

S. A. GOVT. & POLITICS

1993 - FEBRUARY

focus on Parliament

IT HAS BEEN A LONG COLD WINTER (of true discontent) since February 2 1990 when democracy was unbridled in South Africa by an insecure National Party.

Three years later, almost to the day, the National Party has settled down and is coming to terms with the fact that it will have to shed at least some of the power that it has held on to so selfishly since 1948.

This was the gist of President FW de Klerk's State of the Nation address at the opening of Parliament last Friday.

De Klerk pulled together the achievements, the gains and losses of the past three years and set a series of targets for the last lap of the old order and the slow, methodical and certain transfer of power to a new order in South Africa.

Preparing for elections

De Klerk promised that South Africa would enter an election mode later this year with elections a distinct possibility late this year or early next year.

De Klerk envisages that Transitional Executive Councils (TECs) would be established by June and which, in terms of agreements already reached at Codesa, would prepare the country, through sub-committees in areas such as security and home affairs, for elections.

If, however, the TEC does feel that "the playing field has not been levelled" elections could be postponed, giving the TEC more time to accrue more power to complement the responsibility it will initially be given.

It is important, first, that multiparty talks be resumed in March, De Klerk said.

This suggestion was endorsed by the African National Congress' director of foreign affairs, Mr Thabo Mbeki, at the weekend when he said Codesa should be brought back to life in March.

After the resumption of multiparty talks the TEC will be established and by September South Africa will have an interim constitution ready, he said.

Collapse of old order

"The Government is committed to managing the whole process as far as it is able in such a way that these time scales may be achieved," De Klerk said.

De Klerk also announced that the existing structures of the old order would be collapsed over the same period — but he stopped short of putting his NP colleagues in Parliament and the teeming civil service on the streets.

De Klerk announced the dissolution of the country's 18 education departments, presently run as Own Affairs, and gave the self-governing states, in themselves the backbone of grand apartheid, a carefully couched ultimatum.

"It would be ideal," De Klerk said. "If the

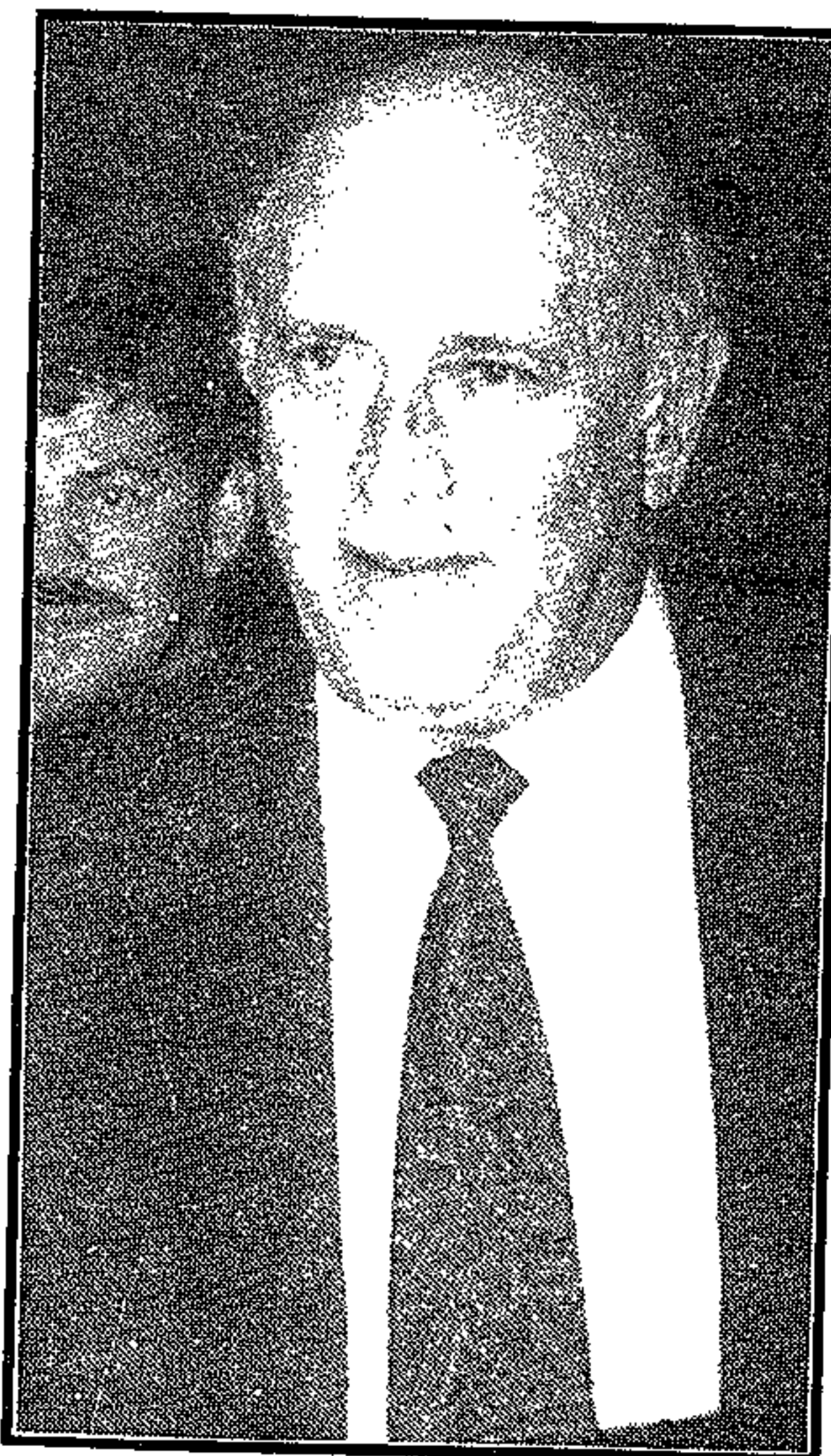
Sowetan 11/2/93.

When President F W de Klerk gave his speech at the opening of Parliament last Friday, he attempted an amazing juggle:

extend a carrot to undecided blacks and give a sop to insecure whites. Political

Correspondent **Ismail Lagardien** exam-

ines the implications of the new dispensation he unveiled:



FW de Klerk ... no more early releases.

rationalisation from Own to General Affairs could go hand in hand with similar steps in respect of the self-governing territories."

He said the racially determined Own Affairs system of the tricameral parliament would be ended sooner than originally anticipated.

Own Affairs agriculture, health and local government would be transferred to General Affairs from April 1, while welfare and housing would lose its Own Affairs status "as soon as possible".

From April 1 the responsibility of charting a single, new, nonracial education system for

South Africa will fall under a Department of National Education which will restructure education completely by March 31 1994.

During this transitional phase "education will continue to be provided by the existing departments", De Klerk said.

The most significant of his announced changes was that he would phase out the President's Council, which during the earlier days of the tricameral parliament had become the NP's traditional weapon.

Controversial legislation

In the past, when the NP was unable to pass controversial legislation through the three chambers of Parliament it would use the powers of the PC to pass it as it did with the Further Indemnity Bill late last year.

De Klerk's speech was, in total, indicative of the times South Africa is in, in that it tidied up the political uncertainties of the past two weeks of negotiations with the ANC and Inkatha Freedom Party.

He did, however, take a small swipe at his political opposition and tended to appease the white electorate.

Tired of violence

Reportedly "tired of the violence", whites have been losing faith in De Klerk. As a sop (read electioneering) De Klerk announced bold new moves against violence in the country.

He announced that legislation would be passed to give the National Peace Accord substantive power and that nationwide network of community-based protection and crime prevention structures would be created.

De Klerk also said there will be no more early release programmes for convicted criminals.

And most significant in this regard, he promised that the moratorium on executions would be reviewed because of the escalating rate of murders in South Africa.

According to official police information, 15 772 murders were committed between January and October last year.

Malan resigns, Vlok tipped as next to go in reshuffle

(3044) 11/2/93

TOS WENTZEL, Political Staff

THE resignation of General Magnus Malan will lead to a general reshuffle of the Cabinet by President De Klerk in which more of the older ministers will go.

Speculation in political circles today was mainly about Mr Adrian Vlok being the next.

With General Malan, he had a narrow political escape the year before last when he was not dropped from the Cabinet, but was given the portfolio of Correctional Services after his controversial tenure of Law and Order.

In the same reshuffle General Malan was shifted from Defence to Water Affairs and Forestry. This followed demands by the ANC and the Democratic Party that both should be fired.

General Malan denied involvement in Defence Force irregularities but suspi-

cions about this remained.

Dr Zac De Beer, leader of the Democratic Party, said today that nobody could fail to associate the timing of General Malan's resignation with the General Pierre Steyn investigation into irregularities in the Defence Force.

The DP had been disappointed because Mr De Klerk had given no details about the findings of this inquiry in his speech at the opening of parliament. These could not be postponed for long.

Among Nationalist MPs today the speculation was that others to go in a Cabinet reshuffle, which is not expected immediately, were older ministers such as Mr Louis Pienaar (Home Affairs and Environment), Mr Gene Louw (Defence), Mr Arnie Venter (State Expenditure) and Mr Jacob de Villiers (Regional and Land Affairs).

The MPs said the president would

want to build a younger team for the transitional period to a new system and for the next election.

Mr J A van Wyk, deputy Minister of Finance, Water Affairs and Forestry, is expected to succeed General Malan.

At least one coloured MP, probably Mr Jac Rabie, leader of the National Party in the House of Representatives and chairman of its Ministers Council, and possibly one Indian MP, are also expected to be brought into the Cabinet.

A number of deputy Ministers will be promoted to full Cabinet status.

Announcing his resignation, General Malan said: "A considerable time ago I indicated my wish to the State President to resign from my political office early in 1993. The time has now arrived.

"I have served in politics for 12 years and made my contributions — in the portfolios of Defence, Water Affairs and

Forestry and as Chairman of the Ministers' Council, House of Assembly.

"The basis for the rationalisation of Own Affairs has been established upon the initiative of the Ministers' Council. The State President dealt extensively with this matter in his parliamentary opening address.

"The commercialisation of the forestry branch is on its way and the water affairs branch functions smoothly. It is therefore the appropriate moment for me to retire."

Asked what he would do now, General Malan, who said he would be dropping his military rank, said he was going fishing in Alaska in June.

He has also been offered of a number of directorships and would accept these.

General Malan's resignation comes into effect on March 1.

General Malan played a key role in

South Africa's Defence strategy, especially as Chief of the Defence Force from 1976 and then as Minister of Defence from 1980 to 1991 when President De Klerk switched him to being Minister of Forestry and Water Affairs.

During a military career stretching back to the early 1950s, he built up a reputation as an organiser par excellence and became one of the leading exponents of the theory of a "total onslaught" against South Africa.

During 1990 his position as Minister of Defence came under threat following public revelations of SADF death squads operating against civilians.

His move to the less controversial portfolio of Forestry and Water Affairs followed intense pressure from the government's negotiating partners.

Mr Vlok today denied he intended resigning. He said he enjoyed his work.

PAC terms for negotiations

Sowetan 1/2/93.

(304A)

By Themba Molefe
Political Reporter

THE Pan Africanist Congress yesterday closed ranks and restated its position on negotiations — that a new forum outside of Codesa should be created to reach a political settlement.

The PAC's national executive committee held its quarterly strategy meeting in Johannesburg where it discussed the negotiations process, its impact on the international scene and the relationship with its military wing, the Azanian People's Liberation Army (Apla).

Although the full statement on the meeting will only be issued today, the PAC rejected out

■ Rumoured divisions within NEC fail to materialise at crucial meeting:

of hand deals between the Government, the African National Congress and Inkatha Freedom Party.

The PAC also reaffirmed its commitment to negotiations and increased its negotiations team from six to nine members.

The meeting, described in political circles as an emergency, also focused on the PAC's relationship with Apla and decided the two were united and had a common purpose. It also came when speculation was rife that a split within its leadership ranks was imminent, fuelled by reports last week that three national executive

members were to announce their resignation.

The PAC's political affairs secretary, Mr Jackie Seroke, told *Sowetan* yesterday that this rumour was discussed and the three members concerned said they had no intention of resigning.

Seroke said the PAC rejected conditions set by the Government last week demanding that the organisation denounce Apla and the armed struggle.

"We are committed to negotiations but we will do so without conditions and without entering into any form of bilateral deals."

Opening speech paves way for drastic changes

CAPE TOWN — Announcements made in President F W de Klerk's opening of Parliament speech would herald dramatic changes in the structure of government and the composition of the Cabinet, parliamentary observers said at the weekend.

The Cabinet may once again include people of colour, parliamentary sources said, although they added that a reshuffle was not likely for at least a week.

Ministers who may lose their jobs are Water Affairs and Forestry Minister Magnus Malan, Correctional Services Minister Adriaan Vlok and Home Affairs and Environment Minister Louis Pienaar, who is understood to be in poor health.

There has also been speculation about Defence Minister Gene Louw, although sources said yesterday this would be highly disruptive as the new Minister would be the fifth in two years.

De Klerk's announcements that some own affairs administrations

would be phased out via a "direct route", and that the President's Council would be scrapped, have caused a stir in government.

More than 20 officials in the Ministers' Council would be affected by its abolition although some could be accommodated in expanded provincial executive committees.

The proposed changes have also encouraged the NP to make a concerted drive to recruit MPs in the House of Delegates, in which it is expected to gain a majority by the end of the week.

The NP would then have the majority in all three houses.

This would make it impossible for the passing of legislation to be impeded in any way, and obviate the necessity for government to use the President's Council as an arbitration mechanism.

The moves herald the end of the tricameral system, which lasted less than a decade, making it one of the

most short lived in history, constitutional expert and DP Justice spokesman Tony Leon said at the weekend.

"It will be unmourned and unmissed by many except those who benefit from it," he said.

Other moves expected as a result of the speech are the excising of sexual and racial discrimination from the statutes following the introduction of a Bill of Rights.

De Klerk hinted at this move, saying government had already launched a comprehensive action in recent months to "identify statutory provisions which are not compatible with fundamental rights".

"Government is in favour of the introduction of such a Bill already during the transitional constitutional phase," he said.

De Klerk's speech, which was unspecific on constitutional questions, reflected the uncertain stage of the negotiation process, although he expressed confidence that the process would be completed soon.

Consensus was slowly beginning to take shape, he said.

TIM COHEN

owner and owner of companies would arrive in Johan.

Firearms move

Winner . . . Nick Price signs autographs for fans after winning the ICL International with 70 for a two-shot victory over Mark McNulty in a classic head-to-head clash.

Former military chief Malan calls it a day

Political Staff

General Magnus Malan, former military strongman of President P W Botha, quit politics last night — a departure expected to be followed soon by other Ministers as the transition to power sharing gathers pace.

Malan (63), shifted by President F W de Klerk from Defence to the less important Water Affairs and Forestry portfolio, announced he would retire on March 1 from the Cabinet, from Parliament and as chairman of the Ministers' Council in the House of Assembly.

Although his resignation was expected, Malan wasted no time in leading the exit from the Cabinet after De Klerk's announcement on Friday that the "own affairs" system would be phased out and replaced by a transitional executive.

In a statement Malan said he had served in politics for 12 years and had made his contribution in the Defence, Water Affairs and Forestry portfolios and as chairman of the Ministers' Council.

He said the basis for the rationalisation of the own affairs administration had

been established.

The commercialisation of the Forestry branch was on its way and the Water Affairs department was operating smoothly.

"It is, therefore, the appropriate moment for me to retire."

He had informed the NP divisional council of Modderfontein of his decision.

He said he wanted to state clearly that he wholeheartedly supported De Klerk, the Government and the National Party.

Shake-up

Malan, who as Minister of Defence became one of the most controversial figures in the Cabinet and was subsequently demoted to his current portfolio, added: "I stand by the security forces, whom I believe remain the security shield for South Africa's stability and the maintenance of order."

A major Cabinet shake-up is now inevitable during the next few months as other own affairs Ministers are expected to follow suit.

Former Law and Order Minister Adriaan Vlok, now Correctional Services Minister, is also likely to retire.

And several ministerial jobs in the Ministers' Councils of the Houses of Representatives and Delegates will also become redundant on April 1 when the bulk of the own affairs ministries become general affairs.

The first to go will be the coloured and Indian Ministers of agriculture, health and local government, whose portfolios will disappear.

De Klerk's decision to phase out segregated education from April under a transitional education ministry should also necessitate some changes in the Cabinet.

The domino effect could see a whole range of moves in the Government's senior executive.

The advent of transitional executive councils is the most likely moment for the departure of Vlok who, like Malan, occupies an own affairs portfolio as well as a general affairs position.

Rumours are also circulating that Home Affairs Minister Louis Pienaar and Regional and Land Affairs Minister Jacob de Villiers are to be removed or retired.

Pienaar said last night he reserved the right to review

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Military supremo Malan calls it a day

● From Page 1

his position, especially in the light of his age, but did not wish to comment further.

A spokesman for De Villiers said it was the President's prerogative to shuffle his Cabinet.

Another who must lose his job and is likely to choose the moment to retire is Dr Willie van Niekerk, chairman of the President's Council, which is to

be scrapped. Widely seen as a P W Botha man, he fell out of favour with De Klerk and for the last few years has been seen as serving out his time.

The parliamentary year begins in earnest today with the debate on the State President's speech — previously the no-confidence debate.

The Government's plans and the state of negotiations are

certain to provoke a furious debate, with the Conservative Party likely to exploit uncertainty and division within NP ranks about perceptions that it is too eager to appease the ANC.

The defection to the Inkatha Freedom Party last week of senior NP frontbencher Jurie Mentz will give the CP added ammunition for its attack.

Magnum's quits

CT 11/2/93

(3044)

Signals end of 'total strategy'

By BARRY STREEK
Political Staff

THE hawkish General Magnus Malan last night quit the cabinet and active politics.

Since his demotion last year as Minister of Defence, his retirement has not been unexpected.

But it does symbolise the demise of "total strategy", the government approach to counter communism.

Gen Malan, who has had two heart by-pass operations, was a key figure in former president Mr P W Botha's cabinet, but his influence in government has diminished since President F W de Klerk took control of the government.

His resignation is, therefore, not surprising but it does reflect Mr De Klerk's determination to bring new blood into government.

Opposition parties have long held him responsible for the more controversial SADF activities, particularly regarding Military Intelligence, the Civil Co-operation Bureau (CCB) and hit squad activities, but he has always denied his involvement and approval.

Last night Gen Malan said he requested his retirement last year. In a statement he said: "I herewith announce my retirement from politics and as a member of the cabinet and of Parliament from 1 March 1993."

"A considerable time ago I indicated my wish to resign from my political offices early in 1993. The time has now arrived."

After several command posts, he became Chief of the Army in 1973 and Chief of the SA Defence Force in 1976. In 1980 he was appointed as Minister of Defence. The following year he was elected MP for Modderfontein. In 1991 he was shifted to the Minister of Forestry and Water Affairs.

Gen Malan's public statements as Chief of the SADF dealt mainly with the alleged "total onslaught" against South Africa and the need to develop a "total national strategy" to counter-act it at all levels.

He also indicated his view that the answer to South Africa's problems was ultimately political, not military. During Gen Malan's term as Minister of Defence, troops were used in the control of unrest in townships.

In 1986, following the introduction of a national state of emergency, he said political rights were not a relevant concern among the black masses.

He maintained that political activists were exploiting the community. In 1987 Gen Malan admitted for the first time that South African troops were supporting Units in Angola and were also in that country to counter Swapo and the ANC.

In 1988 he and the Minister of Foreign Affairs, Mr P W Botha, participated in talks on South West Africa and Angola on the Cape Verde Islands, Brazzaville and Cairo.

The talks eventually led to a settlement in both countries, with the then South West Africa becoming Namibia under a Swapo government.



LAST FLING . . . City gamblers packed out a Cape Town casino last night for a last legal fling before the government's midnight deadline last night. Justice Minister Mr Koble Coetsee last week ordered all gaming clubs to close.

Pictures: ALAN TAYLOR

Voters to get IFP education

JOHANNESBURG. — The Inkatha Freedom Party has embarked on a voter education programme to teach people voting procedures and different electoral systems, IFP Transvaal executive committee member Mr Humphrey Ndlovu said yesterday.

The programme would help people to understand how their votes would be translated into representation, he said in a statement. (SQA) CM 2/93

"Illiteracy, fear of the process and the perception that their votes will not make a difference are some of the problems that the IFP is addressing.

"We will ensure that any future ballot paper is voter-friendly, so that illiterate persons will also be able to exercise their democratic right." — Sapa

Scene is set for cabinet shuffle

304A

CT1/2/93

By BARRY STREEK
Political Staff

SOUTH Africa faces a period of political turmoil this week with an intense censure debate in Parliament, the National Party taking control in the House of Delegates and progress on the negotiations front on the cards.

With the retirement of minister General Magnus Malan and speculation about the impending retirement of Mr Adriaan Vlok, President F W de Klerk may make some sweeping changes to his cabinet.

The government is due to reveal its proposals for a bill of rights tomorrow and this could focus attention on transition and the new constitution.

The government is determined to seize the political initiative again and, following Mr De Klerk's speech opening Parliament on Friday, it has laid the basis for this on various levels.

The Conservative Party, however, is determined to fight the government all the way and its walkout of the House of Assembly last week, when new MPs were sworn in, is an indication it will use every opportunity to fight the introduction of an interim government and a transitional process.

The NP takeover of the House of Delegates, where it has 14 of the 45 members, could be consolidated on Friday when the House debates a motion of no-confidence in Dr J N Reddy's Ministers' Council.

Both this week's debate and the scheduled meeting between the ANC and the government on Thursday could consolidate the process towards the resumption of multi-party talks in March.

It is not yet clear when Mr De Klerk will reshuffle his cabinet but the retirement of General Malan, Minister of Forestry and Water Affairs, and possibly Mr Vlok, Minister of Correctional Services, has been expected ever since they were demoted last year.

The decision to scrap own affairs departments and the need to bring younger leadership, including NP MPs from the other two houses, has increased pressure for a cabinet reshuffle.

DP team dominates Sandton committee

THE Sandton Town Council elected an interim management committee last night, but there was mixed response to the new line-up.

DP councillor Bruce Stewart, a member of the previous management committee, was elected unopposed as chairman, with independent candidate Max Strous as his deputy. *B10m 2/2/93*

The DP caucus dominates the new committee with three members. They are Stewart, Melanie Stewart and Dennis Greyvensteijn. The remaining member is independent candidate Dave Jordaan.

Sandton Federation of Ratepayers (Sanfed) chairman Gail Daus said her organisation was disappointed as the controversial "junta" previously in office had simply been replaced with a DP-dominated team.

KATHRYN STRACHAN

She said the candidates were selected more because of their political affiliations than for their skills, and she feared they would place national political issues before the interests of Sandton residents.

The DP did not have a very good track record for giving local matters priority, she said. But she added that she hoped the new committee would make every effort to restore the morale of council officials.

Jordaan said he believed the composition of the team would make for a "more harmonious" management committee.

Because of March by-elections in two Sandton wards, the committee will be re-elected at the end of March.

Sandton has operated without a management committee since the resignation of the previous committee two weeks ago.

Agreement before elections

By Ismail Lagardien
Political Correspondent

304A

THE principles of a final constitution and details of power sharing must be secured before elections to a constituent assembly, the Minister of Constitutional Development, Mr Roelf Meyer, has said.

Meyer said yesterday these details, as well as a Bill of Rights, had to be agreed upon and entrenched in a transitional constitution before elections could be held.

■ Meyer says Bill of Rights must be in place before polls:

He said this would form the bedrock of the final constitution.

Meyer said it was possible that the constituent assembly or constitution-making body (CMB) could also make no changes at all to the transitional constitution.

Asked whether he did not think this made a farce of the notion of a CMB, Meyer said that if the CMB wanted to, it could also change the transitional constitution.

"The ANC has recognised that there was a

need for a transitional arrangement.

"The intention is not to limit the constitution-making body. It might also be satisfied with the transitional constitution," Meyer said.

He foresees a lot of other work for the CMB like "creating new government structures".

Meyer believes that the principles which are to be entrenched in a new constitution should be secured before the transitional executive council is established.

Star 212193

Solidarity MPs join NP

The National Party looks set to take over the House of Delegates. It now has 17 seats, with the defection yesterday of three more Solidarity members to the NP. They are chief whip Yakoob Makda, Abdus Kahn and Sattar Akoob.

(SOLA)

(2/28)

NP to go it alone in election

CAPE TOWN — In a surprise switch in election tactics, the NP yesterday indicated it would not contest an election with alliance partners.

Constitutional Affairs Minister Roelf Meyer also said in Parliament that political realities excluded the possibility of the ANC and government being allies in the elections.

"In the coming political electoral contest, the NP will stand for a clear objective. The party will follow its own clear path. Other parties will then be free to accept the NP's leadership," he said, apparently spurning the speculated alliance with Inkatha.

"Ill-disposed commentators who stupidly and opportunistically denigrate the negotiation discussion between government

TIM COHEN

and the ANC, for example, as the formation of political alliances are deliberately engaging in opportunistic political misrepresentation," he said.

He described as "utter nonsense" speculation that bilateral agreements had been entered into with the ANC or that secret agreements had been made.

Meyer spelt out differences on constitutional matters, saying differences with the ANC were largely substantive while those with Inkatha were mainly concerned with the process.

Meyer also aired government's constitutional strategy, stipulating that it would press for a range of liberal constitutional

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NP principles.

These would include a bill of rights, constitutional continuity, participatory democracy and "unity in diversity".

On this subject, Meyer said the concept of power-sharing at executive government level was no longer contentious in negotiations about a transitional constitution.

But on whether this suggestion, propagated mainly by government, could be written into a final constitution, Meyer was not specific, saying only that government would make its view known soon.

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On regional government, Meyer said the NP was proposing five to nine provinces with constitutionally entrenched powers.

The ANC was in favour of 10 to 16 regions over which central government would have overriding jurisdiction.

Inkatha used the label "federalism", but it was really pressing for an independent state participating in a confederal association.

Despite the difference, Meyer said there were signs that all parties recognised reality and were prepared to accommodate viewpoints other than their own.

(3049)
**Second Natal MP
quits to join IFP**

Political Staff

ARC 2/2/93

MIKE TARR, Democratic Party MP for Maritzburg North, today resigned from the DP and has joined the Inkatha Freedom Party.

He is the second Natal MP to join the IFP. Last week Mr Jurie Mentz (Vryheid) did so.

More MPs could follow, parliamentary sources said.

Mr Tarr now takes his place with Mr Mentz on the back benches.

Mr Tarr is to meet the DP's constituency council in Maritzburg North to explain his move.

He said he had been agonising over this move for a long time. He had no quarrel with the DP, and liked their policy, "but they are not the right vehicle in Natal".

B14 RACING - P16 SP

focus on Malan

Sowetan 2/2/93

As Minister of Defence, General Magnus Malan was the right-hand man of The Great Dictator more commonly known as *Die Groot Krokodil*. **Ismail Lagardien** reflects on Malan's political demise which a political expert says spells the end of the darkest era in SA history:



BY HIS OWN ADMISSION, General Magnus Malan, Minister of Water Affairs and Forestry and former Minister of Defence, has no further role to play in South Africa.

Malan told *Die Burger*, the National Party's propaganda sheet in Cape Town, that the Cabinet had already decided to commercialise forestry and that as Own Affairs will be abolished, his work was done. Malan was the chairman of the Minister's Council in the (white) House of Assembly.

In simpler terms: where South Africa is heading, there is no room for Magnus Malan. That is why he has stepped out of politics — relinquishing his position in the Cabinet on Sunday.

Malan's resignation is, however, not a simple administrative calculation, as some Government sources might want to suggest.

Break with the past

In a holistic way, Malan's resignation perhaps signifies the greatest break with the past by South Africa's ruling elite and the most symbolic end yet of Mr PW Botha's anti-communist Total Onslaught psyche that pervaded the country during the 1980s.

It brings to an end "one of the darkest periods of South Africa's history," Professor Sampie Terreblanche, of the University of Stellenbosch said yesterday.

"People talk about apartheid, and it was ugly; the Total Onslaught was preposterous. I can actually not find a word to describe just how preposterous it was," Terreblanche, himself a former member of the Broederbond and presently a political economist, said.

Malan was appointed as Minister of Defence by Botha in 1980 when Defence spending was marginal. Under him, Defence spending soared to R80 billion, Terreblanche explained.

New culture

"The Government could have spent at least R4 billion a year to upgrade the Sowetos of South Africa," he said.

"Besides overspending, a new culture was created that formed the basis for corruption in Government," Terreblanche said.

Other names, some representative of the Total Onslaught era, but more generally of the old order and very much part of Terreblanche's "culture", have been mentioned as facing the forced retirement.

Of note is the former deputy and later Minister of Law and Order, Mr Adriaan Vlok, who is presently the Minister of Correctional Services.

Vlok and Malan were the bane of activists' lives in South Africa and in the Frontline States. While Vlok policed internally, Malan policed, as it were, across South Africa's borders and



Magnus Malan ... no further role to play.

supported the South African Police in the country's townships.

Terreblanche believes that "the truth about cross-border raids, hot pursuits and what really happened in Mozambique, Angola and other Frontline States might never be known".

"The question that is not being asked (about Malan's resignation) is: Is he not resigning because he is unhappy with the way senior members of the SADF were purged (by President FW de Klerk) in December?" Terreblanche said, with just a hint a cynicism yesterday.

Malan refutes this and pledges his support for De Klerk and the negotiation process.

"We will have to move in a democratic way to a new order where each South African has equal

rights and privileges regardless of race, religion or sex, based on power-sharing. This will have to be achieved through negotiations. It's the only solution," Malan has said.

His preference for a political settlement (over a military one) does in fact stretch back to the Total Onslaught era.

Apparently aware of the enormous impact South Africa's border (and cross-border) wars had on the economy, Malan advised Botha that the country's problems were ultimately political and not military.

State of emergency

When the national state of emergency was declared in 1986, Malan said that political activists were exploiting the black community and that black people were not terribly concerned with political rights.

The next year he publicly admitted that South African Defence Force troops were aiding Unita in Angola.

He was part of the process of negotiations which led to the independence of Namibia — a *quid pro quo* for the exit of Cuban troops from Angola.

Malan says that the departure from Angola of Cubans (he calls them communists) was one of his greatest achievements.

Mass purge

He leaves office at the end of this month both as a Cabinet Minister and as the member of Parliament for Modderfontein.

By the time Malan leaves, greater clarity might emerge too on the positions of Mr Louis Pienaar, the Minister of Home Affairs and the Environment; Mr Gene Louw, the Minister of Defence; and Mr Jacob de Villiers, the Minister of Regional and Land Affairs, all of whom are said to be well on their way to the main exit of politics.

Knowledgeable sources feel that Malan pre-empted a "mass purge" of the old guard from the Cabinet by stepping out earlier, before a whole bunch of them would unceremoniously be dropped from Government.

(304A)

Apartheid still lives — Zach

CAPE TOWN ^{B/DAM 2/2/93} The continued existence of the homelands was living, visible proof that apartheid was not dead, DP leader Zach de Beer said during the debate in Parliament yesterday on President F W de Klerk's opening address.

The own affairs system was being done away with because it was racist and expensive, but the system of bantustans was much more expensive, racist and corrupt.

"It must go: and before Nationalist speakers start talking constitutional drivel, let me say Pretoria's financial stranglehold is all that is needed to bring the TBVC states into line, whereas Pretoria's sovereignty over so-called self-governing territories is not in question at all."

ANC-supporting MP for Sandton David Dalling said government would leave behind racial ghettos, a mass of uneducated black South Africans living in grinding poverty, and massive international debt.

White South Africans should be thankful that the ANC was the dominant force in black politics because of its truly non-racial attitudes, Dalling said.

^(304A)
Political Staff

Sapa reports CP leader Andries Treurnicht said consensus would never be reached in SA if its variety of nations was not recognised.

"That is why Codesa failed," said the CP leader.

There was an unhealthy speed with which government and the ANC wanted to force a system on SA when clarity had not even been attained on federalism or regionalism. Government was now further away from consensus than it had been a year ago.

Jurie Mentz (Vryheid), the former NP MP who joined Inkatha last week and sits now as an independent, said people were sick and tired of violence and destabilisation.

Inkatha and the Zulu nation had proved through the years to be a disciplined people and had never conducted a campaign to eliminate policemen.

The party could play a bridging and moderating role in SA politics, he said.

Inkatha no to 'new' Codesa

INKATHA yesterday rejected out of hand any participation in a multiparty forum "which in any way resembles Codesa", casting doubt over an early resumption of constitutional talks.

In a separate development the PAC national executive called for a new negotiating forum "free from the flaws of Codesa" and rejected all bilateral negotiations.

It is known that government was "a bit shaken" yesterday when it heard Inkatha's position and discussed the statement in a high-level policy meeting. No direct comment could be solicited.

Government and the ANC have both agreed that the multiparty forum to negotiate the principles of a new constitution would be a restricted and streamlined Codesa.

ANC negotiator Joe Slovo said government and the ANC had a firm agreement on this in September's record of understanding.

3/10/93 2/2/93
BILLY PADDOCK

But Inkatha leader Mangosuthu Buthezi said yesterday "there is no question whatsoever" of his party returning to such a forum.

He also reiterated that Inkatha as well as "other parties" would not be bound by agreements in Codesa working groups.

Buthezi's statement also said that he felt a preliminary agreement had been reached with government that the planning conference would structure the form, substance and all other modalities of "entirely new future deliberations". He also insisted that Inkatha would not go ahead until the "issue of Umkhonto we Sizwe is satisfactorily disposed of in the early stages of the proceedings".

Meanwhile PAC secretary-general Benny Alexander said his organisation had committed itself to a transfer of power through an elected constituent assembly "unfettered by

304A

bilateral dealings". "The PAC is vehemently opposed to bilateral dealings," he said. But he then said he regretted that government had unilaterally terminated the bilateral talks between itself and the PAC following recent Apla attacks.

Alexander said the weekend meeting of the executive had decided that a new negotiating forum should consist only of political parties with a national character, have neutral, international involvement in convenorship, chairmanship, administration and security, be transparent so that the media and the public could follow the process, and not be a decision-making body, but a facilitating body to realise a constituent assembly.

He said the PAC would re-enter bilateral talks with government - "but we shall not bow down to preconditions to talks".

The PAC executive had decided to continue all forms of struggle, including armed struggle.

Land claims to be probed

3/10/93 2/2/93
TIM COHEN

CAPE TOWN - Instances where land claimed by displaced communities had been hastily transferred to white farmers would be reviewed, Deputy Land Affairs Minister Johan Scheepers said yesterday.

He said in some cases state land had been transferred to white farmers to exclude it from the jurisdiction of the land allocation advisory committee.

A mechanism to negotiate the future of such land would have to be instituted, he said, conceding that this land had been inappropriately transferred.

Pienaar envisages 'a free SABC'

3/10/93 2/2/93
TIM COHEN

CAPE TOWN - Home Affairs Minister Louis Pienaar said yesterday he envisaged the selection of the new SABC board by an independent group, freeing the broadcasting corporation from NP influence for the first time.

Pienaar said he was confident that the process could be completed by the time the new SABC board had to be selected in March.

He was still negotiating with a variety of interest groups, but in discussions held so far there was overwhelming support for an independent electoral college.

Pienaar said the Cabinet had agreed in principle to the establishment of an independent authority to consider applications for private and community broadcast licences.

Ministers had been instructed to draft necessary legislation for an SA telecommunications commission.

Consensus had also been achieved at

304A

Codesa that an independent and neutral body should be established to regulate the telecommunications sector and that such a body should be created in terms of an Act of Parliament.

The whole process came to a standstill as a result of the collapse of Codesa. However, it had been decided that because of the large number of applications the process could no longer be postponed.

Our Political Staff reports that Pienaar said at the same briefing that his Environment Affairs Department would oppose the dune mining of Lake St Lucia's eastern shores if an environmental impact study to be released on March 18 found it would cause irreparable harm.

However, if damage could be repaired or eliminated "I can see no reason why the mining cannot proceed as planned".

Apartheid still lives - Zach

3/10/93 2/2/93
Political Staff

CAPE TOWN - The continued existence of the homelands was living, visible proof that apartheid was not dead, DP leader Zach de Beer said during the debate in Parliament yesterday on President F W de Klerk's opening address.

The own affairs system was being done away with because it was racist and expensive, but the system of bantustans was much more expensive, racist and corrupt. "It must go, and before Nationalist speakers start talking constitutional drive, let me say Pretoria's financial stranglehold is all that is needed to bring the TBVC states into line, whereas Pretoria's sovereignty over so-called self-governing territories is not in question at all."

ANC-supporting MP for Sandton David Dalling said government would leave behind racial ghettos, a mass of uneducated black South Africans living in grinding poverty, and massive international debt.

White South Africans should be thankful that the ANC was the dominant force in black politics because of its truly non-racial attitudes, Dalling said.

Sapa reports CP leader Andries Treurnicht said consensus would never be reached in SA if its variety of nations was not recognised.

"That is why Codesa failed," said the CP leader.

There was an unhealthy speed with which government and the ANC wanted to force a system on SA when clarity had not even been attained on federalism or regionalism. Government was now further away from consensus than it had been a year ago.

Jurie Mentz (Vryheid), the former NP MP who joined Inkatha last week and sits now as an independent, said people were sick and tired of violence and destabilisation.

Inkatha and the Zulu nation had proved through the years to be a disciplined people and had never conducted a campaign to eliminate policemen.

The party could play a bridging, moderating role in SA politics, he said.

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Government, ANC closer to unity compromise

ARG 2/2/93 (3047)

Political Staff

THE ANC and the government are moving closer together in negotiations on the crucial issues of powersharing and regionalism.

The possibility of compromise on these two central questions — and therefore an early settlement — is emerging in political circles after the recent ANC/government bosberaads.

The two sides are now considering draft joint proposals on a government of national unity, regionalism, control of the security forces and reincorporation of the homelands.

These proposals have not been agreed to by negotiators and will be discussed when they meet again this week.

Were agreement to be reached they could see the government and the ANC promoting a joint approach in multiparty negotiations.

Both sides have stressed that this does not amount to a "deal" which will be imposed on other parties.

Yesterday, in a wide-ranging briefing on the state of negotiations, Constitutional Development Minister Mr Roelf Meyer indicated that:

- The government is re-thinking its previously tough position on entrenched power-sharing in a final constitution.

- The ANC is easing its opposition to the government's plan that the powers and boundaries of regions should be decided in multiparty negotiations before the implementation of a transitional constitution.

These two important concessions by each side could ease the way to a constitutional settlement.

Bilateral talks out, says PAC

(H.A.) (2014A)

A new negotiating forum free from the flaws of the Convention for a Democratic South Africa was needed, Pan Africanist Congress secretary-general Benny Alexander said yesterday.

Speaking after a two-day national executive committee meeting, he said the PAC had committed itself to a transfer of power through an elected constituent assembly "unfettered by bilateral dealings".

"Bilateral talks have served their purpose and continuing with them would be a source of serious conflict," he said.

Alexander said a new negotiating forum should:

- Consist only of political parties with a national character.
- Have neutral, international involvement in convenership, chairmanship, administration and security.
- Be transparent, so that the media and the public could follow the process and not only the results.

He added that the forum should not be a decision-making body, but rather a facilitating body for the realisation of a constituent assembly.

- The PAC and SA Council of Churches met yesterday. A joint press statement said the organisations talked about a patriotic united front. — Sapa.

Charter

Star 2/2/93
spells (Ala2.)

out (304A)

rights

CAPE TOWN — The rights of detainees, women, and children feature strongly in the Government's long-awaited proposed Charter of Fundamental Rights, published today.

The proposed charter recognises that rights have been infringed under the present system of parliamentary sovereignty, and that the system has to be adjusted fundamentally to provide guarantees against future infringements.

In the introduction to the proposed charter, the Government said it was committed to a new constitutional dispensation in which the powers of the various branches of state authority were limited by, and subjected to, universally accepted norms.

In one of the first of 37 outlined points it recognises the most basic right to life, but retains the imposition of the death sentence as a permissible form of punishment for specific crimes.

According to Section Six of the International Covenant on Civil and Political Rights, the death penalty may be imposed on anyone over the age of 18 for "most serious crimes".

However, a future parliament may abolish the death penalty or later reimpose it if public opinion so demands.

The proposed charter says abortion is contentious and leaves it to a future constitutional court to decide on the permissibility of abortion "under given circumstances". The matter is regulated by statute at present.

The proposed charter also outlines citizens' and political rights. It emphasises that every citizen will have the right not to be:

- Deprived of citizenship.
- Exiled or expelled from the country.
- Prohibited from returning

● To Page 3

Charter of Rights published

Star 2/2/93 (304A)

- From Page 1
- to the country.
- Prevented from leaving the country.
- Denied or deprived of a passport. The proposal says the passport, once an "indulgence" on the part of the authorities, will now be a right on which a citizen could insist.
- Political rights include the formation of political parties, and free political activities. However, it may be necessary to prohibit or regulate participation in politics by people in the service of the State.

The right to privacy, private ownership, freedom of speech, movement, worship, meetings, demonstrations and petitions is also covered. Certain minimum rights for detainees, calculated to prevent the abuse of power and inhuman treatment by authorities, are included. Among others, it specifies they should be enabled to communicate, consult and be visited by a legal and medical practitioner, family or religious counsellor. It guarantees certain procedural rights aimed

at ensuring that justice is not only done, but manifestly and undoubtedly seen to be done. The proposed charter also recognises and provides for the protection of the family unit, especially children. The rights of employees and employers is also highlighted, with emphasis on the right to form and join unions and to take part, or not take part, in strikes. Employers' rights to require adequate acceptable service and lock out labour, apply the principle of "no work, no pay"

and terminate an employee's services under common law are included. Separate legislation is to be drafted to remove statutory discrimination against women and provide for the promotion of equal opportunities and for the combating of domestic violence. The proposals, based largely on the proposed Charter of Human Rights by the SA Law Commission (with a few adaptations), recognise the right of all to human dignity, physical and mental integrity. — Sapa.

Star 212193

Agreement firming on power-sharing

(304 A)

By Peter Fabricius
and Esther Waugh

CAPE TOWN — The ANC and the Government are moving closer together in negotiations on the crucial issues of power-sharing and regionalism.

The possibility of compromise on these two central questions — and therefore an early settlement — is emerging in political circles after the recent ANC-Government meetings.

The two sides are now considering draft joint proposals on a government of national unity, regionalism, control of the security forces and reincorporation of the homelands.

These proposals have not been agreed to by negotiators and will be discussed when they meet again this week.

But if they are agreed upon, it could lead to the Government and ANC promoting a joint approach in multiparty negotia-

tions.

Both sides have stressed that this does not amount to a "deal" to be imposed on other parties.

Yesterday, in a wide-ranging briefing on the state of negotiations, Constitutional Development Minister Roelf Meyer indicated that the Government was rethinking its previously tough position on entrenched power-sharing in a final constitution, and that the ANC was easing its opposition to the Government's plan that the powers and boundaries of regions should be decided in multiparty negotiations before the implementation of a transitional constitution.

Entrenched power-sharing in perpetuity is at present the keystone of National Party constitutional thinking. Meyer said the ANC had originally been opposed to power-sharing but by the last quarter of last year had become "very favourable" to the idea.

This referred mainly to the transitional phase, and details

still had to be worked out on issues such as constructing an executive.

"But the question remains what will happen thereafter — in other words, how we are to construct power-sharing in the final model."

On regionalism, Meyer said the ANC had originally been opposed to the idea of letting regions have a say in determining their own positions during the transition.

Since then, there had been growing convergence that the powers, functions and boundaries of regions should be agreed to before the transitional phase, and that these should be changed only with the co-operation of regional representatives in the constitution-making process.

If the issue of regionalism were resolved, then the problem of the majority required to pass a final constitution would fall into place, the Minister said.

This was the issue that had wrecked Codesa 2.

NP aims to go it alone in election

By ANTHONY JOHNSON
Political Correspondent

IN a surprise switch in election tactics, the National Party has indicated for the first time that it might ditch its Codesa alliance partners and go it alone in South Africa's first all-in election.

The move could have a decisive impact on the ruling party's fortunes at the poll, widely expected to take place in the next nine to 12 months.

The Minister of Constitutional Development, Mr Roelf Meyer, told Parliament yesterday that the NP would "follow its own clear path" in the run-up to the elections.

He added pointedly: "Other parties will then be free to accept the NP's leadership."

This was seen as a reference to the refusal of the NP to bend over backwards to continue trying to accommodate potential election allies such as the Inkatha Freedom Party.

Another seven Codesa parties were also solidly in the NP camp before the break-up of the negotiating forum last year, but some — notably the governments of Ciskei and Bophuthatswana — have since formed the Concerned South Africans Group along with the CP and other right-wingers.

During yesterday's debate on the State President's opening of Parliament speech, Mr Meyer told

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From page 1

MPs that the prevailing political realities in South Africa meant that there was no possibility of the government and ANC being allies in the forthcoming elections.

Setting out the government's standpoint on negotiations, Mr Meyer said his party was looking to the creation of five to nine provinces with their powers, functions and boundaries constitution-

ally entrenched in such a way that no amendment would be possible, without the provincial government's concurrence.

This meant that certain legislative and executive functions and powers would fall within the autonomy of the provinces, with central government having no overriding authority.

Each province should

wanted between 10 and 16 regional governments, which would be subject to the overriding jurisdiction of the central government.

The KwaZulu/FP proposals envisaged a "new sovereign, independent KwaZulu/Natal state" that can grant or withdraw functions and powers to and from a federal South African government.

Mr Meyer said the government believed agreement on the functions and boundaries should be negotiated before implementation of the transitional constitution.

However, the ANC

Star 2/2/93

21-m voters set to stretch (304 A) resources

Political Staff

CAPE TOWN — Approximately 21,7 million South Africans are eligible to vote in the promised forthcoming elections, according to estimates made by Home Affairs Minister Louis Pienaar.

Speaking at a parliamentary briefing yesterday, Pienaar said the next elections would place a great strain on South Africa's administrative capabilities. There were only 6 million eligible voters in the 1989 election.

He said some 7 000 polling stations would be needed and the process of identifying possible locations had begun.

His department was making preparations for elections despite the fact that the exact format and nature of future elections was still subject to negotiation.

To avoid criticism that the Government was acting unilaterally, he proposed an interim independent structure which would monitor the work of his department until an independent election commission was established.

This body is expected to come into being at the same time as the proposed transitional executive councils.

National Party is displaying anti-democratic scepticism, writes Firoz Cachalia

Star 22/1/93

(304A)

Case against power sharing

THE "executive power-sharing" concept has emerged as a key issue in the search for a successful transition to democracy in South Africa. This contribution to the debate argues that constitutionalised power sharing could destabilise constitutional government, and that it is inconsistent with basic democratic norms.

Four distinct arguments have been advanced in its favour — "exclusion", stability, democracy and minority protection. In each respect, I advance a counter argument.

The exclusion argument

Power sharing attempts to limit party competition. It is argued that in societies divided by "segmental cleavages", governmental authority is unlikely to circulate from one election to another. Minorities may be permanently excluded from government.

This argument is based on a simplistic and static model of South African society. It is true that race has been paramount, but this is the result, not of nature, but the institutions of apartheid. Race/ethnicity is not the only or even the most important source of cleavage, interest identification

and political opinion in South Africa. There are, in fact, multiple sources of cleavage and many cross-currents.

New interests and patterns of political alignment are emerging in South Africa. Political parties are responding by diversifying their constituencies and membership. Under these conditions, it is not unlikely that political parties will alternate in government. Our constitutional arrangements should be designed to give expression to this potential.

The stability argument

The view that power sharing is necessary to ensure stability is questionable.

First, entrenched power-sharing arrangements do not produce open and accountable government but elite cartels which exclude emergent political forces.

Second, it predetermines the outcome of elections and thereby diminishes the accountability of politicians. The regular elections of governments through open and public contest is essential to democratic legitimacy. The right to govern can only be won legitimately if it is risked regularly in a public contestation of the right to govern.

The NP proposals will reduce

this process to a farce. Democratic societies tend to be stable because they have rules not only for choosing, but for removing governments by vote rather than force. Our society is unlikely to achieve stability in the long run if its constitution foists upon it a multiparty oligarchy of politicians, however colourful they may be.

Third, since the assumptions of the power-sharing formula are static but real political processes are not, power-sharing arrangements will become obsolete in time. It therefore makes no sense to entrench executive power sharing in a constitution. The constitution is the place for those rights, values and institutions that the community regards as fundamental and therefore relatively permanent.

The democracy argument

Executive power sharing is inconsistent with the democratic ideal in at least three critical respects:

1. Representative government is based on a system of competitive parties. Regular elections result in shifting majorities which may take the form of coalitions. Power is therefore not lost once and for all. Consenting to "lose" is a condition of "winning" at other

times.

It is wrong to suggest that in a democratic system without executive power sharing the single largest party "wins all the power", because it controls the executive for a fixed period. The rules of the competition are aimed at ensuring that all citizens have fair access to the political system. They do not guarantee political office to politicians.

The NP's power-sharing formula is aimed at achieving precisely this: a pre-election agreement to "share" the spoils and positions coveted by the contestants for political office. It is one way of achieving co-existence, but it is not democracy's way.

2. The rules of democratic competition also institutionalise a critical role for oppositions. Oppositions control the abuse of power, and present electorates with meaningful alternatives. Power sharing will have the effect of absorbing the opposition within the government, and thereby eliminating an important check on the government.

3. Power sharing in the form suggested by the National Party is inconsistent with the foundational democratic ideal of political equality.

The National Party has packaged its power-sharing proposals as a necessary alternative to

"winner take all" systems and "simple majoritarianism". These labels are misleading. The parties to negotiation have all indicated a commitment to constitutional government — including a written constitution, a system of judicially enforced rights against the majoritarian political process, electoral proportionalism and a "Madisonian" system of checks and balances, or institutional power sharing, as opposed to power sharing by political parties.

The NP's insistence on executive power sharing despite these agreements reflects a deeply rooted and continuing anti-liberal, anti-democratic scepticism.

The minorities protection argument

Executive power sharing adds nothing to the ordinary and legitimate constitutional protective of individuals and minorities. It serves the interests only of an incumbent government which is reluctant to compete in the political market. It is a legacy of the old and discredited "group rights" formula.

Power sharing is not really about "minority protection". It is about the executive branch of government. This important debate has all but disappeared under the weight of political rhetoric. This

rhetoric has ruled out most known systems of executive government — presidential, parliamentary and mixed systems. The US, German, Indian, French, British and Namibian executives are all dismissed as "majoritarian".

I cannot think of anything worse for the prospects of democratic government in South Africa than constitutionalised executive power sharing. Multiparty governments, even "enlarged coalitions", which follow elections, are naturally another matter. And, in the short term during the transition to democracy, executive power sharing is probably necessary as a confidence-building measure. But this temporary expedient should not be elevated to a constitutional principle.

Giuseppe di Palma, who has contributed significantly to the literature on transition, warns that power sharing is not acceptable "... save as an emergency measure limited to the transition ... in the medium run, it can create a stalemated political environment, particularly deleterious to the democratic forces that are co-opted in it". □

● The writer is attached to the Centre for Applied Legal Studies at the University of the Witwatersrand.

'NP's legacy of racial ghettos'

Political Staff

THE government would leave behind racial ghettos, a mass of uneducated blacks living in grinding poverty and massive international debt, the ANC's MP for Sandton, Mr David Dalling, said yesterday.

All the political structures the National Party had built since 1948 would have collapsed or been demolished, including the Group Areas Board, the Race Classification Board, the tricameral Parliament and the President's Council.

Mr Dalling, who was speaking in the debate on President F W de Klerk's speech opening Parliament, said none of these unlamented institutions, nor those greedy and selfish policies, would survive.

Within two years, none of the ethnically exclusive white minority would — like the nazis after the war — admit to ever having supported apartheid.

Whites should be thankful that the ANC was the dominant force in black politics because of its truly non-racial attitudes.

"It has leadership of quality and integrity, which displays a lack of bitterness to a degree which is astonishing."

"This is a year in which all of us must strive to reach an accommodation."

"Our bleeding country cannot afford another year like 1992."

An honourable settlement was attainable and the ANC had put constitutional proposals to the government which were generous in the extreme.

"Take their proffered hands. Do not rebuff them. Our country is too close to disaster to do otherwise," Mr Dalling said.

(304A)

Electoral structures advanced

CT 2/2/93

By ANTHONY JOHNSON
Political Correspondent

PREPARATIONS for the infrastructural needs for South Africa's first all-in elections were already well advanced, the Minister of Home Affairs, Mr Louis Pienaar, disclosed yesterday.

The minister told a parliamentary briefing session that it clearly would not be acceptable for elections — expected in the next 12 months — to be delayed unduly once negotiating parties had reached agreement on the form the poll should take.

The preparatory actions included the identification of 7 000 sites for polling stations for an estimated 22,5 million potential voters.

Enough polling booths and ballot boxes had been manufactured and the purchase of other supplies had almost been completed.

However, there are an estimated 4,4 million potential voters in South Africa and the TBVC homelands who are without proper identity documents.

NP poised for power in HoD as MPs waver

Political Staff

THE National Party is only one seat away from becoming the majority party in the House of Delegates — and three HoD Ministers' Council members are poised to join the NP today. Education and Culture Minister Dr Kisten Rajoo, Housing and Agriculture Minister Mr P I Devan and Deputy Minister of Housing Mr S V Naicker are all expected to cut their ties with the ruling Solidarity Party today.

By last night Solidarity's membership in the House had been reduced to 18 when three more of its MPs defected to the NP, swelling its numbers to 17.

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The three were Mr Abdool Akoob, MP for Laudium, Mr A S Kahn (Eastern Transvaal) and Mr Yakoob Makda (North-Western Transvaal).

Should another three HoD MPs join the NP it will be sure to win the censure debate in the 45-strong House on Friday — and assume power when the State President reconstitutes the Presidents' Council.

However, it is understood that the State President might be considering using the opportunity to exercise power-sharing and form a Ministers' Council which would still contain some Solidarity members.

Govt 'afraid to make welfare general affair'

CT 2/2/43

By BARRY STREEK
Political Staff

(30419)

(244)

RACIAL discrimination in pensions and discrepancies in subsidies caused welfare to be excluded from the own affairs matters to be abolished from April 1, the Democratic Party charged yesterday.

The DP's health and welfare group said in a statement that President F W de Klerk had failed to meaningfully address welfare issues.

The DP noted that while "own affairs" such as education, health, agriculture and local government would be phased out as own affairs from April 1, welfare had not been included.

"Opening welfare institutions to all races poses a minefield of problems the government clearly does not want to tackle," the DP said.

MP's defection to Inkatha jars DP

Political Staff

CAPE TOWN — Inkatha gained its second MP yesterday with the defection of Mike Tarr, DP MP for Maritzburg North.

The move took the DP by surprise, DP leader Zach de Beer said.

Tarr said: "This has been concerning me for some time. I have been thinking and agonising about it and I feel that if I have any political contribution to make in Natal, then the IFP is the best place."

He said it was time white South Africans walked "the extra yard" to join predominantly black political organisations.

Among the aims he set for his work within Inkatha were the promotion of peace and reconciliation and ensuring that a federal system came into being in SA.

Tarr told De Beer of his decision early yesterday. He had also told Inkatha leader Mangosuthu Buthelezi of his intention, but had been given no indication of whether he would join the central committee.

De Beer said yesterday: "I cannot pretend to understand Tarr's action, and must regard it as simply one more symptom of the political instability which exists in our country at present."

Wessel Nel (DP Mooi River) said Inkatha's proposals were not compatible with DP policy as they envisaged a sovereign state of Natal.

Ken Andrew (DP Gardens) said Tarr could be in for a "nasty shock", Sapa reports. Speaking during debate on the President's opening address to Parliament, he said Tarr would learn that it was not what political parties stated on paper which was important, but how they behaved in public.

"If he believes in political democracy and tolerance, he is in for a nasty shock."

ANC, IFP to meet ³⁰⁴⁴ government

11203/2/93

Political Staff

MEETINGS aimed at resuming multiparty negotiations start in Cape Town tomorrow.

The ANC and government continue their discussion on security matters at "sub-committee level" tomorrow, while a fully-fledged two-day meeting between them is scheduled for next Wednesday and Thursday.

Draft proposals focusing on a government of national unity, control of the security forces, reincorporation of the homelands and regionalism which emerged from their extended meeting last month are being considered by both sides.

The government and the Inkatha Freedom Party are to meet on Monday. After a meeting last month they said preparations for a multiparty conference were being discussed.

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Breakthrough in talks indicated

BILLY PADDOCK (304A)
THE ANC said yesterday it was in favour of the common proposals thrashed out with government earlier this year on constitutional principles. This points to a breakthrough in talks with government.

The common proposals on the constitutional principles bind an elected constitution-making body and an interim constitution.

ANC secretary-general Cyril Ramaphosa also spelt out yesterday the differences between his organisation and government on the two key stumbling blocks in their talks — power-sharing and regionalism.

Because both parties had shifted from their mandated positions the proposals had to be taken back to their principals. **BIDM 3/2/93**

In a statement released by Ramaphosa yesterday he indicated clearly that the ANC was happy with them.

He said the ANC had been meeting patriotic front members to report back on the extended bilateral meetings the organisation had with government between January 20 and 26.

"The proposals and the general approach emerging from the bilateral meetings are not in conflict with key policy positions of the ANC," he said.

However, he said the ANC remained opposed to a new constitution providing for an entrenched power-sharing model.

However, his organisation was happy with power-sharing in an interim constitution.

Transition plan set to be delayed

BIDM 3/2/93

THE implementation of the first stage of interim government could be delayed and the transition schedule disrupted while political parties battled to agree on an interim constitution, negotiation sources said yesterday.

There are two major problems facing negotiators trying to keep the talks and agreement within the time frames announced by President F W de Klerk in November.

In terms of agreements reached at Codesa and other meetings the transitional executive council — the first stage of an interim government — cannot be finalised until agreement has been reached on an interim constitution.

This was mainly at the insistence of the ANC which sought to guard against government introducing the first stage of an interim government and then delaying the whole process.

Secondly, Inkatha is insisting the multiparty planning conference be a fullscale negotiations forum.

The ANC, government and Inkatha want the planning conference to take place by mid-February so a new multiparty forum could start constitutional negotiations by the beginning of March.

But according to a government source time was running out fast and

BIDM 304A

BILLY PADDOCK

the planning conference would probably happen later, possibly only in March.

"At the moment negotiations on the transitional executive council have been put on the backburner while we try to get agreement on an interim government and other constitutional principles," a senior government negotiator said yesterday.

Government and the ANC will meet on Friday and Saturday to try to iron out differences on "constitutional and other issues" to advance the pace of bilateral talks, an ANC source confirmed yesterday.

And another joint ANC/government committee, trying to resolve problems of joint control and monitoring of the variety of armed formations and state security forces, will meet tomorrow.

According to the source, if the implementation of the transitional executive council and the establishment of an electoral commission could be brought forward "it would greatly facilitate agreements being reached on an interim government".

He acknowledged that government saw substantial problems with Inkatha's position of wanting to withdraw from the planning conference.

Vlok outlines new measures to keep offenders in jail

CAPE TOWN — Stacked prison bunk beds, correctional supervision and building more jail cells featured in a new government strategy to phase out early prisoner releases, Correctional Services Minister Adriaan Vlok said yesterday.

President F W de Klerk had emphasised that government would fight crime and violence with all

available means, and extensive measures were being considered to increase the department's efficiency and capacity, Vlok said.

The measures included abandoning remission of sentence, setting up an infrastructure for effective correctional supervision, increasing prison accommodation and creating a more comprehensive parole system.

SA's daily jail population was about 106 000; more than 2 000 offenders were under correctional supervision. It cost R42 a day to keep a person in prison, against R15 a day for correctional supervision.

Vlok said he had no plans to resign, after former Defence Minister Gen Magnus Malan's announced his intention to resign this week. — Sapa.

IFP gains a DP MP

304A

■ Speculation that more MPs
could follow: Sowetan

By Ismail Lagardien
Political Correspondent

3/2/93

THE Inkatha Freedom Party yesterday gained another Member of Parliament when Mr Mike Tarr of the Democratic Party joined the former National Party MP for Vryheid Mr Juric Mentz in the cross-benches.

Mentz last week resigned from the NP after 40 years in that party and after 16 years as its MP for Vryheid to join Chief Mangosuthu Buthelezi's IFP.

Speculation in and around Parliament is that more MPs could follow them. Mentz said after his startling announcement last week that there were DP members who were thinking of following him into the IFP.

Predecessor

Tarr joined the predecessor of the DP in 1959 as a schoolboy. He was elected as a Progressive Federal Party MP in 1981, but lost his seat in 1987. He was re-elected for the DP in 1989.

He said yesterday: "I believe that it is time white South Africans were prepared to walk the extra yard and join predominantly black political organisations. "It is unrealistic to expect black South Africans in large numbers to join what have been predominantly white political parties and part of the white-dominated power system."

Buthelezi is expected to nominate Tarr for membership to the IFP's central committee.

Reacting to Tarr's resignation, DP leader Dr Zach de Beer said it had come as a surprise. "I cannot pretend to understand Mr Tarr's action and must regard it as simply one more symptom of the political instability in our country."

Star 3/2/93

DP's Tarr in shock (304A) defection to Inkatha

DURBAN — Democratic Party MP for Pietermaritzburg North, Mike Tarr, resigned from the DP yesterday morning to join the Inkatha Freedom Party.

His move took the DP by surprise, DP leader Dr Zach de Beer said.

Tarr said in Cape Town he had told the DP of his decision and he had made a formal announcement in Parliament earlier in the day.

Tarr said he intended joining the IFP as soon as possible. He had spoken to Inkatha president Mangosuthu Buthelezi, who had said he would

be welcome. "I think it's time white South Africans walked that extra yard and joined predominantly black organisations."

He added that he fully identified with Inkatha's principles, specifically on federalism, and that since Inkatha did not differ in any major respect from DP policy proposals, it made little sense having two parties propagating similar views.

De Beer said: "I cannot pretend to understand Tarr's action, and must regard it as simply one more symptom of the political instability in our country." — Sapa.

Star 312193
(304A) (3A) (3B)
**New round of talks
begins tomorrow**

By Esther Waugh
Political Reporter

A new round of meetings aimed at restarting multiparty talks begins in Cape Town tomorrow.

The three sets of talks between the ANC and Government, and the Inkatha Freedom Party and the Government, are a continuation of meetings begun last month.

Tomorrow, the ANC and Government discuss security matters at "sub-committee level".

A fully fledged two-day ANC-Government meeting takes place in Cape Town next Wednes-

day and Thursday.

The Government and IFP meet in Cape Town on Monday. After a meeting last month the two parties said preparations for a multiparty planning conference were being discussed.

The Government and the ANC are considering draft proposals focusing on a government of national unity, control of the security forces, regionalism, and reincorporation of homelands.

ANC secretary-general Cyril Ramaphosa said the ANC remained opposed to entrenched power-sharing.

SA poll date 'critical'

JOHANNESBURG. — ANC president Mr Nelson Mandela yesterday said it was critical for South Africa that a date be set soon for the country's first non-racial elections.

Speaking here after meeting a delegation of the International Confederation of Free Trade Unions (ICFTU), he said: "I told them it was critical that a date for a general election be set soon."

However, there remained differences between the ANC and the

government regarding power-sharing and a government of national unity.

The head of the ICFTU delegation, Mr Bob White, said they were in South Africa to assess the violence plaguing "progressive movements" and trade union federations.

The Brussels-based ICFTU represents 113 million workers worldwide.

Mr Mandela and the ANC's economics chief, Mr Trevor Manuel, yesterday also met with a delegation from Caltex International. — Sapa

Star 3/21/93

Praise, criticism for draft Bill of Rights

(304A)

By Peter Fabricius
Political Correspondent

CAPE TOWN — The Government's draft Bill of Rights published yesterday has been widely welcomed, although grave reservations have been expressed about certain clauses such as a controversial one legitimising the death penalty.

The draft Bill proposes that the present sovereignty of Parliament should be surrendered to a Bill of basic rights justiciable by a constitutional court.

Justice Minister Kobie Coetsee said at a press conference yesterday that after the basic principles of a Bill of Rights had been approved by Parliament, the Government would table an omnibus Bill to expunge all laws from the statute book which fell foul of the Bill of Rights.

ANC secretary-general Cyril Ramaphosa said a Bill of Rights would enjoy legitimacy and authority only if it were drafted and adopted by an elected constituent assembly.

The draft Bill lists 37 basic rights, including the usual ones such as the right to life, to freedom of speech, to practise politics freely, to free worship, to equality before the law and fair trial, to free movement and free association.

It also enshrines the right of women to equality with men.

But it has unusual features:

- Clause 4 says no person shall be deprived of life save in the



Tony Leon . . . disturbing that bill allows for death penalty.

execution of a death sentence imposed in accordance with Section 6 of the International Covenant on Civil and Political Rights.

- The right to personal freedom is also qualified by clause 23 (2) (a) which suggests that a person may be detained indefinitely pending being charged, while clause 37 (d) limits the period of detention to 10 days.

The Bill also enshrines the right of the individual to an unpolluted environment — an uncommon feature in Bills of Rights.

The women's rights clause has what has been described as an affirmative action clause, stating that the principle of equality of women should not disqualify laws aimed at achieving equality.

This was welcomed by Demo-

cratic Party women's rights spokesman Dene Smuts.

DP justice spokesman Tony Leon last night welcomed much of the Bill but said it was disturbing that it made specific provision for the death penalty.

He criticised the provisions on equality before the law and free association for not expressly prohibiting the granting of public funds to institutions discriminating on racial grounds.

He also criticised the detention-without-trial provisions, saying the maximum detention period of 10 days was too long and that courts should be able to rule on the legitimacy of individual detentions.

Clause 9 enshrines the right to freedom of speech but adds that this shall not preclude the registration and licensing of media.

Coetsee said yesterday the Government would spend more than R1 million of taxpayers' money to promote its draft Bill of Rights — an announcement the DP criticised.

Asked why the right to abortion was not dealt with as a women's right, Coetsee said it was dealt with under the right to life section and that Parliament would have to decide whether women should have the right to abortion.

He denied that the Government's Further Indemnity Act of 1992 contradicted the provision in the Bill forbidding a government from indemnifying State officials for murder.

- Govt vision draws fire

— Page 17

Imagine! Nats sponsoring own 'ultimate nightmare'

STAR 3/2/92



Allister Sparks

BEHIND the carefully coded language of their public statements, it is clear that the Government and the ANC have narrowed the gap between them to a finger's breadth and that we are on our way to majority rule far sooner than most South Africans realise.

Within five months, the transition will begin. An all-party Transitional Executive Council will be appointed.

It won't be a government in the strict legal sense — the State President and Cabinet will remain in office under the present constitution — but it will function in tandem with the Government which will give legal effect to its decisions.

For the first time in this country's long history, black people will have positions of decision-making authority in the central political system.

Three months after that we shall have a new constitution. Still merely a transitional one, but nevertheless one which will give black people the vote.

And maybe only two months after that, or at most four, a one-man one-vote election.

Imagine it! Through all the years

they were in power, this was the Nats' ultimate nightmare, the one thing they swore they would never allow here.

The very phrase became a slogan, a kind of verbal hand grenade that they hurled at their opponents over the years, from poor old Sir de Villiers Graaff to Janine Sleyter and Helen Suzman and Colin Eglin and Van Zyl Slabbert, telling them even their most modest policies of reform — even "white leadership with justice", the old United Party maxim — would open the floodgates to this appalling evil that would swamp the Afrikaner and destroy white civilisation.

Yet now it is about to happen under their own sponsorship. Truly, politics is a wondrous thing.

The election will be for a constituent assembly to draft the new constitution. It will double as an interim parliament. The constitu-

tion drafting should take only a few months. Then we shall probably have a five-year period of coalition government before full majority rule.

Tough negotiating is still taking place, and I do not want to give the impression, as some commentators are doing, that the Nats and ANC are getting into bed together. They are not. As Constitutional Affairs Minister Roelf Meyer told Parliament on Monday: "In terms of the prevailing political realities, there is no possibility that the Government and the ANC could be allies in the coming elections."

What they are doing is negotiating an agreement, the way trade unions and managements routinely do to resolve industrial disputes.

It involves making compromises on both sides, and compromises are tough to sell to one's followers. Which is why the parties are being so cautious in what they say.

What has happened is that the two teams of negotiators have reached a set of agreements on a number of critical issues, which they now have to sell to their "principals" — President de Klerk and his Cabinet, and Nelson Mandela and his 100-strong National Execu-

tive Committee.

Though there are no clear-cut statements from either side, it is becoming clear that the Government is backing away from the constitutional model it adopted two years ago, which provided for a complicated system of "power sharing" with compulsory coalition rule, minority veto powers and a presidency that would rotate among the three or five major parties.

That, Roelf Meyer told reporters at a briefing in Cape Town on Monday, should now be regarded as "a kind of example" of what the Government wanted. It still stood by the principles, he said, but clearly the means of giving effect to them were changeable.

"For example, there may be better arrangements for the executive," Meyer said, a clear indication that the rotating presidency idea has been dropped.

The Government also appears to be backing away from its plan for permanent power-sharing, through a constitutional requirement that the major parties form a coalition government. When I asked Meyer about this he offered the kind of elliptical answer politicians use

304A

when they can't give a straightforward "yes".

"That is a relevant question on which we will have to take a clear position," he said. Considering that the Government had a clear position in its original constitutional model, the implication is clear.

For its part, the ANC has backed away from its original demand for immediate majority rule. It did so after Joe Slovo mooted the idea of "sunset clauses" in the constitution to provide for temporary power sharing after the election. Although the phrase itself was dropped the national executive committee accepted the principle in formulating a new negotiating strategy last November.

What seems likely, then, is that some form of temporary power-sharing is being agreed. If it is not a "sunset clause", the simplest formula would be an agreement not to have another election after the new constitution is drafted — Namibia provides a convenient precedent — but to allow the transitional "government of national unity", the coalition of major parties that will take over after the first election, to carry on and serve out a full five-year term.

In that case full majority rule would begin only after the second election.

There are still some differences. The most serious is over the integration of the security forces. The ANC wants its armed wing, Umkhonto we Sizwe, to be merged with the SADF under a new, integrated command structure. The Government insists Umkhonto must first be disbanded and its members can then apply individually to join the Defence Force.

There is still argument, too, over pre-agreement on constitutional principles which will bind the constituent assembly when it drafts the new constitution, and over how much autonomy the regions should have.

But my strong sense is that the deal is almost done. The Government and the ANC will meet again next week and it should be possible to conclude it then.

No doubt the smaller parties, especially the IFP, will make a fuss about the deal-cutting by the big ones. But the deal is fair and minorities fearful of elections cannot be allowed to call the tune. In the end "sufficient consensus" will carry the day. □

Interim schedule could be set back

CT 3/2/93 304A

Own Correspondent

JOHANNESBURG. — The implementation of the first stage of the interim government could be delayed and the whole transition schedule disrupted while political parties battle to get agreement on an interim constitution, negotiation sources said yesterday.

Two major problems face the negotiators trying to keep the talks on track within the time frames announced by President F W de Klerk in November.

In terms of agreements the transitional executive council — the first stage of interim government — cannot be finalised until there is agreement on an interim constitution.

This was mainly at the insistence of the ANC who want to guard against the government introducing the first stage of an interim government and then delaying the whole process.

The second problem is that Inkatha is insisting that the multi-party planning conference be a full-scale negotiating forum, which could become bogged down in trying to resolve detailed agreements on federalism and other issues.

'Time fast running out'

The three key players — the government, ANC and Inkatha — want the planning conference to be held by mid-February, so that a new multi-party forum can start constitutional negotiations by the beginning of March.

But a government source said time was fast running out and this would now probably happen later.

"At the moment negotiations on the transitional executive council have been put on the back burner while we try to get agreement on an interim government and other constitutional principles," a senior government negotiator said yesterday.

The government and the ANC are to meet on Friday and Saturday to try to iron out differences to advance the pace of bilateral talks, an ANC negotiations source confirmed yesterday.

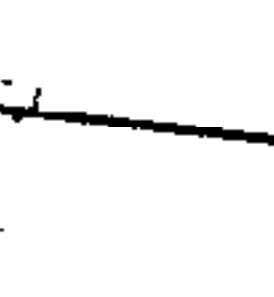
It is understood that the two-day committee meeting will look at the issues of power-sharing in an interim government, regionalism and specific constitutional principles to bind the elected body that will draft a new constitution.

Patrick Laurence advises journalists to prepare to defend press freedom once more

Star 3/21/93

New Nats' already

(304A)



THE interregnum between the final demise of the apartheid regime and the long-awaited birth of a new order is providing the press with perhaps the greatest freedom that it has enjoyed since the formation in 1910 of the modern South African state.

The fetters which were imposed on newspapers by the ruling National Party under President Klerk's authoritarian predecessors have been removed. The draconian laws which were used to put into cold storage Afrikaner nationalists — the "Old Nats" — as they have been labelled by political observers — have belatedly allowed journalists to enjoy their newly acquired freedom from legislative controls and, for the most part, police surveillance and harassment. And they are encouraged by declarations from African nationalists — the "New Nats" — committing themselves to protecting this freedom.

Journalists, however, would be naive to take these declarations by the Pan-Africanist Congress,

the African National Congress and the Inkatha Freedom Party at face value.

Individuals in these organisations may be sincere but politicians, whoever they are, have a penchant for trying to control the press when they come to power. Their inclination to do so is matched by their ability to find excuses for restraining the press.

South African history is littered with rationalisations: the "Old Nats" used to affirm their commitment to a "free but responsible press" and accuse non-compliant journalists of being potentialists and subversives — and even "media terrorists".

Already ominous signs are emanating from the ranks of the "New Nats" suggesting that their commitment to press freedom will prove stronger in the abstract than in practice.

The most recent of these omens is the occupation of the Umkhonto office of the East London-based Daily Dispatch by PAC zealots in protest against the "campaign of silence" allegedly waged against it by the Dispatch.

The occupation has been made

particularly acrimonious by PAC charges that the Dispatch is conspiring with the security police because it faxed a PAC New Year statement, warning of an intensification of its "liberation war", to the police for comment.

The protest action has been reinforced by a warning from the Transkei PAC secretary, Zingisa Mkhale, to distributors not to sell the Dispatch while the dispute is unresolved.

The implications of his warning are unmistakable: "Doing so will not only affect your ability to serve your customers (but) will not be a safe thing to do both for you and your business."

As Karen Stander, general secretary of the Southern African Union of Journalists (SAUJ), has remarked, the PAC actions have placed assurances that it will not harm journalists in grave doubt. These assurances should be seen in the context of an attack on white journalists by young men suspected of being PAC members at the funeral last June of the victims of the Boipatong massacre. The attack is identified as a threat

to press freedom in a recent US State Department report.

Since the attack, the PAC has refused to sign a declaration drawn up by the SAUJ in which political organisations pledge to use their influence to "promote the safe conduct and physical safety of journalists" in return for a promise by the union to promote adherence to its code of conduct — and that of the International Federation of Journalists — in its ranks.

The US report also focuses on the behaviour of IFP militants in April last year. "Journalists in the Natal Witness who were covering an Inkatha Freedom Party rally were charged by a group of youths, verbally abused and stoned," it says.

Another potentially sinister development is related by the US report: the boycott organised by the local ANC of the Port Elizabeth-based newspapers, the *Eastern Province Herald* and the *Evening Post*, for alleged bias. The boycott — which was graphically reinforced by the burning of copies of the newspapers in front of the Port Elizabeth

both headquarters of the publishing company, Times Media Limited — stands out as a bid to influence the direction of editorial policy and undermine the independence of newspapers.

As Raymond Louw, chairman of the Campaign for Open Media, has noted, the boycott was a "dangerous precedent for the future".

The boycott must be seen, too, in the context of frequent references in ANC circles to South Africa's main newspapers as the "commercial press", a phrase which implies — and is meant to imply — that they are controlled by the capitalist companies who own them.

The insinuation is reinforced sporadically by allegations that the "commercial press" sided with P W Botha and B J Vorster during the struggle against apartheid. It is a manifestation of the shibboleth that apartheid and capitalism are "two sides of the same bloody coin".

Recent events have given new pertinence to the incisive book, *Man-Making the Media*, New Censorship for the New South Africa. Published by the Institute

of Race Relations, it contains a number of disturbing articles by either black journalists or people involved in newspapers catering mainly for the black community. Two articles are particularly worth reading or re-reading: the first by Thami Mazwai, until recently an assistant editor on the Sowetan, and the second by Arthur Konigkramer, managing editor of *Mandla-Mandla* Publishing, paper, Nanga.

Mazwai tells how journalists are "being threatened and handled by political activists in the townships, in the towns, and everywhere, and... told to toe the line or else". The line, one gathers, is that of the dominant ANC-led alliance.

Konigkramer relates how Nanga was boycotted, how shop-owners selling it were warned to stop doing so and how people who defied the ban were forced to eat the newspaper.

Journalists should relish the interregnum while it lasts, but put their hearts for the coming battles in defence of press freedom. □

Govt vision draws fire

304A

The Government has spelt out its plan for a bill of rights, and first signs are that debate will rage long and hard — and with close attention to detail. JO-ANNE COLLINGE reports.

THE Government's proposal for a Charter of Fundamental Rights deals extensively with civil liberties and checking human rights abuses, but it shows a marked reluctance to endorse purposeful State intervention to overturn the patterns of privilege and poverty created by apartheid.

Even in the realm of human rights and the elimination of racial and gender discrimination, the proposal is not without controversy. The fact that the Government's bill of rights would commence the promulgation of laws providing for up to 10 days' detention without trial has not escaped the critical gaze of lawyers.

So, a measure of scepticism greeted Justice Minister Kobie Coetsee yesterday when he declared: "We are not proud of our past record on human rights, but we do claim the privilege to change. We are using our power to bring about change and I think the State President should be recognised as the man who, by correcting the past, is working for the future."

Dullah Omar of the ANC's constitutional committee stated bluntly that imposing a bill of rights "in the current situation — where some have rights and others do not — is to entrench the rights of right holders and the rightlessness of the rightless".

Coetsee made it clear that it was not intended that the present Parliament pass this particular version of the bill of rights as law. All that was planned was that Parliament would commit itself in principle to a future bill of rights which the Government would like to see in force during the term of a transitional government.

But even as an initial negotiating proposal, the Government's document has drawn fire.

Dennis Davis, director of the Wits University Centre for Applied Legal Studies (Cals), described it as a "very free-market bill of rights" which was "trying to remove race as a central governing concept, and to replace it by private power". He elaborated: "It entrenches private property and does not commit itself in any way to the



transformation of the economy. There are no economic or social rights and there are not even directives of State policy on these matters — as there are in the Namibian constitution."

Davis highlighted the fact that the Government saw the function of a bill of rights purely in terms of regulating relations between the State and the individual, without any role to play in defining relations between private citizens.

If one took the clause prohibiting discrimination, therefore, this extended no further than State policy and arguably left

non-State institutions free to discriminate — even to the extent of being constituted explicitly on the basis of race.

When it came to education, the proviso that the "parent community" would determine the religious tenor, the language of instruction and the general nature of the school was unacceptable, Davis argued. "It is clearly designed once more to ensure a kind of private control outside the ambit of the State."

The suggestion that property taxes had to be kept so mild as never to threaten any individual

all's ownership of property was yet another limitation of the State's role in redressing the legacies of apartheid, particularly the legacy of land hunger among black people.

Whereas the SA Law Commission had broken completely with the concept of "groups" and "communities" in its 1991 report, and had kept its eyes firmly on the individual, the Government had allowed the "group" concept to surface again.

The Government's bill of rights only goes so far as removing obstacles to affirmative

action and — in contrast to the ANC — fails to actively promote the policy. Nonetheless, the Government links the notion of affirmative action to "groups". Davis said it was not impossible that this could be used not only to further the position of disadvantaged people but also to preserve the privilege of other "groups".

While certain political rights are safeguarded under the Government plan, the protection extends specifically to "political parties".

Davis said the United Democratic Front would not have



Kobie Coetsee... not proud of record on human rights.



Dullah Omar... entrenching the rights of right holders.



Dennis Davis... no economic or social rights.

qualified as a party. Therefore, if a law were passed banning the UDF, it would not have been possible to seek to have this law struck down by the Constitutional Court.

Cath Albertyn of the Cals gender project argued that the Government's equality provisions showed little understanding of the subtleties of discrimination.

The gender section kicks off with the statement that "all women shall be entitled to equal rights with men". Albertyn's comment was that "equality is not about women being the same as men".

She argued that women's rights should not be dealt with in isolation, but under the general "equality clause" which would cope more effectively with the compound form of discrimination encountered, for instance, by black rural women.

It is very clear from the Government's note on the women's section that it really only intends that there be formal equality, not substantive equality of people. I don't think this clause allows us to explore complex forms of social and economic inequality. It doesn't deal at all with private discrimination."

Undoubtedly the Government's bill addresses many of the critical issues, and the debate which has now just begun concerns vital sleights of verbal construction. The precise wording of the bill of rights is, after all, the yardstick which the Constitutional Court will use when it is asked to judge whether new laws and policies are constitutional or whether bureaucracies are treating citizens the way they should.

Ironically, the issues which drew the most bitter criticism of apartheid's rulers — torture, detention without trial, political assassinations, the gagging and surveillance of political opponents, and the prohibition of organisations and of public gatherings — are likely to draw least conflict in negotiating a final bill of rights.

Some problems there may be. But they pale into insignificance against the tug of war which will be generated by the question of social and economic rights to redress the material wrongs of apartheid. □

Nats hold reins in all three Houses

Star 3/2/93
(304A)
Political Staff

CAPE TOWN — The National Party now holds the majority of seats in the House of Delegates.

It holds 18 of the 45 seats — since Education and Culture Minister Dr Kisten Rajoo joined them yesterday.

Solidarity now holds 16 seats.

There is a possibility that more members of the Ministers' Council could join the NP. Matters come to a head on Friday when the House debated a motion put by the first Member to join the NP, Sathie Naidoo, that "the Ministers' Council is deserving of censure".

For the time being Dr Rajoo keeps his post as Minister. But his term of office has been controversial and there is a chance he could be replaced by another NP member, Kamal Panday.

Departing Solidarity members have given two main reasons for leaving: they had lost confidence in Dr Reddy's leadership and felt Solidarity would not contest the first all-in democratic election.

With the pending scrapping of the President's Council, the NP has an interest in taking control of the HoD — it gives the party control of all three Houses.

Unrest 'hasn't weakened FW'

05/3/93

From CHRIS BATEMAN

(30411)

LONDON. — Millions of Britons watched President F W de Klerk on Monday night challenge an assertion that his position was "weak" because of increasing violence and the constitutional need to hold elections before September 1994.

He told Mr David Dimbleby in a television interview for the BBC's Panorama programme, Coming to Terms: "I am not without authority, I am not without resources."

Emphasising the goodwill needed to draw up a new constitution, Mr De Klerk said his party would ensure it contained "checks and balances to prevent a Hitler or an Idi Amin from coming to power".

The government would also delay elections if violence continued to ravage the country.

People were fighting because their leaders were not talking to one another, because they did not believe progress was being made and because they felt there was "a grave risk that they might be tricked out of the role that they foresee for themselves", he said. Successful negotiation would remove the causes of violence.

There was now pressure on all political leaders to reach agreement, not just himself. None of the parties could afford to delay multi-party elections.

DP 'predicted' political events

By BARRY STREEK
Political Staff

364A
CT 311493

THE Democratic Party had plotted the convergence of political groupings at the end of 1989 but, although this had taken place, it had not grown as it should have apart from lavish promises, the party leader, Dr Zach de Beer, said yesterday.

He also said people should have no doubt about the deadly seriousness about the DP in future elections and it was determined to win between ten and 12% of the vote.

This would ensure the party was able to find a liberal-democratic cushion between the ANC and the National Party, he said at a lunch for newspaper editors in Cape Town.

Wherever the DP went it won praise for its approach and was told: "Thank God for the sanity we bring with our policies."

However, the people who say this do not give the party votes or financial support, and it was getting sick of this.

Dr De Beer said it was a matter of considerable satisfaction to the DP that there had been so much convergence by other parties, as this had been its deliberate strategy since the end of 1989.

The other side of the coin was that confusion had developed over which party would in fact protect liberal values.

R400 000 and two pensions for Malan

By BARRY STREEK
Political Staff

GENERAL Magnus Malan, the outgoing "total onslaught" supremo, will retire with a tax-free gratuity of R400 000 and two pensions — one of which will give him nearly R200 000 a year.

Unlike people in the private sec-

tor, he will not pay R100 000 in tax on his gratuity, and he will receive more than R16 000 a month at current levels.

"I think he will be better off than the vast majority of retired people," said the Democratic Party's pension expert, Mr Brian Good-

fused to provide any details about the retirement package for General Malan, who says he now wants to be known as Mr Malan.

"I am not allowed to provide any details as it is considered confidential," a spokeswoman for the Department of Finance (Pensions), Miss R Joubert, said.

General Malan will receive two pensions, one parliamentary and other military. (131243)

Mr Goodall said General Malan would get his full salary with allowances as a pension (R189 000 a year at present).

He added that his parliamentary pension would be paid out of the

State Revenue Fund and would be increased when civil pensions were increased. The Defence Force pension would be paid from the Government Service Pension scheme, if he had not been paid out already. (30447)

They were two totally separate pension schemes, Mr Goodall said.

ANC/NP alliance 'temporary'

By BARRY STREEK
Political Staff

RUMOURS that the ANC and the National Party were getting into bed together were causing great confusion among their members, but any power-sharing between them would not be a cosy relationship, Claremont MP and ANC member Mr Jan van Eck said yesterday.

The ANC and the NP were

indeed, as Constitutional Development Minister Mr Roelf Meyer confirmed this week, "partners in negotiation".

"We will try and wipe the NP out at the polls to deny them a position of power in the future," Mr Van Eck said in Parliament during the debate on President FW de Klerk's opening address.

"Any power-sharing between the ANC and NP in a future government of national unity will not be a cosy relationship and will be no more than a pragmatic temporary get-together for the specific purpose of ensuring that the transition from racist minority rule to democratic rule takes place in as stable an environment as possible.

"The ANC will not agree to any proposals that try to prevent us from obtaining true democracy."

Mr Van Eck said once the relatively short-term government of national unity had expired, any future coalition governments would only happen at the request of the majority party.

Inkatha gets second MP as DP man quits

Political Staff

THE Inkatha Freedom Party got its second MP in Parliament yesterday when the MP for Maritzburg North, Mr Mike Tarr, shocked the Democratic Party by quitting suddenly. (18) CT 30493

There is now increasing speculation that more MPs are set to follow Mr Tarr and the former National Party MP for Vryheid, Mr Jurie Mentz, who joined the IFP last Thursday. (304A)

A senior NP member in Natal is expected to join the IFP soon. Mr Tarr's move ended the DP's representation in Maritzburg — last year Mr Rob Haswell, MP for Maritzburg South, joined the ANC.

More MPs set to join Inkatha - Mentz

CAPE TOWN

More MPs are poised to join Inkatha, including at least one from the House of Delegates, says Vryheid MP Jurie Mentz.

The Inkatha-supporting MP's claim comes amid increasing turmoil in the House of Delegates, where a second Ministers' Council member yesterday defected to the NP from Solidarity. Three National People's Party members were understood to have signed up with the NP, giving it

a clear majority in the House.

Mentz said yesterday he had been approached by three House of Delegates members about joining Inkatha after he defected from the NP last week. He was subsequently joined by Mike Tarr (DP Maritzburg North).

A Natal Indian MP would join Inkatha this month, Mentz said. There was also a possibility that a House of Representatives MP would move.

Political Staff

Umu will 'benefit black elite'

South Africa

Sowetan 4/2/93

Inkatha Freedom Party, Nyathi said it was just a temporary political psychological boost.

Members of the Concerned South African Group are beneficiaries of the apartheid system who fear that they may be sidelined by a democratic government.

"The Patriotic Front is constituted by homeland leaders who do not have any leverage or a demonstrable constituency," he said.

little chance that relatively small parties, such as the Pan Africanist Congress and the Azanian Peoples Organisation, could stop or derail the ANC/Government connivance.

"Umti has been giving confusing signals. Not because they are not prepared to resume talks, but only to enhance themselves a better bargaining deal in the bilateral talks," he said.

On the recent defection by Mr. Jurgens of the National Party and Mike Tarr of the Democratic Party to the

could not be stopped by any party.

He said the multi-lateral talks would only be a formal forum to rubber stamp what had already been agreed upon in bilateral talks.

"The National Party has succeeded in strategically co-opting the leadership of the most powerful liberation movement in the country into power-sharing... (This) will benefit the whites and a section of the black elite."

"One cannot rule out an upheaval by disillusioned African majority after two years of a political settlement," he said.

The Centre for African Studies founder member said there was

Sowetan & Radio Metro

Talkback



By Sipho Mthembu

MULTI-PARTY negotiations could be back on track by March, according to political analyst Eugene Nyathi.

Speaking during the Sowetan/Radio Metro Talkback Show on Tuesday night, Nyathi said an election for a constitution-making body could be held before the end of the year.

Major players

An interim government or transitional executive could be in place by July, he said.

Nyathi said the determination to resume multi-party talks by South Africa's major players - the African National Congress and the Government

with Tim Modise

focus on Government

Sowetan 24/2/93

By Ismail Lagardien
Political Correspondent

NORMALLY, in the days when you could still find somebody who supported apartheid and who voted for the National Party, a Cabinet reshuffle meant little or nothing to black people.

During those days, when politics in South Africa played itself out in black and white, Cabinet changes were no more than a blur of faces on a carousel of callous candidates.

But last weekend's Cabinet reshuffle was different. It meant something. In some ways it was significant, while in others it was incongruous and out of synch with the times.

In a holistic way, however, it was frighteningly indicative of the grip that the National Party has on the levers of power in South Africa.

In the run-up to the country's historic first election that will include indigenous Africans for the first time ever and drop the curtain on the last act of colonialism on the continent, South Africa's ruling NP has revamped the Cabinet — supposedly the executive of the country — and has turned it into an election machine for itself.

President FW de Klerk has taken two so-called coloured persons and one of Indian descent, and has given them positions in the Cabinet, clearly with an eye to using them as wedges of white might in their respective communities.

Mr Abe Williams has been made Minister of Sport and Mr Jac Rabie has been appointed as Minister of Population Development.

Both positions are superfluous in the grand scheme of things.

The majority of people have never heard of Rabie, who is discredited among millions and millions of people because of his participation in the tricameral parliament, and to whom he now has to say: Stop having babies.

As Minister of Sport, Williams is up against the ANC's Mr Steve Tshwete; one need say no more.

Mr Bhadra Ranchod, who has been appointed as the Minister of Tourism, is a curious choice. His new position is critically contingent on the pace of negotiations and very much on the levels of violence, both of which have become unpredictable and both of which he has no hand or say in.

Furthermore, Ranchod's portfolio and his very ability to sell South Africa in any way is similarly contingent upon the international influence of the ANC's Mr Thabo Mbeki and the PAC's Mr Gora Ebrahim.

In other words, relative to their portfolios, these three appointees have little to no influence inside or outside the country.

Therefore, the only use De Klerk could envis-

The induction of the Three Amigos into the Cabinet on April Fools' Day only goes to prove that the National Party believes it can still control the power play in local politics in South Africa.

304A



Cabinet

IN ORDER OF SENIORITY

Foreign Affairs — RF (Pik) Botha.
Public Enterprises — Dr DJ (Dawie) de Villiers.
Justice and Defence — HJ (Kobie) Coetsee.
State Expenditure — AA (Amie) Venter.
Population Development — JA (Jac) Rabie.
Correctional Services — AJ (Adriaan) Vlok.
Education and Training, National Housing and Administration — SJ (Sam) de Beer.
Mineral and Energy Affairs and Public Works — GS (George) Bartlett.
Agriculture — Dr AI (Kraal) van Niekerk.
National Health and Welfare — Dr EH (Rina) Venter.
Law and Order — HJ (Hernus) Kriel.
Transport and Posts and Telecommunications — Dr PJ (Piet) Welgemoed.
Constitutional Development and Communication — RP (Roelf) Meyer.
Manpower — Leon Wessels.
National Education and Education Co-ordination — PG (Piet) Marais.
Finance and Trade and Industry — DL (Derek) Keys.
Sport — Abe Williams.
Local Government — Dr JT (Tertius) Delport.
Tourism — Dr BG (Bhadra) Ranchod.
Environment Affairs and Water Affairs — JA (Japie) van Wyk.
Regional and Land Affairs — André Fourie.
Home Affairs — DPA (Danie) Schutte.

Deputy Ministers

Defence and Environment Affairs — WN (Wynand) Breytenbach.
Finance — Dr TG (Theo) Alant.
Land Affairs — JHL (Johan) Scheepers.
Agriculture — AT (Tobie) Meyer.
Trade and Industry — D de V (David) Graaff.
Constitutional Development and Communication — SJ (Fanus) Schoeman.
Foreign Affairs — RS (Renier) Schoeman.
Welfare — GME (Glen) Carelse.
Law and Order — BG (Gert) Myburgh.
National Health — Dr BL (Boy) Geldenhuys.
Local Government — YM (Yakoob) Makda.
Justice — SM (Sheila) Camerer.

House of Assembly

Chairman, Budget and Housing and Works — AJ (Adriaan) Vlok.
Welfare — Dr EH (Rina) Venter.
Education and Culture — PG (Piet) Marais.
Deputy Minister of Welfare and of Education and Culture — BL (Boy) Geldenhuys.

House of Delegates

Chairman and Budget — Dr BG (Bhadra) Ranchod.
Housing and Welfare — SV Naicker.
Education and Culture — Mrs D Govender.
Deputy Minister of Housing and Welfare — YM (Yakoob) Makda.

House of Representatives

Chairman — JA (Jac) Rabie.
Welfare — A (Abe) Williams.
Budget and Housing — GN (Gerald) Morkel.

age for the Three Amigos is to secure votes for the National Party in the upcoming elections among people whom this same party has robbed of their dignity (and often) their very humanity.

And if the support for "coloured" and Indian persons (on this basis) in elections for the tricameral parliament over the past 10 years is anything to go by, the dudes are in for a rude awakening.

They could of course have been chosen simply to, at some stage, retire with Cabinet Ministers' pensions after having served the National Party's interests (Williams and Rabie) locally over the past year or so and (Ranchod) abroad, for his ambassadorial work in the European community.

The fact of the matter is, when the election is held later this year or early next year, very few people, if any at all, who ever entered the

tricameral parliament's Houses of Representatives and Delegates will be remembered for more than the bad taste they will leave in the country's mouth.

Besides its deliberate exclusion of indigenous Africans, if the tricameral parliament was either a success or relatively workable, why would it have been necessary to abolish it?

NEWS IN BRIEF

BIDAY 4/2/93 *(BCCA)*
Bishops plan voter education

VOTERS should know which candidates to reject in elections because MPs were employees accountable to the electorate, Catholic Archbishop of Durban Wilfrid Napier said yesterday.

He told a news conference at the end of the plenary session of the Southern African Catholic Bishops' Conference in Pretoria that the Catholic Church had started an "Education for Democracy" campaign.

Napier also criticised a provision in government's draft Bill of Rights making the death penalty permissible. He said this seemed to be a denial of government members' claim to Christianity. If executed, criminals would not have the opportunity to repent.

Wine + Viticulture
**Funding plan for
Groot Constantia**

BIDAN
4/2/93

Political Staff

304A

CAPE TOWN — The state and taxpayers should be relieved of the financial responsibility for Groot Constantia, the wine estate's management board said yesterday.

"A sound financial future should be created for an integrated Groot Constantia which will allow viniculture to be proceeded with in a manner consistent with the status of the farm where the SA wine industry started," it said in its 1992 report, which was tabled in Parliament.

This would ensure also the restoration work to the cultural historic section was not only completed but adequately maintained in the future.

The board's decision to recommend the formation of a non-profit trust or company to take over control of Groot Constantia was strongly criticised last week by the SA National Civics Organisation (Sanco), which said it should remain under government control. Agriculture Minister Kraai van Niekerk has denied that there were any sinister plans behind the proposals.

The board favours the SA Cultural History Museum continuing activities at Groot Constantia.

"Groot Constantia should remain accessible to the public in the interests of all SA's peoples and should be so managed as to cater for the burgeoning tourist industry, while at the same time serving as a showcase for our country's wine industry," it said.

Sacob hails 'positive' economic rights input

BIDAY 4/2/93
A FUTURE SA constitution should include a Bill of Rights which safeguarded human rights and freedoms that were universally accepted to be of an inalienable nature, the South African Chamber of Business said yesterday.

Commenting on government's proposed Bill of Rights, Sacob said it welcomed the positive contribution from major political participants, including government, on the question of a Bill of Rights, especially economic rights.

"Sacob supports the concept that no one should be deprived of his property without due process of law and fair compensation. This is one important reassurance required for business and investor confidence in the future."

The CP rejected government's proposals because they provided only for individual rights within a unitary state, CP justice spokesman Fanie Jacobs said.

The CP was disappointed that government had continued to ignore group rights, such as the right to self-determination of nations. This deficiency would create conflict rather than regulate it.

Government was also naive to believe it could correct its past political faults with a charter of fundamental rights, or that a future ANC-SACP government would consider itself bound by such a charter.

LP national chairman Luwellyn Landers said the NP's draft charter on human rights and its plan of action to propagate it was ludicrous.

He said the NP needed to be educated in the protection of human rights.

"The abuse of human rights has developed into a culture and tradition within the NP. Its draft charter and action plan has the potential and danger of delegitimising and devaluing the eventual Bill of Rights."

Azapo secretary-general Don Nkadi-meng said apartheid had so diminished the

integrity of the judicial system that government's announcement of a justiciable Bill of Rights within the next 12 months failed to excite the black community.

"In any other society people would have hailed this development as a milestone in the protection of individual rights," Nkadi-meng said.

In spite of their integrity, white judges would always be viewed by blacks as oppressors.

LINDA ENSOR reports that the National Association of Democratic Lawyers' Western Cape spokesman Essa Moosa said government's charter was designed to entrench the rights and privileges of the beneficiaries of apartheid.

"The charter essentially provides for individual civil rights. No provision is made for socio-economic rights and only one short paragraph provides for environmental rights. The civil rights are meaningless to a people who suffer starvation, people who are plagued by illness, people who are homeless and people who are unemployed," he said.

Boerestaat Party leader Robert van Tonder said it was clear the existence and rights of the Boer people had been entirely overlooked. The Bill was full of high-sounding phrases but the important word "volk" had been avoided.

"The Bill will be nothing more than a waste of good paper, seeing that SA will this year, with the establishment of an interim government, take the final steps to a backward Third World state.

"African governments have without exception torn up all the nice little constitutional laws written for them, and the Bill reminds one of the nice psalms sung by those condemned to death as they walk towards the gallows," Van Tonder said. — Sapa.

Bill may have financial implications

810 My 4/2/93
PRETORIA— The introduction of a Bill of Rights could have significant financial implications for SA's criminal justice system, Transvaal Attorney-General Jan D'Oliveira said yesterday.

ADRIAN HADLAND

In an interview, D'Oliveira said once certain entitlements usually due to the accused had become entrenched as fundamental rights, new avenues for challenging aspects of legal proceedings would become available. (304A)

This would place an additional burden on prosecutors and would have significant financial implications for SA's criminal justice system, he said.

"At present we do not test laws, we interpret and apply them."

While a few material changes could be expected in the conduct of a criminal trial, a "change of gear" was likely once the Bill had been agreed upon, he said.

"We will have to wait until we get an indication of what the Bill will contain before we start addressing its implications," he said.

D'Oliveira, who was appointed Attorney-General of the Transvaal in May last year, said the training of prosecutors and

improving the accessibility of his office to both victims and witnesses were key objectives of his tenure.

"For any system of justice to work, there must be real co-operation between the public, the police and the prosecutors," he said. "My hope is that the political process will restore citizens' confidence in public institutions."

With white-collar crime on the increase, D'Oliveira believed businessmen had a responsibility to disclose information relevant to actions which undermined the country's economy.

"I can't prescribe a high morality for businessmen. It is an assumption, an axiom, that we rely upon. What is important is that where something goes amiss, disclosure must be forthcoming."

D'Oliveira said making known the accessibility and independence of the public service rendered by the Attorney-General's office and "doing everything to improve the quality of criminal justice" were critical to dealing effectively with rising criminality in SA.

No election before next November Slabbert

304A
8/10/93 4/2/93
BILLY PADDOCK

ELECTIONS could be delayed until as late as November 1994 because negotiators had underestimated the complexities of negotiations and were still following partisan interests, political analyst and former PFP leader Van Zyl Slabbert said yesterday.

In an interview, he said despite favourable indications from negotiators about progress, political parties had neglected too many areas. Public posturing by those involved in talks would bedevil the process and extend the transition period.

Parties had concentrated too much on constitutional negotiations at the expense of settling three vital areas — stability, legitimacy and setting of development priorities.

"The whole dilemma we are in is exactly that these things all have to be done concurrently with constitutional negotiations," he said.

He said there had to be agreement on the acceptability of the security forces as an instrument to maintain transitional stability as well as a common cause on taking action on private militia carrying arms.

It would be almost impossible to combat crime or violence without a common view on this.

The government claimed it was responsible for maintaining law and order but it had no legitimacy, Slabbert said.

He said the more inclusive Codesa 3 was, the greater transitional legitimacy would be and the easier the implementation of the transition agenda.

Setting of development priorities was crucial and had to be taken out of the political arena, he said.

Main issues in the development arena were finance and getting the civil service to make itself servicable to the goals of development.

Slabbert singled out the Budget as the issue most likely to suffer from the charge of unilateral action because it had been determined and finalised so long before its delivery.

"We will be lucky if we get away with this Budget with a minimum of political controversy. Taxation is one of the main areas that will have to be sorted out before the Budget is announced," he said, adding that he hoped the economic forum could clear up some of the problems.

He said that if the Budget became an arena of political controversy, the transition would extend a lot further

into the future.

"As it is, I listen to these guys and say 'add another six months to the time'. Just by what they are saying and trying to see how these get factored into the talks makes it clear that elections this year is too early.

"The worst thing this country can do is rush into elections prematurely and just hopelessly mess up," he said.

The transition would be protracted because the agenda kept changing and because of parties' fragile commitment to a settlement.

"Taking all that together and putting my head on a block I would say elections would only be held by November next year," Slabbert said.

He said that once the transitional executive council was in place the process might speed up because politicians and groups would start to move and "season each others minds on the realities of development" and start working together rather than fighting each other at the expense of the country.

Slabbert said there were some indications the ANC and government were beginning to move in that direction. "The DP has been there all the time and Inkatha talks that way but then it produces a separate divisive constitution for Natal/KwaZulu."

NP will outdo poll rivals FW

CAPE TOWN — President F W de Klerk predicted yesterday that the NP would fare better than its rivals in SA's first non-racial poll. *BIDAM 4/2193*

Announcing steps to revamp the NP's organisation and propaganda machine ahead of the election, De Klerk told a media briefing it was "within the reach of the NP to get the highest percentage of all parties".

He was speaking against the background of recent opinion poll findings, which showed a drop in support for the party among blacks and whites.

The decision "to move up a gear" and place the NP on an election footing also comes at a time of growing fear among the NP's traditional supporters that the party is losing its nerve in negotiations.

Political Staff

De Klerk said the NP would appoint a national information management committee to improve communication of party propaganda and beef up election planning and fundraising.

NP Cape leader Dawie de Villiers would serve as committee chairman and Transvaal MEC Olaus van Zyl as executive director. The post of NP secretary-general would fall away.

De Klerk said the NP was going through a period of "astonishing broadening" of its support base. The party's research had shown it had "tremendous potential" for growth among all race groups. The perception that the NP was a white party was "simply not true".

Ruling a nation where angels fear to tread

CAPE TOWN — SA was in such a predicament that even the archangel Gabriel was bound to make a mess of government, DP leader Zach de Beer said yesterday.

Endorsing the concept of a government of national unity, he told a media briefing that 40 years of apartheid and three years of violent turmoil would inevitably result in any single government which took over the new SA burning its fingers.

He welcomed the ANC's "wise decision" to take part in a broad-based government of national unity, but warned that such a government, which would include all ex-

cept the far left and far right, was dangerous because it would have so much power and its opposition would be so weak.

The risk that such a government would drift towards authoritarianism and corruption was considerable, he said.

A government of national unity could be tolerated temporarily — between three and five years — and only in an emergency. "I suggest we do have an emergency."

The unified government would have to be in existence for some years because it

would otherwise not have the opportunity to restore law and order and economic confidence.

In contrast to government's insistence that the timetable for constitutional transition could be achieved, De Beer warned that writing a transitional constitution was a formidable task and could delay a new dispensation. The DP believed a sensible procedure would be to hold a constitutional conference while the tricameral constitution was still in force to draw up a final constitution in a semi-academic atmosphere, "and then we can institute it".

BIDM 4/2/93
TIM COHEN

Umuu will 'benefit black elite'

304th

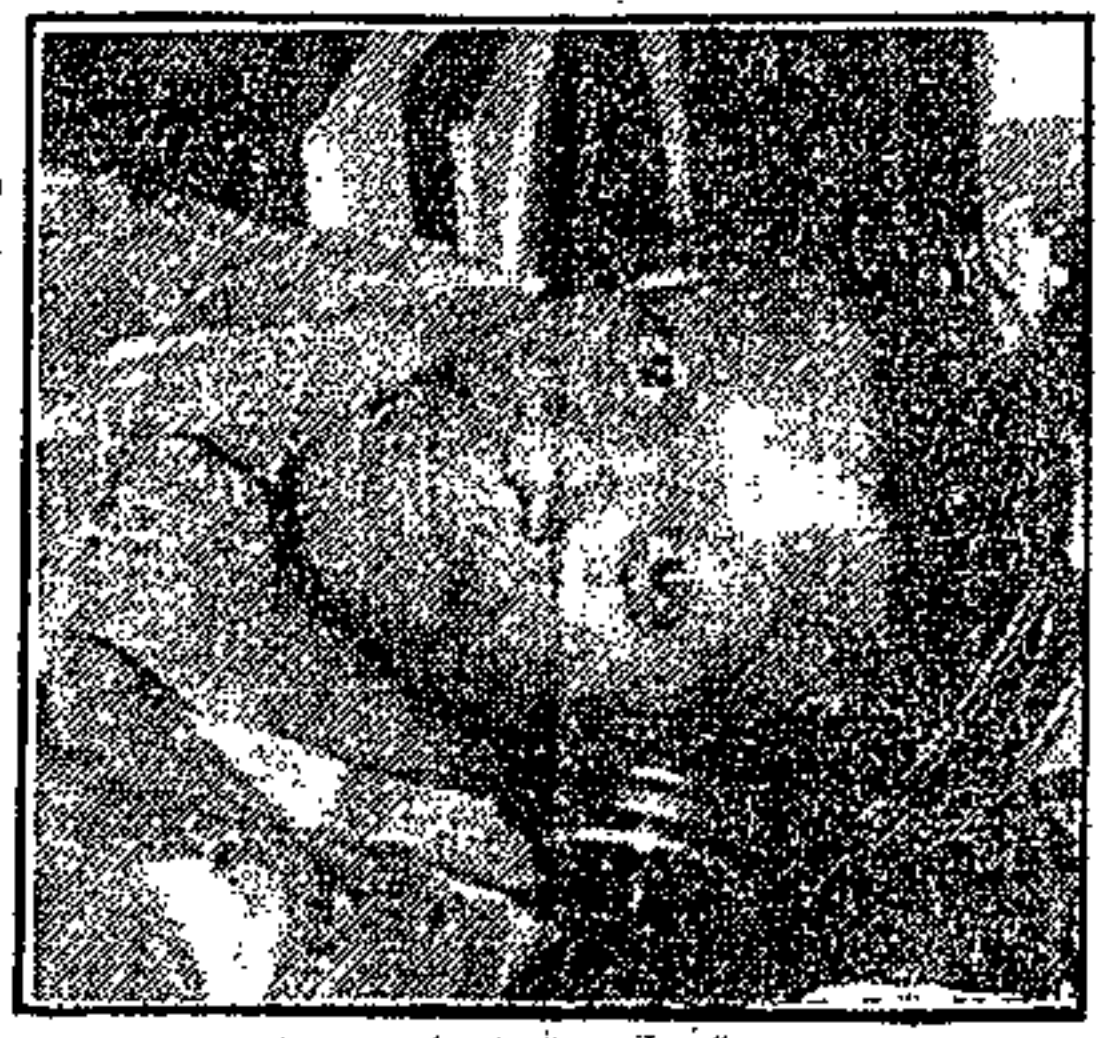
Sowetan

4/2/93

Sowetan & Radio Metro

Talkback

By Sipho Mthembu



with Tim Modise

MULTI-PARTY negotiations could be back on track by March, according to political analyst Eugene Nyathi.

Speaking during the Sowetan/Radio Metro Talkback Show on Tuesday night, Nyathi said an election for a constitution-making body could be held before the end of the year.

Major players

An interim government or transitional executive could be in place by July, he said.

Nyathi said the determination to resume multi-party talks by South Africa's major players - the African National Congress and the Government

could not be stopped by any party. He said the multi-lateral talks would only be a formal forum to rubber stamp what had already been agreed upon in bilateral talks.

"The National Party has succeeded in strategically co-opting the leadership of the most powerful liberation movement in the country into power-sharing... (This) will benefit the whites and a section of the black elite."

"One cannot rule out an upheaval by disillusioned African majority after two years of a political settlement," he said.

The Centre for African Studies founder member said there was

little chance that relatively small parties, such as the Pan Africanist Congress and the Azanian Peoples Organisation, could stop or derail the ANC/Government convivance.

"Umuu has been giving confusing signals. Not because they are not prepared to resume talks, but only to enhance themselves a better bargaining deal in the bilateral talks," he said.

On the recent defection by Mr Jure Mentz of the National Party and Mike Tarr of the Democratic Party to the

Inkatha Freedom Party. Nyathi said it was just a temporary political psychological boost.

"Members of the Concerned South African Group are beneficiaries of the apartheid system who fear that they may be sidelined by a democratic government."

"The Patriotic Front is constituted by homeland leaders who do not have any leverage or a demonstrable constituency," he said.

Thursday, February 4 1993

7

Star 4/2/93

Four Delegates MPs cross floor to Nats

The National Party tightened its control of the House of Delegates last night when Housing and Agriculture Minister P. Devan, of Solidarity, and three National People's Party MPs crossed the floor to join it.

With an estimated 22 MPs, the National Party now has a majority in this House and controls all three Houses. The defection of the three NPP MPs has left NPP leader Amichand Rajbansi as the sole representative of the party which used to run the House.

Political Correspondent.

(304A)

Star 4/2/93

For Malan the fight lies elsewhere now

(304A)

Political Staff

In a nostalgic — and ironic — valedictory speech yesterday, outgoing Water Affairs Minister General Magnus Malan returned to the soldiering theme that earned him both recognition and notoriety as the commander of one of the most fearsome armies in Africa.

But gone was the militant tone of the "total onslaught" rhetoric that defined his public performances first as Chief of the Defence Force from 1976 to 1980 and then as Minister of Defence from 1980 to 1991.

Now, at the close of a 12-year parliamentary career, the general contented himself with a more reflective assessment of the role of the SADF as the defender of democracy.

Even so, he was quite blunt in warning that the defence force could not afford becoming merely a hotch-potch of all or any combatants "or people who can't find jobs".

Obligingly addressing the matter of water affairs early on in his speech — urging central control over this scarce re-

source in the new South Africa — he turned soon, and devoted most of the time, to the subject closest to his heart.

"Democracy," he told Parliament, "can only really develop and expand if it rests on the cornerstone of security."

South Africa could expect a high level of insecurity in future — the daily reports of violence and unrest testified to this.

"But our army is no longer deployed against an enemy across the border. Indeed the enemy is different now ..."

The SADF was an "indispensable instrument" in the protection of structures and values.

The extraordinary circumstances of today demanded extraordinary qualities from the soldier and it was fortunate that South Africa could count on a defence force of such quality.

He added: "I will always be proud of our defence force. I am thankful I was able to serve it for so long."

It was very clearly the speech of a retiring soldier ... and one of the meekest of a tough political battle lasting more than a decade.

Dr Zach de Beer discusses how the DP and IFP differ in their styles

Why did Tarr switch parties?

Star 4/12/93

(304 A)

MICHAEL Tarr MP, in the statement he issued on Tuesday, said he was joining the IFP. The first reason he gave for doing so was that IFP policy "does not differ in any major aspect from the DP policy proposals".

If one looks at the written policies of the two parties, Mr Tarr is largely correct. The question then arises: why switch parties in order to fight for the same aims?

I have said for years that there is no major difference in formal policy between the two parties. The difference is one of style.

Let's start with the Democratic Party. Its philosophy begins with the proposition that the individual human being is all important.

His or her dignity and freedom must be nurtured and protected by the political system. Dignity implies equal rights. Freedom implies the rule of law. Freedom must be ensured in social and political life and economic matters.

The philosophy of individualism abhors any undue stress on regional factors or group loyalties. It would be utterly foreign to the nature of the DP to cultivate special loyalty to any tradition, religious faith or ethnicity.

Similarly, it will not align itself in any permanent way with the cause of workers against the manager class, or vice versa. An author referred to us recently as being distinguished by "middle class decency", but there is no conscious aim to represent the middle class in any exclusive way.

Commonly, though not invariably, liberals support federal forms of government. The DP and its predecessors have always done so. However, this is not done with the primary aim that different ethnic groups or regions may be self-governing. It is done because federalism divides power and authority, thus protecting freedom and making totalitarianism and tyranny more difficult.

I must turn to the IFP which Mr Tarr has joined. I stress again that the two parties have much in common. We have worked together often and I sincerely hope we shall do so again.

The IFP has its origin in In-

katha, a traditional cultural movement among the Zulu people which was revived and, as it were, refurbished by Mangosuthu Buthe a number of years ago. Its membership is open to all, and indeed there are a number of white people in very influential positions within it, but it is overwhelmingly Zulu in character.

Its strength is in northern Natal and among Zulu workers on the Witwatersrand. It has become strongly federalist in its approach to politics, and all its rhetoric suggest this federalism is aimed at giving the KwaZulu/Natal area the maximum possible degree of autonomy and power within a federal South Africa.

Once again, the DP and IFP share a belief in federalism, but express it in different ways.

One noticeable difference between the DP and IFP concerns the issue of traditional weapons. The IFP has fought a running battle with the Government about what it calls the traditional right of Zulus to carry such weapons.

The DP finds the matter of weapons and violence distasteful. Our participation in Peace Accord activities is well known.

We take note of the IFP claim that participation by its members in violence is defensive, as we do of the similar claims made by the ANC. We are distressed by the strength of the mutual antipathy between these two organisations, but we refuse to take sides.

Finally, any observer of the DP and IFP will detect a marked difference in leadership style. This will no doubt be attributed by many people to the extraordinary strength of Dr Buthelezi's personality, but others will think it owes a good deal to the different characteristics of the organisations.

The DP is serious in its determination to participate nationwide in the forthcoming one-person-one-vote election with the aim of securing enough support to be effective in a future SA Parliament. So, I am sure, is the IFP.

It will be strange to be fighting against Mike Tarr. □

● Dr Zach de Beer is leader of the Democratic Party

Star 4/2/93

NP put on election footing to woo voters

(304 A)

Political Staff

CAPE TOWN — A major re-vamp of the National Party's organisation and propaganda machine — putting it on an election footing — was announced yesterday by party leader F W de Klerk.

The announcement came against the background of serious misgivings within the party about a sharp drop of support, especially among white voters.

Nationalist commentators have been calling for improved communications between the party and the voters to stem perceptions that a handing over of power by the Government was on the way.

President de Klerk said that in order to expand the party's ability and to increase its effectiveness, it had been decided to appoint a national information and management committee under the chairmanship of Public Enterprises Minister Dr Dawie de Villiers.

Transvaal MEC Olaus van Zyl would be executive director of the party from March 1.

The main focus of the committee would be to broaden the National Party's support base through improved communications and information as well as through election-orientated planning, co-ordination and fund-raising with a view to effective organisation.

Negotiation

The management committee would also play an important role in negotiation and liaison with other parties, complementary to present negotiations.

The post of secretary-general would fall away.

The organisation and administration of the party in the provinces would be expanded to ensure the effective implementation of the committee's guidelines and strategy.

De Klerk said the National Party was going through a period of an outstanding broadening of its support base.

"There is a tremendous potential for support among all population groups. We intend to fully unlock that potential and to reach each and every South African in order to ensure that those who want to join hands with the NP in order to make the future of this country secure are reached."

The party aimed to consolidate moderate South Africans, and it no longer represented only whites.

Asked about recent opinion polls which had shown a sharp drop in support, De Klerk said the NP had had low curves before but had pulled out of these.

He said he was not in the habit of making predictions before an election, but he thought the NP could do well. "We can make a tremendous impact. It is within our reach to get the highest percentage of votes."

He said the NP was not looking for alliance partners for the first election. Alliance-forming would be more natural once support had been demonstrated in an election.

Zach stands by pamphlet

Star 4/12/93
Democratic Party leader Dr Zach de Beer said yesterday he stood by a DP pamphlet distributed in townships which describes the ANC as having links to international terrorism. The pamphlet was "pretty rough", but there was nothing in it he had to apologise for, he said. The pamphlet says the ANC's political record is one of "armed struggle, bombings, necklacings, mass action, intimidation, internment camps, links to international terrorism through Castro, Gaddafi, Arafat ..."

(304A)

Govt's constitutional plans come under fire in House

Star 21/2/93
(304A)

CAPE TOWN — Constitutional negotiations, education and the economy were some of the subjects addressed yesterday during the first day's debate on the State President's opening of Parliament speech.

The leader of the Conservative Party, Dr Andries Treurnicht, attacked the Government on a number of matters.

He said consensus would never be reached in South Africa if the variety of nations in the country were not recognised. "That is why Codesa failed," he said.

There was an unhealthy speed with which the Government and the ANC wanted to force a system on South Africa when clarity had not even been attained on federalism or regionalism.

The Government was now further away from consensus than it had been a year ago, Treurnicht said.

Ministers' Council chairman in the House of Representatives, Jac Rabie, said the Government should insist that negotiations be held in public. In that way, the public would not be fed any disinformation and

would be able to ascertain what or who was being unreasonable.

Democratic Party leader Dr Zach de Beer said that without a government of national unity, violence would not end nor would the economy recover.

"We must create trust in South Africa. Without it we will perish," De Beer said.

Jurie Mentz (Ind Vryheid) — the former NP MP who joined the Inkatha Freedom Party last week and sits as an independent — said people were sick and tired of violence and destabilisation.

The IFP and the Zulu nation had proved through the years to be a disciplined people and had never conducted a campaign to eliminate policemen.

The party could play a bridging and moderating role in South African politics, Mentz said.

Natal leader of the NP and Mineral and Energy Affairs Minister George Bartlett said criticism of those who had and would still change parties should be tempered.

Referring to Mentz, he said: "While there will be political differences between him and myself, I respect his right to



Dr Andries Treurnicht . . . clarity has not been attained on federalism or regionalism.

follow his political instincts. I hope he will propagate political tolerance among those he works with."

Charles Green (Ind Haarlem) congratulated Mentz on his action, saying "his conscience had spoken".

Independent MP for Sandton and ANC-aligned MP Dave Dalling said this session would legislate the demise of the tri-cameral Parliament and give birth to a new and democratic

dispensation in South Africa, which had been afflicted for so long with a Government which had enacted repugnant laws.

Constitutional Affairs Minister Roelf Meyer said 1993 would be a decisive year because, if rapid progress were not made on the constitutional front, the international community would turn its back on South Africa.

It was vitally important that the question of regionalism be solved soon, the Minister said.

Andrew Gerber (CP Brits) wanted to know what gave the State President the right to phase out own affairs.

"Aren't you ashamed of yourself?" he asked.

"It is tragic when a first citizen of a country breaks his word to his people," Gerber said.

Afrikaner Volksunie leader Andries Beyers said his organisation supported constitutional change to accommodate the reasonable aspirations of people. This could be achieved only in a spirit of reasonableness and not by being obstructionist.

He pleaded for closer co-operation between Afrikaners to promote their best interests. — Sapa.

Star 4/21/93

Revamp of NP propaganda

A major revamp of the National Party's organisation and propaganda machine — putting it on an election footing — was announced yesterday by party leader F W de Klerk amid misgivings about a sharp drop in support.

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Star 4/2/93

DP lacks funds to (304A) contest poll - Zach

By Peter Fabricius
Political Correspondent

Democratic Party leader Dr Zach de Beer said yesterday that his party was having difficulty in raising funds to fight the country's first democratic election.

"If someone gave me R15 million tomorrow, we could win 10 percent of the vote in the first elections," he told a briefing in Parliament.

De Beer said he had not given up hope to raise the R15 million needed to fight the elections, but in the meantime he had a problem in finding cash to fund the infrastructure which had to be installed now — such as setting up offices.

De Beer said the DP was targeting the black vote as it believed it had reached its ceiling among whites.

He conceded it would be difficult to make inroads into black support as most blacks would tend to support the liberation movements, for "understandable reasons".

But the DP had been well received in "brown" — coloured and Indian — areas, he said.



Zach de Beer . . . R15 million for 10 percent of the vote.

De Beer said the DP believed in coalitions but its problem was to find an appropriate coalition partner. He raised the possibility of an alliance with the Inkatha Freedom Party — to which one of his MPs defected this week — saying the written policies of the two parties were very similar.

But there were important differences of style, leadership and regional emphasis, so a coalition was "not really on".

De Beer added there were strong rumours in Parliament that the Government was at the moment giving up its insistence on entrenched power-sharing in a final constitution.

On working with the bureaucracy

Well, I really expected to have a certain level of frustration as one has in any job. I haven't had it. (Governments are bureaucratic) but large mining houses are not bad examples of bureaucracy either. Bureaucra-

cies and inertia aren't confined to the public sector. But if you want to get results through the civil service, you have to know how to go about it. It takes a bit of careful handling.

On his non-combative approach to Government's opponents

There's no doubt (the approach) has worked, but I really regard what I am doing on the economic side as equivalent to what (other Ministers) are doing — it has become a general style now.

I changed the approach of the Finance Ministry (towards the ANC and others), but I don't want to claim any credit for the approach that other ministries have.

On the response to him from the ANC

I was delighted (when Nelson Mandela responded to my warnings about the economy) because that was the first example of a political leader giving primacy to the economic considerations. My relation-

ships with the ANC on economic issues suggest that there is a growing convergence of views. And of course we're shifting too — it's not just that they've seen the error of their ways.

On canvassing the Budget

I made a presentation at which Trevor Manuel (of the ANC) was present, and I'm hoping to carry on further discussions with the National Economic Forum. This year there will be far more consultation (than in the past) — there has to be. But

it can't be in anybody's interests to go into a "deal" with me in terms of which they become co-responsible. I accept I have to carry the responsibility: all I want is to make sure that I have discussed the issues with all the important players.

closer to a government of national unity, there's more and more contact on economic issues.

There's quite regular and easy contact between the department and ANC people and so on. Various issues, like IMF membership, require consultation.

I haven't met Mr Mandela, because I haven't been involved in the political negotiations. I know Cyril Ramaphosa very well from the mining industry. I see ANC leaders often, and I get called into political negotiations when it's necessary for economic issues to be addressed. It's just automatic that as we move

On the calibre of opposition leaders

ing with him from about 1976 to when Ramaphosa became secretary-general of the ANC. Naas said that in all that time Cyril had never told him a lie, and he had never failed to honour an agreement.

It would be presumptuous of me to judge, but fundamentally, yes, I don't have any doubts about their responsibility and capabilities. But let me tell you what my colleague in Gencor, Naas Steenkamp, said about Cyril Ramaphosa. He was deal-

On why SA's democratisation is possible

I don't agree with the statement (that democratisation is not possible in conditions of a declining economy). That's just groupthink. We're proving it wrong. I think the crunch has already come. Incomes per capita of whites — the power elite — have gone down markedly. For blacks, it has improved, and secondly they are enjoying fantastic psychic gains.

That's not enough, of course, but this is a wonderful time for black South Africans. The process of blacks getting more,

which is already going on, may have to go on faster. But the usual reason that you can't democratisate in a stagnating economy, is that the people who are getting poorer won't stand for it. Well, we whites are getting poorer, and we are standing for it. And blacks aren't getting poorer at the moment. So if we could do that against the background of the kind of economy we've had — which is not going to continue — then I'm not worried. We can roll.

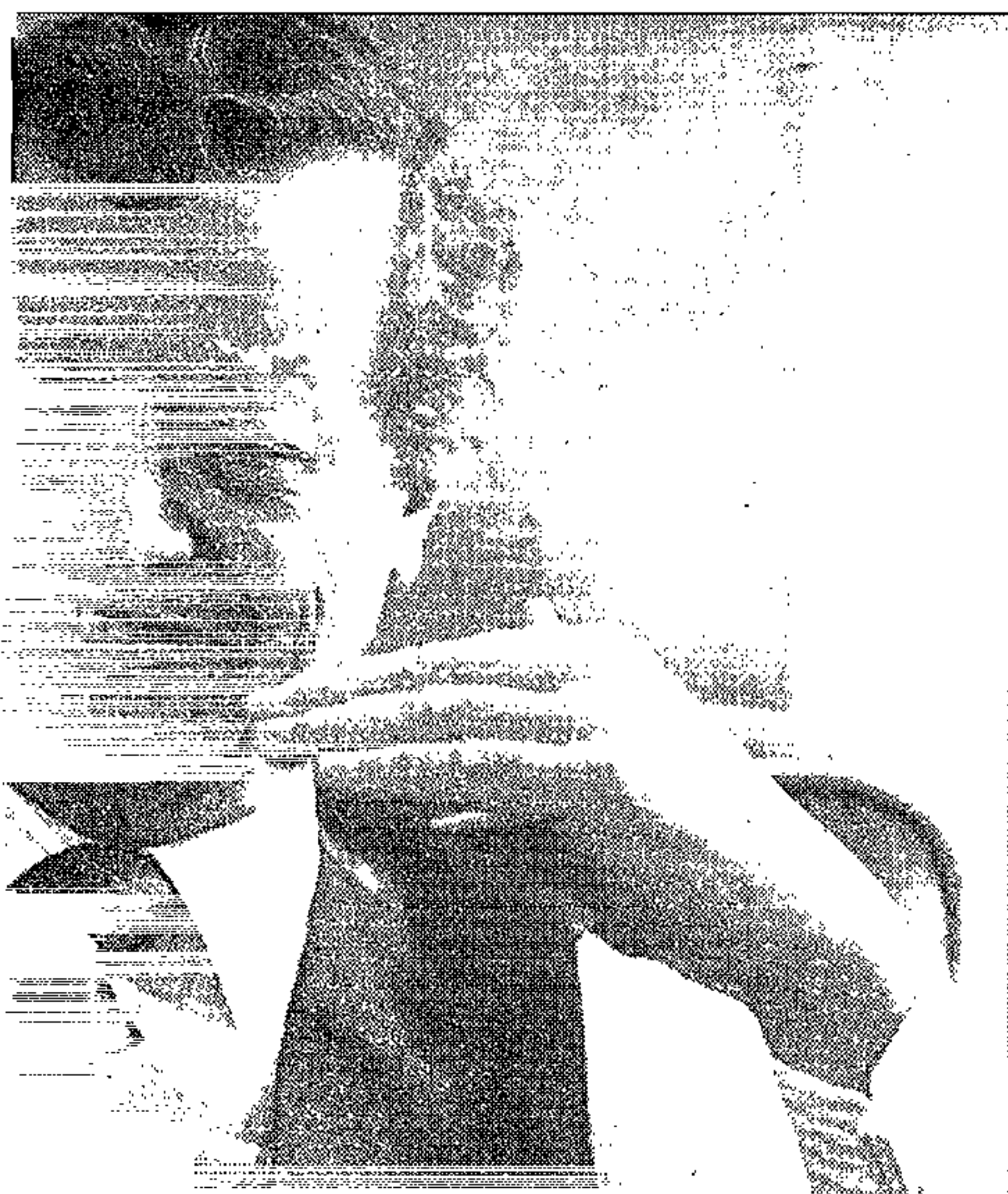
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On retaining a downward inflation trend

Inflation's not just below 10 percent now, it's below 10 percent year on year. We can (maintain this trend) if we have a respon-

sible budget. It turns on that, and I hope I can present a responsible budget.

On the deficit

I'm very happy to sell State assets, but provided they're in the sort of shape that one would put a business in when one sold it. Very few existing Government businesses qualify for that. You couldn't privatise Telkom at the moment, or Spoor-net, or even the airways, because we very cleverly deregulated the airways before we pri-

vatized the then-profitable airline.

But a second point (about the deficit) is more important. I want us to approach the budget deficit as a structural problem, and address it structurally. Selling off the family silver to mask the fact that we've got the problem isn't what I have in mind. How will I do it? Watch this space, March 17.

On the problem of pensions

This is an area in which I'm trying to do some creative work. It'll take a little while, and I'll be saying quite a bit about it in the Budget. Because you can't fundamentally deal with the Budget deficit without dealing with this problem. And when I do address it I want to do so in

a way that doesn't raise insecurity as far as the recipients are concerned.

I can't go into detail now, but I can say that there isn't a problem dealing with the situation. I know its scale, and we can deal with it better.

On the 'drain' into the TBVC states

I'll give you a different perspective. The TBVC countries are full of South Africans, they are not foreign areas to whom we shouldn't be giving money. There's corruption in most systems, but the extent of the need in those areas for the basics is there. Stuff does dribble out (through corruption), and (the homelands) are not a good system. But it's not a cesspool.

Most of the problems came

from the wrong ideology, the wrong concepts, more than corruption. The idea was that if they were given the trappings of independence, something would happen there and the problem would be taken off our shoulders. Which was nonsense.

But most of the examples are the result of a system working to implement the wrong ideology, and there is some corruption as well.

On his workload as Minister of Finance

I like thinking about problems. It provides 24-hour material, whereas in Gencor when I was contemplating leaving I had most of my problems pigeon-holed. Now I've got new ones all the time. A thing like the Budget obsesses me. I think about it all the time — when I wake up in the middle of the night I'm thinking about the Budget.

As far as stress is concerned, I'll tell you the story of my doctor. He gave me the annual checkup at Gencor, and said: "How do you handle this stress so well?" I said it was my daily exercises. "Oh," he said, "what do you do?" And I said: I'm on my knees (praying), twice a day. □

On potential for a higher growth rate

Provided you have good entrepreneurs, you can have good investments. So I'm assuming we can have a good entrepreneur-friendly environment. Then you could do a three-and-a-half (percent) growth rate with a rate of investment of 24 or 25 percent of gross domestic product. At the moment ours is 16. You would have to get those extra resources, about half

from reducing Government expenditure and consumption, about a quarter from private consumption expenditure coming down, and then by fixing the capital account so that we don't have to repay ... you get the rest of the resources. This is how one's going to go about it. Our model does it over four years.

On the integrated economic model

I'm going off to spend this weekend at a retreat with the top Government economists, where we're really looking at two things. One is the model, in its almost ready-to-be-published state. The second is the presen-

tation of a popularised version of it, because I've been worried throughout that it's really not accessible enough. It's a big task. So we're really dressing it up now for presentation.

of shape one would put a business in when one sold it."

I'm just here t

(304A)

Finance Minister Derek Keys has now been in Government for a year and has risen to great prominence very quickly. But the public knows little about Keys the man, as he has fought shy of publicity. In this exclusive interview with RICHARD STEYN, SHAUN JOHNSON and PETER FABRICIUS of The Star, Keys (right) opens up on what it's like to suddenly find oneself in Government, what his new colleagues are like, how he views the ANC, and what his hopes are for economic and political change.

On his first year in politics

By and large I've been made much more welcome (in Government) than I could ever have expected. President de Klerk made me chairman of the economic committee which filters input for the Cabinet — at a

stroke he took his most junior Minister and gave him almost a management position in terms of organising the economic issues. That's been a tremendous challenge and opportunity.

On his loyalties and ambitions

The honest answer is: I'm here to help FW. I believe he is a political genius, and he is our hope for doing something good. Personally I haven't thought about (a political role for myself beyond the transition).

You know I've been totally

shielded from politics, I have no constituency, I'm just here doing my work. I enjoy Parliament, but I don't think that's necessarily politics. I go back to my statement about FW: that's my conspectus at present. Assisting in whatever way I can to do his thing.

On his fellow-Ministers

The Ministers who sit with me — and are all senior to me — have all co-operated and collaborated with me in a most remarkable way. So I really have a rather higher opinion of politicians now. This is not just talk: they've really gone out of their way to give me every chance.

And in that connection you really have to mention the State President.

You've seen how determined he is on this whole issue of consumption, expenditure, general government and so on. He's just taken that ball and run with it. It's a marvellous thing.



"I'm happy to sell State assets, provided they're in the

On the major differences with the ANC

There's still a way to go. There are two fundamental concepts in economics: a stock concept and a flow concept. Stock is assets, capital, and flow is the income. I think there's still a tendency in the ANC to think you can do a lot by getting hold of bits of the stock. Whereas

my emphasis is totally on increasing the income that's coming from the stock, and working on what one can do with it. That's the main difference, I think, but of course I may also be wrong in wanting to protect the stock as carefully as I do. We're talking about it.

On ANC leaders

Hidden agendas worse than useless — Slabbert

By BARRY STREEK
Political Staff

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WHAT had passed for negotiations was nothing but moral one-upmanship, outbidding and scapegoating, said Idasa policy and planning director Dr Van Zyl Slabbert.

Hidden agenda politics became worse than useless if parties tried to negotiate new rules for the political game, he wrote in the 1992 report of the Institute for a Democratic Alternative for South Africa.

"Too often the government behaved as if a trick here or there would get a critical mass of political support on its

side and it could go it alone.

"Too often the ANC behaved as if political transition was a great morality play where it deserved to be winner and everybody should accept the legitimacy of its claim.

"Too often Inkatha indulged in petulant spoiling tactics to stake its claim to be part of the process."

No party could afford to ignore the pivotal role of the civil service in guaranteeing the success of transition, but perhaps the most important lesson of 1992 was that the well-being of the economy was pivotal for the success of whatever followed a negotiation transition, Dr Slabbert said.

'Future govt will burn fingers'

ANY party taking responsibility for running the country after South Africa's first non-racial election would burn its fingers, Democratic Party leader Dr Zach de Beer said yesterday.

He told a press conference: "Even if the Archangel Gabriel was put in charge of the next government he would make a

mess of it."

Dr De Beer said the country was in such a bad way after years of apartheid rule that any government trying to run a new administration would be unpopular.

He said the DP favoured a government of national unity which included both the NP and the ANC.

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He said the ANC would serve as a good break on the "racial arrogance" of the NP and the NP would serve as a good break on the "totalitarian tendencies" of the ANC.

Dr De Beer said that if the DP had R15 million in its election war chest he believed the party could garner 10% of the votes in an election.

De Klerk: Nats will do best in polls

304A
CT 4/2/93

By ANTHONY JOHNSON
Political Correspondent

PRESIDENT F W de Klerk yesterday predicted that the National Party would fare better than any of its rivals in South Africa's first non-racial poll.

Announcing steps to revamp the NP's organisation and propaganda machine ahead of the election, Mr De Klerk told a media briefing that it was "within the reach of the NP to get the highest percentage of all parties".

The NP leader was speaking against a background of recent opinion polls showing a drop in support for the NP among both blacks and whites.

The decision "to move up a gear" and place the NP on an election footing also comes at a time of growing fears among the NP's traditional supporters that the party is losing its nerve in negotiations.

Mr De Klerk announced that the NP had decided to appoint a National Information Management Committee (NIMC) to improve communication of

party propaganda and to beef up election planning and fundraising.

NP Cape leader Dr Dawie de Villiers will serve as chairman of the NIMC and Transvaal MEC Mr Olaus van Zyl as executive director. The post of NP secretary-general will fall away.

Mr De Klerk said the NP was going through a period of "an astonishing broadening of our support base" and said the party's research had shown that it had "tremendous potential" for growth among all race groups.

"We intend to fully unlock that potential. We want to . . . consolidate that vast potential support."

He said perceptions that the NP was a white party were "simply not true".

On the NP's poor poll showings, Mr De Klerk said all parties' support fluctuated, and a ruling party was often criticised during economic recession.

Mr De Klerk confirmed that the NP would not actively pursue formal alliances ahead of the election.

He did believe that an alliance for information would develop after the election, "once the support base of the different parties has been defined".

WHAT happens if, by August this year, negotiations are still bogged down, causing costly time delays?

Smaller parties with questionable or limited sectional support may withhold the consensus needed in multi-party talks, or refuse to co-operate at all — leaving the process stuck.

The answer may be that the “big ones”, the parties with the most power and/or support, could call for the country’s first national, non-racial referendum.

The emerging agenda between, predominantly, the National Party and the African National Congress has to be sold to a few reluctant, even suspicious, parties such as the Inkatha Freedom Party, the Pan Africanist Congress, the Conservative Party and the Azanian People’s Organisation. Before elections can be held, two phases have to be dealt with, Codesa III and the Transitional Executive Council (TEC), both of which are laden with potential problems that could cause deadlocks.

In the Codesa III phase, talks between parties have to move from bilateral to multilateral discussions, which will then end in a multiparty conference of some kind to be called Codesa III. President FW de Klerk himself admitted, on November 28 1992, that this may be the most difficult and time-consuming phase because the emerging consensus between the ANC and NP on how the agenda should unfold has to be sold to the other parties.

By implication, the other parties have to accept at least the next phase of the agenda, if not the critical phase of elections and the bringing into being of a government of national unity.

Even assuming that this phase runs smoothly and we move to the TEC, the problems in this phase are as daunting and controversial. In the TEC phase, there has to be consensus on:

- The nature of regional government and the status of homeland and TBVC governments

- The security system and what is to be done with homelands and TBVC police and armies, as well as



Talking consensus?

Try asking the people

11/12/93

A referendum — the country’s first national, non-racial vote — can be used to avoid further deadlocks in negotiations, argues

FREDERIK VAN ZYL SLABBERT

private militias such as Umkhonto weSizwe, the Azanian People’s Liberation Army, Aquila, etc

- The creation of a media council to oversee the role of the media, particularly radio and television, during and after elections

- The creation of an electoral commission (presuming the principle of an election is accepted) to oversee the voting in all its facets

- Transitional constitutional principles that will be binding on an interim government and perhaps the deliberations of an elected constituent assembly (provided the principle of the latter is accepted).

Consensus on these issues is deemed to be essential before there can be progress towards an election. Parties may differ on whether there should be “complete consensus” (a tautology) or “sufficient consensus” (whatever that means!) or they may differ on whether consensus of any kind is necessary for all, or only some, of these issues.

Whatever the case, progress by consensus is dependent on the

absence of a minority veto of some sort. If all parties, whatever their policies or constituencies, are given more or less equal weighting in making up the consensus, it will be a cumbersome and time-consuming process.

Listening to De Klerk opening parliament, the one thing that was quite clear was time is the one commodity that South Africa cannot afford to squander.

The “big ones” may be tempted to go for a referendum.

A referendum will provide some kind of popular mandate for a transitional agenda. Secondly, it will determine the extent to which smaller parties can outbid from the margins.

Thirdly, it would make it easier for an emerging interim government to act on problems of security, violence and crime.

Fourthly, it would find favour in the international community as it would be the clearest indication thus far of transitional legitimacy.

Fifthly, in the lack of progress on negotiations, it would provide some

clear guidance and stability for those interested in the economy and development.

Sixthly, it would consolidate parties in the centre on a common agenda for transition.

It would also resolve some major constitutional issues by implication. For example, if the question was: “Do you favour elections for a government of national unity which can jointly govern transition and negotiate a democratic constitution for South Africa?”, then a “yes” vote would be a popular mandate for the emerging agenda of transition.

In the eighth place, a referendum could sidestep a premature election where many unresolved issues between competing parties could tear the country apart in turf battles for constituency space.

In the ninth place, depending on the question, a referendum will bring home to recalcitrant parties to what extent their leadership stances reflect grassroots support.

Finally, losing parties in a referendum tend to lose some support, split or become more moderate after the

event (again, of course, depending on the question).

There are some obvious drawbacks:

- Referenda create strange bedfellows which can cause ideological confusion and tension among the rank-and-file. Helen Suzman and Pik Botha shared political platforms in the all-white election; De Klerk and Nelson Mandela, or even stranger, Joe Slovo and Hennis Kriel may have to do so in this one. Opponents would immediately dub it an “NP-SACP coalition” referendum. Parties would have to calculate the risk of losing support by going into such temporary coalitions

- Opposing parties may feel deliberately marginalised and this may increase political volatility and militancy

- Referendum mandates are never very focused and unambiguous and may cause subsequent tension between the victors on the meaning of the outcome

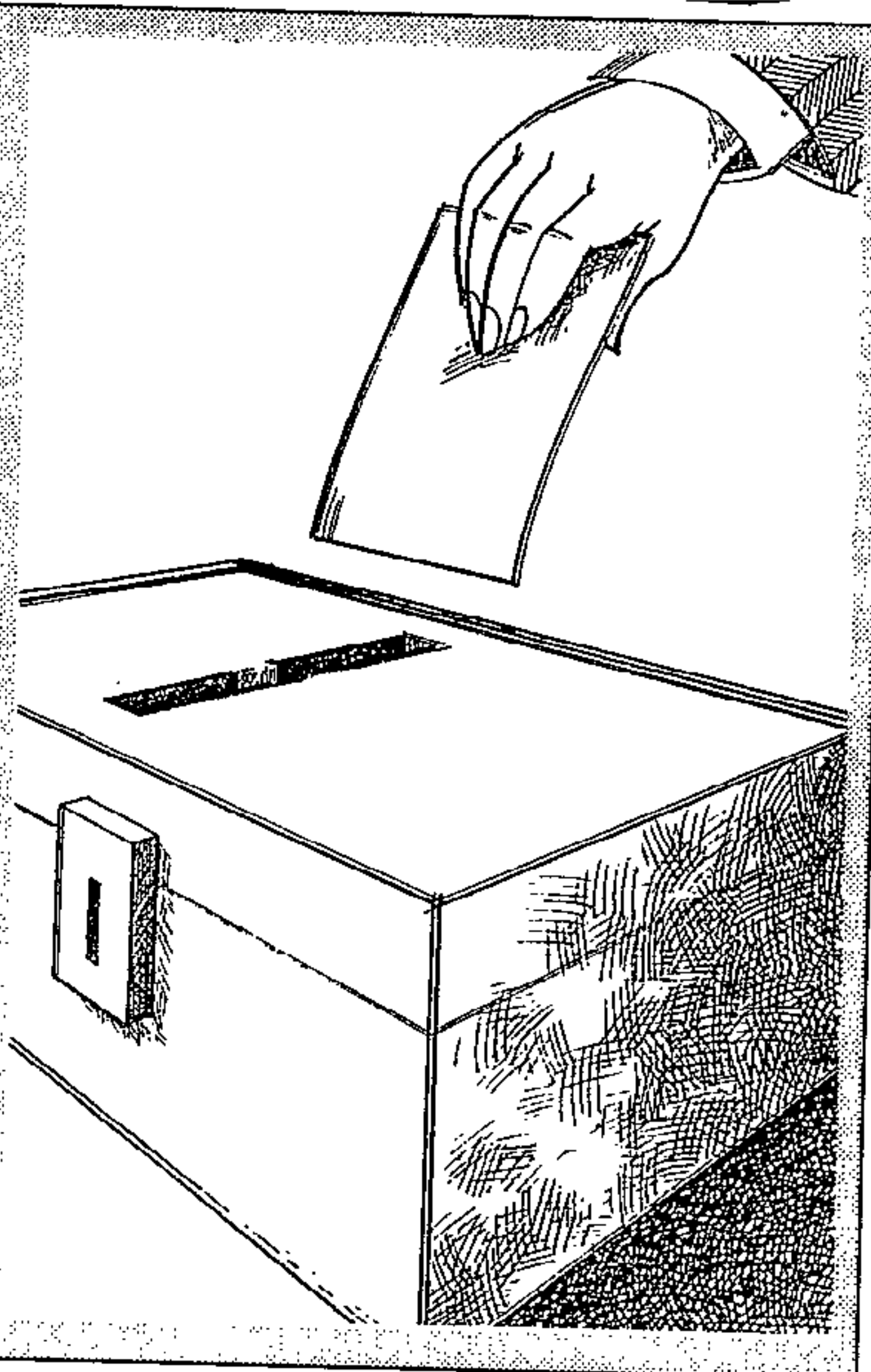
- Bigger parties may lose the referendum, in which case the whole process of negotiation could be put at risk.

However, given the pitfalls and problems in the Codesa III and TEC phase, there appears to be ample opportunity for recalcitrant parties to delay progress by withholding consensus. Under such circumstances, the bigger ones have to choose between negotiations indefinitely stalling or some other course of action.

The latter could mean ignoring some parties and proceeding regardless. This raises the prospect of premature elections in which excluded parties can play havoc with the electoral process.

Or the bigger parties could begin to lead toward a referendum as a means of digging themselves out of the hole of bogged-down negotiations.

De Klerk dug himself out of the hole that the Potchefstroom by-election results created. Maybe the NP and the ANC may do so later on if there is not sufficient progress in negotiations and time seriously starts running out.



SPECULATION is rife in political circles that more senior leaders from the National Party and the Democratic Party are set to defect to Inkatha — or retire from politics — in the run-up to South Africa's first all-race elections.

The focal point in the poaching game is Natal, as members of the two parties apparently believe that the key contestants in an election in this province would be the African National Congress and Inkatha — and they should either join them or get out of politics. The ANC poached five MPs from the DP last year and it now appears to be Inkatha's turn.

Inkatha has already snatched the NP MP for Vryheid, Junie Mentz, and the DP MP for Maritzburg North, Mike Tarr.

Two Nats who may cross the floor to Inkatha soon are the MP for Point, Cliff Matthee, and the MP for Kip Rivier, Jaco Maree. Other NP men named as potential defectors are Peter Miller, co-chairman of the KwaZulu/Natal Joint Executive Authority (JEA) and Val Volker, the JEA's administrator.

Both have developed a close relationship with Inkatha president Mangosuthu Buthelezi and with other Inkatha leaders on the JEA. They apparently believe that the NP is committed to striking a deal with the ANC — at Inkatha's expense.

Sources say the men are deeply disappointed with the government — including President F.W. de Klerk — for its firm rejection of Buthelezi's UDI-style constitutional proposals and with George Bartlett's leadership in Natal.

Significantly, commenting on the defection of

Poaching games in the rumour factory

Who will cross the floor, who is quitting and who will stay put? The betting's heating up in parliament's rumour factory, reports FAROUK CHOTHIA

Mentz and Tarr, Miller said: "There are more people whose sympathies lie with a federal Natal than has been estimated."

One parliamentary source said he would be surprised if a wave of Nat MPs defected, explaining that they spoke one language when in Natal — "with the sugar barons and the Ullundi politicians", and another in Cape Town, where it had become clearer that Inkatha was a small player in the national context.

The source cited the case of a prominent Nat rightwing MP from Natal, Johann Steenkamp, who is apparently distancing himself from Inkatha: "He is a deep thinker and yet he has been totally mesmerised by Roelf Meyer (the minister of constitutional affairs, who has taken a tough line with Inkatha)."

The same source added that the NP recently held a "secret meeting" where a Human Sciences

Research Council (HSRC) survey on possible voter trends was tabled. "The survey showed that Inkatha won't even make it in Natal," he said.

Another source believed the DP would be hardest hit by the current flux in politics as it was much smaller than the NP, but that DP MPs were more likely to step out of politics than join Inkatha.

Tarr's decision to defect came as a major blow. Apart from being the MP for Maritzburg North, he was also the DP's Midlands chairman. His resignation leaves the DP with only one MP in the region: Wessel Nel in Mooi River.

Midlands South chairman Rob Haswell — who defected to the ANC last year — said Tarr had considered joining the ANC with him. "He spoke to me. He put out feelers, wanting to know how he would be received in the ANC," Haswell said.

Haswell predicted that there would be a "regional list and a national list" in elections. If Natal politicians wanted to carve out careers for themselves, they had to choose between Inkatha and the ANC.

"I think white politicians are beginning to realise that in regional elections the ANC and

Inkatha would be the main contenders. This explains the defections," Haswell commented. He added that the floor crossings were "ironic" as the NP was pushing for regionalism and the DP for federalism. "It is now proving to be their undoing (in Natal)."

In the DP, the spotlight has fallen on the MP for Berea, Denis Worrall, as a possibility for defection or retirement from party politics. Worrall has changed his political colours on many occasions in the past. In sharp contrast to DP leader Zach de Beer, who was scathing in his criticism of Tarr, Worrall said he understood Tarr's decision and wished him well.

"Everybody in a changing South Africa must decide where they want to make their contribution," Worrall said. He then denied that he intended to quit. "I'll certainly continue in the DP," he added.

Sources said that the DP chief whip and MP for Pinetown, Roger Burrows, may leave politics entirely in the long run. The die-hard DP member is studying law and qualifies for a pension.

But Burrows laughed at this speculation, saying: "At the moment, parliament is a rumour factory. I'm certainly not going anywhere." He confidently predicted that his party would do remarkably well in an election.

The DP MP for Durban North and its Natal Coastal chairman, Mike Ellis, may switch over to Inkatha at some stage, sources said. Describing him as a "centrist", the sources added that he is unlikely to quit politics as he does not qualify for a pension.

Ellis vehemently denied the speculation, saying: "I'm not selling my soul to anybody."

Not remaining silent

THESE TIMES: A DECADE OF SOUTH AFRICAN POLITICS by Ken Owen (Jonathan Ball, 314pp, R89,95).

Any practising politician who wants to find out what he has done wrong during the last few years need only consult this book. But as it has no index, my quotations are garnished with page references.

Returning from a sickbed to the chair at *Business Day* two weeks after President F W De Klerk's pronouncement of February 2 1990, Owen wrote: "The release of Nelson Mandela was first celebrated, appropriately, by the looting of a booze shop — an early example of the policy of appropriating other people's property, to which Mandela immediately gave his support. Nationalisation is at heart the policy of the hooligan. UDF marshalls, missing the point, tried to stop the looting and got roughed up. It's a mistake to come between a freedom fighter and his bottle." (Page 234). Will the intoxication of *uhuru* be less potent than that of liquor?

Owen's early reaction to the process of change since February 2 1990 was one of optimism. Horrified as he was by people's courts and necklacing on suspicion, he headed one of his early articles in *Business Day* "Hope Outweighs the Violence." Not by much; he was soon to attack "the savage totalitarian spirit which prevails in the townships" and the condonation of this by public opinion: "... we have for so long condoned some killings while condemning others, applauded mob violence while condemning police violence, and overlooked kangaroo court executions while campaigning against the death penalty, that our moral sense has become corrupted; we remain silent." (Page 235).

Owen analyses the strategies open to the ANC: the armed struggle, mass action and sanctions. Of these, sanctions "constitute the only credible pressure that moderate leaders like Mandela can invoke." So Owen characterised white calls for the ending of sanctions as unrealistic.

In the bright dawn of early 1990, he felt no nostalgia for apartheid: "I am not one of those who regret the passing of apartheid for fear of what might follow. The end of apartheid is an unqualified blessing, a dawn of bliss even if the present is bloody and the future daunting. We expected apartheid to end in fire and blood, a battle over a wasteland; President De Klerk, in a remarkable display of statesmanship, has transformed that outlook. He is not, like Ian Smith, bankrupt and beaten as he goes to the negotiating table." (Page 251). Whether Owen sees De Klerk as having negotiated wisely is another matter.

On the role of liberals, Owen's views have changed little: "The prospect that English liberals, and in fact the English community as a whole, will be further marginalised by



Editor Owen ... a fierce eye on corruption

the negotiating process is great. It's no great tragedy. Events — and indeed the diverse character of the nation — are forcing all parties towards a solution that will, in its essential elements, be liberal." (Page 253, but see pages 294-296). It seems paradoxical to suppose that liberal solutions will somehow impose themselves on negotiators of whom none, or few, espouse liberalism.

After examining the incomes of the unionised workers in Soweto, Owen says: "In such a community, any talk of 'redistributing wealth' goes down well only if it is cast in racist terms ... from 'rich whites' to 'poor blacks.' But the union leaders are not stupid; they know that increasingly the interests of the unionised workers diverge from the interests of the deprived underclass. The underclass may respond with passion to the call for revolution, but the unionised workers, if they are to keep the relative privileges which they have already gained, need stability, investment, growth, order. They don't need mayhem." (Page 263).

Yet the example of the NP will make it harder for the forces of reason within the ANC/Cosatu alliance to prevail against the spoilers. One of Owen's most forceful articles, titled "Like Topsy, it just Grows and Grows," shows how Afrikaner employment has been kept from falling by letting the public service grow as its functions diminish. (Page 298).

Owen delights in what he calls the discomfiture of the Left, which, he says, "is in total disarray, its theories have been disproved by events; its violent strategies have been revealed as barbarous and futile; its most prominent leaders are hobnobbing daily with the Nats, commuting by Mercedes. Yet the chimera of supporting 'the struggle' still exerts its appeal. (Some) DP members can't

bring themselves to join the ANC, but want to sidle close." (Page 268).

"The chimera of supporting the 'struggle' ... but a struggle which bears the scars of historical reality breeds the kind of chimera that is invincible, whatever its programmatic shortcomings.

Could this horrid truth find more forceful expression? Owen says: "Having watched at close quarters the liberation of African countries from the Sudan southwards, I suspect that in the end the mantle of liberation, the myths of the freedom struggle, the sheer psychological exuberance of racial rehabilitation, will prove too strong, and we shall end up with an ANC government." (Page 301).

That is to say, one which "makes a pretence of accepting democratic safeguards, but is not convincing. It will not, for example, relinquish majoritarian tyranny — it merely bargains over the size of the majority that is required before its authority becomes total ...

"On key issues, the ANC speaks with forked tongue, offering press freedom but demanding 'control' of State media, or offering a guarantee of private property while continuing to whip up expectations of nationalisation and redistribution. It talks of democracy and conspires for majoritarian power." (Page 302).

If Owen were the sort of oracle whose responses were completely consistent, he would be less impressive. *Radford Jordan*

FW defends his party's position

BLOM 5/2/93 TIM COHEN 304A

CAPE TOWN — President F W de Klerk staunchly defended his government's past yesterday, at the conclusion of the no confidence debate in Parliament, but at the same time called on South Africans to "smash the mould of old-time politics".

He called on all parties to join the negotiations process, saying although thousands had died over the past two years, millions more would have died had government not opted for negotiations.

The year ahead would be decisive, he said, suggesting that the overwhelming majority of the population should agree on basic principles. These should include the principle that one form of domination should not be replaced by another.

Looking back, he defended the honour of past NP leaders D F Malan, J G Strijdom and H F Verwoerd, saying they had honestly believed that what they were doing was in the interests of all South Africans.

But — reflecting the new spirit in his party — he welcomed new members to its ranks, notably in the House of Delegates, where the NP is now the majority party.

In a wide-ranging speech, the President defended policy on the TBVC states, asserted that government was not trying to cover up security force irregularities and again expressed confidence that the transition timetable could be met. 5/2/93

He said DP leader Zach de Beer had been "high-handed" in calling on govern-

□ To Page 2

De Klerk BLOM 5/2/93

(304A)

□ From Page 1

ment to dissolve the TBVC states, saying this would retard negotiations. These governments were proud of their achievements, and denigrating them was typical of a party representing the urban rich.

On allegations of misconduct in the security forces, De Klerk said prosecutions were likely to follow investigations. But "the baby should not be thrown out with the

bathwater; it is time we stopped denigrating our security forces for the sake of scoring political points".

The criticism of government by independent MPs belonging to the ANC was deficient because it rested largely on government's past policies. "Because they can't criticise the NP on the basis of its current positions, they resort to the past",

Govt threatens to pull out

Talks crisis over ANC arms cache

BIDAY 5/2/93

304A

THE ANC/government negotiations were plunged into crisis yesterday over the role of Umkhonto we Sizwe following the arrest of MK cadres and the seizure of a large arms cache.

Foreign Minister Pik Botha told diplomats in a special briefing that government might withdraw from talks with the ANC unless MK's role during the transition was defined.

But in urgent talks last night, senior ANC and government members managed to reach a compromise to defuse the crisis.

The ANC leadership convinced government that neither it nor top MK structures had known anything about the arms smuggling incident.

Police had found the arms during a routine check at a roadblock near Golela on the Natal/Swaziland border.

The weapons apparently came from Mozambique and included two RPG-7 rocket launchers with six rockets, 34 handgrenades, about 3 000 AK-47 rifle cartridges, nine Makarov pistols and 13 Stechkin pistols.

Botha told diplomats that three MK members were arrested — one commander in Natal and two cadres acting under his instructions.

He said they had made confessions and the "purpose of the action was to kill more Inkatha people".

Botha said that Inkatha leader Mangosuthu Buthegezi had warned government that MK was still operative, but government had denied this and defended the ANC.

The meeting last night resolved that the

BILLY PADDOCK

top leadership of MK, including its commander in chief, would go to Durban, see the three detainees and assist the police fully in investigating the matter.

The top-level negotiations involved Law and Order Minister Hernus Kriel, Constitutional Development Minister Roelf Meyer, ANC secretary-general Cyril Ramaphosa and international affairs head Thabo Mbeki.

It is understood the ANC was badly shaken by the incident, with the discovery of the smuggling operation weakening its negotiators' position that the organisation was disciplined and in control.

Low-level subcommittee talks yesterday — displaced by the crisis — had been expected to move towards closing the deal whereby the ANC would surrender control of its weapons' stockpile and share political control of all security forces.

In 1991 the ANC signed an agreement with government to suspend the armed struggle and stop the traffic of weapons and cadres into the country.

Botha, in his briefing to the diplomats, said that government would not tolerate such flagrant disregard of agreements and MK's continued unlawful actions.

He threatened that if the ANC did not distance itself from the action and condemn it, government would pull out of negotiations with the ANC.

This would have resulted in a total breakdown of constitutional talks.

Botha appealed to the foreign commun-

□ To Page 2

Arms cache

to put pressure on the ANC and suggested that the EC negotiate with the ANC to take control of its weapons.

Botha said that if the ANC could not fully control its armed wing, the country would be plunged into "civil war".

Diplomats commented that Botha's "grave despondency" could have been more bluster than a real commitment to carry out his threat.

There was a belief among some members of the diplomatic community that it could be a strategy by government, which might have known about the cache earlier,

to weaken the ANC's negotiating position on MK and at the same time facilitate Monday's bilateral meeting with Inkatha.

It is understood in government circles that Botha did not "intend to give an ultimatum" but rather to state that the MK issue had to be resolved before any further talks could proceed.

Talks between government and the ANC on constitutional issues were scheduled for today and tomorrow. These discussions were expected to pave the way for agreement on a joint constitutional proposal.

From Page 1

POLITICS

**Bartlett not
a cut above**

his fellows
810am 5/2/93

Political Staff

CAPE TOWN — Have you ever wondered why Mineral and Energy Affairs Minister George Bartlett does not consider himself a cut above his fellow man?

The NP's Natal leader weighed in great lengths at a news conference to compare foreign and local media of his respect for various cultures.

He said: "I understand the Zulus," and "I respect the cultural accoutrements which some people call dangerous weapons."

From the Zulus, he turned to the British: "If you go to Scotland you may find a Scotsman walking around with a woman's clothes on, but he also will have a dagger at his side."

But it was Bartlett's next assertion that raised eyebrows: "I respect Jews being circumcised," he said before making his startling disclosure. "Not that I was."

By last night Bartlett was being referred to in political circles as the uncircumcised member for Amanzimtoti.

Sunday blasting law will not be changed

810am 5/2/93

CAPE TOWN — Legislation banning Sunday blasting would not be changed, but exemptions would be granted if it was in the national interest, Mineral and Energy Affairs Minister George Bartlett said yesterday.

He said government would help marginal mines survive if they could be viable. There was no virtue in giving long-term financial support to fundamentally unviable mines.

Government was doing what it could, he said. This week Cabinet had agreed to provide Gazgold with bridging finance because of the difficulties it was facing.

A pumping subsidy had also been agreed for Rand Mine's Durban Roodepoort Deep, he said. He declined to give details of the assistance, but said the subsidies took the form of repayable loans granted on evidence of a viable development or recovery programme.

Durban Deep received a quarterly pumping subsidy of about R2,1m.

Reuter reports that Bartlett said: "Gazgold has asked for a little bit of extra bridging finance because of various problems. They have gone to a seven-day shift and they have put in some improved plant that is going to improve extraction and recovery. In the case of Durban Roodepoort Deep, it's in my budget for next year. We have agreed to assist with pumping subsidies there."

TIM COHEN

Bartlett said he was aware of the support for allowing blasting on Sundays, but if changes to legislation were permitted, this would not be done without the support of all parties including the trade unions.

He said he had agreed to allow blasting at Harmony and Lorraine gold mines after extensive negotiations with all parties. Harmony had since become profitable.

No other mines had applied and there were no plans to change legislation to allow mines to decide on Sunday blasting on their own accord.

Our political staff reports that Bartlett denied that government had seen the results of a study into the impact of the proposed dune mining of Lake St Lucia's eastern shore — and urged others not to prejudge the issue.

His comments came amid increasing speculation that government was poised to give the nod to the controversial project when the results of the environmental impact assessment were made public on March 18.

"I don't know what is in it," he said. He described the assessment as "the most intensive ever done in the world" and repeated assertions that government would not approve the project if it was shown irreparable damage would result.

Dalling predicts that the DP will be crushed

TIM COHEN

CAPE TOWN — Independent MP and ANC member Dave Dalling yesterday predicted the DP would be "crushed", and the ANC and SACP would separate.

Dalling said at a media briefing he did not regard the DP as an enemy and felt it would have a future role. But fighting corruption and advocating "practical" free enterprise was unlikely to win the party the 5% popular support necessary to gain representation in Parliament. 810am 5/2/93

The major difficulty facing the DP was that it contained three camps: one inclined towards the ANC; one inclined towards the NP; and another faction which wanted the party to retain its independence to support liberal values.

The problem was that each camp felt so strongly about its position that if the party shifted towards the view of any one of the camps, it would have to shed the supporters of the other positions.

The party appeared to be taking the independent path and if it maintained this position "I think it will be crushed", he said.

On the SACP, Dalling said he was not a communist — he never had been and never would be. Although he realised whites considered the connection between the ANC and the SACP to be a problem, surveys had shown that blacks did not. "Quite the opposite."

The connection occurred for historical reasons and the policies of the organisations would probably cause their separation in time, although this was not imminent, he said.

Meanwhile, Sapa reports that Labour Party leader Allen Hendrickse said his party was seeking a further alliance with the ANC. He said the matter would be discussed at a meeting with the ANC on February 15. Hendrickse emphasised that the Labour Party would not support the NP in an election. — Sapa.

POLITICS

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Inkatha to educate voters

INKATHA has launched a Transvaal election education campaign in competition with the ANC PWV region's project.

Inkatha Transvaal official Humphrey Ndlovu said any organisation which did not embark on voter education ran the risk "of being consigned to oblivion".

The ANC PWV region unveiled its plans recently for attracting the estimated 5-million potential voters in the region. The campaign, which kicked off last week, would be characterised by house meetings, public debates and visits to voters by the organisation's leaders. *BIDAN 5/2/93*

Inkatha's campaign began in Johannesburg at the weekend and, Ndlovu said, was aimed not only at Inkatha members and supporters but at all people who had never voted before. It also hoped to attract many new members.

In the coming weeks meetings would be convened in all parts of the province to provide details of voting procedures.

It could not be established this week whether Inkatha's other regions had embarked on a similar campaign. But Ndlovu said the campaign would be "low-key and national in nature".

Meanwhile, Sapa reports that Inkatha-

WILSON ZWANE

supporting MP Jurie Mentz said in Cape Town yesterday Inkatha and ANC supporters in Natal were evenly balanced in their political war for territory, but the Zulu King could order an Inkatha election victory. *(304A)*

He said the ANC had more support nationally, but not in Natal.

Mentz said Inkatha and its supporters would destroy the country if they were not included in a constitutional settlement.

"If we cannot take the IFP people with us, I want to warn you that a serious situation can develop as serious as Mozambique," he said. "If they go underground, they will destroy the country."

MP Mike Tarr, who this week joined Inkatha, agreed that the party had the potential to win an election in Natal. He said it was clear that the political future of Natal lay between the ANC and Inkatha, as there was no longer much difference between the NP and DP.

"That mould of white politics needs to be smashed once and for all. It is not realistic for parties like the DP and NP to get most black support." Whites had to take the step of joining Inkatha or the ANC, Tarr said.



ICA

ANDRIES BEYERS, the owl leader of the breakaway Afrikaner Volksunie, injected one of the few disconcerting notes into an otherwise remarkably good-natured opening week of the last white parliament.

Asked during a press briefing what ports he intended for his latest proposed boomerang, Beyers casually laid claim to the whole seaboard from Humansdorp to Namibia, including, almost as an afterthought, Cape Town.

Centuries after Beyers' forebears fled the Colony to escape the bondage of British colonial rule, he wants them to come back to escape black rule in the lands they rekked to. He has calculated that the western Cape is the one region where Afrikaans speakers, white and brown, are in the majority.

The thought of the viceroy flying over the Castle, however, is enough to rouse the usually complacent and laid-back Capetonians to a nationalist fury that will make Natal secessionists appear rational, and drive Beyers and his mob back to Port Elizabeth.

There is something perennial and stable as the mountain about Cape Town — the sea breeze, the noon-day cannon, the sense of quiet peculiarity. News that Johannesburg has been declared an unrest area, after taxi drivers fought running battles with police in the city centre, is as relevant to most people here as the latest events in Bosnia, Somalia or Tajikistan.

Yet parliament, used to being wrapped up in its own close-knit huddle, is being forced to take cognisance of a wider world out there. The extra-parliamentary political forces are a hop away from joining.

Politicians are changing ship now while they can, in advance of an election to be fought under new rules. This has led to a remarkable fluidity, a brief Prague spring before politics are set in stone once more.

Self-styled white Zulu Jurie Ments was joined this week by the Democratic Party's Mike Tarr. Magnus Malan exited politics like a ghost from the past still muttering, like the Ancient Mariner, to anyone that will listen, that Cuito Cuanavale was a great victory.

The National Party became the largest party in the (Indian) House of Delegates days after President F.W. de Klerk announced the death of the tricameral parliament.

Everyone seems to be crossing the floor, in one direction or another, but who's counting anyway? At times the rhetoric sounded very much the same. De Klerk's opening address to parliament was aimed largely at the white community. If we don't follow the route of negotiations, there will be disaster, he warned yet again.

The government, he said, in a clear reference to the referendum, had a "clear mandate" for its constitutional model.

It is extraordinary that in this day and age, the president still talks in terms of the white electorate, and feels that he has to address them to the exclusion of the rest of the nation.

The fact of the matter is that, despite De Klerk's boast that he has not had to "concede a single principle", it's all going one way. It has become clear at least that the demand for entrenched and permanent power-sharing, the most serious obstacle to a settlement, has been dropped.

This is probably one of the most dramatic developments since the release of Nelson Mandela and the unbanning of political organisations.



Presiding over their own demise... President F.W. de Klerk at the opening of parliament. Photo: SYLVIA MORESCHIE

White politics, black humour

With other political parties just an election away from joining the fray, members of the last white parliament are having to take cognisance of the wider world.

512-1112/43.

By PHILIP VAN NIEKERK



It is converse is that South Africa will get majority rule, albeit after a five-year period of interim government rule, and with strong regional governments and a proportional representation model that will encourage coalitions.

The NP imagines that its big problem will be settling this to the white electorate. I doubt whether they have that much to fear. The reason why whites voted yes in the referendum last year had more to do with support for the cricket team than for abstract notions of power-sharing.

The fact that the NP no longer insists that it must be in power forever will not upset as many people as the president fondly imagines.

IN his opening address, De Klerk praised the new-found political realism of his political opponents, but in fact it is he who has displayed this quality most markedly.

He seems prepared to part ways not just with erstwhile allies such as the Inkatha Freedom Party but with the academic proponents of power-sharing who were so dogmatically vociferous about their model for South Africa.

The government of national unity is based upon a very different principle to that which the NP had in mind for power-sharing — to avoid "winner take all", or the tyranny of simple majoritarianism, as they called it.

The rationale for the government of national unity is that the country faces an emergency, a breakdown in law and order and economic collapse, at the same time as a delicate transition to

democracy.

What a period of temporary power-sharing cannot be a substitute for democracy. Newright ideologues are starting to intimate that some form of authoritarianism will be necessary, that the very notion of democracy will be something not to celebrate but to contend with in the early years of the transition.

Examples of other countries are yet again being bandied about, such as the tired old comparison of China, which liberalised economically first, and the former Soviet Union, which went the political route.

These — and the examples of southeast Asia — are spurious analogies.

The fact of the matter is that South Africa has become one of the most political of societies. And the season of politics is only beginning.

To those who imagine an election is in the offing, there could be up to five in the reckoning — non-racial local government elections, a referendum to test the popularity of the constitutional deal if recallants such as the IFP oppose it, a separate vote for a new executive council or presidency, the long-awaited general election, and the second general election.

Electoral politics has taken over as a toothless parliament waits to preside over its own demise. The government's charter of fundamental rights is merely a document put forward for discussion. Yet it is to be translated into 10 languages, and distributed throughout the country to show what a nice bunch of guys the NP are, even if it is the same bunch who happened to trample over every-

body's rights for the past 45 years.

The NP appears to believe, along with Winnie Mandela, that the African National Congress' hold on the women's vote is vulnerable. So it has put in a fairly meaningless special clause for women, accompanied by a glossy pamphlet on women's rights.

Unfortunately, this new-found concern was almost ruined when Justice Minister Kobie Coetsee appeared to condone marital rape at the press briefing unveiling the Bill of Rights.

"A man who lives with his wife should be in a position to say that he has certain privileges," said Coetsee, as journalists started to hiss. He qualified this slightly: "With consent, of course."

Of course.

MORE than three decades of criss-crossing between the Opposition benches in parliament and the boardrooms of Anglo American have lent Democratic Party leader Zach de Beer a kind of crazy, amused understanding of power and the machinations of those who wield it.

He retains a gentlemanly aplomb, and is one of the last white men in Africa to employ the adjective "civilised". As in: Get rid of these dashed fellows in the Bantustans and all their nonsense. But, by all means, chaps, let's be civilised about it.

He is philosophical about the DP's future. With about R15-million, he believes, the DP could get upwards of 10 percent in the elections.

He still has not resolved the fundamental conundrum of being the original liberal democratic party: "Virtually all our ideas are now conventional wisdom," he says. "Instead of putting us on top of the heap, this has made our party's political problems more difficult than they were before."

Perhaps, for once, it's to the DP's advantage to be standing outside the ring of power. As De Beer points out, the country is in such a mess after 40 years of apartheid followed by three years of instability and confusion that "if you put the Angel Gabriel in charge of South Africa next year, he would make a mess of it."

Which just might well be part of the NP's long-term election strategy. It is clear that De Klerk and his cohorts have closely studied the lessons of African transitions, particularly Zimbabwe and Namibia.

The white Rhodesians made the cardinal error of insisting that their sunset clauses should include a bloc of white seats in parliament, rather than in government.

This doomed them to irrelevance as a small white enclave of 20 pale faces while real power rested with the 80 black faces.

Secondly, there is no point in the NP seriously competing to win the first election, because the lessons of Africa show that the heroes of the liberation movement will romp home the first time.

A less stony-eyed electorate will go to the polls five years later to assess the ANC's performance in attempting, with a ruined economy, to deliver on promises of socio-economic upliftment or, at the very least, overcoming decades of apartheid backlogs.

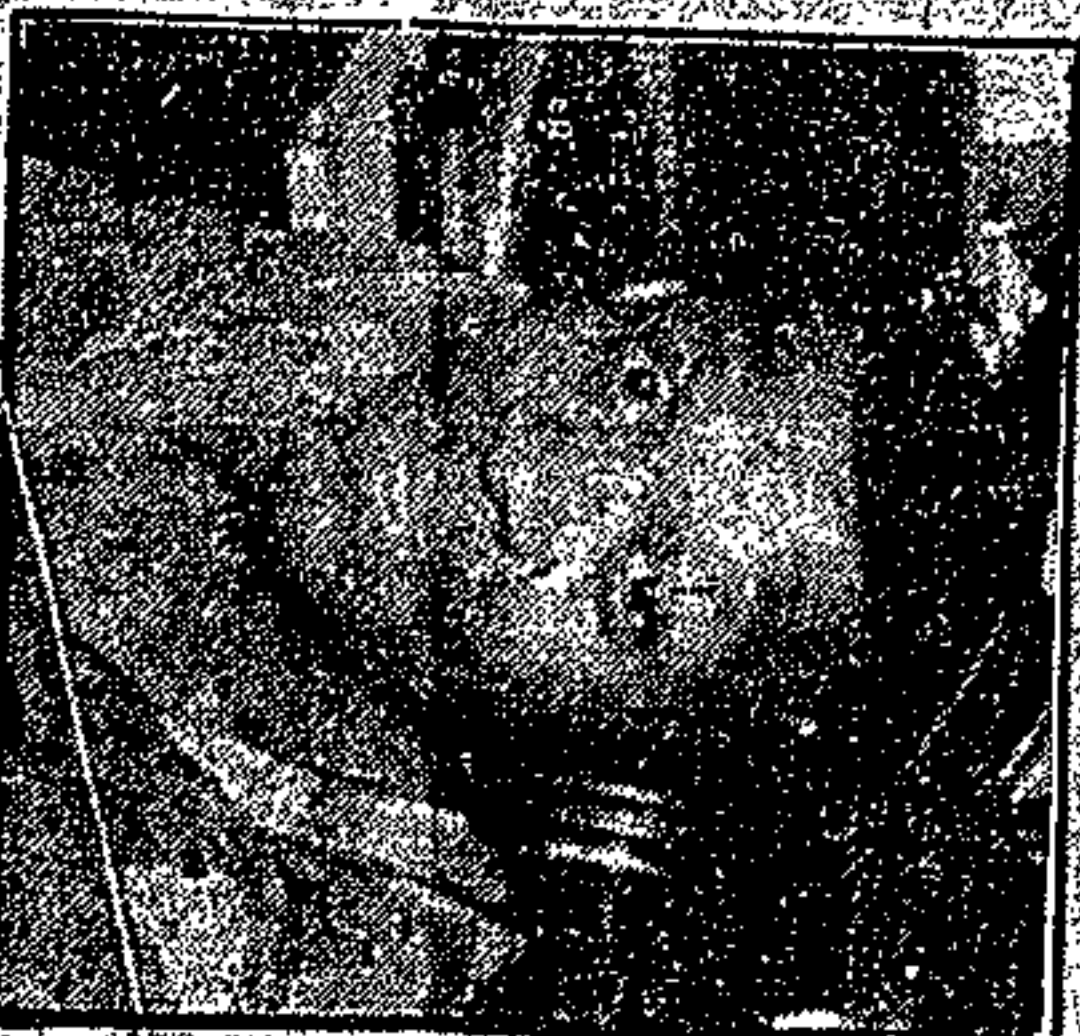
The NP, meanwhile, will remain a junior partner in government, while retaining the luxury of being along with a critical press, the Opposition. No wonder they've dropped permanent power sharing. If the NP wins the second election on its own, who needs to share the keys to the Union Buildings with the ANC?

Govt 'privatising discrimination'

Sowetan & Radio Metro

Talkback

By Sipho Mthembu



THE Bill of Rights recently unveiled by the Government was designed to entrench 'privatised discrimination', listeners to the Sowetan/Radio Metro Talkback Show heard last night.

The view was expressed by Mr Dullah Omar, a senior member of the African Congress, and Mr Firoz Cachalia, of the Wits University's Centre for Applied Legal Studies.

Public debate

National Party MP Mrs Sheila Camerer argued, however, that the Bill was drafted to stimulate public debate and assist in the negotiations process.

Omar argued that although the document mentioned individual rights, it

was clear that provision for 'private apartheid' had been made as it was emphasised that the details of the charter would only be applicable between the State and citizens, not amongst individuals.

The Bill only makes mention of political rights without saying anything about votes and voting.

The Bill should have placed more emphasis on freedoms which would level the playing fields and see us through the transitional period.

"It is unfortunate, however, that it is pre-empting the constituent assembly," Omar said. He said by allowing

groups to run private and autonomous education, the Bill further encouraged discrimination.

Cachalia said the Bill entrenched the traditional nationalist constitution.

Private discrimination

This, he said, would mean any legislation aimed at preventing 'private discrimination' would be unconstitutional.

Camerer said the Bill was an up-date of a 1986 Law Commission report instructed by Minister of Justice Kibie

Sowetan

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Coalsee. She said the document put more emphasis on the liberation of women more than anything else, saying it was breaking new ground and spelt a liberated future in the new South Africa.

Much of the talk centred on the clauses dealing with political rights and property ownership.

Samari, a caller from Tokoza, said: "It is a fact some minorities who have the finance will carry on with separate and racist education with the blessings of the constitution."

With Tim Modise

Forget past, face the future, says FW

MICHAEL MORRIS
Political
Correspondent

A BITTER election battle between the ANC and the National Party over their apartheid and terrorist pasts would be "damning evidence of a fatal inability and lack of will to create a new and just South Africa", President De Klerk has warned.

"Peace cannot be built on bitterness," he told parliament, "and violence cannot be brought to an end by fanning flames of past grievances."

In a strong appeal to all parties to face the future and resist the temptation to drag up the past, he said: "We need seriously to ask the question: does a debate in which we become bogged down in the past really make any contribution to reconciliation?"

"The answer is no. It serves no purpose to flog a dead horse."

"If the ANC, the Democratic Party and the Labour Party were to build their election platform on the NP's participation in apartheid, and the NP built its election platform on the ANC's espousal of terrorism and armed struggle, it would be damning evidence of a fatal inability and lack of will to create a new and just South Africa," he said.

He was responding to ANC MP Mr David Dalling's reference to the former Prime Ministers Dr D F Malan, Dr Hendrik Verwoerd and Mr J G Strijdom as "evil".

In fact, Mr De Klerk said, they were men of integrity who had acted in the public interest of the time and had believed that the policy of separate development would be a just answer.

Even Mr Dalling, he said, had once belonged to a party — the United Party — whose policy essentially amounted to "blanke baasskap".

However, there was nothing to be gained from dwelling in the past.

This year, he said, would be "decisive".

"Let's grab the opportunities, learn from the mistakes of the past and concentrate on the future," he said.

If people gave up hope in negotiations, a race war would erupt and the country would be destroyed.

Acknowledging that thousands of people had died in conflict in South Africa, Mr De Klerk added: "But if we had not taken the initiative and entered negotiations, there would have been millions of deaths."

The goal was a fair and just dispensation that would offer security to those who had something to lose, and opportunities to those who had nothing.

It must be a dispensation with institutions capable of protecting the constitution and the Bill of Rights, and with security forces and civil servants who were not open to manipulation.

Talks Crisis

Over WK

'gun snipers'

THE HARMONIOUS RELATIONS between the ANC and the Government received a setback yesterday after revelations of alleged Umkhonto we Sizwe gun-running into Natal.

The arrest on the Swaziland border of two alleged ANC cadres with arms, cast a cloud over bilateral talks which was scheduled for yesterday.

While senior Government and ANC officials met to discuss the issue, Minister of Foreign Affairs Pik Botha summoned diplomats to inform them of the "urgent crisis" in the country.

See page 2

Stouten
5/2/93



Terre'Blanche and the battle of the generals

By JAN TALJAARD

DETAILS of a volatile meeting in which effective power was wrenched from Afrikaner Weerstandsbeweging leader Eugene Terre'Blanche and moved into the hands of his "generals" emerged this week as Terre'Blanche prepared for his first public appearance after the secret meeting.

Last month an emotional Terre'Blanche literally threw down an AWB flag in a symbolic gesture after succumbing in a showdown with the general staff of the AWB's paramilitary arm, the Wenkommando.

The incident took place during a secret planning meeting held at Welkom. At the time, tensions inside the AWB were stretched to breaking-point following the arrest of several AWB members in connection with an arms theft.

As personal resentments and objections to his style of leadership surfaced during the meeting, Terre'Blanche ripped an AWB flag from the wall. Flinging it on a table, he asked the generals to take the flag, symbolising the AWB, as well as control of the organisation.

Staying on as ostensible leader of the organisation, Terre'Blanche has now, for all practical purposes, become a mere figurehead. Ever since that meeting all statements emanating from the AWB have been issued by the general staff.

Shortly after this meeting, disgruntled members of the AWB made contact with other rightwing organisations, such as the World Apartheid Movement of Koos Vermeulen, to discuss future options.

It seems, however, that the current



Eugene Terre'Blanche

school of thought among disgruntled members is that Terre'Blanche is inextricably linked to the organisation, and remains its strongest drawcard.

He may no longer be allowed to run the AWB as he wishes, but is still needed to swell the numbers and money coffers.

Apart from what may be the most important shift of power inside the AWB since its inception, last night's AWB rally in Pretoria's Portuguese Hall was also preceded by problems in finding a rally venue.

With the Pretoria City Hall closed for renovations and the R4 000 asked for Pretoria's Tortoise Hall apparently too steep, the AWB eventually hired the Portuguese Hall in Pretoria West.

The problems did not end there. A visiting parliamentarian from Portugal, Carlos Miguel Oliveira, this week criticised the decision of the Portuguese Club to make the hall available to an organisation he described as being "extremist, violent and racist".

Making spending targets stick is crucial to the strategy, since Zambia obtained general debt relief from western donors last year, reducing its debt-service burden from 1992-1995 by US\$816m. If he can't meet the agreed targets, the debt-relief package will be threatened and the whole edifice of spend-

ing restraint will come tumbling down.

The challenge now is to see off labour unions and other lobbies demanding higher State spending. All subsidies have been abolished, privatisation is gathering pace with another 39 State enterprises named to be sold this year, and — in a move that did not

please some in the business community — Kasonde announced the abolition of some of the 1991 investment incentives, notably tax holidays and exemptions from import duty.

It's a bold strategy from which governments elsewhere in the region, including SA, can learn. ■

LABOUR

FEATURE

The job creation conundrum

The deal offered by ANC president Nelson Mandela on sanctions raises a crucial question. Can business deliver? In Washington last month, Mandela said he would ask the ANC executive to endorse a call for an end to sanctions. But in return he wanted business to make a significant contribution towards cutting down unemployment and to pledge itself to a freeze on retrenchment.

Clearly an end to sanctions will help the economy. But no-one can estimate how long it will take to work through to new jobs. It's sometimes forgotten that business is just as keen as the ANC to see new jobs created. Rising levels of employment are often synonymous with rising prosperity for business.

Mandela, of course, was probably directing his remarks at his supporters rather than business. By establishing a connection between an end to sanctions and employment growth, he was justifying a move seen by many in his camp as premature.

But, having pointed out that job creation — and its flipside, retrenchment — is a function of the market and is not subject to the arbitrary manipulations of the business sector, business will no doubt consider what contribution it can make.

Frankel, Pollak, Vinderine economist Mike Brown believes future investment should be directed into labour intensive activities. Small- and medium-sized businesses usually generate more jobs, so he suggests injecting capital through special development funds, independent of government, into infrastructure and into developing the informal, small and medium-sized business sector. Funding could come from foreign aid, contractual savings and capital market borrowings.

What part can big business play in this process?

The Small Business Development Corp's assistant GM, Dawie Crous, says companies could subcontract to small- and medium-sized businesses. In Japan, where 98% of all businesses are considered small- or medium-sized, this is enforced through legislation. But similar legislation could be disastrous in SA. If subcontracting is not cost effective, compulsion will erode productivity levels

even further.

Cosatu's Neil Coleman suggests business should spend more on developing employee skills through education and training which, in turn, will increase competitiveness and generate sustainable employment. Few would argue with that.

There are thus limits to what business itself can contribute. Government can perhaps do more, but how successful its job



Clothing industry . . . remove restraints and create jobs

creation projects are is a moot point.

Brown estimates that R10bn spent on a work creation programme would create around 460 000 new jobs (roughly R21 740/new job) within 12-18 months. But Syfret's economist Elmien de Kock believes Brown's estimate is high.

Brown stands by his figures which, he says, were collected from reliable sources. Statistics from a study undertaken by Development Bank of SA economist Carel Meintjies suggest Brown's figures are not seriously out. In 1990, capital of R28 000 created one new job in labour intensive industries, while R239 000 was required to generate one job in capital intensive industries.

But economics consultant Azar Jammie, of Econometrix, argues that massive spending on job creation attacks the symptom rather than the cause of the problem. He contends the structure of the economy needs to be changed to make it more friendly to small businesses. This includes removing protective barriers and foreign exchange controls, educating the workforce and providing small businesses with tax incentives.

A problem UCT's Brian Kantor has with a

single R10bn cash injection in job creation — apart from it being too large for practical purposes — is who would be responsible for directing it into labour intensive investment? He recommends "letting investment find the best return on its own merits."

Negative real interest rates for much of the Eighties cheapened the cost of capital relative to labour, says Fergusson Brothers economist Tim Hacker. Monetary policy since 1989 has been directed at reversing this.

Kantor identifies another important influence in the shift from labour to capital over the past 10 years. "The formal sector has been cutting back on labour creation following an increase in labour costs through wage push pressure."

Brian Allen, of labour consultants Andrew Levy & Associates, concurs, adding that SA has one of the lowest productivity levels — in terms of unit labour costs which, he believes, is the only true measure of productivity — among the industrialised and semi-industrialised nations. "Until we get this right, high technology production process will be more attractive to employers," he contends.

Nedcor Bank's chief economist, Edward Osborn, is scornful of policies directed at expanding labour intensive industries. He maintains that, in countries like SA, where much of the population is highly unproductive and ill-educated, it makes little sense to lower the capital to labour ratio — rather it should be increased. "Unless this country chooses to stop the world and get off, the competitive process will dictate that it continue as best it can with the modern stream of technological developments".

The unemployment problem is daunting. Under current capital:labour ratios, some 200 000 new job opportunities in the formal sector would be created should the economy grow at 5% to 6% in real terms — an almost impossible goal in the current circumstances. The annual number of entrants to the labour market is estimated at 400 000. Admittedly, though, additional jobs would be created in the informal sector in a growing economy.

It thus seems that, other than providing training and funding educational projects, there is little that business can do to resolve SA's unemployment problem. The best course lies in removing restraints on the economy and allowing people to direct their energies where they see the most opportunities.

THE CONSTITUTION

FM 5/2/93

Challenge by timetable

(304A)

Stung by mounting criticism that it is being increasingly compromised by the reform process, government this week reaffirmed its commitment to a set of principles it insists must be included in a new constitution and added urgency to what is already a tight timetable for change.

Opening parliament last Friday, President F W de Klerk dismissed perceptions that government's efforts to act as a neutral facilitator to promote the resumption of multi-party talks meant its own views were being given a lower priority.

"The government has 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. And we are making good progress. We have not abandoned a single principle."

These principles, said De Klerk, included: power-sharing, strong regional government, checks and balances to prevent abuse of power, the accommodation of cultural and linguistic diversity, the assurance of economic security for owners and investors, protection of the security of tenure for officials and teachers "and all the other principles for which we have a mandate."

He said "good progress" was being made towards resuming multi-party talks next month. "If that happens we shall be able to move well within our projected time scales, which can result in a transitional executive council in June and a new transitional constitution in September."

Constitutional Development Minister Roelf Meyer took the issue further this week in a comprehensive review of the current state of the negotiation process and a reaffirmation of government's standpoint. He told parliament that a set of constitutional principles would have to be agreed to by negotiating parties before a transitional constitution could be formulated.

In government's view these included:

- A Bill of Rights — a comprehensive proposed draft of which was released this week by Justice Minister Kobie Coetsee;
- A participatory democracy including proportional representation;
- The devolution of power;
- Autonomy of civil society to ensure that people did not become "cogs in a uniform socialist State structure;"
- Executive power sharing in the transitional period and beyond it; and
- Strong regional government.

Meyer said government's target date for elections remained March or April next

year. He also clarified exactly how government envisaged the proposed phases of the transition:

- The multi-party forum — the composition or name of which government does not feel particularly strongly about as long as it



is representative — must reach agreement on a transitional constitution by the end of May. The transitional constitution must include constitutional principles which may not be amended by any subsequent constitution-making body;

- A non-elected Transitional Executive Council (TEC) and sub-councils and an electoral commission must be appointed by the end of June. He stressed that the TEC would not be a transitional government. The TEC would prepare for an election and the installation of a transitional government;
- The transitional constitution would be piloted through parliament by the end of September; and
- Elections for a transitional government would be held next year.

"After that," said Meyer, "it will be the task of the transitional government to govern the country in terms of the transitional constitution."

"The transitional parliament can change or substitute the transitional constitution — but will have to comply with the constitutional principles already accepted by the multi-party negotiating forum before May. Government proposes that this task be completed within three years, failing which a further election will have to be held."

Meyer said these steps were based on agreements reached at Codesa. However, he conceded that the Inkatha Freedom Party's views apparently differ with this outline and said the issue would be discussed in bilateral

talks with the party. He also effectively admitted that there were still major differences of opinion between government, the ANC and IFP on the structure and powers of regional government.

In essence, what Meyer said was that the proposed TEC will operate alongside the existing government and make inputs into certain decisions, rather than take over its functions.

This means, for example, that the security forces will remain under the existing political control until after the election, when they will fall under the transitional government.

It is also clear that the transitional government — which government believes must be representative of all major parties that win votes in the election — could remain in power for three years or more, depending on progress made by the constitution-making elected assembly.

But many observers remain highly sceptical about government's timetable (the ANC is insisting on an even shorter period). Meyer's speech also highlighted what could be considered as other serious differences between the negotiating partners, some of which are unlikely to be resolved by the end of the month to allow multi-party talks to resume.

But in his opening speech, De Klerk said good progress was being made "quietly and unobtrusively ... 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 we have to take if we are to ensure peace and prosperity for all."

However, it was felt this week that while De Klerk's interpretation of behind-the-scenes events may well be accurate, the perceived obstacles to the resumption of multi-party talks were still so considerable that the current timetable was hopelessly over-optimistic.

Meyer, in fact, admitted that "the air is still full of tension and there is still a chance that problems may arise." However, he said there was no option other than to "persevere with negotiations until we achieve success for the sake of SA."

This year, his perseverance will no doubt be tested to the limit.

DEFLECTIONS

Small earthquakes

A "seismic shift in SA's political geology" was one view of the defection by Natal National Party veteran Jurie Mentz, MP for Vryheid, to the hitherto non-existent In-

katha benches of the (white) House of Assembly. On closer consideration, however, Mentz's stroll across the floor seems barely to have triggered a vibration.

Granted, there was another desertion this week — from the Democratic Party to Inkatha — by Maritzburg North MP Mike Tarr. But observers reckon this crossing, too, is likely to be more of academic than political significance — even if the two are the vanguard of a defection parade. White voters in Maritzburg may feel differently; having voted in two DP representatives, they now have an Inkatha MP (Tarr) and an ANC MP (Rob Haswell, who defected last year).

The debate about Tarr is more likely to revolve on whether it will affect the DP's standing as the largest opposition party in the three houses of parliament, than whether it denotes a meaningful political shift. In proportion to its overall presence in parliament, Tarr's defection will hurt the DP more than Mentz's will harm the Nats. Tarr's move adds salt to the wound opened by the earlier DP defections to the ANC.

Former Nat colleagues have, predictably, played down the defection of the 66-year-old member from Vryheid in northern Natal. Less understandable, on the face of it, is the lack of IFP fanfare at the acquisition of its first member of SA's last white parliament.

Mentz's motives for the move could be twofold. His given reason is his longstanding (and undeniable) admiration for the IFP and its leader, Mangosuthu Buthelezi, and his belief that Buthelezi is the only logical regional leader within a largely autonomous federated structure. Another possible reason could be disenchantment with the Nats. An elder statesman in the hierarchy — he joined in 1948 and has been an MP since 1978 — he feels slighted, according to rumours, at being constantly overlooked for plum jobs.

DP MP Peter Gastrow was reluctant to discuss the implications of Tarr's defection until it had been discussed by the DP caucus. However, he said of Mentz that there was a widely held belief that he was aggrieved at being overlooked in favour of George Bartlett as Natal leader, probably because the party wanted to project a more English image in the province.

A possible reason for the IFP's rather muted welcome of its new celebrities could also be put down to bad timing. It is quite probable that though the IFP and government have papered over their differences, Inkatha is still smarting over government's pointed criticism of the IFP's reliance on white advisers like Walter Felgate — apparently also the cause of a growing rift in the IFP.

Another point, made by the University of Cape Town's Robert Schrire, is that the importance of these shifts should be measured against a parliamentary system and political order which is on its last legs.

"They're all but dead and what once could have been a shattering blow is likely to leave the Nats unmoved, given the fact that, in a sense, every member of the existing trica-

meral system is a lame duck. The way the chairs are shuffled makes little difference. The only significance to the Nats would have been if Mentz's defection had resulted in F W de Klerk losing control of the House of Assembly. But most Nats are locked in by necessity. They believe the party can still offer and promise more than any other political grouping."

Schrire adds that Mentz's impact on the IFP needs to be considered in the context of SA already being in the midst of a major electoral campaign. On that basis, the significance of Mentz's move should be measured by whether it will help or hinder Inkatha. "Again I believe it will be completely irrelevant," says Schrire, "he's unlikely to change many votes one way or the other, especially if a system of proportional representation is used."

Gastrow, however, makes the point that Mentz could have an impact in galvanising Natal's white electorate behind Buthelezi, particularly in view of existing sympathy for the IFP president's stand on a virtually independent Natal.

The bottom line, according to Schrire, is that shifts to the ANC or IFP by white parliamentarians can be regarded more as eccentricity than a real threat. Defections to the Right, he says, would carry far more significance because they would weaken the Nats' psychological hold on this important part of the old order. ■

alist or a radical, and whose integrity and political intellect are widely respected. He also happens to hail from a family with a strong military tradition. Another possible candidate is former PFP leader Frederik van Zyl Slabbert, who has repeatedly argued that progress towards democracy is impossible until the role of the security forces is uncontested by major players. His acute insight and experience would be an asset.

Foreign Affairs cannot be left to stagnate, however long the interim period may be. It is known that Thabo Mbeki has strong aspirations to this post (his current shadow appointment in the ANC) and most observers would be happy if he were to be given the job. But there is a nagging feeling that the present Minister, Pik Botha, should not be lost to national life. His charisma, reformist image and experience (both in domestic politics and internationally) would lend weight to a transitional authority — and he could be vital in keeping nervous whites happy.

A place should be found for Zach de Beer, perhaps as Minister of Justice and Correctional Services. Another DP stalwart, Colin Eglin, would be good in a complicated portfolio like Home Affairs — which could include responsibility for the SABC.

An obvious choice for the Manpower portfolio would seem to be Ramaphosa, with his union background — but his seniority as secretary-general of the ANC demands a more important position.

Minister of Health & Welfare Services



Van Zyl Slabbert



Thabo Mbeki



Zach de Beer

Rina Venter should stay in her present portfolio. It would be inappropriate to lose the sole woman incumbent, and a substitute does not easily come to mind.

In view of the painful history of education, it will be difficult to avoid the appointment of the leading ANC educationist, John Samuel — a quiet and competent professional who has no illusions.

Given Inkatha's sensitivity to regional issues, a IFP member should become Minister of Regional Affairs — national chairman Frank Mdlalose has built a reputation for conciliatory commonsense. An Inkatha member with a DP background, Mike Tarr, could be entrusted with Agriculture — a hot portfolio best kept away from both the ANC and the Nats.

Housing and electrification could be combined under a capable technocrat who knows the world of business and has a record of getting things done — and the name that springs to mind here is Ian McCrae, due to retire by next year as CE of Eskom.

A possible transitional Cabinet could look like this:

- ☐ Nelson Mandela (joint president);
- ☐ FW de Klerk (joint president);

- ☐ Cyril Ramaphosa (joint chairman);
- ☐ Pik Botha (joint chairman);
- ☐ Derek Keys (Finance);
- ☐ Thabo Mbeki (Foreign Affairs);
- ☐ Colin Eglin (Home Affairs);
- ☐ Jacob Zuma (Defence);
- ☐ Van Zyl Slabbert (Security);
- ☐ Zach de Beer (Justice and Correctional Services);

- ☐ Frank Mdlalose (Regional Affairs);
- ☐ Rina Venter (Health);
- ☐ John Samuel (Education);
- ☐ Mike Tarr (Agriculture); and
- ☐ Ian McCrae (Housing, Electricity.)

Naturally, not all the areas of government are covered in this list, but this is a transitional authority. Less controversial areas, where there are no ideological disputes and no crises to manage, might easily be left to the management of a senior civil servant, who would report to the joint chairmen.

Such a Cabinet obviously does not reflect the racial proportions in the country as a whole; it happens to have nobody who was once classified Indian or coloured, for instance, partly because competent politicians in these groups have shunned government because of "own affairs" and have therefore not become prominent.

However, two who might be considered are Franklin Sonn (education) and David Curry (housing).

Similar racial proportions could not be expected in a subsequent Cabinet drawn from a democratically elected parliament. What we want are people who can get us to the next stage in one piece. ■

THE CABINET

People who won't cut our throats

We need the best team possible to govern the transition

FM 5/2/93

(304A)



When the first Labour Party government took office in Britain in 1924, an elderly duchess wrote to No 10 Downing Street wanting to know if her throat would be cut. As it happened, the duchess easily sur-

vived Ramsay MacDonald's Cabinet of former engine drivers and millwrights, because that Labour administration lasted only six months. (The worker Ministers wore top hats when parliament was opened.)

South Africans, accustomed to the old order and feel reasonably comfortable under it, may be feeling rather like that duchess at the moment. Within the next year or two we will experience the most dramatic constitutional changes on the country's history. Even though the present system is deeply flawed, it is familiar. Citizens and investors are understandably nervous about what will replace it — and, more to the point, who will be in charge.

The stages of transition are not yet defined. (See *Currents* — The Constitution.) But there seems to be agreement that a multi-party transitional executive council (TEC) will prepare the way for a transitional government to be appointed or elected. Whatever the terminology, the time is approaching when the country will have a broadly based, nonracial Cabinet.

Speculation begins on who will be in the first transitional Cabinet — which, for reasons of legitimacy and stability, will have to be drawn from all the major players. The politicians themselves were reluctant to offer names, so the *FM* canvassed the opinion of four seasoned political observers: Enos Mabuza, former chief minister of KaNgwane; Saths Cooper, former Azapo president; Moeletsi Mbeki, head of the ANC/Cosatu media project; and Willie Breytenbach, professor of Africa Studies at Stellenbosch.

There was unanimity on only one portfolio — Derek Keys at Finance — and general agreement that ANC president Nelson

Mandela and State President F W de Klerk would play leadership roles. For the rest, there was no common ground at all — which indicates the great fluidity and uncertainty in our politics.

Because political sensitivities and symbolism will be the major priority in selecting an interim head of state, the solution may be a rotating presidency, giving Mandela and De Klerk turns in the hot seat. If administrative continuity and dependability were the determining factors, it might have been preferable to appoint DP leader Zach de Beer.

Breytenbach tailors his list to a rather

created — like Regional Affairs, which would encourage closer co-operation between provincial authorities and homeland leaders, and Public Service Rationalisation. Candidates suggested by Breytenbach for deputy chairman of the TEC are Ramaphosa and Nat whizz kid Roelf Meyer.

Keys is the most accomplished man at Finance since Jan Hofmeyr. But Keys' great abilities would need to be reinforced by more outside talent — as well as the National Economic Forum; he should also take over State Expenditure.

The most important and sensitive portfolios in the transition will undoubtedly be the security posts, Law & Order and Defence.

For practical reasons it would make sense to combine responsibility for the police with responsibility for those elements of the SADF which support the civil power. Thus there would be a Minister of Security (or some such title), while the Minister of Defence would have a less controversial job, looking after the borders and coastlines. Defence would be a portfolio with which to give the ANC's Jacob Zuma entry to the Cabinet (though the SACP might not like the idea).

The Security Minister would, more than any other Cabinet member, have to be untarnished by past associations — which would rule out Nat, ANC, SACP or Inkatha politicians. Ideally, he should be a civilian rather than someone drawn from the military, police or guerrilla worlds — yet he would have to be tough enough to deal

with the professionals, be able to speak their language and earn their respect. He would have to be trusted by the major players to act impartially and sensibly.

Above all, a new Security Minister would have to ensure that the general election campaign and voting are conducted without intimidation or violence, thus ensuring legitimacy for the elected government. He would also have to be a man of strong will, able to withstand criticism and bullying from the radicals to the Left and Right.

One man who may fit the security bill is Mr Justice Johan Kriegler, never a Nation-



FW de Klerk



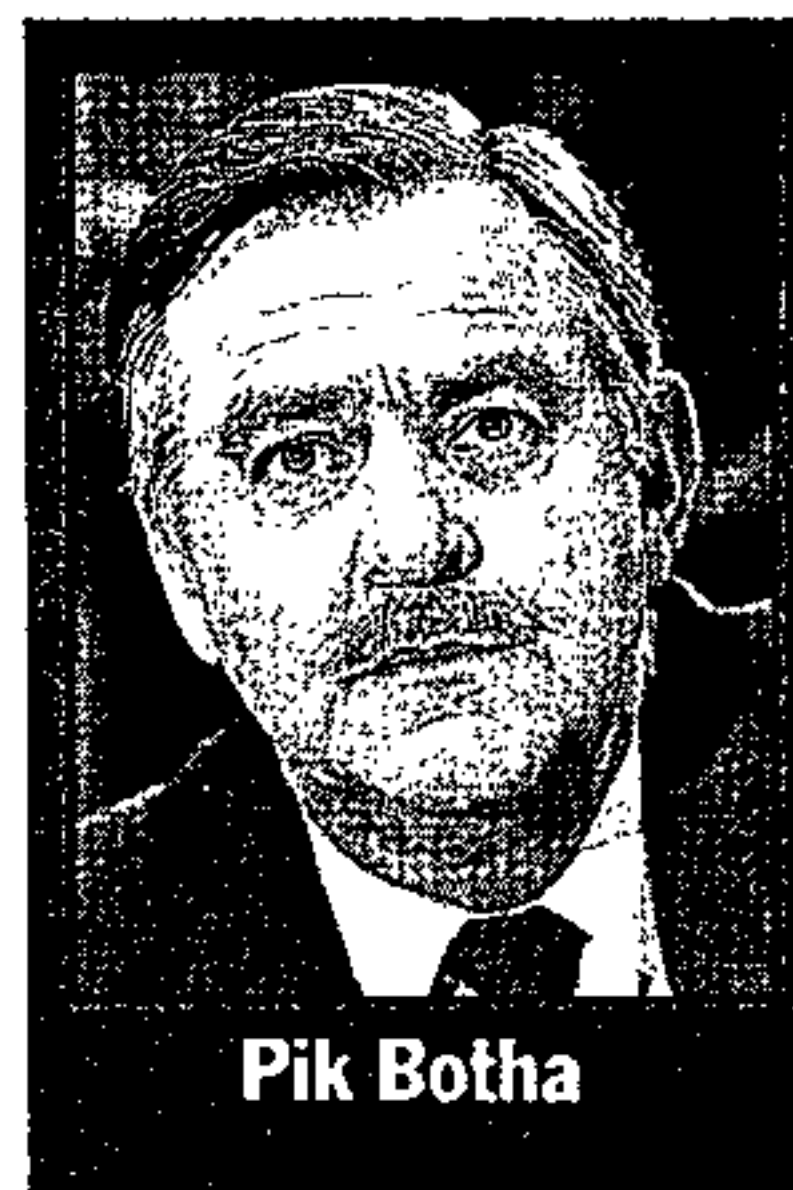
Nelson Mandela



Derek Keys



Cyril Ramaphosa



Pik Botha

different structure. He foresees, initially, "parallel executive rule between the conventional Cabinet and about 10 TEC sub-councils during the pre-constituent assembly election phase." Under such an arrangement, he believes De Klerk will remain chairman of the Cabinet in his capacity as State President, with either Mandela or ANC secretary-general Cyril Ramaphosa heading the TEC.

There could, Breytenbach says, be prominent non-Nat figures brought in to handle the portfolios of Law & Order, Defence and Foreign Affairs. New portfolios might be

THE ECONOMY

Only two cheers FM 5/2/93

With inflation at a 15-year low and money supply growing even more slowly than inflation — meaning it's declining, in real terms — most countries would be rejoicing. There'd be dancing in the streets, and the proclamation of special public holidays. Here, all we get is gloomy economists predicting that it won't last (see *Economy*).

Is this just a reflection of innate Calvinist masochism? Certainly, it's hard to get euphoric about the economy on a day in which minibus drivers — once regarded as the great success story of black business — have turned much of the Johannesburg CBD — notably the streets around the JSE and 11 Diagonal Street — into an urban guerrilla war zone.

What hope can there be for renewed economic growth when the financial centre can so easily be paralysed? It may make little difference whether any individual stockbroker can get in and out of his office. The point is: how can we expect foreign investors to commit themselves to a society in which violence is so near the surface and can bubble up so suddenly, with no warning?

More to the point, there's an underlying fear that — without detracting from the discipline Reserve Bank Governor Chris Stals has imposed on us — our apparent economic gains have been brought about by weakness rather than strength.

Inflation has come down partly because of anomalies over the base and partly because of a slackening in a previously intolerable rate of food price increases; low growth in money supply reflects crumbling demand for credit, because of recession; and a surprisingly solid trade surplus, despite a

slack world economy, hides the fact that a poor export performance has been outweighed by a cap on imports imposed by even poorer domestic demand — again reflecting local economic woes.

That is why these achievements, though necessary, are not adequate conditions for renewed growth, and our real interest rates will stay high, by world standards (see *Economy*).

Moreover, hovering in the background is the March Budget, for which we are now being softened up to expect increases in Vat and fuel taxes, with the ancillary message that we should be happy if direct taxes are not raised too.

Could anything be more absurd, on general principles, than to slap higher taxes on an economy just struggling to come out of the longest recession in 60 years? Sadly, that's the pass to which 45 years of Nat misrule, corruption and overborrowing have brought us. But for Finance Minister Derek Keys' new broom, it could have been even worse.

It has, of course, long been accepted that no amount of financial discipline will bring economic revival without a political settlement and a recovery in world prices of the commodities that — despite success in broadening the range into manufactures — still make up the bulk of our exports.

What this week's anarchy in Johannesburg may have shown is that, even if a political settlement can be negotiated, it won't help if relatively small groups of dissidents set their mind on disrupting the flow of society. And if this is what a couple of hundred taxi drivers can do to Johannesburg, imagine what havoc the AWB, MK or Apla could create throughout SA. ■

BLACK TAXI INDUSTRY

Biting the bullet FM 5/2/93

It's ironic that the black taxi, or minibus, industry, only a few years ago held up as the triumph of black entrepreneurship, is not only looking somewhat different (see previous article and *Business*), but is also resorting to the traditional snake juice of the old SA: pleas for State aid and exemption from inconvenient laws the rest of us have to abide by.

Of course, this is not to deny that taxi drivers may have legitimate grievances. Anyone who drives around Johannesburg could well share taximen's view that they seem to be singled out for roadworthy and other checks by traffic cops.

But to stretch that complaint into what amounts to a request for near-total exemption from normal city driving and parking restrictions is a bit rich — unless taxi drivers themselves are to show much more compliance with generally accepted driving standards than they have in the past.

If the renewed chaos on Tuesday reflected the authorities' refusal to cave in to these demands, that may be the price we have to pay to avoid even greater anarchy on the roads.

Far more worrying in the long term is the industry's request for State aid to bail out its unsatisfactory finances —

especially considering the general view that one of the industry's greatest early successes was its ability to avoid paying taxes legitimately due to that selfsame State.

It seems the industry has been crunched between, on the one hand, recession, and, on the other, over-expansion of capacity typical when a new industry reaches maturity. That's a phenomenon experienced in businesses as varied as international airlines and video cassette recorders.

It will be tragic if many black small businessmen burn their fingers in their first encounter with capitalism, and there's no denying that the lack of adequate mass commuter transport services gives minibuses an important role.

But, sadly, it's not clear that either pressure is valid grounds for State aid. It's simply not possible for a government to protect all industries against recession, and one which may be suffering from structural overcapacity is not a particularly high priority.

Indeed, financial aid in such a case may simply delay the necessary downsizing, and be positively counterproductive. The taximen must bite the bullet, like the rest of us. ■

The new-look NP goes for broke

Column and S(2-11/2/93

(304A

A REVAMPED National Party has launched its total election strategy — and a multiracial cabinet is on the cards as part of it.

The new NP wants to convey the image that it is non-racial, in touch with ordinary people, and that it best represents the aspirations of moderate South Africans of all colours.

The release of "a charter of fundamental rights", the plans for a single education department, open support for women's rights, the control of all three Houses of Parliament, and the restructuring of the party machine are all part of this overall strategy.

The new NP, its leadership believes, has to be different, streamlined and determined to do very well in South Africa's first democratic elections.

And, despite what opponents might

think, party leader FW de Klerk oozes confidence and conviction that he is following the right course. This optimism, of course, may be self-delusion by a man who wields enormous power and who is perhaps shielded from grassroots reality. But De Klerk does not look remote or sound out of touch.

This could simply be good leadership and marketing, but De Klerk has been underestimated in the past. And the NP has the experience, skills and finances to run a tough and strategic election campaign ...

A major thrust of this approach will be to show that this is a new NP, a fundamentally changed party, and one that has adapted to the future.

As Constitutional Development Minister Roelf Meyer implied this week, the NP is now ready to go it alone and stop trying to negotiate shaky

The NP's election strategy presents a fundamentally changed party — non-racial, progressive, and confident it can win the popular vote.

Weekly Mail Reporter

alliances with parties propped up by government-created structures.

De Klerk even claimed this week the NP had never thought of election alliances, only co-operation between different parties on policy issues, but that is clearly not the case. In the past, NP strategists talked openly about alliances with groups like Inkatha to stop the ANC. Foreign Minister Pik Botha open, promoted alliance politics at one stage.

But that has gone. For a number of reasons, the NP has dropped thoughts of an election alliance with the Inkatha Freedom Party — the major reason for NP frontbencher and Vryheid MP Jurie Mentz quitting the party this week. The party leadership has now realised the dangers of alliance partners who do not have the same agendas as the NP.

So the cosy relationship with Solidarity and its ultra-conservative leader, Dr JN Reddy, has ended and, with minor flexing of political muscle, the NP has taken control of the House of Delegates.

Now they want Indian, coloured and black nationalists within the party structure as members and subject to NP discipline. There is no white NP, De Klerk said to the journalists. He added: "There is no brown NP, there is no Indian NP, there is no black NP, there is

only one NP."

Now he will be translating that into action, starting with the cabinet. General Magnus Malan has gone. Others will follow, particularly those who do not want to face the rigours of an election campaign which will be focused on townships rather than the platteland.

Those heading for retirement are Environment Minister Louis Pienaar, Development Aid Minister Jacob de Villiers, Defence Minister Gene Louw and a few others. Interestingly, speculation in the NP press about the imminent departure of Adriaan Vlok, currently Correctional Services Minister, may be wrong. Vlok himself says he is staying and he seems to embrace the new NP with much greater enthusiasm than some of his older colleagues.

Among the dark-skinned politicians in line for cabinet promotion are House of Representatives ministers Abe Williams (good for the rugby vote), Gerald Morkel (good for the cricket and English establishment votes), Jac Rabie, and chairman of the House of Delegates Salem Abram Mayel, one of the few Afrikaans-speaking Indian MPs.

Apart from changing its image, the NP is going to become progressive. It has made its moves on the Bill of Rights, women's rights, educational unity, the restructuring of the police, and scrapping "own affairs".

Next in line are green issues. Pienaar may be going, but an enlightened and far-reaching White Paper is expected soon on environmental reform.

Wooing country hearts



Smaller towns and townships will play an important role in determining the outcome of the pending nonracial election. **PATRICK LAURENCE** reports on his visit to Harri-smith and its environs.

ENOCHE Mlangeni had a simple but powerful message for his audience of township folk: "Our talking will be done through the ballot box... The people shall govern."

The young ANC organiser was addressing a meeting in the town hall at 42nd Hill, a small township on the outskirts of Harri-smith in the Free State. He and his comrades were determined to contribute to an ANC victory in South Africa's pending first nonracial election.

I had gone to Harri-smith and the neighbouring town of Phuthaditjhaba, in the partially self-governing polity of Qwaqwa, on a dual quest to observe at first hand what was happening on the ground in smaller remote areas and to look at a locality where Zach de Beer's small Democratic Party was said to be flourishing in the black community.

James Sefle, the DP executive director, had identified Harri-smith and Phuthaditjhaba as areas where the DP had been able to establish itself in the black community. DP meetings there, Sefle had said, had not been broken up by zealous from the ANC and the Pan Africanist Congress, and the DP's new members had not been terrified into inactivity or apostasy.

But when I arrived at Harri-smith the most audible and visible presence at 42nd Hill was that of the ANC, whose branch chairman is a township headmaster, Peter Mlangeni. A quietly spoken man, Mlangeni related how he faced incessant demands from ANC members to see their president, Nelson Mandela.

The DP, however, had been quickest off the mark in the post-1990 political era, with De Beer addressing a meeting at 42nd Hill's town hall before the ANC had even established a

branch there. De Beer's meeting, ANC members acknowledged during the visit, had been a success.

But in the past four or five months the situation had changed: the ANC had established a branch. Cas Human, the man who had by all accounts played a critical role in propagating the DP's cause had gone over to the ANC, making his office, telephone and fax — and great enthusiasm and energy — available to the ANC.

Impressions, however, can be misleading. I decided to defer judgment until my scheduled visit to Phuthaditjhaba. I had been given the name of the DP man there, Abel Motung, his telephone number and the address of his office.

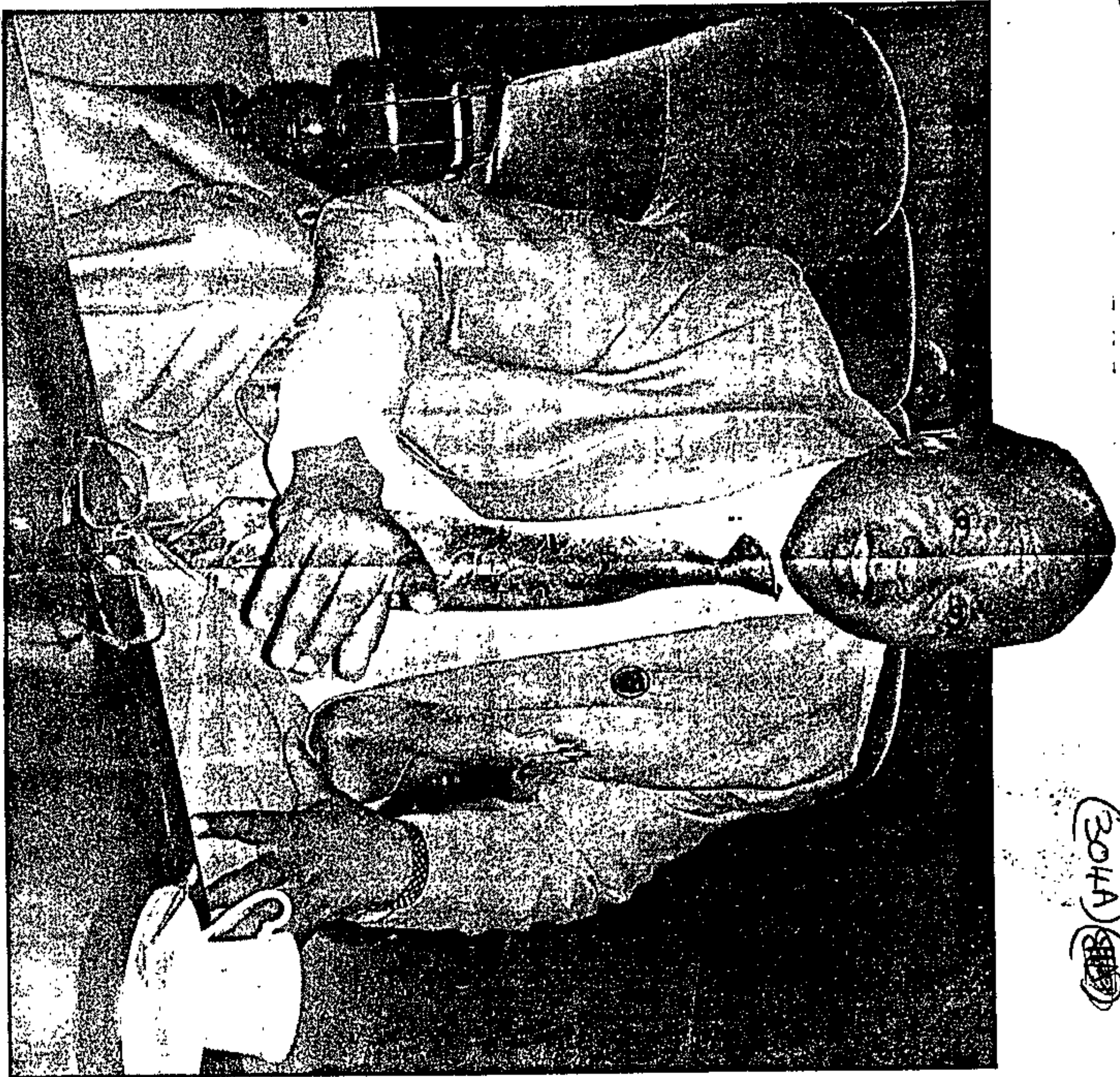
The signs had not been positive. I had phoned several times during the past few days to make an appointment but there had been no reply. The visit to Phuthaditjhaba was fruitless.

The winding alleys and plethora of street stalls in Phuthaditjhaba's Settling Shopping Complex, where the DP had its office, appeared to be labyrinthine. I eventually located Shop 15, where Motung was meant to be. The two women there had never heard of the DP or Motung.

Inquiries about the whereabouts of the DP or Motung elicited blank stares and shrugging shoulders. Two youths, however, offered their assistance. They assumed that I was looking for the ANC's Steve Pholela and happily took me to his office. He, however, was attending a funeral.

Later, after continuing my vain search for the DP's Motung, I phoned another DP contact, Pierre de Vos, the DP's man in Beethlehem. Perhaps he could help, I thought.

"I have long given up hope," De Vos said. "I can never find anyone since Cas Human left.



Chief Minister Kenneth Mopeli... his party has pulverised the QwaQwa opposition in four elections.

Human did a marvellous job but we didn't follow up. The DP did have a strong branch in Qwaqwa but that was under the guidance of Cas Human. We were lax. Unfortunately things came apart at the seams." Later still, Andries Botha, DP chairman for the northern

Free State, to whom I had been referred by Sefle, offered an explanation for the absence of Motung: he had taken "a post-Christmas break."

Botha largely endorsed De Vos's assessment of the DP's position in Qwaqwa. The DP had been very active in Qwaq-

wa under Human's leadership but it had since become less active, if not quiescent. "I don't know how we will recover," Botha remarked. "It is in the lap of the gods."

I did, however, see Chief Minister Kenneth Mopeli, whose Dikwankwella Party has dominated the Qwaqwa Legislative Assembly for 18 years, having pulverised the opposition in four elections.

Mopeli was reconciled to the absorption of his polity into a greater South Africa, provided that it formed a part of a free

State-Qwaqwa region in a federation. "We have always considered ourselves part of South Africa," Mopeli said. "Our slogan is, 'One South Africa, one economy, one citizenship and one passport'."

Mopeli related how he had resisted an invitation to join an ANC-led alliance, with the promise of places for Dikwankwella candidates on an ANC list.

His reasons for doing so were differences in policy. Dikwankwella wants regional powers to be constitutionally entrenched and favours a "free market" economy, positions it shares with President de Klerk's National Party and Mangosuthu Buthe's Inkatha Freedom Party.

Mopeli, however, insisted that the convergence with the NP on these issues was coincidental, that there was no question of Dikwankwella being an adjunct to the NP, as ANC supporting youths alleged last year when they broke up Dikwankwella meetings in Beethlehem in the northern Free State and in the Vaal Triangle.

Dikwankwella intended to contest the pending non-racial election in its own right, with its own distinct identity. Mopeli declared. Assessing its chances, he predicted that Dikwankwella could win 500 000 votes and 10 seats in a 400-member constituent assembly.

The ANC, however, would field a powerful alliance while Dikwankwella and the parties with which its policies converged — notably the NP and the IFP — would be on their own.

I put it to Mopeli that political wisdom demanded a counter-alliance of like-minded parties. He replied that he was keeping his options open. Judging from recent comments by Constitutional Minister Roelf Meyer and De Klerk himself, the NP has foreclosed that option, preferring, it seems, to contest the election on its own.

To fulfil De Klerk's boast, made in Cape Town at an international press briefing, that the NP could emerge as the biggest single party, it will have to win a substantial share of the votes in black communities. I saw no evidence to support De Klerk's optimism. □

Star 5/2/93
**FW defends
former Nat
premiers** (304A)

CAPE TOWN — President de Klerk caused a stir in Parliament yesterday by endorsing former National Party Prime Ministers D F Malan, J G Strijdom and H F Verwoerd as "men of great personal integrity".

Replying to the debate on his opening speech, De Klerk attacked ANC Sandton MP Dave Dalling for describing the former NP leaders as "evil".

De Klerk said Malan, Strijdom and Verwoerd were men of great personal integrity. They had believed their actions were in the interests of the country.

They reflected the values and priorities of their time.

"They were consistent and sincere in their belief that separate development would bring justice to black South Africans."

De Klerk also challenged the Conservative Party to clarify its stand on negotiations.

He said the CP branded the Government traitors for talking to the ANC and SA Communist Party. Yet the CP would be attending a multiparty planning conference on negotiations which it knew would be attended by the ANC and SACP. — Political Correspondent.

Star 5/2/93

TerreBlanche extends hand to Portuguese

(304 A)

By Brendan Templeton

Afrikaner Weerstandsbeweging leader Eugene TerreBlanche last night claimed Portuguese South Africans as his own.

Speaking at the Portuguese Hall in Pretoria West, he said the presence of Portuguese-speaking AWB official Joe Ferreira, the commandant of the Johannesburg Wenkommando, proved it was not only the Boer nation which was being threatened by the new South Africa.

Earlier this week, the Portuguese embassy said that the hiring of the hall to the AWB did not indicate support for the AWB in the Portuguese-speaking community.

TerreBlanche said the presence of Ferreira and representatives of the conservative Mineworkers Union showed that resistance to the new South Africa was broadening into other white sectors of society.

TerreBlanche congratulated Witwatersrand Attorney-General Klaus von Lieres und Wilkau for insisting that taxi drivers who blockaded Johannesburg streets this week be prosecuted.

Bartlett reveals little secret

Star 5/2/93
(304A)
Political Staff

CAPE TOWN — George Bartlett, Mineral and Energy Affairs Minister and Natal leader of the National Party, yesterday revealed an innermost secret.

Dumbfounding local and foreign journalists at a media briefing in Cape Town, he disclosed that he had not been circumcised. He flashed this vital statistic in speaking about cultural differences and responding to a question on whether Natal should have its own constitution.

Bartlett said on cultural diversity that he respected the Zulu nation and its culture.

In the Middle East he had sat down with a man who had had a dagger in his lap. The Minister said he had respected that.

He said he also respected the initiation ceremonies of the Xhosa people and the painting of their faces.

And then came the revelation: "... and I respect Jews being circumcised — not that I was," he hastened to add. "I hope I'm making myself clear."

CAPE TOWN — There would have been millions of deaths in South Africa if the Government had not entered into negotiations, President F W de Klerk said yesterday.

Speaking in the debate on his opening address, De Klerk said that if the country's people gave up hope of a negotiated solution and a race war erupted, the country would be "reduced to a heap of rubble".

If the goal of negotiations was a stable South Africa, all civil servants — and the security forces in particular — had to be free from political manipulation and victimisation.

"I want a government that will prevent a Hitler or an Idi

Negotiations saving lives (304A) — De Klerk

Amin from arising and plunging the country into suffering," he said.

A new dispensation could not bring peace if it did not accommodate the variety of the country's people, and if all groups were not sure their language and traditions would be safe.

There had to be checks and balances to ensure that no one could tear up a future constitution, and that the constitution

and bill of rights were the highest authority in the land.

The National Party had spelt this out in last year's referendum. A second referendum would be held if the constitutional principles advocated by the NP before March 17 1992 were not incorporated into a new South African constitution, De Klerk said.

There was indeed growing consensus and this had led him to close his address last Friday on a note of optimism.

At this stage he knew of nothing that contradicted his hope that elections for a transitional government would be held in March next year, but 1993 would be decisive. — Sapa.

Press briefings arranged for all

(SOURCES)
BRIEFINGS had been arranged for all the political parties in Parliament and not just the NP, a spokeswoman for the SA Communication Service said last night.

These briefings had been held throughout the week for local and foreign journalists.

Yesterday's press conference by Dr Dawie de Villiers replaced one cancelled earlier.

'DP will be crushed' — Dalling

Political Staff

INDEPENDENT MP and ANC member Mr Dave Dalling predicted yesterday that the DP would be "crushed" and that the ANC and SACP would separate.

Mr Dalling said at a briefing that fighting corruption and advocating "puritanical" free enterprise was unlikely to win the DP the five percent popular support needed to get representation in Parliament.

The DP's major problem was that it contained three camps: One inclined towards the ANC, one towards the NP, and one that wanted the party to be independent and support liberal values.

Each camp felt so strongly about its position that if the party shifted towards the view of any one it would shed the supporters of the other two.

The party appeared to be taking the independent path. If it maintained this

position "I think it will be crushed".

Mr Dalling said he never had been and never would be a communist. Although whites considered the connection between the ANC and the SACP a problem, blacks did not.

The policies of the organisations would probably cause their separation in time.

Meanwhile, Sapa reports that Labour Party leader the Rev Allan Hendrickse said his party was seeking a further alliance with the ANC.

There are five steps to effective second-tier government, writes **Charles Simkins**
Star 5/2/93

Facing realities of regionalism

A MAJOR outstanding issue in constitutional negotiations is the role and function of second-tier government. Incoherent treatment of it damaged Codesa last year and power struggle in this field threatens to become ruinous. Yet a settlement is within reach if five reasonable principles are adopted.

These are:
1. Regional boundaries should respect historically formed identities. These are based on patterns of white and black settlement, on distributions of language use, on past regions of state administration (provincial and homeland) and on the widespread regionalisation of many national institutions (from the police to sporting associations to Cosatu).
Of course, there remains some room for debate about the number of regions and their precise boundaries. Should the PVV (a concept dating only from the 1970s) be deconstructed? What configurations are most important in the western Transvaal/northern Cape and

in the Transkei/Ciskei/eastern Cape? But regional boundaries cannot be drawn arbitrarily.

South Africa's rapidly growing population is also a factor. In a nation of 80 million people, a regional as well as a national political focus will help bring government closer to the people.

2. Regional governments should have a coherent set of developmentally oriented functions.

Three years ago, the Development Bank study rightly concluded that the regional industrial development policy was inefficient, being both too narrow and too expensive. It proposed that regional development be based on comparative advantage instead.

How best to pursue such advantage should be left to regions to decide: regional centres of expertise should debate and formulate strategies, both in respect of state activity and joint public-private sector activity. In respect of attracting investment, a certain amount of inter-regional competition would be a spur to efficiency.

3. Regionalism should not lead to substantial inequalities in the treatment of people by the State. It is inevitable that some regions will have higher per capita personal income than others. Reliance solely on own sources of revenue for financing the functions of regional government would lead to substantially different standards of provision of publicly provided services.

For this reason, some have proposed that regionalism will trench existing or new forms of inequality. This need not be so. Investigations by the Department of Finance suggested that the greater part of tax revenues are more effectively collected at the centre.

The portion of centrally collected revenue needed to finance regional expenditure can be allocated according to what the Americans call a "foundation plan".

Under such a plan, regions which could (with an average tax effort) have relatively low revenues receive correspondingly

more from the centre than richer regions.

4. Regional governments should have discretion over the detailed allocation of resources between their functions and (within limits) over the tax burden on their residents.

It is bound to be the case that regional strategies will call for some differentiation in the allocation of resources within the public sector and between the public and private sectors. Region X may require a special effort in education to support a high-tech industrial strategy; region Y may want to upgrade its roads to encourage tourism; region Z may want to attract some classes of private investment by tax concessions.

To allow each to pursue its chosen strategy, transfers from the centre should take a predominantly "block grant" form. Correction of poor strategies need not require detailed supervision from central government — rather, it should be a matter for regional electorates to deal with.

5. The central government should not be in a position to use fiscal leverage to settle political disputes with regional governments coercively in its favour. Central coercion of regional and local actors has been a bad habit of the last 40 years. New aspirants to central political power have not refrained from threatening more of the same.

This is the reason for the present clear unease of actors with regional power bases about the current state of the constitutional debate. It would be unwise for a single dominant group or even a coalition at the centre to ride roughshod over these fears. The result would be costly coercion in due course and quite possible severe legitimacy deficits in some places in respect of a new constitution.

It will be hard enough dealing with its lack of acceptance among the hard Right and hard Left; regional discontent as well will be a certain recipe for Weimar-type instability.

What is required is a guarantee of equal treatment between regions in respect of inter-government financial flows, embodied in the constitution and possibly a special institution insulated as far as possible from central-regional political conflict.

In democratic societies, political competition creates a process of discovery of the preferences of the median voter. A major reason for the collapse of democratic institutions, has been found to be the lack of a tradition of constructive debate compromise. A constitutional system can promote the necessary habits, both by appropriate choice of voting system and by providing level playing fields within which political elites can compete. Effective second-tier government is an essential component of stability. □

● Charles Simkins is the Heler Suzman Professor of Political Economy at the University of the Witwatersrand.

Smuts seeks peace shield for voters

FRANS ESTERHUYSE (364A)
Weekend Argus Political Correspondent

DEMOCRATIC Party MP Dene Smuts has called for a peace corps of young people to protect voters in South Africa's first nonracial elections.

Her proposals are being supported by academics and others involved in conflict resolution and peacekeeping.

She suggests that school-leavers who cannot find jobs could be drawn into a youth corps that could "fulfil almost as many functions as there are social ills".

A peace corps with a democratic mission could function under the umbrella of the existing Peace Accord, Ms Smuts told parliament this week.

Such a movement could help ensure free and fair elections by providing security at polling stations during the coming elections.

Ms Smuts, MP for Groote Schuur, said it would be preferable to avoid involving the security forces in an election. She had seen this in Chile where armed soldiers were on duty at every polling station during that country's transition from authoritarian rule to democracy in 1989.

"One possible answer is to employ a peace corps as young guardians of democracy. It is, after all, their future that we and they will be voting on."

If a public works programme were started, a section of the corps could build houses. A civic education arm could take human rights and electoral education to every village. Primary health-care was another possibility.

Ms Smuts noted it had been estimated that less than 10 percent of school-leavers had a prospect of finding work in the formal sector.

Half of all voters were under 30, and half of all black voters were between 18 and 25.

Referring to the disruption of DP meetings in black townships of Cape Town recently, Ms Smuts warned against people who were threatening "to make a mockery of democracy".

She said that in Khayelitsha the ANC was reportedly having difficulties with "murderous armed gangs of renegade Youth League members"



□ **DENE SMUTS** ... Don't involve security forces ...

who allegedly attacked, shot and even killed civic and ANC leaders co-operating with the police.

"Clearly, criminal comrades must be dealt with as criminals. However, that leaves a shiftless army of former storm-troopers of the struggle, and the answer must surely be to put them in uniform and under discipline," Ms Smuts said.

This could be achieved with corps of peace-loving young people with whom all South Africans would feel at home.

Overseas Nat homes denial

Weekend Argus Political Staff

(304A)

ALLEGATIONS about luxury houses overseas owned by leading figures in South Africa have been firmly denied in parliament. ARG 6/2/93

The denials came in the House of Assembly yesterday on behalf of the Minister of Foreign Affairs, Mr Pik Botha, and the president's wife, Mrs Mar-ike de Klerk.

Mr Botha's denial that he had a home on the island of Madeira came in the form of a sporting offer via the NP member for Pretoria Central, Mr Gert Oosthuizen, who the minister asked to react on his behalf during the no-confidence debate.

Mr Botha offered to give "his" beach home to an opposition backbencher, Mr Piet Groenewald (CP Stilfontein), who had made the allegation. However, Mr Botha said, if Mr Groenewald failed to find it, the Conservative Party MP must, in all fairness, buy him one.

Mr Groenewald made his allegations at the start of a speech dealing mainly with what he claimed to be government corruption, including free holidays, behind the decision to buy the Swiss Porter Pilatus trainer aircraft for the SAAF.

An allegation by Mr Groenewald that Mrs De Klerk had bought a house in Spain was dismissed by the Leader of the House, Mr Adriaan Vlok.

The NP MP for Bloemfontein North, Dr Frik van Heerden, was ordered out of the House by the chairman, Dr Helgaard van Rensburg, for having said Mr Groenewald had told an "infamous lie".

Axe man De Klerk?

RC 6/2/93
3044

■ President De Klerk announced moves this week to revamp the National Party for the coming election campaign, but experts say more must be done to chop out "dead wood" of the past.

FRANS ESTERHUYSE
Weekend Argus
Political Correspondent

MOVES this week to reshape the National Party may be just the beginning of a transformation aimed at shaking off the party's apartheid past.

Further drastic changes — possibly even a change of name — are foreseen if the NP is to meet President De Klerk's expectation of coming out top of the poll in the first all-in non-racial elections.

Political specialists say the NP will have to chop out all its "dead wood" of the past, bring many more new faces into top positions, restructure itself on federal instead of provincial lines, and even sacrifice much of its traditional all-white support base.

The advice from one top analyst is that President De Klerk can no longer afford to keep "dead wood" or others who obstruct reform initiatives in his party, in government, or in top public service or security positions.

Obstructionists should simply be fired, it is suggested. Changes announced by Mr De Klerk this week to reshape the NP include:

■ The creation of a new national information and management committee, under the chairmanship of NP Cape leader Dr Dawie de Villiers, to direct the NP's propaganda and election campaign;

■ The appointment of Transvaal MEC Mr Olaus van Zyl in a newly-created high-powered post of full-time executive director of the party; and

■ The scrapping of the re-

cently-created post of secretary-general from which former key cabinet minister and top negotiator Dr Stoffel van der Merwe resigned when he suddenly quit politics last year.

The primary function of the committee will be to expand the NP's support base through improved communication and information.

Other areas of responsibility will include planning, co-ordinating and fundraising. It will also play a role in negotiations and contact with other parties.

The reason given for scrapping the secretary-general title was that the name created expectations of the incumbent that were not in keeping with the NP's definition of it.

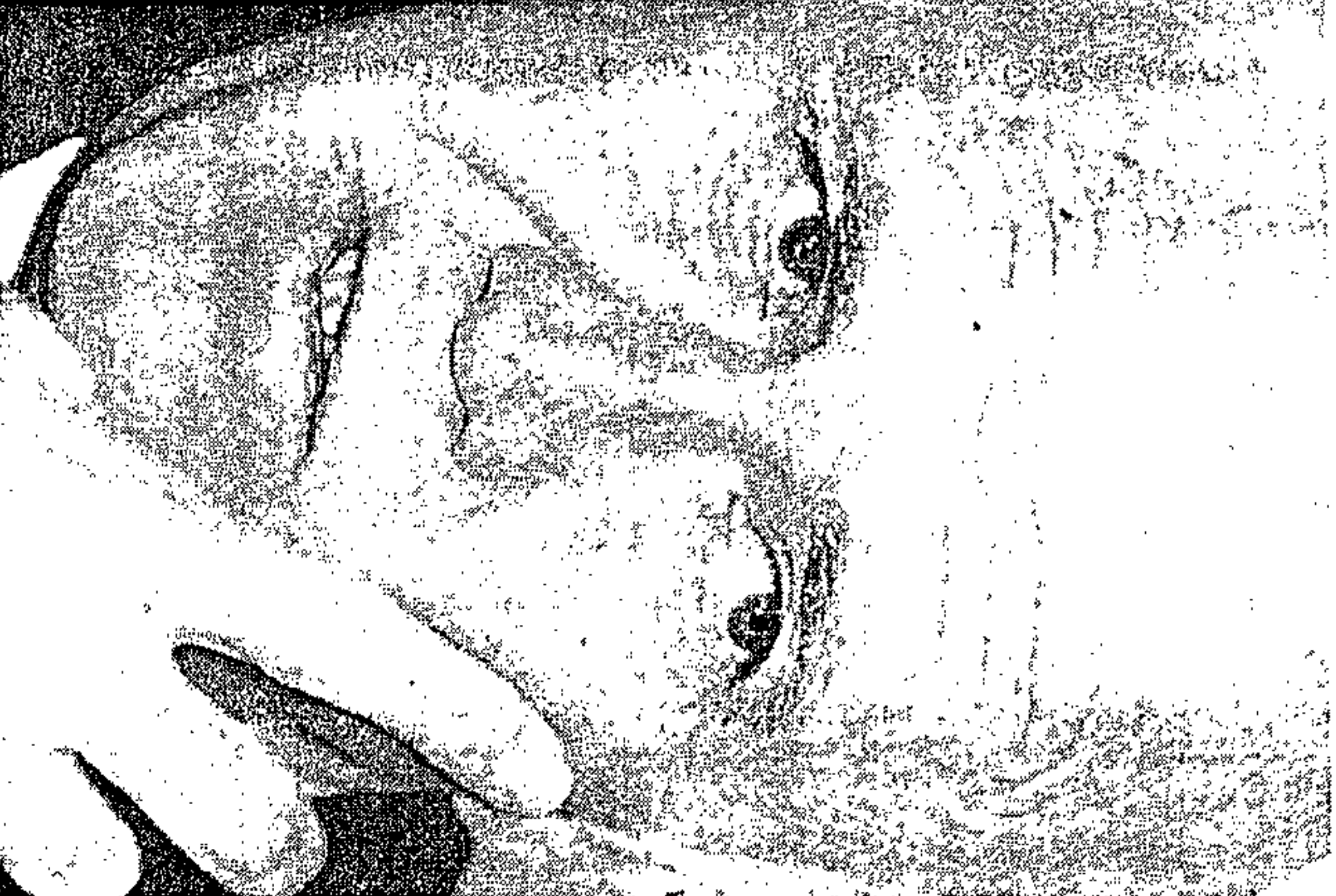
Appointments to the new committee are to reflect the party's support base in all respects, and will include non-political experts. Names of other members of the committee are to be announced next week.

President De Klerk announced the changes this week at a time when the NP had indicated for the first time that it might ditch its Codesa alliance partners and go it alone in an election.

The indication came from the Minister of Constitutional Development, Mr Roelf Meyer, who told parliament the NP would "follow its own clear path" in the run-up to elections.

Observers say this means it will be all the more necessary for the NP to change drastically to adapt itself more fully to South Africa's new non-racial politics if it is to get the highest percentage of votes, as predicted by Mr De Klerk when he announced the changes.

□ **REFORMING:** President De Klerk will have to work hard at changing the National Party to make it an acceptable and viable political choice in a democratic election.



was to open its membership to all races. This resulted in a steady stream of defections among politicians of colour to join the NP.

It is now argued that the whole NP structure would have to change if the party is to gain significant grassroots support among people of all races, especially black people.

needed in the NP if the party was to be adequately prepared for an election on proportional lines.

A good election battle plan for the NP would be to break down its present provincial structures and instead to go for eight regions.

Many new people, including people of colour, should be appointed in prominent positions. Old-timers who still adhered to the politics of the past should be shifted out.

In making its new appointments, the NP should also include women of all races.

All this should be done now. It would not help the party to bring in new people only weeks before an election when voters did not know them.

On the question of a name-change for the NP, Professor Kotze said it would be better for the NP to focus attention on its transformation by putting across the idea of a "new" National Party.

Professor Sampie Terreblanche, a former top Nat and ex-Broederbond, told Weekend Argus this week that the NP was in a crisis. He described President De Klerk's moves to reshape the party as "Operation Patch-up — to smear cement over the cracks".

One factor in favour of the NP in an election campaign would be the "tremendous media power" behind the party, including Nasionale Pers, the SABC and "the not-too-critical English-language newspapers".

In spite of this media power, however, it seems the party's fate is ultimately to crumble and break up. Already there are signs of divisions among Nat MPs in Natal and between party "doves" and "hawks".

"The NP's crisis is that it cannot deliver what it has promised. It's not going to help to patch up the cracks. President De Klerk promised a new dispensation in which the NP

would still be in a position to call the shots. He can't deliver that."

A dilemma in which the NP found itself was that "they have not yet crossed their Rubicon for accepting a democratic dispensation".

The party seemed to be unable to face the idea of becoming an ordinary opposition party which might only become part of a government by invitation.

Professor Terreblanche said the NP should change its name because its present name was a misnomer. A better name for the NP over the years would have been "Conservative Party" and a better name for Dr Andries Treurnicht's Conservative Party would have been "Reactionary Party".

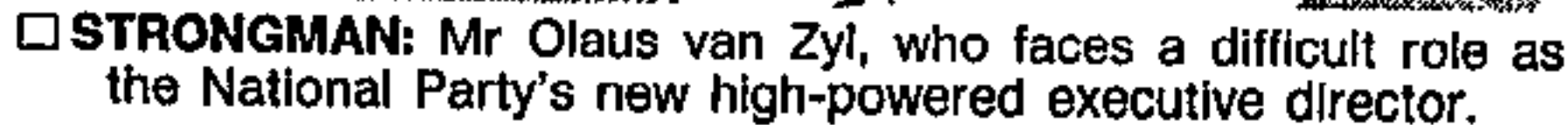
"The NP is not a national party. They are a sectional party, and in the previous election only 6.3 percent of South Africa's total potential voters of all races voted for them. And they have been guilty of some unwholly actions committed in the name of nationalism."

In an in-depth examination of the NP recently, writers of the political journal Die Suid-Afrikaan said President De Klerk had a poor support structure behind him at a time when he faced his most critical period as a political leader.

He had brought no new political faces with him. "After more than three years in office, his cabinet is basically that of P W Botha: the only really competent newcomer is Mr Derek Keys, and he is not actually a political figure," the writers said.

On the level of party organisation, the NP was beset with problems. Party organisers, who earned relatively small salaries, saw no future for themselves and were resigning "in droves". Those who remained were demoralised and faced financial problems.

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Weekend Argus
Political Correspondent

NP sources said there was no doubt Mr Van Zyl, aged 50,

Olaus went to school in Pretoria. After training in the Naval Gymnasium, he enrolled for a B Sc civil engineering degree at Pretoria University, where he became chairman of the Students' Representative Council and of several other student organisations.

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WHAT strikes one about Mr Ebrahim Rasool's one-sided political polemic against

the National Party in last week's SOUTH, is how he seems to be out of step with the ANC's leadership.

Secretary general Mr Cyril Ramaphosa, Mr Thabo Mbeki and Mr Jacob Zuma, among others, are preparing the ANC to enter into a government of national unity with the National Party and other major political parties, while Rasool employs the rhetoric of violence when he talks about "forcing the National Party to give up the power to which it so fiercely clings".

But the opposite is true. The State President in his speech at the Opening of Parliament last Friday made it clear that the NP is in a hurry to get the interim government — which will involve the leadership of the ANC and other major parties — established as soon as possible.

Mr De Klerk said that if multi-party negotiations could be resumed by March, "we shall be able to move well within our projected time scales which can result in a transitional executive council in June and a new transitional constitution in September 1993". This is certainly not clinging to power.

Rasool has raised a number of other points which merit a reply.

● He claims that those who voted "no" in the 1983 referendum for the three-chamber parliament have been vindicated.

We disagree. For all its faults, this structure, which was never intended to be permanent, was a can-opening exercise which changed peoples' perceptions about each other's communities and prepared the way for full democracy.

Former president PW Botha said as much when he opened the new parliament in 1984. The three-chamber parliament was born at a time when "gradualism" was con-

CROSS TALK

NIP is not clinging to

South
6/2-10/2/93
power

Sheila Camerer, MP, a member of the National Party Federal Information Service, responds to **Ebrahim Rasool**, a member of the ANC regional executive, whose article appeared in SOUTH last week:

considered by many to be the key to democratising South Africa.

Today the pace has changed. Less than a year ago, 70 percent of white voters mandated the state president to pursue with all due speed a power-sharing democracy (without domination on a winner-takes-all basis). This should be based on universal adult franchise, strong regional government and a free market.

● Rasool claims that "the tricameral teeth have been drawn and it must now make for a real government of the people..." etc.

The NP would like to point out that the dentist in this case was none other than FW de Klerk, the leader of the National Party. The initiator of the disappearance of the three-chamber parliament and the



advent of a full democracy in South Africa was the National Party and its leader and I would like to re-emphasise that the National Party is a more than willing participant in the tricameral system's demise.

'The Convention for a Democratic South Africa (Codesa), the first multi-party negotiations was our idea'

The Convention for a Democratic South Africa (Codesa), the first multi-party negotiations, was our idea, though of course endorsed by all the other major political players.

● Mr Rasool alleges that the NP had a double agenda at Codesa. This is simply not true — the NP had no double agenda. ANC and National Party negotiators were in daily contact during January to May 1992 meetings of Codesa and the ANC were willing participants in the agreements reached in the working groups, which they subsequently reneged on.

It was quite clear to the National Party negotiators that it was the ANC which torpedoed proceedings in Working Group 2 (and thus at Codesa II), by introducing last minute demands for a deadlock-breaking mechanism which they knew could never be agreed without extensive debate.

● Rasool talks about the National Party's "wolfish democratic proposals in sheep's clothing". Emotive language is not going to change the facts of the matter which are that the National Party put its constitutional principles very clearly on the table from the beginning and that a broad consensus is beginning to take shape around these principles, such as power-sharing, strong regional government, checks and balances to prevent the abuse of power, economic security for owners and investors and security of tenure for state officials and teachers, etc.

● Turning to the violence Rasool claims that "unknown forces waged a war in our townships". This is disingenuous. A number of legal commissions, including the Goldstone Commission, which have been liberal in their criticism of the security forces, have made a specific finding: that most of the violence in the townships is caused by the political battle between the ANC and Inkatha, a fact which Rasool conveniently fails to mention.

We were glad to find common ground with Rasool when he said that a new democratic government is not a panacea for all ills but will have to co-operate with civil society to rebuild our country.

De Klerk emphasised the point at the opening of parliament when he said that 1993 offers our country the opportunity to make a major breakthrough to peace, stability and progress and that every leader and every party will have to make a contribution to constructive and creative thinking and action.

He said: "We shall fail if everyone clings relentlessly to points of view that serve their own interests well but undermine those of others. We shall succeed if we agree on solutions that serve and protect the interests of everybody".

The NP has long acknowledged and apologised for the harm done by apartheid. Its bona fides in working for a full democracy should now be acknowledged by the regional leadership of the ANC as well as by its top negotiators.

SOUTH 612-1012/43 304H

Mother of mine

A man desperate to find his mother told **Justin Pearce** how his search led him from Europe to Cape Town:

SALEH AHMED MOHAMED Ahmed Mohamed did not even know his mother's surname when he came to South Africa from Germany to look for her.

He last saw her in 1949. Saleh, then aged nine, had already been led on to the ship taking him to Zanzibar by the time his mother reached Durban harbour.

She was too late to stop her three children from being taken from her, or even to say goodbye. All she could do was to wave from the dock as the ship sailed out of the harbour.

This memory of a face on a quayside was all Saleh, now 53, knew about his mother when he came back to South Africa for the first time two weeks ago to look for her.

Saleh's mother was born into a Christian family in Johannesburg but had been fostered by Khalifa Ahmed Mohamed, the man she was later to marry.

She took on his surname, and the Islamic name Fatima. When she and her husband divorced in 1946, she reverted to her Christian name, Dolly, and her maiden surname which her children never knew. The children were taken into their father's custody.



SALEH AHMED MOHAMED

of Tanzania), which was renowned as a centre of Islamic learning.

In Johannesburg, Dolly got word that her children were being sent abroad, and rushed to Durban. She arrived to see her children already on board the ship bound for Zanzibar.

Nine-year-old Saleh became physically ill during the journey, the result of the trauma of being taken away from his mother.

"I was my mother's favourite child, I was always on somebody's lap as I was growing up," Saleh recalls.

"But as children you forget quick-

suddenly made the connection tangible once more.

Saleh's brother, Abdurahman, who had remained in Zanzibar, happened to meet a businessman from the Comores. The man told Abdurahman he had been in Durban, where he had met a woman whose three children had been taken to Zanzibar in 1949.

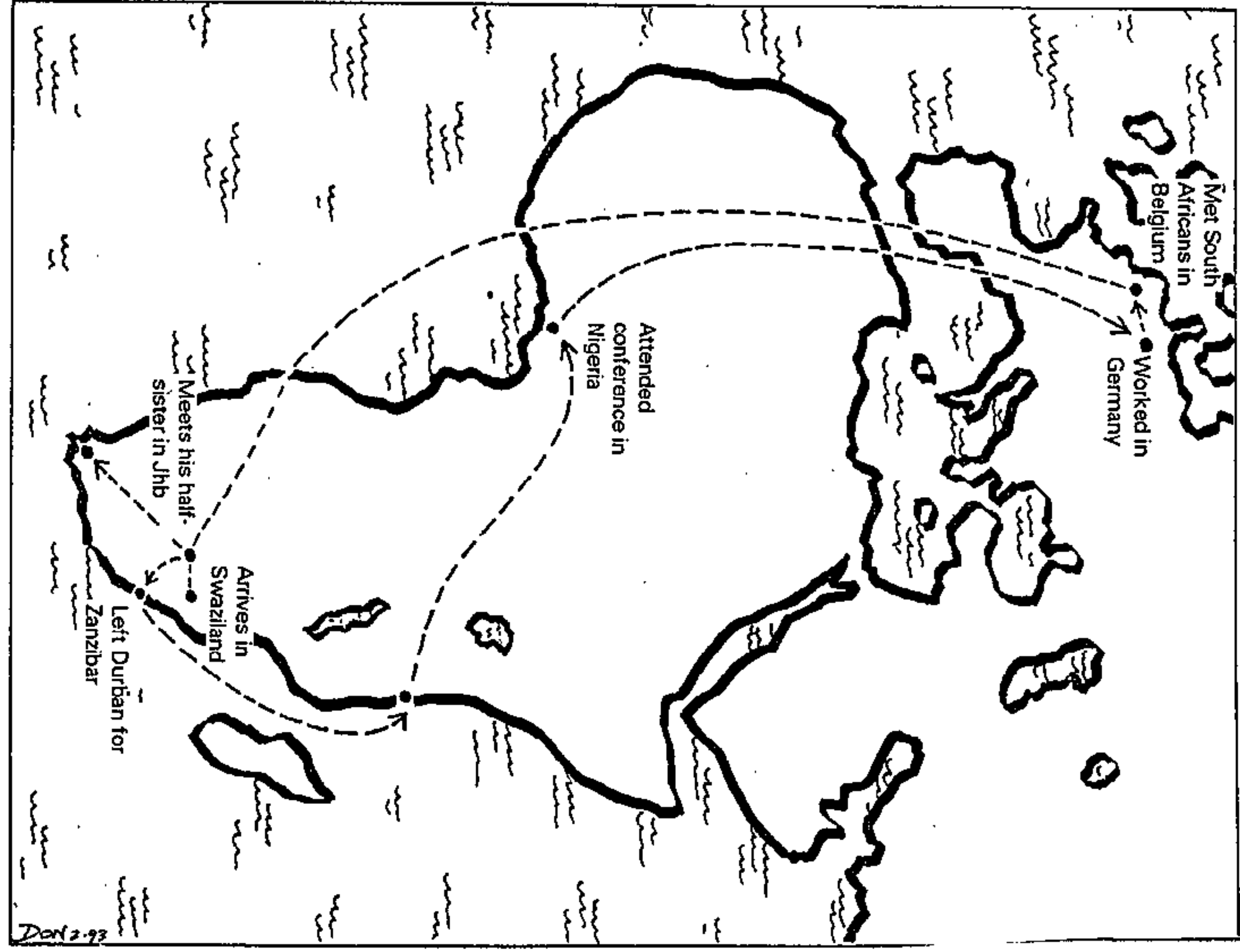
The story which she told matched the experiences of Saleh and his family, and the brothers were convinced that the businessman had spoken to their mother.

Saleh remains frustrated to this day that the woman gave the stranger neither her name nor her address — information which would have enabled the brothers to establish whether she was their mother.

Their first instinct was to go to South Africa to search for her. But the brothers were Tanzanian citizens, and were prohibited from travelling to South Africa.

Abdurahman applied for a Comorian passport, hoping to use it to get into South Africa. But he

'I am Saleh, the son of Khalifa Mohamed.'



The map shows the places Saleh Mohamed travelled in search of his mother

Tanzanian law enable its citizens to visit South Africa. In January this year Saleh visited his father's grave and tried to track down his mother.

Another chance encounter, this time in Belgium, gave him his only lead. Some South Africans he met in Belgium turned out to be the grandchildren of one of his father's close friends. They told him their grandmother was living in Swazi-

father's fourth and last wife. Myrnoena had been two years old when Saleh and the other children left for Zanzibar.

Saleh phoned her home. "I am Saleh, the son of Khalifa Ahmed Mohamed." There was a long silence. Then the reply: "Where are you? Not in Johannesburg?" "Yes, I am in Johannesburg."

Mohamed, Fatima had immersed herself in Islamic culture and cut herself off from her Christian roots to the extent that her children, Abdurahman, Saleh and Marian, never got to meet any of their maternal relatives.

"After the divorce, my mother came to visit us very often," Saleh recalls, "but my father had something against her seeing us."

Two years later, Khalifa Mohamed left Johannesburg with Fatima's three children, a daughter from his first marriage, and an adopted son, to live in Durban.

The following year, Khalifa Mohamed died, leaving his brother to raise his children and give them a sound Islamic education.

His brother believed this could best be done in Zanzibar (now part

ly, and we all became well integrated into my uncle's family."

Saleh, who grew up speaking Afrikaans, now regards Swahili, which he learned in Zanzibar, as his home language — "because it is African" — even though he has spent the last 30 years in Germany.

A job offer from German Radio was what took Saleh even further from the land of his birth. In 1963 Saleh attended a pan-African student seminar in Nigeria and was invited to visit Berlin — a visit which led to a job with the Voice of Germany's Swahili radio service.

The years in Germany did not diminish Saleh's longing to return to South Africa, even though his childhood memories were all that linked him to the country of his birth. Then in 1983 a chance encounter

There was a long silence.

Then the reply:

'Where are you?'

died before he could make the trip.

Not wanting to renounce his Tanzanian citizenship, Saleh was forbidden from entering South Africa. In 1984 his travels led him to change planes at Jan Smuts Airport. His mother could have been mere kilometres away, but he was unable to leave the building.

Only recently did a change in

land, and might be able to help.

This elderly woman now held the key to Saleh's hopes — if he could find her. He flew from Germany to Durban and from there drove to Swaziland. Yes, the old woman was still at the address he had been given. No, she did not know where Dolly was, but she could give Saleh the addresses of some family friends in Johannesburg who might be able to help.

In Johannesburg Saleh phoned and visited one contact after another. No one could help, but some of them were able to offer the addresses of people who might help.

It was three days later that Saleh made the greatest discovery of his trip. Somebody knew of his half-sister Myrhoena, the daughter of his

"How did you find me?" The new-found siblings arranged to meet.

"The first evening, there with her husband and children, was very formal. It was only when I saw the pictures of my father's wedding to her mother, with my brother as the page-boy, that I began to cry.

"The next day we met again — and by then we were like brother and sister. We even look alike."

But the joy with which Saleh met his sister is tempered by his failure to find his mother.

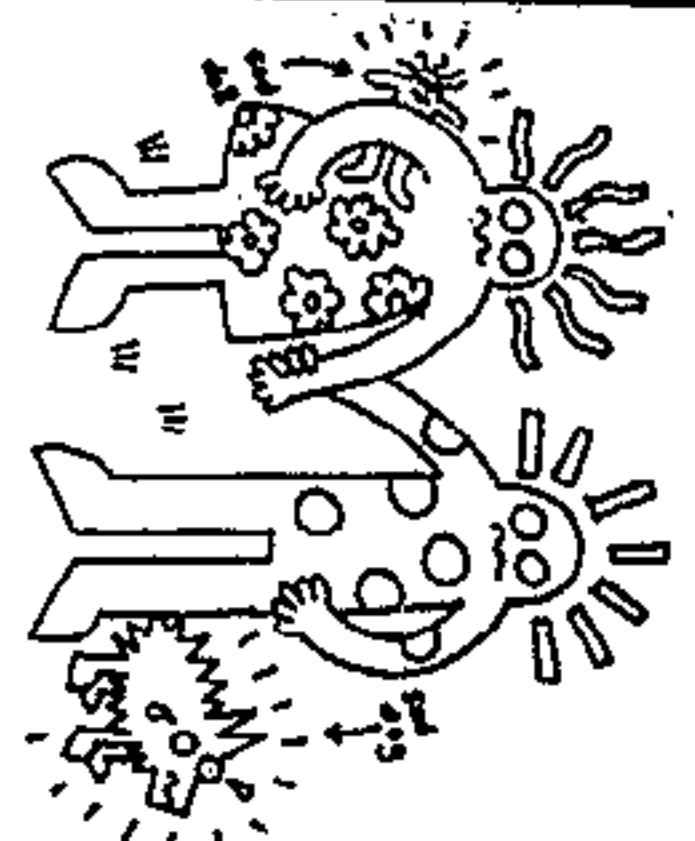
His last lead in his search brought him to Cape Town but it brought him no closer to finding her.

"I don't believe I will find her now — in fact, I don't think she's alive any more. But I'm still trying every possibility."

CHILDREN!

Is an adult making you feel unhappy, confused and sad?

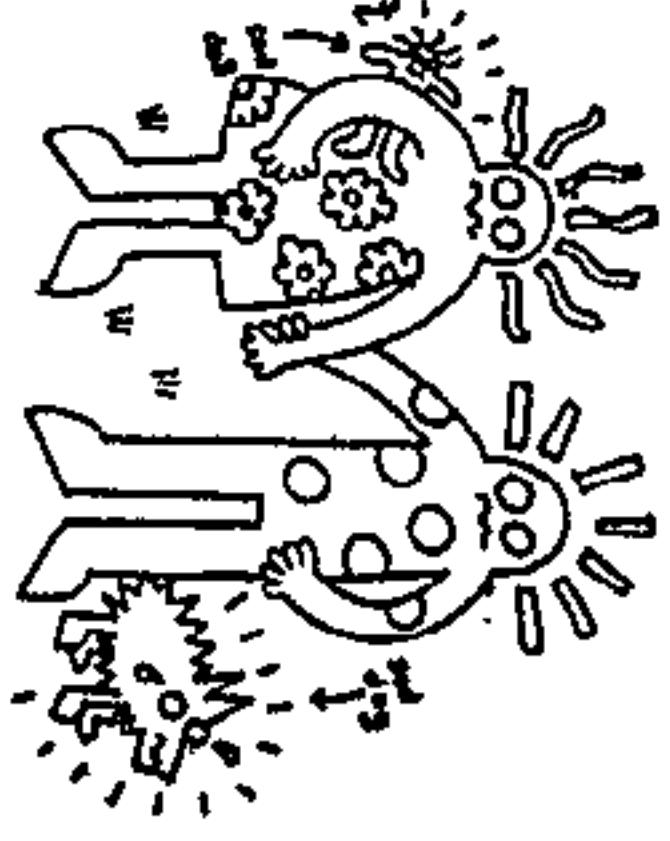
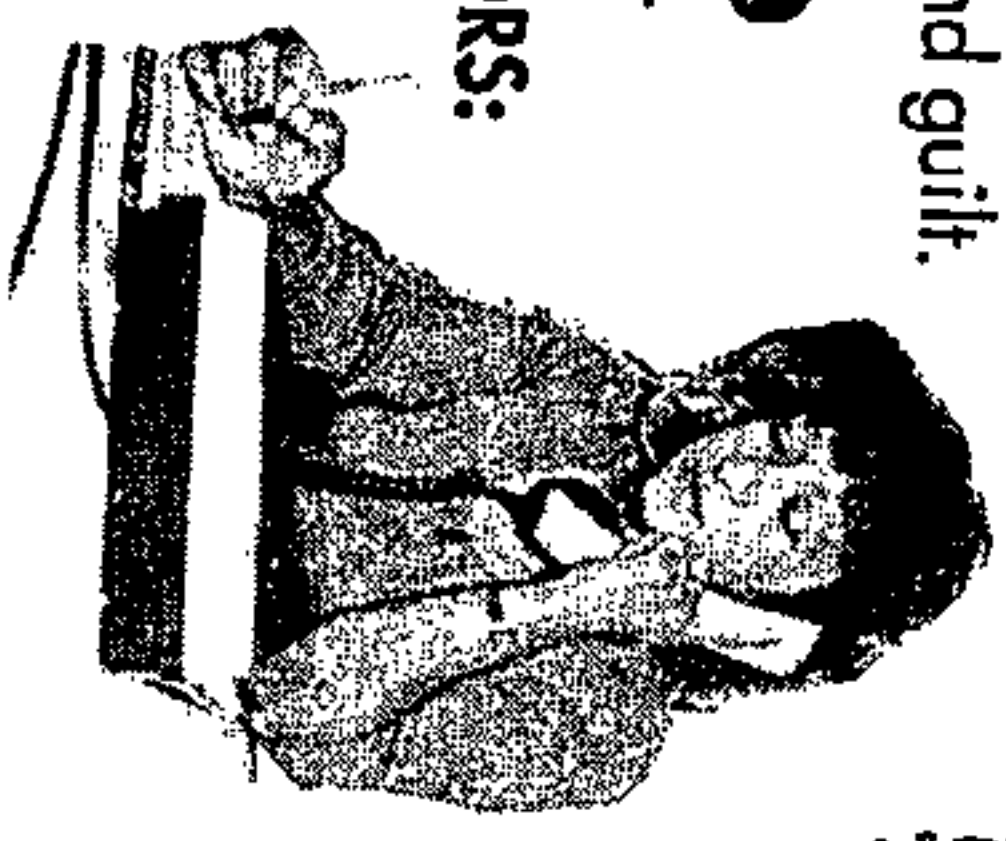
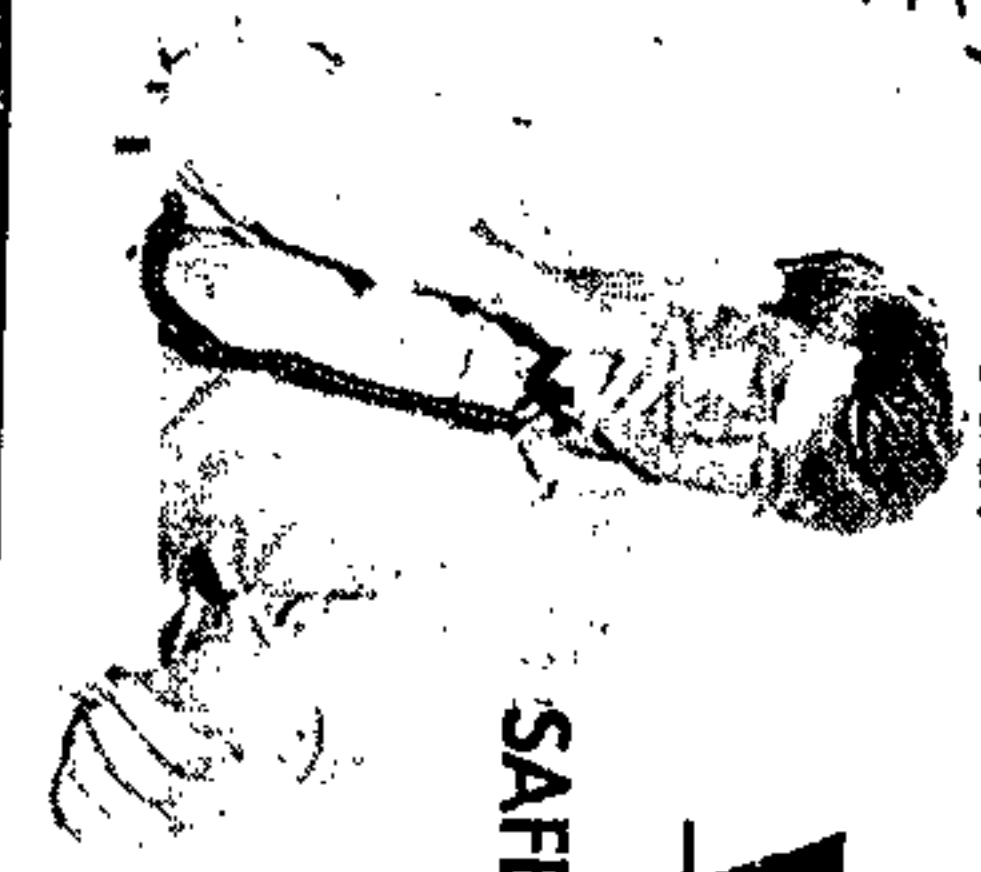
Are you being forced to do things which make you feel bad?



ADULTS!

Are you suffering from the effects of your childhood abuse?

There are ways you can be helped to cope with your past hurts, anger and guilt.



WHO CAN YOU TELL?

SAFELINE OFFERS, TO BOTH FEMALE AND MALE SURVIVORS:

- Group sessions
- Individual Therapy
- Telephone counselling

Phone: Safeline: 26 1 100 24 hrs Telephone No. 26 1 1 00 or anyone you trust!

Buthelezi plays hard to get

SOUTH 6/2-10/2/93
By Quentin Wilson

304A

CHIEF Mangosuthu Buthelezi, IFP leader and Chief Minister of Kwa-Zulu, made it clear this week that the IFP has "absolutely no intention" of participating in Codesa-type negotiations.

While the multi-lateral talks so far envisaged by the ANC and the NP to take place in March, do broadly resemble the Codesa model, their work will be cut out to entice Buthelezi to the table.

The IFP's main gripe involves the status of last year's Codesa agreements.

Buthelezi said: "The IFP has made it very clear ... we will not be bound by agreements, in part or in whole, which were constructed in isolation in various Codesa working groups.

"The ANC/SACP alliance smashed Codesa when they walked out and resorted to mass action. Codesa is now dead and its tombstone was erected by the ANC/SACP alliance. It is history."

One way to exert control

SOUTH 6/2 - 10/2/93.

(304A)

THE unbanning of political organisations and the scrapping of the laws that prevented free political expression and organisation were important events in South Africa.

However, this was only one step on the way to democratising the political process.

What is still lacking among political organisations and parties is a realisation that they have to consult with their constituencies and be fully accountable to their members.

Because this is not happening, many people voicing their opinions of political events are either blind followers of their organisation, ignorant or confused about what is happening, or completely opposed to a rival organisation.

Very few people voice their opinions from a well-informed and objective stand-point.

This also means that it is difficult for political observers to get a completely accurate idea of the strength and popularity of each political par-

ty or organisation and their leaders.

Comments about political groupings nowadays fluctuates between two extremes — they are either favourable when they are made by members or leaders of a party or hostile when made by a member of an opposing group.

We have a situation where political rivalry has reached an all-time high and where few leaders are presenting accurate pictures of the political state of affairs for the benefit of those who are not members of a political organisation or party.

Whenever politicians address their constituencies, they try to present themselves in the best light and try to discredit their opponents.

These self-serving politicians are going to expect ordinary people to vote for them on election day. So how do people exert some control over them?

One of the most powerful and decisive ways is by going to cast their vote on election day. Anyone

The first non-racial elections will take place soon. This is the second part of our 1993 series to help you make the most of your ballot:

who feels they have a right to contribute to decisions affecting their future, has not only a right, but a duty to vote on election day.

It is precisely because people have so many fears about the future of this country that they should make a special effort to vote.

Anyone who has not voted will have no right to complain about the state of the country after the elections. They will have given no-one a mandate to govern the country on their behalf.

Give the future a chance

South 6/2 - 10/2/93

FOR those people who have struggled for decades for the right to vote, it will be like a dream come true when they can vote for the party of their choice.

But there are people who will be afraid to vote.

Their reasons for not wanting to make their crosses might differ, but it is important to understand these reasons so that these people can be persuaded to change their minds.

Fear of being intimidated is often expressed by people in communities torn apart by political violence.

The important thing for such people to realise is that no-one will know who they voted for because of the way a secret ballot is held.

When they go and vote, they will be alone in the ballot booth when they put their mark on the ballot paper. No-one will be able to see who they voted for.

So they can promise to vote for the party they are being forced to support and then vote as they please in the polling booth.

These people must realise that despite what people say to frighten them, no-one can find out how they have voted, unless the voters themselves choose to tell the truth.

Other people say things are bad enough in the country at present and that under a future government they will get worse.

Some say that none of the existing political parties are capable of making a difference to the present state of affairs.

These people make the mistake of ignoring the fact that there is a gov-

There are many excuses people give for not wanting to vote.

304A

ernment ruling the country and that they are the only political grouping which presently has the power to use state resources to bring about any change.

So to prejudge a future government on the basis of the record of past and present governments is to be guilty of assuming the worst without giving the future a chance.

These people also ignore the fact that much of the blame for the present state of affairs in the country can be placed on decades of apartheid rule.

People might want the bad practices of the past to disappear overnight, but it will take years of effort before the effects of apartheid can be overcome.

To condemn a future government to failure before it even tries to bring about change is to be guilty of the worst despondency and defeatism.

Things will be hard for many years to come. But people should not get disillusioned by a handful of pessimists forecasting gloom.

In a country where the oppressed suffered so much for so long because of apartheid, there were always people who had their heads

why, because they were told they would get into trouble if they tried. A large section of the oppressed became afraid and chose to remain ignorant about that political situation, believing that what they did not know could not hurt them. It will take time for these people to regain their confidence and belief in the fact that it is perfectly legal to hold a political view. It will take even longer before they are informed enough about the country's options to be able to choose according to their own interests, rather than those of others.

buried in the sand like ostriches.

Some groups said people concerning themselves with politics were troublemakers, communists and agitators.

This propaganda discouraged people from trying to understand what was happening to them, and

Star 6/2/93

I am fed up with Unita and Angola (304A) govt, says Botha

CAPE TOWN — Foreign Affairs Minister Pik Botha said yesterday he was fed up with Unita and Angola's MPLA government.

South Africa was no longer involved in providing military aid to either grouping, he told reporters at a parliamentary media briefing.

"I fail to understand why people can't accept that it would be foolish for South Africa to be militarily involved in Angola."

It was an insult to the intelligence of his department to say it would make such a tactical and strategic mistake, Botha said.

The South African Government supported all United Nations efforts to return the process in Angola to a parliamentary democracy.

Destruction

"The United Nations is fed up with both Unita and the MPLA, and I am reaching that stage too."

It was in South Africa's interest that the destruction of Angola's infrastructure ceased, he added.

Of a meeting before the Angolan elections last year in Pretoria between Unita leader Jonas Savimbi and South African Government members, including Defence Minister Gene Louw and SADF chief General Kat Liebenberg, Botha said Savimbi had visited to "thank us for



SAVIMBI: Visited Pretoria to say thank you for support.



DOS SANTOS: His government's claims seen as an insult.

the sympathy over the years and that sort of thing".

This event was typical of the courtesy and culture of his African friends, and no more than that, he said. Sapa.

Foreign help for SA urged

16/2/83
JOHANNESBURG —

The international community must urgently support the democratic process in South Africa financially, politically and morally. (S04A)

This is the view of the 27-member delegation of the International Confederation of Trade Unions (ICTU) at the end of a five-day visit to the country. (S5)

"The path taken ahead will determine whether South Africa travels down the road to democracy or whether it becomes engulfed in violence, chaos and civil war," the delegation yesterday said. — Sapa

Wessels backs up apology

364A
ARG 6/2/93

MICHAEL MORRIS

Weekend Argus Political Correspondent

CABINET Minister Mr Leon Wessels has been "haunted" by his apology for apartheid, but his confession arose from a conviction that "we have to live the future" ... and that conviction remains as strong today.

Without acknowledging the past, it would not be possible to build a better future.

He told journalists yesterday that he had not intended his apology to be the "headline grabber" it turned out to be, but simply a "statement from the heart".

"But, I cannot shy away from the fact that I made it and it has often come back to haunt me ... even two-and-a-half years afterwards. I have tried to play it down, but it keeps coming back."

Asked why his Cabinet colleagues had not formulated a similar, joint response to South Africa's apartheid

past, Mr Wessels replied: "I do not know. I can speak only for myself."

"I made the statement out of conviction because of my personal journey."

"I am indebted to President De Klerk for allowing me the individuality to put it the way I did."

Mr Wessels added: "I firmly believe we have to live the future, but that we are unable to do so unless we fully comprehend what has happened in this country."

"I do not believe you can be successful in building a new society based on the principles of democracy embraced in fundamental rights unless you have a clear understanding of the fact that the previous dispensation was undemocratic and violated human rights."

"The statement I made in various forms both inside and outside the country boiled down to one thing: That South Africans were not listening when their fellow countrymen were crying, and laughing, and I am sorry I was so hard of hearing."

"And, I still firmly believe that."

'MK' arrests may stall talks

26/2/93

By ANTHONY JOHNSON
Political Correspondent

3047

THE arrest of alleged uMkhonto weSizwe members smuggling arms into South Africa could delay the negotiations timetable, with the multi-party planning conference scheduled for later this month likely to be the first casualty.

A top government source said the planning conference, aimed to oil the wheels of negotiations, could be set back by weeks as a result of the latest MK row.

Yesterday's constitutional talks between the government and the ANC were restricted to an exchange of positions on the smuggling issue after Foreign Minister Mr Pik Botha told diplomats that multi-party negotiations could be derailed if the ANC failed to produce a satisfactory explanation for the smuggling incident.

The ANC yesterday claimed the government was "trying to use this incident to achieve its long-cherished goal of delaying the negotiations process so that it can cling to power for the near future".

Foreign diplomats were generally unimpressed by what some termed the "melodramatic antics" of Mr Botha and said they could see no compelling reason why talks should be held up any further.

White referendum 'will lead to war'

UMTATA. — If the government insisted on another white referendum South Africa would be "plunged headlong into one of the bloodiest conflicts" in Africa's history, Transkei ruler Major-General Bantu Holomisa said yesterday.

He was reacting to President F W de Klerk's statement in Parliament that a second white referendum would be held if the constitutional principles advocated by

the NP before the March 1992 referendum were not incorporated into a new constitution. (304A) (27/10)

General Holomisa said another white referendum would turn negotiations into "nothing but a fake" and there would be no need to resume multi-party talks.

He said the patience of blacks had been stretched to the limit.

He said many blacks now "passionately

CT 6/2/93
desire bloodshed", if needs be, to retrieve what was "illegally dispossessed" from them.

"There are many in the ranks of the black oppressed majority who would happily assist the president turn South Africa into another wasteland if he is spiteful of the gentle approach towards resolving the country's problems," he said. — Sapa

Time has come to put country ahead of self

STAR 6/2/93.

(#) (304A)

WE cannot ignore for much longer the call being made on all of us to take some responsibility for the welfare of others, writes DAVID ALLEN.

CIVILISATION is never the inevitable outcome of the mere passing of time. Nor does it happen by accident. And it will not last if society's unavoidable harshnesses are not tempered by compromise, co-operation and compassion.

Rather, civilisation is born and endures when people accept that they have to suspend the gratification of some of their desires for personal wealth and power for the sake of something beyond themselves.

Kennedy understood this very well in the early 1960s when he said: "Ask not what your country can do for you, but ask what you can do for your country." In our world, however, burdened as it is by an excessive individualism, that sentiment has lost much of its meaning.

A number of recent incidents illustrate how far some political leaders have moved from the spirit of Kennedy's pronouncement. Our failed Mama of the Nation turned mother of all social workers, Winnie Mandela, recently tried to whip up emotions by suggesting that elites in the NP and ANC, cosseted between "silken sheets", were making political deals at the expense of the poor and unemployed whose support she has been trying to win from the back seat of her white Mercedes.

Her desire to see negotiations derailed was obviously not motivated by concern for the masses. Rather it was to try to create a gap for herself near the top of the heap (let's not be coy: at the top of the heap).

Then the concept of press freedom was thoroughly mangled by the Pan Africanist Congress when it threatened to use its influence to close down the Daily Dispatch in East London unless it published its propaganda — all done in the name of press freedom, of course.

More sinister was the threat by a movement of indeterminate and probably insignificant membership on the lunatic fringe of the political spectrum, the Boere Weerstandsbeweging, which threatened to take up arms against all who do not sympathise with its cause.

The Conservative Party too threatened armed resistance against "any future dispensation in which the ANC played a dominant role without the white

voters being consulted" — meaning without its being consulted.

Not much sign of putting country before self there. Because these factions do exert an influence, their simplistic distortions have taken root in the hearts and minds of ordinary South Africans.

They were reflected in the attitude of many Johannesburg citizens to the spectacle of the taxi protest this week. The fact that on the first day of the protest more policemen were injured than demonstrators should be a sign that we have progressed.

This is not to say it is a good thing policemen got injured. It is meant rather as a tribute to their controlled handling of a very volatile situation and to point out how very different things would have been had the taximen tried this sort of thing five years ago.

But because the citizens felt inconvenienced by the disruption of the city and the mess made when trash cans were overturned, they began saying the police had been too soft and could have brought the matter to an end much sooner had they shot a few more.

Thus the view gathers momentum: what I want is paramount; I have an inalienable right to it; give it to me or I will crush you, hurt you or maybe even kill you.

Something has clearly gone wrong with our moral universe.

Our greatest national failure has been to neglect — indeed avoid — the cultivation of an enduring moral sense by which all may know what is morally acceptable and what is not. How else were we able to devise a system like apartheid and live with it for so long?

Now it is neither fashionable nor popular to face with any real intent our moral and ethical dilemmas. But such blissful ignorance cannot last. We cannot ignore for much longer the call being made on all of us to take some responsibility for the welfare of others.

This is anathema to many. But the world can never be made to reflect only our particular values or to become so value-free, that laws and customs embody no ethical system and no belief about what is good for humanity.

Pure self-interest is not only not an option any more, but has never been an option. Read Adam Smith. He knew it, which should give at least one influential sector in South Africa food for thought.

National municipal vote plan

Political Staff

NATION-WIDE municipal elections could be held before or concurrently with national interim government elections, Local Government Minister Dr Tertius Delport said yesterday.

Addressing a press briefing Dr Delport said the exact timing of third-tier elections would depend on progress made in nego-

tiations.

Noting that local government was to become a general affair Dr Delport said at present the different racially-based third-tier authorities were dealt with under separate acts. There was therefore now a need for a new act.

Dr Delport said a forum for local government had been created in which both government

and extra-parliamentary organisations such as SANCO were involved.

The forum, he stressed was an informal, not a statutory body.

Answering a question on whether a non-racial by-election could be held in a ward in Maritzburg, Dr Delport said that if an agreement was adopted, and was accepted by the administrator it could take place.

Star 6/2/93

Eglin shoots from hip over Koornhof gift

CAPE TOWN — The \$100 000 (about R310 000) donation by South Africa's former ambassador in Washington to an American hunting club was a sorry, futile waste of taxpayers' money, Democratic Party spokesman on foreign affairs Colin Eglin said yesterday.

It was reported earlier that Dr Piet Koornhof gave the money to the Safari Club International in 1989.

Eglin said in a statement that as the truth was revealed bit by bit, it was clear that the Government had spent million and millions of rands trying to do the impossible — trying to make apartheid acceptable to the rest of the world.

"Perhaps a few big-game hunters in the American south fell for Koornhof's financial blandishments — but the rest of the world did not.

"The simple fact is that the taxpayers were taken for a ride: the solution to SA's problem was not to hand out dollops of money to dubious organisations, but to get rid of apartheid at home." — Sapa.

Urgent warning: preparations for an election must start now

STAR 6/2/93

(304A)

FOR the third year running, Undercurrent Affairs finds itself attending the opening week of what we annually describe as the "last white Parliament". It really is going to be embarrassing if we're back again next year, doing the same thing.

But, with the uncertainty of experience, it looks as if finally this is going to be a decisive negotiating year.

There are rough patches ahead (in fact we should be hitting one just as you read this), but nevertheless when Parliament reconvenes it will no longer be the expression of white control over our country. It will be something entirely different.

Already, though, this opening of Parliament has been different to what went before. One got the distinct impression, listening to the large troupe of performing Ministers and deputy Ministers, that they were choosing their words carefully. Also, something very familiar was missing from most of the briefings: the ritual savagings of the ANC.

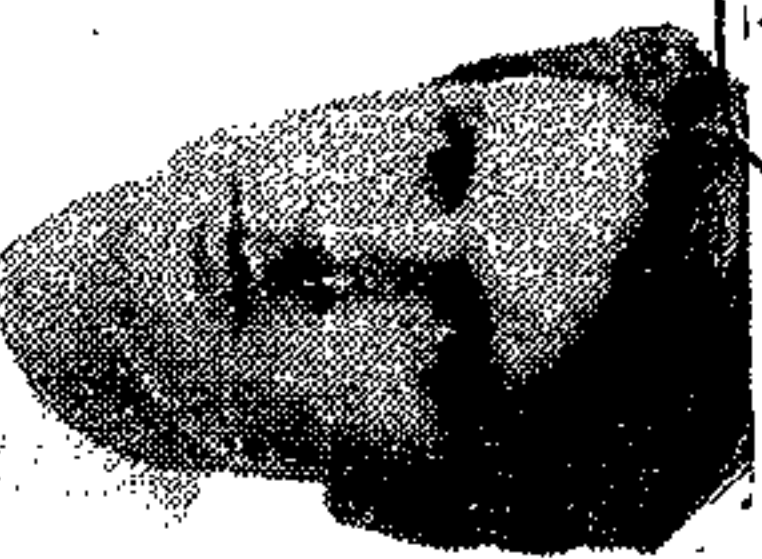
Like De Klerk's opening speech itself, the outpourings of the Ministers were oddly consensual — as if the speakers were aware that they were talking on behalf of a group wider than just the Government. Indeed, it seemed obvious that Ministers such as Louis Pienaar were painfully conscious of the fact that they could not make unilateral pronouncements, no matter how much they might want to.

Key speeches, including those of De Klerk, Roelf Meyer and Derek Keys, sounded more like report-backs of what had occurred outside Parliament than serious attempts to convince the assembled MPs to support a particular line of action.

The old system has not been buried, but it has

UNDERCURRENT AFFAIRS

SHAUN JOHNSON



WE NEED to start drumming into each other's heads the maxim that participation in democracy demands acceptance of the possibility that someone else might win.

been partially paralysed. All eyes are now focusing beyond this Parliament — which will in all likelihood begin to legislate its own demise before June — and on the logical outcome of the reform process, elections.

The ANC was too busy to protest at the opening of Parliament this year, because it was preparing for elections.

Pienaar's Home Affairs Ministry is working round the clock ... registering people so that they can vote in elections.

We need these elections, of course, and desperately so. They will be final confirmation to ourselves and the world that we have come up with a rational option to racial armageddon. But I wonder whether we have any idea of the scale of the exercise we are letting ourselves in for, when we speak blithely of erecting 7 500 polling booths around the country for a ballot

towards the end of this year, or early next. Minister Pienaar's labours notwithstanding, I don't believe we are doing nearly enough to prepare the country for its great democratic catharsis.

Time is desperately short, and we need to start now. Not just with the logistics, as daunting as they are, but with drumming into each other's heads the maxim that participation in democracy demands acceptance of the possibility that someone else might win.

I sometimes wonder, even, whether it wouldn't be a good idea for the multiparty negotiating forum to commit itself soon to a firm date for elections, but to make that date considerably later than those already proposed — say mid-1995.

In this way everybody would have certainty about the ultimate outcome of the process, but we would have much more time to prepare.

Whatever the date settled upon, the Savimbi Syndrome is a frightening prospect. In fact we cannot countenance it. We have to get in place a series of mechanisms which will rule it out.

An independent electoral commission, a rule book for the elections, an effective monitoring package, agreed and credible security measures, and so much more. It will take time to do this properly.

There should also be, in my view, tremendous public pressure on each and every political leader to enter into a covenant before the elections. They need to swear, hands on hearts, to accept the election result in good faith if it is declared to be free and fair.

The politicians have, in many ways, already stated their election campaigns. That's okay, but we need simultaneously to start a campaign to make elections possible.

(304A)

but can it hold?

lose of power-sharing and regionalism. In these two areas lie the seeds of an historic compromise.

POWER-SHARING: The NP is re-defining its concept of power-sharing. Whereas it first emerged in the crude form of an indefinite entrenchment of a multiparty executive structure — symbolised in the "rotating presidency" idea — it is now much more sophisticated and subtle.

NP negotiators have concluded that the original plan was unsaleable (it smacks of a perversion of democratic will), but more importantly that it is unnecessary and possibly detrimental to their own interests. They are convinced that power-sharing can be achieved by other means.

These "other means" are encapsulated in the phrase "binding constitutional principles". Simply put, everything now depends, from the NP point of view, on how much specific agreement can be reached before the final constitution.

So pre-emptive, binding constitutional principles become all-important. They, after all, will appear in the final constitution.

The battle that still needs to be fought is over how long the list of binding principles will be, and how detailed they will be. The Government wants regionalism (discussed later) spelt out in final detail, and other principles it will insist on include the bill of rights, special majorities for certain decisions-making, and multiparty access to the branches of State, including the security forces and civil service.

All of these, in its view, will create checks and balances tantamount to power-sharing.

The Government is pleased that, in the Record of Understanding signed in September last year, the joint statement referred to constitutional principles being agreed upon — not "general constitutional principles", which would be vague.

The NP's dropping of the notion of a rotating presidency makes progress with the ANC much more likely — and it is possible that, in return for the assurance that the leader of the majority party will be president in a transitional parliament, the ANC might agree that he will act only with the approval of the (multi-party) transitional Cabinet.

That Cabinet would be appointed to reflect the electoral performances of the various parties in the first proportional representation polls.

The overall effect is that the Government no longer insists on power-sharing being written overtly into the constitution, and the ANC is prepared for a form of power-sharing by other means. The ANC's internal debate on this notion was resolved when the no-

Countdown to new era

- THE transition timetable step by step (likely dates in brackets):
1. Bilateral meetings aimed at restarting multiparty talks, and agreeing on a set of constitutional principles (January, February, March).
 2. Re-convention of multiparty talks, possibly but not necessarily called Codesa 3. Agreement on a transitional executive council (TEC), and constitutional principles (March, April).
 3. Passing of enabling legislation in Parliament for TEC (April, May).
 4. Establishment of TEC and subcommittees (June, July).
 5. TEC begins to function, plans for elections for interim government. Multiparty forum devises interim constitution (June, July, August, September — possibly into next year).
 6. Elections for constituent assembly/constitution-making body (probably first half of 1994).
 7. CMB/CA assembles as interim legislature, governs the country and works on final constitution. Decides when next elections should be held.

tion of "sunset clauses" — a particular corollary of power-sharing — was accepted by its leadership last year.

REGIONALISM: Here the Government wants the ANC to temper its suspicions about the pre-emptive drafting of agreements on the boundaries, powers and functions of regions for the new SA.

The ANC position is that it is not against the devolution of power in principle, but that the CMB/CA is the proper forum for settling the detail.

In the Government's view, the key to a breakthrough lies in convincing the ANC that, in seeking detailed agreement on the regions, it is not trying to cling to power via the back door. The Government also believes that some of the ANC's own constituents — including homeland leaders aligned to the ANC — are

themselves warming to the idea of regional devolution. This could add further impetus to a possible shift in the ANC approach.

POSSIBILITIES AND PROBLEMS: Movement from both sides on the questions of power-sharing and regionalism provide, in outline, the potential for decisive convergence. Of course, there are myriad other elements which need to be addressed if the central compromise is to hold.

Here again, there are areas in which possibilities emerge for compromise, and others which are more intractable.

It seems that the Government will drop its insistence on a two-chamber transitional parliament, and that the ANC will not oppose a bicameral system after the transition. It seems there will be agreement that the transitional parliament will have only a limited life-span, but that it might sit

for a full five years before second elections are held, under the final constitution. The local government component would simply be added to the transitional parliament during the five-year period.

Similarly, regarding the operation of the proposed transitional executive council (TEC), there appears to be room for compromise. The Government will not allow joint rule without elections, but the TEC will, by agreement, be enabled to exert real influence in an organised structure — it will not be a "toy telephone".

The Government has accepted that it cannot act unilaterally any more — the appointment of a new SABC board is an example. Therefore the influence of those who serve on the TEC and its subcommittees will be greater than it appears on paper.

It is also hoped that the installation of the TEC will have a positive psychological effect on the public, being the first instance of real multiparty, non-racial co-operation in the administration of the country. It is, in this sense, an irrevocable step, and the Government even hopes that the ANC might allow it to be used as the "trigger point" for the lifting of remaining sanctions.

So much for the possibilities for a mutually acceptable accommodation between the ANC and Government. The position of the Inkatha Freedom Party remains a problem — and the role of Zulu King Goodwill Zwelithini is particularly difficult.

The Government appears satisfied with the new arms-length relationship it has with the IFP, but is worried about the issue of the king. A compromise/proposal is that the governments of the six self-governing states be invited into the Codesa process (only the

TBVC states were represented before), and that these delegations could be headed by the various traditional leaders, including the Zulu king. Essentially the proposal is to address the king's position by increasing the role of traditional leaders in general. The ANC, however, is strongly resisting this option, and the disagreement could have the effect of delaying the transition.

Both the Government and ANC recognise the desirability of drawing the IFP back into the process — the Government believes it can be achieved if Uthandi can be convinced it is not going to be "tricked" by the other two — but the mechanisms for achieving this remain unclear.

Finally, the future of Umkhonto we Sizwe is a difficult and unresolved problem.

THE ANC wants full integration with the SADF, while the generals want MK to disband and its members to apply to the SADF individually. A middle road is not yet evident.

Overall, the convergence between South Africa's two central political players is remarkable. But it is also fragile. If the meeting of minds in the new political "centre" is to hold, the potentially disruptive problems must be addressed within the next fortnight. Both sides are trying hard — being careful not to crow over each other's compromises — but there is no guarantee that unforeseen factors will not cause an unravelling. Negotiators are bracing themselves for a rough ride in the coming days — in the hope that if they come through it, the future will be theirs.

THESE unchangeable agreements will tie the hands of the constitution-making body CMB, which the ANC calls a constituent assembly (CA), and create a condition of *de facto* power-sharing in various crucial areas.

NP thinking is that the old idea of entrenched power-sharing can no longer fly. Firstly, there are no comparable precedents for it working anywhere in the world. Secondly, if the NP were to become an entrenched junior party in government, this would restrict its potential to act as a vigorous opposition. If the NP did well in the first election, for example, it might want to build up towards challenging the majority party head-on in the second election. It could not do so effectively as a junior — and therefore tagged — member of government. The NP bottom line has thus shifted considerably, as a result of this thinking.

MINDS MEETING: *The Government and ANC have negotiated many*

minefields in a fragile but impressive stride towards conciliation

Star 6/2/93

The centre is forming.

(304A)

IT MIGHT not be obvious, but the shape of South Africa's possible political accommodation is growing clearer by the day. From Parliament, Political Editor SHAUN JOHNSON interprets the barrage of confusing signals emanating from the country's major politicians.

FOR once the cliché is accurate: negotiations have reached a critical stage, and what happens in the coming days will determine whether this year's ambitious transition timetable can be adhered to.

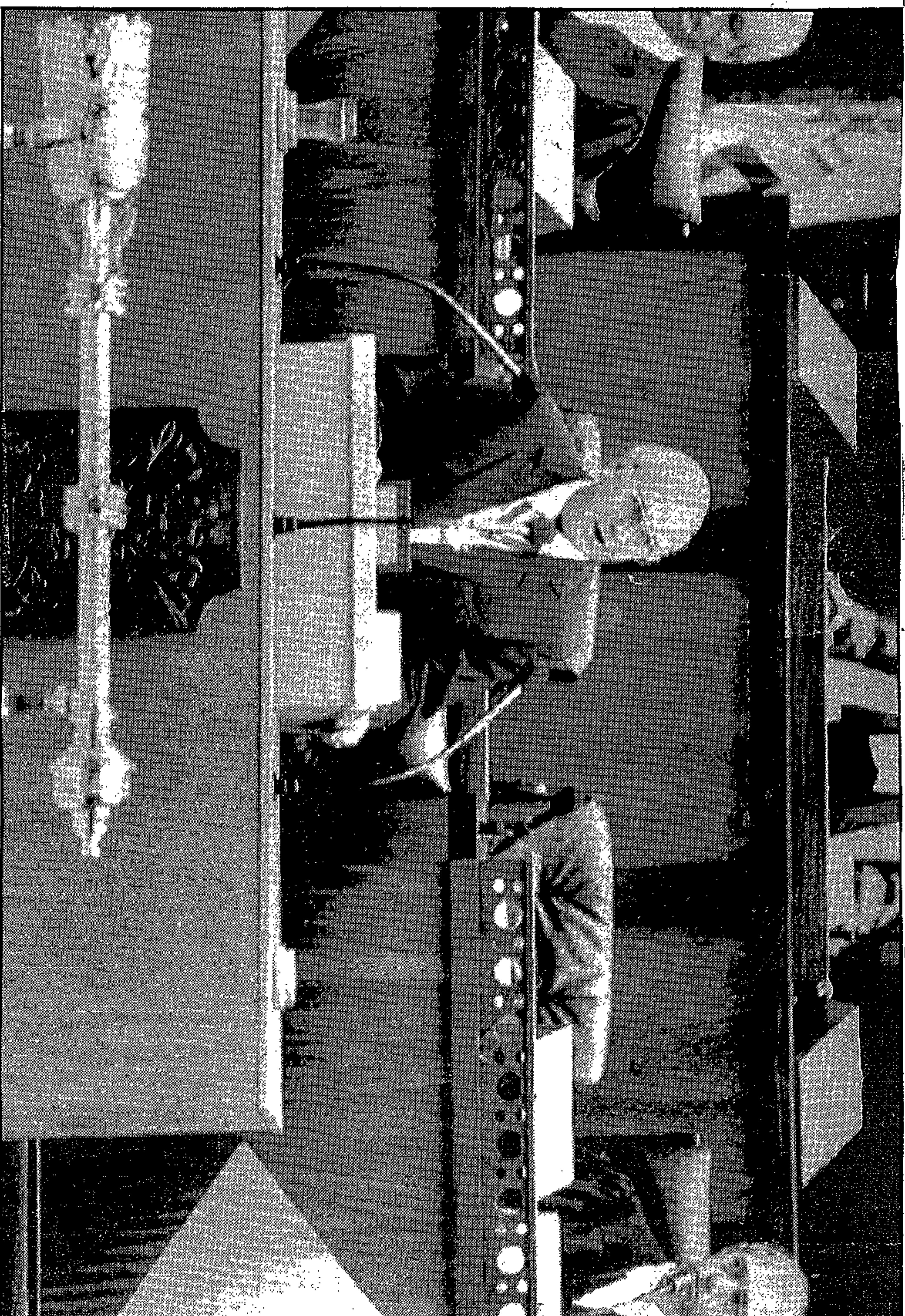
In essence, what has happened is that the negotiating teams of the Government and ANC — convinced for a variety of reasons that the process must move forward quickly — have chiselled away at the barrier between them, exposing the solid and resilient core. They are now chipping at that core.

They have identified the issues that really matter, come up with a broad plan for tackling them, and submitted this to their political principals. If their principals buy into the plan, and if extraneous factors do not intervene, then negotiations will leap on to a new plane.

And the transition will proceed at a pace which will take most South Africans by surprise. What have the negotiators identified? Firstly it needs to be said that there is a specific and limited meeting of minds. They have not become political allies — they will compete viciously in elections — it they are as one regarding what is needed to move transition to its essential next step.

The Government remains closer to the Inkatha Freedom Party in terms of policies, but it is closer to the ANC in terms of the process. The closing of the gap must be seen in this context.

Two key issues which need to be resolved between



THE FINAL LAP: President de Klerk at the opening of the last Parliament as we know it. The next one will see blacks sharing positions of real

STAR

6/2/93

30411

Mr Election tells of NP push for funds

THE National Party's newly appointed "Mr Election" — Dr Dawie de Villiers — yesterday disclosed that the ruling party would make a major push for foreign funding to build up the NP's election war chest to at least R50 million.

He said "enormous sums" would be needed to fight an election involving about 20m potential voters.

But he said he doubted whether the NP could match the ANC's R200m election budget.

(304A) CT 6/2/93

R850m for

defunct rulers

SITimes 7/2/93

TAXPAYERS will have to fork out an estimated R850-million in golden handshakes and pensions when the tricameral system is abandoned to make way for a non-racial government.

This figure has been calculated by Democratic Party pensions expert Brian Goodall using the same formula employed by actuaries in the private sector.

Only days after the start of the present session of Parliament, the former Minister of Defence, General Magnus Malan, announced his retirement.

By his own admission, he is one of the first casualties of the government's plans to dump the Own Affairs Ministers' Councils.

In his new civilian life Mr Malan will have no need of a job. He will retire a wealthy man with a handsome gratuity and two bulging pension packages.

He will receive a tax-free gratuity of R400 000 plus a parliamentary pension of R200 000 a year paid out of the State Revenue Fund. In addition he will get an army pension (details of which could not be obtained) but which is entirely separate and will be paid out of the Defence Pension Fund.

His take-home pay as a retired SADF general and ex-cabinet minister will be no less than R16 000 a month.

At the same time, in the House of Delegates the chairman of the Ministers' Council, Dr JN Reddy, has lost his position after a successful motion by the NP faction in the House calling on President de Klerk to reconstitute the Ministers' Council "on the basis of power-sharing".

This means that Mr Reddy, four of his ministers and a deputy minister lose their positions of power — but they, too, need have no financial concern as they will be taken care of by the Parliamentary Pension Fund.

Mr Reddy, for example, should he decide to follow the example of Mr Malan and retire from Parliament, will also receive a pension of R200 000 and a gratuity of R400 000. Although he has been in Parliament only since 1984, his service in the South African Indian Council is also recognised.

In his opening address to Parliament, President de Klerk announced that the all-appointed 60-member President's Council had served its purpose and

By NORMAN WEST
Political Reporter

would be phased out.

These men and women, many of whom have never fought an election, are expected to be granted bonus pensionable service years so as not to prejudice them financially because of the PC's early demise this year, Mr Goodall said.

The tricameral Parliament is now in its ninth year, which means that those politicians who joined the Parliamentary Pension Fund at its inception all qualify for pensions.

Mr Goodall pointed out that:

- An MP with seven-and-a-half years' service will get a pension of R59 000 a year and a gratuity of R118 000. This is the minimum period of service an MP must have to qualify for pension. The average salary of an MP is about R118 000.

- If an MP has 15 years' service his pension would be equal to his salary and he would, in addition, receive a gratuity which would be twice his salary — ie. R236 000.

- If an MP is a "holder of office" — viz. a minister, a deputy minister, a whip, leader of the opposition, he or she does not need any qualifying period, even if the MP has had only six months' service — the reason why there is such feverish jockeying for these lucrative positions when the administration in a House is about to be reshuffled.

- A "holder of office" — like a minister with, say, five years' service — would receive approximately R6 500 a month for life plus a tax-free gratuity of R157 000.

Mr Goodall has worked out that if a person in the private sector were to receive the same amount in the form of a gratuity, that private citizen would have had to fork out R97 000 to the taxman.



Beware jailers bearing the keys to freedom

3047

5 Times

7/2/93

THE debate on the essential character of South African democracy, long delayed and often over-shadowed by more dramatic events, began almost surreptitiously this week when the government published its curious proposals for a bill of rights.

The document was dutifully welcomed as evidence of the transformation of the National Party, but it has been glossed over. The reason may be that the Draft Charter of Fundamental Rights, as it is rather pompously named, is couched in an unusual and bewildering idiom.

The American bill of rights begins by forbidding the state to make any law "respecting the establishment of religion or prohibiting the free exercise thereof"; the German equivalent, the Basic Law, begins by saying simply, "The dignity of man shall be inviolable".

The government's charter starts off, in the legalistic style of apartheid-speak, by assigning rights to "every person, including, where appropriate, every legal person and every entity or body or group of persons which can be the bearer of rights".

Huh? What's appropriate, and what's inappropriate? What Nationalist trickery lies concealed in this tortured phraseology? Which bodies or groups can be the bearers of rights? Coming from people who have called oppression "separate freedom", or described the banning of students from universities as "the extension of university education", this pseudo-legalistic gobbledegook must spark a search for hidden meanings, hidden agendas, hidden purposes.

It is not language which will inspire trust.

The German Basic Law says, "Freedom of faith, of conscience, and freedom to profess a religion or a particular philosophy shall be inviolable"; the government's version says, "Every person shall have the right to profess and practise the religion of his choosing", but goes on to say this shall not preclude ministration to the forces, the public service and other state institutions, religious instruction or exercise in schools, and religious broadcasts by

"an entity instituted by or under any law".

I would like to hear from lawyers how these two clauses are to be reconciled, but it seems to me that the first is qualified by the second, and that the primary right — the right of the state to propagandise a particular religion in schools or by television — takes precedence over the individual's freedom of religion.

Anyway, freedom of conscience is nowhere mentioned, and the right to profess a particular philosophy — say, atheism — is not recognised. Freedom of faith, in this context, seems to me no more than a pious protestation, carefully loaded in favour of the prejudices of the framers of the charter.

The freedom of speech clause, to take an example where I am more sure of my ground, is simply defective. I can understand that, given the national prejudices, the framers of the charter have not been guided by the American example which forbids Congress to make any law "abridging the freedom of speech, or of the press, or of the right of the people peaceably to assemble, and to petition the government for redress of grievances".

However, the German Basic Law says, "Freedom of the press and freedom of reporting by means of broadcasts and films shall be guaranteed. There shall be no censorship."

THE government's version, drawn up in arrogant disregard of the recommendations of the Conference of Editors and of the wording accepted by the Media Council as part of the Press Code of Conduct, says simply: "Every person shall have the right of freedom of speech and other forms of expression, and the right to obtain and disseminate information."

To this, however, is appended the right of the state to register and license newspapers, a clause which is bound to be violated, sooner or later, by pamphleteers, alternative newspapers and rogue publishers. It guarantees that, from the very first day, the press as a whole will be as seriously at war with this bill of rights as it was with Stoffel Botha in his oppressive heyday.

Not a word, incidentally, is said about freedom of opinion, which takes us back to the days of Gallileo's gagging by the Roman Church.

There is worse to come: the American bill of rights forbids unreasonable searches and seizures; our version, trying to be clever, guarantees the inviolability of a person's home and forbids spying or wire-tapping under the right of privacy, except in cases of foreign intelligence gathering, or trade in narcotics and weapons, or "serious" economic offences, or prostitution.

AS the inclusion of serious economic offences suggests, the police have excessive powers in terms of this clause, but there is no mechanism to control their use of those powers, and the omission of any reference to treason seems to me to guarantee that, sooner or later, internal resistance to the government will be treated as though it were equivalent to foreign intelligence-gathering. If the drafting is sloppy, the thinking behind it is sloppier.

The list of objections to this charter is endless, and for an obvious reason: intellectual isolation from the democracies, and unfamiliarity with the concepts of a "culture of rights", renders the civil servants of the present regime unfit to carry out the task of drawing up a bill of rights.

The ANC's bill of rights, though I think it carefully omits some essential elements of a free society and is loaded with some silly ideals masquerading as rights, is at least cast in recognisable idiom; it draws on the experience and knowledge of an international community that has been struggling with the difficult questions of rights for two centuries. It is not something dreamed up amid the heady fumes of brandy and chops at a bosberaad.

President de Klerk is said to want a liberal democracy; if so, he needs the help of liberal lawyers, and of modern thinkers, to fashion a bill of rights that will not run the risk of strangling in its own eccentricities.

KEN OWEN

U-turn as NP backs single leader for SA

By EDYTH BULBRING
Political Correspondent

THE National Party has dramatically revised its proposals for power-sharing in a new government, dropping the idea of FW de Klerk, Nelson Mandela and Mangosuthu Buthelezi serving as joint presidents.

It has now proposed that the party which wins a majority in the country's first non-racial elections, elect a single president who, with the assistance of a multiparty Cabinet, will run the country for five years. (30/4/93)

This means, in effect, that should the ANC win the majority of votes, President de Klerk could serve in a Cabinet under Mr Mandela. S/Time

This new proposal, explored during bilateral talks with the ANC, signals a significant shift from previous NP policy and has advanced the prospects of a constitutional settlement. 7/2/93

A key feature of previous NP proposals to ensure power-sharing under a new constitution was the idea of a directly elected executive council.

Poll

In a speech to Parliament last year, President de Klerk proposed that this council replace the State President as the head of government and the head of state.

Members of the council, he said, would be directly elected in a non-racial poll. The three to five candidates who received the most votes would serve on the council.

The intention behind this proposal was that the three leaders of the major political parties — De Klerk, Mandela and Buthelezi would be accommodated. This idea was rejected

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The intention behind this proposal was that the three leaders of the major political parties — De Klerk, Mandela and Buthelezi would be accommodated.

This idea was rejected out of hand by the ANC and other parties so government negotiators have come up with alternatives, more acceptable to their negotiating partners, but which do not undermine the NP's insistence that power-sharing be a central feature of a new constitution.

One alternative now being canvassed in behind-the-scenes talks is that the majority party will elect a president, but that he will preside over a multi-party Cabinet.

Percentage

All parties which receive more than 10 percent or 15 percent of the votes in an election will be entitled to Cabinet representation. The actual number of Cabinet members a party will have, will be determined by the number of votes it polls in the election — should the NP, for example, poll 30 percent of the votes in an election it will have 30 percent of the Cabinet posts.

This multi-party Cabinet would rule the country for five years after which a final constitution, which would be negotiated in the meantime, would come into effect.

But, whereas President de Klerk at present has unfettered powers to hire and fire whom he pleases and even to declare war, the powers of the new president, the NP proposes,

□ To Page 2



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NP's U-turn on new leadership

□ From Page 1

should be strictly defined.

It has demarcated areas on which the president can act on the advice of the Cabinet, after consultation with the Cabinet and, crucially, in consultation with the Cabinet.

In the last instance, it would mean that the president would not be able to act without achieving consensus in the multi-party Cabinet. A decision to declare war is an example.

The ANC is waiting for the government's detailed proposals outlining which decisions would have to be made on a consensus basis. The proposals are expected to be discussed on Wednesday.

The government and the ANC are also exploring a compromise to satisfy concerns of domination by a powerful central government after the first five years.

Previously the government believed the only way to prevent this occurring was to insist that power-sharing be included alongside universal suffrage and the need to hold regular elections in a list of constitutional principles.

The list of principles will be agreed on by all parties prior to the holding of elec-

tions and will have to be included in a final constitution.

Again there were strong objections from both the ANC and Inkatha to this proposal.

Government negotiators have now refined their thinking on this matter and believe it is possible to achieve permanent power-sharing by deciding on the allocation of power between central, regional and local government in advance.

Put bluntly, the government now wants the issue of federalism decided in advance of the holding of any elections. On this it has the support of Inkatha.

The ANC also accepts that regions should have "original" powers which cannot be overridden by the central government and that the boundaries of regions can be decided before the holding of the first election.

But it does not believe the powers and functions of regions can be dictated to the constituent assembly that will draw up the new constitution.

So far it has not been possible for the government and the ANC to breach their differences on this issue in their secret talks.

MIKE TARR

THROUGHOUT his political career, Mike Tarr has been one of those rare individuals who is regarded, even by opponents, as a "good guy". This week, he announced he was leaving the stands to join the scrum.

The MP for Maritzburg North left his party of 33 years for Inkatha. He now sits in the back corner of Parliament next to his former NP opponent and now fellow Inkatha member, Jurle Mentz, with a mish-mash of ANC and Afrikaner Volksunie members.

He did not take the decision lightly. In fact, he thought about it for a year. On Wednesday last week, he made up his mind and phoned Inkatha leader Mangosuthu Buthelezi to tell him about his decision.

At the weekend, he kept his head down, and on Tuesday morning, he wandered around Cape Town trying to pluck up courage to hand his resignation to the media. After that, he informed DP leader Zach de Beer.

Mr Tarr sees little significant difference between the policies and constitutional proposals of the IFP and the DP. Mr de Beer's retort to this sentiment is that Mr Tarr could simply have stayed put.

But, for Mr Tarr, fighting a democratic election with the DP in Maritzburg spells political obscurity when the real struggle for power is between the ANC and the IFP.

He considers the question of political opportunism very seriously, but he believes there is no room for both the IFP and the DP in Natal — and he would prefer not to be in the wings.

Mr Tarr, who was brought up on a diet of gentlemanly politics in the DP and its progressive predecessors, knows he will have to adapt to a different ethos in the IFP.

"The DP has always stood on the opposition sidelines, so they never got their hands dirty in corruption and violence," he says.

"An unfortunate situation has developed in Natal, where there is an absolute battle for turf. It's a situation of eat or be eaten, the survival of the fittest. It's an unfortunate ethos."

With an abhorrence for violence, Mr Tarr hopes his presence in Parliament will help to establish a different ethos in the IFP.

"I believe the ANC is a better place because Rob Haswell is there. I hope our presence in Parliament

NORTHE VS SOUTHE

will be a pre-runner to better understanding between the IFP and the ANC."

He refuses to apologise for the IFP's alleged past abuses; he wants to start afresh from "today".

Mr Tarr said he understood from Mr Buthelezi that he would be appointed to the Inkatha central committee.

In this forum, says Mr Tarr, he will make his views known. And there are several views that are unlikely to be approved of by his new leader.

"There's no way I am going to attend a caucus meeting and not have my say. If that's not tolerated, I'll walk out," he says.

The white electorate of Maritzburg elected two Democratic Party MPs to represent them in Parliament. Both have defected — Rob Haswell (Maritzburg South) to the ANC and Mike Tarr (Maritzburg North) to its bitter rival, the Inkatha Freedom Party. They speak to EDYTH BULBRING about the parting of their ways

INSIDE 'CAMP FW'

STimes, 7/2/93, (3041)
Secret seaside retreat where President must get by without power

By DIANA STREAK

WHEN State President FW de Klerk needs to escape the pressures of office, this is the house where he can rest undisturbed and write speeches by the light of a paraffin lamp.

This week the Sunday Times was the first newspaper allowed to visit Mr de Klerk's version of Camp David, the American president's retreat.

It is an isolated home on a wind-swept bluff with exquisite views of the turquoise ocean and green slopes of pristine fynbos in the eastern section of the De Hoop Nature Reserve along the southern Cape coast.

Only Mr de Klerk has use of Lekerwater — the V-shaped, three-bedroomed, thatched-roofed house and once he is no longer in office it will be handed over to the Cape Provincial Administration, which has yet to decide what it will be used for.

Dilapidated

According to Cape Administrator Kobus Meiring, the house was restored three years ago at a cost of R300 000 by a group of Mr de Klerk's friends. It was a dilapidated holiday home which was expropriated by Armscor for their controversial Overberg missile-testing range.

"The house had to be private, but accessible and in a good enough condition to restore," said Mike Scott, the De Hoop reserve manager.

A short hop by helicopter from the nearby SAAF base, weather permitting, takes him to the house where there is a rough helipad, or a bumpy ride in a four-wheel drive vehicle along a tortuous dirt road.

It is just a 50m stroll to the beach and rockpools. There is no power at the house and the family uses gas and paraffin.

The house is decorated in a cottagey style and has an adjoining flat for security men. The eastern section of the range was annexed



HOME AWAY FROM HOME ... De Hoop reserve manager Mike Scott, who keeps an eye on President de Klerk's coastal retreat

Picture: TERRY SHEAN

In 1983 and a farm and about 20 holiday homes were expropriated at market value, said Mr Meiring.

In 1990 Cape Nature Conservation took over management of that section, used as a target site, effectively doubling the size of De Hoop which has a phenomenal diversity of fauna and flora and the country's only total marine reserve.

Although it is still a restricted area, the public has access under nature conservation supervision.

Friends of Mr de Klerk thought he should have a retreat like other heads of state, said government spokesman Dave Steward, defending the arrangement.

After all, the American president has Camp David, the British prime minister has Chequers and

even neighbouring Namibian president Sam Nujoma has a historic holiday home in Swakopmund.

Cape Nature Conservation is expected to make full use of the property once Mr de Klerk's term of office ends, and it's delighted the cash-strapped authorities.

"The province had no money to develop the eastern section and

we saw a wonderful opportunity to get an asset restored to the province," said Mr Meiring.

"No state money was used," added Mr Steward.

This was one of the conditions Mr de Klerk made when he accepted the offer from the donors, whose identities were unknown to him.

He also asked that the house did

not enrich him or his family, according to a statement issued at the time by Mr Meiring.

"The state president doesn't have a lack of places to go, but Lekerwater is secluded and he loves it there," said Mr Steward.

A soon-to-be-released development plan for the reserve recommends the identification of buildings suitable for restoration.

5 June
7/2/93.

ROB HASWELL

ROB HASWELL finds it hard to accept Mike Tarr's decision to leave the DP and join the IFP.

"It is clear the election battle in Natal is between the IFP and the ANC. In the process, the NP and the DP are mosquitoes," he says.

He can therefore understand Mr Tarr's desire to play a relevant political role in Natal, as his decision to leave the DP was also based on this consideration.

But on a personal level, Mr Haswell says he cannot understand Mr Tarr's deci-

sion to choose a party which has brought so much death and destruction to the people of Maritzburg.

Mr Haswell has known Mr Tarr for more than 20 years. They belonged to the same rugby club, and he believes relations between them in Parliament will remain cordial.

The sense of personal outrage Mr Haswell expresses at Mr Tarr's decision to join the IFP is similar to that of his own white constituency when he left the DP to join the ANC in April last year. There were calls for him to resign from parliament.

Mr Haswell used to be an independent city councillor before he joined the DP in 1989. He then won the election for Maritzburg South, a seat held by Mr Tarr for six years.

His disillusionment with the DP grew after the party failed to implement its programme of action aimed at forming pacts with like-minded organisations such as the ANC.

"Despite a number of meetings with the ANC, it became clear that the DP intended to stay exactly where it was — smack in the centre with a holier-than-thou attitude," he says.

His views brought him into increasing conflict with the DP, and he left with four others to join the ANC. His decision to go the

ANC route was influenced by his experiences of the violence in Maritzburg.

"Shortly after being elected to Parliament, I came into increasing contact with people from the township, mostly ANC members," he says.

"The real turning point came when the IFP invaded Edendale during what became known as the seven-day war. More than 20 000 people were made homeless and over 100 killed in what can only be described as an Inkhatha rampage, aided and abetted by those entrusted with keeping law and order."

He became frustrated with the lack of sympathy for the ANC in Natal in his caucus, and admired what he described as the ANC's sincere and creative attempts to find solutions to the country's problems.

Mr Haswell is uncompromising in his view that the people of Natal have a right to defend themselves from the violence.

"We are still involved in a bloody war. The ANC is still effectively banned in Natal. ANC people are harassed and arrested, while armed IFP people are treated with respect."

"What are we supposed to do? Just allow ourselves to be assassinated?"

Despite his ANC membership, he says he strives in Parliament to serve Maritzburg as a whole.



OPPOSITE SIDES ... DP defectors Rob Haswell and Mike Tarr

Picture: TERRY SHEAN

NP move to expel MPs for backing casinos

STimes [Cape metro]
7/2/93.
304A

By NORMAN WEST
Political Reporter

THREE MPs may face expulsion from the National Party for defying the Cabinet's decision to close mini-casinos and backing a court application contesting the move.

Two of them — James Kuiler, MP for Manenberg, and Stanley Fisher, MP for Mitchells Plain — have signed affidavits supporting an application by two casino operators.

The application, to be heard by the Supreme Court, Durban, tomorrow, challenges the Minister of Justice Kobie Coetsee's action in closing casinos at midnight on January 31, the deadline of the moratorium granted when Parliament passed legislation in November banning their activities.

Mr Fisher is deputy chairman of the Standing Committee on Justice, which processed the legislation.

Budge

As the deadline neared, Mr Kuiler and Mr Trevor George, MP for Bosmont, tried to persuade Mr Coetsee to extend the moratorium.

Their fellows in the NP caucus are livid with them and several have said they intend moving for their expulsion when the caucus meets next week.

When Mr Coetsee made it clear at last week's caucus meeting that the moratorium would not be postponed, the three MPs disagreed with him.

The next day they visited Mr Coetsee in his parliamentary office to try to dissuade him from putting the deadline into force. Mr Coetsee would not budge.

Last Friday, Saturday and Sunday nights, the trio were entertained at a Sea Point Hotel by members of the Cape Town branch of the Casino Operators Association and their legal advisers.

Mr Fisher and Mr George said they believed



STANLEY FISHER
'Premature'



JAMES KUILER
Signed affidavit



TREVOR GEORGE
Disagreed

the government's action had been "premature" as the Howard Commission had not completed its investigation into casinos. Their chief concern was the loss of thousands of jobs the casinos had created, they said.

There are an estimated 1 500 informal casinos, providing about 10 000 jobs.

Mr George said he supported Mr Fisher and Mr Kuiler's stand but he had

been given "timeous advice" against signing a supporting affidavit in the Durban application.

Mr Kuiler could not be reached for comment.

The NP caucus chairman, Mr Piet Swanepoel, confirmed yesterday that Mr Fisher and Mr Kuiler's signing of the affidavits had been brought to his notice.

However, the NP was "tolerant of other people's views expressed in the caucus".

He refused to be drawn on what disciplinary action against the MPs, if any, was being contemplated. He said the matter was "sub judice".

A spokesman for the Ministry of Justice said Mr Coetsee was aware of Mr Fisher and Mr Kuiler's supporting the casino operators' application, but said he would not comment until after the hearing.

Fight

The applicants, Florida Road Entertainment and River Palace Leisure Industries, argue that Mr Coetsee failed to exercise his discretion properly as he did not extend the moratorium until the Howard Commission had reported its findings and recommendations.

President FW de Klerk said this week the government would fight the Durban application. It also supported Mr Coetsee as the Cabinet believed he had exercised his discretion correctly in closing "illegal" casinos and not extending the moratorium.

Mr Fisher was one of the first MPs in the House of Representatives to join the NP and was one of the kingpins in the NP's campaign to topple the Labour Party leader, the Rev Allan Hendrickse, last February.

ANC in policy talks

ABOUT 200 delegates are attending a two-day regional policy conference of the ANC at the University of the Western Cape this weekend.

The conference was opened by regional chairman Dr Allan Boesak yesterday.

Price of The Argus

THE ARGUS will cost 90c from tomorrow. The price of Weekend Argus remains unchanged.

The price of The Argus daily edition in country areas will be R1.

Readers of The Argus can save by becoming subscribers — or by renewing their subscriptions now. As a special offer, subscriptions are being held at current rates for the next four weeks.



ROB MEEK

Rio seafarer hit by pirate on dry land

RIO DE JANEIRO. — Several South Africans at the finish of the Rothmans Cape-to-Rio race in Rio de Janeiro have been mugged and pickpocketed.

The skipper of Aegis, Rob Meek, was out walking when his shoulder bag was slit open and the contents removed.

Thieves burnt a crew member of Parker Pen on the arm with a cigarette to force him to remove his hands from his pockets. They then lifted his travellers' cheques and cash from his pockets.

Two SABC-TV staff members were mugged, one on a bus and the other in a tunnel.

Lucille Levin, wife of the race committee's chairman, was on Copacabana beach when her bag was stolen.

When she looked around she saw the thief brazenly applying her suntan lotion a few metres down the beach.

She got her suntan lotion back and also traced her bag to a beach vendor who willingly returned her possessions when she confronted him. — Sapa.

Argus
Woman

GOVERNMENT and African National Congress negotiators are working on a constitutional deal that would delay introduction of full democracy until the turn of the century, according to political and diplomatic sources.

The embryonic accord, facing potentially powerful opposition, would effectively put black majority rule on hold for the sake of stability, they say.

The power-sharing plan entails major concessions by President De Klerk's National Party and Mr Nelson Mandela's African National Congress.

Implicit is recognition by the government that 300 years of white control is truly over, and by at least some black leaders that they are not yet ready to rule alone.

The sources say the kernel of the pact taking shape in secret talks is a multiparty interim government of national unity that would hold office for five years after a one-man-one-vote election.

That poll, for a constituent assembly, is due to take place by 1994 providing all goes well with multiparty talks planned for resumption next month or in April.

Under the plan, the assembly would draft the first democratic constitution and double as a parliament. The country would be run by the coalition, comprising party representatives in proportion to votes cast.

The coalition would remain in power until, it is hoped, consensus politics smoothed over South Africa's myriad racial and tribal conflicts and produced sufficient harmony for full-scale majority rule elections in 1999 or 2000.

"No-one is terribly anxious for a full-fledged election a few months after the election for a constituent assembly," said a Western diplomat.

"There will be power-sharing for an extended period."

The deal would mean the National Party giving up its goal of indefinite power-sharing, minority vetoes and an interim rotating presidency.

Mr De Klerk could serve under Mr Mandela in the coalition because the majority party would appoint the leader.

The ANC last year conceded that whites should have a say in future government. But it resisted making it a constitutional right, saying that would be a denial of true democracy.

This deal would mean the ANC backing away from its demand for a majority rule election immediately after agreement is reached on a new constitution.

Analysts and political sources say moderate elements in the ANC and government cooled their ambitions after South Africa's disastrous 1992 when multi-party talks collapsed, political warfare scaled new heights and the economy tested new depths.

It became increasingly clear that neither the NP nor the ANC could go forward alone, analysts said.

304A

ARG 8/02/93

ANC, government pact on the cards

Power sharing deal is closer

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Top govt post could go to businessman

CAPE TOWN — Finance Minister Derek Keys is likely to be asked to drop his Trade and Industry portfolio soon, sparking speculation about whether President F W de Klerk will look to the private sector again to fill the post.

De Klerk is unlikely to ask Keys to relinquish the Trade and Industry portfolio before the Budget is presented on March 17. When Keys was asked to add the finance portfolio to his responsibilities last year, De Klerk made it clear this was a stop-gap measure which could not be maintained.

Deputy Finance Minister Theo Alant, a former Deputy Trade and Industry Minister, is considered the front-runner in government to be asked to take on the post. However, there is speculation that De

Klerk might draw on the expertise of another private sector member.

The prime candidate would be SAB executive chairman Meyer Kahn, who has advised government on trade issues before. Kahn's appointment would be welcomed widely by the private sector.

Pepcor chairman Christo Wiese could be another contender, but this is unlikely following his recent appointment as IDC chairman.

De Klerk indicated last week that a restructuring of senior levels of government would be necessary because of the abolition of the Ministers' Council.

61007 8/2/93
TIM COHEN

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NEWS Pupils at the contr

Majority rule put on hold, say diplomats

Sowetan 8/2/93
3041

■ **Introduction of full democracy to be
delayed until year 2000 - claim:**

GOVERNMENT and ANC negotiators were working on a constitutional deal that would delay the introduction of full democracy until the turn of the century, political and diplomatic sources said yesterday.

The embryonic accord, facing potentially powerful opposition, would effectively put black majority rule on hold for the sake of stability, they said.

The power-sharing plan entails major concessions by both parties.

The sources say the basis of the agreement taking shape in secret talks is a multi-party interim government of national unity that would remain in office for five years after the first universal franchise election.

That poll, for a constituent assembly, is due to take place in 1994.

Under the plan, the assembly would draft the first democratic constitution and double as a parliament.

The country would be run by the coalition, comprising party representatives in proportion to votes cast for the assembly.

The coalition would remain in power until, it is hoped, consensus politics smoothed over South Africa's myriad racial and tribal conflicts and produced sufficient harmony for full-scale majority rule elections in 1999 or 2000.

"No one is terribly anxious for a full-fledged election a few months after the election for a constituent assembly," said one western diplomat. "There will be power-sharing for an extended period."

The deal would mean the National Party giving up its goal of indefinite and compulsory power-sharing even under the full constitution, minority vetoes, and an interim rotating presidency. - Sapa-Reuter.

Busy week of talks for government

TOS WENTZEL

Political Staff

(3044)
APR 8/2/93

GOVERNMENT and Inkatha representatives are meeting in Cape Town today to discuss plans for the resumption of multiparty talks on a new constitutional system.

The bilateral exploratory talks form part of the work of a multiparty planning conference formed recently.

The government and the ANC will meet on Wednesday to resume their bilateral talks. The ANC has undertaken to give a satisfactory explanation before then after the seizure of a large arms cache which was allegedly being smuggled into South Africa by Umkhonto we Sizwe members.

The arms were found by police near the Eastern Transvaal-Swaziland border but the resumption of talks is apparently not being threatened by the incident.

Anger over plan to pay off MPs

Star 8/2/93

(304A)

Staff Reporter

There are clear signs from extra-parliamentary organisations that any attempt by members of the tricameral Parliament to vote themselves cushy pensions and big cash sums will be loudly opposed.

ANC spokesman Gill Marcus said the ANC would be urgently looking into ways of countering the measures.

"They would be pillaging what little remains, after bringing this country to the brink of bankruptcy," said Marcus.

She added that President de Klerk himself had to be taken to task. "The way he deals with this will be a measure of his sincerity about the new South Africa," she said.

Details of the proposed payout to present and past MPs were published in newspapers yesterday.

Reports stated that the total cost of the scheme of gratuities and pensions would be about R850 million.

According to the reports, many MPs stood to become instant millionaires.

The payments would free the post-apartheid government of any financial obligations to politicians serving under the old order, reports said.

Marcus said it was repugnant

that those who had enforced apartheid could use their powers to ensure they were "rewarded for destroying the country" while the victims of apartheid, including many exiles, were battling to make a living.

The question of retiring politicians could not be seen in isolation from the general issue of pensions, she said.

Marcus said she believed that the ANC was not alone in its anger over the move. All "right-thinking people across the board" would be in opposition to the proposed pensions for MPs, she said.

Freemarket Foundation executive director Leon Louw said he would be at the forefront of any campaign which prevented politicians getting pay increases exceeding the growth rate — or excessive pension settlements.

"This (pension scheme) corresponds to the whole process that has been going on in the civil service, a process of frantically cashing in the chips before transition."

Louw added: "It's a disgrace that the people who spent us into this deficit should now be adding insult to injury by lining their pockets with what little is left in ours."

Until the people of South Africa began to treat politicians as their servants, and not as their masters, actions such as these were inevitable, he said.

Star 8/2/93 304A

Govt 'no' to PAC inclusion

By Esther Waugh
Political Reporter

The Government would not support an invitation to the Pan Africanist Congress to attend the multiparty planning conference, says Constitutional Development Minister Roelf Meyer.

He has reiterated the Government's position that it would not meet the PAC until the organisation had clarified its relationship with its military wing, the Azanian

People's Liberation Army (Apla).

Invitations to the planning conference — which is expected to take place at the end of the month or the beginning of March — would be the product of bilateral discussions with various parties, he said.

But the Government would not support an invitation to the PAC unless it had clarified its position regarding Apla "to the satisfaction of the Government".

PAC political affairs secretary Jaki Seroke said his organisation would not attend the planning conference because a number of issues, including a new negotiating forum, first had to be resolved bilaterally with the Government.

It would also not attend a multiparty forum which it had had no part in organising.

At its national executive committee meeting a week ago, the PAC stressed the need for

multiparty negotiations and the need for a new negotiating forum.

In a policy shift, the PAC dropped its demand for multiparty negotiations to take place outside South Africa.

Seroke said the demand was dropped for practical reasons, including the cost involved in such an exercise.

The PAC, however, still insists that the talks should take place under a neutral chairman.

Dispute on king holding up talks

AT8/2/93 3047

Political Staff

JOHANNESBURG. — A dispute between major political players over the participation of Zulu King Goodwill Zwelithini is delaying the resumption of multi-party negotiations.

To keep the process on track, Inkatha, the government, the ANC and most other parties are anxious to get a multi-party planning conference going before the month end.

The tentative reconciliation between the government and Inkatha is also likely to be overshadowed by a sharp attack by Ulundi on Constitutional Development Minister Mr Roelf Meyer.

Clearly angered by remarks made by Mr Meyer in Parliament, Chief Mangosuthu Buthelezi's office issued a statement saying the minister's comments had bedevilled talks even before they started.

This follows another talks setback — the arrest by police of three uMkhonto we Sizwe members after the discovery of an arms cache in a car at a Swaziland border post.

Government sources fear police may have uncovered an arms smuggling network between Mozambique and Natal, and if the ANC has condoned this it could seriously delay the negotiation process.

Senior ANC officials are expected in Natal today to begin their investigation. The government has insisted that the ANC gives its answers on its involvement in the smuggling by the time they meet for scheduled constitutional talks on Wednesday.

A National Party-supporting Sunday newspaper reported yesterday that the government was also insisting that the ANC clarify the role of its Natal Midlands leader, Mr Harry Gwala, in violence.

However, the ANC and government made a "great deal of progress" in their committee meetings on Friday and Saturday in preparation for a two-day bilateral meeting from Wednesday which will try to get multi-party negotiations going in March.

The government source and an ANC negotiator emphasised that the two sides had moved much closer on core issues, but no decisions had been taken by their principals to accept their common proposals.

Township members of DP 'live in fear'

Political Correspondent

(304A)

THE Democratic Party's township members were 'living in fear' and the party has been forced to limit its township activities to avoid putting its members at increased risk, says the DP's in-house journal, Bulletin.

CT 8/2/93

An article in the journal based on reports by DP youth structures states that "intimidation has led to many township residents who have expressed an interest in joining the party being too afraid to do so". The report said: "Among those responsible for intimidation are people who claim membership of the ANC, PAC, IFP and Azapo."

'Govt wants to keep privilege'

THE government's proposed regional arrangements would severely reduce the power of a democratically elected government, ANC Western Cape leader Dr Allan Boesak said on Saturday. (304A)

Speaking at the ANC's regional policy conference, Dr Boesak said the NP's regional arrangements would preserve privilege and limit the ability of a democratic government to address the inequalities created by apartheid. CT 8/2/93

He said the conference was part of the process of consulting ANC membership nationally about regional policy.

Representatives would be sent to a national conference next month at which a final policy would be adopted. — Staff Reporter, Sapa

Talks date set at ^{304A} meeting with IFP

MICHAEL MORRIS
Political Correspondent

^{9/12/93}
PROSPECTS for an early resumption of allparty talks were have been boosted by a meeting between the government and Inkatha.

The two sides said in a joint statement after the meeting yesterday that their "common objective" was to hold a multi-party planning conference before the end of February.

They had spent time "on the exploration of common ground on constitutional matters".

Bilateral discussions between the two parties will continue with a three-day meeting to be held from February 17 to 19, in Natal.

The government, like the ANC, is eager to begin multi-party talks in March.

Inkatha has been insisting on a planning conference to establish details of the agenda and the structure of constitutional talks.

Political violence and its effect on negotiations was high on the agenda at yesterday's key meeting between delegations led by IFP national chairman Dr Frank Mdlalose and Minister of Constitutional Development and Communication Mr Roelf Meyer.

They said: "Priority was given to political violence, by armed bands sowing death and destruction among their public and private opponents, and to the acquisition and distribution of arms.

"The destabilising affect these have on the constitutional negotiating process, as well as the question of private armies in an election process, also received attention."

Talks resume despite row on gun running

TOS WENTZEL Political Staff

TALKS between the government and the African National Congress are resuming today with both sides determined not to have them ruined by a row about alleged gun smuggling by ANC members.

The ANC is supposed to give the government a satisfactory explanation today after the arrest of three ANC members with an arms cache near the Natal-Swaziland border last week. Since then it has been announced that seven more people have been arrested.

At a meeting with the ANC last week, the government demanded that an explanation be given by today.

Top Nationalist sources said the government was assuming the ANC would come up with an explanation. The incident has come as an embarrassment to the ANC — and the government side is "milking" it for propaganda purposes.

But Nationalist MPs emphasise that the situation, especially the state of the economy, is now so serious that there is no time for spoiling tactics.

President De Klerk and his negotiating team had a long session last night to plan strategy.

An ANC spokesman said the organisa-

tion's team would meet today to decide how it would present the ANC's reply at the talks. The organisation has confirmed that the first three men who were arrested are members.

ANC executive member Mr Mathew Phosa, who visited the men with MK chief of staff Mr Sphiwe Nyanda, said the investigation had established that the national executive committee and the southern Natal regional executive committee were not involved in the alleged smuggling.

It was also satisfied that ANC "military headquarters in Johannesburg" and "military command in southern Natal" had not been part of the operation.

The government side is bound to demand to know from the ANC whether there are elements in MK which are no longer under the control of its leadership.

After this has been cleared up, the talks, due to continue until Friday, will concentrate on arrangements on the way to transitional government and regional government.

Both sides are emphasising that they are not trying to reach final agreements, but they are considering each other's options and minimum requirements.

Government, IFP finding each other

3047

Sowetan
9/2/93

■ **EDGING CLOSER** Parties agree on the resumption of constitutional negotiations:

By **Ismail Lagardien**
Political Correspondent

SOUTH AFRICA EDGED CLOSER TO THE resumption of multi-party negotiations when Government and the Inkatha Freedom Party met in Cape Town yesterday.

Although full details of the content of yesterday's meeting were unavailable last night, the two parties agreed that a preparatory meeting for the resumption of multi-party negotiations should be held before the end of this month.

The meeting concentrated on the violence in the country and apparently on the incident last

week in which two members of the ANC's military wing, Umkhonto we Sizwe were arrested in possession of an arms.

Destabilising effect

A joint statement released in Cape Town last night said: "The destabilising effect these have on the constitutional negotiating process as well as the question of private armies in an election process also received attention."

The Government delegation was led by the Minister of Constitutional Development, Mr Roelf Meyer, while the IFP was led by its national chairman, Dr Frank Mdlalose.

The two parties would meet again in Natal between February 17 and 19, the statement said.

Disunity is a cause for concern

Sowetan 9/2/93

3044

Sowetan & Radio Metro

Talkback

By Mzimasi Ngudle

THE arrest of three Umkhonto we Sizwe cadres in Natal in connection with the smuggling of arms last week should not be linked to political negotiations.

This was said by two callers during the Sowetan/Radio Metro Talkback Show last night.

Reaching to the Government's threat to suspend negotiations following the arrests, an anonymous caller said: "The Government should not suspend talks because of this. The African National Congress did not suspend negotiations when covert operations of the Military Intelligence and the Civil Co-operation Bureau were exposed."

with Tim Modise

own MI and CCB affairs," he said. Jacques of Standerion said the Government should remember the ANC was not the only organisation it was negotiating with.

"The Government must know that it deals with many parties and the ANC is only one of them. It is unfair to suspend talks simply because of the conduct of only one of the parties," he said.

Some of the issues discussed in the programme last night included disunity among liberation movements, the SABC's failure to screen crucial soccer matches played at the weekend and the emergence of an elitist group within the ANC.

"The fact that Azapo, PAC and ANC are fighting one another is disturbing me. I call upon them to swallow their pride and reconvene the Patriotic Front as a matter of urgency."

Sinkie, Tembisa

"I am worried more about unity than political power. Liberation movements must stop pointing fingers at each other. They must find common ground and negotiate."

Duba, KwaThema

"I'm deeply concerned that all the time we put the blame on the Government. It is not the Government but the liberation movements that are to blame. If the ANC can come closer to the Government on power-sharing, why can't it come closer to Azapo?"

George, Johannesburg

"Games favoured by whites were last weekend screened on both TV1 and CTV. Football, our most popular sport, was not screened."

Steve Philf, Atteridgeville

DP calls for openness

Political Staff

CAPE TOWN — The new Chief Justice should not be appointed secretly as in the past, but openly in a procedure agreed to by all political parties, the DP said yesterday. *B10ny 9/21/93*

"Openness is what is called for," DP justice spokesman Tony Leon said. The current Chief Justice, Judge Michael Corbett, is due to retire this year, but Leon said a possible solution would be to ask Corbett to continue in an acting position until a new constitution was in place. "Nothing could be worse than for the current government to appoint a new Chief Justice and then say goodbye." *9/21/93*

This would place the post under political pressures, which should not happen under any circumstances, as the Chief Justice would have considerable powers.

Govt, ANC to meet tomorrow

BILLY PADDOCK

FUNDAMENTAL problems still divided government and the ANC but much common ground was being found on the process which the parties hoped would bring them closer together on the core issues of regionalism and power-sharing. Negotiators from both camps yesterday firmly denied any agreements had been reached in bilateral talks which they said were "exploratory".

"The only agreement we have been able to come to has been that there should be a preparatory planning conference prior to a new multiparty forum being convened," one source said.

Government and the ANC were seeking common ground to satisfy minimum demands which would provide a basis for the two parties to argue in tandem during multilateral talks. Sources said yesterday the government/ANC bilateral meeting tomorrow would be tense because the Umkhonto we Sizwe issue had moved to the top of the agenda following last week's disclosure of an arms smuggling operation in Natal.

Government believes a decision on how to deal with the security forces and armed formations such as MK is vital to allow multiparty talks to move to the next stage.

It believes that once this has been achieved there would be a firm basis for multiparty talks to move on, especially with Inkatha demanding MK's disbandment before it joins negotiations. Meanwhile, at the government/Inkatha bilateral talks yesterday, priority attention was devoted to political violence and the control of weapons by armed forces other than security forces.

In a joint statement after the meeting, Constitutional Development Minister Roelf Meyer and Inkatha national chairman Frank Mdlalose said they had discussed at length violence "by armed bands sowing death and destruction amongst their public and private opponents".

Linked to this was discussion on the acquisition and distribution of arms and armaments and the "destabilising effect these have on the constitutional negotiating process, as well as the question of private armies in an election process", the statement said.

They said the rest of the time was spent on the proposed planning conference and on the exploration of common ground on constitutional matters. The delegations said they hoped the conference would take place before the month-end and they decided to meet for three days.

From February 17 to 19. Meanwhile senior MK and ANC officials, including MK chief of staff Siphiwe Nyanda and southern Natal regional chairman Jeff Radebe, went to Middelburg yesterday to discuss the alleged operation with the three cadres detained after the discovery of the cache.

Senior ANC negotiators told government last week that senior officials were not involved and the matter would be fully investigated.

ANC spokesman Carl Niehaus said the investigating team would report back today. Four major areas of disagreement between the ANC and government remain to be discussed at tomorrow's meeting.

These are: how comprehensive should an interim constitution be, at what stage should the powers, functions and duties of regions be determined, how to build in checks and balances that dispense with the need for entrenched power-sharing, and what level of authority the transitional executive council will have, especially over security forces.

The government negotiator said the parties were trying to find agreement on a phased approach to regionalism. Government and the ANC held similar views on the issue, but differed with regard to timing and implementation.

Heated debate likely

Quelea control halted

CAPE TOWN — Chemical spraying of red-billed quelea, an agricultural pest, has been suspended pending an Agriculture Department investigation following fears that the programme has been poisoning wildlife.

Sapa reports that Agriculture Minister Kraai van Niekerk said yesterday he was deeply concerned about the alleged ecological effects of quelea spraying on a farm in the northwestern Transvaal.

The moratorium was being imposed to revise the control policy. The department had a legal responsibility to control quelea but it understood the concern expressed about the effect of these measures on nature and wildlife.

MARIANNE MERTEN reports that the poison working group has described as farcical government claims that recent experimental toxic spraying in the Dwaalboom district had killed about 3-million quelea.

The group estimated that the area contained no more than 500 000 quelea, half of which were unaffected by the poison. A monitoring team visited the sprayed area on Sunday and found a number of poisoned quelea alive. These birds were now a risk to predators. More than 124 birds of prey had died of poisoning in the area.

The working group criticised the Agriculture Department for failing to do a follow-up investigation. No ecologist or other qualified person had been present during the spraying. *B10ny 9/21/93*

The DP yesterday condemned the spraying and called for an end to toxic chemical experiments.

It may be silent, but it is not



The BBC's Sir David Frost at a news conference in Johannesburg yesterday. Picture: SUE KRAMER

David Frost to question political leaders on TV

B1047 912193 RAY HARTLEY (30477)
BBC interviewer Sir David Frost, scheduled to conduct a series of five television interviews with SA leaders this week, said yesterday he hoped the interviews would make "a humble contribution" to a better international understanding of SA.

Frost will interview President F W de Klerk, ANC president Nelson Mandela, CP leader Andries Treurnicht, Inkatha leader Mangosuthu Buthelezi and PAC leader Clarence Makwetu for the SABC's CCV channel. The interviews will also be broadcast internationally by the BBC. A CCV spokesman declined to say how much the interviews were costing the channel.

Frost said he had chosen the five interview subjects in consultation with CCV. He did not believe that De Klerk, who would be interviewed last on Sunday, had an advantage over the others, because those interviewed earlier would have the opportunity to "set the agenda".

He would "certainly not use kid gloves" and hoped he would be able to have "real conversations" with the leaders. He would not say which South African he was most looking forward to interviewing, saying only "the most exciting interview is always the next one".

In 1977 Frost persuaded disgraced US president Richard Nixon to agree to a series of interviews when "everyone thought this was impossible". Former US president George Bush, British PM John Major and evangelist Billy Graham were among many world figures he had enjoyed interviewing, he said.

IFP will talk if MK disbanded

By Peter Fabricius
Political Correspondent

CAPE TOWN — New obstacles to the resumption of formal negotiations have begun to emerge following yesterday's meeting between the Inkatha Freedom Party (IFP) and the Government.

Most of the eight-hour meeting was devoted to the arrest last week of three members of the ANC's armed wing Umkhonto we Sizwe (MK) for allegedly smuggling arms into Natal from Mozambique.

This has hardened the IFP's insistence that MK should be disbanded. It is understood that the IFP now demands that this should happen before it will attend a proposed planning con-

ference to prepare for formal multiparty negotiations.

After yesterday's meeting Constitutional Development Minister Roelf Meyer and IFP national chairman Dr Frank Mdlalose said they wanted this conference to take place before the end of the month.

(304A) This looks unlikely if the IFP sticks to its precondition that MK must be shut down first — a condition the ANC is certain to reject.

Another serious obstacle, which bedevilled Codesa discussions last year, has resurfaced.

The IFP is again insisting that the KwaZulu government — in a delegation which could include the Zulu king — should be represented separately from the IFP in formal negotiations.



Frank Mdlalose . . . IFP wants ANC's MK to shut down.

It is believed the Government is backing the IFP on this issue.

The Government and the IFP announced they would be holding their first "bosberaad" from February 17 to 19.

Star 9/2/93
Talks on unity government

ANC and Government negotiators are talking about lengthening the lifetime of a government of national unity after the adoption of a new constitution.

● Page 6

(304A)

(10)

Talks on Star 9/2/93 unity govt timespan

By Esther Waugh
Political Reporter

ANC and Government negotiators are discussing lengthening the lifetime of a Government of National Unity after the adoption of a new constitution. The option emerged from the last round of extended talks between the ANC and Government two weeks ago and will be debated further tomorrow at another bilateral meeting.

It was agreed at Codesa last year that a Transitional Executive Council (TEC) be appointed to level the political playing field for elections for an interim government. A transitional Government of National Unity would act both as a legislature and a constitution-making body until the completion of a new constitution. After the drafting of a new constitution would be held to elect the first democratic government.

The new element in the constitutional debate is the option of lengthening the rule of a Government of National Unity. The rationale is that it may not suit the situation in the country, and most political parties may not consider it desirable, to contest a second round of elections soon after elections for a Government of National Unity. Observers point out that the Namibian constitution was adopted after only two months.

Observers said the Government would find it difficult to continue with its view that power-sharing should be entrenched in a new constitution because it would limit the possibility of a settlement being reached with the ANC. Negotiators yesterday said a period of "phasing in" of the new constitution would probably be required, for example the phasing in of regional governments, the establishment of a constitutional court, and changes in the security forces.

It is understood the option of a Government of National Unity being installed for up to five years is under discussion. ANC negotiators said the organisation would agree to entrenching permanent power-sharing in the constitution because that would have the effect of the permanent postponement of democracy and majority rule, the ANC's objective.

It was firm that any further coalitions should be voluntary and decided by the party which won the majority support in the second elections.

Breakthrough for govt, IFP

EP/5/12/93 354A CT9/12/93

Political Correspondent

THE government and the Inkatha Freedom Party will hold a three-day "bosberaad" in Natal next week, amid signs that an all-out effort is under way to hold the multi-party planning conference before the end of this month.

This follows nearly eight hours of talks between the parties in Cape Town yesterday.

But the issue of violence and "aquisition and distribution of arms and armaments" remains a major stumbling block.

More than half of yesterday's meeting was spent on this issue, and IFP national chairman Dr Frank Mdlalose made it clear

'Bosberaad' planned for next week

afterwards that the IFP regarded it as of crucial importance.

The fact that the two parties are now to hold extended talks, however, would seem to indicate that progress is being made.

In a brief statement afterwards, the two parties stated that "priority attention had been given to political violence by armed bands sowing death and

destruction among the public".

The "destabilising effect" this had on the constitutional negotiations and the question of private armies in an election process, were also discussed.

The statement said the rest of the time had been devoted to the multi-party planning conference and exploring common ground.

"It is our common objective the conference should take place before the end of February."

The focus now swings back to the ANC, which is scheduled to hold three days of talks with the government, starting tomorrow.

The ANC's reaction to the seizure of an arms cache last Monday and the arrest of three uMkhonto weSizwe members should be one of the key issues.

ANC: Retirements may bankrupt SA

364A 256 CT9/2/93

By ANTHONY JOHNSON
Political Correspondent

THE ANC yesterday warned that the country could be "bankrupted" if a stampede of retiring civil servants opted to "take the money and run."

Responding to reports that civil servants retiring before the introduction of a new political dispensation could take billions of rands in golden handshakes and pensions payouts with them, ANC spokesperson Ms Gill Marcus said yesterday: "We are not asking civil servants to go. We will need their skills and experience."

The ANC believed the departing civil servants should be paid reasonable pensions but was opposed to the payment of golden handshakes or tax-free gratuities.

Although the ANC believed a new civil service would have to be rationalised and be subject to affirmative action, it did not mean the ANC wanted to threaten the jobs of current employees in the service or encourage them "to take their package and go."

Ms Marcus acknowledged that many

newcomers to a reconstituted civil service would need more training.

She pointed out that civil servants in the homelands could play an important role in a reconstituted public service.

The Minister of Administration, Dr Org Marais, told a media briefing on Friday that it would be possible to train good civil servants "in six months" under a policy of affirmation action.

He said he believed that the ANC would support the notion that the new dispensation would require "a motivated and efficient civil service".

Dr Marais said that the scope for cutting jobs under a new political order to make way for newcomers might be more limited than was generally anticipated.

He said that while a number of government ministers and their senior officials might go, a move in the direction of a federal system of government could see the number of civil servants growing rather than shrinking.

There's a pervasive uneasiness in Parliament, writes Political Reporter Kaizer Nyatumba

Star 9/21/93

Slackening their grip on power

(304 A)

I present myself to the security guard at the main entrance of the parliamentary premises, and as a matter of courtesy inform him that I am going to the press gallery in the House of Assembly.

At first he tries to point out to me one of the three huge buildings in front of me, and then he offers to walk me there. He stops in front of an imposing, white and new-looking building, and says: "Walk right in there, sir, and they will help you."

Sir. That was the form of address I was to hear from the police, security guards and messengers, all white, throughout my week-long visit to Parliament in Cape Town.

I walk in, pass through a security metal detector and inform the pleasant police officers there that my colleagues are expecting me at the press gallery. The man looks at his watch — it is 7.30 am. No, he tells me, it is still too early or anyone to be in the press gallery.

Would he perhaps want to phone them in their office? I ask. No, he doesn't need to do that. Instead, he will have me taken to the office as soon as someone becomes available to walk me there. In the meantime, would "sir" be kind enough to take a seat?

While I am waiting here some important-looking man, no doubt a politician, strolls in and starts chatting with the police officers. The "big action" this year, he tells them conspiratorially, will not take place in the hallowed chambers of Parliament, but outside them. Parliament as they knew it, he tells them, is about to be a thing of the past.

I was later to sense again and again this all-pervasive uneasiness about the future, this acute awareness that this is probably the last "white" Parliament. Although many MPs tried to look carefree, it was obvious that upmost in their minds was the nagging thought that they might not be back there at the same time next year.

Half an hour later the ever-persistent policeman says one of his

colleagues is now available to walk me to the press gallery. One more security gate is negotiated, and I am then told the building I am in is the wrong one. I am in the Chamber of Parliament, and the building I want is the brownish one on the right-hand side.

Once there, passage into the press gallery is fairly easy.

Shaun Johnson, The Star's Political Editor, takes me into the House of Assembly where the formality of announcing that President de Klerk will open a joint sitting of Parliament at 11 am has to be gone through. He points out the chair on which Dr Hendrik Verwoerd sat when Dimintri Tsalendras stabbed him to death those many years ago.

The irony of my sitting in this House hits me smack in the face. It is here that so many ruthless laws were made, aimed at curbing every facet of blacks' lives.

It is here that infamous laws such as the Group Areas Act, the Population Registration Act, the Reservation of Separate Amenities Act, the Land Acts, the Influx Control Act, the Mixed Marriages

Act, the Immorality Act, the Bantu Education Act, the Extension of University Education Act and many others were debated and enacted.

It occurs to me that the most important people in this Parliament were not the people who sat inside it and made laws, but rather the voteless majority out there against whom they legislated. The House's entire *raison d'être* was me: the black person who was never represented in it.

I did not feel sad as the Conservative Party staged a walk-out when the Speaker called the names of five National Party nominated MPs to fill the posts of MPs who had resigned. In many ways the CP is an anachronism in South African politics. Major changes have taken place right in front of it, but it continues to live in a time-warped.

And when I heard former CP MP and Afrikaner Volksunie leader Andries Beyers explain his new party's policies at a press briefing a few days later, it became obvious that the CP was fast becoming a dinosaur in local politics. Unless the CP drops racism and

adopts pragmatism as the Afrikaner Volksunie has done, it is in danger of becoming nothing more than a footnote in the history of the new South Africa that many believe is around the corner.

De Klerk makes his entry into the Chamber of Parliament at exactly 11. No surprises were expected, and he delivers none. The man is simply no longer the all-powerful leader he was when he delivered his epoch-making address on February 2 1990. He has to keep looking over his shoulder to make sure he does not alienate his negotiating partners and lay himself open to accusations of acting unilaterally on matters which have to be negotiated.

He is in a terrible dilemma: he has to continue making the right noises to show his white supporters he is still in control, and to constantly guard against offending his negotiating partners — chiefly the ANC.

I raise my eyes to look at the people in the public gallery. It looks like a flower-garden: MPs' wives, most wearing hats, are dressed in bright colours — red, pink, green, yellow and white.

Pervasive throughout my stay in Parliament was the awareness among many MPs that they are yesterday's men. As they took part in the no-confidence debate last week, at times looking like children at a high school debate — with the Speaker being the headmaster figure — it was apparent they were merely going through the motions.

One of the highlights of my visit to the citadel of power was when colleagues and I were given an off-the-record briefing by a senior Cabinet Minister. The man was like a breath of fresh air, and one could tell he was not pretending to be something he was not.

He had no patience for his colleagues from Natal, who wanted the NP to have a working relationship with the IFP. He was not interested in the protection of group rights or privileges, and said his bottom line was nothing more than a truly democratic South Africa with a justiciable Bill of Rights.

As we left his office, I thought: This is a very different Nationalist politician. I can well see many blacks voting for this man, as opposed to his party. □

AWB promises election help

HAMMARSDALE. —

The AWB will back right-wing parties in elections if they support the AWB now to prevent whites from being ruled by an ANC and a SA Communist Party majority government (SoyA)

This was said in a statement released yesterday by the AWB following a weekend meeting in Natal.

India to establish SA centre

Arg 10/2/93
The Argus

Correspondent

DURBAN. — For the first time in 40 years, the Indian government will establish a cultural centre in South Africa.

The Johannesburg centre will be run by the Indian Council for Cultural Relations, a body funded by the Indian government to promote relations with other countries.

ICCR director-general Mr Niranjana Desai said in Durban: "There have been many changes in South Africa and the Indian government feels it is about time the relations between the two countries are improved."

The centre was expected to function by as early as April.

Given the situation in the country and the soon-to-be-established interim government, the cultural centre might culminate in a fully-fledged embassy to be based in Pretoria, Mr Desai said.

The cultural centre would then be moved to Durban and a general consulate would be established in Johannesburg.

Among other things, the centre will facilitate trade and cultural exchanges between the two countries while also arranging scholarships for South African students who want to study at institutions in India.

Star 10/2/93

Haul threatens talks

By Esther Waugh
Political Reporter

Progress in talks between the ANC and Government may be delayed if the ANC leadership does not distance itself from the alleged smuggling of arms into the country by Umkhonto we Sizwe (MK), say Government negotiators.

The negotiators have been told to get a "proper reply" from the ANC at today's meeting in Cape Town on the arms haul at the Swazi border last Monday.

They said the matter would be the first item on the meeting's agenda.

ANC officials yesterday questioned six of the nine arrested men in Durban. Two of the six were released yesterday, said ANC lawyer and negotiator Mathew Phosa. The officials questioned three ANC members in Middelburg on Monday.

The ANC undertook at last Thursday's meeting on security matters to report back today to the Government on its investigation into the arrests.

Phosa said yesterday the investigation had established "beyond reasonable doubt" that the national executive committee (NEC) and the Southern Natal regional

executive committee were not involved in smuggling arms.

It was also satisfied ANC military headquarters in Johannesburg and the military command in Southern Natal had no part in the operation.

Immediately after last week's meeting the ANC reiterated its commitment to suspending the armed struggle.

The ANC is understood to have told the Government at the meeting it could have tried to derail talks by making an issue of the alleged involvement of senior SADF officers in campaigns against the ANC.

Star 10/2/93

IFP will stop ANC takeover — Mentz

(304A)

Political Staff

CAPE TOWN — Any attempt to govern South Africa without Inkatha would force the party to go underground and the resulting conflict would make the Mozambique war look like "child's play", National Party defector Jurie Mentz warned last night.

At Inkatha's second major public meeting in the western Cape, a forceful Mentz told an audience of about 250 at the Claremont Civic Centre that the combination of "Boer and Zulu" was formidable.

"They are two difficult peoples. History has proved that. I am not hammering on ethnicity, but history ... and anybody who tackles the Boers and the Zulus will have something on their hands."

Mentz, who defected to the Inkatha Freedom Party recently, said it was clear the ANC did not want to share power,

but take it.

"But we are not going to allow that. My leader will not allow that. I know these people."

"If the ANC and the National Party go on one side and negotiate an agreement between themselves, these people in the IFP will make sure nobody will be able to govern the country."

"If these people go underground, what happened in Mozambique will be child's play in comparison."

He noted that neither the Boers nor the British had been able "to break the spirit of freedom and self-determination" of the Zulus.

To rousing applause — and some heckling — Mentz declared: "I can assure you, in spite of intimidation and murder, the ANC will not succeed in ruling this country alone."

Mentz admitted that he was not in the habit of speaking anything but Afrikaans and Zulu, in which he is fluent. Then he added: "But I can tell you, my English has improved a lot in the past week."

After delivering his opening remarks in Zulu, he stuck to English for the remainder of his speech.

The head of the IFP's international department, Musa Myeni, who urged the audience to join the "reasonable majority" of the IFP and enable it to dominate the western Cape in a new dispensation, strengthened speculation that the issue of the disbanding of private armies such as the ANC's military wing, Umkhonto we Sizwe, was developing into a major stumbling block in negotiations.

"There seems to be a deadlock on that issue," he said. "It may become a major stumbling block in future multiparty talks."

Earlier, Democratic Party defector Mike Tarr said the movement of whites to predominantly black parties would break the ethnic mould of the past.

He did not believe the DP would attract a sufficient level of black support "to make them a significant force at the polls".

**TDC may split up for
'meaningful' SA role**

UMTATA. — In an effort to ensure it plays a meaningful role in the new South Africa, the Transkei Development Corporation may be divided into four regional sections.

Details of the proposed change were contained in a management brief to staff leaked to Sapa yesterday.

The brief said that when Transkei was reincorporated into South Africa the homeland was expected to become part of the Border/Kei region.

By opening offices in Kokstad and Queenstown, the TDC would be represented in at least four of an expected six sub-regional centres in the area under the new dispensation. The other points were likely to be King William's Town/Bisho and Aliwal North. The TDC already has offices in Butterworth and Umtata.

The proposed changes would lay the foundation for the TDC to play a meaningful role in promoting development in the new South Africa, said the brief. — Sapa

Paper largely as a result of an item in the hon the State President's Opening Address to Parliament this year when he said that the Government was prepared to make far-reaching proposals to strengthen the National Peace Accord, and that they were working for an urgent meeting of the signatories.

We were expecting to hear something about these far-reaching proposals. The items that have been enumerated by the hon the Deputy Minister really have to do with recommendations by Mr Justice Goldstone and other recommendations that are already points of discussion throughout the National Peace Accord. The hon the Deputy Minister quite rightly said that the National Peace Accord was a product of the people. We are all working together, but we would look forward to the suggestions that the hon the State President had in mind, because it is obviously very urgent that, in our forward planning, we know what the NP and the hon the State President are going to say.

I would like to turn for a moment to the speech from the CP on this matter. The condemnation that has come from that party is really quite reprehensible and disgraceful. [Interjections.] I would suggest that all the thousands of people that are trying to make peace in South Africa at the moment should be supported. I will tell that hon member that the police themselves are very grateful indeed for the assistance that they are giving them in bringing about a peaceful situation.

However, let me hold out an olive branch to that hon member and invite him to come to some of our meetings to see what operations we undertake. We would like him to come and see what we are doing in the Wits-Vaal area, how we are defusing situations of violence day by day, and how those dedicated people, who are largely working for nothing to bring about peace in South Africa, are day after day doing a fine job. [Time expired.]

Mr W U NEL: Mr Speaker, I can only endorse what my hon colleague said here. It is about time that the CP joined us and actually tried to make peace rather than criticising on the side.

I also want to endorse what he said about the comments made by the hon the Deputy Minister. I share his disappointment, because we certainly did not hear any far-reaching proposals, as we envisaged when we listened to the speech of the hon the State President earlier.

I want to come back to some of the shortcomings of the accord and the structures. One of the

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main problems, of course, is that one needs some mechanism to convict people or at least bind them into compliance with that which they have undertaken to do. Of course, because the local structures cannot be judgmental, and the regional dispute resolution structures cannot be judgmental, we need a complaints procedure. That, as the hon the Deputy Minister has pointed out, is essentially something that needs to grow from within, but we need to look at it urgently. [Time expired.]

THE DEPUTY MINISTER OF JUSTICE: Mr Speaker, I thank the hon member for Mooi River again for his contribution. I absolutely agree with him. The fact is we have had five instances in the past few months of parties being found guilty of contraventions the Peace Accord. They were asked to distance themselves from these contraventions, and they refused to do so. Something will have to be done about that. [Interjections.]

I also wish to thank the hon member for Bryanston for his contribution. I am sure he will appreciate the fact that it would be wholly inappropriate for us to come with detailed proposals at this stage in view of the fact that this is a matter for negotiation in the forums that are available.

* I cannot conclude this debate without thanking each of those 6 500 people intimately involved in this Peace Accord for the work they are doing without payment. I only want to say that these peace institutions remained in place in spite of a collapse in negotiations at national level. The people in South Africa must know that there cannot be peace at grassroots level if there is no peace at the highest level.

Debate concluded.

QUESTIONS

†Indicates translated version.

For oral reply:

General Affairs:

*1. Mr J J Walsh—Defence. [Question standing over.]

*2. Mr J J Walsh—Transport. [Withdrawn.]

*3. Mr D H M Gibson—Justice. [Question standing over.]

VAT: exemption of basic foodstuffs

*4. Mr D H M GIBSON asked the Minister of Finance:

- (1) Whether his Department has made calculations regarding the possible impact on the budget of basic foodstuffs being exempted from value-added tax (VAT); if not, why not; if so, (a) what amount is it estimated will be involved and (b) in respect of what fiscal year have such calculations been made;
- (2) whether he will make a statement on the matter? B9E

†THE DEPUTY MINISTER OF FINANCE (Dr T G Alant):

- (1) Yes, various calculations were made for the purposes of discussion with various parties who had sought concessions through the zero rating of additional foodstuffs.
- (a) As no decision has yet been taken on this matter it is not possible to provide an amount.
- (b) The calculations were made in respect of the current year.
- (2) No. A statement at this juncture would be inappropriate.

Mr D H M GIBSON: Mr Speaker, arising from the hon the Deputy Minister's reply I would like to ask him whether he is aware of the fact that although the inflation rate has shown a welcome drop to 9.6% per annum, food inflation is still reckoned to be 14% per annum. Ordinary consumers, most especially the unemployed, pensioners and all those on fixed incomes, are finding it increasingly difficult to make ends meet. They are also finding it increasingly difficult to believe that the Government cares about them or has any plans to help them. If the Government does have plans to help them, what are those plans?

†THE DEPUTY MINISTER: Mr Speaker, the hon member for Yeoville's supplementary question has nothing to do with the original question.

Mr R M BURROWS: Mr Speaker, further arising from the answer of the hon the Deputy Minister to part (1) (a) of the question, am I to understand that they have worked out a figure and they are not prepared to reveal that figure?

THE DEPUTY MINISTER: Mr Speaker, the hon member must go and read my answer.

†ADV S C JACOBS: Mr Speaker, further arising out of the hon the Deputy Minister's reply, could he just give the House of Assembly an indication—I am not expecting amounts from the hon the Deputy Minister—of whether his department has also made calculations with regard to the exemption of medicine, and if so, whether he will make a statement about that at a later stage?

†THE DEPUTY MINISTER: Mr Speaker, this has nothing to do with the original question either.

Abortions reported/procured

*5. Dr Z J DE BEER asked the Minister of National Health:

How many legal abortions were (a) reported for 1992 and (b) procured in terms of section 3 (1) (d) of the Abortion and Sterilization Act, 1975 (Act No 2 of 1975), in that year? B10E

†THE MINISTER FOR ADMINISTRATION AND TOURISM (for the Minister of National Health):

- (a) 1992 (1 January to 31 October): 1 027 and
- (b) 1992 (1 January to 31 October): 50 (4.9% of total).

†Dr W J SNYMAN: Mr Speaker, arising from the hon the Minister's reply, can he tell us how the various population groups are represented in the figures he quoted?

†THE MINISTER: Mr Speaker, if the hon member puts that question in writing, I am sure the hon the Minister of Health will attend to it.

*6. Mr R M Burrows—Finance. [Question standing over.]

President Clinton: RSA leaders invited to inauguration

*7. Mr H D K VAN DER MERWE asked the Minister of Foreign Affairs:†

- (1) Whether he received an invitation to attend the inauguration of the new American President on 20 January 1993; if so, what are the relevant details;
- (2) whether he or his Department was informed of invitations to any other South African leaders to attend that function; if so,
- (3) whether he will disclose the names of

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those leaders; if not, why not; if so, who are they? **B23E**

†THE MINISTER OF FOREIGN AFFAIRS:

(1) No. It is not customary for the American Government to invite foreign heads of state or political leaders to the inauguration of the President. As was the case with other countries, South Africa was represented by its Ambassador in Washington, Mr H H Schwarz.

(2) No. My Department became aware through the news media that Mr Nelson Mandela had been invited by a member of the American Congress to attend the function as his guest.

(3) Falls away.

*8. Mr H D K van der Merwe—Justice.†
[Question standing over.]

†Mr H D K VAN DER MERWE: Mr Speaker, on a point of order: Is it not customary in this House that we start at this time on Wednesday precisely because there is a Cabinet Meeting and that it should be the occasion on which the hon Ministers must be in the House to reply to questions put to them by hon members? [Interjections.]

†Mr SPEAKER: Order! It is also customary in this House that at times there can be exceptions when hon Ministers are not available, which is evidently the case here. [Interjections.] I shall not take further points of order on this.

†Adv S C JACOBS: Mr Speaker, on the Order Paper we find the following words under the headings, "Question Paper, General Affairs":

Precedence given to interpellations and questions on general affairs on Wednesdays pursuant to the resolution adopted by the House on Friday, 29 January 1993.

The submission that, with respect, I wish to put to you, is that the Cabinet has therefore known since Friday, 29 January 1993 of this specific arrangement that questions are to be dealt with on Wednesdays, and that from Friday, 29 January, until today, they had the opportunity to prepare themselves to be present and to reply to questions in Parliament. I therefore wish to request that you rule that the normal case to which you referred, namely that questions may stand over, is subject to what is on the Order Paper, and that questions cannot simply stand over in this manner.

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†Mr SPEAKER: Order! The hon member has made his point. I have already replied to it.

ANC penal camps: indemnification

*9. Adv J J S PRINSLOO asked the Minister of Justice:†

Whether the Government envisages taking any action in respect of persons who were recently identified by the Douglas Committee as having been implicated in crimes in ANC penal camps and who have indemnity at present in terms of the Indemnity Act, 1990 (Act No 35 of 1990); if not, why not; if so, (a) what action and (b) when? **B25E**

†THE DEPUTY MINISTER OF JUSTICE:

It is evident from the Douglas Commission's and Amnesty International's reports as well as from the ANC's own investigations that there are persons in the ANC who allegedly were responsible for crimes committed in ANC penal camps in Uganda, Tanzania, Angola and Mozambique, among other places.

Since these alleged crimes were committed outside the Republic, the South African courts have no jurisdiction in respect thereof and no criminal steps can be taken in the Republic. This does not make these cases less serious and the governments concerned should take note thereof. I further wish to indicate to the hon member that those persons who enjoy indemnity in terms of the Indemnity Act, 1990, enjoy such indemnity only in regard to offences committed within the Republic with the exception of the offences of high treason and terrorism, which have extra-territorial application.

†Adv J J S PRINSLOO: Mr Speaker, arising out of the hon the Deputy Minister's reply, has the Government taken cognisance of the recommendation of the Douglas Commission that, after it has been determined that people are probably accountable for these offences, legislation should be introduced to make provision that these people are indeed punished, since provision therefor is not made in South African law at present, and if so, what are the Government's intentions in this regard?

†THE DEPUTY MINISTER: Mr Speaker, the Government has taken cognisance of these recommendations. These offences are certainly serious offences of which cognisance should be taken, but the fact is that which arises out of a commission cannot be applied in criminal law in South Africa. It will only be used for a

political purpose. Commissions are not appropriate for this purpose. As far as the further aspect is concerned, it is totally unacceptable for it to be activated retrospectively with regard to criminal offences. **B26E**

†Adv J J S PRINSLOO: Mr Speaker, further arising out of the reply of the hon the Deputy Minister, is it in the first place true that the Government is not at all considering the introduction of legislation in respect of the possible accountability of these people in terms of civil law?

†THE DEPUTY MINISTER: Mr Speaker, as matters pertaining to criminal law definitely fall outside the Indemnity Act, the civil law consequences arising out of the Indemnity Act are also not applicable. I should like to suggest that it would be an enormously far-reaching matter if this Government were to be accountable for civil claims originating in other countries and for which persons could not even be criminally charged in this country.

†Adv S C JACOBS: Mr Speaker, further arising out of the hon the Deputy Minister's reply, did the Cabinet at any stage at all consider introducing legislation regarding these offences committed in other countries and does the hon the Deputy Minister agree with me that according to international criminal law it is completely acceptable that legislation be passed in a country for offences committed in another country?

†THE DEPUTY MINISTER: Mr Speaker, I do not agree with the hon member on the last aspect, and as far as the first aspect is concerned, he should lay it on the Table.

†HON MEMBERS: Under the table!

Death sentences

*10. Adv J J S PRINSLOO asked the Minister of Justice:†

How many (a) Whites and (b) Blacks received the death sentence in criminal courts in the Republic during the period 1 October 1992 to 1 January 1993? **B26E**

†THE DEPUTY MINISTER OF JUSTICE:

(a) 2

(b) 22

Mr P G SOAL: Mr Speaker, arising out of the hon the Deputy Minister's reply, has any progress been made since the announcement by the hon the State President during the course of his Opening Address to this Parliament that the

position regarding the death penalty was to be reviewed by the Government? **B27E**

Mr J H VAN DER MERWE: Is that not a new question?

The DEPUTY MINISTER: Mr Speaker, I would submit that that is a new question which should be tabled. [Interjections.]

Precedence given to interpellations and questions on own affairs on Wednesdays pursuant to the resolution adopted by the House on Friday, 29 January 1993.

INTERPELLATION

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

Own Affairs:

Model C schools: financial assistance

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

Whether the Government will consider rendering financial assistance, in addition to the payment of subsidies to individual parents of children in Model C schools, to such schools the management councils of which fail to collect sufficient compulsory school fees for those schools to meet their financial obligations? **B78E.INT**

*The MINISTER OF EDUCATION AND CULTURE: Mr Speaker, the answer is no. The reason is essentially twofold. Firstly, the payment of such a subsidy would be diametrically opposed to the principle of equal State support for all ordinary public schools that fall under the Department of Education and Culture in the House of Assembly. All State schools and State-aided schools will receive the same amount of money from the State, but the allocation of this money will be different. It would therefore be unfair to give more money to State-aided schools by means of subsidies and it would violate a principle which is an essential part of the system. The hon member for Brits would benefit from at least attempting to master the principles underlying the financing of education. **B27E.INT**

HOUSE OF ASSEMBLY

Clever footwork as FW redefines 'power-sharing'

AS THE Government and the ANC draw closer to agreement on South Africa's future constitution, President de Klerk and his Ministers are subtly redefining the term "power-sharing" to disguise the fact that they are discarding the central feature of their original plan.

Initially the term meant a system of compulsory coalition government, entrenched in the constitution, with a Cabinet drawn from the three major parties to emerge from an election and a presidency that would rotate among the leaders of those parties.

Now De Klerk and his Ministers are defining "power-sharing" as being limitations on the majority party's exercise of power through constitutional checks and balances, a Bill of human rights and the devolution of power to states or regions.

The idea of permanently entrenched coalition rule has been dropped.

The change radically alters the Government's negotiating stance. From when he first unbanned the ANC and announced the start of negotiations, De Klerk has insisted that he would not accept majority rule, or what he called a "winner-takes-all" system.

He argued that this was inappropriate for a multiracial and multicultural society. Citing Switzerland as an example, he said South Africa needed a system of "power-sharing" between the different groups, who should rule by consensus in a coalition Cabinet with a rotating presidency.

Such a system has been advanced by some political scientists under the ponderous name of "consociationalism", but it doesn't exist anywhere in the real world in the form the Nationalists advocated. Even Switzerland, the closest example, doesn't have its power-sharing system entrenched in the constitution. It is a voluntary agreement that any of the participating parties can end any time they want to.

De Klerk and his earlier negotiators wanted this consensus system further bolstered by a set of entrenched "group rights". These group rights would be entrenched in a Bill of Rights, and there would be a Senate in which minority groups would have a power of veto over legislation passed by the Lower House where the majority would be dominant.

The ANC rejected the concept, deriding it as a "loser-keeps-all"



Allister Sparks

(304A)

system that would enable the whites to block any attempt to redress the inequalities created by apartheid. The socio-economic status quo would be frozen. Nelson Mandela proclaimed majority rule to be his bottom line.

It became clear that finding a compromise between these two seemingly incompatible positions — majority rule or no majority rule — was going to be the toughest part of the negotiations. Yet now it is on the point of happening. The Government has dropped its "group rights" idea. Its Bill of Fundamental Rights published last week makes no mention of them. The rotating presidency has been quietly forgotten. Now "power-sharing" is being redefined.

In the trade-offs that have led to this, the ANC has also backed off some cherished positions. Where it initially demanded a centralised unitary state, it has

now accepted "regionalism" with a substantial devolution of powers to between five and 10 states or provinces. The regions will also have representation in the central government, possibly in a Senate with powers of review over Lower House legislation. But the representation will not be on a racial or "group" basis.

The ANC has also agreed to coalition rule during the interim government stage while the new constitution is being drafted by an elected constituent assembly. It has accepted temporary, but not permanent, "power-sharing".

What is likely to happen is that a "government of national unity" will be formed from all the parties which get 10 percent or more of the vote in the country's first one-person-one-vote elections, due either late this year or early 1994. This coalition government will be headed by the leader of the majority party, who will act with restricted powers.

The interim government will rule while the elected constituent assembly — which will double as an interim legislature — drafts the new constitution, a process likely to take about nine months. Once the new constitution is

drafted, the interim legislature will make it law — but the "government of national unity" will remain in power and serve out a full five-year term. The second election will then be held under the new constitution, which will have no provision for a compulsory coalition.

That is the compromise formula that is emerging. It will displease the puritans on both sides, as compromises always do, but it has the great merit of being both sensible and workable.

In the first place it will allow the transition to take place gradually, without the kind of shock that can destabilise a society. Ordinary people will have time to adjust. The existing civil service will not feel totally alienated, and so will be able to stay in place long enough to keep the country running while others are trained to move in and change the service's racial and political complexion.

There are political advantages too. As the Democratic Party's Dr Zach de Beer has said, even if the Archangel Gabriel were to take over the country he would not be able to cope with the legacy of problems left by 45 years of apartheid. The disadvantaged masses

cannot be given houses and jobs and a better standard of living overnight. A crisis of expectations is bound to arise, and it is better that a single party, especially the main party of liberation, should not have to face it alone.

The ANC certainly didn't create the conditions of structural disadvantage that will produce this crisis and it should not have to suffer the backlash because of it. Better for the sake of future democracy that the wrath of the disillusioned be shared for a while.

But not for too long. The problem with coalition rule is that it deadens opposition politics. The opposition parties become part of the regime so that their voices become muted and they acquire a vested interest in covering up blunders. Adversarial debate ceases and there are no watchdogs. It is not much different from a one-party system.

As a temporary measure for binding a country together in a national crisis, in a war or through the kind of difficult transition we are now undergoing, it is useful and appropriate. But beyond that "power-sharing" becomes an abomination. If we want democracy, we must have opposition. □

Nats deny R800m MP pay-out plan

By ANTHONY JOHNSON

Political Correspondent

THE National Party claimed yesterday it had nothing to do with any proposals to pay tri-cameral MPs their gratuities and pensions before the introduction of a new political order.

However, opposition MPs

said that last year the NP had floated the option of a one-off payment of more than R800 million to retiring MPs to "level the playing fields".

Details of the plan were apparently leaked by the Conservative Party to the Herstigte Nasionale Party before last year's Florida by-election.

CS 10/6/92 (304A)

causing the NP to disown the scheme in embarrassment. Yesterday the chief whip of the NP, Mr Kiepke Niemann, "vehemently denied" any knowledge of such plans. But opposition whips, who did not want to be named, said they found his remarks "very strange".

A statement issued by the NP said the scheme "seems chiefly to be a figment of (DP pension expert) Mr Brian Goodhall's imagination" and denied any suggestions that the NP was trying to raid the state kitty ahead of an election.

Mr Goodhall, MP for Edenburg, said yesterday that the

growing uncertainty bedeviling the future of pension funds, ranging from tricameral MPs to public servants, could be laid at the door of the Nationalist government.

It stemmed from the government's failure over the years to ensure that pension schemes were properly funded.

Star 10/2/93
Bill allows Minister to close schools

CAPE TOWN — A Bill which will enable the white own affairs Minister of Education to close down Model C schools was published yesterday. (236)

The Education Affairs Amendment Bill says a State-aided school may be shut down "if the Minister considers it necessary", and after consultation with its governing body.

(30/4A) All assets and liabilities of such a school will then be transferred to the State.

A Department of Education spokesman said the drafters had considered specifying in the Bill the circumstances in which the Minister could close a school. "But if you mention one thing and not another, there may be problems." — Sapa.

Arms row

304A



heats talks

CT 10/2/93

By ANTHONY JOHNSON
Political Correspondent

THE arrest of a further six alleged ANC members linked with last week's seizure of an arms cache on the Swaziland border has raised the temperature on the eve of the government/ANC "bosberaad" starting in Cape Town today.

The arrests, coming soon after the capture of three other uMkhonto weSizwe (MK) members, will keep the hotly disputed topic of private armies on the front burner when delegations from the ANC and the government begin three days of intensive discussions.

However, the issue was complicated yesterday by the seizure of a second large arms cache — including AK-47 rifles, handguns and ammunition — at Johannesburg's Dube Hostel and the arrest of four people.

The hostel is known to house many IFP supporters, but Law and Order Ministry sources yesterday insisted the hostel arms haul was a "totally separate issue".

Private armies dispute on table

Inkatha emphasised in talks with the government on Monday that it wanted the future of MK to be resolved satisfactorily before it took part in a multi-party planning conference, scheduled for late this month.

Government sources said yesterday the finds appeared to reaffirm the official belief that both the ANC and Inkatha were involved in fomenting violence.

The police and Defence Force said the seizure at the hostel may have averted a "bloodbath".

It was believed the suspects were arms dealers. A "substantial" amount of mon-

ey and dagga was also found. Police spokesman Colonel Tienie Halgryn said: "It is clear that some elements are planning something to end the relative peace and spirit of co-operation of the past few months in Soweto."

Yesterday Law and Order Ministry spokesman Captain Craig Kotze said the six arrests in connection with the Swaziland border seizure came during follow-up operations.

Last week three MK members were arrested in connection with the seizure of the arms cache in a car crossing into South Africa.

ANC spokesman Mr Carl Niehaus said yesterday that ANC lawyer and negotiator Mr Matthew Phosa, MK chief-of-staff Mr Sphiwe Nyanda and the organisation's southern Natal chairman Mr Jeff Radebe were conducting "a thorough investigation into the incidents and will compile a comprehensive report later".

The government/ANC talks today were scheduled to concentrate on regionalism and power-sharing, but now seem likely to be dominated by security questions.

Tension is high, but talks resume

Gun-running issue set aside as ANC and government meet again

304A

ARC-11/2/93

TOS WENTZEL and MICHAEL MORRIS
Political Staff

GOVERNMENT and ANC negotiators resumed talks on constitutional matters this morning in spite of tension in yesterday's meeting over gun-running allegations.

Both sides agreed to put aside the arms smuggling issue for the time being in the interests of getting multiparty talks back on track.

ANC spokesman Mr Carl Niehaus confirmed today the delegations had turned their attention to constitutional matters "in spite of yesterday's hitch".

The government yesterday demanded an explanation of the incident in which ANC members were arrested with an arms cache near the Natal-Swaziland border, and demanded assurances it would not happen again.

The ANC denied official involvement, and hit back with a disclosure that gun-running Inkatha members had been arrested in the Northern Transvaal at the weekend.

The mood on both sides today was that the issue must not be allowed to wreck efforts to get multiparty talks on a new democratic constitutional system on a

ANC sources were cautious in their appraisal of yesterday's talks, which dealt only with the gun-running row.

They said no conclusions could be reached at these talks while investigations by police and the ANC were continuing.

Government sources said the talks on the issue had not been finalised because the ANC had not yet produced a satisfactory explanation. But they did not feel the issue threatened talks as such.

Today discussions will veer towards more substantive issues such as planning for the resumption of multilateral talks, transitional arrangements and options including extending the lifespan of an interim government of national unity to five years.

Initially the government demanded an explanation on the gun-running issue by yesterday, but this was not meant as an ultimatum on the continuation of the talks.

When the government again demanded an explanation, ANC negotiators pointed out they had sent the government a letter on Tuesday explaining that investigations showed the National Executive Committee, Umkhonto we Sizwe command, the Natal executive and the regional MK command knew nothing of the alleged operation in which weapons were being smuggled from Swaziland.

The ANC was still investigating the matter.

The ANC team said Inkatha members had been arrested in the Northern Transvaal on Saturday for allegedly possessing weapons. They had appeared in court on Monday and were refused bail.

After verifying the facts, the government negotiators confirmed the arrests to their ANC counterparts.

• Meanwhile ANC leader Nelson Mandela is reported to have admitted to a group of foreign journalists in Johannesburg that the ANC is not in full control of its armed forces.

"We asked the people to lay down their guns and to give peace a chance," Mr Mandela said, "but there are many people who, rightly or wrongly, believe the defence and security forces are involved in violence and want guns to protect themselves."

'Homeland moves premature'

CAPE TOWN — The decision by government and homeland leaders to proceed with enabling legislation to establish new regional structures was premature and a unilateral act, ANC spokesman Gill Marcus said yesterday.

Senior government members, including President F W de Klerk, and homeland leaders gave the go-ahead on Tuesday for the promulgation of legislation to enable self-governing territories and provincial administrations to reach agreements on new forms of administration.

Marcus said government was attempting to press ahead with legislation which would establish new regional administrations in an effort to make it difficult for these to be revised in negotiations.

She said that the proper place for this was at the multiparty conference to allow all role players to contribute to the

TIM COHEN

process.

Government sources said the meetings were simply the first step in establishing new structures, suggesting that after new administrations had been set up, further regionalisation on new boundaries could take place.

Marcus said this was a "tortuous" process and pressing ahead without full participation would mean the new structures would not be considered legitimate.

Government sources said the nature of the joint administrations and the time frames for their implementation had not been decided in discussions to date.

However, the process of integration was being aligned with the development requirements of the areas concerned.

□ To Page 2

Homeland

The conference which gave the go-ahead dealt to a large extent with corporate development institutions.

GERALD REILLY reports from Pretoria that DP finance spokesman Douglas Gibson said yesterday government delays in negotiating the reincorporation of the six homelands were costing taxpayers millions of rands a month.

Gibson said that with the reincorporation of the six territories, a large number of the 230 000 bureaucrats employed in the territories could be rationalised, with a saving of tens of millions of rands a year for SA taxpayers.

Latest figures indicated the total salary bill for the homeland public services exceeded R5bn a year.

From Page 1

... prices, SA Agricultural Union direc- At a meeting last month, ... that it would challenge ...

National symbols under microscope

GERALD REILLY

PRETORIA — The Human Sciences Research Council is investigating the thorny issue of national symbols.

In a statement yesterday, Charles Malan of the council's Cultural Study Group said care would be taken to ensure that no particular interests were promoted and no groups excluded from the survey.

Particular attention would be given where groups felt their views were being pushed aside. (3044)

Opinion surveys would be held among all population groups. Proposals on symbols and place names, monuments and sports symbols would be evaluated. (242)

The research would form part of a comprehensive information process to make the public aware of the people involved. BODH 11/2/93.

The investigations would start with an analysis of the current national flag, coat of arms, national anthem, plant and animal emblems, and public holidays.

A report would be completed by end-March, Malan said.

The HSRC's social dynamics department manager Lawrence Schlemmer had previously warned that the introduction of a new flag and national anthem could lead to conflict and that cultural symbols were rarely shared, Malan said.

Banks struggle to recover study loans as jobs dwindle

BODH 11/2/93

TRACY SCHNEIDER

COMMERCIAL banks were having difficulty extracting repayment on student loans as graduate unemployment levels escalated, industry sources said yesterday.

The student loan market was estimated at more than R1bn. However, banks would not give breakdowns of their market share.

An Absa Bank spokesman said many factors contributed to the student loan repayment problem: "It is becoming increasingly difficult for graduates to find suitable jobs, and even those employed tend to be paid lower real salaries. Added to this is inflation and the high cost of tertiary education."

FNB banking assistant GM Pat Lamont said the bank was experiencing "greater problems than usual" with student loan repayments, but sympathised with graduates who could not find jobs.

"We are as understanding as possible and bend over backwards to help students, dealing with each case individually," said Lamont. A three-month grace period was given after

graduation and interest-only servicing was allowed to graduates making a concerted effort to find employment. "It is in the best interest of students to go to their branch manager and put their cards on the table."

Wits University deputy vice-chancellor Prof Jerry Steel said a national loan scheme was necessary to aid students. "The situation among the lower middle-income groups is becoming critical. As the demography of the country changes it will become increasingly important to help fund tertiary education to the lower income groups."

He added the university was carrying a far greater amount of outstanding fees than previous years.

Wits SRC education officer Sy Mokadi said students should demand greater government subsidisation. "Banks' interest rates on student loans are too high. The loan becomes a burden on students who, through servicing interest, end up paying double for their education."

However, Steele said the private sector should not have to carry education expenses. "Banks should not be expected to drop interest rates. Rather, interest payments should be funded by the state."

Standard Bank regional GM for banking services Gus Warwick said the bank was "not unduly concerned" about student loan repayments at present because all loans were backed by a guarantor. However, he said student loans were a short-term loss.

All Banks interviewed found an increased demand for student loans to Technikon.

"Spiralling university costs and the uncertainty of graduate employment have seen students opting for more practical, applied courses where the chances of employment seem higher," an Absa spokesman said.

Banks also found an increased demand for post-graduate study loans. They said students were opting to remain at university, earning higher qualifications, avoiding loan repayment and waiting for an improvement in the economy.

More arrests,

but talks on

3044

~~SECRET~~

By Ismail Lagardien
Political Correspondent

NOTHING WOULD STAND in the way of the resumption of talks "however good or bad it may be", Government sources said yesterday after a week in which police

believed they had cracked an arms smuggling network involving ANC members.

The Department of Law and Order yesterday said eight people were now being held in connection with the seizure of an arms cache near the Swaziland border last week.

Seven are being held under Section 29 of the Internal Security Act and two

under Section 50 of the Criminal Procedure Act which allows for a maximum of 48 hours detention, Law and Order spokesman Captain Craig Kotze said.

At the end of a short meeting between the Government and the ANC in Cape Town yesterday, there was a general feeling of achievement after the ANC had absolved itself from complicity in the arms-smuggling incident.

The two parties are expected to meet to trash out the issue today.

Earlier a Government intelligence source said the ANC was "smuggling arms into Natal to strengthen its position in the province".

This has reportedly placed the Government under severe pressure from the Natal branch of the National Party to extract a full explanation from the ANC.

In a statement last night, the executive committee of the NP in Natal said it "notes with total dismay that three MK members were involved in smuggling arms- and ammunition into South Africa with the admitted intention to use them in Natal".

Sources said the need for multiparty negotiations was too serious for anything to stand in its way.

Star 11/2/93

Civil war or miracle Buthelezi

CAPE TOWN — South Africa had an equal chance of descending into full-scale civil war or becoming a racial miracle, Inkatha Freedom Party leader Mangosuthu Buthelezi said in a television interview last night with veteran broadcaster Sir David Frost.

In a 30-minute interview filmed at Ulundi, Buthelezi said he had never considered secession as an option for KwaZulu.

He told Frost that Mr Justice Goldstone had been glib in de-

scribing the KwaZulu Police as a private army, and in his comment that the IFP had been partly responsible for violence.

Buthelezi said it still had to be determined whether the Government and the ANC were plotting an agenda. He agreed with the PAC that any ANC-Government deal would amount to playing with fire.

The last word had not yet been spoken on the September 1992 Record of Understanding between the Government and

ANC, the chief told Frost.

He was, however, heartened that a planning conference for multiparty talks would be taking place, adding that he would attend a multiparty conference.

The IFP had withdrawn from talks because the Zulus had been excluded while other tribal governments, such as Transkei and Ciskei, had been represented. He was however committed to negotiations.

The IFP was a multiracial party, he added. — Sapa.

IFP men also accused of gun smuggling

Star 11/2/93

MK weapons row bypassed

(304 A)

By Esther Waugh
and Peter Fabricius

Government and ANC negotiators last night decided to bypass their row over alleged Umkhonto we Sizwe (MK) arms smuggling — but not before the ANC negotiators hit back with a disclosure that four men, allegedly including an Inkatha Freedom Party official, had been arrested for smuggling arms at the weekend.

On the tough first day of a three-day meeting in Cape Town, the ANC team claimed that Izak Godi Ntsele — whom the ANC alleged is a member of the IFP central committee — his son and two Mozambicans had been arrested in the northern Transvaal on Saturday for allegedly being in possession of at least 13 AK-47s.

After checking, the Government negotiators confirmed the arrests.

Relations between the ANC and the Government were soured after three ANC members were arrested for allegedly smuggling arms at the Golela border post with Swaziland, and the arrest of eight more people in follow-up operations. Three of them have been released, including one yesterday.

The ANC has confirmed that some of the arrested men are ANC members, but has denied knowledge of the alleged smuggling.

IFP spokesman Suzanne Vos said today the party had no knowledge of a Ntsele on the central committee of the IFP, calling news of the arrests "a pathetic attempt to divert attention" from the MK arrests.

The IFP did not involve itself in the smuggling of arms and IFP members found to be engaged in such activities must face the full weight of the law, she said.

Law and Order Ministry spokesman Craig Kotze today confirmed the arrests of six men in connection with the smuggling of arms — Ntsele, his son Justice, two other men and two Mozambicans. Kotze said Ntsele was the chairman of the IFP branch at Emanguze in Northern Natal.

After yesterday's meeting, Government sources said the ANC had not yet satisfied its insistence that the ANC distance itself from arms smuggling, give a reassurance that it would not recur, and take disciplinary steps against those involved.

The ANC is expected to issue a statement today giving its official response to the Golela haul.

● To Page 3

MK weapons row bypassed in key talks

From Page 1

Sources close to negotiations said although progress had been made, the negotiators had not fully resolved the matter, but had decided to put it aside so that they could move on with talks on constitutional issues.

The sources said these issues were regarded as too important to be delayed.

Responding to Government pressure for the ANC leadership to distance itself from the arms cache, the ANC negotiators said the ANC had sent the Government a letter explaining that its investigations showed its, and

From Page 1

the ANC's top leadership knew nothing about the alleged operation. Sources said Government was still "not very happy with the ANC's position".

The ANC faces a constituency problem on the issue and is reluctant to condemn the arms smuggling in too strong terms for fear of alienating its militant structures in Natal.

For Government negotiators, the issue has turned up the pressure on the ANC to exert greater control over MK, while on the other hand it has strengthened the hand of the conservative forces in the Government.

ernment who oppose concessions being made to the ANC.

Today's talks are expected to focus on a wide range of constitutional options for the transition, including extending the life span of a government of national unity to five years.

The Government's team was led by Constitutional Development Minister Roelf Meyer with Law and Order Minister Hernus Kriel, Justice Minister Kobie Coetsee and Defence Minister Gene Louw. The ANC's team was led by secretary-general Cyril Ramaphosa.

Star 11/12/93
(304A) (22)

'Punish parties that contravene Accord'

Political Staff

The Government has recommended that political parties or movements which contravene the National Peace Accord should be punished.

This emerged during an interpellation debate in Parliament yesterday and follows President de Klerk's suggestion in his opening speech two weeks ago that the accord be strengthened and made enforceable.

Deputy Minister of Justice Danie Schutte told MPs yesterday that the Government was committed to strengthening the peace accord, but that it could not act unilaterally because the accord was the product of multilateral negotiations.

However, the Government has called for a review of the accord.

Among improvements that ought to be considered were:

- Effective sanctions which could be imposed on transgressors.

- A more expeditious adjudicating procedure.

- The involvement of non-signatory parties at local and regional levels.

Democratic Party MP Wessel Nel said that while he recognised the Government could not tamper with the accord unilaterally, it had a special responsibility and it could act on its own volition on certain issues. These included granting local peace structures their own budgets.

- Shortcomings in the peace accord will be discussed at a meeting of accord signatories and chairmen of the regional dispute resolution committees, it was decided at a two-day meeting between the regional chairmen and the National Peace Secretariat.

SA leaders real heroes — Cohen

By Hugh Robertson
Star Bureau

WASHINGTON - South Africans should not allow progress towards democracy to be held hostage by political violence, and should press ahead with elections and an interim government even if violence continues, according to the Assistant Secretary of State for Africa, Herman Cohen.

Cohen, who is due to retire next month after a distinguished career spanning nine presidencies, said in an interview there was "a great deal of curiosity" about investing in South Africa and that the country was better placed to attract US business and capital than any of the former Soviet republics.

He warned that differences between the US and South Africa over the manufacture of sophisticated weapons by Armscor, including missiles capable of launching space vehicles, was a problem that remained unresolved.

Criticism

It would have to be "sorted out" with the new Clinton administration.

Asked about his past criticism of SA leaders, Cohen said this had been made in the context of past developments, but he said he regarded both President de Klerk and Nelson Mandela as "real heroes".

"I think that Mr Mandela's style of being a team player has frustrated us from time to time because at times he's allowed radical minorities in the ANC to overwhelm the negotiating process. But maybe in his own culture this is what was needed to reach a final stage where everyone was on board. So maybe we Americans are too impatient.

"But in general his overall leadership has, in effect, got the mainstream of black opinion in South Africa to accept that the white community has a significant role to play in a multiracial South Africa and that the blacks would be a lot worse off if the whites were to all move out. That is a fantastically important contribution he has made.

"President de Klerk is also a hero in my view in that he has persuaded the mainstream of the white community that unless the black community is made a full partner both politically and economically then the white community itself would be doomed.

"Having persuaded the whites to come hundreds of years in their thinking in the space of three years is nothing less than remarkable," Cohen said.

He warned that the declining South African economy was having a direct effect on the political situation because it was enlarging the mass of unemployed young people who were left with no option but to embrace radical politics.

Asked about a warning by Mandela that the ANC might not live up to the expectations of its supporters in the coming elections, Cohen said: "The longer the time the ANC goes between the point where it was a liberation movement to the point where it is a full political party, the more they have to answer a political constituency that is demanding jobs and housing and therefore they risk losing support."

Dealing with weapons proliferation, Cohen said the US knew that South Africa had acquired significant technology, both nuclear and in the missile area.

Where "we are having a rather difficult discussion is in the area of transferring military missiles to a space launch capability."

Star 11/2/93

Govt, homelands to rationalise services

(304 A)

By Peter Fabricius
Political Correspondent

CAPE TOWN — The Government and the six self-governing territories have agreed on legislation which will enable them to rationalise services.

But this should not be interpreted as a move to bypass multiparty negotiations and dismantle the homeland governments, the Government said yesterday.

Deputy Regional Development Minister Andre Fourie was commenting last night on the meeting between the four South African provincial Administrations and the governments of the six territories in Cape Town on Tuesday.

The meeting resolved that the Government could proceed with legislation that would enable self-governing territories and provincial administrations to reach bilateral or multilateral agreements.

This has been interpreted as

a step towards incorporation of the self-governing territories into South Africa.

Fourie agreed that the agreement was a move towards an interim regional dispensation but denied any intention to pre-empt multiparty negotiations.

He said President de Klerk had stated categorically — in Parliament last week — that the Government would not use its powers to dismantle the homelands summarily or unilaterally.

Fourie said it had been agreed at the Tuesday meeting that constitutional change was irrevocable but that any future regional dispensation would have to be agreed to at a multiparty forum.

In the interim there was much room for joint administration. All the meeting had agreed to was that enabling legislation could be passed allowing for joint agreements to avoid duplication of services.

This was already happening in the Joint Executive Authority set up between the KwaZulu government and the Natal Pro-

vincial Administration.

Fourie said the agreement did not affect the status of the self-governing territories. No new boundaries would be drawn but an attempt could be made to move towards an interim regional dispensation by sharing administration.

He mentioned pension payments, education and health clinics as areas of possible co-operation.

De Klerk said, when he opened Parliament on January 29, that the Government intended negotiating with the self-governing territories about drawing them into the desegregation of South African State education.

Fourie said the scrapping of own affairs education had opened the way for such discussions, but that they had not been embarked on at Tuesday's meeting.

It is understood that the meeting also explored ways of tightening up control of spending by the self-governing territories.

Star 11/2/93
Spotlight
on symbols

A research programme on national symbols has been launched by the Human Sciences Research Council.

During the first phase of the programme, the national flag, anthem and public holidays would be analysed, the HSRC said yesterday.

A report on this would be ready by the end of next month.

Proposals for new symbols and nationally important symbols such as place names, monuments and sports insignia would receive attention during the second phase.

Members of the public as well as institutions have been invited to submit comments and proposals on symbols to Dr Malan, National Symbols Investigation, HSRC, Private Bag X41, Pretoria. — Sapa.

Star 11/2/93

NP takes control from CP

The National Party regained control of the Potchefstroom Town Council management committee last night after losing it to the Conservative Party in 1988. Three NP members were elected to the committee in place of the three CP members, one of them mayor Chris Landberg. (304A)

Star 11/2/93
Preparations for elections

The Department of Home Affairs has begun practical preparations for South Africa's first democratic elections. Documents show 10 200 ballot boxes and 15 200 folding voting cubicles have already been manufactured. (304 A)

On the brink?

3044

CT 11/2/93



TALKS... ANC secretary-general Mr Cyril Ramaphosa (left), national spokesman Mr Carl Niehaus and acting Western Cape spokesman Mr Bulelani Ngcuka before meeting a government delegation at the Cape Provincial Administration yesterday.

Picture: BENNY GOOL

Buthelezi warns of war as ANC and govt meet

By ANTHONY JOHNSON
Political Correspondent

THE chances of South Africa plunging into civil war or moving in the direction of a racial "miracle" were 50/50, Inkatha leader Chief Mangosuthu Buthelezi said last night.

"It could move in either direction," he told British interviewer Sir David Frost on last night's CTV television interview.

His warning came as government and ANC negotiators in Cape Town were locked in the first of three days of crunch bilateral talks on security and constitutional issues.

He also warned that if the government and the ANC tried to strike a "deal" in constitutional negotiations

that excluded other political players, they would be "playing with fire".

Chief Buthelezi told Sir David he "entirely" backed the PAC's warning this week that any attempt by the government and the ANC to fashion a deal in negotiations would be to court disaster.

"If there is any deal at all then they are asking for trouble," he added.

During last night's David Frost TV interview Chief Buthelezi dismissed polls indicating Inkatha would only garner between 5-15% of the popular vote, saying that "anyone could win" South Africa's first all-in election.

He slammed the Goldstone Commission's findings on the KwaZulu Police's (KZP) involvement in violence, saying it had been sold "hook, line and sinker" on the propaganda of the IFP's enemies, who were claiming that the KZP was the private army of Inkatha.

● ANC denies smuggling — Page 2

NP gains some power in Potch

POTCHEFSTROOM. — The NP gained control of the Potchefstroom town council management committee last night.

Three NP members — one of them the mayor Mr Chris Landberg — were elected to the management committee in place of the three sitting CP members at a council meeting.

The CP had controlled the committee since taking it from the NP in 1988. — Sapa

Call 2493

Down to the nitty-gritty at last for talks?

TOS WENTZEL
Political Staff

(304A)
ARG 12/2/93
EFFORTS to resume multiparty talks are expected to get a major boost today with agreement between the government and the African National Congress on a conference to plan them.

Final agreement on a planning conference will be reached next week when the government talks to the Inkatha Freedom Party. The is-

sue was raised at their previous round of talks.

Efforts will be made to put a planning conference together by the end of next week and hopes in government circles are that multiparty talks could resume next month.

The conference will have to decide what form a "new Codesa" multiparty negotiation forum will take. Inkatha objects to Codesa in its present form.

Another hopeful sign is the announcement that the long-awaited meeting between ANC president Mr Nelson Mandela and Inkatha leader Chief Mangosuthu Buthelezi is likely to take place by mid-March.

This comes at a time when

negotiations are being complicated by allegations of cross-border gun-running by both parties.

Talks between the government and the ANC continued until late last night and were resumed this morning.

The gun-running issue has been set aside while police and ANC investigations continue.

Apart from discussions on the planning conference, yesterday's talks concentrated on constitutional issues, especially transitional structures.

Today both sides remained optimistic. Yesterday's talks were said to have been "productive and optimistic" with the two sides trying to reconcile each other's aims.

MON-FRI ARGUS



Referendum wouldn't break the deadlock

W/Map 12/2 - 18/2/93

3044

THERE are three fatal flaws in Dr Frederick van Zyl Slabbert's argument ("Talking Consensus? Try Asking the People", *WM*, February 5-11 1993) for the use of a national referendum to break any deadlock which threatens the negotiation process in South Africa — any one of which kills the idea stone dead.

Flaw number one is that such a referendum amounts to a popular vote — precisely the event most of the smaller parties are seeking to avoid or delay as long as possible.

Flaw number two is that the question would be near impossible to construct — a weakness clearly apparent in Slabbert's own attempt to do so in his article.

Flaw number three is that a referendum is not an election and the latter would have to be held anyway, making a referendum a costly and time-consuming exercise in futility.

Slabbert argues quite correctly that the multiparty and Transitional Executive Council (TEC) phases of the process are strewn with difficulties and subject to deadlock and breakdown. But any such deadlock or breakdown is likely to be the result of one or other of the smaller parties fearing marginalisation as a direct consequence of a popular vote and seeking to entrench themselves constitutionally *before* such an exercise takes place. Since the greatest "enemy" that Inkatha, the Bophuthatswana and

Last week Frederick van Zyl

Slabbert suggested holding a referendum to break political

deadlock. Political analyst

GARY VAN STADEN argues

such a public poll would have

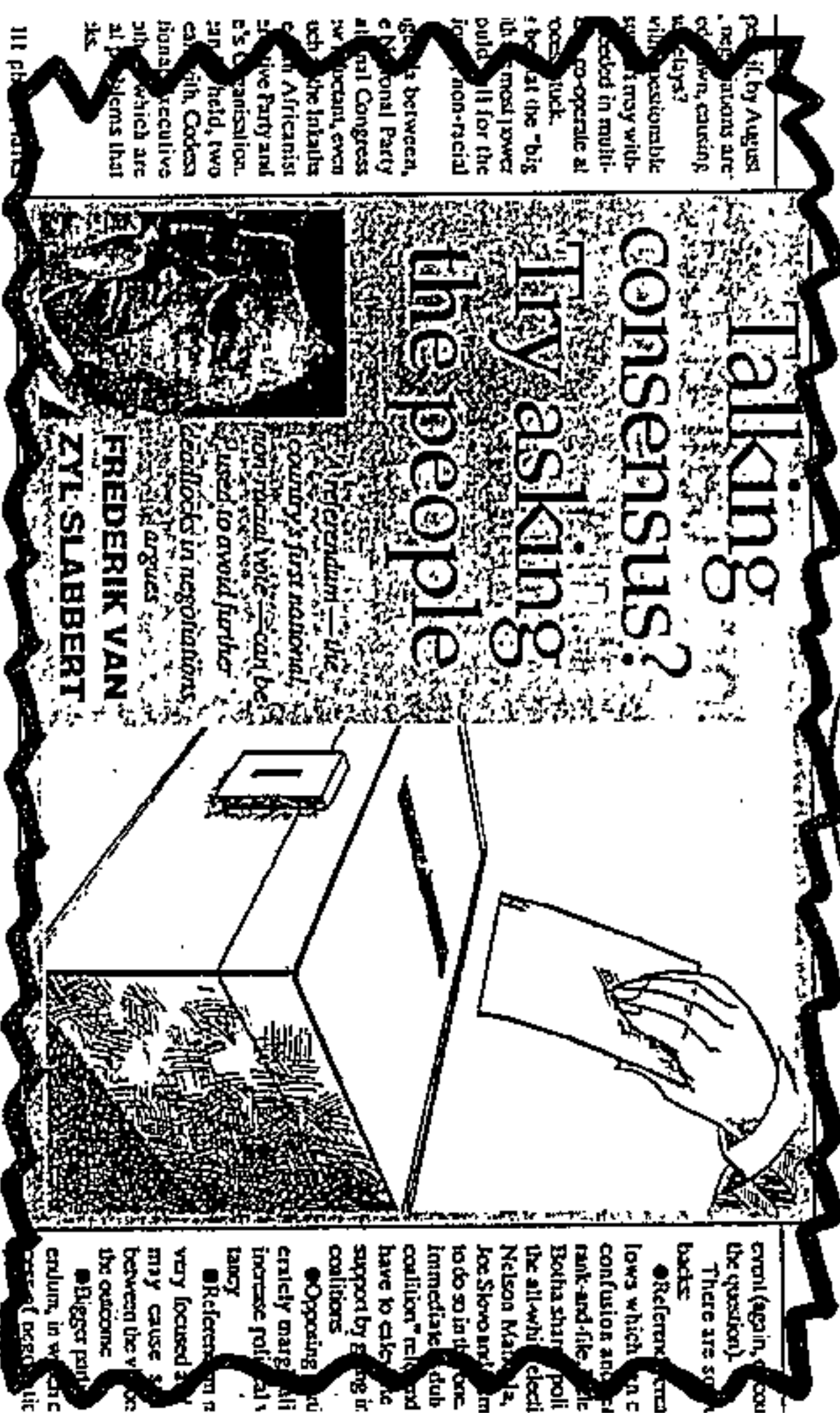
little value

Ciskei regimes (for example) must face is a popular vote it is difficult to envisage a situation where they would volunteer to face a firing squad.

A national vote will demonstrate that support for Inkatha, the Bophuthatswana regime and dictator Oupa Gqozo ranges between 10 per cent and less than nothing, a fact of which these groups and individuals are well aware. Why then would they agree to put this to the test?

These parties seek, through various mechanisms of constitutional gerrymandering, at least to avoid the consequences of a popular vote if not the ballot itself. Since these attempts represent the stuff of which deadlock and breakdown are made the solution must clearly lie elsewhere.

"Consensus" for parties and individuals such as Inkatha and the bantustan regimes implies agreeing to let them carry on as before (and entrenching this "right" in a constitution) irrespective of the outcome of a popular



vote. A referendum would end rather than promote this aim. A referendum, as Slabbert pointed out, will provide a popular mandate for a transitional agenda but that is precisely why the "no hope" parties and groups will seek to avoid it at almost any cost. It is not enough to describe this flaw merely as a "drawback".

And what about the question? The negotiation process is still struggling to find some consensus on what the last referendum question really implied and now Slabbert seeks to compound the problem by asking another question which cannot hope to encapsulate the complexities of a transitional constitution, a media council, the future of the bantustans and the role of the security system — to mention just a few obstacles.

It is one thing to suggest "ask the people" but quite another to decide precisely what they are to be asked. The question suggested by Slabbert would demand a high degree of consensus from the parties at a new multiparty forum (which will not be Codesa II but rather a "Codesa Mark I" with fundamental changes to its structure).

If such a degree of consensus could be achieved then there would clearly be no deadlock to break so it's hard to follow the logic of calling for a referendum to rubber stamp this consensus when a constituent assembly would do just as well and be far more useful in the overall transition.

Unless a referendum is called to provide a specific answer to a specific question (such as "do you want a uni-

tary or federal state?" — and then what about all the other issues under discussion) it will confuse and delay the process, not speed it up.

And even should the less popular parties be talked into committing public political suicide by subjecting their policies to a popular vote with no guarantees of a place in the sun afterward, and even assuming we could construct a meaningful question — what would be the point?

If small parties can be talked into a referendum which may marginalise them, would it be that much more difficult to talk them into constituent assembly elections where they could expect at least some representation (as opposed to the "winner take all" formula of a referendum)?

The one item that South Africa does not have is time and given that constraint the value of a referendum is doubtful. Consensus on a transitional constitution (or a constitutional framework/guidelines) and the other potential breakdown points does not require a referendum and the African National Congress "strategic perspectives" route offers far more possibility. At the end of the day the negotiation process will have to accommodate elements such as Inkatha and the white right (even though their levels of popular support are low) or risk creating a Jonas Savimbi. A referendum compounds rather than reduces such a threat.

BILL OF RIGHTS FM 12/2/93

304A

Freedom starts with private property

This week's row between government and the ANC over a Bill of Rights indicates that public bickering will continue to characterise the negotiation process, in spite of claims by both sides that it is progressing well behind the scenes.

It seems unlikely that the latest disagreement will bring talks to a halt. Nevertheless, it is an unhealthy basis on which to build mutual understanding.

The fact that much of the argument seems accessible only to lawyers — and specialised lawyers at that — does not help.

The average citizen easily grows bored with what seems like interminable nit-picking — and boredom could lead to cosy but dangerous deals being made between the main parties in smoke-filled rooms.

There is concern that liberty will not be served, if only because neither of the main parties is particularly liberal by temperament and because they might both be prepared to compromise too readily on matters of principle.

Justice Minister Kobic Coetsee announced government's proposals for a Bill of Rights, based on those of the Law Commission, last week amid much fanfare. It will be widely distributed — at taxpayers' expense — as a discussion document.

In essence, the Bill would outlaw nearly all the human rights abuses of which Nationalist governments have been guilty for 40 years.

But the ANC says that while some aspects are praiseworthy, others are unacceptable and could in fact entrench race-based privileges and unequal wealth distribution. The organisation says a Bill of Rights can be agreed on and entrenched only by an elected constituent assembly. Government wants an interim rights Bill in place until the formal transition to democracy.

However, the ANC argues — with some force — that an interim Bill guaranteeing equal rights would be nonsensical because most people would not yet have the vote — one of the most fundamental rights. What

the ANC wants instead is some form of transitional rights to level the playing fields to enable the election to be held.

ANC constitutional expert Kadar Asmal describes the government's Bill as "deeply flawed and fraudulent" and not even a sound

basis for further debate. He sees it as a serious obstacle to the negotiation process and an attempt by Coetsee to ensure that negotiations do not succeed.

Asmal's fellow constitutional committee member, Albie Sachs, says the Bill is "an election manifesto in legal form." Adds Sachs: "We've looked forward to a Bill of Rights as a document that will unite SA, but the timing, tone and content (of government's Bill) are all wrong."

In response to ANC criticism, Coetsee accused the organisation of superficial analysis of the Bill in an attempt to smother the debate on human rights. The ANC's contribution is neither academic nor scientific, Coetsee charged.

However, it's clear that fundamental differences between government and the ANC on

what should be protected in a Bill of Rights may be difficult to reconcile. For example, the ANC wants "private apartheid" outlawed, while government's Bill would in essence uphold the right to discriminate on the grounds of freedom of association.

In addition, the ANC wants the effects of apartheid — such as land ownership — redressed through a Bill of Rights, while government wants existing ownership protected. The ANC also wants minimum wages, job security and rights to education and housing entrenched in a Bill of Rights — but it is impossible to see how such rights can be enforced when they depend on objective material conditions. To include them in a Bill of Rights would simply discredit all the other clauses.

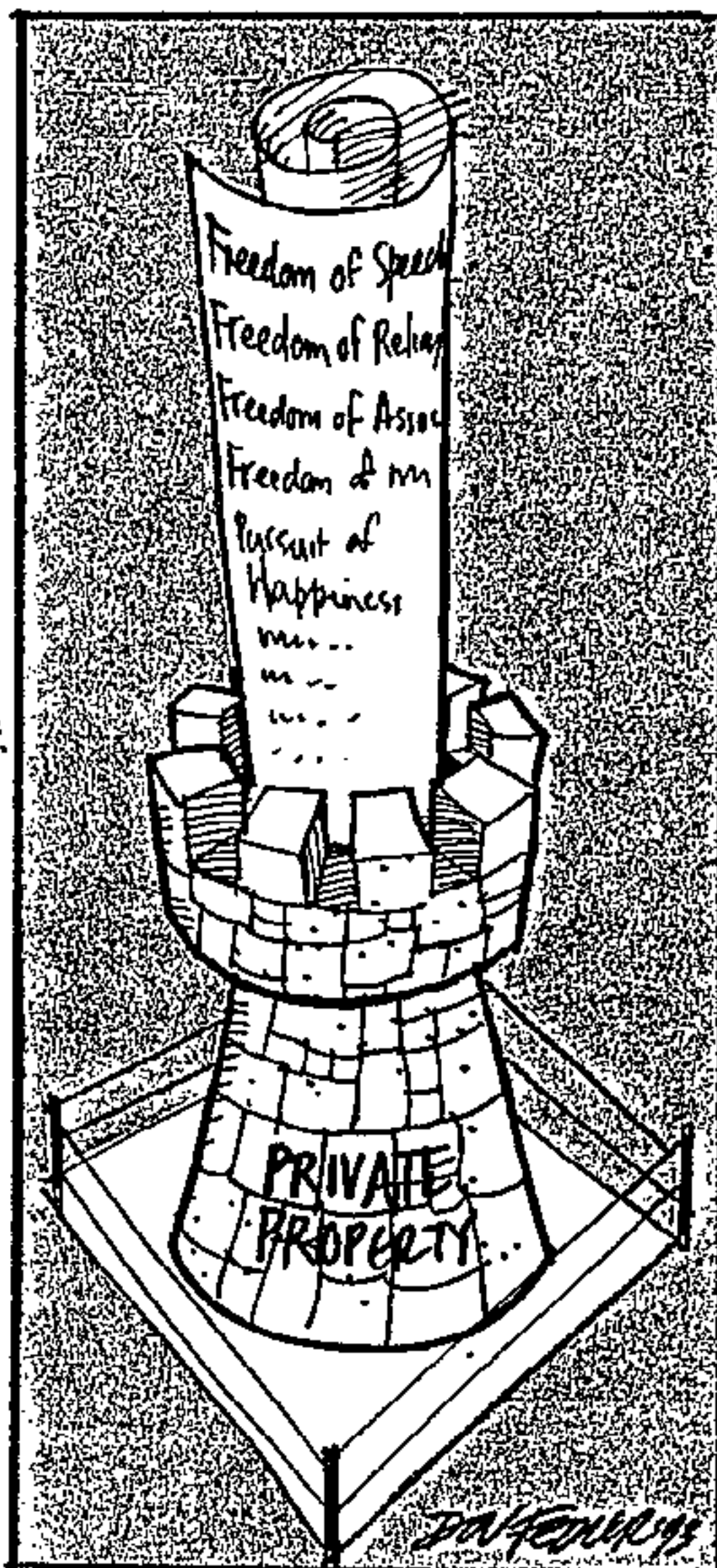
In the end, a solution might be to agree on an entrenched Bill of fundamental rights and freedoms — such as freedom of thought and expression, and freedom from arbitrary arrest — and then to deal with more detailed

issues through special commissions on land, housing, education and employment, and, if necessary, to entrench their findings in legislation.

What we would like to see more of is a passionate defence of private property. As John Locke, that great 17th Century pioneer of political analysis, understood well, the theoretical rights may be all very well and necessary but, without the entrenched and undiluted right of private ownership of property, the rest can be swept away.

The fact that this is decidedly not the view of the ANC does not undermine its validity.

It is no coincidence that the most successful, powerful and prosperous democracy on earth — the US — is also the one which has the greatest respect for private property. This is what underpins the survival of the abstract rights which the founding fathers found self-evident, not the romantic passion of human rights babble. ■



Foreign observers 'will give poll legitimacy'

CAPE TOWN — The role of the international community in SA's next elections will be decided by an independent electoral commission appointed by a transitional executive council involving all political parties.

Sapa reports Home Affairs Minister Louis Pienaar said yesterday that observer status for the international community could give the envisaged elections legitimacy.

He said the independent electoral commission would be responsible for overseeing, monitoring and supervising the whole electoral process.

The commission would decide also the role that should be played by the Home Affairs Department, which was now issuing 50 000-60 000 identity documents a week.

He estimated that 95% to 96% of the population would have IDs by March next year.

Between 6 000 and 7 000 polling stations had been demarcated for elections, said Pienaar.

The aim was to give every SA citizen over the age of 18 years the opportunity to participate at the ballot box in determining the future of the country.

GERALD REILLY reports that Home Affairs Western Cape regional director Koos van Wyngaardt said there could not be a protracted voter registration campaign in SA if an election was to be held within a reasonable time of the conclusion of negotiations.

Using ID documents as a basis for the poll would be a far simpler process, he said.

LIBERAL democracies require that a country's constitution belongs to the people. Among other things, it is the people's protection from government excesses through the separation of government powers and through justiciable individual rights and freedoms. And perhaps most of all it is their guarantee of a regular opportunity to replace any government they feel has failed them.

What is therefore fundamentally important and democratic is that the citizens are given the opportunity to accept or to reject any new constitution designed for them. Only they can give that constitution true legitimacy by ratifying it — preferably in a free and fair referendum.

With this in mind, it is distressing that in SA citizens seem generally unaware of the campaign to coerce them into giving politicians a blank cheque, not only to write but also to introduce, a constitution on their behalf. Worse still, the constitution-producing formula advocated here will predominantly reflect the wishes of the political party which secures the biggest blank cheque.

In a twisted way, this elected constituent assembly approach is argued to be democratic even though it denies the people the opportunity to agree to what are ultimately the most important laws to regulate their society and govern their lives.

But if people were successfully to demand that any final constitution proposed be put to public test, then logically, the "democratic intention" of a constituent assembly would become irrelevant, as would indeed the argued need for a constituent assembly in the first place. In fact it would, within reason, be argued that it hardly matters who writes the constitution, so long as the people for whom it is intended have the opportunity to accept or reject it.

Alternate procedural options therefore must receive greater publicity, especially where these make claims to be a quicker, smoother and

Let's find another way of drafting the constitution

8/Dec 12/293.

GAVIN WOODS

(3044)

more democratic way forward.

The most credible of these seems to be the option that asks all political and government parties simply to put their wished-for constitutional principles or models onto a single table. From this, the parties should have their respectively chosen constitutional experts sit together to develop the most inclusive and soundly balanced liberal democratic constitution and Bill of Rights they find possible.

A constitution thus crafted, in a situation relatively free from party politicking, can then be publicly presented back to all the parties for their final debate, perhaps in a publicly televised conference.

It is possible that some parties may insist on such acceptance being politically formalised through predetermined voting procedures or even a big party veto. This is to decide on whether the proposed constitution is accepted at the first sitting or is to be sent back to the body of experts for further consideration of areas of disagreement. This is a matter that can be discussed.

Arguably, given the expert, fair and open manner of its production, parties would find it difficult to be unreasonable regarding its acceptance under an attentive public eye.



The constituent assembly/interim government route is fraught with dangers.

This having been achieved, the way would be open for the first national voting event, the referendum over the proposed constitution.

One particular consideration in favour of this approach is that it is less likely to evoke new levels of violence in the country. Given what is perceived to be at stake, the elected

constituent assembly approach compels politicians to go out into the voter market and imbue a new level of inter-party competition in an already fragile society.

As parties know there will be compromises in constituent assembly negotiations they may not ask voters to mandate them on the basis of a particular constitutional definition because then, quite simply, there could be no "negotiation". That is why the constituent assembly election is likely to be about asking potential voters for a blank cheque on the basis of "trust us, we are good" and "don't trust them, they are evil".

This not only mocks the "democratic purpose" of constituent assembly elections, but could produce new levels of acrimony and violent conflict as people are pressured to choose between hostile political opponents in a situation where levels of propaganda and intimidation are rife.

It is also possible that conflict would ensue after the constituent assembly produces its final constitution, as this constitution could be seen by many as divisive and "the enemy's victory prize".

And even if the elections for a new government were possible in terms

of this new constitution — any of a number of dissatisfied power groups might well not accept the result thus plunging the country into a new period of political and social turbulence and economic degeneration.

The alternative approach, which sees the first national voting event as a referendum on an all-party presented constitution, should help to defuse tensions. It would mean voting "yes" or "no" for the new constitution — which in this scenario is also a highly significant national symbol of an all-party consensus — with all parties in unison urging a similar result.

But the argument in favour of the alternate approach goes beyond what is argued to be more democratic, more pragmatic and less conflict-prone. It could also bring the whole negotiating time horizon forward to where a new constitution could well be ready for a referendum by mid-1993, followed by immediate preparation for elections for government. This, in turn, would avoid much of the time wasting and messy interim government/interim constitution issues that would otherwise continue to detract from more substantive objectives.

This alternative approach not only promises to reconcile all to the constitution it produces, but also to the result of the general election that follows. This would be because of significantly reduced mistrust and fear achieved by avoiding partisan manipulation of the new constitution. Should all feel their ideas and concerns to be optimally represented, the future would not seem as threatening if other parties do well in the first general election. Four odd years to the following election would be more tolerable to supporters of losing parties in these circumstances.

It is vital that such an alternate approach (and others) be more widely debated at this late hour. To not want to rock the ANC/NP supported constituent assembly boat could prove to be extremely shortsighted.

□ Woods is director of the Inkatha Institute.

From dumps to trump cards

W/Mail 12/2-18/2/93
The homelands used to be regarded as apartheid's dumping grounds; now they're the jackpot in a raging hearts-and-minds battle.

By **PATRICK GOODENOUGH**
 and **ANDREW TRENCH**

A BATTLE is raging between Pretoria and leading Volkstaat protagonist General Tienie Groenewald for the hearts and minds of homeland leaders within the Concerned South Africans Group (Cosag).

Groenewald, a former military intelligence chief of staff, has emerged as the top strategist within Cosag. Through his Pretoria-based consultancy company, Multi Media Services (MMS), he is heavily involved in Ciskeian affairs and is busy closing in on Bophuthatswana.

MMS chairman and Groenewald's partner Riaan van Rensburg this week accused the South African government of orchestrating an information leak within MMS in an attempt to drive a wedge between Groenewald and the Cosag parties. The government viewed MMS as a threat because "we are strengthening (Ciskei leader Brigadier Oupa) Gqozo in Cosag, contrary to the beliefs of those who want a Codesa type of thing", he said.

In parliament last week, President FW de Klerk appealed to Cosag to drop racist elements. And last month, Pretoria accused Groenewald of souring relations between the Inkatha Freedom Party and the government.

Groenewald is said by well-placed Ciskeian sources to have been influential in Gqozo's recent avowal to hang on to the "independence" of the homeland, as well as Gqozo's growing antipathy towards both the South African government and the African National Congress.

The sources also linked Groenewald's involvement in Ciskei's affairs to the recent sackings of ministers and hardline statements emanating from Bisho, the homeland's capital. And, for the first time since Gqozo seized power, Ciskei will this year commemorate "independence day" — as a "celebration of Ciskei's nationhood".

This type of rhetoric, common during the reign of Gqozo's predecessor, Lennox Sebe, indicates a marked reversal of Gqozo's stated



General Tienie Groenewald

policy on Ciskei's reincorporation with South Africa.

MMS helped to produce the document unveiling Gqozo's "Kei region plan" last December, and has an employee in the Bisho government offices. It was involved in Gqozo's claims about a plot between the Azanian People's Liberation Army, Umkhonto weSizwe and the Transkei Defence Force targeting Ciskei and kwaZulu. These claims were widely dismissed as a staged media event aimed at slowing down negotiations.

MMS has also tendered for a contract for "certain services" for the Bophuthatswana government.

Groenewald said this week MMS was "completely separate" from his other projects: the Eenheidskommittee and the Institute for Strategic Analysis, "new right" think-tanks which research issues relating to "the survival of the different nations in Africa".

He said it provided a "public relations and image-building" service to Gqozo, and "plays no role in trying to influence the council (of

state) or the leader in any direction. He uses our knowledge, and my extensive background".

MMS had discussed providing training for political organisations, including Gqozo's African Democratic Movement, but funding remained a problem, he added.

Groenewald said Gqozo had consulted him "over a period, on a number of matters". Their relationship had crystallised through Cosag, and MMS had held three days of extensive talks with the Ciskei government, leading to the presentation of the "Kei plan".

Van Rensburg explained that the Kei concept "fits in with the Volkstaat idea ... What we propagate as far as a Volkstaat is concerned is exactly what we propagate for the Kei region, and for that matter for the Zulus and Tswanas and so on."

Groenewald has also opened the door for the return to Ciskei of a former training officer for the Bureau of State Security, General "Tai" Minnaar. Minnaar recently ran a VIP-protection training course for the Ciskei, set up by Groenewald.

Minnaar worked for Ciskei intelligence in the Sebe era, and in 1983 was detained on suspicion of plotting against the government. He feigned mental illness, was transferred to a South African hospital and managed to avoid returning to face charges.

Groenewald said there was no link between MMS and Minnaar's company, Military Technical Services (MTS). He had chosen MTS to organise the course, run at the Wesley military base, because it was "very good in the field", Groenewald said, adding that further courses are envisaged.

Minnaar this week described MTS as a "completely apolitical concern providing training, security surveys and so on, with a small but confidential client base. We're not mercenaries, we're not fighting a war."

John Lambson, of the "anti-communist" University Freedom of Speech Association, has also joined the growing collaboration between the rightwing and conservative homeland leaders. He has recently begun issuing statements on behalf of Gqozo's ADM.

Lambson says Gqozo "respects" his thinking, but denies any part in shaping Ciskeian policy. However, the homeland's government recently duplicated almost to the word a Lambson-drafted ADM statement.



NP's women's Bills: An election ploy? Genuine?

W/mail 12/2 - 18/2/93 304A

By IAN CLAYTON

THE government's belated commitment to women's rights is indeed progress, but it has all the makings of being a progressive plank in its election platform — rather than becoming law in the near future.

Justice Minister Kobie Coetsee was asked three times at a media conference last week whether he would bring the three draft women's rights Bills to parliament during the current session, and three times he deliberately avoided making any such commitment.

For good reason: apart from technical drafting issues and the assessment of the public's response, Coetsee will have a major political battle to get consensus from the National Party majorities in all three Houses of Parliament, which are dominated by men.

He does have President FW de Klerk on his side, which is an obvious advantage, but the MPs in all three Houses have to pass the Bills — and they could bury them in committees and with procedural obstruction.

Officially, public comment on the three Bills must be submitted by March 19. Coetsee said whether the Bills are submitted to parliament this year would depend on public reaction.

The chances are that the Abolition of Discrimination against Women Draft Bill, the Preventing of Domestic Violence Draft Bill and the Promotion of Equal Opportunities Draft Bill will remain little more than that until after the first elections.

This would help the NP to woo the 53 percent of voters who are women and make the party sound progressive on women's rights, without having to deal with the realities of caucus pres-

sure against the measures.

Though the proposals have a number of weaknesses, they also represent considerable progress in legislating against sexual discrimination.

The Bills outlaw sexual discrimination, making it an offence for anyone to be discriminated against because of gender, marital status or pregnancy.

Men and women will have to be paid the same for the same job, and it will be an offence for women to be fired because they get married or fall pregnant.

Women will no longer have to have their husband's signature to open accounts, and it will be illegal for banks and other institutions to ask for details about their marital status.

Marital power, which gives husbands legal power over their wives and places them in the position of minors, will be abolished. Fathers will no longer automatically be given preference for guardianship of children.

It also proposed that an equal opportunities commission be established to promote the elimination of discrimination on the grounds of sex, marital status and pregnancy and the creation of equal opportunities between males and females.

Justice Department officials are keen to see the measures translated into law. The department has appointed an advocate, Jackie Schultz, to promote the measures.

That and the drafting of the Bills — no mean feat in itself — does not, however, mean law and real change. It certainly remains to be seen whether the NP has the political will to put its money where its mouth is on women's rights.

Govt promises harder line against Inkatha

STAR 12/2/93
GOVERNMENT, stung by ANC criticism of its "double standards" regarding arms smuggling by Inkatha, has promised to take a hard line with Inkatha next week.

The latest indications were that while the row over smuggling involving MK cadres had not been "completely and satisfactorily resolved" as far as government was concerned, constitutional negotiations were more urgent.

The two-day bilateral meeting was provisionally extended by a further day to deal with constitutional issues of power-sharing, regionalism, an interim constitution and a transitional executive council.

In a statement yesterday, Law and

BILLY PADDOCK

Order Minister Hernus Kriel said the same issues discussed with the ANC during bilateral talks this week would be put to Inkatha. "Government views the Inkatha incident in a very serious light," Kriel said.

But he nonetheless argued that the two smuggling cases were different.

Kriel's statement, and an ANC response, are expected to redress the balance in negotiations. Recent sensitive talks between government, the ANC and Inkatha are aimed at keeping progress towards multiparty negotiations on track.

On the smuggling case allegedly involv-

ing Inkatha's Emanguzi branch chairman Isaac Ntsele and five others, Kriel said the arrests happened at the weekend. Two of the six suspects were Mozambicans, while another two suspects were also Inkatha members.

The SAP had not made facts about the arrests public at the time because another consignment of weapons was expected to cross the border. The untimely publicity meant this would not happen now.

Kriel said that when evaluating government and police response to the Inkatha and ANC incidents, the following should be borne in mind:

□ To Page 2

Inkatha

12/2/93
□ MK had a recognised and extensive underground structure which, according to information, was involved in the recent weapons smuggling incident;

□ Arms smuggling by MK members placed MK in direct contravention of the law and of agreements between government and the ANC;

□ In the case of the Inkatha members, no information had yet been received indicating the weapons were destined for any structure with which Inkatha, as a political organisation, was involved; and

□ The weapons seized from MK included powerful RPG rockets and launchers

which could destroy armoured vehicles. Inkatha spokesman Suzanne Vos said yesterday it was Inkatha's policy that members contravening the law be left to fend for themselves.

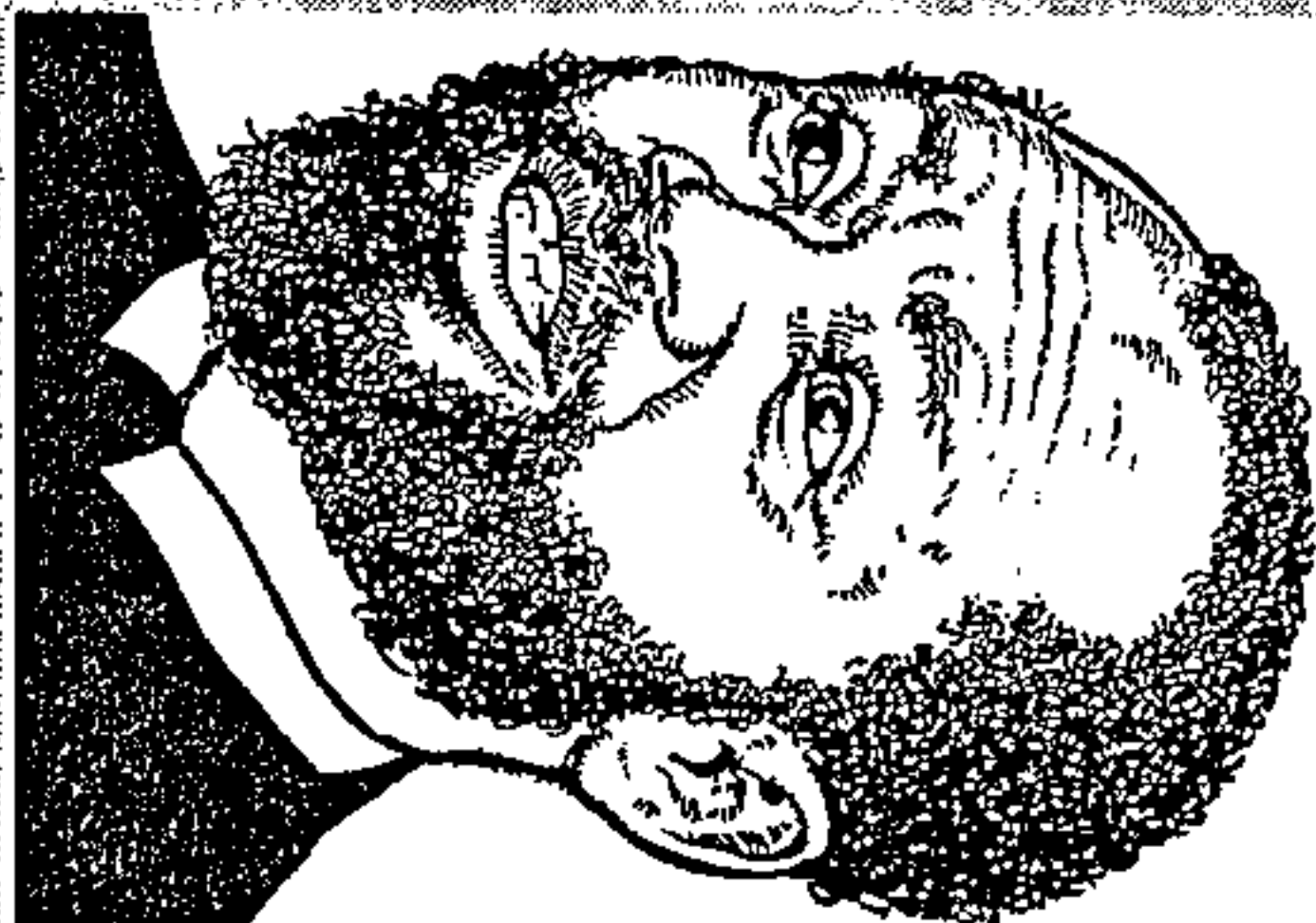
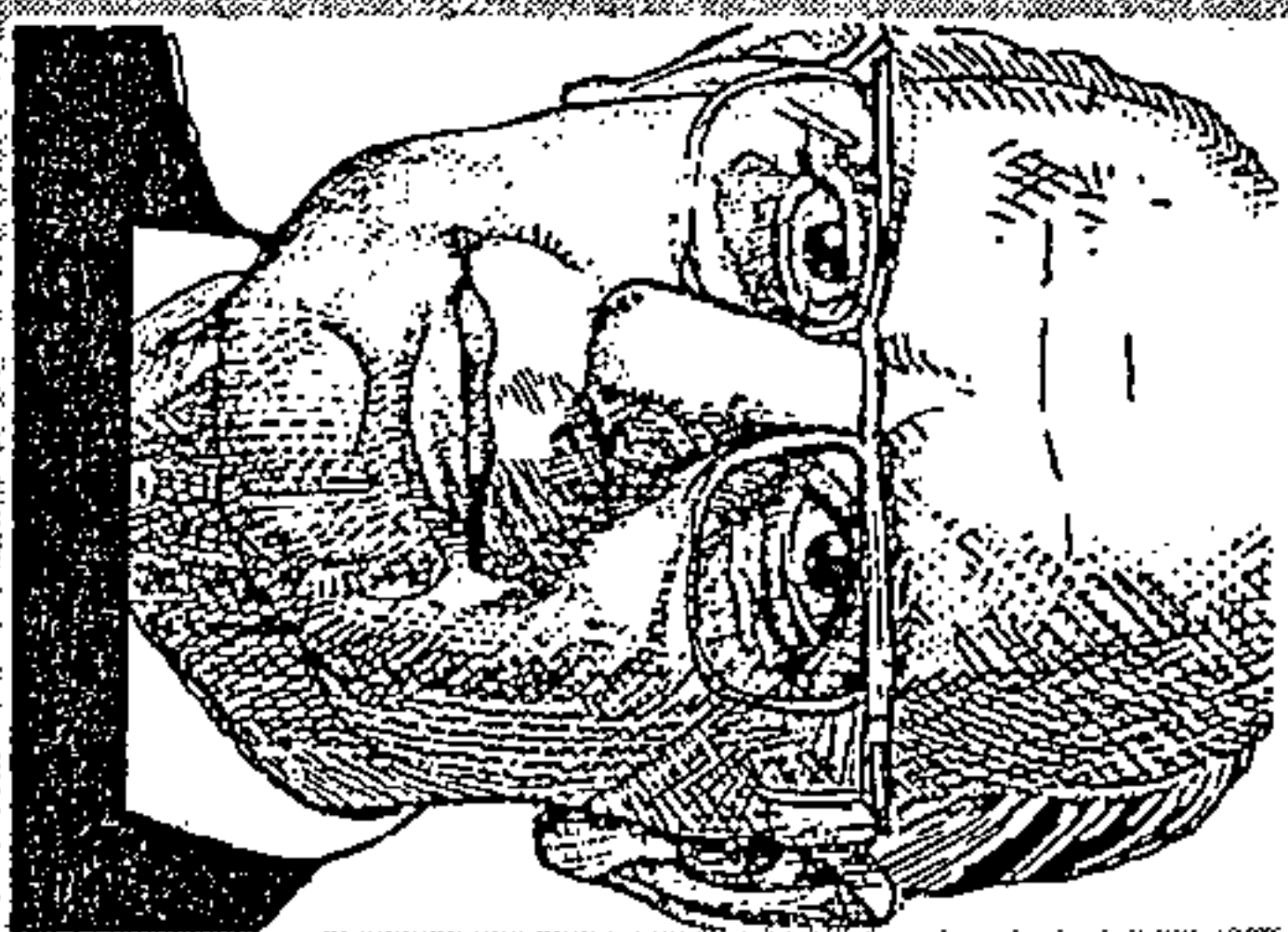
Meanwhile, another arms cache was discovered in Natal yesterday and three more people were arrested, one a suspected ANC member. The ANC planned to investigate.

The men were arrested after a police raid on a home in KwaMashu, north of Durban, netted army uniforms and weaponry. Law and Order spokesman Capt Craig Kotze could not say whether the find was linked to the cache discovered at the Swaziland border last week.

From Page 1

Regional integration is imperative for SA

WJ MacG 12/2-18 12/93 (304A) (C) 1993
Political turmoil and civil war have threatened southern African states in on themselves. The danger, argues CARLOS CARDOSO, is that individual states will concentrate on their own troubles and ignore regional solutions



Strange bedfellows... PW Botha and Samora Machel believed in strong regional ties

THOSE who have most cherished integration of the southern African region have been revolutionaries like Samora Machel and white supremacists like PW Botha. Because the two visions were mutually exclusive, southern Africa never acquired institutional muscle beyond the frontline states and Southern African Development Co-ordinating Conference (SADCC). The frontline generation, which led regionally based national liberation movements, wanted a strong, regional economic democracy — even though it accepted a long transition period in which South Africa would be central. Botha wanted a (white) South Africa-centred domination of the region.

Augustino Neto, Sir Seretse Khama, Machel are dead. Lacking intellectual drive, the frontline now behaves like a spectator of regional events. The region's intellectuals are too busy fighting anti-government and anti-gangster battles for more freedom of expression.

Likewise, in South Africa, southern Africa is not an issue, despite the return of thousands of refugees from neighbouring states. Botha and Magnus Malan are out of the picture. The South African Defence Force structures of regional intervention are being phased out. Africanist politics — which had a southern African outlook, albeit concerned with white domination — is either too embroiled in local *boerwars* or feels bitter and defeated about the future.

The African National Congress has memories — some sweet, some sour — about its recent southern African rearguard, but no visible plans on how to contribute to regional integration. No one in South Africa flies the flag of "southern Africanism" above the territorial clashes of federalism or Boer statehood. In short, the colour of South Africa's arrogance in the past was white; it could become black if the political debate in the country remains South Africa-centred.

Everybody is trying to put their own national house in order, without considering whether solutions in each member state of the region are good for the other member states. The Southern African Development Community (formerly the SADCC) has its annual ministerial and summit meetings, but little else.

In the days when the frontline had the intellectual stamina to probe the future, the tragic and infantile mistake of Angolan elections without a unified army in place would have been impossible.

From Luanda to Cape Town to Maputo the politicians, academics and journalists speak the language of nationhood, while all around them the nation-state begs to be replaced by a regional dispensation strong enough to cushion the complexities of power distribution in each country.

Meanwhile, regional integration is being achieved — by businessmen. Every day rands become meticals, pulas, emalangeni. Every day Johannesburg taxis transport Mozambicans to Maputo. Every hour hundreds of people cross the region's borders legally while thousands more do it illegally in the course of family business (trade and agriculture). In December east-

ern Transvaalers restarted their pilgrimage to Bilele, Xai Xai and piri piri chicken.

The question is: can business, alone, deliver a southern African democracy?

There is no escaping the regionality of our existence. Botha toppled John Vorster; the result was the invasion of Angola and the wanton destruction of both Angola and Mozambique. In 1987 the SADF met its match at Cuito Cuanavale; the result was Namibian independence, the end of military rule in South Africa and the release of Nelson Mandela.

The insanity of current political debate could become the driving force behind future military conflicts, with South Africa's relationship with

the region resembling that between the United States and Latin America, or between Russia and the ex-Soviet republics.

Here are some suggested steps towards a regional dispensation:

- When multi-party negotiations get going again in South Africa, invite observers from all SADC governments which, right now, find the South African constitutional process less than transparent.

- Under the SADC umbrella, get all ministers of agriculture — including Kraai van Niekerk — to start regular discussions on, among other things, how to redistribute land in the region. This might solve the white land monopoly in South Africa without destroying its commercial farming.

- Lobby for SADC countries and South Africa to drop all visa requirements for journalists working in the region's media. A simple SADC media card should be enough to cross borders.

- Get all ministers of defence from Dar es Salaam to Pretoria to meet and report on the military requirements for a common regional defence policy.

- After the formal end of apartheid in South Africa, convene a summit of regional heads of state to look into the longer-term issues of dual citizenship, a regional parliament and joint armed forces.

If South Africa is destroyed by internal violence, we'll all be engulfed in a war over the redefinition of borders. If it isn't destroyed, then southern Africa becomes our inevitable home before, generations later, there is a second leap into wider unity between southern and eastern Africa.

Some will argue that, with Europe going ethnic, it is a waste of time to talk about a southern African federation of states. I believe that is a Eurocentric view.

True, there are ethnic tendencies in our region, but nothing so serious that it cannot be accommodated in a stronger regionalism. As a friend once put it to me: "You want to know what I am? I am a Shangaan, a Mozambican and a southern African."

● Carlos Cardoso is editor of *mediatAX*, an independent Maputo daily distributed by telefax, and former editor of the Mozambican state news agency, AINL.

Star 12/21/93

Mandela, Buthelezi may meet in March

By Peter Fabricius
Political Correspondent

CAPE TOWN — The long-awaited meeting between ANC leader Nelson Mandela and Inkatha Freedom Party head Mangosuthu Buthelezi is likely to take place by mid-March.

The joint announcement after a successful ANC-IFP meeting yesterday, has injected fresh hope into negotiations which were threatening to bog down over accusations of cross-border gun-running by both parties.

The row completely dominated Tuesday's high-level bilateral talks between the Government and the ANC in Cape Town. But after failing to resolve it, the two negotiating teams decided to press on with discussions aimed at getting multiparty negotiations started and reaching consensus on the structuring of the transition.

These discussions continued late last night.

However Government sources said they were aiming at holding a multiparty planning conference towards the end of February to prepare for the resumption of formal negotiations.

Sources said today the Government-ANC talks would end at midday, indicating that progress had been made.

They stressed that extremely difficult constitutional issues were now being tackled, including the questions of power-sharing and regional autonomy during the transition and in the final constitution.

ANC sources said they believed the gun-running row had blown over and had been somewhat neutralised by the ANC's counter-claims of IFP arms smuggling from Mozambique into Natal.

However, Government sources gave a different interpretation, saying that although the arms issues had been removed from the agenda of the present Government-ANC talks, it had by no means been settled.

It is understood the Government is demanding that the ANC should effectively appoint the equivalent of the Steyn Commission — a probe into allegations of misconduct by members of the security forces — to investigate the allegations of arms smuggling by members of its military wing, Umkhonto we Sizwe.

Law and Order Minister Hernus Kriel yesterday hotly denied ANC accusations that the Government and the SAP had been partial to the IFP in its treatment of the two cases of arms smuggling.

He said the Government had not revealed the arrest of IFP members at the weekend because it had expected another consignment of arms to cross the border. He also said the two cases differed.

● Buthelezi asks for meeting. — Page 3

Govt readies itself for free elections

Staff Reporter

THE government is gearing up for the first free democratic elections and is issuing up to 60 000 identity documents (IDs) a week, making ballot boxes and voting cubicles.

A spokesman for the Department of Home Affairs said yesterday an estimated 96% of the population should have IDs by March next year.

To ensure the government is prepared for an election it has already

manufactured 10 200 ballot boxes and 15 200 folding voting cubicles, and ultra-violet lights used for detecting indelible ink marks on voters' hands have been ordered.

"Seven thousand locations have been identified as possible polling stations," the spokesman said.

Based on the 1991 census there are 21 594 000 eligible voters in South Africa, including 12 334 000 potential black voters, 3 400 000 whites, 2 059 000 coloureds, 645 000 Asians and 3 156 000 people in the "independent homelands".

Foreigners in poll role

THE role of the international community in South Africa's next elections will be decided by an independent electoral commission appointed by a transitional executive council.

Home Affairs Minister Mr Louis Pienaar said yesterday observer status for the international community could give the envisaged elections the required legitimacy.

He said the independent electoral commission would be responsible for overseeing, monitoring and supervising the whole electoral process.

Six to seven thousand polling stations had already been demarcated for the envisaged elections, said Mr Pienaar. — Sapa

The precise format of a future democratic election on the basis of universal franchise for all South African citizens must still be concluded at the negotiation table, said Mr K van Wyngaard, Western Cape Regional Director of Home Affairs.

Meeting the objective of having an election in 1994 at the latest implies that a registration would have to be conducted and concluded within a maximum period of three to four weeks and this would require 100 000 officials with an estimated cost of R400 to R450 million, he said.

(304A) ~~THE~~
continue to claim to represent a constituency when he is no longer travelling on the party ticket that got him to parliament? But then Westminster electoral principle provides that, ultimately, the individual is the representative, not the party.

Durban businessmen were reluctant to support the moves openly for fear of being seen to take political sides. Yet the change seems to have been welcomed in general.

One top Natal businessman rejected the "expert" opinion which talks of political musical chairs and irrelevant convulsions in the last days of SA's white parliament. He believes the defections indicate a significant realignment of white political sentiment in Natal/KwaZulu.

He says: "The jungle drums suggest there are a lot of white politicians, Nat and DP, not only at the top of the national heap, but influential people in the regional and local political arena, who will switch to Inkatha. They will do this because they believe some form of regional dispensation must come through. If it doesn't, the country is lost because there is enough opposition in Natal/KwaZulu to destabilise the SA economy for years."

Based on this, he believes that the IFP, with strong white support (which cannot be discounted), will become the most important regional force, followed by the ANC and the NP. "I doubt the DP will make the cut."

He adds that if white politicians are seen to be moving to Inkatha, the white electorate might see this as a standard behind which they can regroup to repel the ANC threat.

Though this might be as romantic as the perception of Natal being the last outpost of the British Empire, it has a jingoistic ring to it which could catch on — especially when Natal's historical antipathy towards the National Party is taken into account. Many English-speaking Natalians learnt Zulu before they learnt Afrikaans. ■

NATAL (304A) ~~THE~~ FM 12/2/93.
Ahead of the game? (108)

Viva la difference, viva Natal! That seems to be how white Natalians have responded to the defection of Nat and DP members of parliament to the ANC and the Inkatha Freedom Party. Businessmen and others have welcomed the moves as a sign that the MPs are putting the province before themselves.

"There's a realisation that nobody is interested in the plight of Natal and Natalians must take a grip of the situation and look after things themselves," says one Durban businessman.

Maritzburg is most affected by the changes. It is where two DP MPs have gone off in different directions: Rob Haswell joined the ANC last year and Mike Tarr



Buthelezi ... regional push pulling in white support

recently became a member of Inkatha.

Maritzburg Chamber of Industry director Roly Waller welcomes the defections: "From a business viewpoint, it's great that these chaps have nailed their flags to the mast. At least we now know who we're dealing with. Furthermore, white involvement in the predominantly black parties has to be a good thing for all and perhaps they can make a meaningful contribution to the peace process in the troubled Natal Midlands."

Waller's one concern is: how can an MP

Patrick Laurence reports that the two teams carry unhappy and suspicious followers

Star 12/21/93

(304A)



NP-ANC 'deal' puts both at risk

THE anticipated compromise agreement between the ANC and the De Klerk administration, deferring majority rule until the turn of the century, carries major risks for both parties.

The prospective settlement, in which a power-sharing government of national unity will remain in power for five years or perhaps longer after the election of a constituent assembly, is calculated to increase dissatisfaction in the ranks of both Nelson Mandela's ANC and De Klerk's NP.

The ANC leadership has already been criticised by Mandela's estranged wife, Winnie, for wanting to get into bed with the NP elite to enjoy the luxury of silk sheets.

Winnie Mandela, bent on a political comeback and positioning herself as populist leader of the "oppressed masses", has accused the ANC's leaders of abandoning the ANC's objective of liberation "in favour of a short-cut route to parliament by a handful of individuals".

Her words resonate amid growing suspicions that the ANC leadership is already succumbing to

the charms — and the money — of the corporate rich (who, according to the Marxist theories espoused by many ANC intellectuals, are not always distinguishable from the NP's financial backers).

There are uncontradicted reports that the grand lifestyle enjoyed by former ANC president Oliver Tambo has been made possible by the generosity of Tiny Rowland, the immediate past chairman of Lonrho, and that Zinzi Mandela's honeymoon was financed by casino and hotel magnate Sol Kerzner (whom the Transkeian authorities want extradited to stand trial for allegedly bribing deposed Transkei Prime Minister George Mtshini).

These reports are reinforced by the extravagant tastes of some ANC leaders for limousines, mansions, watches which duplicate as jewellery, and expensive clothes, tastes which blend incongruously with their proclaimed concern for "the people" and commitment to social justice.

Winnie Mandela's credibility as an aspirant populist is, however, reduced by her reputation as a sybarite. As her political foes in the ANC point out, the aspirant

champion of the proletariat lives in a mansion, drives cars of matching status, wears expensive clothes and has her own private dress designer.

Winnie Mandela, however, is not alone. Her criticisms of the ANC's proposed compromise — first outlined by Joe Slovo in the African Communist late last year — echo, in some respects, criticisms from a wide range of ANC and SACP leaders.

The ANC Youth League has challenged Slovo's premise that compromise — including assurances that the contracts and pensions of civil service and security force personnel will be honoured — is necessary, as the ANC is, in Slovo's words, "not dealing with a defeated enemy".

The Youth League says: "A study of the short record of negotiations does not give evidence that we have made any gains by making compromises, instead we have suffered setbacks."

Declaring that "the regime perceives compromises as weaknesses", the league adds: "There is more evidence that... the breakthroughs we have made have been the result of unrelenting struggles."

Slovo's proposal has been criticised by Plovo Jordan, the ANC's erstwhile secretary for information, Harry Gwala, the militant chairman of the Natal Midlands region, and Blade Nzimande, a rising star in the ANC and the SACP in Natal.

A common theme runs through their criticisms of Slovo's proposal: the belief that there are fundamental and irresolvable differences between the ANC and its allies and the "De Klerk regime and its surrogates".

Jordan contends that the ANC's objective is still the "seizure of power," not in a Storming of the Bastille sense but "in the sense of taking power against the will of the oppressor".

Negotiations are not a process of compromise but a struggle between adversaries in which one "must go under", he reasons.

Jordan is opposed to appeasement of the SADF or the SAP in a bid to forestall counter-revolutionary action against a democratically elected government. Appeasement encourages rather than contains violence, he states.

Gwala didactically reminds Slovo of the fate of Salvador Al-

lenale, the Chilean Marxist who won power via the ballot box in 1970: he tried to woo the military but was overthrown and murdered by them.

Since the ANC encouraged debate on Slovo's paper it does not follow that the dissidents will rebel against the majority view. After five years of power-sharing with the NP, however, their disciplined acceptance of the party line cannot be assumed.

The ANC's rival of more than 30 years, the Pan Africanist Congress, is not under the same immediate constraints.

Already suspicious of "collusion" between the ANC and the De Klerk administration, the PAC will interpret any power-sharing deal as a sell out.

As a PAC statement — which cleverly echoes Winnie Mandela's words — puts it: "The ANC is fast running out of funds and support and has to get its foot in the door of parliament quickly and at all costs."

The PAC's stand recalls the praise given to its late president, Zeph Mofokeng, at his funeral: Mofokeng was lionised as a "man of the people" who did not drive around in air-conditioned luxury

cars or live in mansions (unlike the audience was left to infer, the ANC's Mandela).

De Klerk, however, also faces risks if he concludes a deal with the ANC which excludes or alienates Mangosuthu Buthezi's Inkatha Freedom Party. There have been rumblings of discontent and concern in the NP caucus over his perceived conciliation of the ANC, and alienation of the IFP, ever since he signed the Record of Understanding with Mandela last September.

The defection of NP front-bencher Jure Mentz to the IFP last month is a sign that the anxiety in the caucus has not been assuaged. Mentz believes that a decisive struggle for the control of Natal is inevitable, and that the ANC is inevitable, and that the NP must choose between the two adversaries.

He has made his choice. Some or all of the NP's remaining nine Natal MPs may follow him if De Klerk leans back too far in the direction of the ANC. A reported slip of the tongue by Natal NP leader George Barlett is pertinent: he is said to have remarked that he saw no need to join the IFP "at present". □

ANC, Inkatha leaders meet in March

304A

CT 12/4/93
By ANTHONY JOHNSON
Political Correspondent

THE long-awaited summit between ANC leader Mr Nelson Mandela and Inkatha's Chief Mangosuthu Buthelezi is set to take place by the middle of next month.

Top-flight ANC and Inkatha delegations jointly announced last night after a meeting in Durban that the urgent need to end the violence between the feuding parties had led to a decision that their leaders should finally meet for the first time in two years.

Concern

The delegations — headed Inkatha chairman Dr Frank Ndlalose and ANC deputy secretary-general Mr Jacob Zuma — also noted their "serious concern" at new revelations of arms smuggling into the country and the stockpiling of weapons.

The revelations emphasised the urgent necessity of finding a solution to the conflict.

● Govt to probe alleged Inkatha gun-running —
Page 2

CP leader says Cosag is answer

PRESIDENT F.W. de Klerk would have to join the Concerned South Africans Group (Cosag) if he wanted to discuss the future of all the people of South Africa, Conservative Party leader Dr Andries Treurnicht said last night.

(304A) ET 12/2/93
Interviewed by Sir David Frost on the SATV programme Newsline, he also said the country was headed for "practical genocide" if the African National Congress took over the government.

Dr Treurnicht said that Mr de Klerk's forum for discussions — the Convention for a Democratic South Africa — had failed, and "our" forum — Cosag — had succeeded so far.

"So he will have to join us in Cosag if he wants to discuss the future of all the peoples in this country."

Dr Treurnicht also said he did not expect anything like apartheid in heaven "because you don't know what it will look like". — Sapa

From bullet to ballot

PROJECT Vote was launched in Johannesburg last month with the unveiling of an ingenious kit designed for use by trainers to spread the message of voter education.

Centre for Development Studies (CDS) director Mr Randi Erentzen said the portable kit aimed to change the negative mindset of potential voters and to show them that the "struggle has gone from the bullet to the ballot".

The kit was developed over four months by CDS and includes a voter education training manual, "The Voting Times", an eight-page tabloid aimed at informing voters about the election process. There are also posters, mock ballot sheets and a mock ballot booth and box.

The booth and box are made of lightweight collapsible cardboard and can be easily carried by trainers.

This makes it possible for trainers to set up a mock training booth anywhere, even on a street corner, and give people a spontaneous and practical demonstration on voting.

The voter education manual is divided into two sections.

An informational and motivational

section encourages potential voters to vote, explaining the importance of the vote and showing them how to vote correctly. It also shows the link between voting and democracy.

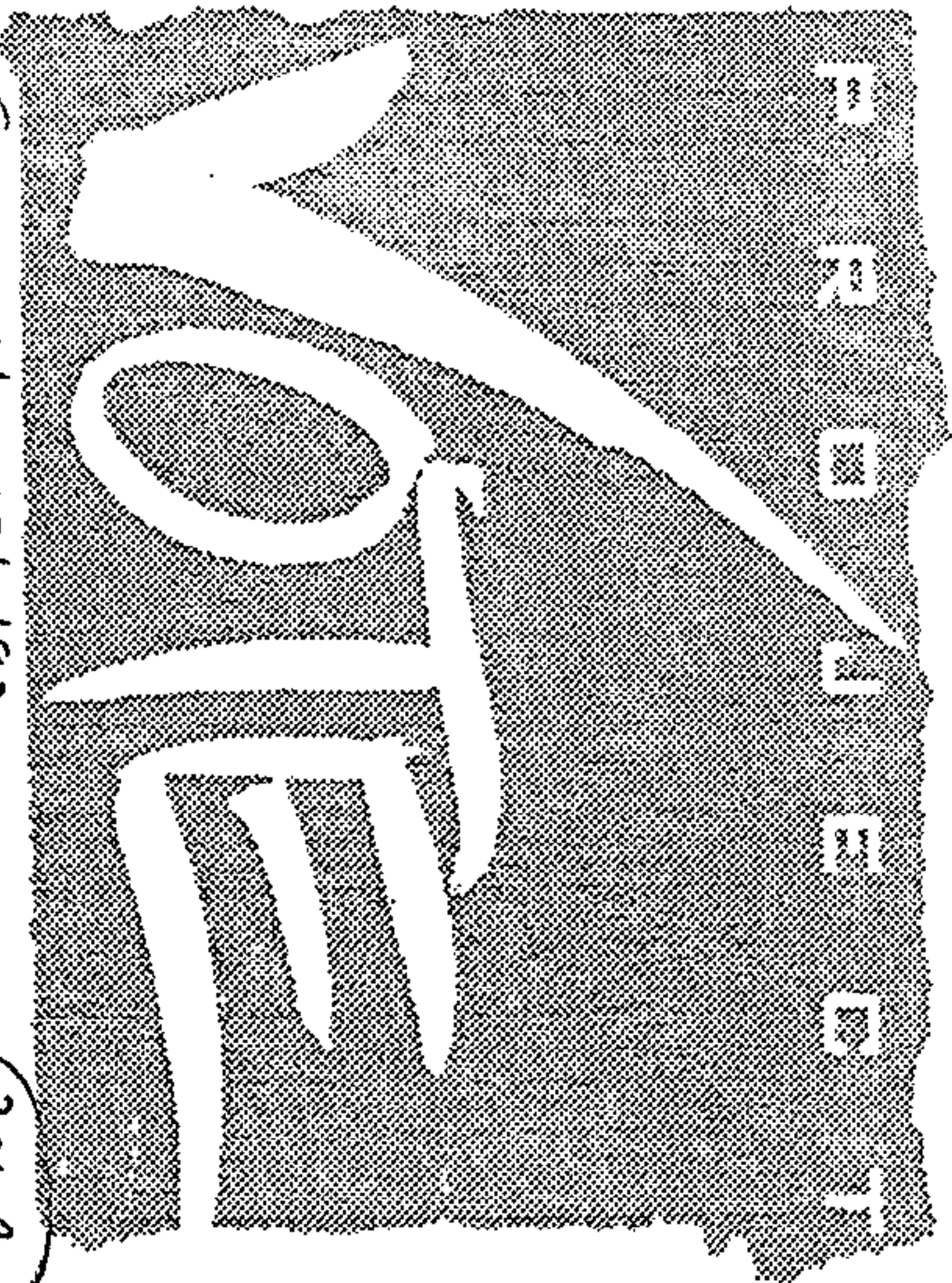
The second half of the manual concentrates on explaining how to run voter education workshops.

A two-day voter education workshop to train voter education trainers coincided with the project launch. CDS used the opportunity to get feedback from trainers on the training kit and a video intended as a supplement to the kit.

Participants were shown a performance of the Matla Trust voter education play, "Moments", performed by the Ukhukhanya Theatre Group, depicting serious and comic insights into the scepticism of township residents regarding the future elections.

Erentzen said CDS research had shown that the majority of future voters had no confidence in the government. Voter education could therefore not be a government responsibility.

At present, people viewed anything emanating from the government with suspicion and cynicism.



South 13/2-17/2/93

3044

"Meanwhile, we cannot wait, we must begin now to inform and energise the electorate," Erentzen said.

The trainers' manual will be translated into 10 South African languages and will be complemented by a community educator's manual containing basic information.

The eight-page tabloid will be updated and translated into 12 languages. The video will be available in six languages.

An informal Coalition for Voter

Education is being established between CDS/NDI Project Vote, Matla Trust, the South African Council of Churches and the Institute for Contextual Theology.

Talks are being held with other organisations involved in voter education. While the manuals will initially be used by these founding members of the coalition, the entire portable kit will be made available to other organisations involved in voter education.

Major campaign to reach millions

South 13/2-17/2/93

3044

AN AMBITIOUS programme seeks to reach millions of South Africans in

beat" — people feel discouraged that two years down the line, negotiations have still not produced anything tangible.

ministry, voter registration and identification procedures; universally accepted practices and standards for conducting democratic elections and

This is the third part of our 1993 series to help you make the most of your ballot.

They witnessed important steps in the election process and observed the mechanisms which ensure free and fair elections. They are able to

These are some organisations involved in voter education which can be contacted for information or assistance with training:

Matla Trust
PO Box 7748
Johannesburg 2000
Tel: (011) 834-5301
South 13/2-17/2/93

Centre for Development Studies/National Democratic Institute
Private Bag X17
University of the Western Cape
Bellville 7535
Tel: (021) 959-2317

South African Council of Churches
PO Box 4921
Johannesburg 2000
Tel: (011) 492-1380

Institute For Contextual Theology
PO Box 32047
Braamfontein 2017
Tel: (011) 339-2562

Institute For Multi-Party Democracy
PO Box 2811
Durban 4000
Tel: (031) 304-3863

Institute For A Democratic Alternative For South Africa
Hill House
Penzance Road
Mowbray
Tel: (021) 473127

Karoo Resource Centre
PO Box 748
Beaufort West 6970
Tel: (0201) 2890

Black Sash
5 Long Street
Mowbray 7700
Tel: (021) 685-3515

Careers Resource and Information Centre
PO Box 378
Athlone 7716

South 15/2-17/2/93

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I the next few months to prepare them to vote in elections.

The programme, Project Vote, was initiated in November 1991 by the Centre for Development Studies (CDS) and the Washington-based National Democratic Institute for International Affairs (NDI).

The programme aims to make disenfranchised South Africans familiar with democratic election procedures.

For the elections to be a success, South Africans need to be able to participate confidently in the electoral process, the project's manifesto reads.

Project Vote includes the production of multi-lingual literature and the holding of small workshops for civic and political organisers who in turn convey what they have learned to others.

Project Vote also offers a variety of information materials such as election kits for public education, print and video guides explaining the "how to" of elections, studies of election processes in other countries and "option papers" which address alternative election procedures and law.

In September 1992 CDS and NDI commissioned a study of the attitudes of black South Africans toward elections. The study provided the basis for the style and content of the material produced by Project Vote.

They found the mood among potential voters to be very "down-

The study also showed that most people could not make the link between the role of domestic and international election monitoring.

PROJECT

Vote

between democracy, voting and elections.

The project has sponsored workshops in more than 25 towns and cities throughout the country. The workshops provide information on models of election systems, mechanisms and practises used in other countries to promote a peaceful election environment; election ter-

use this experience in South Africa?

To facilitate an exchange of ideas, Project Vote makes available international experts on election law, political systems and civic organisations.

Such forums enable South Africans to form their own networks of individuals with practical experience who can assist in jump-starting the transition process.

CDS, which is based at the University of the Western Cape, was established in 1989 to conduct research into the advancement of a non-racial, democratic South Africa.

It has served as a public forum for examining the social, political and economic conditions of the country and charting alternative courses for the future.

To implement its initiatives, CDS sponsors workshops and conferences, commissions academic studies, holds public hearings and produces publications.

NDI was established in 1983 to help strengthen democratic institutions and pluralistic values outside the United States. Its technical assistance programmes are concentrated in new democracies and non-democratic countries with strong democratic movements.

By working in these areas, NDI has made important contributions in bolstering existing democracies and in nurturing peaceful transitions to democratic systems.

Legal Action Project
University Of Cape Town
Rondebosch
7700
Tel: (021) 650-2680

Theology Exchange Programme
Meloim Centre
Athlone
Cape Town
7764
Tel: (021) 696-8347/50

CPSA: Board For Social Responsibility
Church House
PO Box 1932
Cape Town
8000
Tel: (021) 231-253

Foundation For Contemporary Research
34 Milian Street
Walmer Estate
Cape Town
7925
Tel: (021) 47-1600

Community Arts Project
106 Chapel Street
Cape Town
7925
Tel: (021) 45-3689

Education Resource And Information Project
Private Bag X17
University Of The Western Cape
Bellville
7535

Quaker Peace Centre
3 Rye Road
Mowbray
Cape Town
7700
Tel: (021) 685-7800

NP-ANC

Valentine

ahead?

SOUTH 13/2-17/2/93
By Quentin Wilson

IN WHAT has been seen as a fitting prelude to Valentine's Day, the ANC and the NP got together once more this week to continue their private discussions around South Africa's transition.

Their two-day meeting, which started in Cape Town on Wednesday afternoon, is aimed at addressing unresolved issues between the two parties.

While little of these discussions has been disclosed, speculation is rife that the two negotiating teams are edging closer and that a political honeymoon — however brief — is on the cards.

However, caution about the expected Nat-ANC romance has been expressed by Ms Bettina von Lieres, a politics lecturer at UWC.

Said Von Lieres: "There has been a lot of talk about how fast things are moving, but this is premature as it seems very little has actually been agreed upon.

"There are still a number of factors which could put a spanner in the works. Spoiler parties, like the IFP, have not been taken into account and it seems the NP are still maintaining tough bottom lines, like regionalism."

Von Lieres also argued that the ANC was following a dangerous path by continuing to keep silent about the specifics of their talks with the NP so far.

"The danger is the lack of democracy in the process. Full accountability is being deliberately limited in exchange for an efficient management of the process.

"Another danger is the way elections are being undervalued by the ANC at the moment.

"Elections are being flouted as just part of the transitional arrangement instead of producing democratic government.

"Elections seem to be viewed by both parties in a technical way, where post-election processes do not necessarily depend on the outcome. Elections are set to lose their democratic value," she said.

If Von Lieres is right, the anticipated Valentine may simply end up echoing the refrain of "where do broken hearts go ...".

Get ready for Codesa Three

By Denzil Taylor and
Quentin Wilson

SOAT 14
13/2-17/2/93

304A

IN A rare announcement on ANC/NP talks, ANC president Mr Nelson Mandela told journalists on Tuesday that Codesa has been decided upon as the legitimate forum for multilateral negotiations.

The joint decision to opt for Codesa has angered the IFP and its allies who demand a completely new negotiating forum that disregards all agreements made during last year's negotiations.

But Mandela insisted that Codesa will pick up from where it left off —

and that the government has consented to this.

Said Mandela: "By taking that decision, we have avoided further delays. It would have taken a year, two years, or even three years to set up a new forum."

Mandela, who said the agreement was "an important breakthrough", also argued for power-sharing between South Africa's main political parties.

"The problems of this country can only be properly addressed if there is this attempt to pool the resources and talents of various political formations in this country



NELSON MANDELA

so that we can address our problems together," Mandela said.

'Spare a thought for the poor old Boer'

SOUTH 13/2 - 17/2/93.

304A

I HEARD the grinding voice of my good friend Hennie Serfontein on Radio Metro's talk show the other day. Hennie is the journalist who some thirty years ago exposed the secrets of the Afrikaner Broederbond. Recently, he exposed the exclusively white-Afrikaner male society's frantic plans to survive South Africa's transformation to non-racialism.

Of course everyone knows how much the Broederbond contributed to getting this country into the mess it finds itself in. Not only did the broeders provide the blueprint for apartheid, but through secret patronage they ensured that the Bond's fat cat members got the plum jobs in the civil service, the church, the army and the government.

That was what Hennie was telling the people listening out there. Introduced as Metro's special guest for the evening, he explained the weird and wonderful ways of these self-appointed Super Afrikaners, the oh so civilised professionals with their suits and ties and who for so long controlled the destiny of millions of South Africans.

Then the calls came. How, one of the first callers angrily wanted to know, could Hennie dare defend these evil Broederbonders?

Poor Hennie. In vain he tried to explain that even though he was an Afrikaner he did not support the Broederbond, but had actually exposed their evil plans.

The presenter, confused by the intricacies of the Afrikaner power network, tried to intervene by bringing the conversation down to a level of common understanding.

"People out there," he reminded Hennie, "do not really know what the Broederbond is doing in practice. Let's start at the beginning. What is the difference between the Broederbond and the Wit Wolwe for instance?"

Poor Hennie. And poor Pieter de Lange, the Broederbond chief who is trying so hard to solicit sympathy for the Broederbond by telling everyone that its days of secrecy are over. His message still has to reach its target.

It is not only radio listeners and presenters who do not always understand the workings of the traditional Afrikaner mind. I was brought up in an Afrikaner home in Windhoek when it was still the capital of South West Africa, and even I sometimes find it difficult to understand my own tribe.

In August last year, I visited my old country, now proudly known as Namibia and hap-



SPEAKING OUT

Chris Louw
Appointed senior political
reporter at the Weekly Mail
from March 1

pily functioning under a Swapo government. I remember the days when no good Nationalists would even contemplate shaking a black man's hand, let alone cultivating friendships across the sexual barrier.

One of the "stoerste" (staunch) Nationalists of my day was Koos Pretorius, for years a senior member of the National Party administration of the only boere colony in the world. Pretorius is an enormous man and in his day was an impressive "wit baas".

As the executive member in charge of schools he enjoyed the trust of almost all white teachers: no "klonkie" would ever disgrace the seats of Emma Hoogenhout Primary or Windhoek Hoerskool. They had Koos Pretorius' word for it.

I saw him on TV on the day of independence, when the South African flag was replaced by the bright Namibian flag. Sitting among the sea of black faces was Koos Pretorius, all smiles. While FW de Klerk, fist on the chest, was swallowing hard on the lump in his throat, Koos was cracking jokes with his black compatriots.

One couldn't help wondering why so many people had to die in the war leading to independence if this was the outcome.

I met Pretorius in the Tintenpalast, the Namibian parliament, for an interview over a cup of coffee. After all the years he still represents conservative whites. But something has changed. He has no power anymore. Somehow it makes him more acceptable.

While we were talking, the Namibian Prime Minister, Hage Geingob, came up to us. Pretorius jumped to his feet with that subservient attitude that Afrikaner civil servants retain for their bosses. "Yes, Mr Prime Minister. No, Mr Prime Minister," he kept saying in the most humble way imaginable.

When Geingob left, Pretorius bent over to me conspiratorially: "We had better cut the interview short. I have to go. *Die Prime wil my in sy kantoer sien.*"

Pragmatism, is what they call conservative Afrikaner's ability to adjust to new circumstances. There was another telling incident during my visit.

I went to see Hendrik van Aswegen, formerly leader of the Afrikaner Weerstandsbeweging van Suidwes". I was surprised to find him a hospitable man in his seventies living on his own in an enormous house.

An angry dog was patrolling the property behind high walls and heavy security gates protected the house from intruders. Van Aswegen had bought some Windhoek Lagers and we started talking. He was dead against the new black government, he assured me.

To prove the point, he started telling crude racist jokes. As the evening drew on, he became melancholic. He even began to show some understanding of my "more liberal" views. I could see the Windhoek Lagers taking effect slightly. The AWB leader was getting mellow.

That was when he let me into his secret. He sometimes has lunch at the same table as his black "garden boy".

The old Afrikaner's wife had died recently. The AWB leader was just very, very lonely in that big old house, you see.

Talks progress needed to boost economy, says DP

TOS WENTZEL
Political Staff

SUBSTANTIAL progress in negotiations and moves to get the country to live within its means were necessary to improve the economy, Mr Ken Andrew (DP, Gardens) told a joint session of parliament.

He was speaking on the second day of the debate on the president's opening-of-parliament speech.

He said the Democratic Party was firmly committed to continued strengthening of the democratic centre in South Africa so that its vision of hope and a decent future for all citizens would become a reality.

The economy had performed satisfactorily in only two important areas: the balance of payments and inflation. Almost every other indicator of economic performance ranged from poor to disastrous.

Substantial progress had to be made in negotiations so that confidence, investment and economic growth could result.

The country had to live within its means. Large budget deficits before borrowing were unacceptable and simply postponed the day of reckoning.

Duplication and wastage implicit in the own affairs departments, national states and the TBVC countries should be eliminated without further delay.

Corruption should be rooted out wherever it occurred. An ombudsman should be appointed to investigate all complaints.

"The government performance in this regard is dismal," Mr Andrew said.

"It resists inquiries for as long as possible, then sits on adverse reports for months and, finally, few senior officials and no politicians suffer, however ghast-



Ken Andrew



Jacob de Villiers



Jan van Eck



Leon Wessels



Peter Gastrow



Hennis Kriel

ly and disgusting the corruption that is revealed.

"On the contrary, cabinet ministers deny any responsibility and even have the nerve to claim credit for having set up the inquiry in the first place. This is totally unacceptable.

"In respect of the recent homelands scandal, the government was warned repeatedly over many years by the DP, the media and the auditor-general. Yet the corruption, wastage and theft was allowed to continue unabated."

What needed to be known now was whether the government was prepared to take responsibility for the proper and effective spending of the billions of rands poured into the bantustans every year.

Ordinary people were sick and tired of seeing billions in their hard-earned money going down the drain or being corruptly distributed as largesse for bantustan elites.

Minister of Regional and Land Affairs Mr Jacob de Villiers said strengthening the powers of the auditor-general and ombudsman was among measures against corruption in self-governing territories. Legislation against corruption had also been strengthened.

In Lebowa a committee had been appointed at ministerial level to oversee the implementation of the recommendations of the De Meyer Commission. Reports had been sent to the attorney-general for possible prosecutions.

Good progress had been made in police investigations after the Parsons Report on irregularities in KwaZulu and cases would be referred to the attorney-general.

The South African government and those of the self-governing states agreed that the present regional dispensation had to be scrapped.

Mr Jan van Eck, the Independent MP for Claremont who supports the ANC, said many rumours that the ANC, the party of "liberation", and the National Party, the party of "racist minority domination", were getting into bed with each other were causing great confusion among the ANC and NP rank and file membership.

The ANC and the NP were partners in negotiation but not electorally.

"We will try and wipe out the NP at the polls in order to deny them a position of power in the future."

Any power-sharing between the ANC and the NP in a future government of

national unity would not be a cosy relationship. It would be no more than a pragmatic, temporary get-together for the specific purpose of ensuring that the transition from racist minority rule to democratic rule took place in as stable an environment as possible.

The ANC would not agree to any proposals that tried to prevent it from obtaining true democracy and majority rule, without domination and discrimination.

"Once the relatively short-term government of national unity has expired, any future coalition governments would only happen at the request of the majority party."

"It is useless for the NP to hold out the hope that the ANC as outright winner in a democratic election would help it as a minority to keep a hold on governmental power."

Those who complained about the regular bilateral discussions between the ANC and the NP should realise that, as happened at Codesa, no new dispensation was possible unless the ANC, which represented the overwhelming majority of black South Africans, and the NP, which represented the white and Afrikaaner minority, reached agreement.

Minister of Manpower Mr Leon Wessels said ordinary South Africans were impatient and wanted the negotiations leading to a new constitutional system to be completed.

Then they could become co-rulers through an executive of national unity and a constituent assembly elected on the basis of proportional representation.

The proposed charter of fundamental human rights would be one of the cornerstones of a new system. It also provided for the rights of both employers and employees.

Mr Peter Gastrow (DP, Durban Central) said urgent steps were needed to reshape the police in time to meet various challenges.

Only a police force which had the support of the population would be able to deal effectively with problems. The matter needed to be tackled by the police force itself and by those at the negotiating table.

As far as the police were concerned, there were encouraging indications that some far-reaching changes were taking place at the top levels of the force.

At the negotiation level the government seemed to resist some form of multiparty supervision and control in the period leading up to an election. The longer the government resisted this, the less likely were the chances of the police changing in time to meet the demands that lay ahead.

Minister of Law and Order Mr Hennis Kriel said the country could not go into an election in an atmosphere of violence.

Violence was undermining confidence in the negotiation process.

The time had arrived for political parties, among them the ANC and Inkatha, to talk directly to each other. The government could not continue being the messenger between them.

Inkatha's plea for end to secrecy

Open up the constitutional negotiations so everybody can know just what it is that's happening and who is behind proposals affecting our future, says Mr Musa Myeni of the Inkatha Freedom Party.

FRANS ESTERHUYSE

Weekend Argus
Political Correspondent

AMID all the tension, intrigue and turmoil of our changing politics it is not often that one meets a politician who rejects all secrecy in public affairs.

Somebody who says: Away with the hush-hush behind closed doors; away with the bush-down style talks in the bush; down with the scenes; let's have no more secrets claimed to be "in the national interest".

Such openness is advocated by quiet-spoken Mr Musa

Myeni, the Inkatha Freedom Party's (IFP) Transvaal leader, a member of the IFP's central committee, and one of his party's top negotiators.

His call for opening up South Africa's hitherto secret constitutional negotiations formed a major theme of an address he gave at a public meeting in the Claremont Civic Centre this week.

With him were the IFP's two new MPs who recently defected from their respective parties — Mr Mike Jarr (Democratic Party) and Mr Jurie Mentz (National Party). Both of them also spoke at the meeting.

In an interview with Weekend Argus, Mr Myeni explained his political viewpoints and spoke about the IFP's vision of the future. From the outset one senses he is no ordinary politician and his whole approach to politics comes like a fresh breeze through the musty corridors of power.

Apart from his political role, Mr Myeni, aged a youthful 42, is impressive as a person and as a potential top leader. Although he is modest by nature,

his record speaks of outstanding achievements, not only in the academic field but also in diplomacy, business leadership and international relations.

The essence of the message Mr Myeni brought to the Western Cape this week was put across in these words: "Our vision for an open society dictates to us that the future of South Africa should be negotiated in open forums and corridors. We reject the secrecy of 'bush-rade' or 'bush' negotiations held in unpublished venues."

The IFP, he said, wanted to establish "a society based on transparency". Leaders and public workers were accountable to society at large. South Africa had to move away from the apartheid system's tradition of secrecy about the application of public funds and security force activities inside and outside the country.

Echoing a warning given this week by IFP leader Dr Mangosuthu Buthe, Mr Myeni said: "To allow these two groups, with their horrendous track records of human rights violations and veils of secrecy, to



Mr Musa Myeni

negotiate the future of South Africa by themselves, in secrecy, is asking for another closed and disastrous society. We will ensure that untold alliances do not succeed. Constitutional negotiations must be conducted openly between all parties."

A B A, U E D graduate of the University of Zululand and a former teacher, Mr Myeni also studied at universities in various countries, including Switzerland and the United States. His academic career included

studies in management development at the Harvard Business School and training courses in diplomacy, management and marketing.

In Geneva he worked part-time with the United Nations from 1978 to 1980.

He has travelled widely in Africa, Europe and the Far East and has personally met many heads of state, cabinet ministers and top company executives around the world. His interpretation of events and developments in Southern Africa has been put across to gatherings and international forums which he addressed in various countries, including the United States, Hungary, Germany, Kenya and Britain.

Mr Myeni is the IFP's head of international relations and is also chairman of the Southern African Institute for Black Economic Advancement. His other leadership roles in South Africa have included those of policy director (PVP) and resources executive for the Urban Foundation, chairman of a Randburg-based public relations firm, and sales manager of a national manufacturing

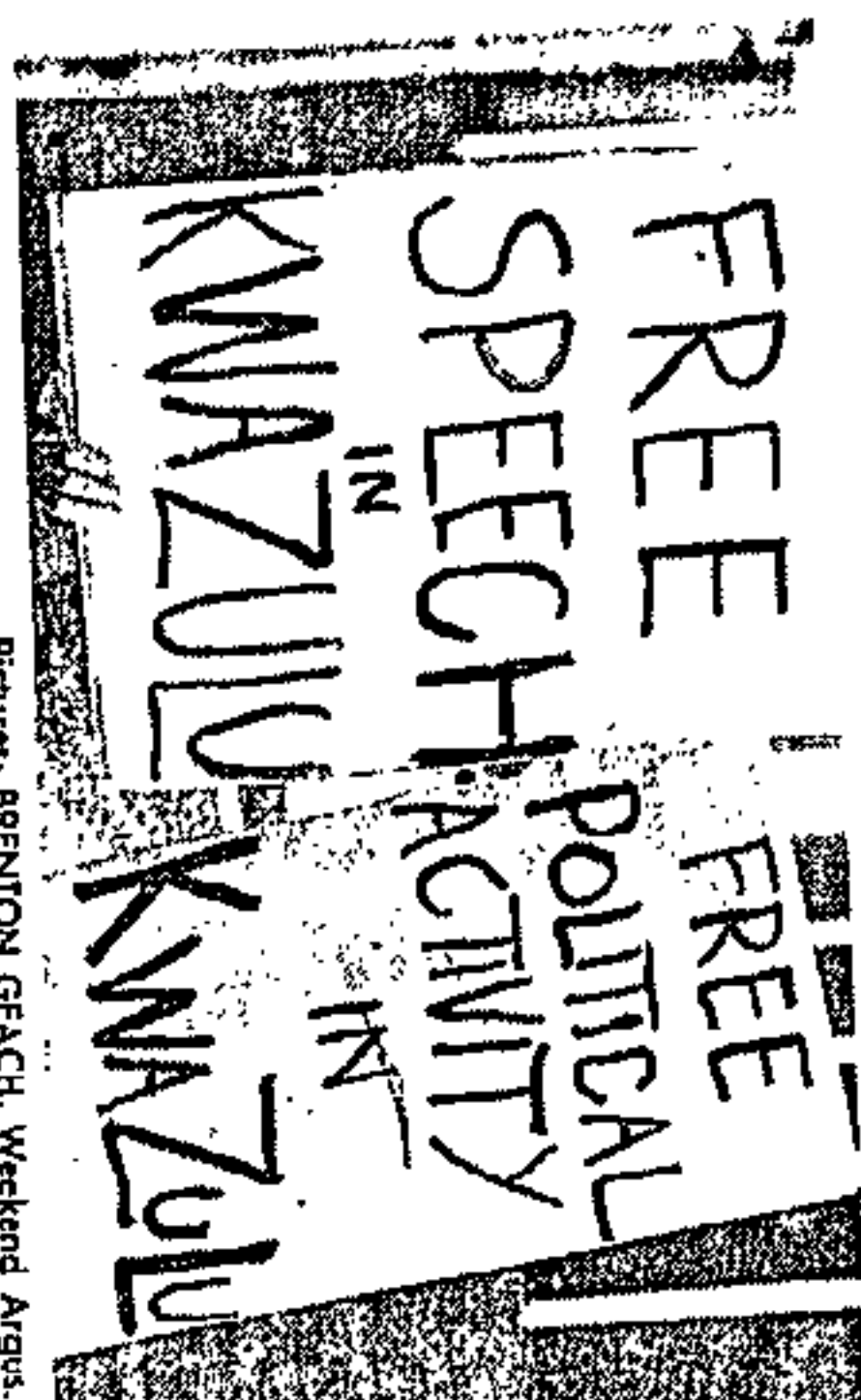
company.

In his student days at the University of Zululand, Mr Myeni learned and taught karate and ballroom dancing. He likes classical music as well as pop music, soul music and gospel music. His other hobbies include photography, swimming and community affairs.

When he talks politics, he speaks a language of his own. Instead of looking at political opponents or rivals as "enemies", he prefers to regard them as "political craftspeople". His style is noticeably non-aggressive, he seems eager to listen rather than talk, and one issue on which he seems to feel strongly is the need for removing mistrust between people and groups.

He believes democracy should be rooted and experienced at regional level — and that a federal system of government will be best for South Africa. He claims the IFP's vision of a Federal Republic of South Africa has national and international acclaim and support.

"We should never allow any individual to emerge as a dic-



Pictures: BRENTON GEACH, Weekend Argus.

FIGHTING SECRECY: Inkatha Freedom Party (IFP) Transvaal leader and IFP central committee member Mr Musa Myeni this week pleaded with politicians to keep South Africans informed about all stages of negotiations. He was supported by placard-bearers who attended a party meeting at Claremont Civic Centre.

tator," he says. Unlike some of his counterparts in chronically secretive bureaucracies of the ANC and the NP, Mr Myeni is easily accessible, replies promptly to messages, speaks openly and answers questions frankly. Refreshingly, he does not beat

about the bush nor confine his answers to a framework of ready-made propaganda. He seems to be a person who — no matter what his political allegiance — could inspire confidence in his abilities and integrity as a leader and a man of peace.



LISTEN UP: Former NP MP Jurie Mentz (right) listens to a member of the audience at Tuesday's meeting

'We are brothers in arms'

By Quentin Wilson

SPEAKING on an IFP platform for the first time since leaving the NP last week, Mr Jurie Mentz predicted on Tuesday that anyone who challenged "the Zulus and the boers" would cause a civil war that would make Mozambique seem like child's play.

Addressing the IFP's first public meeting in the Western Cape since their launch six months ago, Mentz urged up to 300 whites in Claremont to "stand up and help the IFP to stop the ANC from ruling the country".

Said Mentz: "I don't want to hammer on ethnicity ... but any

party who takes on the Zulus and the boers doesn't stand a chance." political homes from the NP to the IFP."

Amid heckling from a section of the audience, Mentz issued his veiled threat:

"Nobody will be able to govern this country if the IFP has to go underground. You see what is happening in Mozambique — it will seem like child's play compared to what could happen in South Africa."

While Mentz spoke of an alliance between Zulus and boers, Mr Musa Myeni, an IFP central committee member, emphasised the party's need to shift support away from the NP to the IFP.

"We need a massive change of

According to Myeni, the government was making too many concessions to the ANC and he rejected their "secret negotiations held in unpublicised venues".

During question time, an audience member who preferred to remain anonymous asked: "Tell me about Inkatha's pangas and assegais in Natal? De Klerk and the ANC might be in the bush, but don't tell me your pangas aren't there too."

Myeni, after failing in his request to get the speaker's name, answered that all over Africa, people carry pangas "because they do not have access to Eastern bloc weapons".

SOUTH
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■ A deal involving major concessions has resulted from talks between government and ANC representatives. It has to be vetted by both sides and ratified by a multiparty conference.

MICHAEL MORRIS and DENNIS CRUYWAGEN

Weekend Argus Political Staff

KEY concessions in talks between the government and the African National Congress have given negotiations a major boost and raised prospects of a power-sharing government of national unity lasting five years or more.

Breakthrough

From page 1

At a briefing yesterday, the ANC team under Mr Ramaphosa confirmed it would return to the NEC with a range of options on power-sharing, but declined to define possible time-frames.

However, at a later briefing, Deputy Minister of Constitutional Development Mr Fanus Schoeman said of the five-year power-sharing deal: "This is the position we will be taking to the multiparty conference and the ANC has the same view. Our views do not differ."

However, he noted: "It is not as if the ANC and government have a package deal sealed with a ribbon and that we expect everybody simply to accept or reject it."

"We still differ on a number of specific issues, but we agree as far as the broad framework is concerned. We have tackled the fundamental issues of power-sharing and regional government and explored them and found ways to move closer to each other."

Mr Schoeman also confirmed the government team had agreed, subject to Cabinet approval — and contrary to its earlier insistence — that regional boundaries, powers and functions should be left to the constitution-making body.

However, principles of regionalism would feature in a list of general principles to be agreed by the multiparty conference and which would be binding on the constitution-making body.

Mr Schoeman also indicated that while the government and the ANC did not see entirely eye-to-eye on the need for a full interim constitution "we have explored ways to accommodate different views on that".

The first step would be a multiparty planning conference before the end of this month.

Mr Ramaphosa said this would serve as a "kick-start to fully-fledged, multilateral negotiations" which the ANC "would like to see taking place not later than the middle or the end of March".

In a formal statement, the ANC negotiators said the meeting reaffirmed agreement on an elected constitution-making body to draft the new constitution, with decisions being taken on "the basis of specified majorities". Elections should take place "as early as possible".

There were also discussions on measures to ensure free and fair elections.

The deal still must be vetted by the ANC's national executive committee (NEC) and the Cabinet and ratified by a multiparty conference. But, it represents a major breakthrough on the way to a constitutional settlement.

It could mean that:

■ Elections will be held, say early next year, for an interim government, which will write the new constitution;

■ Once the constitution is written, the interim government will convert itself into a government of national unity responsible for phasing in the new constitution;

■ It will then remain in power for a full parliamentary term of five years and, only then, will the next elections be held; and

● This government of national unity could vote to shorten or lengthen its own term of office.

There is agreement on the broad framework, although differences remain and many details still have to be thrashed out.

The two sides have agreed in principle to hold a multiparty planning conference before the end of February — to devise a new-look Codesa — and are both confident the talks process is proceeding within broadly agreed time-frames.

The outline of the deal — and the concessions which appeared to have made it possible — emerged at the end of three-day talks in Cape Town between government and ANC delegations led by Minister of Constitutional Development Mr Roelf Meyer and ANC secretary-general Mr Cyril Ramaphosa.

In a series of key concessions, government negotiators softened demands for a full interim constitution and for entrenched agreements on regional boundaries, powers and functions before the election of a constitution-making body.

In exchange, the ANC team offered a power-sharing deal that could give South Africa a government of national unity for at least five years or longer.

■ Turn to page 4

A new deal for
S.A. interim rule

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Talks deal struck

ANC, govt agree to five-year shared rule

By ANTHONY JOHNSON
Political Correspondent

IN a dramatic boost for negotiations, the government and the ANC yesterday agreed that a multi-party interim government of national unity should remain in power for five years after an election.

In a day of far-reaching developments in bilateral talks in Cape Town, the two sides also agreed that an elected constitution-making body rather than Codesa should make a final decision on the boundaries, powers and functions of regions.

The new-found common ground

between South Africa's two largest political groupings, means they should be adopting broadly the same position on the two burning issues — power-sharing and regionalism — when constitutional negotiations are expected to resume next month.

Full term

The breakthroughs achieved by negotiating teams lead by ANC secretary-general Mr Cyril Ramaphosa and Constitutional Development Minister Mr Roelf Meyer will be put to the ANC's national executive and the cabinet for ratification next week.

The agreements were forged after major concessions were made by the ANC on the period for which parties will be obliged to share power and by the government on the method for settling

on a federal-type political system.

The central agreement entails the elected interim government of national unity serving a full term of office — probably five years — as it ushers in a new constitution.

That means power-sharing could be entrenched in South Africa until close to the turn of the century.

Consensus has not yet been reached between the government and the ANC on how much of the popular vote a party will have to garner to secure a place on the interim executive but the threshold is expected to range between 5% and 10%.

A bullish Mr Ramaphosa said both the ANC and the government agreed that the proposed multi-party planning conference

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Talks deal ^(304A) CT 13/12/93

should take place this month and the "timetable" for transition to democracy was still on track.

This would entail the country's first all-in elections being held towards the end of this year or early in 1994.

But both parties emphasised after the negotiations that they were talking about common positions and not written contracts or agreements. These positions still had to be presented to multi-party negotiations and could be amended.

In spite of this, Inkatha is likely to find many of the proposals emerging from three days of intensive government-ANC talks difficult to swallow and some tough talking with Ulundi is likely when the government and Inkatha meet next week.

However, a development that is bound to be warmly welcomed by the IFP is the apparent emerging consensus between the government and the ANC on the necessity of including traditional leaders — including the Zulu king — in the negotiations.

In a significant statement on the regionalism issue, Mr Ramaphosa told a press conference: "Concerning the boundaries, powers and functions of regions, it was agreed that decisions would be taken by the elected constitution-making body. Proposals in this regard are also being taken to principals."

This flies in the face of government insistence that these issues should be resolved by Codesa before elections.

Regional boundaries

However, the Deputy Minister of Constitutional Development, Mr Fanus Schoeman, confirmed at a briefing last night that the "final decision" would be taken by the constitution-making body. Binding "principles" would have to be agreed beforehand, however.

Mr Schoeman said a commission on regionalism would draw up boundaries for regional lists which would be needed for an interim government.

He disclosed that the long-standing argument between the government and ANC on how long the constitution-making body should take to draw up the new constitution — the ANC says nine months and the government three years — had largely been rendered meaningless by consensus on an extended period of power-sharing.

Once the constitution had been drawn up it would be phased-in while the interim government was still in power and before a fresh election.

Asked if the interim-government would sit for a full session of, say five years, Mr Schoeman said: "That is the position. The constitution-making party that is elected is the government for five years. It could be longer or shorter."

He added: "That is the position that will be adopted (by the government) at the multi-party conference. The ANC has the same standpoint."

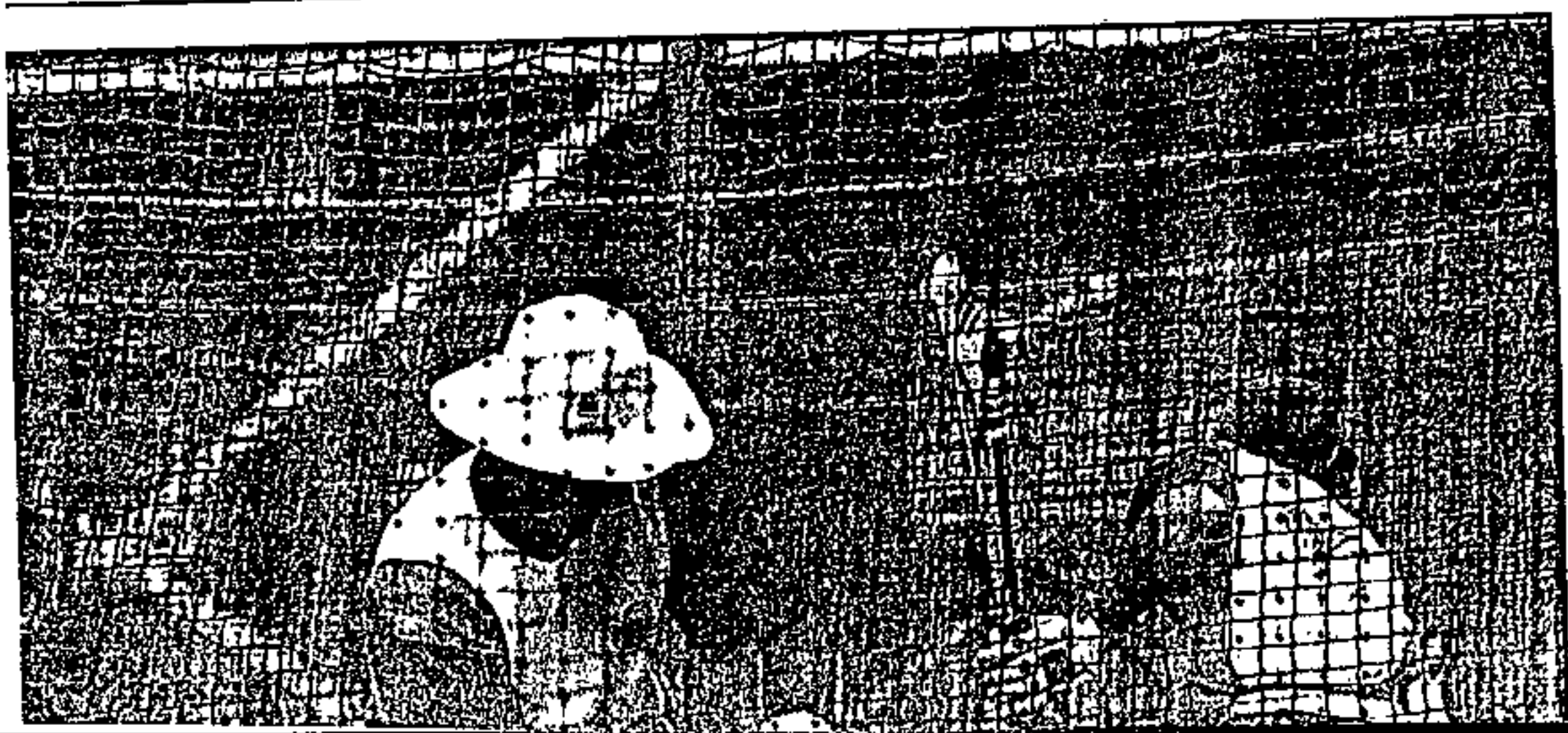
Mr Ramaphosa cautioned that there were still a number of areas where "deep difference" existed between the ANC and the government but immediately added: "If there is goodwill we should be able to bridge the differences."

Govt, ANC reach deal on future

Star 13/2/93

(304A)

PETER FABRICIUS
Political Correspondent



Star 13/2/93

ANC-Govt deal

● FROM PAGE 1.

that the proposed multiparty conference to plan the resumption of Codesa-style negotiations would take place before the end of the month — possibly on February 25 and 26. This meant that Codesa could take place in March.

Confirming strong rumours, Schoeman stated categorically that the Government and ANC had agreed on the following important features of the transition period:

- There would be elections for a CMB which would also be an interim legislature.
- All parties which obtained more than a minimum percentage of the vote — the range being discussed by the Government and the ANC was between 5 and 10 percent — would be represented in the Cabinet of the government of national unity.
- The CMB would draft a new constitution in a set period which had not yet been agreed. The ANC wanted it to be no more than nine months, the Government no less than three years.
- There would not be a second election after a final constitution had been drawn up by an elected CMB. Instead the government of national unity would remain in office for five years from the first election while the final constitution was "phased in".

It was not clear how this would be done. Schoeman suggested that the interim government could decide to extend its life — although the ANC's Thabo Mbeki was adamant this would not be possible.

It seems that no final agreement has been reached about what should happen after the five years have elapsed. ANC sources said they believed the Government was steadily abandoning its previous insistence that power-shar-

ing in the government should continue indefinitely.

Schoeman was vague on this point, saying the Government was still trying to secure some form of power-sharing into the future.

He and Ramaphosa stressed that all agreements reached so far would have to be approved by principals — the ANC's national executive committee and the Cabinet.

The arms issue which dominated the start of the talks this week has not been resolved, although both sides agreed to push it aside.

The ANC said that neither ANC nor Umkhonto we Sizwe leadership had ordered the gun-running from Mozambique for which MK members in Natal were arrested. But it seems this did not go far enough to satisfy the Government demand that it should distance itself from the action or take concrete steps to prevent a recurrence.

Other developments at this week's meeting were:

- Agreement on an independent electoral commission to run elections.
- An independent media commission should be appointed. This would play an important role in levelling the playing field for elections.
- ANC proposals for legislation for a transitional executive council — to supervise the run-up to the first elections — were given to the Government to consider.

These focused on proposals for sub-councils of the transitional executive on law and order and defence.

It is understood that agreement on these proposals holds the key to the resolution of the issue of control of MK which at first bedevilled the talks.

The ANC is not prepared to submit MK to outside supervision until some form of joint supervision of all security forces is attained — probably through the transitional executive sub-councils on security forces.

CAPE TOWN — The Government and the ANC have agreed that a power-sharing government of national unity should rule the country for at least five years after the first fully democratic elections.

Deputy Constitutional Development Minister Fanus Schoeman yesterday gave the first official confirmation of speculation that has been rife for some time.

He stated categorically that it had been agreed there would be no second election immediately after a new constitution had been approved.

Important concessions

The government of national unity — representing all parties with more than 5 to 10 percent of the vote — would remain in office for five years in any case.

He was briefing journalists after a three-day meeting with the ANC, where it was clear that important concessions had been made by both sides — especially on the all-important issue of regional powers.

This last issue now seems to have disappeared as an obstacle. The Government has abandoned its previous insistence that a multiparty negotiating body such as Codesa should determine the powers, functions and boundaries of regions.

Government negotiators have now agreed — subject to Cabinet approval — that the matter should be finalised by the elected constitutional-making body (CMB). But it was also clear that the ANC had made behind-the-scenes concessions on its regional government policy.

Schoeman said agreement had been reached with the ANC that a regional commission was to be set up to try to reach consensus among all parties on regional powers and boundaries. These proposals would be taken to the CMB for finalisation. Schoeman also explained that the CMB would be bound by constitutional principles which could include regional principles.

He also said regional representatives in the CMB would have a special say — in effect, a veto right — over matters affecting their intimate interests.

ANC sources said there had been convergence between the Government and the ANC on regional government, and that this lay behind the Government's concession.

Top ANC negotiator Valli Moosa also pointed out that Codesa would in fact have to draw up regional boundaries to enable regional representatives to be elected to the CMB.

It appears that the Government has made concessions because it is now confident that the regional commission will come up with an acceptable regional government system.

Schoeman and ANC secretary-general Cyril Ramaphosa confirmed that the timetable for transition was firmly back on track and

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ALSO IN 30'S

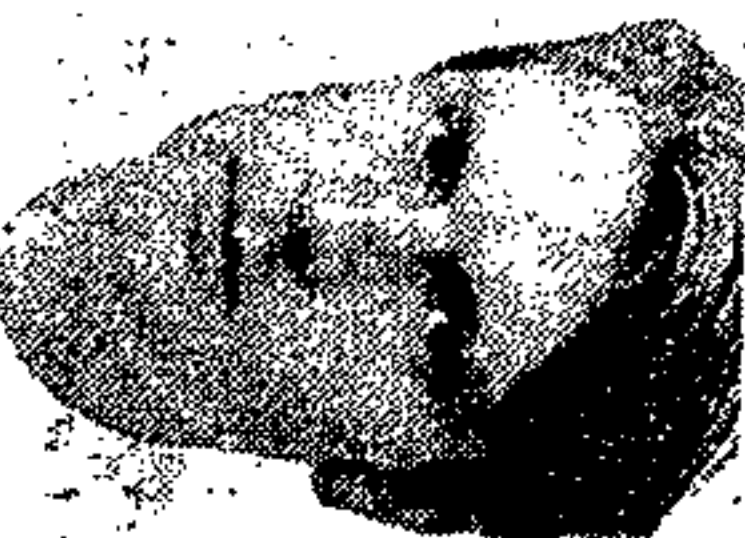
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TASTE 1

Time to bring on the king and let the games begin

Start 13/2/93

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UNDERCURRENT
AFFAIRS

SHAUN
Johnson



THE politicians did their level best to muck up South Africa's fragile new mood of optimism this week, but thankfully they did not succeed. The "smuggled weapons" row is no longer being talked about as a grave threat to the resumption of negotiations, but rather as a problem which must be dealt with separately from the crucial talks on the constitutional way forward.

A word about the gun-running sagas, before turning to the next negotiating hurdle which awaits us. The Star has for a long time urged an unprecedented clampdown on illegal weapons, and has over the months reported on gun running by elements connected to the ANC, the Inkatha Freedom Party and the security forces. All hands have been dirty, and are still dirty. To greater and lesser extents, the top political leadership of each party has ducked its responsibility: that responsibility is to state publicly that any member of an organisation caught smuggling weapons will be summarily kicked out, and will moreover be made an example of. Only through such an unequivocal step will the signatures on the National Peace Accord mean anything; the step is woefully overdue.

The flood of weapons is, to state the obvious, what keeps the monthly death toll in our country so high. It is also the single biggest threat to the holding of free and fair elections. The arsenal hidden who-knows-where around our country are a literal time-bomb: if the guns are hauled out and cocked on election day, emigration to Angola will be a better option than sticking around. We have to lock gun-runners up as soon as they are caught, no matter what party they claim allegiance to or how high their rank, and we have to keep them locked up until we are well into the new South Africa.

That said, there is another difficulty looming on the path to an interim government, that essential next step in our historic transition. The difficulty turns on, specifically, the role in negotiations of the Zulu King, Goodwill Zwelithini, and generally on the part to be played by traditional leaders.

ALTHOUGH there are still a few crucial issues to iron out, negotiations, this time round, are a much more mature affair and the time is ripe to pick the fruit. The politicians just have to keep acting sensibly for a while longer.

A brief recapitulation of how we got to where we are now is necessary before any solutions can be proposed. When Codesa was first planned, it was a multiparty forum — there was no question of attendance by the king, or any other traditional leaders. Then the governments of the TBVC states were brought in, and there the problems started. Chief Buthelezi was angered by the fact that people he regards as illegitimate upstarts — "junta" leaders Holomisa, Ramushwana and Gqozo — were given delegate status, while his established KwaZulu government was excluded. Although in terms of individuals the IFP is all but indistinguishable from the KwaZulu government, Buthelezi insisted that the IFP is a political home for people other than Zulus: therefore he demanded three delegations, one for the IFP, one for the king and one for the KwaZulu government. This formed the basis for a long and still unresolved wrangle.

Buthelezi is digging in on the issue, and the ANC is in an equally recalcitrant mood. Some negotiators are beginning to express concern

that on this rock the transition could still founder. Is there a way out?

The Government has come up with a proposal which, I believe, could do the trick. The thinking is that if you accept the presence of the TBVC states as a *fait accompli* (in other words, having invited them in you can't toss them out), then why not widen the net in such a way that King Goodwill can be included, *along with* other governments and traditional leaders? This would be done by means of inviting the governments of the six self-governing territories (as well as the TBVC states) to the next multiparty conference. Those governments would be free to assemble their own delegations and, presto, the titular head of KwaZulu, the king, would be at Codesa along with paramount chiefs and nobles from KwaNdebele to QwaQwa. Faces saved all round.

In the nature of current negotiations, where the principal actors are agreed on the next step in the transition, the presence of the newcomers would have little or no effect on power-balances. The breakthrough would be symbolic, but crucial.

I hope this proposal comes into effect. A remaining problem is that Buthelezi wants more: three delegations is his demand, not two. But I think that the public perception would be that his concerns had been reasonably addressed, and he would be under tremendous moral pressure to come on board. Also, the ANC seems not to be in the mood to bend on the issue of the king, but they too will come under pressure from their allies in the self-governing territories who will rather like the Government proposal. The ANC should gracefully accede to this one.

Negotiations are a much more mature affair in February 1993 than they have been at any other time, and the issue of the king is indicative of this fact. We are down to specifics, and the specifics are resolvable if the current constructive mood can be maintained.

● Shaun Johnson is going abroad. Undercurrent Affairs will resume on March 20.



A ramshackle edifice built on quicksand

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5 Times 14/2/93.

BEHIND the campaign for a bill of rights lies one of the saddest features of the apartheid era: the craven betrayal of South African common law by South African lawyers, not excluding eminent judges and judges of appeal.

As Mr Justice Goldstone remarked this week in the course of his Hoernle memorial lecture in Johannesburg, virtually all the principles enshrined in most bills of rights are to be found in our common law; unhappily, these principles proved useless when they were needed.

My first encounter with atrocity in the courtroom, and my first, small written protest about it, came in 1956 when I watched a magistrate sentence black men at the rate of one every 20 seconds on charges of "urinating in Carol Street", which ran alongside the beerhall.

There was nowhere else to urinate, but any man so brazen as to plead not guilty was immediately remanded in custody for a fortnight to ponder on Western civilisation's complex taboos on bladder relief. Few denied their guilt.

Worse was to come, and travesties of justice were soon to reach into the Appellate Division, where, in a case cited by Judge Goldstone, Mr Justice Holmes decided that the legislature must surely have intended the atrocities that flowed from its colossal social experiment, and that was okay with him.

Faith in our judges, our courts, our judicial system, and, tragically, in our common law, has since eroded to the point where nobody, not even slavish admirers of Roman Dutch law like me, trust it to defend us against the state. The campaign for a bill of rights, after all, owes a good deal to the efforts of the Chief Justice, Mr Justice Corbett.

The trouble is that the task of drafting a bill of rights has fallen, on the one hand, to ANC lawyers deeply imbued with socialist ideas, and on the other, hand to government apparatchiks, who, if they were not personally responsible for apartheid's legal monstrosities, are the inheritors of a tradition that violated the principles of the common law.

It is no coincidence, it seems to me,

that the department of Mr Kobie Coetsee, Minister of Justice, which proved intellectually inadequate to the task of drawing up the principles of a general amnesty, has produced a "charter of fundamental rights" which is marked, above all, by intellectual shallowness. It is a shabby document.

The American bill of rights is designed to give effect to the idea that "all men are created equal (and) endowed by their Creator with certain unalienable rights", and to "establish justice, insure domestic tranquility, provide for the common defence, promote the general welfare, and secure the blessings of liberty".

The German basic law, "animated by the resolve to serve world peace", establishes a "democratic and social federal state" in which all authority emanates from the people, and in which both the judiciary and the legislature are "bound by law and justice".

THE first clause recognises that the dignity of man is inviolable, and puts on the state the duty to protect it, and the second clause acknowledges that "inviolable and inalienable human rights" are the "basis of every community, of peace and of justice".

The Indian constitution, drawn against a backdrop of inequality not altogether dissimilar to South African experience, begins by securing the ideal of equality, and by outlawing "untouchability"; the Malaysian constitution starts by securing life and liberty; the Canadian charter is founded "upon principles that recognise the supremacy of God and the rule of law"; the Irish bill of rights secures, first and foremost, equality before the law.

The South African government version is different. It rests, according to its introductory remarks, on the four principles of verticality, negative enforcement, curtailment of rights and justiciability. To these obscure ends, it begins by saying that both people and legal entities have rights, apparently in equal measure, and says that these rights may be abridged only "under the common law or by way of a law of a competent legislature".

On this firm base of bureaucratic obfuscation, the charter erects a ramshackle edifice. It promises some classical rights but not others — to life but not explicitly to liberty; freedom of expression but not of newspaper publication; freedom of religion but not freedom of conscience.

In passing, the charter confers on the police the right to hold a prisoner without trial for 10 days, which was long enough for policemen to kill Steve Biko, and adds some elements of law and of education policy. It takes care to secure for the state the right to limit the fundamental rights of its citizens where reasonably necessary to preserve state security.

The details, for the moment, don't matter nearly as much as the intellectual shabbiness: this is a document written by people who have only a passing acquaintance with the rights that lie beneath the "Western civilisation" which they profess to share — the rights that were enshrined in our common law, and violated by our legislators and our lawyers.

THE German constitution uncompromisingly serves the ideals of peace, justice and the common weal; the Anglo-Saxon documents defend fiercely the ideals of liberty; the international charters — from the UN, and the Organisation of American States, and ASEAN — entrench the ideals of humanity and human dignity; all systems are rooted in democratic consent and operate under the rule of law. The South African version has "verticality".

The German constitution grants to all citizens "the right to resist any person seeking to abolish this constitutional order, should no other remedy be possible". The South African charter does the opposite: it grants to the state the right to abridge individual freedoms in order to protect itself. That is the crucial difference, and it speaks volumes for the intentions of the people who drew up the "Charter of Fundamental Rights".

KEN OWEN

Finding

ON THE third anniversary of President FW de Klerk's momentous speech outlining the new South Africa, Justice Minister Kibie Coetsee gave flesh to the NP skeleton by last week introducing a proposed Charter of Fundamental Rights.

With no hint of irony, the same government which trampled upon rights as a matter of routine has hitched its somewhat overburdened wagon to the star of civil liberties. Indeed, if the provisions in the document relating to rights of detainees had been operative in the past, Steve Biko and Neil Aggett would certainly be alive.

Thus it's easy to trash the proposals as a self-interested death-bed conversion — the ritualistic tribute vice occasionally pays to virtue. However, this misses the point: where the document borrows from the magisterial and pioneering work of the SA Law Commission, it sketches the minimum content for creating the framework of a free society. These will be supported by all genuine democrats.

But thereafter, the government chose instead to ape its opponent, the ANC. The howls of outrage from the liberation camp about the charter are ironic. They criticise the NP's bill as "a charter for the rich, for scabs, for the haves".

YET the government's bill of rights is identical in method, not content, to the ANC draft.

Both have taken their political manifestos and dressed them up as bills of rights. The government sees the role of the future judiciary as being a sultan of the status quo. The bill empowers it to protect the old empire in its fastness — from ownership to pensions.

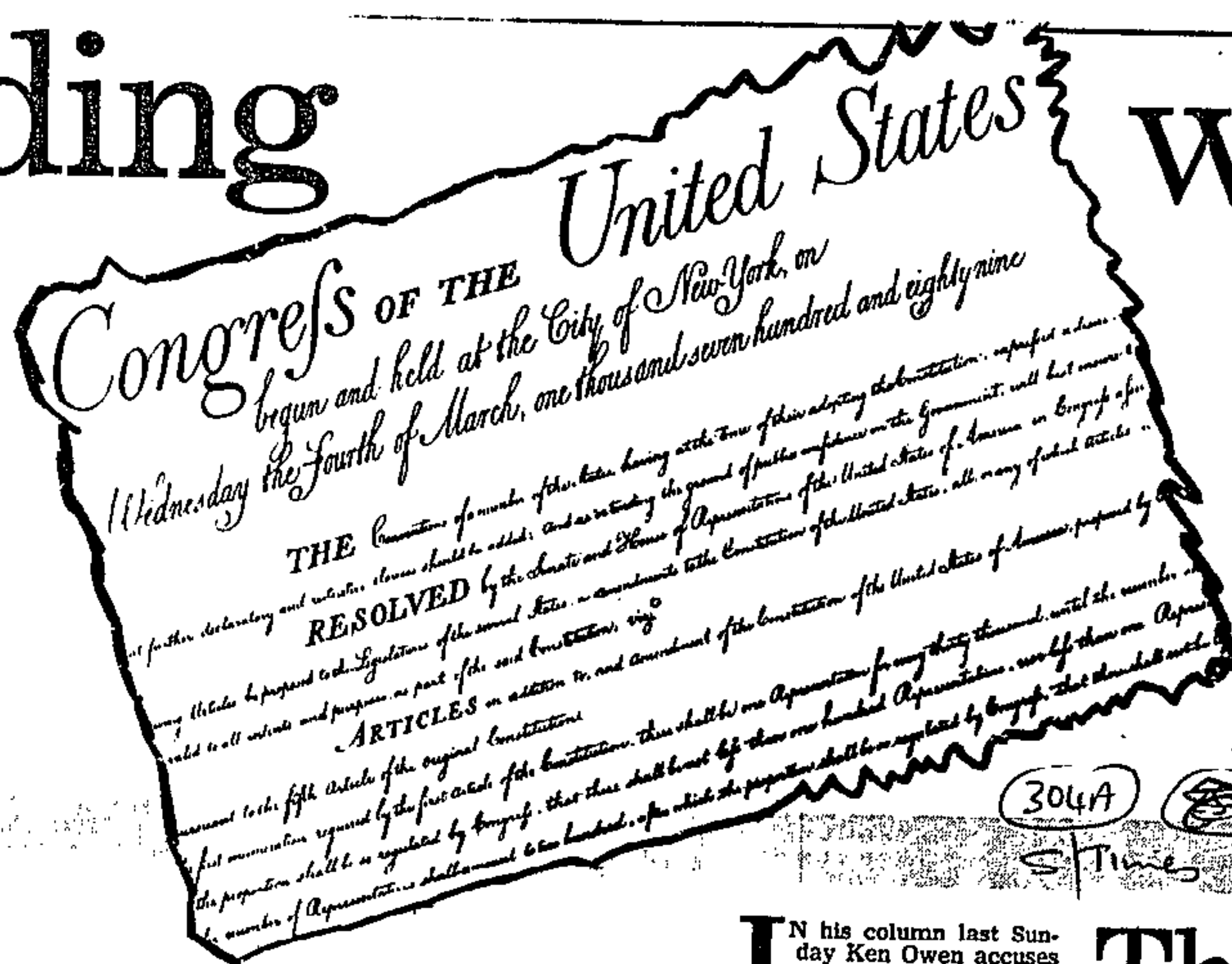
In the ANC's version of our future freedom, the judges will be busybody social engineers intruding into every nook and cranny of civil life to uphold specific notions of social and political relations consistent with the welfare state, aided by massive doses of affirmative action.

Mrs Thatcher would have been unable to govern under the ANC bill. Mr Chris Hani will be entirely hamstrung in implementing even his watered-down version of communism should the Nat bill of rights be implemented.

That's where the canny maverick, Professor Dennis Davis, makes sense. He tells us a bill of rights should consist only of "an entrenched core of values, common to the whole society". Tendentious political platforms masquerading as inalienable rights will flatter at election time, only to deceive when claimants try to enforce them.

In this context, US Supreme Court Justice William J Brennan observed that "without some effective means of enforcement, legal rights are left to be little more than moral claims".

But, of course, the government and ANC do not profess to be liberal. Where liberals regard the bill of rights as a



wrong RIGHT

The National Party's proposed Charter of Fundamental Rights. KADER ASMAL says the NP is attempting a political manifesto.

Two views, but the same party ploy



By **TONY LEON**

shield to protect individuals in a zone of rights which are God-given, not government bestowed, the left views the bill as a battering ram to enforce a range of issues incapable of adjudication. Where liberals regard the judiciary as the guardian of individual liberty, the ANC sees it as a cypher. Witness Professor Albie Sachs's startling remark: "The draft ANC bill of rights is an attempt to constitutionalise a governmental programme not dissimilar to that of the new deal. If it gets explicitly into the constitution, then not even the greatest judicial performer, not even a Laurence Olivier in robes, would be able to declare it unconstitutional."

That ominous warning is a recent echo of an equally sinister observation, made four years ago, by Minister Coetsee. Not for him the bill of rights to deliver a worthwhile society for its own sake. He declared that a government-sponsored bill would be enacted "to lick the radicals".

INSTEAD of using the bill of rights as an election manifesto or as a vague promissory note of dubious future worth, it would be more realistic to found the bill on the following principles:

- It must consist of broad formulations, not unduly vague, which will allow judges to adapt canons of rights to situations not envisaged by the framers, ie it must be capable of use in 2093, not just to meet the immediate needs of 1993;

- We must learn from the lessons of Eastern Europe and the former Soviet Union. There, litter bins overflow today with discarded bills of rights which guaranteed the entire gamut of human happiness — from housing to health care — only to mock the citizenry by allowing no enforcement method associated with upliftment and distribution of resources to be included in the constitution. It would be moral folly to ignore them, but these, properly, are directives of policy, not inalienable rights capable, on demand, of fulfillment;

- Finally, if the bill of rights is to succeed at all, it must be an instrument of reconciliation. It must be a neutral arbiter in whose favour each side, the majority and the minority, can safely relinquish the claim to absolute power. Thus the bill must embody a set of even-handed rights, impartial as to whether the government of the day is the ANC or the NP.

Such a bill of rights will be an enduring anchor of a just, new order.

□ Tony Leon is the Democratic Party spokesman on justice

IN his column last Sunday Ken Owen accuses the government of running the risk of "strangling in its own eccentricities" because of the "endless list" of objections to its so-called Charter of Fundamental Rights. Among the reasons he gives for the government's inability to grasp the essence of human rights is its unfamiliarity with the culture of rights developed in the past 200 years.

But the reason for the flaws in the proposed measure is more fundamental. The whole philosophy behind it is tainted. It is an NP solution to a problem of its own making: how to depart from an overtly race-based and illiberal society without making concessions to the fundamental assumptions of an open, pluralist and non-racial tolerant society.

It is awesome in its statist approach, permitting detention for up to 10 days as a permanent feature of our law; the unique provision relating to the detention of witnesses; the retention of capital punishment and the refusal to outlaw discrimination against gays.

It is restrictive in its understanding of core values associated with the bill of rights by not mentioning expressly the right to a fair trial, the right to freedom of thought and conscience, the right to press freedom and the right to legal assistance in criminal trials. The most astonishing omission is the right to vote.

On the other hand, with the natural creativity of a public service which spawned uniquely South African solutions in the past, there is the invention of rights not known in any international human rights document — employers' rights, including the bizarre right to apply the principle of "no work, no pay". The mind boggles at the idea of a constitutional court having to apply the employer's right to require of an

This pup will turn into a rottweiler



By **KADER ASMAL**

employee "acceptable service of an acceptable quality".

The Minister of Justice has claimed that the critics of this charter — especially those from the ANC — have not been "scientific" or "academic" in their response. This sounds like the gobbledegook we used to hear from East European "social scientists" in the past.

Rights are concerned with fundamental policy issues. The motivation behind and the characterisation of basic rights must therefore be open to political assessment. On this basis, we are being sold a pup with the danger that it may become a rottweiler.

The government's proposals are tendentious because they use the language of rights to obscure their real purpose which is to enable

privatised racism to replace official apartheid. This is the only document of its kind which I have seen which says categorically that provisions will regulate relations only between "persons" and "persons", not between "persons" and "persons" governed by the right contracts, by the South African "free association" concept of "privacy". By excluding the notion of the charter, private power and patronage, racial and discrimination could be unassailable in schools, hospitals, the workplace.

A bill of rights is compact which takes "to their heads" one submission to Commission put it — serve or even survive are to canvass this must be an understanding of the ills of our society. South African racism and gender are integral, permanent, virtually indestructible components of our society. Its tolerance of this will actively assist maintenance of the features which it should to extirpate. There active commitment to bat discrimination.

How else is one to the following version of group "Community" — a perverse method of ing private prejudice.

304A

S. Times

14/2/93

United States
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... having at the time of their adoption the Constitution, expressed advice
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... after which the proportion shall be regulated by Congress, that should be

wrong with RIGHTS

The National Party last week published its proposed Charter of Fundamental Rights. KADER ASMAL says it is a bid to privatise apartheid. TONY LEON says the NP is attempting to dress up its political manifesto as a Bill of Rights

304A
S/Times 14/2/93

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ASMAL

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privatised racialism to replace official apartheid. It is the only document of its kind which I have read which says categorically that its provisions will regulate relations only between the state and "persons". Relations between "persons" will be governed by the right to enter contracts, by the peculiarly South African concept of "free association" and the concept of "privacy".

By excluding the application of the charter from private power and private relations, racial and gender discrimination could become unassailable in private schools, hospitals, clubs and the workplace.

A bill of rights is a social compact which people must take "to their hearts" — as one submission to the Law Commission put it — if it is to serve or even survive. If we are to canvass this aim, there must be an understanding of the ills of our society. In the South African context, racism, and gender oppression are integral, permanent and virtually indestructible components of our society. The charter is not even benign in its tolerance of this feature. It will actively assist in the maintenance of the very features which it should attempt to extirpate. There is no active commitment to combat discrimination.

How else is one to interpret the following sophisticated version of group rights?

"Community values", our perverse method of describing private prejudice, will

find constitutional protection as the "parent community" will have the right to determine "the religious and general character" of every state-aided school. Will there be self-identification of the community or will a minister or a court decide? What does "general character" mean?

This is a charter for the status quo. Such an insight is fortified by the remarkably absolutist provisions relating to property rights, social security and what is described as "participation in the economy". While rejecting other economic and social rights, the charter presents these in such rigid terms that they would subvert, if not destroy, the very rights they seek to protect.

Affirmative action is rejected because the document does not want to address the issue of past injustices.

THE government, it appears, is determined to have such a charter "in place during the transitional period". We must beware of falling into this trap. Apart from the difficulty of amending such a transitional construction (an 80 per cent majority would be required), it will not have the kind of legitimacy which a transparent process, such as a constituent assembly, would ensure. It took the US nearly 100 years, after the adoption of its constitution to abolish slavery and nearly another century to remove formal race discrimination.

We do not have the luxury of time. We need neither this charter nor an interim bill of rights. Instead, our people deserve a comprehensive guarantee of our rights which will be unassailable from any quarter, private or public.

□ Kader Asmal is a professor of human rights law at UWC and a member of the NEC of the ANC.

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Absentee vote could thwart elections

(30/4/93)
S1 Times (C/metro)
14/2/93.

By GLENDA NEVILL

THE absentee vote could be the largest stumbling block to electing a government of the people when South Africa goes to the polls later this year or early in 1994.

This was said yesterday by Mr Randi Erentzen, director of the Centre for Development Studies (CDS), based at the University of the Western Cape.

Mr Erentzen was speaking at a Project Vote training workshop in Bellville.

"Research has shown that there is a high possibility of a large absentee vote because of fear, violence, lack of confidence and political intolerance," he said.

"We have to take positive steps to stop this from happening. We must motivate our people and change their mind-set. Despondency has set in due to crushed expectations."

Project Vote plans to educate the disenfranchised and instil in them the confidence to exercise their democratic right to vote.

Portable

The weekend workshop was aimed at training "trainers" who will return to their communities or organisations to educate voters and ensure an informed electorate.

It was attended by representatives of the Western Province Council of Churches, Idasa, Lawyers for Human Rights, the Black Sash, organised labour unions, literacy groups, Nicro and the Call of Islam, among others, some of whom had travelled from the far reaches of the Karoo to attend.

Father Michael Weeder, of CDS, demonstrated a Project Vote portable election training kit to be used by trainers.

It consists of a ballot box, polling booth, simple ballots, posters and a manual and is to be produced in 10 South African languages.

"South Africa has a history of non-participation in elections. We have to alter this and excite enthusiasm and confidence in voters," he said.

ANGER OVER POWER DEAL

S/Times 14/2/93

By CHARLENE SMITH and NORMAN WEST

THE historic power-sharing deal struck between the ANC and the government this week has unleashed a bitter political row.

Inkatha president Chief Mangosuthu Buthelezi bluntly warned yesterday that it would require the combined might of the SADF and the ANC's military wing, Umkhonto we Sizwe, to force compliance in KwaZulu and Natal.

The Pan Africanist Congress, once allied to the ANC in the so-called Patriotic Front, slated the deal as elitist, echoing repeated charges by Winnie Mandela, estranged wife of ANC leader Nelson Mandela, that the movement had sold out to the National Party.

The deal has sparked anger within the most senior ranks of the ANC.

Top officials — including information director Pallo Jordan and prominent SA Communist Party member Jeremy Cronin — have already spoken out against such a power sharing arrangement, and Tuesday's national executive meeting, where the proposal is to be discussed, will be stormy.

The agreement, bartered between the NP and the ANC in a series of private meetings in the last two months, provides for five years of joint rule by the most powerful parties. The proposal by the two parties will be put to a reconvened "Codesa" next month.

In a nutshell, the government has traded its insistence that the powers and functions of regional governments be decided in advance of the holding of an election in return for five years of joint rule with the ANC and any other party that wins five or 10 per cent of the vote.

Prior to this week, the government had insisted that "federalism" form part of the principles that an elected constituent assembly would be forced to implement. The Inkatha Freedom Party also held this view.

Now, however, it will be left up to a constituent assembly to make final decisions on this important constitutional point.

Secret

In an interview with the Sunday Times, Chief Buthelezi asked: "How do the two parties plan to impose such an undemocratic, top-down convivance on the populations, political formations, traditional structures and governments in the regions?"

"They cannot get lasting agreements in this way," Dr Ferdi Hartzenberg of the Conservative Party said the move confirmed the CP's view that there were secret deals between the government and the ANC. "The ANC now has everything it wanted. The government has totally surrendered."

Ken Andrew of the Democratic Party said the

The nine steps to power-sharing

must be constitutionally entrenched.

Azapo spokesman Gomoemo Mokae said: "The bantustans, the tricameral Parliament and community councillors know from experience that whoever chooses to collaborate with the regime kisses goodbye to legitimacy in the eyes of the oppressed."

PAC information and publicity secretary Barney Desai said he had "serious doubts whether the deal between the ANC and the regime would be acceptable to the masses".

Last night, Mr Mandela denied the ANC had agreed to a secret power-sharing deal until 1999. What it had accepted was that there should be a government of national unity. "An interim government of national unity is not power-sharing."

PICK 6

TURFFONTEIN
4 lucky punters received a payout of R296 537.20 each. Numbers: 8; 11; 8; 10; 10; 7; 13.

GREYVILLE
Only 3 punters collected a dividend of R120 112.60 each. Selections: 1; 5; 7; 4; 15; 2.

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There were 41 winners with each receiving R5 988.10. Combination: 4; 6; 8; 7; 11.

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9 1999: End of enforced power-sharing. After new elections by universal franchise, the winning party governs.

BREAKAWAY BISHOP Robin Connors arrived in South Africa this week to lead an Anglican Church splinter group opposed to the ordination of women priests. Report on Page 5 Picture: CHRISTINE NESBITT

RECORD TIMES

THE Sunday Times achieved a record circulation last Sunday of

587 348

This beat the previous record — set up on February 4, 1990 — by 12 214 copies and once again confirmed the Sunday Times as South Africa's top-selling newspaper — by far

Figures not audited

Royals brace for photo of nude Di

By PETER MALHERBE London

A GERMAN magazine is set to publish a nude photograph of Princess Diana this month, signalling yet another blow to Britain's beleaguered royal family.

The photograph — said to have been taken when she was a schoolgirl of 17 — is being offered to British newspapers for R250 000.

A German picture agency has refused to say how the photograph was obtained, but experts who have seen a copy of the snapshot believe it is genuine. Apparently it shows Diana sitting nude at the edge of a swimming pool, and was allegedly taken when she was at school in Switzerland.

According to reports, she smiles coyly at the camera as she reclines on the edge of the pool like a pin-up.

Another girl, believed to be her sister, Lady Jane Fellowes, is with her.

A London photographic agency said the unnamed German magazine would be publishing the photograph this month.

See Page 3

Anne has a Telly Fun tot

By CHARIS PERKINS

GLAMOROUS Telly Fun Quiz hostess Anne Tyrell became a mum this week. But fans of the lovely blonde need not despair. Baby Wesley, who weighed 3,73kg, will not prevent her returning to the top-rated show later this year.

"My baby comes first for now, but I will definitely be back," said Anne, 26, from her private room at a Sandton clinic.

"We stopped filming the last series when I was seven months' pregnant, so



that the movement had sold out to the National Party.

The deal has sparked anger within the most senior ranks of the ANC. (11A) (304A)

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"They cannot get lasting agreements in this way."

Dr Ferdi Hartzenberg of the Conservative Party said the move confirmed the CP's view that there were secret deals between the government and the ANC. "The ANC now has everything it wanted. The government has totally surrendered."

Ken Andrew of the Democratic Party said the DP had serious reservations about a bill of rights and powers and functions of regions not being decided upon before an election.

"It needs to be agreed how many states there will be, and that they will be granted access to fiscal means of implementing power. Those elements

must be constitutionally entrenched."

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Dingaan rematch in SA?

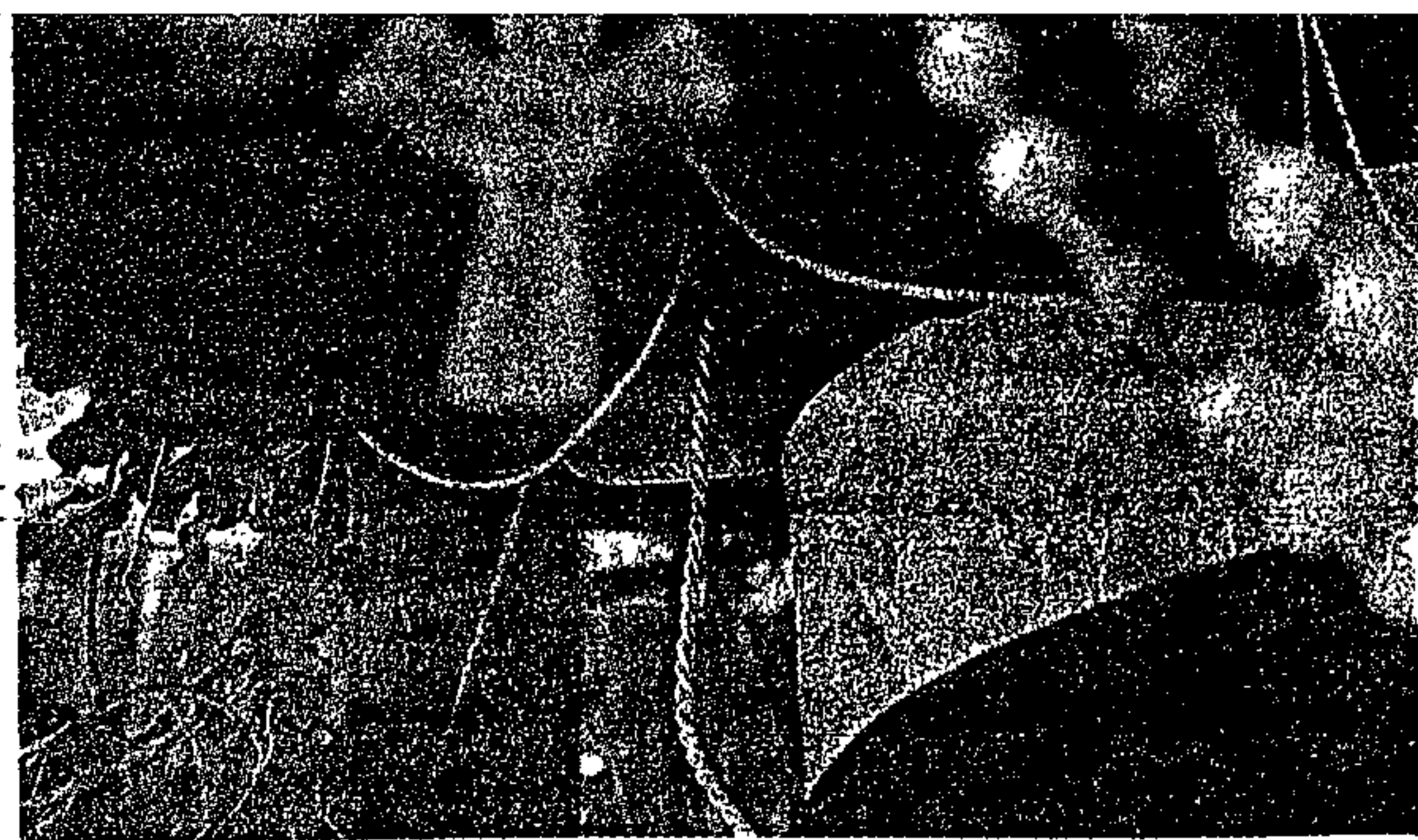
By GAVIN EVANS: Sacramento
DINGAAN THOBELA has earned a rematch against Tony Lopez after losing against the WBA champion yesterday morning after a close decision.

There is a possibility that the return will be fought in SA, according to his manager Rodney Berman, and

face was unmarked, but in his mouth was a bitter taste of perceived injustice.

The "Rose of Soweto" believed that after 12 vicious rounds he'd done enough to relieve Lopez of his lightweight crown. Most ringsiders agreed.

But this was California — home of two of the four fight officials — and the decision went to Lopez by a slim two points.



The nine steps to power-sharing

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Nats going all out to win coloured vote in the Cape

ST Times 14/2/93 (304A)

THE National Party is planning an all-out effort to win the forthcoming election — and part of its strategy would be a huge *saamtrek* at the Cape Showgrounds at Goodwood next month aimed at attracting coloured voters.

It would be the biggest such public gathering since the party went multiracial, and it is expected to be in the form of a day-long carnival with a Cape flavour and less emphasis on traditional *boeresport*.

The main event that day, President de Klerk's address, will take place in the Industrial Hall.

The venue was chosen for security reasons and to prevent a repeat of the fiasco last year, when a small, rowdy element shouted the President down and threatened to raze the marquee when he tried to address the public in Mitchell's Plain, a town originally built for coloureds 30km outside Cape Town.

On December 1 1992 there were 901 506 white voters compared with 1 497 788 coloured voters registered in the Cape Province.

There are 56 House of

By NORMAN WEST
Political Reporter

Assembly (white) MPs compared with 60 House of Representatives (coloured) MPs in the Cape Province.

The NP Cape caucus has decided to appoint a special election strategy committee, with chief whip Alex van Breda (nominated) as its chairman.

His committee is expected to have its recommendations on the procedure for the nomination of candidates ready by June.

Among matters that

need serious consideration is how to decide who should be accepted as candidates, a sensitive issue because coloured MPs who number about 50 percent of the 80-odd NP MPs in the Cape, fear they could be left out in the cold if predominantly white "district committees" of the NP made final choices of candidates.

Another problem is that if the country opts for proportional representation and the NP gains, for example, 50 seats, the coloured MPs are against the final choice being made by "district councils".

Flurry of meetings to kickstart talks

ARC 15/2/93

(3048)

TOS WENTZEL, Political Staff

THE rocky road to democracy takes new twists and turns this week with a flurry of meetings aimed at the resumption of multiparty talks.

This follows accusations that the government and the African National Congress had concluded a deal which excluded other parties.

The government and the Inkatha Freedom Party meet on Wednesday and are expected to agree on the composition of a planning conference for a new multiparty negotiation forum.

Agreement is likely in spite of IFP leader Chief Mangosuthu Buthelezi having expressed grave misgivings about the understanding between the government and the ANC on the need for a transitional government of national unity.

At the weekend both President De Klerk and ANC leader Mr Nelson Mandela tried to get away from the idea that a firm deal had been struck between the two parties.

In a television interview with Sir David Frost, Mr De Klerk said: "We are not making deals in our bilateral discussions," referring to three further days of government-ANC talks last week.

"The interpretation that we have entered into fixed agreements is wrong. We believe the final agreement must be reached at a multi-party conference representative of all the parties in the country. We share that view with the ANC."

The bilaterals, he explained, were to narrow differences. This would enable groups to start a multi-party conference with broad consensus already achieved. He spoke of "growing convergence". But no deals.

"There can be no private deal between the National Party and African National Congress, between the ANC and Inkatha, or between the NP and Inkatha," Mr De Klerk said.

The government and the IFP would be working hard in their bilateral meeting this week. "I think Inkatha must be part of the new dispensation and must be brought into the negotiating process. I think it is fundamental. Otherwise we might be looking for trouble in South Africa."

The ANC president, who faces problems from hardliners in his own movement, was particularly upset about suggestions of a power-sharing deal.

● John Carlin, correspondent for the Independent in London wrote that Mr Mandela engaged in semantic acrobatics to dispel the impression that such a deal had been reached.

"Power-sharing" is Mr De Klerk's catchphrase, and for the ANC to employ it, as Mr Mandela is painfully aware, could create the perception that it had capitulated to government demands.

Accordingly, in a speech on Saturday night he said: "I wish categorically to deny the statement made in the press that the ANC has agreed to power-sharing until 1999. An interim government of national unity is not power-sharing".

Mr Fanie Schoeman, deputy Minister of Constitutional Affairs pointed out that Mr Mandela was playing with words and that a government of national unity was in fact power-sharing.

The national executive committee of the ANC is due to meet tomorrow.

The Cabinet will discuss the new deal on Wednesday.

Top Nationalist politicians were today hopeful that the talks with Inkatha would go well.

They said that the two sides agreed on the principle of regional government. There would also be agreement on a planning conference to decide on new Codesa-type talks.

There is the feeling in government circles that there must now be a swift move away from bilateral talks because they cause suspicion among other negotiation partners.

PAC slams power sharing and warns ANC on making deals

304A
18/2/93

DENNIS CRUYWAGEN, Political Staff

THE PAC has rejected the concept of power sharing as a "luxury we can't afford" and has warned the ANC it risks being kicked out of the Patriotic Front if it strikes such a deal with the government.

PAC president Mr. Clarence Makwetu said after a meeting in Langa yesterday that the ANC would lose its status as a liberation movement if it entered into a power sharing arrangement with the government.

He said blacks could not wait for another five years for liberation.

"We want liberation now. Power sharing is a luxury we can't afford... power sharing will prolong the life of the regime."

He said the PAC had said from the beginning that it did want to reform apartheid, but rather "to dismantle it."

Mr. Makwetu said he did not believe the government and the ANC, who had apparently agreed in bilateral talks that a government of national unity could rule for five years, would have the audacity to go ahead.

"They will have to test the will of the people first. The people will oppose power sharing. All sorts of struggle will be embarked upon."

In a clear reference to the ANC, he said the PAC and other Patriotic Front members would consider "ejecting those who no longer represent the masses".

He said the government and the PAC had reached an agreement at a meeting in Gabarone last year on the need to continue negotiations at another forum.

But the government had since suspended talks with the PAC because of the actions of its military arm, the Azanian People's Liberation Army.

"I think the regime will be compelled to meet us. I can't imagine any resolution being arrived at without the participation of the PAC."

Earlier more than 800 people loudly applauded Mr. Makwetu when he said "away with an interim government".

He said the PAC would fight to the bitter end as long as there were vestiges of imperialism and colonialism. It would fight for self-determination and not settle for "crumbs from the master's table".

PAC 'ready for talks with Govt'

304A Sowetan 15/2/93.
■ **NEW POINTERS** Indications are that the

organisation will accept Govt invitation:

By Ismail Lagardien
Political Correspondent

THE PAC WOULD ACCEPT AN INVITATION to attend a preparatory meeting for the resumption of multiparty negotiations, the movement's secretary for publicity, Mr Barney Desai, said yesterday.

It was established yesterday that Government would extend an invitation to the PAC to attend such a meeting and that the ANC would prefer to have the PAC and Azapo at a new multi-party negotiations forum.

A Government spokesman said it was still expected of the PAC to distance itself from the activities of Apla, but suggested that if Apla ceased its activities then the Africanists could "include themselves in talks".

Desai said the PAC would go to a multi-party planning conference "and put across its views".

"We are emphatic in that we want a constituent assembly elected on a democratic vote and not one that is tied by collateral agreement," he said, with reference to the agreements reached between Government and the ANC last week.

Desai did not preclude the PAC from participating in the elections to a constituent assembly either and said that his organisation would "go to the electorate and ask people to vote for our policies".

Asked whether he thought the PAC's policies were more sovereign than the need to create a government of national unity, Desai said that the PAC's objective was ultimately majority rule (by Africans).

"However, majority rule does not obviate agreements. Majority rule must mean that the majority must rule ... and if parties are elected together, they must rule together."

Govt and ANC struggle to stave off crisis over power sharing

BILYPADDOCK

GOVERNMENT and the ANC were struggling yesterday to stave off a new crisis in negotiations arising from confusion about whether the two had agreed to a five-year deal on power sharing.

Both parties said categorically no deal, but even common understanding had been reached during three days of talks in Cape Town last week.

However, in a formal announcement on Friday, Deputy Constitutional Minister Fanie Schoeman said agreement had been reached on "power sharing" during the bilateral meeting.

Government and ANC denials did little to allay Inkatha's fears that the two parties had come to a private agreement. Inkatha spokesman Walter Felgate said that although ANC leader Nelson Mandela had issued a denial, government had waited two days to "clarify" the position and the matter would be "strongly taken up" at a government/Inkatha meeting this week.

The ANC said government was trying to give its negotiations proposals more status than they had, while government argued that the ANC was playing semantic games. ANC leader Nelson Mandela reacted to

Schoeman's announcement by saying: "I categorically deny the statement in the Press that the ANC has agreed to power sharing until the year 1999. An interim government of national unity is not power sharing. What the government has proposed is a form of power sharing."

He said that at the bilateral meeting government had raised the question of a possible government of national unity extending for a limited period after the adoption of a new constitution. This suggestion

still had to be put to the ANC's national executive committee for discussion.

However, Schoeman responded yesterday by saying: "A government of national unity is power sharing."

Schoeman said what he had said was based on positions arrived at by the two parties' negotiating teams at the three-day meeting, positions which had still to be approved by the principals.

He said there had been agreement that each party which attained specific minimum support in the ballot would be included in government.

Power sharing

"Either he did not understand what was happening in the meeting, or he has a different agenda," he said.

Niehaus said that, at best, the parties came out of the talks with "convergence on a series of different suggestions to be taken back to the respective principals who will refine these and come up with a clearer position".

He insisted the wording had to be "more careful than even common understanding". The parties discussed time frames and how to have a government of national unity, but there were strong differences on whether the power sharing should be voluntary or contractual or written into the constitution, Niehaus said. "Schoeman jumped the gun. There was some convergence, but it is all still very unclear."

The ANC wanted the elected constitution-making body to finalise the constitution and then decide for what period it should continue governing before full democratic elections for a new government. Government rejected this.

From Page 1

Schoeman said he had stated clearly "at least seven times in the Press conference" that there had been no deal. "I stressed that we explored many issues and that both parties would go to a multiparty forum and argue their own positions based on their proposals," he said.

"But I must stress that it is vital and urgent that a multiparty forum be convened as soon as possible to avoid any more suspicion about bilateral deals."

Inkatha's Felgate accused government of "betraying multiparty trust" and modifying its position in bilaterals, resulting in it ending up in a position they "never would have come to in a multiparty forum". Government would go to a multiparty forum now with radically different proposals in alliance with the ANC, he said.

Inkatha president Mangosuthu Buthelezi said in a statement that government and the ANC/SACP alliance were "dangerously toying with all our lives and the lives of our children and grandchildren".

Comment: Page 8

To Page 2

"There is nothing voluntary about it except in the sense that a party may refuse to participate, if it so chooses."

"A purely voluntary coalition is not acceptable to us, and if that is the interpretation now given we are back to square one. We will just have to take it back to the negotiating table," he said.

ANC spokesman Carl Niehaus reacted by saying he had sat at the same meeting as Schoeman and could not understand why the Deputy Minister had indicated some kind of deal had been clinched.

deal

IN THE quest for a new constitution, the most difficult conflicts to resolve have been procedural ones — how the constitution should be devised. The debate over the substantive principles, with the notable exceptions of the regionalism and the related powersharing questions, has been remarkable for its lack of controversy.

Although all political groups have couched their procedural arguments in the same terms, a commitment to democracy, their true motive is one of the country's worst-hidden secrets. Each is seeking a procedure most likely to ensure that their preference on the remaining disputed constitutional issues dominates.

The ANC, confident of a good electoral showing, wants a constitution to be passed by a special majority in a constituent assembly. Inkatha, conscious of the nature of its own support base, wants a procedure which tilts the balance towards small, regionally based parties. The NP wants a process which ensures that the interests of a medium-sized, geographically dispersed party are served. It has vacillated more than most on detail. As the proposed deal with the ANC shows, it is now resigned to extraconstitutional forms of power sharing. Its commitment to a federal decentralisation of power, never a feature of NP practice, is now shown to have been a temporary expedient.

In this pursuit of narrow self-interest — reflected by the interminable struggle over procedure above substance — parties are all losing sight of the function of a constitution. A constitution sets out the rules by which the political game is played. The Western democracies have survived because, whatever the policy differences between competing parties, all are committed to adhering to those rules — the "loyal opposition" syndrome. Attempts to destabilise those societies (such as the efforts of the Baader-Meinhof gang in Germany) failed because those societies were sufficiently cohesive to survive those pressures.

The post-1989 Soviet Union/Commonwealth of Independent States, Yugoslavia, Czechoslovakia,

The politicians have forgotten the role of a constitution

6/01/93

15/2/93

ALAN FINE



3044

Angola, Kampuchea and others were not. They, like SA, are societies in transition and we cannot ignore the dangers of civil war and/or the secession of regions or subregions. That is why the appeal by Inkatha Institute director Gavin Woods for a new look at constitution-making (Business Day, February 12) deserves debate.

Woods argued, in essence, that a constitution drafted and approved by the one or two parties gaining the largest proportion of votes in a constituent assembly poll (read ANC and, probably, NP) is likely to provoke new levels of violence by supporters of parties opposed to it (read Inkatha, some homeland leaders and right-wing whites).

A more durable constitution, Woods suggested, would be one drafted by technical experts according to principles supplied by all parties to a multiparty conference.

That this argument reflects Inkatha's interests is no reason, in itself, to reject it. The basic point — that a two-thirds majority in a constituent assembly is no guarantee of a constitution's durability — is undeniable. And if the ANC/NP coalition adopts this narrowly procedural approach to constitution-making, the Woods scenario will come to pass.

UCT history lecturer Christopher Saunders recently argued (Business Day, January 22) that the Namibian experience validates the constituent assembly route. But the real point

about the success of the Namibian constitution is that it was approved unanimously by the assembly.

The Zimbabwean constitution has proved equally durable, aside from its self-defeating sunset clauses on separate white representation. It was drafted at Lancaster House in a forum more akin to a multiparty conference. There, however, there were only three main parties — the Rhodesian Front, Zanu and Zapu, with minor hangers on unable to block agreements between the big three.

And it is here that Woods's argument breaks down, or is at least incomplete. Inkatha has attempted artificially to raise the status of the minor parties to ensure that Inkatha and those smaller than them hold a disproportionate amount of influence in the process.

What is required is a balance. On the one hand, the "reasonable" interests of substantial, minority parties need to be met, and a constituent assembly system could hamper that.

On the other hand, parties without substance, or even substantial minority parties, cannot be permitted to block progress forever — which a Woods-style arrangement would lend itself to. And it is not difficult for minor parties to present themselves as substantial in the absence

of an electoral test — as PAC president Clarence Makwetu showed in his David Frost interview when he claimed majority support.

The process of constitution-making therefore does require an electoral test of the parties involved — be the pretext a constituent assembly or anything else — one which gives a strong sense of regional patterns.

This will give parties a strategic sense of their own strength, and that of their opponents, which may introduce some realism about the degree of give and take required from each in negotiations over the new constitution.

For example, an election may well confirm that the ANC enjoys the support of 50%-60% of the population and the NP 20%-25%. It would probably also show that Makwetu exaggerated the size of his support base by 1 000% or more. Lucas Mangope may wake up to find he is living in a fool's paradise in thinking a majority of his citizens want to retain political independence from SA.

An election would demonstrate, too, that the 900 000 white right-wingers are too weak in numbers and too dispersed geographically to demand that large parts of SA be handed over to a whites-only regime. It would show that even the Afrikaner Volksunie proposal of a far smaller white group area, apart even from other political considerations, appears impractical.

The right-wingers would have to be satisfied with guarantees of their cultural, religious and language rights. And if that leads to a guerilla war by a handful of zealots, the new government would simply have to deal with that through the normal channels of criminal law.

For Inkatha — the one group with the power seriously to destabilise a majority-supported constitution — and its opponents, a poll would be particularly enlightening. It would show, arguably, that Inkatha and the ANC are both powerful, but not majority, forces in the Natal/KwaZulu region, with the NP and/or the DP holding a balance of power.

It would require some real concessions to Inkatha. An Inkatha totally outcast would be a certain invitation to regional civil war. Given that Inkatha would be extremely powerful in certain subregions, there could be a strong case, as some analysts have suggested, for a Natal divided into three or more regions with strong regional government.

Inkatha's best option, if this is not done, would be to withdraw from participation in establishing the rules of the game. That, as the ANC has twice shown, is a potent weapon for winning concessions. And that is why Inkatha's concern with the form of constitution-making — a constituent assembly — is unnecessary and irrelevant. If it doesn't like the rules being devised it can simply withdraw from the game.

Nevertheless, for Mangosuthu Buthelezi to treat the whole of Natal/KwaZulu as a personal fiefdom in the electoral scenario outlined would be less than realistic. Even if the region were granted autonomy as Inkatha demands, some other coalition of forces could end up ruling it. Under these circumstances, demands for full autonomy, or dreams of secession, would be untenable, and it may be necessary to call Inkatha's bluff despite the risk of heightened and drawn out conflict.

But the real point is that all parties need to drop their feisties about the constitution-making process and focus on its real point. And, while there are no guarantees because politicians are not always rational, the aim must be the creation of a cohesive but flexible legal basis for a stable society.

Motivating new voters must be central goal, says report

304A
3/07/94 15/2/93
SIMON BARBER

WASHINGTON — To ensure a high turnout, newly enfranchised South Africans must be convinced that simply by going to the polls on election day and completing a ballot they will guarantee themselves better schools, houses and job prospects.

This is the conclusion of Washington polling firm Peter Hart Research Associates, hired by the National Democratic Institute to develop a strategy for its US taxpayer-financed South African voter education programme.

"Motivating" new voters, many of whom are not only ignorant of voting procedures but also fear intimidation and do not believe elections will make much difference in their lives, must be a central goal, according to the firm's Dr Fred Hartwig.

Another key issue that must be addressed in negotiations is voter IDs, Hartwig says in his report to the National Democratic Institute.

"Requiring non-whites to obtain any form of documentation from the present government" would be "the government's most effective way to suppress voting by non-whites".

He argues against the use of traditional leaders as voter trainers on the grounds that they have "a vested interest... in the status quo".

Hartwig conducted focus groups with paid black volunteers around the country

last September. Sites included Pietersburg, Richards Bay, Umtata and Grahamstown, and Johannesburg, Cape Town, Durban and Bloemfontein townships.

His findings were used to develop multilingual election "kits" to be distributed as part of Project Vote, a joint venture of the National Democratic Institute and the University of the Western Cape's Centre for Development Studies. Project finance includes a \$1m grant for the US Agency for International Development.

The institute is a subgroup of the National Endowment for Democracy, a government chartered entity established during the Reagan administration to promote democracy.

The "kit" contains an instruction manual for community voter trainers urging them to adopt slogans identifying voting with education, jobs, housing and peace.

Forty-four of the 205 focus group participants found this message "convincing".

Thirty-three preferred "Vote for Democracy", 29 "Vote for a Better Future for Our Children". Only 15 liked "Vote to End Apartheid Forever". Eight backed "Vote to Support your candidate and your party". These findings are reflected in Voting Times, a pamphlet Project Vote has prepared for mass dissemination.

ke action ● Politicians clash over definitions of terms



Angolan government soldiers in Benguela, 530km south of Luanda, prepare to board the trucks that will take them to the frontline. A military column left Benguela for the Unita-held city of Calmbambo, 100km to the east.

Talks stall again

Sowetan 15/2/93
By Ismail Lagardien
 Political Correspondent

■ HOT AIR It's back to square one as

Government and ANC disagree again:

AFTER WHAT was billed as decisive talks last week, the ANC and Government yesterday clashed over the definition of agreements reached between them. The deputy Minister of Constitutional Development, Mr Fanus Schoeman, yesterday said that Government would have to return to the ANC to try and explain exactly what the Government had in mind when it agreed to power-sharing.

Schoeman announced at the end of last week's meeting that the two parties had agreed to a term of power-sharing

after a constituent assembly had adopted a constitution.

The next day, the president of the ANC, Mr Nelson Mandela, dismissed this as a misrepresentation.

"The ANC proposes an interim government of national unity which would include those parties that have won a certain proportion of seats in a constituent assembly.

"An interim government of national unity is not power-sharing," Mandela said. Schoeman said yesterday that Gov-

ernment was not prepared to accept voluntary inclusion and would have to go back to negotiation with the ANC.

"A government of national unity is power-sharing," Schoeman said.

"There is nothing voluntary about it except in the sense that a party may refuse to participate if it so chooses.

"A purely voluntary coalition is not acceptable to us, and if that is the interpretation now given, we are back to square one. We will just have to take it back to the negotiating table," he said.

focus on talks

LAST WEEK'S AGREEMENT BETWEEN THE ANC and the Government was merely the convergence by the two parties on the idea of a government of national unity.

Ironically, when Codesa II collapsed last May, it was because no agreement could be reached between these two senior parties at that forum on the very issues which they are now attempting to meet each other on.

After the debilitating effects of violence and economic decline - which both parties have acknowledged was a result of the breakdown in negotiations last year - the objective behind the sought after agreement is ostensibly to steer the country through what is expected will be most treacherous shoals.

Power-sharing

However, the president of the ANC, Mr Nelson Mandela, cautioned at the weekend that the agreement was neither a deal on power-sharing nor one that has any official standing in his organisation and Government.

The perception spawned by Government pronouncements on Friday that there was a deal of sorts was completely and utterly false.

Addressing businessmen on Saturday, Mandela said: "Let me dispel all rumours that there have been any secret deals or pacts with the Government.

"These rumours are devoid of any truth and are mischievous in the extreme.

"I furthermore wish to categorically deny the statement made in the Press that the ANC has agreed to power-sharing until the year 1999.

"An interim government of national unity is not power-sharing.

National unity

"What the Government has proposed is a form of power-sharing. The African National Congress on the other hand proposes an interim government of national unity which would include those parties that have won a certain proportion of the seats in a constituent assembly."

This proposal, the ANC leader added, was designed to create national unity and was not a simple power-sharing formula.

"The matter is to be placed before the ANC National Executive Committee for discussion."

The bolts and nuts of the agreement should go before a multi-party forum next month and must be ratified there - presupposing the Cabinet and the ANC's national executive committee does the same this week.

The salient points of last week's meeting was the convergence between the two and not that there was any kind of a deal that was to be foisted on to other parties, the ANC's Carl Niehaus explained.

After last week's meeting between the ANC and the Government, media reports said a "secret" deal had been struck between the two regarding the governing of the country, a claim rejected by Nelson Mandela. Political Correspondent **Ismail**

Lagardien puts the jigsaw puzzle together:

Sowetan 15/2/93

304A



Nelson Mandela ... denies secret deals with the Government.

The convergence is on the concept that elections should be postponed for any period from a week to a full term (five years) after the constituent assembly has adopted a new constitution.

During this period, it is envisaged that a government of national unity, made up of all parties that received more than between five and 10 percent of the vote in elections to a constituent assembly this year or early next year, will govern the country.

Constituent assembly

It is envisaged that only after this period of national unity, will the country hold its first democratic elections for a new government in South Africa which should, in principle, be led by the majority of South Africans.

Another significant convergence between the two parties was on the representation of regions



in a constituent assembly.

A boundaries commission is to be set up to reach consensus among all parties in South Africa on new regional boundaries and the envisaged powers of these regions, the deputy Minister of Constitutional Development, Mr Fanus Schoeman, said last week.

The commission would take such decisions to a constituent assembly which would then take the final decision.

The regions will have a say in a constituent assembly on matters that affect them in particular.

The scenario that has emerged after last week's meeting in Cape Town is that:

- Multi-party negotiations will resume in March.

- A transitional executive council to oversee the run-up to elections to a constituent assembly will be installed by June.

- The election to a constituent assembly, which will also serve as a legislature, will be held no later than April next year.

National unity

- All parties that receive more than five to 10 percent of the vote in the election would be eligible for representation in the assembly.

- There would be no election immediately after a new constitution has been adopted and the assembly and Cabinet would continue to govern in national unity for the envisaged five years and in terms of the new constitution.

However, the ANC's Niehaus cautions: "These agreements signal only a convergence by the ANC and Government on the idea of a government of national unity."

These proposals, he said yesterday, have to go to the ANC's NEC, the Cabinet and other political parties as well. The proposals lean towards agreements that have already been reached at Codesa and makes room for participation by significant parties that have traditionally shunned negotiations. Schoeman also said on Friday: "It is not a package which other parties are expected to accept."

ANC takes serious look at regionalism

CT 15/2/93

Political Staff

THE ANC is "refining" its policy on regionalism through regional and branch meetings which could culminate in a national conference on the subject, senior members said at the weekend.

Regional meetings, normally a precursor to policy re-adjustments, have already taken place in Natal and some areas of the Transvaal.

Senior ANC negotiator Mr Thabo Mbeki said at the weekend that one of the questions members were discussing was whether regions should be able to impose taxes separately from the central government.

Leaders repudiate claims of agreement

Star 15/12/93

Political Staff

(304A)

(15)

NO deal - Mandela, FW

President de Klerk and Nelson Mandela have strongly denied the Government and the ANC have concluded a five-year power-sharing pact, after a storm of protest from lesser political parties at the weekend and a threat from Chief Mangosuthu Buthelezi that a secret pact would plunge the country into war.

Anxious to deflect criticism over the outcome of last week's Cape Town meeting between top negotiators of the two parties, De Klerk and Mandela stressed at the weekend that a final decision on a government of national unity could be taken only at a new multiparty negotiating forum.

They emphasised agreements made between the Government and the ANC first had to be ratified by the Cabinet and the ANC's national executive, and then had to be accepted by other political groups in multiparty talks.

The ANC's national executive committee convenes for a three-day meeting from tomorrow, and the Cabinet meets on Wednesday.

ANC and Government negotiators yesterday said the agreement was likely to be ratified by their principals although discussions could take place on the details.

But oversimplified statements after the bilateral meeting in Cape Town may spark strong opposition from hardliners within the two parties' leadership.

Speaking on SABC television in an interview with British journalist Sir David Frost, De Klerk stressed last night: "We are not making deals in our bilateral discussions at the moment. The interpretation that we have entered into fixed agreements is wrong."

"We believe that final agreement must be reached at a multiparty conference representative of all the parties in the country. We share that with the ANC. The focus is now on getting the multiparty meeting and negotiations going again."

He said great progress had been made "towards an emerging broad consensus" on the framework of a new constitution and the devolution of power to strong regional government.

De Klerk emphasised the IFP had to be fully part of the negotiation process or South Africa could "go the way of Yugoslavia".

He added: "Lukatha must be part of a new dispensation or we are looking for trouble."

Mandela, in a speech in Sandton on Saturday night, categorically denied the ANC had agreed to power-sharing until the year 1999.

He told a banquet organised by the ANC's Luthuli/Lenasia branches: "Let me dispel all rumours that there have been any secret deals or pacts with the Government. These rumours are devoid of any truth and are mischievous in the extreme."

He said the Government had proposed a form of power-sharing, while the ANC had proposed an interim government of national unity which would include those parties that had won a proportion of the seats in a constituent assembly.

This proposal, the ANC leader added, was not a simple power-sharing formula and was designed to create national unity.

The assurances by De Klerk and Mandela followed a statement made by Government and ANC negotiators on Friday - which culminated in weekend reports to the effect that the parties had struck a power-sharing five-year deal.

After the three-day

Leaders deny claims on power-sharing

Star 15/12/93

From Page 1
bilateral meeting, deputy Constitutional Development Minister Frans Schoeman stated categorically that the parties had agreed a government of national unity would rule for at least five years after the first democratic elections, and that there would be no second election immediately after a new constitution had been approved.

Schoeman and ANC secretary-general Cyril Ramaphosa confirmed the timetable for transition was firmly back on track.

News of the agreement on a power-sharing government caused an immediate outcry.

Buthelezi said on Saturday the combined might of the SA Defence Force and the ANC army Umkhonto we Sizwe would have to be used to achieve KwaZulu's compliance with the power-sharing pact.

The Government/ANC agreement will be one of the constitutional issues to feature at a three-day meeting between the IFP and Government in northern Natal, which starts today.

And yesterday, Pan Africanist Congress president Clarence Makweu warned the ANC risked being kicked out of the Patriotic Front if it struck a power-sharing deal with the Government.

Makweu said the ANC would lose its status as a liberation movement if it entered into a power-sharing arrangement with the Government.

He said blacks could not wait another five years for liberation. "We want liberation now. Power-sharing is a luxury we can't afford."

Makweu said he did not believe the Government and the

ANC would go ahead with the five-year plan.

And on the political right, Conservative Party leader Dr Andries Treurnicht said a power-sharing deal between the Government and the ANC would be unacceptable.

The issue will also come up today when the Government meets the Concerned South Africans Group (Cosag) in Cape Town to discuss violence.

If the Cabinet and the ANC's national executive ratify their negotiators' agreement, the agreement will take the form of a joint proposal at a multiparty negotiating forum, where the Government and ANC would be pushing other parties for its acceptance.

Observers yesterday noted that the agreements - of which the details are not yet finalised - meant that the ANC and Government have begun to address the two fundamental differences between them: power-sharing with veto rights versus a government of national unity, and secondly, regionalism.

After the Cape Town bilateral meeting, the following steps towards power-sharing emerged:

A multiparty negotiating forum is expected to convene at the end of this month, after which Codesa-style talks will take place to work out mechanisms for a transition.

A general election is expected between April and September next year.

The ANC, once in power, will form a new government according to multiparty cabinet guidelines agreed upon.

During the following five years the constituent assembly (Parliament) will draw up a new constitution.

IT IS becoming clear that both the NP Government and the ANC leadership have been changed by the process of negotiating a political settlement. Ideological opposites, driven by an accelerating crisis, have merged substantially to share a mentality of problem-solving.

On the part of the ANC/SACP, socialism has been reduced to anti-trust legislation and affirmative action. Lenin may still be quoted, but the World Bank exerts an even stronger pull.

For Afrikaner Nationalists, racial obsessions have long given way to a striving for co-operation. Even the Broederbond is now ready to admit black Afrikaners, though, significantly, not women.

THE more far-sighted sections of the business elite, like Lonrho's Tiny Rowland, ingratiate themselves with any political leadership, regardless of their democratic record. Favours are showered on them, including free trips in Lear jets.

To have Nelson Mandela attend the wedding of a daughter or to celebrate a birthday in the company of ANC executives has become a status symbol of the true corporate insider.

Who will exercise power in the "new" South Africa, therefore, has also become irrelevant, especially in light of the looming anarchy: any power that can guarantee a semblance of order and safety is better than the descent into barbarism typified in Yugoslavia, Angola or Somalia.

If there is to be a clampdown

on white or black violent extremism, a joint multiracial emergency coalition could be expected to crush threatening opposition even more effectively than did the old regime.

The ultimate determinants of successful transitions are economic and social factors. The legacy of decades of conflict could reach some point where even the most determined government of national unity will have lost the capacity to reconstruct ravaged communities.

So far, all the peace accords signed have been followed by further violence, and all the well-intentioned development efforts have hardly bridged the gulf between a growing mass of outsiders and an increasing multiracial but still comparatively small section of middle-class insiders.

High expectations, together with already relatively high labour costs, make South Africa uncompetitive in the world market, especially if further accelerated by a populist party in power.

Therefore South Africa is being viewed as unable to afford a genuine democracy, in which the pent-up demands would destroy the delicate balance of antagonist forces.

Yet, despite a few ANC activists breaking up meetings of political opponents, the new rulers at least hold out the promise of democratic accountability. They are not yet as tainted with massive corruption, patronage and maladministration as the old regime.

ABOVE all, they can claim a much broader mandate; they do represent the aspirations of the deprived majority. Deviating from the promise could jeopardise a precious legitimacy on which the ANC depends more than its discredited partner in domination.

The prospects of South Afri-

15/02/93

(304A)

(111)

HERIBERT ADAM explores some of the implications of a power-sharing political settlement between the leaders of the NP Government and the African National Congress.



NEW ROLE: If there is a clampdown, Nelson Mandela, in a joint multiracial emergency coalition, might be expected to crush violence even more effectively than did the Nationalists.

can democracy will depend heavily on the economic performance of the new regime. Democracy without material gains would surely delegitimise a liberation movement that not only fought for symbolic equality but also raised expectations for greater wealth and material equality.

Yet, the democratic dilemma lies in the fact that a "democratic oligarchy" — an authoritarian order with a semblance of popular participation — is likely to perform better economically and attract more foreign capital at lower labour costs than a genuine institutionalisation of the popular will.

The elites of the newly enfranchised will face the real

test when they are unable to deliver on the heightened expectations.

Within the ANC/SACP/Cosatu coalition, the new faultlines revolve around those who, not being part of the new deal, view transitions as "mass-driven", with permanent people's mobilisation, and those who practise usual elite politics with minimal dependence on grassroots.

Already oppositional civics, an alienated youth, frustrated union leaders, township warlords, tribal and religious authorities, oppressed women and several other dissatisfied constituencies vie for more influence.

With roughly 25 percent of

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national support for the NP, 45 percent for the ANC and 10 percent for Inkatha in 1993, the NP made the pragmatic choice to abandon a losing anti-ANC coalition with Inkatha and instead aim at establishing a strong centre with the ANC, against traditional ideological leanings.

Only in the western Cape does the NP command a clear majority while in Natal a combined Inkatha-NP coalition would hold majority support, with the ANC securing less than 25 percent of the vote in both regions.

Should these regional interests not be accommodated in a federal constitution, breakaway movements could well gain ground.

Natal, with its highly successful but vulnerable 20 percent Indian minority, and the "European" western Cape with a 56 percent coloured population, could emerge as the Croatia and Slovenia of South Africa.

Rapidly increasing regional discrepancies, however, could be accommodated in a federal system through equalisation payments and revenue sharing. Otherwise, booming high-security enclaves of residual capital and tax benefits, such as Cape Town's world-class waterfront, or obscene fantasies like the Lost City, will thrive increasingly uncomfortably in a sea of surrounding poverty.

REGARDLESS of the future political fault-lines, there remain some fundamentals that allow a far more optimistic outlook for South Africa than can be ventured for other divided societies. While South Africa will remain a largely multiracial rather than nonracial society, it has good prospects of relatively harmonious race relations and even minimal nationhood.

The fundamental cleavages in our society do not concern issue of culture and identity, but social equity.

In legally equal societies, the victims easily blame themselves as individuals for failure; in an institutionalised apartheid order, the "system" was clearly at fault. Because the apartheid State lacked worldwide legitimacy, its victims responded with resistance rather than identification.

The dominant mindset of active protest rather than passive acceptance of slavepile conditions was further reinforced in South Africa by numerical majority status. It makes a crucial difference in self-perception whether the discriminated constitute an indigenous majority or an imported minority.

Moreover, the real clout of numbers and self-reliant institutions enforces relationships of objective interdependence, which minorities dependent on goodwill or their special skills lack.

SOUTH African subordinates, therefore, show little of the ambivalent identities that characterise minorities elsewhere, who are made to feel that they do not belong. Most South Africans of all races do not share such self-doubts but confront each other as equals.

This perception of equality remains an important precondition of successful negotiations and pacting.

So, the chances of a future South African democracy and stability do not falter on incompatible identities but depend mainly on the promise of greater material equality in a common economy.

● The author teaches at the UCT Graduate School of Business and at Simon Fraser University, British Columbia.

Rescue Bid

(304A)
#CRIS/2/93

By BARRY STREEK
Political Staff

PRESIDENT F W De Klerk and ANC president Mr Nelson Mandela stepped in this weekend to limit damage caused by reports about a power-sharing deal — but both indicated that agreement was close for a government of national unity after a new constitution.

Their personal intervention came after reaction to reports that the government and ANC reached an agreement last week on a deal for a five-year period of power-sharing. After these reports provoked an angry response from the Inkatha Freedom Party, Mr De Klerk quickly moved to allay its fears before this week's scheduled three-day discussions between the government and the IFP.

The State President said in a television interview with Sir David Frost that no constitutional agreement was possible without Inkatha.

F W, Mandela intervene to limit damage

"We don't want to go the Yugoslavian way," he said. The government and ANC delegations in last week's discussions in Cape Town clearly reached some consensus on a government of national unity after a new constitution has been finalised, but both have stressed that this needs to be ratified by the cabinet and the ANC's national executive — and then submitted to multi-party talks for approval.

This week's meetings of the cabinet and the ANC's national executive as well as the discussions between the government and IFP will all be crucial.

Last night Mr De Klerk confirmed that the ANC and the government were close to

consensus on a government of national unity for an extended period of four to five years and on the need for entrenched devolution of powers to the regions.

But he flatly denied any formal agreement had been made and stated categorically that the government did not believe it could go ahead without Inkatha.

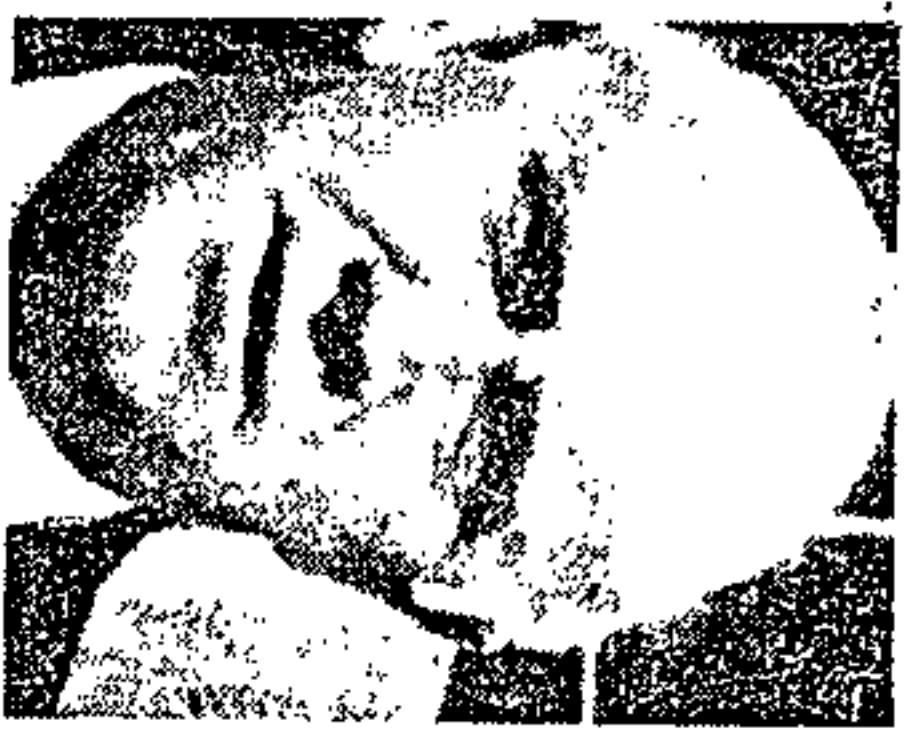
The ANC accused the government of trying to give its negotiations proposals more status than they had, while the government argued that the ANC was playing semantic games.

Mr Mandela said at a banquet on Saturday night: "I categorically deny the statement in the press that the

ANC has agreed to power-sharing until the year 1999. "An interim government of national unity is not power-sharing. What the government has proposed is a form of power-sharing."

He added that at last week's bilateral meeting the government had raised the question of a possible government of national unity extending for a limited period after the adoption of a new constitution. This suggestion still had to be put to the ANC's national executive committee for discussion.

The government and ANC statements over the weekend followed a statement on Friday by the Deputy Minister of Constitutional Development,



DAMAGE CONTROL
F W de Klerk



NO POWER-SHARING
Nelson Mandela

Mr Fanus Schoeman, that agreement had been reached during their bilateral meeting on power-sharing for five years.

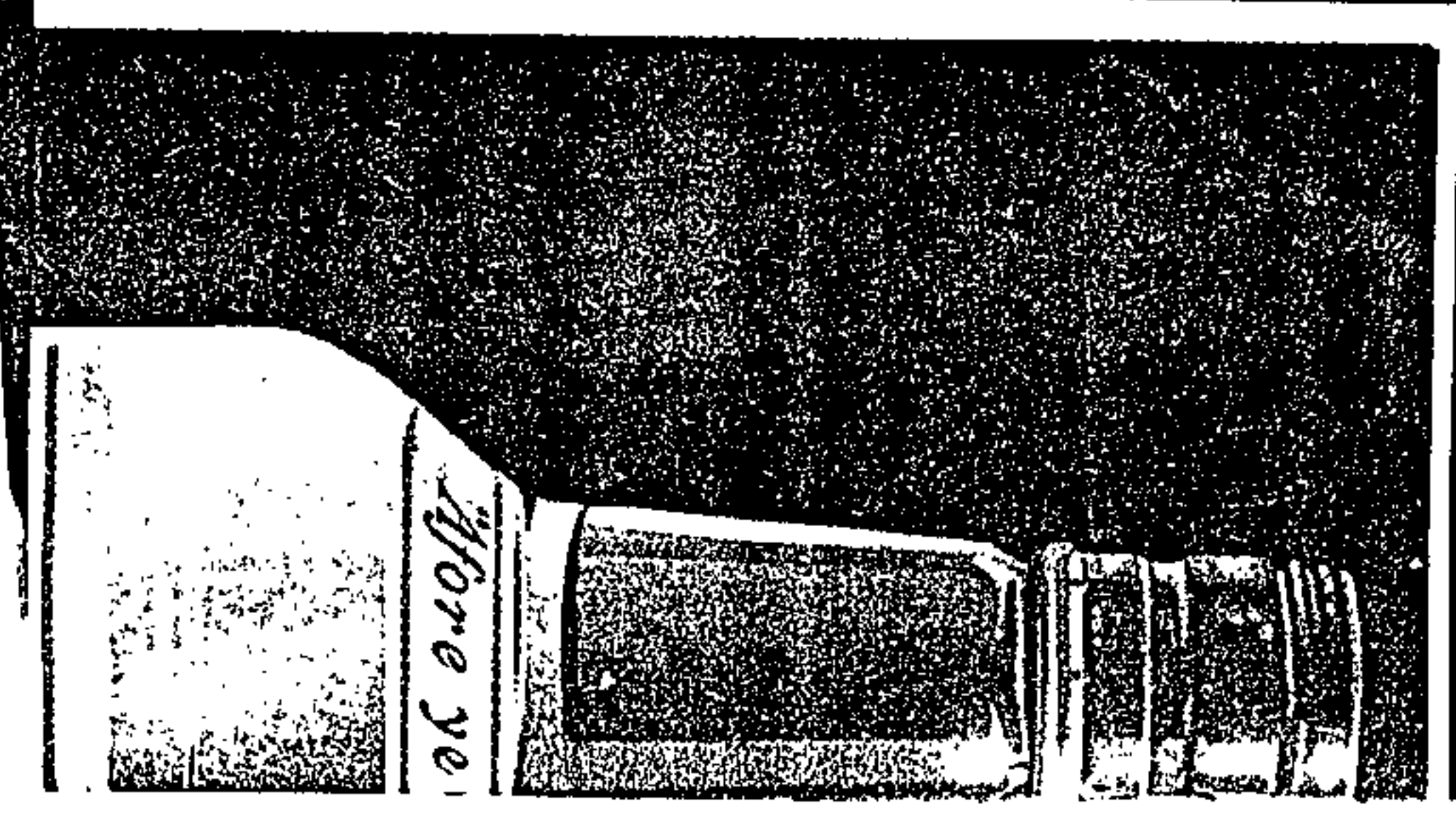
Mr Schoeman said yesterday: "A government of national unity is power-sharing."

He emphatically denied saying a deal had been made during the meeting.

ANC spokesman Mr Carl Niehaus said: "Schoeman jumped the gun. There was some convergence but it is all still very unclear. 'Yes, we are discussing a government of national unity after the drafting of a new constitution, but these are merely ideas and not part of a deal which can be forced down the throats of smaller parties.'"

**MASS SUPPORT
IN WESTERN
CAPE FOR FW**

— PAGE 2



PAC slams ANC, govt agreement

Staff Reporter

PAC president Mr. Clarence Makwetu slammed the recently-announced ANC/National Party agreement at a meeting in Langa yesterday, saying it amounted to co-optation.

He was speaking to about 700 people at the Langa Community Hall at an African Women's Organisation rally.

He said that according to the "present racist constitution", the government could not rule beyond 1994.

"Therefore in order to extend its life the regime has decided to sell the idea of an interim government — an arrangement that will delay African rule until the end of this century."

A new forum should assemble with the following characteristics:

- Participants must all be national political structures; **CT 15/2/93**

- Participants should prepare for elections for a constituent assembly on the basis of one person one vote in a unitary state;

- The media must be present at all time, and

- Neutrality must be ensured through "international involvement".

Focus on coloured support

Own Correspondent

LONDON. — President F W de Klerk can count on the support of the coloured community in multi-party elections next year if opinion polls suggesting up to 74% favour him as a leader prove correct, according to a report yesterday.

The Observer newspaper cited

recent polls which indicate that more than half of the three million coloured voters support the National Party while the ANC can claim up to 4,8% of coloured support.

Although it was not stated on which poll the report was based, a Human Sciences Research Council poll a year ago found a mere four percent support for

ANC president Mr Nelson Mandela among coloureds, while 61% supported Mr De Klerk.

Since then polls have indicated Mr De Klerk is losing support.

Observer correspondent Allister Sparks found a failure of leadership by the ANC and the fear of communism and the African majority had driven many coloureds into the white camp.

PAC objects to Num poll plan

JOHANNESBURG. — The PAC yesterday objected to the National Union of Mineworkers' (Num) decision to put forward candidates on an ANC ticket in the coming elections.

NUM president Mr James Motlatsi said on Monday the union's central committee had decided at the weekend to support a Reconstruction Accord between its

parent body, Cosatu, and the ANC.

The PAC's secretary for labour, Mr Lesaoana Makhanda, said the decision was "unwise and divisive".

He said to propose support for a sectarian position was "insensitive and undemocratic", and a violation of members' rights of freedom of association.

The United Independent

Trade Unions ad hoc committee of South Africa (UTUACOSA) yesterday also condemned the Num election plan as "undemocratic".

UTUACOSA chairman Mr Man- yoro Gumede said Num's deci- sion was "very undemocratic and very biased as Num has a mixed membership as regards the po- litical affiliation of individual Num members". — Sapa

Pik opposes domination

KEMPTON PARK. —

CT 15/2/93
The NP would not allow any single political party to dominate South Africa, Foreign Affairs Minister Mr Pik Botha said at the weekend.

He was addressing a Transvaal NP women's conference here.

Mr Botha said he felt confident that, with elections looming within a year, the NP would become the only party with substantial support among all population groups. — Sapa

FW defends Viljoen

Political Staff

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CAPE TOWN — President F.W. de Klerk yesterday brushed aside criticism that his appointment of Gerrit Viljoen as Minister of State Affairs just three months before the Minister's retirement last year amounted to a waste of taxpayers' money.

He was responding to a question by Colin Eglin (DP Sea Point).

Eglin said the post of Minister of State Affairs had been created especially to spare the NP embarrassment in the event of a by-election, and to retain a senior government official in high office.

De Klerk defended his former Minister, who retired in the wake of claims that he was politically accountable for corruption uncovered in the Department of Education and Training and the former Department of Development Aid.

The President said Viljoen had served SA with great distinction and had played a pivotal role in constitutional negotiations.

De Klerk said Eglin's questions constituted a "petty attack".

NUM to field candidates in first general election

Political Staff

(3044)

ARG 16/2/93

JOHANNESBURG. — In a move to help the African National Congress win the country's first democratic general election, the National Union of Mineworkers (NUM) announced it would avail its members as candidates on the ANC ticket.

NUM president Mr James Motlatsi told a news conference here yesterday that this did not signal any shift by the union from labour matters to politics.

The decision taken at the NUM's central committee meeting over the weekend had still to be referred to the Congress of South African Trade Unions (Cosatu), its parent body, said Mr Motlatsi. The union's position, he said, reaffirmed support for a reconstruction accord between Cosatu and the ANC.

The ANC-initiated accord, aimed at empowering blacks, binds an ANC government to guarantee:

- Protection of workers' rights, as embodied in the workers' charter.

- A programme of action on issues of poverty, job creation, education and training for blacks.

- Consultation with "democratic forces" and accountability of the ANC leadership to its grassroots support.

Mr Motlatsi said NUM officials who were also ANC regional executive members could expect to be automatically nominated by the ANC to stand as candidates in a general election.

"We're talking about 400 candidates, 200 of whom should be drawn from the ANC regional leadership."

30 000 applications a week for ID papers

Political Correspondent

HOME Affairs officials are processing 30 000 applications a week for identity documents in preparation for the first non-racial elections, parliament has been told.

But 20 percent of black South Africans have yet to get ID books.

Minister of Home Affairs Mr

Louis Pienaar said the number of applications for registration doubled from 15 000 to 30 000 a week after a R20-million initiative was launched midway through last year to highlight the process and encourage people to apply.

"Whether our negotiations succeed or not, some time or other we will have an election

and the ID book will be a useful instrument in that process," he said.

(30/11/93)
"It is in everybody's interest that they have ID books."

Mr Pienaar said identity documents had already been issued to about 95 percent of whites, 93 percent of Indians, 89 percent of coloureds and about 80 percent of blacks. ARG 16/12/93

Govt, ANC denial on deal

Sowetan 16/2/93

Sowetan Correspondent

THE final decision for a Government of National Unity to rule the country for five years will only be taken at a new multiparty negotiating forum.

President FW de Klerk and ANC president Mr Nelson Mandela moved quickly this weekend to dispel fears that they had struck a secret deal.

Top Government and ANC negotiators agreed in Cape Town on Friday that a Government of National Unity should have a five-year lifespan but the preliminary agreement is still to be endorsed by the Cabinet and the ANC's national executive committee this week.

The NEC of the ANC meets from today until Thursday and the Cabinet tomorrow when the issue will be discussed.

ANC and Government negotiators on Sunday indicated that discussions could take place on the details but they believed the agreement was likely to be ratified by their respective princi-

■ Multiparty negotiating forum will decide on a Government of National Unity for SA:

pals. (304A) ~~304A~~
Government and ANC negotiators were adamant that no deal had been struck between them. In terms of an agreement reached between the two parties in December at an extended meeting, bilateral agreements would only be binding on the Government and the ANC.

This means that if the Cabinet and the NEC

ratify the preliminary agreement, the ANC and the Government will push in a multiparty negotiating forum for acceptance of a Government of National Unity to rule for five years after the first democratic elections.

The IFP, the Conservative Party and the PAC are opposed to the preliminary agreement.

Tough talking ahead for govt

16/2/93.

BILLY PADDOCK

GOVERNMENT is likely to face strong criticism when it meets Inkatha and the Concerned SA Group this week to try and get a multiparty planning conference off the ground before the end of the month.

A flurry of important meetings involving all the major political players this week will try to settle objections, decide on shifts of emphasis in the approach to talks and set the stage for a possible two-day planning conference to get multiparty negotiations going next month.

The controversial preliminary agreement between the ANC and government, that a government of national unity rule the country for five years following elections for a constitution-making body will dominate the talks, a government negotiator said yesterday.

Security issues, particularly the discussions between the ANC and government over the joint control of all armed formations, will also be high on the agenda.

Government meets the Concerned SA Group today to discuss security and violence-related issues. It will be

dominated by the Umkhonto we Sizwe issue, the alleged smuggling of arms into Natal and Inkatha's demand that MK be disbanded.

The group is demanding a full disclosure of government's discussions with the ANC on this matter and any agreements reached by the two on armed formations falling under joint control.

It is understood that the government team headed by Law and Order Minister Hernus Kriel and including Justice Minister Kobie Coetsee, Defence Minister Gene Louw and Constitutional Development Minister Roelf Meyer, will be pushing the homeland representatives and Inkatha to accept joint control of their police and armies.

Government meets Inkatha in KwaZulu for three days starting tomorrow, primarily to discuss constitutional issues. However, sources said Kriel would raise the issue of an Inkatha branch chairman and five others involved in arms smuggling. Inkatha spokesman Walter Felgate

said his delegation would be taking a hard line towards government for "reneging" on its position and modifying its policies to move closer to the ANC.

Inkatha will also insist on support for allowing Zulu King Goodwill Zwelithini to lead KwaZulu's team at the planning meeting.

Also to be discussed is the regionalism issue.

Government will also have to try to convince Inkatha that it did not enter into binding agreements with the ANC pre-empting negotiations.

Government and the ANC have stated that their agreement was preliminary and still had to be discussed by their principals.

The ANC's national executive committee meets today for three days to discuss the agreement and the Cabinet meets tomorrow with a similar agenda.

It is expected that the plan of having a government of national unity for four to five years will be accepted by the NEC as this falls comfortably within the terms sought by the NEC.

● Comment: Page 14

each

NELSON Mandela has been issuing urgent appeals for the US and other donors to help his ANC prepare for elections. "We are dealing with a party (the NP) which is highly organised and experienced," he pleaded during his recent visit here for President Bill Clinton's inauguration. "Unless the ANC is resourced fully, we may not be able to realise the expectations of the public and the world."

Mandela appears acutely aware of the growing body of research indicating that, under present circumstances, voter turnout among the newly enfranchised will be disappointingly low. Craig Charney, an American sociologist at Wits who has been running focus groups for the Mada Trust, told the Carnegie Endowment last month that a figure under 45% was not inconceivable.

For most South Africans, Charney explained, voting was not only a new and confusing concept, but a terrifying one. He quoted an interviewee in the Free State who said bluntly: "I would be afraid to vote — I am afraid to die."

Fear of violence and intimidation was only part of the problem. There was "widespread cynicism" about the likely fairness of the process and the secrecy of ballots. Many, though black themselves, doubted the capacity of black government generally, citing the homeland experience and the record of regimes in the rest of the continent. A Leboya woman told the researcher: "Once there is a black government, the war will start."

It is easy to see why this is bad news for the ANC. Its electoral margins are far more dependent on those voters most likely to be no-shows than are the tallies of its competitors. Low participation could easily deny it an outright majority. And while fear may be a strong disincentive to voting, it can also be a powerful incentive for it. Those who fear the ANC may be more motivated to vote than those who claim allegiance to it.

The foregone conclusion factor should not be overlooked, especially in a climate where, as Charney put it, "the costs (of voting) seem high, the benefits uncertain". It could well prove the ANC has been too success-

Voter education must remain aloof from party politics

8/04/93 16/2/93
SIMON BARBER in Washington

ful in portraying itself as the inevitable new government (or dominant faction therein), thus unwittingly mobilising the minority opposed to this outcome while reducing the feeling on the part of its own sympathisers that their votes matter.

The correlation between turnout and outcome renders somewhat problematic the matter of outside assistance for voter education like that being provided by America's National Democratic Institute (NDI), an entity chartered and partially funded by the US government. Most such initiatives are nominally non-partisan, yet inasmuch as they succeed they may help to determine a particular result.

So are they desirable? On balance, yes. One has to be in favour of the largest possible turnout, whatever its implications in terms of winners and losers. The stronger the vote, the more difficult it will be for losers to sustain a case that they were robbed. And if there is one thing above all that should flow from SA's first non-racial election, it is stability.

It is in this light that the role of the NDI and similar foreign helpers should be judged: are they contributing to an outcome that all parties and factions will accept and that will in and of itself strengthen the credibility of the new constitutional order? At this stage it is not clear that the NDI passes the test.

Officially, the institute is above the fray. In fact, virtually all the groups it is working with in SA are



□ MBULU

aligned with what senior associate Patricia Keefer referred to last week as "the movement".

Since 1988 it has been taking ANC officials to observe elections in Africa, eastern Europe and elsewhere. Its principal partner in SA is the University of the Western Cape's Centre for Development Studies, with whom it is running Project Vote. Participants at recent project workshops, the latest in Cape Town last weekend, have been a who's who

of the politically correct. They include the SA Council of Churches, the Institute for Contextual Theology, Cosatu, the SA National Civics Organisation and the SACP.

By itself, this is neither surprising nor very disturbing. The real difficulty lies in the voter education "kit" the NDI has prepared with a \$1m grant from the US Agency for International Development, and which is to be targeted at the smaller cities and rural areas where the ANC is particularly anxious about a low turnout.

More than 6 000 kits have been readied for distribution in a wide variety of languages. They are intended to help movement-selected "trainers" teach their countrymen how, and why, to vote. Included in each are dummy ballots, a cardboard ballot box and voting booth, posters, a manual and a motivational videotape. The design reflects the results of 14 focus groups conducted in out-of-the-way communities by Fred Hartwig of the American polling firm Peter Hart Research Associates last September.

In most respects, Hartwig's diagnosis echoes that of Charney, and is hard to fault (if only because his data do not pretend to be scientific). What can be quarrelled with is prescription, a piece of extraordinary cynicism which the NDI is following to the letter. In essence, voters are to be tricked into casting ballots, with the help of popular personalities like Archbishop Desmond Tutu, comed-

an Joe Mfelo and singer Letta Mbulu, who have been identified as persuasive spokesmen.

Having assembled his focus groups (with an offer of R50 to each volunteer and a similar inducement for recruiters), Hartwig sought to establish what black South Africans most wanted out of a new government. In order of frequency, the responses were better schools, more and better jobs, better housing and peace.

Normally, the promise of such things is why people vote for particular parties. But at Hartwig's suggestion, the NDI is using the promise as the reason for voting, period.

Each Project Vote package comes with newspaper-like flyers to be distributed in target areas. In addition to outlining the basic mechanics of voting, the flyers contain the following message, which trainers and spokesmen are to reinforce at all times: "By voting, you can make sure that your children get a better education... You can also make sure you get better housing, jobs, water, electricity and sanitation... All it takes for all this to come about is enough votes."

Some may regard this as a not-so-subliminal advertisement for the ANC. It's an arguable point and, in any event, is not why these materials are dangerous. The real peril lies in the deception they are perpetrating. The mere fact of voting and elections will not in itself cause any of the promised miracles to occur.

Material conditions may improve in the long run, but that's about the best that can be said. To gull people into thinking otherwise is ultimately to risk discrediting the whole democratic process, deepening the scepticism that already exists, and smoothing the way for the lurking autocrats.

If the NDI wants to promote democracy, its energies would be better spent educating people about what democracy really means, about rights, responsibilities and the rule of law, about accountability and the proper relationship between citizen, parties and state — not disseminating profoundly anti-democratic lies. Maximising turnout is a laudable goal, but not at the price of there being only one election. Heavy voting may help a democracy succeed, but is not a sufficient condition.

NEWS PAC secretary-general says the ANC and Government have agreement

Power-sharing deal a reality — Alexander

Sowetan 16/2/93

By Themba Molefe
Political Reporter

THE Pan Africanist Congress yesterday insisted that the Government and African National Congress had agreed on a power-sharing deal.

PAC secretary-general Mr Benny Alexander said the diplomatic corps inside and outside South Africa confirmed that both parties will share power until 1999.

"It is with deep regret that the PAC has to indict the ANC for selling out the struggle at the table of convenience of a few elite," Alexander told a Johannesburg

Diplomatic corps confirms that Govt-ANC want joint rule:
Press conference.

"This deal was reported for six days before they (Government and ANC) started responding to its negative publicity and perceptions."

"Deputy Minister of Constitutional Affairs Mr Fanus Schoeman confirmed the power-sharing deal on Friday and again yesterday. Mr (Mohammed) Valli Moosa of the ANC added on Saturday that the deal included agreement on a two-thirds majority vote at a constitution-making body." He said the presidents of the NP and

ANC contradicted their colleagues when they denied the deal.

"The ANC national executive committee accepted the (Joe) Slovo power-sharing proposals and their negotiators were, therefore, fully mandated to bind the ANC on the matter."

"The National Party caucus already decided to accept power-sharing and their negotiators, too, were fully mandated to bind the regime on the matter."

"They furthermore leaked the deal to test the responses of their opponents and the diplomatic corps."



6 000 die in

Huambo

Sowetan 16/2/93

■ MPLA gains ground in city:

LUANDA — The Angolan government said yesterday it had regained ground from Unita rebels in the decisive battle for Huambo.

Diplomats said the government's position was precarious and they believed the rebels still controlled large parts of the city. Fighting was raging around the governor's palace and army installations, the government said.

More than 6 000 civilians were killed in the five weeks of combat and those who remained were short of food and water, it said. Angolan military sources said both sides had sent reinforcements to the central highland city, which has been pounded to rubble in many parts. - Sapa-Reuter

Patrick Laurence looks at Nelson Mandela's aversion to the phrase power-sharing

No big deal on national unity

Star 16/2/93

(144)

(304A)

POWER-SHARING, like federalism, has become a loaded concept in South Africa's political lexicon.

Clear evidence of that came at a weekend when the ANC president, Nelson Mandela, emphatically repudiated reports that the ANC negotiating team had agreed a transitional power-sharing arrangement with President F W Klerk's negotiators.

"I wish to categorically deny a statement made in the press at the ANC has agreed to power-sharing until the year 99," Mandela said during an address at a banquet in Sandton.

"An interim government of national unity is not power-sharing," said, having earlier rejected reports that there had been a set power-sharing deal between the ANC and the Government.

Power-sharing, he said, was a primary objective of the De Klerk administration, not the ANC.

The ANC stood for an interim government of national unity, which he defined as a means of achieving national unity rather than a formula for sharing power. But closer examination of the proposed interim government of

national unity shows that it amounts to a form of power-sharing, although Mandela, for sound political reasons, chooses not to use that label.

The ANC negotiating team's proposal — with which their interlocutors from the De Klerk administration now agree — is that after the election of a constitutional-making body a transitional government of national unity (TGNU) should be formed.

The TGNU — which will remain in power for up to five years after the constitution-making body has drafted a new constitution — will have two key tasks: to administer the country and forge national unity and to phase in the new constitution.

It will be composed of all parties which obtain between five and 10 percent of the popular vote (the exact threshold has not yet been fixed); the parties will be represented in the TGNU in proportion to their share of the popular vote.

An arrangement in which parties which obtain, say, 15 percent of the vote but are still guaranteed a place in the government is a form of power-sharing, however

much Mandela may dislike the description.

The question then arises: why does Mandela object to characterising the proposed TGNU as power-sharing?

One part of the explanation lies in reports that the ANC and the De Klerk administration had secretly concluded a deal to share power, with all the connotations of conspiracy and manipulation.

Mandela and the ANC leadership clearly wanted to dissociate themselves from those reports, in large measure because they were untrue.

The agreement reached between the ANC and NP negotiating teams was not secret; its broad details were announced at two separate press conferences by representatives of the two teams. The confusion which resulted appears to have been the product of inadequate briefing rather than deliberate obfuscation.

If and when the proposals have been ratified and modified by De Klerk's Cabinet and the ANC's national executive, they will be placed on the table at the pending multiparty negotiating conference for debate.

There is, however, another aspect to Mandela's aversion to the phrase "power-sharing": originally a term associated with liberalism, power-sharing was later appropriated by De Klerk and his ruling National Party, who gave it a particular meaning.

In South Africa today and perhaps particularly in the numerically dominant black community, "power-sharing" connotes prolongation of white rule, preservation of white power and dilution of black nationalism.

More specifically, it has come to be associated with the NP's as yet unmodified constitutional proposals as contained in its booklet, "Constitutional Rule in a Participatory Democracy".

Formally presented to the NP's federal congress in September 1991, these proposals caused a stir at the time because of their use of a large array of constitutional devices to thwart the exercise of power by a majority party. Mandela described them at the time as "a recipe for disaster".

It is worth recalling some of these mechanisms: ● A tripartite presidency made up

of the leaders of the three biggest parties;

● A rotating president chosen at prescribed intervals from the tripartite of leaders;

● An upper house with a veto over proposed laws and based — in the ingenious phase of De Klerk's former confidant, Gerrit Viljoen — on a system of "disproportionate representative" calculated to equalise representation between smaller and bigger parties.

● A franchise system at the level of local government in which votes would be weighted in favour of property owners.

Linked into the NP's system was the concept of concurrent majorities, a notion that stipulates that no decision can be taken until it is passed by a majority of every participating unit or party. It is the perfect device for defending the status quo, since nothing can be changed unless it is approved by the smallest of parties.

It is worth recalling that one of the best known protagonists of the notion of concurrent majorities was John C Calhoun, the Southern Senator who defended slavery in the run-up to the Civil War.

Thus it is not surprising that Mandela shies away from the phrase "power-sharing". Like federalism — the "F-word", as it has been labelled — power-sharing has connotations of political obscurity in some communities, including those where many of the ANC's constituents are located.

There is more than a little irony in Mandela's aversion to the phrase.

When P W Botha came to power in 1978, he found the phrase "power-sharing" distasteful; to him it smacked of effete liberalism, of concession and surrender to the black majority.

But when he introduced the now discredited tricameral parliament, he was subscribing to a form of strictly controlled and limited power-sharing, one designed to recruit coloured and Indian auxiliaries for the politically ascendant whites.

To differentiate it from the power-sharing notions of the despised liberals, he called it "healthy power-sharing". It was the NP's first step to appropriating and redefining a term and a policy from its liberal opponents. □

Govt, ANC 'back-peddalling on deal'

By Kaizer Nyatumba
Political Reporter

Denials by the Government and the ANC that their negotiators have clinched a secret power-sharing deal were nothing but a cover-up to appease critics in its own ranks and strong opposition from other political groups, the PAC and the Conservative Party charged yesterday.

As the rumpus continued, the organisations remained adamant that the Government and the ANC had concluded a pact to share power for five years after the first democratic elections.

President de Klerk and ANC president Nelson Mandela said at the weekend that no secret deals had been made. They said certain agreements on transition which had been concluded during a bilateral meeting in Cape Town last

week still had to be ratified by the Cabinet and the ANC's national executive this week.

PAC secretary-general Benny Alexander yesterday accused the ANC of "selling out the struggle".

At a press conference in Johannesburg, he said the PAC believed reports of a secret deal. He warned that South Africa would not know peace unless all organisations were involved in negotiations.

He said denials by Mandela and De Klerk were "weak attempts at a cover-up". He said the "deal" had been deliberately leaked to the media to test public opinion and, now that it had met with a hostile reception, the parties were trying to back-pedal.

In Cape Town yesterday, CP leader Dr Andries Treurnicht said in a statement that the Government-ANC agreement had been an attempt at a coup

d'état to benefit the ANC, Sapa reports.

He said the Government was seriously divided over the agreement, which represented a complete reversal of its position in favour of the ANC.

Power-sharing in the presidency had been abandoned for a single president, and the Government was settling for power-sharing only during the transition. A constituent assembly, which would simultaneously operate as a parliament, would draft a final constitution, to be followed by majority rule.

"The fact that Mr De Klerk is now back-tracking is an attempt to combat the dispute in his own party."

Treurnicht added that the Government had no mandate for the agreement.

The Democratic Party, while welcoming aspects of

the agreement, expressed concern that the final decision on the powers, functions and boundaries of regions should be left to an elected constitution-making body to decide.

DP national chairman Ken Andrew said the party believed that a Bill of Rights and the key elements of federalism or regionalism should be in place before a constitution-making body was elected.

"It is essential that important checks and balances are in place before a transfer of power takes place," he said.

However, he warned against overreaction to the agreements. Bilateral discussions were necessary and there was often a fine line between finding common ground in bilateral negotiations and pre-empting decisions that should properly be taken at a multiparty conference, Andrew said.

● No big deal — Page 10

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Star 16/12/93

Star 16/2/93
Codesa summit cost over R10-m

CAPE TOWN.— The total cost of last year's three-month Codesa summit was R10,7 million, Constitutional Development Minister Roelf Meyer said yesterday. Replying to a question by Dr Ferdi Hartzenberg (CP, Lichtenburg) during the second reading debate on the Additional Appropriation, he said an item of R1,5 million in his department's additional estimates related to the appointment of Dr Niel Barnard as head of Constitutional Development. (304A)

Critical week ahead for talks

3048 DT 16/2/93

By ANTHONY JOHNSON
Political Correspondent

SOUTH AFRICA today enters a critical four days in the negotiations process aimed at ushering in a new democratic order.

The burning question of whether South Africa will meet the timetable for the resumption of multi-party talks and elections for an interim government is likely to be determined this week.

The ANC's national executive committee (NEC) this morning begins two days of potentially bruising talks to thrash out an official response to a controversial power-sharing proposal brokered by ANC and government negotiators last week.

Also on the talks agenda for today is a meeting between the government and the Concerned South African Group — including Inkatha, Bophuthatswana, Ciskei and the CP — which has expressed alarm at the growing consensus between the ANC and the government.

The National Party's negotia-

Hani: Benefits win support

Own Correspondent

LONDON. — The quickest way to get rid of the government was to "sleep in the same bed with them", and work towards providing simple benefits for the vast majority of people, Mr Chris Hani, MK's deputy commander and SACP's secretary-general said, here yesterday.

On a weekend visit to London after six days in Cuba, Mr Hani said that

once people enjoyed improved basic services such as toilets, electricity, hospitals and schools, their suspicions of a coalition government would be allayed.

Mr Hani said he was confident that once doubters of power-sharing saw a budget favouring social upliftment and realised that the government was "interested in our problem", they would give full support.

tors will hold yet another bilateral meeting today with the DP in which the thorny issue of federalism is expected to feature prominently.

Early tomorrow morning the cabinet will meet in Cape Town to evaluate the consensus NP and ANC negotiators were able to achieve last week on the cornerstone issues of power-sharing and regionalism.

Later tomorrow the NP begins a three-day bilateral meeting with Inkatha which has been threatening civil war and bloodshed in Natal/Kwazulu if the major parties attempt to enforce a govern-

ment/ANC solution on the region.

The government's main task will be once again to reassure the IFP that the talk of secret "deals" with the ANC is untrue, and that no agreements will be made except at multi-party talks.

This week's talks take place against a mounting chorus of criticism from political groupings outside the negotiation process — including the CP, Azapo and PAC.

If there are no hiccups, an announcement can be expected at the end of this week that the multi-party planning conference will go ahead as planned on February 26 and 27.

Consensus nears on poll format

Municipal Reporter

304

CP 16/2/93

A DEGREE of consensus on the format for South Africa's first-ever all-party elections already exists, according to local National Party and African National Congress officials.

The elections will probably be run on similar lines to the last white referendum, Mr Piet Coetzer, NP Western Cape director of information, said yesterday. He said all adults will be eligible, but

instead of the "yes" and "no" blocks on last year's referendum ballots, there would be a list of political parties.

Mr Coetzer and ANC regional secretary Mr Tony Yengeni both said that voters' rolls were unlikely to be used as elections would not run on a constituency basis.

Voters could vote wherever they were with their votes being recorded for their home regions, and the use of identity

documents and invisible ink would stop people voting twice.

The ANC and NP seem to agree South Africa should have a system of proportional representation.

Parties will be allotted seats in a roughly 400-strong constituent assembly in proportion to the number of votes they receive. Seats will be filled from lists of candidates drawn up by competing parties, as happened in Namibia.

Nats and ANC battling to sell power-share deal

304A
AUG 17/1983

Political Staff

THE government and the ANC are battling to sell their five-year power-sharing deal to constituents and allies, raising fears that the timetable for transition is slipping.

The ANC's national executive committee decided yesterday to refer the deal to its grassroots structures for a mandate, a move that will certainly cause delay.

The next target date is a multiparty planning conference next week — on February 25 and 26 — to arrange the resumption of Codesa-style formal multiparty negotiations.

President De Klerk said yesterday a conference before the end of February was still attainable but it is beginning to look unlikely.

A mountain of potential obstacles has to be shifted.

Yesterday the ANC's negotiation team explained the deal to its national executive committee, amid signs of a revolt from some regions.

It is understood many anxieties and reservations were expressed.

NEC member Chris Hani said the NEC had decided that the proposals were so important that they needed to be taken to grassroots for a mandate.

He said this would take time and indicated that a multiparty planning conference before the end of February now looked unlikely — although he was confident it would still take place.

The NEC meeting continues today.

The government also faces a major hurdle in explaining the deal to the Inkatha Freedom Party, which has already threatened warfare if the government and the ANC try to force a bilateral power-sharing deal on Natal and Kwazulu.

The government meets the IFP for an intense three-day "bosberaad" in Natal starting today, which will also be decisive in determining whether the transition timetable can be kept.

Senior government sources said they had no way of predicting how the IFP would react and said many potential obstacles could be raised.

FW confident talks will start within two weeks

PRESIDENT F W de Klerk said yesterday he was still confident that a multiparty planning conference could take place before the end of February as scheduled.

In a joint statement after a meeting with Bophuthatswana President Lucas Mangope, the two delegations said government informed the Bophuthatswana delegation "of recent developments in bilateral negotiations... and the two sides agreed that multiparty talks should be convened as soon as possible".

They also agreed to form a joint committee to continue discussions with a view to examining the "various aspects of their bilateral relations and general constitutional situation".

Before the meeting, Mangope said the discussion was a continuation of a series of meetings between the two governments that began last year.

"I expect President De Klerk will inform us of exactly what transpired at the bilateral meetings (between government and the ANC last week), because the media has been confus-

ing and we would like to hear it from the horse's mouth, so to speak."

Meanwhile, in a separate meeting, a Concerned South Africans Group delegation met government representatives in Cape Town to try to clear up security related matters ahead of the expected planning conference.

Inkatha president Mangosuthu Buthelezi had stressed that he wanted the Umkhonto we Sizwe matter cleared up before he was prepared to join a multiparty forum.

Government also wants the issue resolved. A senior negotiator said that if parties could agree on what was to happen to all armed formations — whether they would fall under joint control or be closely monitored by a subcouncil of a transitional executive authority — the process could move ahead.

Law and Order Minister Hernus Kriel said in a statement after the meeting yesterday that the parties discussed violence and paramilitary

structures such Umkhonto, the Azanian People's Liberation Army, self-defence units, Wenkommandos and the Ystergarde.

"It was agreed that it was of vital and urgent importance that a solution to this problem be found as rapidly as possible," Kriel said.

It is understood that no solutions were expected from the meeting as it was a subcommittee meeting to "brainstorm" ideas for controlling armed formations.

The parties also expressed their deep concern about the availability of illegal firearms, arms caches and alleged programmes of violence by certain organisations.

Kriel said government had expressed its grave concern about the recent seizure of a large consignment of arms from ANC and Umkhonto members, as well as alleged arms smuggling by Inkatha members.

A group proposal for a joint government-Concerned South Africans Group permanent committee on security matters was still being examined by the parties.

BIDM 17/2/93
BILLY PADDOCK

Inkatha wins over third MP

306A TIM COHEN 423

CAPE TOWN — Inkatha gained its third supporting MP yesterday in as many weeks when nominated Solidarity member Farouk Cassim crossed the floor to become the first Inkatha-supporting, independent Indian MP. *BIDM*

Inkatha has now gained members from three different parties in recent weeks. MPs who declared their support for Inkatha before Cassim were Mike Tarr of the DP and Jurie Mentz of the NP. *17/2/93*

Cassim said Inkatha president Mangosutho Buthelezi was "delighted" when they discussed his joining the party, although his membership of Inkatha's central committee was not discussed. *25/2*

Cassim listed his reasons for joining Inkatha as long concern about the Indian community's slide towards the NP, the party's position on federalism, and Inkatha's commitment to free market principles.

National unity govt is the only practical way to

Star 17/2/93

A GREAT deal of semantic confusion has blown up over the agreement reached between Government and ANC negotiating teams last week.

The trouble is that "power sharing" is an explosive phrase which means different things to different players in this delicate game. So is the concept of a "deal", with its connotations of some kind of sinister backroom transaction.

Add to that journalism's tendency to oversimplify and Chief Mangosuthu Buthelezi's tendency to over-dramatise, and you have the ingredients for the sort of confusion that can derail a negotiation process.

The facts are as follows:

There is no agreement by the NP and the ANC to share power for five years.

What there is, is an agreement, still to be ratified, that the NP and the ANC favour a "government of national unity" consisting of all parties that win more than 5 or 10 percent of the vote in South Africa's first one-person-one-vote election. Which is a very different thing.

The idea is that this all-party government of national unity should run the country for a five-year transition period before there is normal majority rule.

Fact number two is that this is not an agreement binding on anyone else. Indeed at this stage it is no more than a proposal by the two negotiating teams to their own leaders — President de Klerk and his Cabinet, and Nelson Mandela and his national executive committee. They have still to debate it, maybe modify it, and then ratify it.

Even then it will not be binding on anyone else. It will simply be an agreement between these two political organisations that overcomes their previous differences, and which they will try to persuade others to accept at the multiparty conference which the Government is trying to set up for next month. It will be equally open to other parties to bring different proposals to that conference.

Since it was the differences between the NP and the ANC that caused Codesa 2 to break down

Cabinet members and will name a president who will operate with limited powers. Other parties will be represented according to their strength. All will have a say in Cabinet decisions.

It can become a power-sharing deal between the NP and the ANC only if every other party fails to get at least 5 or 10 percent of the total vote — the actual cut-off minimum having been left open for later decision.

There is no logical reason for Chief Buthelezi's outrage. If his party can make the cut of 5 or 10 percent of the total vote in the election, he will be part of the government of national unity. If it can't, he will not deserve to be.

The one group whose protests are more logical in a political sense are the PAC and other radicals. They are trying to portray themselves as the revolutionary purists who reject compromise. Their political future depends on being able to capitalise on disillusionment in the black community, on the inevitable crisis of expectations that will follow a settlement and the inability of any post-

apartheid government to deliver instant prosperity to the underclass.

Their strategy is to portray the negotiators as sellouts and betrayers of the liberation struggle. That is going to be the political battlefront of the future, and the lines are being drawn now.

The NP faces a similar challenge from its hardliners, who accuse it of betraying its commitment to Afrikaner survival. Generations of Afrikaners have been brought up to believe that majority rule would be tantamount to national suicide. Now majority rule is in prospect.

This is what makes the phrase "power sharing" so loaded. For President de Klerk it has been the vindicating cover for his actions. He has been telling his people he will not accept majority rule but only a system of "power sharing", or permanent coalition rule, in which they and other minorities will continue to have control over their own destinies.

For Nelson Mandela the phrase means the opposite — that he has abandoned the quest for majority

rule, the *leitmotif* of the black liberation struggle, and settled for something less in which the white minority will be able to block real change and preserve the inequalities of apartheid.

Now we have the compromise of a government of national unity for five years. Whether that amounts to power sharing or not has less to do with the literal meaning of the words than with the political connotation they have been given on both sides. Hence the flurry of denials and counter-denials, with the NP claiming the ANC has accepted power sharing and the ANC vehemently denying this.

Call it what you like, the plan itself is clear enough — a temporary arrangement that seeks to save honour for both. It also happens to be the only practical way forward. The only alternative is to return to an endless struggle to inherit the ruins of a destroyed land.

Only those with agendas too narrow to see the national interest — the sectarian, the paranoiac, the opportunistic and the revolutionary junkies — can possibly want that. □

Allister Sparks



last May, one would have thought everyone would have applauded the fact that they have now overcome them. Everyone still interested in a settlement, that is.

But the real point is that the proposal is eminently sensible and fair to everyone. It is a proposal for everyone with a meaningful constituency to share in the government of national unity for five years to ease the transition, allay (mostly white) fears of sudden change and hopefully build a sense of national unity in this tragically divided land before taking the final step to full, normal democracy.

The idea is that each party's representation in the government of national unity should be proportionate to the number of votes it receives in the election. The majority party will have the most

*The CHAIRMAN OF THE HOUSE: Order! Is the hon member prepared to take a question?

*Mr D M G CURRY: No, I do not have the time for questions. [Interjections.]

I have a standing record in South Africa. I have a clear conscience. [Interjections.] I need not be applauded by the NP. They will not vote for me. I told the hon the Minister of Local Government, Housing and Agriculture that I wished him many blessings, because the problem relating to this shortage will catch up with him. [Time expired.]

*The MINISTER OF LOCAL GOVERNMENT, HOUSING AND AGRICULTURE: Mr Chairman, I do not wish to add anything about Delft, except to say, for the information of the hon member for Pniel, that the private sector has now indicated that it is going to withdraw from Delft. [Interjections.]

*The CHAIRMAN OF THE HOUSE: Order! The hon member for Daljosaphat must now contain himself!

*The MINISTER: When there was no money, for the information of the hon member for Pniel, we were able to involve the private sector in order to build 2 000 units on that land. That is what we are doing to eliminate the shortage. This bed which the LPSA is making in the residential areas in conjunction with the ANC,

the creation of a culture of abuse of people's problems in order to make political capital, is driving the private sector from our residential areas. [Interjections.]

What have the NP Ministers' Council and the NP in the House of Representatives done to eliminate the shortage? We have said that we have already financed the 400 projects which that erstwhile hon Minister could not finance. Out of those, 10 000 units are now being built on the land, and we want to at least treble this figures during the next financial year. During the past financial year R28 million has been allocated in the form of individual loans, which we would like to at least double, if that is at all possible. Out of R28 million we have now built 800 units.

We will admittedly not be able to address the entire shortage. However, I think that this has been the first successful attempt at really addressing this shortage in a long time. We have made a further attempt to make the purchase of a house affordable to the man in the street by setting aside a larger amount for the payment of subsidies to first-time home buyers. [Time expired.]

Debate concluded.

HOUSE OF DELEGATES

QUESTIONS

†Indicates translated version.

For oral reply:

General Affairs:

Drivers' licences: identity documents

*1. Mr K PANDAY asked the Minister of Transport:

(1) Whether he intends allowing persons with valid drivers' licences which are not included in their identity documents to drive on South African roads; if not, why not; if so, in terms of what statutory or other provisions;

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

The DEPUTY MINISTER OF TRANSPORT:

(1) No. These drivers' licences lapsed in accordance with the repealed Road Traffic Ordinances on 1 July 1985. Persons could have had their licences included in their identity documents since 1972 and if they did not do so, they have themselves to blame because considerable publicity was given to this by the Department of Home Affairs, especially before the final period of grace. It must be emphasised that allowing this could create the possibility of numerous forged licences being validated by implication.

(2) I am at present considering the possibility of allowing a very limited final period of grace in those cases where the old types of licence have, in spite of repeated requests since 1972 in this regard by the Department of Home Affairs, still not been incorporated into the identity document, to do so. Such a measure will be considered in co-operation with the Department of Home Affairs and the SA Police. It is inevitable that considerable discussion and investigation will have to take place before a final decision can be taken regarding this matter, in order to guard against validation of forged licences.

Mr H M NEERAHOO: Mr Chairman, arising out of the hon the Deputy Minister's reply, is he telling us that those people who did not get their licences included in their identity documents before 1985 can now do so?

The DEPUTY MINISTER: Mr Chairman, if the hon member had listened to the reply to the second part of the question, he would know that they cannot do so. However, the hon the Minister proposes to consider allowing a further period of grace, but he says that before he does that he will have to discuss it with the SA Police and the Department of Home Affairs. He also says that considerable consideration will have to be given to this matter in order to guard against what he terms the validation of forged licences.

*2. Mr A Rajbansi—Justice. [Question standing over.]

The CHAIRMAN OF THE MINISTERS' COUNCIL: Mr Chairman, the hon the Minister of Justice has requested that the question stand over. He is busy with an interpellation this afternoon, but he will deal with this question shortly.

Conversion of parliamentary system

*3. Mr A RAJBANSI asked the Minister of Constitutional Development:

Whether he will consider introducing legislation to amend the Constitution so as to provide for the conversion of the present tricameral parliamentary system into a unicameral one; if not, why not; if so, when does he propose to introduce such legislation? (306A) D8E

The DEPUTY MINISTER OF TRANSPORT (for the Minister of Constitutional Development):

No.

The Government's viewpoint in this regard has been emphasised on numerous occasions, both inside and out of Parliament. The Government is fully committed to a new constitution which will include all South Africans and in terms of which there will be a fully representative Parliament. For the sake of good orderly and continuing government, we need

to maintain the Constitution as it is until it is replaced by a negotiated transitional constitution, which will certainly not be based on a tricameral system. Most parties involved in the negotiation process agree with this.

Mr A RAJBANSI: Mr Chairman, arising out of the hon the Deputy Minister's reply, does he have any proof that most of the negotiating partners agree with this? An erstwhile Minister of Constitutional Development stated that the only place in which apartheid remains is within the confines of the tricameral Parliament. Is it not correct that the three Chambers should be converted into one Chamber to remove this apartheid?

The DEPUTY MINISTER: Mr Chairman, I would really like to enter into a debate with the hon member, but this is not part of my portfolio. I am just standing in for the hon the Minister of Constitutional Development. If the hon member reads the reply I read out, I think he will be quite satisfied.

Mr M F CASSIM: Mr Chairman, further arising out of the hon the Deputy Minister's reply, inasmuch as I regret that the hon the Minister of Constitutional Development is not here, I nevertheless wish to state that events in Parliament have overtaken the initial provisions in the Constitution. With regard to the present circumstances, there is a compelling need for that change to be recognised in the Constitution as it stands.

The DEPUTY MINISTER: Mr Chairman, the reason the hon the Minister is not here is that he is, in fact, negotiating with the hon member's new party. [Interjections.] I must apologise for his not being present here. I am not in a position to debate this issue any further as it is not part of my portfolio.

I would suggest that if hon members feel very strongly about it, they should perhaps request an interpellation with either the hon the State President or the hon the Minister of Constitutional Development so that they may debate their question with them.

Seva Samaj Temple: bomb blast
*4. Mr M RAJAB asked the Minister of Law and Order:

(1) Whether the South African Police are investigating the recent bomb blast at the

HOUSE OF DELEGATES

Seva Samaj Temple in Laudium; if not, why not; if so,

(2) whether this investigation has been completed; if not, why not; if so, (a) when and (b) what type of explosive was used in the blast;

(3) whether he will make a statement on the matter? D12E

The DEPUTY MINISTER OF LAW AND ORDER:

(1) Yes.

(2) No.

The search is continuing for possible clues and the persons responsible for the explosion.

(a) Falls away.

(b) The Forensic Division of the South African Police could not determine what type of explosives was involved, but the investigation is continuing.

(3) No.

Mr P NAIDOO: Mr Chairman, arising out of the hon the Deputy Minister's reply, I should like to inquire of him why the SA Police have not offered a reward for information that may lead to the arrest and conviction of the perpetrators of this crime.

The DEPUTY MINISTER: Mr Chairman, we normally do give rewards to people who furnish us with information and this particular request is one that could be considered. At present, however, the investigations are continuing and we sincerely hope that we will be able to make a breakthrough fairly soon.

Mr A RAJBANSI: Mr Chairman, further arising out of the hon the Deputy Minister's reply, in the light of the fact that he has stated that such a request could be considered, could he state that in other cases in which his Department acted immediately to offer rewards, they acted upon request?

The DEPUTY MINISTER: Mr Chairman, could I just have the latter part of the hon member's question?

Mr A RAJBANSI: Did the hon the Deputy Minister in those circumstances...

The CHAIRMAN OF THE HOUSE: Order! I want to inform hon members that we are coming to the end of our allotted time. I should like to deal with the final question, *Questions and Answers*.

Islamic organization: report

*5. Mr M RAJAB asked the Minister of Justice:

(1) Whether a report by the Office for Serious Economic Offences on an investigation into the affairs of a certain Islamic organization, the name of which has been furnished to the Minister's Department for the purpose of his reply, has been handed to his Department; if so, (a) when, (b) what is the name of this organization and (c) what are the findings contained in the report;

(2) whether he will make a statement on the matter? D13E

The MINISTER OF THE BUDGET AND AUXILIARY SERVICES (for the Minister of Justice):

(1) Yes, in terms of section 5(12) of the Investigation of Serious Economic Offences, 1991 (Act 117 of 1991), a report was submitted to me.

(a) On 4 February 1993.

(b) and (c) The Director of the Office for Serious Economic Offences recommended that the matter be referred to the Attorney-General of Natal for his decision whether a prosecution should be instituted or not. As a matter of policy the name of the organisation is not disclosed.

(2) A statement is not necessary.

Precedence given to interpellations on general affairs on Wednesdays pursuant to the resolution adopted by the House on Friday, 29 January 1993.

INTERPELLATIONS

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

Own Affairs:

Conditions at schools

1. Mr M RAJAB asked the Minister of Education and Culture:

Whether she has addressed the conditions allegedly obtaining at schools under the control of her Department that were recently highlighted in a series of articles in an editorial of a certain newspaper, the name of which has been furnished to the Minister's Department for the purpose of her reply; if not, why not; if so, (a) how and (b) when? D11E.INT

The MINISTER OF EDUCATION AND CULTURE: Mr Chairman, the answer to 1(a) and (b) is as follows. The Deputy Director-General of the Department of Education and Culture responded to the issues raised in the editorial of *The Natal Mercury* of 19 January 1993 in a letter to the editor dated 20 January 1993. For the edification of the hon member for Springfield, I shall read the letter:

Your editorial comment under the caption, "HOD dust-up" of 19 January 1993 is not only unjustified but, regrettably, a sad reflection of your biased reporting. Your hitherto widely respected newspaper is, for some months now, conducting a vendetta against the Department of Education and Culture in the House of Delegates. The relentless denigration of educators and pupils through highly sensational reporting of a few isolated cases of alleged child abuse is ample evidence of your hostile stand against this department.

Bearing in mind that this department has under its control over 500 educational institutions located Republic-wide with a pupil population of over a quarter million and approximately 12 000 educators, an apparent problem involving a tiny fraction of pupils, personnel or resources certainly does not entitle you to exclaim self-righteously that "education under this authority... is in a mess."

On the contrary, our education has since 1989 developed a fine track record of achievement, despite the ever-increasing financial cutbacks. It offers free and compulsory education to all, regardless of race, colour or sex. Its matriculation results of 94,74% are one of the best in

HOUSE OF DELEGATES

here, was that taxis had to be banned and people forced to return to other modes of transport. [Interjections.] As long as the after effects of apartheid exist, we shall have to accept that those people live far away, where housing is available. [Interjections.] They must reread . . .

*Dr P J GOUS: What about the free market.

*An HON MEMBER: Oh, that hon member must keep quiet.

*The MINISTER: They must reread what the Commission of Enquiry into Bus Transport said in 1983 with regard to taxis and buses, then they will know what it is all about.

It is estimated that there are more than 120 000 of these minibus taxis on our roads. Some people estimate the number to be as high as 180 000, but I think that 120 000 is closer.

*Adv S C JACOBS: You do not know how many there are because they are not registered.

*The MINISTER: The most important fact is that we cannot replace 120 000 vehicles with a bus or train tonight, because there are no buses or trains where these services are being rendered.

*Dr W J BOTHA: Who said that?

*The MINISTER: I say so! [Interjections.] There is one important point which hon members must concede, and that is where do those people come from? They come from White areas, where some of them sleep at night, and then they travel to the city. There are no trains or buses to or from the northern suburbs of Johannesburg.

*Adv S C JACOBS: That is not the point!

*The MINISTER: We must examine the facts at grassroots level. It is a very important point to examine the facts at grassroots level. [Interjections.] If there is no demand for more than 120 000 taxis, why do they exist? [Interjections.] The most important thing is that they must be included in the planning. They are a part of the public transport system in South Africa. [Interjections.] [Time expired.]

*Mr F J LE ROUX: Mr Speaker, on a point of order: I understand that a mistake crept in with the speaking turn of the hon member for Rustenburg. Could you perhaps just allow him to finish what he was saying? Will you allow him a little extra time?

HOUSE OF ASSEMBLY

For this purpose we have provided for an amount of R1,5 million which will be allocated, for various purposes, under the umbrella of the wider objective.

*Everybody knows its history. The SA Law Commission submitted its interim report in 1991. That report was the product of years of research and contributions by a large number of scientists, interested parties and political parties. Those political parties accepted in principle the necessity for a bill of rights in a constitutional dispensation. Some of them even said they wanted it immediately. However, the Government did not react to that report the way it normally reacts to commission reports, and as its custom and its duty. Accordingly the Government chose this moment in our history to react to it, because it is essential that it be made known what the present Government's reaction is to this very important commission report.

It is important to note that the Government is not saying that these proposals are final. We are saying that they should be seen as proposals by the Government to stimulate a debate and to serve the purposes I have already mentioned. Therefore I think it is justified to use the taxpayer's money to promote the cause of a bill of rights, which we say will have to be the cornerstone . . . [Time expired.]

Mr P H P GASTROW: You are promoting your own bill of rights!

Mr A J LEON: Mr Speaker, we thank the hon the Minister for his customary generosity with taxpayers' money. He confirmed this for us this afternoon. The propaganda onslaught which the hon the Minister has launched with his concept of a bill of rights consists of the following elements. There is a seven-page panelled document—a pamphlet—which deals with the Charter of Fundamental Rights. There is also the 44-page document which the Government has published already and which is free on demand, from the Department of Justice, to any citizen of South Africa who might be interested. Then we have a somewhat garish, pink—and no doubt sexist, in colour at least—seven-panel glossy pamphlet entitled "Equality for Women". The hon the Minister of Justice has just confirmed that R1,5 million was going to spend for this purpose, and a fair amount has presumably already been consumed by publications of this kind.

We want to ask the hon the Minister the following questions which, with all due respect, he has not answered this afternoon: Will the Government concede or will it not concede that it has published a draught of its own version, not as a final proposal, but, as he said, for the purposes of debate. It is not a White Paper, it is not draft legislation and it is not a Gazette. As the hon the Minister told us, it is simply a debatable proposal.

The hon the Minister also told us that this was the natural outflow of the South African Law Commission's work, to which all political parties had access. However, will he not confirm that the proposals made in the Government's charter are highly controversial, extremely political and deeply debatable? I refer to just six instances in which the Government has radically departed from the Law Commission's proposals on a bill of rights: 1. The enshrinement of the death penalty. 2. The provision for detention without trial for a minimum of ten days. 3. The refusal to outlaw the provision of State funds to institutions which practise apartheid. 4. The watering-down of safeguards against the declaration of a state of emergency. 5. The proposal to licence the media. 6. The extremely wide and vague grounds on which a right promised in the charter may be suspended by the Government of the day.

All those are fundamental departures from what the Law Commission said should be in a bill of rights, and those are only six examples. As the hon the Minister knows, we in the DP welcome the Government's five-minutes-to-midnight or deathbed conversion to a bill of rights, something which we have been advocating since 1959. However, to suggest, as the hon the Minister has done this afternoon, that taxpayers should fund the propagation of this project, of its particular party viewpoint, is quite wrong.

At least the hon the Minister was frank about it in 1989 when he told the NP's federal congress that the Government would be using this bill of rights "to lick the revolutionaries". It is clear, however, that South African taxpayers are unwillingly, and until today unknowingly, being harnessed for this purpose.

We believe that Government funding should be provided to all parties wishing to engage in the rights debate, and not just to the most recent converts to this noble concept. Will the hon the

HOUSE OF ASSEMBLY

Govt 'reads riot act' over weapons, violence

304A
CT 17/2/93

By ANTHONY JOHNSON
Political Correspondent

THE government yesterday "read the riot act" to members of the Concerned South Africans Group (Cosag) on the proliferation of weapons and the ongoing violence in the country.

Sources close to the meeting, held in the city yesterday, said the government made it clear it was no longer prepared to allow any part of the political spectrum to run private armies.

The government team included the Minister of Law and Order, Mr Hernus Kriel, the Minister of Defence, Mr Gene Louw, and the

Minister of Justice, Mr Kobie Coetsee.

The Cosag delegation included representatives from the CP and the Afrikaner Volksunie, the IFP, and the governments of Bophuthatswana and the Ciskei.

Mr Kriel said after the meeting the continued existence of paramilitary structures such as uMkhonto weSizwe, Apla, self-defence units, Wenkommandos and the Ystergarde was discussed.

Those at the meeting agreed that it would be "of vital and urgent importance that a solution to this problem be found as soon as possible," he said.

"Deep concern was also expressed about the availability of illegal firearms, the existence of arms caches and alleged programmes of violence by certain organisations," Mr Kriel said.

He said the government expressed its "grave concern" about the recent seizure from ANC members of a large arms consignment, "as well as arms smuggling allegedly involving Inkatha members".

A Cosag proposal that a permanent joint committee be established to deal with security matters is being considered by the government.

India's example can steer us to correct official language choice, writes Marimuthu Subramoney

What tongue shall we choose?

STAN 17/2/93.

3044



IN many ways during this period of transition South Africa finds itself more or less in a similar position to India at the time it attained its freedom in 1947.

India had just been partitioned into India and Pakistan by colonial Britain, Hindu-Muslim conflict was at its peak, and the country was divided along caste, ethnic, regional, tribal, religious and language lines.

In South Africa, the people may not be divided along caste or religious lines but they are definitely divided sharply on racial, tribal, and ideological bases and political violence has created an atmosphere of fear, insecurity and uncertainty.

In spite of the chaotic state of affairs in India in 1947, the founding fathers, especially Mahatma Gandhi and Jawaharlal Nehru, worked feverishly to unite the people and save the country from further fragmentation.

One of the unifying symbols the founding fathers settled on was the issue of national language which they believed was vital.

Accordingly, because Hindi was spoken by the majority of the people, they decided that Hindi should be the official language of the federal union. But the use of Hindi as the official national language in no way suppressed or disadvantaged the different states from promoting their own languages.

In fact, the Indian constitution specified 15 other languages, including English, and this list continues to grow as and when demands are made for the recognition of a language.

In South Africa, the people at the moment find themselves faced with two official languages — English and Afrikaans — that have been imposed at the expense of the languages spoken by the majority of the people. The white minority rulers also forced Afrikaans down the throats of black schoolchildren and made every effort to make Afrikaans an hegemonic language in the civil service, official media, and other levels of government.

All the parastatals, including the South African Broadcasting Corporation, encouraged the use

of Afrikaans in and out of the workplace to ensure its buoyancy. Cultural organisations such as the Federasie van Afrikaanse Kultuurverenigings and the SA Akademie van Wetenskap also played an organised role in the development of the language.

Even financial institutions such as Sanlam and Volkskas Bank imbued the Afrikaner with a sense of pride in order to fortify the image of Afrikaans being a national official language.

But while everything was being done to promote the ascendancy of Afrikaans, no such attempt was made to consult the leaders of the majority of the people, let alone include the indigenous languages as one of the official ones.

Now some of the political players, especially the ANC Language Commission, have started a debate on the language issue by making an initial recommendation that all the languages spoken in South Africa should be treated equally and promoted, instead of just the present two official languages.

The commission, however, re-

frained from making a recommendation as to which language should be the national official language of communication in government administration, in schools, and on the public media.

Nevertheless, the commission made it crystal clear that an equitable language policy, which will address the current linguistic imbalances, should be striven for, and something must be done about the future status of African indigenous languages which are spoken by the majority in this country.

For their part, the National Party, Afrikaner intellectuals and others, faced with the reality of Afrikaans not being a national official language in the post-apartheid era, have chosen to adopt an intransigent and belligerent stance.

Their only aim is to preserve Afrikaans as one of the national languages even though it is not spoken by the majority of the people, and it has a history of being an "oppressor's" language.

An organisation called "Die Stigting vir Afrikaans" has even been formed to market Afrikaans

as a "friendly" language.

It is also reliably learnt that the Government has even indicated that the issue of Afrikaans as a national official language is "non-negotiable".

Even the English Academy of South Africa has entered the fray by suggesting that English should be chosen as the official national language. Both the Afrikaans groupings and the English Academy have made no mention of the indigenous languages.

This fractious attitude will not help to bring about the unity, integration and security that South Africans so desperately need during this period of transition and in the post-apartheid era.

If the Government and others continue to adopt this negative posture then there will be a justifiable claim for Zulu, Xhosa and other languages to be also offered "national official language" status.

Can you imagine the chaos that will ensue from such a policy?

South Africa is already cash-strapped. Can you calculate the wastage of financial resources if

we were to adopt more than one language as our official national means of communication?

While English is accepted by most people as a medium of communication and therefore can be used as an instrument of national integration and unity, Afrikaans unfortunately has become a language of hate and division.

It is also not an international language.

Afrikaans, like the other languages, should be given official recognition and allowed to prosper among the people who want it as their language. But it certainly should not be given preferential treatment at the expense of Zulu, Xhosa, Tswana, Pedi, and other indigenous languages.

Like India, we need one national official language for administrative use, in schools and on the public media so that a society, deeply divided by years of apartheid and the imposition of Afrikaans, will pay allegiance to one country.

● The writer is the Johannesburg-based correspondent of the Press Trust of India. □

Cosag, Govt seek blitz on illegal arms

CAPE TOWN — A Concerned South Africans Group (Cosag) delegation met Government representatives in Cape Town yesterday to talk about security and related matters, Law and Order Minister Hernus Kriel said in a statement.

The parties discussed violence as well as paramilitary structures such as Umkhonto we Sizwe (MK), the Azanian People's Liberation Army, self-defence units, Wenkommandos and the Ystergarde.

"It was agreed that it was of vital and urgent importance that a solution to this problem be found as rapidly as possible," Kriel said.

The parties also expressed their deep concern about the availability of illegal firearms, arms caches, and alleged programmes of violence by certain organisations.

Kriel said the Government had expressed its grave concern about the recent seizure of a large consignment of arms from ANC and MK members, as well as arms smuggling by alleged IFP members.

A Cosag proposal for a joint Government-Cosag permanent committee on security matters was still being examined. — Sapa.

Talks on track F.W.

By ANTHONY JOHNSON
Political Correspondent

PRESIDENT F W de Klerk said yesterday the proposed multi-party planning conference to prepare the way for full-blown negotiations could still take place before the end of the month.

Despite the outcry from parties across the spectrum about an apparent agreement between the ANC and the government on the need for power-sharing by a government of national unity, it is understood that February 25-26 has already been pencilled as the date for the conference.

However, much will depend on the outcome of the crunch three-day meeting between Inkatha and the government which begins late today at an undisclosed venue in northern KwaZulu.

Inkatha leader Chief Mangosuthu Buthelezi has warned that it would take the combined might of Umkhonto weSizwe and the SA Defence

Force to force any ANC/government brokered "deal" on the people of the region.

But government negotiators are insisting that while they are prepared to allay the misguided concerns that members of the smaller parties might have, they are not prepared to countenance another year of "stop-start-stop-start" negotiations.

In a signal of things to come, it is understood that the government yesterday warned Bophuthatswana — another homeland government which has been making "go it alone" noises — that it would come under increasing pressure to rejoin South Africa. Sources said yesterday that both Bophuthatswana and Ciskei would come under increasing pressure to come back into the fold or face a financial squeeze from Pretoria.

Mr De Klerk and Bophuthatswana President Lucas Mangope said in a joint statement after a meeting at Thuynhuys yesterday that the two del-

egations had agreed to appoint a joint committee to continue their discussions "with a view to examining various aspects of their bilateral relations and the general constitutional situation".

The two sides agreed on the need for the resumption of multi-party talks as soon as possible.

This theme was echoed after a meeting in Cape Town yesterday between the government's chief negotiator Constitutional Development Minister Mr Roelf Meyer and a Democratic Party delegation.

Co-ordinator of the DP's negotiation team Mr Ken Andrew said after the meeting the resumption of multi-party negotiations was "a matter of great importance and urgency".

In a note of caution he added: "While considerable progress has been made, we are concerned about the number of issues still to be resolved before a multi-party planning conference can be held."

Mandela to take a rest

Political Correspondent

MR Nelson Mandela has been ordered by his doctors to take "a complete rest" after the 74-year-old ANC leader's punishing schedule in recent weeks began to take its toll.

The ANC announced last night that Mr Mandela had consequently cancelled all future engagements until further notice.

Mr Mandela will be resting at home but his condition is not expected to have a major impact on the progress of negotiations.

ANC spokesperson Mr Carl Niehaus told the Cape Times last night that Mr Mandela's enforced lay-off was not expected to last more than "a few days".

just as you see sign

Star 17/12/93

Fears for transition schedule

By Peter Fabricius
Political Correspondent

The Government and the ANC are battling to sell their five-year power-sharing deal to constituents and allies, raising fears that the timetable for transition is slipping.

The ANC's national executive committee (NEC) decided yesterday to refer the deal to its grassroots structures for a mandate, a move that will certainly introduce delay.

The next target date is a multiparty planning conference on Thursday and Friday next week to arrange

the resumption of Codesa-style formal multiparty negotiations.

President de Klerk said yesterday a conference before the end of February was still attainable but was beginning to look unlikely.

Yesterday the ANC's negotiation team explained the deal to its NEC amid signs of a revolt from some regions.

NEC member Chris Hani said the proposals from the negotiators were so important that they had to be taken down to the grassroots for a mandate.

He said a multiparty planning conference before the

end of February now looked unlikely.

The NEC meeting continues today.

The Government also faces a major hurdle in explaining the deal to the Inkatha Freedom Party.

After a meeting yesterday between a Democratic Party delegation under party leader Dr Zach de Beer and a National Party delegation led by Constitutional Development Minister Roelf Meyer, DP national chairman Ken Andrew expressed doubts the negotiations schedule could be maintained.

Gwala's strategy 'may stall ANC-govt talks'

JOHANNESBURG. — If ANC Natal Midlands leader Mr Harry Gwala succeeds in making the ANC call a consultative conference, ANC-government negotiations would have to be suspended, observers said yesterday.

ANC and SA Communist Party officials said the matter would be resolved by this week's ANC national executive committee meeting.

Mr Gwala has objected to the preliminary agreement between the ANC and government that a transitional government of national unity remain in power for five years.

He also said his region would try to secure the backing of the required three of the ANC's 14 regions to force a consultative conference to re-evaluate ANC negotiating strategy.

However, ANC spokesman Mr Carl Niehaus said policy debates within the ANC and Mr Gwala's commitment to discuss these at the NEC meeting were healthy and democratic. He denied talk of an ANC "split".

"The debate should not be construed as serious tensions leading to a deadlock," Mr Niehaus said.

SACP central committee member Mr Essop Pahad said the ANC's negotiating strategy had been approved by two conferences and the ANC's strategic perspectives document had been approved by the NEC late last year.

● PAC Western Cape regional chairman Mr Theo Mabusela said yesterday the PAC supported the ANC Natal Midlands region's stance.

Political Staff

CAPE TOWN — There is mounting speculation in Parliament that a sweeping Cabinet reshuffle — designed to gear President F.W. de Klerk for elections — is imminent.

The rationalisation of ministries — specifically education — is understood to be on the cards and black people are expected to be brought into the President's team.

Bhadra Ranchod, the former ambassador to the EC appointed chairman of the House of Delegates' Ministers' Council last week, is tipped as a likely candidate, as is Jac Rabie, chairman of the Ministers' Council in the House of Representatives.

Government sources were anxious to dampen speculation yesterday and said the President might wait until next week be-

Sweeping changes to Cabinet on cards

fore making any announcement. (304A)

Finance Minister Derek Keys is expected to drop his Trade and Industry portfolio. This could go to Deputy Finance Minister Theo Alant or someone from the private sector. B/DAM 18/2/93

Speculation is that the reshuffle might signal the end of several long-standing Ministers' careers. Forestry and Water Affairs Minister Gen Magnus Malan has already resigned and others who might leave include Louis Pienaar (Home Affairs), Jacob de Villiers (Regional and Land Affairs), Adriaan Vlok (Correctional Services) and Gene Louw (Defence).

'Very, very promising' — all smiles as IFP talks start

Political Staff

TALKS between the government and the Inkatha Freedom Party are off to a "very, very promising start", according to sources at the talks.

The two delegations are meeting in Richards Bay, led by Minister of Constitutional Development Mr Roelf Meyer, the and Dr Frank Mdlalose, national chairman of the IFP. There are 15 people in each delegation.

They started last night with a two hour session, followed by supper, and began again today at 8 am. Both sides are doing their best to maintain a news blackout. A joint statement is expected tomorrow afternoon.

The most pressing issue is for the IFP to agree to attend next weekend's multiparty

planning conference in Johannesburg. **ARC-18/2/93**

The IFP went into the bilateral talks wanting to find out if the government had backed down on its commitment to federalism, and with a lot of its concern about the role of the African National Congress's military wing.

But some IFP members have themselves been arrested for gun smuggling from Mozambique recently, and the government will bring this up in discussions.

In spite of the tough agenda, a source said last night that the talks got off to "a very, very promising start".

"Things started off in a very good spirit. The atmosphere is very friendly."

Sources said the agenda is similar to that for the ANC-

government recent bilateral meeting — violence, the planning conference and constitutional matters.

The other ministers present are Mr Leon Wessels, Minister of Manpower; Dr Tertius Delport, Minister of Local Government; Mr George Bartlett, Minister of Mineral and Energy Affairs and leader of the National Party in Natal; Mr Fanus Schoeman, Deputy Minister of Constitutional Development; and Mr Renier Schoeman, Deputy Minister of Foreign Affairs.

Meanwhile the ANC's national executive committee will today disclose the outcome of its deliberations on the government-ANC understanding on a power sharing five-year government of national unity.

Elections 'the key to reducing violence'

The Argus Correspondent

JOHANNESBURG. — Democratic elections are South Africa's best hope of containing violence, and the longer they are postponed the fainter the prospect of peace becomes, the Commonwealth Observer Mission to South Africa (Comsa) has concluded after four months of monitoring violence.

Mission chairman Professor Duncan Chappell said that it was his team's strong belief that constitutional negotiations should not be "held hostage" by violence. This was the central thread of Comsa's report on the first phase of its work, released in Johannesburg yesterday.

Power-sharing is 'the way to go'

Sowetan & Radio Metro

Talkback

By Isaac Molele

18/2/93

THE proposed power-sharing between the Government and the African National Congress was received with mixed feelings by callers to the Sowetan/Radio Metro Talkback Show last night.

Some of the callers said there was nothing wrong with the agreements reached between the Government and the ANC as these, they believed, would enhance the negotiations process.

Hope of Johannesburg said power-sharing was a good concept as long as it was not entrenched in the new constitution.

"We still feel that the South African regime is illegitimate but I think there is something wrong with any person who thinks we are in a democracy."

"We can't sacrifice revolution for the sake of appeasing whites," he said.

Abby of Hillbrow said it was very interesting that even within the ANC there were people who were dissatisfied about power-sharing.

He said the ANC had made too many compromises.

Azapo and the PAC stood with the ANC when their leaders were in prison. Why should they go it alone now?

Abby asked Themba of Mantzombung blamed the press for "exposing" the proposals before they could be discussed by their members.

"The Government and the ANC have the

right to agree on whatever issues they were discussing as long as this were going to bring peace," he said.

lead these parties do not understand the way forward."

Jabulani, Zola, Soweto

"The government of national unity is necessary as long as the minority's aspirations are met. I see nothing wrong with the agreements reached between the ANC and the Government. We won't be held to ransom by parties who don't want to participate."

"Why didn't those people who are not satisfied with the talks between the Government and the ANC come forward and contribute, instead of criticising?"

Normanthenba, Tladi, Soweto

M21, White City, Soweto

"PAG members were comrades in arms before. Now that they are against reality we feel they are going too far."

"We have so many parties at the moment. Some of the leaders who

Peter, Meadowlands, Soweto



with Tim Modise

Crucial multiparty planning conference 'in jeopardy'

210A-7 18/2/93
THERE were strong concerns within government and the ANC yesterday that the crucial multiparty planning conference, tentatively scheduled for next week, would not go ahead.

The major stumbling block is the preliminary agreement between government and the ANC that a transitional government of national unity will run the country for four to five years after elections.

The ANC's national executive committee discussed the agreement yesterday but did not make a decision despite reports it had decided to refer the matter to grassroots level because of Natal Midlands leader Harry Gwala's objections.

ANC spokesman Carl Niehaus said he was not aware of any decision.

Meanwhile, government negotiators sat down yesterday for a three-day bilateral meeting with Inkatha, which has stated it was not prepared to accept the agreement.

In an interview with the Financial Mail this week, President FW de Klerk said

BILLY PADDOCK

broad consensus on the concept of a government of national unity was not restricted to government and the ANC.

"It is not just a product of bilaterals but has achieved broad consensus," De Klerk said, adding that this was to facilitate reconciliation and stability. He said the principles outlined in the referendum were all still firmly in place.

This will be the first time Inkatha and government have sat down in bilateral talks to discuss substantive constitutional matters since Inkatha withdrew from all talks in September because of the record of understanding between the ANC and government.

The meeting is expected to be tough, with Inkatha demanding a full disclosure of the bilateral talks government had with the ANC, the extent of the agreement and the disbanding of Umkhonto we Sizwe.

Elected govt 'better able to tackle SA's violence'

BIDM 18/2/93
SA's politicians needed to press ahead with multiparty talks leading to elections despite high levels of violence, the Commonwealth Observer Mission to SA said in its report yesterday.

The report said the mission was convinced "a government which enjoys the support of the majority of the population is in a far better position to address the issue of violence than one which is not".

But the report also cautioned that it would be naive to assume that elections would lead to "an immediate cessation of this violence".

Mission chairman Duncan Chappell said revelations by the Goldstone commission of Military Intelligence's continuing covert activities provided more evidence violence was being fuelled by "a so-called third force".

The report called on government to coerce homelands into permitting

RAY HARTLEY

free political activity. The mission spent much of its time in the Natal-KwaZulu area.

Government also needed to "undertake a major reassessment of its security apparatus so as to draw a distinction between external and internal threats," the report said.

"The SAP has lost the confidence of the majority and particularly those who live in township areas," he said.

More than 15 000 homicides had been committed in SA in 1992 — 50 murders per 100 000 South Africans — making it "one of the most violent countries in the world", Chappell said.

He said only nine homicides occurred for every 100 000 US citizens, while only two were committed per 100 000 Canadians or Australians.

"Structural imbalances in the dis-

tribution of wealth" had also fanned the flames of violence in SA, which was "awash with firearms", he said.

Chappell said it had been agreed with the Justice Department that Commonwealth observers would be able to visit prisons following extensive criticism of the justice process.

Visits to police stations and police cells had also been agreed to.

Meanwhile, British Overseas Development Minister Lynda Chalker would visit SA next week to gain a first-hand impression of progress being made with negotiations, a Foreign Affairs spokesman said yesterday. She would meet key players involved in getting multiparty talks going.

The spokesman said Chalker would arrive in SA on Tuesday and depart on Thursday.

Chalker last visited SA in September last year to attend the British South African Conference in Durban.

R136m export scheme fraud

CAPE TOWN — Thirty-six cases of fraud involving a potential R136m, in regard to the General Export Incentive Scheme (GEIS), have been brought to the attention of the Trade and Industry Department.

In reply to a question in Parliament yesterday from Lester Fuchs (Hillbrow, DP), Trade and Industry Minister Derek Keys said all cases brought to the department's attention were investigated.

This was done in collaboration with the Reserve Bank and Commissioner of Customs and Excise, as well as the Office for Serious Economic Offences, the Attorney-General and the SAP's commercial branch.

External verification of GEIS claims was undertaken on a continuing basis.

Keys said in cases of fraud under the GEIS, refunds were demanded from claimants who had acted illegally and the cases were ed over to the SAP for further action. Where fraud was proved, exporters were

Political Staff

deregistered.

Commenting on the Minister's reply Fuchs said SA was once again horrified by the plague of corruption sweeping the country.

The DP was particularly disappointed that a scheme introduced to encourage exports should have been so badly abused.

Replying to another question from Fuchs, Posts and Telecommunications Minister Piet Welgemoed said the department had accumulated bad debts of R65m last year.

About 98% of the amount represented telephone debtors, the Minister said.

Dr Welgemoed said part of the R65m could be attributed to the 087 service, but it was not possible to furnish a reliable estimate of the amount involved as the billing service does not provide detailed information in respect of calls made.

Ciskei coup plan alleged

ADRIAN HADLAND

PRETORIA — Details of a plan to overthrow the Ciskei government, allegedly drawn up jointly by Apia and Umkhonto we Sizwe, have been passed on to the Goldstone commission, a commission spokesman confirmed yesterday.

The Ciskei Council of State said a "comprehensive and detailed report" of the plan had been compiled and forwarded to the commission this week.

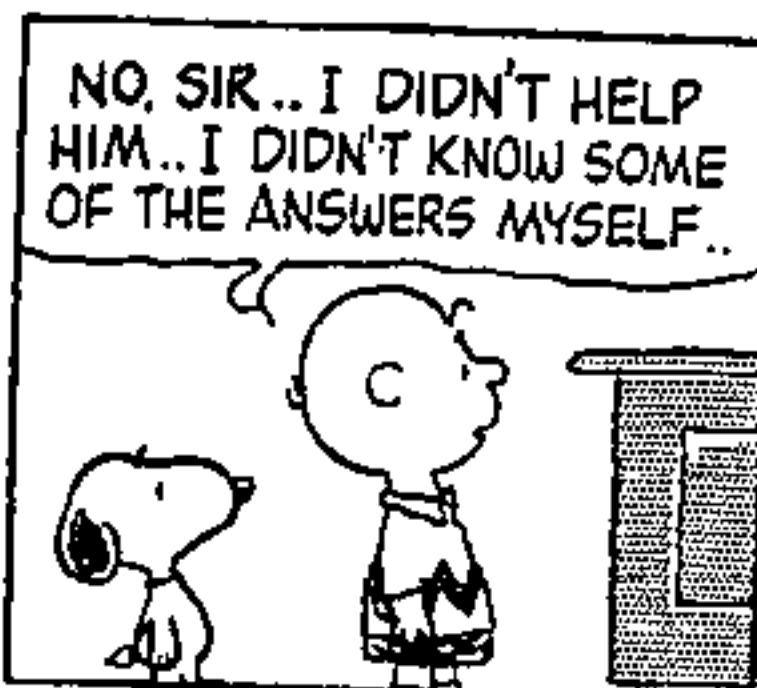
The report contains details of an alleged plan concocted by the armed wings of the ANC and the PAC to bring down the government of Ciskei leader Brig Oupa Gqozo.

A Ciskei council statement issued yesterday said the report had been passed on to the commission only once it had agreed to take appropriate precautions to protect the sources named in the report.

After a series of commission hearings in Pretoria and Port Elizabeth, an interim report on Apia activities was being drawn up, the spokesman said.

PEANUTS

By Charles Schulz



DELTA

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Van backs new liberal forum

By NORMAN WEST
Political Reporter

FORMER Progressive Federal Party leader Dr Frederik van Zyl Slabbert this week helped lay the foundations for a powerful new democracy watchdog group supported by many prominent liberal democrats. (3044)

After two days of discussions in Sintra, Portugal, delegates from a range of organisations stopped short of starting a new political party for liberals, but they did agree to launch a "democracy forum" within a month.

Dr Alex Boraine, executive director of the Institute for a Democratic Alternative for South Africa, said the initiative followed numerous approaches to Dr van Zyl Slabbert and himself to launch a new party. S/Times

The appeals had come from members of the public disillusioned by corruption in the government and by what seemed to be a scramble for power by all politicians, irrespective of democratic values.

Aims

Some participants at the seminar in Portugal said they believed the forum could herald the formation — after the country's first non-racial elections — of a rejuvenated liberal or democratic party to oppose the National Party and the ANC.

Dr van Zyl Slabbert last night denied his participation implied an imminent return to party politics.

He said a number of politicians held similar core values, but, for various reasons — largely historical — they found themselves in different parties.

Dr Boraine and Dr Oscar Dhlomo, head of the Institute for Multiparty Democracy, will head the new forum.

The forum's aims will be:

- To bring together key players who are disillusioned

party. *S/Times*
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Dr Boraine and Dr Oscar Dhlomo, head of the Institute for Multiparty Democracy, will head the new forum.

The forum's aims will be:

- To bring together key players who are disillusioned with the current political climate;
- To seek consensus on an understanding of what democracy means;
- To establish a broad alliance between participants so that regular contact can be maintained;
- To identify individuals and constituencies who should be included in the debate on democratic strategy, thereby ensuring that the democratic centre holds through the transition period.

Watchdog

On his return from Portugal, Dr Boraine said a change of government did not necessarily mean the principle of accountability would be respected.

There was a need for a watchdog body that would ensure the government did not abuse power.

"But I want to stress there is no room for a new political party at this stage," he added.

CARMEL RICKARD reports that Dr Dhlomo, who was unable to attend the meeting in Portugal, said he had not yet been informed of his nomination to co-head the new movement.

"The idea of a new national non-party political forum promoting democratic values is exciting and constructive," he added.

"But I would need to be fully briefed about the Sintra meeting before commenting further."

Planning talks may be stalled

364A CT 18/2/93

JOHANNESBURG. — There were strong concerns within the government and the ANC yesterday that the crucial multiparty planning conference, tentatively scheduled for next week, will not go ahead.

The major stumbling block is the preliminary agreement between the government and the ANC that a transitional government of national unity runs the country for four to five years after elections.

The ANC's national executive committee discussed the agreement yesterday but it did not make a decision despite reports it had decided to refer the matter to grassroots level.

ANC spokesman Mr Carl Niehaus said he was not aware of any decision.

Meanwhile, government negotiators sat down yesterday for a three-day bilateral meeting with Inkatha, which has stated it was

No finality on unity proposals

not prepared to accept the agreement.

This will be the first time Inkatha and the government have held bilateral talks on substantive constitutional matters since Inkatha withdrew from all talks in September last year following the record of understanding between the ANC and the government.

In an interview in today's Financial Mail, President F W de Klerk said the concept of a government of national unity had

broad consensus not restricted to government and the ANC.

"It is not just a product of bilaterals but has achieved broad consensus," Mr De Klerk said, adding that this was to facilitate reconciliation and stability.

The government's main intention in the meeting will be to get the in-principle decision of holding a planning conference next week finalised with Inkatha.

Diplomatic and political sources said yesterday all the parties were now under extreme pressure to remove remaining obstacles and hurry along to multiparty negotiations.

A senior IFP official said the chances were good that the preparatory conference would go ahead as scheduled, if the government was able to give assurances on uMkhonto weSizwe smuggling of arms into Natal, powersharing and the protection of regional governments in a future constitution. — Own Correspondent, Sapa

Big Cabinet shake-up in the pipeline

STAR
18/2/93
304A

By Peter Fabricius
Political Correspondent

CAPE TOWN — Parliament is buzzing with speculation that President de Klerk is about to announce a major Cabinet shuffle.

De Klerk has to make several changes by April 1 when the own affairs Ministries are rationalised and a transitional education Ministry comes into being to merge the various education departments into one.

Senior Government sources believe De Klerk will take the opportunity to make other changes, streamlining his present team and bringing in some coloured, Indian and black faces to improve the National Party's image as it goes into South Africa's first democratic elections.

Three names which have been mentioned in this regard are Ministers' Council chairman in the House of Delegates Dr Bhadra Ranchod, Ministers' Council chairman in the House of Representatives Jac Rabie, and Transvaal MEC John

Mavuso, one of the most prominent blacks in the Government fold.

Those most likely to go are Home Affairs and Environment Minister Louis Pienaar, Regional and Land Affairs Minister Jacob de Villiers, as well as several members of the Ministers' Council in the House of Representatives.

Water Affairs and Forestry Minister Magnus Malan has already announced he will leave on March 1.

There has been strong speculation that the Minister of Correctional Services, Adriaan Vlok, may also go, but he has recently shown signs of sticking around for a while.

In the education field the speculation is that either the present National Education and Culture Minister, Piet Marais, or Education and Training Minister Sam de Beer will be appointed to head the transitional education Ministry.

So far, the indications are that the President will make his move nearer April 1.

Blacks in cabinet 'imminent'

Political Staff

THERE is growing speculation in parliament that a major cabinet shuffle, designed mainly to gear President F W de Klerk for elections, is imminent.

The rationalisation of ministries, specifically education, is thought to be imminent, and "people of colour" are expected to be brought into the cabinet.

In terms of legislation passed during last year's short parliamentary session, blacks are now allowed in the cabinet.

Dr Bhadra Ranchod, former ambassador to the European Community, who was appointed chairman of the House of Delegates Ministers' Council last week, is being tipped as likely to land a cabinet post.

However, government sources were yesterday anxious to dampen speculation and said the president may wait until next week before making an announcement.

Cautious route to accord in SA

JOHANNESBURG — Having learnt from previous setbacks, Minister for Constitutional Reform Roelf Meyer, who leads the government's negotiating team, and ANC General Secretary Cyril Ramaphosa, are proceeding cautiously. A final accord that would allow the multiparty negotiations suspended in May 1992 to be resumed has not yet been reached.

The agreement will have to be endorsed by the South African cabinet and the ANC leadership. Nevertheless progress has been made. "There are still wide differences on some issues," said Fanie Schoeman, deputy minister for constitutional affairs and a member of the government negotiating team, "but our positions have moved closer together." Progress has been made possible largely as a result of concessions by the government which is now convinced that the country needs early political stability if a disaster is to be averted and economic activity resuscitated.

Addressing parliament on February 1, Roelf Meyer proposed that a multiparty conference draft a provisional constitution before the end of May 1993. The constitution would then be ratified by the present parliament. Elections would be organised in March or April 1994 with a view to forming a provisional government which would be able to amend the fundamental law but only within the limits of the principles embodied in the provisional constitution. What this meant in short was that the government was looking for safeguards against any changes a new majority might want to introduce.

The agreement reached on February 12 ultimately falls somewhat short of such expectations. Anxious not to have its hands tied by principles laid down independently of any majority issuing from an election, the ANC has always insisted that the new constitution should be worked out by an elected constituent assembly. The elections would take place as soon as possible, in all probability in the first quarter of 1994. However, this constitution is to be ratified only by a qualified majority which has still to be determined. This difficulty was responsible for the talks breaking down in May 1992.

Pending the drafting of the new constitution, the country would be run by a government of national union consisting of the parties willing to take part in the process. Only parties which have obtained 5 per cent or 10 per cent of the vote would be eligible.

Schoeman claimed that the ANC had agreed to a transitional government of at least five years. Thabo Mbeki, a member of the ANC negotiating team, took a more cautious attitude and spoke of a nine-month guarantee with the future constituent assembly given the possibility of lengthening the transitional government's life. The official ANC statement spoke of a "limited duration after the adoption of a new constitution". These semantic variations have in fact more to do with tactical considerations than with real differences of opinion. The principle of power-sharing was accepted by the ANC some months ago, but it has still to get it accepted at the organisation's grassroots.

Much the same sort of problem is

facing South Africa's ruling National Party. It has to have the agreement reached with the ANC accepted by the other parties and above all by the Inkatha leader, Chief Mangosutho Gathsa Buthelezi. While there appears to be no difficulty about executing the decisions concerning the early establishment of a transitional executive council to assist the government until the elections, or setting up independent commissions to oversee the elections and ensure impartial radio and television coverage, the regions pose an altogether different problem. As Inkatha, like the government, favours a federal, even confederal, structure, it wants the tricky questions of defining borders and identifying the areas of authority settled before the elections.

The ANC has, however, succeeded in having the matter referred to the constituent assembly. This will be the

most prickly issue in next week's bilateral talks between the government and Inkatha.

Predictably, the recent discovery of an illegal arms trade in which several ANC activists are involved has also come in for extensive coverage, but contrary to many predictions, the incident failed to wreck the talks.

The two sides would in fact appear to have agreed that given the complexity of the situation in Natal Province where ANC followers are clashing with members of Inkatha, other incidents of this sort are likely to take place. An ANC arms cache has, for example, been discovered near Durban, while military materiel, this time transported by the ANC's adversary, Inkatha, was seized at the South Africa/Mozambique border. Neither of the two incidents, though very similar to the previous one, has been unduly exploited.

By Georges Marion

news in brief

304A
Coetsee

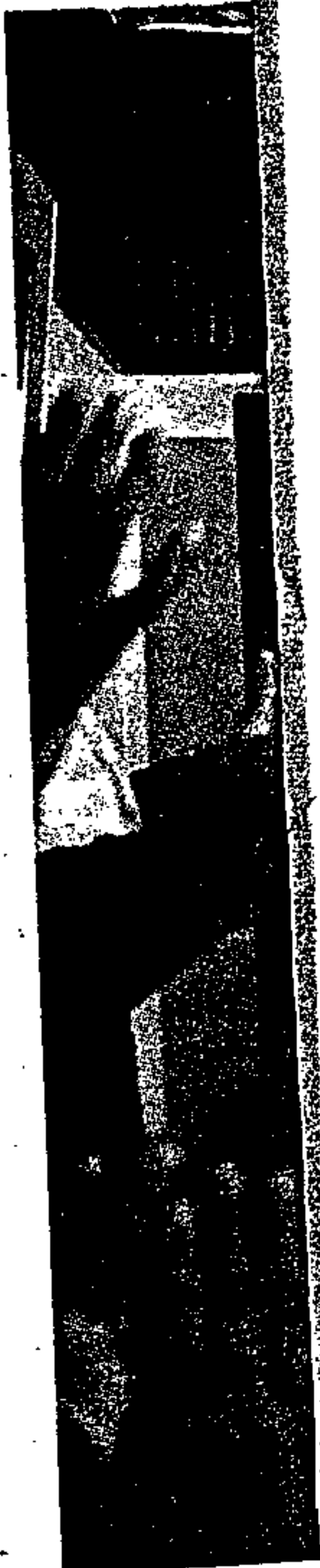
acts on Bills

THE Government was prepared to fund the publication and promotion of the proposed Bills of Rights submitted by other parties, Justice Minister Mr Kobie Coetsee said yesterday.

Speaking in Parliament, Coetsee said the Government was taking the participation of other political parties in human rights seriously.

New forum set up

A BROADER forum set up by the Johannesburg Traffic Department, transport unions, taxi associations, the South African Police and the Johannesburg City Council is to meet next Tuesday to discuss concerns surrounding the issue of taxis in the city.



focus on talks

ONE ON ONE invitations should be issued to all the political parties who were initially invited to Codesa to assess the current political situation and plan the resumption of multiparty negotiations.

These are the first steps towards the resumption of multiparty talks — part of a seven-page agreement between the Government and the ANC which was made in Cape Town last week.

The PAC and Azapo, the Conservative Party and the Herstigte Nasionale Party will be given another chance to return to the preparatory meeting which is tentatively scheduled for late next week.

The Afrikaner Volksunie will be the only new party that will be included in the talks.

It has been accepted in principle that the ANC's secretary general, Mr Cyril Rampaphosa, the Minister of Constitutional Development, Mr Roelf Meyer, Democratic Party leader Mr Zac de Beer, Mr Sam Titus, and Dr Frank Mdlalose, the chairman of the Inkatha Freedom Party, will be on a "chairing panel".

"The main purpose (of the meeting) was considered as being the resuscitation of the management committee for Codesa with a target date scheduled for mid-February and Codesa itself at the end of February or beginning of March," the document says.

The document confirms once and for all that there is consensus between the two that the Constituent Assembly should be a single chambered body elected by proportional representation and "according to a system which will incorporate national as well as regional representation".

A deadlock-breaking mechanism will be agreed on as reported on Tuesday in *Sowetan* if no constitution is adopted after a set period. A tentative time frame is given as nine months.

The first issue to be addressed by the Assembly is regional government and decisions on the issue will require a two-thirds majority (of the Assembly) and two-thirds of the majority of the regional representatives in the Assembly.

A Senate and structure for regional government "will be phased in after the adoption of the (new) constitution."

"The establishment of a government of national unity for a term of office of five years during which the institutions of the constitution, adopted by the Assembly, including a Senate and structures of regional government will be phased in.

"A special role will be given to regional representatives, possibly through the Senates (sic) after the constitution making, for overseeing the implementation of regional government," the document states.

The Government and the ANC have agreed on a blueprint for a democratic South Africa. Political Correspondent **Ismail Lagardien** presents details of the plan:

Sowetan 19/2/93

The crucial part of the agreement is ambiguous and says: "It was originally envisaged that the constitution-making body would sit, adopt a constitution (during interim government) and once a constitution is adopted another election is proposed."

"To understand the above paragraph one should understand what it implies. Instead of another election, that is, nine months later, there would not be another election, other than what the constitution-making body decided. During that period there would be established a government of national unity," the document says.

The government of national unity will be made up as follows:

- A State President who will appoint a Cabinet;

- The Cabinet will be made up of nominees of political parties whose representation in the Assembly exceeds 15 percent;

- The Cabinet appointments will be in proportion to the representation of such parties in the Assembly;

- A political party entitled to do so may decline to participate in the Cabinet;

- All appointments will be made by the State President in consultation with the leader of the particular political party;

- There will be "appropriate mechanisms" for the allocation of Cabinet portfolios — this, the document says, has not been agreed on yet; and

- Executive power will be exercised by the State President after consultation with the Cabinet, subject to certain specified executive powers, including statutory and prerogative powers which will be exercised by the State President only with the consent of the leaders of the political parties represented in the Cabinet.

The document explains here that a list "will be addressed in future".

The last point is: "The arrangements regarding the government of national unity contained in the transitional council shall remain in effect for five years after the elections of the Assembly, unless the government of national unity decides by full consensus that such period should

Among the principles agreed on a future Among the principles agreed to are:

- South Africa will be an independent sovereign state in which all will enjoy a common South African citizenship;

- South Africa will be a democratic, non-racial and non-sexist state;

- The constitution will be the supreme law;

- There will be a separation of powers between the legislature, the executive and the judiciary "with appropriate checks and balances";

- The judiciary will be independent, non-racial and impartial;

- There will be a legal system that guarantees equality before the law;

- The diversity of languages, cultures and religions will be acknowledged;

- There will be representative and accountable government embracing multi-party democracy, regular elections, universal adult suffrage, common voters roll and a general proportional representation;

- All will enjoy universally accepted human rights, freedoms and civil liberties, including freedom of religion, speech and assembly which will be guaranteed in an enforceable and justifiable charter of fundamental rights;

Any envisaged changes to the powers of the regions would need the consent of the regions and a mechanism would be devised, possibly a Senate, elected on a regional basis, through which this could be affected.

The role of the Zulu king remained a problem, but at this stage a way is being sought to address this issue — a likely passage to multiparty talks for the king has been mooted and Contralesa seemed a possibility.

The TBVC states will be administered by the four provinces, while their own administrations would be used to dispense services in their respective areas.

These options are not final and would depend largely on the outcome of the elections as all the people in the TBVC states will participate therein after their South African citizenship has been restored.



Inkatha gives conference a major boost

Countdown for unity rule begins

MICHAEL MORRIS
and TOS WENTZEL
Political Staff

MOVES towards multi-party talks on a new democratic constitutional system will get a major boost today with the Inkatha Freedom Party agreeing to a planning conference.

All eyes are on Inkatha as its crucial meeting with the government in Richards Bay draws to a close in the wake of the ANC's endorsement of a five-year government of national unity.

Top Inkatha sources at the talks indicated today that definite progress was being made. They said a lot of time had been spent on discussing regionalism.

The government side has been presenting its views on power-sharing and the Inkatha side its views on federalism.

Government sources said the talks had been constructive and less confrontational than in the past.

The scene is now set for a two-day multiparty planning conference — probably on Thursday and Friday next week — to decide on the date for the resumption of fully fledged multiparty negotiations, and the form and name of the forum.

Some confusion followed the announcement by the ANC's national executive committee late yesterday that it rejected "power-sharing", but approved an "interim government of national unity and reconstruction" to last up to five years after the adoption of a new constitution.

The government's chief negotiator and Minister of Constitutional Development Mr Roelf Meyer reacted: "The statement itself is quite confusing. I can't see what the difference is between power-sharing and a government of national unity, and the ANC will have to explain that."

After this initial reaction government sources today expressed relief at the ANC decision. They said it could have been worse.

The ANC insisted its position differed from the government's "scenario".

Nevertheless, it is apparent the national executive committee has endorsed agreements between ANC and government negotiators in last week's three-day bilateral



NEW SOUTH AFRICA AGENDA



Agreement by government and ANC on government of national unity for up to five years

- ☐ Acceptance by Inkatha of planning conference for multiparty talks.
 - ☐ Planning conference on resumption of Codesa-style talks next week.
 - ☐ Start of multi-party talks by mid-March on ground-rules for transition to new democratic government.
 - ☐ Drawing up of interim constitution.
 - ☐ Multilateral agreement before May on transitional constitution and electoral commission.
 - ☐ Legislation for transitional council and electoral commission in May/June.
 - ☐ Institution of both council and commission — end of June.
 - ☐ Transitional constitution before end of September.
 - ☐ Election rules for free political participation.
 - ☐ Elections for interim government by March/April '94.
- Government of national unity — first half of '94

This was the source of feverish speculation about NP/ANC deals at the weekend.

Democratic Party national chairman Mr Ken Andrew welcomed the ANC's proposal for an interim government of national unity.

He said most elements of the ANC's resolution on negotiations and national reconstruction were in line with what the DP had been advocating for some time.

● Natal Midlands ANC leader Mr Harry Gwala, who strongly opposed the movement's deal with the government, now supports the agreement.

"It is the most practical under the circumstances", he said today. He said he was satisfied by the explanation given by the NEC.

'Rude' AWB offends UK right

W/Mail 19/2-25/2/93
Eugene Terre'Blanche's erratic

behaviour on a fund-raising trip to Britain and Belgium has prompted the National Front to suggest the AWB takes a course in public relations. By **JAN TALJAARD**

STIFF upper lip elements in the British far-right are having difficulty coming to terms with the Afrikaner Weerstandsbeweging's "lack of the elementary courtesies".

This has led to tensions between John Tyndall, leader of Britain's National Front and an AWB delegation that visited Britain in May last year in an attempt to solicit funds.

The AWB's Eugene Terre'Blanche, his second-in-command, Ernie van der Westhuizen, "generals" Willem Etsebeth, Piet Hamman and a "Commandant" Roodt were all part of what turned out to be a rather disastrous and at times farcical visit to Britain and Belgium.

Following the visit, Tyndall and one of his executives, Barry Clark, fired off short missives alternately describing the AWB visit as a "fiasco" and the AWB officials as in need of "a little tuition in public relations and the elementary courtesies".

Tyndall also accused Terre'Blanche of "bewildering changes of plan which made it quite impossible for me to keep up with them (the AWB)" and causing him to wait in vain for telephone calls.

Sources said the visit was farcical in more ways than one. Problems with visas, rumours of a an illicit cross-channel trip on a fishing boat, and problems with the management of a hotel on London's Leicester Square all conspired to make it an exercise in how not to conduct public relations.



Needs tuition ... Eugene Terre'Blanche 'lacks the elementary courtesies'

Photo: KEVIN CARTER

In the end, sources say, most of the funds collected from the European donors had to be paid out to pour oil on troubled waters.

The visit formed part of a AWB campaign to solicit funds from rightwing organisations in Europe. Since early last year the AWB has corresponded with more than 220 overseas bodies in an attempt to raise money.

Apart from the trip to London and Belgium, "generals" Alec Cruywagen and Johan "Hagar" Thompson also visited Greece last year to attend a congress of the white supremacist Members of the Golden Dawn movement. An appeal for financial assistance for the AWB "from White Nationalist Comrades in Europe" has also appeared in the far-right British publication, *League Sentinel*.

It states: "Although the AWB need **FINANCIAL ASSISTANCE NOW!** to fight their case, they have also written to say, that they may later have to appeal for **PHYSICAL and MILITARY ASSISTANCE** to help prevent their country from takeover by Black-Marxist forces, and their Zionist financiers that are intent on destroying the White Race in Africa."

It seems that despite the visits and letters, funds from Europe are almost non-existent and Terre'Blanche will have to cast his cupped hands in the direction of his local supporters rather than his comrades in Europe. With the AWB at the moment growing at a faster rate than ever since 1988, the coffers may well be filling again.

Govt human rights campaign

CAPE TOWN — Government would spend millions publicising a variety of proposed Bills of rights to foster a human rights culture, Justice Minister Kobie Coetsee said yesterday.

In the face of criticism that government intended using public funds to propagate its own proposals exclusively, Coetsee said additional funds would be provided for the propagation of other proposals.

He also called for proposals for allocation of the funds, saying government regarded the development of a human rights culture as extremely important, in line with the recommendations of the SA Law Commission.

Additional funds outside the estimated R1,5m allocated would be provided, Coetsee said. Suggestions

TIM COHEN

should reach the department within two weeks, he said.

It was important that government foster the debate on the topic and if spending R10,5m on Codesa was justified, then spending public money on fostering a human rights culture was also acceptable.

Asked at a media briefing whether government would suspend the propagation of its own proposal pending the inclusion of other suggestions, Coetsee said momentum would be lost if it did.

In any event, he said, other parties had been propagating their points of view on the subject for some time, so government would simply be "level-

ling the playing field".

In reply to questions about whether government intended to outlaw racism, Coetsee said legislation already did so and government's proposed Bill would prevent a future parliament enacting racist legislation.

Government's proposed Bill did not criminalise racial discrimination, but the equality clause would enable courts to invalidate racist practices.

Coetsee said the argument that, by not criminalising racial discrimination government was fostering it, was defective.

He said there was a surprising convergence of opinion between the law commission, government, ANC and Inkatha proposals and an analysis of the similarities would be released soon.

Brummel wins bungalow battle

RAY HARTLEY

GOVERNMENT has backed down on threats to strip the Beau Valley nudist resort of the 60 wooden bungalows that belong to nudists at the camp.

Nudist Beau Brummel said government inspectors had intended condemning the bungalows, claiming they did not meet official building standards. But an assurance was later given that this would not be done.

The latest move comes in the wake of attempts by Brummel to open his resort to nudists of all races and sexual persuasions. Brummel said government inspectors had been called in by a faction of heterosexual nudists to condemn the restaurant on the property, but their plan backfired and their own bungalows were condemned.

Brummel said "fully clothed" officials had told him they would condemn the bungalows, but had subsequently backed down.

He shrugged off suggestions that his resort would have had to wrap up its affairs. "I've fought the Vroue Federasie, I've fought the dominees, and I'm going to fight this one."

Inkatha starts wooing voters

WILSON ZWANE

INKATHA has launched a massive campaign intended to woo at least 70% of the voters in Natal.

Inkatha Natal organiser Senzo Mfayela said in an interview yesterday his organisation had formulated a programme through which it was hoping to get Natalians to vote for it in the coming elections.

The programme included teaching people "who never voted before" how to vote, setting up election committees in areas where Inkatha had no branches, helping people obtain identity documents and canvassing support from the Indian community.

As part of the programme, Mfayela said, Inkatha would go all

out to secure the co-operation of people who owned vehicles such as trucks and buses. These vehicles would be used to transport people to the polling stations.

Mfayela said funds which his organisation were channelling in the campaign came from sympathetic businessmen and members. To date, more than R100 000 had been obtained for the drive.

Mfayela said he was not aware of plans to invite foreign experts to help Inkatha during its election campaign.

MP Mike Tarr said recently Inkatha had the potential to win an election in Natal.

Shot men's dependents sue Minister

SUSAN RUSSELL

THE dependants of two Soweto men allegedly unlawfully shot dead by police at the Avalon Cemetery, Soweto, in October 1990, are suing the Minister of Law and Order for a total of R190 000 in damages in the Rand Supreme Court.

Dorah Moloi and Marjorie Shezi are suing the Minister on behalf of their two young children. The women claim Mbuso Zulu, 23, and Zwelakhe Mzinyane, 20, were unlawfully shot dead, thereby depriving their children of their fathers' support.

Moloi is claiming R100 000 in re-

spect of her son while Shezi is suing the Minister for R80 000 on behalf of her daughter, who was not yet born when her father was killed. Zulu's father Augustus Zulu, and Mzinyane's mother Antonia Mzinyane, are claiming R5 000 each from the Minister for the cost of their sons' funerals.

The Minister is defending the claim.

Police claim the two men attempted to escape after being apprehended in connection with the unlawful possession of ammunition.

POWER-SHARING

304A FM 19/2/93

Depends what you mean

There's no secret deal between government and the ANC — but broad agreement has been reached between negotiators on power sharing in an interim administration.

Details of the proposal have not been finalised, but various options were due to be discussed this week by the Cabinet and the ANC's National Executive Committee.

Government wants the period of joint rule fixed for about five years, while the ANC believes it should not exceed the time it takes for the constituent assembly to draw up a final constitution.

But both sides are flexible. After talks with government last week, ANC secretary-general Cyril Ramaphosa confirmed that

the issue of a government of national unity "for a limited period after the adoption of a new constitution" had been discussed.

The organisation believes such a government will unite SA, reconcile rival groups and start the process of nation building.

The ANC rejected government's initial call for constitutionally enshrined power sharing based on proportional representation. ANC leader Nelson Mandela told Sir David Frost in a television interview last week that, in his view, the party that won a majority of votes should form the government and invite opposition representation if it felt the need to do so. A coalition should not be mandated in terms of the constitution.

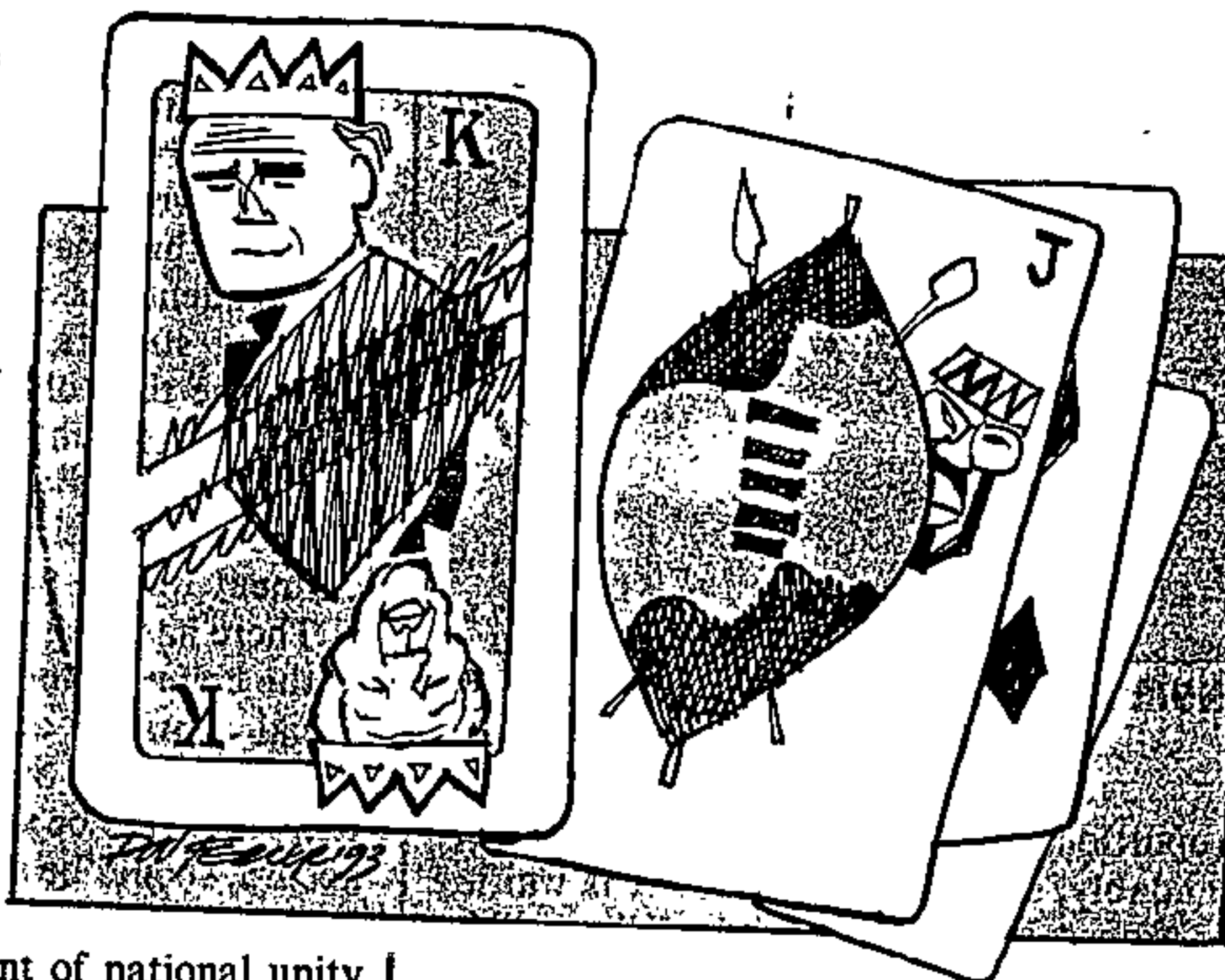
It seems that this view has now been accepted as the basis for a government of national unity — and it indicates a surprising degree of trust between ANC and government negotiators.

Trust appears also to have been carried through to discussions — and some agreements — on steps to "level the playing fields" in a run-up to an election, including the appointment of an independent electoral commission and a media commission.

Details of the appointment, powers and functions of the proposed Transitional Executive Council (TEC) and sub-TECs (for law & order, defence, foreign affairs, finance and regional & local government) were also discussed last week. The ANC made certain proposals which government agreed to consider.

The multi-party TEC and sub-councils will play a key role in the pre-election phase.

Though the existing government will continue to exercise full executive authority, the councils will be consulted on all major issues. In effect they will be the first step towards formal power sharing — and co-responsibility.



The ANC proposed at the meeting that Codesa co-chairmen Justices Schabert and Mohammed be asked to initiate the appointment of a panel, which will in turn appoint a new board for the SABC. Government agreed that a "transparent process" was needed to appoint a new board.

Meanwhile, government negotiators were scheduled to meet their counterparts in the Inkatha Freedom Party and Concerned South Africans Group (Cosag) this week, in an attempt to convince them that they were not being cut out.

IFP leader Mangosuthu Buthelezi reacted angrily to initial reports of the power sharing agreement, but government negotiators were confident this week that the IFP would be placated when the nature of the agreement with the ANC was fully explained.

Buthelezi's response followed disclosures last week by Constitutional Affairs Deputy Minister Fanus Schoeman that agreement had been reached with the ANC on power sharing.

President F W de Klerk and Mandela denied any deal. All that happened was that the two groups of negotiators reached consensus on an agreement both sides could live with.

It still needs to be ratified by their respective leaderships and will then be put forward for further discussion when multi-lateral talks resume. But the significance of the agreement should not be underestimated. It represents major concessions by both sides.

In essence, the ANC has moved much closer to accepting regionalism as a funda-

mental pillar of a new constitution, while government has backed away from insisting that the details of regionalism be finalised before constituent assembly elections.

Ramaphosa says it was agreed at the meeting that the constituent assembly would decide on the boundaries, powers and functions of regions.

The consensus reached last week was due partly to what has been described as a new sense of realism on both sides.

The resumption of Codesa is considered to be the priority and should not be delayed by issues of detail that will probably be debated more fully when all multi-lateral talks get under way.

In an interview with the *FM* this week (see Cover Story), De Klerk said it was "fundamentally important" to hold the multi-party planning conference (scheduled for later this month) so that full-scale negotiations could resume (probably next month). ANC negotiators are equally anxious that the bilateral talks do not become bogged down in arguments over detail.

The infiltration of arms through Swaziland into Natal by alleged ANC members is regarded as a potentially serious obstacle to talks, but government is prepared to give the ANC the benefit of the doubt at this stage and accept assurances that the leadership was unaware of the actions.

Opposition to the agreement was mainly of two kinds: from those, like the IFP's Buthelezi, who fear exclusion during the transition and after it; and from those within the ANC who want the party with majority electoral support to rule alone. Interestingly, the strident opposition of ANC Natal Midlands leader Harry Gwala has been dented by support for power-sharing from fellow communist Chris Hani.

De Klerk appears to be confident of his constituency and is apparently once again negotiating from a position of strength; his main task is to persuade Buthelezi that he is not being excluded.

But for Mandela, on the other hand, some hard decisions loom: how much longer can he tolerate open defiance of the official ANC position from regional and junior leaders? If he fails to muzzle or expel them, his own credibility will be affected — and De Klerk's could well be enhanced.

THE MILITARY FM 19/2/93

Another notch

Defence spending, already 38% down in real terms since President F W de Klerk took office, is expected to be slashed even further.

STATE OF THE NATION

304A

FM
19/2/93.

A lack of moral fibre

President F W de Klerk's recent interview with Sir David Frost was notable for his extraordinary optimism in the face of obvious economic and political adversity. The same tone characterised his discussion with the *FM* in his Tuynhuys office this week; his answers, which are forthright and perceptive of public interest, appear on the following pages.

In essence, De Klerk's optimism finds its justification in the trust he places in responsible leadership in all communities and most spheres of life in this country; in the overwhelming desire he identifies in most people for peace and prosperity; in his confidence in a sound economy; in a resilient and talented private sector; and, in what he calls a new spirit of realism.

One of De Klerk's strengths is that he has not lost perspective. Despite substantial setbacks and many irritating delays, the great achievement of the past three years has been the removal of apartheid laws and the gradual convergence of political and economic views towards consensus.

The Frost interview was broadcast for a second time on Monday night, because the President was dismayed that two points he made were edited out.

One in particular had to do with apologising for apartheid and it is entirely understandable why De Klerk wanted it to be given wide currency. Patently the editing skills at Auckland Park haven't changed much. Our guess is that in the SABC tower block there are those saying much the same thing of Tuynhuys.

But, of course, there *has* been a fundamental change at Tuynhuys and De Klerk's optimism is part of it. As he acknowledges, it is possible to conceive the most discouraging scenario — as the economy kickstarts at the SA Perm, Old Mutual and Nedbank have contrived to do.

There is no guarantee that SA will not be plunged into a Balkan conflict by inadequate leaders.

But De Klerk has shown a canny sense, in more than one electoral test, of the direction of public opinion. His instincts are probably worth more than backroom planners care to acknowledge.

However, on one question put to him by the *FM*, De Klerk did not care to elaborate — and we, with the benefit of hindsight, did not adequately probe. It is a question over which many ordinary folk have the gravest misgivings — the depths of the moral decay and criminal violence to which we have declined in SA.

De Klerk dwelt on the economic and social causes of criminal violence, and on how in a more stable and prosperous country they would decline of their own volition. But the matter should not be allowed to end there, for its implications are too serious.

There has in this country been a lapse in moral standards in all walks of life, but especially in the bureaucracy.

We know from what he has said in the past that De Klerk believes he has acted swiftly to

curb corruption where it has been exposed; he has appointed commissions to delve into it further and seen off some Cabinet colleagues, senior civil servants and army officers as a result. There have also been prosecutions, though few convictions so far.

The question, however, is not whether he has done something, but whether he has in the political circumstances of this country done enough.

Corruption has become rife in almost every African state. In those countries that chose a collectivist road to what turned out to be their ruin, the exigencies of a system of preferment encouraged the accumulation of dishonest wealth to the extent that corruption has become endemic. In those countries where some semblance of a market economy has been allowed to allocate resources, the expected utility was corrupted by widespread moral degeneration.

The fear of ordinary people here is that if the overtly Protestant government of the National Party — which enshrined such concepts as Christian National Education — has had to countenance one scandal after another within its own administration, to what extent will a new government of national unity find it convenient to turn a blind eye to corruption?

Corruption — especially a corrupt bureaucracy — is capable of subverting the most democratic of constitutions, the most equitable legal system and efficient market economy.

In SA, where the public service and public utilities could again be used as an instrument of perverse affirmative action, even a more democratic and open society, bolstered by a Bill of Rights, might not prevail against incipient corruption.

There is a possibility that, demoralised by failure and enervated by reducing tenure, the present administration is in a peculiar state of moral disarray. A new bureaucracy serving a more democratic government could be less, rather than more, corrupt — but there is not much precedent in Africa to lend credence to that view.

It is not only the political and legal institutions of Western society that foster the ethical bond essential to the success of capitalistic endeavour. The clergy, which teaches ethics and monitors their adherence, plays a decisive role.

Unhappily in SA, the clergymen of the established religions have for so long, with such single-mindedness, sought the downfall of apartheid, paying scant attention to the nature of the society afterwards, that their influence is limited and example unseen.

While De Klerk needs to act with greater effect against the dishonest and unscrupulous, he cannot succeed on his own.

Quite apart from the restoration of prosperity, the re-establishment of moral rigour requires concerted action from those in all walks of life. ■

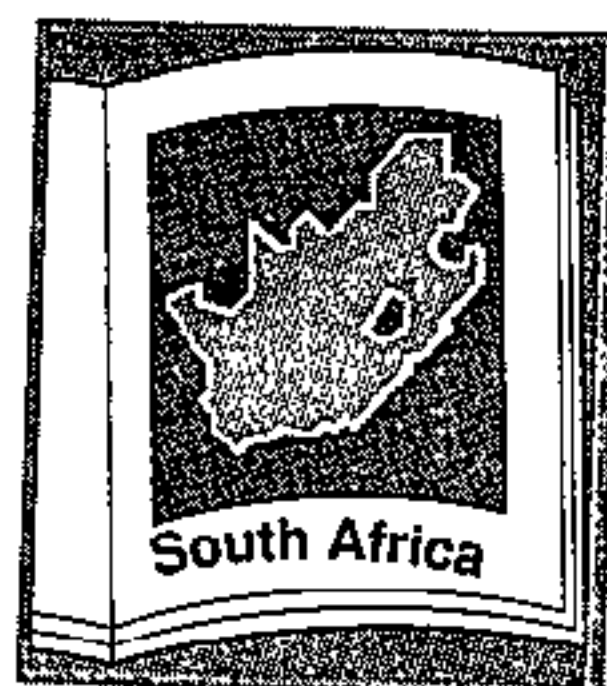


FM 19/2/93

(304A)

THE PRESIDENCY

Getting beyond suspicion



With talks on the political transition poised to enter a crucial stage, President FW de Klerk spoke exclusively to the *FM* about the obstacles to peace and stability — and his optimism that they will be overcome. De

Klerk was interviewed this week in Cape Town by *FM* editor Nigel Bruce and senior editor Chris Freimond.

FM: How critical are talks this week to the resumption of broadly based constitutional negotiations and what is the main obstacle?
De Klerk: They are very important — as were last week's talks. Critical is maybe too strong a word, but time is of the essence. It is fundamentally important that we get the planning conference going.

■ We must not allow ourselves to be rushed for the sake of staying on schedule ■

There is already broad agreement that the conference is a starting point for the resumption of multiparty negotiations. Hopefully, this week's talks will lead to the detailed arrangement of the planning conference soon.

Do you expect substantial opposition from Chief Buthelezi and the IFP?

The purpose of the talks is not to convince anyone of any point of view. It is to remove suspicion and explain our position and inform negotiating partners about issues raised in talks with other parties. The major purpose is to get multiparty negotiations going again. We are not entering the bilateral talks with the IFP in a confrontational manner.

We want to clear up misunderstandings that may have arisen, due to incomplete or incorrect representations of what took place during our discussions with the ANC. We aim to narrow the differences that may still exist between us.

You told Sir David Frost that you saw 12 years down the road a dynamic, prosperous and stable country of great opportunity. What persuades you to this view and, given our problems, is it not stretching credulity?

Obviously scenarios other than the optimistic and positive one can be drawn. I'm optimistic not just because it's my nature, but because I believe SA has leaders in all spheres to ensure that we fulfil the promise

which this country holds. We have responsible political leadership in the most important parties and in a number of smaller parties. These leaders share a commitment to a negotiated and peaceful solution.

We have responsible leaders in business and other fields. We are a country with a lot of talent and the overwhelming majority of people want a peaceful solution. In addition, we have an inherently sound economy in spite of structural problems and the need for economic reforms. And we have a private sector which, at the end of a difficult period, is still alive and well.

It has proved to be resilient and resourceful during this period of deep recession. The National Economic Forum is progressing well, as is development in other spheres, such as education and local government, where a new spirit of realism is evident among all parties.

SA has entered a period of moral turpitude and criminal violence. Can a government of national unity and a new constitution survive this substantial rejection of moral sanction?

I believe a government of national unity, operating within the framework of a transitional constitution which includes a proper Bill of Rights, will be in a good position to address these issues. Part of the problem is the historical distrust of the police.

The SAP has gone a long way to rectify this. When a government of national unity is in place, that type of problem will be removed and the task of the police will be made easier. Furthermore, the economy will benefit from political stability and, as economic growth resumes, a major cause of criminal

■ I see an active role for the leader of the NP and I plan to remain leader of the NP ■

action will be eliminated. Unless you and other credible leaders can restore mutual trust and common purpose, could not the first election deteriorate into a bitter and violent power struggle?

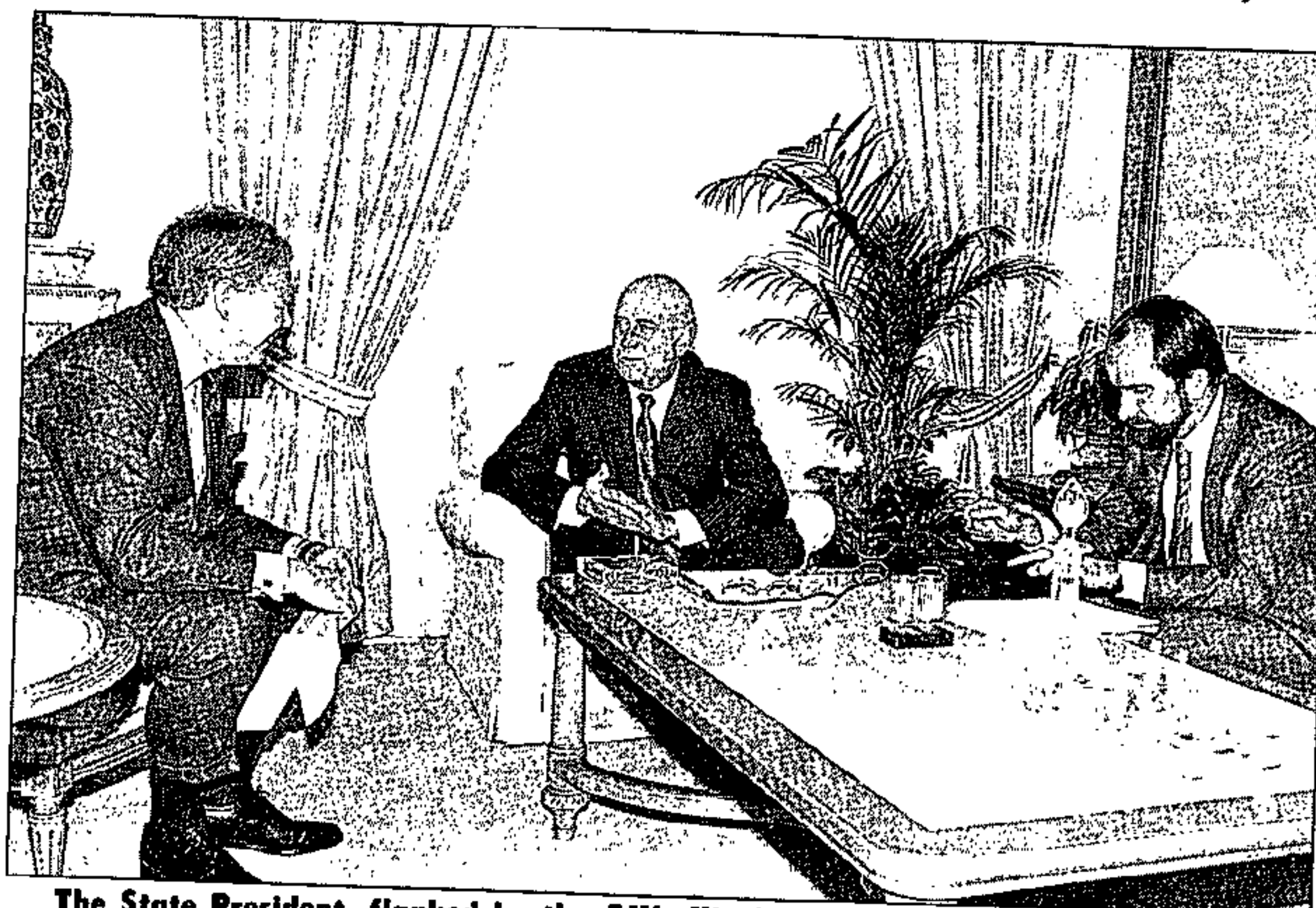
It is important to establish mutual trust and common purpose, but obviously this does not mean entering into alliances. The essence of democracy, particularly during an election campaign, is the emphasis on policy differences and the voters are wooed on that basis. There is a risk of violence continuing to threaten a peaceful democratic process.

That will have to be managed and one of the most important tasks of the proposed Transitional Executive Council will be to analyse this problem and come up with solutions.

The essential task of the TEC will be to level the political playing field. We can't talk about a level political playing field while there is widespread violence. But I'm confident that violence can be curbed by successful negotiations.

In your view, is there a level of violence which, if it is reached, would make the holding of an election ill-advised?

I don't believe there is a way to measure violence exactly — and we cannot and will not allow radicals to veto elections by threat-



The State President, flanked by the *FM*'s Nigel Bruce (left) and Chris Freimond

ening violence. On the other hand, if violence results in widespread intimidation, then we can't have free and fair elections.

In that sense the level of violence must be "normal" and not as abnormally high as it is now. While political leaders say there are fairly large areas which are no-go areas for their parties (and the accusation is made by more than one political leader), then obviously you can't talk about free and fair elections, preceded by a campaign in which all parties have the opportunity to present their case.

Is it your impression that destabilisation is being pursued with less vigour than previously?

I believe we are moving to a situation in which small groups of radicals from various points on the political spectrum are perpetuating violence, but that it is not a policy of any of the major parties. There is a growing rejection of violence and a consensus that it must be stopped at all costs.

Whatever new rules, procedures and struc-

I believe SA has leaders in all spheres to ensure that we fulfil the promise which this country holds

tures are negotiated, business is going to have to fund them. Is this not an argument for broadening negotiations beyond political considerations?

Negotiations are not limited to constitutional affairs. There is the National Economic Forum and other forums, so the assumption that business is not being included in the process is not entirely correct. It is true that business as such is not represented at the constitutional talks and there are good reasons for that. If we were to allow interest groups other than political parties and constitutional institutions we would have to include all interest groups.

In a climate where all political parties are active, the vehicle for constitutional negotiations must be the political party and it is available to all South Africans. Therefore it is important that political parties also interact with business. The NP does this from time to time and so do other parties.

Most business would prefer to be seen to be nonpartisan. Should the initiative come from the parties or from business?

In practice it comes from both sides, but I have no problem with business wanting to be nonpartisan; I think it's a good thing. On the other hand, business cannot just stand on the sidelines and exercise no influence whatsoever. After all, the investment of their shareholders is at stake.

Has business applied pressure on the NP to push negotiations in a particular direction?

No. I find in my interaction with businessmen that they are well informed and in general they impress upon whoever they talk

When a government of national unity is in place, the task of the police will be made easier

to the need to ensure that the economy in a new SA will be free from government manipulation, that the principles of free enterprise should form the basis of the economy and that there should be effective protection of fundamental economic rights such as private property ownership. Without becoming politicised, business is manifesting its interest in the process. It is an effective lobby.

Is the negotiation process a race against time because of our serious economic difficulties?

While time is of the essence, progress creates time and space. I therefore believe it is unwise to be tied to a rigid time frame. We decided to publish what we believe is an attainable schedule, but one must be flexible about it. I perceive flexibility among other players who published slightly different schedules. This is a good development. While we are all aware of the urgency, we mustn't allow ourselves to be rushed into ill-considered actions just for the sake of staying on schedule.

You say there is a "new spirit of realism" among political leaders. What do you mean?

In bilateral talks we find parties more inclined to focus on real issues and to posture less. We are dealing with honest attempts to narrow the gaps. In that sense we are nearer to real negotiations and moving away from a situation in which negotiation was just another aspect of confrontational politics.

That's clearly the case with the ANC, but does it apply to other parties?

It was the case with the PAC until the Apla attacks and the PAC's failure to distance itself from the actions. In the case of the IFP we had open discussions for a long period, but after the formation of the Concerned South Africans Group (Cosag) the situation was not what we would have liked it to be. But it has improved in recent weeks and we are sitting down with the IFP and addressing really important issues.

What role do you see for yourself in a new SA?

There is already a broad consensus, not

The essence of democracy is the emphasis on policy differences

only bilateral agreement, that there will be a government of national unity. I see the NP as one of the strongest parties after an election. Therefore, the leader of the NP, together with leaders of other parties that do well, will play a decisive role on the basis of co-operation to restore stability to SA and create a climate conducive to investment, reconcilia-

tion and nation-building.

I see an active role for the leader of the NP and I plan to remain leader of the NP; I'm young and healthy and unless something happens, I will be there.

What about after a government of national unity?

We go into all negotiations with the view that in order to ensure long-term stability we need some form of long-term power-sharing, coupled with various checks and balances built into the constitution and the Bill of Rights. We believe the principles we enunciated during the referendum last year are fundamental to long-term stability and we have not renounced any of them.

Do you see an amalgamation of white parties with yourself as leader?

Definitely not. I'm not the leader of a white party. There may be an amalgamation of parties that prefer to call themselves white parties, but the NP has already changed and we represent South Africans from all population groups. They are represented in our structures and hierarchy and are working actively for the party. The NP has become a party espousing values to which most moderate South Africans subscribe. It is a truly nonracial party.

On the other hand I think we can expect some sort of political realignment that will continue for some time because we have

We cannot and will not allow radicals to veto elections

political organisations that do not have clearly defined policy bases. The ANC is the best case in point. It has historically been a political home for people who perceived it as the vehicle through which they would attain political rights rather than because of policy issues.

From Dr Mandela's reply (to Sir David Frost) with regard to the relationship between the ANC and the SACP, it is already clear that the ANC itself sees a realignment. In the long run I don't think SA will be much different from other countries and we will find a two- or three-stream type of system. **What attitude would you like to see the major powers and the UN adopt towards the negotiating process and what follows it?**

I would like to see them adopt a helpful and constructive approach and to be supportive of the process. I welcome the fact that this is already beginning to happen. I also welcome the broad consensus among all players in SA that we don't need interference or the internationalisation of our internal solutions. We definitely need support and understanding for the complexity of our problems and the return of SA to the international fold in the fullest sense.

I also welcome the widespread international recognition of the pivotal role SA has to play in sub-Saharan Africa. ■

TOYOTA

FM 19/2/93

Starting to go right again

Pressures are easing, but the road ahead is still rocky

For Toyota SA, 1992 came perilously close to becoming its own *annus horribilis*.

The 10-week, midyear strike at Toyota's Durban assembly plant cost the company thousands of vehicle sales and sent turnover and profits tumbling. It even threatened Toyota's investment in the new Camry car range and sent management-worker relations plunging to a new low.

CE Bert Wessels is understandably relieved to have put the year behind him. But, while he insists Toyota has recovered fully

R1bn. As the FM pointed out at the time, much of that turnover was not lost, only delayed until orders could be met later.

It is likely, therefore, that year-end figures for 1992 will be much better than the interims which were, frankly, miserable. Pre-tax profit was down 72%, compared with the first half of 1991, from R100m to R28m. Attributable income fell 74% to R12m, bringing EPS from 114c to 29c. The dividend was passed for the first time since 1985.

Though the strike continued into the second half — 33 working days were lost in May and June, another 16 in July — year-end results are expected to reflect the improved picture. One certain improvement will be in Toyota's interest burden. At the interim stage, interest-bearing debt had nearly doubled from the previous year, to R427m. This was partly due to the Toyota Motor Co (TMC) of Japan being unable immediately to turn off supplies to the Durban plant after the strike started.

"At one stage, we had nearly 30 000 unassembled vehicle kits piled up in the yard, instead of the normal stockpile of between 8 000 and 10 000," says Wessels. When TMC was finally able to stop supplying, stocks ran down quickly and the situation was back to normal by October.

The high interest levels also reflected investment in the new Camry, which replaced the Cressida late last year, and a new HiAce minibus. The R250m Camry investment was by far the biggest contributor to 1992 capex of R350m. With that money spent, "we are having a bit of a holiday this year," says Wessels. Capex in 1993 probably won't exceed R80m "and there is scope to cut back on that." This year's spending could even be covered by depreciation.

It's only a short holiday, however. Capex will start to pick up again next year and will be very high in 1995 and 1996, says Wessels. That's predictable, since Toyota is preparing to launch the next Corolla range around then.

Toyota faces considerable cost pressures in 1993. Competition is forcing vehicle manufacturers to shave margins. Toyota Marketing MD Brand Pretorius predicts that car price increases this year will average less than the inflation rate, probably 11%-12%.

To achieve that and contribute meaningfully to profits is a tall order. Some companies, desperate to move stocks, are already taking losses on certain car models. Though, as market leader, Toyota's greater volumes give it a unit-cost advantage over rivals, it would surprise no-one if it were forced to do the same.

That pressure might be intensified this year because of demands by TMC. As Wessels

explains, the SA motor industry's latest decline "coincides with a sharp drop in international vehicle demands and a dramatic drop in profitability of all major motor manufacturers."

The multibillion-dollar 1992 losses just announced by Ford and General Motors are at the extreme end of the scale. Some Japanese manufacturers also went into the red. TMC remained profitable last year but saw profits at little more than half of 1990's record levels.

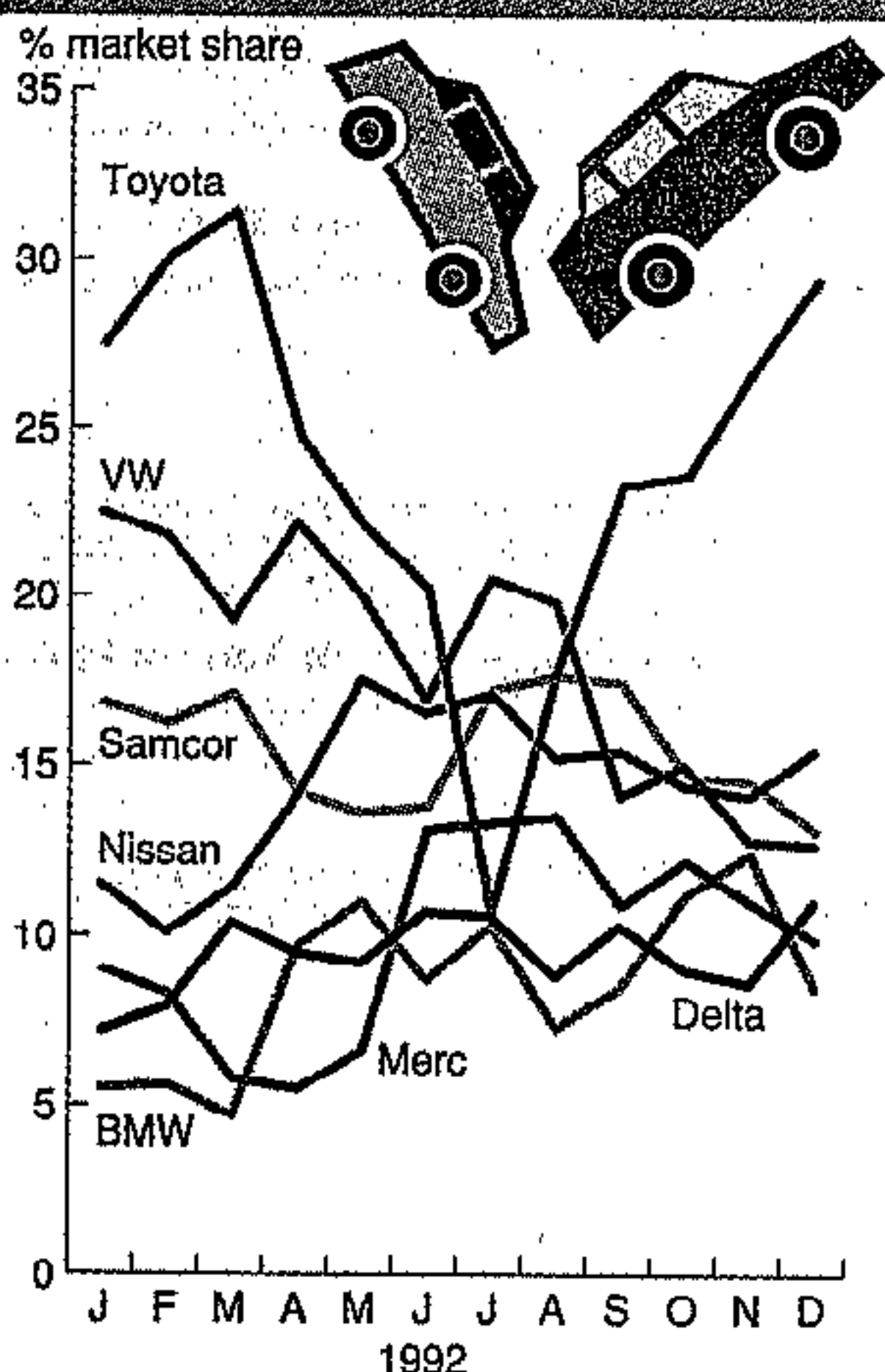
Its response has been to call for greater effort and sacrifice from its subsidiaries and licensors. Wessels explains that the Japanese company "has made onerous demands on us — both for sales volume achievements and the absorption of fob components." In other words, Toyota SA is being asked to sell even more vehicles while facing price increases worsened by the rand's continued weakening against the yen.

The irony isn't lost on Wessels. It's only a couple of years since, under Japanese government pressure, TMC Japan was restricting supplies to SA. "It's a new thing for us to be pushed by TMC to achieve higher volumes and market share."

That makes it imperative for Toyota SA to reach its targeted 30% market share for 1993. In doing so, the local company, which accounts for about 2,5% of total TMC turnover, will have to absorb the higher supply costs from Japan. Wessels says with under-

Toyota's fall and rise

How the strike hit 1992 car market penetration



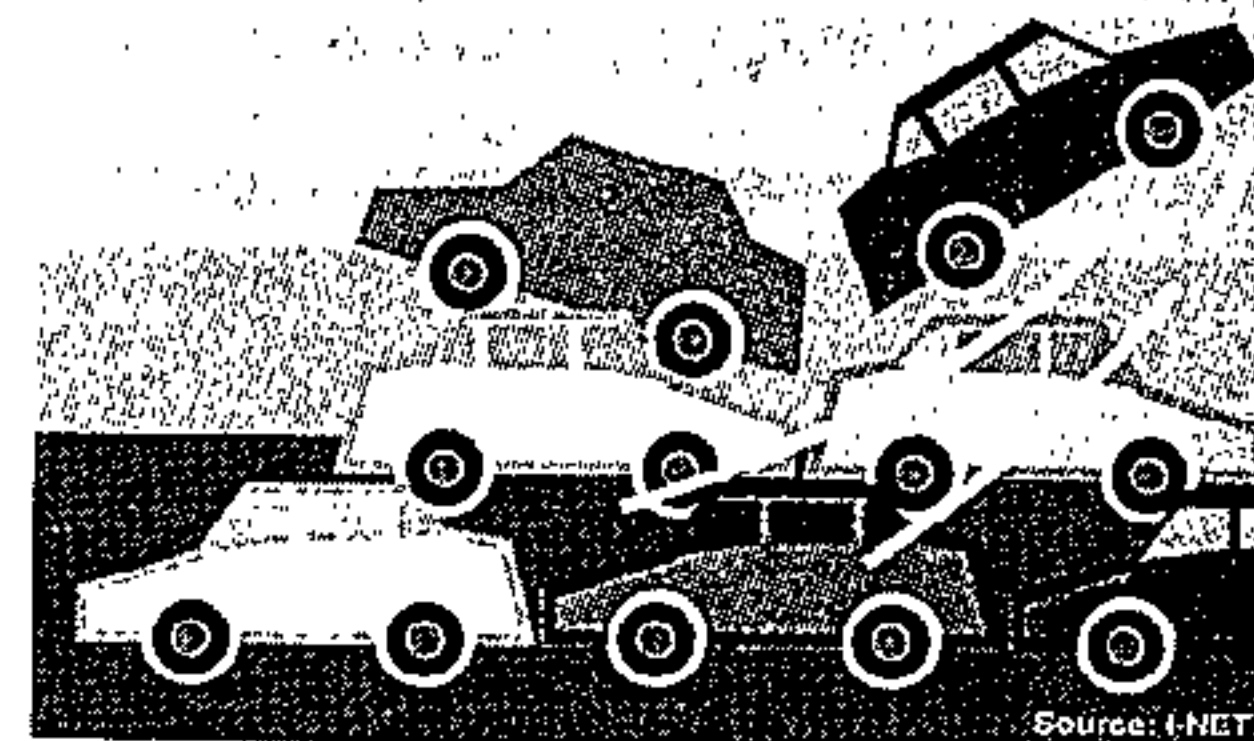
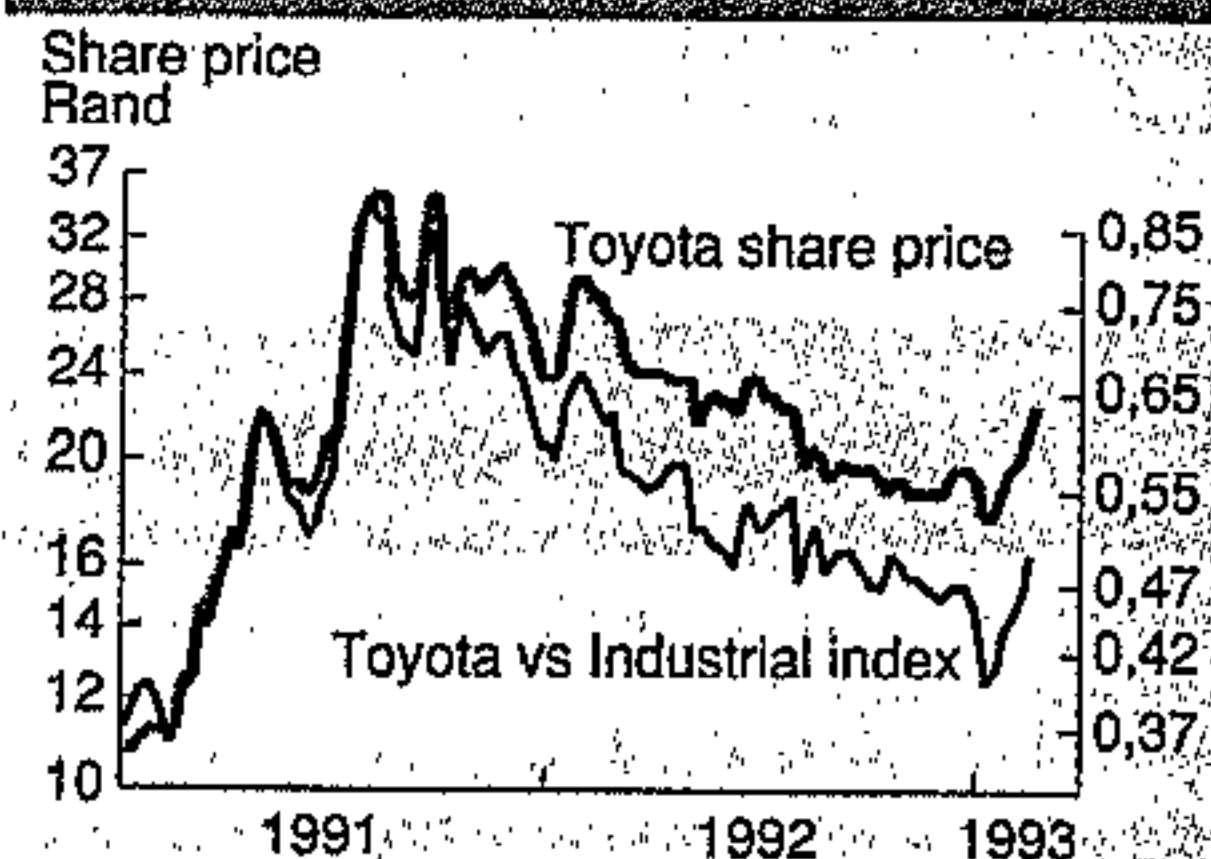
from the strike, it is clear 1993 won't be trouble-free either.

One of Toyota's immediate ambitions is to return sales to target levels. Having aimed for 30% of the total vehicle market last year, the company ended up with 27%. It could have been much worse. In Toyota's favour was the fact that the strike coincided with a sales trough and competitors had limited excess stocks to mop up whatever demand Toyota couldn't meet.

Even so, Toyota estimates the strike cost it nearly 9 000 sales. At a conservative average of R40 000 a vehicle, that works out to R360m in lost turnover — far less than some of the figures being bandied about towards the end of the strike. Some came close to

Turning upwards

Toyota share price and share price vs Industrial index



Source: I-NET

Identity crisis

FM 19/2/93

While the precise format — and date — of SA's first universal franchise election is yet to be decided at the negotiating table, the Home Affairs Department is preparing the way. In addition to existing ballot boxes, a further 10 200 have been manufactured. There are about 22 000 ballot boxes and all comply with international standards.

About 15 200 additional folding booths have been prepared for the envisaged 7 000 polling stations — an average of 20 stations per magisterial district. Items such as ultra-violet lights (for detecting indelible ink marks on voters' hands) and ink pads have been ordered.

There are about 21,6m potential voters, says Home Affairs, of which 84% have identity documents — the most likely basis on which voter eligibility will be established.

The racial breakdown of voters and the percentage in possession of ID books is: whites — 3,4m (98,5%); coloureds — 2,06m (88%); Asians — 645 000 (94%); blacks in SA — 12,3m (79%); and TBVC states — 3,156m (it's not known how many in these areas possess ID documents of some kind).

Detailed arrangements for the historic poll will naturally have to await the passage of an electoral Act, which can follow only once a new constitution has been agreed upon, said Home Affairs' Western Cape regional director Koos van Wyngaardt at an Idasa meeting recently.

At the same time, he explained, it would not be acceptable for implementation of political agreements to be unduly delayed because of unpreparedness to conduct an election. Hence the department's preliminary planning "that could serve any kind of election and system which may be decided upon."

Foremost among the aspects to be borne in mind in the preparations is that the system will be based on proportional representation. The minimum voting age will be 18. Any arrangements made by the department, as well as its role, will be subject to scrutiny by the parties involved in the negotiation process. An independent electoral commission is envisaged.

The main purpose of a general registration of voters would be to determine and confirm a person's eligibility to participate in an election, said Van Wyngaardt. A registration of voters would manifest itself in voters' lists — or a registration card system, which

CURRENT AFFAIRS

seems to be supported in certain quarters, though the department doubts its viability.

Though a registration card system sounds a simple and effective way of proving identity, the process is more involved. To register as a voter, a person would first have to be able to produce evidence of identity, citizenship and age. For those with ID documents it would be a simple process; the registration card would in effect be a duplicate ID.

The process would, however, be more extensive and time-consuming for those without ID documents. Considering the number of aliens in SA — including contract workers, refugees and illegal immigrants — special care would have to be taken with registration.

Another aspect to be considered is that voter registration can start only once the legal basis for it has been established. "This entails the passing of an electoral Act, which can follow only once the constitutional foundation for such a measure has been laid."

A drawn-out registration process will not be possible as it would be desirable for an election to take place within a reasonable time after a political settlement, said Van Wyngaardt.

If an election were held at the beginning of 1994, it would imply that a registration would have to be concluded within three or four weeks at the most, Van Wyngaardt added. This would require about 100 000

officials to do the job, an enormous logistical problem. The estimated cost would be R400m-R450m — "an amount which could, arguably, be better utilised."

Attention would also have to be given to the question of fraudulent registrations. To avoid multiple registrations by the same person, a record of all voters would have to be compiled. Even by computer this will take four to six months.

The most important consideration of all, said Van Wyngaardt, is the rate of registration that could possibly be achieved. Authoritative sources, with African electoral experience, regard a registration rate of 60% as high for Africa. But this may not be acceptable here because of our political history. "The legitimacy of an election may even be a risk."

At present 84% of the potential electorate has ID documents "and it is the department's opinion that a registration of voters will not equal or exceed that percentage," said Van Wyngaardt.

Because of this, a registration process is "not a viable option." In view of the requirements of simplicity, effectiveness and credibility, therefore, the department advocates the use of IDs as the basis on which to conduct an election.

Special efforts — begun last year with the assistance of employers, unions, civic bodies, churches and political parties — to issue the

remainder of ID documents to the 16% without, would require probably no more than R20m.

Though not all parties have accepted the idea of using IDs there seems to be some consensus on accepting this method. Home Affairs is now issuing 50 000-60 000 IDs a week, and Minister Louis Pienaar recently estimated that 95%-96% of the population would have IDs by March next year. ■

Multiparty conference looks set to start on schedule

Green light from ANC

By Peter Fabricius
and Jo-Anne Collinge

CAPE TOWN — The ANC's national executive committee last night gave its crucial approval to proposals for a five-year government of national unity.

This promising development, coupled with encouraging signals from the Government-Inkatha Freedom Party bosberaad at Richards Bay, indicates that negotiations are still on track for the multiparty planning conference next Thursday and Friday.

This will in turn arrange the resumption of full-scale Codesa-style multiparty negotiations.

But the NEC firmly rejected sharing equal power with the National Party in a government of national unity and made it clear that the views of the majority party would prevail.

After an intense three-day meeting, the NEC last night issued a unanimous resolution which endorsed the essentials of the agreement by Government and ANC negotiators for a government of national unity lasting up to five years.

This included a joint Cabinet — of all parties receiving more than 5 percent of the electoral vote — which would run the country for no longer than five years after elections for a constituent assembly.

In the first phase — before the adoption of a new constitution — the government would be called the interim government of national unity, the NEC said.

In the second phase — after the adoption of a new constitution — it would become known as the government of national unity and reconstruction, which would phase in aspects of the new constitution and embark on a far-reaching programme of reconstruction and affirmative action.

Hamstrung

At a press conference in Soweto last night, ANC secretary-general Cyril Ramaphosa was adamant that the NEC proposal was an outright rejection of the Government's notion of power-sharing.

"Our idea of a government of national unity means majority rule should not be sacrificed in any way. We see the president as being able to take decisions without being hamstrung."

The NEC resolution spells out that the president shall be elected by simple majority of the constituent assembly. Representatives of minority parties in the Cabinet will be appointed — in proportion to their voting sup-

port — by the president in consultation with the leaders of these parties.

On most issues the president would have the final say. On certain issues not yet agreed to, decisions would require the support of two-thirds of the Cabinet.

Constitutional Development Minister Roelf Meyer said last night the NEC statement was confusing and that he could not see the difference between power-sharing and a government of national unity.

However, after studying the NEC resolution government sources said it formed a good basis for further discussion.

They confirmed that the discussions in Richards Bay with the IFP were going well, and that everything was set for the multiparty planning conference to go ahead next Thursday.

Ramaphosa also said last night that intense efforts would be made to communicate the resolution to all party structures.

Indications are that this will not entail the elaborate process of consulting the grassroots which ANC militants were demanding.

The negotiators seem to have placated suspicious militants by uncompromising rhetoric but also by spelling out in unambiguous terms that the NP will not wield equal power with the ANC in a government of national unity.

Consensus

On another critical issue, the NEC resolution confirmed that the constituent assembly would take all decisions on the powers, functions and boundaries of regional government.

A proposed regional commission could only make recommendations to this assembly.

The ANC, however, would be seeking to build a national consensus on regional government.

SA Communist Party general secretary Chris Hani said at the University of Cape Town yesterday the ANC had rejected sharing power with the National Party for five years and instead wanted an interim government, led by Nelson Mandela, to be in power for nine months.

He said a constituent assembly should have a nine-month lifespan in which to draw up a new constitution.

"We are saying the government of national unity must go up to the time that the constituent assembly has completed its task. That can't be two, three or five years."

He said the ANC would like the process completed within nine months.

"Then we must have elections. This is the position of the ANC."

Soweto man for NP committee

Political Staff

304A

STAR 19/2/93

CAPE TOWN — A Soweto businessman is among several extra-political figures to join a new National Party's Information and Management Committee to beef up the party's election strategy.

D L Chuenyane's appointment to the National Information and Management Committee was

announced yesterday by the head of the NP's election campaign, Minister of Public Enterprises and Cape leader Dr Dawie de Villiers.

Another businessman, N J Frangos, and "well-known political adviser" Dr Jan du Plessis are also to serve on the committee.

"Professional advice" will be given by consultant Eldad

Louw.

De Villiers said the main aim of the committee would be to "broaden the support base of the NP and establish the basis for a well-structured and successful election campaign".

The committee will begin operating next month.

The NP has also formed a new strategy committee in the Cape.

MIKE TARR

FM 19/2/93.

Next time in Zulu ^{HB} _{304/7}

The Inkatha Freedom Party's latest parliamentary recruit, Mike Tarr, doesn't regard himself as a white Zulu.

In fact, if he believed the IFP was a Zulu party he wouldn't have joined. "The IFP is keen to get rid of its image as a Zulu party. Part of my job will be to expand membership among whites to do just that."

Tarr (50) shocked the Democratic Party last month by quitting to join the IFP. He has been MP for Maritzburg North since 1989 and was considered a staunch DP man.

Tarr was first elected to parliament for the Progressive Federal Party as MP for Maritzburg South in 1981, but lost to a Nationalist in the 1987 "total onslaught" election.

Before that he taught agricultural economics at the University of Natal for 10 years. He is a partner in a Maritzburg agricultural economics consultancy and specialises in rural development issues.

In a possible interim Cabinet published by the FM this month, based on predictions by political observers, Tarr was placed as Minister of Agriculture (*Leaders* February 5). He believes his expertise can be of value to the IFP.

Tarr says he defected to the IFP because he found very few differences in policy with the DP. "The views of the two parties are similar on various issues — boycotts, sanctions, stayaways. I support a federal option for SA and I believe that no-one but the IFP can make it happen in Natal."

He also argues that it's time whites started joining predominantly black parties that they believe in, rather than vice versa. "I tried for a long time to recruit blacks for the DP, but it just wasn't working."

Tarr says he had no problems with DP ideology but the party was simply going nowhere, particularly in Natal. "I would like to stay in active politics and if I do, I want to be in a party that can make a difference."

However, he acknowledges that as a white member of the IFP he is in a small minority and can't expect special treatment. His future will be largely determined by party decisions.

Tarr speaks some Zulu but not enough — so he's working on it. "I spoke at a rally at Trust Feeds at the weekend and told the audience that next time I addressed them it would be in Zulu."

His break with the DP was amicable and he still speaks to his former colleagues. "People in the DP are pretty civilised in that respect."

He disagrees that he's let down his voters. "Judging by the telephone calls I've received since my move I have no doubt that most whites in Maritzburg would support the IFP rather than the ANC."




Tarr ... I want to be in a party that can make a difference

His recreational interests include road running and backpacking. He is married and has two daughters.

NEC outlines its plan

Staff Reporter

(304A) 
A GOVERNMENT of national unity should be in power for nine months to draft a new constitution and should then be replaced by a democratically-elected parliament, the ANC National Executive Committee has decided.

South African Communist Party general secretary Mr Chris Hani said yesterday he was confident the ANC would lead the interim government with Mr Nelson Mandela as president.

He was addressing about 1 000 University of Cape Town students at a meeting of the South African Students' Congress.

Ct 19/2/93
The ANC NEC met this week to decide its response to talks between ANC and National Party negotiators. The NP wants a five-year government of national unity.

Mr Hani said that as head of the interim government, Mr Mandela would decide on cabinet appointments after consulting leaders whose parties got more than 5% of the vote.

Mr Hani said one of the main struggles facing the ANC as the future government was the need to resist corruption and bureaucratisation. This would be helped by an active and critical mass democratic movement.

NP election body named

By BARRY STREEK
Political Staff

A POLITICAL analyst often used as a commentator by the SABC, Dr Jan du Plessis, was last night named as a member of the National Party's new election strategy committee. 19/2/93

The names of the members of the committee were announced by committee chairman Dr Dawie de Villiers, the party's Cape leader.

Dr Du Plessis has frequently appeared on television to comment on political developments, but his political affiliation has not been known publicly.

The committee includes the Minister of Health, Dr Rina Venter, the Minister of the Budget in the House of Representatives, Mr Gerald Morkel, and Mr Piet Coetzer, director of the party's federal information services.

Call to make ministers accountable

THE government should admit to its mistakes and make its ministers publicly accountable, Mr Robin Carlisle (DP Wynberg) said yesterday.

Speaking in first reading debate on the Transport Services Unappropriated Expenditure Bill, he said the government had made the poorest attempt yet to justify the mismanagement of the SA Transport Services.

To put things in perspective, Sats' financial statement of the was received six months late, was inaccurate to the tune of R487 million when received and fixed assets could not be verified to the satisfaction of the auditors.

"The fixed assets of Sats at the time were R4 billion but there was no asset register."

This amounted to atrocious management.

The government had also had no idea how the R40 million in the expense account had been used.

"It should have known someone was stealing the cash."

"With six million people unemployed, seven million inadequately housed... how can you justify this sort of thing?"

Mr Carlisle said that instead of the Minister being made accountable, he had been moved from one department to another.

Who knew what inaccuracies, or absent-minded mismanagement was going on in his present department? — Sapa.

Oiling the election campaign for votes

WITH an election date set tentatively for either the end of the year or the first quarter of 1994, political parties have started setting their election machinery in place to ensure they win the most votes possible.

A huge organisational structure with clear tasks for campaign workers has to be established to ensure the campaigns are effective.

The more effective a party's election machinery, the greater its chance of winning an election.

No matter how much support a party enjoys, unless it actively works within its constituency to ensure that its supporters cast votes for them, on election day, it may still lose an election.

The point of each campaign is to win as many votes for the party as possible.

The only way to do this is to convince the party's membership that every vote cast for them can mean the difference between victory and defeat.

The campaign also attempts to win over as many new members as possible from the large group of apathetic people who normally would not decide to support any party on election day.

Election campaign committees are normally set up at local, regional and national level to co-ordinate a party's election campaign country-wide.

Heading each campaign committee is a campaign manager, who is

responsible for supervising the campaign within the area of jurisdiction.

The manager recruits people for the following tasks: branch convenors, fundraising, voter canvassing, organising public meetings, publicity and transport.

Managers have to ensure capable people are employed to oversee the following tasks on election day: public relations, volunteer worker co-ordinators, administration and neighbourhood organisers.

Campaign committees conduct analyses of voters in their areas to get a clear picture of all communities, their priorities and problems, to set targets and outline a financial budget.

The analysis is crucial to ensure the party's message reaches the voters, thus beginning the process of winning as many votes in the area as possible.

Based on the community profile, the committee formulates an action plan.

This is a strategy, the aim of which is to use all existing resources in the area like venues, influential people who could help and summarises the main issues and problems in the area.

The committee then makes a shortlist of "winnable issues" — those the party can address and use to win support.

The plan also informs the committee about the activities of opposition parties and what their election strategy will be.

This helps to undermine the credibility of the opposition and to counter their strategy to win votes.



READY TO VOTE: Ballot boxes like these used in Namibia have been made for South Africa. Photo: Rashid Lombard — Tanis

Ballot boxes, voting cubicles ordered for poll

THE Department of Home Affairs has already begun preparing for

South Africa's first non-racial, democratic elections.

The department has ordered 10 200 ballot boxes and 15 200 folding voting cubicles, which have already been made.

Equipment such as ultra-violet lights (used for detecting indelible ink marks on voters' hands) and ink-pads have been ordered.

Seven thousand locations have been identified as possible polling stations.

The issuing of identity documents has been speeded up, reaching 60 000 a week and the department is confident that most eligible voters should have identity documents by March next year.

Census

Based on the 1991 population census, there are 21,5 million eligible voters, including nearly 15,5 million black voters, in South Africa.

There is agreement among the major political parties involved in negotiations that the first elections will be for a constituent assembly or interim parliament.

Three major areas which still need to be negotiated are which authority will conduct the elections, what electoral system will be used and technical matters such as voter eligibility, voter registration, voter identification, party registration and election logistics.

The department estimates that registration would have to be concluded within a month and would require in the region of 100 000 officials at a cost of between R400-million to R450-million.

Winning votes takes time, cash and work

HOURS of footwork and a creative media campaign is required from members and volunteers of political parties to ensure an election victory.

There are a number of methods political parties can use to try to get their message across to as many potential voters as possible.

These include mass rallies, house meetings, voter canvassing, media advertisements, distributing party literature and printing a range of gimmicks like stickers, badges, flags, T-shirts and more with their party's symbol and colours.

Party workers also attempt to get maximum publicity for their most popular party leaders, highlighting their good points and their political track records.

The public is bombarded with a great deal of information about the party presented in a wide variety of forms.

Giving personal attention to voters is another important aspect of an election campaign. Canvassing

— door-to-door visiting of all the households in a constituency — takes place early in every campaign.

This helps election campaign committees establish the degree of party support in the area, and the number of "doubtful" voters who are unsure which party they will vote for. Canvassers also get a commitment from party supporters to go and cast their votes on election day and get a clear idea what positive and negative perceptions exist about the party.

The results are all recorded by the canvassers, and forms a gold mine of information which enables the party to modify its strategy where necessary, underplay its weaknesses and highlight its strong points.

It also enables party leaders to address directly the concerns of people in that area.

Based on the canvassing results, the party is able to focus its attention on the "doubtfuls" and attempt to sway them to vote for their party before the opposition reaches them and wins their support.

Although these methods do not sound pleasant or fair, election campaigns are seldom based on fair-play, but rather on winning as many votes as possible by whatever means possible — short of illegal activity.

Some party officials have in the past been unscrupulous enough to

resort to illegal means to defeat their opponents.

To avoid this happening, there are laws governing the conduct of election campaigns. Campaign committees would have to be familiar with the Election Act to avoid prosecution.

This is the fourth part of our 1993 series to help you make the most of your ballot:

Canvassing is usually done in the initial stage of an election campaign and then again towards the end.

The initial results help to define the party's approach to potential voters and the final results help the party predict its percentage poll in the election.

Fundraising is another vital activity of any election campaign committee.

Getting airtime for advertisements on radio, television and placing advertisements in newspapers costs a great deal of money.

Booking venues for mass rallies, organising transport to take voters to the polls on election day and employing staff for an election campaign can set a party back millions of Rands.

Every aspect of an election campaign requires significant funds. That is why, however unfair this may seem, elections are often won not by the party with the greatest support, but by the party with the most money.

Because of the large costs involved in employing staff, all

parties rely heavily on volunteer workers, especially to do their canvassing.

Volunteer workers usually come from the ranks of party membership as they are prepared to work to the best of their ability because they have a stake in ensuring their party's victory.

In South Africa, however, there are particular difficulties which may not be experienced in election campaigns in other countries.

While canvassing is essential, the level of political intolerance is so high that volunteer workers may not be welcome at the front doors of supporters of rival parties.

Already, public meetings of political parties have been disrupted by supporters of rival groups.

Political party offices have been attacked in the past and activists have experienced interference when they put up posters of their organisations.

Political tension in South Africa still has to be defused considerably before preparations for an election can start.

W HAT was the tri-cameral parliament all about when it was unveiled in 1983? Sheila

Camerer, an NP MP, told us it was a temporary structure which served as "a can-opening exercise" which in due course succeeded to "change people's perceptions about each other's communities and prepared the way for full democracy". Who was she trying to deceive?

Black people know that the tri-cameral parliament was formed to contain their aspirations of freeing themselves from the system of oppression and exploitation. But, contrary to Camerer's absurd claim, the NP is now the chief protagonist of the "demise of the tri-cameral system". Its irrelevance came about as it failed to enjoy popular support and legitimacy from the outset.

Those non-white parties, like the Labour Party, Solidarity Party, etc., who got duped and participated in it, painfully realised the trap they were hooked in when their members were swallowed by the NP.

However, since February 2, 1992, the three-chamber parliament began to play roles and perform functions it never intended, even for the NP, although it still works to the latter's advantage.

At present, this parliament represents a host of parties, including the ANC and IFP which were deliberately left out in the beginning, with the rationale that there existed the homelands where they could merely exercise their right of self-rule. Fortunately, Azapo and other major parties of the left continued to refuse to grant an undeserved legitimacy to the discredited structure.

Due to the lack of space, we shall only focus on two of these roles/functions.

● Firstly, it serves to protect and cover-up for those who detained, tortured, assassinated and passed laws of oppression and racism. For example, the Indemnity Act passed last year aims to protect apartheid

CROSS TALK

Tri-cameral parliament: an instrument of the NP

Continuing our political debate series, **SIPHO S. MASEKO**, chairperson of Azapo Western Cape Region, explains why his organisation is not convinced negotiations between the ANC and the NP will lead to a lasting solution:

security thugs responsible for the assassination and disappearance of many anti-apartheid activists.

Their loved ones and comrades will never know where their remains lie. During this current session, parliament is expected to pass a scheme which would allow advance payments of retirement and pension gratuities, estimated at R21 billion, to those who caused misery and poverty, unemployment, homelessness, and stubbornly denied us the right to vote and choose our own representatives.

The proposed charter of the bill of rights is another example of a ploy to protect "property" and "rights" acquired through forced removals, violent land conquest and economic deprivation of the black majority.

● Another function of the tri-cameral parliament is to strengthen the NP's position at the negotiating table. De Klerk's threat of wanting to call another "whites only" referendum if the NP's basic principles for a new constitution are not accepted is an indication of this. Having won control in all three chambers, it now has even more

power of using this parliament as its instrument.

Thus, it is a pity that Mr Ebrahim Rasool of the ANC's Western Cape Regional Committee, harbouring wishful-thinking when "the only remaining task for the bankrupt tri-cameral parliament was to rubber-stamp legislation for a transition to democracy... It has, indeed, power to do little more." (South, Jan. 30—Feb 3, 1993). The fact is that all the parliamentary "power" the NP has would be used to wrestle the ANC and other negotiation parties to get far-reaching concessions at the negotiating table.

This is linked to the notion of whether this is really the last white-dominated parliament? It is an issue not what name he would open secret De Klerk's regime has no intention of dissolving it. What but that it would not have been fundamentally changed.

Be that as it may, Azapo is not naive to realise that a settlement is in the offing, probably later this year him to appoint unelected individuals to parliament.

With this law he would be able to appoint leaders of certain factions of liberation movements in the cabinet. At that stage, he would also rename



De Klerk will appoint some liberation movement leaders to the cabinet and rename parliament as the "Parliament of National Unity". There would not have been fundamental change?

say the Parliament of National Unity? So the issue is not what name he would open secret De Klerk's regime has no intention of dissolving it. What but that it would not have been fundamentally changed.

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to the majority in the country. Only one condition is required: forge this settlement: the suppression and/or ignoring of all legitimate concerns such as free political activity, restraining of apartheid forces from killing our people, voicing of grievances in the work place, education, health, etc.

It would be unfortunate if ANC were seen to be in the co-guard of clamping down on its concerns, as it appears bent reaching a settlement at all costs. Azapo believes there is an alternative.

● The first is the revival of a genuine patriotic front of liberation forces without delay, because negotiations that take place without the existence of this front will be floundering or be weakened.

● Secondly, this front should insist on the establishment of a transitional authority consisting of international representatives to supervise general elections based on one person, one vote, and the restriction forces of the apartheid regime.

● Thirdly, only an elected constituent assembly should draft a constitution that would represent the people of Azania.

Stay cool for polls, warns peacemaker

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■ A man with his finger on the pulse of peacekeeping initiatives in the Western Cape sees a crucial challenge ahead — the task of ensuring that South Africa's first nonracial elections are free from violence, intimidation or serious disruption.

FRANS ESTERHUYSE

Weekend Argus Political Correspondent

A WARNING has come from peacemaker Professor Jaap Durand that South Africa's problems could multiply if the first nonracial elections do not succeed.

And one factor that could threaten the much-needed success of elections is violence, he says.

Professor Durand, chairman of the Western Cape regional peace committee, said this week that he agreed with the findings of the Commonwealth Observer Mission to South Africa (Comsa) about the importance of democratic elections as a way of containing violence.

"This is important, but then a prerequisite is that elections must be peaceful," Professor Durand said.

If not, there is a danger that violence-ridden elections will not succeed and plunge the country into a worse situation.

Professor Durand sees this as an important part of South Africa's growing peacekeeping machine set up under the National Peace Accord.

Although political meetings are important, he says, they are not a priority at present because of more urgent matters the regional committee has to deal with.

Issues the committee has had to handle or help to resolve since its formation about a year ago include the Peninsula taxi war, squatter crises, tensions between black communities, landless people and local

authorities, violence and the burning down of shacks, school crises and other serious conflict situations in local communities.

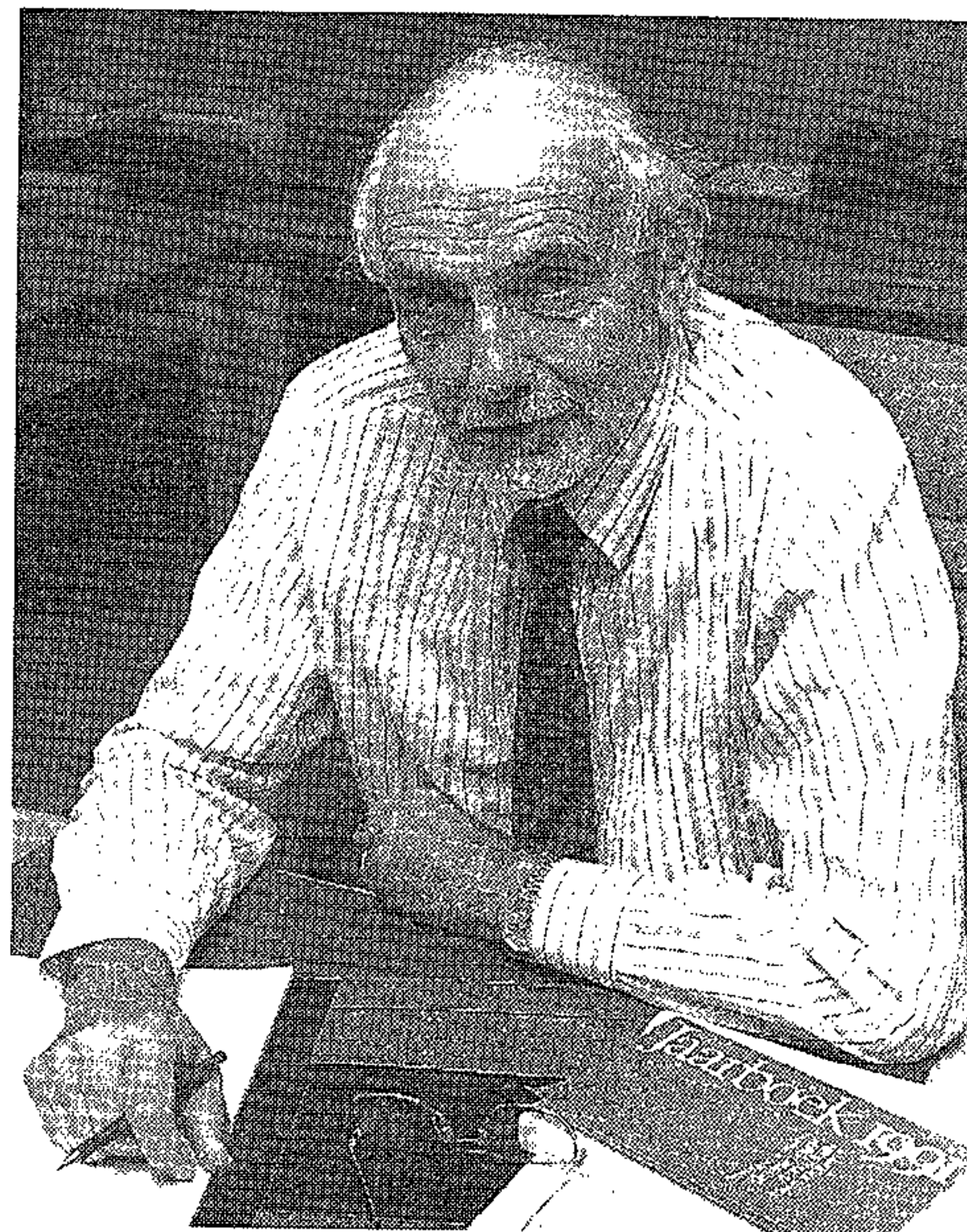
Professor Durand, who is also vice-rector of the University of the Western Cape, finds that his task as peacemaker can be quite hectic at times — "it becomes a problem when things are happening and one has to be in several places at the same time."

On the issue of elections, he says he regards education for elections as important, and the committee is looking closely at this need.

He foresees that peace structures will be in place in South Africa for many years to come.

"Inequalities built into our society are going to take a long time to eradicate."

The regional peace committee liaises closely with national peace structures and has received much co-operation and assistance from international peace monitors, notably those from the United Nations, the



Professor Jaap Durand, chairman of the Western Cape regional peace committee.

British Commonwealth and the European Community.

On a lighter note, Professor Durand notes that, thanks to the presence of international observers, the little-known village of Koekenaap on the West Coast has figured in a report by UN Secretary-General Dr Boutros Boutros-Ghali to the UN.

This came about after UN observers had accompanied representatives of the regional peace committee to Koekenaap where problems had arisen about the land issue, homeless people and recent evictions.

Explaining South Africa's peace structures, Professor Durand says the Peace Accord,

signed in September 1990, has three pillars — the national peace committee, the national peace secretariat and the Goldstone commission.

For peacekeeping purposes the country is divided into 11 regions, including the Western Cape region which began functioning in February 1992.

The boundaries of the Western Cape region extend from Cape Town to Port Nolloth and from there to Beaufort West and Plettenberg Bay. Within this region, a number of sub-regions have been established — including the Southern Cape, West Coast, Cape Metropolitan Region, and the Boland and Karoo.

Offices with full-time personnel have so far been established in Bellville and George.

Three main tasks of the regional committee are: To assist the political process by meeting regional and local political leaders and drawing as many groups as possible into the peace process; to facilitate and mediate in crises and conflict situations; and to promote long-term community development.

When troubles or tension arise in local communities, peace committee members swiftly move in and try to facilitate or mediate between warring groups. Attempts are made to set up local peace committees.

Professor Durand cites the example of a highly successful local peace committee set up in Grabouw at the height of recent troubles. The committee included people from the whole spectrum of the local scene.

F W poised to reshuffle his cabinet

MICHAEL MORRIS
Political Staff

PRESIDENT De Klerk is poised to order a major cabinet reshuffle to prepare his administration for the crucial run-up to the first all-race elections.

Indications are that details will be announced today.

Far-reaching changes are expected, and there is intense speculation that he may bring in outsiders, possibly including people of colour.

Several ministers and deputy ministers could get the chop, and some portfolios may be amalgamated to streamline the executive.

One possibility is that the finance-related portfolios could be combined under the political control of Finance Minister Mr Derek Keys.

Mounting speculation suggests that Minister of Home Affairs and Environment Mr Louis Pienaar is ready to leave politics altogether.

The Home Affairs portfolio is a critical one as South Africa prepares for the biggest election in its history.

One of this department's key tasks in the months ahead will be to make sure that all South Africans have identity documents. Millions have yet to apply.

One possible choice to head this department is Minister of Defence Mr Gene Louw, whose handling of last year's hectic referendum campaign was widely praised.

But security is equally critical at this time, and the President would want a political heavyweight to head the Defence Force.

Most senior men in the cabinet already have their hands full.

Growing Opposition anger over bungling in the Department of Transport in years past has raised questions about the future of former Transport Minister Mr George Bartlett.

However, as head of the National Party in Natal, his position is politically delicate and any change in his role is likely to be handled with great care.

Progress toward all-party talks

MICHAEL MORRIS
Political Staff and Sapa

MAJOR progress has been made in preparations for the resumption of all-party talks, delayed for months after the crippling of the Codesa process in June.

Key meetings in the past two weeks have eased the political tension between the main players.

In a significant display of political flexibility, the African National Congress agreed yesterday to a request from the Inkatha Freedom Party to delay the multiparty planning conference from Thursday and Friday next week to March 5 and 6.

It also agreed to involve traditional leaders in negotiations at a national level, including discussions at the next multiparty conference.

The postponement of the planning conference, a vital preparatory stage for a fully-fledged multiparty conference, probably before the end of March — was agreed between the government's chief negotiator, Minister of Constitutional Development Mr Pieter Meyer and the IFP negotiators at their meeting in Richards Bay.

■ To page 3

Progress toward talks

■ From page 1

The IFP delegation sought the postponement to consult fully with its central committee.

Mr Meyer, who described the request as "reasonable" and one that would "enhance the negotiation process", won the ANC's approval for it in a telephone call to secretary-general Mr Cyril Ramaphosa.

Key differences between the three main players remain and tough talking is expected at the multiparty planning conference.

While the ANC has endorsed the idea of a government of national unity for at least five years to phase in the new constitution, it is at odds with the government's proposals for power-sharing.

The IFP is opposed to a government of national unity. It wants fresh elections, once the new constitution has been negotiated and approved in a referendum.

But the government/IFP talks appear to have removed the political animosity that grew between them after last September's record of understanding between the government and the ANC.

Speaking in Johannesburg last night, President De Klerk declared that South Africa was entering the final stage of its programme of transformation.

"We are confident, in spite of the many problems which we can expect to encounter, that we will be able to accomplish it successfully," he said.

Another significant development yesterday was the ANC's acceptance of the role of traditional leaders.

This followed a meeting between the ANC and an 11-strong delegation of chiefs from the Congress of Traditional Leaders of Southern Africa (Contralesa) in Johannesburg.

Afterwards, ANC secretary-general Mr Ramaphosa said it was agreed that traditional leaders would have the right to speak at Codesa plenary sessions and make representations on matters affecting them at management committee meetings.

"Their participation," he said, "should take place in accordance with a unifying role and should not be on a party political basis."

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Now joint STAR 20/2/93 talks are set for ~~February~~ March

DURBAN — The multiparty planning conference has been postponed until March 5, according to Constitutional Development Minister Roelf Meyer.

Meyer said in a statement yesterday, after bilateral talks between the Inkatha Freedom Party and the Government, that this decision had been taken after the IFP had requested time to consult its central committee. (304A)

Agreed

He said the African National Congress had also agreed to the postponement.

The conference had initially been planned for February 25 and 26.

In the brief statement, Meyer said progress had been made in the three-day talks with the IFP at Richards Bay, but he did not elaborate. — Sapa.

Let the Western Cape rule, OK?

THE recently-formed Free Cape Movement is going ahead with a strident campaign for a federal system of government — with the Western Cape as a key self-governing element.

The movement's vision of the future includes a regional parliament which is to have "sole and independent authority" to make decisions on all Western Cape matters.

One of the leaders and founders, Mr Christopher Hill, claims the new organisation, formed only about three months ago, is growing rapidly and already has more than 2,000 members and supporters.

An office run by a full-time secretary has been opened in Claremont to handle inquiries, applications for membership and other matters.

"We are working people, not politicians. We have become fed up with all the chaos and violence in the country," Mr Hill, a businessman, told Weekend Argus.

He said the Free Cape Movement's first public meeting was to be held in the Claremont Civic Centre on March 3, starting at 7.30pm.

Meanwhile pamphlets outlining the

A new voice calling for a federal system of government for South Africa is making itself heard loud and clear in the Western Cape.

FRANS ESTERHUYSE
Weekend Argus Political Correspondent

movement's aims, demands and proposals were being distributed.

Messages of support and good wishes had been received from various organisations abroad, including the Alliance for Freedom and Democracy in the United States, the European Institute for Peace and Security and the Brussels-based European World Council.

An offer of assistance had also come from the World Freedom League in Korea. A representative of the league was being sent to Cape Town to meet members of the movement.

Mr Hill said the movement had the support of some prominent businessmen who preferred not to have their identity disclosed at this stage. A study group had been set up with economists, lawyers and Cape."

Mr Hill, who recently spoke at a public meeting of the Inkatha Freedom Party in Cape Town, said that there was common ground between the viewpoints of his movement and the IFP on federalism.

At the Inkatha meeting, he said, he had come across a group of more than 20 ANC supporters who showed an interest in his viewpoint and asked him to speak to them too.

others and interest had been shown by some academics.

The movement made contact with South African politicians of various parties, including the Democratic Party, the National Party, the Inkatha Freedom Party and the African National Congress, but according to Mr Hill the movement is steering clear of party politics at this stage.

"What we would like is the backing of politicians and MPs of all parties. If we get that kind of support we can become a political party."

The movement has, in fact, already sent out a call to Western Cape MPs urging them to put their weight behind the movement.

In one of its pamphlets the movement urged MPs to protect the interests of West-

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ern Cape voters who had voted for them.

"Put us, who trusted you, first. Do not abandon us to Pretoria's schemes," the pamphlet said.

Mr Hill said the movement hoped to persuade Western Cape MPs to "stand up for the Western Cape".

"However, if they feel too shackled to Pretoria, we would have to encourage people in their constituencies to vote against them."

The movement was not seeking secession or a unilateral declaration of independence. It envisaged a Western Cape parliament which would also have the authority to settle matters of federal interest with a federal assembly, representing the whole of South Africa, of which the Western Cape would remain an important part.

In one of its policy statements the Free Cape Movement puts across this argument: "In the Western Cape we have learnt to live together. We have respect for each other. We look on with horror and sadness at the violence and intimidation which seems to be the lot of our neighbours. We refuse to have this alien culture of intolerance imported and imposed on the Western

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Angola, the destabilisation of Angola and Mozambique, the counter-revolutionary war against the UDF, the End Conscription Campaign and other opponents of the National Party's projects.

Readers interested in the Bisho massacre are rewarded with two lines — both, of course, blaming the ANC for getting shot up.

This selectivity is just part of the whole conservative, prejudiced fog that Owen develops around South Africa's politics. This is ironical, considering he is arguably South Africa's most ardently self-proclaimed liberal. But what is the basis of this "liberalism"?

Technically he qualifies as a liberal: he propagates freedom; he does back the individual against the collective; he is egalitarian and speaks up for human rights; he proclaims the importance of limiting government by constitutional and other means; and he ardently backs private ownership and free enterprise.

But his is an old-fashioned and conservative liberalism.

Firstly, liberals traditionally believe in human freedom and in the importance of the individual. What follows from that is that individual and free human behaviour will exhibit enormous variety.

And what follows from that is a requirement, for a liberal, of tolerance.

CHIEF BUTHELEZI: The only major black political figure to regularly escape Owen's scorn. He writes of him as a black liberal.

Owen, however, exhibits, certainly in these writings, very little tolerance.

His other failures as a liberal follow from his conservatism. His conception of rights is old-fashioned and hackneyed — today's debate on rights is about social and economic rights as ordained in 1966 by the United Nations. Owen is stuck in civil liberties and hasn't moved any further in the 12 years of *These Times*.

HIS liberalism is generally uninformed by contemporary debate and greatly informed by the past. A few examples of this:

● For most of this writing, the term "Afrikaner" is used by Owen as a generalisation, all instances of which are white people who all support the NP or the white flight. The fact that a third of Afrikaners are not white, and a great number of white and non-white Afrikaners have fought apartheid with real courage and commitment appears lost on him.

ARCHBISHOP TUTU: A man who was essentially correct on the value of sanctions in defeating apartheid. Owen owes him a apology.

● While Owen rightly clobbers other commentators for having blindspots, there is only one black political figure who escapes his withering scorn — Chief Buthelezi. He writes of him as a black liberal and, while trumpeting the importance of free speech and free association, he devotes not a line to the deplorable lack of these freedoms in KwaZulu. While the ANC is torn apart as a totalitarian bully-boy, Inkatha is all pure and Buthelezi is a person the NP should strike a deal with, to hold off the ANC's revolutionary hordes.

● Sanctions campaigns are, of course, "against South Africa", not against apartheid in South Africa, and will take 25 years from 1986 to be effective — and then at the cost of allowing Marxist revolutionaries to trample everything of value in South Africa underfoot.

● "Apartheid will be truly dead" when the Population Registration Act goes. In 1987, the NP is seen as having "abandoned apartheid" and, by 1990, it's seen to be extolling "all the values and principles which liberals, in the main, have urged in this country for so many years", and so on.

HE WRITES WITH A PURPLE INTENSITY, BUT IS HE RIGHT? "Ken Owen's liberalism is old-fashioned and conservative . . . and his conception of rights is old-fashioned and hackneyed," says the author of this article.

These are the writings of a conservative man, with few friends and with millions of Reds-under-the-bed enemies, many of whom are subject to invective of the most elaborate type.

Take the case of Owen vs the Archbishop. There are 14 references to Desmond Tutu — divided between attacks on Tutu for supporting sanctions and attacks on Tutu for an apparently ambivalent attitude to violence.

Here are a few Owenisms:

● "The language of violence rolls so smoothly off his tongue, as though he savours the words. Somehow he seems to be saying more than he says."

● "That poor man, Archbishop Tutu, continues to proclaim a touching and childlike faith in sanctions; if he were more acute . . ."

I think it is time for a few honest admissions, and a few honest conclusions, about sanctions. They did work. They were part of that package of pressures that broke the NP's will to be endlessly intransigent about the continuation of white minority domination.

On the sanctions issue, Ken Owen, among others, owes Desmond Tutu an apology.

Then take Van Zyl Slabbert. When he left Parliament in 1986 he said South Africa had, by early 1986, become an "extra-parliamentary government and an extra-parliamentary opposition", and that he was wasting his time in Parliament under such circumstances. He had better things to do elsewhere.

OWEN WROTE of that event thus: "Dr Slabbert has now joined the extra-parliamentary forces who are understandably jubilant that, by throwing up his hands in despair, he has supported their claim that Parliament is powerless to change our society."

"He has delivered us to the totalitarianisms of Left and Right . . . his departure was sudden, self-indulgent, politically indefensible — and history will in time deliver its verdict."

Well, history did deliver its verdict, and some of it was not lost on Owen.

Three years and two months

The intolerant liberal

later, he said this about P W Botha's presidency: "He has set up a centralised bureaucratic state which, like Bismarck's Germany, reduced Parliament to a talking show and locates power where it can be seized and wielded by any savage who may come along."

Next, look at Owen's writings about the ANC, in particular about the Freedom Charter:

● "The Freedom Charter, half of it trite and half of it socialist-inspired rubbish..."

● "The Freedom Charter, ... contained within it clauses that were a blueprint for a communist state."

● "The Freedom Charter ... says 'all the land' shall be re-divided among the people, implying a redistribution of wealth on a scale to satisfy Lenin."

● "The Charter says 'there will be a committee of workers to run the gold mines' and 'the workers will take over and run the factories.'" (The Freedom Charter contains no such clauses).

Compare this approach to that of the person I (and Owen) agree is South Africa's finest intellectual liberal, Charles Simkins. In his book *The Prisoners of Tradition*, he looks at the whole Freedom Charter and not just the clauses that inspire Owen's vitriol. He divides the substantive clauses of the Charter into the following groups:

- Demands for equal political participation.
- Demands for civil liberties and due process.
- Demands for free entry into the labour market and productive activities, and minimum wages and conditions of work.
- Demands for basic needs, education, housing, health, amenities, etc.
- Demands for equal rights for national groups.
- Demands for nationalisation (of banks and monopoly industry) and asset redistribution (in land).

the case of *liberalism*.

In Simkins's reading of the Freedom Charter, he concludes that "the first five groups of demands are entirely compatible with the principles of justice"; and adds that "the sixth demand — interestingly — accommodates the demands of Afrikaner nationalism".

Only the seventh group — property rights — "does not satisfy the principles of justice", but Simkins concludes: "This does not imply property rights do not need changes, ... but the argument about what these changes should be needs reconsideration."

Thus the difference between Simkins's liberalism and Owen's — Owen disagrees with two clauses in a long document, dismisses others ("trite"), abuses the drafters, and builds a massive prejudice against the ANC on this foundation.

Probably one is asking too much. What I ask from a book is that the effort of reading it should be rewarded with a small increase in one's knowledge of our world. *These Times*, instead, only broadens one's knowledge of one man's thoughts — small, cramped up, conservative and prejudiced.

● The author is director of the Human Rights Trust and a member of the ANC. He also contributes a weekly column to the *Eastern Province Herald*.

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IKE him or not, Ken Owen really can write. His prose sometimes reaches a purple intensity that is quite overwhelming.

Two articles in his recently published book *These Times*, one after Owen's first meeting with ANC exiles in 1989 and the other on the white Right before our 1992 referendum, rank with some of the best writing on South Africa I have read.

The book is a collection of 155 of his political columns published between June 1980 and October 1992 in the three newspapers Owen worked for during that period — the *Sunday Express*, *Business Day* and the *Sunday Times*.

He also gets a number of issues right. He is right in his scathing analysis of the National Party and its apartheid project, a project he abhors; he paints P W Botha as *Il Duce* the Bullyboy with flair; he saw the 1983 constitution for what it was, a fatally flawed charade to disguise continued NP domination; and he hacks back good people who have developed blindspots, those who can see no wrong in some politicians and no right in others, despite, often, clear evidence of bad behaviour from good boys. In all of this he is exciting, colourful and lively — a good read.

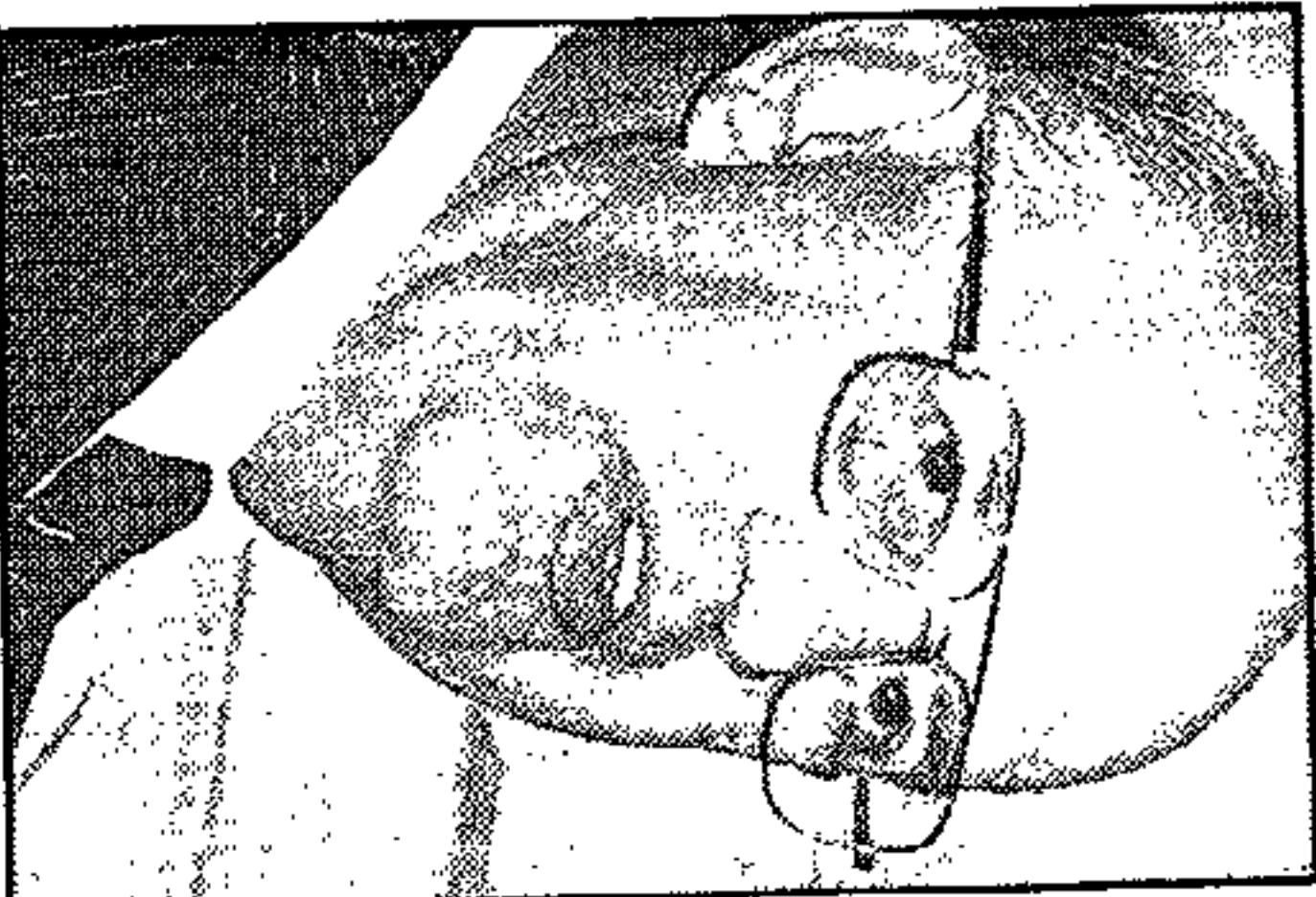
My problems begin with his selectivity. He covers the elections and referendums of white politics with heat and light. But it is what he leaves out that is instructive.

He devotes no space to many of the most significant events of the decade he writes about: the formation of, rise of and banning of the UDF; the growth in size and reputation of the ANC in exile; the allied and highly successful co-ordination and growth of sanctions campaigns against apartheid.

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LIBERALISM is one of the most misunderstood and vigorously debated topics in South Africa's political lexicon. Here RORY RIORDAN expands the debate by examining the beliefs of a commentator 'who is arguably the country's most ardently self-proclaimed liberal'.

(S04A)



P W BOTHA: Owen paints him as *Il Duce* who "set up a bureaucratic state which reduced Parliament to a talking show".



VAN ZYL SLABBERT: Owen said his departure from Parliament in 1986 was "sudden, self-indulgent, politically indefensible".



KEN OWEN: *There is a whole prejudiced fog in his otherwise spot-on writing, but what he leaves out is often instructive*

The intolerant liberal

STAR 20/2/93.

LIKE him or not, Ken Owen really can write. His prose sometimes reaches a purple intensity that is quite overwhelming.

Two articles in his recently published book *These Times*, one after Owen's first meeting with ANC exiles in 1989 and the other on the white Right before our 1992 referendum, rank with some of the best writing on South Africa I have read.

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Nor is any space devoted to the razing of Crossroads and Langa; the destabilisation of Angola and Mozambique; the counter-revolutionary war against the UDF, the End Conscription Campaign and other opponents of the National Party's projects.

Readers interested in the Bisho massacre are rewarded with two lines — both, of course, blaming the ANC for getting shot up.

This selectivity is just part of the whole conservative, prejudiced fog that Owen develops around South Africa's politics. This is ironic, considering he is arguably South Africa's most ardently self-proclaimed liberal. But what is the basis of this "liberalism"?

Technically he qualifies as a liberal: he propagates freedom; he does back the individual against the collective; he is egalitarian and speaks up for human rights; he proclaims the importance of limiting government by constitutional and other means; and he ardently backs private ownership and free enterprise.

But his is an old-fashioned and conservative liberalism.

Firstly, liberals traditionally believe in human freedom and in the importance of the individual. What follows from that is that individual and free human behaviour will exhibit enormous variety.

And what follows from that is a requirement, for a liberal, of tolerance.

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CHIEF BUTHELEZI: The only major black political figure to regularly escape Owen's scorn. He writes of him as a black liberal.



ARCHBISHOP TUTU: A man who was essentially correct on the value of sanctions in defeating apartheid. Owen owes him an apology.

Owen, however, exhibits, certainly in these writings, very little tolerance.

His other failures as a liberal follow from his conservatism. His conception of rights is old-fashioned and hackneyed — today's debate on rights is about social and economic rights as ordained in 1966 by the United Nations. Owen is stuck in civil liberties and hasn't moved any further in the 12 years of *These Times*.

HIS liberalism is generally uninformed by contemporary debate and greatly informed by the past. A few examples of this:

● For most of this writing, the term "Afrikaner" is used by Owen as a generalisation, all instances of which are white people who all support the NP or the white Right. The fact that a third of Afrikaners are not white, and a great number of white and non-white Afrikaners have fought apartheid with real courage and commitment appears lost on him.

● While Owen rightly clobbers other commentators for having blindspots, there is only one black political figure who escapes his withering scorn — Chief Buthelezi. He writes of him as a black liberal and, while trumpeting the importance of free speech and free association, he devotes not a line to the deplorable lack of these freedoms in KwaZulu. While the ANC is torn apart as a totalitarian bully-boy, Inkatha is all pure and Buthelezi is a person the NP should strike a deal with, to hold off the ANC's revolutionary hordes.

● Sanctions campaigns are, of course, "against South Africa", not against apartheid in South Africa, and will take 25 years from 1986 to be effective — and then at the cost of allowing Marxist revolutionaries to trample everything of value in South Africa underfoot.

● "Apartheid will be truly dead" when the Population Registration Act goes. In 1987, the NP is seen as having "abandoned apartheid" and, by 1990, it's seen to be extolling "all the values and principles which liberals, in the main, have urged in this country for so many years" and so on.



HE WRITES WITH A PURPLE INTENSITY, BUT IS HE RIGHT? "Ken Owen's liberalism is old-fashioned and conservative... and his conception of rights is old-fashioned and hackneyed," says the author of this article.

These are the writings of a conservative man, with few friends and with millions of Reds-under-the-bed enemies, many of whom are subject to invective of the most elaborate type.

Take the case of Owen vs the Archbishop. There are 14 references to Desmond Tutu — divided between attacks on Tutu for supporting sanctions and attacks on Tutu for an apparently ambivalent attitude to violence.

Here are a few Owenisms:

● "The language of violence rolls so smoothly off his tongue, as though he savours the words. Somehow he seems to be saying more than he says."

● "That poor man, Archbishop Tutu, continues to proclaim a touching and childlike faith in sanctions; if he were more acute..."

I think it is time for a few honest admissions, and a few honest conclusions, about sanctions. They did work. They were part of that package of pressures that broke the NP's will to be endlessly intransigent about the continuation of white minority domination.

On the sanctions issue, Ken Owen, among others, owes Desmond Tutu an apology.

Then take Van Zyl Slabbert.

When he left Parliament in 1986 he said South Africa had, by early 1986, become an "extra-parliamentary government and an extra-parliamentary opposition", and that he was wasting his time in Parliament under such circumstances. He had better things to do elsewhere.

OWEN WROTE of that event thus: "Dr Slabbert has now joined the extra-parliamentary forces who are understandably jubilant that, by throwing up his hands in despair, he has supported their claim that Parliament is powerless to change our society."

"He has delivered us to the totalitarianisms of Left and Right... his departure was sudden, self-indulgent, politically indefensible — and history will in time deliver its verdict."

Well, history did deliver its verdict, and some of it was lost on Owen.

Three years and two months

later, he said this about P W Botha's presidency: "He has set up a centralised bureaucratic state which, like Bismarck Germany, reduced Parliament to a talking show and located power where it can be seized and wielded by any savage who may come along."

Next, look at Owen's writing about the ANC, in particular about the Freedom Charter:

● "The Freedom Charter, half of it trite and half of it socialist-inspired rubbish..."

● "The Freedom Charter... contained within it clauses that were a blueprint for a communist state."

● "The Freedom Charter... says 'all the land' shall be redivided among the people, implying a redistribution of wealth on a scale to satisfy Lenin."

● "The Charter says 'there will be a committee of workers to run the gold mines' and 'the workers will take over and run the factories'." (The Freedom Charter contains no such clauses).

Compare this approach to that of the person I (and Owen agree is South Africa's finest intellectual liberal, Charles Simkins. In his book *The Prisoners of Tradition*, he looks at the whole Freedom Charter and not just the clauses that inspire Owen's vitriol. He divides the substantive clauses of the Charter into the following groups:

● Demands for equal political participation.

● Demands for civil liberties and due process.

● Demands for free entry into the labour market and productive activities, and minimum wages and conditions of work.

● Demands for basic needs: education, housing, health amenities, etc.

● Demands for equal rights to national groups.

● Demands for nationalisation (of banks and monopoly industry) and asset redistribution (the case of land).

In Simkins's reading of the Freedom Charter, he concludes that "the first five groups of demands are entirely compatible with the principles of justice"; and adds that "the sixth demand — interestingly — accommodates the demands of Afrikaner nationalism".

Only the seventh group, property rights — "does not satisfy the principle of justice", but Simkins concludes "This does not imply property rights do not need changes, but the argument about whether these changes should be new reconsideration."

Thus the difference between Simkins's liberalism and Owen's — Owen disagrees with two clauses in a long document dismisses others ("trite" abuses the drafters, and builds a massive prejudice against the ANC on this foundation).

Probably one is asking too much. What I ask from a liberal is that the effort of reading it should be rewarded with small increase in one's knowledge of our world. *These Times*, instead, only broadens one's knowledge of one man's thoughts — small, cramped, conservative and prejudiced.

● The author is director of the Human Rights Trust and a member of the ANC. He also contributes a weekly column to the *Eastern Province Herald*.

DP works on rights

THE Democratic Party had appointed a committee chaired by Mr Tony Leon, MP for Houghton and the DP's spokesman on justice, to update and "formulate more precisely" the DP's Bill of Rights.

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CT 20/2/93

Multi-party talks coming

By BARRY STREEK
Political Staff

THE countdown to elections for an interim government has begun.

Multi-party talks will resume in Johannesburg on March 5 and 6 following agreement yesterday between the "Big Three" — the government, the ANC and Inkatha — that a planning conference should go ahead on those dates.

Constitutional Development Minister Mr Roelf Meyer said this would still enable multi-party talks to be resumed before the end of March. IFP central committee member Mr Walter Felgate described this date as "still reasonable".

"The clear impression is that negotiations are back on track," Mr Meyer said last night.

Meanwhile, at the ANC's International Solidarity Conference in Johannesburg, ANC deputy secretary general Mr Jacob Zuma yesterday defended his organisation's decision to accept the proposal on a future government of national unity.

Last night, President F W de Klerk told Rotary International in Johannesburg South Africa was entering the final stage of its programme to transform its society.

He said talks could resume next month, multi-party transitional executive councils be appointed in June and a transitional constitution adopted in September.

He accepted this was "ambitious" but added: "We are confident we would accomplish it."

The breakthrough in all-party negotiations after their collapse at Codesa 2 last year, came yesterday following three days of discussions between the IFP and the government at Richard's Bay.

Although important problems remain, particularly over the powers of the cabinet in a government of national unity, all three groups were optimistic last night that negotiations were back on track.

The IFP said: "There was a moving together to the extent that we for the first time shared positions and a mutual understanding of the difficulties which lie ahead."

Mr Meyer said the ANC agreed to postpone the preparatory meeting from 25 and 26 February to March 5 and 6. The IFP requested the postponement so that it could be considered by its central committee, which meets on Sunday, February 28.

He also said the government would now promote the views shared by the three groups among other parties.

The IFP seems to have accepted government assurances that it made no agreements with the ANC.

However, there are differences between the government and the IFP regarding the writing of a new constitution.

Last night, Mr Felgate described the government's proposal of a five-year interim government as "long, involved and one that could heighten tension".

But government sources last night said they were concerned by the ANC's national executive committee's proposals for the cabinet in an interim government.

Mr Felgate said the ANC's proposals for an interim government amounted to "seeking full power" for themselves.

● Zuma pleads case for unity govt

Major cabinet reshuffle on cards

By BARRY STREEK
Political Staff

CT20/293

PRESIDENT FW de Klerk's long-awaited major cabinet reshuffle is expected this weekend.

He could bring people of colour into key portfolios and may also use the occasion to appoint another "outside" expert in a financial portfolio.

The cabinet reshuffle has been on the cards ever since the Minister of Water Affairs and Forestry, General Magnus Malan, announced his retirement.

The dual portfolios held by Mr Derek Keys, currently the Minister of Finance as well as Trade and Industry, are also likely to be separated, and Trade and Industry could well go to an "outsider".

Among possible black ministers are the NP leader in the House of Representatives, Mr Jac Rabie, and the deputy chairman of the NP in the Cape, Mr Andrew Julies.

The first African cabinet minister in South Africa could be the Transvaal MEC, Mr John Mavuso, or the Cape MEC, Mr Themba Nyati.

WORLD

Callaghan: 'Consider KwaZulu plan'

From CHRIS BATEMAN

LONDON. — Former British socialist premier Lord James Callaghan yesterday publicly supported the inclusion of "elements" of Chief Mangosuthu Buthelezi's KwaZulu Constitution in a new South Africa.

Lord Callaghan, just back from an extended visit to South Africa during which he met most leaders, said that the federal or regional concept underlying the KwaZulu Constitution deserved consideration.

Writing in yesterday's Evening Standard, he said that if

Chief Buthelezi was true to his word that the KwaZulu Constitution was still negotiable, "it should still be possible to narrow the present wide differences".

Lord Callaghan's article was accompanied by a large picture of Chief Buthelezi alongside the headline: "Is

this the man who can save a divided nation?"

The former premier said that while the KwaZulu Constitution declared the sovereignty of the KwaZulu/Natal region as "indivisible, inalienable and untransferable", the Chief Minister had privately told him it was still

negotiable.

Lord Callaghan warned that economy was being neglected in the current preoccupation with politics.

For South Africa to fulfil its future task as regional benefactor, a "substantial" International Monetary Fund (IMF) loan was essential.

Zuma pleads case for unity govt

cf 20/2/93
304A

JOHANNESBURG. — ANC deputy secretary general Mr Jacob Zuma yesterday passionately defended his organisation's decision to accept the proposal on a future government of national unity.

His emphasis on unity echoed the keynote address to the International Solidarity Conference here by ANC national chairman Mr Oliver Tambo, who stressed his organisation believed its central issue was national unity and nation building.

Mr Zuma said the ANC's approach needed to be all-inclusive to prevent the chance that other people would use their power to sabotage the direction of a new government.

Mr Tambo told the conference the ANC had to ensure "the oppressors" were freed from their "guilt-ridden fear of retribution".

He added no policy should force white South African society to become an armed laager, thereby holding back the democratic process.

On Thursday night, ANC secretary general Mr Cyril Ramaphosa said on SATV's Agenda that although the ANC's "government of national unity" and the NP's "power-sharing" proposal were structurally identical, but differed in the process of operation.

The NP's concept of power-sharing was a "concept which seeks to dilute democracy", he said.

● The ANC Youth League in southern Natal has called for a special ANC conference to address power-sharing with the National Party.

Massive Cabinet shuffle expected

STAR 20/2/93

PETER FABRICIUS
Political Correspondent

(3047)

CAPE TOWN — President F W de Klerk is to announce the biggest Cabinet shuffle of his presidency today, Government sources said last night.

The major ministries of Defence, Law and Order, Finance, Education and Home Affairs could all be affected by the changes, and new black faces are expected to be brought into the executive.

The own affairs ministries will certainly be drastically affected, as De Klerk has already announced that they are to be scrapped or phased out this year.

Several Cabinet Ministers and deputies are to be retired or moved, parliamentary sources suggest.

It is widely believed that Home Affairs and Environment Affairs Minister Louis Pienaar will retire, starting a knock-on effect.

According to parliamentary speculation, Defence Minister Gene Louw will go back to Home Affairs, creating a vacancy in Defence.

Law and Order Minister Hernus Kriel may ac-

quire the Defence portfolio, while retaining his present position as the political head of the South African Police.

Other sources believe Justice Minister Kobie Coetsee — a former Deputy Defence Minister — could get the Defence

portfolio, with his present deputy Danie Schutte replacing him as Minister of Justice.

Finance and Trade and Industry Minister Derek Keys is expected to be involved in the shuffle.

He seems likely to lose his lesser Trade and Industry portfolio, while some speculation has it that the financial portfolios could be substantially revamped.

Restructuring

Sources speculate there may be a radical restructuring of the Cab-

inet as a whole, whereby an inner core of senior Ministers would be in charge of broad areas of government, rather than specific departments.

These would be De Klerk's closest advisers and negotiators, and beneath them would be a second echelon of younger Ministers to head the day-to-day affairs of particular departments.

In keeping with this, Keys could be relieved of the direct day-to-day responsibilities of his department to take charge of the whole field of economic affairs, while Kriel could become the security supreme with overall control of both the SAP and South African Defence Force.

It has also been suggested that Regional and

Cabinet

FROM PAGE 1.

Land Affairs Minister Jacob de Villiers will be retired.

The multiple education ministries are likely to be affected substantially by the shuffle.

De Klerk announced on January 29 that he would be creating a new transitional education ministry to usher in a new, nonracial education system within a year, starting on April 1.

National Education and Education and Culture Minister Piet Marais is strongly tipped to become the

transition Minister.

His National Education portfolio could go to current Education and Training Minister Sam de Beer. (3047)

Most members of the Ministers' Council in the House of Representatives are likely to be retired, although chairman Jac Rabie could be promoted to the Cabinet.

This is also likely to happen to Dr Bhadra Ranchod, who holds the equivalent position in the House of Delegates.

Cabinet sources believe that De Klerk will also bring in some blacks from outside, and the name of Transvaal MEC John Mavuso has been mentioned.

● TO PAGE 2.



In pursuit of life, liberty and dignity

304A

S1Times 2/2/93.

FOR millions of South Africans the law has been less of a shield to protect them than a whip to cow them, and that whip has been wielded by lawmakers, by the executive branch of government and by the courts. This, in a nutshell, is the case for a bill of rights.

Or, to put it bluntly, the purpose of a bill of rights is to ensure that never again in this country will a policeman be able to say to a citizen "*Waar's jou pas, kaffer?*" and claim for such brutality the blessing of the law and the approval of all three branches of government.

A bill of rights exists to protect the individual citizen. Against the government. Against the judges. Against the common law where it is defective. Against statute law when Parliament betrays the people. Against the power elite. It is the shield of the weak against the strong.

All bills of rights rest on an idealistic premise: in the American case, that all men are created equal and are endowed by their Creator — not by their government or their history or their common law — with inalienable rights to life, liberty and the pursuit of happiness.

The German wording is better: it says the German people acknowledge inviolable and inalienable rights to be the basis of every community, and of peace and justice. It puts on every state authority the duty to respect and protect the dignity of man.

The Namibian bill of rights similarly enshrines the rights to life, liberty and dignity, and puts on all organs of government the duty to uphold and respect these rights. The courts are instructed to enforce these rights. The Natal Indaba's bill of rights begins by declaring all people to be born free and equal in dignity and rights.

Life, liberty, dignity, human fulfilment, the protection of the law — these are the cornerstone concepts of any bill of rights worth the name. If South Africans are not to be condemned to another long struggle against their government, and if the institutions of government (including the judiciary)

are not to fall into even greater disrepute, then our bill of rights will have to begin by enshrining these concepts.

The perverted monstrosity produced by the government, which it calls a "draft charter of fundamental rights", begins by adulterating these concepts. It assigns "rights" against the state not only to individuals but, "where appropriate", to every entity or body or group of persons which can be "a bearer of rights".

The purpose is sinister: it sneaks into the constitution under the pretext of protecting individual rights, a device to entrench the privileges of political parties, corporations, political associations like the Broederbond or Inkatha, Eskom and Iscor and heaven knows what else.

Then it sets out to authorise the suspension or limitation of the rights of the individual in terms of the common law and by the legislature, the very institutions that have served as apartheid's instruments of oppression. It is a charter not for the common man but for the strong, the privileged, the clever; it is tailored for elites.

MY criticisms of this frightful document have elicited from a number of readers a challenge to say plainly what I would like to see in a bill of rights, and my answer is this: it must begin with a statement of a national ideal — that all men and women are equally endowed with inalienable rights, and that the foremost of these are the right to life, to liberty and to dignity.

Secondly, the bill of rights must put on the organs of state the overriding duty to protect these rights, and it must create a special constitutional court — outside the distrusted structure of the courts which enforced apartheid — to which any citizen may appeal when he feels his rights have been violated. Citizenship must, of course, be secure.

I don't think it a good idea to elaborate the language of the bill of rights unnecessarily. The more complicated the document, the more easily clever lawyers will find ways, in the years to come, to pervert its meaning for pur-

poses never contemplated by our "founding fathers". But the classical rights — freedom of conscience and expression, of association, of movement, of assembly — need to be specifically enshrined.

ALSO, given our past, a South African bill of rights should spell out the right to equality before the law, and it should forbid discrimination on spurious grounds such as race and gender. And, since liberty is self-evidently not possible without property, there should be a powerful clause to protect property, permitting expropriation only for the common weal.

The government's charter includes an outrageous proposal to permit the police to detain people without trial for 10 days, which is long enough to invite torture, brutality and murder in the cells; it shows how deeply we have been corrupted since Mr John Vorster destroyed the right of *habeas corpus*. What we need is the opposite: a clause compelling the authorities to bring a prisoner before a court within 48 hours of arrest, and a prohibition on any cruel or unusual punishment.

An essential provision is that nobody must be deprived of any right — to life, to liberty, to property, to dignity, to sanctity of his home — except by due process of law. On this point I would like to see a debate among lawyers on the relationship of the bill of rights and the constitutional court to the rule of law. Whether the rule of law can, or should be, separately enshrined is a question on which I still have doubt.

Finally, we might, like the Germans, care to define our national ideal not simply as democracy but as social democracy, or we may wish to define language rights, but these are matters for political negotiation. The danger, of course, is that the bill of rights may be overloaded with political agendas which may cause it to fail, but that is another debate.

KEN OWEN

Coloured and Indian MPs join cabinet for all-race polls test

FEW GEARS UP FOR BATTLE

STW:es 21/2/93

By EDYTH BULBRING
Political Correspondent

PRESIDENT FW de Klerk last night dramatically re-fashioned his Cabinet to prepare for non-racial elections. (304/1)

Two coloureds, Jac Rabie and Abe Williams, and an Indian, Dr Bhadra Ranchod, were all promoted, giving full Cabinet representation to members of the two minority communities from which the National Party hopes to attract significant support in all-race elections.

Mr de Klerk also brought in a brace of new deputy ministers, re-allocated a few key portfolios and dispatched five ministers. But he failed to promote some of the brightest young talent in his party.

These changes, due to be announced last night after the Sunday Times's first edition, were confirmed by senior government sources.

Promoted

To make way for the new appointees, five ministers have been

The battle to counter the crafty counterfeiters



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Promoted

To make way for the new appointees, five ministers have been retired in Mr de Klerk's seventh reshuffle since becoming president.

They are:

- Water Affairs and Forestry Minister Magnus Malan, who had already announced his retirement from politics.

- Defence Minister Gene Louw.

- Regional and Land Affairs Minister Jacob de Villiers.

- Home Affairs Minister Louis Pienaar.

- Administration and Tourism Minister Org Marais.

The new coloured and Indian members of the Cabinet previously held posts in the Own Affairs ministers' councils. They retain these positions.

The Cabinet portfolios allocated to them are minor ones, leaving white NP ministers in charge of the important departments.

Mr Rabie was allocated Population Development, Mr Williams Sport and Dr Ranchod Tourism.

Others promoted to the Cabinet in the reshuffle were Japie van Wyk (Environment and Water Affairs), Andre Fourie (Regional and Land Affairs) and Danie Schutte (Home Affairs).

All had previously served as deputy ministers, and are not associated with either the reformist or the more reactionary wings of the party.

The reshuffle surprised observers, who had anticipated that Mr de Klerk would streamline portfolios in preparation for the introduction of the proposed transitional executive council (TEC) in June, heralding the first stage of multi-party rule.

Instead, he limited the reshuffle to accommodating members of the different population groups and putting new faces into two key areas affected by negotiations.

The vitally important Defence portfolio was allocated to Free State NP leader Kobie Coetsee, who also retains the Justice

□ To Page 2

FW NAMES HIS NEW CABINET

Sunday Times 21/2/93
□ From Page 1

portfolio.

This means Mr Coetsee, a conservative and tough negotiator, will oversee the planned integration of all armed forces.

He will also be responsible for bringing rogue elements in the military under control.

The other appointment which will have a significant impact on negotiations is that of Mr Schutte at Home Affairs.

He will have to oversee the holding of elections, a task which most observers — and now apparently Mr de Klerk as well — have felt was beyond the present incumbent, Louis Pienaar.

The new appointments become effective on April 1.

Mr de Klerk was also expected to announce his intention to restructure the Ministry of National Housing from June 1.

The person who fills this post will come from the private sector, and has already accepted the appointment. His name will be announced in due course, and his portfolio will be National Housing and Public Works.

In the meantime, Mineral and Energy Affairs Minister George Bartlett will also act as Minister of Public Works.

This is seen as a sop to Mr Bartlett, whose unhappiness in the party over the perceived treatment of Inkatha in negotiations is



JAC RABIE

well known.

The task of overseeing the integration of the various Own Affairs education departments into a single, non-racial department was given to National Education Minister Piet Marais. His new



BHADRA RANCHOD

designation is Minister of National Education and Education Co-ordination.

Two new deputy ministers were appointed. They are Mrs Sheila Camerer (Justice) and Mr Yakoob Makda (Local Government).

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FIGHTING FANUS'S FIRE

21/2/93

IT IS 5pm on February 12. Journalists gathered in a small conference room on the 11th floor of the Hendrik Verwoerd building in Cape Town gaze at the man at the head of the table with stunned glee.

He is Fanus Schoeman, the little known Deputy Minister of Constitutional Development. Roelf Meyer's grey shadow, former BMW agent and the president's old snooker mate.

After six weeks of furious denials that any constitutional deal had been hammered out by the government and the ANC, Mr Schoeman blandly announced the deal was done. "The ANC and the government have agreed that a government of national unity will govern the country for five years," he replied to a routine question on constitutional progress.

CRAZY

The assembled journalists started whispering. "Roelf is going to eat him... Gaisda is going to eat..."

Before Mr Schoeman's announcement, negotiators on both sides had bluntly denied rumours of a deal. They feared any reporting of agreement between the ANC and the government would be interpreted by the smaller parties as an attempt by the Big Two to strike a secret deal.

Now Mr Schoeman had confirmed the rumours. Either he was crazy or in big trouble. But Mr Schoeman, it transpired, had little alternative.

The fire everyone thought he had ignited had, in fact, been sparked three hours earlier.

At 2pm in a Cape Town hotel, ANC chief negotiator Cyril Ramaphosa announced that the government and his organisation had agreed that a constituent assembly would decide the powers, functions and boundaries of the regions. This was contrary to an agreement that neither party would disclose details of the discussions

Deputy Constitutional Minister Fanus Schoeman fuelled a fire last week when he announced it had been agreed with the ANC that a government of national unity would rule South Africa for five years. **EDITH BULBRING** reports

after the talks.

Mr Ramaphosa did so because he wanted to tell his constituency that he and his team had managed to extract this significant concession from the government.

However, he carefully avoided disclosing the full truth — which was that, in return for the concession, the ANC had accepted there would be a prolonged government of national unity.

At 3.30pm, Mr Meyer's press secretary, Isak Reijer, heard the news. With his boss in another meeting, it fell upon Mr Schoeman to douse the flames. The only liquid available was petrol.

In announcing that the ANC had agreed to a prolonged period of unity government, Mr Schoeman was telling his constituency the government had won a major victory in securing power sharing. His statement fuelled a fire that came close to destroying everything

achieved in the ANC government talks.

When the news broke, Inkatha leader Mangosuthu Buthelei thundered that the combined might of Umkhonto we Sizwe and the SADF would have to be used to achieve compliance in KwaZulu/Natal.

PACIFY

Negotiators feared from this response that four months of work to get multiparty talks off the ground would be scuppered.

On the other side, the ANC's fiery Natal Midlands leader, Harry Gwala, howled that he had been sold out by the organisation's negotiators, and threatened he would have nothing to do with the deal.

The next couple of days saw President F.W. de Klerk and ANC leader Nelson Mandela performing semantic contortions in an attempt to pacify their constituencies, appease the outraged Chief Buthelei and placate several other nervous political players.

(30/4)

At a Sandton banquet on Saturday night, Mr Mandela "categorically" denied the ANC had agreed to power sharing for five years. What it had accepted was an interim government of national unity — and this was "not power sharing".

In an interview with British journalist Sir David Frost on Sunday night, Mr de Klerk said the interpretation that fixed agreements had been entered into was wrong. "We believe final agreement must be reached at a multiparty conference," he added.

This week, the negotiators had to get through three crucial meetings if their deal was to survive and lead to the revival of Codesa. The first was relatively easy.

The Cabinet meeting on Wednesday saw an outraged Natal leader, George Bartlett, expressing huge dissatisfaction at the way he perceived Inkatha was being treated. But the Cabinet en-

dorsed the deal after government negotiators explained that the arrangement with the ANC was simply something the two parties would present to a multiparty conference for consideration.

It was now up to the ANC's national executive committee to give the agreement its support. The NEC gathered on Tuesday to start three days of deliberations in a cramped room at the Ipelegeng community centre in Soweto.

It fell to international affairs director Thabo Mbeki to defuse the anger and explain what had actually been agreed with the government. This he did with consummate skill.

AILING

Just as the government negotiators had to expand on Mr de Klerk's statement, Mr Mbeki had to expand on Mr Mandela's assertion that a government of national unity did not equal power sharing.

Mr Mandela, whose doctor had ordered him to take a rest because he was suffering from exhaustion, presided over the first two days of the meeting. Like an old-style judge, he painstakingly noted down

the contributions of every speaker in long hand.

Over the course of the three days, 63 speakers aired their views, with 55 speaking in favour of the agreement and eight against.

The ailing Mr Gwala, who can no longer eat without assistance, made his objections known, and left early on the second day to lead a march in his home region. It appears that, at this point, he realised the moderates had won the day.

SECRET

It was agreed that the deal would be taken back to the branches and regions for discussion — not endorsement. The negotiators were euphoric.

The third and most difficult meeting was between the government and Inkatha. Gathered at the Bay View Inn at Richards Bay on Wednesday night, the government's negotiating team, along with Deputy Foreign Minister Rensley Schoeman and Mr Bartlett, faced the Inkatha and KwaZulu government delegations, which included for the first time, while Mr Justice Meitz and Mike Tarr.



FANUS SCHOEMAN... fuelled a fire that came close to destroying everything achieved in talks

It was up to Mr Meyer to convince Inkatha there was no secret deal.

Inkatha national chairman Frank Mtshali appeared satisfied, but Inkatha representatives insisted they had to take the matter back to their principals.

The government and the ANC had hoped to hold a meeting of all parties this

week to plan the reconvening of Codesa. It has now been postponed until after the Inkatha Central Committee meets next Sunday to hear a report-back on the meeting. Negotiators have pencilled in March 5 and 6 as possible dates for the planning conference.

Until then, Chief Buthelei will occupy centre court.

De Klerk brings colour to the Cabinet but fails to please his critics

8/04/93 22/2/93

TIM COHEN

CAPE TOWN — President F W de Klerk's weekend Cabinet reshuffle, which may be only the first of two major shakeups, has been slated as disappointing, unimaginative and "somewhat bizarre".

Six ministers are to be dropped from De Klerk's seventh reshuffle since he became president.

For only the second time since Union in 1910, the reshuffle will result in Cabinet no longer being an all-white bastion. As Am- chand Rajbansi and Alan Hendrickse, who left the P W Botha Cabinet in the '80s were Ministers without portfolio, the reshuffle

will mean people of colour having real Cabinet responsibilities for the first time.

De Klerk's reshuffle was marked by its failure to announce the new Minister of the proposed single education ministry, although existing National Education Min- ister Piet Marais will be responsible for "education co-ordination", and for his fail- ure to separate the Finance and Trade and Industry portfolios.

This has sparked speculation that these requirements will force another reshuffle soon, probably after next month's Budget.

The ANC said yesterday that bringing "discredited and discarded tricorners"

Conditions set on sanctions

figures into the Cabinet was an empty ges- ture. Reconciliation meant all South Afri- cans electing a government of their choice.

"It does not mean De Klerk playing to- kenist population games. That Abe Wil- liams is now Minister of Sport, when he was the very person leading boycott- breaking rugby teams to New Zealand, does a disservice to the role the sports bo- dies are playing to bring about real recon- ciliation," the ANC said.

DP national chairman Ken Andrew said that by including an Indian and two

coloureds, De Klerk was clearly gearing- up for elections. But the reshuffle demon- strated the dearth of talent in the NP able to meet the challenges facing Cabinet.

De Klerk's failure to include a black South African in Cabinet, after having gone to such lengths to enable such a move, sug- gested the NP was unable to find a person of standing prepared to serve in the cur- rent government.

Andrew said the decision to make Jus- tice Minister Kobbie Coetsee also respon- sible for defence was "somewhat bizarre".

De Klerk's failure to take cognisance of administrative bungles in the reshuffle

was "more than disappointing", Andrew said. Observers had been highly critical of new Population Development Minister Jac Rabie's handling of coloured education.

Also, by making Mineral and Energy Af- fairs Minister George Bartlett, the Minis- ter at the time of the vehicle insurance fi-asco, a caretaker of the public works portfolio, De Klerk was ignoring public criticism and trying to placate the "res- critive" Natal leadership.

De Klerk announced that a private sec- tor candidate, whose name would be an- nounced soon, had accepted the portfolio of National Housing and Public Works.

Sinnerrish heats

Monday February 22 1993 SOWETAN

NEWS FW gives two coloureds, Indian top jobs ● Patriotic Front may be revived

New faces in Cabinet reshuffle

Sowetan 22/2/93

3047

ANC decries 'empty' gesture of reconciliation:

IN A major reshuffle, President FW de Klerk has appointed two coloured MPs, an Indian and an as yet unknown appointee from the private sector to full Cabinet posts.

De Klerk said at the weekend that Mr Jac Rabie, presently chairman of the Ministers' Council in the House of Representatives, is to become Minister for Population Development and Mr Abe Williams will join the Cabinet as Minister of Sport.

Dr Bhadra Ranchod, formerly Director-General of the House of Delegates Administration, will become Minister of Tourism. The appointments will all be effective from April 1.

Minister of Water Affairs and Forestry General Magnus Malan announced at the start of the Parliamentary session that he intended to retire.

Three other Ministers - Mr Gene

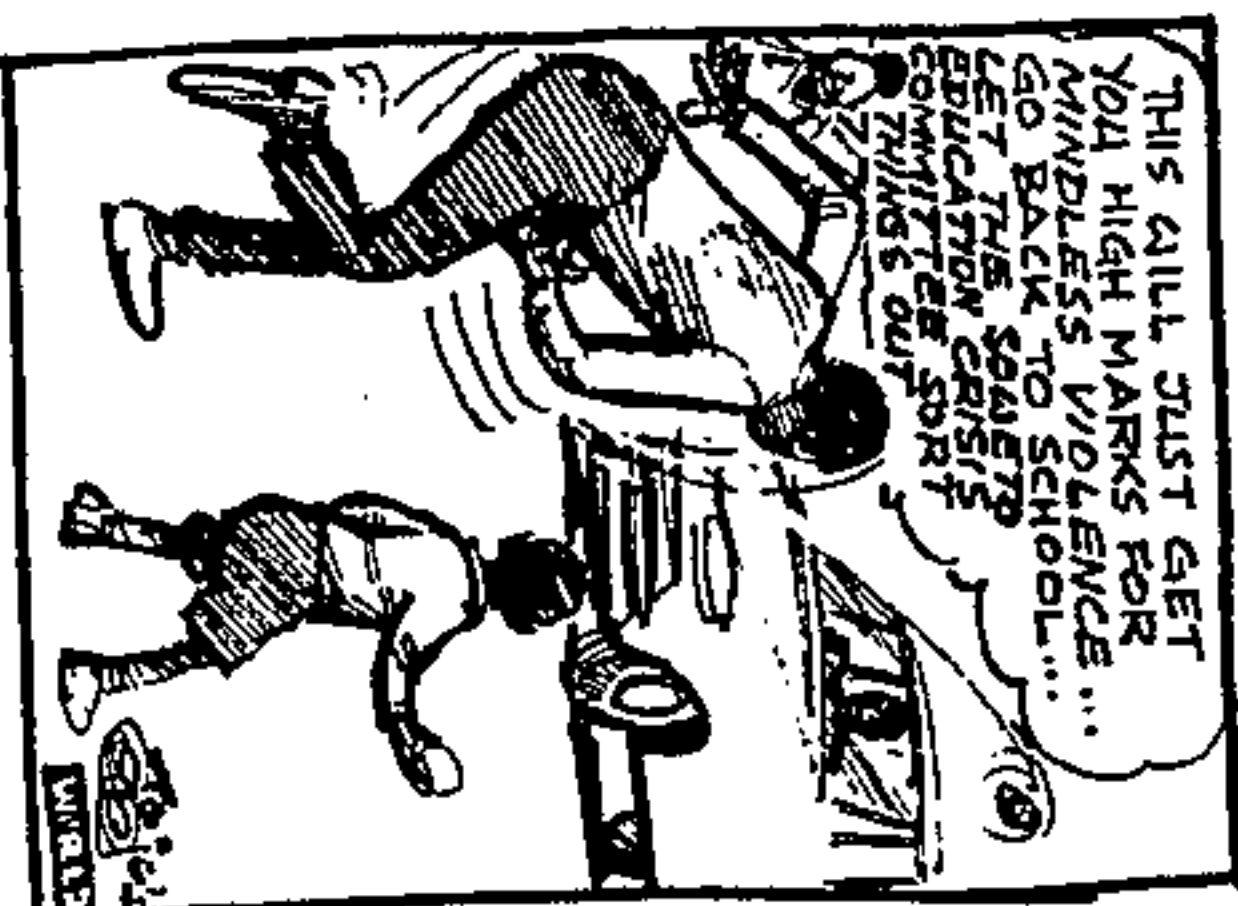
Louw (Defence), Mr Jacob de Villiers (Regional and Land Affairs) and Mr Louis Pienaar (Home Affairs) - have also indicated their wish to retire.

Dr Org Marais, Minister of Administration and Tourism, has indicated his willingness to vacate his post in support of the process of reform.

The Defence portfolio is to be added to that of Justice of Mr Kobie Coetsee, a

Reacting yesterday to the reshuffle, the African National Congress said "the bringing in of discredited and discarded tricoloural figures to the National Party Cabinet is, on the eve of the establishment of the Transitional Executive Council, an empty gesture to reconciliation".

The ANC said reconciliation meant all the people of South Africa electing a government of their choice, drawn from all the people of the country. — *Sapa*.



unity of South African
eration movements.

DP slams the ANC

■ DP holds meet- ing in Soweto:

DEMOCRATIC Party members in Soweto had joined the party because they feared the "power-hunger" of the ANC, DP city councillor Mr Jack Bloom told an election education meeting in Soweto at the weekend.

Soweto
22/2/93

Family

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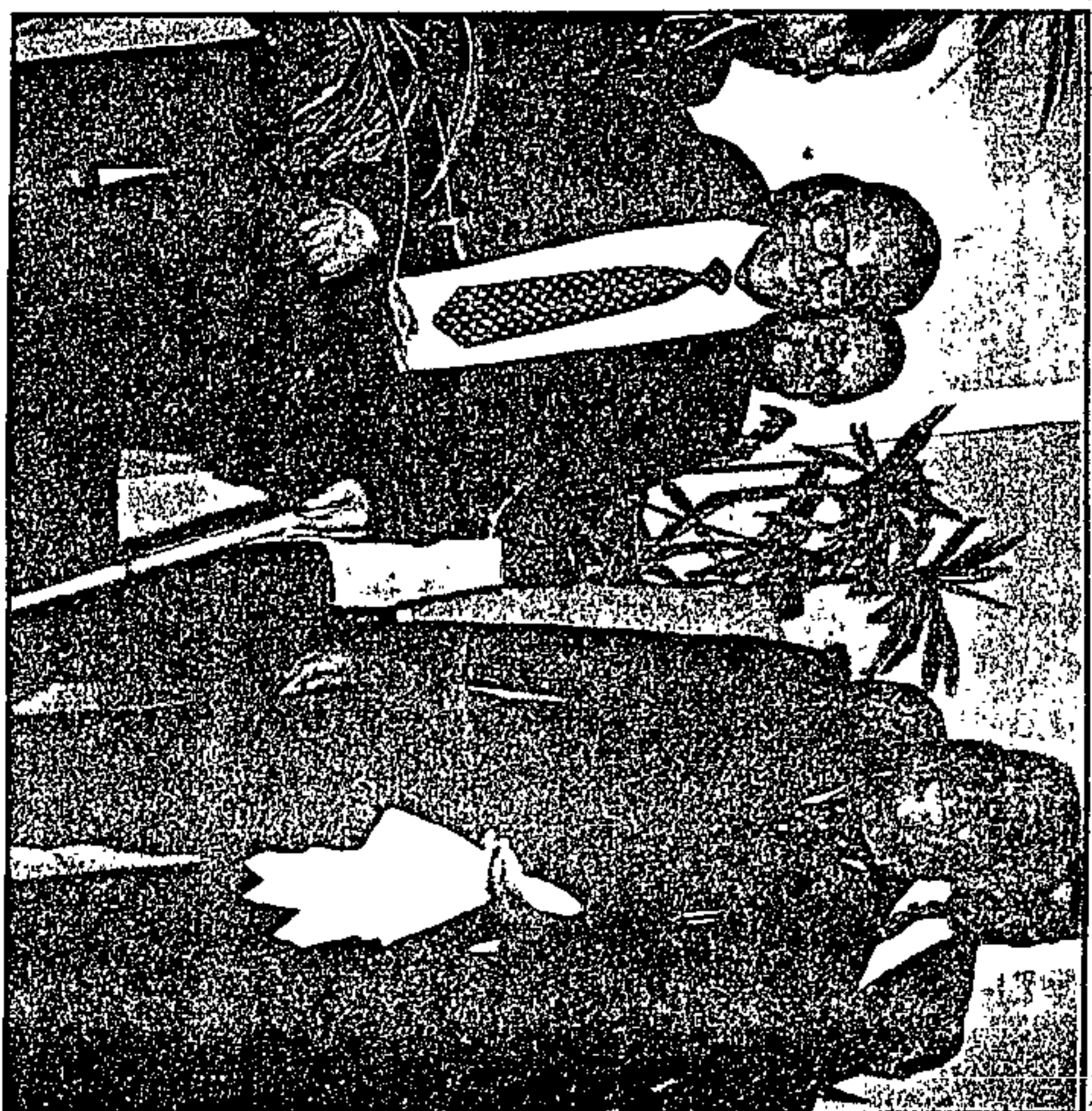
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Former Zambian president Dr Kenneth Kaunda and African National Congress national chairman Mr Oliver Tambo share a lighter moment during the ANC's international solidarity conference at Nasrec in Johannesburg yesterday.

PICTURE: MIBUZENI ZULU

Vision for the future

Source 22/2/93

By Themba Molefe
Political Reporter

AN INTERNATIONAL CAMPAIGN to push for South Africa's first non-racial elections got under way yesterday.

Particulars of the campaign are contained in a declaration issued at the end of a three-day international solidarity conference hosted by the African National Congress at Nasrec in Johannesburg.

From apartheid to peace, democracy and development was the theme of the conference attended by 650 delegates from across the world.

The conference also pledged material and financial help to the ANC's election campaign. It declared to launch a worldwide campaign to help stop violence in South Africa.

Speed up campaign

The declaration said international pressure, including sanctions, should be maintained to speed up agreement on the transitional process and it endorsed the ANC national executive committee resolution on sanctions.

This was that sanctions be lifted only after an agreed date for elections and the passing of the Transition to Democracy Act had been secured.

The declaration reads: "The conference agreed that major priority must be to mobilise the international community to ensure that the electoral process is genuinely free

and fair...

"In order to overcome apartheid's massive destruction and deprivation, the conference addressed the need to prepare for a major programme of restructuring, reconstruction and development to achieve the vision of a new South Africa as enshrined in the Freedom Charter.

"All participants pledged to work together through new forms of solidarity to make this a reality. The ending of economic sanctions will also provide an opportunity for the international community to promote genuine economic development."

The conference also adopted a programme of action with the priority being "maximising international pressure on the Pretoria regime so that agreement can be reached speedily on the establishment of the transitional executive council and the date and procedures for the holding of elections for the constituent assembly."

The conference ended on a high note with former Zambian president Dr Kenneth Kaunda calling for support for the ANC's election campaign.

"All organisations, including the Government, should support the ANC's peace efforts," said Kaunda.

He also commended Mr Justice Richard Goldstone and Mr John Hall, chairman of the National Peace Committee, for their "outstanding peace effort".

The conference backed the ANC's national executive committee resolution on Angola and pledged to initiate a drive to highlight the war in that country and support efforts to stop it.

● See also pages 2 and 6.

bruary 22 1993

Reshuffle of Cabinet slated as 'unexciting' election ploy

TOS WENTZEL
Political Staff

PRESIDENT De Klerk's Cabinet reshuffle has been slammed by his political opponents, who describe it as an election ploy and "extremely unexciting".

Mr Walter Sisulu, deputy president of the African National Congress, said the appointment of the three ministers of colour was sheer electioneering by the National Party.

Dr Zac De Beer, leader of the Democratic Party, said the reshuffle revealed an appalling dearth of talent in the National Party. It was uninteresting and unexciting.

It was surprising that there was no black in the new Cabinet, he said.

"The electorate is going to be 70 percent black and no party with no credible black leadership is going to have much of a chance in an election."

Referring to the appointment of coloured ministers, Dr De Beer said Mr Jac Rabie was

already chairman of the Ministers' Council of the House of Representatives while the actions of Mr Abe Williams as Minister of Education must have made him the most unpopular politician in the coloured community.

Dr Bhadra Ranchod, the new Minister of Tourism, had been translated from official to politician in some three weeks.

"His must be one of the most meteoric political careers we have seen."

Conservative Party head of information Dr Pieter Mulder said the new Cabinet could only be seen as a ploy to influence various groups in South Africa in an upcoming election.

The appointment of people of colour was "a transparent effort to canvas electoral support because it is clear the appointments were not made on merit".

"The National Party cannot be all things to all men and is naive to believe it can accommodate all of South Africa's disparate political aspirations," said Dr Mulder.

Camerer appointed to Cabinet 'on merit'



Ms Sheila Camerer (304A)

The Argus Correspondent

JOHANNESBURG. — New Justice Deputy-Minister Ms Sheila Camerer does not believe her rise in the government ranks was a cosmetic appointment to win votes in the next election.

Ms Camerer, a former university Rag queen and Westdene city councillor, yesterday said she was excited to be appointed to the position at a time when women's rights were coming to the fore in South Africa.

Asked if she thought her appointment had been for appearances only, she said: "I would hate to think that. President De Klerk has said on television that National Party women want to be appointed on merit. I do feel that my appointment shows he is committed to equal opportunity."

Mr De Klerk had informed the Rosettenville MP of her new post on Friday and Ms Camerer said it had "come out of the blue. I had not been expecting it".

"I am looking forward to working with Justice Minister Mr Kobie Coetsee, who is a reformist minister — everyone has to admit. He has done interesting things like introducing the Equal Opportunity Bill, the Family Violence Bill and the Elimination of Discrimination Against Women Bill."

Justice was not a new field to her. She was a practising attorney and had been a member of the Parliamentary Joint Committee on Justice for several years, she said.

Ms Camerer said she had always been a strong proponent of women's rights.

304A

Govt, ANC to discuss power deal

STAR 22/2/93.

By Peter Fabricius
Political Correspondent

CAPE TOWN — Government and ANC negotiators will meet again today to discuss differences in interpretation of their tentative agreement to a five-year government of national unity.

The ANC's national executive committee (NEC) endorsed the plan last week but, in doing so, placed interpretations on it which the Government wishes to question.

The ANC firmly rejected the Government's characterisation of the plan as a "power-sharing" arrangement and said the will of the majority party would not be frustrated in the government of national unity.

The NEC agreed that all parties which won more than 5 per cent support in the elections would be represented in the national unity Cabinet.

But the NEC added that the president of the government of national unity — who would be leader of the majority party — would effectively decide who should represent the minority parties.

Major Cabinet shake-up a prelude to elections

STAR 22/2/93

By Peter Fabricius
Political Correspondent

CAPE TOWN — President de Klerk has substantially refurbished his Cabinet to present a more representative image for the country's first all-in elections.

Announcing his most comprehensive Cabinet shuffle at the weekend, he dropped four Cabinet Ministers to streamline his election team and to make way for people from the coloured and Indian communities which the National Party is targeting for votes.

He has also responded to the needs of the new black electorate by creating a separate portfolio of national housing to be taken up by a private-sector expert.

The four Cabinet Ministers bowing out are Gene Louw (Defence), Dr Org Marais (Administration and Tourism), Louis Pienaar (Home Affairs and Environment), and Jacob de Villiers (Regional and Land Affairs).

Coming in are three representatives of the coloured and Indian communities.

They are Dr Bhadra Ranchod, chairman of the Minis-



F W de Klerk ... streamlined his executive.

ters' Council in the House of Delegates, who becomes Minister of Tourism; Jac Rabie, chairman of the Ministers' Council in the House of Representatives, who becomes

- Camerer speaks out
- All the appointments
- Page 6

Minister of Population Development; and Abe Williams, Minister of Education and Culture in the same House, who becomes Minister of Sport.

Reinforcing the NP's recent campaign to win women's votes, De Klerk has

also promoted Rosettenville MP Sheila Camerer — a senior member of the parliamentary justice committee — into the executive as Deputy Minister of Justice.

The Defence portfolio goes to Kobie Coetsee who retains Justice. The fact that this once all-important portfolio is now just half of one person's job confirms the decline in its importance.

One of De Klerk's aims was to streamline his executive, and once the changes have all come into effect on April 1, there will be seven fewer Ministers and deputy Ministers in general and own affairs than at the start of the parliamentary session.

De Klerk did not appoint any blacks from outside the Cabinet, as many of his own party members expected him to do. He explained that, after wide consultation with black opinion-makers and others, he had concluded that this would be "counter-productive at the present delicate stage of negotiations".

However, he did announce that he had already invited an expert from the private sector to take up a new port-

- To Page 3

Cabinet shake-up a prelude to elections

STAR 22/2/93

● From Page 1

folio of National Housing and of Public works from June 1. His name is still to be announced.

As expected, De Klerk gave National Education Minister Piet Marais the extra portfolio of Education Co-ordination to take charge of the education transition administration which will start desegregating the education system from April 1.

Three deputy Ministers were promoted to the Cabinet — Andre Fourie as Minister of Regional and Land Affairs, Danie Schutte as Minister of Home Affairs and Japie van Wyk as Minister of Environment Affairs and Water Affairs.

Sam de Beer will acquire the public service to add to his present portfolios.

De Klerk did not relieve Finance Minister Derek Keys of his secondary portfolio of Trade and Industry as many had expected. Cabinet sources said De Klerk was probably influenced by business opinion which prefers Keys in both portfolios and likes consistency.

Commenting on his new ap-

pointment to Home Affairs Minister, Schutte said yesterday he was fully aware of his responsibilities in regard to future elections. "I intend to give it my best and I hope I shall receive the grace to make a success of it," he said.

Schutte said the peace structures, which in future would not be administered by the Department of Justice, were of vital importance to the future.

Schutte said he saw his appointment as a strengthening of Natal's representation in the Cabinet.

Political opponents greeted the new Cabinet mainly with indifference.

The ANC dismissed the reshuffle as an "empty gesture to reconciliation".

"The fact that they (the newly appointed Ministers) begin duties on April 1, April Fools' Day, speaks for itself," the organisation said in a statement.

That Abe Williams was now Minister of Sport, when he was the very person leading boycott-breaking rugby teams to New Zealand, did a disservice

to the role the sports bodies were playing to bring about real reconciliation, the ANC said.

Democratic Party leader Dr Zach de Beer said he was disappointed and that none of the new people would add anything to the NP. He deplored the promotion of Williams to the Cabinet. He was one of the most unpopular people in the coloured community because of his handling of his education portfolio.

De Beer said De Klerk had taken the correct decision to put coloured and Indian people in the Cabinet — but had not found any good ones.

Sapa reports the Conservative Party as saying the shake-up could only be seen as a ploy to influence various groups in the event of an upcoming election.

The appointments were "a transparent effort to canvass electoral support because it is clear the appointments were not made on merit", said the CP's head of information, Dr Pieter Mulder.

He said the CP believed there

were many more qualified NP MPs "who must be bitterly disappointed that they were overlooked".

Other changes:

- The Rev Andrew Julies, Minister of Health Services and Welfare in the House of Representatives, retires.
- De Klerk takes back responsibility for the National Intelligence Service from Coetsee. Some functions will be transferred to the Ministers of Law and Order and of Home Affairs.
- National Health Minister Venter will play a more active role in welfare.
- Correctional Services Minister Adriaan Vlok will also take on the position of chairman of the Ministers' Council of the House of Assembly.
- Glen Carelse becomes Deputy Minister of Welfare.
- Dr Boy Geldenhuys gets the job of Deputy Minister of Education and Culture.
- Yakoo Makda, recently appointed deputy Minister in the House of Delegates, gets the additional portfolio of Deputy Minister of Local Government.

More Cabinet changes

Reshuffle dismissed as a 'damp squib'

By BARRY STREEK
Political Staff

MORE cabinet reshuffles are on the cards following the "damp squib" shakeup by President FW de Klerk over the weekend.

The other cabinet appointments likely soon are the anticipated separation of the Finance and the Trade and Industry portfolios, now expected after the March 17 budget, and the appointment of a single National Education Minister and a new Minister of National Housing on June 1.

Mr De Klerk's extensive weekend changes — his seventh reshuffle since coming to power — were dismissed yesterday by opponents as a "damp squib".

The ANC's Thabo Mbeki said the reshuffle was "meaningless" and "of no relevance to the country", and slammed as tokenism the appointment of three "brown" ministers.

The ANC said that bringing "discredited and discarded tri-cameral" figures into the cabinet was an empty gesture to reconciliation.

Democratic Party national chairman Mr Ken Andrew said

the reshuffle demonstrated the dearth of talent in the National Party.

The Conservative Party's information head, Dr Pieter Mulder, said the appointment of two coloureds and an Indian to the cabinet "is a transparent effort to canvass electoral support, because it is clear the appointments were not made on merit".

In the reshuffle five cabinet ministers and one own affairs minister retired and seven new appointments were made.

The Defence portfolio received its fourth minister in 3½ years with the Minister of Justice, Mr Kobie Coetsee, also becoming Minister of Defence.

Mr Jac Rabie has been made Minister of Population Development, Mr Abe Williams Minister of Sport and Dr Bhadra Ranchod Minister of Tourism.

Two new deputy ministers were also announced. They are Mrs Sheila Camerer (Justice) and Mr Yakob Makda (Local Government).

However, no black people were appointed to the cabinet, despite earlier speculation that Mr De Klerk would do so.

Mr De Klerk said: "I gave careful consideration to the possibility of inviting members from outside the electorate of Parliament as it is.

"However, after wide consulta-

tion, also with black opinion-makers, I came to the conclusion that any such appointments would be counter-productive at the present delicate stage of negotiations."

Although Mr De Klerk did not appoint a minister for the proposed single education ministry, the current Minister of National Education, Mr Piet Marais, was also made Minister of Education Co-ordination and would be responsible for "transitional administration".

Mr De Klerk said that because the government attached great importance to urbanisation and the provision of housing, the ministerial role in this regard would be redefined and he had approached an expert from the private sector to accept this appointment.

The ministers who retired are Mr Gene Louw (Defence), General Magnus Malan (Water Affairs and Forestry), Mr Jacob de Villiers (Regional and Land Affairs), Mr Louis Pienaar (Home Affairs) and Dr Org Marais (Administration and Tourism).

There were also promotions for Mr Japie van Wyk (to Environment and Water Affairs) and Mr Andre Fourie (Regional and Land Affairs).

● Govt 'could give defence to the ANC' — Page 5

3044
CT 20/2/93

The Cabinet, deputies and Ministers' Councils as from April 1, in order of seniority: (304A)

STAR 22/2/93

Cabinet

Foreign Affairs — R F (Pik) Botha
Public Enterprises — Dr D J (Dawie) de Villiers
Justice and Defence — H J (Kobie) Coetsee
State Expenditure — A A (Amie) Venter
Population Development — J A (Jac) Rabie
Correctional Services — A J (Adriaan) Vlok
Education and Training, National Housing and
Administration — S J (Sam) de Beer
Mineral and Energy Affairs and Public Works —
G S (George) Bartlett
Agriculture — Dr A I (Kraal) van Nierkerk
National Health and Welfare — Dr E H (Rina)
Venter
Law and Order — H J (Hernus) Kriel
Transport and Posts and Telecommunications
— Dr P J (Piet) Welgemoed
Constitutional Development and Communication
— R P (Roelf) Meyer
Manpower — Leon Wessels
National Education and Education Co-ordination
— P G (Piet) Marais
Finance and Trade and Industry — D L (Derek)
Keys
Sport — Abe Williams
Local Government — Dr J T (Tertius) Delpont
Tourism — Dr B G (Bhadra) Ranchod
Environment Affairs and Water Affairs — J A
(Japie) van Wyk
Regional and Land Affairs — Andre Fourie
Home Affairs — D P A (Danie) Schutte

Deputy Ministers

Defence and Environment Affairs — W N (Wyn-
and) Breytenbach
Finance — Dr T G (Theo) Alant

Land Affairs — J H L (Johan) Scheepers
Agriculture — A T Meyer (Tobie) Meyer
Trade and Industry — D de V (David) Graaff
Constitutional Development and Communication
— S J (Fanus) Schoeman
Foreign Affairs — R S (Renier) Schoeman
Welfare — G M E (Glen) Carelse
Law and Order — B G (Gert) Myburgh
National Health — Dr B L (Boy) Geldenhuys
Local Government — Y M (Yakoob) Makda
Justice — S M (Sheila) Camerer

Ministers' Council, House of Assembly

Chairman, Budget and Housing and Works —
A J (Adriaan) Vlok
Welfare — Dr E H (Rina) Venter
Education and Culture — P G (Piet) Marais
Deputy Minister of Welfare and of Education
and Culture — B L (Boy) Geldenhuys

Ministers' Council, House of Delegates

Chairman and Budget — Dr B G (Bhadra)
Ranchod
Housing and Welfare — S V Naicker
Education and Culture — D Govender
Deputy Minister of Housing and Welfare — Y M
(Yakoob) Makda

Ministers' Council, House of Representatives

Chairman — J A (Jac) Rabie
Welfare — A (Abe) Williams
Budget and Housing — G N (Gerald) Morkel
Education and Culture — P W Saaiman
Deputy Minister of Housing — C B (Cecil)
Herandien

More Cabinet changes Reshuffle dismissed as a 'damp squib'

304A
CT 22/2/93

By BARRY STREEK
Political Staff

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● Govt 'could give defence to the ANC' — Page 5

Van Eck urges major groups to find accord

ARG 23/12/93

3047



Jan van Eck

THE challenge facing South Africa today was whether the Afrikaner and the black African could reach an accord, Mr Jan van Eck (Ind Claremont) said during a private member's motion yesterday calling for an Afrikaner nation-state.

He said the Afrikaner and the African both considered South Africa their home.

"The challenge before us today is whether these two population groups can find one another in the negotiation process. What we need is an historic accord between the Afrikaner and the black African."

Such an accord was essential to ensure true stability because the National Party and the African National Congress jointly represented about 80 percent of the population.

This did not mean that smaller parties could be ignored, but no breakthrough to a democratic constitutional dispensation was possible unless these two groups and their parties could reach an accord.

Mr Van Eck said the Afrikaner Volksunie's call for an Afrikaner state was based on fear of the immutable reality that South Africa was overwhelmingly black.

The motion was based on fear that a new democratic dispensation would lead to the downfall of the Afrikaner. — Sapa.

New cabinet appointee Ranchod to join NP

3049

ARC 23/2/93

Political Correspondent

DR Bhadra Ranchod is to join the National Party following his appointment to the cabinet by President De Klerk at the weekend.

He confirmed today that he would join the NP, "having accepted the appointment" to the cabinet. This will happen before he takes office as Minister of Tourism on April 1. Dr Ranchod is also Chairman of the Ministers' Council in the House of Delegates.

"I want to make it clear that the president has not put any conditions on my appointment."

This will be the first time he has joined a political party. He will introduce a new dimension into the NP ranks as his background has been in the human rights' movement in South Africa and the Institute of Race Relations.

In an academic paper in 1973 he called for the criminalisation of racial discrimination. Dr Ranchod followed this up with calls for a bill of rights in South Africa and for the government to sign the international conventions on human rights.

There has been speculation that Dr Ranchod would walk away with a massive pension from the civil service, having served for 20 years in academics, foreign affairs and the HoD.

But he said today he had been in contact with the pension authorities and was told that his pension rights terminated when he resigned from the civil service on February 11 to take up political office.

The pension rights were not transferable to the parliamentary pension scheme. Dr Ranchod will receive back only what he has contributed over the past 20 years, plus some interest. "There is no golden handshake," he said.

On tourism, Dr Ranchod said it could provide a major stimulus to the South African economy by being a top foreign currency earner.

"What is important for the tourist is value for money."

At the same time he wants to encourage South Africans "to spend their holidays in their country rather than go abroad".

Meanwhile Democratic Party spokesman on Tourism Mr Louis de Waal said: "The appointment of Dr Ranchod as Minister of Tourism clearly has everything to do with politics and nothing to do with tourism. Dr Ranchod is a respected and highly able legal man who could only have done South Africa's case an excellent service in his position as Ambassador to the European Parliament."

"He cannot possibly be expected to deal with the technical details of an industry he has not worked in."

Mr De Waal pointed out that tourism now had its fourth minister in four years. "It remains bogged down in practical areas which dictate the financial viability of investments by the various stake holders in transport and the hospitality industry."

"We are waiting for the consolidation of the numerous acts which have an influence on tourism into a single Tourism Act, something for which the DP has now been calling for three years," said Mr De Waal.



Dr Ranchod

Volksunie to discuss volkstaat with Nats

ARG 23/12/93 (3047)

THE Afrikaner Volksunie will meet the government on Tuesday to discuss the borders of an Afrikaner state in a future constitutional dispensation, Mr Moolman Mentz (AVU, Ermelo) said.

He was introducing a private member's motion calling for a regional Afrikaner state to ensure the Afrikaner's self-determination and continued existence.

Mr Mentz said the AVU would try to convince the government of the need for a sovereign Afrikaner state or states to be incorporated into constitutional negotiations.

No nation (volk) could continue existing without a country or territory of its own. The Afrikaner's call for an own territory was in accordance with the principles of constitutional law and the United Nations Declaration of Human Rights. — Sapa.

DP accuses the government of 'scorched earth policy'

304A
RAG 23/2/93

Political Staff

THE government stood accused today by the Democratic Party of pursuing a scorched earth policy in running up State debts of R113 billion.

This figure was revealed in the 501-page report of Auditor-General Peter Wronsley, who retired at the end of last year, for the 1991/92 financial year.

According to the report, the R113 billion debt was 41 percent of South Africa's Gross Domestic Product for 1991/92, compared with 32,3 percent in 1980/81. The interest, raising costs and management costs of the State debt in 1991/92 was R18 billion.

Mr Geoff Engel, the Democratic Party MP for Bezuidenhout, said the Auditor-General's report "reflects an alarming picture of snowballing national debt and runaway expenditure".

In 1991/92 State debt had increased by R19 billion, Mr Engel said, and predicted the debt would increase to R141 billion in the 1992/93 financial year. This reflected "a R51 billion or 55 percent increase over the past two years".

"The interest burden of the National Party's excesses will become the largest component of this year's Budget.

"The scorched earth policy of civil service expenditure is

continuing as if there is no tomorrow for them.

"Once again the National Party has demonstrated neither the willingness nor ability to transform and cleanse itself economically.

"It cannot continue indefinitely looking to the overtaxed public instead of looking inwards to itself to slash expenditure, corruption and graft.

"Until the State President appreciates the concept of political responsibility in the economic affairs of our nation, we will remain doomed to a scenario of falling wealth, rising unemployment and resultant higher crime," Mr Engel said.

Botha bid to heal rift in Pretoria NP caucus

PRETORIA — Foreign Minister and Transvaal NP leader Pik Botha flew back to his constituency from Parliament yesterday in a bid to sort out a bitter feud in the Pretoria City Council's NP caucus.

Allegations by former Pretoria mayor and current councillor Bob Zylstra that a "Broederbond tyranny" was ruling the council has threatened to split the NP caucus.

In a letter last week announcing his resignation from the caucus, Zylstra called on other dissatisfied NP members to join him in a rival grouping.

The rival NP group would offer its full support for the initiatives and policies of President F W De Klerk but would object to the Broederbond "caucus within a caucus" which held

ADRIAN HADLAND

all power in the Pretoria council, the letter said.

NP caucus chairman Ernie Jacobson said he was optimistic the potential schism within the NP could be averted.

Zylstra's comments were premature and had not been carefully considered, he said.

For what is expected to be a difficult task of party reunification, Botha would have with him the newly-appointed executive director of the NP's national information and management committee Olaus van Zyl, it was confirmed.

As the Transvaal Provincial Administration's representative at the

Central Witwatersrand Metropolitan Chamber and at local government negotiations, Van Zyl has had much experience in crisis management.

NP Pretoria regional chairman Org Marais was also expected to attend what may be a heated monthly caucus meeting. (304A)

Appeals for party unity from Botha, Van Zyl and Marais may yet paper the cracks of an increasingly beleaguered council still recovering from Krugel commission revelations of property development irregularities. BIDM 23/2/93.

Information concerning the activities of one Pretoria councillor, Justus van Zyl, were passed on to the Transvaal attorney-general's office earlier this month.

Election body 'by end of year'

WILSON ZWANE

SA SHOULD have its first independent election commission by the end of the year to oversee nonracial elections. *B1/17/93*

The ANC said yesterday it was confident that government would pass legislation during the current session of Parliament to enable President F W de Klerk to appoint people to an independent electoral commission. *23/2/93*

ANC official Penuel Maduna said the multiparty negotiating forum, to be convened soon, was expected to agree to the establishment of the commission, and would have to agree on new electoral legislation.

Maduna said office-bearers of political parties would not be permitted to serve on the commission.

The commissioners would also be barred from standing as election candidates, he said.

On the independent media commission, Maduna said discussions with all relevant parties were still going on.

This commission, Maduna said, would ensure that the media were not hijacked by any political party.

The nature and composition of the independent media commission would be decided on by the multiparty forum.

But Maduna said the commission would be set up along the same lines as the independent electoral commission.

Govt, ANC meet over conference

304A

3/04/93 23/2/93

GOVERNMENT and the ANC met in Johannesburg yesterday to begin a two-day meeting to thrash out the finer details of the multiparty planning conference scheduled to take place on Friday next week.

The parties will also discuss constitutional issues, including the reincorporation of the homelands, problems surrounding the implementation of the transitional executive council and the election process.

There is general agreement that the agenda for the planning conference will start with an assessment of the present negotiation situation and the best way to proceed to multiparty constitutional negotiations in a Codesa-like forum.

It has also been agreed that each party will invite one other party to the planning meeting, on the principle of inclusivity, so that all Codesa participants will be invited as well as Azapo, the PAC, CP, Afrikaner Volksunie, AWB and HNP.

Each party will send a three-person delegation and a panel of chairmen will be selected from all parties represented.

A problem still to be resolved is government's proposal that homeland administrations be invited. The ANC is opposed on the grounds that it was agreed only political parties and organisations be invited.

The biggest hurdle appears to be the inclusion of traditional leaders, especially Zulu King Goodwill Zwelithini, at the planning conference.

Inkatha has insisted the KwaZulu government and the king head up separate delegations. The ANC has rejected this and instead proposed a delegation of traditional leaders be represented at the conference, and the leaders decide on the composition of the delegation.

The ANC has proposed that the conference be open to the media but government has opposed this and the matter is still to be decided.

The major stumbling block in the broader constitutional debate is how to

BILLY PADDOCK

persuade Bophuthatswana, and to a lesser extent Ciskei, to agree that elections for an interim government be held throughout SA, including the nominally independent homelands.

The broad understanding between government and the ANC is that all citizens, including the homelands, be allowed to vote in the first nonracial elections. The results will indicate whether the majority of the population wants reincorporation.

The proposal is also that the transitional executive council have jurisdiction over the homelands to ensure that free political activity can take place within them.

Bophuthatswana president Lucas Mangope has rejected this and has insisted a referendum on reincorporation be held in the territory only once the final constitution has been decided on.

The ANC and government go into talks with the full backing of their principals on a coalition government of national unity and the prescriptions which would govern an elected constitution making body in deciding the boundaries, duties and functions of regions.

Constitutional Development Minister Roelf Meyer briefed the NP caucus yesterday on the latest developments in negotiations and received endorsement for the five-year plan. Cabinet accepted the plan last week.

The ANC yesterday briefed its patriotic front partners on the deal and the decisions taken last week by its national executive committee. The ANC's other ally, the SACP, also endorsed the plan, with reservations, at a central committee meeting at the weekend.

The ANC is to meet the PAC tomorrow and Azapo on Thursday to encourage them to join the planning conference while government will be meeting Inkatha again later this week to finalise arrangements for next week's conference.

I'll join NP, says HoD's Ranchod

Political Staff ^{STAR} 23/2/93

CAPE TOWN — Dr Bhadra Ranchod is to join the National Party following his appointment to the Cabinet by President de Klerk at the weekend.

He said he would join the NP "having accepted the appointment". This will take place before he takes office as Minister of Tourism on April 1. He is also chairman of the Ministers' Council in the House of Delegates.

304A
"I want to make it clear that the president has not put any conditions on my appointment," Ranchod said.

This would be the first time he had joined a political party, he added.

In an academic paper in 1973 he called for the criminalisation of racial discrimination and followed this with calls for a Bill of Rights and for South Africa to sign international conventions on human rights.

AVU, govt 'discuss Afrikaner state'

THE Afrikaner Volksunie will meet the government on March 2 to discuss the borders of an Afrikaner state in a future constitutional dispensation. Mr Moolman Mentz (AVU Ermelo) said yesterday.

He was introducing a private member's motion calling for a regional Afrikaner state to ensure the Afrikaner's self-determination and continued existence. Mr Mentz said the AVU would try to convince the government of the need for a sovereign Afrikaner state or states to be incorporated into constitutional negotiations.

Mr Andries Beyers (AVU Potchefstroom) said only through negotiations with all, even the ANC, could self-determination be attained. In reply, the Deputy Minister of Constitutional Development, Mr Fanus Schoeman, said there could be no solution in South Africa without a negotiated settlement. — Sapa

● Nat lovey-dovey view of the AVU — Page 7

Govt audit shock

Misspending is 'massive'

By BARRY STREEK
Political Staff

THE government was strongly criticised yesterday by the former auditor-general Mr Peter Wronsley for massive misspending and lack of financial control.

Details of soaring state liabilities — including debt, financial guarantees and pension fund shortfalls totalling more than R186 billion —

were given in his shock report, tabled in Parliament yesterday and signed by his successor, Mr Henry Kruyer.

The report also documented losses of millions of rands and financial chaos in the 10 homelands.

The report is a serious blow to the government, which is facing increasing criticism for its "gray train" plans for pensions and gratuities for civil servants and parliamentarians.

It says the "independent" homelands of Transkei, Venda and Ciskei owed R3,3 billion in loans and overdraft facilities but were unlikely ever to be able to repay them.

The fourth "independent" homeland, Bophuthatswana, built an R18m hotel school without authorisation.

Mr Wronsley also said he was unable to express unqualified audits on

Inside:

- **HOMELAND MONEY MESS**
- **MILLIONS LOST IN VEHICLE FRAUD**
- **R1m FOR SADF BOMB DAMAGE**
- **R1,3m FOR T.E.R. FOR POSTERS WRITTEN OFF**

— Page 2

the accounts of three government departments and 14 statutory institutions.

Mr Wronsley, who retired at the end of last year for health reasons, revealed that his office, which reports to Parliament, had been pressured about the high costs of its audits but he said these objections "sometimes imply or explicitly propose that auditing should be curtailed".

In his report, Mr Wronsley disclosed:

● R460m granted by the cabinet to the Re-insurance Fund for Export to make responsibility for defaults in Armscor contracts.

● The six non-independent homelands had debts and overdraft facilities of R478,7m, guaranteed by the government.

● A day clinic built in Seshego for R11m in August 1988 was still used.

● Infrastructure for three resettlement sites in the Transvaal at a cost of R13,6m "without any people settling there".

The Democratic Party said last night that Mr Wronsley's report reflected an alarming picture of snowballing national debt and runaway overexpenditure.



SHIP COMES IN . . . The 21 000-ton Russian Arctic supply vessel Juvent, bought by the SA Navy and expected to arrive in Simon's Town today, was yesterday about 500 nautical miles off the West Coast.

Navy's Russian ship arrives today

Staff Reporters

THE Russian Arctic supply vessel replacing the veteran SAS Tafelberg replenishment ship is expected in Simon's Town this morning.

Yesterday the 21 000-ton, R40,92-million Juvent was 500 nautical miles off the West Coast. The Kaliningrad-registered vessel, which will

be renamed, was launched at the Kherson shipyard in Ukraine in 1991.

The ship cost the South African Navy about a third of the price of building a new one here.

Alterations to re-equip the ship for duties in the navy will be done at the naval dockyard in Simon's Town.

Defence Minister Mr Gene Louw said last

week the ship's ice-breaking capability would be invaluable considering the navy's recent involvement in assistance operations in Antarctica.

The Juvent will be manned by the crew of the SAS Tafelberg.

The cost of the ship comes out of the navy budget.

Picture: ANNE LALING

12

CF 23/2/93
20449

Meaning of unity govt on agenda

By Peter Fabricius
and Esther Waugh

The final countdown to the resumption of multiparty negotiations began yesterday with another round of talks between the Government and the ANC.

Government and ANC negotiators continue their meeting today to discuss differences in interpretation of their tentative agreement to a five-year government of national unity (GNU).

Preparations for the multiparty planning conference — postponed to allow the Inkatha Freedom Party to consult its central committee — are also on the agenda.

The ANC's national executive committee (NEC) endorsed the proposal for a GNU last week but, in doing so, placed interpretations on it which the Government wishes to question.

The ANC firmly rejected

the Government's characterisation of the transition package as a "power-sharing" arrangement and said the will of the majority party would not be frustrated in the GNU.

The NEC agreed that all parties winning more than 5 percent support in elections would be represented in the Cabinet.

But it added that the president of the GNU would effectively decide who should represent the minority parties.

Government sources said yesterday that the Government rejected this position, and that the leaders of minority parties should be represented in the Cabinet.

Constitutional Development Minister Roelf Meyer yesterday met the National Party's constitutional affairs study group to answer tough questions about the preliminary agreement with the ANC.

Govt, ANC thrash out finer details

3048
CT23/2/93

Political Staff

JOHANNESBURG. — The government and the ANC met here yesterday to begin a two-day meeting to thrash out the finer details of the multi-party planning conference scheduled to take place on Friday next week.

The parties will also discuss constitutional issues, including the reincorporation of the homelands, how to implement the transitional executive council and the election process.

There is general agreement that the agenda for the planning conference will start with an assessment of the present negotiation situation and the best way to proceed to multi-party constitutional negotiations in a Codesa-like forum.

It has also been agreed that each party will invite one other party to the planning meeting, on the principle of inclusivity, so that all Codesa participants will be invited as well as Azapo, the PAC, CP, Afrikaner Volksunie, AWB and HNP.

Each party will send a three-person delegation and a panel of chairmen will be selected from all parties represented.

The ANC has proposed that the conference be open to the media but the government has opposed this and the

matter is still to be decided.

The major stumbling block in the broader constitutional debate is how to persuade Bophuthatswana, and to a lesser extent Ciskei, to agree that elections for an interim government be held throughout South Africa, including the nominally independent homelands.

The ANC and government go into talks with the full backing of their principals on a coalition government of national unity and the prescriptions which would govern an elected constitution-making body in deciding the boundaries, duties and functions of regions.

Constitutional Development Minister Mr Roelf Meyer briefed the NP caucus yesterday on the latest developments in negotiations and received endorsement for the five-year plan. The cabinet accepted the plan last week.

The ANC yesterday briefed its patriotic front partners on the deal and the decisions taken last week by its national executive committee.

The ANC is to meet the PAC tomorrow and Azapo on Thursday to encourage them to join the planning conference and the government will be meeting Inkatha again later this week.

Hopes raised as main players agree to meet again soon

It's looking good for all-party talks

304A
ARG 24/2/93

TOS WENTZEL
Political Staff

MULTIPARTY talks on a new constitution could be resumed by the end of March.

In new developments, which will pave the way to the multiparty negotiating table, it has been announced that:

- The government and Inkatha will meet again on Friday, and

- The African National Congress and the government will have a fresh round of talks on Tuesday and Wednesday next week, when clarity may be reached on outstanding issues.

This upbeat message on the progress of the talks was given today by the Minister of Constitutional Affairs, Mr Roelf Meyer.

He said the question of power-sharing in a transitional government of national unity and regional government had been discussed at talks with the ANC during the past two days, but no finality had been reached.

Further clarification of these issues would be sought at next week's meetings.

The government is seeking clarity from the ANC about the statement by its NEC last week on the question of power-sharing in a government of national unity. The government has described this statement as "confusing".

Mr Meyer said these issues, with the position of the Zulu king at multiparty talks and participation by the Kwazulu government, would be discussed with Inkatha on Friday.

Plans were going ahead for a planning conference on the resumed multiparty talks next Friday and Saturday and prospects were good for the resumption of these talks.

According to The Argus correspondent in Johannesburg, ANC secretary general Mr Cyril Ramaphosa did not foresee any obstacles to the resumption of multiparty talks, although only limited progress was made at this week's talks.

Row erupts over cash for ministers to live at home

30449

APCT 24/2/93

Political Staff

A FRESH political row is brewing over disclosures that numerous ministers, their deputies and other office bearers are paid hundreds of thousands of rands in compensation for living in their own homes.

African National Congress housing adviser Professor Michael Sutcliffe said today that National Party political bosses were acting like departing colonialists, ripping off the economy.

Under a scheme that has mushroomed under President De Klerk, the State pays rent to political bosses to live in their own homes in Cape Town, Pretoria or Durban, plus general maintenance costs, money to use their own furniture and kitchen equipment, and covers cleaning, gardening services, municipal services and taxes.

In 1990 they were given R427 055,59 between them, in 1991 R1 346 980,88; last year R2 109 673,02 and R2 225 500 this year.

The government defends this scheme by saying it has a tradition of housing ministers.

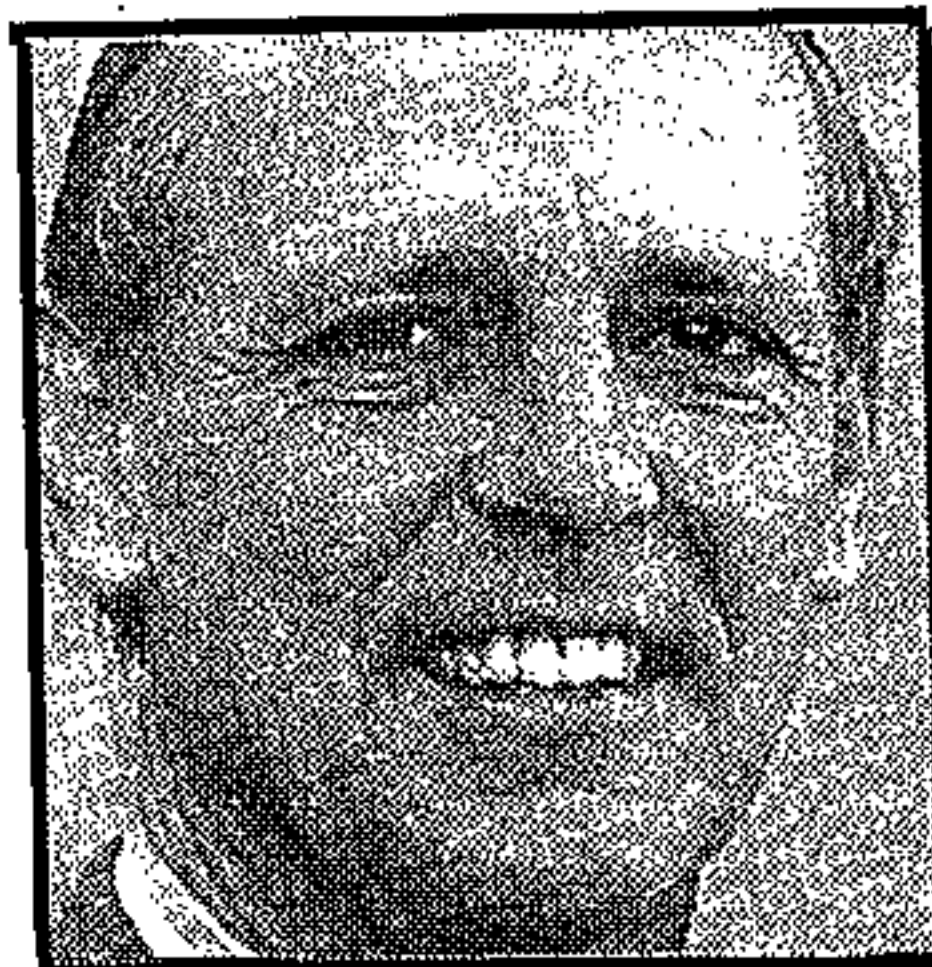
Professor Sutcliffe, who is on the ANC's local government and housing committee, said the ANC would certainly not continue the perk.

"This is no different from the way the economies of Mozambique and other countries were raped by the colonialists.

"We demand re-dress of this scandal. My personal view is that they have a moral duty to pay that money back," he said.

All along the ANC had argued that this was not just a racist and undemocratic government but an unbelievably corrupt government, he said.

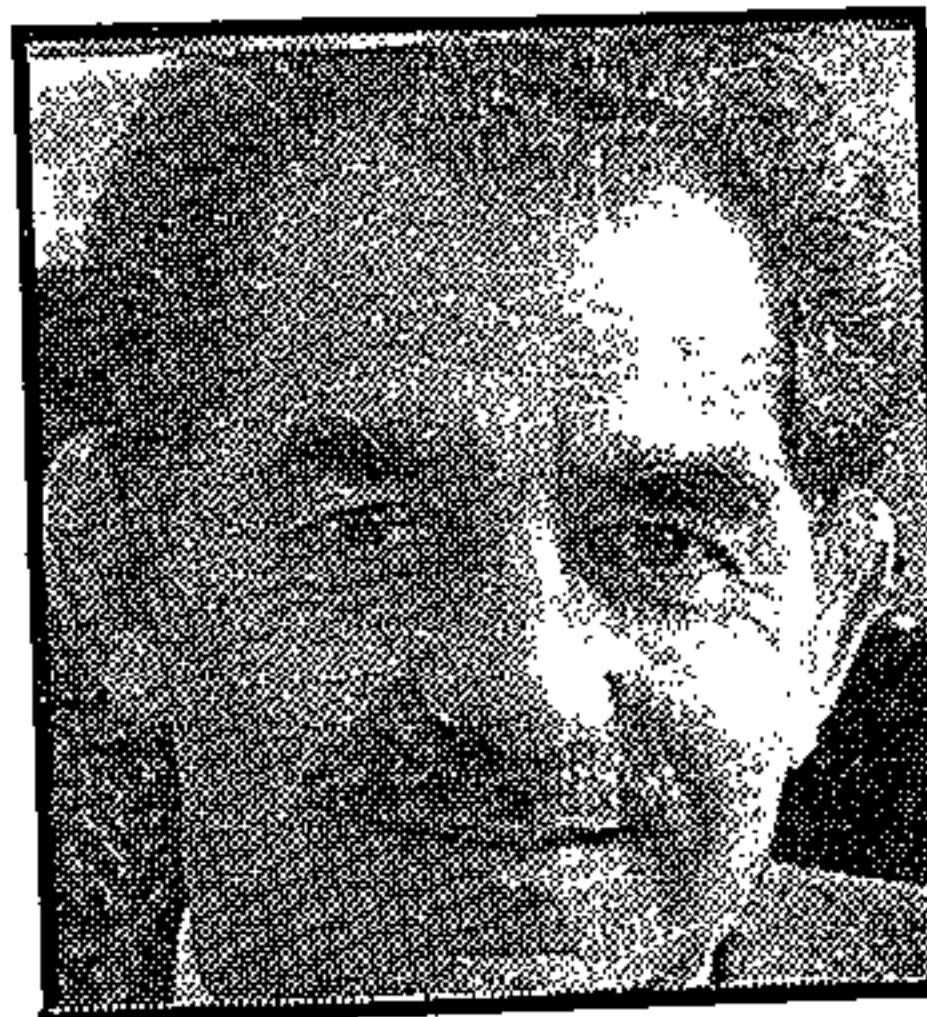
The ANC was suspicious about State attempts to sell off



Mr David Graaff



Mr Peter Soal



Mr Gene Louw

assets, whether it was dams in Natal or ministerial houses.

Last year's payout:

● Mr Graaff R112 054,97.

● Mr Jacob de Villiers, outgoing Minister of Regional and Land Affairs, who also has homes in Cape Town and Pretoria, R93 680,15.

● Mr Pik Botha, Minister of Foreign Affairs, R83 418,53.

● Mr Sam de Beer, Minister of Education and Training and of National Housing, R82 733,12.

● Dr Rina Venter, Minister of National Health, R82 262,53.

● Mr Louis Pienaar, outgoing Minister of Environmental Affairs and of Home Affairs, R82 051,52.

● Dr Org Marais, outgoing Minister for Administration and Tourism, R81 618,38.

● Dr J N Reddy, former Chairman of the Ministers' Council in the House of Delegates, R80 067,10.

● Mr Adriaan Vlok, Minister of Correctional Services, R79 956,47.

● Dr W A van Niekerk, Chairman of the President's Council, R79 096,57.

● Mr Baldeo Dookie, former Minister in the House of Delegates, R78 563,88.

● Mr Yunus Moolla, former Minister in the House of Delegates, R78 195,27.

● Mr Abe Williams, incoming Minister of Sport, R77 284,63.

● Mr Derek Keys, Minister of Finance, R77 266,95.

● Dr Kisten Rajoo, former Minister in the House of Delegates, R77 124,13.

● Mr George Bartlett, Minister of Mineral and Energy Affairs, R75 045,68.

● Dr Kraai van Niekerk, Minister of Agriculture, R75 029,71.

● Mr Leon Wessels, Minister of Manpower, R74 854,32.

● Mr Gerald Morkel, Minister of the Budget in the House of Representatives, R71 649,09.

● Mr Andrew Julies, Minister of Health Services in the House of Representatives, R69 906,39.

● Mr Alex van Breda, Chief Whip of Parliament, R64 139,28.

● Mr Keppies Heyns, Deputy Chairman of the President's Council, R65 427,04.

● Dr Theo Alant, Deputy Minister of Finance, R61 453,90.

● Mr Fanus Schoeman, Deputy Minister of Constitutional Development, R59 931,45.

● Mr Johan Scheepers, Deputy Minister of Land Affairs, R56 746,16.

● Mr SV Naiker, Minister of Local Government and of Housing in the House of Delegates, R51 358,96.

● Mr Eugene Louw, outgoing Minister of Defence and of Public Works, R41 175,80.

● General Magnus Malan, outgoing Minister of Water Affairs and Forestry, R40 967,56.

ANC Govt talks fail to bear fruit

Sowetan 24/2/93

■ The two sides are to
meet again next week:

THE two-day meeting between the Government and the African National Congress, which ended yesterday, did not achieve much progress, ANC general secretary Mr Cyril Ramaphosa said last night.

"We did not make as much progress as we had anticipated," Ramaphosa told reporters outside the World Trade Centre in Kempton Park where a multi-party forum to plan the next stage of democracy talks is to be held on Friday and Saturday next week.

Ramaphosa said the nine joint sub-committees the two sides set up last December at the first of their latest series of bilateral talks, had not had enough time to complete their work.

The two sides will meet again next week, ahead of the preparatory conference.

One of the main outstanding issues seemed to be the exact nature of what the Government calls power-sharing.

The ANC's policy-making national executive committee last week endorsed the principle of an interim government of national unity after the non-racial elections scheduled for next April at the latest.

Ramaphosa last week said the coalition government should operate on the basis of proportional representation and would be led by the head of the largest party.

Chief Government negotiator Mr Roelf Meyer said on TV on Monday that the Government was still looking at the option of a rotating chairmanship of the Cabinet.

He said the power-sharing arrangement should last for the standard five year parliamentary term, even if a new non-racial constitution was ready after two years.

He said the ANC seemed to have accepted this proposal. - Sapa-AFP.

NIS taken for a R1,9-m ride in scam

Political Staff

THE National Intelligence Service (NIS) has been taken for a ride to the tune of R1,9 million by the confidant of an African head-of-state.

This embarrassing loss for the NIS and the government emerged yesterday in the report of parliament's joint committee on public accounts on government expenditure in the financial year 1990/91.

The NIS lost R1,9 million which it placed into the account of a middleman who was supposed to help it set up an intelligence network in the African country.

The scam bears strong resemblance to a similar rip-off in which a prominent Nigerian

presidential candidate stole R1,58 million from the Department of Foreign Affairs.

The department also played the R1,58 million into his account and never saw it again. The account was to fund the secret purchase of a London-based magazine circulating in West Africa.

The foreign affairs project was part of its sanctions-busting campaign and was aimed at influencing West African opinion in South Africa's favour.

It is not known whether the NIS project was also launched in Nigeria although the public accounts report shows that it was not the same African agent who ripped off both departments.

NIS chief Mike Louw told the public accounts committee that the aim of the NIS project was to establish in an African state the "capability" for gathering intelligence from the rest of the continent and even from Europe.

It would also provide the opportunity of practising covert diplomacy by making contact with senior leaders in Africa.

He said the R1,96 million for the project had been paid over in cash to a go-between who he described as a "very special confidant" of the head of state of that country.

Mr Louw conceded to the committee that the State president — it is not clear whether

he was referring to Mr De Klerk or his predecessor Mr P W Botha — had authorised the NIS only to provide a guarantee of R1,9 million for the purchases required to launch the intelligence-gathering network.

However, the NIS had decided instead, that in order to "conceal its hand" it would deposit the R1,9 million in the agent's bank account.

The NIS should have obtained the State President's permission to do this but had not observed all the regulations because of the time factor.

No written contract had been entered into with the agent. **304/91 21/93**

court on day of *Sowetan* story

Noose tightens around homelands

Sowetan 24/2/93
■ Back to self-governing status first step for TBVC states:

By Ismail Lagardien
Political Correspondent

THE noose is tightening around the homelands as the Government prepares to bring them into the administration of the four provinces.

The Government this week released the Auditor-General's report on General Affairs in which the financial affairs of Transkei, Bophuthatswana, Venda and Ciskei were shown to be in a parlous state.

While the ultimate objective is to bring the TBVC states back into South Africa, the Government's short-term strategic objectives are to "roll back their status as independent states to that of self-governing territories".

Sowetan has learnt that the Government has done extensive investigations into the viability of the homelands and has put the reports on them to the various leaders of the TBVC.

It was decided earlier this month that if the leaders of the TBVC states showed any "recalcitrance" the reports would be made public.

It is believed that the Auditor-General's report specifically on the parlous state of affairs in the TBVC was released on Monday to increase the pressure on the four.

The Ministry of Foreign Affairs has also "in a non-prescriptive and non-threatening manner" also explained, through an exchange of memoranda, the "pro's and con's of returning to South Africa and of staying out".

In the report, the now retired Mr Peter Wronsley criticised the Government severely for not "acting more forcefully with the TBVC" and for not "applying restrictive fiscal action and to enforce order". This had led to "undisciplined conduct". According to the report, South Africa paid R4,4 billion to the TBVC states in 1991/1992.

Ministers rake in millions for house use

CAPE TOWN — Finance Minister Derek Keys is among 30 political office-bearers paid a total of almost R3m last year and R400 000 so far this year for living in their own houses.

The taxed allocation is intended to compensate them for the costs of staying in their own houses as official accommodation. Last year the average allocation to each was R100 000 — more than double the average paid in 1990.

In a written reply to a question by DP MP Peter Soal — who called the amounts obscene — retiring Public Works Minister

Gene Louw admitted he had benefited to the tune of about R61 000 from the scheme last year. The money was compensation for basic rental, general maintenance, the use of furniture and kitchen equipment, cleaning and gardening services and municipal services and taxes.

The beneficiaries include Regional and Land Affairs Minister Jacob de Villiers and Deputy Trade and Industry Minister David Graaff, who were compensated for staying in their own houses in both Cape

Town and Pretoria. They received about R130 000 and R158 000 respectively.

Of the Ministers compensated for one house, Foreign Minister Pik Botha received about R117 000, followed by Health Minister Rina Venter and Home Affairs Minister Louis Pienaar (R115 000 each) and Administration Minister Org Marais (R114 000). Keys got R108 000 last year.

Seven residences in the government housing estate had been vacant from 1990 and 15 residences and three flats in Pretoria, Cape Town and Durban had been vacant for the past three years, the reply said.

Key Market Movements — Feb 22 to Feb 23

Govt and ANC still at odds after secret talks

B1 DAY 24/2/93 3014A

BILLY PADDOCK

AFTER a two-day secret meeting the ANC and government still disagree on the interpretation of their preliminary agreement for a government of national unity ruling for five years.

ANC secretary-general Cyril Ramaphosa said after the meeting yesterday that government had sought clarification on the ANC's national executive committee resolution on a government of national unity.

"We clarified our position. They did not accept it directly. They heard what we said and further discussion has to take place," he said, adding there would be a further bilateral meeting on Wednesday next week.

He said the ANC was now in a strong position, having secured a renewed mandate from the NEC for a unity government.

He hoped the issue would be resolved at next week's meeting.

He said only limited progress was made at the two-day meeting because, primarily, not enough time was allocated to deal with the issues, and the subcommittees had not finished their discussions yet.

Ramaphosa said the big breakthrough at the past two meetings was that clarity had been achieved on the role and powers of the transitional executive council and its sub-councils.

He said the transitional executive council would have powers and jurisdiction over certain defined areas of government, and legislation to establish the councils was being prepared which would be passed during this session of Parliament.

He said the subcommittees were meeting next week to finalise their reports. These should be tabled at an extended meeting next Wednesday.

Ramaphosa said that there was agreement on a new independent SABC board and the issue would be resolved at next Wednesday's meeting. He declined to go into detail, saying there had been agreement that details of the discussion would not be disclosed.

Sapa reports that Azapo has confirmed it will meet the ANC in Johannesburg tomorrow to discuss a resumption of multiparty negotiations.

Meanwhile, the ANC Youth League gave its qualified support yesterday to the transition package adopted by the ANC leadership last week. The youth league criticised the secrecy surrounding negotiations and called for the opening of all talks to the public.

The youth league noted also the ANC NEC's latest position was a departure from the strategic position on negotiations the ANC adopted in November, and was a further compromise.

The youth league's national executive committee held a special session on Monday to consider its position on a government of national unity and on the general progress in negotiations.

It reiterated its support for the reconvening of multiparty talks in the form of Codesa "and the speedy resolution of the SA conflict through negotiations".

Pik averts NP split in Pretoria council

ADRIAN HADLAND

PRETORIA — An embarrassing split in the Pretoria City Council's ruling NP caucus was averted this week after the intervention of Foreign Minister and Transvaal party leader Pik Botha. 6:10 PM 24/12/93

Former Pretoria mayor and current councillor Bob Zylstra resigned from the caucus last week claiming the council was being run by a "Broederbond tyranny". He called on other dissatisfied NP councillors to join him in a rival NP group.

Appealing to councillors to uphold party unity, Botha said local level political objectives were of high importance to the NP, caucus leader Ernie Jacobson said.

Botha was backed up in his appeal by NP Pretoria regional chairman Org Marais and NP national information and management committee head Olaus van Zyl.

After the meeting on Monday evening, Zylstra confirmed he had withdrawn his resignation and would be returning to the caucus. "We eventually sat down and had in-depth discussions about how to address the city's problems," he said.

Rental perk costs taxpayers R3-m

Ministers

STAR 24/2/93

'drown in gray'

By Peter Fabricius
Political Correspondent

The Government was "drowning in gray", the Democratic Party said today after disclosures that Cabinet Ministers were paid more than R3 million last year to live in their own homes.

Peter Soal, the party's MP for Johannesburg North, said he would try to raise questions about the housing payola in Parliament this afternoon, and would certainly grill the Government on the issue during debate on a motion on corruption by DP leader Dr Zach de Beer on Friday.

"I'll be wanting to know why this scheme was introduced in the first place,

when it was introduced, and what the total pay-out in taxpayers' money has been to date."

ANC housing adviser Professor Michael Sutcliffe said: "We demand that there must be a means of redressing this scandalous state of affairs."

"My personal view is that they have a moral duty to pay all that money back to the State."

The disclosure of how much compensation Ministers received for living in their own homes in Cape Town, Pretoria or Durban came in response to a question by Soal.

In a written reply, Public Works Minister Gene Louw said the money was the basic rental the State paid to the Ministers to hire their own homes for them to then live

in, plus general maintenance costs, use of their own furniture and kitchen equipment, cleaning and gardening services and municipal services and taxes.

Minister of Trade and Industry David Graaff was the biggest winner in the scheme. He was paid R9 337,91 a month last year for the "inconvenience" of living in his own homes in Cape Town and Pretoria.

The payouts for 1992, after tax deductions for the 1992 calendar year, were:

- Graaff: R112 054,97.
- Jacob de Villiers, outgoing Minister of Regional and Land Affairs, who also has homes in Cape Town and Pretoria: R93 680,15.
- Pik Botha, Minister of Foreign Affairs: R83 418,53.

● To Page 3

Ministers 'drown in gray'

STAR 24/2/93
From Page 1

- Sam de Beer, Minister of Education and Training and of National Housing: R82 733,12.
- Dr Rina Venter, Minister of National Health: R82 262,53.
- Louis Pienaar, outgoing Minister of Environment Affairs and of Home Affairs: R82 051,52.
- Dr Org Marais, outgoing Minister for Administration and Tourism: R81 618,38.
- Dr J N Reddy, former chairman of the Ministers' Council in the House of Delegates: R80 067,10.
- Adriaan Vlok, Minister of Correctional Services: R79 956,47.
- Dr W A van Niekerk, chairman of the President's Council: R79 096,57.
- Baldeo Dookie, former Minister in the HoD: R78 563,88.
- Yunus Moolla, former Minister in the HoD: R78 195,27.
- Abe Williams, incoming Minister of Sport: R77 284,63.
- Derek Keys, Minister of Finance: R77 266,95.
- Dr Kisten Rajoo, former Minister in the HoD: R77 124,13.
- George Bartlett, Minister of Mineral and Energy Affairs: R75 045,68.
- Dr Kraai van Niekerk, Minister of Agriculture: R75 029,71.
- Leon Wessels, Minister of Manpower: R74 854,32.
- Gerald Morkel, Minister of the Budget in the House of Representatives: R71 649,09.
- Anthony Julies, Minister of Health Services in the HoD: R69 906,39.
- Alex van Breda, Chief Whip of Parliament: R64 139,28.
- Keespies Heyns, deputy chairman of the President's Council: R65 427,04.
- Dr Theo Alant, Deputy Minister of Finance: R61 453,90.
- Fanus Schoeman, Deputy Minister of Constitutional Development: R59 931,45.
- Johan Scheepers, Deputy Minister of Land Affairs: R56 746,16.
- S V Naiker, Minister of Local Government and of Housing in the HoD: R51 358,96.
- Gene Louw, outgoing Minister of Defence and of Public Works: R41 175,80.
- General Magnus Malan, outgoing Minister of Water Affairs and Forestry: R40 967,56.

Crucial planning indaba on track

By Esther Waugh
Political Reporter

The multiparty planning conference scheduled for next week to resume constitutional negotiations is on track — despite the "limited progress" made at the two-day Government-ANC bilateral meeting which ended near Johannesburg yesterday.

ANC secretary-general Cyril Ramaphosa said: "I see no obstacles. What needs to be settled are the details. We are well positioned to make substantial progress at our next meeting."

And Minister of Local Government and Housing Dr Tertius Delpont said: "There are no obstacles that I know of."

Government and ANC negotiators are scheduled to meet again next week before the planning conference.

Ramaphosa said after the meeting, held at the World Trade Centre near Kempton Park, that only "limited progress" was made because of insufficient time to conclude the work.

Some of the issues "left hanging" were the appointment of a new SABC board and the controversial issue of regional government.

Ramaphosa said the full bilateral meeting between the Government and the ANC next week would discuss legislation on the powers of the transitional executive council, and he hoped it would be passed during this parliamentary session.

Delpont said it was agreed yesterday that the print media would be allowed to attend all procedures of the planning meeting.

● The KwaZulu government and the Inkatha Freedom Party said last night they would send separate delegations to next week's scheduled multiparty planning conference, despite ANC opposition, clouding prospects for a possible resumption of a Codesa-type forum.

Reports 'bad news', admits De Klerk

Political Staff (304A)

CAPE TOWN — President de Klerk has described as "disconcerting" the spate of recent reports of questionable spending in Government departments. *STAR*

He was speaking at an impromptu press conference after meeting Baroness Lynda Chalker, Britain's Deputy Minister of Foreign Affairs, in Tuynhuys. *24/2/93*

Chalker was asked whether regular reports of things going wrong with Government finances had damaged the confidence of the Western world in the South African Government.

She said every government "must deal with the problems of fraud and corruption where they occur".

De Klerk said there were two things a government could do to act

against fraud. The first was to take better preventive steps. Secondly, investigations could be opened to bring guilty people to court.

"This we have done consistently. Yes, it is bad news when simultaneously you now get disclosures about that type of thing in more than one department. It is disconcerting. But the very way the Government has been handling this instils confidence in the Western community that the Government is dealing with this," he said.

On the Auditor-General's report on Government misspending, Democratic Party leader Dr Zach de Beer said the time had come for the electorate to turn against the National Party at the ballot box.

DP finance spokesman Jasper Walsh said the Government should hang its head in shame.

missions or have access to the mechanism. To my mind, it is a public process, in a certain sense of the word.

We are in the final stages of settling this with interested parties. It is very difficult to take this matter further at this stage, but I invite the hon member, as well as all other parties who are represented in Parliament, to come and see me in my office so that we can discuss this matter.

However, I again want to say that the appointment of the board is not a panacea that will guarantee impartial reporting by the media. For that we shall also need a code of conduct which has to be settled, and also a media commission such as the Media Council in respect of the press. All of that has to be negotiated in order to have a foolproof system in addition to the board which the hon member has referred to.

Debate concluded.

QUESTIONS

†Indicates translated version.

For oral reply:

General Affairs:

Question standing over from Wednesday, 17 February 1993:

Municipal by-elections for all citizens

*10. Mr R F HASWELL asked the Minister of Local Government:

Whether it is his intention to sanction municipal by-elections in which all eligible South Africans, regardless of race, will be able to participate as voters or candidates; if not, why not; if so, what are the relevant details? B50E

†The MINISTER OF LOCAL GOVERNMENT:

I outlined my approach to municipal elections in general during the debate on the hon the State President's Opening Address. I referred to two existing anomalies, namely the system of management committees and local affairs councils on the one hand and the Black Local Authorities Act of 1982 on the other and I stated that an acceptable formula would have to be found in conjunction with

HOUSE OF ASSEMBLY

- (2) Prosecutions were stopped pending the implementation of the 1992 amendments to the Defence Act which provided a wider scope for persons to reconsider their grounds for refusing to render military service. Subsequently new call-up instructions were issued to all such persons and if they once again fail to report for service, my answer above applies.
- (3) No. I am of the opinion that I have fully replied to the question and do not regard a further statement as necessary.

Lt-Gen Lothar Neethling: financial aid

*2. Mr D J DALLING asked the Minister of Law and Order:

- (1) Whether, with reference to his reply in Question No 112 on 24 March 1992, any further amount has been paid by the State in respect of the civil action instituted by Lt-Gen Lothar Neethling against certain publications, the names of which have been furnished to the South African Police for the purpose of the Minister's reply, and any subsequent appeal arising out of the said action; if so, (a) what total amount had been paid by the State in this regard as at the latest specified date for which information is available and (b) what are the names of the publications in question;
- (2) whether any portion of the amount so paid by the State in respect of the said action has been repaid by Lt-Gen Neethling to the State; if not, why not; if so, what total amount had been repaid by him as at the latest date for which information is available? B118E

The MINISTER OF LAW AND ORDER:

- (1) Yes.
- (a) R688 319,91—18 February 1993.
- (b) *The Vrye Weekblad* and *The Weekly Mail*.

- (2) No. It can only be determined after the judgment of the Appeal Court whether Lt-Gen Neethling has forfeited State protection in terms of Treasury Instruction Chapter W.

Mr D J DALLING: Mr Speaker, arising from the reply of the hon the Minister, may I ask

him whether he has any security for the amount which was spent on behalf of this gentleman?

The MINISTER: Mr Speaker, as far as I know it is not normal practice to ask for security in cases like this. If it is found that the money is owing to the State, it will be recovered.

†Adv T LANGLEY: Mr Speaker, further arising from the reply of the hon the Minister, I would like to ask him whether it is not customary that the State stands surety for the legal costs of officials who are sued in the course of carrying out their duty.

†The MINISTER: Mr Speaker, the hon member will recall that certain protection is given. It is done in terms of Treasury Instruction Chapter W. I do not think that I can go into all the protective mechanisms now that are available to public servants, but basically the hon member is correct in that where the State is able to do so, it does give protection to officials. However, if it were to be found that officials had committed crimes in carrying out their duty, the State would not regard itself as liable for assistance to such officials.

†Adv T LANGLEY: Mr Speaker, further arising from the hon the Minister's reply, I would like to ask him whether in this case it is being implied that there is evidence that crimes have been committed.

†The MINISTER: Mr Speaker, I never insinuated that. I replied to the hon member's question. He asked in which cases it is done and how it works. I gave him certain examples. Whether a crime was committed or not in this particular case, will depend on the judgment of the Appeal Court as the case is before this Court at present.

Certificates: Senior Certificate examination

*3. Mr A GERBER asked the Minister of National Education:†

- (1) Whether the issue of certificates in respect of the National Senior Certificate examination for 1992 is dealt with by the South African Certification Council; if not, why not; if so,
- (2) whether the issue of these certificates has been completed; if not, what stage has this issue reached;
- (3) whether interim arrangements have been

HOUSE OF ASSEMBLY

Govt, PAC to meet in Namibia

24/2/93.
By Kaizer Nyatumba
Political Reporter

Despite its public position that it will not talk to the Pan Africanist Congress after Azanian People's Liberation Army (Apla) attacks on whites in the eastern Cape last year, the Government will hold a meeting with the PAC in Namibia next week, The Star has learnt.

The meeting, confirmed by Government and PAC sources, will be attended by senior SADF personnel and members of Apla's high command in addition to the two sides' political leaders.

It is scheduled to be chaired by Namibian President Sam Nujoma or one of his Ministers.

Sources close to the Government and the PAC said the meeting, which had been requested by the Government, would most likely take place early next week — but definitely before the March 5-6 multi-party negotiations planning conference.

Although a number of issues will be discussed, Apla and the PAC's armed struggle will top the agenda.

The delegations, a source said, would be led by Foreign Affairs Minister Pik Botha and PAC secretary-general Benny Alexander.

The two parties last met in Gaborone, Botswana, in November.

Govt, ANC fail to agree on transition

(304 A) (4) CT 24/2/93

Own Correspondent

JOHANNESBURG. — After a two-day secret meeting the ANC and government still disagree on the interpretation of their preliminary agreement for a government of national unity ruling for five years.

ANC secretary-general Mr Cyril Ramaphosa said after the meeting yesterday that the government had sought clarification on the ANC's national executive committee resolution on a government of national unity.

"We clarified our position. They did not accept it directly," he said, adding that another bilateral meeting was set for next Wednesday.

Mr Ramaphosa said only limited progress was made at the meeting because of time pressure.

He said the big breakthrough at the past two bilateral meetings was that clarity had been reached on the role

and powers of the transitional executive council (TEC) and its sub-councils.

Legislation to establish the TEC was likely to be passed during this session of parliament, he said.

Mr Ramaphosa said sub-committees would meet next week to finalise reports to be tabled next Wednesday.

He said there was agreement on a new independent SABC board and this issue would also be finalised next Wednesday, but he declined to elaborate, citing an agreement not to release details yet.

● Azapo yesterday confirmed it will meet the ANC in Johannesburg on Thursday to discuss a resumption of multi-party negotiations, reports said.

● The ANC Youth League yesterday gave its qualified support to the transition package adopted by the ANC's NEC. — Own Correspondent, Sapa

Ministers in perks shock

304F

CT 24/2/93

R3m paid out for using own homes

By BARRY STREEK
Political Staff

TAXPAYERS forked out almost R3 million last year to 29 ministers to compensate them for staying in their own homes.

The ministers were paid an average of about R100 000 to stay in accommodation other than that provided by the state.

This is more than double the R48 000 average paid out to individuals in 1990 — two years ago.

For the months of January and February this year they are being paid a total of R419 465,22 in compensation.

These figures were disclosed yesterday by the retiring Minister of Public Works, Mr Gene Louw, in response to a question tabled in Parliament by Mr Peter Soal (DP, Johannesburg North).

Mr Soal commented: "These amounts are obscene, particularly as there were state houses available, such as Walmer Estate in Cape Town and numerous houses in Pretoria which have stood empty."

"Why must Mr Louis Pienaar (the retiring Minister of Home Affairs) be paid R114 815,28 to stay in his own house in Bellville when he could live in state houses in Walmer Estate?"

'Awash with gravy'

"And Mr David Graaff (Deputy Minister of Trade and Industry) is given enough to pay for two houses he owns."

"These ministers are awash with gravy," Mr Soal said.

Contacted last night, Mr Pienaar said the government had an obligation and a tradition of housing ministers. He said paying ministers to stay in their own homes saved money.

In the past ministers had been provided with accommodation in expensive suburbs of the city and ministers had then let their homes.

Mr Pienaar said this way it worked out cheaper and the houses in "superior areas" could be sold and the money from it was "probably used" for the

F W 'to continue fight for honesty'



Political Staff

PRESIDENT F W de Klerk has vowed to continue taking steps following a spate of what he described as "bad news" disclosures of corruption and maladministration.

He said yesterday there were two ways of dealing with corruption — taking better preventive steps and "opening up, investigating and bringing those guilty ... to court".

The President added that other steps could be taken if those involved could not be charged in court.

He was speaking after a meeting with British Deputy Foreign Minister Baroness Lynda Chalker.

Baroness Chalker commented: "Any government must deal with corruption when it occurs. There is so much to be done and there are many good people, like President De Klerk, who are trying to get it right."

"I do not believe South Africa will be seen in a negative light for these reasons," she said.

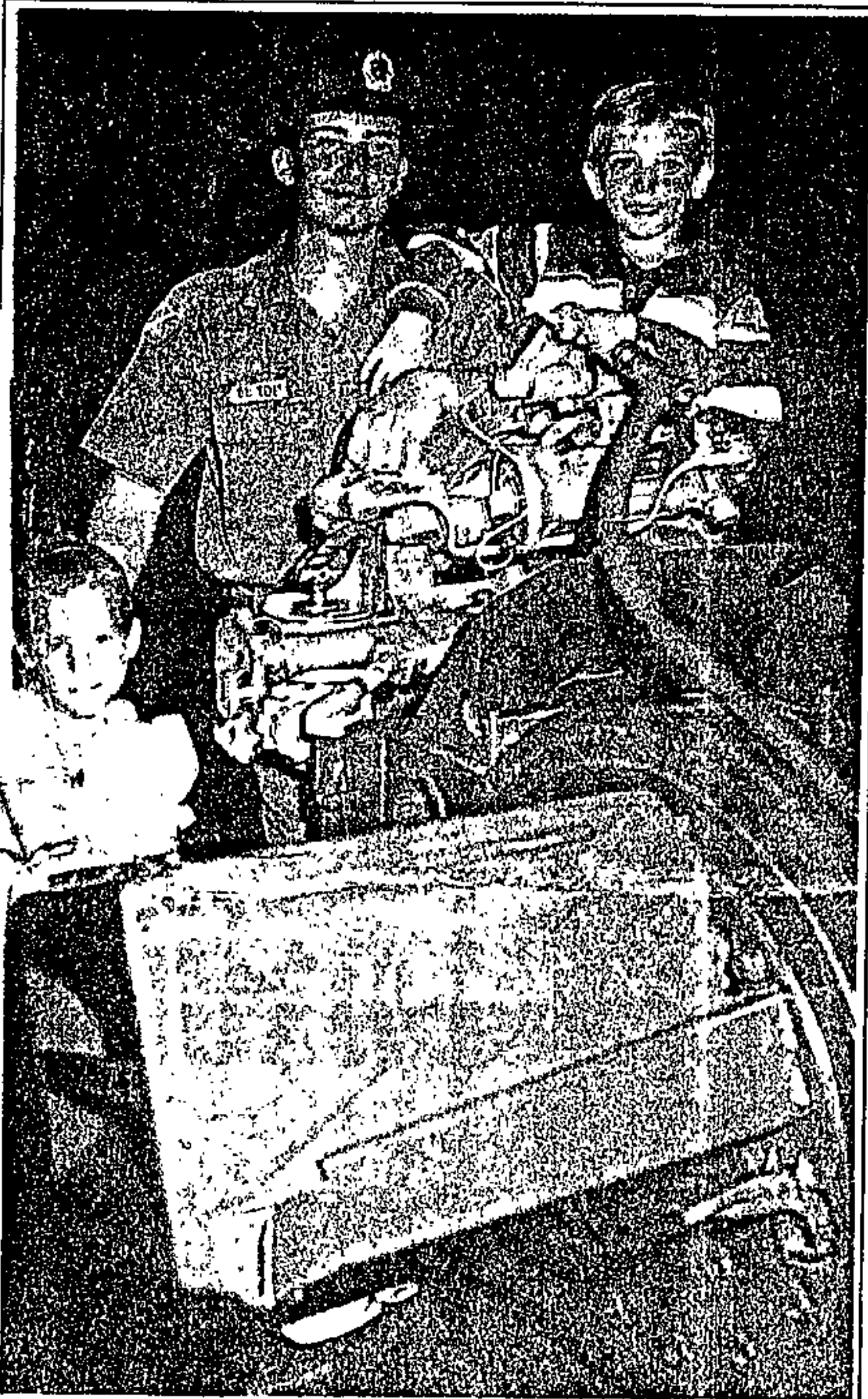
● Now UK office to develop SA — Page 6

social upliftment of others.

He said they were taxed on the housing hand-outs.

Minister of Correctional Services Mr Adriaan Vlok, phoned at his subsidised private residence last night, said he had "no comment to make whatsoever" on taxpayers' money being used to pay for him staying at his

To: page 2



SHOW GUN . . . Durbanville twins Laverne and Shaun Taljaart, 7, were shown a 23mm double-barrelled gun by Gunner Johan du Toit during last night's opening of the SADF exhibition at the 1993 Cape Show, which opens tomorrow.

Picture: ALAN TAYLOR

P
Ea

P.T.O.

From page 1

own home.

During the 1992/3 financial year, cabinet ministers were paid R199 000 a year, including a R42 948 reimbursive allowance, and deputy ministers received R147 000 a year, including a R33 774 reimbursive allowance.

Big increases

They also had income tax deducted from their compensation payments for their use of their private residences.

Mr Louw revealed there had been substantial increases in payments to ministers for use of their homes.

In the 1990 calendar year, the Minister of Foreign Affairs, Mr Pik Botha, was paid R54 744,22, but this more than doubled to R116 730,86 last year. In January and February this year, his compensation was R17 454,16, with R4 978,44 income tax deducted, making his net monthly compensation R12 475,72.

In 1990 Mr Vlok received R54 006,18 but by last year this had increased to R111 877,51, and the former chairman of the Ministers' Council in the House of Delegates got R28 969,91 in 1990 and R112 032,60 last year.

Mr Graaff was compensated R158 354,32 for two residences last year and will be paid R25 124,64 for the first two months of 1993.

Mr Louw's figures show that R2,9m was paid out last year.

Mr Louw also said the seven residences in Walmer Estate were vacant from January 1, 1990, and provided details of 15 residences in Cape Town, Pretoria and Durban and three flats in Pretoria which had been vacant for a period in the last three years.

A number of these residences had since been sold by public tender, and others were being renovated, Mr Pienaar said.

The ministers and office-bearers who are receiving compensation for their houses at present are: Mr Pik Botha, General Magnus Malan, Dr J N Reddy, Mr Andrew Julius, Dr Willie van Niekerk, Mr Baldeo Dookie, Mr Adriaan Vlok, Mr Gene Louw, Mr Sam de Beer, Mr George Bartlett, Dr Kraai van Niekerk, Dr Rina Venter, Mr Jacob de Villiers, Mr Younis Moolla, Dr Kisten Rajoo, Mr Louis Pienaar, Dr Org Marais, Dr Piet Welgemoed, Mr Leon Wessels, Mr Derek Keys, Mr Abe Williams, Mr Gerald Morkel, Mr Alec van Breda, Mr S V Naicker, Mr Wynand Breytenbach, Dr Theo Alant, Mr Johan Heyns, Mr Johan Scheepers, Mr David Graaff and Mr Fanus Schoeman.

Five-party Cabinet will dilute NP's powers

STAR 24/2/93

304A

SOUTH AFRICA is likely to be ruled by a five-party coalition Cabinet, with Nelson Mandela as State President, if the plan to have a transitional "government of national unity" goes ahead.

The Cabinet will contain representatives of all parties which get more than a minimum threshold of votes in our first one-person-one-vote election. The number of Ministers each party gets will be in proportion to the number of votes it polls, and the majority party will name the President.

The President will be required to consult all the parties in the coalition before exercising his executive powers, but on some key issues the multiparty Cabinet will be able to take decisions with a two-thirds majority.

Where the threshold is set is obviously crucial to who gets in. The Government initially suggested 15 percent, but later reduced that to 10 percent. The ANC wants it to be 5 percent, and this now seems likely to be accepted.

The difference tells one a lot about the different approaches of the two major players. Calculations based on the latest opinion polls indicate that at either 10 or

15 percent there would probably be only two parties that would qualify for Cabinet membership — the ANC and the National Party.

At 5 percent there would be five — the ANC, NP, PAC, Conservative Party and the Inkatha Freedom Party, in that order.

Given that the ANC is certain to be the strongest party, why should it want a broader-based coalition and the NP a narrower one?

First, because the NP would clearly be stronger in a two-party coalition than a five-party one. The "sunset clause" debate revealed the ANC's awareness that while it may be able to win the election fairly comfortably, it is worried about the control the NP could still exert over the bureaucracy and the security forces. If it were the only other partner in a coalition Cabinet, the NP would be able to use those powers more effectively. A diluted Cabinet would dilute that ability.

Clearly, too, the ANC is sensitive to accusations from Winnie Mandela and other radicals that it is "getting into bed with the Nats". A two-party coalition



Allister Sparks

would seem to give substance to that.

The third and most compelling argument is that the more inclusive the coalition the more authentic the "government of national unity" will be. If the radicals of both Left and Right, the PAC and the CP, can be included, then the chances of destabilising assaults on the transitional regime will be reduced and the prospects of a new democracy emerging increased. It is the power of this argument that I believe will carry the day for the 5 percent.

What, then, is the likely composition of the "government of national unity?"

It depends, of course, on how people vote, and in this country where black people have never voted before and where authoritarian employers and fearsome security laws have caused blacks to be reluctant to reveal their true

political beliefs, opinion polls are notoriously unreliable. Still, they are all we have to go by in the precarious business of political speculation.

Professor Mark Orkin, a polling analyst who works closely with an organisation called Research Surveys Ltd that has done detailed work in this field, has given me a prediction of the election outcome which he calls "an educated current guess allowing for likely differences in voter turnout".

These differences, he explains, are likely to weigh more heavily against blacks than whites, since blacks are unaccustomed to voting, many may fail to turn out, and thousands may never get the ID cards they will need to become voters.

On this basis, using opinion surveys conducted last November, Orkin predicts that the ANC will get 60 percent of the vote in an electorate of about 20 million, the NP 17 percent, the PAC 8, CP 6, IFP 5 and Democratic Party 4.

That, on a proportionate basis, would mean that in a 22-member Cabinet (its present size) the ANC would have 14 Ministers, the NP four, the PAC two, and the CP and

the IFP one each.

The Democratic Party would get none, though it could gain representation in the Constituent Assembly which will draft the new constitution and double as an interim parliament, where the threshold may be set as low as 2.5 percent.

What is striking about Orkin's prediction is the low rating of the IFP. Chief Mangosuthu Buthelezi has gained widespread recognition, here and abroad, with his claims to be "the leader of the Zulu people" who are South Africa's largest black tribe. This has led to him being regarded as a major player on our political stage, on a par with Nelson Mandela and President de Klerk.

Yet, according to Orkin, the most reliable opinion surveys show Inkatha has only about 25 percent support among the Zulus — significantly less than the ANC — and nothing measurable among other Africans. If that is correct, it means Buthelezi is unlikely to emerge from the election even as a regional leader, so rendering his campaign for regional autonomy of Natal-KwaZulu meaningless.

Projected nationally, Orkin believes, Inkatha is likely to win only about 3 percent of the total African vote, and will have to depend on its support among whites in Natal to make the 5 percent cut for a place in the coalition Cabinet. That, ironically, will put it in direct competition with the NP rather than with the ANC in that province.

This projection throws new light on Buthelezi's opposition to the constitution being drafted by an elected Constituent Assembly, and his insistence that it should be negotiated at a national convention of all political parties.

I do not know whether these opinion surveys and Mark Orkin's extrapolations are accurate or not, but of this I am certain — they demonstrate the absolute necessity of having an early election.

We must know who's who, who's real and who's a pretender, before we begin the serious business of drafting a new constitution on behalf of "the people".

Then let us accommodate as many as possible in a founding gesture of national reconciliation. □

Ranchod to join National Party

DR Bhadra Ranchod, who will become Minister of Tourism on April 1, has joined the National Party, according to a statement yesterday from Mr George Bartlett, leader of the Natal NP. CT 24/2/43

Dr Ranchod previously had no formal party affiliations. — Sapa

Pik takes his troops to sort out city council crisis

Foreign Minister Pik Botha this week descended to the lower rungs of politics to save Pretoria City Council's National Party from destroying itself over the Broederbond.

STAR 24/2/93

304A

AFTER intervention by the world's longest serving foreign minister on Monday night, a split in the National Party caucus of the Pretoria City Council was averted. Pik Botha stressed "the importance of unity" to the monthly caucus meeting.

Afterwards, former mayor Bob Zylstra withdrew his resignation from the caucus, and it was announced that disunity between present mayor James Leach and management committee vice-chairman CJ Uys would soon be finally solved.

Zylstra resigned last week from the caucus in protest against what he called "Broederbond tyranny" in the city council, while pledging "continued support" to President de Klerk.

He challenged all other non-members of the Broederbond among NP councillors to join him and form their own NP caucus.

The row over the Broederbond has been simmering for a while. It came to one of its climaxes when councillors had to show support for a new mayor and deputy.

Leach stated he would not support Uys's candidacy when the council votes for a mayor and deputy mayor on March 5.

An indication of the importance of the row are the support troops Pik Botha took to the meeting on Monday night: the recently appointed executive director of the NP's National Information and Management Committee, Olaus van Zyl; the NP's Pretoria regional chairman, MP Dr Org Marais, and MP Chris Fisser.

Botha said he had used the opportunity to inform Pretoria NP councillors of the latest developments abroad, and locally regarding the constitutional negotiations.

He had discussed "our position in the world at large, the necessity to move to an agreed

settlement as fast as possible in order to attract new investments for this country, to create jobs, and to bring peace and stability to South Africa".

"I think that all my friends here will be in full agreement with my sentiments as to the need to stand together now," Botha said.

After the meeting, management committee chairman and NP council leader Dr Pieter Smith said Botha had played a conciliatory role, but had not come to the meeting to "give a hiding".

Smith said that after Botha, Van Zyl and the MPs had left, the caucus had an open and thorough discussion of its problems and had solved them.

Zylstra confirmed that he had withdrawn his resignation.

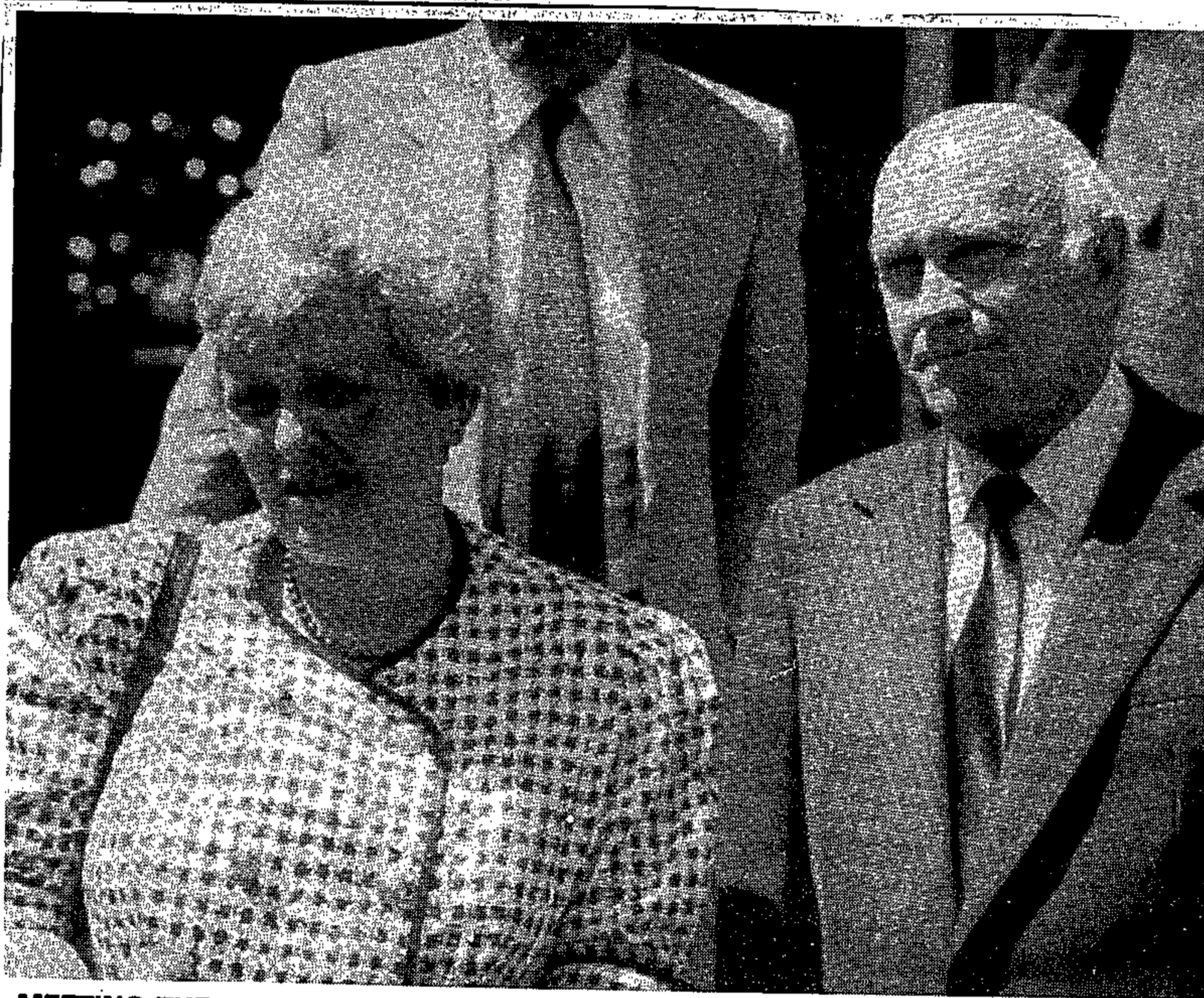
When Zylstra was asked whether his problems with Broederbond rule in the council was solved, he said a thorough discussion took place and he was satisfied with the outcome.

Last week, a major row broke out in NP council caucus circles after Conservative Party opposition leader Paul Fouché accused the NP of being led by the Broederbond in selecting candidates for the election of a new mayor and deputy mayor.

The NP caucus nominated present deputy mayor Nico Stofberg as its candidate for mayor and management committee vice chairman CJ Uys as its candidate for deputy mayor.

When questioned, Stofberg and Uys declined to say whether they were members of the Broederbond.

It also emerged that although the majority of the NP caucus's 22 members were said not to be members of the Broederbond, this seemed not to be the case with the council's management committee. — Own Correspondent. □



MEETING THE PRESIDENT . . . Mrs Lynda Chalker, Britain's Minister for Overseas Development, with President F W de Klerk at Tuynhuys yesterday.

Picture by STEWART COLMAN

New UK office to develop SA

BRITAIN plans to open a special development division at its Pretoria embassy in June, a British Foreign Office minister said after talks with President F W de Klerk yesterday.

Mrs Lynda Chalker, Minister of State at the Foreign Office and Minister for Overseas Development, said economic development should be one of South Africa's top priorities as it moved away from white rule to democracy.

"We have plenty of ideas and we are showing the way forward by bringing a specific development division for Southern Africa to be based in the embassy and look after not only things here, but in Swaziland, Lesotho and Botswana."

A British official said the office would open in June with a staff of at least 10 and an aid budget of about R250 million a year.

Mrs Chalker welcomed the decision of the ANC at the weekend to relax its conditions for the lifting of remaining sanctions.

"I believe that the sooner the sanctions are dropped, the better. One of the most critical things for South Africa . . . is access to international financial institutions," she said. — Sapa-Reuter

DP condemns misspending

CT 24/2/93
49
3048

THE auditor-general's report on government misspending showed the time had come for the voters to turn against the National Party at the ballot-box, Democratic Party leader Dr Zach de Beer said yesterday.

DP spokesman on finance Mr Jasper Walsh said the government should hang its head in shame.

Dr De Beer said the report, and particularly its account of misspending in the homeland administrations, fully justified the DP's constant criticism of the government.

Three weeks ago, during the debate on the State President's opening speech, he suggested the time had come to get rid of the whole homeland system.

The State President had reacted with a great show of indignation and accused him of hostility to the people of those territories.

"What I was really attacking was the system," said Dr De Beer.

"Today we learn that in Transkei, Ciskei and Venda alone there is R3,3 billion of debt, guaranteed by President De Klerk's government and probably non-repayable by the borrowers.

"If this does not fully justify my

'It's time to throw Nats out'

criticism, then words and figures have no meaning."

Mr Walsh said no government that displayed such utter ineptitude in managing state funds deserved to stay in power.

The auditor-general's report covered the period to March 1992.

"There can be no doubt that since then, the extent of corruption and rip-off has increased dramatically as civil servants line their own pockets before time runs out.

"The government should hang its head in shame."

A DP spokesman on trade and industry, Mr Geoff Engel, said the scorched earth spending policy of civil servants was continuing as if there was no tomorrow.

Also reacting to the report, the ANC said it should come as no surprise to South Africans.

It said the misuse was blatantly expressed in the golden hand-

shakes proffered to all who collaborated with or ensured the implementation of apartheid.

"Homelands were never economically viable and were established to further a narrow, ethnic agenda. The enormous expenditure incurred to establish and maintain the Bantustans is a result of grand apartheid designs.

"Reincorporation into South Africa is the only real solution."

The ANC said some homelands have had unsuccessful structural adjustment programmes in place for a considerable time, in an attempt to cut back on expenditure.

"But what occurs in Bantustans merely mirrors what takes place at a central government level."

In Johannesburg the Azanian People's Organisation said the government was to blame for the R3bn debt of the nominally-independent homelands.

Azapo publicity secretary Dr G Mokae said that proponents of a government of national unity argued that as the liberation movement was not ready to govern, the experienced white government had to help rule.

"It is extremely naïve to think so, as reports of the so-called TBVC states' debt of over R3bn so ably testifies," Dr Mokae said. The paramount guilt lay with the white regime. — Sapa

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n 1992.

The mixture as before

THE Democratic Party will hold a domestic workers' rally on Saturday as a follow-up to "the phenomenally successful" rally at the end of January. Houghton MP Mr Tony Leon said in Johannesburg yesterday. More than 2 000 people attended last month's meeting in Norwood. "DP organisers were overwhelmed by the unprecedented public interest. This time elaborate measures have been taken to ensure that seating, refreshment and public address facilities can cope with the expected numbers," Leon said. — Sowetan Reporters and Sapa.

sowetan 25/2/93

THE Transvaal Provincial Administration has dismissed reports claiming that it has agreed to write off the R900 million debt owed by the Greater Soweto councils. *Sowetan 25/2/93* (256)

TPA's MEC for Local Government Mr Burger Lategan said no such agreement had been reached between the parties in the Central Witwatersrand Metropolitan Chamber.

"Negotiations are currently concentrating on proposals for the ending of the boycott and the resumption of payments at satisfactory levels," he said.

Telkom suspends services

TELKOM yesterday suspended its services in Soweto and withdrew its workers after two of their vehicles were hijacked by striking pupils. (258)

The decision to suspend telephone repairs and installations was taken after at least 12 Telkom vehicles were attacked since the trouble started two weeks ago. *Sowetan 25/2/93* (258)

A Telkom spokesman said the suspension was indefinite and could last for as long as the pupils' strike continued. (258)

"The last thing we can afford is to see our men's lives endangered," a spokesman said.

Meyer to address IFP

MINISTER of Constitutional Development Mr Roelf Meyer will explain the Government's view of the road ahead when he addresses the Inkatha Freedom Party central committee meeting on Sunday. (258) (304A)

Dr Tertius Delpont, Minister of Local Government, will also address the committee.

This follows a meeting between the Government and the IFP in Richards Bay last weekend.

IFP chairman Dr Frank Mdlalose said at the time there were "certain things they put to us which we did not understand, so they will put them before the central committee".

Eskom owed R600 million

BLACK councils owe Eskom more than R600 million while rent and service charges boycotts have led to debts totalling R2 billion. (260)

Responding to a question in Parliament yesterday, Minister of Local Government Dr Tertius Delpont said 57 black local authorities had "fully or partially resumed" services despite outstanding rental and service charges. (260)

Nineteen of them, all in the Transvaal, still owed Eskom huge amounts of money, Delpont said.

Sowetan 25/2/93

Sowetan 25/2/93

Govt and PAC to meet in Namibia

GOVERNMENT and the PAC will meet in Namibia on Monday to discuss, among other things, the PAC's continued armed struggle and the organisation's position on the planned multiparty negotiating forum.

The meeting will be the first between the two parties since government suspended talks with the PAC in the wake of killings of whites in the eastern Cape by the PAC's armed wing Apla. (30/11/93)

PAC political affairs secretary Jaki Seroke said the meeting, which was at government's request, would be attended by senior SADF and Apla officers. His organisation's delegation would be led by secretary-general Benny Alexander.

Seroke said it was unlikely his organisation could be persuaded — either by government or the ANC — to attend a multiparty forum's planning conference scheduled for March 5. This was because of its experience at Codesa. He said the PAC walked out of Codesa's planning conference because other parties were bent on ramming their proposals down its throat.

TIM COHEN reports from Cape Town

WILSON ZWANE

that government's decision to reopen discussions with the PAC was unexpected.

Law and Order Minister Hernus Kriel said yesterday: "It must be emphasised the planned talks with the PAC/Apla in no way contradict earlier statements that government will not negotiate with the PAC on constitutional matters until progress towards a suspension of the organisation's armed struggle has been made."

The discussions would take place in the same policy context as those held earlier by government and the ANC before the suspension of its armed struggle.

The government delegation will be led by Kriel and attended also by Deputy Justice Minister Danie Schutte and Deputy Constitutional Development Minister Fanus Schoeman. (30/11/93)

□ A meeting between the ANC and the PAC — at the request of the ANC — said Seroke — which was to have been held in Johannesburg yesterday, fell through because, the PAC said, it had been given insufficient time to prepare for it.

THEO RAWANA

THE southern Transvaal region of the SA National Civic Organisation (Sanco) vowed yesterday to prevent electioneering by white political parties in the townships.

General secretary Dan Mofokeng told a Johannesburg news conference township residents were not going to allow NP, DP and CP meetings to take place.

"The people will use every tactic ... to prevent political activity by the parties. They are not going to allow those parties to come to the townships and start discrediting the sons of our land who have fought so hard for liberation." *B/DAM 25/2/93*

Mofokeng also warned employers they would have to agree to allow workers to stay away from work on "mock election"

White parties told to stay out of townships

days. These would educate people about elections and accustom conservative employers to workers being absent on election days. If employers opposed such activities, "the people will decide what to do with them", he said. *(204A)*

The employers would not suffer any financial losses because they would be notified beforehand.

DP spokesman Peter Soal said from Cape Town Sanco wanted to decide whose views should be promoted in the townships. "That's not democracy. We will go to the townships and continue to promote our policies of democracy and nonracialism."

Outrage ^{204A} grows over subsidies

Political Staff

APR 25/2/93

OUTRAGE continues to mount over the disclosure that the government is paying Cabinet ministers millions of rands to live in their own houses.

Last year more than R3 million was paid to 29 ministers and their deputies.

ANC Western Cape vice chairman Mr Lerumo Kalako said yesterday that it was "another example of the corruption and moral depravity which seems to ooze from every pore of the state administration".

CP finance spokesman Mr Cas Uys said: "While subsidies for disabled children and other needy people are withdrawn, the government splurges taxpayers' money on compensation to cabinet ministers."

Deputy Trade and Industry Minister David Graaff — who received the highest compensation last year of R158 354,32 before tax, defended the scheme.

He said he had high bonds on his houses in Cape Town and Pretoria. Of the R158 354 he was paid last year, R46 299 was tax, leaving R112 054.

That represented about R56 000 per house. This did not cover even the bond repayments of R77 000 a year on his Pretoria house.

Extra costs such as rates brought the cost of this house to R98 000 a year — leaving him R32 000 "out of pocket".

Mr Graaff said that if the state had provided him with a house of about R500 000, the interest on capital would cost about R75 000 a year.

"So the state is saving R20 000-plus a year."

Apla 'terror campaign' tops talks agenda

3047
ARG 25/2/93

MICHAEL MORRIS
Political Correspondent

TERROR attacks by the PAC's armed wing, Apla, top the agenda for talks between government and PAC/Apla delegations in Windhoek on Monday.

The government is anxious to include the PAC in the multiparty talks process, which is now gaining momentum, and much will depend on the outcome of Monday's engagement.

The talks in the Namibian capital will focus purely on the continuance of the PAC's armed struggle and what a government statement described as Apla's "terror campaign".

The government team will be led by Minister of Law and Order Mr Hernus Kriel and will include the deputy ministers of justice and constitutional development, Mr Danie Schutte and Mr Fanus Schoeman, and officials.

PAC political affairs secretary Mr Jaky Seroke confirmed the arrangements.

He said the PAC delegation would be led by secretary-general Mr Benny Alexander and Apla by its high command.

Mr Kriel said last night that the talks "will take place within the same policy context as those held earlier between the government and the ANC, before the ANC's suspension of its armed struggle."

He added: "It must be emphasised that the planned talks with PAC/Apla in no way contradict earlier statements that the government will not negotiate with the PAC on constitutional matters until progress towards a suspension of the organisation's armed struggle has been made."

"The planned talks will therefore concentrate on the issue of the PAC-Apla armed struggle and terrorism."

KwaZulu set on talks seat

By Esther Waugh
Political Reporter

The KwaZulu government will attend next week's multiparty planning conference regardless of whether it is formally invited, according to Inkatha Freedom Party central committee member Walter Felgate.

And in another development, Minister of Local Government and Housing Dr Tertius Delpont and Constitutional Development Minister Roelf Meyer will address a meeting of the IFP's central committee in Ulundi on Sunday. The Ministers are expected to give the IFP the Government's views on the transition.

Another IFP-Government meeting is scheduled to take place in Pretoria tomorrow.

The talks are expected to focus on preparations for the planning conference to be held next Friday and Saturday.

The ANC and the Government indicated on Tuesday after their latest bilateral meeting that there were no obstacles in the way of the planning conference.

The IFP has insisted since Codesa 1 that the KwaZulu government and Zulu King Goodwill Zwelithini take part in negotiations as separate delegations.

Apla terror attacks on talks agenda

STAN 257493
Political Staff

CAPE TOWN — Terror attacks by the PAC's armed wing, Apla, top the agenda for talks between SA Government and PAC/Apla delegations in Windhoek on Monday.

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Much will depend on the outcome of Monday's engagement.

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The Government team will be led by Law and Order Minister Hernus Kriel and will include the Deputy Ministers of Justice and of Constitutional Development, Danie Schutte and Fanus Schoeman, as well as senior officials from various Government departments.

Govt defends housing scheme

By Peter Fabricius
Political Correspondent

CAPE TOWN — Amid a storm of withering criticism, the Government last night mounted a rearguard action over the millions of rands it is paying Cabinet Ministers every year to live in their own houses.

Last year more than R3 million was paid to 29 Ministers and deputy Ministers on the scheme, Public Works Minister Gene Louw said in Parliament.

He was replying to questions by Democratic Party Johannesburg North MP Peter Soal.

Last night Public Works Director-General T P C Robbroeck said the scheme was actually saving the State money.

It had been recommended by an auditing academic from the University of Pretoria, a Professor Loubsher, whom the Government had commissioned in the late '80s to investigate official housing costs.

The compensation was for rent, use of own furniture and

kitchen equipment, cleaning and gardening services, and rates.

Deputy Trade and Industry Minister David Graaff — who received the highest compensation last year of R158 354,32 before tax — last night defended the scheme.

Graaff said the State had started the scheme to save costs. It was part of the privatisation initiative.

Graaff said he had high bonds on his houses in Cape Town and Pretoria. Of the R158 354 he had been paid last year, R46 299 was paid in tax, leaving R112 055.

That represented about R56 000 per house. This did not cover even the bond repayments of R77 000 a year on his Pretoria house — which he had bought for his job.

Extra costs such as rates brought the cost of his Pretoria house to R98 000 a year — leaving him R32 000 "out of pocket".

Graaff said that if the State had provided him with a house valued at about R500 000, the interest on capital would have cost about R75 000 a year.

"So the State is saving

R20 000-plus a year — and that does not include the cost of maintenance, gardening, etc."

Graaff said Ministers and deputy Ministers were obliged to occupy houses of a certain standard.

Soal rejected Graaff's explanations and said every ordinary person with a bond would find it difficult to sympathise with Graaff's problem in paying two huge bonds.

"By all means give them reasonable compensation for living in their own houses, but not R100 000 or more a year."

Sapa reports that the Conservative Party's chief finance spokesman, Casper Uys, said generous housing compensation paid to Cabinet Ministers was another example of the reckless abandon with which the Government spent taxpayers' money.

Taxpayers having to pay compensation to Ministers to live in their own homes was another example of the corruption oozing from every pore of the current administration, ANC vice-chairman in the western Cape Lerumo Kalako said.

let Nats, DP
STAR 25/2/93
hold meetings

Civic organisations in the southern Transvaal have called on their supporters not to allow meetings by the National Party and the Democratic Party in black communities.

Speaking at a Johannesburg press conference yesterday, South African National Civic Organisation (Sanco) southern Transvaal general-secretary Dan Mofokeng said this action did not mean the civics were opposed to freedom of assembly and association. BOYA

A DP spokesman said he found the call regrettable, since it was not in the spirit of democracy, which he presumed Sanco was committed to.

An NP spokesman said the call was contrary to the notion of free and fair elections. — Staff Reporter.

Govt, PAC to meet in Windhoek

30419
CT 25/2/93

THE government and the PAC are to meet in Windhoek next week for the first time since the Apla attack on a King William's Town golf club in November.

Law and Order Minister Mr Hernus Kriel said in a statement yesterday that he would lead a delegation to meet representatives of the PAC and its armed wing Apla for discussions on "the organisation's armed struggle and its terror campaign".

The PAC confirmed that the meeting would take place.

Government sources were at pains to emphasise that the meeting did not amount to a resumption of negotiations — which it had broken off after the golf club attack.

Mr Kriel said: "It must be emphasised that the planned talks ... in no way contradict earlier statements that the government will not negotiate

ANC meeting with the PAC fails to take place

JOHANNESBURG. — The scheduled meeting between the PAC and the ANC did not take place yesterday.

PAC political affairs secretary, Mr Jackie Seroke said the meeting had been "improperly" arranged and had been re-diarised for next week.

The ANC is expected to meet Azapo leaders today to discuss a resumption of multiparty talks and other issues. — Sapa

with the PAC on constitutional matters until progress towards a suspension of the organisation's armed struggle has been made.

"The planned talks will concentrate on PAC/Apla terrorism."

Deputy Justice Minister Mr Danie Schutte, Deputy Constitutional and Development Minister Mr Fanus Schoeman and other officials are to accompany Mr Kriel.

CP calls on govt to resign

THE CP yesterday called on the government and the Minister of Education and Training, Mr Sam de Beer, to resign over new revelations about financial mismanagement in the Department of Education and Training. *ETLS/143*

The CP said the maladministration of salaries was another chapter in the endless tale of the government's corruption. — Sapa *(304A)*

THE NEW CABINET

(304A)

FM 26/2/93

The new Cabinet which is to take office on April 1:

State President — F W de Klerk
 Foreign Affairs — Pik Botha
 Public Enterprises — Dawie de Villiers
 Justice and Defence — Kobie Coetsee
 State Expenditure — Ami Venter
 Population Development — Jac Rabie
 Correctional Services — Adriaan Vlok
 Education & Training and National
 Housing — Sam de Beer
 Mineral & Energy Affairs and Public
 Works — George Bartlett
 Agriculture — Kraai van Niekerk
 National Health & Welfare — Rina
 Venter
 Law & Order — Hernus Kriel
 Transport and Posts & Telecommunica-
 tions — Piet Welgemoed
 Constitutional Development and Com-
 munication — Roelf Meyer
 Manpower — Leon Wessels
 National Education and Co-ordination
 — Piet Marais

Finance and Trade & Industry — Derek
 Keys
 Sport — Abe Williams
 Local Government — Tertius Delpont
 Tourism — Bhadra Ranchod
 Environment & Water Affairs — Japie
 van Wyk
 Regional & Land Affairs — Andre
 Fourie
 Home Affairs — Danie Schutte
Deputy Ministers:
 Defence and Environmental Affairs —
 Wynand Breytenbach
 Finance — Theo Alant
 Land Affairs — Johan Scheepers
 Agriculture — Tobie Meyer
 Trade & Industry — David Graaff
 Constitutional Development and Com-
 munication — Fanus Schoeman
 Foreign Affairs — Renier Schoeman
 Welfare — Glen Carelse
 Law & Order — Gert Myburgh
 National Health — Boy Geldenhuys
 Local Government — Y M Makda
 Justice — Sheila Camerer

NP can't 'embrace non-racialism now

Sowetan & Radio Metro

Talkback



with Tim Modise

By Lulama Luti

THE Western Cape was a unique region in South Africa in that almost all political parties believed they had a majority support there, Dr Allan Boesak said last night.

Boesak, who is chairman of the ANC in the region, was Tim Modise's studio guest during the *Sowetan/Radio Metro Talkback*.

NP lambasted

A fiery Boesak lambasted the National Party, saying it had turned around and embraced non-racialism after practising racism over the years.

He said the NP did not know anything about non-racialism.

"Oh! no thank you very much. Our people are too dignified to want anything to do with them."

"We do not want to be called coloureds and we do not want to be treated as a separate group with a special provision in the constitution (as proposed by the NP)," he said.

Meetings disrupted

Responding to questions about recent disruptions of DP meetings in the Western Cape, Boesak said his organisation did not condone such actions.

"However, in our South African situation it's quite natural that when organisations that have not been there (in townships) come to our areas, there would be a lot of tension. "And a little heckling has to be allowed."

Boesak said.

"Are the civics representing the interests of the ANC only? One is very concerned about the conduct of ANC (supporters) against members of the PAC and Azapo."

Abbey, Hillbrow

"The ANC at the moment tends to leave a lot of people in a quandary when it speaks about power-sharing."

Rickey, Benoni

"Why is it that all development projects by the ANC in the Western Cape are carried out only in the black townships and not in the Cape Flats when our (coloured) people are also unemployed?"

Anonymous, Cape Town

"You seem to be pushing hard for a political solution in this country. What are you doing about the (black) education crisis which deepens yearly?"

Mzi, Parktown

(3040)

Sowetan 26/12/93.

Mayekiso backs threat to white parties

610 AM 26/2/93. 304/429
SA National Civics' Association (Sanco) president Moses Mayekiso yesterday backed the organisation's stand against white political parties electioneering in the townships.

And the ANC, while not condemning the Sanco (Southern Transvaal) threat to prevent NP, DP and CP activities in the townships, said free political activity should be allowed everywhere in SA.

Sanco general secretary Dan Mofokeng said on Wednesday Sanco would not allow white parties to hold meetings in black areas and discredit members of liberation movements.

Mayekiso said although the national body had not yet taken an official position on the decision, he personally supported it. White parties canvassed in the townships because they had money. "They (the NP) should not use taxpayers' money to woo voters. We have seen it hap-

pening overseas."

He added: "But that does not mean we won't allow parties to compete in our areas."

ANC spokesman Carl Niehaus said the ANC believed there should be free political activity throughout the country, including the TBVC states.

DP leader Zach de Beer said his party would not be intimidated.

Pointing out that Mofokeng's only objection seemed to be that the DP sought to discredit members of the liberation movements and thereby confuse their followers, he said: "The essence of democratic politics is that one does criticise political opponents and put one's policies to persuade them to change their positions. Mofokeng is not willing to allow us the freedom to practise politics in the normal way."

THEO RAWANA

Sapa reports government spokesman Dave Steward said free and fair elections were impossible unless all parties were allowed to campaign freely among all communities.

NP spokesman Piet Coetzer said his party saw itself as an open — not a solely white — party. "It is the democratic right of all South Africans to express themselves politically. The Sanco statement is based on racism which belongs to the past."

In Durban, Inkatha said: "Political activism and mobilisation cannot be held to ransom by a few militant and undemocratic thugs who take it on themselves to decide who 'the people' should support. The intimidatory nature of Mr Mofokeng's statement cannot go unchallenged as it is this attitude which has led to violence and the establishment of no-go areas in our townships."

● Comment: Page 14

Hani shots because of high spirits

Sowetan 26/2/93

Varsity staff confirm view of the SACP:

SHOTS fired at Fort Hare University during a visit by Mr Chris Hani were an expression of excitement among students and not an attempt on the life of the South African Communist Party general secretary.

This was said yesterday by SACP deputy general secretary Mr Charles Ngakula, who added that "someone, in a moment of excitement among the students on campus, fired shots into the air".

University staff said the shot had apparently been fired into the air. —Sapa.



News in brief

Crawford returns

AMERICAN singer Randy Crawford is due in South Africa for a two-week tour at the end of March with concerts in Johannesburg, Port Elizabeth, Durban and Cape Town.

Crawford was in South Africa in May last year to promote her album *Through The Eyes Of Love*. During her last visit Crawford (40) said she was surprised at the friendliness of the people she met after reading about so much violence in the country.

New regulations

IN an effort to save R10 million needed for ambulances in rural areas, the Transvaal Provincial Administration (TPA) intends using ambulances only for the emergency transport and treatment of patients.

Acting MEC for health services Dr Willie Hoods said in Pretoria yesterday that in future those needing ambulances for less serious cases would have to use expensive private ambulance services. From April 1 the TPA would not pay the costs of transport by private contractor but independent

Sowetan 26/2/93

Sowetan 26/2/93
companies would be investigated if they charged too much.

Residence opens

GROOTE Schuur, the official residence of South African heads of state and prime ministers since 1910, will be opened to the public for the first time on March 13.

Sowetan 26/2/93

This has been organised to raise funds for the Victoria and Red Cross Hospitals in Cape Town as well as the Eben Donges and Frere hospitals. It is hoped to increase the awareness of the need for community involvement in primary health care.

PAC talks on hold

THE talks between the Government and the Pan Africanist Congress, scheduled for Namibia on Monday morning, have been cancelled "for technical reasons", the Ministry of Law and Order said last night.

Sowetan

Captain Craig Kotze yesterday confirmed that the Government and the PAC were seeking an alternative venue and stressed that they were still committed to meeting each other.

26/2/93

Nats, DP slam threats to campaigning in townships

MICHAEL MORRIS
Political Correspondent

THE government and the Democratic Party have condemned the announcement by the South African National Civics Organisation (Sanco) that it would prevent "white" parties from electioneering in townships.

Government spokesman Dave Steward said free and fair elections would be impossible "unless all political parties can campaign freely in all parts of the country and among all communities".

"In this process, it is essential that the playing fields should be even for all parties in all communities."

The chairman of the Southern Transvaal region of the Democratic Party, Mr Peter Soal, said that if democracy was to survive in South Africa "it is fundamental that all political points of views

are put to prospective voters before the first democratic election".

They were reacting to the announcement by Mr Dan Mofokeng that Sanco could prevent electioneering by "white" political parties.

Mr Steward said: "The government calls on all political parties to reject undemocratic practices and attitudes and to help create a climate of political tolerance and respect for the rights of all parties and individuals which will be conducive to the holding of genuinely free, fair and peaceful elections."

Mr Soal said: "Democracy means being tolerant towards other points of view and even though one might not agree with that point of view, one must be able to voice it."

He added: "The DP will not be intimidated by demagogues who

deny fundamental democratic principles."

The African National Congress has added its voice to the condemnation. Spokesman Carl Niehaus said free political activity was one of the cardinal principles of democracy, reports Sapa.

"The ANC endorses the right of all parties to operate throughout the country, including Kwazulu, the Ciskei and Bophuthatswana," he said.

The Inkatha Freedom Party has also condemned Mr Mofokeng's statements, branding them "undemocratic and intimidatory".

IFP spokesman Kim Hodgson said political activism and mobilisation could not be held ransom by a few militant and undemocratic individuals.

"There is an obligation on the political leadership of the country to foster political tolerance," Mr Hodgson said.



NEWS Election move

No black vote for whites

■ Cast says no against votes for NP, DP:

Sowetan 26/2/93
THE Civics Association of Southern Transvaal this week vowed to try to persuade blacks not to attend election campaign meetings by the National Party and the Democratic Party.

Cast general secretary Mr Dan Mofokeng told a news conference in Johannesburg on Wednesday the association would also make certain "pseudo organisations" outside liberation movements did not get black votes. He did not name the organisations. He said the civics had noted that while the NP pretended to be in favour of the elections, their involvement in activities that undermined democratic elections was questionable.

He accused the NP of importing nationals from the Far East and of recruiting members of the Mozambique Resistance Movement (Renamo) and providing them with South African identity documents to swell its votes. Mofokeng said campaigns by the NP and DP were intended to confuse the people and the civics would never allow that. He said Cast called on "our people" to resist any meeting called by the NP and DP and to intensify campaigns to force these parties to speed up the election process. — Sapa.

Heed lessons of the past in constitution-making

8/04-1 26/2/93.

3044

JOHN KANE-BERMAN

FOREIGN diplomats say the country has six months to reach an accord on nonracial government if SA is not to be written off as one more unsettled African country," said a recent news report. What these diplomats omit to mention is that if a settlement reached in six months comes unstuck after another six months, Western countries will Tupp-ex us off their world maps anyway.

Their interests and ours do not necessarily coincide. They want to get rid of a problem — the embarrassing of a white minority regime, we have to live with the solution.

Lancaster House is a case in point; the British got shot of their rebel colony. Whether Lancaster House brought real democracy to Zimbabwe, or higher standards of living to the erstwhile victims of the Smith regime, are awkward questions Lord Carrington no longer needs to worry about. He has been free to turn his attention to the Balkans.

SA has had three constitutions since 1910, an average life span of 28 years apiece. More to the point, each one lasted only half as long as its predecessor. The Union constitution lasted 51 years from 1910 to 1961. We then became a republic and that constitution lasted 23 years until 1984. The tricameral constitution will barely survive into its teens.

On this performance, assuming multiparty talks reach the hasty conclusion some people seem to want, our political leaders will be back at the World Trade Centre for a fifth bout of constitution-making in about 1999.

Time alone will tell whether renewed multiparty talks involve real bargaining or are merely a rubber stamp for agreements reached elsewhere which minorities are expected simply to accept.

The fact that the white minority has so abused power and people for so long must not be allowed to blind us to the need to protect the interests — not the ill-gotten privileges, but the interests — of minorities. One of the hallmarks of a decent society is that it treats minorities in a civilised way — whether they are black people in Britain, homosexuals in the US army, gypsies in Germany, or North Africans in France.

Precisely because the advent of universal suffrage and majority rule in SA are now only a matter of time, now rather than later is the moment to ensure that the constitution and state structure cater for the interests of minorities. Liberals have historically sided with the underdog majority. Their role now includes being vigilant about minorities. They should, for example, oppose the use of financial sanctions to force the TBVC territories back into SA.

The critical question we face is whether the compromise reached in the process of constitution-making brings lasting peace or lays the foundation for future conflict. We need to be acutely aware of our past and make sure we do not recycle its disasters into our future.

Too often, the price of reconciliation between some has been the exclusion of others, as G H I. ("Copper") Le May observed in British Supremacy in SA 1899-1907. The Treaty of Vereeniging of 1902, which

ended the South African War, excluded blacks from the franchise in the former Boer republics. Milner later admitted that this had been wrong. The next mistake was our first constitution, operative from 1910. It brought together the Boer republics and the British colonies but the price paid was the introduction of the colour bar into Parliament.

Le May notes: "The pact between General Hertzog's NP and the largely English-speaking Labour Party in 1924 extended the colour bar to industrial employment. Fusion between the parties of Hertzog and Smuts in 1934 involved the removal of African voters of the Cape Province from the common roll."

"The war-time coalition between the United, Dominion and Labour parties produced restriction upon ownership of land by Indians. Finally, the reunion of the parties of Hertzog (then led by Havenga) and Malan in 1948 led to the removal of the coloured voters of the Cape from the common roll."

The pattern continued — except that the excluded groups now fought back violently. In 1961 the Republic

was launched after the post-Sharpeville state of emergency and the banning of black political organisations. "Armed struggle" was the consequence.

In 1984 the coloured and Indian minorities were brought into Parliament, Africans being subjected to the policy of denationalisation. The strategy to make the country ungovernable was the result.

Each step in our constitutional history and political pact-making was thus based on a manifest injustice which laid the foundation of conflict. The pattern was broken only in the mid-1980s, when internal black leaders resisted the government's attempts to enlist their collaboration against exiled organisations in the proposed National Council, the NP's version of the "Muzorewa option". This stand forced the government to turn to inclusive politics.

Will the bargaining in our current attempt at constitution-making continue this new precedent or return to the exclusive pattern of the past?

□ Kane-Berman is SA Institute of Race Relations executive director. This is a monthly column.

LETTERS

DP accuses government of covering up Corruption

TOS WENTZEL
Political Staff

THE government was thrashed today over mismanagement, graft, fraud and corruption.

Democratic Party leader Dr Zac de Beer accused the government of failing to take action against the culprits and of being unable to control state spending.

"What we see, and members of the public see, is that one commission after another brings forward damning evidence of large-scale wrongdoing and, with a few exceptions, no-one goes to jail.

"Either the police and the prosecuting officials are a great deal more incompetent than we think they are or offenders are being protected in some way.

"We don't know the answer but the government does or certainly should. Let this be the day on which the people of South Africa get an adequate explanation."

He also called for a commission to consider ways of eliminating wastage, fraud and corruption and to recommend more efficient use of the state's resources.

The motion referred to the reports of various commissions of inquiry and of the Auditor General, which highlighted corruption and maladministration in some of the TBVC countries and the six self-governing states and in many government departments and state entities.

Dr De Beer quoted remarks by former Auditor General Mr Peter Wronsley that the central government had been reluctant to act more forcefully and had, instead, proposed fiscal action to enforce order.

Mr Wronsley had also said that these actions may have been politically correct but that they had undoubtedly contributed to the undisciplined conduct of the recipients of aid.

Dr De Beer said: "One of the great problems of bribery is always to make sure that the bribe acts according to the wishes of the briber. I think this may well prove to be a case in point."

It was necessary for the political parties to act in concert so that there could be credibility to an inquiry.

Experts from the financial professions and the private sector should also be involved.

"Let us try to learn what people in efficient, clean organisations actually do to protect their shareholders' money. Let us see whether there is some way of injecting into the present machine, which either cannot or will not prevent corruption, some people who actually know how to spot crooks."

Dr De Beer said the need seemed to be for a system of financial control which worked and was backed by the will on the part of government to see that these systems were backed by determined authority.

The government has meanwhile hurriedly started a campaign to counter sharp criticism following these disclosures.

The Minister of State Expenditure, Mr Amie Venter, today called a Press conference to deal with the criticism and to set out the government attitude and steps that have been taken to control state expenditure and to ensure financial order.

He emphasised the government's commitment to clean administration.

and gross incompetence

1ashins

MS 26/2/93

3044

ANC shifts after SA cabinet is reshuffled

PRESIDENT F. W. de Klerk began preparing the ground for South Africa's first multiracial general elections with a cabinet reshuffle in which he appointed two Coloured and one Indian MP.

Simultaneously the African National Congress announced it was prepared to support ending a variety of

sanctions as soon as an election date was announced and transitional administrative structures put in place — steps optimists expect to take place in weeks.

Mr De Klerk's long-expected cabinet reshuffle contained few surprises. The five white retiring ministers were "selflessly motivated by the recognition that we are now entering a new and election-orientated phase of the political progress".

By David Beresford
in Johannesburg

They include the minister of defence, Gene Louw, whose portfolio will be handled by the minister of justice, Kobie Coetsee. Mr De Klerk himself will assume responsibility for the National Intelligence Service. The former minister of defence,

General Magnus Malan, demoted to water affairs and forestry after alle-

gations of dirty tricks by military intelligence, is also leaving. The home minister, Louis Pienaar, is succeeded by Danie Schutte, formerly deputy minister of justice.

None of the portfolios given to the Coloured and Indian MPs is regarded as particularly important. The two Coloureds, Jac Rabie and Abe Williams, got population development and sport respectively. The Indian, Dr Bhadra Ranchod, became minister of tourism.

(304A) Guardian 1w 1a
w/ Mail 26/2-4/3/93

Pitfalls on 'last mile to freedom'

DENNIS CRUYWAGEN, Political Staff

THE struggle for liberation has reached the last mile, but the journey ahead is filled not only with pitfalls, but could also be the longest stretch yet, says ANC secretary-general Mr Cyril Ramaphosa.

"We stand at the gateway of achieving a democratic dispensation. This has come about as a result of long years of struggle," he said at a briefing on negotiations at the University of the Western Cape yesterday.

Veteran ANC leaders would see apartheid destroyed in their lifetime and Nelson Mandela would become first president of a democratic South Africa.

He said President De Klerk knew deep down, even if he did not want to admit it, that Mr Mandela would take over.

But Mr Ramaphosa called for vigilance and warned that the government was bound to cheat and try to violate agreements reached in the negotiations.

The ANC, therefore, never deceived itself at the negotiating table.

Assessing the ANC's gains in negotiations, he said the movement had been firm in its demands that a constituent assembly should write a new constitution.

"The regime finally buckled and gave in to our demand. This represented a huge victory."

He said the ANC had also been firm in its demand for an interim government of national unity because it did not want Mr De Klerk to be player, referee and linesman.

"Today the regime speaks our language, they now say they want an interim government of national unity."

When bilateral talks between the ANC and the government continued this week the position of Umkhonto we Sizwe, was also discussed.

The government wanted MK to disband immediately, stop the armed struggle, hand over its weapons and disclose the names of all its members.

But government negotiators "looked at us and kept quiet" when the ANC team asked if the same conditions would apply to the SADF which it viewed as the National Party's private army.

The ANC's position at bilateral talks was that a transitional executive authority should put MK and all other armed formations under a joint command structure.

Mr Ramaphosa said government negotiators gave the ANC an insight into their thinking when they turned down a recommendation that elections be conducted by an independent monitoring body.

"We even suggested that it should have 11 people, eminent South Africans who would have the support of the international community. We said anything less than that would lead to claims of a bogus election."

But a minister, who Mr Ramaphosa declined to name, said elections must be run by the Department of Home Affairs.

He said the ANC had emphasised that elections could not be held if millions of South Africans living in the TBVC states were excluded.

"We also argued that there was nothing stopping the government from passing a law giving South African citizenship to TBVC citizens."



Cyril Ramaphosa

Namibia says 'no' to PAC plan for talks in Windhoek

Political Correspondent

(3044) ARG-26/2/73

TALKS between the government and delegations from the Pan Africanist Congress and its armed wing, Apla, on Monday will no longer be held in Windhoek, and could be moved to Gaborones.

Problems arose over providing facilities in the Namibian capital at such short notice, forcing the the Namibian government to turn down the PAC's request, PAC legal and constitutional affairs secretary Willie Seriti confirmed yesterday.

A government spokesman said the talks "are still on, in principle".

"Alternative venues are being explored," he said.

Terror attacks by Apla, the PAC's armed wing, top the agenda for the talks, which could be the key to efforts to draw the PAC into the multi-party talks process.

There will be no discussion on constitutional matters.

The government team will be led by Minister of Law and Order Hernus Kriel and will include the deputy ministers of justice and constitutional development, Danie Schutte and Fanus Schoeman, and senior officials from government departments.

The PAC delegation will be led by secretary general Benny Alexander and will include senior members of Apla's high command.

Paid for homes row: Plan defended

Political Staff

304A

CABINET ministers who were paid compensation for living in their own homes had not been enriched at the taxpayers expense, the government said.

The allowances provided only enough money to buy houses of R260 000, while ministers were required to occupy residences valued at about R750 000 — "fit for their status," Director-General of Public Works Theo van Robbroeck said yesterday.

The ministers had to make up the difference, he said, responding to a storm of criticism over the compensation scheme, through which more than R3 million was paid to ministers and deputies last year.

He said the present scheme, begun in 1991, was designed to re-

duce costs to the state and had proved cheaper than putting up ministers in official residences.

The scheme was based on recommendations by Professor Giel Loubser, then professor of auditing at the University of Pretoria, who the government had consulted.

"In this process no enrichment takes place at the expense of the taxpayer."

The scheme had brought South Africa into line with other modern countries.

In Britain, official residences were provided only for the Prime Minister, the Chancellor of the Exchequer and the Speaker.

Mr Van Robbroeck said about R5 000 of the monthly allowance paid to a minister was to acquire

a residence "fit for his status."

After tax this was reduced to R3 613. A 100 percent bond at 16 percent interest over 20 years buys a house costing only R260 000, "which can hardly be described as of ministerial standard."

The minister had to make up the difference — without guarantee that he could stay in office for any time.

"Comments in the media that the scheme enables office-bearers to repay their bonds within two years as a result of so-called benefits is a total misrepresentation."

"I am aware of political office-bearers who have to pay an additional amount of between R2 000 and R5 000 a month to meet their bond obligations based on a 20-year period of redemption."

ARG 26/2/93

FW scores an own goal

In appointing party hacks instead of new blood in his cabinet reshuffle FW de Klerk fluffed a golden opportunity,
reports **IAN CLAYTON**

PRESIDENT FW DE KLERK had a golden opportunity last weekend to introduce the kind of leadership in government that would help instil confidence about its role during the difficult period of transition.

And he fluffed it dramatically.

Instead of introducing new blood and expertise, with some legitimacy outside the narrow confines of the now non-racial National Party, he promoted party hacks and gave three people of colour such minor portfolios that it is no surprise that they are being dismissed as tokens.

De Klerk could have given a kick-start to the government's role in reviving the economy by separating Derek Keys' finance and trade and industry portfolios by appointing another outside business person or economics expert.

That would have made it really look as though the government was serious about its role in economic revival and that it was coming to grips with corruption and mis-spending in government departments and the homelands.

But he missed it.

De Klerk could have announced the first minister of a single and united education department, a move he had already announced that he intended taking, but instead he gave National Education Minister Piet Marais the additional portfolio of "education co-ordination" and kept Sam de Beer as minister of education and training, which is only for blacks.

He missed that opportunity.

The president could have appointed someone with leadership, admin-

Conservative who leads with his lip

PAUL STÖBER profiles new Population Development Minister Zac Rable

THE National Party may have been Zac Rable's political home long before he was proudly admitted to being "a full-blooded Nat".

In 1967 he was secretary of the conservative Federal Coloured People's Congress (FCPC). One of the ideas discussed by the party, and which Rable was said to support, was a homeland for coloureds. The idea was rejected but that did not stop Rable from calling for the formation of a coloured city on the Witwatersrand.

In a later election for the Coloured Representative Council (CRC) he opposed the Labour Party's ticket of "black solidarity" with a call for a narrower "coloured solidarity".

In 1974 he became the acting leader of the FCPC but in November the following year he was expelled because of differences with the leadership. Rable claimed he objected to the party's approval of the "positive aspects of apartheid".

In February 1978, he joined his former foe, the Labour Party, and by March 1982 was leader of the party in the Transvaal.

istrative ability and standing to take charge of the process of reintegrating the homelands.

It would undoubtedly have to have been someone from outside the NP because of its role in promoting separate development.

Instead, he opted for long-time political operator Andre Fourie, a lightweight loyalist whose political credibility outside the NP is nil, as minister of regional and land affairs.

De Klerk could have made someone in charge of all the health departments in South Africa, even National Health Minister Rina Venter, and told them to draw up an action plan to



Zac Rable... fast mover

Rable leads with his mouth. During the Labour campaign for the House of Representatives he embarrassed the party leadership when he warned that Labour would form a military wing to deal with demonstrators opposing the election.

In 1984 he was elected to represent Reiger Park in the HoR on a Labour

remove duplication, save costs and take health delivery to the people.

He missed that chance as well.

Instead, former auditor general Peter Wronsley released a report which revealed financial and administrative shambles in all the homelands, and lack of control in nearly every government department.

Indeed, Wronsley emphasised why the removal of apartheid-structured health services was so urgent.

The fragmentation, he said, had led "to an extensive manpower structure which includes, among others, 14 ministers of health, 23 chief directors and 69 directors. In order to bring about co-ordination between all the role players there are 12 co-ordinating structures.

"The format of budgets drawn up by the various role players differs considerably, which makes it impossible to compare spending patterns.

"Unco-ordinated action by the various role players results in hospitals and clinics sometimes

ticket. In parliament, he attacked the Conservative Party, saying some CP members should not be allowed to sit in the House of Assembly because they had black blood.

He also insisted he had two white uncles who were senior members of the CP.

He left Labour in April 1987, accusing party leader, Allan Hendrikse, of being authoritarian and not providing leadership.

In November 1985, he became the leader of the United Democratic Party, a few independents who became the official opposition in the HoR. In May 1991, the remaining five members of UDP disbanded and joined the NP. "We had to join a stronger party to be relevant," said Rable.

In September 1991, he was accused by the chairman of the Rubie Ridge management committee of abusing his position and allocating houses in the area to NP members. Rable denied the allegations.

This month he became minister of population development and the fifth most senior member of the cabinet.

being built close together, and this leads to duplication and under-utilisation of facilities," Wronsley said.

This cry from the heart of an experienced bureaucrat was, however, ignored.

But if De Klerk has scored a political own goal, why did he do so? Why did he not consult widely about the composition of a pre-transition cabinet?

Basically, the answer is that he has demonstrated, once again, that he is fundamentally a party political animal.

Moreover, De Klerk and his advisers are convinced that the NP will win an election, or at the very least be the largest party after the first democratic elections.

They also believe that by retaining control of the government as a party that is demonstrably not all-white, the NP will gain rather than lose.

And, sadly, the party's interests have again come first — and South Africa pays yet another price for 44 years of NP rule.

Namibia out as Govt-PAC talks venue

STAR 26/2/93

304A

By Kaizer Nyatumba
Political Reporter

The Namibian government has turned down the Pan Africanist Congress's request to have its meeting with the Government held in Windhoek on Monday, PAC legal and constitutional affairs secretary Willie Seriti confirmed yesterday.

The meeting, initially scheduled to take place in the Namibian capital under the chairmanship of either President Sam Nujoma or his Foreign Affairs Minister Theo-Ben Gurirab, would now take place in another neighbouring African state, Seriti said.

Details will be made available today.

Namibian Foreign Affairs Permanent Secretary Andreas Guibeb was yesterday quoted as saying his government had first heard of the meeting when it received a letter from the PAC on Wednesday.

"It comes at very short notice," Guibeb said. The Star has learnt that the Namibian Foreign Minister's office phoned PAC headquarters in Johannesburg late yesterday afternoon

to talk to PAC president Clarence Makwetu.

In their letter to Seriti, the Namibians said they would be tied up with visits from heads of state next week and could not host the South Africans as well.

Seriti dismissed criticism that the PAC had not informed the Namibian government in time about Monday's meeting. He said the agreement about the venue was reached with Pretoria on Tuesday, and he had informed the Namibians as soon as he could.

He said the PAC had "five or six" possible countries where the meeting could take place, but did not know which one would be acceptable to the Government.

Seriti was last night working furiously to get another neighbouring country to host the talks, and was confident the meeting would still go ahead on Monday.

The talks, the first to be attended by SAP and SADF generals and the high command of the Azanian People's Liberation Army, come three months since the Government and the PAC met in Gaborone, Botswana.

The delegations will be led by Law and Order Minister Hernus Kriel and PAC secretary-general Benny Alexander.

THE CABINET

No deadwood shake-out

The weekend Cabinet reshuffle was prompted more by the need to replace Ministers who wanted to quit than by President FW de Klerk's desire to streamline the Executive in preparation for a year of transition to democracy.

Three of the five retirees — Gene Louw (Defence), Org Marais (Administration & Tourism) and Louis Pienaar (Environmental Affairs) — will stay on as MPs. The other two, Magnus Malan (Water Affairs & Forestry) and Jacob de Villiers (Regional & Land Affairs) are quitting parliament.

De Klerk rewarded the Nats in the House of Representatives with Cabinet posts for Jac Rabie and Abe Williams and brought in the newly appointed head of the House of Delegates Ministers' Council, Bhadra Ranchod.

Regardless of the abilities of the three men, their appointments were aimed partly at consolidating growing Nat support in the coloured and Indian communities.

By giving Justice Minister Kobie Coetsee the Defence portfolio as well, De Klerk signalled a further downgrading of defence priorities. However, the integration of the SADF with Umkhonto we Sizwe will not be eased with Coetsee at the helm. He is generally disliked by the ANC.

The elevation of former Deputy Minister Danie Schutte to Home Affairs means he will shoulder much of the administrative responsibility for the logistics of the coming election, but details will be dictated by the

proposed Electoral Commission.

Ministers considered fortunate to have survived the reshuffle include Adriaan Vlok (Correctional Services), but the fact that he did indicates that De Klerk was not out to axe what could have been seen as deadwood. ■

Govt defends housing perks for Ministers

STAR 26/2/93

By Peter Fabricius
Political Correspondent

CAPE TOWN — Cabinet Ministers who were paid compensation for living in their own homes had not been enriched at the taxpayers' expense, the Government said yesterday.

The allowances provided only enough to buy houses worth R260 000, while Ministers were required to occupy residences valued at about R750 000 — "fit for their status", Public Works Director-General Theo van Robbroeck said.

The Ministers had to make up the difference, he said, responding to a storm of criticism over the compensation scheme through which more than R3 million was paid to Ministers and deputies last year.

He said the present scheme, introduced in 1991, had proved cheaper than putting up Ministers in official residences.

"In this process no enrichment takes place at the expense of the taxpayer." The scheme had brought SA into line with other modern countries.

In Britain, residences were provided for the Prime Minister, Chancellor of the Exchequer and the speaker.

Van Robbroeck said about R5 000 of the monthly allowance paid to a Minister was to ac-

quire a residence.

After tax, this was reduced to R3 613. A 100 percent bond with 16 percent interest over 20 years bought a house worth only R260 000.

The Minister had to make up the difference without guarantee that he would stay in office.

"Comments in the media that the scheme enables office-bearers to repay their bonds within two years ... is a total misrepresentation," Van Robbroeck said.

The compensation also covered services which were provided by the State at official residences such as cleaning, gardening, general maintenance, rates and services, and furniture.

Cost

Nonetheless, the allowances for services were substantially less than the cost to the State for providing them at official residences, he said.

Apart from the higher cost of services and of maintaining old buildings and large grounds, the State was also forgoing interest by not selling these buildings.

One residence, Reezicht, was worth R2 million. If sold, this would yield R300 000 a year at 15 percent interest.

Van Robbroeck said the Government intended selling off all official residences except those at Groote Schuur in Cape Town and Bryntirion in Pretoria.

NEGOTIATIONS

FM 26/2/93

304A

Cracking the regional nut

In an effort to remove what could be a big obstacle in the way of multiparty negotiations, government has proposed the formation of a nonpartisan commission of experts to investigate regional structures for SA and make recommendations to the elected constituent assembly (CA).

Constitutional Development Minister Roelf Meyer says the idea has been discussed with the ANC and the Inkatha Freedom Party and "significant progress" has been made.

Regionalism and power sharing are now the two main areas of dispute among the three key political players (see *Face to Face* on Page 44).

Compromise

Meyer says power sharing for an extended period after the CA election has been accepted in principle by the main parties and compromise on the details should not be too difficult to achieve.

But regionalism is a more complex problem. The ANC wants the CA to determine the boundaries, powers and functions of regions.

Government initially insisted that this happen during multiparty talks.

The proposed commission is an important compromise that Meyer says could bridge the two opposing views. Government's proposal is that the commission finalise the boundaries of the regions before the election so that regional representatives can be elected.

All parties would also submit proposals to the commission on the powers and functions of regional governments. The commission would consider them and make recommendations to the CA, which would have the final say.

However, Meyer says, if parties were able to make their submissions as "compatible" as possible, the commission's recommendations to the CA would at least have the backing of the main parties and would probably be accepted with little or no change.

It is understood that though IFP negotiators, who met a government delegation in Richards Bay last week, had some reservations about the plan, they agreed to refer it for further discussion to a central committee meeting on Sunday. The focus of the IFP's

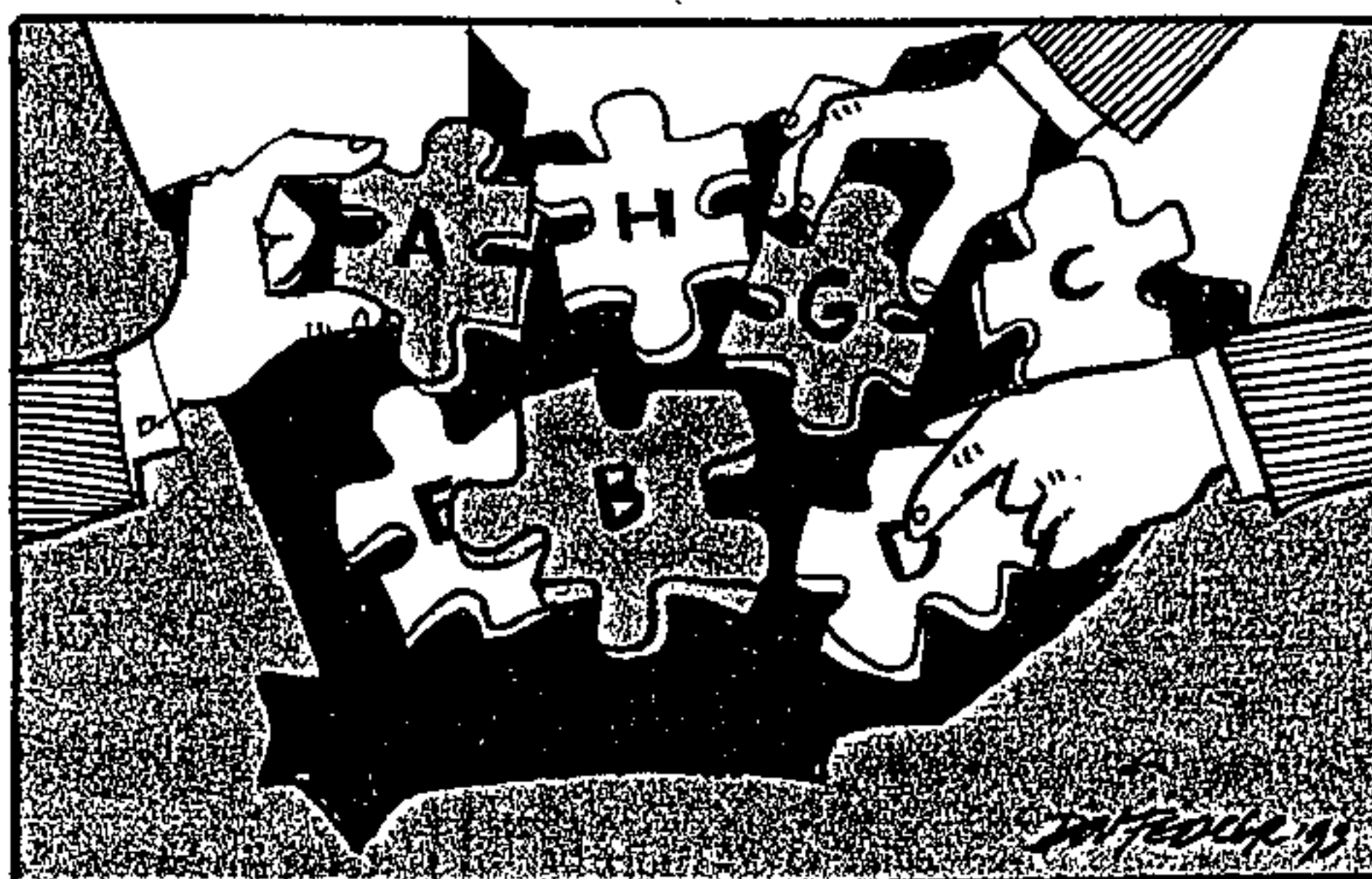
negotiating effort will be on the entrenchment of regionalism in the new constitution — a potentially divisive issue.

By taking regionalism out of direct negotiations, government hopes to speed up the process and concentrate on other complex issues, such as the re-incorporation of the TBVC states and the integration of armed forces. However, government has hardened its view on the extent to which regionalism has to be accepted as a constitutional principle during multiparty talks.

Meyer says the principle — which will have to be included in a final constitution — must refer specifically to autonomous powers for the regions. "In other words, it won't simply be an open reference to regionalism or regional government. In that regard, it is taken further than what we have been discussing up to now."

The proposed commission was due to be discussed further in separate talks government was scheduled to have this week with the ANC and IFP. Acceptance of the idea will smooth the way for the multiparty planning conference now set down for Thursday and Friday next week at the World Trade Centre in Kempton Park — the Codesa venue.

Meyer says his delegation would also raise



the details of power sharing at its meeting with ANC negotiators this week. This followed proposals put forward by the ANC after the organisation's national executive committee last week endorsed the concept of a limited power sharing arrangement during and after the transition to democracy.

The exact powers and functions of the president and his relationship with leaders of parties which might win enough votes to qualify for seats in a Cabinet of national unity need to be clarified, says Meyer.

He says regionalism and power sharing have been the two biggest problems facing

negotiators from the start. "But, in view of current progress on these two issues, I'm optimistic that we can reach a compromise."

SQUATTERS

FM 26/2/93

Nats to the rescue

Verligte Cape Nationalists, including provincial leader Dawie de Villiers, have vetoed objections by party supporters in Milnerton to a new squatter settlement in the town. The disgruntled Nats are headed by conservative former Cabinet Minister Gert Kotze. He is still MP for Malmesbury, which includes Du Noon, the area earmarked for the settlement. The move is a victory for Milnerton municipality, which has faced an uphill battle against white residents opposed to the development.

The 88 ha site at Du Noon, alongside the N7 highway to Malmesbury, will provide about 2 000 plots for squatters now living in scattered settlements throughout Milnerton. Many have lived in the area for years.

Milnerton town councillor Willem van Staden, at the forefront of efforts to provide a serviced residential area for squatters, says he isn't surprised by De Villiers's decision to override local Nat objections.

"Our proposals are in line with government policy; they are also the moral thing to do. People have a right to permanency." He says someone has to take responsibility for housing homeless people. It should be the local MP — but he declined.

Expropriation

The Du Noon site will be expropriated from eight private owners. Milnerton municipality will raise about R31m to buy and service the land. The 160 m² sites will be sold to residents.

Among the senior Nats who backed De Villiers's decision were Cape Administrator Kobus Meiring and provincial executive council member Dawie le Roux. Van Staden says Kotze's efforts to stop the development have held it up "for a considerable time" and it is not expected to be ready until the end of the year at the earliest.

He understands that both Nat branches in the immediate area affected by Du Noon backed Kotze's view, except for the chairman of one branch, Jimmy Fouché, grandson of the former State President of the same name. Van Staden concedes that whites don't like the idea of squatters in their midst but the municipality realised two years ago, when it started working on the project, that it was in a precarious situation.

Finding common ground

FM 26/2/93

2047



Constitutional Development Minister Roelf Meyer will lead government's delegation into next week's planning conference aimed at getting multiparty talks back on track

FM: What are the major differences between government, the ANC and IFP and how are you resolving them?

Meyer: Power sharing and regionalism. We wanted long-term participation of more than one party in the executive structure. The ANC wanted to prevent the entrenchment of this arrangement. There is movement towards acceptance of a relatively longer period of transitional government based on participation by all relevant parties who receive a certain percentage of votes.

In our view this will allow for the phasing in of the new dispensation and joint government for five years. Details of how the Executive will function still have to be worked out.

On regionalism we wanted the duties, functions, powers and boundaries of regions determined before the transitional phase. The ANC wanted these issues left to the elected constitution-making body (CMB). We are trying to bridge the two views by considering the possibility of a nonpartisan commission of experts to investigate and hear evidence on all aspects of regionalism. We've discussed this with the ANC and the IFP and significant progress has been made. **A recent ANC statement gave the impression that government had agreed to let the constitution-making body deal with details of regionalism. Is that not correct?**

The statement didn't reflect the complete picture. The proposed commission would bridge our differences. It would recommend regional boundaries before the election and make further recommendations on the functions of regions to the CMB, which would have the final say. We believe the various parties should structure their submissions to the commission so that they are mutually compatible, thereby ensuring recommendations to the CMB that will at least have the support of the major parties.

The ANC published detailed proposals for power sharing last week. Are they in line with what you have been negotiating?

They raised some new ideas and other aspects are not quite clear. We will seek clarity in talks this week. It is important to achieve absolute clarity on the composition and functions of the executive. For instance, the powers of the President and his relationship with the leaders of the other parties represented in the executive. Those leaders will obviously have to have positions other-

wise the whole idea of a government of national unity will be meaningless. Our discussions so far indicate that we can come to terms on these issues. Finding common ground on the principle of power sharing was a major achievement. I'm sure we can agree on the detail, though I don't think we will resolve the issue this week.

Was the IFP satisfied after your talks last week that you don't have a secret deal with the ANC?

They've said so openly, it was not a point of dispute.

What are the major points of difference between the IFP's views and those of government and the ANC?

I would say the IFP is more concerned about regionalism than power sharing. In fact the IFP's constitutional plan for Kwa-Zulu/Natal doesn't provide for power sharing, just straight majority rule. The concept is probably not that important to the IFP though I'm sure they would want to be part of a government of national unity. The focus of our talks was on regionalism, how it could be implemented and included in the final constitution.

This is also an issue of major concern to government. The set of constitutional principles to be agreed on by the multiparty forum will include a principle on regionalism, which will refer specifically to autonomous powers for the regions. In other words it won't simply be an open reference to regionalism or regional government. In that regard it is taken further than what we've been discussing up to now.

What is the purpose of the multiparty planning conference and do you expect it to be a difficult session?

Firstly, to assess progress of the negotiation process and secondly to plan for the resumption of the multiparty forum. I don't think we will clear up all outstanding points before the conference, but we have made progress on the major issues. It depends on what people expect from the conference. Government views it as a session to prepare for the resumption of multiparty talks and not the forum for negotiating constitutional matters.

In spite of the success of talks over the past two weeks government's proposed timetable remains tight. Can it be achieved?

We're working flat out and I think we are on track. I see no reason why the multiparty forum won't get off the ground by the end of March, which would mean getting on with issues like the Transitional Executive Council (TEC), constitutional principles, contents of the transitional constitution and the charter of fundamental rights.

All this must be discussed and agreed on by the end of May and that's a tight schedule. We've proposed that we first agree on a TEC so that it can get on with its work. We

can't afford to fall behind. I've no doubt that political progress through negotiations will help reduce political violence and improve the economy. Delays increase the chance of further mass action and instability.

The ANC has called for elections as soon as possible. If agreement is reached by the end of May can elections be held this year?

I doubt it. There is considerable preparatory work to be done. We haven't even touched the issue of the reincorporation of the TBVC states, which will take some time. Preparations for the election itself are complicated. We have to establish an independent Electoral Commission which we can only do once multiparty talks resume. From a practical point of view I don't see how it will be possible to have an election sooner than a year from the resumption of multiparty talks. This doesn't mean I won't work full out to have earlier elections if possible, but in reality I don't think it will happen. **Public posturing by various political leaders indicates considerable distrust and bitterness towards opponents. What is the relationship between government and ANC negotiators in particular?**

I think the level of distrust is decreasing, but one can't expect negotiations to override all differences. After all, we have two roles. On the one hand we are negotiating partners with a common responsibility — together with other parties — to make progress and define the rules of the game. On the other hand, we will be fierce opponents in an election held in terms of those rules.

The conflict will exist until an election. How we manage the situation is important. We must guard against making it impossible to work together in a government of national unity after an election. Some form of understanding will have to be worked out for the election campaign.

Does government regard any issue as non-negotiable?

I prefer not to talk about non-negotiables or bottom lines. My approach is to aim for the maximum instead of defending the minimum. But issues important to us are the constitutional principles I spelled out in parliament last month (*Current Affairs*, February 5). They are all positive and achievable and in line with the NP's constitutional guidelines accepted in 1991.

What are the consequences of agreement not being reached between the main parties in the next few months?

If there's no progress government will go back to the drawing board and look at alternatives. President De Klerk indicated this in November. Whatever steps are taken will have to ensure the greatest possible degree of legitimacy and be in line with democratic principles. But we are working on the assumption that we will make progress, not that an alternative will be necessary.

Storm over canvassing ban threat

CT 26/2/93

THE SA National Civic Organisation (Sanco) has run into a storm of condemnation for its threat to prevent "so-called white political parties" from campaigning in townships.

Sanco Southern Transvaal regional secretary Mr Dan Mofokeng vowed in Johannesburg on Wednesday that his region would prevent the National, Conservative and Democratic parties from canvassing in black townships.

Reacting, ANC spokesman Mr Carl Niehaus said the ANC endorsed the right of all parties to operate throughout the country.

The government, the Democratic Party and the Inkatha Freedom Party all blasted the statement yesterday, with NP spokesman Mr Piet Coetzer calling it "shocking racism".

Government spokesman Mr Dave Steward said "the process of democracy requires the holding of free and fair elections". It was essential that the playing fields be even for all parties in all circumstances.

The DP's Mr Peter Soal said that for democracy to survive in SA it was "fundamental that all political points of view are put to prospective voters... democracy means being tolerant to other points of view".

(304A)

US political interest in SA waning

WASHINGTON — A growing belief that SA's transition to nonracial democracy is on track, combined with domestic budget woes, has driven the country off the agenda of US legislators, ambassador Harry Schwarz believes.

"We're going to need to do a big selling job to revive interest," Schwarz said yesterday.

The multimillion-dollar aid and trade plan advocated by Congressman Stephen Solarz and Senator Richard Lugar last year has been all but forgotten.

Also languishing is a Bill to establish an enterprise fund, modelled on eastern European initiatives, to pro-

mote black SA businesses.

TransAfrica director Randall Robinson told the House Foreign Affairs Committee this week: "With (SA's) election and as democratic gains are negotiated and executed, we must help with considerable assistance."

But C Payne Lucas, president of Africare, a major development lobby, told the panel the US and its Western partners should be trying to help African governments create an "enabling environment" for economic growth and investment by focusing on "peace and stability" and efficient governance.

Committee chairman Lee Hamilton indicated that the key question now was whether Africa's \$800m aid allotment should be targeted on a few specific countries where it might do the most good.

In lobbying Congress, Schwarz said he was pleading that SA get "a fair share", arguing its success was key to the rest of the continent's fortunes.

This view is catching on. Council on Foreign Relations fellow Marguerite Michaels, writing in the current issue of Foreign Affairs, said "a politically stable and economically prosperous post-apartheid SA is unquestionably Africa's most promising hope for renewal."

3047
SIMON BARBER

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(304A)

Groote Schuur open to public

Groote Schuur, the official residence of South African heads of state and prime ministers since 1910, will be opened to the public for the first time on March 13. This has been organised with the aim of raising funds for four hospitals.

STAN 26/2/93.

(9/2)

304A

Ramaphosa: Govt bound to cheat

cr 26/2/93 (304A)

THE government was bound to cheat and try to violate agreements reached in the negotiation process, ANC secretary-general Mr Cyril Ramaphosa said yesterday.

Mr Ramaphosa was addressing students at a University of Western Cape public meeting called to explain the ANC's position in constitutional negotiations.

He defended the movement's decision to enter into a government of national unity with other parties after the adoption of a new constitution and said it was for a limited period only. It was essential for reconstruction and reconciliation.

Mr Ramaphosa said the ANC was setting the agenda for talks and the National Party government was falling back and accepting the ANC positions one by one.

"But we are dealing with people experienced in treachery and cheating," he said. "We must negotiate with them. But they have never stuck to the agreements they have reached." This was illustrated in Angola, Namibia and at Nkomati, he said.

"Today we are at the gateway of achieving a democratic dispensation after long years of struggle and sacrifice.

"But there are a number of pitfalls and dangers that lie in store and the last mile could be the longest that we must walk in destroying apartheid fully and completely.

"We will see it in our lifetime. Nelson Mandela will see it dead in his lifetime — not only to cast the ballot vote but becoming the first president of a truly democratic South Africa." — Sapa

Russia and SA turning backs on past dogmas

HIS assessment of developments in South Africa:

"This is a crucial period in your history, a transition from a totalitarian, racist minority regime to a democratic dispensation."

"The changes were possible because of strong pressure by internal democratic forces coupled with international pressure, including sanctions. The balance of forces in the country determines that the only solution is a political settlement through negotiation. On that basis compromises are to be found, and a basis laid, for the future political, social and economic structures."

"A major factor that triggered the process of transition was the blockade by the existing political system of the development of the productive forces. This political system has to be removed and substituted by new political structures that would bring full political rights to all and through that open up the development of the productive forces."

"Also, certain leaders of the ruling party came to understand that there was no way forward by protecting the existing system."

ON President FW de Klerk:

"He is an outstanding leader. His name will go down in history as that of a big reformer."

"He is one of the few within the NP who understood in due time the necessity of reform and the eventual elimination of apartheid."

"His major credits are the legalisation of the black opposition, the removal of apartheid laws and the signing of the Record of Understanding with the ANC in 1992."

"The balance of forces indicates that the moment of the unbannings in 1990, the ANC and Government, despite their confrontations, occupy the centrist position in the political spectrum."

"The Record of Understanding was a major breakthrough. It got the leadership of the ANC and the President's team together to create a bloc powerful enough not only to chart a programme for the transition but also to create a mechanism that would provide for the implementation of that programme with due interest to all major political parties."

"This will form the real basis for a stable non-violent evolution to democracy."

THE relationship between the ANC and Government:

"They need a mutual understanding of their past and they need trust. The trust is being formed but needs to be developed."

"Each one of these two parties must build up their policies in the interest of the country and not for party political interests."

Russian diplomat Alexei Makarov has been directly involved with South African politics for the last 23 years. Two years ago, as head of the South African desk at the Foreign Ministry, he was posted to Pretoria as head of the Soviet Union's interest office. Political Reporter ESTHER WAUGH spoke to him on the eve of his return to Moscow.

THE National Party:

"It is undergoing a very difficult process of changing into a truly democratic party."

"One of the difficult tasks that faces the party is to transform itself from an ethnic, mostly Afrikaner party, to a truly national one. It has the capacity under the present leadership to achieve this but it will not happen overnight. Its task is complicated because most political and governmental structures have been discredited."

ON the ANC:

"It has proved to be a consistent democratic organisation."

"According to all indications, it will most probably become the leading party after the general elections. The leadership has acquired experience (since the unbanning of the organisation) and displays flexibility and the ability of change."

"Sometimes because of the speed of developments, the leadership experiences very strong pressure from the grassroots which is not quick enough to adapt to and understand the changes. A lot will depend on the ability of the leadership to educate the masses to support the national executive committee's programme."

"The ANC has its own internal contradictions and problems. The contradiction is determined by the fact that after bringing the masses to the polls, the ANC would have almost accomplished its historical mission as a liberation movement: the struggle for human rights for black people."

"I think it will be difficult for the ANC to continue as a liberation movement after that. It will gradually have to transform itself into a political party or even several parties attending to the interests of specific social groups."

ROLE of the SACP:

"There is a big difference between the SACP and the Communist Party of the Soviet Union or other ruling communist parties elsewhere."

"The SACP was set up as a comintern party in 1921 to lead the white working class to the world socialist revolution, but when it opened its doors to black people it transformed its ideals and the priority of its tasks."

"From the 1940s the SACP became one of the major parties in this country to steadily struggle for human rights for black people. The primary task of the communists became the struggle for human rights for all."

FUTURE of the SACP:

"That depends on its constituency and its programme. The Communist Party has a right to exist in a democratic country."

INKATHA Freedom Party:

"It is an important regional force which cannot be disregarded. It is very important that the major players find common interests with the IFP and find a way of stopping the confrontation between the IFP and the ANC ..."

THE country's future:

"I am positive about the future of the transition to democracy. I am definite that in the long term South Africa will find a solution to the political crisis."

"In the short term, it will be difficult and sometimes traumatic because the problems created by apartheid are enormous ..."

"There should be a national vision. The lack of such a vision is one of the biggest problems. South Africa is one country but it is still not one nation."

RUSSIAN-South African relations:

"Years of isolation and of living in closed totalitarian societies and political systems have led to a distorted perception of each other."

"Now that the barriers have been removed there is a strong willingness, at least on the part of Russia, to reject all dogmas of the past."

"But to reject everything that was bad in our past, is to throw away the baby with the bath water ... the past will always influence our present-day life, and our future. This attitude, I think, is harmful and dangerous to relations between the two countries."

"It is necessary now to realistically analyse our past relations and to pragmatically find out what was positive and what was negative."

By Michael Chester

Govt pressured to act on graft

STAR 26/2/93

The Government came under pressure from the SA Chamber of Business last night to expose the culprits behind the wave of fraud and corruption in State departments by public prosecution in court.

Sacob president Spencer Sterling said urgent action was needed to improve financial discipline and control and "to prevent a further erosion of public faith in the institution of government".

The urgency had been underlined by the extent of gross maladministration and corruption that had been revealed by reports from both the Auditor-General and the Parliamentary Joint Committee on Public Accounts.

Taxpayers had the right to expect "value for money" from their tax contributions,

Sterling said in a formal statement.

The widespread evidence of corruption within Government was bound to contribute towards a hardening of attitudes towards any increases in taxation that might be announced on Budget day next month.

Lack of visible fiscal control would do little to promote tax morality within the private business sector or among individual taxpayers.

Concern over the apparent lack of control over mushrooming State expenditure had been voiced in a special joint investigation made by

Sacob and the Afrikaanse Handelsinstituut as far back as 1989, Sterling said.

Yet the Government had still not acted on many of the recommendations that emerged from the probe. Among them:

- Government spending priorities should be made public on a regular basis, with the Auditor-General assigned to check that actual expenditure followed the priorities.

- The status of senior accountants inside Government departments should be raised to allow them to take part in departmental deci-

sions to assist them in their internal audits.

- Government departments should be compelled to submit annual reports to Parliament.

"The exposure given to maladministration and corruption is an important first step towards rectifying the problem," Sterling said.

"However, it is now essential that concrete steps aimed at ensuring fiscal control are seen to be implemented, as well as prosecutions in court of perpetrators of fraud and corruption.

"Sacob therefore urges the Government to act on recommendations that emerged from the joint study and to take special steps to strengthen the office of the Auditor-General and to ensure its independence so that corruption and maladministration can effectively be addressed."

Govt defends subsidies

C126/2/93

Political Staff

304A

THE government yesterday defended the housing subsidies paid to ministers to stay in their own homes, claiming it was saving taxpayers' money.

It has faced loud criticism of the scheme, which cost over R3 million last year.

A statement issued by the director-general of Public Works, Mr Theo van Robbroeck, said the scheme was "designed to reduce costs to the state".

"No enrichment takes place at the expense of the taxpayer."

He said about R5 000 of a minister's allowance was intended "to acquire a residence fit for his status".

"After tax, this is reduced to R3 613. A 100% bond at 16% interest over 20 years buys a house of only R260 000, which can hardly be described as of ministerial standard."

The rest of the allowance was for services that would also be provided at state residences, such as cleaning.

Namibia won't host govt, PAC meeting

THE South African government meeting with the PAC and its armed wing, Apla, on Monday will no longer take place in Windhoek. *30419 CT 26/2/93*
A search is now on for another venue outside the country.

The decision came after the Namibian government said yesterday it was not at this stage prepared to host the talks. Foreign Minister Mr Theo-Ben Gurirab said the request to hold bilateral talks in Namibia was carried by the media even before the government had been informed.

It is understood the delegations are now most likely to meet in Gaborone, Botswana. — Political Staff, Sapa

Corruption claims: Govt to answer today

304/17

Feb 21 93
Political Staff

THE government will today defend itself against mounting allegations that it is hopelessly corrupt.

This morning State Expenditure Minister Mr Amie Venter will address a press conference on corruption and later in the day the House of Assembly will debate a private members' motion on the issue tabled by Democratic Party leader Dr Zach de Beer.

The decision to call the press conference comes after a spate of revelations, including corruption uncovered in the government's third party fund and in former auditor-general Mr Peter Wronsley's annual report on general affairs for 1991-1992.

'Progress' on regions plan

By BARRY STREEK
Political Staff

THE government has proposed a non-partisan commission of experts to investigate regional structures for South Africa and make recommendations to the constituent-making body.

This is stated by the Minister of Constitutional Development,

Mr Roelf Meyer, in an interview in this week's Financial Mail.

Mr Meyer said the idea had been discussed with the ANC and the Inkatha Freedom Party and "significant progress" had been made. CT 26/2/93

"The proposed commission would bridge our differences," he said. "It would recommend

regional boundaries before the election and make further recommendations on the functions of regions to the constitution-making body, which would have the final say."

Mr Meyer said he doubted that elections could be held this year because there was considerable preparatory work to be done.

Multi-party talks: CP may attend

cr26/2/93 304A

THE Conservative Party will almost certainly attend next week's multi-party planning conference alongside the ANC in spite of its previous refusal to engage in talks with the organisation.

However, the party yesterday staunchly defended any decision to participate, saying it was "not a question of principle but a question of strategy and method".

The CP's announcement came as Azapo said yesterday it would not take part in the talks.

The statement by Azapo's Transvaal vice-president, Mr Nkosi Molala, follows an earlier statement that Azapo would wait and see what transpired before committing themselves.

Mr Molala said Azapo's objection was that the planning conference was undemocratically structured.

The CP's MP for Soutpansberg, Mr Tom Langley, said the CP's participation was the "logical extension of the CP's programme of negotiation".

He said the CP's head committee had decided in 1990 that it would not allow the presence of ANC members to inhibit its right to participate in forums where it could state its case.

However, he added that the CP was "keeping its options open" to see if the conference got off the ground, and suggested that a number of developments could prevent the meeting from starting.

Stressing Azapo's refusal to participate, Mr Molala said even if the Pan-Africanist Congress — a former partner in the Patriotic Front (PF) — decided to join the conference Azapo would still refuse to join the talks.

Azapo would only talk to the government if there was neutral mediation on neutral territory.

Mr Molala said Azapo would make an effort to reconvene the PF before it would consider entering into negotiations, and would try to mobilise all those forces which remained outside the negotiation process. — Political Staff, Sapa

Centrist party may soon form

Political Staff

THERE was strong speculation last night that a new centrist group might emerge in the near future.

The speculation that the group which might reunite Dr Frederik van Zyl Slabbert with the Democratic Party and others in the political centre has been fuelled by the holding of a conference in Lisbon.

Dr Slabbert, DP national chairman Mr Ken Andrew, caucus chairman Mr Colin Eglin and MP Mr Peter Gastrow are attending the talks, which according to one DP MP are "largely secret".

The meeting has been organised by Idasa.

An Idasa spokesman yesterday denied the talks were secret.

NP gravy train 'out of control'

304A ARG 27/2/93

■ Government mismanagement and corruption has cost taxpayers more than R5 billion, opposition MPs have claimed.

MICHAEL MORRIS
Political Staff

OPPOSITION MPs rounded on the government yesterday in a fierce snap debate on corruption and mismanagement in the civil service, which one MP claimed had cost taxpayers more than R5 billion in the last 18 months.

Democratic Party MP for Beaufort West Mr Geoff Engel — praised later in the debate by party leader Dr De Beer as a top-flight businessman who knew his figures — said he believed his estimate of R5 billion could be only the tip of the iceberg.

Democratic and Conservative MPs expressed anger at the apparent absence of political accountability.

Dr De Beer — whose private member's motion was the focus of the debate — challenged the government to say "just how bad must it be before a cabinet minister gets the chop".

He called for an independent commission into corruption.

But, the government hit back, insisting that the only reason there had been so many reports of corruption and maladministration recently was because the government itself had ordered them. This, they said, was proof of their commitment to a clean administration.

Minister of State Expenditure Mr Amie Venter, who denied that corruption and mismanagement were being swept under the carpet, said Dr De Beer had not proposed the motion through concern about the plight of the country or the poor, but rather as an electioneering strategy.

"The government agrees that corruption and mismanagement is totally unacceptable and it is doing everything in its power to stamp it out. The government remains committed to a clean administration."

The most vigorous defence came from Deputy Minister of Regional Development Mr André Fourie.

While he acknowledged that recent reports by judicial commissions and other bodies on corruption had been

"bad news" about which everybody was deeply shocked, he said the government "has declared war against this type of maladministration".

He even suggested that the civil service had been affected by corruption in the private sector. "Only this morning, we heard on television the shocking figures of fraud in the business and private sector."

"How can the civil service also not be affected by this sort of thing?"

In a broadside on the Opposition, he said the CP and DP both had failed to win the electorate's trust and now were reverting to "this type of tactics" — of criticising the government.

Democratic Party MP for Johannesburg North Mr Peter Soal turned on Cabinet ministers who received compensation for staying in their own — rather than state-owned — homes ... a subsidy scheme which "stinks to high heaven".

He said it symbolised the scandal which was engulfing the NP and confirmed taxpayers' fears that NP politicians were "awash with gravy".

Supporting the DP motion, CP for Rustenburg Dr Willem Botha said the fact that political office-bearers were not willing to accept accountability for misdeeds in their departments filtered through to all levels of society.

CP finance spokesman Mr Cas Uys said voters believed politicians were "a lot of crooks".

He noted that while corruption and maladministration in the TBVC states was criticised, the South African government failed to set an example. Year after year, the government spent millions of rands more than was budgeted by parliament.

He said the culture of patronage — which the NP confused with patriotism — had cost South Africa billions of rands.

DP finance spokesman Mr Jasper Walsh said the government should find the guts to shoulder the burden of admitting responsibility for corruption and maladministration.

"South Africans are punch-drunk as they see their hard-earned taxes being frittered away on an orgy of self-enrichment..."

This had led to disbelief and insecurity and contributed to the decline of South Africa's moral fibre.

"The government's reaction to this has been pathetic. There is an enormous gap between the fine words spoken and the paltry action taken. We believe the government has lost the confidence of the people."

Catching out the election cheats

South 27/2-3/3/93

3044

ANGOLA is gripped in a civil war again today because Unita would not accept the results of their election last year.

The rebels claimed the election was not free and fair — a vital component of any election campaign.

Because conditions differ from country to country, different ways of measuring whether an election was free and fair can be used. But there are certain universal principles which apply almost everywhere.

● One of the first things an election authority has to ensure is a way of identifying all the citizens who are qualified to vote. In any election, only citizens can vote.

● To prevent other people from entering a polling booth, a system of voter registration is usually implemented before election day and a voters' roll is drawn up.

This ensures that by the time voting begins, an accurate list of qualified voters exists. Anyone entering a polling station can be checked. Although the votes are secret, the fact of each person voting is recorded.

● However, elections may be held without a voters' roll. It is possible to check if voters are eligible by ask-

ing them to identify themselves at the polling station on election day.

The officials at the polling station can then use a special ink to mark people who have already voted and prevent them from voting again.

Either way, the process has to ensure an accurate way of identifying people entitled to vote. And the system used to do this must be agreed upon by all the parties contesting the election.

This helps prevent "dirty tricks" by political parties who could bring foreigners or minors to vote. There were even accusations in one South African election that dead people voted!

● Elections can only be declared free and fair if there is no fraud or intimidation at the polling station.

Votes have to be counted in the presence of the presiding officer and party observers.

A presiding officer is the person responsible for overseeing everything that happens inside the polling station and the officials who perform these duties.

The officer has to supervise the process of checking voters' identification, checking whether they have not already voted and issuing them with ballot papers.

Party observers are also present at

the polling station to ensure that no-one interferes with voters and check that there are no fraudulent practices.

They also observe the ballots being counted to ensure that no-one tries to count their party's votes for another's, or that no-one tries to slip in new ballots that have not been cast by voters.

Sometimes the police are also present at polling stations. They are not allowed to speak to voters, but are only on standby in case their assistance is required, for example if someone tries to disrupt the voting process.

In many countries, because of political tensions, political parties agree to appoint neutral international observers to monitor the elections and to satisfy them that they were free and fair.

Other election monitors can be drawn from neutral bodies such as churches, who monitor not only the elections but the entire campaign period.

● Even choosing the date on which the election will be held offers an opportunity to use unfair tactics in an election.

If the government of the day chooses the date — usually the case — it has a strong advantage.

If they only allow a short period for an election campaign, they can deny the opposition sufficient time to state its case convincingly to the electorate.

This kind of tactical manoeuvre can also cast doubts on how fair the process is.

● One political party having more money to conduct an election campaign than its opposition can also be ruled unfair, and in some countries the government sets limits on how much money can be spent and ways it may be spent.

Equal access to the media, especially television, is vital to ensuring that in the run-up to elections each party is given a fair chance to present its case.

Where the government in power controls the national broadcasting services — as in South Africa — it has an unfair advantage.

Because all citizens, irrespective of their party support, pay levies for these services, if only one party gets full and unlimited use of this medium, it is blatantly unfair.

Political parties in South Africa are still debating what will constitute free and fair elections here.

Many of the provisions will probably be included in the Electoral Act being drafted by negotiators.

Mamre no to 'political vacuum'

RESIDENTS of the picturesque West Coast village of Mamre say politicians — including the liberation movements — are ignoring their needs; so they are preparing to go it alone.

While the Moravian church still has a strong influence in the community and the town is mainly visited for its historic buildings on the old "werf" belonging to the mission, residents have woken up to the realities of a new political dispensation.

Secretary of the Mamre discussion forum, Mr Bill Pick, said this week there was a "political vacuum" in the town.

■ Mamre residents, who claim that politicians are leaving the platteland behind, are determined to become an informed community.

LIBBY PEACOCK

Weekend Argus Reporter

"Rural areas stayed behind under apartheid. Now liberation movements are also displacing urban bias towards us."

The discussion forum aims at providing voter education for the community and has invited all political parties to visit the town and spell out their policies regarding rural

areas, but only the Democratic Party has responded so far.

"We want to prepare our people for a totally unknown future and give them the necessary skills. At the end of the day we want an independent community."

Mr Basil Kivedo, a resident of Mamre who is doing his doc-

torate in sociology at the University of the Western Cape, lectured at the university for 10 years before abandoning his academic career to "work on ground level".

He believes in the empowerment of the underprivileged and a "real democracy".

"I don't have a vendetta against academics, but I do have it against pretentiousness."

"In Mamre people are cut off from the city. They don't know what is going on. The political role players are more interested in votes than people. We are not waiting for saviours ..."

MAC 2-11-93
304A

Let's all cross the real Rubicon

South 27/2 - 3/3/93

NOW is the time to push hard for democratic and non-racial elections. This is an urgent mission for all peace-loving South Africans and not only politicians. A government democratically elected by all is the only hope for peace and stability. Now is the time for our people to take their destiny in their own hands and to refuse to be dictated to by those politicians who want to hold the country to ransom because of their petty and narrow political agendas.

The optimism that momentous changes are going to take place in 1993 is not misplaced. We all share this optimism. But experience has taught us that optimism turned into euphoria is not just unwise but reckless.

The ANC has declared 1993 the year of democratic elections for a Constituent Assembly. This is a bold declaration and a sign of confidence about the future, but it is also a declaration of the impatience of our people and movement over the delay in resolving the political conflict speedily.

An agreement on a date for elections for a constitution-making body will reinforce this spirit of optimism and lower the levels of violence and tension in the country. Further delay will definitely lead to a social explosion that will reduce all other uprisings to nothing. This is not a threat. It is an appreciation of the stark reality that faces every right-thinking South African. In the interest of all the peoples of this country, all political leaders are being called upon by history to realise that now is the time to cross the real Rubicon.

A fundamental mistake that South Africans have committed is to give to politicians and political organisations the responsibility of determining the future of this country. Politicians alone do not have the capacity to bring solutions to all the social ills of our land. In fact, left on their own they will make, and are already making, a mess of things.

It is therefore incumbent on all responsible leaders across the social spectrum to grab political leaders by the scruffs of their necks and to drag them screaming into a speedy and peaceful resolution of our country's conflict. The power of non-governmental organs of civil society must be deployed properly and be felt by our people. It is the creative combination of political and civil society initiatives that will deliver genuine and lasting peace and democracy.



**SPEAKING
OUT**

Tony Yengeni
Regional Secretary of the
ANC

We in the ANC feel the pressure of delaying the negotiation process more than any other political grouping because our constituency is large, angry, and impatient. Our people, especially in the African and coloured townships and squatter areas, are demanding, and rightly so, relief from the poverty, squalor and violence they have been subjected to for so long. What else must happen that has not happened before we can have real progress, peace and prosperity in South Africa?

We are impatient about the delay in the negotiation process also because we are confident that we will win the next election with a convincing majority. This humble confidence is not misplaced. In fact the majority of independent opinion polls support this view. This does not give anyone within our ranks the right to neglect the mammoth task of building

our election machinery and preparing our people for a democratic election.

This is even more relevant for the ANC in the Western Cape because the NP propaganda machinery has created the perception that the coloured community will vote NP. This false perception is meant to confuse and demoralise our activists and supporters and get them to give up the coloured community vote. We do not discriminate between votes. As far as we are concerned, all votes are equal. Whether they are from the white, coloured or African community they are of equal value and we want them all.

Another angle of this propaganda is the old racist notion of divide and rule. The coloured community is pitted against the African people on the basis of the lie that the "African majority" are going to dominate the other minorities through an ANC government. This cheap strategy of exacerbating the fears of minorities and putting them in opposition to the "African majority" is extremely dangerous and short-sighted.

In order to achieve the noble goal of a united and prosperous South Africa, we will desperately need harmony and unity between all peoples of this country. Most South Africans can and must become part of the democratic majority.

Over and above the involvement of both political and civil society organisations in finding solutions to our problems is the urgent need for a deeper involvement of the international community to persuade all leaders of the need for a more speedy movement to a non-racial democracy.

We take this stand because this country belongs to all of us, black and white, and all its people have to determine its destiny. No one else is going to do it for us. Others can only help us.

The best way of ensuring progress is to hold democratic elections soon so that democratically elected leaders from all parties can draft a new constitution to legitimise the transitional process. For the first time in our history, the people would have decided who would represent them in parliament.

Non-racial and democratic elections will not solve all our problems. However, they are an important step towards addressing our political and socio-economic problems. Yet the decision to have elections by a certain date is not about to fall from the skies, it has to be fought for by every South African.

Farm workers to be primed for voting

LIBBY PEACOCK

Weekend Argus Reporter

about 200 people as "master trainers".

get an ID book will be covered.

Mr Bailey said about 60 percent of black South Africans lived in rural areas. Civic education for these people was a "strongly felt need".

The programme is to be run nationally and in a wide range of indigenous languages.

The education programme should be finished by the middle of the year and the foundation hopes to begin training and voter education soon after that.

A CIVIC education programme aimed at preparing farm workers to vote for central and local government is being developed by the Rural Foundation, a countryside development organisation dedicated to upgrading the quality of life for farm workers and their families.

Mr Herman Bailey, the foundation's head of public relations, this week said that with the progress of ne-

vote.

Few civic education programmes exist for unskilled and semi-literate people and his organisation feels responsible for informing and instructing those who have never before had the right to vote.

The move follows a resolution taken at the foundation's annual general meeting at the end of last year.

Mr Bailey said the foundation had a strong infrastructure and was training

Liaison committees made up of workers were being formed on farms, and these committee members would be trained to help their colleagues.

The programme ultimately will consist of a written manual and video and will not be party political, but purely inform voters of their rights and responsibilities.

Simple issues such as voting procedures and how to

Yes we agree, no we don't

South 27/2 - 3/3/93

IN A WEEK of fancy footwork, both ANC and NP negotiators have been trying to market their provisional package agreement on South Africa's transition.

With compromises being made on both sides, each party has done its damndest to convince its followers that major gains were made on their behalf.

The upshot has been a general fuzziness around the package, leaving the public to unravel the meaning of the conflicting rhetoric.

Soon after last week's bi-lateral meeting, Mr Fanus Schoeman, the Deputy Minister of Constitutional Affairs, proclaimed that the ANC had agreed to a five-year government of national unity.

The ANC soon debunked this. The organisation maintained that five years was the maximum period agreed to and the precise time-frame was still to be worked out.

The ANC is holding on to its option of shorter interim rule. But the most puzzling part of the package so far is the confusion around power sharing.

Does the provisional agreement point to a government based on majority rule, or does it prescribe power sharing between all parties who fare reasonably well in elections?

The provisional agreement between the ANC and the NP on the transition to democracy has everyone guessing about what was agreed. **Quentin Wilson** reports on the debate so far.

ANC president Mr Nelson Mandela came out strongly on this point last Saturday.

He "categorically" denied the ANC had agreed to power sharing for five years. What it had accepted was an interim government of national unity — and this was "not power sharing".

The government, which has clamoured up about the package's details after the furore caused by Schoeman's slip, insists it is a power sharing arrangement.

SACP central committee member Mr Jeremy Cronin agrees with the NP.

"There has been a degree of footwork from our side as well in how we've been selling the provisional agreement, especially to our constituency."

"But in the end, it is important that we are honest with our rank and file."

"Yes, there are positive aspects. We have succeeded in forcing the NP away from their former positions of permanent power-sharing,

a rotating presidency and minority veto rights — but there are elements of power sharing," he said.

According to Cronin, this is the "danger" in the provisional agreement that has to be kept in mind.

Although details still have to be thrashed out, it seems that if the ANC wins the majority of votes, there will still be a cabinet comprising other parties as well.

"If we are to be honest, we have not got what we wanted. Even if the ANC gets 96 percent of the vote in the election — there will still be power sharing."

"The security forces are still controlled by white men and the realities around ownership of the economy are clearly not in our favour," Cronin added.

According to the provisional agreement, the process towards a national political settlement could be as follows:

● A planning conference will be held on March 5 and 6 to restart and streamline Codesa. All parties across the political spectrum have

been invited.

● Codesa meets to prepare the route for elections. A transitional executive council (TEC) is set up, comprising all parties, to govern key aspects of the country that relate to the run-up to the election.

Although the powers granted to this TEC are yet to be closely defined, it could oversee state-controlled media; security forces and election procedures.

The tri-cameral parliament would continue to function up to the election, dealing with matters outside the TEC's ambit.

● An election is held across the country either late this year or early 1994. All South Africans over the age of 18, in the banustans as well, will participate.

● The parties will be represented in proportion to the number of votes they win. Those elected will have two tasks. The first is to rule the country (the interim government of national unity). The second is to draft a new constitution.

● The constitution to be used by this interim government is still to be decided. The NP wants a transitional constitution drawn up specifically while the ANC wants a Transition to Democracy Act to be passed by the tri-cameral parliament.

This Act would dissolve the old

parliament and allow the interim government to rule by decree.

● A new constitution is negotiated within a time span still to be negotiated. Methods of resolving deadlock are still to be decided.

● The interim government will have an executive or cabinet. All parties who secure more than a certain percentage of the vote will be represented in the cabinet proportion to their vote count.

The percentage is still to be worked out.

The ANC wants a ceiling of five percent of the vote, while the NP wants a 10 percent cut-off point.

● The majority party will choose the president.

It is still to be hammered out whether that person can choose who he/she wants in the cabinet from the pool of parties.

● After a constitution is drawn up, which could take nine months to three years depending on the various positions of the parties, the interim government carries on ruling.

● This will be the government of national unity. It will phase in the new constitution during its tenure.

● After a term of up to five years, another election is held. The government elected then will rule on the basis of the new constitution.

Apla set to dominate state/PAC discussion

FRANS ESTERHUYSE

Weekend Argus
Political Correspondent

THE pressure is on to persuade the Pan-Africanist Congress and its armed wing, Apla, to abandon the "armed struggle".

This is said to be the top issue to be discussed at scheduled talks on Monday between government and PAC delegations.

If the PAC abandons its armed struggle, the way virtually will be open for the PAC to take part in multi-party negotiations.

However, some uncertainty has arisen over Monday's talks after 11th-hour complications which resulted in a switch of venue.

The talks were to have been held in Windhoek, but now are to be moved to Gaborone.

Apla terror attacks are top of the agenda for the talks and no discussion on constitutional matters is expected.

A spokesman for Law and Order Minister Mr Hernus Kriel, who will lead the government team, confirmed yesterday the talks would be held in Gaborone.

Other members of the government team include the deputy ministers of justice and of constitutional development, Mr Danie Schutte and Mr Fanus Rautenbach, and senior officials from government departments.

The PAC delegation will be led by secretary-general Mr Benny Alexander and will include senior members of Apla's high command.

■ See page 18.

Azapo backs Sanco

304A
Ct 27/2/93

JOHANNESBURG. — The Azanian People's Organisation (Azapo) says it will "back to the hilt" any attempt to make electioneering by white parties in black townships impossible.

Azapo publicity secretary Dr Gomo-lemo Mokae said in a statement yesterday that his organisation supported the South African National Civic Organisation's (Sanco) opposition to white parties running election campaigns in black areas.

At a press briefing here yesterday

Sanco national president Mr. Moses Mayekiso stressed, however, that the organisation was not opposed to freedom of political activity.

It was opposed to parties which were against democratic transition in South Africa, and which wooed voters with taxpayers' money.

● All parties should be allowed to canvass support in all parts of the country if free and fair elections and a democratic society are to be achieved, the South African Council of Churches said in a statement yesterday.

Focus on APLA

Star 27/2/93.

Eastern Cape attacks top Gaborone agenda

THE Pan Africanist Congress's armed struggle and the attacks by the Azanian People's Liberation Army (APLA) on whites in the eastern Cape last year will be the main items on the agenda when the PAC and the Government meet in Gaborone, Botswana on Monday, both parties have confirmed.

The meeting, which comes after three months of "cold war" between the PAC and the Government following APLA's attacks on whites in King William's Town and Queenstown in December, will be chaired by Botswana Foreign Affairs Minister Dr G K Chiepe.

The last high-level public meeting between Pretoria and the Africanist organisation, also held in Botswana and chaired by Chiepe, took place at the end of November.

Foreign Affairs Minister Pik Botha, who led the Government delegation, later told journalists the PAC undertook at that meeting to suspend its armed struggle after the decision had been ratified by its annual congress in April.

PAC political affairs secretary Jaki Seroke, who was part of the PAC delegation, dismissed Botha's claim as a misunderstanding of his organisation's position that the issue would be discussed at congress.

Generals

Monday's meeting differs from any others held so far between the Government and the PAC because, for the first time, it will bring the APLA leadership and South African Police and SA Defence Force generals face to face.

Law and Order Minister Hernus Kriel, who will lead the Government delegation, has made it clear that his delegation has no mandate to discuss constitutional matters. Instead, it will want to focus on the PAC's armed struggle and security matters, especially APLA.

The PAC delegation is

KAIZER NYATSUMBA
Political Reporter

ready for the Government's arguments, and is understood to have prepared a position document which it will make available to Kriel's delegation.

PAC sources said the organisation would again say it was prepared to enter into "a mutual cessation of hostilities", and would even have its guerillas placed under joint multiparty control in the form of the transitional executive council.

However, the sources said, the PAC would not unilaterally suspend its armed struggle or even disband APLA.

Negotiations

Although PAC secretary-general Benny Alexander will lead the political arm of his organisation to the talks, the military wing will send its own delegation from its headquarters in Dar es Salaam, Tanzania, which will be led by PAC defence secretary and APLA commander Sabelo Phama.

The Government angrily suspended talks with the PAC after attacks on whites in the eastern Cape in December, demanding that the PAC leadership condemn APLA's attacks and distance itself from the guerilla army.

However, Alexander went on television and said APLA was "operationally independent from the PAC", adding that "the hullabaloo was because five whites had died" during the attacks.

The PAC is committed to returning to negotiations, and sources this week said the organisation would attend next week's multiparty negotiations planning conference at the World Trade Centre outside Kempton Park even if the Government insisted it should not do so.

Here the organisation will have the support of its rival the ANC, which would like both the PAC and the Azanian People's Organisation to be involved in negotiations.

An ANC source told Saturday Star yesterday that his organisation had made it clear to the Government that it wanted the PAC to attend the planning con-

terror

dawn beckons

~~40-212~~ 3047

THOSE taking part in next week's multiparty planning conference appear to have contradictory aims. This may signal hitches to come in the negotiations process, writes Political Reporter **ESTHER WAUGH**.

STAN 27/2/93.

ON FRIDAY the country will formally emerge from an eight-month hiatus in multiparty constitutional negotiations with the first step to reconstituting the negotiations forum.

That the two-day multiparty planning conference is the first move away from apartheid to a democratic government is the main point of agreement between the IFP, the ANC and the Government.

But they differ widely on the aim of the planning conference — convened on the IFP's insistence as a condition for re-entering negotiations after Chief Mangosuthu Buthelezi angrily broke off talks with the Government in September.

His party wants the conference to determine the form of state and the negotiations process. The IFP also wants to review all Codesa agreements — none of which was ratified at Codesa 2.

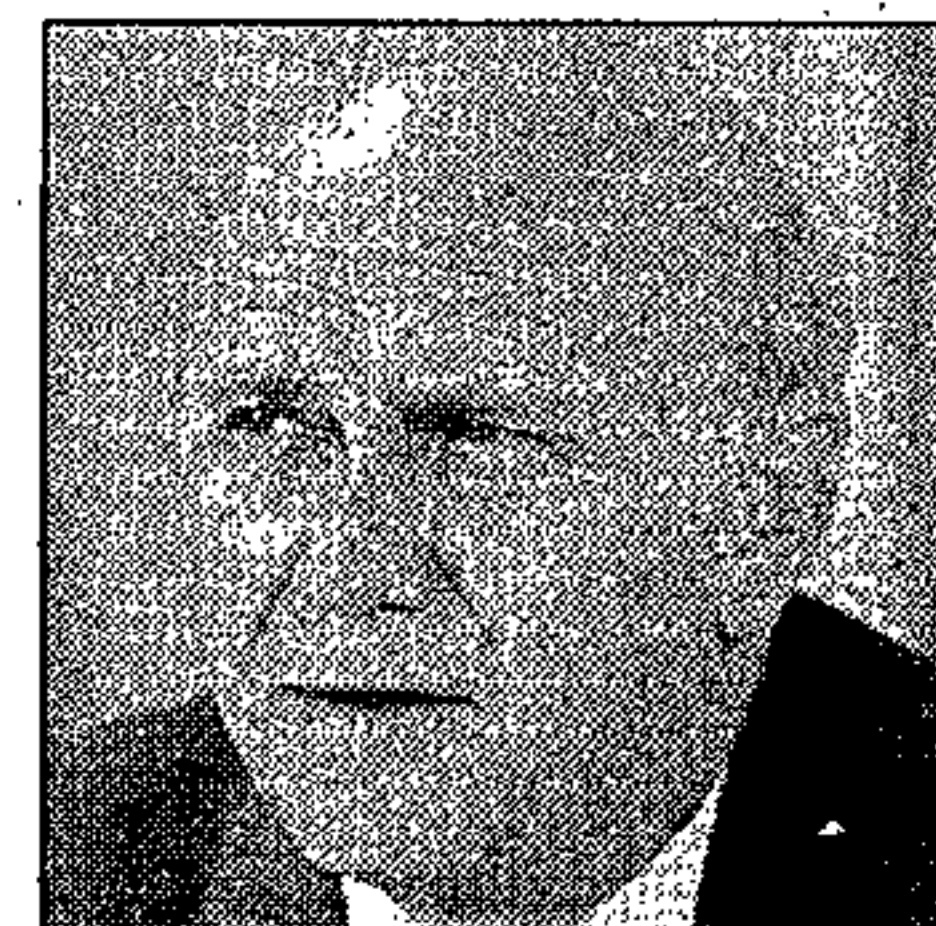
The ANC and the Government, on the other hand, see the event as assessing the current political situation and discussing logistics for the reconvening of a negotiating forum.

The differences over the direction of the long-awaited conference are attributable largely to different transition scenarios. The IFP says it is confident that the planning conference will decide on a federal state. Thereafter technocrats draft the constitution, a referendum is held to test its support after its adoption by the negotiating forum, and then general elections are held to find a new government. The party sees the transition as a continuous process to majority rule in September next year.

But the Government and the ANC want the planning conference to discuss resumption of Codesa, which would appoint a multiparty transitional executive authority. This would have the task of levelling the political playing field in the run-up to elections for an interim government of national unity. The Government and the ANC envisage these elections taking place at the end of the year or early next year.



NELSON MANDELA



F W DE KLERK



MANGOSUTHU BUTHELEZI

According to their scenarios the interim government would act as a constitution-making body. Another round of elections would be held for a majority government.

Although the Government and the ANC have agreed on a broad framework for the transition, fundamental differences still exist on regional government and power-sharing.

However, these differences are not necessarily obstacles in the negotiations process or merely issues of procedure. While negotiators concede that tough negotiations lie ahead, they stress that convergence can be found on the differences.

The NP's breakth

STAR 27/2/93

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JAC Rabie (55), a colourful character in anyone's books, has been given responsibility for Population Development following President F W de Klerk's latest Cabinet shuffle.

Born in Middelburg, one of six children of an Indian father and coloured mother, Rabie trained as a teacher. While studying he met and married his wife, Angeli-que, and they had four sons. Their youngest son Alan (22) died unexpectedly last year on the eve of his wedding.

Rabie began his political career in 1969 as a member of the Federal Coloured People's Party (FCPP) when he signed up as full-time organiser. He was elected to the Coloured Representative Council for Reiger Park — where he now lives — two years later.

He resigned from the FCPP in 1975 and joined the Labour Party in 1978, a party he had often vilified.

HE soon became one of the party's leading lights but by 1987 he had had enough of Labour Party leader the Rev Allan Hendrickse and "his authoritarian style" and formed the United Democratic Party with four other MPs. By last year he had again walked the floor,



ABE WILLIAMS: Has built up excellent contacts with sports ministries overseas.



JAC RABIE: Will head the Government's birth-control programme.

Two coloureds and an Indian j

joining the National Party and becoming the NP's most senior "person of colour".

As Minister of Population Development he will be in charge of the Government's birth-control programme.

"Jac Rabie has never been afraid to call a spade a shovel. But he would probably win more prizes for bluntness than consistency," a report on him notes.

Better known for his diplomatic approach is the newly appointed Minister of Sport, Abe Williams.

Malmesbury-born Williams (53) also trained as

a teacher and rose to headmaster of the Belhar Primary School.

He won a seat in Parliament in 1984 as a member of the Labour Party. By 1989 he had been appointed Deputy Minister of Education and Culture in the House of Representatives.

In 1989 he resigned from the Labour Party and joined the NP.

THE decision made him "lose sleep and shed a few kilograms without dieting", he says.

THE appointment last week of Jac Rabie, Abe Williams and Bhadra Ranchod to the Cabinet is yet another milestone on the way to a new South Africa, reports MANDY-JEAN WOODS.

"It is important for all moderate South Africans to lend a hand to build a new democratic South Africa. There is only one road to national reconciliation — the National road."

Williams, who is well known in sporting circles, was appointed assistant manager of the 1981 Springbok rugby

tour to New Zealand.

He has travelled widely in the name of sport and established excellent contacts with sports ministries, organisations and personalities overseas. He is on record as saying: "Sport is in many ways leading the process of change in South Africa and helping the country into a new world."

STAD

27/02/93

304#

Hennie the wheeler-dealer is boxing on

A YEAR ago, clutching his expensive pig-skin briefcase in his hand and moving his bulky body through a packed conference hall in Potchefstroom, Hennie van der Walt was back in his element: western Transvaal wheeling and dealing.

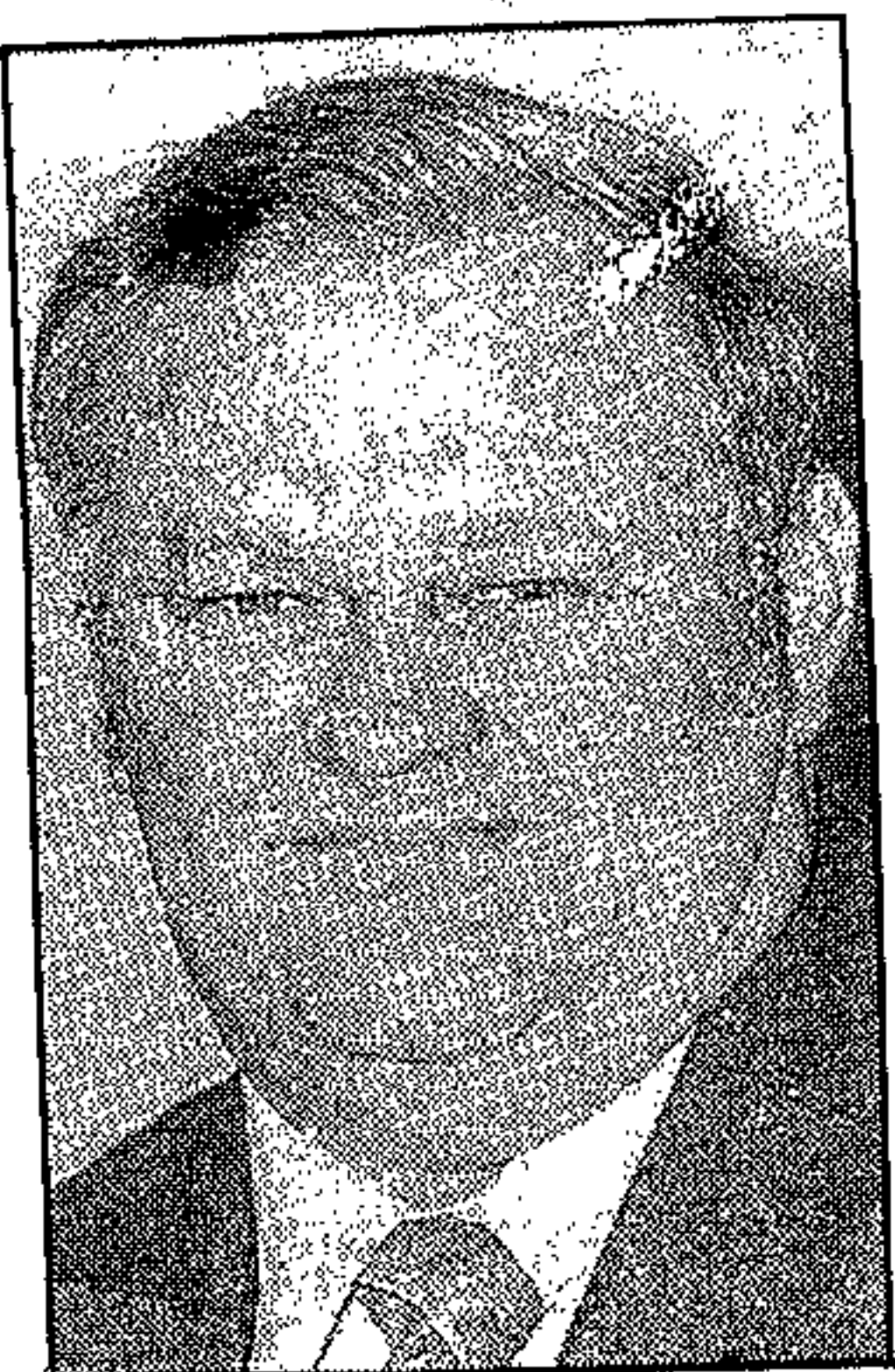
The event — a meeting of the SA-Tswana Forum on joint co-operation between Bophuthatswana and the western Transvaalers — saw the highly intelligent and articulate "Oom Hennie" playing a vital role in President Lucas Mangope's campaign to win support for his federalist, anti-ANC stance.

For the 58-year-old farmer-lawyer-politician, the responsibility was nothing new.

Elected to Parliament in 1970 in what was then the Christiana constituency, and going on later to become MP for Schweizer-Reneke, he appeared to be destined from his early days to be a boy from the "mealie lands" who made good.

He matriculated at Potchefstroom Gymnasium and, after changing from a theology course, later graduated with a BA LLB from the university in the town. After being awarded an Abe Bailey scholarship, he studied for a time at Oxford University and at Heidelberg in Germany.

His articles were served in the same firm as another articulated clerk, one F. W. de Klerk, who went on to greater things.



HENNIE VAN DER WALT:
Chequered career since 1970.

FORMER Nat MP Hennie van der Walt, who was jailed for fraud, is back in the news again. The Saturday Star traces his rise, fall, rise and apparent fall again with his 'removal' from a Bophuthatswana land company's board.

After his election to Parliament in 1970, it didn't take the young Van der Walt long to get noticed. In 1972 he was appointed to the Schlebusch Commission, which investigated certain stu-

dent, church and research organisations. In 1977 he spoke out strongly against what he called "economic sabotage" and suggested it should be made a "crime against State security". The following year he headed the investigation into the Information Department scandal.

In the late 1970s Van der Walt headed the Land Consolidation Commission, which effectively drew up the boundaries of the new homelands.

In 1983 Van der Walt cited ill health as his reason from resigning from his post as Deputy Minister of Development and Land Affairs, soon after a parliamentary select committee cleared him of having indirect personal,

financial or other involvement in the fight for casino rights.

He dropped out of public sight until 1987, when charged with stealing money from his clients as an attorney. After being paroled 20 months later, he told reporters he had "made mistakes", and shortly afterwards took up his post in Mmabatho.

Van der Walt's recent removal from the board of Bala Farms (Pty) Ltd, the Mmabatho government land company, followed allegations that tens of thousands of hectares of farming land had been bought in the western Transvaal at inflated prices, and that some of the land had immediately been leased back to its former owners at low rentals.

rough trio



BHADRA RANCHOD: Has campaigned for a Bill of Rights for many years.

in the Cabinet

In 1991 he became the NP's first coloured Minister when President de Klerk appointed him Deputy Minister of National Education and Planning and of Local Government and National Housing in the House of Representatives.

HE is married to Esme, a music teacher, and the couple have a son and a daughter.

Bhadra Ranchod (49) has a legal background and was not a member of the ruling NP when selected for the Cabinet

as Minister of Tourism. He this week joined the NP — the first time he has joined any party.

Ranchod served for many years as professor of law at the University of Durban-Westville, becoming head of the department of private law in 1976. In 1986 he became the first "non-white" ambassador when he was appointed by former president P W Botha. His appointment as permanent representative to the European Community came at a time when his request to move into a white residential area had been

turned down by the Government.

Ranchod has in the past lashed out at critics who accused him of being used as a token. "I don't have to be anyone's token or lackey. Why should I allow myself to be used?" he said.

He admitted there had been times and situations in South Africa which had angered him. "But I don't believe in whimpering. There's a job to do and one's got to get on with it."

The turning point for him, he said in a report at the time of his appointment to the EC, was the acceptance of the concept of a Bill of Rights for South Africa. Ranchod has been associated with a Bill of Rights campaign for many years.

He was born in Port Elizabeth and studied at the University of Cape Town where he obtained his law degree. He also studied at Leiden University in the Netherlands, Queens College in Cambridge, and Oslo University. He speaks Afrikaans and Dutch fluently and passable French.

He returned from his European assignment last year and became director-general, administration, of the House of Delegates. Earlier this year he was appointed chairman of the NP-controlled Ministers' Council in the House of Delegates.

He is married to Vibha, and the couple have two daughters.

STAR
27/02/93
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Corruption has cost SA taxpayer R5-bn - DP

STAR 27/2/93

OWN CORRESPONDENT and SABA

CORRUPTION, fraud, graft and gross mismanagement by the Government had cost the South African taxpayer a massive R5 billion over the past 18 months, it was claimed in Parliament yesterday.

One of the opposition MPs who levelled accusations against the Government, Democratic Party MP for Bezuidenhout Geoff Engel, said the Government had been rocked by repeated scandals in the past 18 months, revealing malpractices and corruption in many Government departments and state bodies. No one was prepared to accept responsibility or be politically accountable, he said.

"As the Auditor-General's scope is limited and the various commissions of inquiry are very focused, this (R5 billion) may be only the tip of the iceberg.

"Yet no political blood has flowed. No ministers have resigned and no ministers have been sacked. Many who presided over these financial atrocities were even promoted," Engel said.

"As a general rule, incompetence of ministers and senior civil servants

is rewarded instead of being punished by the Government."

The Government's record was defended by Minister of State Expenditure Amie Venter. He denied the Government was trying to sweep scandals under the carpet.

He said Democratic Party leader Dr Zach de Beer had tried to create the false impression that the Government did not have the will or ability to take measures.

"The Government agrees that corruption and mismanagement is totally unacceptable and it is doing everything in its power to stamp it out," Venter said.

Peter Soal (DP Johannesburg North) told the House that a coloured minister had left the Labour Party and joined the National Party simply because he had bought himself a luxury house and would not be able to continue the payments unless he received the ministerial subsidy.

Soal said the entire housing subsidy scheme for political office-bearers "stank to high heaven".

He said he was "advised" of another minister who had left his official residence in order to occupy a house he had purchased so that the bond could be repaid by the taxpayer.



Malan quits active politics

Political Staff

THE mastermind behind the government's controversial total strategy policies, General Magnus Malan, quit active politics yesterday.

Officially, he retires as Minister of Forestry and Water Affairs at midnight on Sunday.

Yesterday, General Malan, once of the one most powerful men in South Africa, was seen in his last day of official duty in the streets of Cape Town without any security guards.

He did not participate in the debate on corruption yesterday.

Top Apla men for talks

Political Staff

301/A CT. 27/2/93
COMMANDERS of the Azanian Peoples Liberation Army (Apla), the armed wing of the PAC, will probably be included in the organisation's delegation when they meet the government in Gaborone on Monday.

The talks could pave the way for the PAC's participation in the multi-party talks. Law and Order ministry spokesman Captain Craig Kotze yesterday confirmed Monday's meeting.

Talks between the government and the PAC were suspended after the

Apla attacks in December on the King William's Town golf club and a Queenstown steakhouse.

Meanwhile, Sapa reports there is still no clarity on whether Zulu King Goodwill Zwelethini will attend next week's multi-party conference.

The matter was discussed between the government and the IFP in Pretoria yesterday, but neither party was prepared to comment after the talks.

Constitutional Development Minister Mr Roelf Meyer said the planning conference was also discussed.

'Corruption could be R5bn'

3044

CT 27/2/93

Political Staff

GOVERNMENT corruption over the past 18 months could have cost the taxpayer R5 billion, it was estimated yesterday.

Democratic Party MP for Bezuidenhout Mr Geoff Engel suggested that because the auditor-general's scope was limited corruption revealed in his report "could be only the tip of the iceberg".

His allegation came in a day of bitter debate in Parliament as the government attempted to defend itself against allegations that it was rotten with corruption.

President F W de Klerk, apparently anxious that perceptions of rampant maladministration do not gain ground, sat in on the debate, sometimes interjecting angrily as opposition members spoke.

Mr Engel was speaking during the fiery debate on a private members motion introduced in the House of Assembly by DP leader Dr Zach de Beer.

Dr De Beer's call for an independent commission of inquiry into revelations of corruption in

Audit commission formed

THREE top private sector auditing firms are represented on the Audit Commission which was appointed yesterday by the State President, a statement issued by the Minister of State Expenditure, Mr Amie Venter, said.

The commission will be responsible for financial supervision over the office of the auditor-general and ensure that standards of audit are acceptable.

Speaking in Parliament yesterday, Mr Venter vigorously defended the

government, saying corruption and mismanagement were not being swept under the carpet.

The government agreed corruption was "totally unacceptable", he said.

Mr Amie's statement came as deputy Regional Affairs Minister Mr Andre Fourie said former auditor-general Mr Peter Wronsley's word was not "gospel" just because he was a "so-called independent".

Mr Fourie will be promoted to Minister of Regional and Land Affairs on April 1.

the homelands and in government departments was rejected by the government.

Retiring Regional and Land Affairs Minister Mr Jacob de Villiers said it was unnecessary because the present dispensation would be changing soon.

Mr Jasper Walsh, the DP MP for Pinelands, said that South Africans were punch drunk as they watched their assets being frittered away on an orgy of self-enrichment.

He said the government's reaction to allegations of corruption was "pathetic".

The Conservative Party, which supported the DP call for an inde-

pendent commission, said the public now considered politicians to be a "bunch of crooks".

It said the government was busy with a cover-up about the commission of inquiry report into corruption and maladministration in KwaNdebele.

The third Parsons Commission report was handed to the State President on September 18 but still had not been released, the CP said in a statement, issued by its spokesman on land and regional affairs, Mr Jan Hoon.

The CP MP for Barberton, Mr Casper Uys, said everybody in government was bent on "grabbing a last slice of the cake".

Press 28/2/83
(304A)

Plan of action for transition

By KHULU SIBIYA
in Portugal

A PROMINENT group of South Africans from a diverse political spectrum met at Sintra in Portugal for four days last week to ensure the emerging political order in SA was founded on democratic values.

There was speculation that the group — which included Dr Nthato Motlana, Dr Frederick van Zyl Slabbert, Rev Stanley Mogoba, Dr Alex Boraine, Colin Eglin, John Dugard, Franklin Sonn, Ken Andrew and Peter Gastrow — were about to start a new political party.

However, according to Boraine, the conference was motivated by the recognition that agreements, concluded under the pressure of tight deadlines in the months ahead, would set precedents and conventions that determine South African politics for decades to come.

Conference participants expressed unanimous commitment to ensure that the promotion and entrenchment of core democratic values take precedence over

all other considerations in the transition process, despite the urgency of concluding agreements during negotiations in the months to come," said Boraine.

Asked whether the group would consider starting a new political party after the conference, Boraine said: "If major political parties truly promoted democracy there would be no need for another party. If they don't, then I believe many South Africans will look for an alternative."

He warned that in the months to come, there would be a groundswell from people who would look for a vehicle among the political movements for true democracy.

Boraine said: "Many political movements today claim to be democratic but they must be judged by what they do and not what they say."

The conference resolved to ask Idasa and the Institute for Multi-party Democracy to formulate an action plan for consideration by an expanded meeting in SA which would include prominent individuals.

DEMOCRACY is in demand around the world. It even seems contagious, wrote US academic Matthew Gandal in a paper on democracy.

"The collapse of totalitarian rule in Eastern Europe; the struggle against apartheid in South Africa; the courageous freedom movements in China and Burma - all demonstrate an innate and universal yearning for liberty and political freedom," said Gandal, an expert in democracy. It is this yearning for democracy that compelled a group of South Africans to hold a four-day conference at Sintira in Portugal last week.

Delegates to the conference came from diverse political groupings but shared a common mission - to bring democracy to the people of SA.

I was fortunate to attend, as it proved to be an experience I will cherish for a long time. Many of us have cried foul at those who are not democratic, yet we are invariably guilty of the same crime.

☐ **MY WAY**
With Khulu Sibiba

C/Pers
28/2/93

Hear call for Democracy

(304A)



South Africans have never lived in a democratic society so it is a difficult concept to grasp. Our education was designed to suppress and undermine democratic ideas and left a generation ill-equipped to propagate or even defend democracy.

I have attended meetings where people claimed to be fighting for a non-racial and democratic SA. But many of these organisations and their members seldom practised the very democracy they claimed to be fighting for.

Addressing a group of students once, I urged them to go back to class because they were losing out. I was nearly lynched.

Why? Simply because my views differed from theirs.

Many of our people who have been killed and necklaced, died not because they had committed serious crimes, but because their views were contrary to those who claimed to be the torchbearers of our liberation.

At Sintira I learnt that democracy is more than just a system of government, that it is a way of living and working together, that only when the responsibilities of democratic life are taken seriously by citizens, are its rights and rewards meaningful.

In our own situation we

see old bureaucrats (NP government) teaching new bureaucrats (new government) bad habits as we move towards a new SA.

The conference at Sintira considered, among other things, ways of ensuring that the emerging political order in SA be founded on core democratic values.

"The conference was motivated by the recognition that agreements, concluded under the pressure of tight deadlines in the months ahead, will set precedents and conventions that determine South African politics for decades to come," said Dr Alex Boraine of Idasa, who arranged the

conference.

It was refreshing to listen to members of the ANC, DP, PAC, church and education leaders debate how SA could maintain democracy in a transitional period and under a new order.

As we move towards an election, how many parties will be prepared to accept defeat? Will they go the route of Jonas Savimbi and Mobuto Sese Seko if their parties lose the elections?

Will the victorious party allow the losers a chance to contest the following elections?

These are issues that our liberation movements must debate now.

We speak of freedom of speech, expression and assembly, yet none of these has ever been practised in SA.

Organisations like the Institute of Multiparty Democracy and Idasa are doing fine work promoting democracy and must continue.

We are fast moving toward transition, but let it not be said later that our voices were never heard.

CIPRES
28/2/93

Portugal tells SA: 'Learn fast'

By KHULU SIBIYA (3048)

PORTUGAL's Foreign Affairs minister, Durrao Barroso, recently told a group of SA leaders in Lisbon that the SA government had a hand in assisting Unita forces and Renamo against their respective governments.

He said these reports, although not yet confirmed, were received from Portuguese intelligence sources.

He said the United Nations, which monitored the elections in Angola, said they were free and fair but Unita leader Jonas Savimbi refused to accept this.

"I want to believe that the problems in Angola are also caused by ethnicity because Savimbi claims to be a leader of 80 percent of Angolans. Be-

fore the elections, Savimbi refused to accept a government of national unity but now that he has been defeated he wants it," said Barroso.

He said SA should learn from these mistakes, avoid a "winner takes all" situation and look more towards power sharing.

"The majority should win but must also respect the minorities," said Barroso.

On the question of grants to assist the transition period, Barroso said it was about time South Africans stopped asking for money.

"You must also learn to give to play a meaningful role.

"European countries want success stories. They want partners in Africa and not just humanitarian aid," he said.

CIPRESS
28/2/93
(304A)
**No new
party -
Slabbert**

DR FREDERICK Van Zyl Slabbert yesterday vehemently denied speculation that he was about to start a new political party.

Speculation was heightened this week when a group of prominent South Africans - led by Slabbert - met in Portugal to discuss democracy in a period of transition.

In an exclusive interview with City Press, Slabbert said: "I am more concerned that democracy should survive."

He said he would work as hard as he could to support any organisation that "can strategise democratic values in which civil liberties are protected and legitimate and free elections are held".

Codesa judges given the push

By EDYTH BULBRING

THE two judges who chaired Codesa meetings have been dumped after objections from the government.

This week's conference to plan the resumption of Codesa-style talks will be chaired by a rotating panel of seven political representatives.

Negotiators said the government was concerned about Mr Justice Ismail Mohamed's "left leanings" and Mr Justice Petrus Schabert's inability to sufficiently balance this influence.

The compromise reached after this objection was that the meeting should be chaired by a seven-person panel.

There is widespread acceptance among parties that the two judges will also not be in the chair when full-scale Codesa talks resume.

Petty haggling of this nature dominated the run-up to the two-day meeting, which starts next Friday.

Questions about who should invite the parties, who should come, who should be in the chair, who should speak first, where they should sit and what should be discussed have been thrashed out in excruciating detail.

But an obstacle still to be overcome is Inkatha's negative view of the government's five-year power-sharing proposals. The issue will be discussed today at an

Inkatha central committee meeting.

Government negotiators Roelf Meyer and Tertius Delpert will present the proposals to Inkatha leader Mangosuthu Buthelezi in the hope of getting his backing for the power-sharing plan.

The two ministers want to outline the proposals directly to Chief Buthelezi because the government is concerned that Inkatha negotiator Walter Felgate, who has been accused of misleading the Inkatha leader, will distort its position.

To prevent this from happening, the government managed to secure an invitation to the central committee meeting.

But there are indications that these efforts will be in vain as the Inkatha central committee already appears to have decided to reject the power-sharing deal.

Meanwhile, a Kwazulu government delegation, representing King Goodwill Zwelithini, will attend the planning conference — whether they are invited or not.

The Conservative Party and the Afrikaner Volksunie are also expected to attend.

The parties will discuss past agreements reached at Codesa and how they see future negotiations.

Zulu king issue delays talks

A DISPUTE over the participation of Zulu King Goodwill Zwelithini is delaying the resumption of multiparty negotiations.

To keep the process on track Inkatha, government, the ANC and most other parties are anxious to get a multiparty planning conference under way before the month end. *B/D/M 8/2/93.*

A government source said his team and the ANC were "fairly much in agreement on the short duration of the planning conference and who would participate, but Inkatha was 'still some way off'".

He said the main problem was Zwelithini's participation — the same issue that bedevilled Codesa from its launch in 1991.

Inkatha leader Mangosuthu Buthelezi

BILLY PADDOCK *(304A)*

boycotted Codesa because the king was not allowed to take part. He is making Inkatha's participation in the new forum conditional on the king's attendance.

The ANC and, to some extent government, feel Zwelithini's presence as a participant is not necessary. The ANC believes he should have observer status.

Another issue is Inkatha's refusal to be bound by Codesa agreements.

Meanwhile, the ANC and government made "a great deal of progress" in their committee meetings on Friday and Saturday in preparation for a two-day bilateral

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Zulu king *B/D/M 8/2/93.*

meeting from Wednesday, which will try to pave the way for multiparty negotiations in March.

A government source said yesterday the issue of Umkhonto we Sizwe had moved to the top of the agenda at government/ANC meetings after last week's disclosure of an arms smuggling operation in Natal.

Inkatha had insisted that MK be disbanded before it entered multiparty negotiations, but the source said the ANC also had major problems with the continued existence of the KwaZulu Police as a separate force.

However, the government source and an ANC negotiator emphasised that the two sides had moved closer on core issues, but no decisions had been taken.

From Page 1

While the planning conference is a priority for all parties, the ANC/government bilateral meeting will continue dealing with constitutional issues such as power sharing and regionalism.

All parties had wanted the multiparty planning conference to take place in mid-February, but this was no longer possible, and hopes that it could happen before month-end were fading fast.

Inkatha also wants the conference to finalise matters such as federalism/regionalism at the conference, but government and the ANC say the meeting is to set up a multiparty negotiating forum.

A government negotiator said today's meeting with Inkatha would probably be confined to the planning conference.

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**Way may
open for
Zulu king
in talks** (304A)

Political Staff

THE way could soon be open to Zulu King Goodwill Zwelethini's participation in multi-party negotiations, clearing one of the final hurdles to a resumption of full-blown talks.

Negotiators are considering a compromise in terms of which traditional leaders could attend talks and bring a delegation with them. In the Zulu king's case his delegation could be a KwaZulu government team.

Talks between the government and the ANC which began yesterday and end today will be critical in deciding whether this thorny problem is resolved.

The government is also due to meet with IFP negotiators again on Friday, where the matter will be taken further.

Traditional leaders

3041
sought as
STAR 23/2/93
negotiators

Political Reporter

The ANC and its Codesa allies yesterday decided to campaign for the inclusion of traditional leaders in multiparty negotiations and next week's negotiations planning conference.

The decision, taken at a meeting at the ANC headquarters in Johannesburg, could pave the way for the inclusion of Zulu King Goodwill Zwelithini in negotiations — a demand KwaZulu Chief Minister Mangosuthu Buthelezi and his Inkatha Freedom Party have made repeatedly.

The meeting, attended by the ANC's "patriotic front" allies within Codesa, said the participation of traditional leaders in negotiations should be "in accord with their unifying role".

The organisations said the delegation of traditional leaders would have to be composed "by the traditional leaders themselves, and this should not be on a party-political basis".

Asked whether the agreement meant that King Goodwill could now attend multiparty talks, ANC assistant secretary-general Jacob Zuma did not want to commit himself either way.