election points against each other. Increasingly, the two are moving closer as the "moderates" on whose compatibility the country's future depends. The recent activities of the Azanian People's Liberation Army have given renewed purpose to militants at both ends of the spectrum.

The ANC and government will enter a friendlier tournament, but with different handicaps.

Last year the government, on a high from its sweeping referendum victory, could afford to play hard to get. But corruption scandals, divisions in the cabinet over whether to party with the ANC or Inkatha Freedom Party, the sinking economy and encroaching anarchy have thwarted any hopes of hanging on to power by dragging out moves towards power-sharing.

The presence of foreign monitors, forging a stronger link between the international arena and what happens here on the ground, puts new pressure on the government to honour its democratic professions. And with Bill Clinton in the White House, delaying tactics will find less favour in the United States than under the Republicans.

The ANC is better off than it was last year, having seized the moral high ground over the calamity-struck government. It has also managed to sell the concept of power-sharing to the bulk of its constituency — a coup for a movement whose militants were given a healthy fillip by the months-long mass action campaign.

As the government and ANC prepare for another round of extended bilateral negotiations at the end of the month, the Concerned South Africans Group (Cosag) is lobbying against their September Record of Understanding — a clear sign that co-ordinating agreements at various bilateral talks will not be easy. As Van Zyl Slabbert said recently: "Codesa was unreal and smooth. Negotiations now are more real and messy."

"Codesa 3" will be shorn of the cumbersome working groups and committees that made last year's negotiations so laborious.

The trigger fingers are twitching — will we make their day?

w/m out

8/1-14/1/93

The options are clearcut: either the negotiators reach a speedy truce, or they give sway to militants and irreversible chaos.

By **PHILIPPA GARSON**



Van Zyl Slabbert



Mangosuthu Buthelezi

Says National Party constitutional expert advocate Chris Fisser: "From a managerial point of view, having five different committees dealing with overlapping issues and having different people dealing with the same issues in different meetings made it difficult to co-ordinate the process."

The reconvened forum will have smaller delegations. By all accounts, the forum will do little more than rubber-stamp existing bilateral deals.

Says ANC negotiator Mohammed Valli Moosa: "When we get to Codesa, the various

parties will have processed things already at bilaterals. Hopefully, in one or two sessions we can work it out."

He predicts that multiparty agreements could be ratified in a matter of weeks and that transitional executive councils, managing the first phase of interim government leading up to elections, could be in place early next year.

Moosa holds the view, accepted by most parties, "that if multilateral discussions are to succeed, they have to be concluded in a reasonable time and not go on aimlessly as Codesa did. We cannot disappoint the nation with another series of deadlocks."

Many obstacles still stand in the way: three important parties (Inkatha, the Pan Africanist Congress and the Conservative Party) are still out of talks and political violence continues, as does squabbling over guarantees for regional powers.

Inkatha leader Mangosuthu Buthelezi's recalcitrance and rejection of pre-existing Codesa agreements continues. As the cabinet fights over how to deal with Inkatha, with Natal NP leaders vehemently against dropping the alliance with the IFP, Buthelezi is showing signs of discomfort with his new home of predominantly confederalist allies in Cosag.

The two-day meeting between Cosag and the government starting today may bring a lukewarm commitment from the latter on guaranteed regional powers and boundaries before an elected constituent assembly sits.

Inkatha, the major player in the group, is likely to distance itself more from its current allies — Ciskei, Bophuthatswana, the Afrikaner Volksunie and the CP — and move closer to the NP.

Bilateral talks between the ANC and Inkatha this month, paving the way for a meeting between their respective leaders, may go some way towards bringing the three major players into a more amicable triangle and containing the ANC/IFP violence.

Still hotly contested is the question of reincorporation of the homelands and — for the ANC — the lack of free political activity, particularly in Ciskei and Bophuthatswana.

Commenting on the thwarting of negotiations by Ciskei and Bophuthatswana, Democratic Party leader Zach de Beer said: "President de Klerk should be cutting off their water. He has the power to do so."

He, like many other politicians, expresses cautious optimism about the success of the next Codesa meeting, noting a sincerity among most players for the speedy establishment of a government of national unity.

Our year of reckoning is upon us, writes Political Editor Shaun Johnson

Now for govt of many colours

SM 8/11/93

304A

THE signs are scattered and you have to scavenge around for them. But they are unmistakable nevertheless. The two central players in South Africa's negotiations game are readying themselves for the match to begin: the messy curtain-raiser which has exasperated the watching nation since February 2 1990 is drawing to a close. This year, 1993, is likely to be South Africa's year of political reckoning.

In terms of real power-politics — control of the levers of State — nothing has shifted since President de Klerk's seminal speech nearly three years ago. This constitutional stasis has led to an erosion of optimism and confidence, further contraction of the economy, and an incremental breakdown of law and order. One thing and one thing only can break the deadlock — and that is a Government of many colours, that works.

In the short to middle-term, it does not matter whether this is a self-appointed and transitory structure or an elected body: if things are to move forward, the dead grip of exclusive white rule has to be seen to be loosened, once and for all.

As things stand at the beginning of this new year, both the Government and the ANC have recognised this, and have committed themselves to achieving the preliminary goal together.

De Klerk and Mandela have let it be known that they intend to proceed to the next point on the transitional path, with or without the participation of other political groups. Both are making keen efforts to woo recalcitrants back, but the difference is that they have removed from the myriad other parties the effective consensual veto which they enjoyed — and exploited — last year.

This is not to say that the key players intend to cut the cake in half, between themselves, but rather that the taking of the next step is the greatest priority — after which all others can decide whether to include or exclude themselves. The only absolute constraint on the protagonists will be that the structure they agree upon must be manifestly fair to other parties.

What are the signs that suggest 1993 will be different from 1992, that year of grandstanding, filibustering, obfuscation and fruitless tail-chasing? Primarily, of course, the words of De Klerk and Mandela. But these are worth

more than mere rhetoric, the fickleness of which has been our curse. They flow from a clear recognition of three critical factors: the tailspin in which the economy finds itself, the deepening despair of the nation writ large, and the growing frustration of the international community.

This shared Government/ANC world view is the glue which holds South Africa's new political centre together: there are and will be vast differences in policy between the Nationalists and the ANC, but there is now almost total convergence on the fundamental rules of the game.

Derek Keys has done an effective job in scaring the pants off key politicians in the matter of the economic vortex. The HSRC and other research bodies have testified chillingly to the depths of the national slough of despond. Even the normally mild-mannered Hank Cohen has left no doubt about the levels of impatience in foreign capitals.

Thus we see the signs: to a significant extent, Government and ANC leaders have retrained from slugging each other off in recent weeks. The ANC has quietly decided it will not hold its now-traditional mass protest at the opening

of Parliament this year, saying — and this is deeply significant — it will "instead work harder at building up its election machinery and resources".

The fact that practically all significant parties have now endured major scandals has had an additional, cathartic effect. In a curious way, the sully of reputations — the Government through corruption scandals and SADF through dirty tricks, the ANC through its camp atrocities — has provided for a negotiating equilibrium. Also, radical activities at the political extremes — from Apia to the Wit Wolwe — have forced the centre together.

Working groups have given way to *bosbetrads* and the transitional timeables of Government and ANC have converged to within a matter of months of each other. So long as this fundamental meeting of minds between De Klerk and Mandela holds firm, there is very little that can block the path to a resumption of multiparty talks, a form of interim government, and beyond.

That there might be delays is of course not only possible, but probable. The past three years have been characterised by timetable "slippage" as a result of which

hardly any agreed deadlines have been met. But even if that slippage persists (and it can result from factors outside the control of leaders, like massacres), its parameters are drawn in months, not years.

South Africans are likely to be surprised by the speed with which the process moves forward, once the correct button is pressed. The Government and ANC should be in a position to press it by the end of next month, when the current flurry of bilateral meetings ends.

These bilateral meetings, it should be stressed, do not have to achieve full agreement between the various political interlocutors in each and every case. As I have argued, it is the broad consensus about the way forward between the Government and the ANC which will provide the momentum for the rest of the year.

But they are crucial negotiating building blocks: all significant parties will have been consulted and will have had the opportunity to present their views before multiparty talks resume. In that context, if they stay out they will struggle to convince the public they have been unjustly excluded. Once those round-table talks resume (probably in the second

quarter of this year) their aim will be clear: the establishment of a "transitional executive council" or nascent interim government by another name. And once the tricameral Parliament legislates for this interim government, South Africa will have reached a golden moment.

Power, and responsibility, will begin to be shared for the first time, and this will in itself be a catalyst for progress in all spheres, including economic growth, investment, and the first fully representative attempt to contain the violence. Elections will then follow when all the participants in the interim structures agree that the time is ripe.

Interim government is not a panacea, and none of its putative participants are so naive as to suggest it might be. Most ordinary South Africans long ago recognised that a smooth transition in this polyglot, history-scarred country is an impossible dream.

But interim government will mark the first truly irrevocable step towards a workable political accommodation. The rollers have still to work hard to "level the playing field", but this year they are getting there. Last year it was simply unplayable. □

Political race against time

(3644)

Meeting signals bid for a new Codesa

Political Staff

filed 8/1/93

POLITICAL groups today start to work against time — the present constitution stipulates the next general election in just more than two years — to draw up a new deal for South Africa.

A government meeting today at the President's in Pretoria, with a variety of political malcontents styling themselves the Concerned South Africans Group (Cosag), signals the start of efforts this year to return to a multilateral negotiations format like Codesa.

A series of important bilateral encounters, scheduled for the next few weeks, will determine the feasibility of President De Klerk's target of clinching agreement on multiparty talks by the end of next month.

He wants Codesa-type talks again by the end of March.

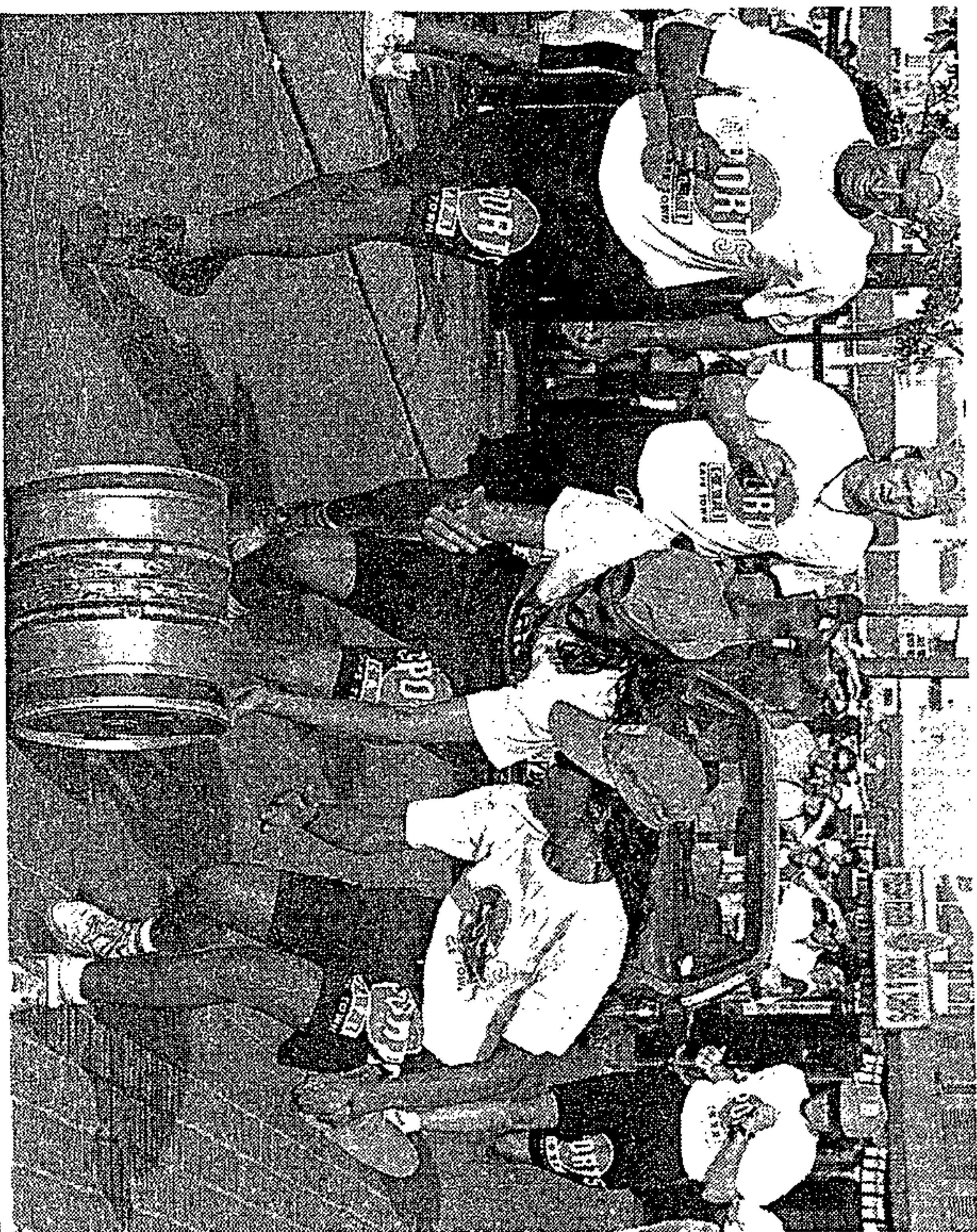
Dramatic innovation, intense bargaining, bold concessions and brave compromises await the negotiators.

For Cosag, the next few weeks will be like swimming against the tide and the African National Congress has urged young men conscripted for this year's intake, expected to be the last whites-only call-up, to defy their call-up orders.

BARRELS OF FUN:

There was little wind, but plenty of draught when relay teams from Waterfront taverns took part in a barrel-rolling contest. There were five teams of 10 members, each divided into couples. The event started at Bertie's Landing, where the couples first quaffed a few beers. They were relieved at Quay 4 by another couple and more beer, followed by more at Cafe Atlantico, Sports Cafe and finally at Ferrymans, where a Quay 4 team was "aled" as the winner.

Picture: LEON MÜLLER
The Argus.



CP, IFP 'can't be split'

PRETORIA. — The government would not succeed in its alleged strategy to drive a wedge between the Conservative Party and Inkatha at its meeting with the Concerned South Africans Group (Cosag) today, CP MP Mr Tom Langley said yesterday.

Media speculation to this effect was aimed at sowing distrust between the CP and the IFP but there was "too much common ground" between them.

Cosag was unanimous in its rejection of a unitary state and in its support for regionalism and strong autonomous regional powers, he said.

A government spokesman said the

government delegation's priority at the meeting with Cosag — which consists of the CP, Inkatha, the Afrikaner Volksunie, Ciskei and Bophuthatswana — would be to "discuss the earliest possible resumption of multi-party talks". Also on the agenda will be the government/ANC Record of Understanding. 12304A CT8/1/93

The CP said all Cosag members also agreed that residual powers belonged to the various states and only a "limited and listed number of powers" would be reserved by the states for the central government. — Sapa

Picking the teams

With multiparty talks still due to resume early this year, government and the National Party are planning major changes to the structure of their negotiating teams. Some key players at Codesa 2 have either quit politics or moved into new roles that will significantly influence negotiating strategy. Out due to retirement are:



Pik Botha ... could lead the party

- ☐ Government's chief negotiator Gerrit Viljoen;
- ☐ Finance Minister Barend du Plessis, who headed government's team in the working group looking at transitional arrangements; and
- ☐ NP secretary general Stoffel van der Merwe, who played an influential role.

Though still under consideration, the likely structure of government's new team is fairly clear. It will undoubtedly be headed by Constitutional Affairs Minister Roelf Meyer. At Codesa, Meyer, then Defence Minister, represented the NP on the management committee and in the working group considering transitional arrangements. His team is expected to include Local Government Minister Tertius Delport, Manpower Minister Leon Wessels, Law & Order Minister Hernus Kriel, Justice Minister Kobie Coetsee and Defence Minister Gene Louw. All except Louw were in government's Codesa lineup.

Depending on the final structure of the NP's team, Ministers who represented the

** continue*

party — including NP Codesa team leader and Minister of Public Enterprises Dawie de Villiers, NP Natal leader and Minister of Mineral & Energy Affairs George Bartlett and Minister's Council chairman Jac Rabie — may also be slotted into government's squad.

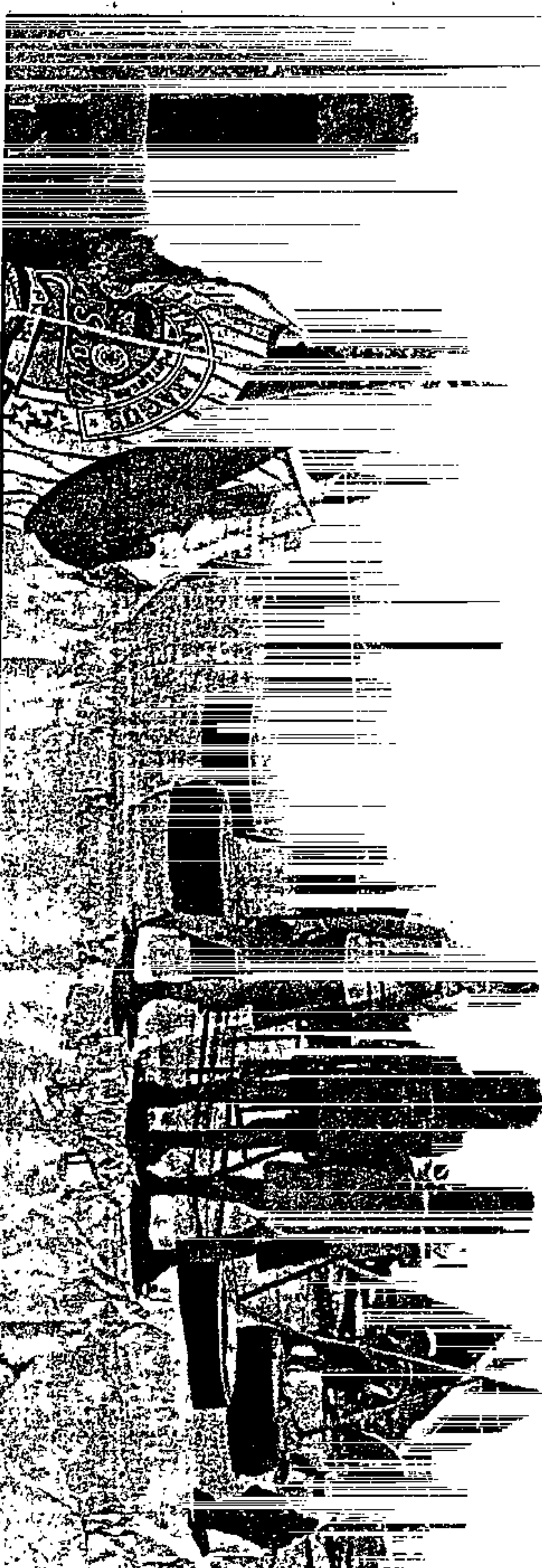
Though Foreign Minister Pik Botha is an obvious choice for the government team (in which he was included at Codesa), there is speculation that he may be asked to head the

party's team instead. It is understood that government is keen to draw a far clearer distinction between government and party in the coming negotiations than was the case at Codesa.

A suggestion is that no members of the executive should be in the NP team. It should instead be led by a powerful, high-profile figure such as Botha, who is regarded as a potent weapon in the pending election campaign and as such more valuable as a

party leader than a Cabinet Minister. It is further argued that Ministers who may be included in a transitional government will not also be able to operate effectively in a Nat negotiating team.

Speculation is that the NP team will include leaders of the "new generation" MPs, such as Nic Koorhof (Swellendam), Chris Fisser (Sunnyside), Sheila Camerer (Rosenville) and Lampie Fick (Caledon) who were all in the party's team at Codesa. ■



Colour-blind... While parents are furious that this shy four-year-old is attending the Wonderland creche in Alberton, he is oblivious to the uproar and spends his time meeting other children his own age.
Picture: Gary Bernart

By Monica Oosterbroek

Parents of 34 children yesterday withdrew them from an Alberton nursery school because a black child had been enrolled.

Jan van der Merwe, who took over the Wonderland creche three months ago, pointed out that most of the children taken out of the school had been taken home to the company of a domestic worker.

"Only parents see colour — children don't know the difference," he said.

Van der Merwe said his life had been threatened because he had allowed a four-year-old black boy to join the nursery.

He told The Star he had informed the parents when he took over the school at the end of last year that he would be opening the school

Black boy

in creche sparks row

to all races.

However, the parents of 34 children were outraged when the little black boy joined.

Nearly half the parents decided they did not want their children sharing facilities with all races, but other parents felt the nonracial experience would assist their children.

The new pupil and his playmates, unaware of the future, played happily in the large garden. When asked whether he liked school, the quiet-mannered boy clutched the hand of another child and

nodded.

One distressed parent, who did not want to be named for fear of endangering her son, said she was very upset by the racial incident and said she was shocked that narrow-minded and racist people lived in Alberton.

Some parents argued they had taken their children away because Van der Merwe's creche was badly run and unhygienic.

Van der Merwe said that that was a weak excuse because the Health Department visited the school regularly and a clinic came round to the school every month.

When approached for comment at his flourishing butchery — Vies Paradise — Len van Nickerk, a parent who removed his child from the school, said: "It's my business and it has nothing to do with anyone else."

Key Cosag-Govt talks

By Esther Waugh
Political Reporter

Crucial talks between the Government and the Congress South Africans Group (Cosag) aimed at reconvening a multiparty negotiating forum start in Pretoria today.

These talks — the first in a series of bilateral meetings — are regarded as an important indicator of the speed with which a full-scale multiparty negotiations forum could be convened.

The management committee of Cosag — the Inkatha

Freedom Party, Bophuthatswana and Ciskei governments, Conservative Party and the Afrikaner Volksunie

— gathered in Pretoria yesterday afternoon to plan its strategy for the meeting.

The agenda for the two-day meeting will be determined today when the groups meet at the Presidential Palace in Pretoria.

A V member Andries Beyers said last night he was hopeful the meeting could pave the way for multiparty negotiations.

Observers expressed "cautious optimism".

Wild Coast

death: arrest

UMTATA — A man has been arrested in Transkei in connection with Sunday's murder of a Japanese teacher who was holidaying at the Wild Coast Sun.

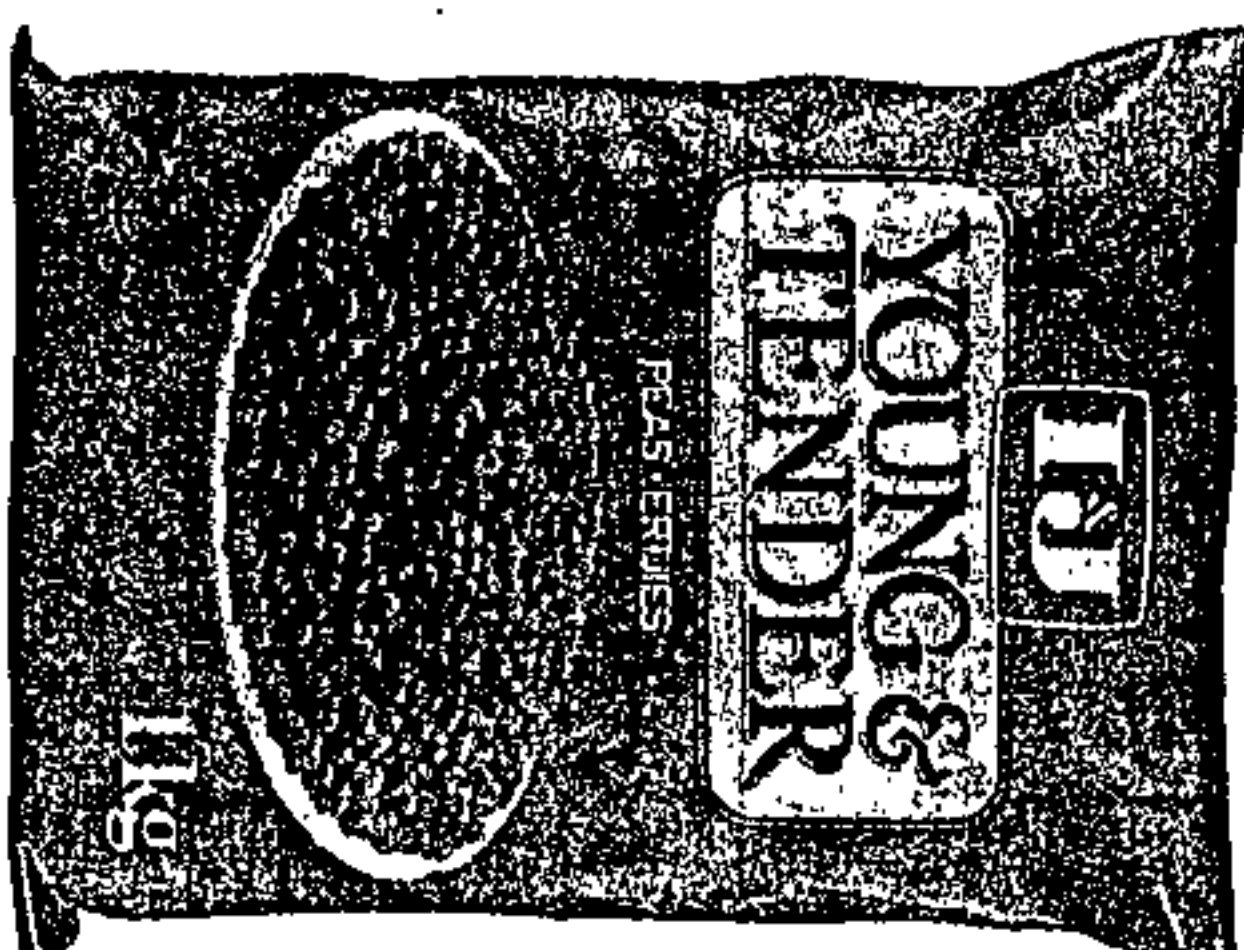
The teacher, 34-year-old Yukiko Yoshimura, was from Johannesburg.

She disappeared on Sunday after she had gone for a walk. Her stabbed and beaten body was found the next day. Her camera, watch and handbag were missing.

Police think rape and robbery were the motive for the murder. — Sapa.

Unbeatable Specials!

Available Saturday 9th and Sunday 10th January 1993.



* I&J
Frozen Peas
1 kg

BUSINESS

I'm all right, Jack

Who prospered while others suffered? **REG RUMNEY**

looks at some of the companies which, in the long and bitter recession, did quite nicely, thank you

QUESTION: How do you do well during a recession? Answer: Run a banking operation or a life insurer.

That's simplistic, but the general rule is that while the economy and hence individuals have fared poorly banks have flourished. Assurers have also tended to do well in good times and in bad.

In a year when industrial companies mostly suffered because of recession at home, and mining companies suffered because world recession depressed the price of the commodities they export, banks did reasonably well.

Just as the Reserve Bank's high real interest rate policy has hurt individuals and companies who use credit, it has favoured banks. Alan McConnochie, in KMPG Aiken & Peat's 1992 banking survey, noted because of this banks had the best operating margins in over a decade. That policy continued through the year, though towards the end it became clear that credit extension was tailing off and bad debts were rising. With the exception of home loans, toward the year end it was reported that credit demand was flat.

McConnochie also noted the banks had resisted the temptation to undercut competitors in the battle for market share. So much for the rash of merger activity in the banking sector in recent years being good for consumers, as was suggested at the time.

So Standard Bank Investment Corporation saw a 25 percent rise in interest income in the six months to end-June this year compared to the six months to end-June 1991. Lower bad debts helped push earnings a share up 20 percent to 245c.

First National Bank reported an earnings increase of 15.5 percent in the year to September — on the back of an 11.7 percent increase in interest income.

For the year ending September 1992 Nedcor reported a 16 percent rise in earnings compared to the previous year, a 19 percent rise in after-tax profit and a 28 percent rise in pre-tax income.

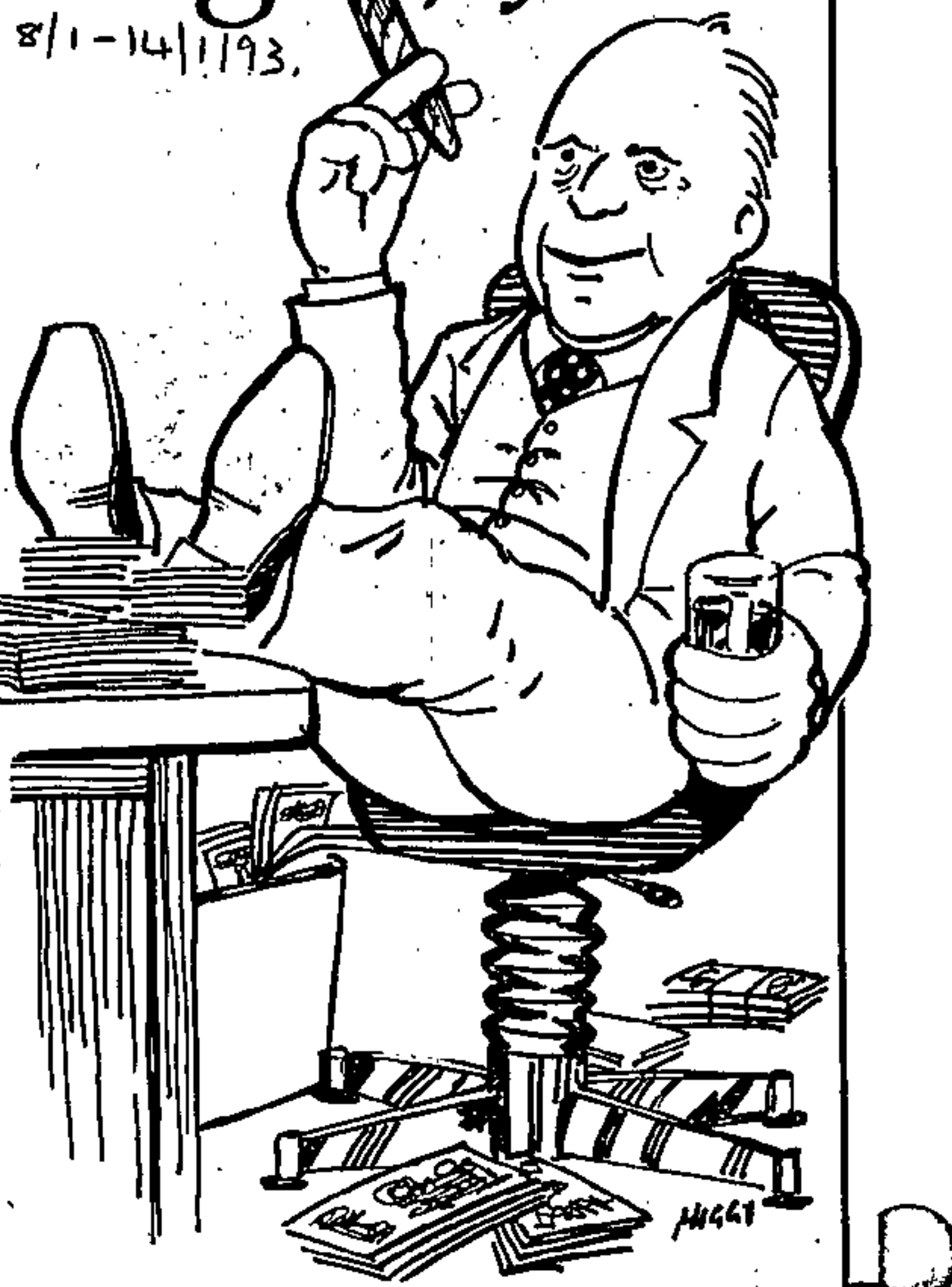
Absa's earnings rose 14 percent in the six months to end September, though the results can't easily be compared with the previous six months. The group is still in the process of digesting its various acquisitions, the latest of which was Bankorp.

Fast-growing Investec's earnings rose 25 percent in the six months to end-September.

Short-term insurers generally performed well too, despite investment income having fallen along with the stock market. Their good results were mainly due to a lack of natural disasters.

Dominant in this sector, and perhaps typical, is Mutual & Federal, which reported a 28 percent increase in earnings in the year to end-June, and a 176 percent underwriting profit (ie premiums minus claims) of R52.5-million.

Long-term insurers in South Africa tend to ride out recessions, as the results of the two biggest testify.



People may put money into the insurers for different reasons when times are hard, but they put money in nonetheless. Moreover, when times get really tough, the number of surrenders of policies increases, effectively giving the assurance companies money for doing naught.

Take insurance giant Sanlam, whose premium income rose 27 percent to R10.4-billion in the year to end-September. Investment income up 17 percent at R4-billion took total income to R14.5-billion, up 24 percent on the previous year.

Similarly, Old Mutual annual premium income rose by more than R2-billion to R10.2-billion in the year to end-June. The society's total income, including investment income, went up 23 percent to R15-billion.

Listed insurer Liberty Life increased after-tax profit in the six months to end-June by 35 percent to R173-million.

Some companies did well in the teeth of the recession simply because they were well run.

For instance, gas, welding and healthcare company Afrox increased turnover by 7 percent, and after-tax profit by 27 percent.

And engineering and property group Ozz reported a 20 percent rise in earnings per share for the six months to end September, on turnover up only 1 percent to R62-million, even though the sectors in which it operated deteriorated during the year.

Among retailers, Foschini shone with a 21 percent increase in net income, compared to Pepkor's reasonable 16 percent in the six months to end August, and Edgar's 5 percent at the interim stage.

Food consumption, astonishingly in a country with a growing population, dropped this year. Consequently, the food companies, which are always seen as a good bet even in recessions didn't do too well.

However, the Premier Group showed earnings a share up 14 percent in the six months to end September, compared to an 11 percent rise in earnings reported by rival Tiger for its full year. Hard times have meant Premier's focus on branded staple foods did pay off.

Among oil companies, Engen saw earnings rise 18 percent on a 26 percent rise in pre-tax profit to R533-million.

A 19 percent stake in ABI, itself a much-admired company, helped confectionery make Cadbury Schweppes increase its earnings by 28 percent, with operating profit up 21 percent at R26-million on turnover up 23.5 percent at R296.5-million.

Of listed companies, a number of smaller companies' stocks did more than buck the recessionary trend. To take one example, Radio-paging supplier Multi-source Holdings reported an increase in earnings of 254 percent in the six months to end-August.

Defying domestic recession and a weakening in its market for containers, Trencor lifted earnings by 23 percent to R130-million in the year to end-June.

Unlisted companies which have discovered export niches, such as Murray & Roberts subsidiary Consani and Foodcorp subsidiary Hanni did well.

Exports even helped South African Breweries beer division boost its sales, the growth of which was hit by the SA recession. Exports helped SAB push up total sales one percent in the 1992 year.

Who else did well? In a year of continuing violence, undertakers probably beat the recessionary blues — which brings to mind the old explanation of Avbob: "Alles Vrek Behalwe Ons Besigheid".

US nudges Buthelezi to join negotiations

W/maul. 8/1-14/1/93

304A

By ARTHUR GAVSHON: London
EXERCISING quiet diplomacy, the United States has joined Britain and other European Community states in pressing Mangosuthu Buthelezi to lead Inkatha back into the multiparty process of negotiating a new constitution.

Diplomats of the countries concerned report that the action is at the centre of a concerted attempt to back up the broad understanding reached by the government and the African National Congress at last month's *bos-beraad*.

In essence, the understanding was based on a recognition of two realities:

- That the two sides have what they called a "shared responsibility" for leading South Africa towards an election of a government of national unity in which all willing parties will participate.

- That a breakdown of the negotiating process almost certainly would have the effect of hastening the collapse of the country's already crippled economy.

The informants said they were unable to indicate whether Buthelezi's response to the pressures being exercised on him behind the diplomatic scenes has been positive, negative or non-committal.

One US State Department source observed: "Buthelezi seems to be playing the situation by his political instincts, keeping open his options by allowing subordinates to engage in exchanges both with the government and the ANC."

"But he has been left in little doubt that, with a new administration soon to take over in Washington, he won't be able to count on the sort of sympathetic hearing he has relied upon in the

past."

The British, who relinquished the presidency of the EC a week ago, have been in contact with all the main parties in South Africa, pushing the need to get a possibly restructured Codesa negotiating process going again.

"We expect multilateral talks to be resumed within about a month," a Foreign Office official said. "Our understanding is that President de Klerk will be making a major statement on the issues on January 29."

"And, of course, our immediate concern has been to ensure that Buthelezi will take good care not to find himself isolated."

British diplomats in South Africa, working in concert with other EC governments, were promoting the case for all-party talks throughout December.

In a related development, US authorities in public, and European diplomats privately, hailed De Klerk's action in cleansing the higher echelons of the South African Defence Force who have been among those elements known, or suspected, as opponents of his reform programme.

The shared view of most Western governments was voiced by Richard Boucher, spokesman for the US State Department: "We welcome the steps taken by De Klerk to discipline members of the military implicated in illegal activities."

"President-elect Bill Clinton's administration is expected to be less patient with the political mavericks of southern Africa than that of his predecessor."

Right angle to constitutional talks

Weekend Argus Political Correspondent

A NEW and more efficient beginning for South Africa's constitutional process could emerge from today's talks between the government and Cosag, a grouping of homeland leaders and right-wingers.

Constitutional specialists say the talks are of particular importance in that they provide an opportunity for expanding the negotiation process over a wider political spectrum.

Professor Marinus Wiechers, of the Department of Constitutional Law at the University of South Africa, expects a new-style negotiation process at leadership level.

He told Weekend Argus after yesterday's opening session of the talks that the inclusion of Cosag members could be of crucial importance to future negotiations.

A distinct possibility was

■ Talks that could have an important bearing on the future of constitutional negotiations began in Pretoria yesterday and continue today.

that a Codesa 3 would come into being. It was likely to be organised differently from Codesa 2 and its many working committees.

The reorganised Codesa could well become a summit conference involving the leaders of the various groupings — including President De Klerk, Mr Nelson Mandela, Chief Mangosuthu Buthelezi and others, he said.

Cosag — Concerned South Africans Group — includes the Inkatha Freedom Party (IFP), Conservative Party (CP), the Afrikaner Volksunie (AVU), the Bophuthatswana and Ciskei governments and some homeland opposition parties.

The body was formed after the signing of the Record of Understanding in September

last year as a countermove to the alleged domination of the negotiation scene by the government and the ANC.

Professor Wiechers said he believed the last thing the government wanted to do at this weekend's talks was to seek a confrontation on political or constitutional issues, or to seek wide consensus on such issues.

At yesterday's opening session, Constitutional Development Minister Mr Roelf Meyer expressed hopes that all political players would agree to renewed multiparty talks "in the interests of the country".

Meanwhile, ANC insiders say the organisation's strategy remains "the transfer of power to the people as a whole", but they do not make it clear who they regard as "the people".

Such a transfer of power,

they say, will require, among other things, a restructuring of the army, the police and the civil service.

ANC strategists still envisage a winner-takes-all role for the majority party — even after the adoption of a new constitution. They foresee a government in which the majority party will have a decisive role while losers will have no veto powers.

On the issue of regionalism, the ANC appears to have made important concessions from its previous hardline stance in favour of authoritarian central government powers to overrule regional authorities.

The powers and functions of regions should be set out in the constitution. And national government — except through procedures of amending the

constitution — cannot take away these rights, the ANC says.

For instance, the national government can overrule a regional government if the latter goes against national policy, but it cannot dismiss it. In a dispute, a non-party constitutional court will arbitrate.

AVU spokesman Mr Andries Beyers, MP for Potchefstroom, said this week they would seek to ensure that the identification of regions and the extension of regional powers be enshrined in an interim constitution.

Mr Beyers said Cosag was unified by members' subscription to regionalism and their insistence on strong autonomous regional powers.

Talks at the Cosag meeting were guided by a "common rejection" of a unitary South African state and a reaffirmation of the principle of the establishment of states in the various regions with varying degrees of power and autonomy.

Huge challenges in elections build-up

3044
11/11/93

THE target date set by President De Klerk for the first elections is March or April 1994, but some of the other players say it should be sooner — even late this year.

There is a sense of urgency among politicians in the controversy over the timing. It is as if some can hardly wait to get it over — but, there are still enormous challenges ahead and problems to be solved before the country can embark on its new course to bring an end to white rule.

It will be an election in which a potential 21 million voters will cast their votes, compared with only about five million or even three million in previous elections under white rule.

The size of the electorate means party resources will be heavily strained, say politicians.

Some parties, including the Democratic Party, have set their sights on possible overseas financial support for their campaigns.

Analysts say the challenges facing parties and groupings include:

■ The African National Congress will have to decide once and for all whether it wants to enter the elections as a liberation movement or as a political party.

As a liberation movement, its impact on the electorate will be limited — it is perceived as having only one item on its political agenda, namely “liberation”. As a political par-

■ The political focus this year will be on South Africa's first all-race elections, scheduled for early next year, to choose an interim government. Weekend Argus Political Correspondent **FRANS ESTERHUYSE** looks at the challenge facing political parties and voters.

ty, it will have more scope for meeting a wide variety of voters' needs, ranging from bread-and-butter issues to environmental matters, labour policy and safeguards against authoritarian bureaucracies.

■ The ANC also will have to decide whether it wants to enter an election with or without the SA Communist Party, which could prove to be an intolerable burden in a campaign to win votes across a wide political spectrum.

■ A decision will have to be taken, or agreements reached, on the fate of private armies attached to existing groupings like the ANC, the Pan Africanist Congress, the Afrikanerweerstandsbeweging and other rightwing groups.

Analysts say elections can hardly be “free and fair” if some of the participants have private armies lurking in the background, with access to hidden arsenals.

No number of assurances by leaders that such armies will not be used against political opponents will dispel fears of the armies getting out of control after a political defeat or other crisis.

The very existence of such armies is seen by unarmed political opponents as an intimidating factor.

■ Crash courses in voter education will be needed on a

large scale to teach inexperienced voters how to vote, how to ensure a peaceful and orderly election campaign, and how and why political tolerance must be exercised in a democratic system.

Political tolerance must be raised to a level where all candidates and campaigners can operate freely and without fear.

■ Clear guidelines for election procedures and for a systematic transition to democratic government must be laid down by way of multi-party negotiations this year.

■ Agreement must be reached on key electoral systems to be used, such as proportional representation, a national voters' list system or regional systems, and the simplification of procedures to make voting easier.

■ All possible steps must be taken to eliminate any possibilities of electoral fraud and to ensure effective local and international supervision of the elections.

■ Agreement must be reached on a code of conduct that would bind all parties to acceptable practices and behaviour before, during and after an election.

Professor Hennie Kotzé, head of Stellenbosch University's department of political science, says most of the objec-

tions to the ANC's role as a “liberation movement” in an election will fall away if agreement can be reached on making existing private armies part of a negotiated military/security pact.

At the same time, “private armies” of militant rightwing movements will have to be neutralised or brought under control.

On the issue of the ANC's role as “liberation movement”, one of the organisation's leading ideologists, Mr Jeremy Cronin, believes it should continue in this role.

“The ANC, whether for elections or for reconstruction, must remain a mass-based, mobilising, broad national liberation movement,” he says. Mr Cronin is a member of the ANC's national executive committee and of the SACP's central committee.

The SACP, on the other hand, is a registered political party, according to a Western Cape SACP spokesman. The party registered late last year in terms of existing legislation.

Professor Kotzé told Weekend Argus this week that in the run-up to an election it would be important to reduce the high level of political intolerance in the country, even among opinion-makers.

“If a Democratic Party speaker is thrown out of

Khayelitsha and the ANC is unable to speak from a platform in Ulundi, then some rapid crash programmes in democratic values are needed.”

The DP's Mr James Selfe told Weekend Argus the DP had been involved for some time in extensive expansion programmes to set up a much wider party base. It had established branches throughout the country for the past 18 months — from the northern Transvaal to the southern Cape.

An issue on which the ANC is putting much emphasis is that of the legitimacy of elections. One ANC commentator says: “It is critical that the elections are conducted in such a way that there can be no questioning their legitimacy.”

“The extent to which they are free and fair will determine how readily the results will be acceptable to the majority.”

The ANC's requirements include:

■ Election conditions in which “the playing field has been levelled and a climate of free political activity exists”. (Critics say the playing field cannot be levelled until the ANC and other groups abandon their “private armies” — like the ANC's Umkhonto we Sizwe and the PAC's Apla).

■ Election processes must meet international standards, and

■ The elections must produce a high percentage poll as in Angola and Namibia.

ANC, DP ROW

304A 279/1/93

Charge of apartheid rejected

By RONNIE MORRIS and GUY OLIVER

A BITTER war of words has erupted between the ANC and the Democratic Party after ANC Western Cape regional secretary Mr Tony Yengeni accused the DP of being collaborators in apartheid.

Mr Yengeni made the accusation about what he called the party's "odious" past only two days before a planned DP meeting in Guguletu on Monday.

He said in his statement that neither the DP nor its forerunner, the Progressive Federal Party (PFP), had organised meetings in the townships in support of the oppressed and "apart" from people like Jan van Eck, Jannie Momberg et al, the DP/PFP offered implicit support for apartheid violence.

"Statements made inside and outside Parliament by the PFP/DP supporting the regime's hot pursuit of the ANC, attacks on frontline states and even massacres, bear testimony to that," he said.

"When the DP ventures into the townships and attempts to attract the victims of apartheid for the purposes of elections, it must expect a great measure of rigorous questioning of its past and its present actions and images."

'Definite threat'

The DP's first electioneering foray into Cape Flats townships was disrupted last month when a chair-throwing mob, later accused of being ANC supporters, brought a Khayelitsha meeting to an abrupt end.

National ANC spokesman Dr Pallo Jordan endorsed Mr Yengeni's views about the DP as "quite competent". He declined to comment further and said the statement should rest as a regional issue.

DP spokesmen said yesterday that Mr Yengeni's latest outburst led them to believe the same fate could await Monday's proposed meeting, which they defiantly said would not be cancelled.

Mrs Helen Suzman, former DP MP and veteran anti-apartheid politician, said yesterday that she detected a "definite threat of intimidation" in Mr Yengeni's statement. This was "in spite of his pious comments on the right of any party to campaign for support", she said.

Mr Robin Carlisle, DP MP for Wynberg, said the statement was "inflammatory and drums up untrue

political slurs which are then used as justification for disrupting meetings. (304A)

"In fact (Mr) Yengeni's statement has now made disruption almost certain and he will have to take the responsibility for any violence that occurs at the meeting."

The row appears to have ended what was seen by some as an informal "alliance" between the two parties in the Western Cape.

DP leader Dr Zach de Beer said Mr Yengeni's statement started with an admirable declaration of freedom of expression, which the DP welcomed, but, "then goes into a passage of quite unfair political abuse directed against the DP".

Dr De Beer said the ANC statement ended by suggesting that other organisations or individuals might take intimidatory action at the DP meeting.

"It would be helpful if they would name the organisations or people involved. If these are not identified there will of course be doubt about who is really responsible," he said.

Mrs Suzman said Mr Yengeni showed a lack of knowledge of the constant opposition put up by the PFP in and outside Parliament.

Mr Jasper Walsh, DP regional chairman, said Mr Yengeni's statement was "so devoid of truth that one is forced to question his memory or political judgment if not his integrity".

"During the '80s several members of the PFP, including Di Bishop, Molly Blackburn, Ken Andrew, Robin Carlisle, Jan van Eck and myself were in the townships attempting to defuse the violence perpetrated by government security forces."

The DP had an unblemished record and had earned the absolute right to seek support from all South Africans.

ANC member and former DP MP for Simon's Town Mr Momberg — and for 30 years a member of the NP — declined to comment on the PFP/DP complicity in apartheid, but acknowledged Mrs Suzman as a "shining light" in the struggle against apartheid.

Negotiations '93 kick off

ESTHER WAUGH
Political Reporter

SM 9/1/93

THE first test of South Africa's negotiating prospects for 1993 got under way in Pretoria yesterday, as the Government faced the Concerned South Africans Group (Cosag) in a bid to woo its members into multi-party talks.

The Government-Cosag bospheraad — the first in a series of bilateral meetings between major parties scheduled for this month — is being seen by negotiators as a litmus test of how quickly the Codesa process can be reconvened, and whether hopes of interim government by June are realistic.

Cosag's members are keeping at arm's length from the negotiating process, and are united in their opposition to what they describe as unilateral deals being struck by the Government and ANC.

The management committee of Cosag — the Inkatha Freedom Party, Bophuthatswana and Ciskei governments, Conservative Party and the Afrikaner Volksunie (AVU) — jointly planned its strategy on Thursday afternoon.

Inclusive

The agenda for the two-day session was hammered out yesterday in a meeting of all participants at the Presidensie in Pretoria.

AVU member Andries Beyers told Saturday Star he was hopeful that the meeting could lead to a resumption of multiparty talks which would be more inclusive than what had gone before.

But observers would only express "cautious optimism" about the possible outcome of the meeting. They pointed out it was unlikely that the talks could lead to the immediate resumption of multiparty negotiations as the meeting would not be attended personally by the political principals — President F W de Klerk, IFP leader Mangosuthu Buthelezi, Ciskei military ruler Brigadier Oupa Gqozo, Bophuthatswana President Lucas Mangope and CP leader Dr Andries Treurnicht.

It was likely that the delegates would first discuss any decisions reached at the meeting with their principals before any final agreement could be reached.

A Government source said the Government's negotiators would concentrate on the resumption of multiparty negotiations and the issues of regionalism and federalism.

The negotiators would seek to determine the IFP's view on the status of agreements reached at Codesa which were not ratified at the failed Codesa 2.

Mandela pledges non-racial elections

End to white rule this year — ANC

STAR 9/1/93

ESTHER WAUGH
Political Reporter

THE leadership of the African National Congress yesterday committed itself to concluding a negotiated agreement leading to a government of national unity this year.

Mapping out a conciliatory vision of political progress for the year ahead, the ANC said 1993 should usher the country into a new era — with the first all-in elections ending white minority rule.

It is clear from the optimistic statement that the ANC has decided that this year will be a decisive one in the transition process.



MANDELA: Transition process cannot be held hostage.

The ANC national executive committee's statement, marking the organisation's 81st anniversary, was delivered yesterday in Johannesburg by ANC president Nelson Mandela.

Mandela said that although the ANC wanted the negotiations process to be as inclusive as possible, it would not allow transition to be held hostage. "The elections cannot be delayed beyond 1993," Mandela said. In reply to a later question, he amended this to say elections could be delayed until early next year because of "unforeseen circumstances".

Mandela said the ANC would not change from a liberation movement to a political party before a fully democratic government had been installed. It was premature to talk of the ANC changing from a liberation movement until liberation had taken place, he said.

Negotiations

Observers noted that this gave clear notice that the ANC intends contesting the elections as a front with its allies. As a liberation movement, it will also continue receiving foreign funding.

The ANC said the key steps to be taken this year were:

- Resumption of multi-party negotiations in Codesa.
- Ensuring a climate of free political activity.
- The establishment of a transitional executive council.

● TO PAGE 2.

● FROM PAGE 1.

- Elections for a constituent assembly.
- The reincorporation of the homelands.

Speed in the negotiations process was essential because the transition to democracy was the key to resolving the country's economic and social problems, Mandela said.

"Today all South Africans realise that we need to move forward decisively and with the utmost speed. Each day that passes is a day of deprivation, of hunger, of rising unemployment, of violence, increasing crime and insecurity for all," he said.

Apartheid

But the ANC was under no illusion that the transition process would be plain sailing.

In a clear reference to the Concerned South Africans Group (Cosag), Mandela said: "There are those political formations which fear change and are totally opposed to democratic elections. They are products of apartheid thinking. They fear the will of the people. They cling to ethnic fiefdoms and racism."

"Unless they are able to place the national interest above their party-political and personal agendas they will confine themselves to the role of spoilers and will be judged accordingly."

Although the ANC said in its statement that elections could not be delayed beyond 1993, Mandela said in answer to questions from the press that his organisation was not "dogmatic and rigid" on the issue.

While the ANC felt there was an urgent need for elections, unforeseen developments could mean that these took place only early next year.

Mandela and ANC secretary-general Cyril Ramaphosa denied that the ANC was conceding too much to the Government in negotiations, following such claims this week by Winnie Mandela.

Speaking at Helen Joseph's burial on Thursday, Mrs Mandela said negotiations would not deliver democracy because they were being conducted between the "elite of the oppressed and the oppressor".

Ramaphosa said the ANC was confident that negotiations would lead to a fundamental transformation of the current political system and finally deliver freedom and democracy to all.

"We do not believe the ANC is conceding too much," he said.

Without mentioning his estranged wife by name, Mandela said: "The issue of whether the people of South Africa, especially the oppressed people, support negotiations should not be judged on the basis of what individuals say, whoever they are."

Endorsed

The issue should be determined with reference to decisions of "organised and disciplined members".

Mandela said negotiations had been unanimously endorsed at several ANC conferences.

"We have not given too much to anybody, least of all the National Party. What we have done, we have done in the interests of the entire nation," he said.



Behind, are owner of Martin Voogdt.

ments

d, a local Simonis 54; Glory, the hi-tech im- it which won Rothmans pe Town; and Cavalier, r line honours he tips k, Parker Pens Ltd and hallenger, with IGI Sea lark horse.

really want to know weather is doing, ask the Morning Glory, Jean- lot, who did my routing s's one of the top two in " Martin said.

Sunday Star, the weath-

TO PAGE 2.

IS THIS THE F- OF A FUTURE

By PROF WILLIE
ESTERHUYSE of the
University of
Stellenbosch.

THIS year will be a
make-or-break year
for SA in all

spheres. It especially ap-
plies to spheres like poli-
tics, the economy, social
services, security, train-
ing and education.

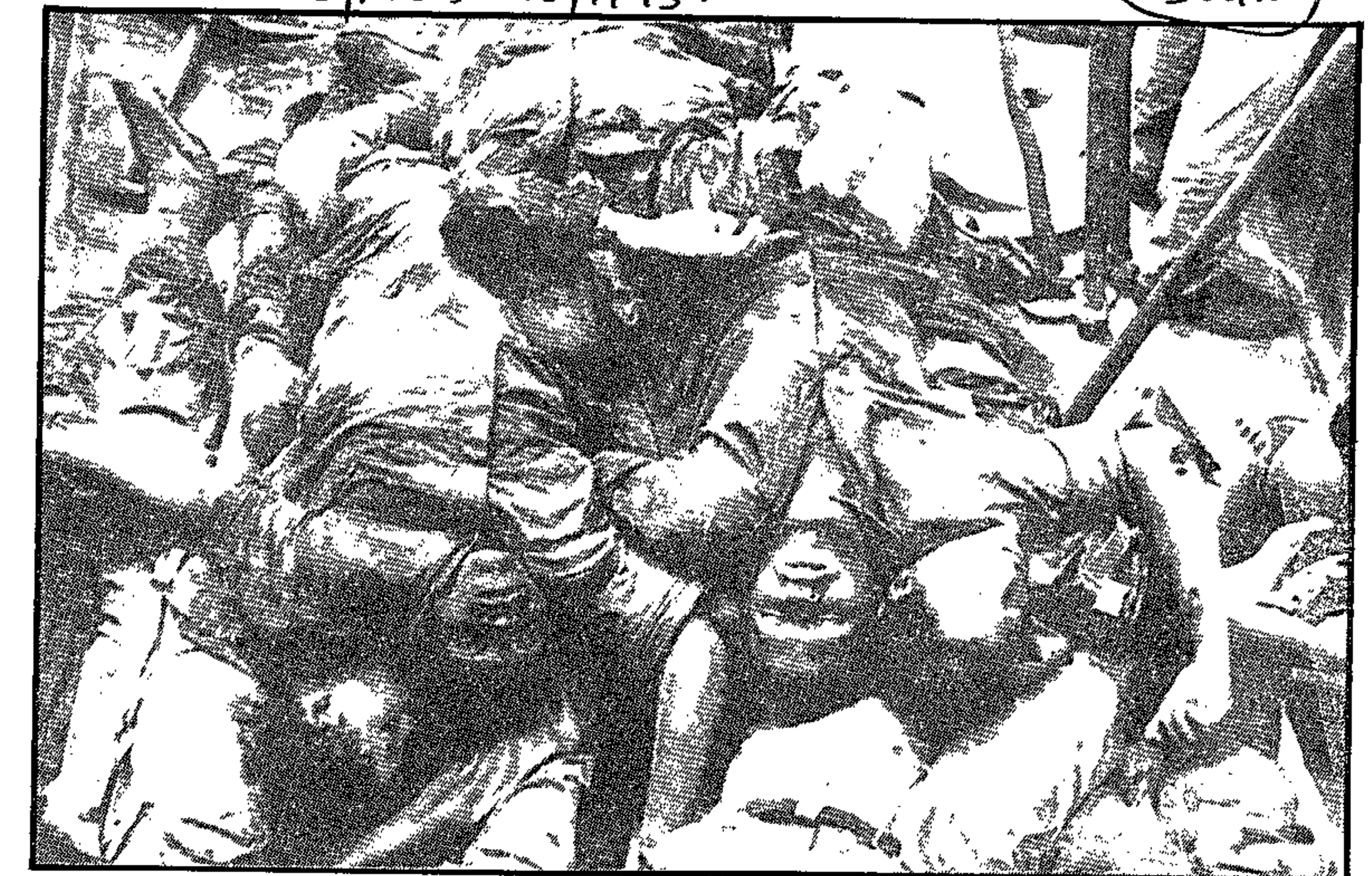
There can be no doubt
this year will determine
whether SA will be a typi-
cal Third World country
for the next 10 to 20 years
or a country which has
been firmly placed on the
road of development.

In fact, by the end of
this year we shall know
whether the international
community is still serious-
ly interested in our devel-
opment or whether they
will refer to us as another
case for humanitarian aid
in Africa.

It would therefore be
misleading to think: "Last
year was a bad year for
SA. It can only be better
in future."

It could become much
worse, like in Angola, Mo-
zambique, Zambia and
other African countries
which have turned con-
flict and confrontation
into a culture.

What are our political
prospects for this year? Is
there a chance that we
will not drown in the
quagmire of continuous
unrest and confrontation?
That professional people
won't emigrate in their
thousands? That institu-
tions – the basic founda-
tions of a sound society –
won't collapse? That hope



BUT WHY? ... Lives lost as politicians squabble. The horror of the Angolan tragedy could befall SA if events are allowed to get out of control.

for the future – the source
of energy for creative ac-
tion – will not evaporate?

Last year was a bad
year for SA. There were
dramatic revelations
about corruption, malad-
ministration, theft and or-
ganised political murders.

It was a year in which
criminals, crooks and in-
dividuals who played
chess with the lives of
others received more pub-
licity than those who
demonstrated evolution-
ary leadership, consensus
and co-operation between
political factions.

Economic pressures
also loomed large, and it
became painfully clear
that no money is available
to be dished out to all.

But despite all the
gloom, some political
gains were made.

This not only ensured
greater realism, but com-
pelled important political
players to think in terms
of a historical compro-
mise.

Compromise is more
likely this year than ever
before. It is clear Presi-
dent FW de Klerk's wa-
tershed speech of Febru-
ary 2 1990 was not only
necessary, it was political-
ly unavoidable.

In 1993 we are being
confronted with some-
thing equally unavoidable
– this time a historic com-
promise between the most
important political play-
ers.

Incidentally, any per-
son who thinks that all
political role players must
first agree upon a future
political dispensation be-
fore there can be talks of
a historical compromise
gives a veto power to
small parties which they
don't deserve. After all, in
a country like SA there
will always be groups to
the left and to the right
with their own agendas.

The big challenge is to
get 60 to 70 percent of the
voters politically organ-
ised in the so-called mid-
dle-ground and also to ac-
cept that the middle
ground is not the domain
of one party only.

This year we will see
more middle ground in

our politics. People who
are not being kept ideo-
logically hostage by out-
dated political ideas, but
who show realism and
who are bound together
by common interests, val-
ues and ideals. The poli-
tics of compromise also
promote a sound middle
ground in politics.

In this process a few
heads will probably roll
and a few faces will disap-
pear. Scandals will also
take their toll.

However, this would be
to the benefit of the settle-
ment process rather than
detrimental.

The first step in the
constitutional settlement
process will be to negoti-
ate and institute an Ad-

ATE

A?

ministrative Transitional Council. This could be operative by the end of March or the beginning of April.

The next step would be to elect delegates to a legislative constituent assembly and introduce a government of national unity. This could be in place by the end of this year.

Timing would be of utmost importance. In fact, the first step, or rather the acceptance of joint responsibility for a number of key issues, is probably the most important requirement for SA's development.

This would be the signal to developed countries, development agencies and institutions like the World Bank to become more actively involved.

The World Bank usually requires about 18 months to become actively involved after the green light has been given. Because considerable preparatory work has already been done in the case of SA, such involvement could take place within six months of the green light.

Much will depend on our political leaders. Will they be prepared to enter into a historic compromise? Will they portray a stronger and larger vision than last year? Or will they try to dominate from their respective corners?

I put the chances for a historical compromise on at least 70 percent!

C PRESS

10/1/93

(304A)

Ex-presidents for city Africa talks

SITimes (Cape metro)
FIVE former heads of state are among international opinion-leaders who are to attend a meeting of the New York-based InterAction Council in Cape Town from January 21 to 23. 10/11/93.

The meeting, chaired by Lord Callaghan of Cardiff, is to have as its theme "Bringing Africa Back into the Mainstream of the International System".

Delegates are to discuss proposals and strategies to counteract the marginalisation of Africa and formulate a programme of action for the continent and the international community.

The former government leaders are

Mr Pierre Trudeau (Canada), Mr Malcolm Fraser (Australia), General Olusegun Obasanjo (Nigeria), Mrs Maria Pinasilgo (Portugal) and Mr Lopo do Nascimento (Angola).

Other high-level delegates include World Bank president Mr Bob MacNamara and Africa Development Bank president Mr Babacar N'Diaye.

The managing director of Nasionale Pers, Mr Ton Vosloo, has been invited to address participants on the political transition in South Africa, but is unable to attend, according to his secretary. —

Sapa (304A) (B)

Why KwaZulu's 'go-it-alone' constitution is the answer

STW 10/11/93

304A

10/11/93

ALBERT BLAUSTEIN defends the recent proposed constitution for a semi-autonomous KwaZulu/Natal

THE constitution of the state of KwaZulu/Natal, recently adopted by the KwaZulu legislature and scheduled for submission to popular referendum, sets in place a very advanced and admirable federal system.

The constitution reserves to the Federal Republic of South Africa a much broader and more extensive list of powers than those originally reserved to the federal government in the United States constitution.

Moreover, the constitution completes the system of vertical checks and balances, providing not only

for a federal system but also for regionalisation within the state of KwaZulu/Natal.

The state will be divided into regions so as to respect existing social and cultural divisions. These regions will have both administrative and legislative powers to be exercised within the framework of state legislation.

The relationship between federal states and

member states as described in the constitution is healthy and viable.

The key becomes how the unavoidable conflicts between the federal and state governments are resolved — in the highest court of law in the land with exceptional guarantees of independence and impartiality.

Some unrealistic criticisms have pointed out

that, theoretically, the constitution would allow the state to exclude the power of taxation of the Federal Republic of South Africa within its territory.

This type of criticism completely ignores the reality of federalism; that the federal government provides essential services and functions to the people of the state and it has, and will always have, the upper hand.

In fact, the federal government can threaten to terminate essential services, making it impossible for the state to operate.

Therefore, it becomes essential to build a system of checks and balances which guarantee that the federal government does not expand its powers at the expense of the jurisdiction of the state government.

Other unfair criticisms against the constitution pointed to the provision allowing for a state militia. This criticism seems to ignore the fact that state militia forms 40 percent of the US armed forces and that in the US federal troops are not allowed to enter a state or engage in any activity without the

consent of the Governor of the State.

Of course this does not apply to the activity of federal police and court marshalls.

Perhaps the greatest merit of the Constitution of the State of KwaZulu/Natal is that it fully protects the integrity of civil society in all its forms, thereby perfecting the system of checks and balances and protecting the people against all the modern evils of government.

● Professor Blaustein is a constitutional adviser to Inkatha.

ANC: Prepare for 1993 poll

(3044) CT 9/1/93

JOHANNESBURG. — The ANC yesterday mapped out its political course for the rest of 1993 with a strong appeal to its branches to prepare for South Africa's first general election by year-end.

Reading from a National Executive Committee statement to mark the organisation's 81st anniversary, ANC president Mr Nelson Mandela said 1993 was

"destined to be the year when we bring to an end the exclusive exercise of political power by the white minority. At last, we shall together set ourselves on the path to democratic rule".

Among the steps outlined by Mr Mandela that need to be taken this year are a resumption of multilateral talks in Codesa, a climate of free political activity, and the incorporation of the "so-called independent bantustans".

Independent elections and media commissions would need to be set up to ensure free and fair

Motoring into its 82nd year

Staff Reporter

THE Western Cape region celebrated the ANC's 81st anniversary in style yesterday when a motorcade of more than 50 cars toured the Peninsula waving flags and blowing their hooters.

Led by the organisation's regional secretary, Mr Tony Yengeni, the motorcade gathered at the Grand Parade before moving to Woodstock, Mow-

bray, Athlone, Langa and deeper into the townships.

Onlookers and supporters shouted "happieee!" as the cars wound along the busy roads of the Peninsula.

The ending was more stylish — a cake in the organisation's colours of black green and gold was ceremoniously cut at the Strandfontein beach. The celebration was peaceful and no incidents were reported.

elections and elections held for a constituent assembly and interim government of national unity.

However Mr Mandela later conceded: "There may be something that happens that makes it impossible to hold elections this year. Then we say elections must be held early in 1994."

The ANC was prepared to discuss the holding of elections with all parties, including white right-wing groups, and would take their policies to the grassroots.

Mr Mandela appealed to those who feared democratic change,

saying they should rather fear the consequences of a lack of change.

"Any continuation of the past would mean that our country sinks further with all its people into the depths of a general crisis which would benefit no one and from which it would be impossible to extricate itself in the foreseeable future," he said.

● The ANC/SACP/Cosatu alliance will demand the government relinquishes control of the Defence Force, police, SABC and national budget, reports quoted SACP general secretary Mr Chris Hani as saying. — Sapa

LISTENING . . . Mr Mandela yesterday w. his plans for the

By CHARLENE SMITH

CODESA could be back on track by March. Momentum for negotiations picked up yesterday when the Concerned South Africans Group and the government agreed to hold a multi-party planning conference involving Codesa participants to prepare for negotiations.

Constitutional Minister Roelf Meyer said the government would be pleased if the talks could be held during February. He said the message from yesterday's meeting was that "negotiations are back on track".

The new momentum comes amid renewed concern about the economy and a warning by ANC secretary-general Cyril Ramaphosa, in an interview with the Sunday Times, that a failure to reconvene Codesa could put a political settlement back by two years.

Inkatha Freedom Party deputy chairman Frank Mdlalose said yesterday there was "a feeling of urgency that elections should happen soon for SA to solve its problems".

Perhaps even more important was an undertaking from the 12-member Concerned South Africans Group (Cosag) that agreements at Codesa could form valuable inputs and these could be put back on the table.

Nonetheless, Dr Mdlalose said the IFP believed it was "absolutely not bound by agreements at Codesa".

A kick-start for Codesa 3

"We are quite happy to start negotiating afresh," he said.

A senior government source said he believed the IFP would have difficulty in a multiparty negotiations forum if it maintained this position.

Rejected

In December Cosag — which includes the Inkatha Freedom Party, the government of Bophuthatswana, Ciskei, KwaZulu, the Conservative Party and seven smaller groups —

rejected the two parties of making cosy deals that would affect a political settlement.

The group was formed late last year after the government and the ANC signed the September 26 Record of Understanding, which Cosag rejected, accusing the two parties of making cosy deals that would affect a political settlement.

Dangers

"We see no reason for an election, an interim government and another election," Mr Cronje said.

"We believe there are many hidden dangers with a transitional government."

The multiparty discussions will for the first time bring the SA Communist Party and the Conservative Party into a joint negotiation forum.

The CP has previously refused to negotiate in the same forum as the SACP. Senior CP leader Tom Langley would not comment on this yesterday.

Next Friday, the IFP and the ANC will meet in Johannesburg for important bilateral talks aimed at healing the rift between the two organisations and on January 20 the ANC and the government will meet for a six-day indaba.

CP Press 10/11/93
(304 A) ~~HEP~~

Govt, Cosag agree on talks

THE government and the Concerned South Africans Group (Cosag) have agreed that a "multi-party planning conference" involving all parties should be held to prepare for multi-party negotiations.

Constitutional Development Minister Roelf Meyer told a news conference after the two-day meeting between Cosag and the government in Pretoria yesterday that the government would canvass all parties to participate in this "planning conference".

CP delegates Tom Langley and deputy CP leader Dr Ferdi Hartzen-

berg were not immediately able to say where the agreement had left the CP, which has up to now refused to participate in talks with the ANC.

They said the CP decision would be announced later "after consultations with their principals".

Cosag and the government said: "It was further agreed that all parties who participated in Codesa as well as other parties with proven support, and governments of the self-governing territories, should participate in the multi-party planning conference."

Leaders of the self-governing territories were in-

cluded in an attempt to resolve the issue of the Zulu King being included in negotiations, Meyer said, adding there had been general agreement yesterday that multi-party negotiations should proceed as fast as possible.

In terms of the government's announced decision to have a multi-party negotiating forum in place before the end of next month, the multi-party planning conference should take place well in advance of this date, he said.

Inkatha delegate Dr Frank Mdlalose and Bophuthatswana delegate Rowan Cronje said they

did not consider themselves bound by Codesa agreements.

Bophuthatswana did not sign the Codesa Declaration of Intent, while Mdlalose said that the Codesa agreements were void because "Codesa is dead and we're quite happy starting afresh".

Mdlalose said they had "very thoroughly" discussed an alleged remark by Meyer that the government would be prepared to "go it alone" with the ANC in the event of other parties not participating in the negotiation process.

He said he was happy that Meyer had denied these reports. — Sapa

Back to the kibbutz for the Wolf who got the boot

By CHARLES LEONARD

A WEEK is a long time in the political arena. Last weekend Isak "Boerstaat" Bosman was no more than a retired East Rand railway worker.

On Monday he was catapulted into the spotlight as spokesman for the Wit Wolwe at the first press conference held by the sinister right-wing organisation.

On Wednesday he was publicly expelled from the ranks of the extremists by the most notorious Wit Wolf of all, Barend Strydom, because he is a member of the Church of the Creator.

By the end of the week Boerstaat was back on his own turf — a rundown smallholding that he dreams of turning into South Africa's first white kibbutz.

To reach it you turn left at the Kafferspruit sign on the Nigel-Devon road.

Dispelled

A kilometre or so down the narrow dirt road is the entrance to smallholding No 33.

Any vision of communal productivity is dispelled as soon as one enters the property.

Forget the image of a happy band of workers toiling side by side for the collective good.

Better yet, forget anything you've ever seen or heard about a kibbutz Israeli-style.

In a parched vegetable patch two black gardeners wield their hoes and ignore the strangers at their gate.

From the direction of a rusty watertank on stilts comes a high-pitched voice with a flat Boland accent: "Who are you looking for?"

A corpulent woman with red hair shuffles towards the visitors.

"Mr Bosman?"

She points past a tired-looking car under the "af-dak" to the flat-roofed house. "There's Mr Bosman in his office."

Four things strike one immediately about Mr Bosman's office, reached by way of a dingy kitchen.

The Jimmy Abbott loo-

kalike's toothless mouth is underscored by a grey Paul Kruger beard. He is speaking to a journalist on the phone about his expulsion from the Wit Wolwe.

"I refuse to quit. Barend Strydom is a self-appointed leader and we should get a new one. He's not competent to do the job."

The decor is the next thing one notices.

On the wall facing his desk hangs a Nazi flag, the swastika emblazoned on fabric 2m wide.

The other walls feature yellowing pieces of paper containing fascist quotations, including six by Adolf Hitler.

Then there's the smell.

Five dogs of varying size lie in dark corners on the cement floor or on the

three-seater couch which has seen better days and on which the stuffing is spilling out of the orange upholstery.

The water pump is out of order, but the dogs smell as though they've been sodden for weeks.

Finally, there are the sticky flypapers suspended from the ceiling. Once yellow, they are black with dead flies, but continue to attract the buzzing insects.

When the Wit Wolwe made their media debut on Monday at the Brits smallholding where Barend Strydom's in-laws live, Mr Bosman was the only member present not hiding behind a balaclava.

Just 48 hours later the fledgling right-wing splin-

ter group had split down the middle, with some members allied to the radical Church of the Creator and the others adhering to the teachings of the marginally less hardline Israelites.

The Church of the Creator believes not in God but in the teachings of Ben Klassen, whose white-supremacy principles are outlined in his "White Man's Bible".

"I have the support of our chief of staff," says Mr Bosman, a fervent Klassen disciple. "Barend Strydom is out of bounds and, anyway, he was too scared to hold that news conference."

It is from the Church of the Creator that Mr Bos-

man's inspiration for a white kibbutz came.

But he has encountered a major obstacle in realising his dream of a kibbutz "like those the Jews have in Israel".

"Our smallholding belongs to a Portuguese man in Nigel and he doesn't want me to have caravans here like I planned."

"Now I harbour two families from the Cape with us in the house and an ex-Rhodesian and his wife in a camper in the garden."

"We know that there are two black squatter settlements not too far from here and they are getting away with it. But what would be ideal for us would be if some farmer gave us a small piece of land where we can live."

ANC lauds talks decision

THE ANC yesterday welcomed the Concerned South Africans Group's decision to enter negotiations, saying Codesa talks were back on track.

Government and the Concerned South Africans Group reached an agreement on Saturday to start convening a multiparty preparatory meeting to set up multilateral constitutional negotiations.

Senior ANC negotiator Mohammed Valli Moosa said his organisation welcomed the group's decision, but pointed out that some of its member parties had held back, saying they would have to refer the agreement back to their principals.

"Overall, the indications are that parties are prepared to enter negotiations and that is a good sign," he said.

BILLY PADDOCK (304A)

A senior government source said it was an extremely positive meeting. Constitutional Development Minister Roelf Meyer said on Saturday "negotiations are back on track" and he hoped the preparatory meeting would take place next month.

With Inkatha eager to rejoin the process, the three major negotiating partners seem on track to getting the process moving, and Codesa-type negotiations could resume by March — the date set by government and endorsed by the ANC.

Government and the Concerned South Africans Group agreed that all Codesa parties would meet to discuss the resumption

□ To Page 2

Talks

of multiparty negotiations.

Inkatha national chairman Frank Mdlalose said there was an urgent need to hold elections as soon as possible.

Inkatha also announced it would be holding bilateral discussions with government soon. While no meetings had been scheduled, these talks would deal with Inkatha's specific problems and centre on the issue of federalism and regionalism.

CP spokesman Tom Langley said the Concerned South Africans Group's decision would be referred back to his principals.

Although government and the ANC have rejected a multiparty conference to review all Codesa agreements — a key Inkatha demand — both acknowledged a new Codesa could not be convened as some multilateral discussions had to take place to formulate the agenda.

It is understood that at the multiparty preparatory meeting, Codesa agreements will be placed on the table so parties can assess common ground.

Although Mdlalose said Inkatha was not bound by Codesa agreements, government sources believed Inkatha would find it difficult to maintain this position at multiparty talks.

"Deals get struck all the time in negotiations. That is what negotiations are all about. Inkatha made deals during Codesa II and they will probably make deals again in another multiparty forum," one government source said.

Valli Moosa said the ANC wanted to see multiparty negotiations resumed soon. The ANC did not want too many intermediary steps delaying the process. He said the bilateral discussions were aimed in part at working out the form and content of multiparty negotiations, and the ANC would be opposed to lengthy multilateral talks about the same issues.

He stressed that the parties entering the process for the first time would have to accept that negotiations could not start again from scratch.

□ From Page 1

Talks break through - interim rule soon

Sowetan
11/11/93
By Ismail Lagardien
Political Correspondent

MULTIPARTY negotiations that will resume within weeks and elections for an interim government later this year have become a distinct possibility after a breakthrough during talks at the weekend.

The Government concluded successful talks on Saturday with the Inkatha Freedom Party-led Concerned South Africans Group and on Friday the African National Congress delivered its most conciliatory statement since negotiations collapsed last year.

White minority rule will effectively be ended towards the end of the year when, it is envisaged, elections for a constituent assembly are held and a new parliament came into being early next year, Mr Mohammed Valli

■ MULTI-PARTY TALKS Negotiations

to press on within weeks: *(30/11)*

Moosa of the ANC's negotiations team said at the weekend.

And in a separate interview yesterday Minister of Constitutional Development Mr Roelf Meyer said he was confident that a planning meeting for the resumption of multiparty negotiations would take place "within a month".

Meyer was also optimistic that the inclusion of the administrations of the self-governing territories in the planning meeting could resolve the issue of the possible inclusion of King Goodwill Zwelithini of the Zulus in negotiations - a matter which caused Codesa much grief last year.

After Saturday's meeting IFP chairman Dr Frank Mdlalose was cagey, but confirmed that his party was ready for a planning meeting for

the relaunch of Codesa.

Mr Rowan Cronje of the Bophuthatswana government, which together with the leaders of Ciskei, the Conservative Party, Afrikaner Volkswie and IFP make up Cosag, said his administration was also prepared to meet for the planning of multiparty negotiations.

He emphasised, however, that Bophuthatswana was not a signatory of Codesa's Declaration of Intent and was, therefore, not bound to any decisions or agreements that had been reached at the convention.

Meyer and Moosa yesterday acknowledged that a new urgency had emerged over the past days in spite of reticence from certain quarters and vacillation from others.

11/12/92

Electoral threshold

304A

IN MY OPINION

vices to keep out the very tiny parties holding to ransom parties winning millions of votes.

PR was generously suggested by the ANC, as the biggest likely party, partly to avoid the national electoral scandals of the Forties and Fifties, when the Nats won a majority of MPs with 40% of the votes and the United Party, with over 50%, had fewer MPs. The proposal should also take the electoral system out of the negotiations argy-bargy.

The table shows a projection by myself, over the nine Development Bank regions, of a reasonable scenario for votes cast for major parties in SA. It is projected using a highly sophisticated programme by Prof J F de Beer of the Computer Science department of Potchefstroom University that has been proved over many elections. The programme allocates likely votes in the nine regions and then pools them for a national vote total with the requisite number of seats under the ANC's scheme and the President's Council/NP scheme.

The table is a projection of one of many possible votes for the various parties in the new electorate of 20m of which 5,5m are existing electors in the tricameral set-up. The ANC and NP have, through Codesa, formed alliances with the 15 tricameral and homeland parties. This means that these parties will either stand alone (as encouraged under the NP "no threshold" scheme), or will stand on the various regional lists of the parties as with the ANC-encouraged scheme with its high 3% threshold.

With the ANC scheme, these minority parties will have to negotiate their way onto the major parties' lists and calculate the likely number of votes for such an electoral coalition in advance. If they get it wrong and the major party fails to reach a certain level of votes, they will not win any seats in that region. If they are not high enough on the national list "topping up" any regional distortions, they will also lose out.

Under the NP scheme, minor parties will win a seat with 50 000 votes — or even two seats with 90 000. The minor party can stand alone, since with only 0,25% of the votes it can win a seat. A projection of the votes cast shows that, under the NP's scheme, if the ANC wins less than 50% of the votes it translates into less than a majority of the elected MPs — something the NP wants to ensure at all costs.

These costs involve letting Eugene Terre-blanche and other extreme rightwing parties into parliament. They will also allow tricameral parties like Rajbansi's NPP to win one or two seats in their own right.

This desire to keep the ANC under the moral threshold of 50% is a chimera. If the ANC wins less than 50% of the votes, this cannot be denied. If it is close to 50%, it will be the major partner in government anyway, in all likely circumstances. But the present parliament can negotiate a deal with the new one.

The scheme may backfire; they often do.

Looking ahead					
Projected election result					
Based on NP/President's Council and ANC proposals for a proportional representation election					
Party	% votes	SCHEME 1 0,25% threshold		SCHEME 2 3% threshold	
		NP/PC no of seats	% seats	ANC no of seats	% seats
ANC	49,5	198	49,5	212	53
NP	21,3	86	21,5	90	22,6
IFP	11,2	44	11	48	12
DP	2	8	2	14	3,5
PAC	3,3	14	3,5	14	3,5
AZAPO	1,5	6	1,5	—	—
NPP	0,6	2	0,5	—	—
AWB	0,7	2	0,5	—	—
CP	5,3	22	5,5	22	5,5
Ximoko (Gazankulu)	1,2	4	1	—	—
Bop Democratic Party	3,1	12	3	14	3,5
Afrikaner Volkunie	0,3	2	0,5	—	—
	100%	400	100%	400	100%

What if parties to the far Left of the ANC, like Azapo, win 2,5% of the votes and under this scheme (but not the ANC's) get 10 seats? Will this not counterbalance a host of supposedly pro-NP parties' likely votes? There are several such organised and revolutionary parties now. Will the ANC then have the option of offering a few Cabinet posts to the most rabid anti-white parties, greatly circumscribing its freedom of movement now and in the future to the detriment of us all in

our virgin electoral territory?

This would produce a counterbalance to the NP's strategic hope of many small rightwing and centre parties and completely eliminate any NP advantage. If Azapo got six seats (based on 1,5% of the vote) this would be necessary for a liberation movement majority in the parliament. (ANC's 198 plus Azapo's 6 make 204 — a majority of the 400 seats.) And this would destabilise an already unstable situation.

If even Joe Slovo thinks that an NP/ANC coalition will rule SA for five years, why does the NP want to jeopardise this?

In the projection given, the ANC, with 49,5% of the national total vote, will win, under the NP's proposals, a crucial less-than-half the 400 seats (198), compared to its own proposals where this share would give it 212 MPs and a majority (53%) of the votes in the parliament with a moral authority that the NP fears. As an ANC/NP coalition is now a certainty after the ANC's latest National Executive Committee meeting, the NP must weigh up whether it really wants all these minor parties out of its control, or whether slight barriers will enormously enhance stability and make the ANC and itself more likely to be reasonable to each other.

The 3% cut-off point reduces the number of parties likely to win one seat — from up to 20 to a probable six.

Strong tiny regional parties will have to link up with existing lists of the big parties and the ultra-Right and ultra-Left will just fail to enter parliament as their voters are encouraged to abandon them and go for the nearest "big" party closest to their ideological position.

Under the ANC scheme, the 100% of elected seats is drawn from those parties above the 3% level giving them shares proportionally from the remaining 94% of valid votes for parties above the threshold. These are the ANC with a bonus of 3,5%, the NP with a bonus of 1,1% and the IFP with a 1% bonus. The smallest parties above 3% also qualify slightly in this way too.

The ANC's scheme is probably too harsh for a first election. The 1989 Namibia election had an effective 1% threshold. If the NP can get nine regional constituencies, with simultaneously elected regional parliaments, it should consider accepting a threshold of 1%. This would benefit both the country and itself.

Mandela replies to Winnie

B/DMY 11/1/93
BILLY PADDOCK

THE ANC had not conceded too much in negotiations with government and was on track in its objective of achieving a transition to democracy, secretary-general Cyril Ramaphosa said at the weekend.

Ramaphosa was responding to criticism from Winnie Mandela that the negotiation process could not deliver democracy as it was being conducted between "the elite of the oppressed and of the oppressor".

Ramaphosa said the ANC was confident it was on track to achieve the aims of the nation — the transformation of SA to freedom and democracy, and the organisation was doing only what was necessary to deliver true democracy.

ANC president Nelson Mandela, having stayed out of the fray initially, decided to comment on his estranged wife's statements, smacking her down publicly.

He said the issue of whether the oppressed people supported negotiations "should not be judged on the basis of what individuals say, no matter who they are. It should be judged according to what disciplined members of the organisation say".

Mandela said there had been three national conferences and many national executive committee meetings where the disciplined members had endorsed — usually unanimously — the ANC's actions in negotiations.

"We have given nothing away to anyone. We have done only what we consider to be

in the interest of SA as a whole," he said, adding that he believed the NP and government also had not conceded too much in negotiations.

"It was said that government capitulated by signing the record of understanding. I do not think this is true. President F W de Klerk and the NP had the interest of the nation at heart and were doing what was best for the nation," Mandela said.

On a conciliatory note, he said the ANC was flexible on the date of elections, despite the NEC's statement insisting on elections this year.

Referring to the Concerned SA Group, he said there were those who feared change and were opposed to democratic elections. "They are products of apartheid thinking, fear the will of the people and so cling to ethnic fiefdoms."

"Unless they are able to place the national interest above their party political and personal agendas, they will confine themselves to the role of spoilers and will be judged accordingly."

He indicated also that he had held talks with Sacob president Spencer Sterling on Wednesday and said that he was encouraged by the outcome and the confidence of Sacob that economic growth could be salvaged. "He gave me a very optimistic view," Mandela said.

Sabax denies allegations

GAVIN DU VENAGE

SABAX yesterday denied allegations by a former employee that inadequate controls were applied in one of its manufacturing units.

US-trained pharmaceutical technician Di Parker, who spent about six years at Sabax, has claimed sub-standard techniques were used in the company's admix unit.

Parker's allegations followed the deaths of eight babies last September and were submitted in an affidavit to Witwatersrand Attorney-General Klaus von Lieres in November.

Parker said that intravenous link-bag solutions were returned from Coronation Hospital with complaints of a contamination growth in the drip bags.

These complaints were not investigated and the bags were thrown out instead of being examined, said Parker.

Sabax CE Ian Strachan said the company had, since 1988, "fully documented procedures" to deal with complaints; procedures which had been fully examined by the courts.

FOR
AVAIL
R

Market scans. Competitor analyses. Identifying channels. Finding partners for joint ventures. information. Procurement notices. Investigating opportunities. In fact all the information you you're planning offshore operations or exports. E

DP safety pledge for Guguletu meeting

2044
11/11/93
MICHAEL MORRIS
Political Correspondent

UNITED Nations and Democratic Party monitors will turn out in force in Guguletu tonight in an effort to ensure the DP's second township meeting goes ahead without incident.

The party's last township meeting — in Khayelitsha a month ago — was disrupted by a mob described as ANC supporters.

The DP Youth, which has organised the 7 pm meeting at Uluntu Hall, says it intends using "every available peaceful means" to ensure there is no intimidation or disruption.

DP Youth national executive member Mr Colin Douglas said: "We just want to have an ordinary political meeting. We are not looking for conflict and confrontation. We are taking a number of steps to ensure our members are protected."

Two UN monitors are to attend the meeting at the DP's request. They are Mrs Helen Lim and Mr Vladimir Zagbagora.

There will also be DP monitors and photographers to record the event.

The meeting follows a tough exchange between the ANC and the DP at the weekend.

ANC regional secretary Mr Tony Yengeni has confirmed the ANC will attend the meeting "as part of the Guguletu community".

Western Cape chairman of the ANC Dr Allan Boesak appealed for political tolerance, saying freedom of speech should not be the subject of political game-playing.

ANC supporters who disrupted meetings would play into the hands of anti-democratic forces. They would be disciplined.

Mr Douglas said some of the DP's 150 members in Guguletu had reported intimidation "by known ANC members".

"We know the stakes are high, but to cancel the meeting would promote and encourage intimidation. For this reason we are going ahead, but with every precaution."

"Our approach is to prevent intimidation before it begins. We are aware the political temperature is high, but our approach to opponents is friendly and consultative. In fact, prior to the Khayelitsha meeting we had a cordial meeting with the ANC youth."

Speakers tonight will be Wynberg MP Mr Robin Carlisle, national vice-chairman of the DP Youth, Mr Siya Themba and Western Cape executive member of the DP youth Mr Steven Ntsane.

Mr Carlisle said: "The tragedy of contemporary politics is that blacks are absolutely terrified of the ANC and the ANC are fast becoming the new oppressor."

Another negotiation hindrance removed

Political Staff

A FURTHER hindrance in the resumption of multiparty negotiations has been cleared in a crucial meeting between the government and the Concerned South Africans Group (Cosag).

The government and Cosag — the Inkatha Freedom Party, the Bophuthatswana and Ciskei governments, the Conservative Party and the Afrikaner Volk-sunie — agreed at the two-day meeting in Pretoria over the weekend to convene a planning conference.

The conference, proposed at the meeting by Constitutional Development Minister Mr Roelf Meyer, is seen as a possible way to the resumption of multiparty talks. It could also remove the obstacle created by IFP leader Mangosuthu Buthe-lezi's insistence on a Conference of Review.

A date has not yet been finalised for the planning conference as Codesa parties are still to be consulted.

African National Congress spokeswoman Ms Gill Marcus said last night that the organisation, and particularly its negotiations commission, would consider reports of the Cosag-government meeting before commenting.

But the ANC wanted the urgent resumption of multiparty talks. In a brief joint statement after the Cosag-government meeting on Saturday, the organisation said the planning conference should "assess the current situation and prepare for multiparty negotiation" and include all Codesa groups and possible new participants.

The successful completion of a series of bilateral talks this month will pave the way to the resumption of talks in a multiparty negotiating forum, the instalment of a Transitional Executive Authority and elections for a constitution-making body.

The significance of the weekend's summit was that it facilitated contact between the government and the IFP, which broke off constitutional talks after the government and the ANC reached a Record of Understanding last September.

Observers said the meeting also managed to bring the Conservative Party into some form of discussion.

The leader of the Bophuthatswana government delegation, Mr Rowan Cronjé, said after the meeting that "serious differences" still existed between Cosag and the government.

The unresolved issues are to be addressed at another meeting, for which a date is still to be set.

Patrick Laurence focuses on factors which could affect SA's first non-racial election

Why ANC might not triumph

STAR 11/1/93.

3044

THE countdown to South Africa's first national non-racial election has begun. So, too, have predictions on how the various political parties and organisations will fare.

With the election likely to take place by April 1994 at the latest, Nelson Mandela's ANC-led alliance is favoured by most political pundits to win — at the very least — a plurality of votes.

The ANC is seen as a South African equivalent of Robert Mugabe's Zanu-PF or Sam Nujoma's Swapo. Like them, it led the resistance which broke the old colonial or racial order.

As Zanu-PF was victorious in Zimbabwe's 1980 independence election and Swapo in Namibia's 1989 independence election, so, it is expected, the ANC will triumph in South Africa.

But an occasional dissenting voice has been raised, cautioning against equating the contemporary South African situation with those that pertained in Zimbabwe and Namibia.

R V Johnson, the South African-born Oxford lecturer, has done so eloquently. So, too, more recently, has Andrew Reynolds, who is doing research on South Africa at the University of California in the United States.

Reynolds is the author of an article entitled "A shock in the mak-

ing", which challenges the assumption of an ANC win.

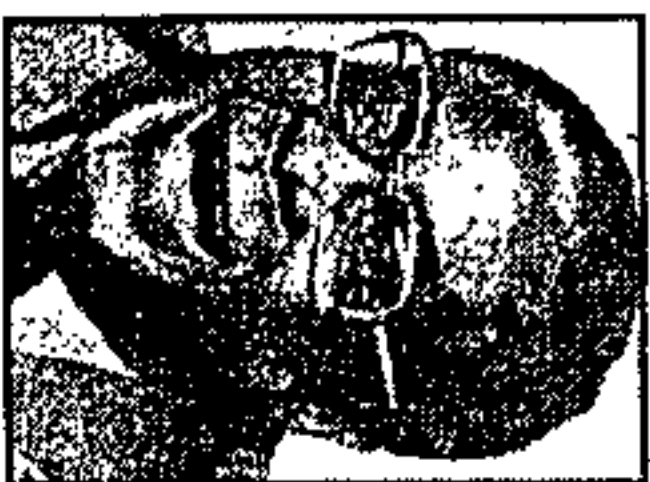
Reynolds concludes that F W de Klerk's ruling National Party (NP) "will do much better than people have presumed" and that it may, with its allies, hold a majority of seats in the envisaged constituent assembly.

In his analysis — which assumes that the election will be held on the proportional representation or PR list system, with a five percent threshold — Reynolds predicts that the ANC will capture roughly 46 percent of the vote.

Of the rival contenders for power, only the NP, Mangosuthu Buthelezi's Inkatha Freedom Party (IFP), and a Conservative Party-Afrikaner Volksunie axis will obtain enough votes to cross the threshold and qualify for representation in the constituent assembly.

According to Reynolds, their percentage of the vote will be as follows: NP — 34 percent; IFP — 13 percent; GP-AY alliance — 6.5 percent. Collectively they represent a majority. Reynolds anticipates that they will form an alliance under De Klerk's leadership to exclude the ANC.

His analysis rests essentially on two pillars: first that De Klerk will capture a decisive majority of votes in the three minority communities, white, coloured and



In their footsteps... will Nelson Mandela (centre) succeed like Robert Mugabe (right) and Sam Nujoma?

Indian, second, that for a variety of reasons the ANC's strength in the black community — where it is easily the predominant force — will not translate into a commensurate number of seats in the constituent assembly.

Reynolds says several factors will combine to reduce the influence of the black vote generally and its potential to carry the ANC to power.

One is demography. The black community accounts for roughly 75 percent of the population. But, because nearly half of the blacks are under the voting age of 18, the proportion who will qualify as voters is 68 percent.

Another factor is the relatively small proportion of blacks who have identity books. 72 percent have identity books, 72 percent against nearly 100 percent for the

three minority communities. Assuming that identity books are used to identify voters and it is difficult to see how else polling officers will be able to distinguish South African citizens from cross-border migrants — that will also devalue the potential black vote.

Reynolds identifies further factors which may impact adversely on the ANC: the domination of the media by the white establishment and inhibitions which may cause black voters to stay away.

Reynolds identifies three groups of black voters who may not exercise their right to vote:

- Illiterate blacks. He quotes a Development Bank calculation that 55 percent of blacks are illiterate. Attempts to make ballot papers "illiterate friendly" will

not guarantee a high turnout.

"Illiterate people turn out in far fewer numbers through fear of the (voting) process."

- Blacks, including many ANC supporters, who anticipate an ANC victory and therefore will not bother to vote. Even if their numbers are small, they "could be influential".

- Blacks who will stay away from the polls if they anticipate that voting will trigger fresh violence or fuel existing violence. He quotes research which found that 16 percent of blacks will refrain from voting rather than risk their safety.

Unlike Zanu-PF and Swapo, the ANC may be deprived of the advantage of a leader still shrouded in the mystique of "the struggle".

Zanu-PF and Swapo fought elections within months of the return from exile of Mugabe and Nujoma; the ANC will go into an election some four years after the release of Mandela. Zanu-PF and Swapo were the beneficiaries of the unblemished heroic status of their leaders; after four years Mandela, while a formidable leader, is no longer a demigod.

The problem in assessing the chances of the various contenders for power in the pending elections are the imponderables, factors which may be decisive but which cannot easily be quantified.

One is last September's rapprochement between De Klerk and Mandela and their de facto agreement to a form of power-sharing in the new order. Will it commend or condemn them in the eyes of the electorate and, more particularly, their constituencies? Will it render De Klerk vulnerable to the white right wing and Mandela to the radical Pan Africanist Congress (PAC)?

Another imponderable is the rise of Apla and the publicity which its attacks on whites gained for it and the PAC. Will it help or hinder the PAC in realising its potential as a force to be reckoned with?

A third unknown variable is the political import of growing inequality within the black community, where inequality is now not much lower than it is for South Africa as a whole. Does it create opportunities for the PAC or even the NP which, with its greater resources, may be able to buy votes?

With all these fluctuating factors to ponder, political strategists and psephologists are in for a hard time.

Let me, however, put my neck out with a prediction, guided as much by my viscera as my brain: the ANC, as the premier force of resistance to apartheid, will emerge from the first non-racial election with an overall majority rather than a mere plurality. □

Govt-Cosag talks remove obstacle

By Esther Waugh
Political Reporter

A further hindrance in the resumption of multiparty negotiations has been cleared in a crucial meeting between the Government and the Concerned South Africans Group (Cosag).

The Government and Cosag — the Inkatha Freedom Party, Bophuthatswana and Ciskei governments, the Conservative Party and the Afrikaner Volksunie — agreed at the two-day meeting in Pretoria at the weekend to convene a planning conference.

The planning conference, proposed at the meeting by Constitutional Development Minister Roelf Meyer, is seen as a possible route to the resumption of multiparty talks. It could also remove the obstacle created by IFP leader Mangosuthu Buthelezi's insistence on a conference of review — a precondition he has set to returning to the negotiating forum.

A date has not yet been finalised for the planning conference as Codesa parties are still to be consulted.

ANC spokesman Gill Marcus said last night the organisation, and particularly its negotiations commission, would consider reports of the Cosag-Government meeting before commenting.

However, the ANC wanted the urgent resumption of talks.

In a brief joint statement after the Cosag-Government

meeting on Saturday, they said the planning conference should "assess the current situation and prepare for multiparty negotiation", and include all Codesa groups and possible new participants.

The successful completion of a series of bilateral talks this month will pave the way to the resumption of talks in a multiparty negotiating forum, the instalment of a transitional executive authority and elections for a constitution-making body.

The significance of the weekend's summit was that it facilitated contact between the Government and the IFP, which broke off constitutional talks after the Government and ANC reached a Record of Understanding in September.

Observers said the meeting also managed to bring the CP into some form of discussion and would get the party at least to discuss the pros and cons of multiparty talks.

The leader of the Bophuthatswana government delegation, Rowan Cronje, said after the meeting that "serious differences" still existed between Cosag and the Government.

The issues would be addressed at another meeting, for which a date was still to be set. These issues were bilateral agreements between the Government and ANC, the need for a transitional government, regionalism, and the status of decisions reached at Codesa.

Insurers tighten claims control

KATHRYN STRACHAN
WITH the AIDS pandemic and the recession causing a dramatic increase in ill-health and disability claims, the insurance industry has tightened claims control.

A new organisation, the Association of Insurance Medical Officers of SA (AIMOSA), affiliated to the Medical Association of SA, has been formed to ensure medical evidence conforms to stringent standards.

"The need for such a body has become particularly acute in the face of recent developments in the health profile of the country," association chairman Dr Len Myers said.

"Of great concern is the escalating incidence of HIV infections, the increase in TB and a worsening economy, which has driven up claims on ill-health and disability."

"Claims have also been affected by less obvious considerations such as an increase in policy sales among the relatively more affluent, but higher HIV-risk population and the influx of some questionably qualified doctors from eastern Europe and Africa, whose services have been used for medical evidence."

Another spokesman, Dr Jack van Niftrik, said the recession and consequent retrenchments had resulted in a large number of fraudulent disability and even death claims. "It is a lot easier for a company to persuade an employee that he is too disabled to continue working than it is to retrench him," he said.

Black teachers threaten to strike

KATHRYN STRACHAN
BLACK schools, which reopened yesterday, could be in for a repeat of last year's disruptions with teachers affiliated to the SA Democratic Teachers' Union (Sadtu) threatening possible strike action.

Sadtu assistant general secretary Thulas Nxesi said yesterday his union would protest against plans by the Department of Education and Culture to retrench about 3 200 teachers at 40 coloured schools.

But teachers would not strike before consulting all parties concerned, including pupils and parents. Plans to retrench the teachers were suspended late last year when Sadtu teachers threatened to disrupt exams. But negotiations with the department failed to extract a guarantee that teachers would not be retrenched in the new year.

Black schools were desperately short of teachers, said Nxesi, and rather than retrenching teachers government should transfer them to schools where they were needed.

All the problems which triggered last year's "chalkdowns" still existed, he said. Teachers were still victimised for participating in union activities, despite the union being officially recognised, and the poor conditions at schools continued.

Nxesi said the most important task for the year ahead was to revive a

culture of learning and to develop a code of conduct.

Meanwhile, Judge Richard Goldstone yesterday announced that his commission was considering investigating violence and intimidation in schools, and requested people to submit any relevant information.

"In recent months the commission has received disturbing information concerning a number of incidents of violence and intimidation committed against members of the teaching profession and even in some instances on scholars," he said.

Sapa reports from Pietersburg that Azapo northern Transvaal spokesman Mautle Phasha yesterday called for an end to the disruption of education through teacher chalkdowns and the involvement of pupils in campaigns during school hours.

Department of Education and Training (DET) director-general Bernhard Louw said textbooks and prescribed books valued at more than R80m had been provided to black schools this year.

He said on the first day of the new school year, 2 374 public schools and 5 648 farm schools had registered with the DET, and more than 2,5-million pupils would enroll in public and state-aided schools.



DP leader Zach de Beer signs an autograph for Soweto member Dominic Moyo at yesterday's opening of a new DP office in Kerk Street, Johannesburg. De Beer said the office was an early step on the road to massive voter contact by the DP. Picture: BRIAN HENDLER

Govt, ANC wash their hands of exiles

LOUVOU COUTTS
GOVERNMENT and the ANC yesterday denied responsibility for non-ANC exiles in Zambia who had been declared illegal immigrants by the Zambian government.

Both were responding to reports that 700 SA exiles had been declared illegal immigrants after failing to meet a UN High Commissioner for Refugees deadline to leave Zambia.

ANC spokesman Carl Niehaus said there were "at most" between 150 and 200 ANC staff in Zambia, either because they were legitimately winding up ANC business in Lusaka or awaiting clarification of their indemnity status. Others were students.

"Our chief representative in Zambia is dealing with the Zambian government and township violence in SA."

pending the outcome of that, (the matter) will be taken up by the ANC head office."

Asked about the non-ANC South Africans in Zambia, Niehaus said: "In that instance it is something for the government to deal with."

However, Foreign Affairs spokesman Jacques Malan said his department had not been approached for assistance, and that the matter was between the ANC and the Zambian government.

"How can the state be involved if the people don't want to come back?" he asked. The reluctant exiles said they feared

More whites have itchy feet – survey

STAN
12/11/93

Staff Reporter

(304A)

The number of white South Africans considering emigration rose by 9 percent between January and August last year, according to a Human Sciences Research Council survey.

The survey, conducted by Dr Nic Rhoodie, also reveals that the university graduate brain-drain is continuing against a background of "ongoing violence and an unprecedented spiral of crime."

Rhodie's findings, recently published in an HSRC volume on "South Africa in the Nineties", shows that twice as many English-speaking whites are contemplating emigration as Afrikaans-speakers.

Responding to the question "How seriously are you considering emigrating in the next three years?", the 18 to 24 age group shows the itchiest feet, with a quarter of all respondents considering leaving their land of birth.

The 25 to 34 age bracket fol-

lows with 24 percent, while only 7 percent in the 65 and over category were contemplating emigration.

The survey shows that 27 percent of English-speaking respondents are toying with leaving, as opposed to 13 percent of Afrikaans-speakers.

Rhodie attributes this to "cultural and historical factors... which make Afrikaners believe they have deeper roots in South Africa than English-speakers".

The findings reveal that 21 percent of the respondents who had some form of tertiary education were considering a future abroad, compared with 19 percent who had passed matric and 13 percent who had not reached matric level.

However, Rhodie believes the flow of capable young talent out of the country has not yet reached alarming proportions.

"Many wild statements are made about the actual number of people contemplating emigration. Many of the figures I see in newspapers are too pessimistic."

CP still sits on fence over multiparty talks

By Esther Waugh
Political Reporter

The Conservative Party's participation in a multiparty negotiating forum still hangs in the balance after the weekend meeting between the Government and the Concerned South Africans Group (Cosag).

CP leader Dr Andries Treurnicht said yesterday: "The CP does not have to decide whether it wants to be involved in a Codesa, because Codesa is dead."

The Government and Cosag — which includes the CP — decided at their two-day meeting to convene a planning

meeting with Codesa groups and possible new participants.

Treurnicht said the acknowledgement of certain conditions would determine his party's involvement.

These included the right to self-determination; the party's rejection of an interim government and a constitution-making body as agreed to by the ANC and Government; the CP's rejection of Codesa decisions; the disbandment of Umkhonto we Sizwe; and that the authority in a new dispensation should not be vested in a central government but in the "governments of people or states".

61 DMY 12/1/93

304A

Meetings lined up for Pik

PRETORIA — Foreign Minister Pik Botha is due to meet a host of foreign ministers over the next few days, after the signing of a UN pact to control the production of chemical weapons.

The signing of the pact, an extension of the existing accord signed in 1957, is due to take place tomorrow in Paris.

About 160 delegates, many of them foreign ministers, are due to extend the ambit of the pact to curtail the manufacture of substances used in chemical weapons.

Botha will take the opportunity to brief German Foreign Minister Klaus Kinkel and US Acting Secretary of State Lawrence Eagleberger, among others, about recent events in SA. Botha will then travel to London to meet

TIM SOMEN

British Foreign Secretary Douglas Hurd.

Botha said yesterday that one of the reasons the accord would be signed was "to ensure SA would never be blamed" for chemical warfare abuses. He described SA's participation in the pact as a "major step forward" for SA's standing in the international community. Botha said South Africa would, in line with the convention, in the near future establish an authority to monitor the manufacturing of chemical substances. It would report to the international parent body.

Speaking at a news conference also attended by Republic of China Foreign Minister Frederick Chien,

Botha praised the growing trade links between the two countries.

He said SA's trade with Taiwan exceeded R5bn last year and that the island was an example of how disciplined action by a population could result in a high level of economic growth.

Chien said the countries had been close friends in good weather and bad, and praised the fact that SA had a \$550m trade surplus with the Republic of China.

He said his country was considering sending a team of agricultural experts to SA as well as assisting in the establishment of a vocational training centre.

Chien is due to meet President FW de Klerk today and ANC president Nelson Mandela tomorrow.

Kader Asmal reflects on the process needed to create an acceptable new constitution

History must not repeat itself

It is a truism if not a cliché that the constitution which will emerge in South Africa will be the result of intense debate, negotiations and parleying, not only between political parties but also between various interest groups.

The prescriptiveness with which the National Party has behaved over the past 44 years is not a credible option, not least because the structures of power and legitimacy have dramatically altered. Neither will the take-it-or-leave-it approach of Inkatha as reflected in its recent constitutional proposals provide a proper basis for constitution-making.

The legitimacy of the constitution will depend largely on the process involved in its making. A more open, participatory, accessible and inclusive process will result in greater acceptance, especially if a constituent assembly, with a democratic mandate, provides the ultimate imprimatur not only to the process, but also to the content of the constitution.

We shall draw on our own experiences in ordering our future, specially on the way a degenerate social order perverted parliamentary sovereignty to ordain rule by law, rather than the rule of law. Lessons can also be learnt from the way structures of government and concepts have operated in other countries.

Foreign governments, with large resources, have drawn on the desire to learn by South Africans by sending representatives of parties to their countries in droves and foreign thinktanks continue to organise seminars here.

The previous hostility to lessons from overseas, traditionally a governmental response, is now reflected in favour of extrapolations from Belgium, Switzerland, the US and even India with nary a thought as to their relevance to South Africa.

It was therefore refreshing to read Patrick Laurence's lessons from Ireland for South Africa, (Opinion, December 2) following his visit to that country during the general election in November, when the coalition collapsed there. There is little or no comment on Ireland here, apart from short agency reports. "Think" pieces in our papers reflect the paddy-whackery of Anglo-Saxon South African attitudes, with their crude anti-Irish jokes.

Laurence therefore rightly concentrates on the established tradition of stable parliamentary democracy, with a continuity going back to 1922 and an electoral system which he finds so attractive that he hopes that "voices will be raised in favour of the single transferable system" here.

Having lived in Ireland for nearly three decades, I found Laurence's affection for the country touching. In the midst of the violence, the spirit of the people, their capacity for change by electing an exciting woman as president and their desire to concentrate on economic and social issues and to remove the dull hand of clericalism reflect the features of a mature democracy, where the ground rules are clearly accepted by all the parties.

The contrived blood-letting of emigration — where over one million young men and women, the cream of any society, have emigrated from Ireland in the past three decades — has, paradoxically, provided the stability for orderly government. If they had stayed, the position might have been different.

It is therefore churlish to disagree with Laurence on vital matters of history and fact. The Irish approach is only exportable if we understand their history and the way the constitution has worked.

For example, from 1933 to 1948, there was a single-party Fianna Fail government. For nearly 10 years, after independence, the Conservative Party which governed did so virtually under a state of emergency, because of its perceived threats from those who opposed the partition of the country. The constitution, the product of British legislation, was rejected by Mr de Valera who in 1937 drafted the present one which was adopted by a very small majority in a referendum.

In other words, they have had their preliminary debate about the nature and fundamentals of the kind of constitutional order they wanted. We have not even begun our debate.

When Fianna Fail is not in power, alone, there have been coalitions which have lasted for brief periods, been unstable and generally conservative. It is for this reason that the Labour Party has asked

for a rotation Prime Minister. It is not likely that the other parties would agree to this unique suggestion, but it reflects Labour's desire not simply to be a junior partner in office, but to wield power for the first time.

As for the electoral system, the single transferable vote was proposed by the British to protect Protestant and therefore privileged interests. The Irish have enthusiastically retained it, although the Ulster Unionists abolished it in the early twenties in Northern Ireland. It is the most complex system of proportional representation but congenial for small rural societies such as Malta, Ireland and Tasmania where it only operates. STV is not entirely proportional and the system has been manipulated through constituencies being gerrymandered in the interests of the larger parties.

Most important of all, it requires a high degree of literacy and understanding as to how to operate the system. No one really knows the extent of illiteracy in South Africa, but it is estimated that more than 60 percent of the country's women are illiterate. Such persons cannot order the complex

system of preferences to which Laurence draws attention.

It is therefore invidious to draw conclusions from the Irish experience. Enforced coalitions — called power-sharing by Mr de Klerk, with their built-in vetoes and frustration of majority rule — are quite different from voluntary coalitions, however unstable they may be. The list system as proposed by the ANC is not an attempt by "party bosses" to impose candidates of their choice, but reflects a genuine desire to encourage participation by parties which enjoy a minimum of support, especially in regions.

What we can learn from Patrick Laurence's essay is that constitutional proposals must be seen in their historical environment under their own, often restrictive circumstances, where power, community needs, our own compromises and the awesome legacy of past oppression all have to be reflected by the model which we shall adopt. □

● Kader Asmal is Professor of Human Rights at the University of the Western Cape and a member of the ANC's national executive committee.

Group said.

Move toward peace

LEADERS of the feuding Azapo and IFP yesterday laid the groundwork for the restoration of peace in violence-torn Bekkersdal in the West Rand.

In their third round of talks aimed at ending hostilities, the two agreed to stage a joint peace rally, expose the alleged involvement of a third party in the conflict, and allow their members free access to public transport, schools and other facilities. They also agreed on the formation of a joint monitoring committee.

DP drive for votes

THE Democratic Party has started 1993 with a series of big moves in black communities, clearly with an eye to the forthcoming non-racial election for a constituent assembly.

The DP opened a new office in downtown Johannesburg yesterday which is aimed specifically at blacks. In Cape Town, Mr Robin Carlisle (DP, Wynberg) spearheaded the Cape drive for black membership in Guguletu last night with an attack on political intolerance.

I AM NOT

Treurnicht rejects Codesa III

LEFT- and right-wing political parties yesterday dismissed the possibility that they would participate in a Codesa III.

CP leader Andries Treurnicht said weekend reports that his party would join other political organisations in Codesa talks, when multiparty talks resumed later this year, were "misleading".

"The CP does not have to decide whether or not to participate in Codesa because that forum is dead," he said.

And PAC secretary-general Benny Alexander said his organisation would join talks only in a new forum, totally divorced from Codesa and chaired by a neutral, international figure, Sapa reports.

He said the new forum would have to have an agenda specifically directed at preparations for a constituent assembly.

The CP rejection of Codesa came after the Concerned South Africans Group, of which it is a member, agreed at a weekend meeting with government to participate in the planning of future talks.

Treurnicht said the CP stood by its preconditions for multilateral talks, including: self-determination for all "nations"; the rejection of an interim government and a constituent assembly which doubled as a

RAY HARTLEY

304A

parliament; the rejection of all Codesa decisions that were opposed to the principle of a unitary state; the disbanding of Umkhonto we Sizwe; and that the authority in a future dispensation not be vested in a central government, but in the governments of peoples and states. BIA 12/1/93

"Depending on whether or not these principles are recognised, the CP will decide in which negotiation forums to participate," he said.

Meanwhile, the ANC's PWV region and KwaNdebele's ruling party, Intando ye Sizwe, have resolved to establish a united front "on all levels".

The parties said yesterday they had decided to implement a strategy of political tolerance, embark on a joint programme of action and educate voters on elections for a constituent assembly.

ANC spokesman Ronnie Mamoepa said political tolerance between the two parties could be seen as a "pace setter" and the possibility of similar arrangements with other parties could not be excluded.

● Comment: Page 6

Battles rage on but who is winning?

STAL 12/11/93.

LUANDA — As fighting escalated between government and rebel troops in central Angola yesterday, downed communications to embattled fronts left in doubt the whereabouts of rebel chief Jonas Savimbi and which side had the upper hand.

Angolan national radio reported government troops repelled counterattacks in provincial capitals Kuito, Luena and Bie, but said Unita rebels continued to threaten from the surrounding highlands.

Savimbi, speaking on Portuguese TSF radio late last night, said he and a force of rebel troops still held his headquarters in Huambo, despite aerial and artillery bombardment.

"We are in command of a great part of the city and the support of the people of Huambo for Unita is growing," Savimbi claimed.

But Angolan national radio reported Savimbi had arrived in Kinshasa on a South African plane late last night for a meeting with the Zaire president, Mobutu Sese Seko.

TSF said the interview with Savimbi was done over portable satellite phone, leaving no way to verify Savimbi's location.

However US Assistant Secretary of State Jeffrey Davidow told Associated Press he doubted very much that Savimbi would be in Zaire. "That is the kind of story the government puts out periodically to discredit Unita," Parliament will meet this

week to consider a declaration of open war against Unita, Prime Minister Marcelino Moco said on radio, adding that a bid for peace talks broke down when the two sides could not agree on a site.

Fighting broke out on October 31 after Savimbi rejected the results of September multiparty elections that were intended to put an end to Angola's 16-year civil war.

The rebels lost a parliamentary majority to the ruling MPLA and Savimbi trailed President Jose Eduardo dos Santos in the first round of the presidential voting.

When fighting resumed, rebel forces occupied more than half the country, including diamond-rich territory in the north and several towns near Luanda.

Moco has accused Unita of attempting a military overthrow of the government, but Savimbi maintains the government is trying to wipe out its political opposition. Both government and rebel sources say "hundreds" were killed in the battles that broke out in eastern provinces over the weekend.

Information is sketchy. Communication to embattled areas is only possible over military radio. Fighting has downed telephone lines between Luanda and all but three of Angola's 18 provinces.

Diplomats from the United States, Portugal, and the former Soviet Union have urged government officials to hold peace talks before the UN peacekeeping mandate in Angola expires on January 31. — Sapa-AP.



Day-dreaming . . . a child watches the world go by outside the Democratic Party's Johannesburg office which was opened yesterday. Picture Joao Silva

CAPE TOWN — A Democratic Party meeting in Guguletu ended in chaos last night when alleged Azanian Peoples Organisation supporters shouted down speakers and traded blows with other members of the 200-strong audience.

DP Youth regional chairman Colin Douglas declared the meeting closed barely 10 minutes after it had started in the Umtu Hall in Guguletu, about 20 km from Cape Town.

Brawl forces end to DP meeting

STAL 12/11/93

Senior African National Congress members present denounced the ANC from the fringes, in which several people were slightly injured, a banner torn and DP pamphlets thrown around.

Violence broke out shortly after DP Youth spokesman Siyathemba Mafegas appealed

for an end to fighting.

He was shouted down by a large group of hecklers in the back of the hall who filed in shortly before the meeting began at about 7 pm.

A man who claimed he was from the Azanian Youth Organisation and refused to identify himself chanted "down settlers,

down.

Other apparent Azapo supporters clambered on to the stage, with scuffles spreading throughout the hall. A blue and yellow DP banner was torn when an angry DP supporter tried to wrest it from a demonstrator.

Zilela Dubase, chairman of

the ANC's "Unity Zone", called on ANC supporters to leave the hall and shortly after 7.15 pm Douglas said: "This meeting is over." — Sapa.

● The DP yesterday opened an office in central Johannesburg as part of its recruitment drive to reach all South Africans.

DP leader Dr Zach de Beer said his party had an important role to play in the new South Africa.

C-IFP rivalry, will sit in Empani today to hear preliminary submissions from people on the north east. The committee, chaired by Malcolm Wallis, sat in Port Shepstone on Monday.

Attack on wilderness slammed

Own Correspondent

DURBAN — Conservationist Ian Player said yesterday Richards Bay Minerals was insulting several religions by attacking the wilderness concept.

Player, founder of the Wilderness Leadership School, was commenting on a 15-page sponsored survey on RBM in Leadership magazine.

In the survey, RBM's public relations head Barry Clements was quoted as saying: "This talk of saving St Lucia by preventing mining is one of the biggest hoaxes in the annals of SA conservation."

"The anti-(mining) lobby would sacrifice massive benefits to the people of SA on the altar of a white elitist spiritual yearning for a wilderness experience...."

Player said: "To mock any of the spiritual aspects of wilderness is to mock every major religion in the world; both Mohammed and Christ spent time in the wilderness as did many of the Hindu prophets."

He challenged RBM to disclose how much it was spending on its PR campaign. "If we had one-tenth of their PR money we would be able to tell the full story."

RBM spokesman Norman Clements said the cost of the articles had been offset by supporting adverts from other companies, and the final cost to RBM had not been calculated.

Bay of Quendale yesterday. Salvage experts believe the ship is broken in at least four pieces.

CP 'prepared to talk to SACP and ANC'

BILLY PADDOCK

THE CP had tacitly shifted its negotiation policy and was prepared to bargain a future with the SACP and the ANC, a senior CP source said yesterday.

He said the CP had consistently rejected "supping with the devil incarnate", and the fact that President F W de Klerk had chosen to negotiate with the SACP had been a major thrust of the CP's campaign to discredit him over the past two years.

"But now we are prepared to enter into discussions with these groups. It is a clear implication of our decision to participate in a multiparty planning conference agreed to with government at the weekend," he said.

He said CP leader Andries Treurnicht's statement on Monday had not contradicted this decision. All parties of the Concerned South Africans Group had rejected Codesa and the planning conference would decide what kind of negotiating forum would be set up. It could be exactly the same as Codesa, he said.

He also said the CP, though insisting that self-determination was non-negotiable, would be prepared to put this on the table when the chips were down. "We will cross that bridge when we come to it."

He said a careful look at Treurnicht's

statement would show that while the leader said self-determination was non-negotiable, "his later point on regions or states deciding on functions to be retained or given to central government informs on his first point".

He said Treurnicht clearly acknowledged a central government but insisted on it not having the determining role of functions and duties to be devolved to regions.

"Like (Inkatha leader) Chief Mangosuthu Buthelezi's new constitution, we want a bottom-up method, not a top-down one," he said.

He denied allegations that the Concerned South Africans Group was in the process of splintering, saying it had won large concessions in the two-day talks with government "and is the hope of the nation to bring fairness and sense into the negotiations process".

He said there were clear acknowledged differences within the group, but the parties were bound together by a common rejection of a unitary state, and opposition to government and the ANC making decisions for the country without consultation.

Peace accord steps up efforts

WILSON ZWANE

THE national peace committee will step up efforts this year to make the national peace accord felt at grassroots level.

The committee's executive will meet in Johannesburg tomorrow. Spokesman Val Pauquet said yesterday the meeting would evaluate the organisation's progress and special attention would be given to "socio-economic" strategies to rebuild violence-ravaged communities.

Pauquet said it was committee chairman John Hall's feeling that the peace accord would have an impact only if it filtered down to grassroots level. That could be done by undertaking socio-economic reconstruction projects.

Tomorrow's meeting would also continue with its attempts to convene a meeting of the signatories to the accord, Pauquet said.

The signatories' meeting was to have taken place tomorrow, but Inkatha leader Mangosuthu Buthelezi said he would not

attend it before a meeting between himself and ANC president Nelson Mandela.

Mandela has said repeatedly peace interests would be served better by a signatories' meeting than a one-on-one meeting between himself and Buthelezi.

But ANC spokesman Carl Niehaus said yesterday the meeting of the two leaders was still on the cards.

Working groups, set up last year to deal with the leaders' preconditions for their meeting, were still meeting.

It is understood that tomorrow's meeting will consider also a request by the National People's Party to join the peace accord.

Pauquet said the committee would hold discussions with various organisations, including the PAC, with a view to getting them to sign the peace accord.

New understanding must be sold to followers, writes Political Editor Shaun Johnson

At last, a shared NP-ANC goal

Star 13/1/93.

3044

1000

It is now clear that the fresh energy which has infused the negotiations process was provided by the extraordinary Government/ANC boshberaad in the northern Transvaal in early December last year. In an historic piece of good timing, these two key political players met in private in an identical mood.

Gone was the penchant for pointscoring, replaced by a shared desire — and a desperate one at that — to move the stalled transition to its next phase. It was broadly agreed that all other matters should, until that goal is achieved, be relegated to secondary status. Both sides agreed that they bore joint responsibility for ensuring that the process moves forward.

It is on this joint resolve, personified by leaders De Klerk and Mandela, that hopes for tangible progress in 1993 largely rest. Therefore, aside from the important issue of whether other significant players can be drawn into full participation, the major political question facing South Africa is whether the informal De Klerk/Mandela concord is hardy enough to weather the inevitable

storms between now and the day that interim government begins.

The question can be put in another way: is there any opposition within the Cabinet and the ANC's national executive committee to the path the two leaders have chosen — and if so, is this sufficient to pose dangers to the concord itself? A further crucial question, beyond the scope of this argument, is the kind of mood the National Party's and the ANC's "masses" are in, and are De Klerk and Mandela on solid ground in the eyes of their lieutenants?

Settlement-oriented leaders are undoubtedly in charge at both the Union Buildings and Shell House at the moment. The proto-purge of the security forces, the convergence of transition timetables, the quiet decline of mass action, and the soft tone of Mandela's January 8 statement are but some indicators, among many, that the disastrous, destructive events of last year have considerably strengthened the hands of the conciliators on both sides.

The situation is of course fluid enough to change quickly, but for the moment the hardliners are in the minority.

This is not to say that they are silent, or inactive. If Chief Buthe-lezi and others are wary of the meeting of the minds between the "big two", they are not alone: there are those in both the Government and the ANC who have an almost physical revulsion for each other, and who distrust deeply even the limited agreement which has been reached.

It is precisely those conciliatory moves on either side which have created the constructive current mood that most irks the settlement-sceptics. Thus we have the extraordinary — and still unexplained — situation in which De Klerk acts decisively against rogue officers (even conceding that anti-negotiators could have killed people), and his Minister of Defence promptly gives the important officers among those named a clean bill of health.

This followed an earlier chorus of outrage from security force Ministers and generals in response to Mr Justice Goldstone's "dirty tricks" revelations. The chorus was noticeably out of step with De Klerk's own measured statement.

On the ANC side, surface disci-

pline in the NEC has been better maintained, and it has been left to Mandela's estranged wife Winnie to articulate militant opposition to the conciliatory turn that negotiations have taken.

Mrs Mandela's power is indeterminate — certainly, she cannot in formal terms be equated with Gene Louw ~~but~~ neither is she irrelevant. There is a constituency, though we do not know its size, which is receptive to the rhetoric of "sell-outs" and "secret deals".

Thus both De Klerk and Mandela need to keep a weather eye on the settlement-sceptics within their own corridors of power, at the same time as forging ahead to a preliminary deal on shared power which is as inclusive as possible. It is a very tricky balance to strike: inclusivity requires compromise; compromise excites the unremitting militants.

Much depends on the way in which the leadership sells to its colleagues and camp-followers the notion of the "deal". Some commentators — including the London-based journal *Africa Confidential*, place a heavy conspiratorial gloss on what took place at the December boshberaad.

They see in outline preparations for a power carve-up, a kind of latter-day "Scramble for South Africa". The assumption is that the two bulies in the political playground have recognised that they have sufficient power between them to take the spoils without giving the smaller kids a cut. This infuriates those who are allegedly to be excluded, of course, but it also confirms the worst fears of Cabinet and NEC diehards.

Privately, ANC and Government negotiators insist on a different construction. They have recognised, they say, that the process needs a jump-start — and that it will not happen unless they provide it themselves. Smaller parties would otherwise stall indefinitely. Implicit in this agreement is that it is aimed at only one goal: moving the transition on to a higher plane.

Beyond that, they say, there is no plot to grab all the power, and nor is there agreement on the crucial political issues which will arise after interim government. The two sides remain implacable political opponents, and are free to form new alliances with any-

body once the stage has been set for elections.

Says a senior ANC source: "It is wrong to characterise this as a 'secret deal'. It is simply that the two major players have recognised their special responsibility to the process. It will take place more smoothly if there are broad common understandings."

Both sides insist they are not looking to "tramp on other people's toes", and argue that once the next vital step is taken in the transition, it will be easier for other parties to place the national interest above sectional concerns.

Both recognise the enormous amount of work that is still to be done in promoting the notion of national unity as a viable one. Both would prefer the "transitional executive council" to be fully representative, but no longer consider that a necessary condition for its installation.

That, in broad strokes, is our delicate position in this crucial month of bilateral meetings. The coming weeks will tell whether the benign or the malign interpretation of what the Nationalists and the ANC are doing, wins out. □

'Don't fear new Clinton govt'

WASHINGTON. — South Africans should not view the Democratic administration of President-elect Bill Clinton as hostile, ambassador Mr Harry Schwarz said at the weekend. **UTS/193**

"The new president is committed to democracy, human rights and a market economy which brings about justice," he said. **(SOPA)**

"These are the very matters which are the concerns of the new South Africa." — Sapa

BLOEMFONTEIN
was a day of
here yesterday
Free State c
won the Cup



Shell House
Waterkant St
Cape Town
Tel. 25 1963

ANC men 'warn' black DP member

CT 13/1/93 (304A)

Staff Reporter

A BLACK member of the Democratic Party in Guguletu yesterday claimed that known ANC members in the township had threatened to "see to it" if he did not resign from the party.

He agreed to speak to the Cape Times if he was not identified in any way.

He joined the DP in 1991 after he had attended DP meetings and also because he was impressed with its constitution.

As a former member of the ANC, Guguletu branch, he remained a

"secret" DP member until some white members fetched him at home for a meeting. He revealed his DP membership when residents asked him why whites were coming to his home.

"They started pointing fingers and said I had a problem and if I didn't resign they would 'see to it'."

The man claimed the people were known ANC members but he ignored them and remained a DP member.

After he attended the aborted Khayelitsha meeting, Guguletu residents told him they now had proof he was still a

DP member and repeated their threat.

He reported the incident to the DP but was unwilling to report the matter to the police because he feared for his life.

"I'm going to remain in Guguletu because the ANC has said everyone has the right to belong to the political party of his choice."

He said that after brawling broke up Monday night's meeting — the DP's second foray into the townships — he slept at the home of a white DP member because he feared for his safety.

M
S
JO
Pol
As
Af
era
on
vol
T
mu
the
fea
vicy
F
ics
tal
ity
do
M
be
em
Ma
yes
M
sai
tar
mo
sec

Mandela caucus guest at Clinton oath

et 13/1/93
Staff Reporters

ANC president Mr Nelson Mandela will attend the inauguration of President-elect Mr Bill Clinton next week — but not as an administration guest.

President F W de Klerk will stay at home.

A spokesman for the State President's Tuynhuys office yesterday confirmed Mr De Klerk would not attend Mr Clinton's swearing-in as the 42nd US president on January 20.

The South African government would be represented by its US ambassador, Mr Harry Schwarz.

Personal guest

ANC international affairs spokesman Mr Yusuf Saloojee yesterday said Mr Mandela was invited by the offices of the president-elect and the Congressional Black Caucus (CBC).

But this was emphatically denied by an official at the ANC's Washington office after consultations with the caucus, reports **SIMON BARBER**

"They may wish it were so," said Mr Madoda Hlatshwayo of his colleagues' back home, "but it doesn't work like that here."

CBC spokeswoman Ms Amelia Parker said Mr Mandela was invited by the caucus's new chairman, Maryland representative Mr Kweisi Mfume.

"Mr Mandela will be his personal guest," she said, adding that Mr Clinton was not involved in the invitation.

Inauguration organisers notified ambassadors last month that no heads of government or other foreign delegations would be invited.

Members of Congress may, however, make their own arrangements.

DP 'is not deterred by violence'

By ANTHONY JOHNSON
Political Correspondent

THE Democratic Party yesterday vowed to continue campaigning for support in the black areas of the Western Cape, despite the violent break-up of its second township meeting in less than a month.

DP Western Cape chairman Mr Jasper Walsh said the disruption of the party's Guguletu meeting on Monday night would not deter the DP from spreading its message in the township, where 20 new branches had been formed in the past six months.

Delegations led by Mr Walsh and ANC Western Cape secretary Mr Tony Yengeni will meet today or tomorrow to discuss ways of securing a climate that will allow for free and fair electioneering in the region.

Mr Walsh said the DP would also seek urgent meetings with the PAC, Azapo and other organisations involved in "the intimidation of our supporters and the freedom of all parties to organise in all communities".

ANC publicity secretary in the Western Cape Mr Willie Hofmeyer said the ANC's regional executive would meet on Monday to assess events at the Guguletu meeting.

UN monitor Ms Helena-Maria Lim said yesterday that an urgent report on the meeting had been sent to the UN's Johannesburg office.

The State President's office said the behaviour of people responsible for the disruption added to the potential for conflict, was irreconcilable with the spirit of toleration essential to promote democracy and posed a threat to free and fair elections.

RONNIE MORRIS reports that the PAC said yesterday that the DP could not rush into the townships to canvass votes before "political contradictions" had been resolved.

PAC director of publicity and information Mr Waters Toboti said the PAC supported the principle that all had the right to join the political party of their choice and air their views.

It was not PAC policy to break up meetings, because it was fighting for democracy and hoped other liberation movements were doing so too.

Mr Toboti said DP meetings in the townships were not accepted by the African people because there had not been political change on the ground.

He could not comment on claims that PAC members were among the protesters who stormed the stage.

3044

CT13/1/93

PA
bat
fan
tio
bad
plo
S
Pa
ser
45-
wh

Diplomats under discussion

CAPE TOWN — Local and foreign diplomats and academics began a three-day workshop yesterday to discuss a professional diplomatic corps for SA. (248)

Conference organiser Prof Peter Vale said delegates would focus on the need to transform the diplomatic corps into a professional body divorced from party-political interests, serving the entire nation. B/PM

Participants included SA Foreign Affairs director-general Rusty Evans, ANC and PAC international affairs spokesmen Thabo Mbeki and Gora Ebrahim, and diplomats from Britain, Germany, and Norway. The workshop is being chaired by former UN Undersecretary-General Sir Brian Urquhart of New Zealand. — Sapa. 13/1/93.

assigned to conserve the African elephant was not only ineffective but was accelerating poaching.

ry health care facilities were making good progress, said Venter. Of the 151 clinics and 64 creches planned since 1990, 73 clinics had been completed and a further 50

was University — which included Baragwanath and Johannesburg Hospital, whose main commitment was to the indigent — had a very limited capacity to generate funds.

Shift in Inkatha strategy on Codesa

3/08/93 14/1/93
BILLY PADDOCK

THERE are firm indications that Inkatha will accept Codesa agreements at the multiparty planning conference, expected to be held next month, despite their public rejection by senior leaders over the past few months.

The shift in strategy is a result of the party believing it won major concessions in the Concerned South Africans Group's two-day discussions with government.

The move heralds a breakthrough for the planning conference as Inkatha is one of the three key players and government intends to persuade all Codesa participants and new parties joining the process to accept the Codesa agreements as the basis for the new forum.

However, the issue of federalism is likely to be an obstacle at the conference. Inkatha said this week the conference had to decide on the issue.

Last weekend government failed to get an Inkatha commitment to honour the Codesa agreements to which

it was party. Instead it concluded a compromise agreement to convene a planning conference where the "state of negotiations could be assessed and the way forward negotiated".

A government spokesman said yesterday the crux of the planning conference would be whether parties accepted the Codesa agreements as the basis for new negotiations. If Inkatha accepted them other parties opposed to the agreements could be pulled in.

A senior Inkatha source yesterday acknowledged there had been a shift and said the party's strategy was to insist that the agreements "are not just imposed on the new forum and new parties joining the process".

"The aim is that these parties can assess the agreements and either say they would have accepted them if they were at Codesa or negotiate amendments, as Inkatha did to the declaration of intent," he said.

304A
The government source said there would be disputes at the planning conference because neither it nor the ANC was prepared to accept the renegotiation of the Codesa agreements. But some parties, like the Concerned South Africans Group and the PAC, wanted substantial renegotiation.

Another problem area was that Inkatha and KwaZulu wanted a decision on whether the future SA should be a unitary or federal state. They also wanted regions to have veto rights during negotiations.

The ANC has stated that this is the preserve of an elected constituent assembly and it would not enter into agreements that entrenched any system.

Inkatha spokesman Suzanne Vos said the planning conference should determine how the multiparty talks would resume.

Comment: Page 6

Damara estimated at R3m

Political cake must be shared

304A

Star 14/1/93

THE AFRICAN National Congress has often complained bitterly — and with justification — about the manifest lack of free political activity in certain parts of the country, especially in some of the homelands.

The organisation has pointed accusing fingers at Chief Mangosuthu Buthelezi's KwaZulu, Brigadier Oupa Gqozo's Ciskei and Chief Lucas Mangope's Bophuthatswana, claiming its members there cannot hold meetings openly and organise freely.

It was for this reason that the ANC targeted these homelands during its "unprecedented rolling mass action" last year, and planned marches on their capitals. This campaign was put on hold after the savage shooting of unarmed marchers by the Ciskei Defence Force on September 7, but the motivating principle behind the campaign still holds true in ANC circles.

The ANC was correct to insist on its right to be able to organise and canvass for support anywhere in South Africa. It makes little

sense to talk of a possible free and fair election when some political bullies have declared parts of the country no-go areas for their opponents. But is the ANC's position wholly consistent, in the light of the break-up of a Democratic Party meeting in a Peninsula township this week?

The question of free political activity is of paramount importance now in the run-up to the first all-in general election — probably early next year — which will finally close the curtain on the old South Africa and usher in a truly new South Africa.

If that election is to reflect the will of the people, then surely no political organisation can be allowed to regard any area in the country as its private fiefdom. Every square inch of the country has to be open to all political organisations to contest in peace.

This makes the position of the ANC a difficult one — for it can be accused of engaging in the same sorts of practice for which it criticises the homeland regimes.

This week, ANC supporters joined followers of the PAC and

Azapo in disrupting a DP meeting in a Cape Town township. Previously, various National Party (NP) events — including a safari into Mitchell's Plain by President de Klerk to canvass for support in the coloured township — were disrupted.

The ANC's response has been confusing. Some spokesmen at national level have unequivocally condemned the disruptions, but others at branch and regional levels have tried unconvincingly to justify them, saying parties like the DP have to understand the "deep hostility" prevalent in the townships against "parties operating within the tricameral parliamentary system".

After the disruption of a DP meeting in Khayelitsha in mid-December, ANC western Cape regional executive committee member Nomatyala Hangana said while the party had the right to speak in the township, it had to first "settle the white areas".

This prompted DP national chairman Ken Andrew to retort: "Perhaps she (Hangana) is sorry the Improper Political Interference Act was repealed so that po-

litical parties are not required to be racially exclusive."

After the disruption of a DP Youth meeting in Guguletu at the weekend by alleged members of the ANC, the PAC and the Azapo, DP western Cape regional chairman Jasper Walsh said the sad event's wider implication was that "there can be little hope of free and fair elections in the future". To dismiss his statement merely as a sign of desperation would be irresponsible.

Political intolerance has been displayed on all sides, and this gives cause for concern. After Mitchell's Plain last year there was Boipatong, where De Klerk was prevented from expressing his condolences to families of the victims of the June 17 massacre in that Vaal Triangle township.

Granted, there was groundswell anger in Boipatong directed at De Klerk, whose security forces were alleged to be in cahoots with the alleged murderers. It is also true that had De Klerk been able to pay such a high-profile visit to the strife-torn township in the glare of the local and international media he would have scored a major

propaganda coup.

Nevertheless, the ANC's post-Boipatong strategy — to portray De Klerk as a murderer and even sentence him and his Cabinet Ministers to "death" during a mock trial in Cape Town — was ill-considered in this era of negotiations.

The odd logic behind the disruption of other parties' meetings seems to be that predominantly white parties such as the DP and the NP are not supposed to sell their policies to people in the townships. They are, as Hangana suggested, to "first settle the white areas" and leave the townships to the ANC and its allies.

This kind of thinking is as dangerous for the country as it is for democracy. Until all organisations accept that their rivals have a right not only to exist but also to compete with them for support anywhere in the country, we may as well forget about democracy and free and fair elections.

For the underlying tenet of democracy is that people — and organisations — have a right to exist and to hold and express views as long as in exercising that right they do not harm others or

interfere with their rights.

If the ANC makes some parts of the country no-go areas for the NP and the DP, then it must accept that others — like the IFP in KwaZulu and Gqozo's African Democratic Movement in Ciskei — will make their areas no-go zones for it. To stretch this logic, there will similarly be PAC/Azapo areas, NP/DP areas, and even Afrikaner Weerstandsbeweging/Wit Wolwe zones which will be out of bounds to others.

The irony is that the DP is a relatively small party which poses no real threat to the ANC-led tripartite alliance. For years it has spoken against apartheid, and has called for the release of political prisoners and the unbanning of political organisations.

DP leaders — and, indeed, South Africans of all hues — could be forgiven for saying they deserve better.

The ANC and all other organisations and parties have to learn that the rights they want for themselves have also to be extended to their opponents if the democracy we all yearn for is to have any meaning. □

PARIS — Foreign Minister Pik Botha was holding major diplomatic talks with other foreign Ministers while attending the three-day international Paris Convention on banning gas and chemical weapons.

Botha is using his presence at the convention, which opened

Pik holds talks in Paris

yesterday, for private meetings with foreign counterparts, including a private talk with Roland Dumas of France, who hosted a banquet last night.

Earlier, Botha met German Foreign Minister Klaus Kinkel, president of the Special Com-

mittee on Chemical Weapons.

Today Botha was holding separate talks with Russian Foreign Minister Andrei Kozyrev on boosting diplomatic relations, and with the Portuguese Foreign Minister on Angola.

However, his most important

meeting in Paris was with a politician who holds no official post — former Finance Minister Edouard Balladur, who is tipped to be the new Prime Minister in March in the event of the widely predicted election victory of the Gaullist RPR party. Botha lunched with Balladur within a few hours of his arrival yesterday.

6 May 14/193 (25) (304)
Pik in Paris meetings
FOREIGN Minister Pik Botha met several of his counterparts in Paris yesterday, including US Secretary of State Lawrence Eagleburger and German Foreign Minister Klaus Kinkel, the Foreign Affairs Department said in Pretoria.

ANC, Govt prepare for vital meeting

57112 14/1/93
By Esther Waugh
Political Reporter

Preparations for the next phase in the crucial series of ANC-Government meetings get under way at a secret venue today.

Today's discussion is the first follow-up meeting between the Government and ANC since their bosberaad last month.

The one-day meeting between Constitutional Development Minister Roelf Meyer and ANC secretary-general Cyril Ramaphosa will formulate plans for the next five-day meeting between the two negotiating partners.

The extended bilateral meeting is scheduled to take place in Cape Town from January 20.

Since the December bosberaad several meetings have been held between the Government and ANC to discuss constitutional matters, election-

related issues, the creation of a climate for free political activity and the removal of remaining repressive legislation.

The planning meeting is likely to focus on the resumption of multiparty talks and will deal with aspects of the transition such as a transitional executive council, a constitution-making body, elections, and the creation of a climate for free political activity.

These issues are likely to feature at the bosberaad as well. It is not yet certain whether the extended bilateral meeting will be attended by President F W de Klerk and ANC leader Nelson Mandela.

Since the resumption of bilateral meetings between the ANC and Government in September, both parties have been holding talks with their allies.

The extent to which the ANC and Government could carry their allies into a multiparty negotiating forum is likely to be assessed at the bosberaad.

ANC, DP team up

3044 CT 14/93

Joint steps for free, fair elections

By ANTHONY JOHNSON
Political Correspondent

ANC and Democratic Party delegations agreed yesterday to co-operate in launching a joint working group in the Western Cape to lay the ground rules for free and fair elections in the region.

The commitment to work jointly for free and peaceful mobilisation ahead of South Africa's first non-racial election comes after weeks of tension and often bitter recrimination between the two parties and the violent break-up of the DP's last two township meetings.

The two sides said after a cordial 90-minute meeting yesterday that they hoped to draw other political players in the region into the working group to ensure that electioneering followed democratic practice.

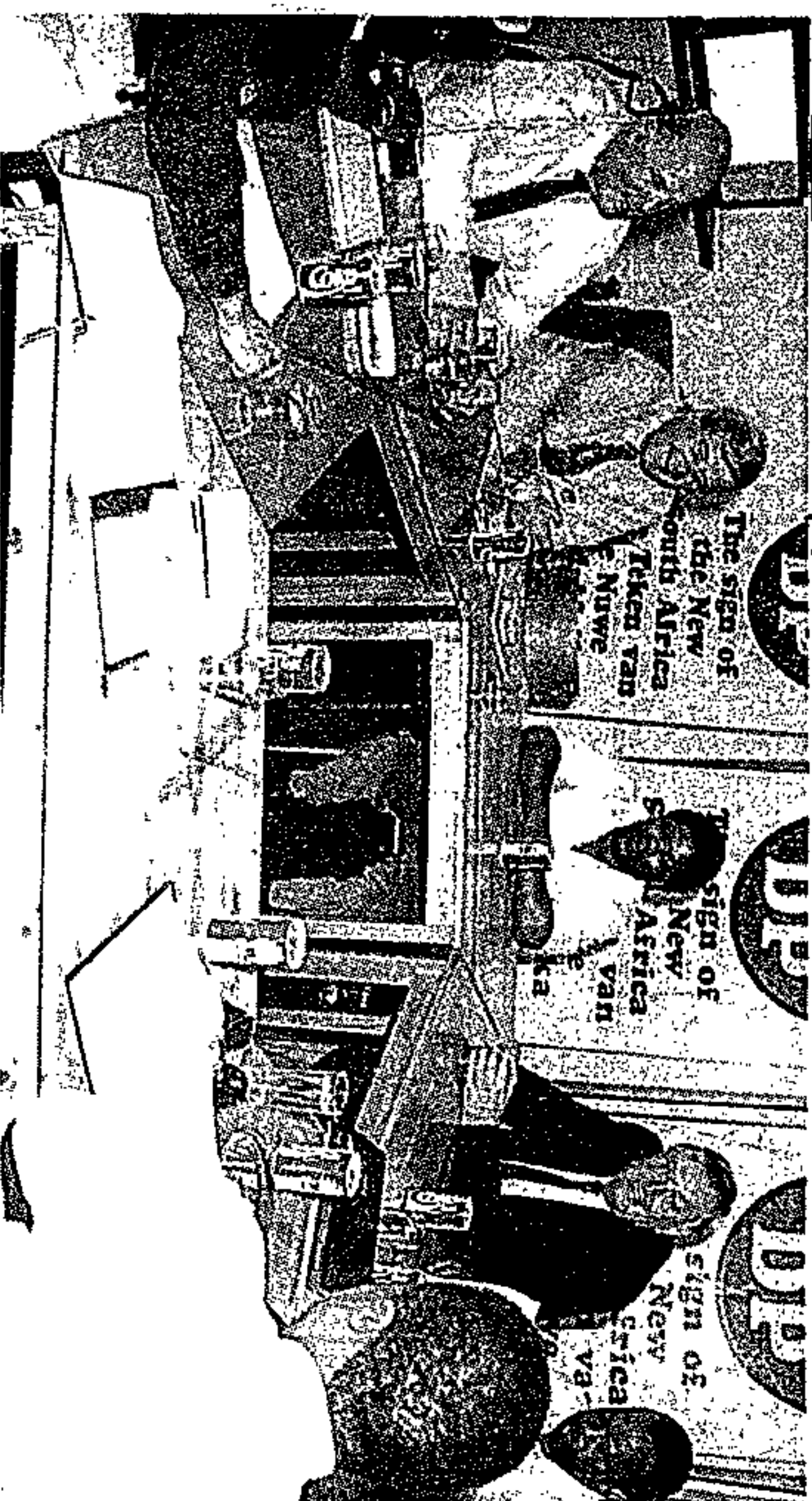
The delegations, led by ANC Western Cape secretary Mr Tony Yengeni and DP Western Cape chairman Mr Jasper Walsh, said in a joint statement at a press conference after the meeting that they would recommend to their regional executives that the joint working group should:

- "Consider ways and means of promoting a culture of democratic tolerance, open debate and democratic mobilisation in the region."

- "Monitor the volatile political climate."

The ANC and DP delegations recognised that the two parties had "differences of policy and strategy from time to time" but acknowledged their joint commitment "to the creation of an apartheid-free, democratic, non-racial South Africa".

The two parties will meet again next week to decide on the detailed terms of reference for the



FREE AND FAIR... The ANC and DP met yesterday to discuss ways to promote tolerance in the run-up to elections. Participants included (from left) Mr Colin Eglin, Mr Jasper Walsh, Mr Tony Yengeni and Mr Jannie Momberg.

Azapo justifies break-up

AZAPO's publicity secretary Dr Gomolemo Mokoae yesterday issued an apparent justification of the break-up of the DP's Guguletu meeting this week by saying that "white parties" had long engendered hostile and mistrustful attitudes within the oppressed black community.

In a statement on the disruption of the DP meeting, allegedly by Azapo supporters, Dr Mokoae said: "(As) long as black people remain without any meaningful power to determine their own destiny, there will be no love lost between them and white parties" had long engendered hostile and mistrustful attitudes within the oppressed black community.

working group.

Mr Yengeni told a joint press conference after the meeting that the ANC envisaged further co-operative ventures with the DP to ensure that the parties "resolve any differences through discussion ... rather than through violence".

Mr Walsh said he hoped the joint working group would be established "very soon" and that it would evolve into a forum including other political players.

DP will get more of the same — Azapo members

By Quentin Wilson

THE Democratic Party ventured into Guguletu this week hoping their past endeavours as an exclusively white parliamentary grouping would not prejudice them with local residents.

After the first five minutes, they received a shrill awakening that this would not happen as their second public meeting in a Cape township was forced into chaotic closure.

ANC officials were caught in the middle of a fracas which took on a racist overtone.

Azapo members at the meeting warned that they would continue their spoiling tactics at future DP township meetings.

An Azapo member told SOUTH amid the pandemonium at the Uluntu Complex that the DP and other organisations "representing the European community will never be allowed to organise among the oppressed and exploited people of Azania".

"Azapo's position is that the DP is not a liberation movement for blacks in this country," he said.

"It has always been, and still is, a political party for whites who give legitimacy to the racist tricameral parliament by their presence there."

Graffiti outside the meeting read: "We shall never forget cross-border raids supported by the PFP/DP. Our killers are now asking for our votes. What an irony."

In 1996, PFP chairperson Mr Colin Eglin said the party would only talk to the ANC if it aban-



'GO BACK TO SEA-POINT!' Tempers flare at Monday's raucous meeting.
Pic: Fanie Jason

doned its armed struggle.

At the time, members of the mass democratic movement saw this as hypocritical, considering that the PFP talked to the NP all through its efforts to violently suppress opposition to apartheid.

The next year, when a contingent of white South Africans, including PFP MPs, met the exiled ANC in Dakar, Mr Harry Schwarz, a PFP MP, publically repudiated these talks, saying he could never "negotiate with someone who has an AK-47 on the table".

Of Monday's disruption, Archbishop Desmond Tutu, said: "I understand the strong rejection by many people of the DP's participation in a racist parliament, but in a democracy we have to be firm in defending the right to speak of those whose views we find unacceptable."

At a press conference, Mr

Jasper Walsh, DP Western Cape chairperson, lumped the blame on Azapo, ANC and PAC, singling out Mr Tony Yengeni, ANC general secretary, as "personally responsible" for inciting the disruption.

Walsh was referring to a statement made by Yengeni the previous week which, although stressing that the ANC would not tolerate any acts of intimidation by its members against the DP, also criticised the DP for its role in implicitly supporting "apartheid violence".

In his comments, Yengeni charged the DP with "supporting the regime's hot pursuit of the ANC, attacks on frontline states and even massacres."

Mr Robin Carlisle, DP MP for Wynberg, denied his allegations, saying the DP/PFP "had always condemned these actions in the strongest possible terms".

Services	Dienste	Estimates Begroting 1992/93	Month of December Maand Desember		Total 1 April to 31 December Totaal 1 April tot 31 Desember	
			1992	1991	1992	1991
Revenue Account: House of Assembly...	Inkomsterekening: Volkaraad.....R	R	R	R	R	R
Payment in terms of sec. 2 (1) of Act 75 of 1992	Betaling ingv. art. 2 (1) van Wet 75 van 1992	—	684 632 649	665 275 826	7 883 646 295	7 244 764 551
Payment in terms of sec. 1 (1) of Act 75 of 1992	Betaling ingv. art. 1 (1) van Wet 75 van 1992	—	—	—	1 330	—
Revenue Account: House of Representatives	Inkomsterekening: Raad van Verteenwoordigers.....R	R	R	R	R	R
Finance Act 42 of 1991	Finansiewet 42 van 1991	—	402 600 000	298 000 000	3 660 150 000	2 904 000 000
Revenue Account: House of Delegates...	Inkomsterekening: Raad van Afgevaardigdes.....R	R	R	R	R	R
Payment in terms of sec. 1 of Finance Act 70 of 1992	Betaling ingv. art. 1 van Finansiewet 70 van 1992	—	190 000 000	130 000 000	1 522 000 000	1 220 000 000
Account for Provincial Services: Cape...	Rekening vir Provinsiale Dienste: Kaap.....R	R	R	R	R	R
Finance Act 120 of 1991	Finansiewet 120 van 1991	—	307 000 000	273 750 000	2 961 000 000	2 719 539 881
Payment in terms of sec. 6 (2) Finance Act 131 of 1992	Betaling ingevolge art. 6 (2) van Finansiewet 131 van 1992	—	—	—	—	37 151 538
Account for Provincial Services: Natal...	Rekening vir Provinsiale Dienste: Natal.....R	R	R	R	R	R
Finance Act 131 of 1992	Finansiewet 131 van 1992	—	153 000 000	124 000 000	1 427 000 000	1 296 267 294
Account for Provincial Services: Orange Free State	Rekening vir Provinsiale Dienste: Oranje-Vrystaat.....R	R	R	R	R	R
Finance Act 120 of 1991	Finansiewet 120 van 1991	—	129 910 000	148 000 000	1 099 284 000	924 321 810
Account for Provincial Services: Transvaal	Rekening vir Provinsiale Dienste: Transvaal.....R	R	R	R	R	R
Finance Act 120 of 1991	Finansiewet 120 van 1991	—	399 500 000	250 000 000	4 011 940 000	3 348 904 788
					213 542	
Totals	Totale	R	R	R	R	R
Exchequer Balance, 31 December 1992	Skatkissaldo, 31 Desember 1992	—	2 266 642 649	1 889 025 826	22 687 544 120	19 763 944 540
Totals	Totale	R	R	R	R	R
			15 469 758 298	—	155 957 959 165	—
			4 439 981 057	—	4 439 981 057	—
			19 909 739 355	—	160 397 940 222	—

STATE PRESIDENT'S OFFICE

No. 56

15 January 1993

PRESIDENT'S COUNCIL

The State President has, in terms of section 78 (1) of the Republic of South Africa Constitution Act, 1983 (Act No. 110 of 1983), requested the President's Council, with a view to the development of an efficient and representative system of third-tier government in a new constitutional dispensation, to investigate and to make recommendations on—

- (i) a voting system for local government in a new constitutional dispensation;
- (ii) guidelines for franchise qualifications with which residents of local authority areas must comply; and
- (iii) the norms and time-scales for and the manner of the delimitation of local authority areas, wards and neighbourhoods.

The request has been referred to the Committee for Constitutional Affairs of the President's Council.

Interested parties are invited to submit relevant memoranda to the Secretary to the President's Council, P.O. Box 3601, Cape Town, 8000, not later than 30 April 1993. Further information may be obtained from Mr J. F. Marx at Telephone (021) 45-5541.

The Committee may decide to hear oral evidence should further information on memoranda be required. If so, the parties concerned will be notified of the dates on which and the place where evidence will be heard.

J. WEILBACH,

Secretary: President's Council.

KANTOOR VAN DIE STAATSPRESIDENT

No. 56

15 Januarie 1993

PRESIDENTSRAAD

Die Staatspresident het ingevolge artikel 78 (1) van die Grondwet van die Republiek van Suid-Afrika, 1983 (Wet No. 110 van 1983), die Presidentsraad versoek om, met die oog op die ontwikkeling van 'n doeltreffende en verteenwoordigende derdevlakregeringstelsel in 'n nuwe staatkundige bestel, ondersoek in te stel na en aanbevelings te doen oor—

- (i) 'n kiesstelsel vir plaaslike regering in 'n nuwe grondwetlike bedeling;
- (ii) riglyne vir stemregkwalifikasies waaraan die inwoners van plaaslike-owerheidsgebiede moet voldoen; en
- (iii) die norme en tydskele vir, en die wyse van, die afbakening van plaaslike-owerheidsgebiede, wyke en buurte.

Die versoek is na die Komitee vir Staatkundige Aangeleenthede van die Presidentsraad verwys.

Belanghebbendes word uitgenooi om tersaaklike memoranda nie later nie as 30 April 1993 aan die Sekretaris van die Presidentsraad, Posbus 3601, Kaapstad, 8000, te stuur. Navrae kan gerig word aan mnr. J. F. Marx by Telefoon (021) 45-5541.

Die Komitee kan besluit om mondelinge getuienis aan te hoor indien verdere inligting oor memoranda verlang word. Indien wel, sal die betrokkenes in kennis gestel word van die datums waarop en plek waar getuienis aangehoor sal word.

J. WEILBACH,

Sekretaris: Presidentsraad.

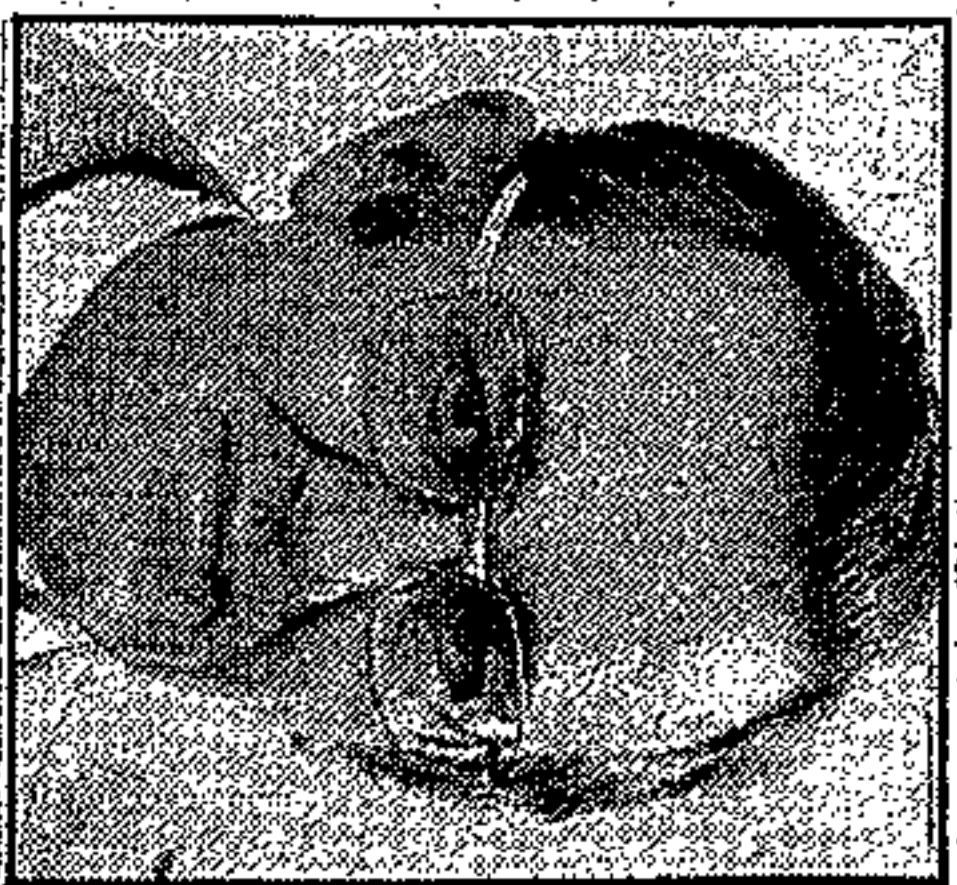
Broederbond aims to secure a key role in new SA

From Page 1

"The AB and the Future" circulated countrywide to cells and members, the council says. "Membership remains confidential and even secret. Selection leading to membership remains secret."

Addressing the possibility of opening its ranks to other races, the council says in its memorandum that the selection process and requirement for membership remain unchanged. However, the word "white" is to be removed from its constitution.

The council does not foresee the possibility of women becoming members but says husbands should make more use of their wives' skills.



Pieter de Lange . . . chairman since 1983.

It is not only membership that will remain secret. The council says discussions and documents containing sensitive information will still be

treated secretly.

In a memorandum sent to all 1 392 AB cells in January last year, members are once again reminded how important secrecy and confidentiality are.

The executive council of the Broederbond consists of 18 members, although for the first 60 years of its existence there were only 12.

Probably the most remarkable name on the list of executive council members is that of Mr. Justice W H Booysse of the Natal Bench of the Supreme Court.

Another prominent executive council member is Professor Andreas van Wyk, former director-general of the



Olaus van Zyl . . . prominent Broeder.

Department of Constitutional Development and now law professor at the University of Stellenbosch. He is tipped to be De Lange's successor.

157/193

Other executive council members holding top positions are Gencor executive Tom de Beer, Professor C J Reinecke, rector of the University of Potchefstroom, Olaus van Zyl, member of the executive committee of the Transvaal Provincial Administration, Professor Jacques Cilliers, political scientist of the University of Port Elizabeth, Professor Phip Theron, educationist at the University of the Orange Free State, Koos Steyn, leader of the Transvaal Teachers Association, and the Rev Pieter Bingle of Cape Town.

Members of the AB, still include powerful Afrikaner politicians, including President de Klerk and most of his Cabinet.

Bilateral meetings to plot talks path

THREE vital bilateral meetings in the next 10 days between the three key political players are set to prepare the groundwork for a multiparty planning conference leading to a resumption of constitutional talks.

Government and ANC delegations met each other in Cape Town yesterday to prepare for the five-day extended secret bilateral meeting starting on Wednesday.

Neither ANC president Nelson Mandela nor President F W de Klerk will attend Wednesday's meeting.

It is understood the teams discussed the progress of the joint committee set up at the last bilateral meeting in December to fine-tune proposals put to that meeting.

Since the December meeting there have been several meetings between the two sides to discuss constitutional issues; leveling the playing fields for elections; creating a climate for free political activity; armed formations such as Umkhonto we Sizwe and Apla; and removal of remaining repressive legislation.

The bilateral meeting next week is a continuation of the one in December.

It is likely to evaluate how the two sides can bring their allies into the process and how to accommodate members of the Concerned South Africans Group, especially Inkatha which is to meet both parties soon.

The ANC meets Inkatha today in Durban in the hope of finalising a date for a summit of their respective leaders and their organisations' executives.

Today's meeting, led by ANC deputy secretary-general Jacob Zuma and Inkatha national chairman Frank Mdlalose, follows two previous rounds of talks by leaders of the organisations in an attempt to lay the foundation for a successful summit meeting.

ANC spokesman Carl Niehaus warned

yesterday that it was wrong to pre-empt the meeting and assume that a date would be set.

However, the two earlier meetings had made good progress and the four committees set up at the previous meeting had made progress.

The committees were expected to prepare proposals on free political activity, militarisation of politics, implementation of peace accord structures and reconstruction of communities ravaged by violence.

Meanwhile, the executive of the national peace committee met last night in routine session to consider the agenda of a meeting of the peace accord. The meeting of signatories had been scheduled for yesterday but was cancelled after Buthelezi said he had not yet met Mandela.

And in another development, government and Inkatha are to meet in a two-day bilateral for the first time since Inkatha broke off talks with government in September. This is expected to be in Durban on Monday and Tuesday.

It is understood Inkatha is loosening its ties with the Concerned South Africans Group and wants to negotiate with government on its own. An Inkatha spokesman indicated also that the party would negotiate independently at the multiparty planning conference, expected to take place next month.

The meeting between government and Inkatha is expected to revolve around the same issues of Codesa agreements, and transitional arrangements including a two-phased transitional approach — an interim government and constitution leading to elections for a constitution-making body.

BILLY PADDOCK

DP, ANC join hands

Sowetan 15/11/93
■ Group will work to promote democracy:

Sowetan Correspondent (304A)

A REGIONAL working group will be established by the Democratic Party and the African National Congress to monitor Western Cape politics and promote political tolerance, the parties said in a joint statement.

The working group will be set up by the parties' regional executives.

The parties' regional leaders met yesterday, following the violent disruption of a DP meeting in Gugulethu on Monday.

Meetings set to repair negotiations

JOHANNESBURG. — A number of cret bilateral meeting starting on vital meetings in the next 10 days between the three key political players are set to prepare the groundwork for a multi-party planning conference leading to a resumption of constitutional talks.

Government and ANC delegates met in Cape Town yesterday to prepare for the five-day extended se-

tive leaders and their organisations' executives.

Meanwhile, the executive of the National Peace Committee met last night to consider the agenda of a meeting of the Peace Accord. The meeting of signatories had been scheduled for yesterday, but was cancelled after Chief Mangosuthu Buthelezi said he had not yet met

Mr Nelson Mandela.

In another development, the government and Inkatha are to meet in a two-day bilateral meeting for the first time since Inkatha broke off talks with the government in September. This is expected to be in Durban on Monday and Thursday.

● Chief Buthelezi called yesterday.

day for a normalisation of political relations in South Africa to encourage foreign investment.

Commenting on Codesa, he said the country should return to the preparatory stage of the negotiations and restructure a forum that would allow full representation of all parties. — Political Staff, Sapa

(3044)CT1511/93

CP rejects ANC rule — Treurnicht

Political Correspondent

IF ANC rule was enforced on the Conservative Party the ensuing conflict would destroy any semblance of a functioning economy, CP leader Dr Andries Treurnicht said yesterday.

He hinted that groups opposed to the ANC might seriously disrupt

South Africa's strategic minerals production if the ANC came to power.

Dr Treurnicht was responding to ANC leader Mr Nelson Mandela's conditional offer to call for the lifting of sanctions.

He said in a statement that not only the CP but "other important groups" would refuse to be subject-

ed to an ANC government.

This fact was being ignored by foreign governments.

By giving credibility to what the ANC said, and by acting on the organisation's demands, foreign governments were antagonising the very people who could keep South Africa running as a viable and prosperous entity.

Mr Mandela's call was given conditional backing yesterday by the National Education, Health and Allied Workers Union (Nehawu).

Nehawu Western Cape chairman Mr Wilfred Alcock said economic sanctions could be lifted only if the government met union demands on public sector employees, among other things.

The National Party information chief, Mr Piet Coetzer, criticised the call by the general secretary of the South African Council of Churches, the Rev Frank Chikane, for sanctions against South Africa to be tightened.

"The Rev Chikane's call is not only ridiculous but extraordinarily irrelevant," he said.

Exposures 'undermine NP support'

By ANTHONY JOHNSON
Political Correspondent

GROWING public concern about revelations of government corruption and irregularities had reached a point where President F W de Klerk could suffer "a severe loss of support" in an election.

This is the view of the director of the survey research company Omnichek, Ms Binky Kellas, following the latest study on public attitudes to the exposure of official corruption in 1992.

The survey, conducted last month among white males living in the major metropolitan areas, found that 55% of respondents — 59% of the Afrikaans-speakers and 51% of the English-speakers — believed there was more corruption in the country than there had been a year previously.

Only 4% of the former and 7% of the latter believed the situation was improving.

Although the study was conducted just after Mr De Klerk had made a public statement of his commitment to rid the country of corrupt officials and Defence Force officers, most of the respondents felt his efforts would be

in vain.

A total of 53% of those questioned agreed that "though he appears to be doing something about irregularities and corruption, he is not likely to have much success".

Almost one in five white men believed that though Mr De Klerk appeared to be taking steps to combat irregularities and corruption, he was not sincere.

From June there was also a significant decline (from 37% to 25%) in those who felt Mr De Klerk was likely to succeed in achieving an honest or clean government.

Commenting on the findings, Ms Kellas said: "The current wave of exposures on corruption has been particularly damaging to the government and could have repercussions in terms of the National Party's chances of success in any forthcoming election."

She said the electorate was clearly losing confidence in Mr De Klerk's ability to run the country efficiently and to control "his henchmen".

"This in turn could lead to a severe loss of support for the governing party at the time of the election," she concluded.

DP's Carlisle attacks ANC over intimidation

CT 15/1/93 (304A)

Political Correspondent

THE row between the DP and the ANC over free electioneering was reopened yesterday when the DP MP for Wynberg, Mr Robin Carlisle, attacked the ANC for widespread intimidation of DP supporters.

The scathing rebuke came just hours after delegations of both parties in the Western Cape agreed to establish a joint structure to ensure free and fair elections in the region.

Mr Carlisle's latest broadside was sparked by comments made on Wednesday night's Agenda by ANC spokesman Mr Carl Niehaus.

Mr Niehaus claimed that Mr Carlisle had said that should the ANC come to power it would be an even bigger oppressor than the NP government.

He said such emotional and unfounded political charges did nothing to promote mutual tolerance.

Mr Carlisle said Mr Niehaus was entitled to his "hysterical response".

"What I said was that the ANC was the new oppressor and that this was a tragedy," the DP MP said.

● The DP announced this week that its executive had decided to establish a committee to investigate intimidation of its members countrywide.

Mandela 'sobered up' by SA events

WASHINGTON. — ANC president Mr Nelson Mandela says he and other political leaders were "sobered up" by events in South Africa during the past year and by the state of the economy, according to an interview published yesterday in the Washington Post. (304A)

In advance of a possible meeting with President-elect Mr Bill Clinton next week, Mr Mandela gave a strongly upbeat assessment of constitutional negotiations. Mr Mandela is to attend Mr Clinton's inauguration next Wednesday. ET 15/1/93

He said the lowering of expectations was a beneficial result of the slow pace of change since his release from prison. "One of the things that worried me was the tendency to make me a demigod, a messiah. I'm very happy to be seen now as an ordinary human being."

Secret survival plan leaked

Broeders aim at role in new SA

STAR 15/1/93

304A

The Afrikaner Broederbond (AB) is drawing up a secret plan to ensure its survival and continuing influence, even under an ANC government.

Secret Broederbond papers in the possession of The Star show that the organisation, far from being in decline, currently has the highest membership of its 75-year history, and that the AB is planning aggressively to remain a powerful force in the "new South Africa".

The documents were presented at a Broederbond meeting held on a farm in the northern Transvaal on Saturday.

Besides its plan for securing Afrikaner influence, no matter what the composition of future governments, the AB has decided to retain its secretive mode of operation and to exclude women from membership.

Only Afrikaner males will be invited to join, although the AB is countenancing membership for coloured males who share the "language and values" of the Afrikaner.

The papers indicate AB plans to draw up a survival blueprint in the near future.

BY
JACQUES
PAUW



The executive council is at present conducting a survey among its members, after which a final future strategy will be decided.

The 18-member executive council is headed by Pieter de Lange, with KWV chairman Ritzema de la Bat and Billi van der Merwe, a Johannesburg attorney and former chairman of the South African Law Society, as vice-chairmen.

The executive council says that although Afrikaners will not hold as many prominent positions in the country as before, their influence will remain very important. It says Afrikaners involved in the negotiations process will attempt to ensure a special place for the Afrikaner in future.

"Sections and members will therefore have to increasingly expand the interest of the Afrikaner within their local communities," the council says.

The documents reveal that

20 074 Afrikaners are at present members of the organisation — a clear indication that the controversial AB remains a growing force in spite of the dramatic changes in South Africa's political landscape.

The documents also reveal that for the first time in its history, a Supreme Court judge is a member of the executive council of the Broederbond. Other executive members include prominent Afrikaners from virtually every walk of life: business, education, law, academia, religion and politics.

The secret papers, leaked to Vrye Weekblad, show that despite assurances by De Lange that the organisation is considering lifting the veil of secrecy over its activities, absolute secrecy and confidentiality remain a priority.

De Lange said in newspaper interviews last year that the Broederbond was discussing the issue of membership and the possibility of opening its membership to others who shared the language and values of the Afrikaner.

In a discussion document,

● To Page 3

Confidence in FW slipping, study finds

STAR 15/1/93

304A

CAPE TOWN. — President de Klerk's ability to do a good job of running the country is decreasing in the minds of white South African men.

This was found in a study of 500 white men living in metropolitan areas.

The study was done in December by Cape Town-based Omnicheck, a division of Research Surveys.

From a high 61 percent "yes" vote for him doing a good job in April 1992, his credibility had dropped to 42 percent by December.

The "no" voters, who said he

was not doing a good job, also rose from 29 percent in April to 41 percent in December.

"Fence sitters", who said they did not know, amounted to 18 percent.

The question that was put to each of the men was: "Do you think F W de Klerk is doing a good job as State President of the country?"

Breaking the figures down into language groups, nearly half of the English speakers in the survey (49 percent) felt De Klerk was doing a good job while 48 percent of Afrikaans speakers said he was not.

In another survey, more than over half the white men living in metropolitan areas believed that levels of morality and corruption in South Africa had certainly worsened during the past year.

Omnicheck's survey said most respondents thought the President's efforts to rid the country of corrupt officials would be in vain.

Fewer respondents than before thought De Klerk was likely to succeed in achieving an honest or clean government. — Sapa.

Broederbond prepares for new SA

3047
STAR 16/11/93

THE Broederbond is alive and well — a little confused perhaps, but bigger than ever and hard at work figuring how best to perpetuate its grip on this country.

That was the picture that emerged yesterday in the newspaper Vrye Weekblad after veteran Broederbond watcher Hennie Serfontein burst in on a secret meeting of the brotherhood at a remote northern Transvaal farm.

Ballot

Serfontein also disclosed details of documents circulating among the 20 074 members of the secret society, intended to help Broeders plot a course better suited to the circumstances of a new South Africa.

The meeting Serfontein gatecrashed a week ago was at Willie Pruis's farm Gegund near Zebediela. It was to have been addressed by President F W de Klerk, Serfontein said.

The Broederbond had virtually doubled in size since 1982, he added. Its executive commit-

SATURDAY STAR REPORTER

tee had sent members questionnaires on the organisation's future — a referendum on which way the Bond should go.

The secret ballot was expected to be completed by the end of next month.

The questionnaire indicated that the organisation was primarily concerned with how to change its profile, and operating procedures to maintain its influence.

A council memorandum warned that the Afrikaner in future would "not hold so many leading positions" and that it would be necessary to exercise influence to further the interests of the Afrikaner at community level.

Contingency plans were needed.

At present, membership is restricted to Afrikaans-speaking Protestant white males of 21 or older. Membership of coloured Afrikaans-speakers could be countenanced in future.

Summit talks for ANC, IFP

CT16/11/93 2504A

DURBAN. — A meeting between the presidents of the ANC and Inkatha, Mr Nelson Mandela and Chief Mangosuthu Buthelezi, has almost been finalised with a summit date expected to be announced next month, the organisations said here yesterday.

This emerged after the third round of talks between a joint ANC-IFP committee established last month to pave the way for a presidential summit.

According to a joint statement read by IFP chairman Dr Frank Mdlalose after yesterday's meeting, the committee had not completed its work but had made progress and would probably announce the date for a Mandela-Buthelezi summit at their next meeting in February.

"At the next meeting (on February 11) we undertake to make firm recommendations to our principals about their summit meeting," said Dr Mdlalose.

Delegates to yesterday's meeting said there was general optimism and almost certainty that a summit would take place soon, despite some differences and hitches.

Committee optimistic for date next month

Dr Mdlalose said: "It was not the view of this committee that there had to be complete agreement on all points before the two presidents could meet".

Earlier yesterday a threatened hitch to the summit was smoothed over by ANC deputy secretary-general Mr Jacob Zuma who, in response to a call by two Natal ANC regions for the suspension of talks with the IFP, said: "We are going ahead (with preparations for the summit)."

His statement followed a call by the ANC's Midlands and Northern Natal regions for a halt to all talks with Inkatha until the political climate was right.

Spokesmen from the regions this week alleged ongoing In-

katha violence and said the IFP's scuttling of peace efforts in Natal did not complement a presidential summit now, as the climate was "not right".

Mr Zuma earlier said the ANC's National Executive Committee had taken a decision to lay the foundations for a summit with Chief Buthelezi and this decision still held.

Meanwhile an IFP spokesman said the IFP would continue talks with the ANC in an attempt to achieve peace.

After yesterday's meeting, both the ANC and IFP delegations renewed an appeal to their supporters not to resort to violence to resolve problems.

They warmly welcomed positive developments towards peace in the Umbumbulu and Port Shepstone regions on Natal's South Coast. Levels of conflict there have been drastically reduced following peace agreements between the ANC and IFP.

The organisations called on all other warring communities in Natal, particularly Bruntville in the Midlands and Empangeni in the north, to "follow these excellent examples". — Sapa, Own Correspondent

Inkatha and ANC to talk

ARG 16/12/92

3044

■ Inkatha and ANC talks in Durban begin to pave the way for a possible summit between Mandela and Buthelezi

IDO LEKOTA, Political Staff

DURBAN. — Inkatha Freedom Party and African National Congress negotiators have undertaken to set a date for a Mandela-Buthelezi peace summit within a month.

Again urging their supporters to stop the violence, top officials of both groups noted in a joint statement after four hours of talks in Durban the much-awaited meeting could take place even if their preparatory talks had not clinched agreement on all points.

Yesterday, what negotiators dubbed the "continuation committee" consisting of top-level IFP-ANC delegations, met for the third round of preparatory talks aimed at paving the way for the summit.

The IFP team was led by IFP national chairman Dr Frank Mdlalose and the ANC by assistant secretary-general Jacob Zuma.

Apparent progress towards a summit date, and a sense of urgency expressed by the two sides yesterday, came amid intense domestic and international pressure for such a peace meeting.

The two parties indicated that yesterday's meeting considered reports by four sub-committees set up on December 29.

The sub-committees were to deal with:

- the creation of a climate for free political activity;
- strengthening the structures of the various peace accords; and

- ending the militarisation of politics and addressing reconstruction in areas ravaged by the violence.

"Progress has been made with regard to the elaboration of common positions on these matters," read the statement.

"Although all the subcommittees indicated they needed more time to complete their tasks, it was noted it was the view of the committee that there had to be complete agreement on all points".

The continuation committee also announced the last round of preparatory talks would be held on February 11 when a date and agenda for the planned summit would be set.

However, the committee indicated the date and proposed agenda would still have to be approved by the ANC president and the IFP leader respectively.

Each party would present the proposals to its leader with an integrated report from all the sub-committees.

Meanwhile both parties made a renewed appeal to their supporters and members stop using violence to settle differences.

"In this regard the committee warmly welcomed the positive developments that have taken place in such areas as Umbumbulu and Port Shepstone where the levels of violence have been drastically reduced as a result of agreements arrived at by the IFP and the ANC."

Bilateral talks between the government and the IFP, dormant since September when the IFP protested against the government-ANC Record of Understanding, resume in Durban today.

An Inkatha delegation led by Dr Mdlalose will meet one led by Mr George Bartlett, Cabinet Minister and leader of the National Party in Natal.

The renewed bilateral talks are expected to continue at national level next week.

With substantial five-day talks between the government and ANC scheduled to start next Wednesday, an upbeat ANC briefing said yesterday a "tremendous amount of progress has been made in bilaterals".

Senior ANC negotiator Mohammed Valli Moosa said: "We hope to get it right this time."

DP, CP call for end to Broederbond

By ANTHONY JOHNSON
Political Correspondent

under an ANC government. DP leader Dr Zach de Beer said it was depressing to learn that the Broederbond was pressing ahead as a racist, ethnically exclusive, sexist and secret organisation.

This followed the publication of an alleged Broederbond plan for its survival even moving away from these archaic

values and practices.

"To go on into the future knowing that important figures in our political life have a hidden agenda dictated to them by a sinister, secret cabal is going to be very difficult," he said.

The CP's general secretary, Dr Lem Theron, said the CP rejected the Broederbond's

aims and goals and believed the organisation should discontinue.

Dr Theron said the fact that the word "white" had been removed from the constitution was evidence of how the organisation's original aims and goals had been deflected. Sapa reports that the ANC negotiations decisions were

"manipulative role" about the latest revelations on the continuing

The ANC said that since President F W de Klerk and

members of the Broederbond, the organisation wondered where

negotiations decisions were

World statesmen to meet in secret city venue

CT 16/1/93
(30447)

NEXT week's visit to Cape Town of the largest gathering of international statesmen in South Africa's history has been veiled in secrecy. Fifteen former presidents or prime ministers are among the delegates expected to attend the 10th annual meeting of the New York-based Inter-Action Council from January 21 to 23. The former heads of state include

Lord Callaghan (Britain), Mr Helmut Schmidt (Germany), Mr Valery Giscard d'Estaing (France), Mr Malcolm Fraser (Australia), Mr Pierre Trudeau (Canada), Mr Takeo Fukuda (Japan) and Mr Adolfo Suarez (Spain). African participants include General Olusegun Obasanjo (Nigeria), Mr Kamal Hassan (Egypt), Mr Daniel Lisula (Zambia) and Mr Lopo

dos Nascimento (Angola). A spokeswoman for a city travel agency handling arrangements for the conference, Ms Jenny Diamond, said yesterday the Inter-Action Council had requested that no information about the meeting be released. It is believed however that the meeting will be held in the National Gallery.

The 36-member Inter-Action Council was established in 1983 to mobilise the skills and experience of former government leaders to address international political and economic issues. Next week's meeting will focus on the international community's future policies toward Africa, particularly a perceived lessening in

significance of the continent as aid investment and resources are re-directed toward Eastern Europe's emerging democracies. There is also considerable interest in South Africa's progress towards a constitutional settlement and the council has requested a presentation on the political transition in South Africa. — Sapa

Sobbered politicians work for tolerance

3044



AKG 16/1/73

FRANS ESTERHUYSE

Weekend Argus Political Correspondent

A NEW initiative to ensure free speech and peaceful campaigning in South Africa's first non-racial elections emerged from this week's wrecking of a Democratic Party (DP) meeting in Guguletu.

What politicians and international peace monitors saw as a sad spectacle and a denial of democratic freedom appears to have shaken political leaders into active moves towards breaking down political intolerance.

The first positive move — a meeting between delegations of the two main parties involved in an earlier war of words with the DP and the ANC — came less than 48 hours after the episode in the Umluti Centre.

The move was preceded by top-level communications between the ANC and the DP. Sources say this resulted in swift action at regional and local level to defuse a row between the two groupings.

The meeting between DP and ANC delegations this week reached significant agreement on the key issue of an urgent need for a culture of democratic tolerance and open political debate.

The delegations were led by DP Western Cape chairman Mr Jasper Walsh and ANC Western Cape regional secretary Mr Tony Yengei.

From this has emerged a plan for a wider initiative aimed at a multiparty agreement

■ When fists flew and Democratic Party speakers were silenced by a shouting mob in Guguletu's Umluti Centre this week, the prospects of a peaceful transition to a South African democracy seemed to have reached rock bottom. Out of the chaos, however, new hope for peace has arisen.

between all political players to promote freedom of speech and peaceful campaigning throughout the coming national elections.

The DP's Mr Walsh told Weekend Argus this week's meeting was seen as a preliminary initiative. Efforts would have to be made to involve other political groupings. Initially, the DP intended to hold bilateral talks — on the lines of this week's meeting with the ANC delegation — with other parties. This would be done with a view to establishing a multiparty forum which would seek agreement on peaceful methods for conducting elections.

Mr Walsh, MP for Pinelands, said this week's meeting stressed the urgent need "to level the political playing field".

"Clearly we are a long way from a normal democracy. Black South Africans have experienced the brunt of oppression for many years and have not been allowed to undertake normal political activity. In later years the liberation struggle met this need, but by its very nature and style it created an atmosphere which, likewise, was not conducive to normal democratic activity.

"By this I mean mass action, protest action, strikes, boycotts and the like which

were the order of the day," said Mr Walsh.

"A third factor that must be considered is the severe social hardships experienced by many black people and the horrifying level of unemployment that exists.

"Against this background, it will take time to inculcate a democratic tradition. I think both parties (the ANC and the DP) recognise the challenge is enormous, but we have to persevere," he said.

The "number one priority" was to work towards establishing a climate of political tolerance.

Referring to the disruption of DP township meetings, Mr Walsh said: "We look back on this as being a first positive step towards opening up the democratic process."

At this week's meeting the DP and ANC delegations decided to recommend to their respective regional executives that a joint regional working group be set up. Among its aims are:

■ To monitor the volatile political situation in the Western Cape; and

■ To consider ways of promoting a culture of democratic tolerance, open debate and democratic mobilisation in the region.

The delegations have undertaken to approach other organisations to achieve these objectives as well so free and fair elections can be held.

Mr Robin Carlisle, DP MP for Wynberg, said the impact of the DP's two wrecked township meetings had been to shift the ANC from its position of being publicly hostile to the holding of DP meetings in townships.

From that position, the ANC had been shifted to its current position which not only acknowledged the DP's right to hold meetings, but was strongly supportive of that right.

Mr Carlisle said the five main political groupings he envisaged as future participants in a forum for free and fair elections were the DP, the ANC, the NP, Azapo and the PAC.

After this week's events in the Umluti Centre, several prominent ANC leadership figures spoke out in favour of free speech and other democratic rights.

Professor Kader Asmal, professor of human rights law at the University of the Western Cape and a member of the ANC's national executive committee, said democracy and human rights could not be separated.

It was in defence of such rights that members of the ANC's national and regional executives had attended the Guguletu meeting in an effort to ensure there would be no disruption by anyone claiming to support the ANC.

■ See page 14

SLOW AHEAD: *Power will change hands by increments, leaving a baffled, frustrated black majority waiting until beyond 2000*

Four rites of passage

THE liberation process in South Africa will be both phased and diluted. I can count at least three likely rites of passage.

First, by mid-1993, a transitional executive council with sub-councils will be formed. This is where the experiment in formal power-sharing will begin. It's worth a celebration.

Second, by April 1994, there will be one man, one vote elections for a single-chamber constitution-making body/interim parliament to adopt a constitution and administer the country. That will mark the inauguration of a transitional government of national unity to continue the experiment in shared power. It, too, would be worth a celebration.

The third rite of passage will be the adoption of the new constitution, which will provide for shared power in a multiparty executive — with majority rule still beyond black reach.

If President de Klerk has his way, this period of executive power-sharing will last forever. Even if the ANC has its way, power-sharing will last at least until the turn of the century. Only then can there be a fourth and final rite of passage, and by that time liberation will have lost its gloss.

There will have been so many rites that the usual single, cathartic transition will never occur.

What this will do to the black psyche can only be imagined. Apartheid has been such a horrendous experience in black lives that only if it is exorcised in a single, all-encompassing, all-cleansing ritual will the psyche be satisfied. This is what burials are for. To



liberation will have lost its gloss. There will have been so many rituals that the usual single, cathartic transition will never occur.

What this will do to the black psyche can only be imagined. Apartheid has been such a horrendous experience in black lives that only if it is exorcised in a single, all-encompassing, all-cleansing ritual will the psyche be satisfied. This is what rituals are for. To confirm the finality, so that the souls of the living can be at rest. For years, the souls of South Africa's blacks — certainly of the radicals — will not be at rest.

It is necessary, nevertheless, to talk about a "new South Africa," because it gives moral purpose and political and economic direction to negotiations. But in fact the new South Africa has already happened. It is to be found in the now virtually complete dismantling of statutory race barriers, leaving only "some conventional apartheid in place. A main rite of passage has taken place without a single ceremony to celebrate it.

The most the ANC can do, therefore, as the process unfolds, will be to fix a moment (or moments) of liberation, and commission Satchi and Satchi to stage festivals on each occasion that looks like final fulfilment of the freedom struggle, even if they are not.

PRESIDENT F W de Klerk noted all this in his address to the South Africa Club in London (November 13). "Perhaps the greatest challenge which will confront us in the new South Africa will be the degree to which a new government of national unity will be able to manage the enormous expectations of the newly enfranchised voters," he said. "The problem is that sufficient wealth for this purpose does not yet exist, and the gratification of some demands will have to be deferred until economic growth has generated the necessary wealth."

Well, he would say this, wouldn't he, but then ANC president Nelson Mandela said the same thing even more bluntly. When a questioner asked him at a meeting in Vryburg (December 12) when redistribution of wealth would begin, he replied: "After liberation, when we have regained political power, you are still going to continue to live in poverty — without houses, without medical facilities, without adequate education... because we must (first) properly organise the grassroots to ensure that you have good jobs, de-

MAJOR PLAYERS: De Klerk and Mandela know they can accomplish reconstruction only if they work together. But will the concept of power-sharing for at least several years be swallowed by the ANC's radical followers? The ability to carry them along could be the difference between a stable and unstable future.

cent houses, good education."

Mandela was telling blacks to scale down their expectations. What both leaders understand is that they can accomplish the immense task of post-apartheid construction only if working together.

This is where the lines cross: where rivalry merges into partnership, creating internal dissent in the ANC and NP, yet offering South Africa salvation. Consider, for example, one man, one vote elections. Professor Lawrence Schlemmer suggests that the role of elections should be reversed — instead of determining which policy should prevail, the elections should confirm agreements already reached.

This may sound bizarre, but the whole South African compromise will be bizarre. Elections, says Schlemmer, must be the result of settlements rather than an attempt to impose them. "I don't believe we should risk an election," he says, "unless we have a contract between parties about some form of joint action after the election. And pacting should take place right down to local level."

How will the ANC handle the fundamental contradiction of being both champion of the black cause and partner of the present Government? Given that the two sides now swim or sink together, there can be little doubt that the partnership will grow, but this will place unbearable strains on ANC unity.

One day the organisation will have to choose between breaking away from the coalition (for that is what shared power will be) or accepting, first, that the new state cannot function without the goodwill and co-operation of the white civil service, security establishment and captains of commerce and industry and, second, that the litmus test foreign governments and investors will apply to whether South Africa is stable will be the degree to which whites and blacks are seen to be working together.

Joe Slovo spelt this out in his seminal article in the African Com-



LAWRENCE SCHLEMMER: Elections must be the result of settlements, not a way of imposing them.



JOE SLOVO: The ANC is not dealing with a defeated enemy, hence the suggested "sunset clause".

WHEN colonial Africa became independent, there was always a simple rite of passage. The foreign power's flag would be run down and the new, liberation flag run up. It will not be like this in South Africa. There will be no single, triumphal ceremony at which power will be transferred, while trumpets sound and cymbals clash. STANLEY UYS outlines a likely scenario.

minist: "The ANC is not dealing with a defeated enemy, an early revolutionary seizure of power is not realistic, the capacity of the white civil service, army and police to destabilise a newly born democracy is enormous, and a 'sunset clause' should be inserted in the new constitution to provide for compulsory power-sharing for a fixed number of years..."

The essence of this document has been approved by both the ANC's working committee and its national executive committee (after a heated debate), so the ANC can be said to have made its choice: it stands or falls now by white-black collaboration.

However, can the ANC carry its constituency with it? With some luck, yes, at least until the elections are held, because the prospect of power is a powerful centripetal force in liberation politics. But then things will start to fall apart.

The dissenters are already there — it is just that they have not yet been mobilised: exiles who have returned without a welcome or a job; Umkhonto cadres who have turned rogue; self-defence units that have become a law unto themselves; civilians with their own agendas, a nucleus of rebels, under the Hani, Winnie, Gwalala, Mokoabes, and others, who are biding their time, and, on

the periphery, sundry PAC, Azapo members and others.

The dissenters will claim to represent "the masses" who have been betrayed by an elite. The only way in which the ANC can really meet the challenge then is if, speedily, jobs are created and houses built — even before the ANC gets its hands on real power. Therefore, this will be the Government's immediate responsibility.

The crux of the dispute between the ANC leadership and the dissenters will be power-sharing.

Already, the Government has made major concessions: it has dismantled apartheid, surrendered the balance of forces between whites and blacks forever. The ANC has made matching concessions by abandoning the armed struggle and crossing the Rubicon of shared power.

Now there will have to be more give and take: the Government on federalism and the ANC on the time limit for shared power.

Federalism's principles are impeccable. In 1992 there were 17 formal federal systems in the world, 40 percent of the world's population lived within federal polities and a further 33 percent lived in polities that utilise federal arrangements in some way.

Inevitably, federalism in one form or another will be introduced in the new South Africa. The question is whether the federalists will overlay their hand. If they confine federal powers to socio-cultural interests, well and good, but if they insist on political-economic powers that override the central government's powers — which surely must be the locus of real power — the country will find itself without an organic centre, and if the centre does not hold (as Yeats reminds us), things fall apart.

Either all sides must place their trust in the power-sharing Cabinet, and make sure it works, or they might as well not start it in the first place. If whites plan to erect

second and third lines of fortifications for minority interests — a senate and a federal system — capable of paralysing the multiparty executive, the executive will be stillborn. The senate and the federal system will have to mesh in with the multiparty executive, or none of the trinity will work.

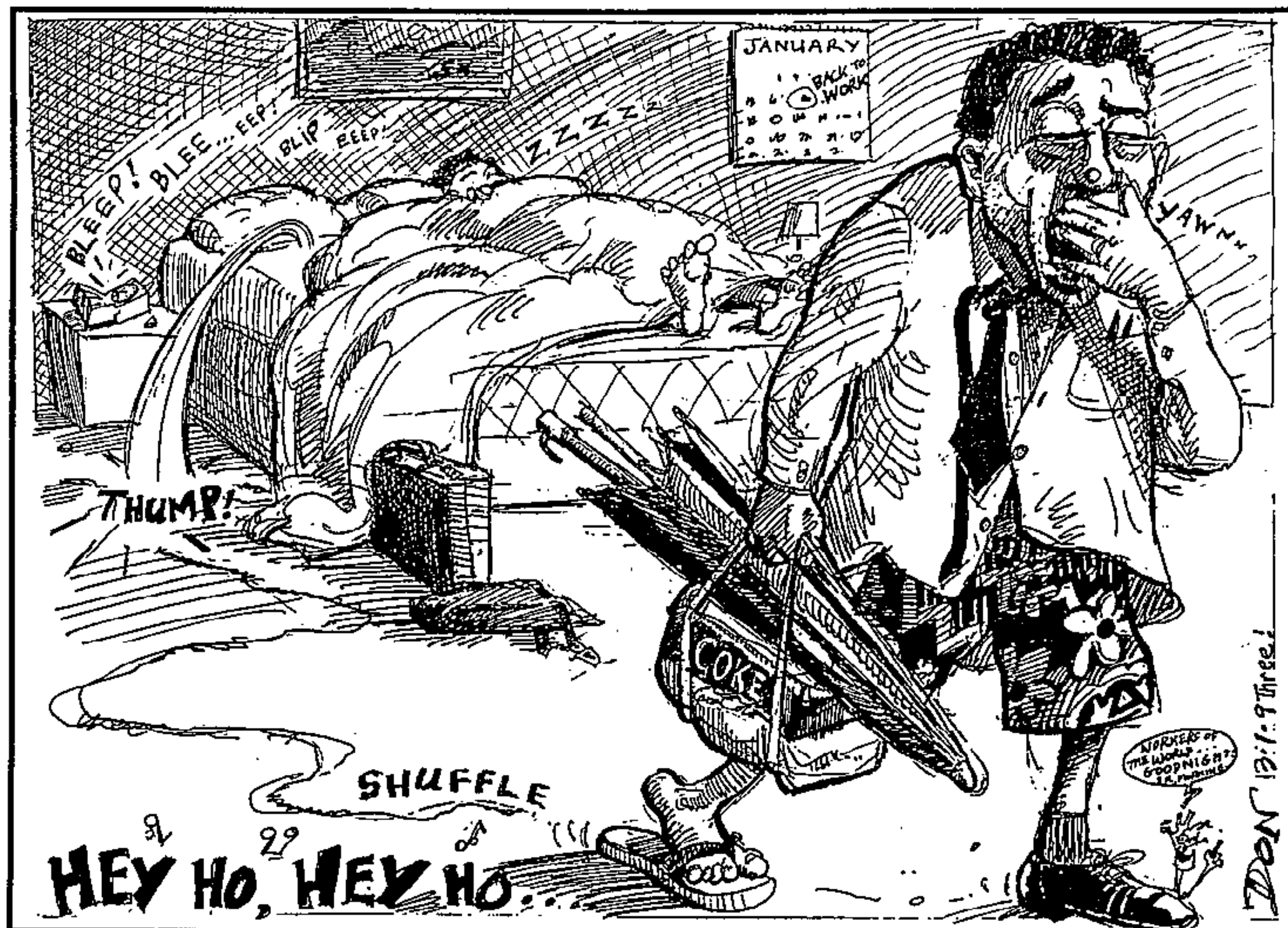
The ANC is prepared to experiment with a power-sharing executive only for five or 10 years. Hence the name "sunset" clause. In the circumstances, whites have looked beyond the deadline, and come up with the senate and federalism for longer-term protection.

But it will not work. To add to shared executive power a fully fledged federal structure, plus a House of regions, would create an impossibly complicated structure, shrouded with self-destruct buttons.

A power-sharing Cabinet is not a sophisticated idea — it is pretty crude, in fact. But no better idea has been offered so far. If the minds in a shared executive are convergent — if only because everyone has peered into the same abyss — it could work.

NO MATTER which way one looks at the new South Africa, it will need a strong centre, and only a power-sharing Cabinet can provide that centre, which must be made to hold at all costs. Federalism and a senate representing regions cannot be allowed to paralyse it.

The country will need strong central government to deal not only with foreign affairs, defence, immigration and the other familiar central government portfolios, but also with political violence, crime, economic recovery, maladministration, corruption, etc. A Cabinet based on shared power, but commanding only residual powers left over from the provinces, would be little more than a Tower of Babel.



MY VIEW

Rory Riordan Director of the Human Rights Trust and an ANC member

SOUTH 16/1 - 20/1/93.

THE issue set to dominate 1993 is the pending universal franchise election for all South African adults.

This election will end 350 years of white control of South Africa's political life and will be, to say the least, a watershed in our history.

- When will this election be?
- Who will vote in it?
- For what will these voters be voting?
- What system of election will be used?
- What will the election issues be?
- Who will win this election?

When will this election be?

It is difficult to say now, but the National Party wants it to be in early 1994 and the ANC in late 1993.

My guess is that it will be later rather than sooner because of the detail the parties have to agree on and because of the enormously complicated logistics involved.

Who will vote in it?

It has been generally agreed that all adult South Africans, regardless of race, will vote in this election.

The only points of difficulty surround the issue of the reincorporation of Bophuthatswana, Ciskei, Transkei and Venda, and the participation of the people of these statelets in the election.

The NP says it is impossible to have "foreign nationals" voting in a South African election. The ANC demands participation of all adults of greater South Africa.

The regimes of the Transkei and Venda have agreed to reincorporation, while those of Bophuthatswana and Ciskei are dragging their heels.

Time — and probably a bit of mass action — will tell here, but my money is on the whole population voting.

For what will we be voting?

As it appears now, we will be voting to elect a chamber of political people who will be charged with two functions: to draft a new constitution for South Africa and to perform some functions of interim government (for example, control over the nation's purse, or what's left of it; and control over the SABC's television and radio empire.)

What system of election will be used?

On this issue we have little clarity, but it would appear that it will be a proportional

'As we get closer to the mother of all elections, it is predictable that we will see more so-called black-on-black violence'



representation election. Because most of our people have never voted and many are illiterate, great care will have to be taken to keep the system as simple and "user-friendly" as possible.

It will probably be like the Namibian election, an election of a simple party preference, with the composition of the chamber coming from lists submitted by the parties.

What will the issues be?

There will be the normal elections mud-slinging, with the NP trying to project the ANC as a bunch of blood-soaked, communist revolutionaries, "incapable-of-answering-the-phone-let-alone-governing-a-country". The ANC in turn will project the National Party as a pack of Verwoerdian fascists, broeders-in-brown-shirts, who have built up massive privilege for themselves on the back of black suffering.

The real issue promises to be straightforward: "Do you, Mr and Ms Voter, wish for power to remain with Mr De Klerk and his allies, or do you want it to go to Mr Mandela and his allies?"

Who will win the election?

That would be telling wouldn't it?

Actually, while all market research points to the ANC having somewhere between twice or three times the support level of the next biggest movement, the NP, it is still much too early to predict how this unspecified election will work out.

To whom will Inkatha be allied? Where will the smaller parties — the Democratic Party,

the SA Communist Party, the Conservative Party, the Pan Africanist Congress, even Labour — be perceived as standing? Time, the issues, the state of all alliances, will tell.

That will be the big issue of 1993, providing we escape unpredicted disasters such as assassinations and massacres.

The constitutional debate looks like settling down on two issues in early 1993.

The first is the debate on power-sharing — or minority protection.

The NP's best option is a constitution that allows a minority party (like the NP) to be part of the drafting of all legislation. A second, weaker, option is to have veto provisions available to minority parties.

The ANC has rejected both of these options, but is in turn talking of "sunset-clauses" and "governments of national unity".

The ANC offers are seen by the NP as akin to the Zimbabwean arrangement of 20 percent of parliament's seats being reserved for whites for 10 years — a worthless gesture.

The second constitutional debate is that of federalism-regionalism.

Here, only the ANC and Inkatha have released detailed proposals. The Inkatha proposals amount to the secession of Natal.

The issue is again one of political power.

Ulundi is a Hollywood prop-town, a parade, a fiction. But it is a fiction that has allowed an elite to exercise political power over some territory. The ANC's constitutional proposals threaten to rip down this facade and take this, albeit mock, power.

As for the rest, it will probably be more of the usual — more undercover attempts to destabilise the ANC, more corruption, crookery by the NP and its civil service, more unpredictable behaviour from Chief Buthelezi, more brave and remarkable work from Mr Justice Goldstone and his team.

There will be more spending of state resources to help the NP buy black support.

As we get closer to the mother of all elections, it is predictable that we will see more "black-on-black" violence as the security establishment and its bosses step up destabilising campaigns in ANC communities.

The tiny wedge that can be driven into our society to prevent this from happening is Judge Goldstone and his team, and the United Nations and its team.

Press 17/11/93 304A No easy vote to freedom

By SEKOLA SELLO

AS preparations for the country's first non-racial and democratic elections get underway, fears are emerging that this tricky process has more hidden minefields than meets the eye of ordinary South Africans.

Commentators have pointed out that continuing violence, particularly between members of the ANC and Inkatha, will make the holding of free and fair elections difficult.

However, recent events indicate that violent rivalry could affect a far wider spectrum of political players.

The disruption of FW de Klerk's visit to Mitchell's Plain and a similar occurrence when the Democratic Party held a rally in Khayelisha, shows that intolerance is not confined to the ANC and Inkatha.

Recent clashes between Inkatha and Azapo in Bekersdal on the West Rand underline one im-



ELECTION WARNING . . . War broke out in neighbouring Angola following accusations of foul play by Unita leader Jonas Savimbi, seen here greeting his troops. Will SA go the same way with free and fair elections shot down?

portant factor — political rivalry cannot be easily pigeon-holed.

Violent clashes over territorial hegemony is only one aspect which poses a threat to the elections. There are several other problems which are likely to impact themselves negatively as the process gathers momentum.

The latest edition of the

ANC's mouthpiece, *Mayibuye*, highlights several problems that the organisation and other parties opposing the government are likely to face in the forthcoming elections.

For millions of blacks, voting will be a totally new experience. No matter what voting system is devised, prospects of many thousands of spoilt

papers cannot be ruled out.

Whether elections are held this year or early next year, it is unlikely that the majority will have been well informed about voting by then.

In addition, the journal pointed out that over 40 percent of the adult population is illiterate.

And, if identification documents, passports or

old "dompas" are to be the only forms of identification required, this could exclude a substantial number of blacks who are known to be without them.

The journal argues that for elections to be free and fair, the playing field must be levelled and a climate of free political activity exist.

Writing in the same

edition, Craig Charney, a Research Fellow at Wits University's Department of Sociology, warns about the possibilities of electoral fraud.

He also sounds a note of warning to the ANC that irregularities that may affect a small percentage of the vote could cost the organisation a majority and the chance to govern.

These include allowing ineligible people to register, registering deceased or non-existent people, refusing to allow eligible people to register, failing to delete voters who have died or moved or deleting voters who are eligible from the poll.

Although multi-party control of the election administration coupled with the participation of international monitors may minimise large scale fraud, this will not eliminate it completely.

Numerous safeguards did not prevent Angola's September elections, which the several international bodies regarded as generally free and fair, from being tainted with accusations of irregularities.

As the allure of the country's first democratic polls grows daily, those who relish the idea of the NP being ousted from power need to temper their expectations with the reality that these elections will not be a piece of cake.



Two beasts slouching towards kleptocracy

SI Times
17/11/93.

304A

AS SOUR year lies behind us, an uncertain year ahead. The national dilemma can be succinctly stated: if we take the time we need to thrash out a sound constitution continuing violence may drag us into a Balkan nightmare; but if we rush into a jerry-built interim government of Nats and ANC, we put ourselves at the mercy of two sets of political gangsters, and may never see democracy.

Underlying this dilemma are some harsh truths: the National Party cannot govern without the acquiescence of the black population which it has been losing, irretrievably, since 1976; the ANC cannot govern unless it secures the acquiescence of important constituencies of whites.

This is the true impetus behind the drive, evident now in both the ANC and the government, to establish an interim government. The hope is that the interim government will have sufficient legitimacy to restore order in the streets, to revive local business confidence, and to lure foreign investment.

The government, its ability to govern eroding steadily as Afrikaners defect from the National Party and as the recent English support flags, is showing signs of desperation: if no interim government ensues to check the violence and rebuild confidence, can the descent into chaos be avoided?

The ANC, on the other hand, shows signs of grasping, at last, the daunting task which awaits the next government. Its constituency, too, is eroding, with new challenges from Mrs Winnie Mandela, Apla, and the nasty class of township youngsters joining the older challenges of the PAC and Inkatha.

The ANC will surely win the first election of the new South Africa; it is the second election that worries its leaders. They have realised they have no hope of satisfying the soaring aspirations of the townships without the help — the dedicated help — of the white civil servants, the local business class, and the overseas capitalists.

Some of them have developed a touching faith in the ability of Finance Minister Derek Keys to work financial miracles, and there has been talk of including him in the first ANC cabinet. Like the Nationalists, they see econom-

ic growth, violence and lack of business confidence as a vicious cycle, and like the Nationalists, they are turning to market remedies.

For both sides, as for many liberals, the answers lie in the rapid formation of an interim government. For both sides it is a way of avoiding the disruptions and conflicts that would follow an abrupt transfer of power. Neither party can govern alone; perhaps together they may do so.

That, at least, is the theory, and it has attracted the support of many people beyond the ranks of the main parties. Political analysts see it as a means of strengthening "the centre" against increasingly violent pressures from both the left and the right.

The cost of the deal, of course, is that South Africa will be governed under another defective constitution — worse, in some ways, than the 1910 constitution — while the two governing parties, neither of them democratic, will have every incentive to cut new deals to keep themselves in power.

Chief Buthelezi has seen the danger, so he is trying to secure a separate power base in a federal/confederal system before it is too late. To this end he has allied himself with a motley crew of bantustan leaders and rightwingers, all of whom, by their opposition, confer respectability on an NP-ANC deal.

THE one party that has the credibility, and the sophistication, to see the dangers of government — even interim government — without constitutional certainty or democratic safeguards is the Democratic Party; that, I suspect, is why the DP has come under renewed attack from the left, which would rather deal with oppressors than compete with democrats.

But the DP is once again in one of its moods of peace at any price. The party's middle-class decency, its abhorrence of force or even of conflict, is its strength and its weakness. Its leaders, one guesses, will support the deal but try to nudge it in the direction of democracy. It's a race against time.

Hardly anybody, it seems to me, is asking the hard questions: can an ANC-NP coalition govern without the acquiescence of the Inkatha Freedom

Party? Is it better to compromise now with the IFP, or to suppress a Zululand-based rebellion afterwards? Would the SADF, demoralised and suspicious, be willing to perform the role performed in Zimbabwe by the North Koreans — the role of putting down the post-liberation challengers to the ruling party?

There is another problem, perhaps more difficult. The National Party government has, over time, become essentially a huge patronage machine, dispensing money and privilege among its members and to its allies. Ex-President Botha smelled the corruption as early as 1978, but his efforts to curb it proved vain and his promises empty.

NOW President de Klerk is trying, at immense political risk to himself, to bring under control a machine that spews public money through bureaucracies, agricultural control boards, advisory groups, tender arrangements, military suppliers, government contractors, bantustans, educational establishments, town councils, and practically every institution in the country.

President de Klerk's latest attempt to dismantle the patronage machine that feeds the parasitic agricultural community demonstrates the difficulties of reforming a government that exists not primarily to govern, but to fill its own troughs. It shows why the government has once again overshot its budgets.

The truly frightening prospect — it seems to frighten even Albie Sachs — is that the immense appetites of the ANC and the corrupt machinery of patronage of the National Party will simply be combined in an interim government. The ensuing corruption would be spectacular, and ruinous.

The question to ask now, and I hope it is asked repeatedly when Parliament convenes, is what the chances will be, under such an interim government, of restoring order, or confidence, or prosperity, or of achieving a later transition to democracy. I think we might very soon end up under our own Papa Doc, with his own — probably white — *Tontons Macoutes*.

KEN OWEN

Africa low on Clinton's list

By JOAO SANTA RITA *CIPres*

17/1/93

WASHINGTON has rolled out the red carpet for several days of partying to welcome Bill

Clinton, who this week will swear to defend and uphold the constitution of the US as the country's new president.

After 12 years of Republican presidential rule, expectations among traditional liberal supporters and black Americans are high, despite the fact that during the presidential campaign Clinton presented himself as a new type of democrat capable of distancing himself from the traditional democratic power brokers who had alienated thousands of white voters in suburbia.

In the past few weeks, as Clinton chose the members of his cabinet, public rows he had with traditional black American leaders seem to have been forgotten, with emphasis now being put on the key word - "change".

Jesse Jackson, with whom Clinton had several bitter public exchanges during the campaign, said he looked forward to working with a government which would be "putting people first".

"President Clinton and a Congress controlled by Democrats have the opportunity to put America back to work," he said.

Civil rights lawyer Vernon Jordan, who led Clinton's transition team, said Clinton had brought in "a new sense of

hope, a new energy and new optimism".

The African diplomatic corps is also waiting to see what changes Clinton will introduce towards Africa.

Clinton's continuous reference to "change" has caused inevitable comparisons with President John Kennedy.

"Just as the election of President Kennedy in 1960 was warmly received in Africa, so has the election of President Clinton lifted the hopes among Africans for a new and creative policy oriented to the true needs of the African people," said former Senior Deputy Assistant Secretary of State Wayne Fredericks.

Whatever expectations people in Africa might have, analysts are unanimous that first priority will be foreign policies with other powerhouses of the world - mainly Japan and Europe.

Some diplomatic analysts have said that as far as foreign policy is concerned, Africa will be such a low priority that Clinton might decide to let African politics be decided by members of congress and interest groups.

A former diplomat said that because there was growing opposition to spending money abroad, and because of their nominal importance in global affairs, Africa and SA would probably continue to be only "the moralists theme park where some groups and persons would continue to seek moral self-gratification".

Soweto is the BIG TEST for SA

C/Press

17/11/93

304A

2/11

By ELIAS MALULEKE

SOWETO is to become the test case for the country's first multiparty democratic elections.

The Soweto elections are expected to be held early this year, possibly in May, to replace 28 Soweto and 18 Diepmeadow councillors who were fired by the TPA on Wednesday.

And for the first time in more than 40 years, township councillors will sit side-by-side with their white counterparts in the Johannesburg City Council to plan one future for the greater Johannesburg area.

The ANC said it would win the elections with its alliances if the new-look council was accepted by the communities.

The elections, which will be followed by similar elections throughout the country if successful, are seen as the test case for SA's general elections.

The government hopes to use the elections to gauge the popularity and support enjoyed by the ANC/SACP/Cosatu and Civic Associations Alliance.

The ANC will also use the elections to train their members on how to cast votes for the big one next year.

Other organisations and political parties that will be pitting their strength against the NP and the ANC machinery

will be Inkatha, the Democratic Party, Sefsonke Party and independent candidates.

International observers will monitor the elections.

The Transvaal Provincial Administration has confirmed that such elections will be held in Soweto, but said the elections were subject to negotiations between all concerned parties taking part in the Central Witwatersrand Metropolitan Chamber on the possible administration of Soweto and Diepmeadow.

ANC spokesman Carl Niehaus said on Friday that the ANC still had to find how such councils would operate and how they would be financed before taking part, but he had no doubt that the ANC together with established movements would win such elections.

"We still have to consult to get local councils to be accepted by the communities before taking part, but we would win if we take part," Niehaus said.

However, City Press

can report that the government has already taken steps to make local governments acceptable to the community by removing the major financing stumbling block which has been the main cause of the rejection of such structures.

Also negotiations currently being held by the Metropolitan Chamber are to a great extent aimed at paving the way for a joint tax base for Soweto and the greater Johannesburg area.

Other issues being dealt with are the ending of the rent boycott, the outstanding debt and the future budget for the two townships.

It is expected that the government will scrap the rent debt and start on a clean slate to appease residents and organisations taking part in the elections.

Negotiations in the Metropolitan Chamber have also made it possible for the Johannesburg City Council to agree to provide cheaper bulk ser-

To Page 2

Hard up an

By ELIAS MALULEKE

AN impotent Mamelodi man could not believe his luck on Tuesday last week when he developed a massive erection after drinking a concoction he ob-

help reduce the pro add to his misery, became extremely After four days it no longer. He co put on his trousers himself in a blanket

From Page 1

C/Press

17/11/93

304A

Soweto elections ahead

vices to the townships. The Johannesburg council will also upgrade infrastructure - including the sewage system, roads and electricity.

Johannesburg management committee chairman Ian Davidson hailed the sacking of the councillors, saying they were "a stumbling block".

Zakkie Lombard, ap-

pointed administrator of Soweto and Diepmeadow this week, will hold the position until February 28. The TPA hopes that by that date all parties concerned will have agreed on all major issues and will relieve him of his duties by forming an interim committee.

It is also expected that the interim committee

will appoint an electoral officer supported by all parties and fix an election date.

Inkatha, which has objected to the dismissals of the councillors, has indicated that it will be taking part in such elections if they are free and fair.

Most of the sacked councillors are believed to have joined Inkatha.

Tempers flare as DP is chased out of Gugulethu

CP Correspondent

Press 17/1/93
(304 A)

THE ANC and the Democratic Party have agreed to co-operate in launching a working group in the western Cape after fighting broke out at a DP meeting at the Uluntu Centre in Gugulethu this week.

This was the DP's second attempt at holding a meeting in a black township. Their first in Khayelitsha two weeks ago also ended in chaos.

Azapo publicity secretary Dr Gomolemo Mokae said in Cape Town that Azapo believed the break-up of the meeting in Gugulethu was justified because as long as black people remained without power there would be no love lost between Azapo and whites.

Although the ANC condemned the break-up of the meeting and blamed the PAC and Azapo for most of the trouble, ANC supporters were also among those disrupting the meeting.

Stormed stage

Several prominent politicians were among those jostled or assaulted as the meeting was about to be addressed by the first DP speaker, Siyathemba Malgas, also the DP's eastern Cape youth co-ordinator.

Just as he said "the time for fighting is over", a large section of the audience shouted slogans and flung DP pamphlets in the air and stormed the stage.

ANC executive member Prof Kader Asmal, Jan van Eck, Reg September and Johnny de Lange appealed to the crowd to "cool it", but the angry audience refused to listen. DP posters and banners were ripped off the wall while tables were overturned and chairs thrown at the speakers.

The ANC's western Cape secretary, Tony Yengeni, who had been involved in a war of words with the DP prior to the meeting, said afterwards: "There should not be any no-go areas when it comes to freedom of expression.

"The DP is not our enemy. The real enemy is the apartheid regime. We must defend the right of the ANC and the DP to hold meetings wherever they like."

New laws for new future

THE ANC and the government meet this week to discuss draft laws that could pave the way for interim government and scrap the homelands.

The laws set the basis for a transitional constitution, the integration of homelands and the removal of racist statutes and certain security laws.

However, key sources in the government and the ANC have made it clear that any new laws will be subject to ultimate approval by a multiparty forum like Codesa.

The proposed laws have developed from intense discussions between both groups at committee level and the release late last year of the ANC's draft "Transition to Democracy Act".

Focus

That act, the ANC proposes, would abolish the tricameral parliament, as well as the laws that gave independence to the TBVC states, and the constitutions of the self-governing territories. It is designed to concentrate on the creation of a constitution-making body, such as a constituent assembly.

It would make provision for a single house of parliament of 400 representatives voted in by an electoral system based on proportional representation.

By CHARLENE SMITH

While the ANC has approved this act, the other draft laws still have to be approved by the cabinet or the ANC's national working committee, which meets tomorrow.

The draft legislation will form the focus of an intensive six-and-a-half-day bosberaad beginning on Wednesday.

The bosberaad, which will see two teams led by Constitutional Minister Roelf Meyer and ANC secretary-general Cyril Ramaphosa, will have 20 members on each side. Agreement at those talks and in meetings with other parties in the near future could see a transitional

executive council in place by June.

Such a multiparty council will be responsible for government and paving the way for interim government and national elections.

The government meets with Inkatha next week and is hoping for further talks with the Concerned South Africans Group soon.

The ANC met again with Inkatha in Durban on Friday to facilitate a meeting in the near future between ANC president Nelson Mandela and IFP presi-

dent Mangosuthu Buthe.

The planning committee will meet again on February 11.

This week's bosberaad will attempt to set dates for South Africa's first one-person, one-vote national elections, and time frames leading up to those elections.

Critical to this is a suggested ombudsman law, similar to that found in Namibia before elections.

This would render laws or by-laws that discriminate on the basis of race or gender invalid.

The removal of certain security legislation including the Public Safety Act and the Internal Security Act will again be on the agenda.

The bosberaad will discuss a national electoral commission and its composition, the structure and members of a media commission — including the members of the new SABC Board which has to be elected by the end of March, ways of integrating the armed forces and the dissolution of the TBVC states.

At Codesa, Transkei, Ciskei and Venda agreed to such dissolution. However, Ciskei has taken a different stance in recent times and Bophuthatswana remains opposed to reincorporation.

Sources say the government believes citizenship should be restored to the citizens of independent states at the same time as those states are reincorporated into SA, probably after elections.

However, the ANC is believed to be demanding that those citizens be given

dual citizenship at the same time as the transitional executive council comes into being. This would enable them to vote in SA elections.

But Bophuthatswana is a sticking point. The ANC is loathe to serve on the council while SA gives de facto recognition to Bophuthatswana.

Safeguards

The issue of regions will again come under the spotlight. While the ANC wants central government to have concurrent powers with regions, and the ability to withdraw delegated powers from regions, the government is opposed to this.

The ANC says the withdrawal of powers could, as an example, arise when health services break down and a region lacks the resources to restore them. But the government wants safeguards against central government usurping powers from the regions.

The ANC also wants to convince the government that power sharing should not form part of any future constitution.

Major boost on cards for multiparty talks

STAR 18/1/93

364A

By Kaizer Nyatumba
Political Reporter

The resumption of multiparty negotiations will receive a major boost this week following two separate meetings the Government will hold with its main negotiating partners, the ANC and the Inkatha Freedom Party (IFP).

The meetings, which are believed to mark the last phase of bilateral discussions before multiparty negotiations resume, will see President de Klerk's Government locked in talks for more than a week.

IFP national chairman Dr Frank Mdlalose's announcement in Durban on Friday that his party would hold talks with Pretoria today and tomorrow fuelled hopes that Codesa-like multiparty negotiations, which broke down in May, could resume soon.

Although Mdlalose gave no details of the meeting, IFP spokesman Suzanne Vos told The Star yesterday that her party would meet its Concerned Southern Africans Group (Cosag) allies this morning.

A one-time ally of the Government, the IFP angrily suspended contact with Pretoria after De Klerk and ANC president Nelson Mandela signed the Record of Understanding on

September 26 last year.

IFP leader Chief Mangosuthu Buthelezi then consulted allies Brigadier Oupa Gqozo of Ciskei and Chief Lucas Mangope of Bophuthatswana, and Cosag — now including right-wing organisations such as the Conservative Party and its splinter group the Afrikaner Volksunie — was born.

Although the IFP has since met the Government as part of a Cosag delegation, this is believed to be the first time since the signing of the Record of Understanding that the party will hold direct bilateral talks with the Government.

After its meeting with the Government in Pretoria two weeks ago, Cosag expressed satisfaction with the talks, and came out in favour of an early resumption of inclusive multiparty negotiations.

The ANC, which held meetings with both the Government and the IFP in Cape Town and Durban respectively late last week, will start a week-long bosberaad with De Klerk and his Cabinet colleagues at a secret venue this week.

The bosberaad, which will begin on Wednesday, is expected to last until Tuesday or Wednesday next week, according to well-placed ANC sources.

Alan Dunn predicts the cornered CP will do the unthinkable – negotiate with the ANC

Moment of truth for Dr NO

Star 18/1/93

304A

THE CONSERVATIVE Party's oft-repeated refusal to negotiate with the African National Congress seems destined for the same fate as George Bush's emphatic: "Read my lips: no new taxes."

Its stolid rejection of any intercourse with the ANC, other extra-parliamentary groups, and the SA Communist Party in particular, may soon go the way of many recent vows in the shifting sands of South African politics.

For the CP, now a member of the Concerned South Africans Group (Cosag), appears ready to take part in talks to prepare for a resumption of multiparty negotiations. It has nodded tentatively to a Government-Cosag deal on such a conference. That would mean being in the same room as the ANC. And the next logical step would be full-blown negotiations, whether titled Codesa 3 or not.

Even if the planning conference does not come off, the CP has by implication already accepted the principle of some sort of discourse with the ANC and its allies.

Involvement in either event would mean a total row-back on one of the CP's several "non-negotiable" policies. Its significance is vividly illustrated by a brouhaha a couple of years ago in which Conservative MPs were embroiled with the National Party over being on the same land mass as a prominent ANC member.

The row, in April 1989, was whether controversial MP Koos van der Merwe, then a high profile member of the CP before his expulsion last year for wanting to negotiate, was on the island of Bermuda for an Aspen Institute conference at the same time as ANC foreign secretary Thabo Mbeki. Bickering came down to the exact moment Mr van der Merwe's aircraft wheels left Bermuda, and when Mr Mbeki's touched down.

What South Africans are witnessing is another of the spectacular political somersaults of the last three years. And, if the CP ends up in the same room as the ANC/SACP alliance, it will merely be joining all the major groups

which have, since February 2, 1990, had the humbling lesson of seeing their own heels.

Like Bush, the CP will not be spared any humiliation for its far-dissidence in accepting the reality that the ANC is an unavoidable bloc in the negotiations process.

The truth is that whatever the political contortions and nomenclature, the ANC will have more say in a future constitution than the tribal/ethnic leaders the Conservatives have doggedly confined themselves to.

It was the CP in recent years which, more than painting itself into the proverbial corner, stepped myopically into that corner before the concrete was dry. And it defiantly stood its ground. A refusal to budge quickly naturally hardened involuntarily into an inability to do so.

Conservative MPs spent three years loudly hissing Government efforts to engage the ANC/SACP alliance and others into negotiated progress towards a new South Africa.

They scorned the Government's 1989/90 turnaround on talking to the ANC, an echo of the jeers the NP had aimed venomously at the Democratic Party in the September 1989 general election campaign. The Government's "capitulation" has been a cornerstone of the Conservative attack on President de Klerk.

While the Government was, and still is, trying to reverse the national "total onslaught" psychosis with which it had mesmerised white voters, the CP is doing the best it can to feed and prolong that fear.

"Rooi gevaar" and "swart gevaar" are still very much alive in the Conservative mind.

Van der Merwe believes CP leader Andries Treurnicht and his deputy, Ferdi Hartzenberg, are at a crossroads and caught in an impossible situation.

"It will mean a crisis, whatever they do. If they go with Cosag, they will have to change policy on talking to the ANC, and several other policies too. If they don't go with Cosag,

they will be banished to the political desert where they'll perish from irrelevance. The moment of truth has finally arrived for Dr No."

If the CP did become involved in planning talks and then multiparty negotiations, it would be a very public admission that it was wrong. "The price of this bollemaekiesie is: 'Koos, you were right. So were you, Koos (Botha, MP for Wonderboom). So were you, Andries, Chris, Cehill, Moolman and Rosier (breakaway MPs favouring negotiation who formed the Afrikaner Volksunie)."

"That means a helluva climb-down," said Van der Merwe.

The feeling among CP watchers is that Treurnicht latched on to Inkatha Freedom Party leader Mangosuthu Buthelezi during his rage over the Government-ANC Record of Understanding, believing that a fresh political initiative could emerge from the resentful Cosag group.

In a desperate bid for black allies, the supposition goes, Treurnicht mistook Buthelezi's peeve for lasting hostility between the Government and Inkatha.

His eagerness for a new, alternative initiative to Codesa blinded him to what the IFP president was about: building his powerbase and asserting himself after the ANC had done so for some months last year.

But Treurnicht ambitions for a powerful, fresh initiative were effectively torpedoed by Constitution Development Minister Roelf Meyer's proposal to Cosag for a multiparty planning meeting, which may assuage the IFP's demand for a "conference of review" to examine Codesa's errors and prepare for another multiparty event. And Cosag without the IFP would present no serious alternative to whatever multiparty forum replaces Codesa.

In the coming weeks, agonising decisions await Treurnicht and his MPs who may soon find they needlessly parted with seven MPs last year who had accepted the reality of talking to one's foes. □

Preparing for watershed

Star 18/1/93.

(3044)

This seems set to be the year of the non-racial election. RORY RIORDAN, member of one of the major contending parties, takes a personal look at the questions that all South Africans will soon be asking themselves.

WHEN it takes place, our first universal franchise election will end 350 years of white control of South Africa's political life. It is, to say the least, a watershed prospect, and it throws up all sorts of tantalising questions. When will it take place? Who will vote? What will we be voting for? Under what system? Who will win? It is worth looking at each of these riddles separately.

● **WHEN will this election take place?**

It is difficult to say now, but the National Party wants it to be in early 1994 and the ANC in late 1993. My guess is it will probably be later rather than sooner, because of the detail that has to be agreed between the parties and the enormously complicated logistics that have to be put into place. But even if it is in mid-1994 it will, by mid-1993, have developed into a national obsession.

● **WHO will vote?**

It is generally agreed that all adult South Africans, regardless of race, etc, will vote in this election. The only points of difficulty reside in the reincorporation of Bophuthatswana, Ciskei, Transkei and Venda, and the participation of the people of these statelets. The NP says it is impossible to have "foreign nationals" voting in a South African election. The ANC demands the participation of all

adults of greater South Africa.

The regimes of the Transkei and Venda have agreed to reincorporation, while those of Bophuthatswana and Ciskei are dragging their heels. Time — and probably a bit of mass action — will tell here, but my money is on the whole adult population voting.

● **WHAT will these voters be voting for?**

As it appears now, we will be voting to elect a chamber of political people who will be charged with two functions: to draft a new constitution for South Africa, and to perform some functions of interim government, including control over the nation's purse — or what's left of it — and the SABC TV and radio empire.

● **WHAT kind of electoral system will be used?**

There is not yet clarity, but it would appear that it will be a proportional representation election, and, because most of our people have never voted and many are illiterate, great care will clearly be taken to keep the system as simple and "user-friendly" as possible. It will probably be something like the Namibian election — an

election of a simple party preference, with the composition of the chamber coming from lists submitted by the parties.

● **WHAT will the issues be?**

There will be the normal mud-slinging, with the NP trying to project the ANC as blood-soaked, communist revolutionaries, "incapable of answering the phone let alone governing a country" and the ANC, in turn, characterising the NP as Verwoerdian brooders-in-brown-shirts, who have built up massive privileges for themselves on the back of black suffering. Nevertheless, the real issue promises to be quite straightforward: "Do you, Mr and Mrs Voter, prefer to see more power in the hands of Mr de Klerk and his allies, or with Mr Mandela and his allies?" Politics is, after all, about power. The NP and the ANC are, curiously, endlessly criticised for perceiving the issue quite clearly. And so, I'll bet, will the electorate.

● **WHO will win the election?**

Now that would be telling. Actually, while market research points to the ANC having somewhere between twice or three times the support level of

the next biggest grouping, the NP, it is still much too early to predict how this election will work out. To whom will Inkatha be allied? Where will the smaller parties, the Democratic Party, the SA Communist Party, the Conservative Party, the PAC, even Labour, be perceived as standing? Time, the issues, the state of all alliances, will tell here. That will be the big issue of 1993, provided we escape unforeseen disasters like assassinations and massacres.

As far as the constitutional debate is concerned, it looks like settling on two issues in early 1993.

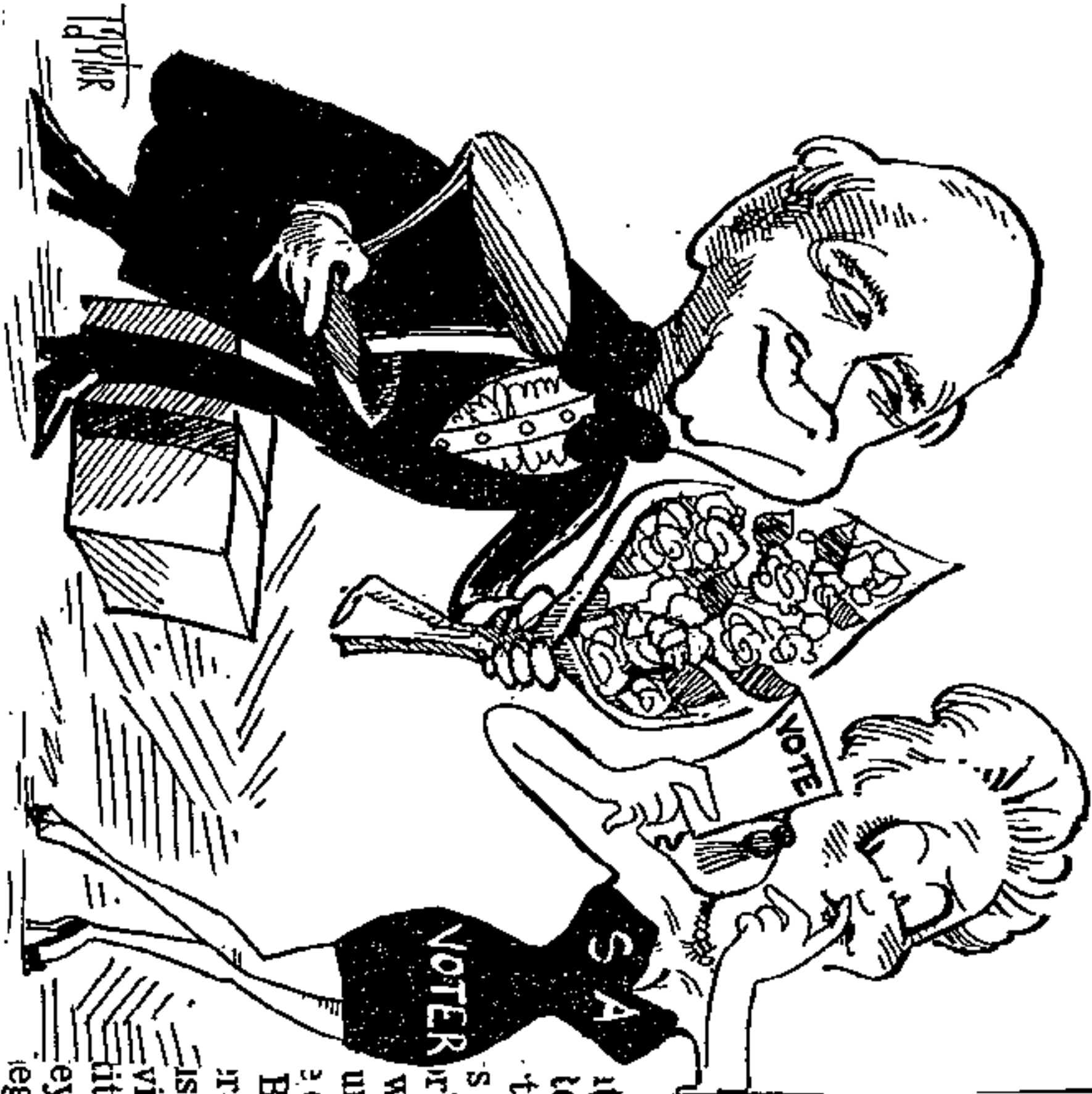
Firstly, the debate on power-sharing or, if you prefer, minority protection. The NP has in its strategic armoury a best and a second option. Its best option is a constitution that allows a minority party (like the NP) to be part of the drafting of all legislation, and provides that no legislation can be presented to Parliament unless the minority parties have already agreed to it. Its weaker option is to have an elaborate set of veto provisions available to minority parties, which would be able to veto legislation perceived as

not being in the interests of minority groups.

The ANC has rejected both options, but in turn is talking of "sunset clauses" and "governments of national unity". Both are temporary arrangements (the NP proposals are for permanent constitutional checks) to accommodate powerful and troublesome elites over a set period. The ANC offers are seen by the NP as something like the Zimbabwean arrangement of 20 percent of parliament's seats

being reserved for whites for years — a worthless, offer gesture. And so the debate velops.

The second constitutional debate is that on federalism regionalism. Here only the Inkatha have released detailed proposals, and the katha proposals amount to a secession of Natal from SA. The issue is again power. Uundi is a Hollywood picture town, a fiction, but one that,



elections



allowed an elite to exercise political power over some territory. Likewise Bisho. It has allowed this elite to be visited by courteous ambassadors, to drive German limousines, to have offices, Cabinet rooms, staff, power and money. A man can get mighty comfortable with such arrangements — and ANC constitutional proposals look like ripping down this facade, in the process taking away the power. There will be fierce debate about federalism-

regionalism in 1993.

As for the rest of what is ahead of us, probably just the usual from my point of view — more undercover attempts to destabilise the ANC, more corruption, crookery by the NP and its civil service, more unpredictable behaviour and alliance-forming from Chief Mangosuthu Buthelezi, more brave and remarkable work from Mr Justice Goldstone and his team.

There will probably be more spending of the State's resources to help the NP secure black support, as with the money now being thrust upon black civics in unbelievable quantity, to "buy" support away from the ANC. More, and more subtle, SABC TV and radio anti-ANC, pro-NP propaganda.

As we get closer to the "mother of all elections", it is entirely predictable that we will see more "black-on-black" violence, as the security establishment and its bosses step up destabilisation campaigns in ANC communities. The tiny wedge that can be driven into our society, to prevent this happening, is Mr Justice Goldstone and his team, and the United Nations and its team. Never have so few, so overworked, people been so needed. □

● Riordan is director of the Human Rights Trust. He is a former Democratic Party councillor who has recently joined the ANC.

South African leaders ● Boost for tal

rief

Sowetan 18/1/93
Freedom Party, the National Party and MPs took place in Durban on Saturday to discuss the KwaZulu-Natal state constitution. (304A)

The constitution with KwaZulu federalism as its main aim was recently adopted by the KwaZulu Legislative Assembly. A joint statement by the NP in Natal and IFP said the meeting found points of agreement which would have

Sowetan 18/1/93
to be taken into the wider constitutional debate. (304A)

**IFP, NP pow-wow on
Natal federalism**

Sowetan 18/1/93
A MEETING between the Inkatha (304A)

Emulate King - US envoy

■ Birthday of slain civil rights leader celebrated:

AS South Africans gain victory over apartheid, their leaders will need to become "pillars of fire on behalf of non violence" - like the late Dr Martin Luther King.

This is the message of US Ambassador to South Africa Mr Princeton Lyman as Americans today round off celebrations to mark the 64th birthday of the late civil rights leader.

King was born on January 15, 1929. He was assassinated on April 4, 1968.

Lyman spoke at a reception in Soweto - the first of its kind in the country - attended by South Africans and US dignitaries at the weekend.

He drew parallels between the American civil rights movements of the 1960s and the struggle for liberation in South Africa.

"In South Africa we are crossing into that land which is less bounded by race and the people can justifiably savour the victory over apartheid for which they struggled so long and sacrificed so much," Lyman said.

"They will nevertheless face new and even greater challenges.

"Not only are the economic challenges daunting, violence risks undermining this victory and keeping the nation from the next step.

"Like Martin Luther King, whose commitment to non-violence never wavered, not in the deepest moments of despair, South African leaders will need to keep going, to become - on behalf of violence, economic upliftment and democracy - pillars of fire," Lyman said.

304A

Negotiations get a kick-start

304A 18/1/93
Sowetan
■ Govt to hold separate talks with ANC, IFP:

Sowetan Correspondent

THE resumption of multiparty negotiations will receive a major boost this week when the Government holds two separate meetings with the African National Congress and Inkatha Freedom Party.

The meetings will, it is hoped, mark the last phase of bilateral discussions before multiparty negotiations resume.

IFP national chairman Dr Frank Mdlalose's announcement in Durban on Friday that his party would hold talks with the Government today and tomorrow fuelled hopes that Codesa-like multiparty negotiations could be resumed soon.

Although Mdlalose gave no details of the meeting, IFP spokesman Ms Suzanne Vos yesterday said the party would meet its Concerned

South Africans Group allies in Pretoria today before beginning its talks with the Government.

The IFP suspended contact with Pretoria after President FW de Klerk and ANC president Mr Nelson Mandela signed the Record of Understanding on September 26.

IFP leader Chief Mangosuthu Buthelezi then consulted with allies Brigadier Oupa Gqozo of Ciskei and Chief Lucas Mangope of Bophuthatswana, and Cosag - now including rightwing organisations such as the Conservative Party and its splinter group the Afrikaner Volksunie - was born.

The ANC, which held meetings with both the Government and IFP last week, will hold a week-long "bosberaad" with De Klerk and his Cabinet colleagues at a secret venue this week.

A NUMBER OF THINGS HAVE HAPPENED recently which predict that homelands will become the major focus of political activity and tension in the months to come.

Notably, in the wake of the Mandela/De Klerk summit meeting on 26 September, three beleaguered homeland leaders - Ciskei's Brigadier Oupa Gqozo, KwaZulu's Chief Mangosuthu Buthelezi and Bophuthatswana's President Lucas Mangope - met "white homelander", the Conservative Party and the Afrikaner Volksunie, in Johannesburg on October 6.

Various observer groupings, including representatives of the Gazankulu homeland, the South African Chamber of Business and the National Peace Secretariat, also attended.

The outcome of the meeting was a joint statement calling for the scrapping of Codesa and the creation of a new negotiating forum in its place. Or, not to put too fine a point on it, participants set themselves up on a semi-official basis as spoilers in relation to the negotiations process as presently constituted.

The so-called Conference of Concerned South Africans also reiterated, jointly, their rejection of decisions taken at the September 26 Mandela/De Klerk summit.

Decisions included the release of remaining political prisoners, the banning of dangerous so-called "cultural" weapons and the isolation of violent hostels from their surrounding communities.

Little of this is particularly significant in practical terms of course. Only the issue of dangerous weapons - KwaZulu having its own legislation legalising so-called traditional or cultural weapons among Inkatha members, which will have to be separately addressed if the ban is to hold good throughout the country - is likely to be directly affected by the rancour of the homelander.

And indeed Inkatha shows few signs of abiding by the decision, even outside KwaZulu. Nor has the Government yet seen fit to enforce it.

What was far more important in practical terms, though unexpected, was the rejection by the conference of two recent double steps by the authorities on the question of mass action.

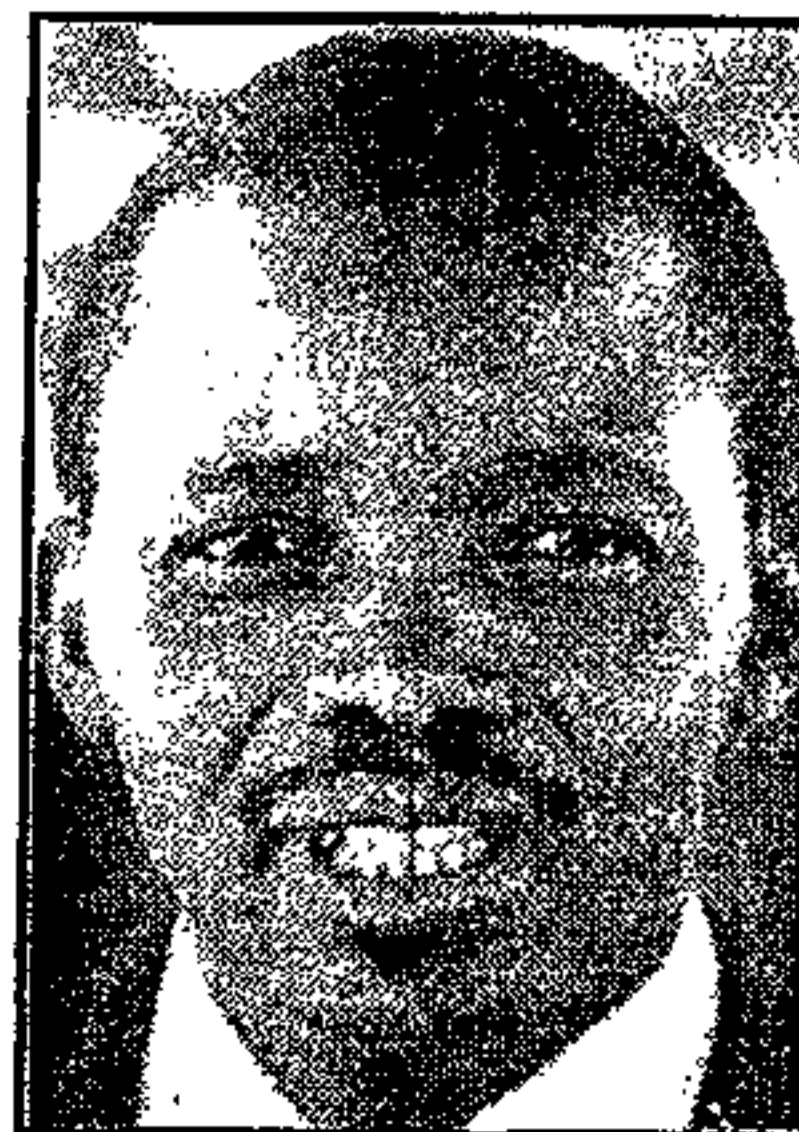
While the government has long paid faint lip service to the democratic right of the ANC and other groupings to engage in protest through mass action, its real and effective position on the subject, as reflected in reactions by key spokesmen, has been markedly less sanguine.

Mass action, its representatives and its media have shrilly insisted - often in the face of overwhelming evidence to the contrary - is inextricably bound up with promoting violence; it constitutes an illegitimate intervention in the process of negotiations; it serves to obstruct the

Brigadier Gqozo, Chief Buthelezi and President Mangope are unhappy with decisions of ANC/Government summit and becoming spoilers in present negotiations (30/11/93)



FW de Klerk



Oupa Gqozo



Nelson Mandela

attainment of peaceful solutions.

But despite this basic distaste, with the Government backed up against the wall at the recent summit, the ANC was able to extract as part of the Record of Agreement, a strong admission of the legitimacy of mass action as a democratic right, as long as it was guided by the provisions of the National Peace Accord.

Since then of course, Government spokesmen have backtracked with various speakers at the recent Cape Congress of the National Party lapsing into the old equivalences of mass action and violence. But such sabre rattling is to be expected at party congress and should be seen against the backdrop of concern over key ally Buthelezi's alienation from the National Party.

More important in the long term was the report released by the Goldstone Commission of Inquiry into the Bisho massacre on September 7.

Two of the eight recommendations contained in the report are of special significance.

One insists: "Those in control of any region, city or town anywhere in SA, including the TBVC homelands, should tolerate and allow complete freedom of expression and of peaceful assembly."

And the second says: "The leadership of the TBVC homelands and of the self-governing territories should forthwith declare themselves willing to tolerate and facilitate reasonable and negotiated public mass demonstrations in the areas under their control."

And in the body of the report Judge Goldstone notes: "Public protest has become the order of the day... This type of mass demonstration is still the only form of peaceful political activity open to the vast majority of South Africans who remain disenfranchised."

Now what this amounts to is a sharp rap over the knuckles for homeland governments continuing to deny the ANC's right of political freedom and political demonstration within their territories.

But, and this is the crucial point, to allow the ANC to operate in those territories is tantamount to handing over power. Hence the dilemma which the more ambitious of the homeland leaders are attempting to solve by means of such stratagems as the Conference of Concerned South Africans. The bottom line here is of course holding power, the *sine qua non* is an avoidance of direct democratic confrontation with the massively more powerful ANC; and the means to the end is the strongly regional or federal constitution which the government also is wanting to put in place.

Failing this the "problem homelands", Ciskei, Bophuthatswana and KwaZulu, as they have each sparsely threatened, and jointly hinted, are holding in reserve the threat of outright secession.

Bop has of course considered the possibility from the outset, as its refusal to sign the Codesa Declaration of Intent as well as its continued and shrill insistence on sovereignty makes clear.

But even in the case of Bop, the possibility of secession will be employed only as a last resort. More seemingly viable and more seriously considered is the notion of creating a strongly regionally empowered federal constitution, coming as close as possible to the constellation of states originally envisaged by the architects of grand apartheid.

This article is reproduced with permission from *The VryWeekblad - Sowetan State of the Nation* report.

A week of talks for 'big three'

304A

CT 18/1/93

By ANTHONY JOHNSON
Political Correspondent

THE "big three" political parties — the ANC, the National Party and Inkatha — will be locked in a flurry of bilateral meetings this week in a bid to pave the way for the speedy resumption of multi-party negotiations.

Sources in all three negotiating camps were optimistic at the weekend that substantial progress would be made at meetings planned for this week, given the new-found urgency on all sides for elections to be held as soon as possible.

The bargaining in earnest begins today when the government and the Inkatha Freedom Party hold their first comprehensive bilateral session since talks broke down over the IFP's opposition to the record of understanding between the ANC and the government signed in September.

On Wednesday, 20-member negotiating teams from NP and the ANC begin a six-day "bosberaad" on issues ranging from the future of the homelands and security legislation to power-sharing arrangements for the run-up to South Africa's first all-in elections.

Constitutional Minister Mr Roelf Meyer said yesterday that the talks with the ANC starting in Cape Town on Wednesday would not be used to work out draft legislation.

"The only draft we have is on a transitional executive council, and we will be looking at this during the talks." This would be of use only for enabling legislation, a draft of which

had already been circulated to most other parties.

Although the next major meeting between Inkatha and the ANC has only been scheduled for February 11, talks between these two parties aimed at bringing peace in Natal/KwaZulu and improving the climate for a summit between Chief Mangosuthu Buthelezi and Mr Nelson Mandela are set to continue in the interim.

Right-wing groupings and the PAC have in the past week also signalled growing interest in joining multi-party negotiations, under certain conditions, and the government hopes that an expanded Codesa-type negotiating forum will come on stream by March.

The first round of talks between the NP and the IFP today and tomorrow is expected to concentrate on issues of regionalism and the status of Codesa agreements already reached.

The government — and the ANC — want a reconstituted negotiating forum to start where Codesa II left off, but the IFP wants Codesa agreements to be subjected to review and possible revision before resuming multi-party negotiations.

IFP sources said a renewed attempt would be launched to secure a seat at the negotiation table for delegations representing the Zulu king and the KwaZulu government.

● Meanwhile, in the Western Cape, delegations from the ANC and the Democratic Party will hold their second meeting on Wednesday to set up a joint structure to promote free and fair electioneering in the region.

NP, Inkatha closing gap

CT18/1/93

Own Correspondent

DURBAN. — The KwaZulu-Natal state constitution was the focal point of a meeting between Inkatha and the National Party here at weekend.

The constitution, with federalism as its main aim, was recently adopted by the KwaZulu Legislative Assembly.

According to a joint statement by Inkatha and the NP in Natal, the meeting found points of agreement that would have to be taken into the wider constitutional debate.

The meeting agreed to appoint a technical sub-committee to evaluate both points of agreement and divergence, and to explore the possibilities of increasing common ground, the joint statement said.

The leader of the NP delegation, the Minister of Mineral and Energy Affairs, Mr George Bartlett, said after the meeting that the government was "close" to Inkatha on the devolution of power to regions.

Inkatha leader and KwaZulu Chief Minister Chief Mangosuthu Buthelezi proposed at the end of last year a confederal constitution for Natal and KwaZulu that would be decided upon by a regional referendum.

Inkatha national chairman Dr Frank Mdlalose said yesterday that the discussions had been "open, honest and constructive".

Saturday's talks were the first direct contact between the two parties since Chief Buthelezi pulled out of constitutional negotiations in September when President FW de Klerk signed a record of understanding with the ANC.

FW meets former heads of state (3041)

■ Africa summit looks at marginalisation:

STATE President FW de Klerk will on Friday meet seven former heads of state attending the Inter-Action Council's "Africa summit". *Sowetan 19/11/93*

The group, headed by former British Prime Minister Lord Callaghan, will also meet African National Congress deputy president Mr Walter Sisulu and KwaZulu leader Chief Mangosuthu Buthelezi during their three-day meeting in Cape Town this week.

Council co-ordinator Dr Hans d'Orville said the group had hoped to meet ANC president Mr Nelson Mandela, who is attending this week's inauguration of United States President-elect Bill Clinton in Washington.

Callaghan is accompanied by Maria de Lourdes Pintasilgo (Portugal), General Olusegun Obasanjo (Nigeria), Dr Kenneth Kaunda (Zambia), Mr Daniel Lisulo (Zambia), Dr Kamal Hassan Ali (Egypt) and Mr Malcolm Fraser (Australia).

The 36-member Inter-Action Council was established in 1983 to harness the skills and experience of former statesmen to address international political and economic problems.

This week's meeting, being held from Thursday to Saturday at the National Gallery, will focus on strategies to counteract the political and economic marginalisation of Africa. Other participants include former World Bank president Mr Robert MacNamara, African Bank president Babacar N'Diaye and the secretary of the United Nations Council on Trade and Development, Dr Kenneth Dadzie.

- Sapa.

304A
STAR 19/1/92
7502

Criticism of commission withdrawn

Democratic Party (DP) justice spokesman Tony Leon yesterday withdrew his earlier criticism of the Douglas Commission, saying it had now come to his attention that advocate Bob Douglas had invited the ANC's national executive committee to respond to allegations against the organisation.

Leon, who last week said it was "procedurally unfair" for the Douglas Commission to have published serious allegations against named ANC leaders without allowing them the opportunity to refute the evidence presented against them, said it was now clear the ANC had been given this opportunity.

However, Leon expressed concern at the report's anti-communist rhetoric.

"The DP is also of the view that while the Douglas Commission was correctly concerned with grave human rights abuses, the report was hardly the occasion and place for vitriolic anti-communist rhetoric, regardless of its validity or otherwise," he said.

A visit to sexy South Africa is a nice junket

AS the country emerges from its long enforced hibernation, there is a tendency by our leadership to want to hug everybody and everything in sight. We're hungry for friends. Pik Botha loves to refer to his "fellow Africans" on every platform. He was at it again in Paris last week.

The priority now seems to be to make peace with the United Nations. That is as it should be. To tell the UN to "go to hell", as Pik Botha apparently gave his diplomats liberty to do so a few years ago, was one of the most stupid things done by this government.

The Nigerian chief, Emeka Anyaoku, is busily elbowing his way to a position of some prominence in South African affairs with the hope, obviously, that should things work out well here, the reward for his energies would be South Africa's membership of the Commonwealth.

As the international furore over the Boipatong massacre raged in June last year, Anyaoku met the ANC and PAC at the OAU summit in Dakar, Senegal, and beseeched them to pour out their grievances to him as he was catching the next plane to South Africa to see President de Klerk. He made the trip, but nothing came out of his visit. I sometimes wonder whether it wouldn't be worth his while to turn some of his attention to his homeland, which is in a much sorer state politically than we are.

One senses though that taking the country back to the Commonwealth is being seriously considered by some organisations here. In my humble opinion Commonwealth membership would be of no value at all to this country. The Commonwealth is a fossil, a left-over, from a very unhappy past for a lot of people. It is a body that frankly should have died with colonialism. Why should, for instance, a leader of any self-respecting country bend a knee in front of a foreign woman unable to even control her own brood?

All English-speaking African countries, it is true, are members of the club, and Namibia, although never a colony of imperial Britain, is a new addition. The Mozambicans are also polishing their English. They can't wait to take tea with the Queen.

You can therefore argue that

Out of Africa

BARNEY
MTHOMBOTHI



African countries, after attaining their independence, had decided on their own volition to stick with or maintain some kind of concrete relationship with the Mother country. But the less said about Africa's independence the better. Flag independence has only been good to the African elite. They wine and dine at summits every four years, and a private audience with the Queen is the cherry on top.

South African politicians, I'm sure, would want to get in on the action. Like all politicians, they like to fill their stomachs before they could think of yours and mine. When Verwoerd decided to pull the country out of the Commonwealth, he put the matter to a referendum. Likewise those who want us back in should take their case to the country.

The body for us to join is, of course, the OAU. That will be the final seal of approval. It would be an indication that we have been purged of all sins. That yesterday's leper is now welcomed in the community of nations.

But save for this symbolic value, the OAU is a wretched little circus undeserving to be dignified by membership of any country with serious business at hand. The sores of this continent — Somalia, Liberia — have been left to foreign treatment. Even Boutros-Ghali and George Bush have been to Somalia. Where is Salim Ahmed Salim, I ask? Sitting in his air-conditioned office in Addis Ababa, I'm sure, Salim can hear the wail of the hungry across the border in Mogadishu.

A few OAU observers have joined the tourists from the UN and the Commonwealth on their all-expenses-paid stay in SA. But SA is a "sexy" subject and therefore hogs the headlines. That is the lure. It's also a nice junket.

What the continent needs are small regional organisations promoting trade and economic development. SA can go in there and say: We will join but only if certain conditions are fulfilled. □

Former leaders to see FW

CAPE TOWN — President F W de Klerk will on Friday meet seven former heads of state attending the Inter-Action Council's "Africa summit". **304A**
DAY 19/1/93

The group, headed by former British prime minister Lord Callaghan, will also meet ANC deputy president Walter Sisulu and KwaZulu leader Mangosuthu Buthelezi during their three-day meeting in Cape Town this week.

Council co-ordinator Dr Hans d'Orville said the group had hoped to meet ANC president Nelson Mandela, who is attending this week's inauguration of US President-elect Bill Clinton in Washington.

Callaghan is accompanied by Maria de Lourdes Pintasilgo (Portugal), Gen Olusegun Obasanjo (Nigeria), Kenneth Kaunda (Zambia), Daniel Lisulo (Zambia), Kamal Hassan Ali (Egypt) and Malcolm Fraser (Australia).

The 36-member Inter-Action Council was established in 1983 to harness the skills and experience of former statesmen to address international political and economic problems.

This week's meeting, from Thursday to Saturday at the National Gallery, will focus on strategies to counteract the political and economic marginalisation of Africa.

Meanwhile, OAU observer team head, secretary-general and Botswana ambassador to the UN Legwaila J M Legwaila

visited Transkei yesterday.

Legwaila met Transkei military ruler Maj-Gen Bantu Holomisa and Transkei government officials on the political situation in SA.

Holomisa said the deployment of UN armed forces in SA was long overdue. He called for tough timeframes for SA's transition to democracy, saying these should be binding on "white South Africa" and enforceable by the UN Security Council.

This was the only way to allay black fears of possible backtracking by the NP government, he said.

International observers had been rendered "toothless and ineffective in curbing violence" by the watering down of the OAU's resolutions, Holomisa said.

He questioned why the international community "allows itself to be seen as a paper tiger by SA blacks when it acts swiftly and decisively against leaders and countries viewed as threats to Western national interests".

Zambian Foreign Minister Vernon Mwaanga on Monday called on SA liberation movements to revive the patriotic front and approach negotiations as one.

Africa could not accept the division of "democratic forces", he said.

Mwaanga met PAC president Clarence Makwetu in Johannesburg yesterday.

Mwaanga said he would meet Mandela before travelling to Namibia. — Sapa.

Mandela and police hold frank talks

BILLY PADDOCK

ANC president Nelson Mandela met senior officers of the SAP and Law and Order Minister Hernus Kriel on Saturday to discuss force attitudes that needed to change in a new SA, ANC spokesman Carl Niehaus said yesterday.

He said it was an informal meeting to discuss a wide array of topics, with combating of violence being the major focus.

The meeting, at the request of Kriel, was apparently very frank. Mandela was accompanied by MK chief Joe Modise and national executive member Joe Nlanhla. **DAY**

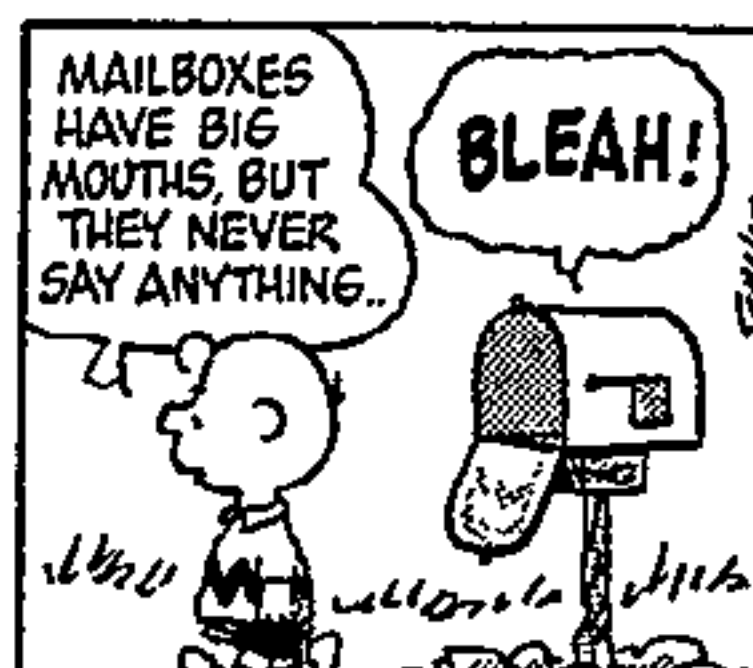
According to Niehaus the discussion centred on trying to improve the understanding between the police and the ANC. **19/1/93**

"Mandela discussed the changing situation in SA and the attitude changes that will have to come on the part of the police to win the trust of the whole community in their ability and will to do their job," he said.

Both sides discussed the problems they had with each other, with Kriel expressing concern over the number of violent incidents in which the ANC was involved. In response the ANC expressed its concern at police methods of combating violence and crime.

PEANUTS

By Charles Schulz



rate still

Independent elections and media commissions would need to be set up to ensure free and fair

policies to the grassroots.

Mr Mandela appealed to those who feared democratic change,

Defence Force, police, SABC and national budget, reports quoted SACP general secretary Mr Chris Hani as saying. — Sapa

LISTENING . . . Mr Nelson Mandela arrived in Johannesburg yesterday where he outlined his plans for the year.

Govt in bid to get Cosag to talks

(304A) (1993) 19/11/93

PRETORIA. — The government will walk a tightrope with the Concerned South Africans Group (Cosag) today to capitalise on yesterday's "positive" meeting and continue its bid to woo Cosag members back into negotiations.

Participants in the talks in Pretoria said that strong consensus had emerged yesterday that multi-party negotiations should resume as soon as possible.

This development highlighted the

question of the future participation of one Cosag member, the Conservative Party, in negotiations at a multi-party forum at which the African National Congress is present.

However, members said a number of grievances, notably Cosag's objection to the bilateral Record of Understanding reached between the government and the ANC, would be discussed.

The government delegation is led by

Constitutional Minister Roelf Meyer and includes senior Ministers Mr Kobie Coetsee, Mr George Bartlett, Mr Hernus Kriel and Mr Leon Wessels.

Cosag delegates include the Inkatha Freedom Party members, led by national chairman Dr Frank Mdlalose, Afrikaner Volksunie members led by Mr Andries Beyers and the Conservative Party headed by deputy-leader Mr Ferdi Hartzenberg.

Mandela, Kriel talks 'routine'

By ANTHONY JOHNSON
Political Correspondent

THE meeting between ANC president Mr Nelson Mandela and Law and Order Minister Mr Hernus Kriel last week was "routine", according to both the ANC and the police. It was called in terms of a long-standing arrangement between the ANC and the police.

A joint ANC-police committee was set up on November 28, 1991, after talks between Messrs Mandela and Kriel on the need to hold regular meetings about political violence.

A Law and Order spokesman said yesterday the committee had met on a number of occasions.

ANC spokesman Mr Carl Niehaus described the meeting as "part of standard interactions" between the two sides.

● The police are expected to soon unveil details of sweeping changes in the force to make it more "community oriented".

Gloomy signs at IFP talks

Political Staff

THE Inkatha Freedom Party and government resumed their two-day meeting today in the hope of restoring the tattered remnants of their previously close relationship.

Neither side would comment on the progress yesterday but the signals were not optimistic.

The IFP-government relationship broke down when government signed the Record of Understanding with the African National Congress on September 26 last year.

IFP leader Chief Mangosuthu Buthelezi was also unhappy with the ANC after Mr Nelson Mandela labelled him a government "surro-

gate".

Chief Buthelezi drew a sharp response from government when he released a draft constitution for KwaZulu-Natal late last year. The move was widely criticised as unilateral and unacceptable.

Other sticking points between government and IFP are the status of agreements reached at Codesa II. Both government and ANC believe agreements already reached in this forum should be accepted in the new multi-party negotiations which they hope to start soon.

The IFP is adamant, however, that a conference must first be held to review these agreements.

CP warns against ANC rule

JOHANNESBURG. — The introduction of multi-racial government at local level is a prelude to foisting ANC rule on South Africa, the CP charged yesterday. CT 19/1/93 (3041A)

Reacting to President F W de Klerk's request to the President's Council to recommend a voting system for local government and to suggest a guide for franchise qualifications, the CP accused him of using the council to make this introduction. — Sapa

ANC, Govt

304A

Sowetan 20/1/93

caucus in bush

THE AFRICAN NATIONAL Congress and the Government hold a week-long meeting in a bush retreat from today in what are seen as last-round discussions leading to the resumption of Codesa-style talks.

The talks, to be held at an undisclosed venue, would be a continuation of a "bush caucus" held before Christmas and would focus on security, constitutional guidelines and the resumption of multiparty negotiations.

Yesterday both parties conceded they would have to address - and perhaps reach agreement on - the establishment of a planning or preparatory conference as insisted upon by the disgruntled Inkatha/KwaZulu and their allies Bophuthatswana, Ciskei, the Conservative Party and the Afrikaner Volksunie.

ANC spokesman Mr Carl Niehaus said the organisation saw the resumption of Codesa-style talks as a matter of urgency. Agreements reached between the ANC and the Government would not be "rammed down the throats" of other parties but would be tabled as proposals either at a preparatory conference or at a multiparty forum.

A Government spokesman yesterday said the bush summit would also focus on ways to bring more parties into the negotiations. "The

By Themba Molefe
Political Reporter

more, the merrier," he said.

According to the spokesman, there was no indication that talks with the Pan Africanist Congress would resume after relations between the two were soured by the alleged Apla attacks in December. "Contact is being maintained, however," he said.

The IFP and Government yesterday ended a two-day meeting whose aim was to restore relations between the two parties. The IFP pulled out of negotiations after the Government signed the Record of Understanding with the ANC on September 26 last year.

IFP president Chief Mangosuthu Buthelezi accused the ANC and the Government of entering into deals which excluded other parties in the negotiation process.

Following this, the alliance of KwaZulu/IFP, Bophuthatswana, Ciskei, the CP and the Afrikaner Volksunie, known as the Concerned South Africans Group, is demanding a conference of review before multiparty talks resume. The ANC's team at the bush summit will be led by secretary-general Mr Cyril Ramaphosa while Constitutional Development and Planning Minister Mr Roelf Meyer will represent the Government.

SA's hopes pinned on US recovery

Star 20/1/93

THIS is an important day in our transition to democracy. National Party and ANC negotiators begin another extended "bos-beraad" to complete the set of agreements that will form the basis of the transition process, while in Washington a new administration takes office that will establish the international context in which that transition takes place.

Too often we South Africans fail to take note of the world around us. Years of isolation have left us so wrapped up in ourselves that we fail to appreciate how the shifts and trends in a shrinking world are bound to impact on us.

Over the next 100 days South Africa is going to change dramatically. A Transitional Executive Council will take over the running of the country. Power will begin to shift from white into black hands.

This will be a historic event, as symbolic to the issue of racialism as the collapse of communism was to the Cold War — and about as difficult and dangerous for the people involved. Transitions are times of uncertainty, and in our case the problems are compounded by an economic recession that is causing rising unemployment and social instability.

Some analysts warn that no political transition has ever succeeded in a time of recession. We badly need an economic upturn. Even the ANC has become sufficiently alarmed at the state of the economy to rethink its position on many issues, from sanctions to nationalisation. Growth is on everyone's agenda.

But it is unrealistic to expect that a country like South Africa can suddenly move into a growth phase in the midst of a global recession. Our economy cannot recover until the world economy does.

So the inauguration of a new president in the United States is important to South Africa. For all its problems and for all the advances of the new Asian tigers, the United States is still the largest economy in the world and any global recovery must begin there. So we all have a vested interest in Bill Clinton's success.



Allister Sparks

He comes to office as a centrist Democrat, and the fundamentalist free marketeers are already trying to dismiss him as a nonentity who will do little to change the conservative revolution of the Reagan-Bush-Thatcher era. He also has little experience in foreign affairs, and is said to have South Africa low on his list of priorities.

On both issues we may be surprised. Cautious though Clinton is, he has committed himself to some seminal changes that will effectively end that disastrous era that produced a decade of corporate greed and excesses, followed by a hangover of debt and plant closures that plunged both the American and British economies into crisis and sent a ripple around the world.

As his key policy adviser, Robert Kuttner, points out in a new book, *The End of Laissez-Faire*, it was not only communism that died with the Cold War, but its counterpoint as well — unbridled capitalism.

"In the new era now unfolding," says Kuttner, "the pursuit of laissez-faire as an optimum goal, for the global system or for the United States, would do grave harm to both."

This does not mean a plunge into socialist economics.

"My quarrel," says Kuttner "is not with capitalism itself but with its utopian version" of a pure market economy. Or what he sometimes refers to as "simple-minded nineteenth century economic liberalism".

In other words, the Reagan-Bush-Thatcher ideology which has crippled Britain and saddled the United States with a record number of bankruptcies and factory closures, the elimination of 2 million manufacturing jobs and a \$4 trillion (R12 trillion) national debt which takes 60 cents of every taxpayer's dollar to service.



Clinton and Bush . . . an end to world recession lies in the new president improving on his predecessor's economic record.

304A

323P

The successful formula, Kuttner argues, is a mixed economy. The dynamic economies of the late 20th century — Japan, Korea and the other vigorous Asian countries — do not have free markets in the Western sense. All are explicitly developmental states.

"Even Germany, the most conservative nation of the European Community, spends nearly half its gross national product in the public sector," Kuttner points out.

This is the advice behind Clinton's "people first" economics. The new president hopes to revive the American economy by making large investments in education and training, health care and infrastructure — the things Reagan and Bush cut back on in their belief that slashing public expenditure to the bone was the way to energise the nation.

Whether it will work remains to be seen. We had better hope it does, for an American-led global recovery is vital to the success of our transition.

Likewise with foreign policy. George Bush was credited with great foreign policy expertise because of the skill with which he assembled the alliance for the Gulf War. In fact he failed to develop a policy concept for the single most important issue of his time — America's role after the collapse of the Soviet empire.

Never great on what he contemptuously called "the vision

thing" Bush was the first American president in 20 years to have no overall conception of foreign policy.

Even Reagan had the crude doctrine of waging war on the Evil Empire. But Bush operated on an ad hoc and inconsistent basis — plunging into Iraq, sending armed aid to Somalia but shrinking from involvement in Angola or Bosnia — without any conceptual framework of a new world order.

A coherent foreign policy by the world's only remaining superpower is essential. Three options are doing the rounds in America: the neo-isolationists who want the US to withdraw and allow regional balances of power to take care of the world's conflicts; those who want the US to continue holding the world balance of power as the arbiter of the main regional power groups; and the internationalists who want a greater role for multilateral institutions and more emphasis on human needs and rights, the environment and democracy.

Clinton's choice is still unclear, but as a man who likes to formulate detailed policy positions you can be sure he will do so on foreign affairs. When he does it will be of vital concern to South Africa, for with apartheid gone this country stands to play an important role as the major regional power in the world's most marginalised continent. □

the nation in brief

Some fan 2011/9/3
Hendrickse backs dissolution

THE leader of the opposition in the House of Representatives, the Rev Allan Hendrickse, will call for the dissolution of the tricameral parliament and the creation of an elected constituent assembly supervised by the United Nations when parliament resumes. *25/9* *28/9* *30/9*

Hendrickse said yesterday he would make this proposal in his motion of no confidence in the Ministers Council of the HoR. The motion would also express no confidence in the Ministers Council.

Patrick Laurence looks at failure of political parties to break traditional

Campaigns to woo blacks fr

SPM 20/11/93.

304A

THE pending addition of millions of black voters to South Africa's electorate confronts two of the three mainstream white-controlled political parties with a daunting challenge.

Under the present triracial constitution the franchise is restricted to white, coloured and Indian voters; when South Africa holds its first nonracial election within the next 15 months, their collective share of the vote will shrink from 100 percent to barely more than 30 percent.

Between now and then the present electorate will expand from roughly 6.6 million to at least 21 million voters with the enfranchisement of nearly 14.4 million black adults.

Blacks will constitute nearly 70 percent of the enlarged electorate; whites, who are the prime force under the present constitution, will comprise less than 20 percent of the new electorate.

These changes are concentrating the minds of F W de Klerk's ruling National Party and Zach de Beer's Democratic Party. Unless they can win a modicum of black support their chances of being viable political forces in the new era of nonracial elections are not good.

Andries Treurnicht's Conservative Party — which represents the

main ideological challenge in the white community to the NP's newly adopted nonracial approach — appears to have excluded itself by narrowing its vision to the white community and, more specifically, to the Afrikaner people within white society.

Focusing on NP and DP campaigns to the black populace — as distinct from the coloured and Indian communities — the omens so far are not good for either party.

Opinion polls conducted by the Human Science Research Council show that the NP has made negligible progress so far in wooing black voters into its ranks. Black political support for the NP is well under 10 percent, HSRC polls show.

The last of these polls — quoted by HSRC director Lawrence Schlemmer in the journal, *Indicator* for South Africa — reflects the position in mid-1992. The NP's black support stood at 7 percent then.

Since then two factors may have affected the NP's standing in the black community adversely: first, the humiliating retreat of De Klerk from Boipatong last June after the massacre of blacks there; second, the covert role of military intelligence, uncovered by the Goldstone Commission last November in discrediting Nelson Mandela's African National Congress.



Treurnicht... CP excluded itself through narrow vision.

NP spokesmen, Piet Coetzer and Sheila Camerer, remain hopeful. They talk of "concentrating on getting the NP's infrastructure in place" and "concentrating on getting the party machine well oiled".

They seem unwilling or unable to give specific details on actual recruitment: the number of blacks members in different areas up to a certain date and the number of branches established in different townships.

Coetzer parries questions about

black membership. "We don't look at the political market on a segmented basis," he says. "We want the NP to expand as a properly integrated whole."

Asked whether the NP is campaigning in black areas, he replies: "Oh yes. But we are not holding large meetings. We prefer target-oriented house meetings... The NP is avoiding high-profile stuff."

Coetzer's namesake, Julia Coetzer, who works in the NP's office in Auckland Park, Johannesburg, speaks about an "undercover" campaign in Soweto and the need for potential recruits from Soweto to meet in a neutral area like Hillbrow in Johannesburg.

On the question of whether the NP's past espousal of apartheid is a problem, Piet Coetzer says: "People accept that the NP has changed. But people of colour complain that, though apartheid as a legal system is dead, the actual day to day behaviour of white people has not changed."

Judging from their comments black NP members do not exactly proclaim their beliefs from the rooftops: they are diffident and ever-conscious of their status as potential victims of what Julia Coetzer labels "frightening intimidation".

The DP, unburdened by past advocacy of apartheid and embol-

dened by its image as the guardian of liberal values, is campaigning more visibly in black areas. But it has hardly made a bleep on the computers of psephologists.

Two of its recent meetings in townships on the outskirts of Cape Town have been broken up by black militants, the first in Khayelisha last month and the second, more recently, in Guguletu. Fingers have been pointed at the ANC, the Pan-Africanist Congress and the Azanian People's Organisation.

James Sello, the DP's executive director, concurs with Piet Coetzer that intimidation and intolerance are major impediments to the DP campaign to recruit black members.

"The liberation movements are prepared to tolerate us as long as we are not a threat to them," Sello says. "But the moment we threaten to become a serious contender, they get uptight."

Sello cites developments in Masingenj in the eastern Transvaal where the DP has won black converts to its cause and established the biggest branch in a black township.

Its success, however, evoked aggression from young ANC militants: DP scholars were physically driven out of school and barred from entering school examination halls; the house of a DP official

'Give



Shafio
People

WITHOUT be

sexist about
wants to beco
first woman Mid
gelo — and she
has the perser
the talent... a
sense of humour.
"Okay, that'
much. So stril
about Mr Angel
Mandy Aarons'
wide grin, "and
mural painter's
kov instead!"

You have to
energy and pers
when you have
month-old baby
maid.

"Things will i
says Mandy (2)
sophically. "We
ting a maid soon

Violin

The Wits Te
trained fine art
and husband G
industrial desig
artefact collect
rounding her
lounge of the
Highlands Nor
are two Under
table typewri
look like th
straight off th

Democracy dilemma facing SA

PRETORIA. — No matter what political settlement was reached a new South Africa could never be a "true democracy."

This was said yesterday by Professor Lawrence Schlemmer, HSRC group social dynamics general manager, when he addressed the "Platform for Investment" presentation in Pretoria.

"South Africa is far too complicated a country for a 'golden' democracy," he said.

His provisional timetable for the new SA government included full elections by February/April next year, then an interim government, followed by a second election in 1996/97 with "final political settlement" in 1998.

2 Cape Times, Wed

Parties to meet on intimidation

Political Correspondent

ANC and DP delegations meet today to thrash out detailed ground rules for free and fair electioneering in the Western Cape. (304A)

They hope to establish a formal structure to ensure that parties can canvass support in the run-up to South Africa's first non-racial election without violence and intimidation. (45)

Other parties will be invited to participate.

CT 20/1/93

Crucial government, ANC meeting starts today

PRETORIA. — Top government and African National Congress negotiators will meet at an undisclosed Transvaal venue today for a marathon session of talks to remove obstacles to multiparty constitutional negotiations.

The talks are generally perceived as a crucial opportunity to create the openings needed for other parties, particularly the Pan Africanist

Congress, Inkatha Freedom Party and its fellow members of the Concerned South Africans Group (Cosag), to rejoin multiparty negotiations.

The two 20-man delegations are to be led by Constitutional Development Minister Roelf Meyer and ANC secretary-general Cyril Ramaphosa. They are scheduled to meet for five or six days.

Joint committees set up to

investigate specific problems will now report back on certain issues on the agenda which include continuing political violence, restarting Codesa-style talks, transitional arrangements to prepare for the first open elections and urgent economic issues.

The talks follow on two days of similar discussions held between the government and the IFP this week. The

(30414) ARG-20/11/93
ANC and government may well formulate some responses to the so-far confidential positions put by the IFP.

Observers are confident progress will be made, as economic realities and growing impatience among the respective constituencies at the lack of movement, have become compelling factors in both bilateral and multilateral discussions. — Sapa.

Political talks aimed at ensuring fair SA elections

Staff Reporter

EFFORTS to guarantee free and fair election campaigning in the Western Cape will be taken a step further today with a meeting between the ANC and DP.

DP Western Cape chairman Mr Jasper Walsh said the DP and the ANC agreed in principle last week to assist in creating a climate for democracy in the region and to discuss problem areas.

Delegations would finalise details of establishing a formal working group aimed at ensuring that parties could campaign free of intimidation.

Mr Walsh described today's meeting as mainly "technical", with the delegations trying to give structure to decisions made last week.

The meeting, at the ANC offices, is at 3.30 pm.

Time to scrap Parliament

CT 20/1/93
THE leader of the official opposition in the House of Representatives, the Rev Allan Hendrickse, is to call for the dissolution of the Tricameral Parliament and the creation of an elected constituent assembly supervised by the United Nations when Parliament resumes.

He said yesterday it was time for South Africa to turn the corner towards a democratic government. — Sapa

Bitter blow to IFP, govt talks

By CHRIS WHITFIELD
Political Staff

FRESH optimism over a speedy resumption of multi-party negotiations was dealt a blow yesterday when the Inkatha Freedom Party's two-day meeting with the government ended in acrimony.

Sources from both organisations last night flatly refused to discuss the meeting, but it is reliably understood that it was characterised by tough talking and that no agreements were reached.

Central to the dispute is understood to have been IFP allegations that the government has been "conniving" with the ANC by reaching agreements in bilateral discussions.

A terse joint statement after the meeting simply reflected that talks had been held and delegations would meet again here next Wednesday.

Failure to reach agreement at that meeting could seriously set back hopes for a projected resumption of multi-party talks by early March.

The breakdown comes on the eve of the government's critical six-day "bos-beraad" with the ANC at which it was hoped consensus could be reached on details of the transitional stage.

However, they will now have to broach such issues as the composition and powers of the proposed transitional executive council without knowing if the IFP will participate.

The government delegation to the meeting in Pretoria was led by Constitutional Development Minister Mr Roelf Meyer, while national chairman Dr Frank Mdlalose led the IFP group.

A host of issues central to recent differences between the government

To page 2

IFP-govt tension

and the IFP that were on the agenda for the two-day meeting were apparently not discussed.

Among these were the IFP's insistence that agreements already reached at Codesa should be subject to review and possible revision, and the IFP's proposed conference of review and its proposed federal constitutional model for Natal.

In a separate development yesterday President F W de Klerk met a delegation from the Congress of Traditional Leaders of South Africa (Contralesa).

Follow-up meetings will be held to discuss issues such as the future role of traditional leaders, according to a government statement.

It is understood that the government may be reviving its attempts to open a way into multi-party negotiations for the Zulu king by having a Contralesa delegation attend.

The Contralesa group, led by its president Mr Nkosi S P Holomisa, said self-governing territories and the TBVC states should be reincorporated into South Africa soon.

The government responded that there was already broad consensus that the present system should be replaced with a new system of regions with borders not drawn along ethnic lines.

● The Qwa Qwa chairman of Contralesa, Chief Motebeng Mopeli, 40, died on Friday. — Sapa

Nat, ANC bosberaad begins today

Inkatha talks with govt end in stalemate

304A
20/11/93

TIM COHEN

CAPE TOWN — Government negotiators begin a five-day bosberaad with the ANC alliance today, after emerging from an acrimonious meeting with Inkatha where no agreements of consequence were achieved.

The two-day meeting with Inkatha ended yesterday without substantive comment from either of the parties, but it is understood that the discussions deadlocked on government's alleged "connivance" with the ANC.

The failure of the meeting dims the hopes raised by the successful meeting with the Concerned South Africans Group last week, which had seemed set to invigorate negotiations.

The joint statement released by the parties to yesterday's talks was unusually terse, saying only that they had met and would do so again. Both parties would report back to their principals and meet again on January 27.

The delegations were led by Constitutional Development Minister Roelf Meyer and Inkatha national chairman Frank Mdlalose.

It is understood that the main items on the agenda — including Inkatha's proposed conference of review, the status of agreements made at Codesa and even the resumption of multiparty talks — were not substantively broached.

Government was known to have been prepared to submit Inkatha's federal constitutional plan to other parties for "wider constitutional debate", but this was insufficient to satisfy Inkatha negotiators.

The lack of any agreements places government negotiators in a difficult position

for the talks with the ANC.

Observers speculated that government negotiators had hoped to emerge from the meeting with a clear idea of Inkatha's demands for the resumption of negotiations, to discuss with the ANC.

Government was also hoping to discuss the transitional executive council with the ANC, but would now have to do so without knowing whether Inkatha would be prepared to participate in the new structure.

In stark contrast to the Inkatha meeting, President F W de Klerk met members of the Congress of Traditional Leaders (Contralesa) where the government delegation agreed there should be a "dignified and meaningful role for traditional leaders" in the new constitutional dispensation.

Government again expressed itself in favour of a role in negotiations for traditional leaders, including, perhaps, the Zulu king who is not part of Contralesa.

The delegations agreed that some of the issues raised, including land ownership and rural development, would be discussed in greater detail in follow-up talks.

The government delegation said it hoped multilateral negotiations would be resumed early in March.

The Contralesa group expressed the view that self-governing territories and the TBVC states should be reincorporated into SA soon.

Government responded by saying there was already broad consensus that the present system should be replaced with a new system of regions with borders not drawn along ethnic lines.

● Comment: Page 10

Council to probe SA, African issues

B/DM 20/11/93

CAPE TOWN — The marginalisation of Africa and SA's new role on the continent will be the focus of discussions this week between five former heads of state, 22 prominent international figures and SA leaders.

Former British prime minister Lord Callaghan said yesterday these and other questions would be discussed by a committee established by a group of former heads of state called the Interaction Council.

The committee, headed by Lord Callaghan, would also discuss at the Cape Town workshop what the international community could do for Africa. Discussions with President F W de Klerk, ANC deputy president Walter Sisulu and Inkatha leader Mangosuthu Buthelezi would be included.

The fact that 16 of the world's 20 poorest countries were in Africa was cause for concern, Callaghan said. The way to bring Africa back into the world mainstream would be one of the main focuses of the committee, which would report its finding to the council in April, he said.

The kind of assistance the international communities should provide for Africa's struggling democracies would also be canvassed, he said.

The committee would discuss what

30647 22221
TIM-GOREN

SA could offer its neighbours and the rest of Africa.

The committee would also "have something to say" about the possible conflicts between southern African organisations, he said.

The Southern African Development Conference and the Preferential Trade Area, which are working toward southern African economic integration, are considered particularly vulnerable to the criticism that their functions overlap.

Former Nigerian leader Olusegun Obasanjo said unnecessary rivalry between African organisations was not limited to southern Africa. He was concerned that SA's reintegration into the continent should be "synchronised" properly.

The members of the Interaction Council committee include Maria de Lourdes Pintasilgo (Portugal), Kenneth Kaunda (Zambia) and Lopo Fortunato do Nascimento (Angola).

Participants include former World Bank president Robert McNamara, Idasa president Van Zyl Slabbert, World Bank president Tim Thabane, former SA finance minister Barend du Plessis and the African Development Bank's Adewale Sangowawa.

Violence 'a tool to derail settlements'

WILSON ZWANE

304

THE SA Council of Churches (SACC) charged yesterday that forces in SA were bent on derailing constitutional talks.

The SACC said the recent killings of more than 10 people in Natal and on the Reef vindicated its belief that "certain forces are trying hard to derail negotiations". Government meetings with the ANC and with the Concerned South Africans Group had rekindled hopes for an early political settlement. But it seemed whenever a major development was imminent, scores of township residents lost their lives. "Violence in SA, it would seem, is being switched on and off at will."

ANC PWV spokesman Ronnie Mamoepa said he agreed with the SACC: major political developments were preceded by outbreaks of violence. *Bloay*

National peace committee media officer Val Pauquet also agreed with the pattern of killing, while national peace secretariat chairman Antonie Gildenhuys said outbreaks of violence on the eve of big events were orchestrated by a small group of people who did not want to see peace prevail. *20/1/93*

In the latest incidents of violence, two people were shot dead in Natal, and on the East Rand police found the body of a man who had been stabbed and apparently thrown from a moving train. A man was also injured when shots were fired at policemen at Wadeville station, near Germiston, Sapa reports.

US on top as optimism takes a global dive

OPTIMISM has dwindled throughout the world, with 21 of 40 countries polled — including SA — recording a decrease of 10 or more points, according to a 1992 year-end poll by Gallup International.

The results of the poll, released by Gallup affiliate Markinor in Johannesburg yesterday, showed the biggest drops in optimism in Sweden (-58), Spain (-53), Korea (-40), Italy (-37), Argentina (-33) and Britain (-30).

According to the SA survey, conducted by Markinor, the country's drop of 14 points from an index of 105 last year to 91

BIOM 20/11/93
this year was "fairly moderate and far below" the average drop of 23 points.

Markinor director Peter Scott-Wilson said Czechoslovakia (53) retained its position as the most pessimistic country, followed by Spain (60), Belgium (68), Sweden (69), Luxembourg (71) and Estonia (76).

"The dramatic drop in optimism can undoubtedly be attributed to the deepening economic recession in many parts of the world and problems in eastern Europe," Scott-Wilson said.

"In the case of Spain, the sharp drop may be due in part to the fact that the Olympics

euphoria is over."

The most optimistic country was the US (150), which rose from fourth place last year, followed by Israel (142), New Zealand (140), Chile (138), Georgia (132), Taiwan and the Philippines (both 128) and Canada (124).

Scott-Wilson said whereas the US was showing an increasing optimistic trend, SA reflected the opposite: it had moved from 116 in 1991 to 105 in 1992, and to 91 this year.

"This is not surprising given our deteriorating economy and political outlook. The message is clear: corrective action is required," he said. — Sapa.

Keeping course in stormy waters

Star 20/1/93

3047

The new US ambassador to South Africa, Princeton Lyman, is preparing for a stormy year, reports HELEN GRANGE.

THERE'S an optimistic air in the corridors of the US embassy in Pretoria that wasn't there in the darker months of 1992. It seeped in the same day a tentative date for a multiracial election was announced.

Washington's patience with the frustrating delays in the transition process was getting ominously thin before that, and US diplomats in South Africa, like most of their Western counterparts, were starting to show their weariness.

Princeton Lyman, US ambassador to South Africa for three months, is a man who has managed to keep a relatively low media profile.

But he spoke candidly to The Star of his regenerated enthusiasm for the future, revealing himself as a straight-talking free-marketeer with an incisive knowledge of South Africa's political dynamic.

He's also a nuts and bolts man, more comfortable with the practical grassroots challenges than with sweeping ideological rhetoric.

As Lyman sees it, the setting of a timetable for transition was important, not only because it has recaptured waning international attention but because for the first time South Africans have a sense of timing and thus a sense of urgency in getting the issues resolved.

But while the politicians plot their course, there should be as much socio-economic groundwork going on as possible, he stresses.

"The time it's going to take to address educational and socio-economic problems is so great, one has to start as soon as possible... I'm hopeful that now the political framework is coming into place, there'll be agreement on neutral economic activities — activities which don't favour or disadvantage any political party."

What Lyman has in mind, and what he says the new Clinton administration is very supportive of, is the mobilisation of resources through institutions such as the African Development Bank (ADB) and World Bank for employment-generating programmes such as electrification and housing.

These kinds of projects, and their funding through the ADB and World Bank, do not have to be held hostage to the national policy debate and an early start to redressing basic economic disparities would benefit all parties concerned, he says.

Indeed, housing for the underprivileged is the newest beneficiary of US financial aid, which is administered solely through non-government organisations assisting in housing development at local level.

Education and training has always enjoyed the bulk of US aid, aimed in part at grooming some of South Africa's future political leaders.

Little if anything is likely to change under the Clinton ad-

ministration, suggests Lyman, with a hint of caution.

"There's a phrase that Clinton used that I like. He said there are 'obligations of continuity and obligations of change'. That will characterise his policy toward South Africa."

The obligation of continuity, says Lyman, would mean an active role in trying to keep the transition process on track. The obligation of change would involve a greater degree of support on the economic terrain in the ways already mentioned.

Helping to keep the transition process on track, however, is a loaded undertaking, and one in which Clinton's balance in political alliance is most likely to show itself.

He is known to be strongly sympathetic towards Mandela, and there have been noises in Pretoria that he is likely to be more lenient with the ANC than with the Government in the tense months ahead.

Lyman steers clear of speculation on that front, however. Rather, he outlines what he sees as the strengths and weaknesses in the political matrix taking shape.

Mistrust between political groups looms largest as a potential pitfall in the run-up to and aftermath of elections, he feels. He cites Ethiopia's attempt at reconstruction after decades of civil war: "The mistrust between some of the groups there threatens to pull it apart again."

Without managing that level of mistrust, one can't go ahead with elections. It's useful to bring in international observers, but that doesn't substitute for systems of control inside the country, he says.

For this reason, South Africa should not overestimate the role of foreign observers, but build on its innovative peace structures to apply checks and balances.

"Different political parties should also have monitors who are trained and know what to look for during an election... There's a chance in South Africa now to build up these systems which will make the election credible and eliminate mistrust."

Violence, Lyman suggests, is becoming less and less of a threat as the main parties articulate their opposition to it.

"I think the perpetrators of violence are now on the fringes... I was happy to see the Apla attacks denounced by almost everybody... We need all the parties to say that violence is unacceptable and isolate these fringe groups as much as possible."

Turning to what the US views as the most favourable constitutional model for South Africa, Lyman is quite frank.

"This is one of the few areas we have taken a stand. We think the federal structure is an appropriate one for South Africa given the history and the divergences... and because it allows for a lot of participation at local and regional levels."

"But the federalism debate is sometimes misused. Some are putting forward ideas of a very weak central government... so not only wouldn't it be able to function very well, it wouldn't be able to redress the inequalities."



Princeton Lyman... the new US Ambassador to South Africa gives some indication of the Clinton administration's thinking. Picture: US Information Service

"We have a federal system with a very strong central government laying down strong directions on equal opportunity, etc, without taking away from the important roles of the various states. So our concept of federalism doesn't mean a weak central government."

Given the economy of South

Africa, he says, it would be counterproductive to have a system so decentralised that people couldn't move back and forth under a common economic policy. "Federalism must be sensitive to the demands of a modern economy."

On the other hand, given the diversity of needs throughout

the country, having strong local governments would alleviate some of the tensions and take some of the burden off central government.

Lyman, being a career diplomat and therefore unlikely to be replaced under Clinton, is expecting to see through the transition process. □

guration today, said he was But, De Jager said: "The tions.

Govt, IFP talks to go on

304A
By Kaizer Nyatumba
Political Reporter

STAR 20/1/93

A deep gulf still separates the Government and the Inkatha Freedom Party after two tough days of talks in Pretoria this week.

The lack of progress in the meeting — aimed at wooing the IFP back into negotiations and paving the way for fresh multiparty talks — places pressure on the extended Government-ANC talks which start today.

Instead of being able to focus on dates for the transition, as both sides hoped, they will first have to devote time to the IFP.

Both the Government and the IFP were tight-lipped yesterday after their bargaining session, and issued a statement saying only that the talks would continue next week.

The meeting, which began on Monday afternoon and ended yesterday, was the first between the two parties since IFP leader Mangosuthu Buthelezi suspended talks with the Government after President de Klerk and

ANC leader Nelson Mandela signed the Record of Understanding on September 26.

Yesterday's statement said the delegates would report to their principals, but gave no details of how the meeting went.

IFP central committee member Walter Felgate said although the meeting — which he described as "very frank" — was scheduled to begin at 9.30 am yesterday, it was decided to start at noon to give the two parties a chance to discuss issues among themselves.

Nearer

Asked whether the resumption of full-scale negotiations was any nearer, Felgate replied: "The IFP is committed to the resumption of negotiations, and the Government has agreed to a multiparty planning conference.

"We believe the resumption of multiparty negotiations cannot resist the tide any longer."

Delegation leaders the IFP's Dr Frank Mdlalose

and Constitutional Development Minister Roelf Meyer said further talks were set for next Wednesday in Cape Town.

The latest Government-ANC session, at a secret venue, begins today and is expected to last until Tuesday or Wednesday.

ANC sources said the *bos-beraad* has been divided into two parts. The first three days will deal with security and violence-related matters and the last three or four days with constitutional matters.

The sources said both the ANC and the Government would be bound by any agreements they reached at the meeting.

In the past week the Government has held talks with the IFP, the Congress of Traditional Leaders of South Africa (Contralesa), traditional leaders of Lebowa and, from today, the ANC.

In his Government's meeting with Contralesa, State President de Klerk expressed the hope that multiparty talks would resume early in March.

Iraq offers to stop shooting fr

India niodx pro

Like

used been

3012EU

Now Broederbond is changing its tune

Sowetan & Radio Metro

Talkback

By Sipho Mthembu



with Tim Modise

Sowetan 21/1/93

Afrikaans language

3044

THE Broederbond was playing a very influential role in the changing face of South Africa, *Vrye Weekblad* political correspondent Hennie Sertfontein said last night.

Sertfontein was speaking in the *Sowetan*/Radio Metro Talkback Show.

Describing the Broederbond, Sertfontein said the organisation was the "secret arm" of the National Party established 75 years ago to look into the interests of the Afrikaners.

The organisation comprised membership in underground cells scattered all over the country.

"Members of this clandestine cells are recruited on the basis of the

Afrikaner members of his Cabinet belong to the Broederbond.

"The organisation, which can also be regarded as a power clique, ensures the domination of Afrikaners in institutions such as schools, churches and town councils," Sertfontein said.

The Broederbond also supported some cultural structures such as the *Federasie van Afrikaner Kultuur*, he said.

"Financially, the organisation depends on the subscription by members and donations by big Afrikaner

industries such as Sanlam.

"However, with the changes in the recent years, the organisation has adopted a more liberal approach.

"The organisation is responsible for the *W in the Hearts and Minds* (Wham) which was waged by the security forces a few years ago.

"They have now begun to make heavy inroads into the black townships," Sertfontein said.

Responding to Ray of Johannesburg, Sertfontein agreed that the Broederbond had been left behind by the more liberal leaders in the NP.

"When the NP scrapped the Group Areas Act and the Population Registration Act, the organisation was taken aback," he said.

Sertfontein said in a "gebedstraal" which was addressed by De Klerk, who was only referred to as "n bekende persoon" in secret documents, held in the Northern Transvaal, a referendum concerning the Broederbond and the future was discussed.

He said documents in his possession stated clearly the Broederbond needed to change its constitution so it would continue existing.

It's business as usual in the House (for now)

STAN 21/1/93 304A
PARLIAMENT as we know it will probably bid its farewell this year, but by the looks of things so far, it'll be business as usual until the brokers of the new South Africa prompt its metamorphosis.

With 1993 being the critical year of constitutional change, the media spotlight will shift from graceful Cape Town to Johannesburg, leaving MPs the less exciting job of rubberstamping amendment Bills — mostly uncontroversial — largely left over from last year.

Pioneers

If all goes well on the political front, however, Parliament's grandest gesture will be in passing legislation for the first laws basic to a transitional constitution.

Indeed, it is possible a Government/ANC-agreed Transitional Executive Council could be written into law by June.

But while Parliament awaits word from the new constitution pioneers, the show must go on with nuts and bolts legislation.

Of biggest import will, of course, be Finance Minister Derek Keys's Budget, expected to introduce higher VAT and taxes to counter the rising national debt.

Perhaps the most immediately controversial laws to be enacted during the pending session are those that constitute the new labour code.

The Bills are aimed at introducing equity in labour conditions in all economic sectors. Most importantly, farm labourers will be legally protected for the first time.

Predictably, the conservative farmer community, organised by the SA Agricultural Union, is opposing the new labour code.

Hot debate is therefore expected before the deadline at the end of February, when the final drafts will be tabled.

Also on the labour front is the Injured Employees Compensation Draft Bill, to replace the Workmen's Compensation Act. This law will tighten up insurance of employees or their dependants in the event of disablement. Most importantly, all employees will be insured, irrespective of their earnings, and compensation for occupational diseases will be more equitably provided.

There are some laws on the cards designed to pull the reins in on those of us who live a little recklessly.

The Road Traffic Amendment Bill of 1993, providing for a separation of the drivers' licence from the identity document, also provides for far more severe punishments for lawless driving, including automatic suspension

If all goes according to plan, the coming parliamentary session will be the last of its kind. HELEN GRANGE reports.

for serious offences.

And in the Liquor Amendment Bill, higher penalties are proposed for liquor sales to minors and the opening of bottle stores on public holidays.

Dog owners exercising little control over their pets will need to take cognisance of the Animal Matters Amendment Bill which, once passed, will enable the State to impose a fine of up to R40 000 or two years' imprisonment on the owner of a dog which attacks an innocent.

The Department of Correctional Services will be tabling the Correctional Services Amendment Bill, designed to cover the loophole which saw the notorious Lucky Malaza erroneously released from prison as a political prisoner.

The new law will provide "checks and balances based on sound legal principles", according to a department spokesman, although no details have yet been made known on exactly what these are.

And gambling operators beware! Last year's Gambling Amendment Act, which caused such a stir that a moratorium on casino prosecutions was introduced, will probably come into effect in full force after January 31, the moratorium deadline.

(The Act outlawed hard gambling, but the Howard commission into gambling has still to report on whether selective gambling should be allowed.)

Other legislative changes on the agenda this year are geared toward deregulation.

Civilians

The Department of Law and Order will table the Police Amendment Bill to replace the Police Act. The objective is to provide for the employment of civilians. This new development is aimed at exchanging ranked police officers in management/administrative posts with civilians, freeing policemen to fulfil normal duties.

There is a strong possibility that the Marketing Act, which empowers the existing marketing boards, will be amended in line with recommendations of the Kassier Committee into the marketing system.

The committee proposed deregulation of the marketing and control boards and the curtailing of the extensive powers currently afforded to the boards and the Minister of Agriculture.

Optimism 57A2 21/1/93, over latest bosberaad

By Kaizer Nyatumba
Political Reporter

The Government and the ANC have expressed guarded optimism that their six-day bosberaad, which began at a secret venue in the Transvaal yesterday, would be successful.

It is the second meeting between the two major players in about a month. Both parties hailed their first bosberaad in December as a success.

The latest bosberaad follows two days of talks between the Government and the Inkatha Freedom Party (IFP).

Although the IFP and the Conservative Party have expressed grave reservations about agreements to be reached in the ANC-Government meeting, ANC sources said they had agreed with Pretoria that whatever agreements they arrived at would be binding.

However, these agreements would still have to go through a multiparty negotiations forum.

Following the lack of progress in the Government's two-day meeting with the IFP, hopes for an early resumption of multilateral negotiations took a nosedive yesterday. Political observers said the onus was on the Government and the ANC to rescue the negotiations process.

Instead of being able to focus on dates for the transition, they would first have to devote time to the IFP.

Constitutional Development Minister Roelf Meyer yesterday said the Government was still viewed with "a lot of suspicion" by the IFP.

IFP sources in Durban said there were differences over the degree of political autonomy to be enjoyed by a future KwaZulu-Natal state.

NEWS IN BRIEF

Moose welcomed

THE SA Department of Foreign Affairs welcomed yesterday the nomination of US career diplomat George Moose as assistant secretary of state for Africa.

Department spokesman Patrick Evans said in Pretoria the department believed the Clinton administration was sending an important signal to Africa.

8/10/93 21/1/93

Ombudsman tackles 2 000 complaints in his first year

PRETORIA — SA's ombudsman, after a year in office, has opened up more than 2 000 files on specific complaints.

According to the Association of Law Societies journal De Rebus, Judge P J van der Walt's office receives 30 to 40 phone calls a day from complainants.

Complaints range from rezoning and ecological matters to the state of roads, financial wrangles — including complaints from married women about not receiving housing subsidies — to workmen's compensation cases and political detainees.

De Rebus says, however, that there are still several shortcomings in the Act governing the ombudsman. These include limitations on the types of matters he can investigate and his appointment by the President and not by Parliament.

There was a need to separate the ombudsman's office from the public service.

In terms of the Ombudsman Act of 1991, Van der Walt's title was changed from advocate-general to ombudsman and his

GERALD REILLY

powers and functions extended.

The society believes government departments, public servants and others were learning valuable lessons on accountability and the fact that they could be called to account for their actions.

De Rebus is concerned that a section in the Act which empowers individuals to voice grievances still requires that such complaints should result from someone being unlawfully enriched or advantaged.

This probably resulted from the institution's painstakingly slow evolution from an advocate-general's office, which was established to deal with issues such as the information scandal.

De Rebus says there is no shortage of such issues in SA and the disclosures about fraud and maladministration in the homelands were good examples. But there should also be scope for complaints about other issues.

ANC-DP joint working group put on hold

CAPE TOWN — The ANC and the DP failed yesterday to reach agreement on launching a joint working group to promote free and fair elections in the western Cape.

At a meeting yesterday the ANC backed off, for the time being at least, from an earlier commitment to set up a formal structure with

Political Staff

the DP to monitor the volatile political situation in the region and promote a culture of tolerance.

Yesterday's meeting between delegations led by ANC regional secretary Tony Yengeni and DP regional chairman Jasper

Walsh was arranged to discuss the proposed joint working group.

However, the ANC said the idea would first have to be canvassed with its rank-and-file membership and use should be made of peace accord structures to deal with crises as they arose.

Renamo weapons dispute resolved

MAPUTO — Renamo, government and the UN had "amicably resolved" a dispute over a list of weapons Renamo had to give UN peacekeepers, a UN spokesman said yesterday.

The row flared up at a joint Ceasefire Commission meeting on Monday, where Renamo claimed it was unable to supply a detailed list of the weapons and ammunition its units would take to 20 assembly points where its fighters are to be garrisoned prior to demobilisation.

The reluctance to provide lists fed suspicion that Renamo might try to cache arms

ready for use should the rebels dispute future general election results.

It was agreed on Tuesday that Renamo would provide aggregate lists of all weaponry it possessed, without breaking the list down for each assembly point.

UN supervisors would check all weapons arriving at the assembly points against Renamo's total tally.

The peace accord's implementation is three months behind and it seems impossible to maintain the scheduled October 1993 date for Mozambique's first multiparty elections. — Sapa-AFP.

ANC, DP still at odds over election

Political Correspondent

THE ANC and the Democratic Party failed to reach agreement yesterday on the launching of a joint working group to promote free and fair elections in the Western Cape.

At a meeting yesterday the ANC backed off, for the time being at least, from an earlier commitment to set up with the DP a formal structure charged with monitoring the volatile political situation in the re-

gion and promoting a culture of democratic tolerance, open debate and peaceful mobilisation in the run-up to elections.

The proposals emerged from last week's ANC-DP meeting.

Yesterday's meeting, led by ANC regional secretary Mr Tony Yengeni and DP regional chairman Mr Jasper Walsh, was arranged to decide on the detailed terms of reference and modus operandi of the proposed working group.

However, the ANC submitted that the idea would first have to be canvassed with its rank-and-file membership and said it believed use should be made of existing Peace Accord structures to deal with crises as they arose.

Mr Walsh said after the meeting that the DP was "disappointed with the postponement of the working group and we urge the ANC to make a decision quickly".

No date has been set for a further meeting between the two sides.

Inkatha 'committed to multiparty talks'

30419 Political Staff 113

CAPE TOWN — Inkatha was fully committed to multiparty talks and wanted them to resume as soon as possible, national chairman Frank Mdlalose said yesterday. 31 Jan 21/1/93

He was responding to fears that the inconclusive result of this week's talks between Inkatha and government could delay the prospects for a return to full negotiations.

The ANC and government have indicated that they hope a multiparty negotiating forum will be in place by late February or early March. Crucial to the resumption of talks will be an Inkatha central committee meeting this weekend, where the party will formulate its position for next Wednesday's bilateral talks with government.

"The resumption of multiparty talks is what we have been battling for over the years," said Mdlalose. "We are committed to multiparty talks ... we want them to start yesterday."

Reacting to reports that government and Inkatha were deadlocked on various issues, he said: "I don't know that it is a deadlock; I think that is a bit strong. But I am not talking starry-eyed expectation."

He added that a number of issues had been discussed with the government delegation at the two-day meeting in Pretoria this week. "Now everything will be referred to our principals," he said.

Mdlalose declined to give details on what issues had led to disagreement, but dismissed newspaper reports as speculative. Sources have indicated that the Pretoria talks were marked by tough talking, in particular over the Inkatha charge that government was "conniving" with the ANC by reaching agreements in secret.

SA 'not ready for democracy'

By Garner Thomson
Star Bureau

LONDON — The ANC and the South African Government have decided that South Africa is not ready for democracy, an influential British newspaper claims.

A lengthy report yesterday from the Financial Times's southern Africa correspondent Patti Waldmeir alleges that both parties have decided to put stability before democracy by resolving that power should be shared between white and black.

This, says Waldmeir, can scarcely be described as democratic.

Time will tell whether the ANC intends to erect just a facade of power-sharing, while retaining all important powers for itself and whether the Government still clings, unrealistically, to an effective white veto, she writes.

The two sides, Waldmeir adds, have decided that neither can govern alone. Pretoria lacks the legitimacy and the ANC lacks the skills.

However, South Africa would effectively be a one-party state, with 75 percent or more of the vote. The ANC-NP would thus drive a wedge between opposition on the Left and Right.

But if Chief Mangosuthu Buthelezi chooses to stay out of the coalition, President F W de Klerk and Nelson Mandela would have no choice but to crack down on the violence that would ensue.

"But both the ANC and the Government seem genuinely to believe that more democracy is inevitable."

Government must be limited and accountable

8108-1 22/11/93

JOHN KANE-BERMAN

IF CONVENTIONAL wisdom is to be believed, we can look forward this year to a constitutional quick fix that will kick-start the economy.

We need to be wary of inflated expectations, however, because confidence about the future is damaged when hopes are disappointed. In the first few months of last year hopes about Codesa II were far too optimistic — ignoring, for example, the warning signs at Codesa I when unanimity could not even be achieved on the declaration of intent. Then, when one of the working groups preparing for Codesa II reached deadlock, the whole exercise was labelled a failure — when in fact agreements had been reached on many issues.

Now that various parties are talking again, there is a mood of optimism among many "opinion-formers". If opinion polls are any guide, ordinary people do not share it. Only 10% of whites and 24% of blacks think 1993 will be peaceful, while there has been an increase of 30% or more in the proportions of both blacks and whites feeling pessimistic about the year ahead. Recent polls also confirm earlier ones showing that many people are

sceptical of an interim government. This is not surprising. Contrary to the view in some circles that an interim government is the key to ending violence and unblocking flows of foreign funds, an interim government as such will solve nothing. Everything will depend on how it is constituted, how representative and accountable it is, what powers it has, and so on.

The right formula might bring stability, the wrong one could have the opposite effect. There are many difficult issues down the road and it is as well to be forewarned about them.

The independent homelands were promoted by the NP as a means of turning black South Africans into foreigners in the land of their birth, a policy which amounted to treason. Four such homelands nevertheless exist. While restoration of SA citizenship to those who want it might be done by the stroke of a pen, the re-incorporation of the TBVC states will require extensive negotiation.

To use coercion against any one of them, to ride roughshod over the interests of so-called minor players, would be precisely the wrong note on which to launch the new SA.

The degree to which SA is a federal state will have a critical bearing on the reincorporation question. According to the President, the principle of "strong" regional governments with constitutionally entrenched authority, adequate sources of revenue, and "wide and meaningful powers and functions" will "have to be negotiated in advance and included in a new constitution". There is "no question of a blank cheque being given to a constitution-making body or constituent assembly".

Previously the ANC insisted that a constitution-making body should have sovereign authority on this issue, while the SACP said the body's exclusive authority on this question was a "bottom line", on which retreat by the ANC/SACP would be "impermissible".

Recently the ANC has stated that "the thorny question of the powers, functions and boundaries of regions may be an issue on which we would

enter into bilateral discussion with the NP and other parties, and seek to reach an understanding which the parties would pursue in the constituent assembly". This position is more compatible with government's.

The DP says federalism clearly implies the entrenchment of provincial rights in a rigid constitution and that anything else is not federalism. Inkatha says federal and provincial powers should be clearly delineated and that federal laws should not be able to override provincial powers. This vital question is probably the most important that multilateral talks will have to resolve.

How strong is the NP's commitment to federalism? Government does not use the word any more but talks instead of "regionalism", a term which tells us nothing.

The NP, in earlier days, removed the limited powers of local authorities and provincial administrations when these got in its way, and negotiations in 1993 could well see a steady wilting away of the NP's short-lived flirtation with federalism.

It is sometimes assumed that powerful central governments are required to deal with poverty. If that

were true the Russians would be richer than the Swiss. In any event, the cure for poverty is not government but economic growth.

The term "power-sharing" is on everyone's lips. However, the ultimate question is not how many cabinet posts are shared out between the different parties, but what curbs are placed upon government itself.

A single party or a coalition of parties might command majority support, but that in itself is no guarantee of democracy, for democracy means very much more than voting systems or electoral arithmetic.

All states take rights away from the individual and give them to the collective. The balance is never static and probably never quite "right" — a subjective matter anyway — but democracies tend to take away too few rather than too many.

In the weeks and months ahead, ordinary people should not allow the constitution-makers to forget that in the last resort democracy means not only accountable government but also limited government.

□ Kane-Berman is SA Institute of Race Relations executive director. This is the first of a regular column.

FW 'losing white, black support' (304A)

22/1/93

JOHANNESBURG. — While the ANC maintains its popularity among blacks, President F.W. de Klerk and the NP are steadily losing the support of black and white South Africans, according to a November Markinor poll.

Markinor deputy managing director Ms. Christine Woessner said yesterday results showed although the NP remained the most accepted party by whites, there was a drop from 75% to 58% of those who would vote for it. Black support declined from 52% to 28%.

"Mr De Klerk has lost all the ground he gained in the May 1992 survey. Results show the lowest vote of confidence (by blacks and whites) since he became president."

Although 3% of whites said they would vote for Inkatha, 71% of blacks rejected the organisation.

The ANC remained a favourite with blacks, with a majority (66%) who would vote for it.

Altogether 8% of blacks said they would vote for the SACP.

Sanctions lobby split on when to end curbs

CAPE TOWN — The pro-sanctions lobby has split over how long the measures should be retained, with Archbishop Desmond Tutu saying they should remain until violence is dealt with effectively and an interim government is in place.

Just days ago ANC president Nelson Mandela said he was anxious to lift sanctions but business should first promise to freeze retrenchments and create more jobs.

After a meeting yesterday with President F W de Klerk and Archbishop of Canterbury George Carey, Tutu said the Angli-

can Church wanted to be among the first to call for the lifting of sanctions. But it could do so only on condition that violence was effectively dealt with and an interim government was established.

Tutu agreed with De Klerk and Carey that it was crucial that the economy "took off", but did not explain what role removing sanctions might play in this process.

Mandela's new conditions also differed with those stated recently by SA Council of Churches (SACC) general secretary the

Rev Frank Chikane, but yesterday Chikane "clarified" his statement.

He said he too would like to be the first to call for the removal of sanctions, but admitted that he had urged US President Bill Clinton to maintain his position that sanctions remain until nonracial, democratic elections were held.

The elections to which he was referring were to set up "transitional structures and the establishment of a democratically elected sovereign (interim/transitional) government."

□ To Page 2

Sanctions

Chikane's letter to Clinton was simply to restate the SACC's policy position, not to respond to Mandela's statement, the SACC said.

Chikane had also urged Clinton to tighten up controls on banks not to give loans to "apartheid SA", effectively increasing sanctions.

Cosatu general secretary Jay Naidoo urged business not to reject Mandela's plea to halt retrenchments out of hand yesterday. Naidoo said business should instead propose constructive ways of coping with SA's economic crisis while preserving jobs.

LLOYD COUTTS reports that CP leader Andries Treurnicht, responding to Mandela's "offer to dictate" whether sanctions should be lifted, said the coming to power

of an ANC government was not a foregone conclusion.

"Not only the CP but other important groups refuse to be subjected to an ANC regime. It would appear that this fact is being ignored by foreign governments who have funded the ANC to help put the organisation into power in SA. It should also be remembered that most of SA's strategic minerals are mined in areas controlled by peoples who are against an ANC government," he said.

By giving credibility to what the ANC said, and by acting on its demands, foreign governments were antagonising the very people who could keep SA running as a viable and prosperous entity.

Africa think-tank begins

STAN 22/1/93.

CAPE TOWN — Statesmen attending the Interaction Council summit have called for a conditional cancellation of Africa's foreign debt and have emphasised the need for a free press to check rampant corruption on the continent.

The council, a think-tank of eminent international leaders, yesterday began three days of talks on Africa's marginalisation and ways of reintegrating African states into the mainstream of the international system.

Former British prime minister Lord James Callaghan is chairing the summit. Other former heads of state include Nigeria's General Olusegun Obasanjo, Zambia's Dr

Kenneth Kaunda, Portugal's Maria de Lourdes Pintasilgo and Angola's Lopo Fortunato do Nascimento.

President de Klerk, ANC deputy president Walter Sisulu, Inkatha leader Mangosuthu Buthelezi, Nobel Peace laureate Archbishop Desmond Tutu and Mr Justice Richard Goldstone will brief delegates on the political transition in this country.

The Cape Town summit, the first to be held in Africa, is mandated to discuss problems such as Africa's economic decline, poverty, illiteracy and ethnic tensions, and to recommend viable measures to bring about changes for the better.

304A
The summit's findings and recommendations will be communicated to government leaders.

At yesterday's session speakers emphasised the need for stability and security. They concurred that the welfare of the continent's people — not weapons — was the best guarantee for security.

The improvement of basic, secondary and tertiary education and the need for regional training were also stressed.

Speakers expressed alarm at the incidence of Aids in Africa. By the year 2000, health officials expect to have more than 6 million registered Aids cases compared with the current 1.7 million. — Sapa.

Support for FW down – survey

57 Apr 22/11/93

Political Staff

304A

cent of whites and 47 percent of blacks.

President De Klerk's popularity has plummeted since the post-referendum euphoria of mid-1992. In a November poll he got a lower vote of confidence among whites than any other State President since 1976, when Markinor began its political surveys.

"President de Klerk has lost all the ground he gained in the May 1992 survey and more," Markinor deputy managing director Christine Woessner commented yesterday.

The new poll also found that — in the eyes of black South Africans — the SA Communist Party (SACP) is certainly not an albatross around the ANC's neck.

In November, only 25 percent of whites and a mere 8 percent of blacks thought De Klerk was leading the country "very well" — a 20 percent drop on his mid-year rating. When these figures were augmented by those who considered De Klerk was performing "fairly well", the positive vote stood at 69 per-

cent of whites and 47 percent of blacks. Woessner said the November survey showed a general disenchantment with politicians, when compared to the May results, which reflected the position just before the breakdown of Codesa.

Among 1 300 black respondents in five metropolitan areas, 70 percent said that they would vote for the ANC and 65 percent saw Mandela as the national leader.

Among 800 whites polled countrywide, De Klerk was seen as national leader by 52 percent and the NP as the party to vote for by 49 percent.

While the ANC and Mandela had experienced a drop of 5 and 3 percent respectively since May, the declining support for De Klerk and the NP was of the order of 20 percent.

Black and white respondents were divided on the SACP. Whereas 59 percent of whites viewed the alliance between the SACP and the ANC as detrimental to the ANC, only 14 percent of blacks thought similarly.

STAR 22/11/93

Row over Broeder judge

304A
282

By Brendan Templeton

Mr Justice W H Booysen's membership of the secret Broederbond organisation is causing growing concern in legal circles.

The Johannesburg Bar Council (JBC) and Lawyers for Human Rights (LHR) yesterday said his membership was incompatible with the judiciary's interests.

The Star disclosed last week that the Natal Supreme Court judge is an executive council member of the Broederbond.

The JBC said judges had an obligation to be impartial and to ensure they were perceived as impartial.

"The Afrikaner Broederbond is a secret society which pursues objectives which are essentially political in nature. Accordingly, membership thereof by a serving judge is improper and incompatible with the proper administration of justice," the JBC said.

LHR director Brian Currin said Mr Justice Booysen would have to resign from the Broederbond.

ASILENT coup inside the Afrikaner Weerstandsbeweging has wrenched effective control of the organisation from its leader and founder, Eugene Terre'Blanche, and moved it into the hands of a militant cabal.

While Terre'Blanche officially remains at the head of the organisation, the organisational, planning and operational functions are now completely controlled by a newly structured general staff.

A preliminary sign of the power grab was the publication of an AWB statement in an Afrikaans daily newspaper yesterday. In sharp contrast with established practice, when such statements were signed by Terre'Blanche, it was released by the AWB general staff.

According to reliable sources, the palace revolution was not so much engineered, but came about when long-standing resentment with Terre'Blanche reached boiling point during a recent meeting. A powerful cabal, consisting mostly of some of the more militant AWB "generals" in the Free State, has since taken effective charge of the organisation.

Zastron farmer Alec Cruywagen, previously the commander of the Southern Free State commandos, has been appointed chief of staff of the para-military Wenkommandos, while fellow Free Staters Dirk Ackerman and Willem Eisebeth also feature prominently in the council of generals.

Learning from the 1988 rift in the AWB, when disillusioned members tried to go it alone, the council of generals has apparently decided not to do away with Terre'Blanche. Since its inception

ET Sidelined in silent coup

Eugene Terre'Blanche is still the leader of the AWB but the power is now in the hands of a militant cabal of 'generals'. By JAN TALJAARD

the organisation has become inextricably associated with Terre'Blanche's public persona, and he is still regarded as a strong drawcard.

Apart from the personal resentments, other catalysts for the power shift are seen to be the growing militancy of the white right following alleged Azanian People's Liberation Army (Apla) attacks on farms.

Before the palace coup, tensions inside the AWB were stretched to breaking point with the arrest of another Free State "general", Roelf Jordaan, and seven others in connection with a large arms theft in Welkom.

At the same time, other AWB members were implicated in a bomb blast that damaged the shop of white ANC member Malcolm Hepburn of Patensie.

In an exclusive interview with *The Weekly*



New face at the top ... Alec Cruywagen

Mail, Cruywagen denied that these men — if they are guilty — had acted on AWB orders.

"But we can understand very well why things like this are happening. Apla has declared war and we understand why our young men will

fetch arms when the government is refusing to issue licences for automatic weapons.

"I can tell you one thing — at the moment the senior officers (inside the AWB) are holding tightly onto the reins (*Hou die teuels styf vas*). Once we let go of these reins, all hell will break loose in this country."

Cruywagen predicts that "chaos and violence" will take hold of South Africa before the year is out. Issues and borders will not be settled by negotiation, but by conflict, he says, and from this a volkslaat will arise, "its borders drawn by blood".

Without divulging too many details, Cruywagen admits that recent structural changes have made the AWB a much stronger organisation. "We have just appointed a few strong commandants all over the country and especially in Transvaal, where there have been problems.

"Strict discipline has been instilled in the ranks of the Wenkommandos. There is a great momentum, with new members joining every day."

Cruywagen's claims are borne out in some measure by independent sources in the northern Transvaal. After the Paardekraal watershed in 1988, AWB activities in this region had come to a practical standstill as disillusioned members left the movement.

Following the establishment of the first AWB commando in the Waterberg about three months ago, five different commandos have been established with regular training taking place on two farms in the area.

According to Cruywagen, the AWB has now taken over the complete field of extra-parliamentary right-wing structures.

"There is no place for any other organisation. Even the CP will not be able to mobilise effectively without fitting into our structures."

To this end the AWB has made its structures available for any right-wing mobilisation, Cruywagen said. He claimed that CP members were already attending AWB training camps.

Questioned on the figure of 34 000 Wenkommando members boasted by the AWB, Cruywagen was adamant the figure was correct. He said the east and west Rand commandos alone totalled nearly 19 000 people.

When it was pointed out to him that hardly 700 members in uniform attended the AWB's mass rally last December 16 in Kempton Park, Cruywagen was unfazed.

"You have to remember that economic circumstances are keeping most of our members away — they have to come long distances."

"The percentage of those who did turn up compares well with the attendance figures of similar movements in Europe before war broke out."

AS PRESIDENT F W de Klerk made his February 2 speech, so Namibia moved to independence. There has been much speculation as to the relationship between the two events. Some believe the SA government saw Namibia as a kind of test run for change in SA itself. If the process went smoothly there — and by early February 1990 it was clear that it had — then the government could risk a similar process in SA itself.

It is easy to point to great differences between the two processes. Not only are the countries themselves very different — Namibia's entire population is less than that of greater Cape Town, for example — but SA is not now, as Namibia was then, freeing itself from colonial rule and moving to independence, nor does it have the special international status Namibia enjoyed.

Emphasis on the differences, however, can obscure the fact that in both countries there is a fundamentally similar process under way, a move towards democracy. And the way that process worked in Namibia has many lessons for SA, lessons which have not been learned in the past three years, despite SA's involvement in the transition in Namibia in the year before De Klerk's speech.

This may have been, in part, because it did not suit the government to follow the Namibian model. After all, Swapo had come to power there. The government, with very different plans for SA, made virtually no reference to what had happened in Namibia, and clearly did not see it as an example to follow.

And for their part, though they attended the Namibian independence celebrations, the ANC leaders failed to see the relevance of much of what had happened in Namibia for the SA transition.

Perhaps they were put off drawing parallels by the compromises they knew Swapo had had to make, or by what they came to learn of the SA government's massive funding of Swapo's opponents during the election, and of the dirty tricks SA agents

were responsible for during the transition in Namibia.

But the fact that the SA government had approved the process in Namibia should have meant that it should have been challenged with the question: why could the basic process that had been followed there not be applied in SA itself?

The basic lesson which could be drawn from the Namibian model was the importance of the free and fair election of a constituent assembly. The Namibian case suggested that they would require a large number of international monitors, a lesson which the recent Angolan debate has reinforced.

Such an election would require, too, as in Namibia, the various political parties contesting the election to accept a code of conduct. While the national peace accord is a step towards such a code, it does not go nearly far enough. There should be a mechanism, as in Namibia, for the parties to meet under the chairmanship of an international person of stature to sort out problems.

In Namibia the UN's Martti Ahtisaari saw the code of conduct, and the way it was given effect, as one of Unlag's greatest achievements. It might include a commitment to accept the outcome of the election, if the international monitors declare it free and fair. A free and fair election here will

Namibia holds hopeful lessons for the SA transition

8/10/93 22/1/93

CHRISTOPHER SAUNDERS



□ AHTISAARI

require too, as in Namibia, the earlier agreement of at least the major parties to a set of constitutional rules and principles. There is little merit in the argument that Codesa is not the place to draw up such rules and principles, because it is not a

democratically elected body. These are the rules which make the democratic game possible, not the game itself. Most of them are self-evidently essential to the success of the process, and a necessary part of any democratic order. They encompass fundamental human rights, including the right to oppose, and a multiparty system.

In the Namibian case the rules were agreed to by the SA government and Swapo in 1982 after secret negotiations. The entire Namibian package might well have been taken over lock stock and barrel by Codesa, including the provision that the constitution must be approved by a two-thirds majority of the constituent assembly. Why should SA be different?

In retrospect it is clear that other aspects of the Namibian transition should also have been followed in SA. The ANC played into the government's hands with its simplistic call for the release of all political prisoners, as if the concept of political prisoners was in all cases unproblematic.

The result was long delays and disagreements about who fell into the category of political prisoner, and in the end the release of some who should not have been released. Had the Namibian example been followed from the beginning, difficult cases would have been left to an

impartial international mediator to decide, and the entire matter would have been depoliticised.

In Namibia, too, from the time the transition began in 1989 there was a set timetable, laid down years earlier. SA did not have the advantage of a Contact Group to help formulate such a timetable, but only in recent months have both major players come up with a timetable, after years when very little progress was made.

It now seems that an acceptable timetable can be agreed to very soon. But here too the Namibian case has lessons to offer: that there should be sanctions to make the parties stick to the timetable, besides the vague threat of economic ruin if the process of transition continues indefinitely.

In the Namibian case the SA government eventually realised that only a majority government, which meant a Swapo government, would bring legitimacy and an end to the conflict. So long as the constitutional principles were upheld, providing for minority protection, white interests would be safeguarded. Whites did not leave the country in droves when Swapo came to power. The white community in Namibia today is mostly reconciled to the new order, many whites far prefer it to the old.

What is encouraging about the Namibian case is not only that the transition itself was, after a disastrous start, relatively peaceful, and produced a government which all parties accepted. Now, after almost three years, the country recently held a second national election, this time for a second chamber, known as the National Council. This time around there was no massive UN presence, and only a handful of monitors. Yet the election went off peacefully, which perhaps explains why it received virtually no coverage in the SA media. It was also, by all accounts, free and fair.

It is easy to read about the elections in Angola and Kenya and be discouraged. Many of the more relevant lessons for SA lie on our doorstep, in Namibia, where SA itself was involved, and they are hopeful ones. □ Saunders teaches history at UCT.

IFP gets 'rocket' over claims

ESTHER WAUGH
Political Staff

THE government gave the Inkatha Freedom Party an extraordinary dressing down at last week's bilateral meeting, confidential documents in the possession of The Argus reveal.

The crucial talks between the two sides — the first since IFP leader Chief Mangosuthu Buthelezi broke off contact with the government last year — ended with a terse statement saying more discussions were planned.

But the documents show for the first time the depth of acrimony which actually existed.

It emerges that a memorandum presented at the meeting by the IFP so infuriated the government delegation — led by Constitutional Development Minister Roelf Meyer — that a counter-memorandum was presented describing the IFP submissions as "the last straw".

When the talks started on Monday the IFP, led by National Chairman Dr Frank Mdlalose, tabled a memorandum to the government containing a series of serious allegations about government/ANC connivance in negotiations.

After its presentation the two parties adjourned until 12.30 pm Tuesday. The meeting finished 45 minutes later, after the government had read out its counter-blast.

The confidential memoranda give a graphic picture of the anger that exists on both sides. In its no-punches-pulled memorandum the government accused IFP leaders and the KwaZulu government of making "untrue and distorted allegations" about its behaviour in the negotiation process.

The government said because of its special responsibilities to the process, it had resisted the temptation to react publicly to the IFP's provocation.

However, "the latest memorandum was the last straw."

It labelled the IFP memorandum as "blatant, untrue, hard propaganda".

The government added: "Reading the document (and listening to it being read out to the meeting) leaves one with a sense of shocked disbelief that such a piece of banal nonsense could be produced from within the ranks of a respected political party and of the proud Zulu nation."

"The explanation clearly lies in the fact that this document was compiled by a person who is poorly informed, technically unqualified, and with questionable ulterior motives. It would appear that senior members of the IFP delegation had no hand in the compilation of the document."

Ratanda 'tense' after more attacks

GAVIN DU VENAGHE

THE ANC feared another major outbreak of violence in Ratanda township near Heidelberg following several attacks on residents in the past few days, the organisation's PWV region spokesman Ronnie Mamoepa said yesterday.

Mamoepa said early yesterday morning three men wearing balacavas attacked a minibus taxi before opening fire on residents walking to work.

He said several similar incidents had been reported since Saturday, when a 17-year-old boy was killed by masked gunmen after an ANC rally.

He said schooling had "ground to a halt" and the mood in the township was tense.

Police spokesman Emmie du Preez said a man with an AK-47 opened fire early yesterday on a taxi full of Inkatha supporters before fleeing into the township.

Shortly afterwards a man was killed by a pistol shot, and police chased a suspect who disappeared into a nearby hostel.

Meanwhile, Sapa reports from Durban that the Natal/KwaZulu regional dispute resolution committee yesterday strongly objected to the unilateral declaration of Mool River and Estcourt as unrest areas and asked the Law and Order Minister why the committee was not consulted.

The minister had undertaken to consult affected communities.

De Klerk loses white support

LOYD COULTS

WHILE the ANC was maintaining its popularity among blacks, President F W de Klerk and the NP were steadily losing the support of black and white South Africans, according to a recent Markhor poll.

Markhor deputy MD Christine Woessner said yesterday results of a November poll on socio-political and economic trends showed that although the NP remained the most accepted party by whites, there was a drop from 75% to only 58% of those who would definitely or perhaps vote for the party. Black support declined from 52% to 28%.

Inkatha remained a popular party with whites. Although only 3% said they would definitely vote for the party, 19% would perhaps do so and a further 29% felt good about the party.

Among blacks however 71% of the sample rejected the organisation, 23% more than those who spurned the CP.

The ANC remained a clear favourite with blacks, with an overwhelming majority (66%)

who would definitely vote for it.

The SACP was included in the survey for the first time, and found strong support. While only 8% of blacks would vote for the party, 31% said they would perhaps vote for it, and 14% felt good about it.

The overwhelming majority of whites (85%) rejected the party.

Woessner said there had been a sharp drop in positive attitudes to De Klerk's leadership.

"De Klerk has lost all the ground he gained in the May 1992 survey and more. Results indicate the lowest vote of confidence (by blacks and whites) since he became president.

'Electoral commission heeded urgently'

TIM COHEN

CAPE TOWN — An independent electoral commission to help negotiate an election code of conduct was an urgent priority, ANC spokesman Gill Marcus said yesterday.

She was reacting to "disappointment" expressed by DP leaders after an inconclusive meeting with ANC leaders about the disruption of two DP meetings near Cape Town.

The DP's Jasper Walsh said the ANC's sug-

gestion of using peace accord structures was inadequate because these were not proactive.

The DP's James Selfe said many peace accord agreements should be augmented by bilateral deals. Marcus said it was impractical for all political groups to have agreements with each other. An electoral commission was essential.

AFEX CORPORATION SOCIETE ANONYME

(Incorporated in Luxembourg) (RC No. R19600)

DUKER EXPLORATIO

ANC to rely on power of masses for poll victory

JOHANNESBURG. — The ANC will embark on a "mass-driven" campaign aimed at winning elections for a transitional government, the organisation's PWV region secretary-general, Mr Paul Mashatile announced.

Addressing a Press conference here, Mr Mashatile repeated ANC predictions that elections for a transitional government would be held later this year or early in 1994.

Outlining issues to be discussed at the PWV region general council meeting scheduled for the weekend, he said the campaign would be divided into three phases:

- Motivation of activists and consolidation of the ANC/Communist Party/Cosatu alliance;

- Door-to-door campaigning, marches, house meetings, dissemination of ANC policies and membership recruitment; and

- Mobilisation of people to vote for "the ANC, peace and democracy". — Sapa.

WV'S promise

3044 22/1/93

End to violence in SA by 1995

By GUY OLIVER

PRESIDENT F W de Klerk has promised an end to South Africa's violence by 1995.

He gave this assurance yesterday after meeting the 1995 World Cup rugby directors and earlier he gave it to an Anglican delegation which included the Archbishop of Canterbury, Dr George Carey, at Tyngis.

However, Mr De Klerk did not elaborate on how this was to be achieved.

It is understood he was referring to increased optimism over the resumption of bilateral talks with the ANC, who have also given solid backing to the third rugby World Cup.

Mr Keith Rowlands, secretary of the International Rugby Football Council, who last year was against holding the rugby extravaganza in South Africa because of the high levels of violence, said Mr De Klerk had promised violence would have been tackled by the time the whistle blew for the first game.

Mr Rowlands said he would keep an open mind on Mr De Klerk's promise.

Mr De Klerk met for an hour with the chairman of Rugby World Cup Limited, Mr Russ Thomas, International Rugby Football Council chairman Sir Ewart Bell, chairman of Rugby World Cup BY Mr Marcel Marthin and Dr Nic Labuschagne, of South Africa. SA Rugby Football Union (Safu) executive president Professor Fritz Eloff and Safu co-president Mr Ebrahim Patel were also at the meeting.

Mr De Klerk predicted the World Cup would be a new dawn for South African tourism which would "blossom and bloom".

He said tourist facilities would be upgraded and in place and "in 1995 we will offer sunshine in midwinter. The only other place in the world you will find that is Australia."

Mr De Klerk said the government would "underpin" the event.

As with other sports, the government would make "special provisions" available to the Safu. Sport should not be politicised, but assistance should be provided to ensure South Africa's attractiveness as a venue for international events.

"We must deal frugally with taxpayers' money but

this is also in the interests of the country," Rugby World Cup Ltd chairman Mr Russ Thomas said previously the World Cup had shown a profit and much of the money was used to boost the development of the sport.

Mr Thomas said the event would be "the great rugby event of the decade. South Africa is a country that so many people want to play in and visit. We still have lots to do and will hold discussions in the next few days while we are here."

A jovial Mr Thomas said he was "heartened by the interest shown by the government".

The event would glean a television audience of over two billion and early estimates were that about 50 000 rugby fanatics would make the long haul journey to watch the event.

The 1991 World Cup netted a R150 million profit for the organisers and did not take into account the multi-million rand spin-off for local tourist operators.



SUNNY RUGBY SKIES...

President F W de Klerk met Rugby World Cup organisers at Tyngis yesterday. The meeting, from left, SA Rugby Football Union executive president Prof Fritz Eloff, chairman of the International Rugby Football Council Sir Ewart Bell, chairman of Rugby World Cup Limited Mr Russ Thomas, Mr De Klerk, secretary of the International Rugby Football Council Mr Keith Rowlands and Safu co-president Mr Ebrahim Patel.

Photo: BERNY GOOL

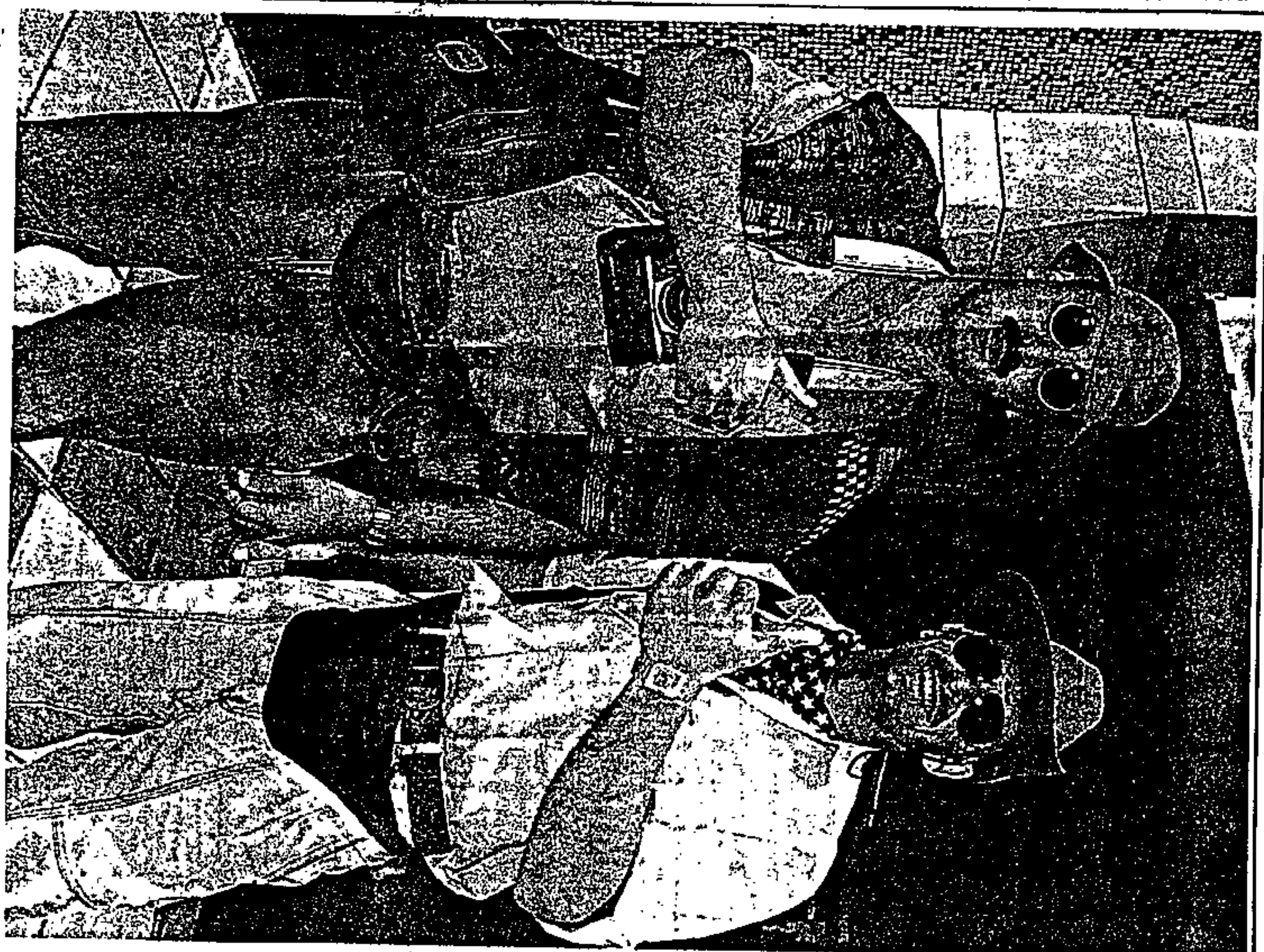
iffs, which were the cheapest in the world.

But if the expected 50 000-plus rugby fans arrived, there could be a shortage of hotel accommodation.

However, Mr Gooderson was unimpressed with the government's commitment to tourism which had allocated Sator a "paltry" R55 million to promote South Africa.

South Africa attracted only about 300 000 foreign tourists a year against Australia's 2.8 million.

Black 'Bak unlikely in 1995 — PAC — Page 3



TOURIST COPS...

Constables Paul van Dyk and Herman Marée, of the Tourist Assistance Unit, don, one of the many disguises designed to throw would-be muggers off their trail as they follow city tourists.

Yesterday they pretended to be tourists themselves but sometimes the pair dress "really scruffy" and do not shave for days in an effort to enhance their inconspicuousness.

The unit's presence in the city has led to a big drop in crime against tourists. Only two muggings were reported in December and none in October.

Photo: BERNY GOOL

Too many lies, Govt tells Inkatha

By Esther Waugh
Political Reporter

CAPE TOWN — The Government gave the Inkatha Freedom Party an extraordinary dressing down at last week's bilateral meeting, confidential documents in the possession of The Star reveal.

The crucial talks between the two sides — the first since IFP leader Chief Mangosuthu Buthelezi broke off contact with the Government last year — ended with a terse statement saying more discussions were planned.

But the documents show for the first time the depth of acrimony which actually existed.

A memorandum presented at the meeting by the IFP so infuriated the Government delegation — led by Constitutional Development Minister Roelf Meyer — that a counter-memorandum was presented, describing the IFP submissions as "the last straw".

When the talks started on Monday, the IFP — led by national chairman Dr Frank Mdlalose — tabled a memorandum to the Government containing serious allegations about Government-ANC connivance in negotiations.

After its presentation, the two parties adjourned until 12.30 pm on Tuesday. The meeting finished 45 minutes later, after the Government had read out its counter-blast.

The confidential memoranda give a graphic picture of the anger on both sides. In its memorandum the Government accused IFP leaders and the KwaZulu government of making "untrue and distorted allegations" about its behaviour in the negotiation process.

The Government said because of its special responsibilities to the process, it had resisted the temptation to react publicly to the IFP's provocation.

However, "the latest memorandum was the last straw: too many lies and distortions repeated once too often", the

Govt and Inkatha clash

From Page 1

Government said. It labelled the IFP memorandum as "blatant, untrue, hard propaganda".

The Government added: "Reading the document (and listening to it being read out to the meeting) leaves one with a sense of shocked disbelief that such a piece of banal nonsense could be produced from within the ranks of a respected political party and of the proud Zulu nation."

"The explanation clearly lies in the fact that this document was compiled by a person who is poorly informed, technically unqualified, and with questionable ulterior motives. It would appear senior members of the IFP delegation had no hand in the compilation of the document."

In the original memorandum, which sparked the furious response, the IFP said there had been minimal co-operation between the two parties since Codesa 2 collapsed in May.

It accused the Government of a strategy which aimed at creating a long and open-ended process of transition in which the Government and the ANC would share power.

The IFP added: "One

could speculate how on earth the most secure offices and files in intelligence quarters were rifled to expose financial dealings which were aimed at making Dr Buthelezi look like the stooge the ANC says he was."

"The Official Secrets Act was obviously transgressed by someone in Intelligence, and yet there are no Goldstone inquiries into the leaks."

Absent

Hitting back, the Government delegation said: "... when IFP delegates were absent from important Codesa meetings, or when IFP delegates had to operate without a mandate because they could not get one from their principals, or when IFP delegates entered into agreements that were afterwards not well received at home and then blamed others for their predicament, or when strange foreigners appeared as IFP delegates," it had actively promoted IFP interests.

The IFP should blame itself, and not other parties, for its perceived misfortunes at Codesa, the Government said.

The Government proposed that the two parties discuss their com-

mon ground and said: "The real leaders should talk to each other and play a decisive role throughout."

The next Government-IFP meeting is scheduled for Wednesday.

● The Government-ANC bosberaad enters its third day today with no news of how the deliberations are going at a secret venue.

The Star understands that today is the last day of discussions on violence-related matters, including the implementation of the September 26 Record of Understanding.

The next two or three days of the bush indaba have been devoted to constitutional matters, including the reincorporation of TBVC states and matters pertaining to elections.

A draft electoral law and the setting up of an election commission, including the ANC's Transition to Democracy Act of 1992, will also be discussed, according to reliable sources.

Government negotiators, led by Meyer, will proceed to Cape Town after the bosberaad — the second between the Government and the ANC since last month — for the official opening of Parliament on Friday.

To Page 3

Graham: "we'll be hard pushed to achieve the prerequisites for free and fair elections in 1993."

"But we have to ask the question: is it worth having elections that are not entirely free and fair if it means getting out of the current stagnation? The cost of postponing the process any longer is greater than the cost of risking an election that isn't entirely fair and free."

And so, he feels, "we have to take a deep breath and do what we can as well as we can in the accepted time-frame. This is an intolerant society, and we will not be able to stop intolerance before an election. All we can do is set up mechanisms to contain it."

Kane-Berman takes the opposite opinion, pointing to the examples of Angola and Mozambique in the 1970s: "If we hold elections before we are ready for them," he says, "we might well be laying the foundations for further conflict down the line. We really have to challenge the assumption that a so-called democratic election will be the quick-fix solution to all our problems. It could create more conflict than it solves."

With elections promised within the year, MARK GEVISSER looks at whether South Africa's climate of political intolerance will allow a fair poll

KENYA: So violent is last month's electoral campaign that more than 30 are killed and three sons hack their father to death for his choice of candidate. So severe are allegations of rigging that the opposition refuses to accept the results.

ANGOLA: Hope is destroyed after a promising campaign and model elections, when Jonas Savimbi cries foul and plunges the country back into civil war.

SOUTH AFRICA: The break-up of a Democratic Party meeting in Guguletu last week raises questions, once again, about the possibility of free political organisation in a radically intolerant society. But this latest fracas is the tip of a jagged iceberg: in many parts of the land — Natal, the Vaal Triangle, Bekkersdal — the wrong political alliances can be a death sentence. And yet the country is gearing up for an election before the end of the year.

Popo Molefe, head of the African National Congress elections commission, puts it simply: "Our people want democracy. They have wanted it since 1912. They cannot wait another day."

The will of "the people" is not the only reason why ANC president Nelson Mandela has declared 1993 the year of South Africa's first democratic elections. There is also the feeling, strongest in the liberation movements and its supporters, that violence cannot be tackled until there is a new and credible government, and that the longer the wait, the more the intolerance.

And so the race is on. Voter education has become one of the biggest growth-industries in the development world, with more than 20 organisations bringing out a plethora of publications



and programmes; the ANC has set in motion a programme of training for a projected 170 000 electoral canvassers; the National Party is frantically attempting to cobble together a coalition of Christian Democrats; and the Democratic Party has launched an organising drive in the townships.

But all this election fever begs the fundamental questions: Are we headed for a form of a democratic election without democratic content? Is it possible, in 1993, to have elections that will truly be "free and fair"? And, if not, is it worth going through with the exercise anyway?

"I think we will have elections soon," comments John Kane-Berman, executive director of the South African Institute of Race Relations, "but I suspect

that they will be unfree and unfair. The great risk of holding elections in the present climate of intolerance and coercion is that the results will reflect who, in a given area, has the greatest capacity to intimidate, and not who has the highest support."

All the political players claim to be dealing with this problem. Molefe acknowledges, for example, that "our priority is to build a positive image of the ANC, and this cannot be done if we don't at the same time address the issue of political intolerance". He blames incidents of intolerance on "agents provocateurs".

The truth, of course, is more complicated. Obed Bapela, deputy secretary of the ANC's PWV region, has already held two "peace summits" in the

region, aimed at dealing with the issue of intolerance.

In his work, he hears the oft-repeated complaint that parties who reaped the benefits of apartheid are now trying to mobilise black voters. "One comrade in the Vaal put it clearly. He asked,

"Where were they when we were being detained and imprisoned and tortured? Now that things have opened up because of our suffering, they're coming in." So of course there is resentment."

Bapela adds: "We grew up in an era of extreme intolerance. And so many responded with intolerance. People have fought hard to maintain strongholds against the apartheid regime, and sometimes they'll stop at nothing to protect these. Our job is to break this cycle." He admits, however, that in

areas like the Vaal, where a war is still raging, "we can't yet demand tolerance. All we can do is prepare people for political tolerance once the war is over".

The two major issues, comments Paul Graham, programme director of the Institute for a Democratic Alternative in South Africa (Idasa), are "that we need to make sure that there is a climate of sufficient tolerance, and we need to make sure that we have sufficient capacity to administer the electoral process".

Administering elections is perhaps the easier of the two: there seems to be consensus among all parties, international observers and non-governmental organisations that there should be an independent electoral commission and that, rather than asking the tarnished Home Affairs Department to run things, a brigade of new electoral officers should be trained. Already, with funds from the Labour Party in Britain and the Social Democratic Party in Sweden, the ANC has launched a programme to train its own officials, and the Malla Trust has started training out of seven resource centres countrywide.

Malla's training and media programme is designed, according to communications officer Barry Gilder, "to train potential officers and party agents, but also introduce South Africans to the notions of tolerance that are part and parcel of democracy. In this respect, as part of the Education for Democracy Network, we are using print media, theatre and radio."

There is also consensus on the need to "level the playing field" before elections: all commentators speak of the need for equal access to the media, and equal access of all parties to prospective voters.

But here's where things get difficult: the latter is predicated on precisely that climate of tolerance South Africa has been struggling to attain since the unbanning of the liberation movements three years ago. And tolerance in turn is predicated on peace: "Unless we resolve the role of the security forces, and until we have a peacekeeping force that truly keeps the peace," comments

*Tired of their leader's failure
to turn words into action,
AWB militants shoulder
Terre'Blanche aside ...*

Silent coup sidelines



The man whose name has
been the symbol of the far
right, Eugene Terre'Blanche,
becomes a mere figurehead
in his own party

Photo: KEVIN CARTER

Terre'Blanche

A SILENT coup inside the Afrikaner Weerstandsbeweging has wrenched effective control from founder, Eugene Terre'Blanche, and moved it into the hands of a militant cabal.

While Terre'Blanche officially remains at the head of the organisation, planning and operational functions are now controlled by a newly structured general staff, consisting mostly of militant AWB "generals" from the Free State.

Alec Cruywagen, a Free State farmer, has been appointed chief of staff of the para-military Wenkommandos, while fellow Free Staters Dirk Ackerman and Willem Etsebeth also feature prominently in the council.

The council of generals has decided not to oust Terre'Blanche completely. The organisation has become inextricably associated with Terre'Blanche's public persona, and he is still regarded as a strong draw-card.

Full details: PAGE 3



Oupa to squatters: Get out or else

W/Mant 22/1-28/1/93

By ERIC NAKI: East London

CISKEI military leader Brigadier Oupa Gqozo has given squatters throughout the homeland a week to move — just three years after declaring that people should build houses wherever there was open space.

The statement, made shortly after seizing power in early 1990, brought him great popularity: the first squatter camp sprang up rapidly in Mdantsane, and was named Gqozo village.

But this Monday, he warned over Radio Ciskei that squatters who had erected shacks without permission would be in trouble. He gave them seven days to move. "I want people to obey my headmen, my councillors, my chiefs and my tribal authorities. We are going to take action against squatters. We will throw their stuff away. Squatting is causing bad administration," he said.

Squatters should go back to where they came from, and if they wanted land to build houses, they should seek permission from their headmen and councillors.

Community leaders and organisations in the region believe that Gqozo's threat springs from the fact that Ciskei's burgeoning squatter camps are strongly supportive of the African National Congress.

"He knows that the squatter settlements have been in the forefront of resistance against his government," said ANC Border media officer, Mcebisi Bata. Gqozo was desperate to boost the membership of his unpopular African Democratic Movement (ADM) in time for the coming multiparty election in South Africa, he added.

Bata warned that the ANC and its allies in the region would act to protect communities against action by Gqozo. A spokesman for the Mdantsane branch of the South African Civic Association (Sanco), Mzwandile Buzani, said Sanco would mobilise its members to resist any removal.

Militantly anti-Gqozo squatter settlements are springing up throughout Ciskei. In Mdantsane, for instance, there was not a single shack before Gqozo assumed power in Ciskei, but besides Gqozo village, there are now also Manyano, Linge, Velwano, Hani Park, Slovo, Masibambane and many others.

According to figures released by Ciskei authorities, about 10 000 families lived in squatter camps in the homeland in 1991.

Squatters want nothing to do with the Ciskei government except as a source of affordable housing. Gqozo's headmen and councillors are seen as having been unable to provide houses, using their positions to extract money from residents for the government instead. - Elnews.

Leon woos Houghton domestics

W/Mant 22/1-28/1/93
(304/1)

By FERIA HAJFAJEE
THE question is: who will serve the drinks at Democratic Party MP Tony Leon's shindig for domestic workers in Houghton tomorrow?

The aproned domestics, gardeners, their spouses and madams (if they feel up to it) from the northern suburbs have been invited to a festival in Norwood. They will be shown how to vote, told what their new labour rights are likely to be and learn "what peace, freedom and democracy will mean".

They are the latest targets of the enterprising DP's drive to recruit members. "It is an effort to extend our base," says Leon, adding, "domestic workers are a very neglected constituency."

Leon is confident they will succeed. The South African Domestic Workers Union has gained little ground in the northern suburbs where working conditions are better and workers less ripe for trade unionism.

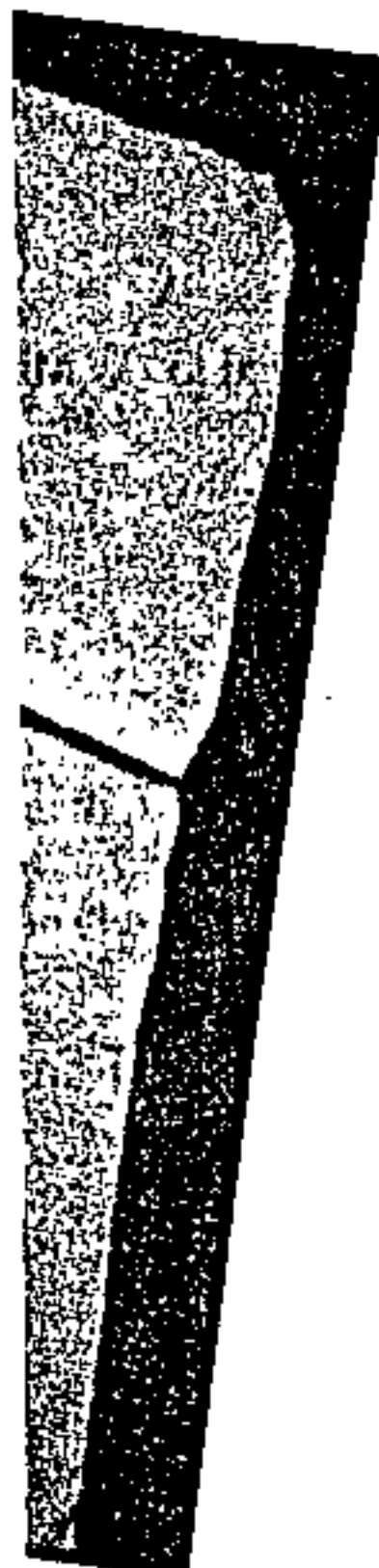
Houghton is a pilot project; if it succeeds, the DP will attempt to woo domestic workers around the country.

And the party has pulled out all the stops for tomorrow's party: free drinks and snacks, a Matla Trust play about voting (*How to Use Your Vote in the New Election*) and transport have all been laid on free of charge.

Leon will spread his gospel through an interpreter and he is hoping to preach to a sizeable congregation: lengthy and detailed advertisements have been placed in community newspapers and DP workers have been busy phoning every single member of the constituency asking them to send their domestic worker to the party.



Caroline Cullinan T-shirt, with the theme 'Save the African Animals' illustrated below. Also on offer is a delightful children's T-shirt (left) on the theme Environment 2000, from Design Inc in Zimbabwe



40
40

**NO
STAMP
NEEDED
IN RSA**

scription order)

hirt

approx 8 yrs old)

approximate)

Price Code
Sort Code 17

kly

FORGET the Queensbury rules — negotiation politics is moving up two or three gears and it's "kick the man when he's down" time.

The series of bilateral discussions involving the African National Congress, the government, Inkatha and the Concerned South Africans Group (Cosag) which began, or ended, this week signals the start of a new phase in the bargaining process, a phase in which progress will be measured in centimetres.

Cosag started the ball rolling last weekend by telling the government that it was not opposed to a resumption of multi-party discussions, provided they led to a settlement in which the ANC played little or no part. And this meeting was regarded as a success.

Inkatha followed by apparently demanding that the Record of Understanding put together last year by the government and the ANC be renegotiated as a condition for Inkatha agreeing to join new multilateral discussions.

The ANC and the government are locked in yet another of the week's bilateral discussion forums, wrestling with issues such as political violence, security legislation and the mechanics of a transitional authority, not

to mention the reincorporation of the bantustans, federalism and joint control of state resources (including power).

Looking back, it may be hard to accept that the last two years have been the easy part, but it is a fact. As the negotiation process moves from the preliminary phase to a substantive one, the obstacles which must now be overcome will move from the peripheral to the central.

This week's bilateral discussion revealed — by what was omitted from formal statements, rather than what was included — that the competition for political power in a "new" South Africa is under way in earnest. They saw most parties accept the need for a new multilateral forum, while insisting this be on their terms. And this is just the first step.

The parties fall into two distinct groups — those who know they will be marginalised by a free and fair one-person-one-vote election, and those who believe they have nothing to fear from such a poll.

Only the ANC has any real confidence that it can count on substantial electoral support. Chief Mangosuthu Buthelezi and his Inkatha Freedom Party (IFP) cannot, dare not, put their faith in the electoral process and thus have two options. The first, a short-term tactic, is to delay the judgement day for as long as possible, while the second, a long-term strategy, is to ensure that whatever the election outcome, the IFP and its leaders have a guaranteed place in the sun.

Central to the latter strategy is the concept of federalism. Buthelezi and Inkatha feel confident enough about their support base in Natal/kwaZulu to use it as a path to power, but the approach only works if the new constitution goes the federal route.

Lucas Mangope of Bophuthatswana and the vested interests which prop up his regime stand to lose just about everything unless they can somehow keep the bantustan intact in a loose confederal system. The same applies to Brigadier Oupa Gqozo in the

Ciskei.

The task of persuading Buthelezi, Mangope, Gqozo and others to become involved in a constitutional process which will not guarantee their political and economic future is enormous.

The National Party government has put forward a federal constitution which so dilutes the power of a central government as to make it meaningless. The NP is also pushing for certain constitutionally entrenched rights which

will guarantee a major role for it in a "new" South Africa irrespective of the wishes of the electorate.

The ANC, confident of its election prospects, wants no truck with constitutional mechanisms designed for the most part to retain the status quo and perpetuate political and economic inequalities. The movement also believes that issues such as political violence and economic restructuring/upliftment can only begin to be addressed once a transitional authority is in place. Few of the other parties agree.

If these obstacles were not daunting enough, there are a few parties — the Pan Africanist Congress, for one — which clearly hold that the rewards of remaining detached from the process outweigh the benefits of becoming involved.

The current round of bilateral talks must begin to address the detail of issues such as the "reincorporation of the bantustans". How is this to be done, given that political and economic elites in these apartheid creations must agree to give up the benefits of power?

The bilaterals must find enough common ground on constitutional issues to at least agree to proceed to the next stage.

The evidence to date suggests that this will prove far more difficult than at first anticipated. If the ANC is seen to move from its proposal of a unitary state with strong regional and local government, the organisation may as well hand out the PAC membership forms. It has not yet comprehensively sold the "Strategic Perspectives" option to its rank and file, and further concessions could be fatal.

Yet Inkatha, Bophuthatswana, Ciskei — the least of the problems, as Gqozo is almost wholly dependent on South African government support — the Conservative Party and others cannot accept a unitary state without committing political suicide. Compromise will be difficult to find, and will come about only through a combination of arm-twisting and payoffs.

The government has made it clear that it will not allow "filibustering" by any party aimed at delaying the process, but Inkatha, in particular, has demonstrated its ability to take such delaying tactics to new and horrific lengths.

None of this implies that negotiations are doomed to failure: a solution will be found simply because the combination of forces pushing South Africa in that direction are greater than the forces resisting it. The temptation to expect continuous and decisive progress, however, must be resisted if we are to avoid a repeat of the 1992 "balloon burst" syndrome.

● Gary van Staden is a political analyst at Kaplan and Stewart Inc. Stockbrokers and a senior research-er (PhD) in the department of politics, University of Leicester, England.

Now for the hard part

The slow and sometimes stalled negotiations process is moving into an even tougher, more difficult phase, writes
GARY VAN STADEN

Federalism on the cards

Aug 23/1993

Violence, intolerance, the dangers

CONSTITUTION-MAKING in South Africa appears to be heading for a federal system based on a compromise between conflicting viewpoints. But the transition process is being threatened by continuing violence and political intolerance. This emerges from the latest findings in a study of attitudes among political opinion-leaders by the Stellenbosch University Centre for International and Comparative Politics.

The researchers found that a decisive majority — 68 percent — of opinion-leaders, including some within the liberation movements, favoured a federal system.

Resistance to federalism was found mainly among supporters of the ANC-SACP and the PAC.

The survey report, released to Weekend Argus today, says for supporters of all the parliamentary parties, except the CP, the first choice by a considerable margin is federation. The figures vary from 85 percent for the NP to 81 percent for the DP.

Most supporters (85 percent) of the Indian parties also prefer a federal model, and so do 96 percent of Inkatha Freedom Party (IFP) supporters.

Of CP members and supporters of other rightwing groups, 66 percent gave partition as their first choice, while 17 percent preferred a model of white domination.

Other survey results show that 75 percent of the ANC-SACP respondents and 44,8 percent of PAC supporters chose a unitary state model.

In both organisations there were opinion leaders who supported a class state — in which the black working class controlled the central government.

Project leader Professor Henrie Kotzé notes in his report that a relatively high number of ANC, SACP-orientated respondents (16 percent) and PAC-orientated respondents (17 percent) put a federal model as their first choice.

■ A federal system, in a constitution spelling out a clear division of powers between central and regional governments, may be on the cards for South Africa if a new attitude survey of opinion-leaders reflects the future political direction. But there are forces that could disrupt the process, reports Weekend Argus Political Correspondent **FRANS ESTERHUYSE**.

Looking at second choices, it emerges that a unitary state is preferred by 65 percent of the NP, 76 percent of the DP and 79 percent of the IFP. In the case of the ANC-SACP, 41 percent indicate federation as their second choice.

"It is clear once again that the differences between the parties are not so deep that some kind of compromise on a model could not be reached," says Professor Kotzé.

He notes that the ANC-SACP has already expressed its support for elected regional bodies and that it appears it will be possible for the most important parties to reach a compromise on regional government powers.

(In the survey questionnaire a federal system was defined as a system "dividing South Africa into a number of multiracial regions vested with considerable autonomy, but at a central level a mixed parliament with proportional representation, a Bill of rights, and checks and balances on the executive branch of government.")

Attitudes revealed in the survey results also indicate that compromise is possible on the controversial issues of "power-sharing" and the protection of minority rights.

The majority of respondents who support the parliamentary parties find proposed minority protection devices for the constitution acceptable, while the ANC-SACP and the PAC find these devices highly unacceptable.

The report says that although the NP has moved away from the protection of group rights to support for the view that individual rights must be protected, there is still a fear that groups such as whites, coloureds and Indians will be "overwhelmed".

"The real test for a new constitution is thus not only whether the majority approves, but whether the minority is going to accept it."

On the issue of political violence and intolerance, the survey report says the high levels of intolerance among certain opinion-leaders reveal "a pattern which spells danger".

"In fact, a great deal of the violence could possibly be ascribed to this very high degree of intolerance among certain groups.

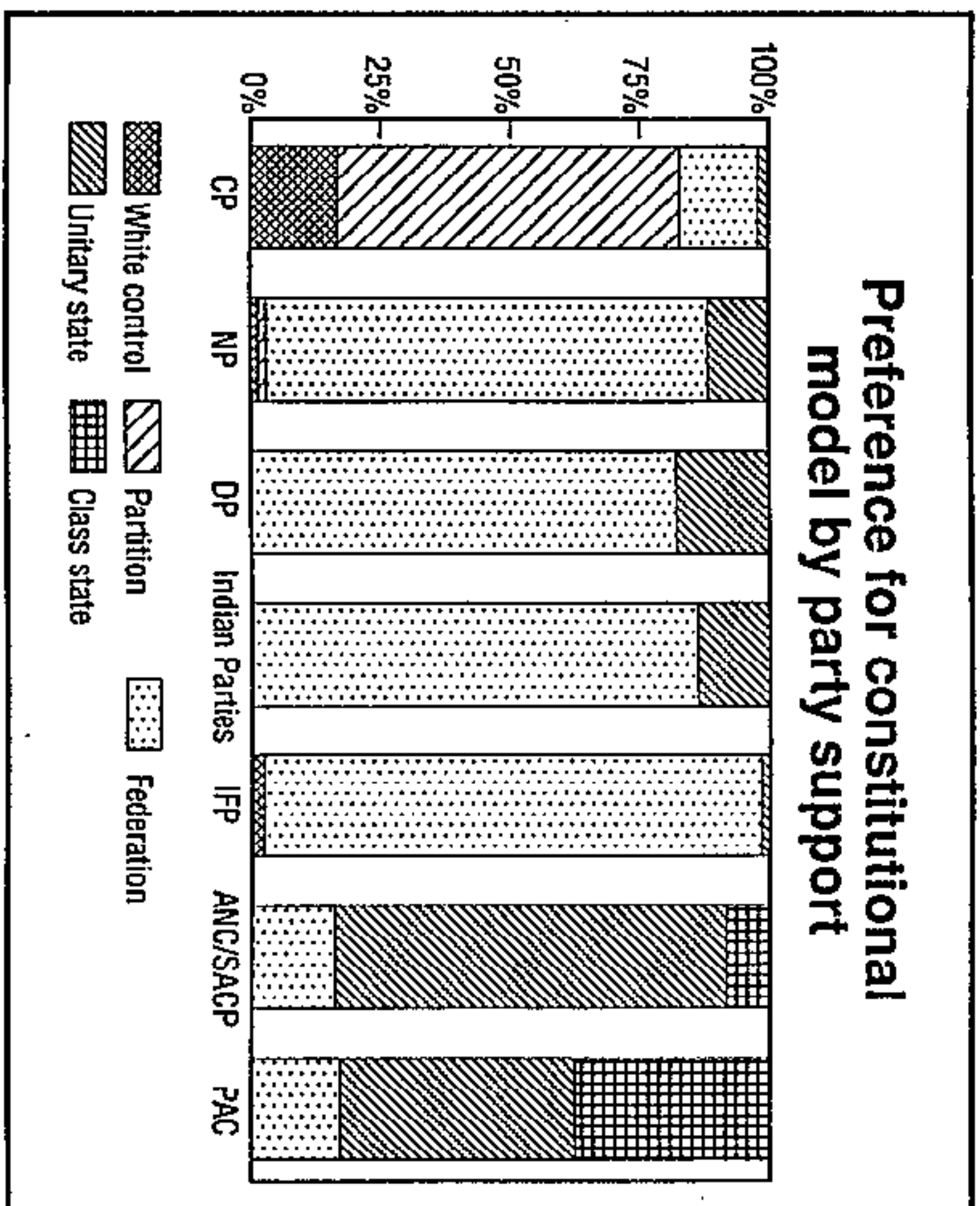
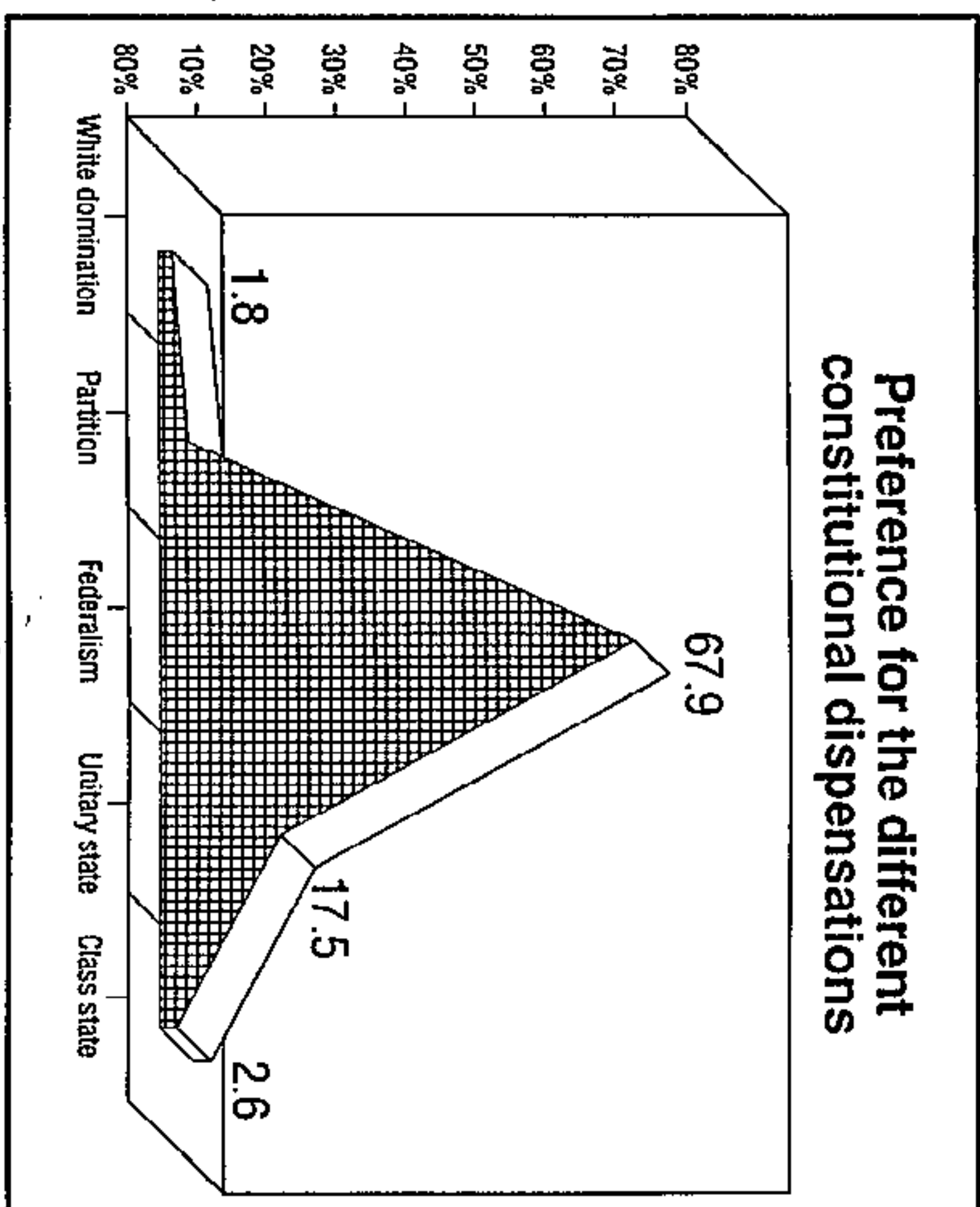
"Tolerance is a prerequisite for a democratic society."

The report says one of the greatest threats to South Africa's transition and to the creation of a climate of reconciliation is the continuing violence.

On the issue of affirmative action, involving the inclusion of additional large numbers of blacks in the civil service, the response of opinion-leaders was largely positive.

The rightwing groups were the only respondents who disagreed, saying the state did not have to appoint more black people to the civil service.

■ See page 13



Government hits back over 'carve up' claim in IFP memo

Blow to negotiations

PETER FABRICIUS, Political Staff

RELATIONS between the government and Inkatha have deteriorated into an insulting slanging match — and the IFP's participation in multi-party negotiations is in grave jeopardy.

Observers believe that the government now suspects that advisers to the IFP — some with foreign connections — have their own hidden agenda and are bedevilling bilateral relations.

IFP leader Chief Mangosuthu Buthelezi yesterday angrily condemned these suggestions as a "racist insult" to him. "I feel very depressed at the suggestion that a politician like myself who has been in politics for more than three decades depends upon advisers," he said in Cape Town.

He was referring to an angry meeting between government and IFP delegations this week when hostile memoranda were exchanged.

The delegations were led by Constitutional Development Minister Roelf Meyer and IFP chairman Frank Mdlalose.

The IFP delegation repeated its accusation that the government and the ANC were conspiring behind the scenes to carve up the country to the exclusion of the IFP and others.

The government retorted with its most aggressive attack so far on the IFP, saying the IFP memorandum was "the last straw, too many lies and distortions repeated once too often."

But what really annoyed Chief Buthelezi was the government's suggestion that the "banal nonsense" in the memorandum represented the views of advisers "with ulterior motives" and not those of the IFP leadership.

"It would appear that senior members of the IFP delegation had no hand in the compilation of the document," the government memorandum said.

"There are forces intent on destroying the trust and common purpose between us."

Observers believe this implies that senior IFP members have expressed their displeasure with the IFP memorandum and that there is tension between them and certain advisers close to Chief Buthelezi.

At a press conference in Cape Town yesterday, Chief Buthelezi rejected this suggestion and said the IFP memorandum represented the views of the IFP leadership "absolutely".

He said that the breakdown would be discussed by the IFP central committee tomorrow.

The government and IFP delegations are scheduled to meet again on Wednesday.

Mr Meyer told Weekend Argus yesterday that he hoped the IFP delegation would remove the unacceptable aspects of the IFP memorandum presented this week.

Asked what impact the souring of relations would have on negotiations, he said the government was still positive.

He referred to the part of the government memorandum which said that it was a pity that the hostile IFP memorandum had been allowed to sour trust between the two parties.

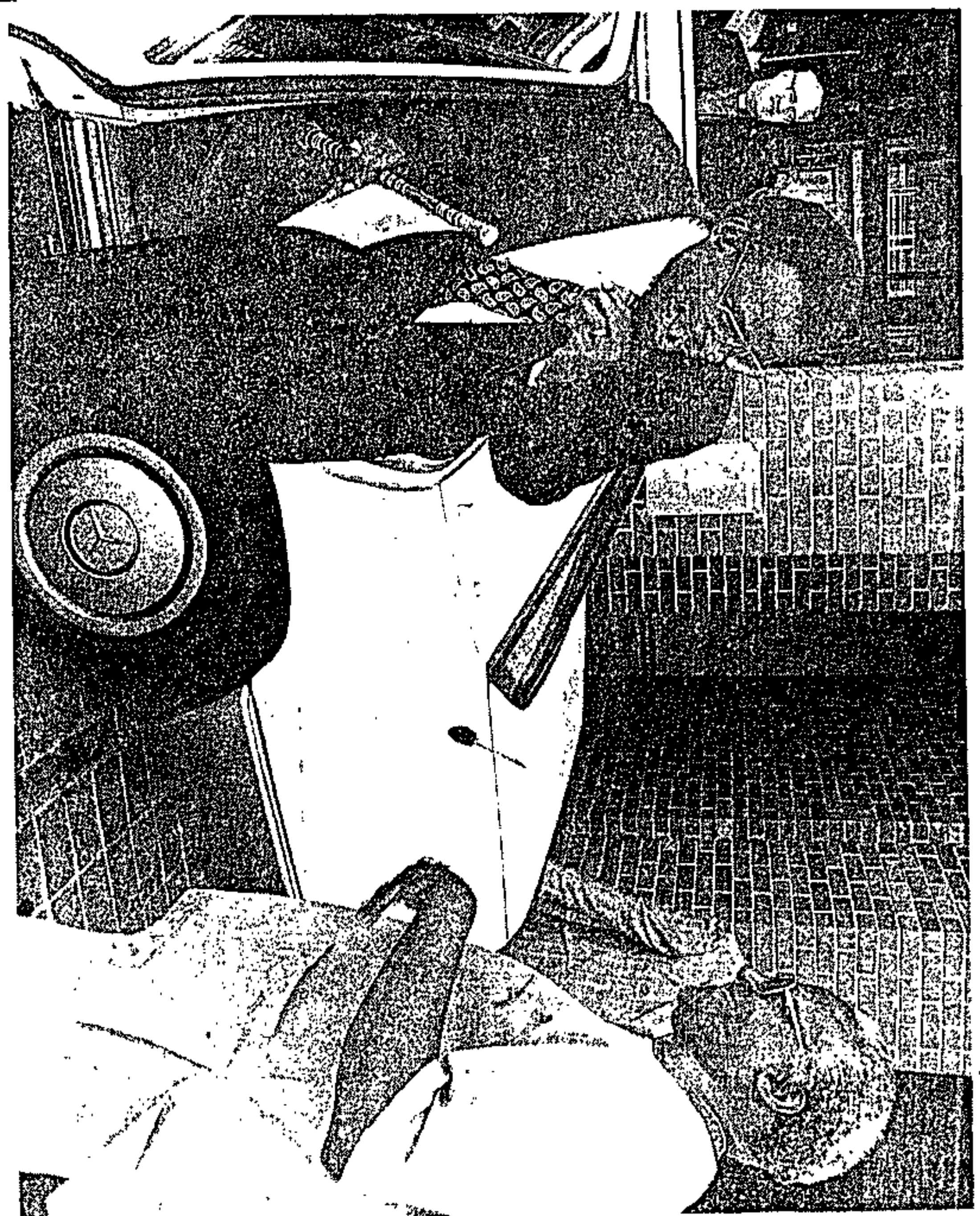
The government and the IFP shared important common constitutional and economic ideals.

The "real leaders" should now talk to each other to take stock of what they had in common, Mr Meyer said.

"Advisers should not be allowed to dictate the terms and mood between us which is so vital for a sound and productive relationship."

Mr Meyer said the fact that senior members of the IFP had not drafted the memorandum gave him hope that the problem could be resolved.

This seemed to refer to the possibility that these senior IFP members could exert influence and tone down the hostile approach contained in the memorandum.



Picture: LEON MÜLLER, Weekend Argus.

Buthelezi chats with churchmen

LEON MÜLLER, Weekend Argus Reporter

THERE is no simple answer to South Africa's problems, says Inkatha Freedom Party leader Chief Mangosuthu Buthelezi, who appealed to the Archbishop of Canterbury, Dr George Carey and the Anglican Consultative Council for understanding.

The church and political leaders met at the University of the Western Cape yesterday.

"There is a great need for an All Church Conference of Re-view, designed to stop to see where we are, to see how we are blundering and to see how to move forward," Chief Buthelezi said.

He said one of the missing factors in National Party politics was a real sense of grief regarding the sins of apartheid.

"Knowledge of the error of apartheid is not awareness of the sin of apartheid. Confessions that apartheid policies were wrong are not confessions that those who were responsible for them have sinned in their wrongness," he said.

Chief Buthelezi called on all members of the council to "understand that we are now failing with failed negotiations because if we had not failed as Christians, negotiations would have succeeded."

He said that he had detected a sense of righteousness in which some church leaders claimed the victory of the suffering masses who struggled against apartheid as victories for their (the church leaders) political thinking.

Pow-wow is dogged by differences

SOUTH 23/1-27/1/93 304A

By Quentin Wilson

UNFINISHED business is dogging the six day NP/ANC pow-wow that started on Wednesday to cement foundations for further multi-lateral negotiations.

Of particular concern in ANC quarters is the continued incarceration of political prisoners promised freedom on November 15.

This deadline was part of the Record of Understanding agreement between the same two political parties in September last year.

According to the ANC's Mr Matthew Phosa, there are "roughly about 20 prisoners" who qualify for release in terms of the agreement, but have not been set free.

"This arrangement threatens to severely dampen the transition process," says Phosa.

"We have been insisting and will continue to insist on their immediate release during our meeting with the NP this week."

Phosa said the release process had been running smoothly until the government set up a national indemnity board in terms of the Further Indemnity Bill passed late last year.

He alleges that the board is making the decisions on who should be released, contrary to the ANC's agreement with the NP that a joint committee of representatives from the ANC, the Department of Correctional Services and the Department of Justice, do the job.

According to Captain Bert Slabbert of the government's Department of Correctional Services, the roles of the two committees are different.

The joint committee, he says, gathers information on disputed cases and its proposals are forwarded to the national indemnity board.

"When the board comes to a decision on an individual case, it

makes its final recommendation to the state president who has the final say," Slabbert said.

But according to ANC spokesperson Mr Carl Niehaus, the diverging opinions will not threaten talks.

"It is a problem," says Niehaus, "but there is no point in getting dogmatic about it."

"It should not be allowed to endanger the negotiation process, although we will certainly pursue the matter with the NP in the coming week."

Although the exact agenda of the ANC/NP meeting has not been released, it is understood that future control of the security forces will be discussed as well as the basic principles of constitution-making.

The meeting is intended as a precursor to a Codesa-type forum which will resume multi-party negotiations for a national political settlement.

Other current bilateral meetings include:

- IFP/NP talks on Monday and Tuesday. No consensus on the status of old Codesa agreements was achieved.

The IFP wanted these agreements to be reviewed as well as discussion on its proposal of a separate Kwazulu/Natal state.

- ANC/DP representatives in the Western Cape met on Wednesday. They set up a joint structure to promote free and fair electioneering in the region.

- Members from the Congress of Traditional Leaders of Southern Africa met President FW de Klerk on Tuesday to express their views on their participation in the negotiation process, the future position of traditional leaders and on violence.

- ANC/IFP talks are planned for February 11. They will discuss each other's role in negotiations as well as ways to stop ongoing political violence.

Patience, urges Callaghan

(304A)
APR 28/1/93

URGING South Africans to have patience, former British Prime Minister Lord Callaghan has cautioned that the fruits of political change will not be tasted "in the twinkling of an eye".

He met President de Klerk at Tuynhuys yesterday as chairman of the Interaction Council, an influential body of elder statesmen and advisers who met in Cape Town to consider the problems of Africa and ways in which to bring the continent back into the mainstream of the international community.

Lord Callaghan praised Mr De Klerk as man who had won "great respect for South Africa in reversing the course of this nation by 180 degrees".

"If you can continue along the lines that you have begun there is hope for this country in a most difficult situation."

He warned though that the inevitable concentration of effort on finding a political settlement was "diverting attention from the very difficult economic situation that you will be faced with when you have a fully legitimate and democratic government."

"All the wasted years in so many ways cannot be undone overnight, in the twinkling of an eye. It will take time."

There was a danger that people believed that by the mere

■ South Africa's problems will not be solved overnight, but should President De Klerk continue along the lines which he has begun then there is every hope for this country in a most difficult situation, says former British Prime Minister Lord Callaghan.

DALE LAUTENBACH, Political Staff

act of changing policy, results could be achieved immediately.

"As a simple farmer let me say that there is an interval between sowing the seed and reaping the harvest. There must be a period of waiting."

The meeting is hearing a wide range of opinion. Among the statesmen are General Olesegun Obasanjo, former military ruler of Nigeria, Mr Lopo do Nascimento, former Angolan prime minister and deputy speaker in that country's first multiparty parliament.

Former Zambian President Kenneth Kaunda is attending and among the advisers is Mr Robert McNamara former chairman of the World Bank.

Head of the Southern African Council of Churches, the Rev Frank Chikane, told the meeting yesterday that black South Africans needed something specific and concrete to grasp now: the firm establishment of a date for elections and a clear perception that no apartheid-based laws were being applied against them.

The fact of negotiations alone had done nothing to change the lives of black people, said Mr Chikane.

"We have to do everything

possible to restart negotiations to this end. He earmarked January and February as the months during which this had to be achieved," he said.

Inkatha leader Magosuthu Buthelezi presented copies of his proposed KwaZulu-Natal federal constitution to the gathering but insisted that its contents were negotiable "at multiparty level".

He had little comment for the Press on the problematic meeting between the IFP and government earlier this week but was "hopeful" that the parties' next meeting, on Wednesday, would be fruitful.

Mr Colin Eglin of the Democratic Party told the gathering that he was more hopeful now than a year ago that "serious negotiations will start soon and materialise".

At the parties to the process were wiser and he saw the gripping task being that of involving ordinary people in the political process.

"Mass action brought them closer to the issues; elections will bring them closer to the process," Mr Eglin said.

McNamara lauds 'wisdom' of leaders

TOS WENTZEL
Political Staff

HELP was needed from the outside world if Africa were to resolve its enormous problems, but the primary responsibility for dealing with them remained that of the African people themselves.

That was the message this week from Mr Robert McNamara, former US Defence Secretary, former head of the Ford Motor Company and former chairman of the World Bank.

He was in Cape Town for a meeting of the Interaction Council, a group of elder statesmen and advisers who attended a conference dealing with the need to bring Africa back to the mainstream of the international system.

In an interview Mr McNamara said it would be natural for black people to assume that, with political participation in a new system, they would receive substantial economic benefits quickly.

These economic benefits could come only from a growing economy.

He doubted whether there could be a substantial shift of the present gross domestic product (GDP) from whites and coloureds on one side to blacks on the other in order to benefit the latter in the areas of higher education expense, public health benefits, improved housing, lower unemployment and higher wages.

These improvements would have to be paid from the only possible source — a growing economy.

The South African economy appeared to have had a negative growth rate in the past few years while around three percent could be considered a normal rate.

He doubted whether the benefits blacks could expect could be provided by such a growth rate and he thought a growth rate in the area of five percent would be required.

This could be achieved only through the South African people and their government resolving to remove the impediments to such growth.

There would have to be higher savings and higher flows of foreign investment.

Such investment would have to be attracted.

Not only sanctions inhibited investment in the past, there was also the unsatisfactory climate — particularly the uncertainty.

Violence and instability would have to be removed before a high flow of foreign investment could be expected.

Mr McNamara, who has frequently visited South Africa, said: "I am personally optimistic about South Africa."

"I have been enormously impressed by the wisdom with which your leaders, De Klerk and Mandela particularly, have approached this very, very difficult problem of integrating your races."

"I say that with some experience from my own country in the period of the Sixties — we have in many ways dealt with problems less successfully than you have".

DP to review future strategy

ROGER FRIEDMAN
Staff Reporter

THE Democratic Party will continue campaigning in the townships but realises its strategy of "blundering on and holding meetings" needs reviewing.

Western Cape chairman Mr Jasper Walsh said a regional executive meeting was held yesterday to analyse the events at the disrupted Guguletu meeting on Monday and to decide a future scenario.

"Apart from public meetings there is much other work to be done in the field of voter education," said Mr Walsh.

The party aimed to open more township branches, set up regular pamphlet information tables, hold house meetings and canvass door-to-door.

But public meetings were still part of the strategy, Mr Walsh said.

"In order to hold public meetings we need the co-operation of other parties. We will have to sit down with them to agree on an acceptable *modus operandi*."

"The PAC, the ANC and Azapo have all said they support the right of organisations to speak, although some have provisos."

"Our first meeting will be held with the ANC today to sort out a regional approach to the problem," said Mr Walsh.

"We believe we have reached the stage where the sooner an election is held, the sooner we will see economic recovery and a return to political normality."

"But for an election to be held it is necessary to conduct political activity — and holding meetings is a vital part of the electoral process."

"It is important that we all recognise that both apartheid and the liberation struggle established a political system not amenable to holding free election campaigns."

Mr Walsh said he was very worried about the personal safety of DP supporters, particularly in the townships.

He said political leaders had to avoid making inflammatory statements such as those made by Mr Tony Yengeni of the ANC before Monday's meeting.

"We regarded the statements by Mr Yengeni as totally inflammatory and contributing to the disruption in Guguletu."

Mr Yengeni's response was that it was critically important to be able to enter into vibrant public debate and discussion in a responsible manner, rather than resort to violence.

He denied his statements were inflammatory: "The DP should not complain when we take their skeletons out of the cupboard and place them on the table."

Countdown to interim rule in SA

ARG 23/1/93

FRANS ESTERHUYSE
Weekend Argus Political Correspondent

MOMENTOUS decisions could emerge from the current negotiations between the government and the African National Congress, where key plans for South Africa's transition may be brought to finality.

The discussions could prepare the groundwork for an interim government and could set the stage for elections this year — even as early as October.

Political analysts say it is likely that agreement on crucial issues will be reached by next week as time is now of the essence for both the government and the ANC. They can no longer afford to delay if they want to avoid serious complications in the constitutional process.

The negotiators opened the constitutional affairs agenda yesterday, at the end of the first three days of bilateral talks at the Presidensie in Pretoria.

The talks continue at a Southern Cape nature reserve on Monday and Tuesday before the government is scheduled to meet Inkatha Freedom Party negotiators for a further round of talks in Cape Town on Wednesday.

Decisions from the five-day meeting — the second between the two players since December — are expected to form the basis for major announcements to be made by President De Klerk when he opens Parliament next Friday, January 29.

Some analysts say Mr De Klerk's speech on Friday could be of the utmost importance for South Africa's future. It could be as momentous — if not more so — as his watershed speech of February 2, 1990.

If a deal is clinched between the government and the ANC at this week's meetings on certain key issues, Mr De Klerk will be able to provide clarity on Friday on crucial matters such as a transitional executive structure, an interim government and elections this year, as demanded by the ANC, or next year.

Analysts say there are various reasons why time is running out for both Mr De Klerk and ANC lead-

■ To page 3

'Voting date may be set'

■ From Page 1

er Mr Nelson Mandela — and why they must act now to get constitutional process moving.

On the one hand there are signs that both of them face problems with restless followers and threatened divisions among their supporters if the process is delayed much longer. With the latest opinion poll showing Mr De Klerk's image at a low ebb, the NP may be in danger of losing grassroots support if Mr De Klerk does not come with decisive moves.

In the ANC camp, there are signs that Mr Mandela faces trouble from radicals who are impatient and unhappy about the way things are going. Fears have been expressed that Mrs Winnie Mandela may be gearing up for a new role in which she will seek to mobilise the radicals under the guise of keeping in touch with the masses.

Some observers have interpreted Mrs Mandela's controversial speech at the recent funeral of activist Helen Joseph as a signal of her intention to continue playing a role in politics. At the funeral Mrs Mandela spoke of "looming disaster in this country which will result from the distortion of a noble goal in favour of a short-cut route to parliament by a handful of individuals".

In a subsequent interview published in a weekly journal Mrs Mandela stood by what she had said, emphasising the importance of the masses to organisation's leadership.

Stellenbosch political scientist Professor Willie Breytenbach says another reason for the government, in particular, to be in a hurry to get moving is that time is running out for the existing tricameral parliament.

"The guillotine falls on September 6, 1994. That is, when the life of the tricameral parliament expires," he told Weekend Argus yesterday.

"Unless there is an interim agreement to substitute the tricameral parliament, Mr De Klerk will run into serious constitutional problems."

Professor Breytenbach said he expected more precise details of the election date could emerge from the latest round of talks.

Whether or not there would be voter registration — a lengthy process — could determine whether an election be held this year or next.

Govt and ANC round off first talks

PRETORIA. — Government and ANC negotiators opened the constitutional affairs agenda yesterday before rounding off the first three days of talks at the Presidensie here.

The talks continue at a Southern Cape nature reserve on Monday and Tuesday. The government is scheduled to meet IFP negotiators in Cape Town on Wednesday.

Sources at the government/ANC talks were noncommittal yesterday, saying only that all the proposals were now on the table and that much discussion lay ahead.

Transition

Technical committees have presented their reports to the talks plenary on a variety of subjects, including political violence and armed forces, legislation needed for the transitional process and elections, land matters, economic constraints on the government, timeframes for the first open elections, and the position of the TBVC states.

The most pressing area of agreement being sought is the structure of the transitional executive council that is to oversee the levelling of the political playing fields ahead of the first open elections.

A central problem faced by the parties is the removal of obstacles to the resumption of negotiations, more specifically the refusal by the IFP and the PAC to return to or join Codesa. — Sapa

Inflation, education top lists

By ANTHONY JOHNSON
Political Correspondent

THE leaders of parliamentary parties rank inflation control as their most important policy measure, a Stellenbosch University study has found.

However, the leaders in both the ANC-SACP alliance and the Inkatha Freedom Party regard equal education as their top issue, while the PAC targets the nationalisation of industry.

The study, by Professor Hennie Kotze of the Centre for International and Comparative Politics, is entitled "Transitional politics in South Africa: An attitude survey of opinion-leaders".

Leaders in the ANC-SACP camp largely reject state control as an economic model, with 57% of this group favouring a "mixed economy", 17% free enterprise and 17% state control.

Affirmative action as a policy programme for the civil service is accepted by the majority of all groups except right-wing supporters.

The study found there was a reverse pattern of attitudes between parliamentary and extra-parliamentary groups over affirmative action in the private sector. While the ANC-SACP (81%), PAC (66%) and IFP (53%) agree that private companies have a duty to appoint black people at all levels, the CP (99%), NP (73%), DP (56%) and Indian parties (55%) do not agree.

"The distribution of attitudes on the environmental movement shows that it is regarded as being as precious as mother's milk and apple pie," Prof Kotze notes.

The highest percentage of respondents opposed to the environmental lobby came from right-wing parties and even there the figure was only 10%.

CT 23/1/93 (3049)

FW lauded as former PMs meet

IN changing the country's course, President F W de Klerk had won great respect for South Africa, former British prime minister Lord James Callaghan said yesterday.

Lord Callaghan is one of six former heads of government attending the InterAction Council's three-day "Africa summit" in Cape Town.

versing the course by 180 degrees. "If he can continue in this vein there is hope for South Africa in a most difficult situation," Lord Callaghan said before leading a delegation of former premiers in the InterAction Council in talks with Mr De Klerk.

Also speaking at the summit, former Nigerian military ruler Major-General Olusegun Oba-

sano said Africans should "get off their backsides" and work hard to help solve the problems facing the continent.

"There is much we need to put right in Africa, but the situation is not hopeless. I do not see Africa as a basket case," he said.

The general cautioned against "exaggerated expectations" following the installation of an interim government.

of national unity in South Africa, but said this would result in more political players "feeling that they have a stake".

Former Portuguese prime minister Mrs Maria le Lourdes Pintasilgo said African women had to be given the opportunity to play a greater role in their societies.

The role of women remained "invisible" in many African so-

cieties. Culture and tradition assigned a secondary role to women in many parts of the continent.

Mrs Pintasilgo praised South African women for their leading role in bringing about change in their country. "South African women have been at the forefront of change in their society. In many ways they are an example to women in other societies," — Sapa

CT 23/1/93

(SAPA)

Barend speaks out

ARG 23/1/93 (304A)

RETIRED Minister of Finance Mr Barend du Plessis, who shocked the country when he unexpectedly retired about nine months ago, is concerned that unless a political solution to South Africa's problems is found soon, the road to economic recovery will be long and hard.

This, he said, would further delay the constructive role South Africa could play in the regional and sub-Sahara context.

A revitalised Mr Du Plessis who is "now fully phased into a career as a director of companies and also as a consultant on strategic economic issues", this week in an exclusive interview spoke out on aspects of the political and financial future of this country.

He said the trigger to the return of investments and financial growth in this country lay not in the economic field but rather in the political arena.

"They need security about a future constitution, a Bill of Rights etcetera. Also as long as investors and businessmen do not feel physically and financially safe in this country, there will be no significant investments.

"Many South African business people do not see their way clear at this stage to invest their money in fixed and productive capital. They would rather put their money in the bank. If some of our own people are reluctant to invest because of the political uncertainty, we can in no way expect foreign investors to invest their money here.

"While current developments around the negotiating process are very encouraging, there is still no certainty on our constitutional future. The ghosts of nationalisation and other similarly scary ideas such as that of punitive taxes under a new government and the summary redistribution of existing wealth have not been finally put to rest.

"Many investors want to know what form of new government we are going to have, if such a government will stay on the road of a free market economy, or if we are going to have to move to a more socialist-ori-

ented environment. This is the type of uncertainty that concerns investors.

"Besides political uncertainty the level of crime and the violence in our country is also having a detrimental effect on possible investors.

"If my factory and house get burgled time and again, if I am not safe and my employees are not safe, I would rather put my money into a bank than take the risk of starting or expanding a business. This is the way many investors feel."

Mr Du Plessis said that since he retired he had spoken to industrialists and other business people over a wide spectrum.

"In the past few months I have seen how industrialists have turned to machines to replace labourers. They say machines do not go on strike and machines do not take part in mass action. And with machines their productivity and performance is much more stable and predictable.

"After all, it is their money and money that they personally guaranteed, that was put at risk. However, while South African businessmen realise the necessity to create more jobs now, it all boils down to the final fact that more than ever before wealth can be created only by people who are prepared to work and compete against international standards.

"No government or minister of finance can create wealth and enduring prosperity without a nation working for it. It has never worked anywhere in the history of man.

"One cannot have a certain type of economy in Singapore that creates tremendous wealth and prosperity there and then try to apply totally different and conflicting economic principles here and expect to also create wealth and prosperity in that way.

WILLEM STEENKAMP, Weekend Argus Reporter

"Financial prosperity and growth can only be attained when universal principles, for example the lowest possible tax burden, consequently the lowest tenable government spending, and the greatest possible individual freedom for people to achieve their economic goals, are applied.

"Investors and business people's attitudes cannot be changed through words alone. But once entrepreneurs have been convinced through observing appropriate action that there is a very real possibility of a stable government with clear-cut and predictable policies on financial and other matters, attitudes will begin to change and job-creation and investments will resume."

Mr Du Plessis said he was working on a career in the private sector and would not again take on the same workload as before.

"I am therefore not striving for the highest executive positions. I would like, if possible, to continue a stimulating and challenging business career with a better quality of life with plenty of relaxation and sporting activities."

Mr Du Plessis said that after he retired from government he spent several weeks hunting and hiking in the bushveld and in Namibia. After that he worked on his house at Heidestrand near Oubos in the south-east Cape and often slept up to 12 hours a day. "I now feel well, fit and healthy," he said.

Returning to the subject of the country's economy, Mr Du Plessis said despite the fact that South Africa was in a deep recession, he still felt positive about the future.

"There is sure to be a turning point with a bright future ahead, but then violence must be stopped, crime brought under control and our problems solved in a democratic way."

Political tolerance worn thin — study

Star 23/1/93.

304A

304A

LEVELS of political intolerance among opinion leaders are "disturbingly high", a new study of attitudes among South Africa's national elite has found.

The researchers warn that this factor, plus continued political violence, could retard South Africa's transition process and jeopardise election plans.

In a report released today, they recommend a concerted effort by all political groupings and the State to launch programmes to reduce political intolerance.

The study, based on attitude surveys among opinion leaders across a wide spectrum, was conducted by the Centre for International and Comparative Politics at the University of Stellenbosch under political science department head Professor Hennie Kotze.

Rightwingers

The highest intolerance level was 73,9 percent — among supporters of right-wing parties.

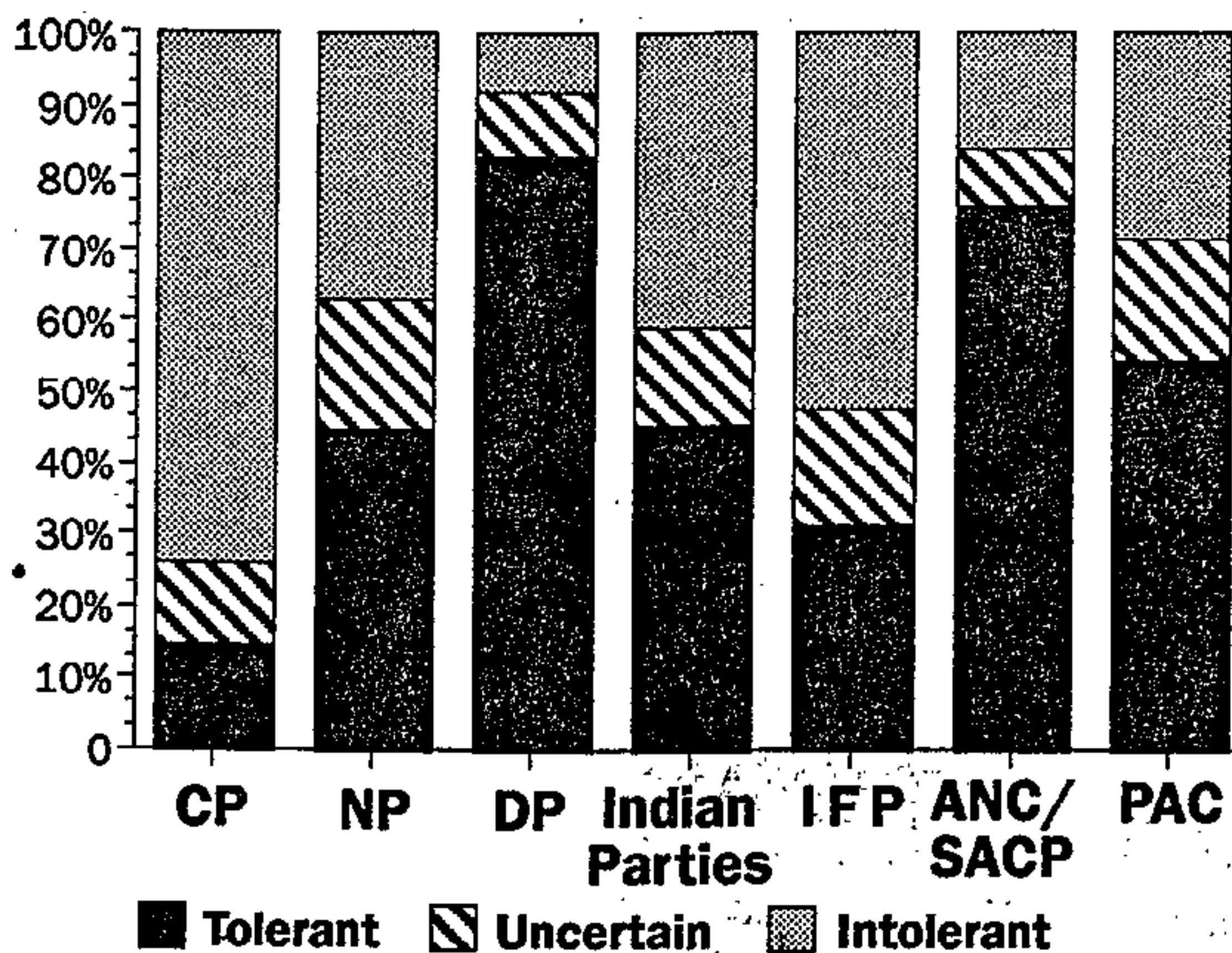
Almost 48 percent of rightwingers fell into the category of "extremely intolerant".

Inkatha Freedom Party respondents also showed a high level of intolerance (52,1 percent), followed by supporters of the Indian parties (40,9 percent), the National Party (37,2 percent), the PAC (28,5 percent) and the ANC-SACP alliance (15,7 percent).

The most tolerant grouping was the Democratic Party, with an in-

A HIGH-LEVEL political research project has disclosed some disturbing trends in the attitudes of the people who ought to be leading us out of the doldrums. But the Stellenbosch University researchers also found optimistic signs of possible early progress in South Africa's peace process, writes FRANS ESTERHUYSE.

Tolerance index by political party support



tolerance level of just 8,1 percent.

Military leaders were found to be politically the most intolerant (67,5 percent), followed by farmers (52,9 percent), labour (40,9 percent), churches (33,3 percent) and bureaucracy (31,3 percent).

However, in a survey to test support for political parties among opinion leaders, those in the military sector showed the strongest support for the NP (93 percent), followed by agriculture (76 percent) and parastatal institutions (68 percent).

No less than 68 percent of respondents preferred a federal system of government as a first constitutional choice, with a "unitary" state as second choice.

Only 4 percent preferred "partition" and 2 percent wanted white domination.

More than 75 percent of ANC-SACP supporters among respondents and 49 percent of PAC supporters favoured a unitary model, while 96 percent of IFP supporters joined the majority of NP, DP and Indian party supporters in preferring federalism.

Apart from Conservative Party supporters, respondents had no problems in accepting liberal constitutional devices such as a bill of rights, judicial review, regular elections, a guaranteed multiparty system and proportional representation.

While 57,5 percent of ANC-SACP supporters backed a mixed economy, PAC respondents favoured State control.

With the exception of right-wing supporters, affirmative action in the civil service was supported.

The researchers con-

cluded that if violence continued at its present level, the transition process — and with it any planned election late in 1993 or early 1994 — would face tremendous pressure.

Only when the National Peace Accord had a real effect would the violence decline and the trust needed for binding agreements have a chance to grow.

"A concerted effort to get programmes started to reduce intolerance should be made by all political groupings as well as the State," said Kotze.

Compromises

Progress in the transition process would depend on the emergence of strong leaders with the ability to impose unpleasant compromises.

It was unlikely that an elite settlement coupled with pact-forming would be arranged in a "democratic or mass-media fishbowl".

A factor that could become a driving force in the transition process was the realisation that the Government (the NP and supporters of the "core State") was not strong enough to provide the necessary economic growth and strong government.

At the same time the ANC-SACP alliance and PAC were not strong enough to enforce a "people's democracy".

The immediate policy priorities of any government — transitional or permanent — would be political stability and economic reconstruction.

The end result might be a limited democracy.

'Insulted' Buthelezi takes swipe at Nats

Star 23/1/73

304A

RELATIONS between the Government and the Inkatha Freedom Party have deteriorated into an insulting slanging match and the IFP's participation in upcoming multiparty negotiations is in grave jeopardy.

Observers believe the Government now suspects that advisers to the IFP — some with foreign connections — have their own hidden agenda and are bedeviling relations between the Government and IFP.

IFP leader Mangosuthu Buthelezi yesterday angrily condemned these suggestions as a "racist insult" to him. "I feel very depressed at the suggestion that a politician like myself who has been in politics for more than three decades depends upon advisers," he said in Cape Town.

He was referring to an angry meeting between Government and IFP delegations this week when hostile memoranda were exchanged. The delegations were led by Constitutional Development Minister Roelf Meyer and IFP chairman Dr

Frank Mdlalose.

The IFP delegation repeated its accusation that the Government and the ANC were conniving behind the scenes to carve up the country to the exclusion of the IFP and others.

The Government retorted with its most aggressive attack so far on the IFP, saying the IFP memorandum was "the last straw, too many lies and distortions repeated once too often". But what really annoyed

PETER FABRICIUS
Political Correspondent

Buthelezi was the Government's suggestion that the "banal nonsense" in the memorandum represented the views of advisers "with ulterior motives" and not those of the IFP leadership. "It would appear that senior members of the IFP delegation had no hand in the compilation of the document," the Government

memorandum said. "There are forces intent on destroying the trust and common purpose between us."

Observers believe this implies that senior IFP members have expressed their displeasure with the IFP memorandum and that there is tension between them and certain advisers close to Buthelezi. The chief yesterday rejected this suggestion and said the IFP memorandum represented the views of the IFP leadership "absolutely

lately". He said the breakdown would be discussed by the IFP central committee tomorrow. The Government and IFP delegations are scheduled to meet again on Wednesday.

Meyer told The Star yesterday that he hoped the IFP delegation would move the unacceptable aspects of the IFP memorandum presented this week. Asked how the souring of relations would impact on ne-

gotiations, he said the Government was still positive.

The Government and the IFP shared important common constitutional and economic ideals. The "real leaders" should now talk to each other to take stock of what they had in common.

"Advisers should not be allowed to dictate the terms and mood between us, which is so vital for a sound and productive relationship."

Meyer said the fact that senior members of the IFP had not drafted the memorandum gave him hope that the problem could be resolved.

Upstairs, ^{SOUTH}downstairs ^{23/1 - 27/1/93}diplomacy must merge

~~23/1~~ 304A
THE "upstairs" and "downstairs" of South African diplomacy will have to merge in a democratic South Africa, said Professor Peter Vale, director of the conference on professional diplomacy in a changing world held last week.

The "upstairs" was the government's foreign policy, which concentrated on formal bilateral links with countries around the world. The "downstairs" was the fairly extensive foreign links of the liberation movements.

"Much of the debate here has been about legitimacy, which the downstairs has claimed, and skills or competence, which the upstairs has claimed," he said.

Vale said the people who had represented the liberation movements in other countries were not "second class diplomats".

Their experience was valuable and they should be incorporated into the new foreign service under a democratic government.

While some in the Department of Foreign Affairs seemed to think that the door was open to all to join the service, others seemed to be saying: "Don't try and steal the show."

Vale put this down to self-interest in the department as well as the age differences of the representatives. The younger members were more open to change than the older ones.

He said delegates had spent some time talking about how to transform the Department of Foreign Affairs and had considered integration, amalgamation, absorption and restructuring.

It was noted that following the changes brought about by the end of the Cold War, countries worldwide were restructuring their foreign services. Given the growing importance of regional trade links, for example, Australia had incorporated its trade ministry into its department of foreign affairs.

Fixing up SA's foreign affairs

SOUTH 23/1-27/1/93.

MENTION foreign policy to most South Africans and you are likely to get a blank stare, a shrug or comments such as "that's government business".

But the foreign policy of any country affects all its citizens in one way or another and raises moral issues about the responsibility of those citizens for what their government does to other states.

In post-apartheid South Africa, foreign policy will become a more complex and wide-ranging issue as diplomatic links are forged with more countries at a time of rapid global change and when South Africa is expected to be a major regional power once again.

These were a few of the issues discussed last week at a conference on professional diplomacy in a changing world held in Cape Town.

Delegates included former heads of the liberation movement's missions abroad, senior representatives of the Department of Foreign Affairs and top diplomats from 12 countries, including Ghana, Nigeria, India, Australia, the United States and several European countries.

The conference was organised by the University of the Western Cape's Centre for Southern African Studies and Rhodes University's International Studies Unit. Delegates debated how to separate diplomacy from party political interests in a new South Africa and develop a professional diplomatic corps which serves the country as a whole.

Centre for Southern African Studies director, Professor Peter Vale, told the closing session that greater public debate would be needed about South Africa's foreign policy under a democratically elected government.

He said this was particularly important because of rapid global change and the fact that South Africa had a narrow vision of the world because of years of self-

About 70 diplomats and academics gathered in Cape Town last week

to consider South Africa's future foreign policy, reports **Lynda**

Loxton in the first of a two-part series:

imposed isolation.

Most people expected or wanted their worldview to be defined for them by a political leader or the television. But if they were at all concerned about democracy in this country, they had to, for example, ask some searching questions about what was happening now in Angola.

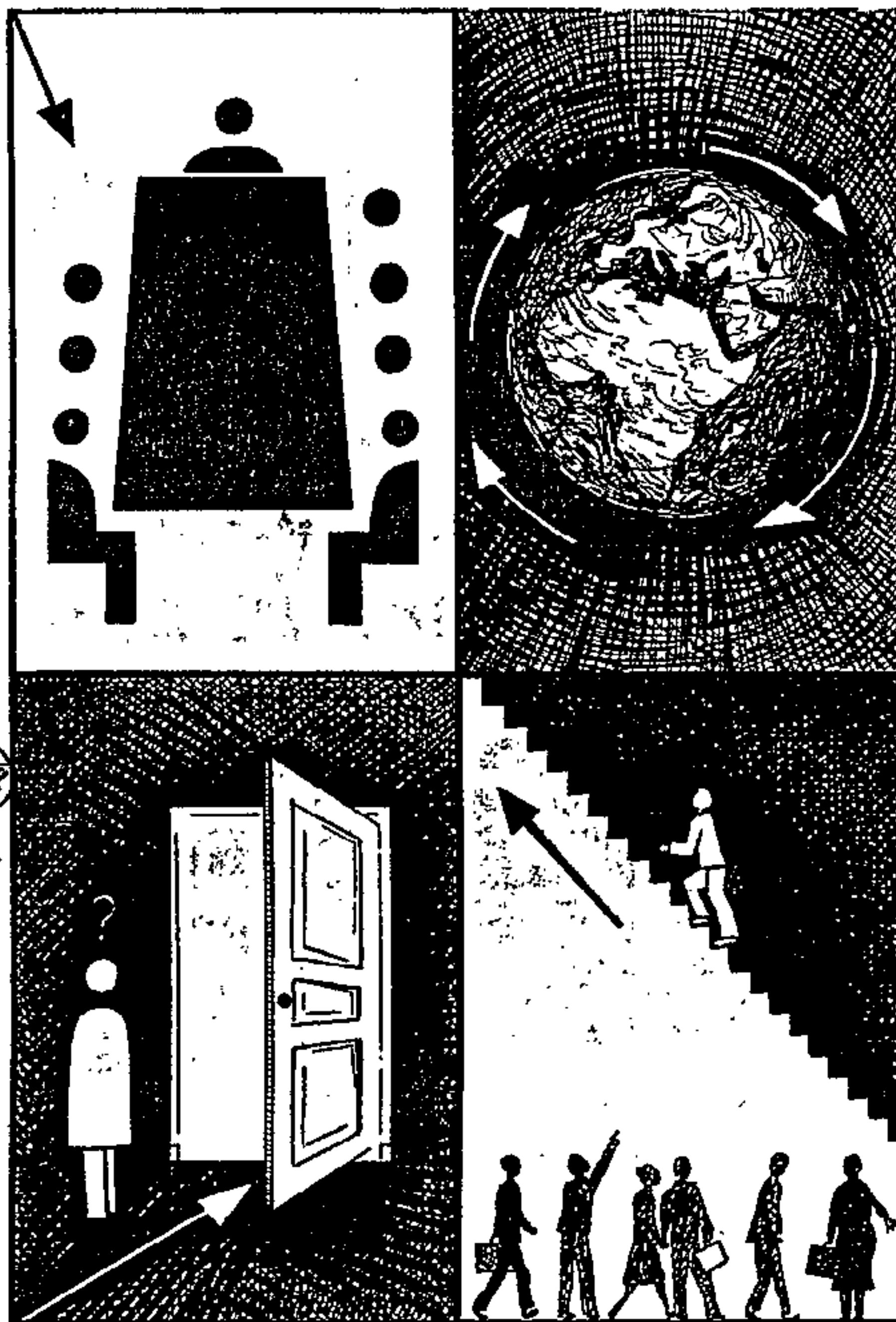
This underscored the need for a strong and professional diplomatic service that was fully accountable to an aware and questioning electorate.

"We have learnt with great pain that if we allow our foreign policy to escape the hands of diplomats and be run by military people, we end up in a pretty messy situation."

Some delegates had said that a new South Africa would be so busy righting the wrongs of apartheid that it would have little time or energy for foreign policies. But, said Vale, "these days, if you have a fax machine and a border, you actually have to develop a foreign policy".

"There is no way we will be able to sit here and be so absorbed with our own internal reconstruction that we will not have a foreign policy."

That foreign policy will have to be more open and representative than previous, usually secretive and sometimes subversive, foreign policy. It would have to be determined in consultation with all groups in the country and the region.



There were many "second-track" diplomats in churches, universities, NGOs, businesses and the liberation movements who had built up extensive foreign links during the apartheid era and who should be included in any new foreign service.

Vale said immediate action should be taken to generate wider public debate about foreign policy issues, start the training of professional diplomats, establish a policy planning unit to look at South Africa's reaction to global change and how to transform the present foreign service and establish a commission to examine some of the issues raised at the conference.

If this was not done urgently, he said, South Africa, democratic or not, would continue to fumble through its foreign relations, making serious mistakes along the way.

There was some opposition to establishing a commission to examine various foreign policy options in today's rapidly changing world.

Delegates from the government and the liberation movements did not think it feasible to attempt to shape the diplomacy of a future democratic SA until a new government was in place and had articulated its foreign policy.

The ANC's Ms Frene Ginwala and the PAC's Mr Gora Ebrahim said, however, that any research by academics would be valuable inputs to all parties as they considered their foreign policy options.

Ginwala said that the conference had been important because part of the legacy of apartheid, censorship and oppression was the closed minds and different realities within which South Africans operated.

This posed immense barriers in negotiations for a new South Africa as many people used the same words to mean different things.

It was therefore vital to develop a common basis at conferences such as this from which all parties could move forward.

INKATHA'S GHOST WRITERS



EX-ANC
man, US
lawyers
named
Buthelezi

C/Pers 24/1/93

By S'BU MNGADI

304th

FINGERS are pointing at two US lawyers and a former senior ANC activist as authors of a contentious document which rocked this week's two-day talks between high-powered delegations of Inkatha and the SA government.

Senior Inkatha officials yesterday said the document could have been drafted only by conservative US constitutional experts, Albert Blaustein and Dr Mario Oriani-Ambrosini, and recently returned former ANC exile Joe Matthews.

Sources said the three drafted the document in consultation with Inkatha national chairman Dr Frank Mdlalose and senior colleague Dr Bernard Ngubane, but that Inkatha president Mangosuthu Buthelezi had the final say.

The memorandum, which the government delegation later described as "the last straw", has driven a further wedge between the two parties.

The talks were the first since Inkatha suspended contact with the government last year in protest against the record of understanding signed by State President FW de Klerk and ANC President Nelson Mandela.

According to a Johannesburg daily, when talks started in Cape Town on Monday, Mdlalose tabled a memorandum to the government containing a series of serious allegations about the government/ANC connivance in negotiations.

In an equally blistering counter-memorandum, the government replied: "The document leaves one with a sense of shocked disbelief that such a piece of banal nonsense could be produced from within the ranks of a respected political party and of the proud Zulu nation."

"The explanation clearly lies in the fact that this document was compiled by a person who is poorly informed, technically unqualified, and with questionable ulterior motives. It would appear that senior members of the Inkatha delegation had no hand in the compilation of the document."

**'I was the
Webster
fall guy,'
alleges
Barnard**

By DESMOND BLOW

CONVICTED murderer Ferdi Barnard said this week he was the "perfect fall guy" to take the rap for the murder of Dr David Webster for the Civil Co-operation Bureau.

He also lashed out at State President FW de Klerk for shunning the Indemnity Act through the President's Council.

"He has done that to save people in high places, including Foreign Affairs. I have seen documents," he told City Press after Judge Michael Stegmann found that the seven-week inquest into the death of Webster failed to establish who was responsible for his murder.

(SA) 967



yes-
vith
of
8.
of
urd
fol-
of
of
m-
om
in
ort
in
on
ai-
2.



ked Iwisa
were just
nk. ■ Pic
KE MZILENI

By S'BU MNGADI

304A

FINGERS are pointing at two US lawyers and a former senior ANC activist as authors of a contentious document which rocked this week's two-day talks between high-powered delegations of Inkatha and the SA government.

Senior Inkatha officials yesterday said the document could have been drafted only by conservative US constitutional experts, Albert Blaustein and Dr Mario Oriani-Ambrosini, and recently returned former ANC exile Joe Matthews.

Sources said the three drafted the document in consultation with Inkatha national chairman Dr Frank Mdlalose and senior colleague Dr Bernard Ngubane, but that Inkatha president Mangosuthu Buthelezi had the final say.

The memorandum, which the government delegation later described as "the last straw", has driven a further wedge between the two parties.

The talks were the first since Inkatha suspended contact with the government last year in protest against the record of understanding signed by State President FW de Klerk and ANC President Nelson Mandela.

According to a Johannesburg daily, when talks started in Cape Town on Monday, Mdlalose tabled a memorandum to the government containing a series of serious allegations about the government/ANC connivance in negotiations.

In an equally blistering counter-memorandum, the government replied: "The document leaves one with a sense of shocked disbelief that such a piece of banal nonsense could be produced from within the ranks of a respected political party and of the proud Zulu nation."

"The explanation clearly lies in the fact that this document was compiled by a person who is poorly informed, technically unqualified, and with questionable ulterior motives. It would appear that senior members of the Inkatha delegation had no hand in the compilation of the document."

Blaustein, Ariano-Ambrosini and Matthews were instrumental in drawing up the UDI-style constitution for the state of KwaZulu/Natal.

That the three drew up this week's memorandum was partly confirmed by Mdlalose's and Ngubane's secretaries, who said the two Inkatha chief negotiators had referred all media enquiries about the document to Matthews.

Matthews, the son of the late ANC general-secretary, ZK Matthews, and Inkatha's legal advisor, denied helping draw up the document.

Buthelezi said the memorandum "absolutely" represented the views of Inkatha, and that he had never before encountered questions over who had written a memorandum.

The government's attacks on Inkatha will be discussed by the organisation's central committee in Ulundi today.

Some political observers think the contentious document was a ploy by Inkatha's pro-autonomy faction to scuttle national negotiations and speed up KwaZulu/Natal's unilateral declaration of independence just before an interim government takes over the country.

Rape rap shocks locals

By ELIAS MALULEKE

THE arrest last week of Mamelodi businessman and socialite Chad "Mabeshane" Shabangu on charges of allegedly raping three women employees has shocked the Pretoria township.

He was released on warning and is to appear in court on March 3.

Shabangu said this week that scores of people from all areas had phoned to offer him their support.

Police said they were investigating several other charges against Shabangu, including indecent assault, assault and pointing a firearm at his victims.

A TOT
in cash
by read
day's
Game-
R5 000
R2 000
A lu
Mamel
the las
prize at
lin Hot
Ther
ners, b
number
have w
to 877.
Turn
see if

LEA

C



ke MZILENI



MANGOSUTHU BUTHELEZI ... 'Are they saying that because I am a kaffir, I can't think for myself?'

Investive boils over as important bilateral talks end in bitter acrimony

Reports by CHARLENE SMITH

THE GOVERNMENT HIT BACK:

Reading the document (and listening to its being read out to the meeting) last night with a sense of shocked disbelief that such a piece of blatant nonsense could be produced from within the ranks of a respected political party and of the proud Zulu nation. The explanation clearly lies in the fact that this document was compiled by a person who is poorly informed, technically unqualified and with questionable ulterior motives. It would appear that senior members of the IFP delegation had no hand in the compilation of this document.



F.W. DE KLERK ... not keen to have a political solution without the Inkatha Freedom Party

THE government has accused "strange foreigners" and advisers "with questionable ulterior motives" of fomenting unprecedented acrimony between it and Inkatha.

At the centre of the row are investive-laden memorandums, presented by both sides this week during the first bilateral talks between the two parties in nine months.

While the government suggested foreign advisers were trying to create acrimony between it and its former ally, Inkatha hit back with accusations of bias.

Insulted

KwaZulu chief minister and IFP president Mangosuthu Buthelezi was not at the meeting, but was briefed on Thursday by members of the delegation led by chairman Dr Frank Mdlalose.

Mr Buthelezi said there had not been such acrimony between his organisation and the government

since former President P.W. Botha was in power.

"I felt insulted by the government's suggestion that I could be misled," he said.

"Are they saying that because I am a kaffir, I can't think for myself? This sounds like bias," he said, suggesting the government is prepared to go ahead without us.

Senior government sources privately say they believe Mr Buthelezi is being misled by:

- Former IFP member Walter Felgate;
- Former military intelligence chief of staff Major-General Tienie Groenewald; and
- US constitutional advisers Professor Albert P. Blaustein and Dr Mario Ambrosini.

Constitutional Minister Roelf Meyer, who headed the government negotiating team, defended the

strong language of the government's memorandum.

"If you look at their memo, it is clear that we had every right, particularly when you take note of the lies in their document," he said.

The government described the IFP memorandum - drafted by Mr Felgate and approved by Mr Buthelezi - as "a blatant and unworthy attempt to goad the Zulu nation".

The explanation clearly lies in the fact that this document was compiled by a person who is poorly informed, technically unqualified and with questionable ulterior motives," said a spokesman.

Mr Felgate, who, with Dr Ambrosini, was injured in a head-on collision early on Friday, said from his hospital bed in Richards Bay: "I believe the document will be endorsed by an extraordinary meeting of the full central committee today."

The document we presented represents the way the IFP feels. The government document is a Roelf Meyer document; he is spoiling for Dr Buthelezi.

The future has set back chances for multiparty negotiations in the near future and has caused strains in the National Party.

Important sections of the party are keen to press ahead without the IFP to ensure that legislation for elections and transitional executive councils go through this year.

However, Nationalists are extremely unhappy about the present impasse and would block any moves to isolate the IFP.

The Sunday Times has transcripts of the meeting showing that State President F.W. de Klerk is also not keen to have a political solution without the IFP.

Mr de Klerk was not at the meeting on Monday and Tuesday, but Remier Schoeman, a Nationalist list and Deputy Minister of Foreign

Affairs, is quoted in the transcripts as saying the State President had refused to meet "an important overseas delegation" last week because "they were not going to see the IFP".

Natal NP leader George Bartlett said that two days before the talks, he and other Natal Nats had met the IFP for "an excellent meeting".

"What Inkatha wants and what my party wants for Natal are the same thing," he said. "There's no difference constitutionally - except for technical points around a militia and judiciary - between us and them in Natal/KwaZulu."

"We felt the document (presented this week) was drafted by advisers and not Zulus."

In the document read by Dr Mdlalose, the IFP suggested the government was using the ANC to perpetuate its stay in power at the expense of Inkatha and other groups.

"Where is Afrikaner integrity and National Party honour? Is there a selling of Afrikaner souls?" asked the

document.

It questioned how "the most secure offices and files in intelligence quarters were filled to expose internal dealings aimed at making Dr Buthelezi look like the stooge the ANC says he was."

The government response came first in the form of a five-page memorandum, and then in individual documents.

The transcripts of the meeting show the individual responses varied between hurt and anger.

But the government memorandum pulled no punches, saying the IFP document was "the last straw" - too many lies and distortions repeated once too often. ... in a document with muddled and confused political and technical arguments and illogical conclusions.

Deals

"I would appear that senior members of the IFP delegation had no hand in the compilation of the document."

The government claimed there were "forces intent on destroying the trust and common purpose between us".

The memorandum said: "If the IFP is being marginalised, it is marginalising itself. It is a lie that the government has negotiated, or is negotiating, private deals with the ANC."

Senior IFP sources claimed the government had been in possession of their memorandum before the meeting. Many senior members of the IFP believe their tax communications are being bugged.

This was strongly denied by the government.

Bilateral talks between the two will resume at a two-hour meeting in Cape Town on Wednesday.

The Government has actually perpetrated from the distortions of Dr Buthelezi's position and Roelf Meyer's position. One can say, to the extent that Dr Buthelezi and Inkatha have suffered from the distortions, where is Afrikaner integrity and National Party honour? Is there is a selling of Afrikaner souls?

Nat baasskap versus IFP belligerence

STimes 24/11/93

3044

Parliament's main aim is to talk itself out of a job

PARLIAMENT sits this year with one primary aim — to legislate itself out of existence and to continue the dismantling of apartheid laws.

Whether or not politicians will be successful depends on the progress of bilateral and multilateral negotiations.

Should these fail, Parliament faces a bleak and rudderless five months of frustrating, nuts-and-bolts legislation worth less than the 35c cups of tea dished up in the parliamentary canteen.

Without this consensus, Parliament can look forward to a year in which the Budget aims to restructure the economy, government expenditure is curbed and technical legislation is amended.

However, should talks progress, Parliament can expect a rush of legislation paying the way for elections by next April for an interim government of national unity which will also draw up a new constitution.

Parliament and the multiparty conference must agree on anything relating to getting the country ready for an election," Mr Eglin said.

The first legislation will be aimed at smoothing the way for the creation of transitional executive councils — in effect a multiparty cabinet structure. Politicians say they hope this will be achieved before April.

Senior Democratic Party MP Colin Eglin said he did not believe Parliament had the authority to pass any legislation involving any significant restructuring without the consensus of interested parties outside Parliament.

Legislation aimed at ensuring fair participation in elections will follow. This will include abolishing all remaining repressive laws, establish-

ing an independent media authority and introducing laws to ensure free political activity.

Few politicians are optimistic about getting an interim constitution passed before the end of June, which could mean an extended parliamentary session or another short session in September.

This short session will also see the promulgation of election rules. The interim constitution will signal the end of the tricameral system, self-governing territories and begin the process of reincorporating the

TBVC states. This year could also see the introduction of controversial labour legislation. The granting of further rights to farmworkers depends on progress made in talks between Cosatu and the SA Agricultural Union. Should a deal be concluded, the parliamentary session should see amendments to three laws — the Wage Act, the Basic Conditions of Employment Act and the Labour Relations Act — before the end of April.

Two other acts — the Workers' Compensation Act and the Machin-

ery and Occupation Safety Act — will also be amended early in the session.

A recession-battered Budget will be delivered on March 17. Finance Minister Derek Keys is expected to seek an increase in revenue to bring a semblance of order to his balance sheets and to address growing socio-economic demands.

VAT is expected to rise by three percent — a risky move without the approval of the VAT Co-ordinating Committee — and will therefore probably include a trade-off against concessions on zero-rating certain foodstuffs. A 10c petrol hike is also expected.

Business cannot expect any tax relief and personal income tax is likely to remain unchanged.

Business cannot expect any tax relief and personal income tax is likely to remain unchanged.

Business cannot expect any tax relief and personal income tax is likely to remain unchanged.

Business cannot expect any tax relief and personal income tax is likely to remain unchanged.

Business cannot expect any tax relief and personal income tax is likely to remain unchanged.

Why carrot and stick politics works

SOUTH African politics is Janus-faced: at the top there's an emerging consensus about multiparty democracy, an interim government and an imminent universal franchise election. But at the grassroots level it's a poisonous cocktail in which incivility flourishes, political meetings get broken up and people die for carrying the wrong party card.

Leaders issue pious statements and declaim nobly about free speech and political competition. But is anyone out there listening?

Mushy sentiment and dangerous naïveté inform the professional opportunists and liberation spin artists who

TONY LEON says we need a voting system that inoculates against intolerance

assume (as Jonathan Eyal noted in another context) that the mob licence now displaying its wares is some form of growing pain, a mere childhood disease which when confronted with the elixir of an election will find its own cure. Nothing could be further from the truth.

We are, right now, storing up trouble for the future. If the DP gets thrown out of the townships, what happens when the NP enters them? Civil war? And if the NP can't campaign in Soweto, and the

ANC in Ulundi, how do you have an election based on an informed choice rather than dictated by an army or a street committee?

Kenya is a useful recent example of the grotesque mockery of conducting a poll when the government declares certain key areas "no go" zones to all but its own supporters.

And place faint hope in foreign observers. They were there — and in Angola — in droves. And when the polls appeared rigged they wrung

their hands and packed their bags for more temperate political climes.

There is, of course, nothing uniquely African in this tide running towards mob rule. In revolutionary France the Jacobin ascendancy cried: "Those who are not for us are against us." Saint-Just told the Assembly: "What are they but enemies of the people."

There you had to be clerical or anti-clerical. Here if you weren't for "the oppressed" you must be in opposition to them. In both contexts middle positions or suspended judgments, or even indifference, get dramatically and violently

denounced. Robespierre: meet Winnie Mandela.

Yet if the incipient freedoms of speech, assembly and movement are not exercised they stagnate and wither. Those who oppose their exercise will know the truth behind the arch observation of Bernard Crick: "When you give people liberty you never know what they will do with it. The actions of free men and women are always unpredictable."

The key solution does not lie in platitudinous statements and hotel summits. It lies in designing a voting system which induces changes in behaviour while remaining consistent with accepted

democratic practices. It must inoculate against the spread of the disease we're now witnessing. In sum, it must reward democrats and penalise totalitarians.

Edward de Bono recently extended his lateral thinking to the issue of making extremism a non-viable strategy. He suggests that South Africans be given a negative vote as well as a positive one.

For a party to seek support by creating an "enemy" group will simply ensure that all the "enemy" supporters will cast negative votes against candidates of the hostile group.

If, for example, 60 percent like a candidate but 40 per-

cent don't, then he will receive only 20 percent of the vote. Equally, if 30 percent like another candidate and 70 percent are indifferent, he will receive 30 percent of the vote.

There are a host of objections, no doubt, to such a system. It rewards blandness and is highly peculiar. But it has the merit of simplicity and originality.

Far more sophisticated and in a sense easier to sell is "vote pooling".

The 1991 study by mass political scientist and conflict expert Donald Horowitz, examined the ethnic fault line dividing South Africa.

tells us that moderation and democratic behaviour had to be made politically profitable. Horowitz is unsentimental about politicians making the incentives strong enough, he says, and you alter their conduct.

By designing the right voting system, you can avoid the first election being simply "polarising census". In such the system must make politicians "reciprocally dependent" on the votes of parties other than their own.

By making the electoral system (rather than the voting arrangements or constitutional jiggery-poker centre stage, you oblige political leaders to communicate and persuade their followers to toe the line up front.

Decisive

Preferential voting (via alternative voting in multi-member seats or the single transferable vote in proportional representation) means that the second or third preferences of those voters whose first preference is eliminated can play a key role in determining the winner.

Under this system such second and third choices can be decisive, since many candidates will not be elected without pooling second and third preferences across party and ethnic lines.

When the difference between power and no power lies in obtaining your political opponent's second or third vote, you're less likely to break up his meetings or kill her supporters. Of course it's complicated, but variants of it have been used in Nigeria and Sri Lanka, hardly oversophisticated countries.

Anyway, some imagination will be required if we're to prevent the freedom — that hard-won freedom — to choose becoming another casualty of the new South Africa.

□ Tony Leon is the Democratic Party MP for Houghton.

Rough times rumoured at bumpy bosberaad

CP News 24/11/93

30411

By S'BU MNCADI

THE extended talks between the government and the ANC which continue tomorrow and Tuesday are said to be going through tough times.

Both parties have placed a complete embargo on the way the talks are going, but it is reliably learnt that no dramatic breakthroughs are expected.

The talks which began on Wednesday were adjourned on Friday after the ANC had tabled its position on ways of combating violence, the integration of the armed

forces and their joint control.

It is believed that there was little debate on these issues apart from the government's insistence that Umkhonto weSizwe must disband. It also listed a number of alleged breaches of agreements by the ANC.

One source said the government merely listened to the ANC positions and did not engage the organisation in any serious debate. He said it appeared that the government strategy was simply to listen and pick up their thinking.

The discussions continue tomorrow and Tuesday when the government delegation, led by Constitutional Development Minister Roelf Meyer, is expected to table its positions. It is only after this that the way forward will be thrashed out.

A leading member of the ANC-led alliance, who requested that he should not be identified, said it was premature at this stage to speculate whether the talks were proceeding well or not. Such is the secrecy of the talks that even top ANC and SACP officials in the Transvaal and Natal spoken to by City

Press yesterday not yet been informed about the latest developments. Attempts by City Press to establish what transpired at the bosberaad, which ended on Friday, drew a blank.

Most Natal ANC leaders blamed this on "slow communication" with the ANC headquarters in Johannesburg.

However, a senior ANC official said there was "no dramatic development" at the bilateral talks.

The official said there was "very little debate" on Wednesday and Thursday

day which had been set aside to discuss security matters during the transitional stage.

"It appears the government's strategy was to listen to what we had to say and read our minds. Other than that they said nothing."

Friday was set aside to discuss such issues as the composition and powers of the proposed transitional executive council.

Unconfirmed reports say the inconclusive discussions between the government and Inkatha had a negative impact on the bosberaad.

ANC unveils plan to woo 5-m voters

304A
SM 25/1/93

Staff Reporter

Optimism for the transitional process was underlined by the ANC PWV region's plan for a mass recruitment drive for voters, which was announced at the weekend.

The three-phase campaign, which is aimed at about 5 million potential voters in the region, kicks off today with the mobilisation of all ANC activists.

The first phase prepares the organisation for elections, and activists have been called upon to consolidate structures and rebuild street and block committees.

According to a press statement, the second phase begins in mid-March with a mass recruitment drive and a campaign to educate voters about ANC policies and fund-raising.

The ANC-SACP-Cosatu alliance and other sympathetic organisations will establish election structures during this phase.

The final phase is to begin in May with a "Votes for All Campaign". Activities include house meetings, public meetings and debates, and visits to voters by regional and national ANC leaders.

Peace will be a recurring theme throughout the campaign and peace summits are to be organised in all regions. "There can be no free and fair elections unless peace prevails," the statement says.

Inkatha hopeful on talks

STAR 25/1/93
Political Staff

CAPE TOWN — Inkatha Freedom Party chief negotiator Dr Frank Mdlalose attempted today to throw cold water on the row between his party and the Government, saying he was optimistic they would "find one another" at Wednesday's meeting.

Speaking from Ulundi, national chairman Mdlalose said it was "unfortunate" that "someone clever" had leaked the memoranda which have made public the degree of difference between the IFP and the Government.

He conceded that this had "bedevilled" the talks.

The two sides have agreed to meet in Cape Town on Wednesday for another bilateral meeting following last week's encounter which produced little by way of a positive resolution.

Constitutional Development Minister Roelf Meyer characterised last week's meeting as having broken down on the issue of mistrust which dated back to the IFP's suspicions about a Government-ANC deal following the signing of the Record of Understanding between those parties on September 26.

The public mud-slinging between the IFP and the Government since the leaking of the memoranda last week and the singling out of personalities like IFP's Walter Felgate and the Government's Meyer as among major obstacles to a resolution has done little to mend the rift.

But Mdlalose said today he was still hopeful that common ground could be found.

He denied speculation that there were rifts within the IFP itself and that he was among those unhappy with the contents

of the IFP memorandum which criticised the Government and questioned the integrity of the National Party.

The healing of the IFP-Government rift seems now one of the major obstacles to the resumption of multiparty talks, a goal to which the Government and ANC have now committed themselves with equal vigour.

Whether the Government would be prepared to go ahead with multilateral discussions in the absence of the IFP remains to be seen but the leaked Government memorandum certainly revealed a good deal of Government impatience with the intransigent position of IFP leader Chief Mangosuthu Buthelezi.

Meanwhile, the Government and ANC resume their extended Bosheraad today at a nature reserve along the Cape south coast.

Negotiations heading for decisive week

STAR 25/1/93

Staff Reporter

306A

The negotiation process enters a crucial stage this week, with the immediate future of multiparty talks depending on the Government's meetings with the ANC and Inkatha.

The future of multiparty discussions hangs on the outcome of three separate events — the ANC-Government bosberaad, the second round of talks between the Government and the Inkatha Freedom Party, and President F W de Klerk's opening address to Parliament on Friday.

The bosberaad, which started in Pretoria last week, is expected to end in Cape Town tomorrow. According to sources, the ANC and the Government were to discuss constitutional matters, including the reincorporation of the TBVC states and a draft electoral Bill.

The second round of IFP-Government talks is to resume on Wednesday after the collapse of discussions last week, when a flurry of acrimonious and accusatory memoranda changed hands.

De Klerk's speech will set the

tone for the forthcoming legislative session — probably the last under the present dispensation. The talks with the ANC will be critical in this regard, and the Government is confident the discussions will be concluded successfully.

If all goes well, legislation easing the way for transition will be passed. This includes the creation of transitional executive councils, legislation to facilitate a transition, and the passing of an interim constitution effectively ending the present dispensation.

ANC spokesman Gill Marcus said yesterday: "This is a fairly decisive week. The whole function of Parliament is to introduce legislation to facilitate the transition process. This legislation should be drawn up according to the agreements reached with other parties, and hinges on the talks with the ANC."

● Sapa reports that the IFP yesterday demanded "open disclosure" by the Government of transitional and constitutional discussions between itself and the ANC-SA Communist Party alliance. It was reacting to the Government's angry response to an IFP document submitted to it last week.

Callaghan sees greater hopes for peace in SA

CAPE TOWN — Former British Prime Minister Lord Callaghan said a three-day summit of world leaders held in Cape Town last week had given him greater confidence about the prospects for a peaceful political settlement in SA.

Speaking at the end of the Interaction Council's three-day summit in Cape Town on Saturday, Callaghan said he was "deeply impressed" by the presentations made by prominent South Africans at the summit on Friday and Saturday.

President F W de Klerk, ANC deputy president Walter Sisulu and Inkatha leader Mangosuthu Buthelezi were among the political, business, church and academic leaders who addressed the delegates.

Callaghan said the South Africans fully realised that "democracy by itself does not solve economic problems or bring prosperity". He cautioned against high expectations after a new government had taken office in SA.

"The task of redressing the evils of generations cannot be addressed overnight. It is vital that people should not expect houses and jobs overnight. The Press can play a large role in moderating expectations," he said.

Callaghan, who chaired three days of talks on Africa by six former government leaders and a host of high-level international officials, said a report based on the deliberations would be prepared for presentation at the council's next meeting in Shanghai, China, in May.

The 36-member Interaction Council is a think-tank of elder statesmen who pool their skills, experience and resources to address international political and economic problems.

Sisulu, who met the delegates in the absence of ANC president Nelson Mandela, said the ANC, government and other political players had almost reached consensus on the need for an interim government and the election of a constituent assembly, which will draft a new constitution.

The ANC insisted however that whatever form the new SA took, its major institutions and structures had to be shaped and informed by the fundamental principles of democracy.

"It must be a united and democratic country based on a clear separation of powers. Fundamental human rights, enshrined in a justiciable bill of rights, should be built into the constitution."

Sisulu said 1993 would be "a decisive year in our long march to freedom".

The ANC would ensure that an interim government of national unity was installed and elections held for a constituent assembly this year.

"It is our considered view that the process of negotiations should be inclusive. At the same time we believe that no single party or group of parties should be allowed to hold the negotiation process to ransom."

PAC spokesman Barney Desai said the PAC would end its armed struggle if government showed it was serious in implementing a real transition.

"Once we have the ballot, we shall have the bullet," he said.

Desai said the PAC was committed to negotiations and a peaceful transition.

Several delegates expressed concern at the PAC's continued armed struggle. — Sapa.

Big push to get all party talks under way

THE government is to make a supreme effort in talks with the African National Congress and Inkatha Freedom Party this week to secure agreement on the resumption of multi-party negotiations.

(304A) 0202 25/1/93
Minister of Constitutional Development Mr Roelf Meyer and his top negotiators continue bilateral talks with the ANC at a southern Cape nature reserve today and tomorrow and then meet an IFP delegation in Cape Town on Wednesday.

Their main objective is to secure an agreement which will lead to multilateral talks — particularly a firm commitment by the ANC and IFP — which will allow President De Klerk to report progress when he opens parliament on Friday. —

Note

1. Smith's balance sheet at 31 December should contain a note concerning the contingent liability in respect of the bill endorsed to Dadds but not yet matured.

2. Smith must now pay Dadds the amount due to him plus noting charges, and then recover this amount from Brown.

Future 'optimistic for SA'

THE resurgence of democracy in Africa and recognition of the failure of centrally-planned economies were positive features in reversing the marginalisation of the continent, former British prime minister Lord Callaghan said.

Addressing a press conference at the end of the Interaction Council's "Africa summit", he said the process of reintegrating Africa into the mainstream of the international system had already begun.

Consensus on the universal principles of democracy and the shift to market-based economies in many African states were advances which would have a positive effect on countering marginalisation.

Lord Callaghan said a report based on the deliberations would be prepared for presentation to the council's next meeting.

Lord Callaghan said delegates had agreed on seven key areas to

(30417)
combat Africa's problems.

With the continent's enormous resources, self-sufficiency in food production had to be ensured. Massive investment in education, especially for women, was essential.

CT 25/1/93
Military spending had to be reduced. "It is obscene that more money is spent on defence than education," Lord Callaghan said.

He said Africa had enormous potential and its people had to be offered hope. — Sapa

Govt pushing for agreement

THE government is to make a supreme effort in talks with the ANC and Inkatha this week to secure agreement on the resumption of multi-party talks.

Minister of Constitutional Development Mr Roelf Meyer and his top negotiators will be holding bilateral talks with the ANC at a southern Cape nature reserve today and tomorrow and will then meet an IFP delegation

in Cape Town on Wednesday.

But the IFP yesterday also vowed to resubmit its controversial memorandum and retain the white "advisers" — including founder-member Mr Walter Felgate — whom the government believes are intent on bedevilling relations between the two organisations.

Mr Felgate yesterday rejected the charges and accused Mr

Meyer of attempting to drive a wedge through the IFP.

The government has insisted that the IFP should withdraw the memorandum.

Yesterday the IFP's central committee resolved after a mammoth meeting in Ulundi "to formally restate the points in our memorandum to which the government so vehemently objected". — Political Staff, Sapa

(304A)

25/11/93

Sisulu: Interim rule by March this year

THE African National Congress hoped to see the inauguration of an interim government by March this year, ANC deputy president Mr Walter Sisulu said at the weekend.

Mr Sisulu was speaking at the InterAction Council's three-day "Africa summit". He said a consensus on the need for an interim government and the election of a constituent assembly had almost been reached. (204A)

"It must be a united and democratic country based on a clear separation of powers. Fundamental human rights, enshrined in a justiciable bill of rights, should be built into the constitution." — Sapa

LT 25/1/93

BRIEFING

The Star Monday January 25 1993 13

Can Africa handle the ballot box?

IT'S every apparent failure of the "free world" ideology in Africa, more and more people wonder if the besieged continent is ready for democracy.

There are those sages who insist that democracy is foreign to Africa, that it stands no chance of succeeding because the traditional African is easily impressed by authority and that the tribal identity in Africa is too strong to allow for true people's democracy.

But then there are those, who claim to be equally in the know, who insist that grassroots African society has always been democratic. That chiefs ruled through the will of the people.

Whatever the truth about traditional Africa, the fact is democracy has taken hold of the

imagination of millions throughout the continent. Angolans were eager to cast their votes — their first opportunity ever to do so — in the elections of September 29 and 30 last year. Hours after the polls closed on a generally successful campaign, the country began a slide back into civil war.

The reasons for the failure in Angola? Some of the more obvious include the rush job in merging the two armies and Jonas Savimbi's refusal to accept defeat.

The continued thwarting of a handover to an elected civilian government in Nigeria has convinced many that civilian rule

will just not be able to control Africa's most populous and fragmented nation.

In an effort to undermine the ethnic, religious and regional domination that has plagued Nigeria the military government created, and wrote the manifestoes, of the only two legal political parties.

Kenya has just completed an election process which was marred by ethnic violence and ballot rigging. Prior to the election, some opposition nominees were kidnapped to allow the ruling party candidates to run unopposed.

Tribalism turned out to be a significant factor in the elections. Apart from the ethnic

As South Africa approaches the test of democracy, Africa's many failures are causing concern. HANS-PETER BAKKER reports.

leader Mobutu Sese Selo continues to exercise control over the country's security forces and hampers any attempts by the interim government, led by Prime Minister Etienne Tshisekedi, to restore order.

An ominous beginning in Africa, but democracy has by no means been an outright failure.

In Zambia, Kenneth Kaunda handed over to a democratically elected government after peaceful elections, showing that demagogic leaders could be toppled. Slowly the new president, Frederick Chiluba, is resuscitating the economy and turning the country into one of Africa's success stories.

Zambia was lucky. It had a leader of the stature of Chiluba and it had a generally peaceful post-colonial era.

In Kenya, although the elections were severely marred, President Moi now has to rule with a vociferous opposition. His days of dictatorial rule are over.

With South Africa on the brink of joining those African countries which have attempted democracy, the question about this country's chance of success is being asked.

South Africa has been a society under siege and its history of violence and low tolerance for opposing views hodes badly for a future democracy. Its

tribal rifts, emphasised by the years of apartheid, are sure to be a major factor — as they were in Kenya — in any future elections.

But then, South Africans are generally better educated than other Africans. The country's economy and its infrastructure are more advanced than others in Africa. And more than a decade of effective — and mostly "democratic" — trade unionism has instilled a sense of what democracy is all about in millions of South Africans.

Incidents of intolerance or tribal violence are too easily attributed to the African way of doing things. That Africa — and therefore South Africa — is too

tribal and its electorate too unsophisticated to succeed in its drive to democracy and better governance. The slaughter of Bosnians and Serbians in an orgy of "ethnic cleansing" in the Balkans should be a reminder that such failings are human rather than limited to Africa.

It is simply too easy to jump together the failed attempts at democracy and to proclaim Africa not ready for the ideology of the "free world". Three decades of dictatorial rule and flagrant abuse of power have dragged the continent down as far as it can go. Now Africa has no other alternative but to struggle on towards democracy. A far-from-perfect democracy is preferable to the abuses of the past — Star Africa Service. □

Carey attacks the 'agony of apartheid'

STAR 25/1/93

304A

CAPE TOWN — It would be "wrong to neglect the appalling pain and terrible agony" South Africans had suffered under apartheid, the Archbishop of Canterbury, Dr George Carey, said yesterday.

Preaching to thousands in the Good Hope Centre in Cape Town, Carey made a strong attack on apartheid, saying "a whole population has been subjugated by an evil system".

He added: "Christ has been recrucified time and again in South Africa."

Carey also called on the international community to adopt a new vision of Africa.

"Few people can be unmoved today by the terrible suffering that afflicts the

great continent of Africa," he said.

"Africa lies wounded and bleeding and we who live elsewhere must not pass by on the other side."

He added: "We cannot claim to obey Christ's call and follow him if we neglect those who walk with us. Here on the African continent 16 of the poorest countries of the world are to be found. We Anglicans are in these countries. We know their anguish at first hand."

"Today we meet in a country where the scourge of apartheid has left deep scars of violence, shame and anger on black and white alike."
— Sapa.

Clint Eastwood arrives at the 50th annual Golden Globe Awards in Beverly Hills on Saturday with Undergiven co-star Frances Fisher.

Picture: AP

star, Tim Robbins, who received a Globe for best actor in a musical or comedy. Pachino, after accepting his award, told reporters: "The role I played was what we

nominee, look awards for the Best Original Score and the Best Original Song, for Alar Menken and Tim Rice's singalong A Whole New World. — Sapa-Reuter.

ANC, govt mum on talks

WILSON ZWANE

3044

25/11/93

TALKS between government and the ANC, which began in Pretoria last Wednesday, will continue in Cape Town today and tomorrow. No comments could be obtained from either party yesterday on the direction the talks were taking. Senior ANC officials said an undertaking had been made by both sides not to comment until the talks were concluded.

A source close to Constitutional Development Minister Roelf Meyer said a statement on the talks would be made either tomorrow or on Wednesday.

However, substantial progress on the future control of security forces has reportedly been made.

The Sunday Times reported yesterday that government and ANC negotiators discussed a package which would establish a multiparty transitional executive council to control all armed forces. It is envisaged to be in place by July.

Also discussed were mass action, statements inciting violence and the peace accord.

Warning over unilateral change to education

STEPHANE BOTHEMA

31007

25/11/93

UNILATERAL action by government on restructuring the education system into a single department could alienate a large portion of the population, the ANC warned at the weekend.

The organisation was reacting to reports last week that education would be brought under a single non-racial ministry and department within months. It is expected the new department will be restructured on regional rather than ethnic lines and reports said the changes could be announced as early as this week.

ANC education department head John Samuel said while the organisation was clearly encouraging a shift to a single non-discriminatory educa-

tion system, reports that an official announcement in this regard would be made without consultation with other parties was of great concern. Samuel said the ANC had not been involved in the negotiations, and he criticised government's "automatic assumption" concerning the regionalisation of education.

The envisaged changes were confirmed by the House of Representatives Ministers' Council chairman Jac Rabie last week, Sapa reports.

Thus far the government plans were being handled with utmost confidentiality in order to avoid confrontation, Rabie said.

He said education ministers of the three houses of parliament had been working together for some time to establish the single department.

Sources close to the Pretoria talks confirmed that there were plans for a single education system and said the move was necessitated by the dire financial straits facing education.

Extreme economic pressure on the state coffers has left government no option but to continue with the rationalisation in the House of Representatives' department, which had been abandoned after extensive teacher union opposition last year. This was only a part of the rationalisation options which government was considering, sources said.

11/11/93

11/11/93

11/11/93

11/11/93

11/11/93

11/11/93

11/11/93

11/11/93

11/11/93

11/11/93

11/11/93

11/11/93

11/11/93

11/11/93

11/11/93

11/11/93

11/11/93

11/11/93

11/11/93

11/11/93

11/11/93

11/11/93

11/11/93

11/11/93

11/11/93

11/11/93

11/11/93

11/11/93

11/11/93

11/11/93

11/11/93

11/11/93

CP regains official opposition status

CAPE TOWN.—The DP has lost its status as the majority opposition party in Parliament, after the defection of Tongaat MP Michael Abraham to the NP.

This reduced the DP to 36 seats — the same number as the CP.

At yesterday's whips' meeting Speaker Eli Louw ruled that, because the CP was the official opposition in the House of Assembly and the DP did not enjoy this status in any of the Houses, the CP would regain its status as majority opposition party.

Political Staff (30/4)

Just how long the CP will enjoy its new position is questionable, as a number of Labour MPs are likely to cross to the DP during the course of the session.

It was also decided at yesterday's meeting that Parliament would not adjourn for two days a week when negotiations at Codesa resumed. Instead it was decided that there would be no sitting for the duration of the talks — possibly two weeks.

For Angola, just read S Africa

Star 26/11/93

30.4/1

THE guns are once again doing the talking in Angola and the drama unfolding in that God-forsaken country holds serious consequences for the whole region, and for South Africa in particular.

Angola is merely a trial run of what could happen here. The political landscape in Angola is similar to South Africa's in many ways. Both countries are in a state of transition after many years of one-party oppressive rule. Formerly banned groups are back competing for power. Both countries are lacking the one important ingredient necessary to make a settlement stick: outside mediators that could threaten and dragoon them to seal a deal and abide by it.

But of course SA has had a decisive say in the destiny of Angola. With the enthusiastic support of the US it built Jonas Savimbi into a little African god and put whatever he needed at his disposal.

There are politicians in our midst who look as though they have been cut out from the same cloth as Savimbi — the personality cult, the short fuse, the dubious doctorates. They have been feathered and pampered by Pretoria and mollicoddled by the right-wing governments of the '80s to a point where their egos tend to blind their visions. They have, so to speak, been travelling first class on a second-class ticket. They will pull down the house at the slightest threat.

The aborting of the electoral process in Angola — and let it be said, Savimbi is to blame — and the rigging of the Kenyan elections by Daniel arap Moi's party have coincided with the break-up of meetings by certain groups in our townships. Ah, you see, say our one-eyed commentators, these people are not ready for democracy!

Trouble is when you're one-eyed, you tend to have great difficulty noticing the speck in your own eye. P W Botha is a name that most South Africans will be familiar with. As a National Party organiser, this fellow made a name for himself by breaking up United Party meetings. Nobody at the time even suggested that the Afrikaners were not ready for democracy. In fact, PW was so successful at it that his climb to the top in the National Party was very swift.

Out of Africa

BARNEY
MTHOMBOTHI



What is apartheid after all, if not the highest form of political intolerance? You don't just break up meetings; you use brute force to crush your political opponents. Intolerance is therefore not uniquely African. It has been the policy of the land for decades.

It can be argued that Savimbi's actions have a lot to do with his nannies in Pretoria. After all, they have sacrificed young South African lives for his cause. They would be prepared, he must have reasoned, to see this thing through, to see him finally installed in Luanda as president of Angola.

Pik Botha, of course, went over as a "peacemaker". One didn't know whether to laugh or cry. After visiting such horrendous damnation on the country, you offer yourself as a peacemaker. Such cynicism simply defies comprehension. And the MPLA, fools that they are, swallowed the line.

Now the Angolan government says peace was never the subject in Botha's discussions with Savimbi. We have no way of knowing. Savimbi's subsequent actions are not of a man desirous of peace. And we have been lied to so often by this government to believe their protestations.

But what is envisaged in Angola by Savimbi supporters fits in with what certain politicians in this country describe as a power-sharing arrangement. They want to remove the idea from the public mind that the vote or ballot is the source of political power. Losing an election does not necessarily mean losing political power. You can negotiate a power-sharing arrangement after losing free and fair elections as long as you have guns on your side. Angola and Mozambique later this year will be a testing ground for this theory.

The United Nations has given the parties until April to start negotiations or it will pull out. What, one may ask, exactly is there to be negotiated? Savimbi lost the elections. He should accept the results or be treated as an outlaw. □

Hopes for settling IFP row

By Peter Fabricius
Political Correspondent

CAPE TOWN — The Government has not abandoned hope of settling its quarrel with the Inkatha Freedom Party tomorrow, despite the apparently tough line taken by the IFP central committee at the weekend.

The central committee decided it would once again present to the Government a highly critical memorandum which the Government has insisted it should withdraw.

The memorandum, presented

by the IFP at a meeting with the Government last week, accused Pretoria of doing secret deals with the ANC.

The Government retaliated with a stinging attack on the IFP, implicitly blaming white advisers for misleading IFP leader Mangosuthu Buthelezi and suggesting the document did not represent the views of the "proud Zulu nation".

But on Sunday the IFP central committee officially endorsed the memorandum, deciding that it should be presented again tomorrow and that the

white advisers would be retained.

IFP sources pointed out yesterday that there were positive signs of a conciliatory mood in the central committee statement. The committee resolved "to formally re-state the points in our memorandum to which the Government so vehemently objected".

Government sources said last night this raised hopes of reconciliation.

There was no flexibility in the central committee's full endorsement of the IFP's white advisers.

Elections date to be set today

Sowetan 26/1/93.

■ **BUSH CAUCUS** Sources believe decision on polls taken during their five-day meeting:

By Themba Molefe
Political Reporter

 8047

THE AFRICAN NATIONAL CONGRESS Government "bush caucus" which ends today is to finalise the date for general elections, to be formally announced in June, sources say.

This "agreement" would be put forth as a proposal at bilateral meetings with political parties involved in the negotiations process.

It is widely believed in Government and ANC circles that multiparty negotiations - with at least the Inkatha Freedom Party returning to

the table - will resume in March.

These disclosures coincided with the ANC PWV region's announcement of a recruitment campaign for voters in 1993.

The ANC and the Government are expected to issue a statement today after meeting for five days at a secret venue.

The ANC campaign - and perhaps its overall strategy for 1993 - was hinted at by its national executive committee member Mr Ronnie Kasrils when he addressed the ANC's PWV regional general council in Johannesburg: "Possibilities exist that by June a date for the elections can be announced. 'The election date might be in November or February 1994.'"

IFP dampens talks progress

304A CR26/1/93

By ANTHONY JOHNSON
Political Correspondent

THE government and the ANC had managed solid progress at their five-day bosbe-raad, according to sources close to the talks.

However, the ongoing row between the government and Inkatha has hung like a cloud over the discussions and threatens to delay a swift return to multi-party negotiations.

Well-placed sources said four major points of contention had crystallised at the government-ANC talks which yesterday switched venues from Pretoria to a site near Arniston:

- The powers to be given to regions in a new dispensation.

- The future of the TBVC territories.

- The extent to which power-sharing will be entrenched in a new political order.

- The future of the ANC's military wing, uMkhonto weSizwe (MK).

Although differences remained about how much power central government should surrender to the regions, the two sides are said to have closed the gaps in their thinking.

Progress has also been made on the re-incorporation of the homelands, with Bophuthatswana presenting the major headache for the negotiators.

The ANC has agreed to some of the government's proposals for entrenched power-sharing for an interim government but is still

strongly opposed to government plans for a forced coalition in a final constitution.

Deliberations on the future are at a "very sensitive" stage.

The government is worried about the apparent inability of the ANC to control all of its MK cadres.

But commitment by negotiators on both sides to end political violence and agreements on the need to change security legislation has raised hopes for a breakthrough in the next few weeks on the MK issue.

The government wraps up its talks with the ANC today and moves to Cape Town tomorrow to begin what promises to be a bruising bilateral session with Inkatha.

Parliament to open with little pomp and ceremony

TOS WENTZEL
Political Staff

304A

ARG 26/1/93

THE opening of the new session of parliament by President De Klerk on Friday will be a scaled-down occasion with little pomp and ceremony.

All four units of the Defence Force — the Army, Air Force, Navy and the Medical Corps — will have troops lining the route that the president will follow from the top of Roeland Street.

Mr and Mrs De Klerk will drive from their official residence, Groote Schuur. They will go down Roeland Street, into Plein Street and Spin Street and then up Parliament Street.

From Roeland Street they will be escorted by the ceremonial motorcycle unit of the military police.

At the entrance to the Great Hall of Parliament a guard of

honour and a military band will await them. They will arrive there at 10.55am.

While the band plays the National Salute, a 21-gun salute will be fired from Signal Hill.

As it is a scaled-down opening there will not be a fly-past by military aircraft and there will not, as in the past, be a fanfare of trumpeters as they enter the parliamentary buildings.

The Speaker, Mr Eli Louw, will meet the presidential couple at the entrance and will accompany them into the Great Hall, where Mr De Klerk will start his opening speech soon after 11am. Dress rehearsal for the opening will be held late this afternoon and on Thursday afternoon.

In addition to this session, there is also likely to be a short session later in the year.

Govt in race to win accord

GOVERNMENT negotiators, involved in two crucial bilateral meetings this week, are racing against time to get the major parties to agree to draft legislation ushering in a transitional executive council and power-sharing.

They also want agreement with the ANC and Inkatha in the next few days on the resumption of multiparty talks.

It is understood that President F W de Klerk is intent on pressing ahead with his schedule of transition and wants to announce in his opening address to Parliament government's intention to pass the legislation. He also wants to be in a position to announce that multiparty talks will be under way by March, leading to non-racial elections within a year.

"The schedule is tough and the task a tall order," a government source said yesterday, adding there was no certainty deals could be finalised in time for Friday's opening of Parliament.

Should agreement on the council not be reached, De Klerk was expected to announce that "enabling legislation would be tabled to be passed by Parliament for the council which includes the reincorporation

BILLY PADDOCK

of homelands and some form of power-sharing with joint committees overseeing different areas of government".

The source said it appeared negotiations between government and the ANC, due to end today, were progressing well but that there was a lot of anxiety about tomorrow's meeting in Cape Town with Inkatha.

However, the chances of government and Inkatha patching up their differences received a boost yesterday when Inkatha leader Mangosuthu Buthelezi said he wanted a new constitutional dispensation by next year and that he accepted De Klerk's transitional schedule deadline. (204/1)

"I say let there now be peace so that negotiations for democracy can commence in time for us to meet the 1994 deadline for a final constitutional dispensation," he said.

Inkatha national chairman Frank Mdlalose said he was optimistic that government and Inkatha delegates "would find one another" at the meeting tomorrow.

Inkatha was still demanding open disclo-

To Page 2

Accord

sure of the discussions between government and the ANC and insisting that these not be binding on other parties. Both the ANC and government tried to allay Inkatha's fears by saying any agreements between them would be binding only on each other and would have to be negotiated with others.

The government source also said Inkatha had won its demand for a multiparty planning conference, and its demand for

disclosure would be met when all agreements were scrutinised at this conference by all participants.

It seems another Inkatha demand may be partly met by the provisional agreement between government and the ANC that all armed formations, including Umkhonto we Sizwe, come under joint political control under the transitional executive council.

Comment: Page 6

From Page 1

Govt an to heal rift

304A area 118 IFP
Sowetan 27/1/93

By Themba Molefe
Political Reporter

THE Government and Inkatha Freedom Party will meet in Cape Town today in what is hoped would heal the rift emerging between the two.

IFP spokesman Ms Suzanne Vos yesterday echoed party chairman Dr Frank Mdlalose's sentiment: "We will be going to the meeting looking for a constructive way forward."

The two parties ended their first meeting inconclusively last week, with a row erupting over a memorandum the IFP presented and which accused the Government of making secret deals with the African National Congress.

Vos said "every South African" wanted to see things done in the open and the IFP objected to bilateral agreements which became binding on other parties, such as the September 26 Record of Understanding.

Meanwhile, Government sources said there was optimism on its side that the IFP would today soften its stance.

Nats, ANC 'reach crucial agreements'

Sowetan 27/1/93

By Ismail Lagardien

Political Correspondent

304A

■ Results of the talks could form basis for FW's speech in Parliament:

THE Government emerged cautiously from its crucial "bush caucus" with the ANC yesterday on the eve of an even more critical meeting today with the Inkatha Freedom Party.

Negotiators from both sides could not be reached last night but a bland statement issued earlier in the day suggested that serious but tentative agreements had been reached between them.

The agreements included steps which would result in the speedy resumption of multi-party negotiations.

If all goes well at the IFP-Government meeting today, agreements reached at both meetings could form the nucleus of President FW de Klerk's opening of Parliament speech on Friday, sources close to the centre of talks speculated last night.

The meeting between the ANC and Government discussed issues surrounding power-shar-

ing in the transitional period, new electoral laws, joint control of the security forces and measures aimed levelling the political playing field before elections, including the re-structuring of the SABC.

They gave no formal indication of progress, although Government sources said the meeting had gone well.

It is understood that Government had approached "the issue of Umkhonto we Sizwe in a tolerant and understanding manner".

UNION PRESS

Election turnout could be low

WASHINGTON — Fear, cynicism and confusion could lead to a disappointingly low black turnout in SA's first nonracial election, soon to be published research sponsored by the Matla Trust shows.

"It would be a mistake to believe that voter turnout will be high," Craig Charney, the Wits sociologist who is running the study, told the Carnegie Endowment for International Peace yesterday.

The finding, based on interviews with 24 focus groups throughout SA last November, appeared to reinforce ANC president Nelson Mandela's appeal for electoral assistance during his visit here last week.

Key factors included "widespread fear of retribution", Charney said. Interviewees "were afraid of violence if they do vote, if they don't vote, or if they vote for the wrong people".

The researcher quoted as typical a

SIMON BARBER

woman in the Free State who said: "I would be afraid to vote because I am afraid to die."

There was widespread cynicism, not only about the fairness of the process and the secrecy of ballots, but about the capabilities of the resulting black government.

There was also confusion about what voting entailed, indicating the need for a massive voter education programme.

For many interviewees, the costs of voting seemed to outweigh the perceived benefits, a situation those with an interest in a low turnout would seek to exploit.

Foreign governments, the UN and private groups could play an important part in supporting voter education, mediating disputes on electoral codes and rules, and in providing monitoring and security.

Cellular phones correct some 'unfounded'

'No deal struck' as govt, ANC end talks

By ANTHONY JOHNSON
Political Correspondent

THE government and the ANC emerged from their five-day "bosberaad" last night confident that a speedy return to multi-party negotiations was still on track — but much depends on the government's meeting with Inkatha in Cape Town today.

Senior members of both the government and Inkatha negotiating teams were hopeful last night that today's encounter would not degenerate into another acrimonious slanging match that characterised their meeting last week.

The cabinet and the ANC's national working committee will meet this morning to review their wide-ranging discussions outside Arniston, which negotiators said had been "constructive" and achieved "a great deal of progress".

Confident

A government source said that "no final agreements" had been clinched at the meeting but that the parties needed to consult with their principals before proceeding because "issues of real importance" had been covered.

However, both government and ANC negotiators appeared confident that their timetables for elections and transitional power-sharing arrangements were "still on track" but emphasized that no "deal" had been struck.

In a deliberately understated joint statement the government and ANC simply announced yesterday that the talks had taken place, a number of issues had been discussed and more talks would follow.

Outlook for SA brighter - HSRC

364A CF 27/1/93

By AUDREY D'ANGELO
Business Editor

THE medium-term outlook for SA is brighter than most people think and business and investor confidence should be higher, Lawrence Schlemmer, a Human Sciences Research Council (HSRC) GM, told 500 leading Cape Town business people yesterday.

Stressing that a political settlement was "virtually assured" and there would have to be simultaneous agreement on an economic policy, Schlemmer said there was increasing consensus and pragmatism among all parties.

Surveys had shown that most blacks expected a coalition government.

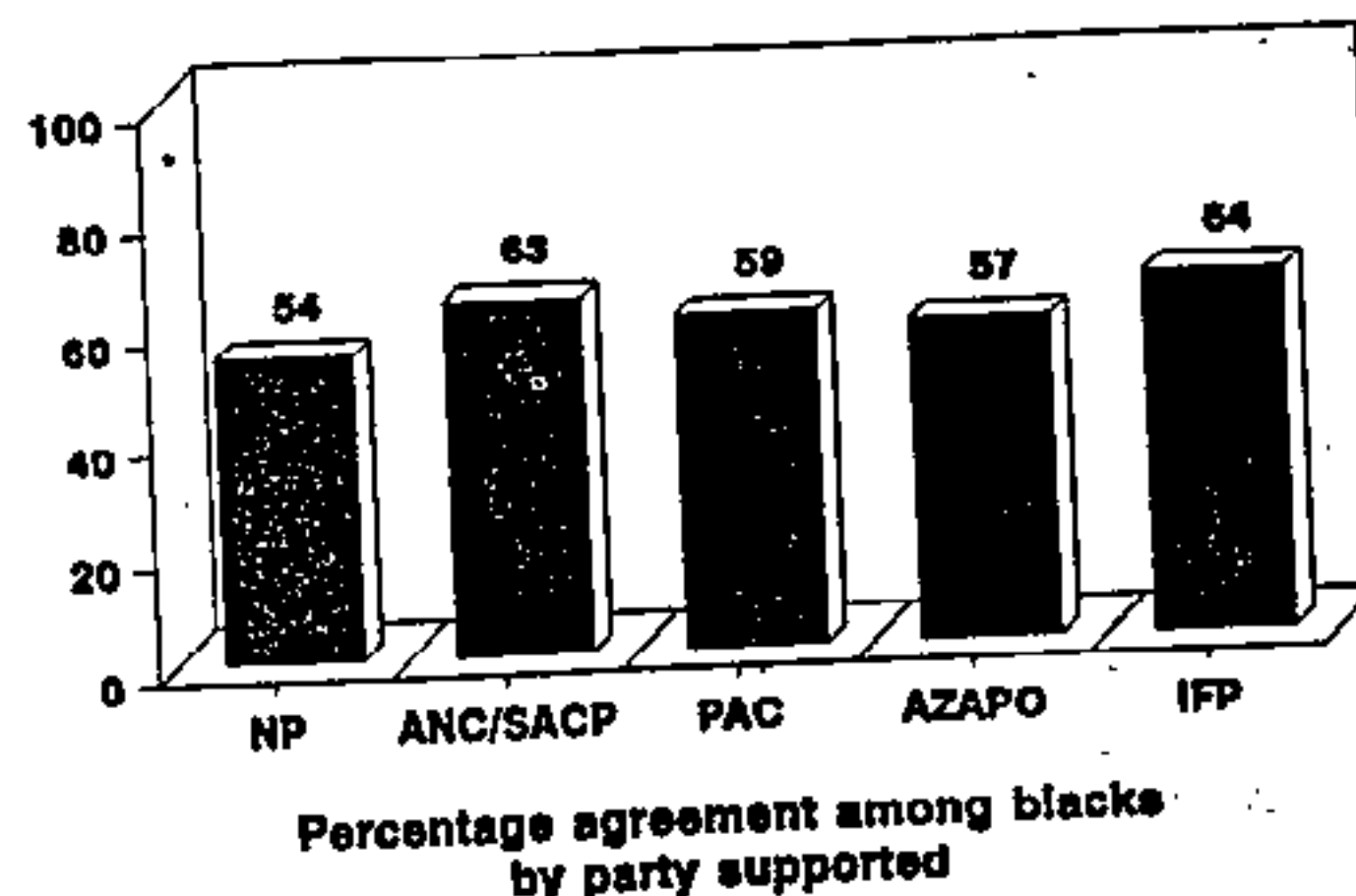
And many of SA's problems, including politically-inspired violence, would disappear once a settlement had been reached.

Schlemmer was among speakers at the first public presentation of 'Platform for Investment', at the Baxter Theatre.

It was prepared by teams from Sanlam, the HSRC, stockbrokers Frankel, Max Pollak, Vinderine and accountants Ernst & Young.

Other speakers who had worked on the forecast included Mike Brown, chief economist with Frankel, Max Pollak, Vin-

ALL PROPERTY SHOULD BE PROTECTED FROM APPROPRIATION



derine, and Ian MacKenzie, a national director of Ernst & Young.

Brown stressed the need for more jobs, which discussions with urban blacks had shown was their first priority.

He said unemployment was the worst problem facing SA now. There was a need for the development of labour-intensive rather than capital-intensive industry and more money should be available for loans from the Small Business Development Corporation — in addition to projects intended to kick-start the economy such as low-cost housing and electrification.

MacKenzie said the corporate tax rate should be reduced to 40% over the shortest possible period. A reduction to 35% should be

aimed at but was probably not achievable in the medium term.

The maximum rate for individual taxation should also be reduced to 40% and this level should only be reached with an income of R150 000 a year. There should be only four tax brackets below this.

He suggested incentives to manufacturing industry should not be limited to exporters.

'Platform for Investment', based on interviews with more than 12 000 South Africans of all races including 30 in

key positions, takes previously published scenarios into account. It will be published in book form this year.

Schlemmer explained that it did not present alternative possible scenarios but contained "careful, balanced perceptions of what SA's most probable future was likely to be," as a guide to investors and policymakers.

Although it would not be a rose garden "SA's medium-term future will be much more stable than currently feared or expected."

"The future operating environment will be somewhere between a second prize and third prize situation but certainly not the booby prize."

"Much greater business and investor confidence than exists at present is more than justified."

Obstacles to full negotiations being cleared

TOS WENTZEL Political Staff

THE Big 3 are drawing closer.

After successful talks between the government and the ANC and renewed efforts today to settle differences with Inkatha, indications are that obstacles to full negotiations — especially on interim government arrangements — are being cleared.

Minister of Constitutional Development Mr Roelf Meyer indicated today that progress had been made in government-ANC talks which ended last night. He said the talks had touched on "the heart of a future constitutional dispensation".

The talks were about power-sharing in the transitional period and beyond and about measures to level the political playing field before elections — including restructuring the SABC, new electoral laws and joint control of the security forces.

The two sides will now report to their principals and there will be further meetings.

Inkatha negotiators faced the task today of convincing the government that the party wanted to play a meaningful, positive role in constitutional negotiations.

Giant strides towards establishing an interim government will dominate the momentous session of parliament to be opened by President De Klerk on Friday.

In his opening speech he is expected to deal again with the timetable for setting up a new constitutional system.

A lot of what Mr De Klerk says will reflect progress made in talks with the ANC. Mr De Klerk's strategy appears to be to try to make a deal with the ANC and then to get other negotiation partners to come in on it.

In the talks with Inkatha this week, last-minute attempts are being made to resolve problems which have arisen between it and the government.

There is increasing talk of a second session of parliament, probably in September, to pass an interim constitution.

In his opening speech Mr De Klerk is expected to deal mainly with the prospects for progress towards a fully democratic system.

In terms of a timetable he set out late last year there should, after bilateral talks, be agreement on the resumption of negotiations in a new forum or a more representative and restructured Codesa.

Before the end of March multilateral discussions would start.

Before the end of May there would be multilateral agreement on a transitional constitution, transitional executive council and electoral commission.

In May/June legislation would be adopted by parliament providing for a transitional council and electoral commission.

Before the end of June the council and the commission would be set up.

The transitional constitution would be enacted before the end of September.

The Big 3 are drawing closer

RR 27/1/93

304A

Basic differences remain after talks

FUNDAMENTAL differences remained between government and the ANC on how power would be distributed in the first phase of an interim government, a senior government source indicated yesterday at the end of the five-day bilateral meeting.

"A great deal of good progress" was made, but there were still "quite a lot of differences on issues such as power sharing and regionalism", he said.

The main area of disagreement appeared to concern how the transitional

BILLY PADDOCK

executive council — the first phase of interim government — would function in the runup to nonracial elections.

He said government had not envisaged the council functioning as a government, but the ANC wanted definitive authority vested in it.

Government envisaged the council overseeing facets of government and ensuring

To Page 2

Talks

that no political party gained unfairly from government actions. "It was always seen as a mechanism for levelling the playing fields," he said.

A joint statement by the delegations also indicated that expected progress had not been made. It gave little detail of the substantial agenda and lengthy discussions, and said: "Further discussions ... will be taking place."

The delegations, led by Constitutional Development Minister Roelf Meyer and ANC secretary-general Cyril Ramaphosa, agreed more talks were necessary for the resumption of multiparty negotiations.

The parties' differences did not, however, appear insurmountable. The statement said the delegations would report to their principals "with a view to resolving matters and facilitating the resumption of multiparty negotiations".

It said security matters were discussed during the first two days of talks.

The government source said good pro-

gress was made on security forces and private armies. Close monitoring of all armed formations was envisaged to ensure a level playing field before elections.

The statement said models of such issues such as a government of national unity and regional government were considered. "Various matters that were canvassed at Codesa, such as procedures to appoint a new SABC board and independent media commission, independent electoral commission and the reincorporation of the TBVC states were also explored."

On regionalism, government still wanted to get agreement that the powers and duties of regions be negotiated and set down as a principle before a constituent assembly was elected. The ANC insisted this was the preserve of the elected body.

Ahead of today's meeting with Inkatha in Cape Town, government was optimistic that it would resolve the row over Inkatha's controversial memorandum.

From Page 1

First crucial obstacle cleared

Talks: now for the next hurdle

Political Staff

The first hurdle has been cleared in one of the most crucial negotiating weeks since South Africa's reform process started, and the second will be faced today.

Yesterday, Government and ANC negotiators completed a successful — although not conclusive — five-day *bosberaad*, agreeing to consult their principals with a view to further talks soon on the transition.

Today, Government and Inkatha Freedom Party delegates gather in the parliamentary complex in Cape Town for a two-day meeting aimed at salvaging their tattered relationship.

Political observers describe the two high-level bilateral meetings as crucial in determining whether President de Klerk will be able to deliver a clear message of optimism in his opening address to Parliament on Friday.

Hope

It is understood he will hold back until the last minute before finalising his speech — and its tenor will depend largely on whether a rapprochement is achieved with the IFP.

Sources in both the Government and the ANC say privately they still hope De Klerk will be able to announce that this session of Parliament might see the tabling of legislation paving the way for transitional government. If this is achieved, they say, the broadly agreed timetable providing for elections within a year to 18 months will be realistic.

At a meeting last week, Government and IFP negotiators exchanged acrimonious memoranda. Both sides have since tempered their rhetoric, stressing their commitment to the resumption of multiparty talks — an essential precursor to transitional power-sharing.

The negotiations process is finely poised: the fact that no detailed breakthroughs were announced after the Government-ANC talks, coupled with uncertainty about how the IFP talks will go, suggest that De Klerk may have to adopt a cautious approach on Friday.

Sources close to the Government-ANC talks, which ended at a secret western Cape venue, said they would meet again for another plenary session early in February to try to resolve remaining differences.

Delegations led by Constitutional Development Minister Roelf Meyer and ANC secretary-general Cyril Ramaphosa met for three days in Pretoria last week and then for two days in the



Trend-setter . . . Maud Molefe (31) of Orange Farm squatter camp speaks to a 158 squatters in the area have had telephones installed and 18 000 have been c

Talks: now for next hurdle

● From Page 1

western Cape to discuss transitional arrangements.

They talked about power-sharing in the transitional period and beyond and about measures to level the political playing field before elections, including restructuring the SABC, new electoral laws and joint control of the security forces.

Sources said the two delegations had returned with some tentative agreements but had failed to agree on others.

They had perhaps been "a bit ambitious" in trying to resolve all differences, one negotiator said.

Among the thornier problems were power-sharing beyond the

phase of interim government and the powers of regional government. *STAL 27/1/93.*

Some observers suggest that both sides may have underplayed the extent of agreement to avoid fuelling the suspicion that they were cutting far-reaching "deals" alone.

This would especially be so in the light of today's meeting between the Government and the IFP.

The Government has demanded that the IFP withdraw its highly critical memorandum presented last week, but IFP leaders have indicated they intend to stand firm.

Much will depend on the atmosphere in which the meeting is conducted, even if differences persist.

Elitist deal-cutting actually SA's best way

SA 27/1/93

3064

A STRANGE assortment of critics, from Winnie Mandela to the Sunday Times, have begun criticising the bilateral negotiations between the ANC and the National Party as elitist deal-cutting to share the spoils of power while the underprivileged masses are forgotten.

In Mrs Mandela's harsh phrase, "the NP elite is getting into bed with the ANC in order to preserve its silken sheets, and the leadership elite in the ANC is getting into bed with the NP to enjoy this new-found luxury".

The implication is that the form the negotiations has taken is essentially undemocratic and will produce a backlash from the disillusioned masses whose interests are being abandoned in the rush for the gravy train.

It is a criticism the political leaders should heed, to the extent that it is a warning of how careful they must be not to give the impression of fat-cating once they are part of an interim government. But in itself the criticism is a serious misinterpretation of the process taking place.

What is happening is the negotiating of a series of pacts between the major political organi-

These pacts usually emerge, the authors say, when a series of crises has created an "unstable equilibrium" between the authoritarian forces of the state and those thrusting for democracy, when the regime loses legitimacy but the democratic forces still cannot oust it.

Exactly what has happened in South Africa.

The two sides then try to negotiate a new dispensation. Attempts to do this in large democratic forums usually fail because of the disparity of views and the difficulty of making compromises to cherished positions in a public arena.

Hence the process of pact-forming by leaders. These pacts define the rules under which the parties will operate, with each agreeing to modify its own policy position to accommodate the other's vital interests. When the deal is struck a founding election is held, and the new dispensation is then legitimised by the population at large.

Since they are agreements reached by political leaders, they are obviously acts of political elitism. That means they are vulnerable to attack as undemocratic. Yet they are essential to achieving democracy.



Allister Sparks

sations, which is the classical form for a transition to democracy to take.

The process is well established. Four years ago, South African political analysts became aware of an extensive study by a team of American scholars of 13 countries — including Spain, Greece, Brazil, Venezuela, Uruguay and Argentina — that have moved from right-wing authoritarianism to democracy without revolution since World War 2.

One of the team, Phillippe Schmitter, came here as a guest of Idasa. He has since sent me his further studies of transitions in Chile and eastern Europe.

In attempting to pinpoint the key factors which enabled these transitions to take place, the authors of what is now a weighty literature on the subject found that "pacting", or negotiated compromises between the major political players, was the most important.

forward

election — and that is when the democracy will begin and the ordinary people have their say.

Even then it will not come in a single step but in instalments. The first steps will be limited: a transitional executive council, with power clumsily shared; then an election and a new constitution followed by a "government of national unity", another awkward coalition but this time at least of elected representatives.

With each step the democracy will be widened and the people will become more involved. That is the transforming process. Democracy itself changes the whole game, opening the way for the emergence of new forces. The relationship between the old players will change and new players will emerge. A changing class stratification will transform the political landscape.

The mistake is to imagine we are creating the whole thing now, designing Utopia in one great act of political creation. What we are doing is starting a democratising process. Even then democracy is not an end, but a beginning. It does not end the struggles over the form and purpose of politics. All it does is institutionalise those struggles, providing a framework

in which they can take place constitutionally and peacefully.

The struggle Mrs Mandela speaks of, to promote the cause of the impoverished and unemployed, the people disadvantaged for centuries by colonialism, segregation and apartheid, will go on well beyond her lifetime and mine. It will be the stuff of South African politics for the next 50 years or more.

Democracy provides the means to wage that struggle, and pacting is the most effective way to attain democracy.

Yes, it is important for the NP and ANC leaders to keep their members informed of what is happening in the negotiations, to counter perceptions of bedfellowing and bring their supporters along with them into the deal.

In this the ANC has done rather better than the NP, with its vigorous internal debate over "sunset clauses" and the return to negotiations — which some media critics promptly derided as a sign of divisions and confusion.

But the best way to carry the people along is to build up a sense of momentum. It is endless argument and stalemate that breeds disillusionment. Again, pact-forming is the way. □

Divisive issues unresolved as parties agree to hold preparatory talks

GOVERNMENT and Inkatha held cordial discussions yesterday after last week's angry interchanges, and they and the ANC have agreed on the need for a planning conference — within weeks — for multi-party talks.

However, it has become increasingly clear that, even after the five days of talks between the ANC and government, few of the crucial issues which divided them at Codesa have been resolved, and government and Inkatha have barely discussed constitutional issues.

ANC secretary-general Cyril Rama-

phosa said in Johannesburg yesterday that the meeting had agreed a planning conference should take place "by the end of February, and preferably sooner so that it does not dislocate the rest of the transitional schedule".

And in a joint statement after their meeting, government and Inkatha said they had appointed a three-a-side committee in "an urgent joint effort aimed at the realisation of the envisaged multiparty planning conference as soon as possible".

The parties "were encouraged by the conciliatory and positive spirit" at yesterday's meeting.

BILLY PABDOCK
and TIM COHEN

day's meeting.

Constitutional Minister Roelf Meyer said time had not allowed anything more than an overview of constitutional questions, and it was government's view that it and Inkatha needed to make up ground.

Ramaphosa, referring to the government/ANC meeting, said: "There has been no breakthrough." There was, however, "a promise of settlement when we next meet the government".

He added: "There exists a lot of common ground on a number of issues but there are a number of areas where there are deep disagreements."

One of these is believed to be the powers of the transitional executive council which would operate during the first phase of an interim government. Government sees the council as subordinate to the Cabinet, while the ANC believes it should have executive powers. A subcommittee had been set up to deal with this question.

It is also understood there has been extensive discussion on the constitution-making

ing issues which caused the breakdown of Codesa II. A jointly formulated proposal is to be referred to the two parties' principals for consideration.

The proposal is believed to suggest that there be no provision in the constitutional principles for permanent power-sharing. The powers, functions and duties of regions would also not be predetermined by the multiparty forum but be left to the elected constitution-making body.

There would also not be two chambers in the constitution-making body, but a single

□ To Page 2

Talks

28/1/93

chamber of national and regional representatives, the proposal says.

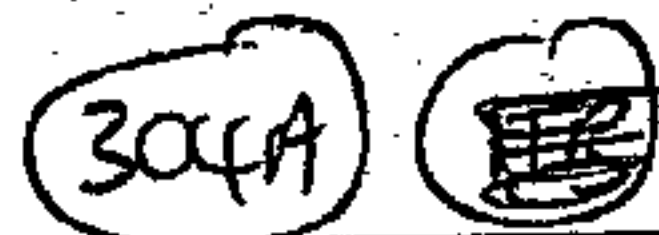
However, given that these positions reflect past ANC views, it is unclear that they represent anything more than a basis for discussion where government is concerned. Government is believed still to be insisting that regional principles be agreed before the election of a constitution-making body.

There does appear to be increasing consensus between government and the ANC on regions' status, powers and functions.

□ From Page 1

There remains some uncertainty about how to deal with those TBVC states which reject reincorporation, which is Bophuthatswana's position. Government argued it was unable unilaterally to legislate for reincorporation, while the ANC said homelands' status was not recognised in international law so this could be done. The ANC is understood to have argued that, were the South African government to renounce all bilateral agreements with the TBVC states, any resistance would be forced to reincorporate.

IFP, NP make up



Sowetan 28/1/93

By Ismail Lagardien
Political Correspondent

THE GOVERNMENT and the Inkatha Freedom Party renewed their old friendship yesterday after months of acrimony which culminated in verbal exchanges last week.

The two parties emerged from their meeting yesterday much closer to each other. They could, however, report no tangible progress towards the resumption of multi-party negotiations.

They established a sub-committee which will meet on February 8 to discuss plans for a preparatory conference for the resumption of multi-party talks by March this year.

A joint statement signed by both parties read:

"The parties recognised that harm had been done to the relationship and the trust that had existed between the Government and the IFP, but were encouraged by the conciliatory and positive spirit that characterised today's meeting."

It was also evident that both parties dif-

fered on agreements that had already been reached at Codesa.

IFP chairman Dr Frank Mdlalose said after the meeting that as far as his organisation was concerned, Codesa was dead and that multiparty talks had to start afresh.

The Government and the ANC, however, still feel that agreements reached at Codesa should remain and that the process would at least initially follow these agreements.

Leading to elections

During the five-day meeting between the Government and the ANC, which ended in the southern Cape on Tuesday, there was accord on the principle of regionalism and on the envisaged time-frame for the process leading to elections.

A likely date for elections for a constitution-making body or constituent assembly now seems feasible during the first quarter of next year.

The appointment of a transitional executive structure which will prepare the country for elections seems likely to be in place by June this year at the latest.

Light at the end of talks tunnel

CAPE TOWN — The flurry of bilateral meetings held between the Government and the ANC and Inkatha had raised hopes that multiparty talks might resume soon, negotiators said last night.

Major obstacles have still to be overcome, but following successful meetings over the past week there is optimism that negotiations involving all the major political players could be resuscitated soon.

After a five-day meeting with the Government on the Cape coast, ANC secretary-general Cyril Ramaphosa said that although no breakthrough had been achieved, the talks had held out the promise of a settlement when the two sides met again next month.

Optimism was also boosted when Government and IFP delegations, led by Constitutional Development Minister Roelf Meyer and IFP national chairman Dr Frank Mdlalose, met in Cape Town yesterday and patched up the fierce quarrel which peaked with an exchange of insulting memoranda last week.

The delegations agreed to appoint a committee to arrange a multiparty planning conference to review all bilateral agreements. They meet again on February 8.

Announcing that Government-IFP relations were back on track, Mdlalose and Meyer said at a joint press conference that they shared many basic constitutional principles. They had not yet got down to discussing differences.

In Johannesburg, Ramaphosa said the ANC and the Government would meet next Thursday to discuss security and violence and then again from February 10 to 12 to resume discussions on constitutional matters. "The talks are currently holding out a promise which we hope will end up in some form of a conclusion or settlement when we next meet," he said.

There is a growing sense of

● To Page 3

New hope for talks

● From Page 1

urgency and a firmer commitment to stick to the timetable for transition which President de Klerk spelt out in November. It calls for the resumption of formal multiparty negotiations by April, a transitional council by June and elections for full interim government by March next year.

One source close to the negotiations said yesterday that South Africa had six months to reach an agreement on interim government, or else the international community would turn its back on the country.

But despite the urgency, it is clear that fundamental differences of principle still separate the main parties.

The ANC and the Government still have a long way to go in reaching agreement on the powers to be devolved to regions, on whether power-sharing in a final constitution should be informal or formally entrenched, and on the powers of a transitional executive council to supervise the run-up to elections for an interim government.

But it seems that at the ANC-Government meeting over the past week, the two positions began to converge on federalism as the ANC began to accept that regional powers should be devolved rather than simply delegated from the central government. — Political Staff and Sapa.

Voter education workshop

A TWO-DAY voter education trainers' workshop will be officially opened in Johannesburg on Saturday, the United States Information Service said yesterday.

Workshop participants will receive an election kit containing a motivational/educational video, trainers' manual, a collapsible cardboard polling booth and ballot forms containing actual South African political parties which will be utilised to train second-level trainers.

South Africa
28/11/93

Low black turnout predicted for elections

From SIMON BARBER

WASHINGTON. — Fear, cynicism and confusion could lead to a low black turnout in South Africa's first non-racial election, soon-to-be published research sponsored by the Matia Trust shows.

"It would be a mistake to believe that voter turnout will be high," Mr Craig Charney, the Wits sociologist who is running the study, told the

Carnegie Endowment for International Peace yesterday.

The finding, based on interviews with 24 focus groups throughout South Africa last November, appeared to reinforce ANC president Mr Nelson Mandela's appeal for electoral assistance during his visit here last week.

Key factors included "widespread fear of retribution", Mr

Charney said.

Interviewees "were afraid of violence if they do vote, if they don't vote, or if they vote for the wrong people".

There was also widespread cynicism, not only about the fairness of the process and the secrecy of ballots, but also about the capabilities of the resulting black government. Respondents cited what had hap-

pened both in the homelands and across much of Africa.

There was also widespread confusion about what voting entailed, indicating the need for a massive voter education programme.

Mr Charney noted that even in Zambia, where enthusiasm for ousting Dr Kenneth Kaunda was high, the turnout in the 1991 election was only around 45%.

For many, the costs of voting

seemed to outweigh the perceived benefits, a situation those with an interest in a low turnout would seek to exploit.

Foreign governments, the United Nations and private groups could play an important part in supporting voter education, mediating disputes on electoral codes and rules, and in providing monitoring and security, Mr Charney said.

Talks On Track

CT 28/1/93
(30419)

By ANTHONY JOHNSON
Political Correspondent

HE government, the ANC and Inkatha have agreed to restart stalled multi-party negotiations by March.

The three major political groupings also resolved in a flurry of successful bilateral meetings which ended yesterday to target next month to hold an all-party planning conference to oil the wheels of the constitutional negotiations.

The government and Inkatha appeared to try months of acrimony yesterday when the two sides emerged from a five-hour meeting in Cape Town to proclaim that with Africa's timetable to democracy could be delayed no further.

And in Johannesburg the ANC said it could try to ensure that the negotiation planning conference was held by the middle of next month "as holding it a lot later could actually dislocate the programme that we have set out for the process of transformation in our country".

ANC secretary-general Mr Cyril Ramaphosa also told a press conference that his party was confident after its latest "possi-



ALL SET ... Constitutional Development Minister Mr Roelf Meyer and Dr Frank Mdlalose of the IFP.

ble" with the government that the two sides would settle a number of burning issues when they met again early next month.

At the end of the government-IFP meeting in Cape Town delegations from the two sides, led by Constitutional Development Minister Mr Roelf Meyer and Inkatha national chairman Dr Frank Mdlalose, acknowledged at a joint press conference that

Three major parties ready for fresh start

their previous relationship of trust had been damaged by conflict and suspicion.

But the two sides agreed that the best way to rebuild confidence and restore trust was to focus on the pressing need to resume multi-party negotiations.

To this end the government and Inkatha set up a joint six-person committee to speed up the multi-party planning conference.

ence. Government and Inkatha delegations will meet again on February 8.

Dr Mdlalose said yesterday's meeting, which had been held "in a conciliatory and positive spirit" had "generally smoothed over" the differences which had led to friction between the two previous allies.

Mr Meyer said the government was determined to see that its proposed timetable for

democratic transformation was not hampered by further delays.

Sapa reports from Johannesburg that Mr Ramaphosa said there was promise of a settlement between the ANC and the government on important issues when the two parties met again on February 4.

"On the whole we are able to say that there has been no breakthrough regarding the conflict that still besets our country," he said.

Flanked by other senior ANC negotiators, including SA Communist Party chairman Mr Joe Slovo and Mr Mohamed Valli Moosa, Mr Ramaphosa said: "The talks are currently holding out a promise which we hope will end up in some form of a conclusion or settlement when we next meet the government."

He said a sub-committee was set up to look at outstanding issues to present at the February 4 meeting.

Issues the sub-committee would deal with included the further release of political prisoners, the repeal of certain security legislation, and "all armed formations" — including the SADF and the ANC's armed wing uMkhonto weSizwe.

"We are hoping that when we next meet on February 4 we will be able to reach some resolution," Mr Ramaphosa said.

(304A) ~~68~~

2-day voter education workshop

A two-day voter education trainers' workshop will be officially opened in Johannesburg on Saturday, the United States Information Service said yesterday.

Workshop participants will receive an election kit containing a motivational/educational video, trainers' manual, a collapsible cardboard polling booth, and ballot forms which will be used to train second-level trainers, known as "community educators".

— Sapa. STA 28/1/93

De Klerk will map vision of the future at last white Parliament

CAPE TOWN — Against the backdrop of uncertain negotiations and a faltering economy, President F. W. de Klerk will today map out his vision of the country's future at the opening of what should be SA's last white Parliament.

Marking the start of a momentous year in SA history, De Klerk is expected to emphasise the need for a speedy resolution to the negotiations process. The dire state of the economy, the driving force behind the need for a quick conclusion to negotiations, is expected to be a major feature of his speech.

De Klerk is also expected to provide more detail on the phasing out of the three own affairs administrations, following this week's release of the education renewal strategy. And he could expand on what government wants to see written into the proposed bill of rights.

Government sources yesterday attempted to dampen speculation about any fire-works in the speech, pointing out that the delicate negotiations process precluded unilateral announcements.

However, De Klerk is expected to address major constitutional issues and encourage hopes that multiparty negotiations will begin again soon, leading to the installation of a transitional executive council by mid-year.

De Klerk could serve notice of enabling legislation making provision for the appointment of a number of subcouncils whose role would be to 'level the playing fields' for an election.

Violence is also expected to be a major feature, with De Klerk announcing the de-

TIM COHEN

tails of agreements reached last week with the ANC, including the resolution of the long-standing disagreement on the issue of illegal arms. Tough measures to address the number of illegal weapons were hinted at by Law and Order Minister Hermus Kriel last weekend.

De Klerk could also address other security matters, including the sensitive negotiations around the future of Umkhonto we Sizwe.

In dealing with the economy, while pointing to positive factors such as the low inflation rate, the President is expected to spell out the need to raise the VAT rate and on the ANC, it could be here because of its refusal to give the go-ahead for the immediate lifting of sanctions.

In one sense, today's speech amounts to a most to marking progress. In another, it marks the beginning of a session in which the NP will introduce legislation that must eventually result in the loss of its stranglehold on power.

De Klerk is also expected to announce that the NP will introduce legislation that must eventually result in the loss of its stranglehold on power.

● See Page 9

304A 423

Govt, IFP optimistic on interim govt date

STAR 29/11/93

The Government remains convinced that an interim government could be in place in South Africa by the first quarter of 1994.

This view last night had the qualified support of Inkatha Freedom Party spokesman Dr Ben Ngubane.

On the SABC programme, *Agenda*, Constitutional Development Minister Roelf Meyer said following the bilateral talks between the Government and the IFP and the Government and the ANC, it looked as if everybody could keep to the (transition) time-scales.

The ANC was not represented at the panel discussion. In an earlier statement the ANC said it objected to the way in which the SABC had approached the programme.

"The SABC only invited the ANC, Government

and Inkatha Freedom Party to participate in a live debate about negotiations. Negotiations is not only a matter of the ANC, Government and the IFP, but many organisations are part of the process," it said.

Ngubane noted that the Convention for a Democratic South Africa talks had failed because of the exclusion of certain parties, such as the Conservative Party, the Zulu King and the Zulu cabinet.

Meyer conceded Codesa had its flaws, but it had been a good exercise.

● Despite hopes for the installation of a Transitional Executive Council by April, "serious differences" between the ANC and the Government still remained, ANC secretary-general Cyril Ramaphosa warned yesterday, reports Brian Sokutu.

Nat MP Mentz joins IFP

304A
STM 29/1/93

CAPE TOWN — Jurie Mentz, National Party MP for Vryheid for 19 years, dropped a political bombshell yesterday by resigning from his party and announcing he would seek membership of the Inkatha Freedom Party.

Within hours he had been accepted as a member of the IFP with immediate promotion to its central committee.

Mentz will now become the IFP's first voice in Parliament and share the cross-benches in the House of Assembly and the chamber of Parliament with six unofficial ANC representatives.

The movement's president, Chief Mangosuthu Buthelezi, said Mentz and his constituency "will bring an important contribution to the political development of the IFP".

Mentz attended a Natal NP caucus yesterday, but gave his colleagues no indication of his intentions. Instead of moving on to a national caucus, however, he set about his stunning switch.

He has not discussed this move with President de Klerk nor, apparently, with Buthelezi.

Voters in Natal would have to choose between the IFP or ANC, Mentz said in announcing his move: "To me in Natal/KwaZulu the moderate people I know and trust are the supporters of Inkatha."

"We will never have peace in our country if Natal/KwaZulu is governed from Pretoria by the ANC/SACP or if Bantu Holomisa, Harry Gwala, or Chris Hani are in control of our region."

● The number of National Party members in the House of Delegates continues to grow. It now stands at 14, with the announcement yesterday by Ashwin Mohanlall (Clare Estate) and Ganie Mohamed (Rylands) that they had joined the NP.

Mohanlall defected from the National Peoples' Party and Mohamed from Solidarity.

Piet Swanepoel, chairman of the NP's caucus, said NP membership in all three Houses was now 156. This was the largest caucus in the history of the South African Parliament. The NP now had more than half of Parliament's 308 members. — Political Staff, Sapa

Inkatha leaders clash with de Klerk's team

By David Beresford in Johannesburg

A POLITICAL brawl with racial overtones, centring on Chief Mangosuthu Buthelezi's Inkatha organisation, is setting the scene for what is likely to prove a crucial week for South Africa's negotiating process.

Government politicians and factions in Inkatha were busily exchanging insults at the weekend in the wake of a row between negotiators over allegations by the de Klerk administration that a mysterious group of whites was manipulating Chief Buthelezi.

It began last week when talks between Inkatha and the government broke up after President F. W. de Klerk's team accused Chief Buthelezi's representatives of manufacturing lies and distortions.

They were responding to a memorandum read out by the Inkatha chairman, Frank Mdlalose, accusing the government of trying to cling to power by reaching secret deals with the African National Congress. "Where is Afrikaner integrity and National Party honour?" it demanded.

The minister of constitutional development, Roelf Meyer, was so incensed by the attack that he asked for an adjournment to write a stinging rebuke. In language unprecedented between the two

political groupings, the nationalists described the Inkatha document as "banal nonsense" written by "a person who is poorly informed, technically unqualified, and with questionable ulterior motives."

The government negotiators also referred to "forces intent on destroying the trust and common purpose between us".

Dr Meyer had latched on to the fact that the memorandum had been written by a shadowy adviser to Chief Buthelezi, Walter Felgate, an influential figure in Inkatha since the mid-1970s. The reference to destructive forces was seen as an attack on other white advisers, including a former chief-of-staff of South African military intelligence, Major General Tiene Groenewald, and two US constitutional experts, Albert Blaustein and Mario Ambrosini — who are credited with devising constitutional proposals recently produced by Chief Buthelezi.

Chief Buthelezi reacted with fury, denouncing the government attack as a racist insult. "Are they saying that because I am a kaffir I can't think for myself?" he demanded.

Nevertheless, the government broadside appears to have hit a sore spot in Inkatha.

29/1-4/2/93
W. Meyer
G. Mdlalose

NP man defects

W/maul 29/1-4/2/93
A NATIONAL PARTY MP resigned yesterday, saying he was joining Chief Minister Mangosuthu Buthelezi's Inkatha Freedom Party. (304A)

Jurie Mentz, who represents Vryheid in Natal, said he would ask Buthelezi to let him represent Inkatha in the whites-only House of Assembly, becoming the party's first MP.

Mentz said he wanted to join Inkatha because it was a staunch opponent of communism and had never used African National Congress "tactics such as international isolation and economic destabilisation".

"We in Natal would prefer to be ruled by our own people and with Dr Buthelezi as our obvious leader," he said, referring to Inkatha's proposals for kwaZulu and Natal to be run as a single autonomous state in a democratic, federal South Africa.

Now may be the hour for FW 304A

Sowetan 29/11/93
By Ismail Lagardien
Political Correspondent

■ State President may ascend Parliament's podium for the last time:

WHEN President FW de Klerk today ascends the podium in Parliament to read his opening address, it might just be for the last time.

In fact, it might be the last time, too, that the opening of Parliament will be led by De Klerk and that the Conservative Party will be the main opposition party in the House of Assembly and the Democratic Party in the Joint Chamber.

The entire three-chamber structure self-destructs this year. Only a slight possibility exists

that De Klerk might decide to resume Parliament again next year, shortly before the general election that has been earmarked for early 1994.

Today, therefore, can be said to be the first day of the last white Parliament of South Africa.

It has become tradition during the De Klerk years that the President would use the opening of Parliament to make grand, epoch-making speeches.

In his opening-of-Parliament speeches of the past three years he has made resounding declarations.

In 1990 he announced the unbanning of the liberation movements. In 1991 he announced that Parliament would that year dislodge apartheid's cornerstone laws.

In 1992 he consolidated the progress, the gains and losses that had been made and set the stage for multi-party negotiations which started at Codesa on February 6.

There are great expectations that De Klerk will use the opening of Parliament again this year for a similarly dramatic announcement.

Last apartheid pillars to go soon

Reform plans on track — FW

STAR 29/1/93.

304A

By Peter Fabricius
Political Correspondent

CAPE TOWN — President de Klerk opened Parliament on an optimistic note today, announcing measures to sweep away the last apartheid institutions to make way, by June, for the country's first nonracial transitional executives.

Declaring that a broad consensus was developing in negotiations — which were still on track for an elected interim government early next year — De Klerk said most of the own-affairs departments would be scrapped on April 1.

● A transitional education department with its own Minister would be established on the same date to phase out segregated education and replace it with a system of nonracial regional departments.

This process should preferably be completed by March 31 1994.

● The President's Council, which breaks deadlocks in legislation, is to be phased out by the time transitional structures emerge from negotiations.

Progress in negotiations meant that this could happen by June this year.

De Klerk's speech was characterised by the absence of the usual sniping at the ANC — a sign of the growing consensus between the two parties.

Highlights of President de Klerk's speech

- Possible reimposition of the death penalty.
- Early prisoner releases to be stopped.
- Tough sentences for possession of AK-47s.
- Possible incorporation of township self-defence units into the SAP Reserve.
- Own Affairs departments to be scrapped.
- President's Council to be phased out.
- National Peace Accord to get more teeth.



De Klerk said that three years after his momentous February 2 1990 speech, he remained convinced that he had made the right choice.

"In spite of all the propaganda, protesting and positioning, something dramatic is beginning to happen.

"A broad consensus is beginning to develop in respect of the course that we have to take if we are to ensure peace and prosperity."

He said although a great deal of work remained to be done before binding agreements could be reached, the reform process was proceeding according to plan.

In a more sombre mood, the State President also addressed the fears of the man in the street by announcing tough new measures to try to combat soaring crime and violence. These include:

● Far-reaching measures to give the National Peace Accord more teeth. Government sources said this would

include criminalising transgressions of the accord.

● The reversal of the controversial and unpopular policy of releasing prisoners early. In future they will serve their full sentences in one form or another.

● New legislation to impose a minimum sentence of five years — without the option of a fine — for the mere possession of AK-47s, other automatic weapons and explosives.

● The possible reimposition of the death penalty, ending the moratorium that has been in place since November 1989.

● A greater involvement of the community in policing, including the possible incorporation of township self-defence units into the Police Reserve.

On the phasing out of own affairs — which De Klerk said was necessary to cut costs — he announced that the own-affairs functions of

agriculture, health and local government would be transferred to general affairs on April 1.

Remaining own-affairs functions, such as welfare and housing, would remain under Ministers' Councils for the time being but would soon be transferred to general affairs. Some own-affairs functions would be transferred to provincial and local authorities.

De Klerk said the Government had begun discussions with the self-governing homelands to unite administrations and political decision-making.

The KwaZulu government and the Natal Provincial Administration had already asked for more powers for the Joint Executive Authority. Agreement had been reached for a pilot investigation into the feasibility of a joint administration by Qwaqwa and the Free State Provincial Administration.

NEWS Vryheid's Member of Parliament switches to Inkatha

National Party MP joins Inkatha

Sowetan 29/1/93

Sowetan Correspondent

MR Jurie Mentz, National Party MP for Vryheid for 19 years, yesterday dropped a political bombshell by resigning from the party and announcing he would seek membership of the Inkatha Freedom Party.

And he was immediately accepted as a member of the IFP and promoted to its central committee.

His appointment was confirmed by

324A
Mentz says there will be no peace in the country if KwaZulu-Natal is governed by Pretoria:

the IFP within hours of his announcing his resignation from the NP.

Mentz will now become the IFP's first voice in Parliament and share the cross-benches in the House of Assembly and the Chamber of Parliament with the six unofficial ANC representatives.

IFP president Chief Mangosuthu Buthelezi said Mentz "will make an

important contribution to the continuing political development of the IFP".

One of the most respected Nationalist stalwarts, Mentz was until mid-morning yesterday chairman of the NP in Natal and vice-chairman of the party's parliamentary caucus.

Mentz attended a Natal NP caucus yesterday morning, but gave his col-

leagues no indication of his intentions. Instead of moving on to a national caucus, however, he set about his stunning switch.

NP colleagues were thus unaware of his move as they huddled in their all-day caucus.

He has not discussed this shock move with President FW de Klerk.

Voters in Natal would have to choose between the IFP and the ANC, Mentz said in announcing his move.



SWITCH ... Nationalist front-bencher Mr Jurie Mentz, who has defected to the IFP. Picture: ANNE LAING

IFP dumps Mats for Inkatha

By ANTHONY JOHNSON
Political Correspondent

THE National Party was rocked on its heels yesterday when Nationalist front-bencher Mr Jurie Mentz apparently ended his 40-year association with the ruling party by defecting to the Inkatha Freedom Party.

More defections are expected with at least one senior NP member likely to express his

allegiance to Umtsi before the end of next month.

The decision by Mr Mentz, MP for Vryheid, to give Inkatha its first toe-hold in Parliament was welcomed by IFP chairman Dr Frank Mdlalose as "a bold step".

Mr Mentz, deputy-chairman of the NP caucus and ruling party MP for the past 19 years, shocked the NP with his resignation. He had apparently not

formally signalled his intentions to either President F W de Klerk or Natal leader Mr George Bartlett.

But while the NP lost on the swings yesterday it more than gained on the roundabouts.

As the annual musical chairs in the standing of parliamentary parties continued, some nine MPs in the House of Delegates linked up with the NP giving the party 14 of the 45

seats in the House and putting it within striking distance of total control.

After the defections the ruling Solidarity Party was left with 21 seats, while the NP had 14. The other seats are spread between the National Peoples' Party (4), Democratic Party (3) and Merit Peoples' Party (2).

There is one independent MP said yesterday that the all-out bid by the NP to gain

control of all three Houses of Parliament reflected the determination of Mr De Klerk to ensure that any changes to the Constitution would have an easy passage.

Proclaiming himself to be a "white Zulu", Mr Mentz told the Cape Times yesterday that his major reason for joining Inkatha was his determination to keep the ANC from gaining power in Natal/KwaZulu.

Govt, ANC agree on key issues

THE crucial talks between government and the ANC had achieved a great deal of consensus on key issues but the detail of how to implement the principles promised to be difficult to overcome, a senior government negotiator said yesterday.

He said the five-day bilateral meeting with the ANC had produced a common proposal on the main constitutional matters but because both delegations had shifted from their mandated positions, it was necessary to return to principals for further mandates.

It is understood there is very little difference between the parties on regionalism, with the ANC accepting that powers be devolved to regions rather than merely delegated.

"When you look at what they are saying about how they want the powers, functions and duties to be devolved to regions, there is very

little difference between that and what government is pushing for," the negotiator said.

There was also strong convergence on an interim constitution with the ANC agreeing to power-sharing during this period. However, it objected to the entrenchment of power-sharing in the final constitution.

There were also differences on the powers of the transitional executive authority in the runup to elections: the ANC wants to accord it greater authority and government wants it merely to level the playing fields.

The source said the focus of the next few weeks would be to resume multiparty talks and intensify bilateral discussions to ensure success at the multiparty forum.

He said government wanted Inkatha to be kept in the process.

BILLY PADDOCK

At Wednesday's bilateral meeting between government and Inkatha, it was agreed that a multiparty planning conference be convened soon with a commitment to reconvene multilateral negotiations in March.

However, yesterday Inkatha president Mangosuthu Buthelezi told OAU delegates he rejected the power-sharing agreement reached between the ANC and government and would not join multiparty negotiations under those conditions.

The government source said most of the hard bargaining would take place at bilateral meetings as this would minimise the chances of deadlock or breakdowns.

He said the major stumbling block was the issue of reincorporation.

He said Transkei, Ciskei and Venda had committed themselves to reincorporation but Bophuthatswana had reserved its position.

HAY HARTLEY

held in a basement in Qubba camp where "a diesel engine nearby flooded the basement with noxious fumes" ~~(S)~~

Lekalake claimed the diesel engine referred to was an electricity generator about 60m from the detention cell and had never been used to abuse detainees. Lekalake and Mgwenya were accompanied by Duncan Diamond — MK chief of staff for the camp when the abuses allegedly took place — during the interviews.

They said they had been held for two months for refusing to continue with training and their only contact with Kasrils was when he tried to persuade them to become more involved in camp life.

Codesa will work, says Mandela

as long, and we are not prepared for that.

"Codesa is an effective organisation for any future multiparty talks. All that is necessary is that parties which want to make a contribution to the process can come and join. We will listen to any suggestion they make which can improve the effectiveness of Codesa." **GRAND 29/11/93**

Mandela said the ANC envisaged the installation of a transitional executive

30/11/93

LOVING COURTS

30/11/93

admission and elections for a constituent assembly taking place towards the end of this year.

The assembly would then design a new constitution for the country.

"This might take some time and might go beyond 1993," he said.

Most political parties had realised the need for a peaceful settlement in the near future, and 1993 was likely to be turned into a year of decisive achievement, he said.

The assembly would then design a new constitution for the country.

"This might take some time and might go beyond 1993," he said.

Most political parties had realised the need for a peaceful settlement in the near future, and 1993 was likely to be turned into a year of decisive achievements, he said.

'Own affairs' to be scrapped soon

Political Correspondent

ARG 29/1/93

PRESIDENT De Klerk announced that the costly, fragmented and racially based own affairs system was to be scrapped sooner than originally planned.

An interim phase, provided for in legislation passed during last year's short session, is to be dropped.

"A direct route to transforming own affairs into general affairs will be followed," Mr De Klerk said.

In line with this, the own affairs functions of agriculture, health and local government are to be transferred to general affairs departments from April 1, coinciding with the new financial year.

Remaining own affairs functions — including welfare and housing — will continue under the control of the Ministers' Councils for the time being, but they will lose their own affairs status "as soon as possible".

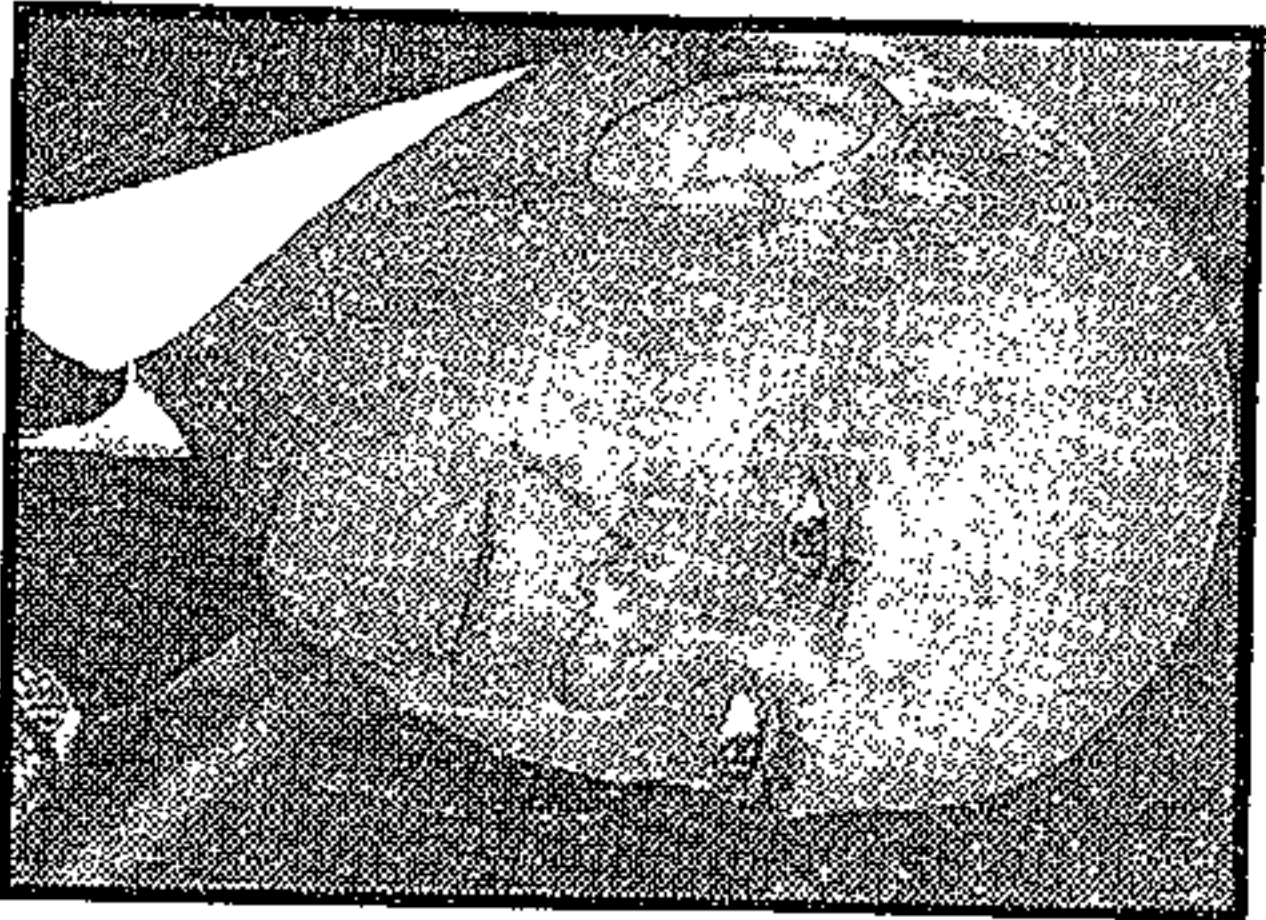
In some cases, functions will be devolved to provincial and local government level.

Acknowledging that the own affairs system was "expensive, fragmented and racially based", Mr De Klerk said the government had accepted the challenge to transform it through rationalisation into an efficient, cost-effective and non-discriminatory decentralised system.

Power-sharing

FW's timetable: March: Multi-party talks; June: Executive council; September: New Constitution

RRG 24/11/93 (304A)



PRESIDENT De Klerk

TOS WENZEL, Political Staff

MULTIPARTY negotiations on a new constitution could resume at the beginning of March, President De Klerk said today, adding that 1993 offered the opportunity for a major breakthrough to peace and stability.

Opening parliament, an optimistic Mr De Klerk said this could result in a transitional executive council in June and a new transitional constitution in September.

The government was committed to managing the whole process as far as it was able in such a way that the time scales might be achieved.

Mr De Klerk also announced tough measures to clamp down on crime and illicit weapons and to combat violence.

He announced the phasing out of "own affairs" departments and plans for the introduction of a new, single system of education.

"At present there is a positive spirit among most of the political parties. Their actions are characterised by a realisation that immeasurable damage will be done if we do not make progress now.

"This is bringing greater realism to the fore. Therefore, I have hope for the New year."

Mr De Klerk said every South African was facing a choice:

● Either to support constitutional change and everything that was reasonably required for its success.

● Or to return to the laager and prepare for an armed and bloody struggle.

"The simple truth is that a devastating war will ensue if negotiation does not succeed.

"When I say that, there may be those who argue that we are, in spite of negotiations, already experiencing a war of sorts with all the political vio-

"That is a fallacy. The truth is that those who are actively taking part in political violence are a fact, not yet in fighting or are not negotiating adequately or in good faith.

"The resolution of political violence — and with it inadequate investment and unemployment — accordingly lies in successful negotiations that will lead to real reconciliation. Only in that way will the root causes of conflict be removed."

The government often acted as facilitator to get multiparty negotiations going. This unfortunately created the impression that the government did not adopt a strong point of view of its own at the negotiating table.

"We are often suspected of forming an alliance with the ANC. Nothing is further removed from the truth.

"The government had a clear mandate for the constitutional model towards which it is working. I wish to give the assurance that the principles on which that mandate is based will be promoted forcefully and with conviction in every negotiation and discussion in which we are involved.

"We are making good progress. We have not abandoned a single principle."

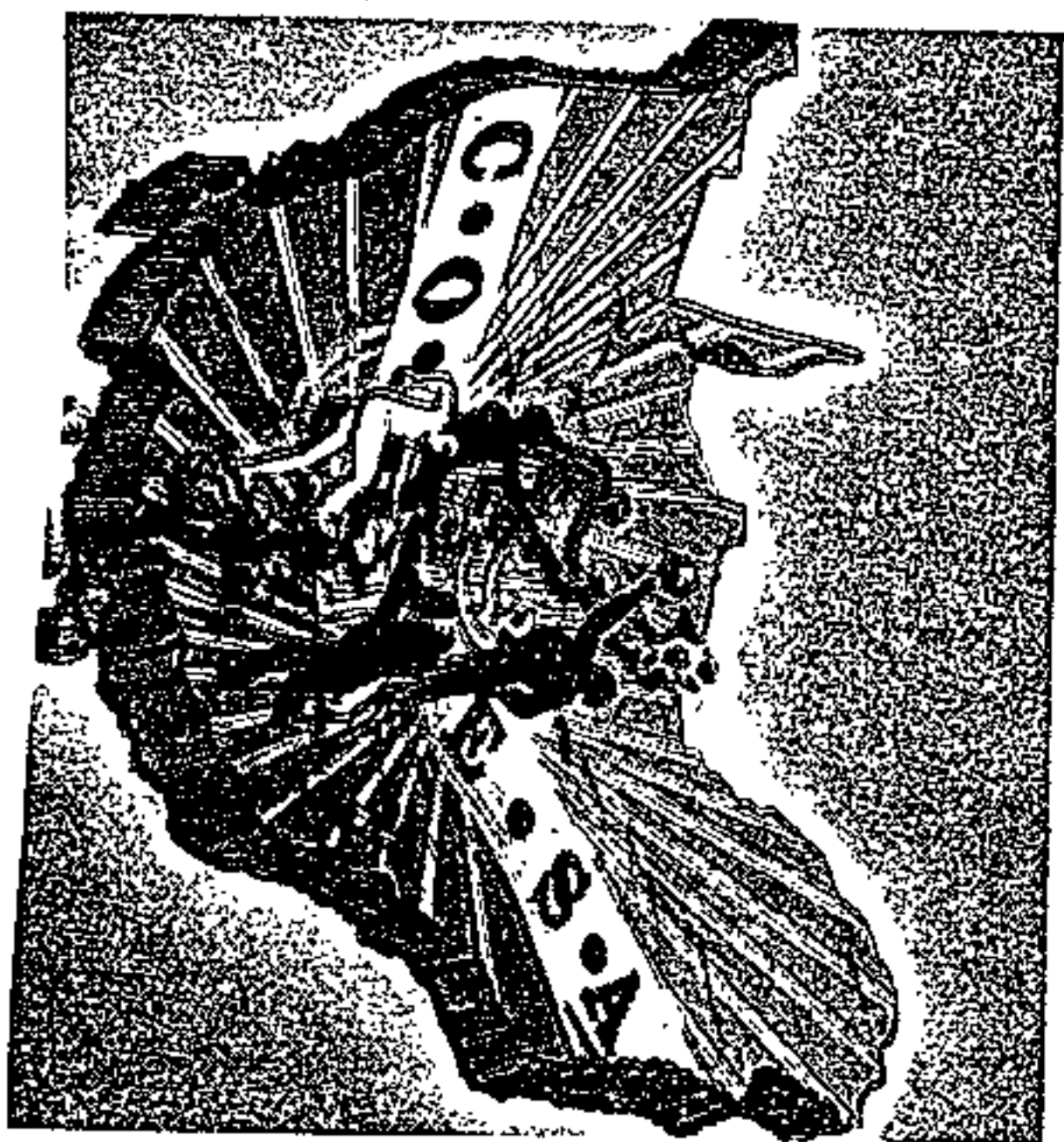
Mr De Klerk listed principles on which consensus was slowly but surely beginning to take shape:

● Power-sharing, strong regional government and checks and balances to prevent any abuse of power.

● The sensible accommodation of the country's cultural and linguistic diversity.

● The assurance of economic security for owners and investors; and

● Protection of the security of tenure of officials and teachers.



Full speech: Pages 12

Dissent over who should oversee election

304A
ARCT 29/1/93



Mr Cyril Ramaphosa

The Argus Correspondent

JOHANNESBURG — Despite hopes for the installation of a Transitional Executive Council (TEC) by April, "serious differences" between the ANC and the government still remained, said African National Congress secretary-general Mr Cyril Ramaphosa.

He said the TEC would pave the way for the country's first democratic general election.

Mr Ramaphosa was speaking at the opening of the Friedrich Ebert Foundation's Johannesburg office. The foundation, named after a German working class leader, gives support to trade unions and political organisations furthering democratic ideals.

Mr Ramaphosa said that during talks between the government and the ANC this week, the government had suggested that the Home Affairs Department should run the

country's first democratic election. This was opposed by the ANC.

"We felt the Home Affairs Department was not an appropriate body for such a task and we suggested the ANC, because we ran our elections successfully in 1991."

This suggestion drew a sharp rejection from the government, Mr Ramaphosa said.

The ANC then suggested an independent election commission.

Mr Ramaphosa said the ANC and the government agreed on constitutional principles and the reincorporation of the TVBC states.

On the future of the SABC, Mr Ramaphosa said the two delegations examined the possibility of appointing two judges, serving at Codesa, to the SABC board by the end of March.

Nats stunned as MP defects to Inkatha

304A

TIM COHEN

CAPE TOWN — In a day of musical chairs, Inkatha gained its first representation in Parliament and nine House of Delegates MPs defected to the NP. *BIDM*

The NP is now close to being the largest party in all three Houses, but the defection of Vryheid MP Jurie Mentz, an NP member for 40 years, shocked the party.

The NP, braced for more defections by senior Natal members to Inkatha, said nothing justified Mentz's "drastic step".

Mentz, describing himself as a "white Zulu", said he hoped it would be understood that he was acting in the interests of the people of Natal/KwaZulu as a whole.

He stressed that he believed President F W de Klerk was "one of the greatest leaders this country has produced", but he believed it would be "ideal for Dr (Mangosuthu) Buthelezi and his IFP to become the major governing party in KwaZulu/Natal". He would be devoting his energies towards keeping the ANC and socialist policies from power in Natal. *29/1/93*

Inkatha said Buthelezi intended recommending that Mentz be included in the party's central committee. National chairman Frank Mdlalose said Inkatha appreciated the bold step Mentz had taken and was "aware that there are others in his party disenchanted with the policy being pursued by the top hierarchy of the NP".

The DP, which lost an MP to the NP but gained another House of Delegates member this week, said the defection was no surprise and predicted more would follow.

The DP's Mike Ellis said it would be interesting to see the relationship between Inkatha and the ANC in Parliament: "They will be sitting very near each other and we trust that they will conduct themselves along strict parliamentary lines."

The nine defections to the House of Delegates means the NP, with 14 seats, has ousted the National People's Party as the official opposition. It is now in a position to challenge Solidarity, which has 21 seats.

Solidarity member Farouk Cassim predicted that the NP would gain a total of 17 members, making it the largest party in the House although it would still be short of an absolute majority.

TODAY marks the opening of SA's last "white" Parliament ... or does it? Perhaps because the political coterie's confidence was so shell-shocked by the failure of Codesa II, perhaps because SA's political landscape is so craggy, perhaps because political transitions are always so turbulent and uncertain, what ought to be a confident assertion claims a question mark.

All the areas of difference still to be settled ought to have been decided almost a year ago at Codesa II or soon afterwards. Political observers expected the last parliamentary session to be the final assembly under the auspices of the tricameral constitution. But with a sigh, the politicians gathered again in Cape Town this week once again to face an uncertain session. This will surely be the last, was the consensus.

What makes the birth of the new SA in 1993 so doubtful in spite of the unmistakable requirements?

At root, the problem is that change in SA is not the result of any standard or traditional cause. It is not taking place as a result of a fundamental technological and philosophical social shift (although there have been some major social changes). It is not taking place as a result of a dire economic necessity (although the poor economy was a factor). Neither is it taking place as a result of a wartime victory (although the fast developing stage society was a component).

But for all the caveats, it is not for the victorious new class or party to dictate the terms of the peace. It is for the not quite vanquished to negotiate the terms of surrender with the not quite victorious — a peculiarly volatile scenario.

The situation is made more complex because the non-victorious believe they have won, and the unvanquished do not believe they have necessarily lost. The prospect of having to actually secure victory, as opposed to getting it served on a platter, seemingly irritates and frustrates ANC members who tend to

This may not be the last white Parliament after all

8/Jan 21/1993. (344)

TIM COHEN in Cape Town

regard victory as their natural right. Perhaps more astounding, government tends to patronise the ANC's ability to govern, as though the NP has performed faultlessly. The most they can claim is that they now know how not to do it, but yet, incredibly, government Ministers often imply that a new government could not function properly without their participation. The ANC only encourages this tendency by occasionally proposing strategies that are so out of touch with reality that they would be funny if they were not so frightful.

There is, in fact, a lack of clarity about what government hopes to gain out of the negotiations. Is it to retire with grace, speed and the minimum fuss? Is it to secure the best possible result for the (white) middle class? Is it to ensure the country functions from now on according to the finest Western values? Or is it, as many suspect, to secure an extended lifespan for the present ruling group?

The conventional wisdom is that there has been a sea change in both government and ANC thinking since Codesa II. They are both older and wiser men now, the theory goes. Before Codesa II, the ANC thought power was there for the taking, but this dream died with the faithful and naive peasants of Bisho.

Before Codesa II, government thought it could possibly win a democratic election — or at least a veto over a future government's actions — by drawing together a coalition of anti-ANC groups from the right-wing to homeland political parties. But Inkatha, in particular, lost the confidence of government, and anyway this would never work. After Codesa II, (the theory goes) government changed its strategy fundamentally, considering its best option to be a coalition of sorts with the ANC, which would extend the life (and benefits) of the ruling elite.

So now a new scenario emerges: government and the ANC have done a deal, stability is to be placed above democracy, government does not have the legitimacy, the ANC does not have the ability, they will rule together in an unholy alliance for the good of the people, the country and themselves.

Tempting, but unrealistic. In any event the negotiations have simply not yet reached this advanced stage. Nevertheless, under pressure from the international community, which believes (perhaps unfairly) that government was responsible for not securing an agreement at Codesa

II, deals will soon have to be struck on the two main points of difference: power sharing at executive level and regionalism.

On regionalism, the prospects are good and negotiators are closing the gaps. The ANC always said it was in favour of regionalism, but other parties were not convinced. In the most recent discussions, it has become clear the ANC was not in fact simply paying lip service to the concept. This obviates the need for some other constitutional safeguards, and the apparently petty argument about a 70% versus 75% majority requirements for constitutional change are unlikely to recur.

Agreement is also elusive on when the regions (and their powers) should be finalised — before or after elections for a transitional government. If this is done before the first set of elections, then the regions will have a stake in a constitutional assembly as regions. But this would also mean dictating some irrevocable conditions on the constitutional assembly — an apparent contradiction. The implementation of regions also poses problems for the TBVC states which will have to be dismantled before elections take place.

On the question of power sharing at executive level, government still proposes a constitutionally en-

trenched power-sharing model — but this is just a proposal. What it will finally accept is open to question and it will have to decide soon whether its proposals will meet with international acceptance. The Swiss model of power sharing was often cited as an example SA ought to follow, but in fact, power sharing in Switzerland is more a voluntary pact than a constitutional model.

The transitional executive council, the body intended to ensure free and fair elections, has not yet received negotiators' full attentions but there are signs that when discussions begin in earnest agreements could be struck without too much difficulty. Negotiators are predicting that these discussions might provide the current session of Parliament with at least something of a swansong. The legislation establishing the council could be of an enabling nature so that even if agreement is reached after the end of the current session, the council and its subcouncils could be implemented by proclamation.

The one piece of legislation that will be pivotal will be the Budget, although most of the important trends have cleverly and carefully been announced over a period of time. The shocks that the Budget must contain will therefore not come as a surprise to most. We already know the parameters; civil servants will get less, petrol will cost more and the tax burden will increase. Nevertheless, the way Finance Minister Derek Keyes deals with the revenue shortfall, among other problems, will be watched with interest.

Despite the dependence of the parliamentary session on what happens in the negotiation process, it promises to be far from uneventful, and preparations for a new regime are everywhere. The new orientation for the police force and the proposals for a new education system are just the tip of the iceberg. The media, the TBVC states and the security forces, among others, are all ripe for renewal. "Community orientation" is the new buzzword. But, as radical philosopher Antonio Gramsci said: "In the interregnum before the old is dead and the new is born, a great variety of morbid symptoms appear."

Proposals await approval

w/mail 29/1-4/2/93

There was no 'breakthrough' but if the cabinet and ANC executive agree to the proposals formulated at the bosberaad then the deadlock could be broken.

By PAUL STÖBER and ANTON HARBER

THE African National Congress and the government left this week's *bosberaad* with joint proposals covering the major issues that have so far separated them.

These proposals, however, are still subject to agreement by the cabinet and the ANC national executive. If approval is granted, however, this will constitute a major breakthrough in the deadlock between these two parties.

This is why ANC secretary-general Cyril Ramaphosa said on Wednesday that there had been "no breakthrough", but he held out the hope of "a promise of a settlement when we next meet the government".

He is hoping that when the meeting reconvenes in the next fortnight, they will have secured approval from their respective executives.

It is understood that the full range of proposals drawn up at the meeting cover all the major points of issue between the two parties, including the government's insistence on a large majority for constituent assembly resolutions, a second house to approve the constitution, prior agreement on regional powers, entrenched power-sharing and a presidency in the interim arrangement.



Cyril Ramaphosa

In particular, it is understood that the government and the ANC hammered out a joint constitution-making proposal that provided the brightest spark in an otherwise straightforward meeting.

Details are scarce but the government is thought to have accepted that the ANC cannot be seen to be enshrining power sharing in the constitution before a constituent assembly has met. Previously, the government had insisted that constitutional principles agreed to in negotiations before a CA was elected could

not be changed by the constitution-making body.

However, the government remains committed to ensuring that minority rights and strong powers for the regions are guaranteed before the CA sits.

The ANC sold the idea of minority rights to its membership during its debates about "sunset clauses" late last year.

Delegates from both sides at the *bosberaad* are said to have undertaken to sell the resolutions to their principles.

An ANC source said this was not likely to be a problem for his organisation because "the proposals are in line with ANC thinking". However, he thought the government may face some difficulty getting the full support of the cabinet.

The question of the powers of the transitional executive council, which will oversee the election of a CA, was thrown back to a sub-committee after the government and ANC delegates failed to resolve their differences on the issue.

The government is believed to have continued to insist the transitional councils be subordinate to the existing cabinet while the ANC wants the councils to have executive power.

Sources indicated substantial progress had been made on technical issues regarding voter registration and the control of the security forces, private armies and the SABC in the run-up to the election for a CA.

The *bosberaad* also accepted that a planning conference be held before full-scale multi-party talks resume.

Observers see the conference as a last-ditch attempt to draw in parties which have refused to be part of the Codesa process.

Ramaphosa said the conference would be open to "all parties that were part of Codesa ... as well as those other parties outside Codesa".

Although Ramaphosa insisted that the ANC was not prepared to accept an Inkatha Freedom Party demand for a conference to review all Codesa agreements, most observers see the idea of a planning conference as a subtle concession to the IFP.

The acrimonious stand-off between the government and the IFP ended after a meeting between the two parties on Wednesday. IFP national chairman Frank Mdlalose cautiously described the latest meeting as an "improvement".

"We did have differences ... but they were smoothed over," he said after the meeting.

Mdlalose signalled the IFP's return to the negotiating fold by endorsing ANC and government targets of mid-February as a time for the planning conference and early March for the start of full-blown multi-party negotiations.

Domestics give Leon the nod, but save the 'vivas' for Naidoo

W/Mail 29/1-4/2/93
Tony Leon proved a hit at the DP's jamboree for domestic workers, but Cosatu's Jay Naidoo needn't lose any sleep over it.

By **FERIAL HAFFAJEE**

ON the face of it, the Democratic Party cleaned up at its jamboree for domestic workers in the smart Johannesburg suburb of Norwood last Saturday.

About 200 workers were expected; 2 000 turned up and left the meeting with application forms. Ebullient young black men sported DP T-shirts and a young domestic worker somewhere now has a poster of Tony Leon, which she removed from the walls, hanging in her back room.

Leon was the man of the moment: after his stirring speech, which rivalled a Jay Naidoo special minus the "vivas", hands reached up to grab at him and the business cards he eagerly handed out.

The articulate parliamentarian is an accomplished orator, and in a few minutes he whipped through the intricacies of the domestic worker legislation set for enactment this year.

"Some of you get no leave at all," he said, kicking up the dust.

"Yeeees," the crowd yelled back.

"Have any of your employers ever taken off money from your wages?"

"Yeeees," they screamed again.

Less well received was his statement that "this law will not give you minimum wages, because if we do that too many of you will be out of work".

And his whistle-stop tour through labour law was a little too much to digest without the help of a public address system or an interpreter.

Should the same 2 000 domestic workers decide to use his business cards and call him up or even join his party, Leon could face a conflict of interest with their employers. They are the party faithful he cannot afford to estrange.

Many of the workers who streamed to Saturday's soiree were attracted not to the party's promised lessons in "peace, freedom and democracy", but to rumoured promises of help.

"We will vote for the party that stands for us," said a woman who has worked in the area for 44 years.

"We want good pay and we want time off and we don't want apartheid and we want



Hand-outs ... Tony Leon business cards were eagerly snapped up

Photo: SYLVIA MORESCHE

peace."

Pressed for details, she consulted with friends and elaborated: "We want R900 to R1 000 a month, because there are no white shops and black shops, and we want a week-end off, off-days and leave pay."

Rebecca Makhafolo came to the meeting hoping to find somebody to listen to her litany of complaints. The couple she has worked for for more than a decade recently divorced, she explained. Now she does the "cooking, washing, cleaning the dog s-t, and looking after the children".

And she's not on speaking terms with her employer any longer: "If he talks to me, I just keep quiet."

"I just wish the inspectors could see how whites treat their people," said Rebecca Molefe.

But, claimed Johannesburg city councillor and Leon look-alike Cecil Bass, "conditions in the area are among the best in the country" — indicating the many rivers that need to be crossed for effective communication.

As police hovered nearby — presumably in case the jamboree degenerated into another

er Gugulethu-type disaster — DP volunteers poured cooldrinks and handed out stickers and application forms for identity documents and DP membership.

A little taken aback at the unexpected thousands who arrived, the volunteers soon regained their composure at the prospect of swelling membership figures.

"It's a fantastic turnout," enthused Barbara Burnet. "It's a cause of great optimism for the DP and the democratic process."

Councillor Bass said he believes the "vast majority of DP supporters will accept the changes. Employers must realise that the era of privilege and exploitation is over." Domestic workers will be attracted to the DP because it has no armed wing, he added.

Before the DP starts celebrating, however, it should take note of two telling questions:

The first was asked by a worker called Alice: "We have been struggling for a long time. Why do they only do this now?"

The second came from her companion: "We know Naidoo, but who is the DP?"

Bully or buddy? Africa tests US role

29/1-4/2/93

LOSER ties with the African National Congress, increasing disengagement from Angola's Unita rebels and a scaled-down role in Somalia — these are the key policy shifts on Africa expected from the administration of United States President Bill Clinton.

A US state department official who has been in close touch with the Clinton transition team in recent weeks says Somalia, Angola and South Africa top the Africa list of the new president.

Responsibility for US policy on Africa will be the job of George Moose, assistant secretary of state for African affairs. Moose, an Afro-American in his early 60s, is a career diplomat described by colleagues as a careful, widely experienced professional. He has had ambassadorial posts in Africa and at the United Nations, where he was the US deputy chief delegate.

Dos Santos speaks out for peace

What are the prospects for peace in Angola? JOHN BATTERSBY

speaks to Angolan leader

José Eduardo dos Santos

In the first interview he has granted since democratic elections were held in Angola, President José Eduardo dos Santos appealed to the United Nations not to back out of the country and insists Unita is still receiving support from South Africans — but not from the government.

Q Since the elections four months ago the prospects for peace seem to have receded steadily. Are you still hopeful that the May 1991 (Bicesse) peace accord can be restored and a negotiated settlement found to the current impasse?

A I continue to be an optimist despite the fact that Unita has rejected the results of the elections that were verified by the United Nations as being free and fair. Despite everything, Unita has not formally denounced the Bicesse accord.

But, an issue of major concern to us is that the war is being carried out by a radical wing of Unita — the illegal army of Unita (Fala) that is led by Jonas Savimbi.

Q Two weeks ago, it looked as though the government forces had the upper hand on the

Somalia, Angola and South Africa top the Africa list of President Bill Clinton — and they may end up defining the nature of his entire foreign policy.

By ARTHUR GAVSHON

The state department source, whose views match those of Commonwealth officials and British diplomats, said the expectation in Washington was that policy-making under Clinton was likely to be cautious, even slow, in the initial stages, with bold adventurism avoided.

Secretary of state Warren Christopher and national security adviser Tony Lake share years of diplomatic experience, an aversion to megaphone politics and a conformist approach, he

said. "Any activism they display will be imposed on them by the president himself."

The Clinton administration is considering reducing its role in Somalia and handing over prime responsibility for managing the country's longer-term nation-building to the UN. This would run counter to the view of an influential policy-making group which argues that, as the world's only superpower, the US should assert its authority and go it alone in order to secure vital national and strategic interests.

"The Somali intervention was a test case," the state department source said. "On the outcome of the current argument, the nature of Clinton's entire foreign policy will be defined."

The issue amounts to this: will the US join other member states of the UN in helping resolve local, regional and even continental crises, or will it choose to act as a world police-



José Eduardo dos Santos... The international community has a responsibility towards guaranteeing peace in Angola

ically to support Unita.

Maybe they do this against the knowledge of the government and the president and this support is directed to the south-east or to Jamba (Unita's bush headquarters) or to the north via Zaïre.

Q How do you see the way forward?

A We have two options: either to get rid of that (to do so) through democratic pressure on that wing to abandon... the military way. This political pressure should be (applied) internally as well

man, irrespective of the feelings of friends and foes alike?

Clinton has reportedly developed a positive relationship with ANC leader Nelson Mandela, whom he first met during the mid-1992 conversion of the US Democratic Party. Mandela was the only leading South African politician to have been invited to the president's inauguration last week, and Clinton took the trouble to stay behind at one of four inauguration balls on January 20 to meet Mandela for a brief talk.

The state department source said if the ANC's understanding with the National Party continued to strengthen to the point that, after elections, a government of national unity was formed, it would be able to count on Clinton's wholehearted support.

There was recognition, he added, that Inkatha Freedom Party leader Mangosuthu Buthelezi could, and probably would, create mayhem in the future. But in Washington's view, Buthelezi faces the danger of sidelining himself, along with other recalcitrants of the far-rightwing.

He said that unless elections were held within a year for an all-party government, the South African economy would be in danger of total collapse, leaving the contenders to fight it out in a wilderness of devastation.

Washington's patience with Jonas Savimbi's Unita rebels was wearing thin even before Clinton took office. For years the repository of former presidents Ronald Reagan and George Bush's hopes, Savimbi has disenchanted his US backers by repudiating last year's election results, by breaching successive ceasefire agreements and, most recently, by defying explicit American warnings to keep his troops, and the white mercenaries who lead them, out of the Cabinda oil enclave. Chevron, a major US oil company, and several European producers earn about 90 percent of Angola's foreign revenue from Cabinda's resources.

More damaging for Savimbi, even among his friends in US Republican ranks, is the mounting evidence of the backing Unita appears to be getting from freelance South African groups and Zaïre.

US and British officials do not doubt Angolan claims that a South African Hercules C-130 supply plane was downed in Angola while on a mission last weekend, or that Zaïrean soldiers have been captured.

These officials say their information is that South African nightwingers, using mercenaries, are supporting Savimbi. Absolving the South African Defence Force of blame, they nonetheless want to know why President Fw de Klerk's government has failed to prevent missions of this kind through more effective airport control.

The British officials are convinced the South Africans are being paid by Unita with diamonds mined in Angola's uncontrolled fields.

Photo: JOHN LIEBENBERG, Southwire

JW's target

Election campaign voting trail later this year

By ANTHONY JOHNSON
Political Correspondent

SOUTH AFRICANS could be on the election campaign trail as early as September, President F W de Klerk said yesterday.

He said at the opening of Parliament that preparations for multi-party negotiations were making such good progress that the government's timetable for democratic transformation could be significantly speeded up.

If multi-party negotiations resumed at the beginning of March, multi-party transitional executive structures could be installed in June and a new transitional constitution set.

"This will be followed by the proclamation of an election date, an election campaign and the election for an interim government," Mr De Klerk said in a diversion from his prepared text when opening possibly the last full session of the tricameral Parliament.

ANC information director Dr Pallo Jordan said the fact that the government's projected time-scales for South Africa's transition to democracy now conformed with what the ANC had in mind was "a very hopeful sign".

Although sharply critical of a number of features of Mr De Klerk's address, Dr Jordan told a press conference at UWC that the ANC "did not have much reason to complain" at the target date the government had set for elections which will lead to a new power-sharing government.

ANC president Mr Nelson Mandela said on campus yesterday that there was no alternative to the ANC and the government forming a government of national unity after the election and criticised parties hostile to this arrangement for failing to produce a

constructive alternative.

He also confirmed that the ANC and the SA Communist Party, which will fight the election as alliance partners, would review their relationship after the country's first non-racial poll.

Responding from Ujundi to the State President's address, the Inkatha Freedom Party said it opposed the adoption of a transitional constitution and the empowerment of a government of national unity as this could delay the drafting of a final constitution. It said the country needed a final constitution by September 1994 and this document should be written by a multi-party negotiating forum rather than an elected interim government.

An upbeat Mr De Klerk told Parliament that the government was determined to stick to the time-scales for transition.

He said the simple truth was that "devastating war" would ensue if negotiations did not succeed.

During his wide-ranging address Mr De Klerk gave a road-map for the major constitutional changes in the coming months. These included:

- Replacing the "expensive, fragmented and racially-based own affairs management system" into an efficient, cost-effective and non-discriminatory decentralised system.

- The government's draft Bill of Rights will be published for comment next week and the government will proceed with purging the Statute Book of all legislation that discriminates against individuals on the grounds of sex or race.

- The 60-member Nationalist-dominated President's Council will be phased out, probably by mid-year.

Mr De Klerk also announced sweeping measures to crack down on the spiralling crime and violence in South Africa.

Fit for a first lady

By GYRUS UNDERHILL

MRS Marika de Klerk stunned viewers at the opening of Parliament yesterday with an emerald green silk coat-dress and matching wide-brimmed Breton hat from top fashion designer Charles LeVain.

Strong primary colours dominated many of the outfits at the occasion.

More pictures Page 2



JOVIAL FW... President F W de Klerk and his wife Marika in a happy mood in the Tuynhuys gardens after he delivered his speech at yesterday's opening of Parliament.

Pictorial: BENNY GOOL

Bosberaad brings

promise of peace

South

30/1 - 3/2/93

30/1/93



CYRIL RAMAPHOSA

THB promise of an early negotiated settlement in South Africa hung in the air at the end of a successful round of talks between the ANC and the government.

"The talks are holding out a promise which we hope will end in some form of a conclusion or settlement when we next meet the government," ANC secretary general Mr Cyril Ramaphosa said at the end of five days of bilateral talks with the government.

Ramaphosa was emphatic that the ANC rejected the Inkatha Freedom Party's demand for a conference of review.

"The question of reviewing Codesa agreements is totally out of the question. The ANC is not prepared even to consider it," he said.

"We have agreed to hold a planning conference on negotiations,

and that will address how and when multilateral negotiations commence.

"We say Codesa must be resumed. But we are prepared to go to a planning conference to make sure that multilateral negotiations get off the ground."

Two 20-member teams spent five days of secluded "bosberaad" talks at the Presidentship in Pretoria and then at the De Hoop reserve on the southern Cape coast.

The delegations were led by Constitutional Development Minister Roelf Meyer and Ramaphosa.

The parties will meet again on February 4, when they will continue talks on the peace process, including violence and security. From February 10 to 12 they will tackle constitutional issues.

"At the meeting in the Presidentship ... we delved into the National Peace Accord and looked at the implementation in full of the Peace

Accord as well as other bilateral agreements between ourselves and the government," Ramaphosa said.

A sub-committee was set up to look at outstanding issues with the aim of presenting a report at the February 4 meeting.

Other issues the sub-committee will deal with include the further release of political prisoners, the repeal of certain security legislation, and "all armed formations" — including the South African Defence Force and the ANC's Umkhonto weSizwe (MK).

The talks on constitutional issues ran for three days.

"We first looked at the question of the planning conference which should lead to the resumption of multi-party negotiations."

The so-called planning conference has been interpreted by some observers as a bid to address the IFP's opposition to the September

26 Record of Understanding between the Government and the ANC.

The IFP has accused the two sides of ganging up to sideline them in negotiations.

Ramaphosa said they agreed a negotiations planning conference should be held before negotiations resumed. All parties which were present at Codesa should participate as well as others wanting to be part of the negotiation process.

"We would expect that this conference should be held fairly soon, and in fact no later than the end of February. — Sapa and South Reporter

Geneva-like peace role for Robben Island

DALE KNEEN

Weekend Argus Reporter

ROBBEN Island could become a centre for peace like Geneva.

Cape Town's deputy mayor, Mr Clive Keegan, says a plan to convert buildings on the island into a centre — possibly called the Albert Lithuli Centre for the Study of Peace in Africa — had been favourably received by African leaders including former Zambian president Dr Kenneth Kaunda.

The centre could be used as a venue for meetings to resolve conflicts be-

tween African countries as well as for South African peace initiatives.

An educational institution, possibly the University of Cape Town's Centre for Intergroup Studies, could be housed on the island and used by academics from around the world who were interested in peace in Africa.

"Cape Town could become the Geneva of sub-Saharan Africa as well as the academic, cultural and diplomatic capital of this country," Mr Keegan added.

"The island is of historical significance as, since the time of the frontier wars, political leaders have been im-

prisoned there. Its history is therefore politically sensitive.

"It's also the home of several Muslim shrines as well as an area of ecological importance. (20417)

"The island is off the shores of the country's most liberal, democratic city. Cape Town should not only be a port and tourist city, it should retain its status as the country's legislative and diplomatic capital." ARG-301/93

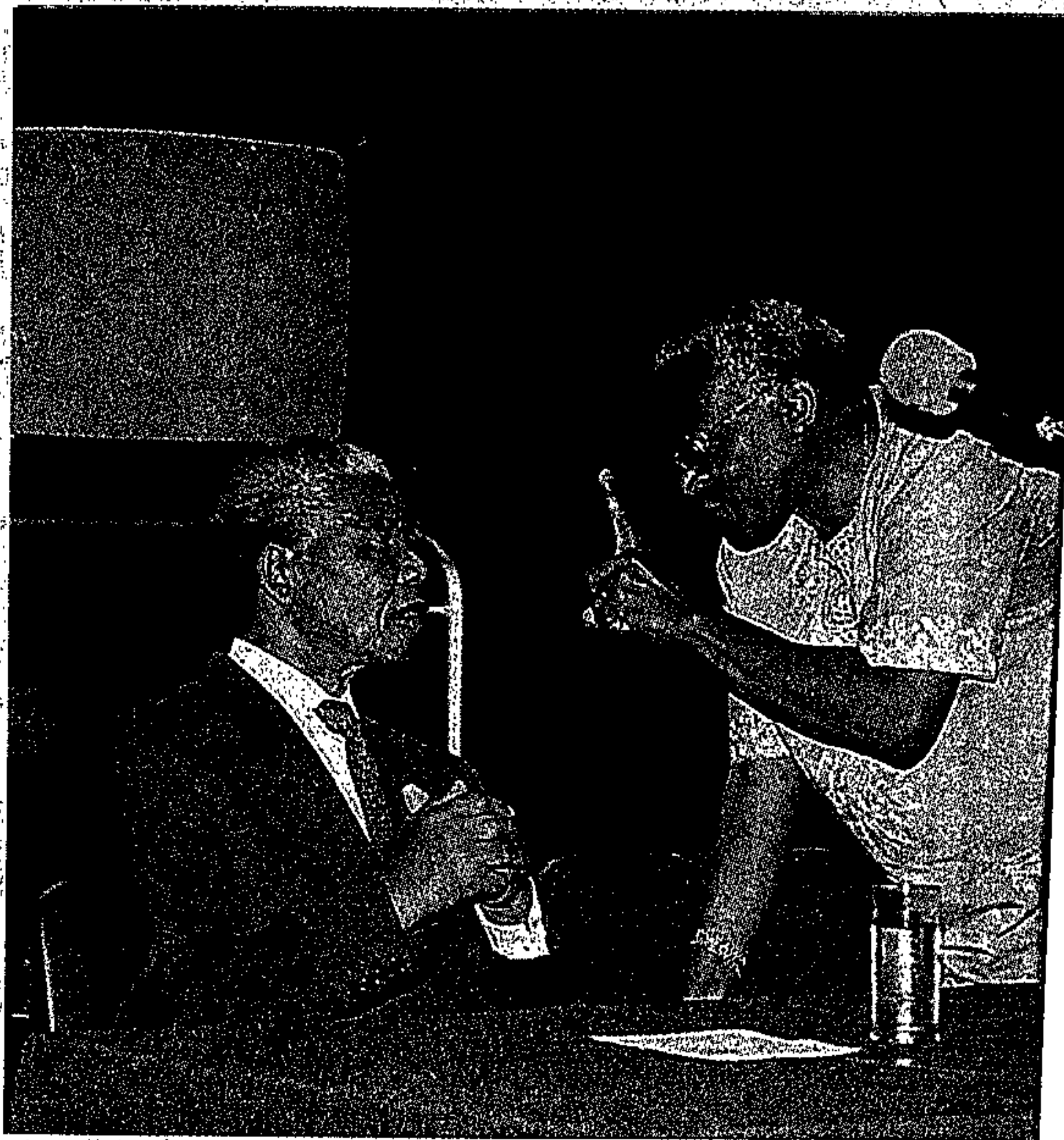
Mr Keegan thought it would be inappropriate to use the island as a holiday resort, for a casino, for residential development or for a quarantine centre.

ARG 30/1/93

30614

'Missed

ANC's Pallo Jordan att



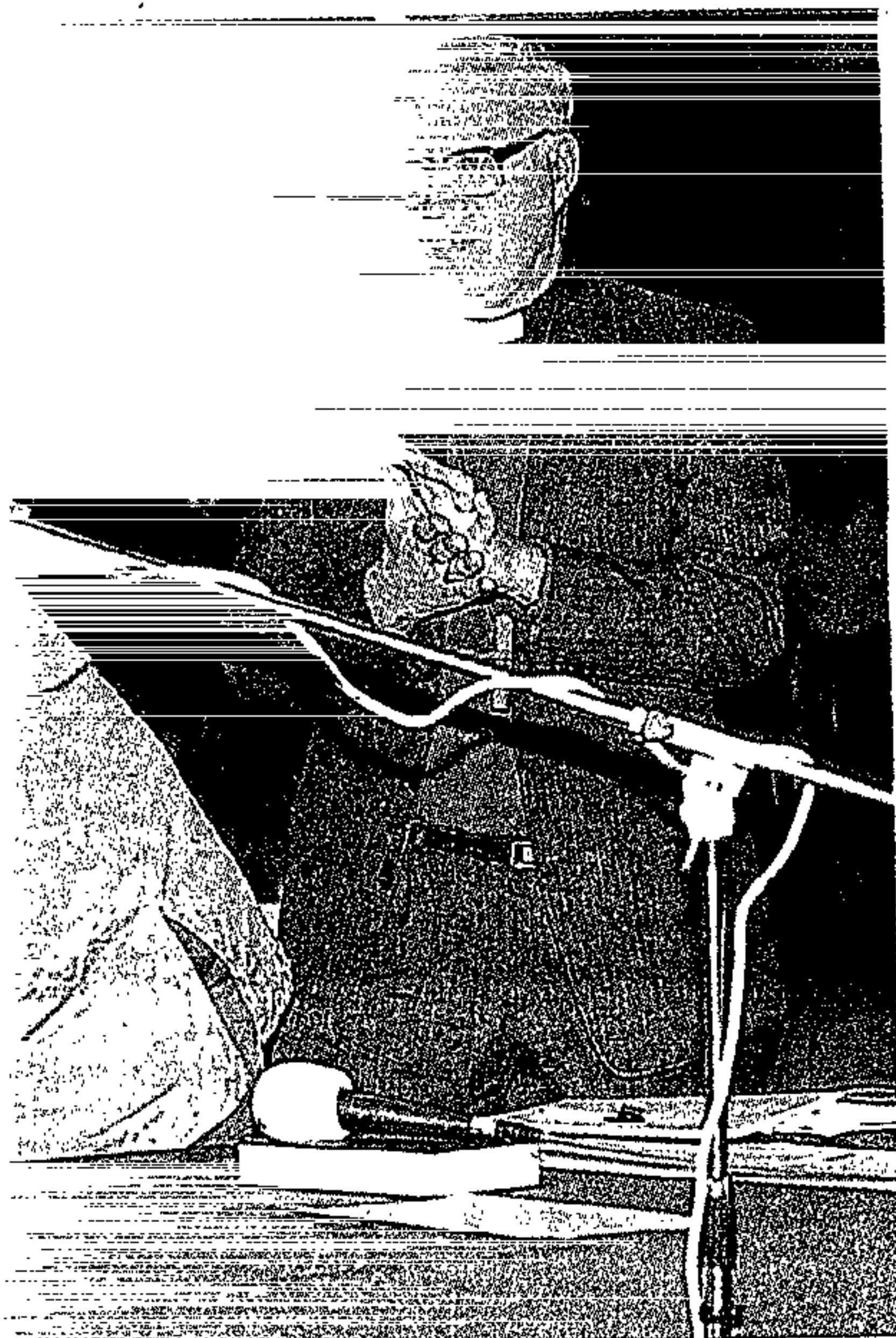
□ **TO THE POINT:** Archbishop Desmond Tutu stresses a point
Nelson Mandela during a briefing, with the Archbishop of C
Consultative Conference at the University of the Western Cap

opportunities'

acks FW for trying to manage transition

(304A)

ARLT 30/1/93



to African National Congress president Mr
interbury, Dr George Carey, of the Anglican
yesterday. Picture: ANDREW INGRAM, Weekend Argus.

■ President De Klerk is being criticised from all sides of the political spectrum after a speech widely considered to have fallen short of expectations.

Political Staff

PRESIDENT De Klerk faced criticism from virtually all quarters of the political spectrum in South Africa in the wake of a speech widely considered to have fallen short of expectations.

From right to left, political parties and movements found fault if not with the broad strokes, then the detail of his opening of parliament address.

The centrist Democratic Party stood almost alone in welcoming much that was "sound and healthy" in Mr De Klerk speech.

But in an unexpectedly strong response, the ANC's Dr Pallo Jordan described Mr De Klerk as a procrastinator and someone who repeatedly missed opportunities. He accused the government of casting itself as the "manager" of the transition process.

Dr Jordan said: "(His) opening speech failed to rise to the occasion. Rather than being statesmanlike, De Klerk chose to be boastful. Instead of measured steps to involve his negotiating partners even more deeply in the process of transformation, he has chosen to cast himself and his government as managers of the process."

Dr Jordan's reaction was seen to be curiously at odds with the tenor of remarks by ANC and government negotiators following the talks which began last week and ended just days before parliament opened.

Dr Jordan, who has not been a member of the ANC negotiation delegation, accused Mr De Klerk of failing to act decisively on a number of issues, including the abolition of the homeland system and of own affairs.

■ In a tepid response from Ulundi, the Inkatha Freedom Party welcomed some aspects, but rejected the concept of any attempt to establish an interim government without wide consultation.

The IFP also called for a final constitutional dispensation to be established by September 1994.

"The IFP will resist any attempt to establish Transitional Executive Councils as a power-sharing arrangement. The TEC's should be limited to their original function — as envisaged at Codesa — to the levelling of the field of political confrontation.

"(Furthermore) the IFP states its opposition to the adoption of a transitional constitution and the empowerment of an interim government of national unity and a Constituent Assembly. It believes this process will delay the drafting of the final constitution of South Africa for many years to come," it said in a statement.

■ Conservative Party leader Dr Andries Treurnicht warned that South Africans would not accept the constitutional programme Mr De Klerk outlined in his speech. The CP's proposals for development along ethnic lines would be preferable.

There was no hope of consensus between "communist terrorists" and people who sought their own freedom.

"Last year everything was about Codesa and now Codesa is dead. He will have to make new plans determined through negotiations at which Cosag, which represents the majority of South Africans, will be present."

■ Democratic Party leader Dr Zac de Beer said the president's speech contained much that was sound and healthy.

The phasing out of own affairs, rationalisation in the civil service, the early introduction of a Bill of Rights, and additional measures against crime and violence were all proposals which the party had been demanding for years.

"We shall be monitoring all these measures closely."

However, he added: "It is very disappointing that the president is still pussy-footing around the problem of the so-called TBVC states."

These allegedly independent countries were not, nor ever had been, independent. They were the most grotesque of the creatures of apartheid, an expensive nuisance and should be got rid of without delay.

■ PAC president Mr Clarence Makwetu said the speech "contains little new facts if any and it seems that he has no more new rabbits to pull from his hat".

■ Transkei military ruler Major-General Bantu Holomisa predicted South Africa would be heading for its biggest deadlock yet when the multi-lateral conference took place soon.

This deadlock had been deliberately planned by the South African government to justify its prolonged stay in power.

Reacting to Mr De Klerk's speech, he said: "The recent drumming up of the PAC/Apla fiasco by the State machinery which was immediately followed by the government's suspension of bilateral talks between it and the PAC is another good example of a delaying tactic."

DP's township drive will remain on track

AKS 30/11/93

304A

WUCH has been said about political tolerance.

There appears to be general agreement that political organisations and their leaders have a democratic right to be heard and that political opponents must respect this right or be labelled undemocratic.

Azapo is the exception to this view, apparently believing that "politics in townships should be left to black organisations". This, of course, resurrects the whole question of racial politics but, fortunately, it appears to be a minority view rejected by most individuals and organisations except for the rightwing parties and groups.

Yet, the right to freedom of political expression, so long denied to the majority of South Africans, has to be carefully nurtured and defended at all cost because failure to do so would lead to anarchy.

Now that much apartheid legislation has been scrapped, the Democratic Party recognises that deep scars remain, but we relish the opportunity to grow and flourish as a truly non-racial South African party.

We understand the bitterness and frustration of all those who have been excluded from the political process and we are sensitive to their feelings. But we also have to help build a new South African society in which racism plays no part.

The Democratic Party is determined, in spite of the break-up of its meeting in Guguletu, to continue canvassing support in the townships. **JASPER WALSH**, MP for Pinelands and Western Cape chairman of the party, explains why.

For this reason we have welcomed members from the townships and seek understanding and friendship amongst all people — hence our meetings in Khayelitsha and Guguletu.

Some have sought to frustrate our endeavours by questioning our credentials and accusing us of complicity in the implementation of apartheid and in the despicable acts of violence committed by the National Party government in defence of apartheid. We totally reject this.

Yes, we retained our seats in the tricameral parliament; a fatally flawed institution whose creation we vigorously opposed at the cost of considerable support. We did this because we believed that strong, visible opposition, denied others, would hasten the downfall of the system. Now the ANC itself has members in this parliament.

Further, we used parliament as a platform to tell South Africans and the world of the dreadful oppression and abuse of human rights occurring in our country. Mr Colin Eglin, Mrs Helen Suzman, Mr Van Zyl Slabbert and Dr Zach de Beer, to name a few, will be

remembered for their contribution towards ending apartheid.

But being in parliament was not enough. We recognised the importance of being in the townships; of retaining links with those excluded from the process and of witnessing the crimes being perpetrated in defence of apartheid. People such as Mrs Molly Blackburn, Mrs Di Bishop, Mr Ken Andrew and many others will be remembered for their courageous efforts during this dark period in South African history.

The role of the DP has not been an easy one. For years, we held on to minimal white support because our message was not a popular one. But we fought for what we believed to be right and our efforts were rewarded when, after years of autocratic and oppressive rule, the National Party in the person of Mr F W de Klerk, in February 1990 admitted it had been wrong.

So we believe it is necessary to put our record in perspective:

■ For years, Mrs Suzman fought alone in parliament against each brick

which the National Party built into the apartheid fortress, vehemently opposing all forms of detention without trial and the banning of political organisations.

■ The party fought, both inside parliament and outside, for the abolition of group areas, an end to the forced removal of people from their land, the right of all South Africans to seek work where they wished and to have their families with them free from the restrictions of influx control, and the establishment of a single education ministry providing schooling of an equal standard to all children.

■ The party fought for the right of workers to engage in collective bargaining through the formation of trade unions.

■ The party opposed the tricameral constitution on the grounds that it excluded blacks, entrenched apartheid, and concentrated too much power in the hands of the State President, sacrificing electoral support to fight for a no-vote in the 1983 referendum.

The decision to remain in parliament was based on a determination to thwart, wherever possible, the NP's attempts to give free rein to their autocratic will.

When Mr P W Botha declared a state of emergency giving sweeping powers to the security forces, the party was able to use parliament as a platform to question the government

on its actions and expose its abuses. The party began recording the names of the thousands detained under emergency regulations and making available to the media and the public information which would otherwise have remained hidden by the emergency blackout.

The party created an unrest monitoring body which was able to call on its MPs to intervene and mediate between the security forces and township residents during periods of confrontation and collected first-hand accounts of police atrocities in the townships and used parliament to keep South Africa and the world informed about government oppression.

Deployment of conscripts in the townships to enforce apartheid rule was opposed and the party battled the release of all persons imprisoned for political reasons.

Today, the party feels justified in seeking support from all South Africans. The party's slogan — "One Nation, One Future" — sums up its vision of a true non-racial democracy in which the dignity and liberty of all will be protected.

It is this vision the party seeks to promote and debate with others in Khayelitsha and Guguletu, as it continues to strive for the right to free and fair elections in this country.

FW to scrap President's Council

Political Correspondent

THE President's Council is to be phased out and the 60-member body could disappear as early as mid-year, President F W de Klerk announced yesterday.

The Nationalist-dominated body has been in existence for 15 years and has been used as a rubber stamp for disputed legislation since the introduction of the tricameral Parliament in 1984. Mr De Klerk said yesterday the aboli-

tion of the council would leave a gap and legislation would be tabled to provide for a "temporary arbitrating mechanism".

There was speculation in parliamentary circles yesterday that the government had agreed to drop the PC because the party is confident of winning control of the House of Delegates soon.

An NP majority in all three Houses would mean that all legislation proposed by the government would pass into law as

a matter of course.

The PC still has four assignments to complete before it can be dissolved.

They are an investigation into daylight saving, the development of objective standards to measure the well-being of people in different spheres of life, an investigation into ways of promoting political and economic literacy, and an investigation into an electoral system for third tier government.

CP in walkout over new MPs

CT 30/1/93 Political Staff (364A)

CONSERVATIVE PARTY leader Dr Andries Treurnicht led his party out of the House of Assembly yesterday morning, in protest against the swearing-in of five National Party MPs.

The five were nominated to replace NP MPs who resigned.

Legislation passed last year ended by-elections, allowing the party whose mem-

ber resigned to nominate his successor.

When the names of the new members were announced, Dr Treurnicht stated his wish to lead the CP from the House in protest. The 36 CP MPs then walked out.

As the CP MPs walked out, independent MP Mr Koos van der Merwe called out: "They have gone to mobilise."

The five new MPs were greeted with "yesterday's men" when they entered, while ANC MP Mr Dave Dalling asked:

"Why don't you nominate Piet Koornhof — he has a lot of life left in him."

The new MPs in the House of Assembly are Mr Gustav du Toit (Vanderbijlpark), Mr Basie Coetzee (Durbanville), Prof Abraham Janse van Rensburg (Bethlehem), Mr N J Jansen van Rensburg (Umfolosi) and Mr Dirk Bakker (Helderkruijn).

In the House of Representatives, Pastor H G Jansen was sworn in in Britstown for the NP.

'Needs of the hour not met'

JOHANNESBURG. — Extra-parliamentary groups criticised President FW de Klerk's opening speech to Parliament, saying he had failed to offer answers to the country's crises.

Pan-Africanist Congress president Mr Clarence Makwetu said he had failed to address adequately the economy, the vio-

lence and the need to move rapidly towards elections.

The Azanian People's Organisation said the speech had been a "damp squib" and Mr De Klerk had used it for early electioneering.

The ANC's department of information and publicity said Mr De Klerk had had a golden oppor-

tunity to present a comprehensive agenda to meet the crisis brought on by 40 years of NP misrule — but had failed to rise to the occasion.

Mr De Klerk's speech was well received in London and by European governments. — Sapa, Own Correspondent

CT 30/1/93

(304A)

Own affairs, racial schooling to go

Praise for FW's one small step

STAR 30/1/93

PETER FABRICIUS,
KAIZER NYATSUMBA and Sapa

CAPE TOWN — President F W de Klerk's opening speech in Parliament yesterday has been widely described as an important, but not earth-shattering, step towards an interim government.

Most parties and business organisations praised the measures he announced to demolish the remnants of the apartheid "own affairs" system and pave the way for multiracial transitional executive authorities by June. There was also positive reaction from the British government.

Most own affairs departments, including health and agriculture, are to be scrapped in April, while some will be phased out or absorbed into provincial and local government, De Klerk said.



PALLO JORDAN:
Disappointed.



ANDRIES TREURNICHT:
No hope of consensus.

A new transitional education administration under a new Minister would be established on April 1 to phase out the many-headed segregated education system within a year and transform it into a single, nonracial system with regional departments.

De Klerk confirmed that his timetable for transition — including the resumption of multi-party talks by April and elections by March next year — remained attainable, although there were still obstacles.

The Democratic Party welcomed — and the Conservative Party condemned — his announcement that segregated education was to be phased out in a year.

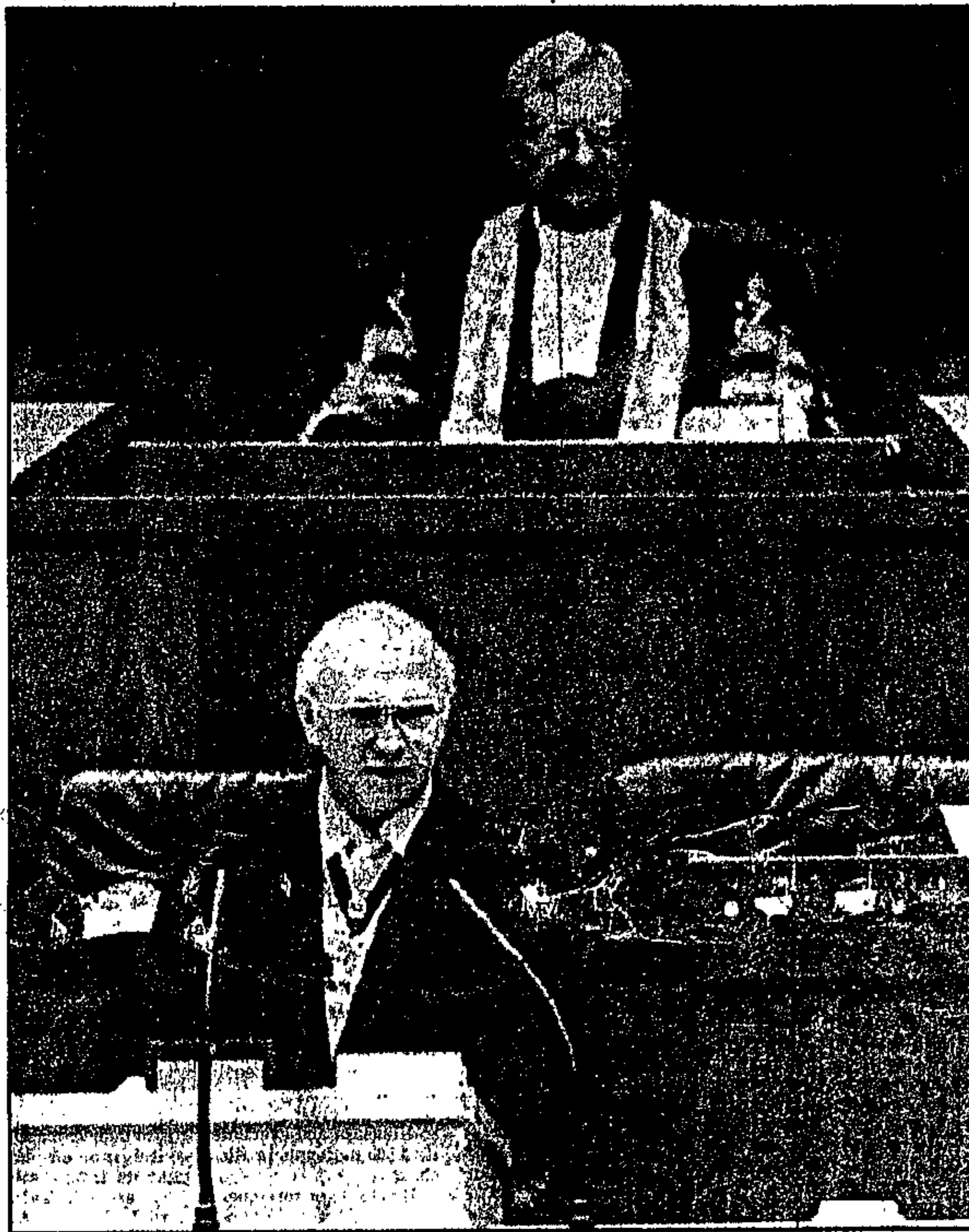
De Klerk's tough new steps to counter crime and political violence — including compulsory five-year jail sentences for possessing automatic weapons such as the AK-47 and giving new teeth to the National Peace Accord — were also generally well received. In a far-reaching measure, which is sure to have serious implications for firebrands in the ANC and Inkatha Freedom Party, the Government intends to criminalise transgressions of the peace accord, such as making speeches inciting violence.

But along with the mood of rising hope fuelled by the president's speech, a few words of warning are being sounded that many obstacles still remain. Some Government sources are cautioning that the country and the press are becoming too euphoric about prospects for a negotiations breakthrough, and that stubborn differences still remain between the Government and the ANC.

However, the indications from the Government's negotiating team are still that early settlement is possible with the ANC, although the IFP is still a wild card.

ANC information secretary Dr Pallo Jordan, however, dismissed the president's speech as "extremely disappointing" and said a "huge gulf" still separated the Government and ANC on a number of issues.

Addressing a press conference at the University of the Western Cape, he also castigated De Klerk for



SETTING THE COURSE: President de Klerk outlines the Government's programme in his speech at the opening of Parliament. Sitting behind him is the Speaker, Eil Louw. ● Photograph: ANDREW INGRAM

'Find truth about missing MK activist'

STAR 30/1/93

THOUGH former policeman Johnny Mokale's claims about the burial of victims of police torture were not substantiated by police excavations this week, they have triggered a campaign to uncover the truth about missing Mamelodi activist Stanza Bopape.

Bopape, a civic leader and Umkhonto we Sizwe cadre, disappeared while held in solitary confinement in June 1988. The police allegation that he escaped has been doubted from the start by his family and by critics of the Government's human rights record. Mo-

that Bopape was one of several detainees secretly buried in the western Transvaal.

Yesterday the ANC's PWV regional secretary, Paul Mashatile, announced that the ANC and the Bopape family had instructed lawyers to approach advocate Jan Munnik, appointed under the National Peace Accord as SAP reporting officer for the

police handling of the Bopape case. "We demand that police make documentation and witnesses available to the reporting officer," said Mashatile.

One of the documents that lawyers will present to Munnik is a statement by Bopape's former flatmate, Bheki Nkosi, who was detained with Bopape. Although the statement was made in 1989, Nkosi's

its release only this week.

In it Nkosi, now chairman of the PWV region of the ANC Youth League, recounts that police who interrogated him in the days after Bopape's disappearance repeatedly said Bopape was dead. In one instance, a Johr Vorster Square security policeman, identified as "Syfert", had said the police had shot and killed Bopape when he tried to escape, Nkosi alleges.

Mashatile said, the ANC was also demanding the immediate establishment of an independent commission of inquiry to investigate

END PAGE 2

British government.

Most own affairs departments, including health and agriculture, are to be scrapped in April, while some will be phased out or absorbed into provincial and local government, De Klerk said.



A new transitional education administration under a new Minister would be established on April 1 to phase out the many-headed segregated education system within a year and transform it into a single, nonracial system with regional departments.

PALLO JORDAN:
Disappointed.



ANDRIES TREURNICHT:
No hope of consensus.

weapons such as the AK-47 and giving new teeth to the National Peace Accord — were also generally well received. In a far-reaching measure, which is sure to have serious implications for firebrands in the ANC and Inkatha Freedom Party, the Government intends to criminalise transgressions of the peace accord, such as making speeches inciting violence.

But along with the mood of rising hope fuelled by the president's speech, a few words of warning are being sounded that many obstacles still remain. Some Government sources are cautioning that the country and the press are becoming too euphoric about prospects for a negotiations breakthrough, and that stubborn differences still remain between the Government and the ANC.

However, the indications from the Government's negotiating team are still that early settlement is possible with the ANC, although the IFP is still a wild card.

ANC information secretary Dr Pallo Jordan, however, dismissed the president's speech as "extremely disappointing" and said a "huge gulf" still separated the Government and ANC on a number of issues.

Addressing a press conference at the University of the Western Cape, he also castigated De Klerk for taking unilateral measures instead of consulting his negotiation partners. "Rather than being statesman-like, De Klerk chose to be boastful. Instead of measured steps to involve his negotiating partners even more deeply in the process of transition, he has chosen to cast himself and the Government as managers of the process," Jordan said.

● TO PAGE 2.

De Klerk confirmed that his timetable for transition — including the resumption of multi-party talks by April and elections by March next year — remained attainable, although there were still obstacles.

The Democratic Party welcomed — and the Conservative Party condemned — his announcement that segregated education was to be phased out in a year.

De Klerk's tough new steps to counter crime and political violence — including compulsory five-year jail sentences for possessing automatic

weapons such as the AK-47 and giving new teeth to the National Peace Accord — were also generally well received. In a far-reaching measure, which is sure to have serious implications for firebrands in the ANC and Inkatha Freedom Party, the Government intends to criminalise transgressions of the peace accord, such as making speeches inciting violence.

But along with the mood of rising hope fuelled by the president's speech, a few words of warning are being sounded that many obstacles still remain. Some Government sources are cautioning that the country and the press are becoming too euphoric about prospects for a negotiations breakthrough, and that stubborn differences still remain between the Government and the ANC.

However, the indications from the Government's negotiating team are still that early settlement is possible with the ANC, although the IFP is still a wild card.

ANC information secretary Dr Pallo Jordan, however, dismissed the president's speech as "extremely disappointing" and said a "huge gulf" still separated the Government and ANC on a number of issues.

Addressing a press conference at the University of the Western Cape, he also castigated De Klerk for taking unilateral measures instead of consulting his negotiation partners. "Rather than being statesman-like, De Klerk chose to be boastful. Instead of measured steps to involve his negotiating partners even more deeply in the process of transition, he has chosen to cast himself and the Government as managers of the process," Jordan said.

However, the indications from the Government's negotiating team are still that early settlement is possible with the ANC, although the IFP is still a wild card.

ANC information secretary Dr Pallo Jordan, however, dismissed the president's speech as "extremely disappointing" and said a "huge gulf" still separated the Government and ANC on a number of issues.

Saturday Star January 30 1993

De Klerk

● FROM PAGE 1.

He accused De Klerk of failing to act decisively on a number of issues, including the abolition of the homelands system and of own affairs. His strong negative reaction has bemused some commentators, as it seems at odds with the gist of ANC thinking.

The ANC's decision not to mount its traditional demonstration at the opening of Parliament is being regarded as a more reliable barometer of the organisation's feelings.

The IFP was lukewarm in its response, saying the Government had not made "an irretrievable commitment towards social, cultural and economic pluralism". The IFP restated its opposition to "the adoption of a transitional constitution and the empowerment of an interim government of national unity and a constituent assembly". It warned that this could delay the drafting of a final constitution.

DP leader Dr Zach de Beer said the speech contained much that was "sound and healthy" and praised De Klerk for his plans to phase out own affairs, rationalise the civil service, introduce a bill of rights, and crack down on crime and violence.

His only criticism of De Klerk was for "pussy-footing" over the TBVC states by giving them the option of becoming involved in his planned rationalising of administrations.

DP education spokesman Roger Burrows welcomed the decision to phase out segregated education, saying he could understand why it would take a year to get rid of 18 education departments.

Conservative Party leader Dr Andries Treurnicht said there was no hope of finding consensus between "communist terrorists" and people who claimed their own freedom.

The CP welcomed only De Klerk's announcement that he was considering reimposing the death penalty and other tougher security measures, but said that without the banning and disarming of the armies of the ANC and the Pan Africanist Congress, law and order was an unattainable dream.

Jordan said the ANC was "utterly opposed" to the death penalty and would repeal it as soon as it came to power if Pretoria lifted the moratorium on it.

The British Foreign Office welcomed De Klerk's "evident determination to press ahead with the transition towards a new democratic constitution this year".

There is money in diplomacy

80471+ 30/1-3/2/93

30471

30471

30471

Lynda Loxton concludes a two-part series on the challenges facing foreign policy in a new South Africa:

ECONOMIC issues will dominate South Africa's post-apartheid foreign policy as the country seeks to achieve the sustainable growth needed to support major social reconstruction.

Not only will the domestic economy have to be drastically restructured, but external economic links will have to be fashioned anew to ensure maximum benefits.

Domestically, the manufacturing sector will have to emerge as a more significant earner of foreign exchange. It will have to change from being an import substitution sector serving a wealthy minority in the domestic market.

It depends on imported machinery, equipment and technology, and these imports are financed, not by the sale of manufactured goods, but by the sale of primary products, particularly mineral products.

According to Centre for Southern African Studies co-director Professor Peter Vale, there is a growing recognition that this path is not only inequitable but that it cannot be sustained in the years ahead.

"The manufacturing sector will have to become orientated to the needs of the majority of the people and become a very significant generator of foreign exchange," he said in an interview after a three-day conference on professional diplomacy in a changing world. The conference was held in Cape Town recently.

"In a world in which the terms of trade are moving rapidly against primary products, South Africa and the other countries of Southern Africa need to become more significant producers of benefited min-



Gabriella Kaplan

'The most powerful countries act like a headmaster in an unruly school'

eral and other primary products," Vale said.

At the same time, South Africa's destiny is inextricably linked to that of southern Africa. The country is also an inseparable part of a continent which is facing the threat of

marginalisation in the global political economy.

South Africa will be affected by the overall regional environment and it needs to become involved in promoting stability in the region — a region which is characterised by extremely inequitable relations and which is still feeling the effects of South African destabilisation.

"Achieving this restructuring will require a major diplomatic effort in the years ahead," said Vale.

But this will not be easy.

"It is important to recognise that we are not operating in a global environment which is immediately favourable to the interests of a

country like South Africa.

"We are entering the era of global liberalisation and there is a danger that this liberalisation may become a highly unequal process where the countries of the South are expected to liberalise and open up their economies. This might not necessarily be matched by liberalisation by the countries of the North towards the South, which will not promote growth.

"Therefore, the kind of foreign policy that we will need, will have to reach beyond the kind of neo-mercantilist, export promotion of the self-sell kind.

"What South Africa will need is

an approach that seeks to maximise the potential advantages and gains of existing relations and institutions. But it must also work in concert with countries affected in similar ways to change the rules of the game of the global economy in a way that is more favourable to a country like South Africa and the rest of Africa.

"More specifically, what is going to be required is a diplomatic effort that seeks first to maximise the available post-apartheid dividend and seeks to secure the best possible terms in a number of the major marketplaces of the world, for example, the European Community and North America and the South East Asian countries.

"Secondly, we are going to be required to forge a mutually beneficial and equitable new relationship with the southern African region that takes account of the interests of other countries and the imbalances in existing relations."

Vale said it was clear that the end of the Cold War had ushered in a new era of "issue diplomacy", in which the previous obsession with security had been replaced with a wider ranging concern with issues that affect the daily lives of people around the world.

Solutions to these issues could only be achieved through ensuring that organisations such as the United Nations truly represented the interests of all nations and were no longer controlled and manipulated by one or two great powers.

This would be difficult because of the "rather uncertain attitude of the world's richest and most powerful countries. They all say that they are for multilateral co-operation in international organisations, but they sometimes tend to see themselves rather as the headmaster in a rather unruly boys' school," said Vale.

One suggestion was that South Africa join the Organisation of African Unity and the Non-Aligned Movement to press for a greater representation of the South on the Security Council of the UN.

The present Security Council was an anachronism and represented a balance of power that had long ceased to exist, said Vale.

CROSS TALK

The last racist Parliament

In the first of a weekly series in which leading figures debate political issues, ANC-Western Cape treasurer, **EBRAHIM RASOOL**, argues that the tricameral parliament has become toothless. Next week political organisations within parliament will defend their position:



But, as the press mounted, even the most ardent De Klerk supporters began to see beyond that endlessly smiling mask into the dark corners of the edifice he continued to buttress and protect. There were revelations of almost unbelievable corruption. Cabinet ministers collapsed in terror and confusion. There was evidence of a ruthless conspiracy to destabilise, to murder and to destroy.

The truth, at last, began to emerge.

And finally, when it became clear that nothing on earth would stop the leak that had turned into a flood, there was a pathetically transparent attempt to pass amnesty legislation to protect the hides of some of the most evil men in history.

The struggle is not over. The National Party still controls the state apparatus while our power lies only in the voiceless cry and activity of the masses of South Africans.

The ANC, with our allies, sees this period as a new phase in the movement towards liberation — a phase in which we need to prepare for the final countdown towards elections. It is a phase in our history that will determine the shape of our society for years to come.

The ANC aims to enter the election campaign at the head of an alliance of forces — political parties, organisations and individuals — who believe in democracy. This must be a democracy able to solve

the enormous problems facing our country.

The way in which we aim to build this alliance is to begin forging unity around solving the issues that directly affect our people in their daily lives. Our election campaign will not be one in which politicians make endless empty promises that can never be fulfilled, in order to win votes. Our campaign will be aimed at building the power and unity of the people and communities themselves to solve their own problems.

A new government alone cannot rebuild this country from the devastation that apartheid caused. But a new government, in alliance with the democratic forces of civil society, can create the conditions in which the nation as a whole can begin to solve its problems.

For this reason we believe our strategy for the election campaign must have at its centre the empowerment of people and the forging of alliances.

The ANC does not claim to be the only organisation with these interests. There are other parties, organisations and the overwhelming majority of civic, cultural, religious, sporting and other groups who support these goals. These groups need to come together in a powerful and election-winning alliance to end the National Party's monopoly on power, to destroy apartheid and lay the basis for a democracy based on the will of the people.

The choice that will face the electorate must be between those who want to retain as much of their white power as possible and those who believe the people as a whole should govern.

The elections will be the first time the majority of people will vote for their own representatives and own government. That vote must also give them, for the first time, a real chance to have a say in the running and rebuilding of their country to bring peace, democracy and pros-

LAST year, at the opening of the September short session of Parliament, we said the only remaining task for the bankrupt tricameral parliament was to rubber-stamp legislation for a transition to democracy.

This week parliament convenes to do just that. It has, indeed, power to do little more. The tricameral parliament has been vanquished and the political arena has shifted to those engaged in negotiating the ground for the months ahead.

Ten years ago that the tricameral parliament was presented to the people of South Africa as an attempt at reform, a step in creating an inclusive system of government.

Those who voted "No" were vilified and condemned. Those who refused to participate in the ensuing elections were accused of frustrating reform. And those who spoke out against what they saw as an attempt to create a smokescreen for the National Party to make further inroads on human rights incurred the wrath of the state.

Today, they have the satisfaction of knowing they were right. The tricameral parliament was a blind for one of the most autocratic regimes the world has ever seen. Hit squads, assassinations, torture, detention, cross-border raids, victimisation, corruption and human rights abuse of all kinds. A chilling facade for the Botha/Malan reign of terror.

At last the tricameral teeth have been drawn and it must now make way for a real government of the people — for liberation.

A symbol of this aspiration was enacted in January 1992 when thousands of people gathered on the Grand Parade for the People's Parliament to call for an interim government and a constituent assembly.

At the time their hopes were pinned on Codessa and there seemed real reason to hope the end was in sight. We entered Codessa in good faith

but, as the true agenda of the government and I n k a t h a

emerged, as it became clear the government's proposals were founded in contempt both for the aspirations of our people as well as for the democratic process itself, further discussion became impossible, even ludicrous.

Then followed Boipatong, and the growing anger against the NP's double agenda exploded into rage and despair.

It became clear mass action was the only way to bring a recalcitrant government to the realisation that its attempts to hijack the democratic process would not be tolerated.

Involving those who desire democracy in the process of its establishment is the only alternative, the only way to force the National Party to give up the power to which it so fiercely clings. The government must be compelled to see that it could not continue to try and fool people with wolfish democratic proposals in sheep's clothing. If they were not prepared to negotiate in good faith, they had to be forced to do so — forced to realise the people of South Africa would tolerate no further trickery, that there could be no further mockery of their longing for freedom.

Our people have made great sacrifices in this quest for a democratic government. There was the terrible slaughter of Bisho. A national strike

Battle for votes signals new era

South 30 11-312193.

AROUND the country, political parties are talking about elections and getting their election machinery into place. The battle for South Africa's approximately 21 million voters is about to begin.

For the vast majority of South Africans, a new era is about to unfold — the era of participation in elections.

The word election comes from a Latin verb meaning to choose. This is exactly what the voters of a country are required to do — choose those parties or party representatives they want as a government.

Whether voters can choose a specific party representative or only the party, depends on what type of electoral system is used. This determines the format of the ballot paper on which voters record their vote.

The ballot paper may contain the names of candidates, with or without the names of the parties to which they belong, or only the name of the party.

When voters choose only a party, it is the party which draws up a list of candidates eligible for office. So if a party wins 40 seats, that the first 40 names on the list are elected into office.

This means that for voters' wishes to be met, the party has to consider the order in which the names are put down on the list.

However, electoral systems can be adapted to suit the needs of almost any situation. As a result, there are at least a few hundred variations of electoral systems which have been applied throughout the world.

Just as elections give the voters an opportunity to choose who should

South Africans will have to get used to the bickering that accompanies an election:

govern, they also confer legitimacy on the party voted into power.

Free and fair elections are the most effective way to end any conflict about how legitimate or representative a party is. That is why it is so important to ensure that mechanisms exist to ensure that elections are indeed free and fair.

Another aspect that influences the extent to which the party voted into power is seen as representative, is the number of voters who cast their votes — the percentage poll.

This means that if 100 percent of voters (all voters) cast their votes, then the party which wins the election has the support of the majority.

In practice, elections all over the world show that a 100 percent poll on election day is only a dream. For a variety of reasons, not everyone who is eligible to vote goes to vote.

The reasons may include disillusionment (some people believe that nothing much will change for the man in the street no matter which party comes to power), ignorance or apathy.

Special provisions are made for voters who are ill, travelling abroad, or in prison for minor crimes.

People convicted of crimes such as murder and treason may not vote in an election. In South Africa treason will have to be redefined before

Counterfoil No 57492		ANC African National Congress		Record your vote by making an X in the square opposite the name of the candidate for whom you wish to vote. ***** Supa ka X ya go ka mo lesakaneng gau le nkgetheng yo o mo ratang ***** Bonisa ngo X abokisini edze nomqophi omqophayo ***** Bonisa ukuba ukhethe mphi ummeli ngo nobumba u-X ecaleni kwegama lakhe
		AZAPO Azanian People's Organisation		
		DP Democratic Party		
		IFP Inkatha Freedom Party		
		NP National Party		
		PAC Pan Africanist Congress		
		SACP South African Communist Party		

A possible ballot sheet in a democratic election

anyone can be disqualified from voting on these grounds.

Election campaigns are primarily waged to reach those who are apathetic, ignorant or undecided about their choice.

By the time the campaigns begin — usually from 14 to 35 days before election day — the politically aware and informed voters know who they are going to vote for.

Parties prepare to battle for what is sometimes referred to as the "swing vote" — the apathetic and undecided section of the population

who are not members of a party and who can make a significant difference to the election results.

For this reason, parties try by all means to attain the maximum of favourable publicity and exploit any negative utterances or events which can harm the image of an opposing party. This is what is at the heart of all election campaigns.

Parties go all out to publicise everything favourable in their past, their policies and their future plans. Parties organise volunteers to go out into neighbourhoods to canvass

— they go from door to door trying to establish the degree of support enjoyed by the party in the area.

South Africans are used to the constant bickering between rival political organisations. It is likely that the intensity of that bickering will rise to as yet unseen levels during the forthcoming campaigns.

It is important for people to realise that this is an accepted part of election campaigns and is in fact a much better alternative to the violence that has been scarring the country for so long.

THIS PAGE WAS MADE POSSIBLE BY THE SUPPORT OF THE MATLA TRUST

'Arrogance must make way for greater humility'

SA 774

361-3293

3044

THE diplomats of a non-racial, non-sexist and democratic South Africa will have to learn some humility in their relationship with the rest of Africa.

They will also have to consider ways to make up for the damage caused by National Party destabilisation in Southern Africa.

Centre for Southern African Studies co-director Professor Peter Vale said delegates to a three-day conference on professional diplomacy in a changing world had been acutely aware of the fact that South African hegemony under the guise of the "total onslaught" had wreaked havoc on regional economies.

They believed some reparation might be essential to ensure regional stability.

Reparation need not be in monetary terms, but a new South Africa could make amends in its trade agreements with neighbouring states, in regional economic co-operation arrangements and in its represen-

'SA must devote a sizeable amount of the budget to the foreign service' — Peter Vale



tations in international trade talks.

But it would be vital that there be a move away from the arrogance of power of the past towards a greater humility.

For example, a new South Africa should not automatically demand the Security

Council seat in the United Nations that belongs to Africa. Nor should it try to dominate the Southern African Development Community (SADC) the Preferential Trade Area for Eastern and Southern Africa (PTA), or continental bodies such as the Organisation of African Unity (OAU).

It would be fatal for South Africa to insist on being an unmandated regional leader, or on participating in regional organisations on its own terms.

"South Africa must be prepared, at the beginning at least, to devote a sizeable amount of its budget to the foreign service."

"Regionalism has become increasingly important in the new world and all African countries must be prepared to play a greater role in the settlement of regional problems to promote African economic development."

But South Africa had to be aware of the fact that regional co-operation had not always been a success. This was primarily

because many groupings have been dominated by one or two countries and the benefits have been unevenly distributed.

"This says a lot about how South Africa should conduct itself. The arrogant notion that South Africa will be the powerhouse of growth in the region, the unmandated leader, will not help address the primary problems of the region."

While delegates believed that South Africa could and should play a role in resolving conflict in Africa, they were also keen to see strict limitations placed on the deployment of its armed forces in other countries.

It was recommended that the South African armed forces should not be used outside the country's borders without the consent of parliament.

"As far as peacekeeping missions are concerned, there should be a specific battalion trained for this purpose for use by the OAU or UN," said Vale.

THIS PAGE WAS MADE POSSIBLE BY THE SUPPORT OF ENGEL

MP goes astray, but NP is set to be top dog in all three houses

THE first inkling that Natal National Party leader George Bartlett had that something was amiss was when Vryheid MP Jurie Mentz failed to turn up for the full party caucus meeting on Thursday.

Inquiring as to his whereabouts, Mr Bartlett was told by a passing opposition MP that he could find his wayward caucus member in the press rooms. Mr Bartlett hastily headed in that direction, but it was too late.

Mr Mentz had already announced his defection to the IFP. And he was so determined to make the move irreversible that he had not even told his wife, Beulah.

President FW de Klerk was one of the last to hear.

Mr Mentz, a front-bencher and NP MP for 19 years, a party whip, and a loyal Nat for 40 years now swears allegiance to IFP leader Mangosuthu Buthelezi.

He now takes a back seat in Parliament separated from ANC MP Janine Mombere by Volksunie member Kees Botha.

Political Correspondent EDYTH BULBRING speaks to the MP whose defection to Inkatha has stunned the National Party

His defection came as little surprise to his fellow caucus members. He had been dissatisfied with the NP's growing alienation from the IFP and its warning to the ANC for a long time.

Speaking about his defection on Friday, Mr Mentz said the Natal region needed a strong leader to bring peace and stability to the area. For him, KwaZulu chief minister Buthelezi was the man for the job.

Mr Mentz said he admired Mr Buthelezi's drive and leadership, his long-time opposition to sanctions, apartheid and violence, and his championing of free enterprise. He said he would try to tip the

balance of power among Natal blacks in favour of the IFP.

He rated his chances of success as somewhat better than his attempts to win black support for the NP because he now had a black leader for whom he would canvass.

While he would not be targeting the white NP constituency in Natal, he believed more than 90 percent of whites would support Chief Buthelezi's leadership, while still voting for the NP. His aim was to ensure that the IFP had the support to join the NP in governing the province.

He said the problems in the Natal-KwaZulu area were very different to those faced by the rest of the country. In a future regional dispensation, the concerns of the region would be paramount, and he wanted to see the best leader elected to deal with the problems.

His loyalty to Inkatha stemmed from his love for the Zulu people, he said. "I grew up with these people, I know them, I speak their language. These are my people."

THE National Party is poised to grab power in the House of Delegates (HoD), thereby assuming control over all three houses of Parliament for the first time since the introduction of the tricameral system.

In the past the NP discouraged Indian MPs from seeking membership, saying it had "no quarrel" with Dr JN Reddy, the leader of the ruling Solidarity Party in the HoD.

But with plans announced on Friday by President FW de Klerk for the scrapping of the President's Council — an instrument of last resort to force through rejected bills — the NP decided it would be safer to have a majority in the HoD as well as the Assembly and House of Representatives, which it already controls.

The mild-mannered Mr Reddy lost an overall majority in the HoD when four of his MPs defected to the NP. This left Mr Reddy with 21 MPs out of the total of 45 Indian MPs.

However, it is understood that another five MPs plan to desert him for the NP this weekend.

NORMAN WEST traces the fluctuating fortunes of the political parties in Parliament after a week dominated by defections

The would-be deserters are Mr Yakoob Makda (North Western Transvaal), Mr Abdool Akoo (Laudium), Mr Abdus Khan (Eastern Transvaal), Mr Manlihan Naranjee (Marimath) and Mr SV Naicker, the Deputy Minister of Housing and Agriculture in Mr Reddy's "own affairs" cabinet.

Other MPs who switched loyalties on the opening day of Parliament in favour of the NP were the DP's Mr Michael Abraham (Tongat), Dr MS Padayachy (North Western Cape), and two of Mr Amichand Rajpans's National People's Party men, Mr Kamal Panday (Reservoir Hills) and Mr Ashwin Mohanlal of Clare

Estate. With the NP in control of all three Houses, Mr de Klerk could pilot through any legislation without hindrance.

The official opposition in the House of Assembly remains the CP with 36 white MPs against the DP's 28.

However, the DP, with an overall tally of 37 MPs in Parliament (including three Indian MPs and six coloured MPs) retains its status by a majority of one as the majority opposition party in Parliament as a whole.

As the official opposition in Parliament, the DP will have the right to respond first in debates and to legislation tabled by the government.

The most spectacular change of allegiance for the week occurred when the NP MP for Vryheid, Mr Jurie Mentz — after attending the Natal Parliamentary caucus on Thursday without letting slip a hint — suddenly issued a statement announcing he had left the NP laager to become the Inkatha Freedom Party's first representative in Parliament.

DISMANTLING PW's

S/Times

31/11

93

30417

CONSTITUTION

S/Times 31/11/93

HE first casualties of President FW de Klerk's move to dismantle the tricameral constitution introduced by his predecessor a decade ago will be the men who formed the back-bone of the W Botha Cabinet.

Mr de Klerk announced on Friday that he would abolish the own affairs departments by April 1 this year, thereby removing the reason for the existence of the white, coloured and Indian Ministers' Councils.

The first to receive the top are the Own Affairs, Industries of agriculture, health and local government. Others will follow this year.

With this rationalisation, Ministers' Council chairman Dr JN Reddy and Jacobus, 10 ministers and deputies in the coloured and Indian Houses, 13 ministerial representatives, paid salaries equal to that of a deputy minister, and their administrative staff will be out of a job.

Changes

Some will find temporary jobs in the expanded provincial executive committees which will take on some of the functions handled by the Ministers' Councils, but a major reshuffle of the main Cabinet will also be required. Mr de Klerk hinted at this when he said: "As func-

EDYTH BULBRING
Political Correspondent

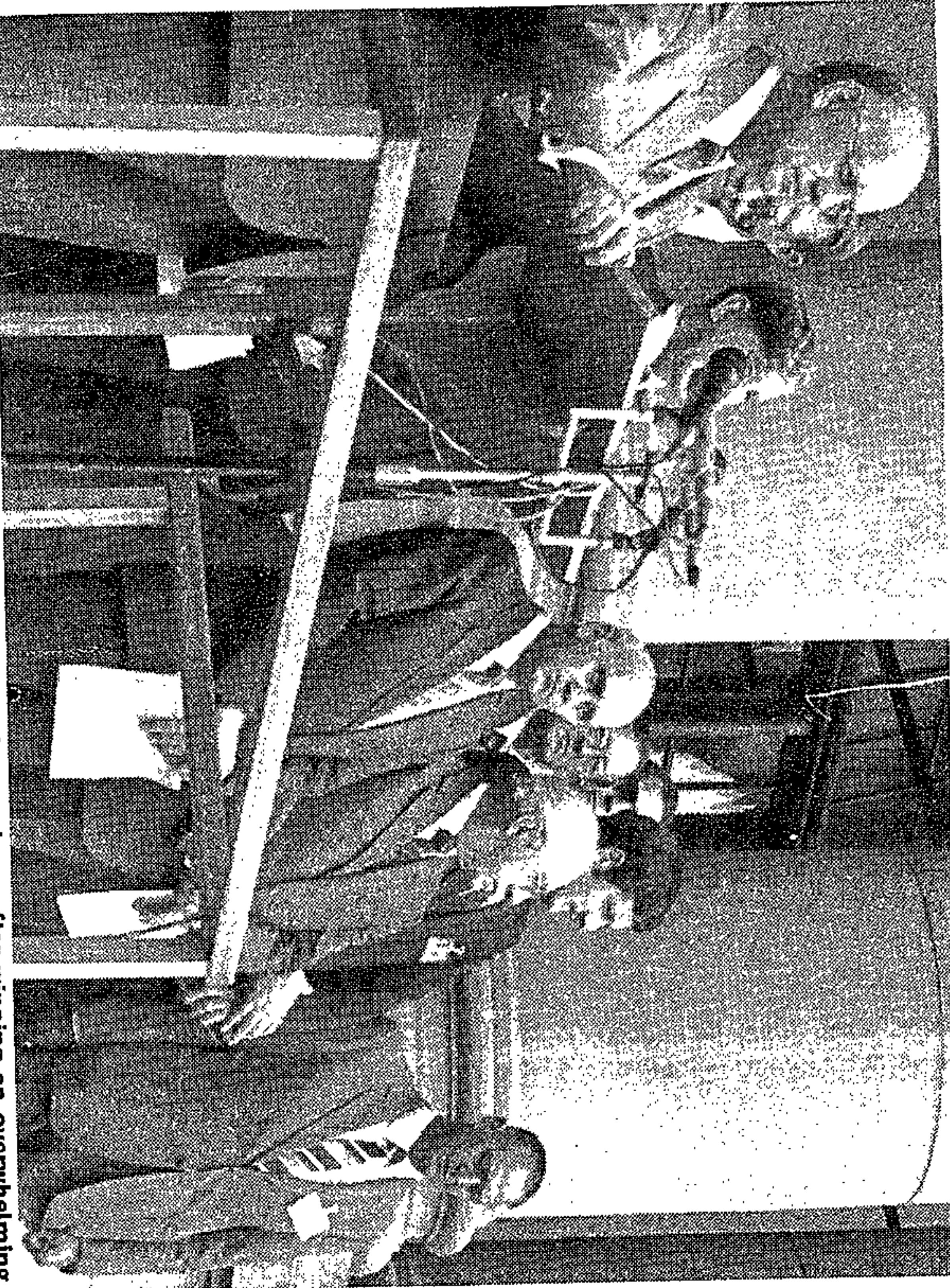
tions are transferred, Ministers' Councils will have to become smaller and the division of work in the Cabinet reviewed."

The first to go in the reshuffle will be the two men who headed PW Botha's security apparatus — former Defence Minister Magnus Malan (now Water Affairs and Forestry Minister) and former Law and Order Minister Adrian Vlok (now Correctional Services Minister).

Another close confidant of Mr Botha who will lose his job as a result of the changes is former Minister of National Health Dr Willie van Niekerk.

He is presently chairman of the 60-member President's Council which Mr de Klerk announced would also be scrapped.

Other Cabinet Ministers who it is believed will be retained in the reshuffle are Home Affairs Minister



FLASHBACK: Former President PW Botha ushers in the tricameral era after winning an overwhelming endorsement from white voters. With him is President FW de Klerk who this week announced steps to dismantle the system

Louis Pienaar and Regional and Land Affairs Minister Jacob de Villiers. In the process of setting up single, non-racial departments to deal with education, agriculture, health and, later, welfare and housing, a number of the functions, personnel and funds are to be transferred to the provincial administrations and local government. Government officials said while Mr de Klerk was

reversing the tricameral system, he was at the same time devolving some of their functions to second and third-tier governments in preparation for a new regional dispensation.

As far as the self-governing territories were concerned, they said, certain of their functions would be jointly administered by the homeland governments and the provincial executives. At a later stage, the homeland governments would be scrapped.

The TBVC states would only be able to follow a similar course once agreement was reached on their re-incorporation in multi-party talks.

Support

In his opening address to Parliament, Mr de Klerk was careful to steer away from any announcements that would prove contentious in constitutional negotiations, dealing only with matters which sought to undo the past or address problems experienced by all.

"He had very few cards to play and from this very thin deck he played well," a politician remarked. He addressed all the areas for which the government had come under criticism — corruption and malpractice, the economy, government spending, the early release of prisoners, discrimination, violence, the death sentence and allegations of capitulating to the ANC.

In announcing that the government would publish its proposal for a bill of fundamental rights, he was also seeking to win public support for such a bill being entrenched in a transitional constitution, while not creating problems in negotiations.

While the ANC and the government agree that there should be an interim bill of rights, the ANC would like this bill to be limited to basic political rights, while the government wants a broader spectrum of fundamental rights. First generation, or "negative rights", are expected to dominate the proposals.

In preparation for an interim bill of rights in the transitional phase, President de Klerk also announced that all statutory provisions not compatible with fundamental rights would be scrapped. Legislation scrapping discrimination against women would be published within days, he said.



A new order takes shape, an old quest resumes

304A

STimes 31/1/93.

THREE years after President de Klerk's epochal speech of February 2 1990, the euphoria has worn off. The weary quest for liberty, it turns out, stretches far into the future, probably into the next century. Nothing will be easy.

President de Klerk is taking us resolutely along a road at the end of which, he says, lies a *rechtsstaat*, a democracy under the rule of law. The difficulty, obviously, is to get from here to there.

Analogies are notoriously tricky, but it is worth observing that Chairman Deng's China, where economic reform has preceded political change, is bustling along at growth rates of 12 percent a year, full of optimism. The Soviet Union, where political reform came first, has disintegrated, and is going through a brutal process of primitive capital accumulation in which it is hard to distinguish entrepreneurs from criminals.

South Africa has followed a path closer to the Soviet Union's than China's, choosing political reform ahead of economic liberalisation. The choice has not been a conscious one, but the result of delay, muddle, and confusion; nevertheless, the results are often quite similar to the Russian experience.

Similarities range from the trivial to the profound. Trivially, the emergence of a new class of township entrepreneurs has been no less brutal than in Moscow. Profoundly, reform has quickly descended, here as in Russia, from an idealistic search for democracy to a cat-fight among vested interests.

President de Klerk, like Mikhail Gorbachev, uses the rhetoric of democracy, but often in quaint and unfamiliar idiom. His vision does not seem to be the classically liberal idea: the maximum liberty for every individual that is compatible with equal liberty for all. He talks instead in the idiom of ethnicity, of recognising "cultural and linguistic diversity", and favours words like peace and prosperity, the currency not of liberty but of stability.

His purpose remains, at least to some of us, obscure. It is not clear whether he understands democracy as liberals do, or whether he is actually negotiating to secure a special position of power and influence for the 13 percent of the population who are white (or simply the nine

percent who are white Afrikaners).

On the other hand, the clever lawyers of the ANC use the idiom of democracy with greater familiarity, but they lay more subtle traps. Confident that the ANC will command an electoral majority, they always demand a free hand for the majority government. True to their Leninist roots, they seek freedom for government, not freedom from government.

President de Klerk now sees a broad consensus developing in the country; the rest of us, standing outside the magic circle of negotiation, see a convergence of ANC and National Party thinking on a constitution that will fix their relationships, and then secure the power allotted to each of them.

Not for nothing does Mr Joe Slovo offer Nat politicians "sunset clauses" to enable them to see out their declining years in privilege, asking in return only that they do not insist awkwardly on the classical protections for minorities. It's a trick, but no doubt many Nats will jump at the deal.

That, obviously, is the fear of Chief Mangosuthu Buthelezi, who is clawing for his own, regionally-based interests, and of many of the other minor players who scavenge for carrion at the edge of the firelight of the bosberade.

IN fact, thousands of lesser players are fighting for a foothold of advantage in the future, or for amnesty from their past: bureaucrats sell state land to white farmers, importers demand protection against overseas competition, exporters wheedle for subsidies, civil servants quickly top up their unbelievably lavish pension scheme, private corporations curry favour with political parties by funding dinners and rallies, black elites scramble to establish footholds in business and in the suburbs, and camp commandants demand to be exonerated. It's a mad scramble for safety and new privilege.

To a large degree, this is a battle of ideas, a contest for national symbols and for moral high ground. That is why special interests vie so fiercely for control, or for influence, over the SABC and the newspapers, why black journalists are terrorised into silence, and why the tiny Democratic Party's public

meetings are broken up by thugs. Our current politics mocks the culture of tolerance without which democracy is unachievable.

The advantage of beginning reforms with economic liberalisation, as China has done (and as liberals urged South Africans as early as the 50s and 60s to do) is that the old rigidities of the system are broken down by the fearsome power of capitalist growth. As new classes arise, and as interests proliferate, politics becomes generally more fluid, and power struggles become more diffused.

BUT when unequal, authoritarian societies leap directly into negotiations, as South Africa and the Soviet Union have done, the vast changes that threaten both class interests and personal fortunes inevitably render constitution-making hostage to power struggles. That is where we are today.

This is not to say that the South African transition is destined to fail, or that the Chinese transition is guaranteed success, but it does explain why we hear so little about the details of the *rechtsstaat*. The government shares with the leaders of the ANC a fear that political instability and economic stagnation may wreck not only the process of reform, but the state itself.

This, indeed, is the new consensus which President de Klerk senses: a belief that stability, and economic growth, outweigh airy notions of liberty. It is not to be mocked. A new stability, even under an authoritarian coalition of Nats and ANC, might well — provided only it avoids socialist folly — give us a second chance to liberalise the economy as a prelude to political change.

But South Africa's handful of liberals — the heirs of the tradition that resisted the regimes created in 1910, and 1961, and 1983 — might as well gather their courage, and steel their spirit, for a new time of struggle to reform, peacefully and progressively, the regime of 1994.

KEN OWEN

Govt of unity only way - Mandela

THE ANC had no alternative but to form a government of national unity if it wanted to remain in power after winning a non-racial election, ANC president Nelson Mandela said in Cape Town on Friday. *CIP news 3/11/93*

He was addressing delegates at the Anglican Consultative Council conference at the University of the Western Cape following a half-an-hour meeting with the visiting Archbishop of Canterbury, Dr George Carey. *(JAP) 304A*

Mandela said a government of national unity was the only way to counter the "already incipient counter-revolutionary movement" in which elements of the security forces exploited tensions between the ANC and Inkatha in order to foment violence aimed at destabilising the ANC.

"To take political power in SA is easy. The most difficult thing is to retain that power," Mandela said.

Hushed talks while the country waits in the dark

By SEKOLA SELLO

FOR most South Africans, bombarded daily by the stream of information coming out of the talks about talks, few seem to know where the country is going.

Even after reading most of this week's newspaper reports about the latest flurry of bilateral talks which will hopefully lead to the much talked about multiparty forum, no one could be the wiser.

A day after the completion of the Inkatha/government bilaterals, which came a day after the end of the ANC/Pre-

toria talks, a classic example of the state of guesswork, speculation and confusion surrounding the talks came to the fore.

"All is set for multiparty talks" was the headline which thundered across the front page on one newspaper. Another opined that "Divisive issues still unresolved as parties agree to hold preparatory talks" while another said "TFP, NP make up".

If two others had declared "Deadlock in talks" or "No hope for resumption of talks", they too would have been spot

on.

~~SEEK~~

(3044)

The different interpretations by newspapers indicate the fluidity of talks at the moment. It also demonstrates how difficult it is to determine what is really going on.

All three parties - Inkatha, the ANC and the government - are playing their cards close to the chest. No one is prepared to say more than necessary.

All the ANC and government in a statement was: "Security matters were discussed during the first two days. Various models ex-

~~SEEK~~

ploring issues such as a government of nation unity and regional government were considered. Various matters that were canvassed at Codesa - such as procedures to appoint a new SABC Board, an Independent Media Commission, Independent Electoral Commission and the reincorporation of the TBVC states - were also explored.

"The two delegations will be reporting to their principals with a view to resolving matters and finalising the resumption of multiparty negotiations." It went on to explain

how to mend bridges between the two parties while both parties retained their democratic right to state their positions "in an acceptable manner" and that the most pressing problem was the re-establishment of multiparty negotiations.

If CP leader Andries Treurnicht is to be believed, contrary to what the government and the ANC were willing to reveal, some breakthroughs on security matters were made.

Treurnicht said there was agreement on the in-

tegration of armed forces including the SADF and the ANC's Umkhonto weSizwe.

Buthelezi has not yet abandoned the idea of a troika leadership comprising himself, Nelson Mandela and FW de Klerk - an idea strongly opposed by the ANC leadership.

Whether Buthelezi has been promised this to return to the talks remains to be seen.

While joint statements made by the various leaders have been terse, the ANC, in its post-bosher briefing to journalists, once more took a

hardline position on Codesa. It reiterated that future multiparty talks would take place within the context of this forum.

Inkatha chairman Frank Mdlalose said as far as Inkatha was concerned, Codesa is as good as dead.

Drawing on the little snippets of information being revealed, if Inkatha and its Concerned South Africans Group ally insist that Codesa is dead and the ANC says this is the body to unlock the electoral process, then it is clear the talks are still headed for an impasse.

The ANC position on Codesa is full of contradictions. They say, and rightly so, that bilateral agreements between them and the government are not binding to those who are not party to them.

If this is the case, why should those who were not party to Codesa be forced to accept it as the forum to resolve the country's problems?

After several days of intense discussions and De Klerk's opening of parliament, the public is still not clear whether the multiparty talks are around the corner or not.

News in brief

Chiefs to meet FW

THE Congress of South African Traditional Leaders will formally introduce itself to President FW de Klerk in Pretoria tomorrow, the president of Contransa, Chief Patekile Holomisa, said yesterday.

Holomisa said the constitutional role of

traditional leaders in a future democratic South Africa would be discussed. He said the alleged harassment of traditional leaders in homelands such as Ciskei, KwaZulu and Bophuthatswana was also on the agenda for tomorrow's meeting.

Sowetan 11/1/93

304A

Whither negotiations, ask traditional leaders

STAR 19/1/93

By Kaizer Nyatumba
Political Reporter

President F W de Klerk will have to explain when he meets the Congress of Traditional Leaders of South Africa (Contralesa) in Pretoria today where negotiations are heading, Contralesa president Chief Patekile Holomisa said yesterday.

The meeting, which will be held immediately after the Government's two-day talks with the Inkatha Freedom Party, is one of a series of bilateral meetings scheduled by at least three organisations with the Government this week.

This last round of bilaterals is expected to be a precursor to the resumption of full-scale multiparty negotiations in the near future.

Before its first direct meeting with the Government since President de Klerk and ANC leader Nelson Mandela signed the Record of Understanding agreement on

September 26 last year, the IFP delegation held talks with its Concerned Southern Africans Group (Cosag) allies in Pretoria yesterday. They will continue today.

Contralesa leader Holomisa said the direction in which negotiations were heading would be one of the issues on the agenda of his organisation's meeting with the Government today. Also on the agenda would be violence and land issues, on which Contralesa now wanted to be consulted before any action was taken.

Conservative Party leader Dr Andries Treurnicht yesterday said his party had been shocked by reports that the Government and the ANC were negotiating an interim constitution and the reincorporation of homelands.

Referring to the week-long "bosberaad" the Government will hold with the ANC from tomorrow, Treurnicht said it was intolerable that

while the planning committee for multiparty talks agreed to by Pretoria and Cosag in their meeting two weeks ago had not yet materialised, De Klerk was preparing totally unacceptable legislation with the ANC.

A member of the IFP-led Cosag, the CP has also tentatively given its nod to multiparty negotiations — a move which some political observers believe could precipitate a split in a party which has so far refused to talk to the ANC and the South African Communist Party.

The ANC holds its "bosberaad" with De Klerk and his Cabinet colleagues at a secret venue tomorrow.

The "bosberaad", which is expected to last until Tuesday or Wednesday next week, comes after a similar bush indaba between the two major players last month.

Both the ANC and Pretoria hailed the meeting as having been a success.