

S.A. GOVT. & POLITICS — 1993

MARCH.

Dr F J Kok replies to criticisms that *die taal* is the language of the elite

Star 11/3/93



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Role of Afrikaans speaks for itself

IN HIS article, "What tongue shall we choose?" (The Star, February 17), a correspondent of the Press Trust of India, trying to make a case for the use of one language in the new South Africa, looks for similarities between India and South Africa.

The question posed about what was going to be done with the indigenous languages was understandable, but then a full blast was directed against Afrikaans, or the language which — according to the correspondent — is more or less accountable for all the wrongs that have been done in South Africa.

Ignoring facts, the statement is made that Afrikaans is used by the minority and furthermore is, it seems, responsible for the fact that the indigenous languages have not been taught in school.

Such one-sidedness should really be taken to task. But why bother? Let Afrikaans take the stand and speak for itself.

To state that Afrikaans is a dividing factor in South Africa today, because it carries certain apartheid baggage with it, is a simplistic argument.

A language is used, or not used, due to the fact that it can communicate successfully — not by its history.

If history was the deciding factor then English and French — two languages used in colonising Africa — would never have survived on the continent.

To further imply that Afrikaans has had no part in the whole freedom struggle, or the transition that has taken place in the last few years, is to ignore the realities. In fact one of the ANC branches in the Cape is called Saamstaan.

According to the 1991 census figures, Afrikaans is spoken as a home language by just under 6 million people. Thus it is one of the biggest home languages in South Africa today.

In the past 10 years, the use of Afrikaans has grown by more than 14 percent. How could this be possible if Afrikaans is what the correspondent comfortably calls a language of "hate and division"?

According to HSRC figures, Afrikaans is spoken and understood by more people in South Africa than English and, according to the *Linguage Atlas of South Africa* (1990), Afrikaans is the language which is most widely spoken in all the districts of South Africa today.

Scientific studies show that more than 90 percent of black matriculants chose Afrikaans as one of their main subjects.

More than 61,9 percent of these black students in the Johannesburg area consider Afrikaans important in terms of further education.

Afrikaans also plays an important role in the overall communication process of the entire southern African sub-continent.

It is the lingua franca of Namibia, one of the three official languages of Bophuthatswana and, interestingly, the Transkei has also reinstated the teaching of Afrikaans in its schools.

Afrikaans is a friendly language, and if one really looks and listens objectively to people throughout the whole spectrum talking to each other, one will certainly realise how wide Afrikaans is used as a form of communication.

In the future, the question of what official language or languages should be used must not be decided on political grounds, but on the basis of which languages are the most effective in communication among people. Of course, in the new dispensation, room should be given for the development, usage and the rights of all the indigenous languages.

● The writer is executive director of Die Afrikaanse Taal- en Kultuurvereniging. □

Budget summit 'because of govt corruption'

LEI 1101

Own Correspondent

JOHANNESBURG.—A wide range of political and community organisations today hold a budget summit here because of their concern about government mismanagement and corruption, the Co-ordinating Committee on VAT (VCC) said yesterday.

VCC spokesman Mr Bernie Fanaroff said the summit was called to discuss the credibility of the budget, which seems set to fall in addressing increasing poverty and soaring food prices.

The failure of the government to improve its poverty relief programme would also be discussed. "The government has always

claimed there was a lack of money to implement these poverty relief programmes but the huge waste of money through mismanagement and corruption makes nonsense of this argument," said Mr Fanaroff. He said although the VCC would meet ministers soon to discuss the zero-rating of basic foods and medical services, it did not seem as if this would be accommodated in the budget on March 17.

The establishment of an audit commission to monitor government spending and a tax commission to review the entire tax system would also be discussed. Apart from politicians and civil servants, these commissions should also include representatives of trade organisations, he said.

(30414)

Star 11/3/93

Talks: Who's the top scorer?

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Who is winning the battle of wits at the negotiating table? PATRICK LAURENCE looks at the score card as the interlocutors prepare for another and possibly decisive round of talks.

SOUTH Africa's political negotiations are a process of give and take, in which the negotiating parties strive to take more than they give or — less cynically — try to take enough to justify what they have to give.

With the resumption of multi-party negotiations now imminent after a nine-month hiatus, it is pertinent to ask how the two dominant parties, the African National Congress (ANC) and the De Klerk administration (DKA), have fared so far.

Using a different metaphor, what tactical retreats have they conducted in order to make strategic advances and, critically, who has gained the most ground in the contest?

Viewed from one perspective, the ANC has achieved major gains. Some middle-ranking members of President F W de Klerk's ruling National Party and of his parliamentary caucus think so; they have expressed fears that De Klerk surrendered too much ground to the ANC.

One major concession by the DKA concerns the ANC bottom-line demand that the constitution for a non-racial South Africa be drafted by a popularly elected constituent assembly.

When the negotiating process began after the release of Nelson Mandela in February 1990, the DKA wanted the constitution to be drawn up by a multi-party conference, in which the power of the ANC would be muted by the presence of a plethora of smaller parties.

Now, however, the DKA accepts that only the democratically elected constituent assembly or constitution-making body will have the moral authority to confer legitimacy on the new constitution.

Another major concession by the DKA concerns its proposal

that the decisions of the constituent assembly be vetted and, if necessary, vetoed by a powerful second chamber, in which representation would be weighted in favour of smaller parties.


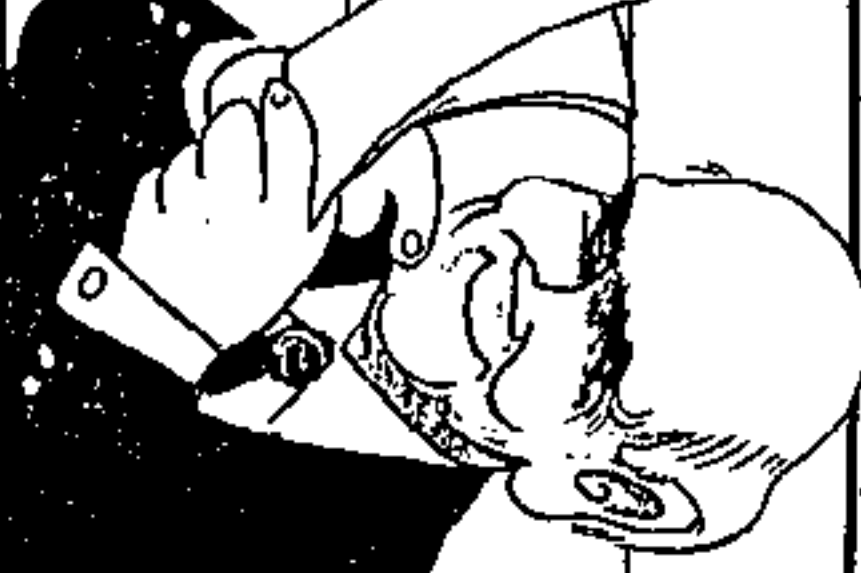
That has now been taken off the DKA's agenda for the time being; it may resurface in a modified form via the National Party's elected delegates when the constituent assembly begins its work next year.

The DKA appears to have lost another critical battle: it originally demanded markedly high majorities for the adoption of the new constitution by the constituent assembly (70 per cent for general clauses and 75 per cent for clauses relating to regional affairs); now it seems to have accepted that it will not get more than the two-thirds majority offered by the ANC.

On the vital issue of the powers and boundaries of regions, the DKA has made yet another retreat. Where it once wanted the multiparty conference to all but settle these questions in advance, leaving the constituent assembly little more to do than complete the formalities, it now agrees that the final decisions should be taken by the constituent assembly.

Apparently abandoned, too, are the DKA's original plans — contained in the proposals approved by the NP's special federal congress in September 1991 — for a collective or troika presidency, a rotating president and a clause in the "final" constitution prescribing power-sharing in perpetuity.

The sense that the DKA has been outmanoeuvred and forced to pull back, rather than having conducted a series of tactical retreats, is reflected in an edito-

African National Congress (ANC)		National Party (NP)	
GAINS ✓	LOSSES ✗	GAINS ✓	LOSSES ✗
A democratically elected constitutional assembly		A rotating troika presidency with perpetual power-sharing	
The new non-racial constitution drafted by a popularly elected constituent assembly		The new non-racial constitution drafted by a multi-party conference	
The adoption of the new constitution by a two-thirds majority		The adoption of the new constitution by 70% for general clauses & 75% for clauses relating to regional affairs	
Final decisions made by the constituent assembly		Constituent assembly to be vetted by a second chamber with power of veto	
	No power-sharing		A Transitional Government of National Unity (TGNU) in which power will be shared between all parties obtaining five percent of the vote
	No federalism		Autonomous regions
	A nationalised & centralised command economy		A market economy
Timing only	A justiciable bill of rights	Timing only	A justiciable bill of rights

GRAPHIC: NICKY TAYLOR, LIZ WARDER

rial in the conservative newspaper, The Citizen.

"If the government makes any more concessions," the newspaper states, "it might as well give up now and hand the country over to the ANC, since the ANC is getting its way on most vital issues."

But against that it can be argued — and is by DKA loyalists — that the DKA has kept its head in a difficult process and successfully advanced its key objectives. Its steadfast defence

of its overall objectives has been combined with flexibility over the mechanisms for achieving them, DKA men reckon.

The core objectives are defined as power-sharing, federalism (as a way of dividing and therefore sharing power), a market economy, a justiciable Bill of Rights and — associated with it — constitutional guarantees against domination of one group by another.

The proposed transitional government of national unity (TGNU) — in which power will be shared between all parties obtaining five percent of the vote in the constituent assembly elections in proportion to their showing in the poll — is a form of power-sharing, whatever objections the ANC may have to the phrase.

The TGNU will not necessarily last longer than five years after the elections, a limitation which causes conservatives to

scornfully assert that the DKA has been outmanoeuvred. A rejoinder is, however, in order.

The DKA's achievement in negotiating a deal which will give De Klerk's NP a guaranteed role in the governance of South Africa until the end of the century should not be underestimated.

As The Economist notes in an editorial written with the advantage of the perspective of distance, the deal is "a breathtaking achievement" by De

Klerk, ensuring that the NP, "the inventor of apartheid", will remain in power until the close of the century.

On the crucial question of federalism the ANC stance has shifted during the negotiation process.

It has moved from a position of regarding regionalism as a form of neo-apartheid to recognition of the need for effective regional government. According to a well-placed observer who has followed bilateral discussions between the DKA and the ANC closely, the ANC now accepts that there should be autonomous regions.

Regionalism, as everyone knows, is code language for federalism, the "F-word" of South African politics. The ANC's changed thinking on regionalism marks a softening of its opposition to federalism.

On another critical issue — that of economic policy — there has been an even more significant change in ANC thinking.

From a stand propagating nationalisation of mines, banks and "monopoly industry," the ANC has come to reject a centralised, command economy in favour of a mixed one with a strong private sector. At the same time the ANC has begun to look to the World Bank and the International Monetary Fund — those bastions of international capitalism — for help in the reconstruction of South Africa.

On the Bill of Rights the differences between the DKA and the ANC are about timing and detail, not essence.

There is concurrence that a comprehensive and justiciable Bill of Rights should be enshrined in the constitution to guarantee the rule of law — what the DKA calls a constitutional state — and to protect fundamental human rights and liberties from abuse by government power.

Who, then, has outmanoeuvred whom? The best answer is to look again at the score card and judge for yourself. □

Star 11/2/92

By COLIN LEGUM

ONLY a few weeks ago in his opening speech to Parliament, President F W de Klerk went out of his way to dampen concern about the significance of corruption in South Africa.

Now with the almost daily accumulation of fresh scandals involving huge sums, even Mr De Klerk has been forced to speak out in a different vein. But there is still little serious understanding of the real nature of the country's corruption.

It is being treated as if it were only a recent phenomenon requiring only the stricter application of the law to curb it — and, even then, there are no serious proposals to provide the necessary resources to ensure that the guilty are brought to trial and their cases swiftly dispatched.

It is several years since charges were preferred against the wealthy Pretoria businessman and close friend of several ministers, Mr Albert Vermaas, but his trial, like many others, has dragged on interminably. Nor is there the slightest chance that the police, with their present resources, can possibly clear up the 22 800 allegations of economic crime, involving some R5 billion.

Bribe civil servants

One flip answer to explain why businessmen, financiers, stockbrokers, lawyers, accountants and civil servants have become engaged in large-scale frauds is this: at times of uncertainty those who have the means or the opportunity to seek security either by amassing large nest-eggs or, better still, by moving assets out of the country, will do so.

There is no doubt that this is one of the reasons for an alarming rise in white-collar crime. Often, to make these scams possible, it is necessary to bribe civil servants, or those with responsibility for exchange control. The evidence shows that the bureaucracy has become increasingly corrupt at all levels, but probably not so corrupt as to justify wholesale condemnation.

However, this explanation only touches the

Growing corruption in SA is deeply rooted

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fringes of the problem. To get at the roots of the corruption of a society that had relatively reasonable standards of professional and public service integrity, it is necessary to go back to the early days of the apartheid government. One of its declared objectives was to tackle the economic inequality between Afrikaners and English-speakers.

This problem was tackled through a vigorous policy of "affirmative action". At the bottom end of the income scale, job reservation was introduced to enhance opportunities for whites at the lower end of the economic scale — a majority of whom were Afrikaners. Priority for government contracts was given to Afrikaner businesses and farmers; directives were given for the funds of government departments to be invested in Afrikaner-controlled financial institutions, such as Volkskas and the affiliates of Afrikaner commercial associations.

Within a decade, an Afrikaner capitalist class waxed dramatically. Quick and easy money produced a considerable class of an Afrikaner *bourgeoisie*, strongly imbued with materialism and given over to the ostentatious display of wealth usually associated with such a class.

Mysteriously killed

A second contributory factor was provided by the system of homelands. Vast sums of money were poured into these Bantustans in an effort to demonstrate their viability. Almost without exception, the Bantustan political systems became corrupted, as was shown by a number of trials and commissions of inquiry. Entrepreneurs and civil servants were involved in this corruption. Because of their efforts to present the Bantustans in as good a light as

possible, there was an elaborate cover-up by the government, and strangely, in spite of repeated exposures by the Auditor-General, no serious steps were taken to remedy this state of affairs.

Two other developments provided opportunities for the enrichment of whites.

The first was the adoption of a military posture to confront the perceived "total onslaught" against the apartheid system. Tens of billions of rands were diverted to the creation of a vast defence industry. Whether this was necessary or not is arguable. What is not defensible is the secrecy and unaccountability to the public and the secret allocation of funds.

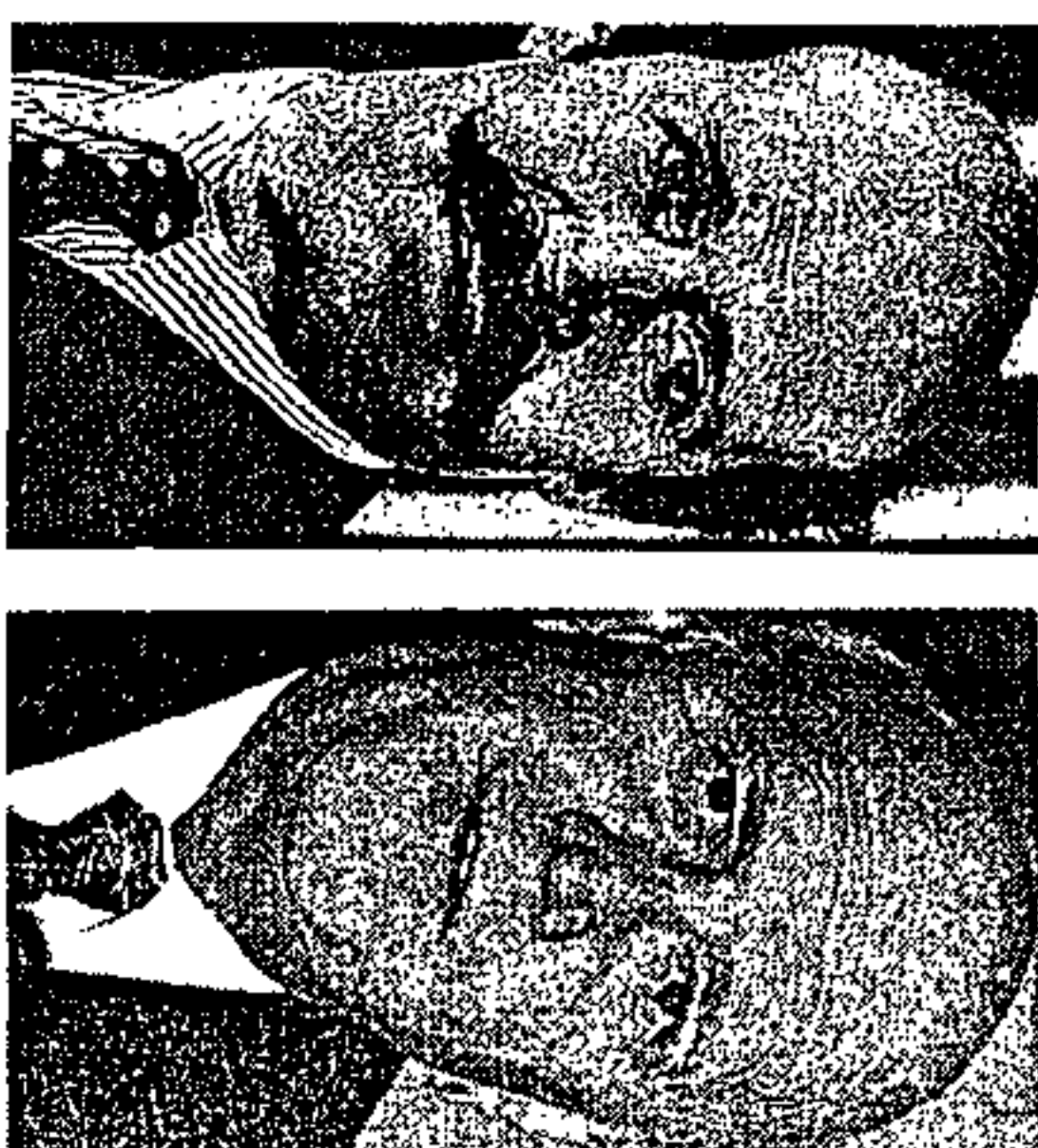
When Mr Robert Smit, prominent banker and Nationalist supporter, threatened to expose some of the scams, he was mysteriously murdered. Other theories have also been put forward to explain it, but so far no progress has been made in clearing up the mystery of this brutal killing.

Prime target

The second development was the need to counter the international sanctions campaign. This involved the encouragement of clandestine operations with no public accountability.

Several multimillionaires were created, almost overnight, just from the operations of those engaged in the highly secret and lucrative deals involved in beating the oil embargo. One significant feature of their role was the patronage that these new barons were able to confer on their political buddies in the Cabinet and their network of political associates.

The flouting of their immense wealth became



ROBERT SMIT: Prominent banker who was murdered.

PRESIDENT DE KLERK: Sought to dampen concern about corruption.

part of the social scene, with newspaper publicity given to their extravagant parties, usually well attended by ministers and other political luminaries. One of the most prominent figures in this new class of multi-millionaires was an Italian fugitive from justice in his own country who had South African citizenship conferred on him.

The apartheid era has, among its other deleterious consequences, produced a society riddled with corruption — so much so that the Centre for International Documentation on Organised Economic Crime in Britain has warned that this country is now a prime target for the future growth of the problem.

This has grave implications for a future democratic South Africa which must look to attracting foreign capital investment to help rebuild its faltering economy.

□ Colin Legum is editor and publisher of *Third World Reports*.

A rich DP appeal

ZEALOUS The

3044

Sorefer

1/3/93

domestic worker who believes in a party that helps black people.

By Sizakele Kooma

DIPUO MONYELA JOINED the Democratic Party because of the many "rich whites" in the party. She believes they will create employment for blacks should they get into power.

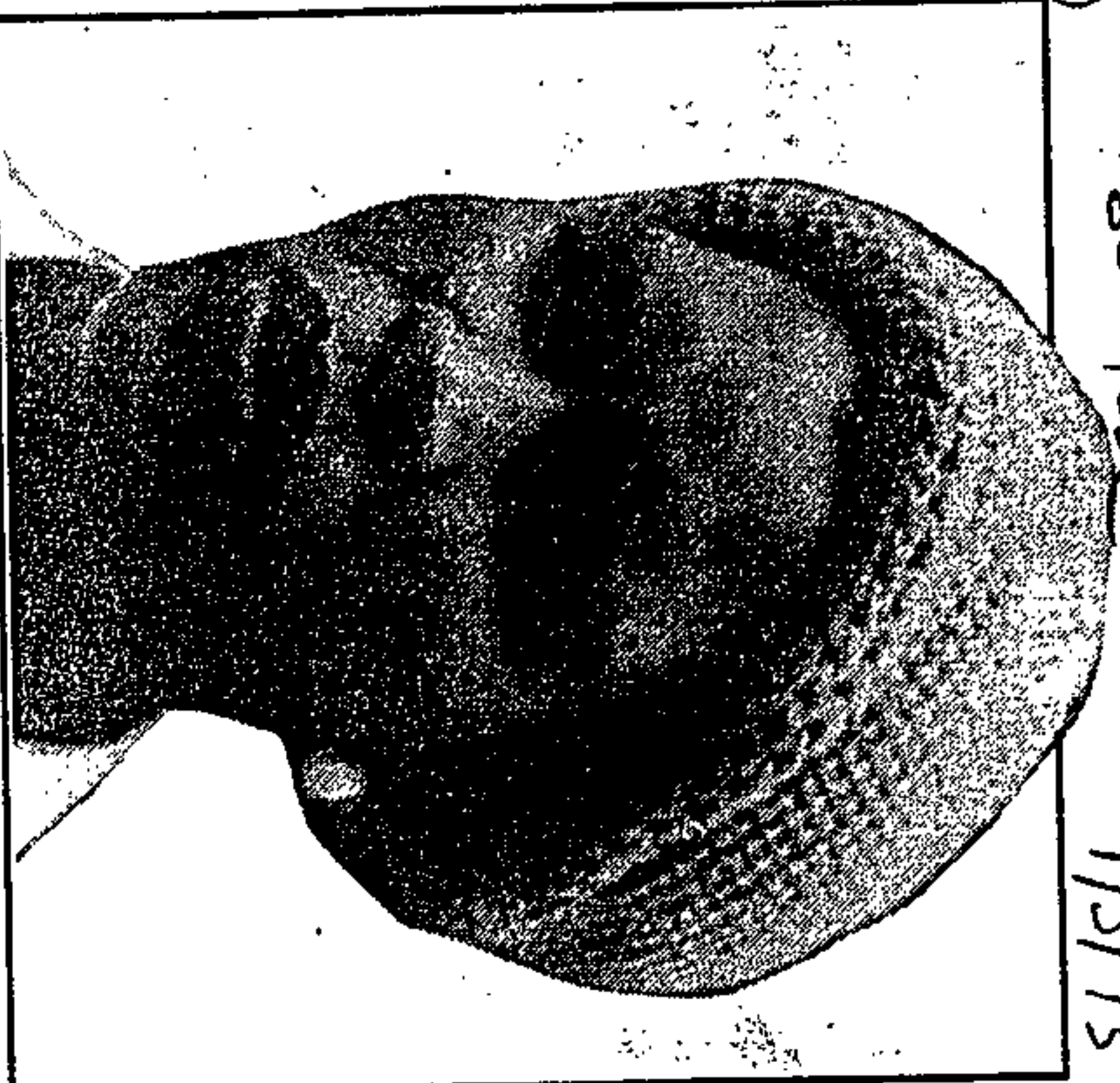
Monyela says she knows the DP from the days when it was called PFP. She also knows Helen Suzman, whom she says fought for blacks when she was in Parliament.

Scant information

She cannot count the battles that the veteran parliamentarian won for her and has scant information about the party, of which she has been a member for almost two years.

Her wardrobe, in the neat backyard room, is slashed with application forms and information brochures of the Democratic Party. Anyone, domestics and gardeners, who want to join the party in her neighbourhood of Highlands North, contacts her.

She says her family, back home in Pietersburg, is ANC-aligned. She could have joined it too if she wanted but she was not happy with the way they treated the issue of unemployment. "We always hear of money being given to the



Dipuo Monyela

ANC but they have not used it to create jobs for us," Monyela says.

Most of her relatives are out of work, she says. She herself was without a job for a year before she decided on domestic work, three years ago. She had previously worked as a receptionist.

Party of unity

"I joined the DP because I saw hope for job creation. There is also unity in the party. A lot of domestics who were ANC members have told me that they wanted to leave the organisation because each time they went to meetings there was fighting and shooting. The DP is a party of peace. It is also a party of the future. Whites who

are members of the party have helped in the education of their domestics' children."

The divorced mother of two, once a university student and the other in matric, says she does not keep her DP membership a secret. Her family does not object to her alliance. Except for one meeting in Norwood, when a male ANC member asked her why she was wearing a DP T-shirt and serving tea, Monyela has not had any bad experiences.

"There is a fair mixture of alliances among people who work in the suburbs. Some of my neighbours are IFP members and others ANC. We do not force our views on one another," she said.

The DP is a party of peace. Whites who are members of the party have helped in the education of their domestics' children

Suzman is the draw card

Soweto 1/3/93.

By Sizakele Kooma

■ Helen's legend lives on among domestic workers:

THE legend of Helen Suzman is drawing domestic workers to the Democratic Party, says DP councillor Jack Bloom.

Bloom says domestics have been voluntarily joining the party because they feel Suzman fought for them.

"Domestic workers want a party of peace and the DP stands for that," Bloom said. They are weary of the National Party because of its history of apartheid. They are also scared to

join black political organisations because they are involved in violence."

Bloom said the party recognised its popularity at a meeting in Highlands North early this year. They had envisaged a crowd of 300 people but ended up with 2 000 people. "Domestic workers would obviously be a tremendous boost to the party. But we do not force membership on anyone.

"We had a fair number of domestics as mem-

bers before the meeting. We didn't hold it to get more members though. Tony Leon wanted to inform them of their rights in the new South Africa. Matla Trust also staged a play on how to vote."

The DP plans to follow up the Northview meeting with a series of others. Bloom said the DP is "the most multifacial party". He would not disclose membership drawn from blacks and said statistics were confidential.

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Star 1/3/93

Talk of new party denied

Renewed speculation that former Progressive Federal Party chief Dr Van Zyl Slabbert would become leader of a new centrist party has been denied in political circles.

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DP man in the front line

With its eyes on the coming election, the Democratic Party has targeted the black townships for a massive recruitment campaign. The DP's man in the townships has found himself in the front line.

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Rumours of new centrist party denied

By Peter Fabricius
Political Correspondent

CAPE TOWN — Renewed speculation that former Progressive Federal Party chief Dr Van Zyl Slabbert would become leader of a new centrist party has been denied in political circles.

The speculation was inspired by Slabbert's participation with other prominent liberal democrats at a meeting in Portugal to seek ways of

protecting liberal values during the transition.

Some form of forum to play the role of watchdog over liberal values seems likely to emerge from the discussions.

Democratic Party Durban Central MP Peter Gastrow, who attended the meeting last week at Sintra outside Lisbon, said yesterday that the meeting definitely did not discuss the formation of another political party. He said it

would not make sense to do so at this stage.

Gastrow said those who took part in the meeting came from various parties including the ANC and DP, and that to compete politically could alienate support.

But he did not rule out the possibility of a new party emerging when political realignment occurred some time after the first elections.

He said the Sintra group had been brought

together by a concern that in the "pressure cooker" conditions of the transition to a new dispensation, liberal-democratic values could be diluted.

The meeting had decided that Slabbert's Idasa and Dr Oscar Dhlomo's Institute for Multiparty Democracy should seek ways of preventing this happening and report back.

The meeting was sponsored by the Friedrich Naumann Foundation.

PAC, Govt to meet in Gaborone today

■ Crucial issue of Apla high on agenda:

By Themba Molefe
Political Reporter

THE Pan Africanist Congress and the Government meet in Gaborone today in a face-to-face encounter which includes the Azanian People's Liberation Army (Apla) high command and South Africa's seurocrats.

The PAC's armed struggle will be at the top of the agenda, both sides have confirmed, with the Government describing Apla's insurgency as "terrorist".

The one-day meeting precedes a multiparty planning conference in Johannesburg on Friday which already hangs in the balance after attempts to woo both the PAC and the Azanian

People's Organisation floundered last week.

This follows the African National Congress's unsuccessful attempt at shuttle diplomacy which tried to get a commitment from both Azapo and the PAC.

Azapo has indicated it would not be at Friday's talks which it sees as an attempt to revive Codesa. The organisation wants a united front of the ANC, PAC and itself before facing the Government.

The Government's team at today's meeting with the PAC will be led by Law and Order Minister Mr Hernus Kriel, whose delegation will comprise Deputy Minister of Justice and of Defence Mr Danie Schutte and

Deputy Minister of Constitutional Development Mr Fanus Schoeman.

The SAP, SADF and National Intelligence Service will be represented by their most senior generals while Apla chief commander Mr Sabelo Phama and Apla political commissar Mr Romero Daniels will lead their delegation from Tanzania.

PAC secretary-general Mr Benny Alexander will be joined by foreign affairs secretary Mr Gora Ebrahim, political affairs secretary Mr Jaki Seroke, legal affairs secretary Mr Willie Seriti and national organiser Mr Maxwell Nemadzivhanani.

The reason for the talks being held outside South Africa was to facilitate the attendance of Apla chiefs.

VAT Budget alarm

■ Committee won't support increase in VAT:

By Ike Motsapi

THE Co-ordinating Committee on value added tax will hold an urgent meeting today to discuss the Government's Budget to be presented to Parliament on March 17.

The meeting, which will be attended by representatives from the Congress of South African Trade Unions, National Council of Trade Unions, African National Congress, Pan Africanist Congress, small business organisations, churches and

many other bodies, will start at 9am at the Johannesburg Hotel in Johannesburg.

Key speakers will be Mr Jay Naidoo, general secretary of the Congress of SA Trade Unions, and Mrs Ina Perlman, executive director of Operation Hunger.

Dr Bennie Fanaroff, chairman of the co-ordinating committee, said the meeting was necessary because the committee was concerned about continuing poverty and the Value Added Tax on food and basic services.



News in brief

Girlfriend gang-raped

FOUR men — two of them armed with knives and one with a firearm — tied up a man and raped his 29-year-old girlfriend when they parked at The Wilds near Hillbrow, Johannesburg, at the weekend.

Police spokesman Warrant Officer Andy Pieke said Hillbrow police were investigating. He appealed to couples

not to park in deserted places and to lock their car doors if they did.

Mercenary soldiers

REPORTS from both factions involved in the civil war in Angola are that former SA Defence Force members have turned mercenary and are fighting for Unita and that country's government forces — at a price.

The Ministry of Defence has reported.

edly released the names of at least four soldiers of fortune who have left the country to fight in Angola's renewed civil war.

That country was plunged into civil war again after Unita leader Dr Jonas Savimbi refused to accept the outcome of elections in Angola last October.

Defence Minister Mr Gene Louw warned that any members of South Africa's permanent or citizen force who became mercenaries were violating the country's laws.

Multiparty planners meet tonight

Star 11/3/93
(304A) (113) (113)

By Kaizer Nyatumba
and Peter Fabricius

Crucial talks to prepare for this week's multiparty planning conference to kick-start negotiations start today. The Star has learnt that a multiparty steering committee organising the planning conference will meet in Cape Town tonight.

The meeting comes ahead of a series of urgent bilateral talks this week to try to clear away remaining problems which could upset the all-important multiparty planning conference, scheduled for Friday and Saturday.

There is still concern that the Inkatha Freedom Party could cause a scene at the weekend conference, but The Star was told that tonight's meeting would go ahead regardless of whether the IFP attended.

The IFP did not want to have a core steering committee organising the planning conference and inviting others to the conference because it wanted Zulu King Goodwill Zwelithini — who would not be invited to the talks — to "gatecrash" the World Trade Centre conference at the weekend with a delegation of his own.

IFP leader Mangosuthu Buthelezi said at a weekend rally at Vryheid that the IFP was not willing to negotiate constitutional principles unless they were based on a federal form of government, Sapa reports.

Addressing about 5 000 supporters, among them about

300 whites, at a rally in the northern Natal town, he said there had to be agreement on the form the state would have before negotiations on interim arrangements could take place.

The rally was held to welcome three Members of Parliament from the National, Democratic and Solidarity parties — Jurie Mentz, Mike Tarr and Farouk Cassim — who have joined the IFP.

Referring to this week's scheduled multiparty planning conference, Buthelezi said: "The main choice which we will need to make in the next two weeks is for federalism.

"The type of compromises we are going to make in the coming negotiations are most likely going to determine how the final constitution for South Africa is going to be structured."

However, he stressed that before negotiations were taken further, agreement had to be reached on the form of the state.

"We have taken the position that we are not willing to negotiate constitutional principles other than federal principles ... until and unless there is an agreement on the issue of the form of state."

The ANC, the Government and most other Codesa parties have a more limited view of the conference and believe it should merely review Codesa decisions and plan the proposed full-scale negotiating conference this month.

Meanwhile, Law and Order Minister Hernus Kriel leads a South African delegation to Gaborone, Botswana, today to meet the Pan Africanist Congress and its military wing, Apla.

PAC wants new roll

■ Makwetu asks Government to register millions of voters:

By Isaac Moledi

THE PAC yesterday called on the Government to register the more than 21 million blacks who had been left off the common voters' roll.

Commemorating "Sobukwe Day" at Vista University in Soweto, PAC president Mr Clarence Makwetu said the Government had agreed that every South African over the age of 18 was eligible to vote, yet only a handful were on the voters' roll.

Makwetu also demanded the setting up of a new forum free from the defects of Codesa, which he said was not democratic and was unrepresentative.

"Out of the 19 parties which were represented

at Codesa, only two had a national base and that is the ANC and the South African Communist Party. The rest were either ethnically based or tribal institutions," he said.

He called on members of the PAC to emulate the organisation's founder, Mr Robert Sobukwe, who he said his greatness lay more in his sacrifices for the cause of his people and the denial of his personal comfort.

"One thing is certain, Sobukwe would not have accepted power-sharing. He would have vehemently opposed regionalism or federalism," Makwetu said.

Makwetu said the commemoration of the death of Sobukwe should serve as a rallying point for national unity, as unity was important to overthrow white domination.

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Star 11/3/93

DP's man in the townships (304A) finds he's in the front line

THE face in the picture said it all: Stephen Ntsane, surrounded by a group of angry township toughs, was in hot water.

His hands raised to parry the charging mob, Ntsane, a prominent member of the Democratic Party in the western Cape, was the person township activists singled out for special attention when the DP's meeting was disrupted in Guguletu last month.

Serving as he does in the party's western Cape regional expansion committee, he has become the DP's public face in townships outside Cape Town. But who is he?

It became clear that Ntsane (30) is a passionate man. Not for him the radical rhetoric much beloved of the Left.

Patiently and softly, in a voice pregnant with conviction and emotion, he explains that it is policies — coherent, pragmatic policies — which he finds appealing. He had looked in vain for these in the ANC, an organisation he once revered and admired as a liberation movement, before he left it to join the DP at the beginning of last year.

That is a decision Ntsane has not had cause to regret.

"If there is any party in South Africa which stands a chance of unifying the people of this country, that is the DP. Unlike the National Party and the ANC, we have not fought people. We have not had battles with other people.

"We have been preaching and practising democracy for more than 40 years. We cannot be accused of corruption, violence or racial discrimination. Our hands are not dirty," says Ntsane with conviction.

When he says "we", he is, of course, talking about the DP, its predecessor the Progressive Federal Party, and, before it, the Progressive Party.

A final-year University of Cape Town BA student, Ntsane is at the forefront of the party's campaign to expand its wings into the townships in the Cape Peninsula.

It was he who was manhandled by angry supporters of extra-parliamentary organisations when the DP's public meeting in Guguletu was disrupted earlier this year. Pictures of him surrounded by a menacing group were carried in newspapers around the country.

Was he scared?

"No," he answers. "I was not scared, but I was frustrated. We had done everything we could have possibly done to prepare for that meeting and to make sure that there would be no

With its eyes on the coming election, the Democratic Party has targeted the black townships for a massive recruitment campaign. One of its early catches is Stephen Ntsane, whose anguished face millions of South Africans saw in newspapers after the disruption of a DP meeting in Guguletu early this year. Political Reporter KAIZER NYATSUMBA spoke to him in Cape Town.



Drawing the line . . . Stephen Ntsane deals with hecklers at a DP meeting in Guguletu recently.

problems, and when it was disrupted I was very frustrated.

"I asked myself: what more can we do to ensure that our meetings in the townships go off smoothly?"

I say that various DP MPs have complained that their members in the townships — like those of the NP — are being threatened and intimidated, and ask him if he has experienced similar problems.

Ntsane has not himself been intimidated in Langa, where he lives. However, he is aware of fellow members of his party who have been harassed, and he and his colleagues have brought this to the attention of local ANC leaders.

Although he has always had a healthy respect for the ANC, it was not until October 1991 that he joined the organisation. Once the euphoria which followed the ANC's unbanning and Nelson

Mandela's release had died down, he became disillusioned with the liberation movement. He says he subjected its policies to a microscopic examination, and found them either vague or "unworkable".

He then started shopping around for a new political home, and found the Pan Africanist Congress's policies "impractical". The DP's policies, on the other hand, were "much more simple and easy to understand", and he loved what he heard and saw.

"For instance, the DP's redistribution of wealth policy is different from that of the ANC. In the DP this is coupled with the need for growth in the economy," he says.

First he joined the Student Democratic Association — now known as the Student Democrats — at UCT, and a few months later took out membership of the DP. He is proud of his new party which, he says, puts more emphasis on the individual as opposed to the group.

He estimates that the party has about 150 African members in Khayelitsha, Guguletu and Langa, but vehemently denies that it is still essentially a "white" party. Half the number of the DP's national membership, he says, is black.

Does he have figures?

No, but he has been told about 50 percent of the party's membership is black. He is convinced, for instance, that the DP has an even deeper penetration of the so-called "coloured" townships in the Cape. If I want figures, he says, I should contact his head office.

He takes issue with those in the townships who want to tar the DP with the same brush as the NP.

"I don't think it is right for people to look at the DP in the same way they look at the NP. There is a vast difference.

"The DP has done a lot for people in this country, and I think the liberation movement owes the party a big thank you. It was the DP which called on the Government for the abolition of apartheid and the release of political prisoners," he says.

Ntsane does not buy the argument that the DP is a small party which will have no role in a new dispensation.

"We have talked to the NP for more than 40 years, trying to get them to treat everybody — black and white — decently. If there is going to be a need for us to do the same with another party that might come to power, we will be prepared to do the same again". □

Rumours of new centrist party denied

By Peter Fabricius
Political Correspondent

CAPE TOWN — Renewed speculation that former Progressive Federal Party chief Dr Van Zyl Slabbert would become leader of a new centrist party has been denied in political circles.

The speculation was inspired by Slabbert's participation with other prominent liberal democrats at a meeting in Portugal to seek ways of

protecting liberal values during the transition

Some form of forum to play the role of watchdog over liberal values seems likely to emerge from the discussions.

Democratic Party Durban Central MP Peter Gastrow, who attended the meeting last week at Sintra outside Lisbon, said yesterday that the meeting definitely did not discuss the formation of another political party. He said it

would not make sense to do so at this stage.

Gastrow said those who took part in the meeting came from various parties including the ANC and DP, and that to compete politically could alienate support.

But he did not rule out the possibility of a new party emerging when political realignment occurred some time after the first elections.

He said the Sintra group had been brought

together by a concern that in the "pressure cooker" conditions of the transition to a new dispensation, liberal-democratic values could be diluted.

The meeting had decided that Slabbert's Idasa and Dr Oscar Dhlomo's Institute for Multiparty Democracy should seek ways of preventing this happening and report back.

The meeting was sponsored by the Friedrich Naumann Foundation.

'5 000 Boerestaat men on govt list'

Own Correspondent

LONDON. — General Tienie Groenewald, former SADF intelligence chief, claims the government and ANC have a list of 5 000 Boer Volkstaat supporters who "will be locked up" if violence follows a constitutional deadlock, according to a report in the Sunday Times here yesterday.

General Groenewald issued a strong warning of what might happen if demands for a separate Boer state were not met and said his aim was to prevent the ANC from creating a "socialist people's republic" in South Africa.

He predicted a collapse of the all-party talks, with Inkatha, the leaders of Bophuthatswana and Ciskei, and the Conservative Party walking out.

"I think you are going to see a deadlock. There will be an enormous increase in violence and the economy will take another turn for the worse.

"By the end of this year or the beginning of next year, if they haven't given sufficient leeway towards our path, then the government and ANC might create a junta — appoint a government of national unity and impose emergency regulations very much like martial law.

Well-trained

"People like myself — I believe there is a list of 5 000 already drawn up who might cause trouble — will be locked up. We could then very well move into an Angolan or Mozambican situation, and that is what we all fear."

While denying that he was planning for war, General Groenewald told the Sunday Times: "You have among the Afrikaner people 150 000 to 200 000 young men who have not only been well-trained militarily but who have seen action and spilled blood taking on the Soviet Union in Angola.

"We have the best officers in the world, the best military planners. You don't have to go out and start building a resistance or liberation movement. It's there."

"The people have been trained. We have been responsible for training Renamo and Unita and as far as guerilla tactics and revolutionary warfare are concerned, we really are the experts in the world today," he is quoted as saying.

There would have to be extreme aggravation and people were "to a certain extent war weary" but the trigger for conflict could come within a year.

Experts to look into homes plan

Star 5/3/93

304 A

Political Staff

CAPE TOWN — A panel of experts is being appointed to advise the Government on the suitability of the housing scheme for Ministers who are paid to live in their own homes.

President de Klerk said the panel would include representatives from the private sector and would have access to data on which the scheme was based.

De Klerk, clearly upset by recent sharp criticism of the scheme, said no corruption or enrichment was involved.

He said Ministers and certain other political office-bearers had been provided with housing from 1910. As part of the Government's programme to reduce State expenditure, an investigation into housing for political office-bearers was launched about three years ago.

This revealed that the old

system of providing official residences was not cost-effective.

There were few other comparable countries which provided residences to all political office-bearers. In most, they had to pay for their own housing.

The new scheme was introduced two years ago. The idea was that most ministerial houses would be sold and political office-bearers would instead be paid a monthly allowance.

Substantial savings were made, he said. The sale of properties also provided capital for projects such as schools.

The monthly ministerial allowance had two components. There was an after-tax allowance of about R3 600 to enable politicians to occupy their own properties and there was an allowance of R3 170 to compensate them for services and running costs.

De Klerk said that, with a 100 percent bond running over 20 years, a house worth R260 000 could be bought.

Star 11/3/93

Encourage transition - UN group

By Esther Waugh
Political Reporter

The process of transition holds promise and should be encouraged by the international community, a UN delegation visiting South Africa will report to the General Assembly.

But two urgent aspects will immediately be relayed to UN Secretary-General Boutros Boutros-Ghali — the need for international observers to monitor multiparty elections, as well as the numbers and mandate of international violence monitors.

This was the view yesterday of the chairman of the UN Special Committee against Apartheid and the Nigerian ambassador to the UN, Ibrahim Gambari, who leaves South Africa today.

After 10 days of activity, it was felt the observer team should be enlarged and its mandate widened.

The six-member team detected "cautious optimism" about the resumption of talks, during discussions with ANC president Nelson Mandela, PAC president Clarence Makwetu, Constitutional Development

Minister Roelf Meyer and Inkatha Freedom Party leader Mangosuthu Buthelezi.

Obstacles to negotiations were the lack of agreement on regionalism/federalism and the status of Codesa agreements.

The delegation detected fears that violence would increase before elections but noted the view of key players that it would not be allowed to disrupt the process.

Reconstruction was a "tremendous task" but it could not begin until a legitimate government was in place.

Freek has hands full with TV debate

MICHAEL MORRIS
Political Correspondent

AGENDA presenter Freek Robinson had his hands full keeping order through a patchy live television debate on the future of coloured people.

An animated audience clamoured to put questions to a five-member panel representing virtually the whole political spectrum.

What emerged most clearly was the battle for the coloured vote has begun in earnest.

Heckling, booing and flag waving gave the debate the flavour of an election meeting. The questions — and the answers — reinforced that impression.

The panel, comprising African National Congress regional

chairman Dr Alan Boesak, National Party leader in the House of Representatives Mr Jac Rabie, senior Democratic Party member Dr Richard van der Ross, Pan Africanist Congress executive member Mrs Patricia de Lille and Labour Party leader the Rev Alan Hendrikse, was probably the most disparate group of coloured political leaders to have sat together on one stage.

Mr Rabie, who distanced himself from government corruption, saying this had arisen during the tenure of former president Mr P W Botha, urged coloured people to turn away from South Africa's apartheid past and join hands in creating the new South Africa.

Dr Boesak rejected sugges-

tions that his chairmanship of the Western Cape Region was the result of a direct instruction from ANC president Mr Nelson Mandela.

He said the ANC's priorities were equality, freedom and justice for all South Africans.

Dr Van der Ross hit out at critics of the DP, saying all the major political developments since 1990 had been cribbed from DP policy.

In his only contribution to the debate, Mr Hendrikse warned that cultural differences should not be used as a reason to perpetuate political inequality.

Mrs De Lille said the PAC did not support a sunset clause or deals between the two main parties.

ARG 11/3/93

Star 2/3/93

Voters' certificates mooted

Special registration certificates could possibly be used as valid identification for voters in a general election if there were delays in the issue of identity documents, Home Affairs Minister Louis Pienaar said yesterday.

(304A)

Groups from left and right set to negotiate for democracy

More parties join the talks

304A
ARG 2/3/93

AT least four new groups — the Pan Africanist Congress, the Kwazulu government, the Conservative Party and Afrikaner Volksunie — are set to join constitutional talks.

PAC sources said yesterday the organisation's national working committee had decided last month to attend the two-day multi-party planning conference, which starts at the World Trade Centre in Kempton Park on Friday.

Meanwhile the rightwing Afrikaner Volksunie met a government delegation in Cape Town today to discuss proposals for an Afrikaner state in a future constitutional dispensation.

The government also began new talks with the PAC and its armed wing, the Azanian People's Liberation Army, in Gaborone today.

Talks with the PAC were broken off in December after Apla attacks on white civilians in the Eastern Cape and the Free State.

Today's talks will concentrate on violence and the actions of Apla.

Although no consensus has been reached, it is understood the Kwazulu government will also send a delegation.

But it is virtually certain that Zulu King Goodwill Zwelithini, a constitutional monarch, will not attend the summit as no traditional leaders will be present.

The Gaborone talks started today after the arrival late last night of the three-man Apla delegation led by Mr Romero Daniels.

The Apla delegates, who arrived on a chartered flight, were accompanied by a heavy contingent of bodyguards.

The meeting was due to start yesterday but was postponed when the government delegation, led by Law and Order Minister Mr Hernus Kriel, refused to talk to the PAC leadership without the Apla high command being present.

The Apla delegation is made up of Mr Daniels, Mr Raymond Martin and Mr Willy Williams, all of whom are commanders in the guerrilla army.

PAC national organiser Mr Maxwell Nemadzivhani said the men would be called by their real names at the meeting and not by their nicknames "because they have appeared in (the Apla publication) Azania Combat and are therefore known to the regime".

At the start of the government-Volksunie talks at Westbrook today the leaders of the delegations, Constitutional Development Minister Mr Roelf Meyer and Volksunie leader Mr Andries Beyers MP said the two sides were looking for common ground on issues such as regionalism and federalism.

Mr Meyer pointed out that the talks were the continuation of previous talks and would concentrate on constitutional issues such as a regional government dispensation. The government had a federal approach.

THE SPECTRE OF CORRUPTION IN THE CIVIL service and Government haunts the nation with only weeks to go before the tabling of the 1993-94 Budget on March 17.

The rampant graft, especially in the civil service, is described by the Democratic Party's Mr Geoff Engel as a national economic crisis.

Morally baseless

President FW de Klerk is running an administration that is morally and political baseless, has cost taxpayers R5 billion in the last 18 months alone and has caused the economy to decline significantly, Engel said.

What was of even greater concern was that nobody in office accepted "responsibility or political accountability" for the filth.

"I believe the malpractice and corruption reported over the last 18 months have cost the public over R5 billion. As the Auditor General's (through whose office most of the graft was revealed) scope is limited and the various commissions of inquiry are very focused, this could be the tip of an 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.

"How many civil servants have been brought to account? How many were fired for incompetence or corruption? Precious few.

"It is this culture of political patronage, which the NP confuses with patriotism, that has cost the country billions of rands and still continues," Engel told Parliament in a special snap debate on the matter last Friday.

Incompetence rewarded

He pointed out that it had become common practice, especially under President de Klerk, for "incompetence of ministers and senior civil servants" to be rewarded instead of being punished when it had been established that they had presided over corruption knowingly or unknowingly.

Indeed, when the Minister of Transport, Mr Piet Welgemoed, sacked the director of the MMF for incompetence, he paid him a lump sum of R363 000 and topped up his pension to the level it would have been had he retired at the age of 60.

"This scandalous example shows how the man was rewarded by not having to go to work from the date he was sacked until retirement age but lost none of the benefits he would have had if he had continued working as a competent manager," Engel said.

In the private sector the villain would have been fired with only his pension fund contributions and interest, Engel said.

Most senior civil servants have fixed period

Sowetan 2/3/93
No political blood has flowed and no Ministers have resigned despite revelations of widespread corruption in the civil service and Government. Democratic Party MP Mr Geoff Engel describes this as a national crisis. **Ismail Lagardien** reports:



De Klerk ... corruption in Government

“It is this culture of political patronage, which the NP confuses with patriotism, that has cost the country billions of rands and still continues”

contracts that were inviolable, even in cases of gross mismanagement. They can therefore not be removed from office.

"The Government has set a rancid culture of incompetence and waste at all its senior levels

costing the taxpayer billions," Engel said.

The political carnage would continue, Engel warned, for as long as authority and responsibility was divorced.

The national debt is expected rise by an estimated R50 billion to approximately R140 billion when the Budget is tabled on March 17.

Most of this debt has been incurred during current consumption expenditure and this is expected to weigh heavily on next year's expenditure. Engel estimates that this would amount to a further R20 billion.

"This is the inescapable legacy left by the National Party for our children and future generations to pay," Engel said.

De Klerk's fallacy

Referring to De Klerk's opening of Parliament address on January 29, Engel said the president's denial that South Africa was locked in the vice-grip of state corruption and malpractice, had been revealed for what it was: a fallacy.

He said the setting up of commissions of inquiry was futile.

The De Klerk Government had overspent far more than the previous one, that of Mr PW Botha, and had "also proved to be even more corrupt and wasteful".

The current Minister of Finance, Mr Derek Keys, allegedly De Klerk's "Mr Fixit", had produced the largest deficit.

In his speech of February 2 1990 De Klerk said: "A new South Africa is possible only if it is bolstered by a sound and growing economy, with particular emphasis on the creation of employment."

Engel said: "Since then our GDP has shrunk by four percent a year, incomes have dropped by 12 percent and unemployment has risen by an estimated 500 000."

Engel told *Sowetan* yesterday: "Government has overspent so much that the financing (interest) cost of the debt will be greater than the amount of money they will spend on education during the next year.

"Regardless of the political settlement that is reached in this country, the next government in South Africa will have to bear the cost of this debt — for which we have nothing to show."

Travel hiccup holds up talks

Sowetan 2/3/93
■ **APLA STRANDED** Delegates stuck in Harare

because of Jan Smuts stopover: ~~1188~~ (304A)

By Themba Molefe and Sapa

BY LATE yesterday the Pan Africanist Congress and the Government had not met in Gaborone because the Azanian People's Liberation Army delegation were stranded at Harare airport.

Because their tickets — bought through a travel agent in Pretoria by the PAC headquarters in Johannesburg — indicated they would have to touch down at Jan Smuts Airport they refused to board the chartered aircraft. None of the Apla cadres have indemnity and could be arrested on South African soil.

The PAC was forced to charter a plane to pick up Apla chief political commissar Mr Romero Daniels and high command officers Mr Raymond Ronalds and Mr Willie Williams.

The meeting called by the Government was to discuss Apla's armed struggle and, according to Government officials, to ask the PAC to suspend

its offensive and join multiparty negotiations.

"We will be here the whole week if we have to," said Government officials.

Both Government and PAC officials present in Gaborone for the talks said it was essential the Apla delegation be present at the discussions, which Pretoria said would deal ultimately with the PAC armed wing's continued attacks in South Africa.

PAC secretary for Foreign Affairs Mr Gora Ebrahim confirmed that the organisation, at the insistence of the Government, had to charter a flight from Harare to Gaborone.

In terms of the Preferential Trade Agreement any ticket purchased in South Africa obliges passengers to travel via a South African airport.

Ebrahim said the Apla delegation would arrive at about 8pm.

Law and Order Minister Mr Hernus Kriel, after caucusing with his delegation, announced that a Press conference would be held yesterday afternoon.

Star 2/13/93

Turffontein Nats support Lewis

Staff Reporter

(304A)
The divisional council of the National Party in Turffontein has expressed its unhappiness with the NP caucus in the Johannesburg City Council for reversing its decision to elect councillor Linda Lewis as its candidate for deputy mayor.

Councillor Dr Piet Pretorius was chosen ahead of Lewis after a re-nomination.

Speculation was that Lewis's nomination was recalled because her show-business daughter

Patricia Lewis was involved with 087 telephone lines and had an alleged relationship with American actor David Hasselhoff of *Knight Rider* fame.

However, councillors from both the NP and the Democratic Party denied this.

In a statement issued yesterday, the NP in Turffontein said it "in no way wanted to dilute the high regard in which we hold both councillor Lewis and councillor Pretorius, who are equally well equipped for this high office, but we cannot associ-

ate ourselves with this unfortunate decision".

While congratulating Pretorius on his nomination, the statement also extended "sincere sympathy and compassion" towards Lewis and her family for any embarrassment and discomfort caused.

Lewis had previously been under fire from fellow councillors for her self-promotion, including posing next to a luxury German car after being nominated as the candidate for deputy mayor.

Star 2/3/93 (304A)

'Govt misused R5-bn'

The Government has misused an estimated R5 billion, the ANC claimed last night.

In a further indication that the current corruption scandal is hardening attitudes towards the March 17 Budget, the ANC said there was rampant abuse in Government circles.

Government expenditure of R3 million for 29 Ministers to live in their own homes last year was

"a depressing exposure of how the National Party Government abuses taxpayers' money".

The payouts were made with the full knowledge of President de Klerk and it was unacceptable to say they were in accordance with ministerial status.

The ANC urged the Government to consider the needs of the majority of taxpayers in its allocation of public funds. — Political Reporter.

Sanco's Mofokeng and DP's Leon in war of words

Political Staff

CAPE TOWN — A war of words has broken out between the DP and the SA National Civics' Organisation (Sanco), since a DP rally attended by domestic workers in Houghton on Saturday.

Sanco's Southern Transvaal regional secretary Dan Mofokeng described the domestic workers as "political hostages", adding that the DP had bribed the workers to vote for it by providing food, shelter and employment. Sanco, he said, would "not let opportunistic tendencies in the DP go unchallenged".

Sanco's statement was described by MP Tony Leon, in whose constituency the meeting was held, as "typical of the extremist, undemocratic posturings of Sanco".

The statement, he said, was "riddled with errors and reeks of bile".

Further, said Leon, it was evidence of the "authoritarian fascism" in the southern Transvaal and elsewhere.

Leon said the DP would continue to hold meetings and organise as it pleased, and "Mr Mofokeng and his unrepresentative clique will certainly not prevent us from doing so".

He said Sanco was "hell-bent on introducing a reign of fear and terror into our politics. It must be resisted at all costs and at every level".

Sapa reports that DP leader Zach de Beer said that for the DP to quit the tricameral parliament now would be an empty gesture and would simply impair the party's ability to prevent the NP from making further mistakes.

He said he had noted that Sanco had called on the DP to quit Parliament before it would allow the DP to campaign freely.

"We, of course, opposed the advent of the tricameral parliament 10 years ago and have constantly campaigned for its abolition. This is now due to take place and would not have taken place so soon had it not been for our opposition," De Beer said.

Meeting tackles differences

BILLY PADDOCK

GOVERNMENT and the ANC meet today and tomorrow to try to resolve differences on constitutional issues and prepare for Friday's planning conference on ways of countering opposition to the unity government proposal. (306A) (44A)

The meeting will also deal with report-backs from the seven sub-committees which have been trying to facilitate agreements on a range of issues prior to the resumption of multiparty talks.

The ANC wants agreement in as many areas as possible "so that when we get to the multiparty table the negotiations will be much smoother and there will be less chance of deadlocks developing", ANC secretary-general Cyril Ramaphosa said.

The subcommittees have been discussing a range of constitutional matters, especially the differences in interpretation of a unity government and power-sharing preliminary agreement.

Other matters to be discussed are a new independent SABC board; an elections commission, the reincorporation of the TBVC states; details of the planning conference, especially Inkatha's insistence on negotiating substantive constitutional issues; and finalising an agreement on the

powers and authority of the transitional executive authority and its sub councils.

Meanwhile, the steering committee finalising the arrangements for the planning conference met last night in Cape Town to discuss the agenda and set timing for the conference.

All the senior negotiators are part of the committee. These include Constitutional Development Minister Roelf Meyer, Ramaphosa, Inkatha chairman Frank Mdlalose, the DP's Colin Eglin and senior members of the AVU, the CP and homeland governments.

Inkatha rejects outright that the planning conference is merely to plan the resumption of negotiations and insists that the form of state — unitary, regional or federal — must be decided at the meeting because this would affect the form of the new negotiating forum.

The Inkatha central committee ended its deliberations on the planning conference and discussions with Meyer and Local Government Minister Tertius Delpont on Sunday but party spokesmen would disclose any details yesterday.



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Star 2/3/93
**Mob hacks
policeman
to death**

DURBAN — Two KwaZulu policemen investigating a charge of murder at Clermont, near Durban, were attacked by a mob and one was hacked to death. The other was seriously wounded.

A man apprehended by the mob and accused of murder was also killed during the incident, which took place on Saturday.

Detective-Sergeant Temba Mbuthuma died when he was chased into a flat and hacked to death, and Sergeant Martin Makwaza was shot in the head.

A third policeman, Sergeant Moses Dladla, escaped. The policemen had responded to a report that a man who had attacked another person had been caught by residents. — Sapa.

Star 2/3/93
**Apla's late arrival
holds up meeting**

By Kaizer Nyatumba
Political Reporter

GABORONE — The PAC's meeting with the Government begins this morning after the arrival late last night of the three-man Azanian People's Liberation Army (Apla) delegation led by Romero Daniels.

Yesterday's planned meeting had to be postponed to today after the Government delegation, led by Law and Order Minister Hernus Kriel, refused to talk to the PAC leadership without the Apla high command being present.

The Apla delegation is made up of Daniels, Raymond Martin and Willy Williams, all of whom are commanders in the guerilla army.

Confusion over travel ar-

rangements yesterday led to the postponement of the talks.

The Apla delegation had plane tickets to fly from Harare to Johannesburg and onwards to Gaborone, but feared they would be arrested if they touched down at Jan Smuts Airport.

Kriel said the men could not be arrested as long as they remained in the airport's transit lounge.

After a frustrating day of constant consultations and informal discussions with the PAC leadership, Kriel said his delegation had decided to stay over and begin discussions at 8.30 am today.

At a press conference the PAC leader — legal and constitutional affairs secretary Willie Seriti — insisted that the armed struggle was not the only item on the agenda.

Star 2 13/93

Congo-SA diplomatic ties

South Africa and the Congo yesterday agreed to sign diplomatic relations. Deputy Foreign Affairs Minister Renier Schoeman represented South Africa at a ceremony in Brazzaville.

(304A)

Star 2/13/93

Accusations fly in fuel Bill debate

304A

CAPE TOWN — There were no fewer than 14 Acts of Parliament which combined to strangle free-enterprise marketing initiatives in the South African oil and fuel industries, Roger Hulley (DP Constantia) said yesterday.

Speaking during the second reading debate on the Petroleum Products Amendment Bill, he said these statutes made it illegal for a businessman to reduce his profit and offer lower petrol prices to the motorist.

This Bill would have the effect of further tightening the near-total control which the Government had systematically accumulated and exercised over the oil and fuel industries.

The DP believed the Government should be

doing everything in its power to facilitate lower fuel pump prices for hard-pressed consumers. Instead, the Government tried to prevent any discounting or incentive benefits.

Introducing the debate on the Bill, Mineral and Energy Affairs Minister George Bartlett said service stations "fed on themselves" by running petrol sales promotions, and set off a cost spiral which the Government was trying to prevent.

He said that while normal advertising and brand awareness campaigns were not viewed as undesirable practices, the Bill would place it beyond doubt that forecourt promotions which did not create additional demand were undesirable business practices.

— Sapa.

Star 2/3/93

Paper titles move urged

CAPE TOWN — The registration of newspaper titles should be taken out of the political sphere, Dene Smuts (DP Groote Schuur) said yesterday.

Speaking in a debate on the Imprint Amendment Bill, she said the Newspaper Press Union and Media Council were both opposed to registration of newspapers.

The Department of Home Affairs had little more than a trademark

function to avoid possible clashes between similar or identical titles.

As long as a Minister could regulate registration procedures, there was a danger of political abuse. "All that is really necessary, in the public interest and for the public record, is that a newspaper's publisher, address and proprietor be printed in every copy," Smuts said. — Sapa.

Star 2/3/93

Abakor to be privatised

CAPE TOWN — The Government is going ahead with the privatisation and stock exchange listing of Abakor, the State corporation which controls 41 percent of the abattoir industry, Agriculture Minister Dr Kraai van Niekirk announced last night.

The deregulation of the meat industry had removed the last obstacles to privatising the

corporation, he said.

Abakor no longer had a guaranteed market as before and would have to operate in a free market.

Abakor operates the abattoirs at Witbank, Pyramid near Pretoria, Krugersdorp, Johannesburg, Springs, Benoni, Bloemfontein, Kimberley, Cato Ridge, East London and Port Elizabeth. — Political Correspondent.

DP accuses Civics of terror

Political Staff

ARG 2/3/93

The Democratic Party last night accused the South African Civics Organisation (Sanco) of trying to impose a reign of terror by preventing the DP and other parties from reaching black voters.

Houghton MP Tony Leon called Sanco an "extremist, undemocratic and fascist" organisation as the row continued over Sanco's threats to prevent the DP and the National Party canvassing black support.

Mr Leon strongly denied accusations by Sanco Southern Transvaal secretary Dan Mofokeng that the DP had bribed domestic workers to vote for it at a weekend rally by offering food, shelter and employment.

Mr Leon said that Mr Mofokeng "and his unrepresentative clique" would not prevent the DP from holding meetings and ordinary people would not allow Sanco to be the "self-appointed gatekeepers of the people".

"The street committees, people's courts and arbitrary punishments for which the civics have become famous over the years have no equivalent in our party."

Meanwhile DP leader Dr Zac de Beer responded to Sanco's call to the DP to quit parliament before being allowed to campaign freely.

Dr De Beer said this represented a shift in Sanco's position last week which was a straightforward threat not to allow the DP to campaign for votes in black areas.

DP dismisses call to quit

CF 2/3/93

Political Staff

(304A)

THE Democratic Party has dismissed calls by the South African National Civic Organisation (Sanco) to quit the tricameral parliament.

It also sharply rebuked allegations that it held domestic workers "political hostage" at a rally and bribed them with "food, shelter and employment".

DP leader Dr Zach de Beer said: "The tricameral era is about to die... for us to quit now would be an empty gesture and would simply impair our ability to prevent the Nationalists from making further mistakes."

US police close in on SA spy network

From SMON BARBER

WASHINGTON. — South African agents and a leading American Jewish organization were given access to confidential police files on ANC and PLO supporters by a member of the San Francisco Police Department's (SFPD) intel-

ligence unit, according to FBI and police officials. Former SFPD Inspector Tom Gerard and Mr Roy Bullock, a private investigator, are expected to be charged with espionage and theft of government data this month. Their activities apparently became known after an FBI back-

ground check found Mr Bullock was in the pay of the South African government. A tap was placed on his telephone.

In the course of the inquiry, it emerged that Inspector Gerard was giving secret police files to Mr Bullock and may have sold files to another South African agent for as

much as \$20,000 (about R60,000). Inspector Gerard resigned and fled to the Philippines in November.

Their principal customer is believed to have been the Anti-Defamation League (ADL) of the B'nai B'rith, an organization that monitors and counters anti-Semitism.

"The ADL set up this great system for collecting information, and South Africa tapped into it," a source close to the investigation told the Los Angeles Times.

South African ambassador Mr Harry Schwarz has denied any involvement by his embassy or consulates. (3044) ET 2/13/93

Ex-army chief backs rightists

CT 2/3/93
304A

Political Correspondent

THE Afrikaner Volksunie (AVU) has secured a right-wing political coup by gaining the support and membership of former chief of the SA Defence Force General Constand Viljoen.

He will be among the party's 11-man delegation to meet the government for talks in Cape Town early today.

The meeting will, according to the AVU's MP for Standerton, Mr Rosier de Ville, discuss the possibility of a federal state or states "in which the self-determination of Afrikaners can be accommodated".

Highly respected

Gen Viljoen was chief of the SADF from 1980 to 1985 and was responsible for carrying out many of the policies fashioned by former state president Mr P W Botha during the "total onslaught" era.

He is highly respected in right-wing political circles and there was considerable speculation before the 1989 general election that he would stand for the Conservative Party.

The CP also apparently tried to persuade him to come out in favour for the "no" vote in last year's referendum, but he declined.

Significant

Observers of the right-wing political scene were last night surprised that Gen Viljoen had finally attached himself to a specific cause and described it as "significant" in that he will draw support from former military types.

Others in the AVU delegation are: Mr Andries Beyers, Mr Moolman Mentz, Mr Chris de Jager, Mr Cehill Pienaar, Mr de Ville, Dr Manie van Wyk, Dr Nic Burnett, Dr Marthinus Hermann, Dr Willem van Heerden and Mr Pieter Bruwer.

Optimism must be tempered with realism as peace hopes rise, writes Patrick Laurence

Star 2/3/93

(304A)

~~304A~~

SA needs wisdom of Solomon

OVER the past year South Africa has had enough Jeremiahs warning of pending doom, but Jeremiahs are not needed as national despair begins to lift at last.

A counsel of caution is needed, however, to guard against too much optimism now that multi-party negotiations are about to be resumed after the breakdown of Codesa 2 last year.

To a large extent the optimism has been generated by the agreement between the ANC and the De Klerk administration, forged in bilateral discussions, the agreement rests on an accord to establish a transitional government of national unity (TGNU) after the election of a constituent assembly.

The convergence of thinking between these two forces justifies the hopes for a settlement that they have aroused. But real problems still have to be resolved.

One relates to the TGNU itself. It is clear the ANC and the De Klerk administration are not at one on what it means.

The ANC, facing criticism from its own constituents for agreeing to share power with F.W. de Klerk's ruling National Party, has

emphasised that the proposed TGNU will not compromise the principle of majority rule.

While all parties winning more than five percent of the vote in elections for a constituent assembly will qualify to serve in the TGNU, minority parties will not be allowed to thwart the will of the majority party. ANC leaders have stressed.

If the ANC wins an absolute majority in the elections (more than 50 percent of the vote), its wishes will prevail in the TGNU. As the ANC puts it, the need for inclusiveness will not be allowed to impair the capacity of the TGNU to function effectively.

Against that, as the ANC notes, the De Klerk administration is still wedded to the notion of consensus, a notion which will enable smaller parties to halt the process of government if they disagree with the majority party.

Thus there is disagreement at the heart of what has been billed as a major agreement — or, in the eyes of hostile interpreters, as a “conspiracy” — between the ANC and the De Klerk administration.

It is clear from various statements — by the ANC national ex-

ecutive after its three-day meeting in Soweto in mid-February and in the ANC's subsequent “Negotiations Bulletin” — that the ANC envisages an executive-style president.

Thus the president — almost certain to be Nelson Mandela, judging from opinion polls — will have the power to reject nominees to the Cabinet from the minority parties if he thinks they are “unacceptable”. The only qualifying rider is that he should state why he finds them unacceptable.

Against that, NP policy, as expressed in its constitutional proposals and by De Klerk himself in numerous interviews including last month's with Sir David Frost, favours replacement of the present executive presidency by a ceremonial presidency.

These problems are not insuperable and need not prevent the TGNU from coming into being, but they are real and their resolution will require wisdom and probably compromise.

Before then, however, another problem will have to be solved: how to accommodate traditional or tribal leaders at the multi-party conference. The ANC and

the De Klerk administration concur that tribal patriarchs should be heard. They differ, however, on why and how.

The ANC is anxious to fulfil a request by the Congress of Traditional Leaders — which if not actually ANC-aligned is certainly in the broad ANC camp — that chiefs should have a voice at the talks. It has proposed that each of the four provinces send a delegation of chiefs to the talks with the power to vote in plenary sessions but not at management committee meetings.

The De Klerk administration has mooted a different formula: that the governments of the partially autonomous “homelands” be invited to attend an arrangement which would allow them to include traditional leaders in their delegations.

Either format would provide a solution to a troublesome issue: demands by Mangosuthu Buthelezi's Inkatha Freedom Party that the Zulu monarch, King Goodwill Zwelithini, be given a place at the negotiating table.

The Government proposal would have the advantage of ending an anomaly: the presence at

the talks of the governments of the four “independent” black states — the TBVC territories — and the exclusion of the governments of their political siblings, the six partly self-governing states.

In the meantime, however, Buthelezi has signalled that he will pre-empt the issue: he will send two delegations to the preparatory meeting for the multi-party negotiations, one from the IFP and another from the KwaZulu government.

An even more difficult problem is looming: there is no evidence that De Klerk's men have been able to persuade the IFP that the best and safest way to a democratic and non-racial South Africa is via a constituent assembly and a transitional government, on the contrary, IFP central committee member, Ben Ngubane, has recently reiterated the IFP's objections to it.

The IFP argues that the order should be reversed: instead of elections preceding the drawing up of a constitution, it maintains that the constitution should first be drafted by the multiparty conference, sitting as a latter-day Na-

tional Convention, and that non-racial elections should then be held under the new constitution, provided that it is approved in a national referendum.

The IFP cites the case of Zimbabwe, where the constitution was drafted at the Lancaster House conference in London before the elections which brought Robert Mugabe to power, the ANC and the De Klerk administration counter with the example of Namibia, where a popularly elected constituent assembly drafted the constitution.

What happens if the deadlock cannot be resolved?

There is only the imprecise doctrine of “sufficient consensus” to fall back on. Forged during last year's failed Codesa talks, it holds that complete consensus is desirable but not necessary, that the multiparty conference can proceed if there is sufficient consensus. That, however, begs the question. If there is incomplete consensus, what constitutes sufficient consensus?

South Africa does not need any more Jeremiahs but it will need many Solomons to complete the journey ahead. □

PAC, government rift widens

GABORONE. — The political schism between the government and the Pan-Africanist Congress widened dramatically last night when the PAC refused to unilaterally end its armed struggle.

The government said it would not support any move by the PAC to attend a multi-party conference once a date had been set by the planning conference this

Friday and Saturday.

The PAC's Mr Willie Seriti said the organisation would attend the planning conference regardless of the government and National Party's feelings.

At the end of a day of formal discussions, the head of the government delegation, Law and Order Minister Mr Hernus Kriel, said all parties with the excep-

tion of the PAC had laid down their weapons and agreed to a multi-party conference.

Mr Kriel said the government had proposed a three-phased approach to end the PAC's armed struggle.

This was an immediate moratorium to be declared by Apla,

To page 2

From page 1

the moratorium to be reviewed by the PAC's national congress, and then discussions on the future of all armed forces in the country at a multi-party forum.

"The PAC/Apla delegation was not prepared to accept this," said Mr Kriel. (304A)

But he felt there was a ray of hope as the PAC promised to submit the proposal to its National Executive Council (NEC) for consideration.

PAC delegation member Mr Gora Ebrahim said: "The PAC pledges to enter into a mutual cessation of hostilities. But we told the regime that we have no mandate to declare a moratorium at this meeting. We will consult our NEC on the issue."

Asked about Apla's military plans, Mr Ebrahim said: "The question of accelerating or decelerating the armed struggle by Apla depends on the situation, but we want to emphasise that we want an end to all violence, including state-sponsored violence through units such as Koevoet, 31 and 32 Battalion."

It is understood the PAC position will be conveyed to the cabinet today for a formal response from President FW de Klerk. — Sapa

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AVU wants own 'states'

THE Afrikaner Volksunie (AVU) and the government yesterday established a mechanism to examine the possibility of Afrikaner states in a federal South Africa, Constitutional Affairs Minister Mr Roelf Meyer said.

In a statement issued in Cape Town yesterday after talks with the AVU, which broke away from the Conservative Party last year, Mr Meyer said a committee would inquire into the common ground between the AVU

and the government on the autonomy and borders of the regions.

He said while there was agreement on the principle of strong autonomous regions, the two parties had differed on the practical application of this principle.

The AVU has proposed Afrikaner states in northern South Africa with Pretoria as its core, and in part of the Cape Province. — Sapa

Star 3/31/93

304A

Govt accountability should be the ethic in a new SA

THE Government's insouciance as the gravy rises to the 'ruses' bits is not just outrageous. It is putting the future of this country in jeopardy.

When counting the dangers that wait us in the new South Africa, forget your fears about socialism, nationalisation or the redistribution of wealth. Corruption is the thing. That has been the scourge of Africa, ravaging country after country across ideological differences, from Kwame Nkrumah to about Sese Seko and from Zimbabwe to Nigeria.

Its causes lie in the terrible implications that assail people who have been poor and weak when suddenly they gain power and access to public money. That is the nepotism that comes with re-party and military rule.

It is a plague with only one town cure. Accountability.

And that is what the De Klerk government has been assiduously determining. Not that previous national government honours the principle of ministerial accountability, but now it is not just being dishonoured, it is being actively disavowed. Ministers are saying there is no such thing. Here is no need for them to resign if their departments are found to have been rotten with

corruption — not if they didn't know about it.

Incompetence, apparently, is an exonerating factor.

What angers me about this is its blindness. I have grown inured to Nat corruption over the years. Societies get the governments they deserve, and if white South Africans chose to re-elect the National Party year after year regardless of its cumulative cupidity, they have little cause now to complain about the squandering of their tax money.

But one would have thought even the most primitive instincts of self-interest would have encouraged the Nationalists to try to protect themselves against becoming victims of what they themselves did, now that a new regime is moving towards power. After all, they have become sudden converts to the idea of a Bill of Rights and other such safeguards against the abuse of power. Why not ministerial accountability?

I have hopes for the new South Africa, as readers of this column will be aware. I believe we have leaders of quality in the black political organisations. I believe we are fortunate beyond understanding that they are not consumed with bitterness and a lust for ver-



Allister Sparks

gence at what was done to them and their people over so many years.

But I have fears, too, and chief among them is the corruptibility of deprived people coming to power. Already I hear too many tales of politicians accepting perks from big business. There, not in any ideological madness, lies the wrecking of our dreams. Which is why I have been so infuriated at the feckless way in which this decrepit and dying regime has sought with its last breath to abjure the one safeguard there is.

The principle of accountability holds that a Cabinet Minister should resign if serious corruption or inefficiency is found to have occurred in his department. It makes no difference whether he knew about it or not. He must take responsibility for what happens in his department. Only that way can maximum vigilance be ensured.

The principle is honoured in all

the major democracies. The most celebrated example was the resignation of Willy Brandt as Chancellor of West Germany in 1974, when it was found that his personal aide was a Soviet spy. There was no suggestion that Brandt knew what the man was doing, but the Chancellor took responsibility for the security lapse nonetheless.

Lord Carrington resigned as Britain's Foreign Secretary because his ministry failed to alert the Government that Argentina was about to annex the Falkland Islands. This was a failure of diplomatic intelligence, an act of incompetence rather than corruption, and again there was no suggestion that the fault was Carrington's, but as the Minister in charge he took responsibility.

Two months ago the Prime Minister of Denmark, Poul Schluter, resigned when it was found his Minister of Justice had abused the country's immigration laws to the disadvantage of a Tamil immigrant. An investigating judge found that if Schluter didn't know about his Minister's violation, he should have known. In charge, accountable — out.

But not here. In South Africa the principle has long been blatantly dishonoured. In 40 years of political reporting, I have known

only one Cabinet Minister, Connie Mulder, to lose his job because of a scandal — and even that was not because of the large-scale corruption in his Department of Information but because he lied to Parliament.

Now the new, supposedly reformed National Party of President de Klerk is going one step worse — not just dishonouring the principle of accountability but disavowing it.

In a series of explanatory statements last week, several Ministers stated explicitly, even indignantly, that the Government did not accept that a Minister should resign because of corruption in his department.

I first encountered this disavowal at a press briefing by the then Minister of Defence, Eugene Louw, and the Chief of the Defence Force, General Kat Liebenberg, in Cape Town a few weeks ago. How, I wanted to know, was it possible to retain the services of the Chief of Military Intelligence, General Christoffel van der Westhuizen, after the disclosure that many of his men were involved in the unauthorised activities of the Directorate of Covert Collection? "You can't possibly expect that if somebody in a staff position makes a mistake then everybody

above him must be accountable," the Minister replied.

"Would you hold the editor of a newspaper responsible if a reporter on an investigation did something wrong that he didn't know about?" scoffed the general.

"Yes," roared the assembled press corps, pointing out that in the media, as with the directorship of companies, the principle of accountability applies in law as well as ethically.

Well, General Liebenberg retorted, he hadn't even heard of the name of the Directorate of Covert Collection until it appeared in the news, so how could he possibly be held responsible? To which I inquired whether that didn't mean there had been a gross failure by the intelligence services, in which case shouldn't General van der Westhuizen be dismissed for incompetence if not accountability?

The answer was too convoluted for me to follow. But the meaning was clear enough. Let the gravy rise, but the Nat Government is never going to fire anyone on the principle of accountability.

If we want that principle to save us from corruption in the new South Africa, it will have to be implanted as a new ethic without domestic precedent. Which won't be easy. □

20 political bodies set to plan multi-party constitutional talks

Green light on for negotiations

30477
ARG 3/3/93

Political Staff

A WIDE political spectrum will be represented when more than 20 parties and administrations sit down at the World Trade Centre near Kempton Park on Friday to plan the resumption of negotiations for a new constitutional system.

All the main parties — including, for the first time, the Conservative Party on the right and the Pan Africanist Congress on the left — are expected to attend the multi-party planning conference.

Its aim is to review agreements to date and to plan the resumption of full-scale multi-party Codesa-style negotiations.

A top negotiator said the purpose of the conference was to form a bridge between past bilateral and future multilateral negotiations.

Bringing such a wide range of views together is bound to be a delicate operation and fireworks have not been ruled out.

Other participants were still unsure last night whether the Inkatha Freedom Party might cause an upset by demanding the conference make a binding decision now that the future South Africa should be a federation.

But, the IFP and sources close to them said they did not think this would become a make-or-break issue at this stage.

Rightwing claim

They said this conference was mainly the brainchild of the IFP which wanted it to review ANC/Government "deals" and the IFP would, therefore, like to see it succeed.

There was provisional agreement that the government, ANC, IFP, Democratic Party, Afrikaner Volksunie, Qwaqwa government and Transkei should be represented.

The conservative Concerned South African Group (Cosag) was still arguing, however, that Bophuthatswana government minister Rowan Cronje should be appointed to the chairing panel to represent their interests.

This problem was not expected to cause a major upset, nor was the expected arrival of Kwazulu and PAC delegations at the conference — although not agreed to by all parties.

A source said that first prize at the conference would be agreement on a date for full multi-party talks.

Parties will be represented by a five-person delegation headed by their chief negotiators rather than their leaders.

Apart from the PAC, CP and Kwazulu government, the other principal newcomer to negotiations will be the Afrikaner Volksunie (AVU) which split from the CP last year.

De Klerk 'a sincere man' says visiting ^{304A} Kaunda

ARG 3/3/93

Political Staff

DR Kenneth Kaunda, former Zambian president and now one of Africa's elder statesmen, has met President De Klerk and Democratic Party leader Dr Zach de Beer separately.

Standing on the windswept steps of the main hall of parliament yesterday, Dr Kaunda said he had come to South Africa primarily to attend the solidarity conference held by the African National Congress. "After that I stayed on just to learn from the leadership what was taking place".

He met Mr De Klerk at Tuynhuys and Dr De Beer at his parliamentary office.

"President De Klerk continues to impress me as an honest and sincere man. Margaret Thatcher says she discovered Mikhail Gorbachev. I discovered De Klerk," Dr Kaunda joked. This was the fourth time Dr Kaunda had met Mr De Klerk.

Their first meeting took place in August 1989 when Mr De Klerk defied Mr P W Botha to see Dr Kaunda.

As Dr Kaunda was climbing into his car outside the main hall of parliament, a group of white pupils from Paul Roos Gymnasium, who had attended parliament, walked past to their bus. Some of the boys recognised Dr Kaunda and waved. He waved back.

Dr Kaunda has met leaders across the political spectrum in South Africa, including President Lucas Mangope of Bophuthatswana and Dr Mangosuthu Buthelezi of the Inkatha Freedom Party in Ulundi. He will see ANC leader Mr Nelson Mandela in Johannesburg today and then return home. Dr Kaunda has been in South Africa for 15 days.

Dr De Beer and Dr Kaunda knew each other from when Dr De Beer was chairman of Anglo American in Central Africa from 1972 to 1974.

"It was a great pleasure for me to see him. We spoke about old times, and not much about politics," Dr De Beer said.

with a greater sense of urgency that South Africa's political leaders return to the World Trade Centre on Friday to plan the resumption of multiparty negotiations.

A little more than 10 months ago, at the same venue, negotiations towards a peaceful political settlement collapsed quite unceremoniously when the ANC and Government deadlocked on crucial matters dealing with the adoption of a new constitution for the country.

Since then the country and its people have endured much pain. Much of it has been written about and furiously and furtively debated — to repeat it would be trite.

During this time a new urgency for the two to resume talking has emerged.

Non-stop bilateral talks between the two took place and much ground that was lost after last year's World Trade Centre collapse was reclaimed.

These bilateral talks also stretched into areas that had at the time of the collapse been explored but not agreed.

Greater consensus exists between the two parties now than at the World Trade Centre on that fatal day — May 16 last year.

Not responsible

One factor which was not, in any significant way, responsible for the collapse last autumn, was the Inkatha Freedom Party of Chief Mangosuthu Buthelezi.

At the time of the collapse the IFP was still standing in a corner with its face to the wall in a furious tantrum because of the exclusion of the Zulu king and KwaZulu government from negotiations.

Now, just when everyone thought it was safe to return to negotiations, the IFP has thrown its traditional weapons out of its crib in a petulant rage and threatened to disrupt Friday's planning conference.

The IFP now wants the Zulu king at the negotiations. It wants the KwaZulu government at negotiations and it wants guarantees (even before negotiations begin) on key issues.

It is safe to assume that the IFP's allies and fellow travellers on the right — parties such as the Conservative Party, the Afrikaner Volksunie and the administrations in the homelands of Bophuthatswana and Ciskei — could support Buthelezi's demands.

In terms of the number of parties, then, the IFP could, through its Cosag (Concerned South Africans Group) stonewall and hold the country to ransom before resuming negotiations.

The IFP Member of Parliament for Vryheid, Mr Jurie Mentz, has warned that if that party did not get its way at negotiations and a settlement was reached without it, the country would be plunged into full-scale civil war that would make the conflict in former Yugoslavia look like

The Inkatha Freedom Party's role in talks between the Government and the ANC may not be apparent. But if Mangosuthu Buthelezi does not get his way, any hope of real talks may fail, **Ismail Lagardien**

writes:

~~THE IFP~~

(304A)

Soweto
3/3/93.



Chief Mangosuthu Buthelezi ... not responsible for the collapse of talks.

a Sunday school picnic.

Therefore, the progress that has been made in months of bilateral negotiations between the Government and the ANC could amount to nothing, if Buthelezi does not have his way on Friday.

The participation of the PAC and Azapo in the planning conference remains uncertain but there is hope yet. The PAC has said that it would attend but chances are that they could (like the IFP) make demands that are actually difficult to meet.

Azapo has been ambivalent as has the Conservative Party. The latter, as part of the initial group of 21 parties that were invited to the first planning meeting on November 29 1991, could arrive at Friday's meeting as part of Cosag.

How this will affect the participation of Ciskei and Bophuthatswana is uncertain.

What is certain is that the 19 parties that took part in Codesa will return (in small delegations) and the invitations turned down in 1991 still stand.

This means that Azapo, the CP and PAC will be reinvited and the only new invitation will go to the Afrikaner Volksunie.

The agenda for this weekend's meeting will be, firstly, to look at the gains of past negotiations at Codesa and how multi-party talks can be resumed.

Politicians and negotiators from most parties who were at Codesa feel, however, that the resumption is only possible if this weekend's planning conference can get past the IFP.

Star 3/3/93
Broad spectrum for talks

The full political mainstream will be represented in negotiations for the first time when more than 20 parties and administrations sit down together at the World Trade Centre near Kempton Park on Friday. (304A) • Page 5

HOUSE OF ASSEMBLY

INTERPELLATIONS

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

General Affairs:

Constitutional dispensation:
referendum/election

*1. Mr L F STOFBERG asked the Minister of Home Affairs:

(1) Whether citizens of the TBVC countries, the self-governing territories and other states will be able to take part in the proposed referendum and/or election with a view to a new constitutional dispensation for the Republic; if not, why not; if so, what are the relevant details;

(2) whether any precautionary measures are being considered to ensure that only persons legally entitled to vote will take part in the proposed referendum and/or election; if not, why not; if so, what precautionary measures are being considered?

B348E.INT

*The MINISTER OF HOME AFFAIRS: Mr Chairman, in his first question the hon member for Sasolburg asked whether citizens of the TBVC countries, self-governing territories and other states would be able to take part in the proposed referendum or election with a view to a new constitutional dispensation.

He mentioned the "proposed referendum". I am not sure what he means. [Interjections.] I therefore answer his question on the supposition that it could be any referendum. [Interjections.]

The citizens of the self-governing territories are South African citizens and they are issued with South African identity documents. They therefore, like any hon member of this House, are entitled to take part in referendums and elections, except when such a referendum or election is restricted to a population group to which they do not belong.

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I assume that by "citizens of other states" the hon member means persons who are not citizens of the RSA or the TBVC countries. They would not have the right to vote unless they have in good time become naturalised South African citizens in terms of the normal requirement of five year's permanent residence in the RSA.

The consequences for the citizens of the TBVC countries are more complex. Negotiations have taken place at Codesa regarding the development of procedures to test the support for reincorporation into the RSA and, in the event of a positive result, to award them citizenship of the RSA and consequently the right to vote through legislation. These negotiations are still to be finalised.

The answer to the hon member's question is that citizens of the TBVC countries as such will of course be entitled to take part in the internal referendums and elections of those countries and, naturally, after a positive decision on reincorporation into the RSA has been taken, to take part in referendums and elections in the RSA.

As far as the hon member's second question is concerned, I wish to give him the assurance that it is our intention to take all the normal precautions to ensure that only registered voters vote. The proper and reliable identification of registered voters is a prerequisite. As there will probably be a proportional voting system, there will be no constituencies in the usual sense of the word and therefore no voters' rolls. That is why so much emphasis is being placed on the identity document as a means of identification. It shows a person's citizenship and age. If for some reason identity documents cannot be issued in time for an election or referendum, an alternative document, such as a voting card with a signature or a thumb-print, may have to be considered. [Time expired.]

*Mr H D K VAN DER MERWE: Mr Chairman, the hon the Minister's answers are just as vague as those given in the elections we have had up to now.

I want to tell the hon the Minister that at the moment his Government is taking away the freedom of the independent peoples in South Africa. [Interjections.] The hon the Minister knows that the Afrikaner released the TBVC

countries, these independent states of Southern Africa, from the yoke of British imperialism. [Interjections.] In their clandestine way the Government is now placing these countries and their citizens under the yoke of the ANC, the SACP and even the PAC in South Africa. That is what the hon the Minister is doing.

I now want to remind the hon the Minister that a few years ago they themselves said that the policy they are now advocating, namely power-sharing in a unitary state in which all the peoples of Southern Africa must be accommodated, will not solve our problems. On the contrary, it will create more problems and give rise to one of the most fearsome power struggles this continent has ever seen. The following report appeared in yesterday's issue of *Die Transvaler*.

Dokumente wat nie foto's van die draer bevat nie, kan nie voldoende identifikasie in 'n komende verkiesing wees nie, sê die direkteur-generaal van Binnelandse Sake, mnr Piet Colyn.

Hy het gereageer op 'n uitlating van die sekretaris-generaal van die SA Kommunistiese Party, mnr Chris Hani, dat alle vorms van identifikasie, insluitende geboortsertifikate en pensioenboekies, aanvaarbaar moet wees in 'n verkiesing.

Listen to what the hon the Minister's own director-general had to say:

Mnr Colyn sê sulke vorms van identifikasie is wyd oop vir wanpraktise.

He went on to say that we simply have too many aliens in our country.

I wish to ask the hon the Minister and his Government whether they are creating a state of anarchy in this country. Are they creating a state of anarchy? Through the tireless, wearisome labour of their predecessors, peoples in Southern Africa were liberated. Are they now taking away their freedom and allowing the influx of people into South Africa to continue?

The hon the Minister will be retiring soon. He should take his canvassing book and go to the squatter camps in the Peninsula. He should canvass from one squatter shack to the next and see what he finds there.

*Miss M SMUTS: Mr Chairman, I wish to

concentrate on the TBVC countries, because there is concern that the Government is not doing enough to ensure that the citizens of the TBVC countries will have full participation in a democratic election. Unfortunately the hon the Minister's reply this afternoon only served to strengthen the impression that he does not understand the urgency in this regard.

It is the policy of the DP, and it is a decision of Codesa's Working Group 4, that the people of the TBVC countries must have full participation in the constitution-making processes, including elections, which are agreed to during negotiations. Their participation must be arranged in such a way that the votes recorded in the TBVC countries indicate either support for or rejection of reincorporation. The result of such an election would therefore serve as an adequate test of the wishes of the population, because it will indicate whether they are prepared, as the hon member Mr H D K van der Merwe put it, to live under the yoke of the NP-ANC-SACP-DP alliance.

A decision of that nature has two implications. Firstly, citizens of the TBVC countries will vote using their present identity documents, regardless of what regional borders an electoral commission may decide on. Secondly, as a result of its participation in Working Group 4 the South African Government is as of now obliged to consult the TBVC countries on these preparations.

The Government always hides behind constitutional protocol when it comes to these countries, as we have seen repeatedly during this session. Approaches made through the Department of Foreign Affairs do not seem to be working. We understand there is a serious lack of documentation in at least one of these countries, and probably all of them except Bophuthatswana, which could result in very few people being able to vote and our even having to deal with a constitutional crisis. The hon the Minister has held informal meetings, but we are afraid that his successor will have to do something about taking active steps in this regard. [Time expired.]

*The MINISTER OF HOME AFFAIRS: Mr Chairman, the hon member Mr H D K van der Merwe referred to a remark to the effect that the system we were developing would be open to

HOUSE OF ASSEMBLY

abuse. I have already told the hon member that we are concentrating on issuing identity documents as a means of identification, because they contain a photograph and indicate age and citizenship. There is therefore no problem in that respect.

I know that in some circles the use of birth certificates, marriage certificates and drivers' licences has been suggested, but I am afraid those documents are easily forged. If I could have my way, I would definitely not use those documents for identification purposes. That is why—this is in reply to the hon member for Groote Schuur too—I am talking about a short method. When push comes to shove and we see that 95% or 99% of the voters have not been issued with identity documents in the usual sense of the word, then we can look at alternative methods. For example, we could consider issuing a voting card to registered voters, but one which contains an element of identification such as a signature or a thumb-print. [Interjections.] I would like to inform the hon member that that kind of voting card was used with great success in the elections in Namibia. [Time expired.]

*Mr L LOUW: Mr Chairman, it is my contention that the NP is not concerned about what sort of control there will be over who may or may not vote in a so-called election or referendum.

After *Agenda* on Sunday evening they are especially worried about who will vote for them if there is ever an election or a referendum. [Interjections.] The hon member for Worcester who on Sunday evening was either behind the curtain, a member of the editorial team or supplying the hon the Chairman of the Ministers' Council in the House of Representatives with answers, must have put his hon colleagues in the picture. [Interjections.] Now the NP is complaining about the unfair treatment they received from the SABC. Imagine that! [Interjections.] They should be the last to complain about that.

The NP has suddenly realised that they now have the least support in the other population group from which they had hoped to get the most votes. [Interjections.]

I should like to point out to the hon members on the other side—I do not think they understand

HOUSE OF ASSEMBLY

this—what will be left of their party in this Parliament if they were to get their way and force an election like this on South Africa. If there is to be a Parliament with 400 representatives, which is what the ANC proposes and what the NP will agree to, on a proportional basis the NP will have 100 representatives in Parliament if they get 25% of the votes, which in any event is far too many for them. An equitable composition of these representatives would be 40 Black, 20 Coloured and 10 Indian representatives. Furthermore, 10 seats would be reserved for Ministers and Deputy Ministers and five to eight for MECs and ambassadors. In other words only 12 to 15 seats will remain for the ordinary members of that party. I therefore ask the NP to inform their members of that reality. [Interjections.] They say the NP attaches great importance to the truth. They feel the truth is so important that they use it very sparingly. [Interjections.]

*Mr H D K VAN DER MERWE: Mr Chairman, I want to say to the DP that the NP was unsuccessful in their implementation of the policy of separate development, which was the correct policy. [Interjections.] Now the hon members of the DP are seeing the NP failing in and making a mess of their implementation of the DP's policy, which involves power-sharing. However, I wish the hon members of the DP would open their eyes and ears, and not just go along with the NP. They are an excellent example of what power-sharing looks like.

I want to tell the hon the Minister that I heard that on Sunday evening one of the Coloured people called Mr Jac Rabie, the hon the Chairman of the Ministers' Council in the House of Representatives, a zero. I want to tell the hon the Minister that he is a minus. [Interjections.] They are all minuses. [Interjections.]

I want to tell South Africa for the umpteenth time that the NP and the hon the State President are creating in South Africa the worst state of anarchy that has ever been seen on this continent. [Interjections.] Ask the hon the Minister for Public Enterprises what they told those hon members, and tell that hon Minister as well as the hon the State President.

I want to warn those hon members that that time is coming and that it is very close in South

Africa. This Government is turning South Africa into a land of anarchy. [Time expired.]

*The MINISTER OF HOME AFFAIRS: Mr Chairman, both the hon members who have just spoken did not really talk about the question and I do not think there is much more to tell them. [Interjections.] The debate was too general. However, what I can say is that while they may have reservations, we have confidence in our ability to hold a fair election in this country in which only registered voters will participate and which will produce a fair result. [Interjections.]

Debate concluded.

IOCU: consumer rights

2. Mr D H M GIBSON asked the Minister of Trade and Industry:

(1) Whether a comparative study has been made of the legal position of South African consumers in respect of consumer rights and that of consumers in Europe and the United States of America; if not, why not; if so, with what result;

(2) whether he will consider introducing legislation which will define and protect consumer rights in terms similar to those laid down by the International Organization of Consumer Unions (IOCU); if not, why not; if so, what are the relevant details?

B309E.INT

The DEPUTY MINISTER OF TRADE AND INDUSTRY: Mr Chairman, a specific comparative study of consumer law per se has not been conducted. However, the comparative study of consumer law is an ongoing process. This is conducted by various bodies. Academics, the legal profession and the SA Law Commission are, on an ongoing basis, engaged in the study. We have an ad hoc technical committee on consumer legislation, under the chairmanship of Prof Louise Tager, who is, on an ongoing basis, engaged in updating and continuous research of this issue. The Government is taking cognisance of this research all the time.

We believe that the cornerstones of commercial and entrepreneurial freedom, and therefore of consumer welfare, are the recognition and protection of freedom of contract and property rights. Any effective consumer law must be built on these foundations. Without these foundations the consumer is doomed to poverty, irrespective of any laws that may stand on the Statute Book.

With regard to the second question, we are not envisaging a specific Act describing consumer rights. However, it is our endeavour that the rights of specific groups be addressed by way of legislation applicable to specific fields. We believe that there are approximately 62 parliamentary Acts which pertain to consumer protection. They are too many to mention, but some of the most important ones are the Housing Development Schemes for Retired Persons Act, the Usury Act, the Credit Agreements Act, the Estate Agents Act, the Price Control Act, the Standards Act, the Trade Metrology Act, etc. The main Act recently implemented, which is our cutting edge for consumer protection, is the Harmful Business Practices Act. Because of time restrictions I will not be able to discuss this more fully.

The hon member also referred to the International Organisation of Consumer Unions, and let me state specifically that they do not have legislation as a prototype. They provide guidelines for consumer protection. These guidelines are with regard to the consumer's right to safety, to be informed, to choose, to be heard, to redress, to consumer education and to a healthy environment. [Time expired.]

Mr D H M GIBSON: Mr Chairman, I thank the hon the Deputy Minister for his interesting and informative reply. He will forgive me if I say it was a bit lacking in dynamism, because the impression he creates is that it has all been done and that the consumer has all the protection and all the rights which he or she should have. [Interjections.] I want to assure him that in the real world that is not so.

South Africa has an abysmal record when it comes to the rights and the protection of consumers. The consumers should be the most important people in the country, because every man, woman and child in South Africa is a

HOUSE OF ASSEMBLY

Apartheid likened to affirmative action

B10M 3/3/93 (47) 304/1

BILLY PADDOCK

THE policy of apartheid had been an ambitious affirmative action programme and in spite of its all-encompassing nature, it was still a dismal failure, former Pacific Research Institute policy analyst Jim Peron writes.

In a monograph — Affirmative Action, Apartheid and Capitalism — published by the Free Market Foundation and released yesterday, the author claims to debunk "widely held myths about economic power, discrimination and affirmative action".

He places affirmative action in a historical context in SA in order to show how this policy proposal is not new, but a revised form of apartheid.

"This means that affirmative action in SA will help relatively well-off blacks, not poor blacks, and it will come at the expense of those whites

who are relatively less well-off," Peron said.

Another major contention in his study is that economic power and political power are not the same thing and that poverty is an economic problem that needs economic, not political solutions.

"Affirmative action is a political solution to an economic problem and that is one reason it doesn't work," Peron said.

He said the business community had to foot the bill for apartheid which "kicked it in the teeth and now because of the injustices of that system, advocates of affirmative action are suggesting we kick business in the teeth again".

He concludes with an analysis of

the economics of discrimination and claims to show why the free market would tend to discourage discrimination and why politics tends to increase it.

However, he defends affirmative action from a classical liberal perspective, stating that businesses have the right to voluntarily establish affirmative action programmes.

In another study on Industrial Policy, Wits University's Industrial Economics Prof Duncan Reekie contends that competition policy perversely penalises success.

He argues that state-owned firms be handed over to a unit and that units be given away to all South Africans to either keep or sell for cash. Units could also be sold by government for rands or foreign exchange to fund infrastructural projects.



Right-wing Afrikaner leader Carel Boshoff and ANC president Nelson Mandela at a news conference after their meeting in Johannesburg yesterday.

Picture: BRIAN HENDLER

Preparations finalised for crucial planning talks

JOINT government and ANC sub-committees met yesterday in an attempt to resolve outstanding problems on constitutional matters and a "phased approach to bringing all armed formations under joint control".

The committees are under pressure to reach agreement before this afternoon when delegates gather for a plenary session at the World Trade Centre to finalise the agreements which are to be referred to principals for adoption.

Today's meeting is a continuation of last week's two-day bilateral meeting which failed to make significant progress "as there was insufficient time set aside for discussion and the subcommittees had not completed their work", ANC secretary-general Cyril Ramaphosa said.

One issue that was likely to be resolved was the acceptance of a new policy for an independent SABC board. Other issues were the powers and duties of the transitional executive council and its sub-councils and working out a draft proposal for an elections commission and how elections should be conducted.

In Cape Town, government met an Afrikaner Volksunie (AVU) delegation to discuss the possibility of a regional state for Afrikaner self-determination.

Constitutional Development Minister Roelf Meyer and Manpower Minister Leon Wessels represented government, while the AVU delegation was made up of party leader Andries Beyers, his four Parliamen-

tary colleagues and six other AVU members, including former SADF head Gen Constand Viljoen.

A government source said yesterday the heads of most parties' negotiations teams due to participate at the planning conference had made progress yesterday in finalising the arrangements for Friday and Saturday. No further meetings were planned.

It has also been learned that the PAC's national working committee decided 10 days ago to participate in the planning conference. But, a government source said, this was dependent on agreement being reached on Apla and the armed struggle during yesterday's meeting between government and the PAC in Gaborone.

□ In Johannesburg yesterday, ANC president Nelson Mandela held two hours of cordial talks, with Afrikaner separatist leader Carel Boshoff, Sapa-AFP reports.

Mandela said the ANC was "sympathetic" to the Afrikaner's dream of self-determination. "We hope whatever happens in multiparty talks, those who are demanding self-determination for their group will show the same patience which we in our own struggle have shown throughout."

A member of Boshoff's Afrikaner Freedom Institute (Avstig) delegation said the talks were about the possibility that an area of a future federal SA could become the Afrikaner homeland.

BILLY PADDOCK

De Klerk in surprise visit to Khayelitsha

Own Correspondent

CAPE TOWN — President F W de Klerk — accompanied by Health Minister Rina Venter — paid a surprise visit to Khayelitsha yesterday.

De Klerk was welcomed with song and ululations by mothers and nurses at the Nolungile Clinic, where a pilot project to promote primary health care in black areas was launched.

Barely five minutes after De Klerk left, a group of about 30 protesters gathered outside the clinic shouting "Down the NP and De Klerk".

De Klerk toured the clinic and said he had seen with his own eyes the serious need to improve the lives of the disadvantaged communities. Government was trying to bring primary health care to the "people" to alleviate the pressure on hospitals. *BIDA 3/3/93*

"We need to come together — above party politics — to bring change, because when leaders are at loggerheads, communities suffer," he said.

De Klerk said he did not publicise his visit as he was not electioneering. "I do not mix health with politics."

He said he visited the local community because "I am the president of every South African".

This was the President's first visit to Khayelitsha.

Yesterday De Klerk said the promotion of health care would not solve the problem if housing was not improved and made available.

Star 3/3/93

War will (304A) not stop, says PAC

By Kaizer Nyatumba
Political Reporter

GABORONE — Talks between the South African Government and the PAC ended in deadlock yesterday after the PAC leadership refused to suspend its armed struggle.

Law and Order Minister Hernus Kriel said the Government had proposed a phased suspension of the PAC's armed struggle, which the PAC leadership was not in a position to give. The Government would therefore not support the PAC's involvement in multi-party negotiations until such time as it suspended its armed struggle.

At a press conference shortly afterwards, PAC legal and constitutional affairs secretary Willie Seriti said his organisation intended attending multi-party talks in Kempton Park on Friday.

"We believe that we have a constituency to represent, and that it is our right to attend the meeting," Seriti said.

Kriel said the Government's three-phase proposal, which he described as "eminently reasonable", was that the PAC placed a moratorium on its armed activity, that the moratorium be reviewed by the organisation's national congress when it meets some time this year, and that the future of all armed forces be given top priority in discussions within a multiparty forum.

Kriel said it was "very clear" that the PAC was not in a position to implement agreements reached at its meeting with the Government in Gaborone in November, and consequently the Government could not support the PAC's involvement in the negotiations.

However, Kriel said the Government could not unilaterally prevent the PAC from attending the talks.

Right, Left and centre Star 3/3/93 will all have their say

By Peter Fabricius
and Esther Waugh

The full political mainstream will be represented in negotiations for the first time when more than 20 parties and administrations sit down together at the World Trade Centre near Kempton Park on Friday to plan for the future.

All the main parties — including, for the first time, the Conservative Party on the Right and the Pan Africanist Congress on the Left — are due to attend the multi-party planning conference.

Its aim is to review agreements made to date and to plan the resumption of full-scale, multi-party, Codesa-style negotiations.

One top negotiator said the purpose of the conference was to form a bridge between past bilateral and future multilateral negotiations.

Bringing such a wide range of views together is bound to be a delicate operation and fireworks have not been ruled out.

Other participants were still not sure last night whether the Inkatha Freedom Party might not spring a surprise by demanding the conference make a binding decision

that the future South Africa become a federation.

However, IFP and other sources close to them said they did not think this would become a make-or-break issue at this stage.

They said this conference was mainly the brainchild of the IFP, which wanted it to review ANC-Government "deals". Thus the IFP would like it to succeed.

It appeared that other parties had accommodated the IFP's concerns to an extent by agreeing to include an agenda item on whether negotiations could take place regionally.

Panel

Arguments were still continuing yesterday about who should serve on the multiparty panel to chair the conference.

There was provisional agreement that the Government, ANC, IFP, Democratic Party, Afrikaner Volksunie, Qwa-Qwa government and Transkei government should be represented.

A panel drawn from these groups met in Cape Town yesterday to make final arrangements for the conference.

However the conservative Concerned South African Group (Cosag) was still arguing that Boputhutswana Government

minister Rowan Cronje should be appointed to the chairing panel to represent their interests.

This problem was not expected to cause a major upset nor was the expected arrival of KwaZulu government and PAC delegations at the conference — even though this had not been agreed to by all parties.

The ANC has not approved the KwaZulu government as such being there and the Government is still officially observing a ban on contact with the PAC until it distances itself from violent acts by its armed wing the Azanian Peoples Party.

"Both will probably just pitch up and no one will chase them away," a negotiation source said.

The source added that first prize at the conference would be agreement on a date for full multi-party talks.

But it would be enough if the process of arranging the conference was just kept on track.

Parties will be represented by five-person delegation headed by their chief negotiators rather than their leaders.

Apart from the PAC, CP and KwaZulu government, the other principal newcomer to negotiations will be the Afrikaner Volksunie (AVU) which split from the CP last year.

Govt, ANC to talk security

CT 3/3/93 3047

Political Staff

THE government and the ANC will meet again today to discuss security issues.

In a document issued yesterday, the ANC said it would propose that before the creation of the Transitional Executive Council (TEC), all formations — including the South African Defence Force and uMkhonto weSizwe — would have to present a complete list of arms and personnel for an independent audit and possible control.

It proposed that at this point there should be a moratorium on further recruitment.

The ANC proposes that during the TEC phase all armed formations should be placed under joint control and be accountable to the TEC.

Once the election had taken place, the interim government of national unity would restructure the armed forces in terms of the new constitution.

The government is due to respond to the proposals today.

To date, however, it has been opposed to joint control of the security forces before an interim government is installed.

● The government favours a speedy resolution to the arms

Ban urged on further SADF, MK recruitment

question and, it is understood, plans to introduce legislation which will provide stiff penalties for possession of illegal arms.

It proposes that a period of grace precede enactment of the bill which would allow people to hand in arms — these could be placed under the control of the National Peace Secretariat.

● Preparations for the multi-party planning conference on Friday reached fever-pitch yesterday, with the parties locked in discussion on the format for the conference, and such logistical issues as how the seven chairmen should be rotated.

Details of how the conference would be structured are expected to be released today.

The conference, which will be attended by the 19 Codesa parties

and organisations, as well as the Conservative Party, Afrikaner Volksunie and Pan-Africanist Congress, will be open to the media.

In addition to the ANC-government meeting today, the PAC will host the leaders of four non-independent homelands, Transkei, Venda and the Labour Party to try to win support for its contention that there should not be an interim government.

The one shadow hanging over the conference is a decision by the IFP to send a KwaZulu government delegation — the ANC is opposed to the non-independent homeland governments being present.

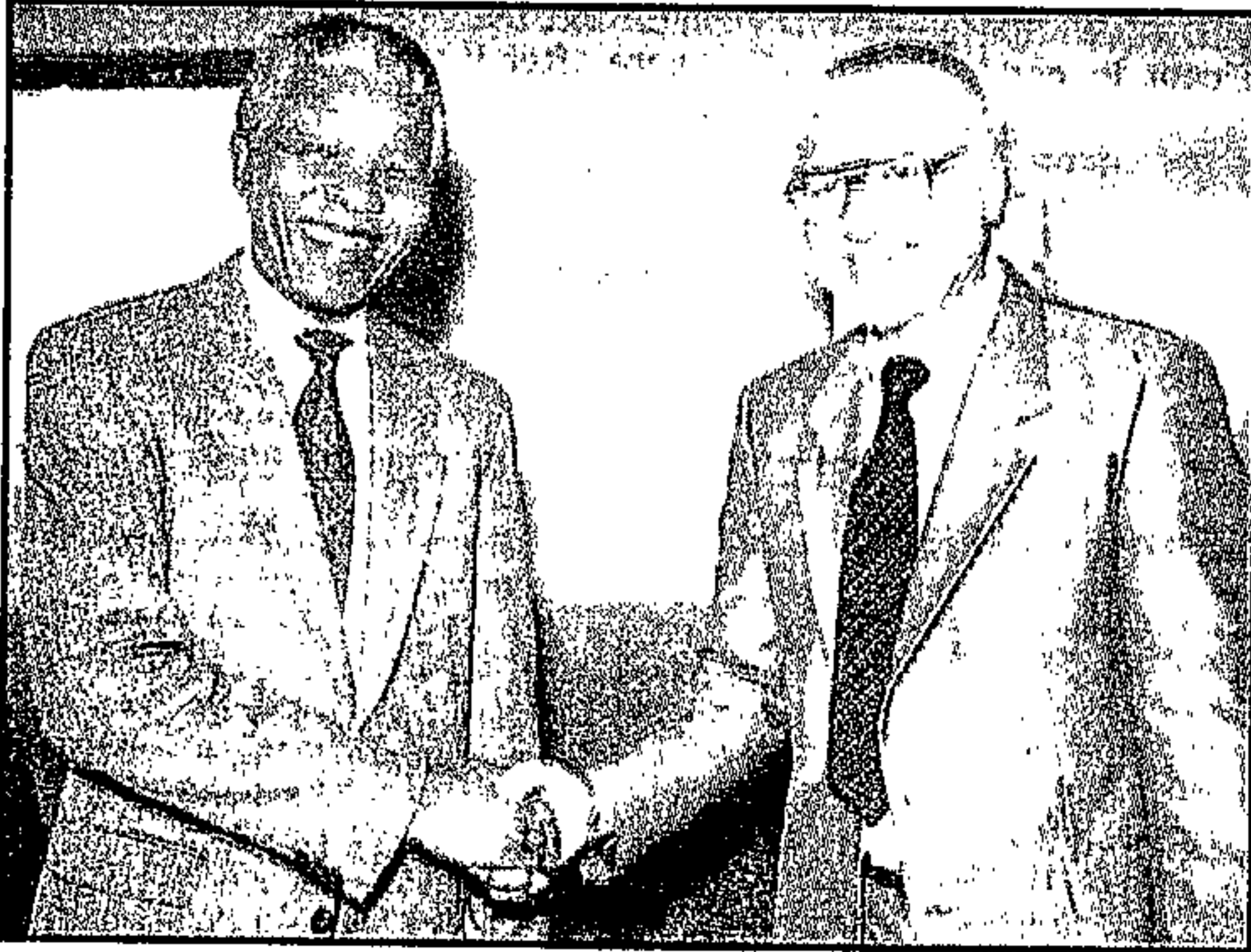
While the IFP decision has not been made public, it is understood that the IFP delegation will be led by national chairman Dr Frank Mdlalose and that of the KwaZulu government by Finance Minister Mr Dennis Madide.

Government sources indicated last night that it was unlikely that the ANC would walk out of the conference if the KwaZulu government was present.

"How will they be able to justify walking out, simply because there is another delegation present they object to?" one source asked.

Star 3/31/93

Fit-looking Mandela speaks to rightwinger



So near yet so far . . . ANC president Nelson Mandela shakes hands with Professor Carel Boshoff yesterday.

A fit-looking Nelson Mandela interrupted the rest prescribed by his doctors for two hours of cordial talks yesterday with Afrikaner separatist leader Professor Carel Boshoff.

Careful not to alienate the Right days before the multiparty planning conference, he said the ANC was "sympathetic" to Boshoff's dream of self-determination. Boshoff has proposed an Afrikaner state in the north-western Cape.

"We hope that, whatever happens in multiparty talks, those who are demanding self-determination for their group will show the same patience that we

in our own struggle have shown throughout," Mandela said.

He questioned the compatibility of a race-based state with the religious ideals of Boshoff's followers and noted Afrikaners had never called for their own homeland in white-ruled SA.

Boshoff called yesterday's talks fruitful and said both sides had agreed to set up a bilateral committee to further the talks.

The ultra rightwing Afrikaner Vryheidstigting is considering whether it should attend Friday's multiparty planning conference. — Sapa-AFP.

● Govt, Volksunie look at 'Afrikaner states' — Page 8

Factional violence has taken a heavy toll on African countries, reports Gerald L'Ange

Star 3/13/93

Hard slog back to prosperity

3047

SOUTH Africa may be far richer and stronger than all other African countries but it can nevertheless learn a lot from their experience in attaining democracy — and in losing it.

One lesson stands out as more important than any other. It is simply that it is harder to get off the slippery slope of factional violence than it is to get on it. And consequences of not getting off are horrendous.

The level of violence has recently declined markedly in South Africa but it would be highly optimistic not to believe it will not flare up again. Guns are still being smuggled in and tensions behind the past violence are far from being defused. So the African lesson is still worth learning.

Africa has painfully proved that factional violence leads only to national poverty and misery. It seldom leads to political power — never to lasting power — and it

certainly does not lead to prosperity or any of the other things that make life worth living.

Africa has shown also that it takes many painful years for a country to get back to where it was before it slipped into factional violence — if it gets back at all. Anyone who doubts this should visit one of the African countries that is still floundering at or near the bottom of the slope.

South Africa is already far out on the slope and anybody who doubts that should take a closer look at the political mayhem, notably the death toll, the techniques used, the proliferation of military weapons and the identity of the apparent instigators.

But South Africa has not yet slipped so far that it cannot get back to firm ground, however. The onus to bring the country back lies not on those who pull triggers, but on factional leaders, black and white, in whose cause they do it. The sad irony of factional vio-

lence is that it usually turns out to be unnecessary as well. When the rival factions eventually are forced to compromise with each other, it invariably transpires that their differences were not great as they had been made out to be, and not so great that they could not have been resolved by peaceful negotiation in the first place.

Mozambique demonstrates all of this. That country, which has the potential to be relatively prosperous, became the world's poorest country and one of the most violent.

The indices of its degradation were ambushes on main roads, sewage overflowing in polluted streets, peasants eating roots to survive and wearing bark for clothing, burnt-out schools and clinics, empty shops, child guerrillas and mutilated women.

After 16 years of factional violence (in the form of civil war), Mozambique had reached the bot-

tom. It had nowhere to go but up. And when the opposing parties at last met at the bottom and negotiated, they found there was little ideological difference between them — nothing that could not have been resolved through compromise in the beginning.

Mozambique has only begun to claw its way back up the slope and there is still no certainty that it will not slip down again. In any event, it will be many years before the country gets back to where it was before the start of the war. It may never catch up to where it could have been had its politicians eschewed violence from the start.

Angola has skidded even more spectacularly down the slope of violence. It is perhaps not yet at the bottom, but it is close to being there. Angola's conflict demonstrates both the pointlessness of violence and how enormously difficult it is to get out of it. There, too, the factions found

after 16 years of war that there was little ideological difference between them. Their policies, notably that of the ruling MPLA, had changed somewhat, but it did not necessarily take war to effect that change.

When they eventually came to resolve their dispute peacefully through a UN-supervised election, however, the exercise foundered on the issue of power. Unita, losing the election, cried fraud. Eritrea could not bring itself to abandon its hopes of power after 16 years of fighting for it or the MPLA could not bring itself to risk losing it and rigged the election. Whichever way it was, the main reality is that all those years of conflict had made compromise painful and difficult.

Eventually the Angolan parties will compromise. And then they will have to start restoring the wrecked infrastructure and economy. Nothing will restore the lost lives, of course. And there will be

no way of measuring how much further ahead the country would have been but for the violence.

There are other current examples in Africa of the dangers and pointlessness of violence. Somalia, where fighting went on until there was little left to fight for except ashes and ethnic pride. Sudan, where war has failed to reconcile religious and ethnic differences and negotiation has never been seriously attempted.

Despite the relatively limited violence that has taken place in South Africa and despite the current economic recession, the country is still the most fortunate in Africa in terms of prosperity and promise.

South Africa, therefore, has less to gain and more to lose than any other country on the continent from a descent into factional violence. The danger is that those who have the power to control it will not try to do so until it is too late. — Star Africa Service. □

Star 2/8/93

Govt, Volksunie look at 'Afrikaner states'

CAPE TOWN — The Afrikaner Volksunie (AVU) and the Government had established a mechanism to examine the possibility of Afrikaner states in a federal South Africa, Constitutional Development Minister Roelf Meyer said yesterday.

In a statement issued after talks with the AVU, which broke away from the Conservative Party last year, Meyer said a committee would inquire into the common ground between the AVU and the Government on the autonomy and borders of the regions.

(304A)

The committee would further study the AVU's proposal on how such a state or states could accommodate Afrikaner homogeneity.

He said while there had been agreement on the principle of strong autonomous regions, the two parties had differed

on the practical application of this principle.

Meyer said the AVU had proposed regional governments of which two would have Afrikaner majorities — an Afrikaner state in Transvaal with Pretoria as its core and another in part of the Cape. — Sapa.

FW pays visit to Khayelitsha

CT 3/3/93

By RAMOTENA MABOTE

304A

PRESIDENT F W de Klerk — accompanied by Health Minister Dr Rina Venter — yesterday paid a surprise visit to Khayelitsha.

Mr De Klerk was welcomed with song and ululations by mothers and nurses at the Nolungile Clinic, where a pilot project to promote primary health care in black areas was launched.

Mr De Klerk toured the clinic and said afterwards he had seen with his own eyes the serious need to improve the lives of the disadvantaged communities, and that his government was trying to bring primary health care to the "people" to alleviate pressure on hospitals.

In an interview Mr De Klerk said he did not publicise his visit as he was not electioneering. "I do not mix health with politics," he said. "I am the president of every South African."

This was the State President's first visit to Khayelitsha.

Yesterday Mr De Klerk said the promotion of health care would not solve the problem if housing was not improved and made available.

"If we continue with health without improving the bad housing situation, which is the breeding place for disease, we would be healing the wound, and not curing the cause.

"However, no government, not even the new one, would be able to build each and every citizen of this country a house to live in. We have to bring in the private sector," Mr De Klerk said.

Barely five minutes after Mr De Klerk left the clinic, a group of about 30 protesters gathered outside the clinic shouting: "Down the National Party and De Klerk."



'Invite economic players to talks'

304A
43
ARG 3/3/93

BRUCE CAMERON
Business Staff

IT was absolutely necessary to fill the economic vacuum which had built up in constitutional negotiations, South African Chamber of Business Director-General Raymond Parsons has warned.

Although he was not demanding a seat at the negotiating table, Mr Parsons said yesterday that a mechanism should be found to invite the main economic players into the negotiations to ensure the economic dimensions were properly discussed.

This could include asking eco-

nomie players to provide information to the next round of multiparty talks.

Mr Parsons did not feel the Economic Forum was sufficient to meet the needs of putting the economic case in the constitutional debate.

He said there was a need for a fundamental look at the role of government in the economy. This should form part of the constitutional negotiations.

The three fundamental issues were:

- Identifying those things which only the government could and should do.

- Identifying those issues which the government should see were done but not do itself.

- Identifying what the government should not do at all.

Mr Parsons said additional mechanisms also had to be considered to ensure discipline in government spending.

Measures that should be considered included were:

- Strengthening the powers of the auditor-general.

- Writing fiscal restraints into the constitution.

- Making more use of the private sector to audit and manage government spending.



Way clear for negotiations

3041A
CT 4/3/93

Political Staff

JOHANNESBURG. — The groundwork for the resumption of multi-party constitutional talks had been well prepared and there were now no more obstacles to be resolved, Constitutional Development Minister Mr Roelf Meyer said in a briefing yesterday.

Announcing that the planning conference would start tomorrow with all the details under control, he stressed that there were only two agenda items — assessing the stage of bilateral negotiations and setting the date for the resumption of full-blown talks.

Later ANC secretary-general Mr Cyril Ramaphosa concurred with this view and said unequivocally that no constitutional negotiations on regionalism, federalism or unitarism, would be discussed.

This clearly put the government and the ANC on a collision course with Inkatha after its leader Chief Mangosuthu Buthelezi at the weekend stressed that the planning conference would have to decide on the form of the state as this would determine the form of the new negotiating forum.

Govt forced to accept PAC at multi-party talks

Political Staff

THE PAC will attend the multi-party planning conference — and the government will not object.

PAC director of international affairs Mr Gora Ibrahim confirmed yesterday the PAC would attend the planning conference and future negotiations.

Mr Ibrahim said that he did not believe the government could force the PAC to leave the negotiating table.

Asked about the planning conference Mr Ibrahim said it would result in a more representative forum than last year's "abortive" Codesa talks, which the PAC had boycotted.

Speaking after talks between the

PAC and the ANC, Mr Ibrahim said that his organisation believed the negotiating forum should have a fixed agenda and it should not be a decision-making body.

ANC secretary-general Mr Cyril Ramaphosa said the meeting had been "fairly constructive and successful".

Discussions had centred on the planning conference.

Meanwhile, Democratic Party national chairman Mr Ken Andrew has condemned the PAC's restated commitment to the armed struggle, saying it was "completely unacceptable and irreconcilable with a peaceful negotiations process".

It is understood that while Inkatha will make some attempt to raise the issue at the planning conference, its delegation leader Dr Frank Mdlalose would not make it a "make or break issue".

Objective

Mr Meyer said: "No side issues or minor issues will be allowed to take the place of the major issue — the resumption of multi-party negotiations."

"All parties that raise side issues and detract from our objective must account for them-

selves on this matter," he said.

He said while attempts were being made to create a climate where no parties walked out of the talks dissatisfied, if they did it was at their own peril.

Each of the 23 parties would have seven minutes at the start of the meeting to give opening addresses before the review of talks started.

After this, parties would look at the conditions necessary for the resumption of constitutional talks and a date for them.

Horseshoe-shaped table ruled out for new talks

Star 4/13/93
(304A)

Political Staff

The difference between a horseshoe and a circle may help decide the future of constitutional negotiations in South Africa.

At least, that is what may be read into preparations for tomorrow's crucial multiparty planning conference at the World Trade Centre near

Kempton Park.

The owner of the centre, Neels Swart, let out the secret:

"The World Trade Centre management in New York told me that arranging conferences in the form of a horseshoe creates a confrontational attitude. We have now arranged the tables in a circle like at the United Nations."

Technicians were yes-

terday testing the sound system in the centre court where Codesa's plenary sessions were held.

The three new groups to formally join the talks — the PAC, Conservative Party and Afrikaner Volksunie — will occupy offices next to one another.

Groups will be seated alphabetically. This means the Afrikaner Volksunie will be seated

next to the ANC while the CP will be sitting between the IFP and the Labour Party.

The press will sit on the first floor directly above the delegates.

Security will again be handled by a multiparty security committee under the joint command of Umkhonto we Sizwe and the SAP.

● Tribal leaders set for indaba - Page 12

Homes, sweet homes

(3049) ARG 4/3/93

The privilege enjoyed by South African ministers of being paid to live in their own houses is not shared by their counterparts in Britain or America, The Argus Political Staff and Foreign Service discover.

THE government says paying cabinet ministers for living in their own homes has brought South Africa in line with "other modern countries" — but ministers in Britain and the United States do not have the same privilege.

The furore over the ministers' allowances deepened this week as the government, stung by widespread criticism, mounted a campaign to defend the scheme.

Director general of the Department of Public Works, Mr Theo van Robbroeck, said it would cost the state more if ministers were in official homes.

"It looks as if the ministers are enriched ... at the taxpayers' expense. I can assure you this is not true because it costs the state more to house the ministers in official residences."

The state would have to pay for new curtains, carpets and furniture each time a new minister moved in ... and it "cannot be furniture bought at O K Bazaars".

Mr Van Robbroeck said cabinet ministers "should live in houses worth R750 000 so their homes could match their status and standing".

The state also would have to pay for maintenance, cleaning and gardening — and some places needed five gardeners — a TV, kitchenware, and a recorder.

If a pipe burst or the electricity failed, Public Works "must rush out", so had to be on 24 hours standby.

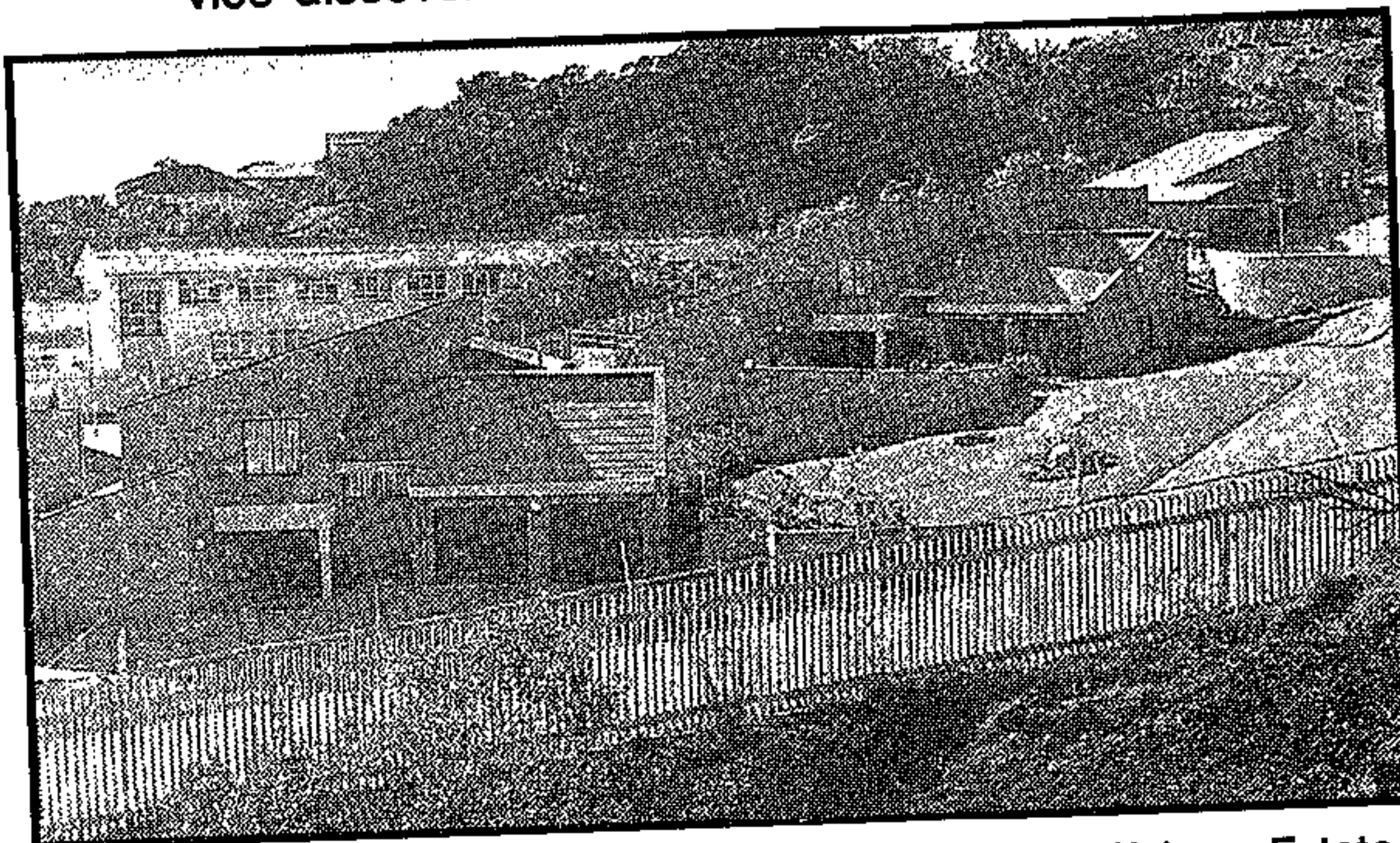
This cost a lot of money, "so these other allowances are modest in comparison to what we spend on official residences".

Ministers were paid R3 613 a month after tax for their bond repayments.

When ministers moved into their own homes, they had to pay their own transfer costs. For repairs, ministers got 1.25 percent of the capital cost of the house. After tax, ministers got R500 towards the wages of one domestic worker, and R500 towards the wages of one gardener.

The scheme, which had brought South Africa in line with other modern countries, was based on recommendations by Professor Giel Loubser, former professor of auditing at the University of Pretoria.

However, Alan Robinson of the Argus Foreign Service in London reports that official residences for British cabinet ministers are "virtually non-existent".



WHITE ELEPHANTS: Ministerial mansions built in Walmer Estate on the slopes of Devil's Peak. They have never been occupied.

There were only five official residences available: Prime Minister Mr John Major had 10 Downing Street in London and Chequers in the country. The Chancellor of the Exchequer had 11 Downing Street and a country home, Chevening. The Home Secretary had Dorneywood in the country.

There were no other official residences and all other cabinet ministers had to pay for their own accommodation. There were no housing allowances.

All non-cabinet MPs were paid parliamentary salaries of £30 854 (about R180 000) a year.

They were allowed to claim expenses incurred in the performance of their parliamentary duties like secretarial assistance, general office costs and employing research assistants up to a maximum of £39 960 a year.

Additionally, MPs living in the inner London area were entitled to an allowance of £1 222 a year and those with constituencies outside London could claim expenses for staying in London to a maximum of £10 786 a year.

The Prime Minister earned £50 724 a year, plus a parliamentary salary of £23 227 which amounted to about R340 000.

Cabinet ministers earned between £38 105 and £48 381 a year plus a parliamentary salary of £23 227 a year.

Similarly, Hugh Robertson of The Argus Foreign Service in Washington reports that the United States does not provide official residences for any of

its cabinet members, and neither are they paid housing allowances.

The only official residences for senior public officials is the White House, for the president and his family, and a home for the vice-president, which is the main residence at the US Naval Observatory.

Cabinet members must pay for their accommodation in Washington out of their salaries, which are subject to approval by the US Senate.

Not even the Secretary of State has an official residence, and what entertaining he might do usually is in a special reception area on the eighth floor of the State Department. Secret Service guards, official cars and drivers are provided for members of the cabinet.

While cabinet members may bill the government for entertaining guests at home, strict rules apply.

In the case of the Secretary of State, for instance, a minimum number of foreigners must be in attendance at a function for it to qualify as an event to be paid for by taxpayers. Expenses claims of cabinet members are open to Senate scrutiny and to auditing by the General Accounting Office.

Most members of the cabinet live in middle or upper-middle class neighbourhoods and most rent the premises although several, who have spent time in Washington before their appointments to the cabinet, have bought homes.

Path to talks cleared ~~govt~~ gov

B1 PM 4/3/93 304A
THE groundwork for the resumption of multiparty constitutional talks had been well laid and no more obstacles had to be cleared, Constitutional Development Minister Roelf Meyer said yesterday.

He said at a briefing that the planning conference, starting tomorrow, would have only two items on the agenda: assessing the stage of bilateral negotiations and setting the date for the resumption of full-blown talks.

Later ANC secretary-general Cyril Ramaphosa concurred, saying no constitutional items, such as regionalism, federalism or unitarism, would be discussed.

This put government and the ANC on a collision course with Inkatha, whose leader Mangosuthu Buthelezi stressed at the weekend that the conference would have to

BILLY PADDOCK

decide on the form of the future state as this would determine the form of the new negotiating forum.

But it is understood that while Inkatha would attempt to raise the issue at the planning conference, its delegation leader Frank Mdlalose would not make it a "make or break issue".

Meyer said: "No side issues or minor issues will be allowed to take the place of the major issue — the resumption of multiparty negotiations."

Each of the parties would have seven minutes at the start of the meeting to give opening addresses before the review of talks started. After this, parties would look

☐ To Page 2

Talks *B1 PM 4/3/93 304A* ☐ From Page 1

at the conditions necessary for resumed constitutional talks and a date for them.

While there was not finality on who would attend, apart from the 19 Codesa participants, delegations could be expected from the PAC, Afrikaner Volksunie, KwaZulu and perhaps the CP. Notices had been sent to the provinces other than Natal for delegations of traditional leaders to attend.

No standing rules or procedures had been worked out and a panel of chairmen would guide the process. It is understood there is a common understanding among parties on the rules.

Meyer said while government would not refuse to allow the PAC to attend, it would have to clarify its position on Apla and set in place a moratorium on the armed struggle before constitutional negotiations resumed. There would be enough time to negotiate this in the run-up to negotiations.

He said the parties needed at least three weeks after the planning conference to set up the new negotiating forum.

LLOYD COUTTS reports that the ANC yesterday placed its weight firmly behind a PAC decision to participate in the conference. An ANC delegation led by Ramaphosa briefed a PAC group on the agenda.

"We are pleased to confirm that the PAC will be attending the planning conference which starts on Friday," he said.

PAC negotiator Gora Ebrahim said his organisation would be going into the conference on the basis of achieving a more representative multilateral forum to discuss the election of a constituent assembly.

"We are a factor to be reckoned with and we have to participate in the process. We cannot see how the regime can leave out an important player and still expect to solve the problems of the country," he said.

● Comment: Page 6

Back to negotiation table

Sowetan 4/3/93

304A

By Ismail Lagardien

Political Correspondent

POLITICAL parties are preparing to return to the World Trade Centre near Johannesburg tomorrow to plan for the resumption of multiparty negotiations towards a political settlement.

All the parties who were part of Codesa, as well as the Pan Africanist Congress and the Afrikaner Volksunie, will be at the meeting.

Of the parties with proven political support, the Azanian People's Organisation has said it

■ Azapo won't attend and conservatives hedge on multiparty talks planning sessions but all others will be there:

would not take part in tomorrow's deliberations and the Conservative Party remains non-committal.

There is a strong possibility that the KwaZulu government will simply arrive at the meeting separately from the Inkatha Freedom Party.

The leaders of the senior political parties — the ANC, IFP, PAC and NP — will not be at the talks but other senior executive members will.

The agenda has two points: a review of past

achievements and the resumption of multiparty negotiations. Constitutional Development Minister Mr Roelf Meyer said in Cape Town yesterday there were no objectives at the meeting except the two points on the agenda.

"We need to create a situation where no party will walk out of the planning conference dissatisfied. I believe all the necessary groundwork has been done to get all the parties together to resume multiparty negotiations," he said.

NEWS PAC agrees to take part in multi-party negotiations on a constitution

PAC to join in multiparty talks

■ Details to be discussed with ANC at meeting this month:

Sowetan 4/3/93.

By Joshua Raboroko

THE Pan Africanist Congress is to join the ANC and other groups in the multiparty talks which start in Kempton Park tomorrow.

Speaking at a joint Press conference, with ANC general secretary Mr Cyril Ramaphosa, the PAC's Gora Ibrahim said that they were prepared to participate in talks that would lead the way to the drawing up of a new constitution for South Africa.

Ibrahim said they had informed the ANC about their intentions to join the talks and the parties would discuss the

(3041)
modalities at a meeting during this month.

The PAC was prepared to enter into a mutual cessation of hostilities but would not suspend the armed struggle, Ibrahim said. "We are joining the talks because most of the conditions we proposed will be met," he said.

The PAC's decision to take part comes after the liberation movement refused during meetings with the Government in Gaborone this week to suspend the armed struggle.

Ramaphosa said they were pleased that the PAC would join the talks that would lead to the drafting of a new constitution for South Africa.



YET ANOTHER AMBUSH ... Police and paramedics at the scene of the shoot-out between armoured Fidelity Guards and robbers off the N2 freeway near Avoca, Natal, yesterday. A corpse was found sprawled in the back of a bakkele, surrounded by metal boxes. The robbers fled with an undisclosed amount of cash and the guards' guns.

Govt, ANC meet to thrash out 'nitty-gritty'

B/DAM 4/3/93

TOP government and ANC negotiators met in Johannesburg last night to thrash out "nitty-gritty" details of constitutional differences between them in the hope of finding further common ground.

Both parties stressed, however, that their talks "have nothing whatsoever to do with the planning conference" starting tomorrow at the World Trade Centre.

ANC secretary-general Cyril Ramaphosa said the parties did not realise how much time they would need to work through the "nitty-gritty" of their exploratory talks and added that there would be no decisions or agreements coming out of the meeting.

Most of the hard bargaining had been done in the sub-committees set up by the parties at the December bilateral meeting and these were reporting back yesterday.

Constitutional Development Minister Roelf Meyer said the two main areas of discussion would focus on security matters — the joint control of people and material in the various armed formations in SA and

304A
BILLY PADDOCK

the powers and functions of the sub-councils of the transitional executive council.

This had been a difficult area of difference and the parties were examining a method of phasing in the joint control and then incorporating the armies, starting with the implementation of the transitional executive council and its sub-councils.

Ramaphosa added that the parties would "touch on the thorny issue" of regionalism and federalism but he did not think much progress would be made given the time constraints. It was also not a major issue that had to be tied up this week.

The parties were seeking to find a way to bridge the differences between parties and accommodate their positions.

He said, however, that resolution of the discussion over a transparent and public system of appointing an independent SABC board was on the cards.

All eyes on the 'spoilers' at talks

(304A)

PARTICIPANTS in the multiparty planning conference all realise the urgency for it to succeed and then lead to the resumption of constitutional negotiations.

But some will arrive tomorrow at the World Trade Centre near Kempton Park with contradictory aims.

However it is clear that those planning on placing obstacles in the way of the conference leading to a new reconstituted negotiating forum will be regarded as spoilers — largely for placing party political views above national interests.

The eight-month hiatus in negotiations began at the end of June when the ANC formally suspended talks after the Boipatong massacre.

But it really began at the failed Codesa 2 when the key players — the ANC and Government — could not agree on who should write the new constitution. This led to the 19 Codesa participants dividing into pro-Government and pro-ANC camps.

Shortly after the Boipatong killings the ANC issued 14 demands focusing on violence and transitional arrangements, and said it would not even consider returning to the negotiating table until these have been met by the Government.

The ensuing weeks saw a 'war of memoranda' between the two on these demands and counter proposals.

This period saw an unprecedented ANC-led mass action campaign and vigorous United Nations involvement in trying to resolve the crisis.

But ironically it was violence

South Africa tomorrow takes the first step in the resumption of multiparty constitutional negotiations when political groups return to the empty Codesa meeting rooms. Political Reporter ESTHER WAUGH looks at the road the negotiation process has travelled since it came to an abrupt end in June, and at the contradictory aims of the participants.

which resolved the negotiators' 'altitude problems'.

More specifically, the Bishop massacre which proved to be the final turning point by getting the ANC and Government to meet.

This meeting led to the signing of the Record of Understanding in September between the two groups, but the ink was hardly dry on the historic document and IFP leader Chief Mangosuthu Buthe broke off talks with the Government.

He said these two parties could not reach bilateral agreements which had an impact on others.

The IFP took the lead in forming the Concerned South Africans Group (Cosag) based on opposition to the Record of Understanding and not on a shared vision of the transition.

Since September the ANC and Government have embarked on a series of meetings to thrash out differences on their scenarios for the transition. A greater convergence between the two has emerged with them agreeing on the framework for the transition from apartheid to democracy.

However, fundamental differences still exist on power-sharing and regionalism but they are regarded as details — although not mere procedural

matters — to be discussed at the negotiating table.

Meetings between Cosag — the IFP, Conservative Party, Afrikaner Volksunie, and the Ciskei and Bophuthatwana governments — and the Government have only really got under way since the beginning of the year. A large backlog still exists between them on constitutional issues.

It is quite likely that different camps will emerge at the planning conference because of the contradictory aims of participants.

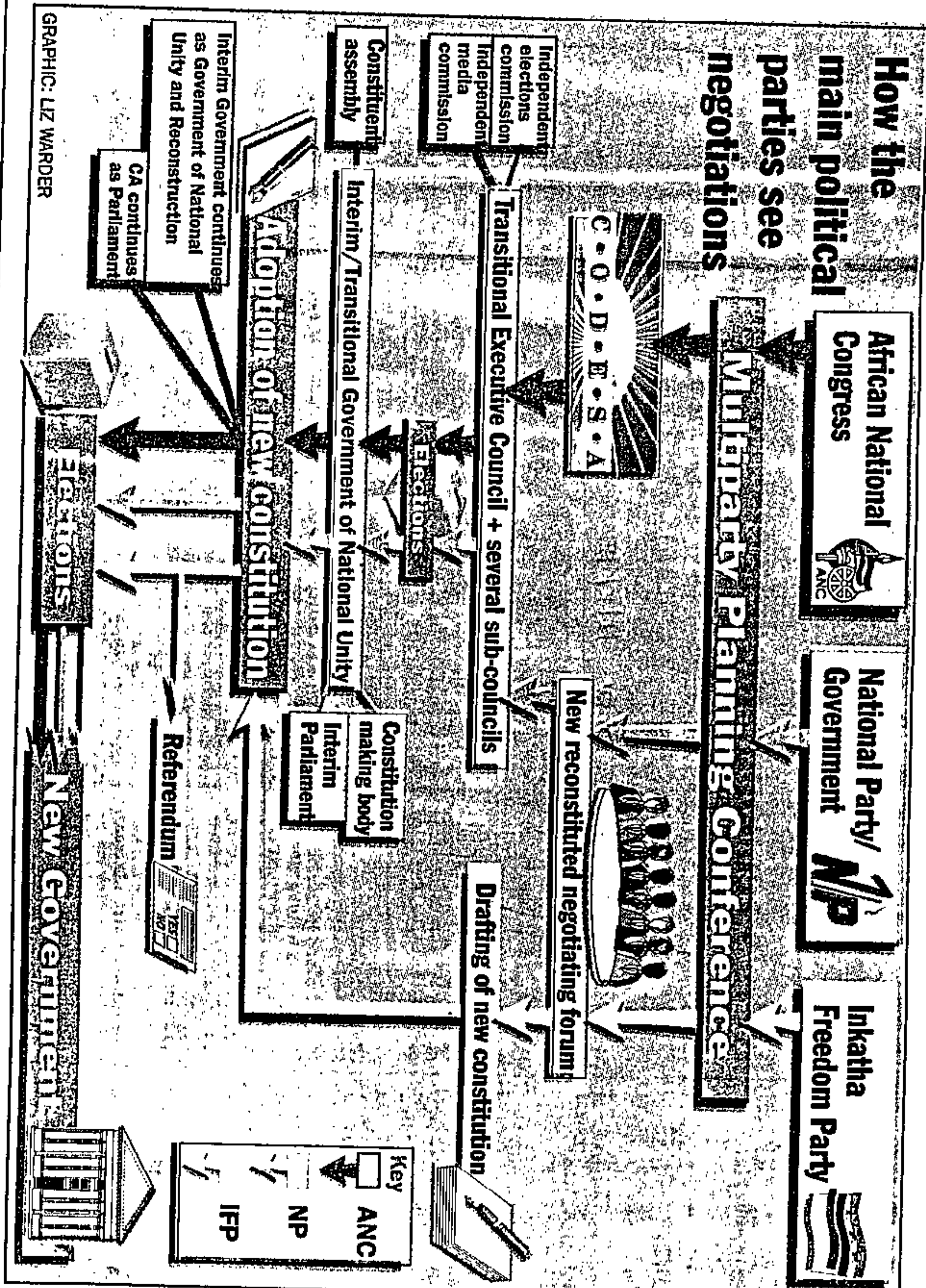
These differences are largely due to the different scenarios for the transition.

On the one hand, the Government and ANC want an elected body to draft the new constitution, while the IFP wants an appointed multiparty negotiating forum to draft the constitution before elections can be held.

Also, the IFP wants the planning conference to determine whether the post-apartheid South Africa will be a unitary or federal state.

Squabbles at the conference and hitches in the negotiating process are to be expected, but urgency in the process is an overriding factor.

Tomorrow will be a moment of truth in South Africa's negotiation process. □



PAC to attend talks as

'a right'

Political Staff

THE Pan Africanist Congress will attend the two-day planning conference on the resumption of multiparty talks in spite of its stated policy of continuing the armed struggle.

Although the government has objected to the presence of the PAC it was not in a position to deny it participation in the conference.

But Constitutional Development Minister Roelf Meyer says the government will "clarify the position on its further participation in constitutional talks".

There was a clear difference between attending this week's conference and the planned multiparty forum at the end of the month.

About 22 groups will attend tomorrow's conference at the World Trade Centre in Kemp-ton Park.

In addition to the 19 which took part in the Codesa talks, the PAC, the CP and Afrikaner Volksunie will attend, while delegations representing the Zulu king and tribal leaders are expected.

PAC general-secretary Benny Alexander said at a Press conference in Johannesburg yesterday that the PAC would definitely attend — not by invitation, but "by right".

It is expected that the DP's Colin Eglin will open the conference."

Tribal Star 4/3/93 leaders

set for indaba

Political Staff

CAPE TOWN — Delegations representing the Zulu king and other tribal leaders from all four provinces are likely to swell the ranks of those attending tomorrow's multiparty planning conference to get negotiations back on track.

The two-day conference will be the broadest-yet gathering of parties and other groupings for negotiation, from the PAC on the Left to the Conservative Party on the Right.

The PAC confirmed yesterday that it would be there and the Government said it would not object, although the PAC refuses to abandon its armed struggle.

The PAC, which walked out of Codesa, said it would also continue to take part in negotiations and would attend the full multiparty conference which negotiators hope to convene before the end of the month.

Indications are that no one will walk out when a delegation representing the Zulu king and other Natal traditional leaders arrive at the World Trade Centre for the meeting, even though the ANC has in the past opposed this.

Negotiations sources said yesterday they expected a delegation representing the king and other KwaZulu-Natal tribal leaders to attend, although the king himself would not.

Invitations had also been sent to traditional leaders of the other three provinces.

Allowing the Zulu king to be represented through a delegation of traditional leaders seems to be a compromise to get round the ANC's objection to his attending as the head of a KwaZulu government delegation.

Cosatu calls for ANC election pact

Own Correspondent

DURBAN. — Cosatu, the country's largest trade union federation, has indicated a willingness to enter into a "reconstruction pact" with the ANC in its forthcoming election campaign.

It will demand certain guarantees from the ANC regarding worker's rights, in return for backing the ANC during the election campaign.

The federation's general secretary, Mr Jay Naidoo, said Cosatu wanted a new government to ensure basic trade

union rights for all workers.

This included the right to strike and the right of trade unions to intervene on all issues relating to the health and safety of workers and the poor.

The pact would lay the basis for changes in Cosatu's alliance with the ANC in a post-apartheid South Africa.

Cosatu also wanted a new government to provide a comprehensive programme of education and training to upgrade and empower workers, youth, students and the unemployed.

Star 513193

Botha, Christopher to meet

Foreign Affairs Minister P. W. Botha will meet his United States counterpart, Warren Christopher, in Washington on March 19, the Department of Foreign Affairs has confirmed. (304A)

Star 518193

Dalling ordered from House (304A) after claiming Ministers lie

CAPE TOWN — ANC-supporting MP Dave Dalling (Sandton) was ordered out of Parliament yesterday after refusing to retract a remark that Ministers were lying or incompetent, or both.

Dalling left a joint sitting during a special debate on a public accounts committee report, saying he did not want to withdraw his statement.

Dalling said political heads escaped responsibility for wastage and corruption by pleading ignorance and then promising remedial action. "They are lying and/or incompetent."

Requested by chairman Dr Helgard van Rensburg to withdraw the remark, Dalling said: "It is very difficult to withdraw the truth; this is a corrupt Cabinet."

Asked again to withdraw it, he said: "I'd rather withdraw from this House."

Van Rensburg said he was not seeking confrontation, but an MP could not accuse a Minister of lying. "The honourable member must withdraw..."

Dalling: "I cannot do that." He walked out of the House with fellow ANC supporter Pierre Cronje. — Sapa.

Star 5/3/93
**Quiz time
(304A)
for president**

A special parliamentary question session for the State President is to be introduced.

Announcing this in Parliament, the Speaker, Eli Louw, said that on a recent visit to various overseas parliaments he had been struck by the efficiency of a system in which oral questions were put directly to the head of government for immediate reply.

The session would take place every second Wednesday.

The purpose of the questions would be to elicit information or to stimulate action.

The first question session would be next Wednesday.

THE meeting last week in Sintra, Portugal, of a group of eminent South Africans, had nothing to do with the formation of a new political party or movement — at least not in the foreseeable future. Rather, it showed how far the political debate in the country has moved since February 2 1990.

Previously, the major concern of “political facilitators”, such as the Institute for a Democratic Alternative for South Africa (Idasa) and the Institute for Multi-Party Democracy (IMPD), was to get people of differing political persuasions to talk to each other. Now, since President FW de Klerk’s dramatic announcements in 1990, talking to each other has become “something of a growth industry”, to quote Idasa heavyweight Dr Frederik van Zyl Slabbert, who initiated last week’s meeting.

The next phase in the country’s political development, according to Slabbert, is the “protection and promotion of core democratic values”.

The Sintra conference, arranged by Idasa and Germany’s Friedrich Naumann Foundation, was not the first of its kind. In January this year a similar conference, attended by many of the same people who attended the Sintra conference, was hosted by Standard Bank chief Conrad Strauss at a venue near Somerset West.

Participants of the Sintra conference included people of such diverse political opinions as Franklin Sonn, Stanley Magoba, Colin Eglin, Jon Qwelane, Khulu Sebiya, Helen Zille, Andre Spier, Rudolf Gous and others.

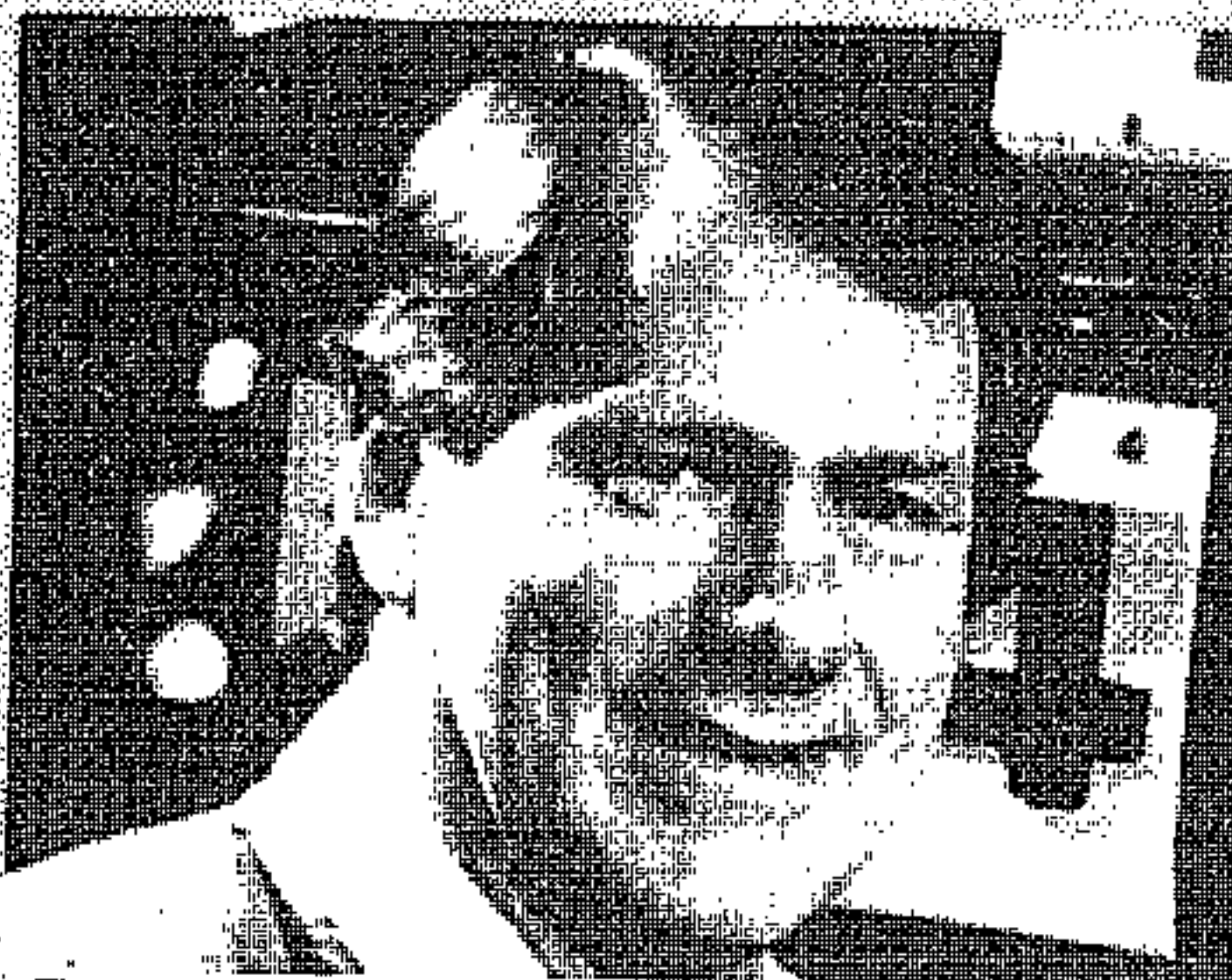
In an interview with *The Weekly Mail* this week, Slabbert, a previous Leader of the official Opposition in parliament’s all-white House of Assembly, emphatically denied that he had any plans to found a new political party. “It will be stupid at this stage,” was his blunt comment.

Rather, the need has arisen to bring the issue of “core democratic values” to the centre of the debate. In the case of Idasa, there was a definite shift towards a “process of educating people for democracy”.

According to Slabbert, experience in other countries has taught that political transitions do not necessarily end in democracy. “Very often they end in a new form of authoritarian control.”

Since last year, when the euphoria accompanying the opening-up of the political process started fading in the face of reality, Slabbert was inundated by calls from people

No time to party; just protect liberalism



Frederik van Zyl Slabbert ... No new party yet

A new liberal political party is not on the agenda, but South Africa’s ‘political facilitators’ are guiding the debate towards the promotion of democracy.

By **CHRIS LOUW**

W/Mail 5/3-11/3/93.

prodding him to start a new political party. Underlying these calls was a deep mistrust, bordering on disillusionment, with both the National Party and the African National Congress.

“My reaction was that the formation of a new party is politically not viable. It doesn’t make sense under the current circumstances. We are going through a period of fundamental realignment and there are historical parties competing for space. It is not possible, especially as a white political figure, to suddenly invent a party that will have any significant impact.”

With a clear reference to the present rapprochement between the ANC and the NP, Slabbert says his reaction to these calls was that “we need to be watchful that when the

big elephants make love, the grass doesn’t get trampled too much”.

The queries were symptomatic, says Slabbert, of an underlying unease, of “a concern as to what was going to happen after an election with basic democratic values like political dissent, tolerance, transparency and accountability in government, the willingness to listen to the other point of view, respect for civil liberties, freedom of speech and association”.

Slabbert also became aware that within the different political parties and movements there were people who shared the same values but found themselves in different political contexts, as well as people with different values in the same political parties — “which points to a rather artificial kind of situation”.

Even within the South African Communist Party, says Slabbert, there are people with different ideas about communism and democracy. That is one of the reasons why Joe Slovo was invited to the Sintra conference. Slovo was keen to attend, but could not make it because of commitments regarding the multi-party talks which start in the World Trade Centre in Kempton Park tomorrow.

Slabbert finds encouragement in this new development. “With the present transition old fault-lines are beginning to bubble to the surface and people find that they now can articulate their interests in a different way than when you had a simple juxtaposition between ‘the struggle’ and ‘the system’. There is a fundamental realigning going on.”

The real question is how to keep the core democratic values in the centre of the debate. “I do not think you are necessarily going to do that by simply forming a new party. In fact, a new party could find itself embroiled in a whole range of conflicts and disputes and turf-battles that might even detract from the importance of these core values.”

Instead, what is needed is some common forum that “does not threaten one’s membership of any particular party but provides an area where one can discuss and debate strategies and tactics to promote these core values”.

Idasa and Dr Oscar Dhlomo’s IMPD now have the task of looking at the feasibility of how to take forward the promotion of core democratic values. They will report back to the group in a month’s time.

PEOPLE *Women's issues will never get attention without women legislators*

Politics needs 'woman power'

■ KEYWORD *Women's issues will never*

get attention without women MPs:

By Pearl Majola

Sowetan 5/3/93

WHILE women's issues are beginning to gain some recognition in South Africa, women will have to assert themselves to ensure that they are involved in drawing up the new constitution.

Various efforts have been made by women's organisations in this regard, especially by the Women's National Coalition.

The Women's Lobby (TWL), formed in December 1991, has set itself to concentrate specifically on this issue as South Africa gears up for its first democratic elections.

"Our main aim is to lobby for women to be involved in the whole political process, not just as typists but as decision makers," says TWL chairman Mrs Babette Kabak.

"We feel this area is particularly important because our country is at a crucial stage of change and we must take the opportunity to make our voices heard

now," she said.

"Women's issues are never going to get attention without women legislators. It's been proven in many countries that women's rights are not taken seriously unless there are women at the leadership level.

"Even the charter that the WNC seeks to draw up will end up as a useless piece of paper unless we have women legislators who will ensure that the contents of that charter are implemented," Kabak warned.

"Besides, there is no reason not to have women in decision making positions because they are just as interested and concerned about the economy, unemployment, education the environment and other issues of national importance as men are."

TWL's programme of action is concentrated on the workshops which have started running for various women's organisations.

These workshops include talks by women politicians and discussions of the issues at hand. In addition, a questionnaire which seeks to find out women's interests and self-determination is

Another women's march to lobby for their rights. Among them there could be potential members of Parliament, a president maybe. We will never know unless they are given a chance.

circulated for each woman to fill in.

"The questionnaire will serve as research which will be analysed by a big research company and could be used as a tool to push women's issues," Kabak explained.

"We focus on women's organisations because the experience world-wide is that volunteer groups have been a training ground and stepping stone for women's entry into public life.

"Women are close to the community and learn at first hand what is needed to set development on the right course for

the benefit of those at the grass-roots and the entire community," says Kabak.

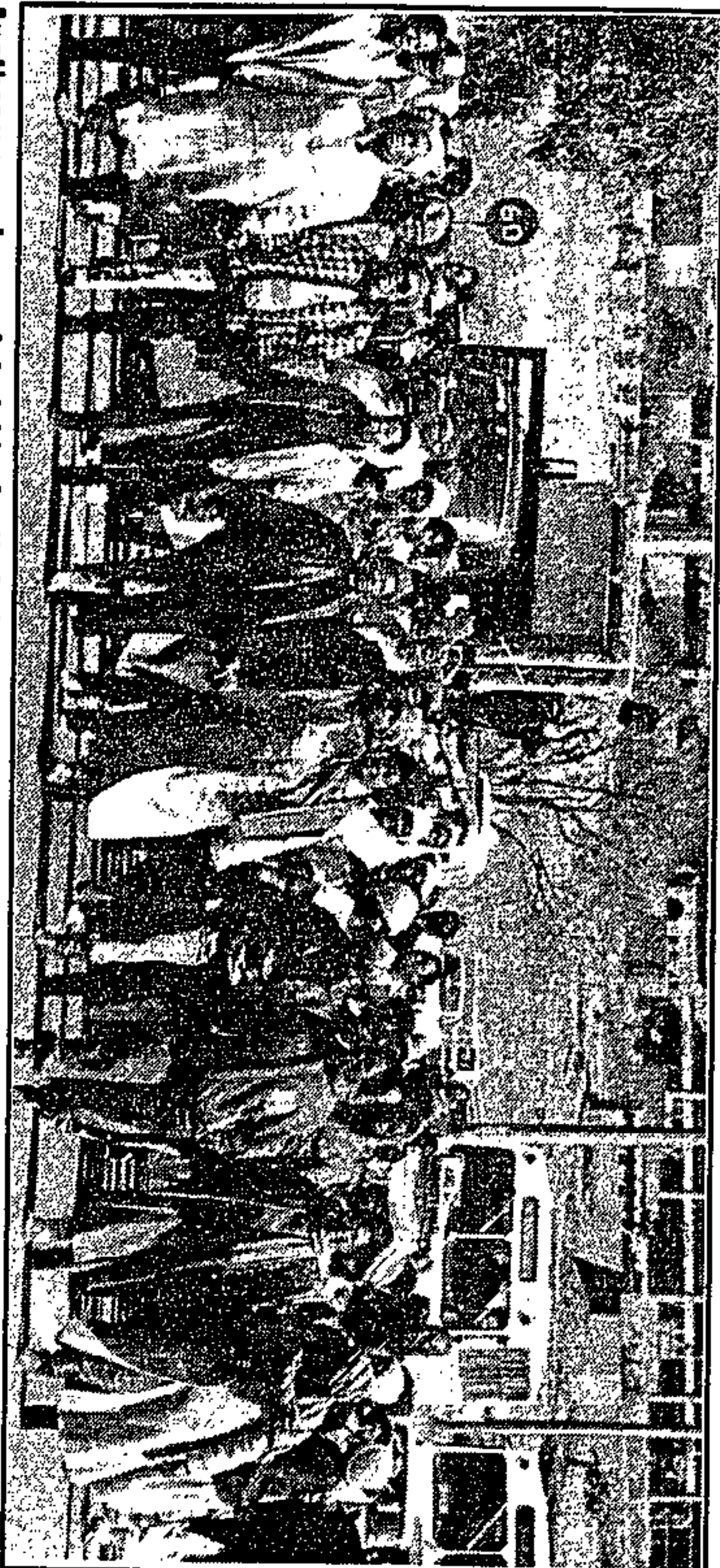
But the organisation also aims to hold informal talks with men's groups on the exclusion of women from policy making processes and traditional reasons for this. The aim of these talks, according to Kabak, would be to create new insights among men into gender issues.

The workshops are not the first effort from the one-year-old organisation. Since its formation, it has lobbied business and other influential and prominent groups to promote women into decision

and policy-making positions in local, regional and national structures.

One of such groups already approached by TWL is the South African Broadcasting Corporation to whom a list of women in various categories of expertise was sent for use in selecting for panel discussions and interviews.

"Our success will depend on the response of the follow-up made by the women's organisations we are in contact with and our own ability to reach all the women through their organisations," Kabak concluded.



"The tail is wagging the dog in PAC"

Sowetan & Radio Metro

By Sipho Mthembu

Talkback



with Tim Modise

THE Government's aim at its meeting with the PAC this week was to secure a moratorium on its armed struggle.

This was said by Law and Order spokesman Captain Craig Kotze on the Sowetan/Radio Metro Talkback Show last night.

Kotze, however, said agreement with the organisation could not be reached due to the "immense struggle taking place within the organisation".

"There are doves and hawks within the PAC. Unfortunately the hawks won the day on Tuesday. It was clear to us even before the meeting that the PAC has lost control over Apla.

"The situation is vice-versa - the tail is wagging the dog," he said.

This was, however, strongly denied by PAC's Political Education Officer,

Mr Jaki Seroke.

"The regime made a mistake by going to Botswana with the sole mission of prescribing to the PAC to declare a moratorium on the armed struggle. The PAC went to the meeting with a mandate from the congress held in Umtata last year. We cannot strip ourselves naked before the talks. We must go into the negotiations on equal terms. That is after the cessation of hostilities and when we have found a means of political headway," he said.

Describing the PAC's "one settler, one bullet" slogan, Seroke said it did not have any racial connotations. Settlers are people who come and impose themselves. It is unfortunate that in

Sowetan

South Africa they are white." Seroke said the PAC's continued participation in the talks would depend on the acceptance of proposals made by the organisation at the multiparty preparatory conference starting today.

Most callers supported Apla.

"The armed struggle was initiated to repossess the land of the Africans. Decolonisation is a violent phenomenon. It is only the settler government that stand to gain out of a life of a 12-year-old."

Muzi, Cape Town

5/3/93
"I support the armed struggle in toto. One talks in order to stop the war, not stop the war in order to talk. Why is the regime only concerned when the violence is directed at whites?"

Zozo, Uitenhage

"The Government's proposals are unreasonable. People are not yet liberated. They (government) have declared traditional weapons illegal, but still treat the IFP with kid gloves."

Aubrey Mabuya, Tembisa

Talkback topic

THE Sowetan/Radio metro Talkback Show throws open the lines on Monday. Phone host Tim Modise between 7-8pm to discuss any topic of your choice.

Tel: (011) 714 - 8063

THE inclusion of white rightwing as well as black leftwing parties in the planning conference for multi-party negotiations which starts in Kempton Park today, has ensured hot temperatures right from the start. The real conflict, however, can be expected to come to a head once the planning conference is over and negotiations start taking place.

The conflicting interests represented by the new participants — ranging from the Conservative Party and the Afrikaner Volksunie (AVU) on one hand to Azapo and the Pan Africanist Congress on the other — are bound to put the controversial principle of "sufficient consensus" under strenuous pressure. "Sufficient consensus" is the rather vague concept agreed upon by

'Elephants' agree, but will the 'bokkies' troop along?

the National Party and the African National Congress as a mechanism to push through decisions to which smaller parties may not agree.

The notion of "sufficient consensus" and exactly how it is defined will have a decisive bearing on the outcome of the new round of talks, even more so than during the two failed Codesas when the range of opinions was not nearly as wide as is the case now.

The battle lines for the first two days

5/3-11/3/93.

Extremists on both sides of the political spectrum could hinder the multi-party talks that begin at the World Trade Centre today.

By CHRIS LOUW

of the planning conference were drawn in the week preceding the talks. Although it is quite clear that the con-

flict will take place on different levels and between different interest groups, the main protagonists at this stage seem to be the PAC versus the government, Inkatha versus the ANC and the government, and the CP versus the process of negotiations itself.

Although there seems to be differing interpretations between the ANC and the NP on the issue of an interim government of national unity, they are, in fact, allies. The apparent dispute is mainly due to a difference in

emphasis because of the different audiences the two major players are addressing. There is little doubt that the two "big elephants" have in principle already agreed on the transition process towards democracy.

To sell their bilateral agreements to other participants, however, will be no easy task.

Despite several meetings, the NP could not yet persuade Inkatha that the safest way to a democratic and non-racial South Africa is via a constituent assembly and a transitional government. Inkatha maintains that instead of elections preceding the drawing up of a constitution, the constitution should first be drafted by the multi-party conference, and that non-racial elections should then be held under the new constitution.

The CP, on the other hand, still insists that partition and self-rule should be part of the debate.

The problem is compounded by the government's failure to persuade the PAC to put a moratorium on its armed struggle at their meeting in Gaborone this week. The NP has made it clear that they will only support the PAC's participation in eventual negotiations once the organisation relinquishes its armed struggle. The PAC flatly refused to agree to this, but insisted on attending the planning conference.

These divergent views make an early deadlock almost inevitable. This is where "sufficient consensus" is supposed to come into play. It holds that complete consensus is desirable but not necessary, and that the multi-party conference can proceed if there is "sufficient consensus".

But if there is incomplete consensus, what constitutes "sufficient consensus"?

It is obvious it will be near impossible to find common ground between all the groups attending the planning conference.

If Inkatha and the CP are seen by the two "big elephants" as part of "sufficient consensus", the ANC and the NP will have to compromise. That, says political analyst Dr Frederik van Zyl Slabbert, means the multi-party conference will have to find some way of accommodating the fundamental positions of Inkatha as well as accommodating the fundamental positions of the common agenda of the ANC and the government. "Inkatha epitomises the dilemma of 'sufficient consensus'. That is what the next two or three months is all about."

The problem is compounded by the inclusion of the CP and the PAC in the discussions. If the major players want to include these organisations in constitutional decisions, they will end up with range of unsolvable problems, and the process itself might even be held to ransom by smaller players in the game.

"At some stage in this process the big ones will be forced to decide who will be marginalised and who not," predicts Slabbert.

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CREATING A BALANCE

Nosa recently advertised, immediately. The FM was told that Shiphani had applied for the position.

Eddie Botha

POLITICS FM 5/3/93

Tunnel vision

A senior Nasionale Pers editor has attacked the National Party's handling of the present political situation. *Insig* editor Willem Wepener has openly criticised President F W de Klerk's Cabinet shuffle and recent announcements by Ministers.

Insig is an opinion-forming publication in the Naspers stable, which is traditionally firm in its support for the National Party. Wepener, a Naspers stalwart and former editor of *Rapport* and *Beeld*, says perhaps

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the time has come to include a broad spectrum of SA interests in the negotiating process. The biggest problem facing the country is that politicians suffer from tunnel vision — "with a ballot box as the only light at the end of the tunnel," writes Wepener. He cites De Klerk's recent Cabinet shuffle: "His eyes, judged by his appointments, are only focused on that light and nothing else."

He does not limit his criticism to government. There is "the Buthelezi wail from Natal when he thinks that he has been excluded from all the fun" and the ANC's walkout from Codesa and mass action campaign — which Wepener says is nothing less than political pressure and intimidation.

"Meanwhile, ordinary South Africans sit with their hearts in their throats and watch how our country is being ruined economically; how anarchy rules our streets and homes; how our existence is threatened by unemployment and our once beautiful cities are marred by shanty towns and squatter camps which just grow and grow . . . one will have to go very far to find a handful of South Africans who still steadfastly believe that politicians are able to work out a viable existence from the mess in which our country finds itself."

Regionalism likely key to peaceful settlement

REGIONALISM is the key most likely to unlock the door to a peaceful political settlement in SA.

Two major issues — government and the ANC's deal-making and regionalism — could still cause the process to stumble as SA is buoyed up by the imminent resumption of multiparty negotiations. On both issues Inkatha president Mangosuthu Buthelezi is doing the most sabre-rattling.

While the ANC and government are the two key players who will make or break any chance of speedily reaching a comprehensive agreement, they cannot ignore the Buthelezi factor.

There are three sides, and the two key players will have to find a way to lock Buthelezi and Inkatha into the negotiations process and persuade him to come in on their preliminary agreement.

The unhappy alternative is a veiled, threatened secession of Natal/KwaZulu and the remainder of what Unita's Jonas Savimbi has done in Angola. Buthelezi does not have the military might to emulate Savimbi but he certainly has the capacity to disrupt the process.

Having kept himself and Inkatha isolated from mainstream bilateral talks for most of the past nine

months, Buthelezi is now fighting for his political survival and waging a last-ditch struggle to establish a regional fiefdom.

He says he wants his party's delegates to today's planning conference to demand that the issue of regionalism/federalism be resolved before Inkatha commits itself to participate in a new negotiating forum.

Government and the ANC reject this outright. From their perspective, the conference's main objective is to get multiparty talks off the ground. Their concession to Inkatha and to the new parties joining the process — the CP, PAC, Afrikaner Volksunie and KwaZulu government plus, possibly, traditional leaders — is an opportunity this weekend to assess the results of the various bilateral negotiations since Codesa II collapsed nine months ago.

Meyer states unequivocally: "No side issues or minor issues will be allowed to take over the main objective." ANC secretary-general Cyril Ramaphosa adds that no discussion on regionalism will be entered into at the planning conference.

This could disrupt the planning conference. However, Inkatha chairman Frank Mdlalose is known as an astute and sensitive negotiator not

BILLY PADDOCK

given to grandstanding. It is also understood that he and his delegation are not prepared to treat the regionalism issue as a "make or break" matter.

But his double delegation from Inkatha and KwaZulu can be expected to argue that it is important to reach agreement in principle on the form of the future state, as this will determine the form the new negotiating forum takes. Government counters that regionalism will be high on the agenda of the new forum and will command a lot of time for discussion right at the start. The hope is that this will satisfy Inkatha.

Government and the ANC will also come in for strong criticism that they were secretly orchestrating a coup of the process by making deals that pre-empt the multiparty forum. However, both can be expected to use the next few weeks to woo Inkatha and Buthelezi into accepting the understandings they have reached.

They will have to allay Buthelezi's fears that an ANC-dominated con-

stituent assembly will bulldoze its own "secret (constitutional) agenda" through, regardless of minority views.

Government's view on federalism and regionalism — strong constitutionally entrenched powers — is close to Inkatha's. President F W de Klerk is happy to accept an arrangement that the functions, duties and powers of regions be left to the elected body to determine, subject to two provisos: that decisions relating to regions be approved by a special majority of regional representatives in the constituent assembly; and that the need for autonomous regional governments be approved in principle by the negotiating forum.

The ANC national executive last month spelt out that it, too, had revised its position. While sticking to the view that the constituent assembly should decide on the powers, duties and functions of the regions, it accepted that half of the 400-seat assembly would comprise regionally elected representatives. The assembly would take decisions on a two-thirds majority. And it further accepted that any "matters pertaining to the powers and functions of regions will also require an additional two-thirds majority of the regional

representatives sitting as a whole". The ANC has moved from regarding regionalism as a form of apartheid through the back door to recognising the need for strong regional governments.

ANC president Nelson Mandela said in January that there should be strong, meaningful and representative regional government — as long as this did not emasculate central government and seek to maintain racial and ethnic compartments.

On Wednesday, Constitutional Development Minister Roelf Meyer indicated he did not believe the differences between the ANC, government and Inkatha could not be resolved. Ramaphosa also said this week that if the ANC's latest position on regionalism was studied very carefully, "you will see that Inkatha's position can be accommodated — and they have acknowledged this".

Perhaps if the ANC promised "constitutionally entrenched regional powers" it could go a long way towards satisfying Buthelezi. But this is as far as the ANC could go, given its absolute commitment that the constituent assembly should make the final decision.

□ This is the first in a series of articles examining the negotiating process.

Panel to investigate housing allowances

CAPE TOWN — President F W de Klerk has bowed to public pressure and announced that a panel of experts would investigate the furore surrounding the R3m paid last year to political office bearers for staying in their own houses.

De Klerk, entering the debate for the first time, said the scheme, far from being evidence of corruption in government, saved public money and was in keeping with practice in most other countries.

Nevertheless, in the light of the controversy government had decided to appoint a panel of experts to advise as soon as possible on the suitability and cost effectiveness of the present scheme.

In reply to a question by DP MP Peter Soal, retiring Public Works Minister Gene Louw said 30 political office bearers were paid about R3m last year and about R400 000 so far this year as compensation for staying in their own houses.

De Klerk said the age-old scheme of providing housing for political office bearers was found to be not cost effective.

"Substantial savings" had been achieved. The new system, which essentially pays the office bearer rather than paying for the property, resulted in Ministers getting an allowance of R3 600 and a further R3 170 as compensation for running costs.

The R3 600 was sufficient only to purchase a house with a value of R260 000, but political office bearers were nevertheless expected to acquire houses of a relatively high standard.

He said there was "not a vestige of scandal in the scheme", denying that it had the effect of enriching political office bearers. In fact, Ministers were often required to pay in additional amounts in order to maintain housing of a sufficient standard.

Talking about corruption in general, De Klerk said: "It shocks me that so much is found, but it is found because we are looking for it."

Soal hoped the panel would come to the conclusion that the present housing compensation scheme should be abandoned.

11/08/93 5/3/93
TIM COHEN

Hopes ride on planning conference

Major parties bullish on revived talks

B/DAM 5/3/93

304A

THE negotiations process reaches a critical juncture today, when the planning conference for renewed multi-party talks gets under way in Kempton Park.

Hopes have been pinned on the two-day meeting setting a date for the resumption of full constitutional negotiations, leading within a year, to nonracial elections.

Top government and ANC negotiators are certain the conference will reach agreement on full-blown talks resuming by the end of March. They say the groundwork has been laid in bilateral meetings in the past few months.

With between 23 and 28 delegations taking part, the conference will be the most representative national gathering of political organisations.

However, despite the optimism from government and the ANC that obstacles to the resumption of Codesa-style talks have been cleared, there are indications that some crucial differences could still hamper progress.

Government and the ANC are committed to ensuring the meeting's success and will stand together to ward off criticism of their "secret deals". They will also try to steer proceedings away from contentious issues like regionalism.

It is understood that the panel of chairmen has been carefully briefed to keep the discussion on the "agreed main objective" of getting multiparty talks back on track.

Constitutional Development Minister Roelf Meyer has warned that parties trying to disrupt the proceedings by introducing side issues would do so at their peril.

The likelihood of success was given a boost yesterday when Inkatha president

BILLY PADDOCK

Mangosuthu Buthelezi indicated that party political interests should take a back seat to the national interest.

Addressing a prayer breakfast in Durban, he hailed the conference as "the most important in SA's history". What was needed at the conference was the combined wisdom of the ANC alliance, Inkatha and all the other parties.

The indication is that Inkatha will no longer insist that regionalism be addressed first, but the thorny question of Codesa agreements being accepted as binding may cause problems if Inkatha and other parties not present at Codesa reject this.

Inkatha wants the management committee system revamped, as it objects to the control by the ANC/SACP alliance and government, and it may propose a new form of decision-making rejecting the notion of "sufficient consensus" if general consensus is elusive. An Inkatha source said sufficient consensus at Codesa was reduced to consensus between government and the ANC and this was unacceptable.

Government will raise its problems with the PAC's refusal to suspend the armed struggle or place a moratorium on Apla's activities.

Meanwhile, the anti-Codesa alliance has also strengthened its numbers at the conference with the announcement by Bophuthatswana that it will send two delegations - one representing its government and another from the Christian Democratic Party. This mirrors the representations from KwaZulu and Inkatha.

Each delegation will consist of three

To Page 2

Talks

B/DAM 5/3/93

delegates and two advisers. Jacob Zuma president Spencer Sterling yesterday said that key players at the conference should be addressing the economic rights debate to create the potential for a sound economy. Issues that needed to be ad-

ressed included property and economic rights, economic implications of regional government and boundaries, appropriate and equitable systems of taxation and representation, fiscal discipline and accountability, and Reserve Bank independence.

See Pages 5 and 10

From Page 1

Vital talks offer hope

In a
by a
OKO

Sowetan 5/3/93

304A

SOUTH AFRICA'S POLITICAL leaders gather at the World Trade Centre today in a positive attempt to drag the country back from the edge of an abyss.

And there was still hope last night that the Azanian People's Organisation would make an 11th-hour announcement that it would attend.

The organisation's central committee met yesterday to consider a decision in this regard.

This followed a meeting with the Pan Africanist Congress yesterday morning and another between the PAC and African National Congress on Wednesday.

Thus there could be 23 parties at the meeting. This includes the original 19 parties who were at Codesa plus the Conservative Party, Afrikaner Volksunie and PAC.

Political parties' attitudes were positive yesterday as the various caucuses met to prime their options and positions.

The PAC, bouncy as a newborn baby after its relative success in Gaborone earlier this week, has said it would attend today's meeting because it had a right to do so.

Asked whether it would attend, the CP

**By Ismail Lagardien
and Themba Molefe**

granted in the affirmative late yesterday.

The Inkatha Freedom Party, having won — in a manner of speaking — its demand for a conference of review, was expressly positive. The leader of the IFP, Chief Mangosuthu Buthelezi, said the conference was the most important in South Africa's history.

What was needed at the planning conference was the combined wisdom of the African National Congress alliance, the Inkatha Freedom Party and all other parties, Buthelezi said.

PAC national organiser Mr Maxwell Nmadzivhanani said his organisation was optimistic because all the parties would give their position and therefore enhance understanding of the different views.

The PAC pulled out of Codesa 1 preparatory talks after claiming the ANC and NP wanted to ram through deals both had made in the guise of a multiparty forum. It also appears that — if Azapo attends — a loose alliance of the three major liberation movements (Azapo, ANC and PAC) would emerge at the conference.

CORRUPTION FMS13/93

Nobody's fault? ~~288~~ 304A

Government is sticking doggedly to the belief that no Cabinet Minister or senior official is accountable for the latest alleged corruption and maladministration, revealed in former Auditor-General Peter Wronsley's last re-



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CURRENT AFFAIRS FM 5/3/93

port to parliament. ~~288~~ 304A

It is now clear that the R12bn-plus poured into homeland coffers by SA taxpayers is not regarded as the responsibility of anyone outside of the homelands once the Nat-dominated parliament gives the go-ahead for the payments. Yet Wronsley has painted a grim picture of corruption, wastage and mismanagement — and disclosed that he repeatedly warned government of what was happening.

At a press briefing in Cape Town last week, two Ministers and two deputy Ministers tried to reassure the public that the situation is not nearly as bad as perceived. The consensus was that they failed hopelessly.

Claims of a commitment to a clean administration and rejection of corruption and mismanagement were read against a background of the repeated refusal of any Minister to accept responsibility for the mess uncovered by Wronsley and little action against guilty officials. Regional Development Deputy Minister Andre Fourie even tried to cast doubt on Wronsley's report by pointing out that it was untested evidence.

But a few hours later, during a special debate in parliament on corruption, opposition MPs slammed government's insensitivity. The Democratic Party's Geoff Engel estimated that corruption and malpractices uncovered over the past 18 months amounted to R5bn — and was probably just the "tip of the iceberg." But no Ministers had resigned or been fired. Some had even been promoted.

His colleague and DP deputy spokesman on Finance, Jasper Walsh, said it had long been known that homeland finances were "in a shambles," yet they had been allowed to run over their budgets and borrow against SA government guarantees to make up the deficits. "We knew the loans will not be repaid and will have to come out of taxpayers' pockets."

Two vital elements of democracy — accountability and responsibility — were ignored by government and resulted in an "orgy of corruption."

"No senior civil servant or political head has admitted any responsibility whatsoever for what has taken place. This is where we must start. The example given by this government to its successor, to the private sector and to the people of SA is one of incompetence and disregard for its own actions."

The row over Wronsley's report was exacerbated by updated details released last week of massive financial perks given to political office bearers for living in their own houses instead of State residences.

The scheme, first exposed by the FM last year (*Current Affairs* February 28 1992), and massive tax-free golden handshakes awaiting retiring Ministers have underscored the public perception of an overloaded government gravy train that is demanding an ever-rising share of State revenue to keep running.

Perhaps it's the only way to keep them at work as preparations for a democratic transition continue. ■

NEGOTIATIONS PLANNING CONFERENCE

Beware of icebergs

FM 5/3/93

(304A)

Senior officials of the main parties met this week to finalise the selection of a panel of seven people to chair the Negotiations Planning Conference due to start today and to agree on an agenda. It has been suggested that the panel should also help to resolve parties' differences at the planning conference and at the multiparty talks when they resume.

Between 25 and 30 groups, including, for the first time, the Conservative Party and the Pan Africanist Congress (depending on the outcome of the PAC/government meeting in Gaborone this week), are expected to attend, making it the most representative SA political gathering to date. There were 19 participants in Codesa 2 when it was derailed last May.

Government has emphasised that the meeting is being held to plan the resumption of Codesa-style talks, not to debate substantive constitutional issues.

On the agenda, according to the ANC, would be "an assessment of the current situation and the resumption of multilateral negotiations" (see chart).

The conference is being convened, the ANC adds, based on each party inviting one another. The venue is expected to be the World Trade Centre, near Jan Smuts airport, where Codesa sat. Parties and organisations will be represented by about three delegates each.

Scepticism

In view of the unrealistic optimism at the start of Codesa 2, a note of scepticism about this weekend's talks is, perhaps, in order — despite the series of intensive bilateral talks involving government, the ANC and Inkatha aimed at removing obstacles.

What are some of the icebergs lurking about that could delay the process, if not sink it altogether?

Though disruption of the planning session by the Inkatha Freedom Party has not been ruled out, government sources do not see it as a big threat.

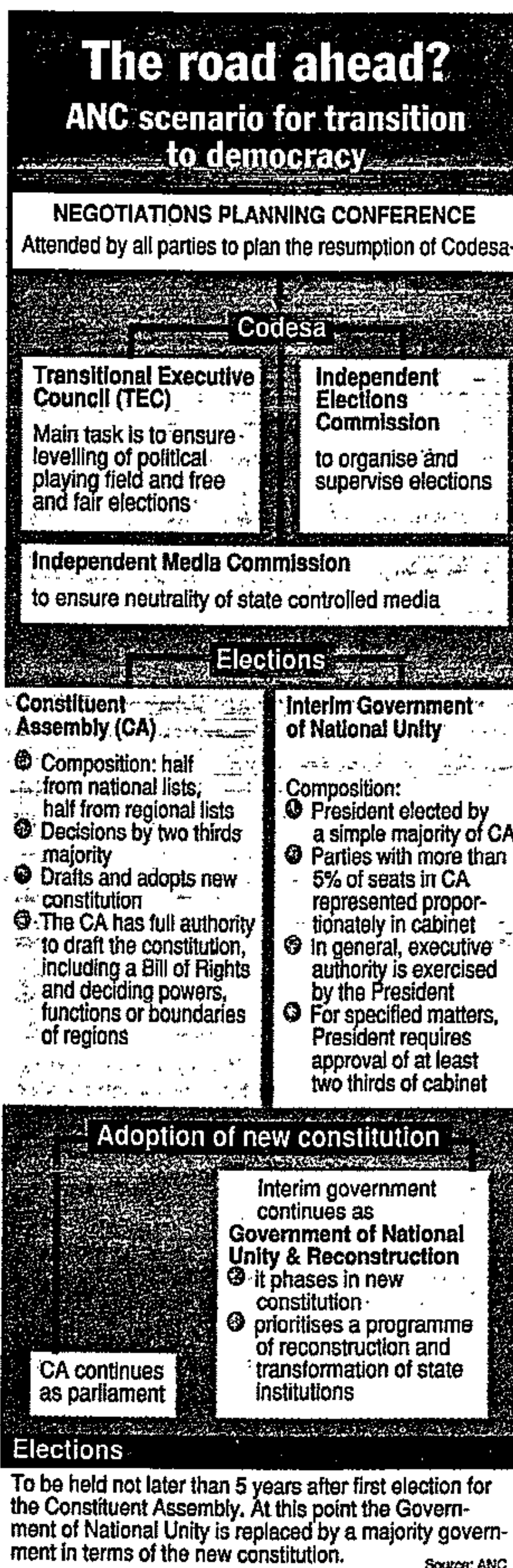
The IFP is demanding that the issue of federalism be resolved before multiparty talks resume (see Federalist's last stand). But a government source says federalism will be high on the multiparty conference agenda and it is not necessary for the IFP to force the issue at this stage.

However, it is hard to predict how IFP leader Mangosuthu Buthelezi intends to play his hand. The extent to which he will push the federalism issue at the planning conference remains to be seen. His comments at Vryheid last weekend suggest that he intends making it a make-or-break issue.

Some people find it puzzling that Buthe-

lezi has chosen to highlight federalism now, rather than, say, that other vexing question of the ANC's armed wing, MK. Either matter could, and no doubt will, be raised at the subsequent multiparty conference on negotiations.

But you never know with Buthelezi. One observer wonders whether he might not use today's session to demand tighter decision-making procedures in the multiparty constitutional negotiations.



What if Buthelezi were to reject the old Codesa formula of "sufficient consensus" (which really amounted to government/ANC approval) as a condition for IFP attendance at the multiparty talks — thereby ensuring his status as one of the Big Three in future?

These seem to be issues over which negotiations could stumble, at the negotiations if not at the weekend session.

If Buthelezi arrives at today's conference with a delegation of his king, which appears likely, it could end up little more than political theatre. There is a provision for parties and organisations to bring along one "invited guest."

Though the IFP might be the only problem now, it is by no means certain that things will go smoothly between the ANC and government later.

There appears to be broad agreement between them on the critical, outstanding issues of power sharing and regionalism. But the detail of the function and structure of the interim executive, what duties, powers and boundaries regional government will have, and in which forum this will be determined, must still be resolved.

INKATHA FREEDOM PARTY Federalist's last stand

The next few weeks are crucial to SA's future as a stable federal state — or are they? Certainly that's the view of IFP leader Mangosuthu Buthelezi who has again been thumping his well-worn federalist drum. But it has also been suggested that this is a last-ditch attempt by him to grasp regional power before it is swept out of reach for ever.

Buthelezi used a weekend meeting at Vryheid, ostensibly to welcome new members and old friends Jurie Mentz, Mike Tarr and Farook Cassim into the IFP, as a platform to echo his warnings that failure to secure a binding commitment to a federal republic now would be tantamount to signing away "our children's and grandchildren's" birth-right for 150 years for the sake of a five-year period to protect the NP's position of power and privilege.

In short, he maintained it would leave constitution-making to the mercy of an ANC-dominated constituent assembly.

"I tremble at the idea of that the guarantees for our freedom and fulfilment of our needs, wants and aspirations could be given in dealings between government and the ANC," said Buthelezi.

Therefore, he stressed, the main item on the agenda of the forthcoming multiparty

Five parties in ^{304A}walkout ³⁰³

Political Staff

A MEETING of Parliament's Joint Committee on Health had to be adjourned this week after five opposition parties walked out in protest against the "autocratic actions" of its chairman, Dr Johannes Vilonel.

They said in a statement yes-

terday that the meeting of the committee was adjourned because there was no quorum after all parties except the National Party left in protest against Dr Vilonel's decisions.

Representatives from the Democratic Party, the Conservative Party, the Afrikaner Volk-sunie, Labour Party and Soli-

arity left the meeting after the NP had refused to hear evidence from interested parties that would be affected by the Associated Health Service Professions Amendment Bill.

The statement said they intended approaching The Speaker to discuss Dr Vilonel's "biased" actions. ^{CT5/3/93}

FW denies scandal in homes deal

304A CR 5/3/93

By BARRY STREEK
Political Staff

PRESIDENT F W de Klerk intervened yesterday in the public outcry over the policy of paying cabinet ministers to stay in their own houses, announcing that a panel of experts would investigate the scheme, which cost R3 million last year.

He said the scheme had already achieved "substantial savings" of public money and that there was "not a vestige of scandal" in it.

Mr De Klerk told a press conference that the scheme, initiated by the Department of Public Works, was in keeping with the practice in most other comparable countries.

After investigation by a committee, and being referred back to it three times, the scheme was approved by the cabinet two years ago.

Details of the cost of the scheme emerged last week when the retiring Minister of Public Works, Mr Gene Louw, responded to a question tabled by the DP's Mr Peter Soal.

Mr Louw said then that 29 political office-bearers were paid about R3m last year and about R400 000 in January and February this year as compensation for staying in their own houses.

Mr Soal said last night that he welcomed Mr De Klerk's announcement of an inquiry and he hoped it would

Ministerial complex too 'controversial'

Political Staff

THE Walmer Estate ministerial housing complex, which is up for sale, had become controversial and it had been decided that it was best to sell it, President F W de Klerk said last night.

The seven-house complex, which was built for R5 million, has never been occupied.

It is currently on sale by public tender as a unit, but it seems unlikely that the government will get its money back.

Mr De Klerk said at a press conference that he had asked a number of questions about the future of the complex, but it had a history which made it controversial, particularly after the previous Ministers' Council in the House of Representatives refused to use the houses.

"come to the conclusion that the present housing compensation scheme should be abandoned".

He hoped the panel's report would be tabled in Parliament.

Mr De Klerk said the age-old scheme of providing housing for political office-bearers had been found to be not cost-effective. Substantial savings had already been achieved.

The new system resulted in ministers getting an allowance of R3 600 and a further R3 170 as compensation for running costs.

The R3 600 was only sufficient to purchase a house with a value of R260 000, and they were often required to pay in additional amounts in order to maintain housing of a sufficient standard.

Nation may see MPs 'grilling' President

8/04/93 5/3/93

TIM COHEN

CAPE TOWN — The President is to face a fortnightly "grilling" from MPs with the introduction in Parliament of a system similar to Britain's prime minister's question time.

He will not have an opportunity to prepare answers before the 15-minute interrogation sessions.

Announcing the innovation yesterday, Speaker Eli Louw said the question sessions would be available for live television broadcasting across the nation.

The sessions, starting next week, would be held every second Wednesday.

Opposition politicians immediately questioned the motives for introducing the scheme now, saying it would amount to "great publicity" for the President and be used for "electioneering". But they said the principle of such a system was sound.

Louw said that during recent visits to overseas parliaments, he had been struck by the efficiency of a system whereby oral questions, without prior notice of their content, were put directly to the head of government for immediate reply.

He said the purpose of the questions was to elicit information or to stimulate action. Questions had to deal with policy or with matters falling within the President's direct field of responsibility.

MPs wishing to submit questions would have their names drawn in a random selection. Ten names would be drawn.

In Britain the question session in the House of Commons often gives rise to extremely lively debate. During Margaret Thatcher's tenure, a recorded version of the session was also broadcast in the US, where it attracted a cult following.

Civics' leader denies fascism

By Mike Siluma

Dan Mofokeng has greatly irritated "white" political parties in the past week.

The general secretary of the southern Transvaal region of the SA National Civic Organisation (Sanco) incurred the wrath of both the Democratic Party and National Party by declaring Sanco would oppose their election campaigns in black townships.

DP MP Tony Leon said Sanco's stance — backed by Azapo — was evidence of "authoritarian fascism".

Who is the man who has stirred a political hornets' nest?

Before taking up his job at Sanco, Mofokeng worked as an organiser for two unions affiliated to the Congress of SA Trade Unions, and served on the federation's Witwatersrand regional executive.

He describes himself as "an ordinary member" of the ANC and Communist Party branches in Katlehong on the East Rand.

At 33 he has not been able to vote in a democratic election and looks forward to exercising this right.

Are he and fellow Sanco members a bunch of undemocratic fascists, as his opponents allege?



Mofokeng ... looking forward to voting.

"No," he says. "Our understanding of democracy is that people should have the right to associate or not; to assemble or not; and to freely express their views without interference."

"But in South Africa today we have not yet arrived at that situation. For instance, our people still have to get permission for access to public venues from white town councils, the magistrates and the police."

Mofokeng believes the "white" parties should be allowed to campaign in the townships only once the political playing field has been levelled. This should be done through a transitional executive authority and making available "State resources" to all parties for campaigning.

Releases tie up council

By Helen Grange

The National Council on Indemnity — set up in October to indemnify people who committed politically motivated crimes — has found that the bulk of its work involves applications for release from prison, the Department of Justice said yesterday.

The council is at present dealing with 854 applications for release from prison and only 432 first-time applications for indemnity.

Some 348 cases are being examined a second time, in terms of the Further Indemnity Act of 1992.

In Parliament this week, the Democratic Party's Douglas Gibson said he had been told by the Justice Department that there had been only eight indemnity applications, and none had been granted.

The Ministry of Justice responded that a significant part of the council's workload involved dealing with release applications, and Gibson was under the mistaken impression that only indemnity applications were being processed.

The council had met nine times and meetings were scheduled well into June.

Talks tension

By Alan Taylor 5/3/93

Expect a good fight, says IFP

By CHRIS WHITEFIELD

JOHANNESBURG. — Tensions over today's multi-party planning conference mounted last night as delegates gathered for the most representative political meeting in South African history.

South Africa's immediate future is on the line during the two days of talks designed to revive negotiations and the question being asked is, "What is Inkatha going to do?"

IFP and KwaZulu government delegates refused to be drawn, but one said: "Expect a good fight."

However, a top ANC source was confident the conference would succeed, saying "on Saturday night we will be ready to get back to Codesa".

Chief Mangosuthu Buthelezi has described the meeting as being of "unprecedented importance", but also appears to regard the two-day talks as inadequate to resolve all the issues he wants addressed.

IFP central committee member and senior negotiator Mr. Walter Felgate said this week the IFP would raise the form of a future state "very strongly". The government and the ANC say

the meeting's key objectives should be an assessment of the status of agreements reached at Codesa and to prepare "the way ahead".

They only want constitutional issues to be addressed at the resumption of the blown leg.

"It last night the ANC's Mr. Carl Luthuli seemed to offer an olive branch, saying the ANC would not object to federalism being made a priority item when multi-party constitutional talks resume.

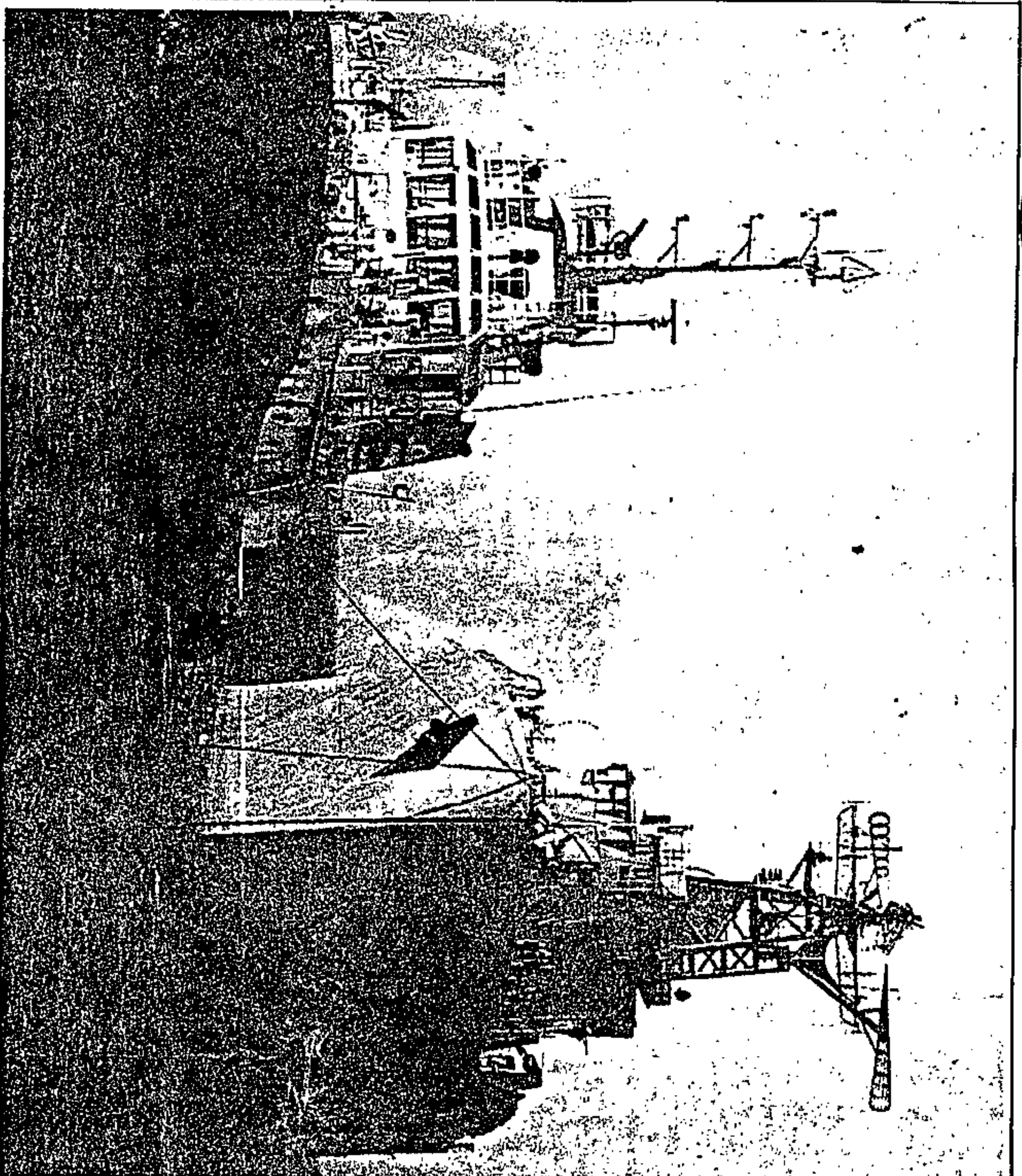
The status of Codesa agreements is also likely to prove thorny, with the IFP on record as saying they should not be binding.

The presence of the KwaZulu government delegation may cause problems, but both Pretoria and the ANC are not expected to object as the KwaZulu government is seen as representing "traditional leaders".

The PAC will attend despite a government refusal to resume talks with the PAC until it suspends armed struggle.

Bophuthatswana will field two delegations, one for its government and one for the ruling Christian Democratic Party.

In addition to 19 Codesa parties the Conservative Party and the Afrikaner Volksunie will also attend. Azapo's position is unclear.



SCRAP BATTLESHIP ... A Russian tug, the Jaguar, towing two derelict American warships to breakers in Taiwan, arrived in Table Bay yesterday. One of the battleships is seen here being towed into port by a Portnet tug late yesterday.

Picture: ALAN TAYLOR

26 delegations from PAC to CP at key conference

Star 5/3/93

We're on the road again

By Esther Waugh
and Peter Fabricius

As delegates began arriving at the World Trade Centre in Kempton Park today, South Africa was set to take the first official step towards the resumption of multiparty negotiations.

Hundreds of security officials were on duty as at least 26 delegations gathered for the important two-day planning conference.

Local and foreign media contingents began arriving shortly after 8 am.

Early today last-minute details were still being attended to but it appeared that Azapo and three delegations of traditional leaders from the Transvaal, Cape and Free State would join the 23 delegations already announced.

This would confirm the planning conference as the most representative grouping of political organisations yet brought together under one roof for negotiations.

For the first time, the Conservative Party, the Pan Africanist Congress, the Atrikaner Volksunie and the KwaZulu government will sit at the same table.

It is understood the KwaZulu delegation, led by Dr Ben Ngubane — KwaZulu minister of health and IFP central committee member — will represent traditional leaders of Natal, which makes their presence acceptable to the ANC.

Similarly, delegations from traditional leaders of the other three provinces are now expected to attend.



David and Goliath... Lorna Stanton of the African Raptor Information Centre holds a pearl-spotted owl and a giant eagle owl. The conservation group is running a raptor film festival at the Constantia Centre in Midrand until Sunday.

Picture: Etienne Rothbart

3 Natal massacre suspects arrested

Star 5/3/93
By Bronwyn Wilkinson
and Owen Correspondent

Three men were arrested last night in connection with the murder of six children on their way to school near Maritzburg on Tuesday.

SAP Midlands spokesman Captain Henry Budhrum said a full statement would be released later.

The arrests follow the disclosure that the driver of the bakkie, Phikalibetwa Ngubane (25), identified one of the gunmen as someone who had lived in Mhoyi, where the massacre occurred, but had recently fled the area.

Budhrum confirmed yesterday a gunman had been identified, but said he could not divulge details at this stage as it would hamper investigations.

Left and Order Minister Henry Kriel on Wednesday offered a R250 000 reward for information leading to the arrest and conviction of the killers. Police continue to comb the mountainous terrain

● To Page 3

Teachers warn

Star 5/3/93

NY bomb:

man held

sit at the same table.

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Moment of truth arrives — Page 10

Negotiators last night expressed guarded optimism about a successful outcome although they acknowledged that the hazards of keeping such a divergent grouping from each others' throats introduced an element of unpredictability.

Ostensibly, the tasks are simple — to review past agreements such as those at Codesa and to set a date and agenda for a full, formal multiparty conference.

Although there are basic differences on how a new constitution should be drafted, the general view is that these will not be allowed to upset the conference.

The Inkatha Freedom Party remains something of a wild card because it differs markedly from the other parties on several issues.

But in Durban yesterday, IFP leader Mangosuthu Buthelezi gave the assurance that he had instructed his delegation to be "harmonious", while not abandoning its principles.

Diplomats of 42 nations and representatives of the Vatican and five international organisations are also set to attend.

Organisers said today's proceedings would finalise the first point on the agenda — an assessment of the current situation.

Each delegation will be allowed seven minutes to give its views.

Delegates are expected to agree on the necessity to restart negotiations.

Tomorrow, the discussion will focus on preparations for the resumption of multiparty negotiations.

The IFP is expected to propose that the conference decide on whether South Africa should be a unitary or federal state.

The ANC and Government are opposed to this proposal.

● Moment of truth — Page 10

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FOREIGN BODIES

Changes at Foreign Affairs will be announced soon. FM 5/3/93

Albert van Niekirk, our ambassador in Bonn and Foreign Minister Pik Botha's brother-in-law, is due to become deputy director-general responsible for overseas countries. That was the position held by Rusty Evans before he succeeded Neil van Heerden as DG. Van Heerden, who had asked to be relieved of the top job, was then appointed ambassador in Brussels. (304A) [REDACTED]

Van Niekirk's post in Bonn will be taken by the ambassador to Athens, Sampie Golden, a former Nat MP and someone whom Botha once tipped as his successor as Foreign Minister.

No-one has yet been named to succeed Golden, but some Foreign Affairs sources say that Botha's personal assistant and press secretary, Awie Marais, may be appointed ambassador to Madrid; the incumbent, Fred Conradie, is due to return to SA.

Next two days will test commitment, writes Political Reporter Esther Waugh

Star 5/3/93

SA's moment of truth arrives



A MOMENT of truth arrives in the negotiations process today when a group representing every shade of South African political opinion meets at the World Trade Centre near Kempton Park.

The outcome optimists are hoping for is that delegates will set a date for resuming multiparty constitutional negotiations.

The worst-case scenario — which at this stage looks unlikely but possible — is that one or more of the groups will walk out.

There are certainly enough peripheral issues to make this possible.

The two-day conference will be a test for participants of whether they are prepared to put national interests above party politics.

Only two issues are on the agenda — an assessment of the current political situation and the resump-

tion of multiparty negotiations. The agenda does not include all the issues some of the parties want to discuss.

The Inkatha Freedom Party, for instance, wants the meeting to decide whether a post-apartheid South Africa will be a unitary or federal state.

But it is clear from the agenda that it will not be a forum to discuss substantive issues.

The test for political groups will be their stance on practical issues such as who should attend and how decisions will be reached.

Crucial to the success of the event will be whether participants take intractable positions.

It is clear that at the World Trade Centre, for the first time in South Africa's negotiations process, the most divergent political views will be represented.

And, for the first time, the press will be allowed to observe deliberations. During Codesa the press sessions at first hand.

While most parties realise the urgency of this crucial moment, the acid test of success will be their commitment to getting the process restarted.

Inherent in the negotiation process is that a negotiating forum will be imperfect to some of the groups.

A test for the players will be whether they propose constructive solutions.

The IFP and its allies in the Concerned South Africans Group do not want Codesa reconvened.

Instead, they want a new, restructured forum.

Codesa reached many agreements, though they were not ratified at Codesa 2.

It will therefore be difficult to ignore what was achieved from the start of Codesa 1 in December 1991 to the failure of Codesa 2 in May last year.

The IFP wants all Codesa agreements reviewed on the ground that new groups have joined the process.

Whether the conference decides to build on the earlier agreements or to adopt a new approach, it will be difficult to ignore the events of last year.

When proceedings start today, each delegation will have seven minutes to present its assessment of the current situation.

The best option will be for all groups to agree on the need for a negotiating forum to be convened.

In terms of the second agenda item they will then present their views on the resumption of multiparty negotiations.

It would be unrealistic to expect the planning conference to go off without squabbles.

One potential area of conflict is the presence of the media. The PAC said on Wednesday the proceedings should be open to all media, including television cameras, which have been barred from the meeting.

Another point of conflict could be the participation of new groups, particularly the PAC and the KwaZulu government.

The Government has indicated its opposition to the PAC's presence, but is unlikely to oppose it formally.

On the other hand, the ANC and its allies are opposed to the presence of the KwaZulu government.

At Codesa the IFP was pushing for Zulu King Goodwill Zwelithini to be present. There has been a

slight shift in its canvassing of this point.

The king is a constitutional monarch and has a seat in the KwaZulu Legislative Assembly. He will therefore attend as part of the KwaZulu government.

The ANC proposed that he attend along with other traditional leaders in four provincial delegations.

Another possible problem area is the panel of seven rotating chairmen.

Some of the participants may argue that all groups should be represented on the panel.

Progress in the next two days will be determined by the groups' commitment to re-starting the process of moving from apartheid to democracy and on whether they squabble about side issues — and perhaps insist on derailing the conference because of them. □

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Star 5/3/93

Help stop moral rot, business leaders urged

(304A)

By Shirley Woodgate

The moral fibre of the nation was shattered and in danger of disintegration, and the business sector carried a huge responsibility to help rebuild the walls and ensure there were no gaps for escape, former Amalgamated Banks of South Africa deputy chief executive Piet Liebenberg said yesterday.

Addressing a business ethics breakfast seminar organised by the Rotary Club of Johannesburg, he warned that no new government or constitution would work unless "we have the law within our-

selves".

Neither would peace come to the country, to towns or to individuals unless people developed integrity and a sense of real values.

Claiming the country was in grave danger of the entire system breaking down, Anglo American executive director Gavin Relly stressed there was still time for a thorough cleansing.

While it would be a pity if free enterprise were blamed for gross corruption, it would be a disaster if the belief grew that more regulation was the answer to excesses, he said.

Beware of i

Senior officials of the main parties met this week to finalise the selection of a panel of seven people to chair the Negotiations Planning Conference due to start today and to agree on an agenda. It has been suggested that the panel should also help to resolve parties' differences at the planning conference and at the multiparty talks when they resume.

Between 25 and 30 groups, including, for the first time, the Conservative Party and the Pan Africanist Congress (depending on the outcome of the PAC/government meeting in Gaborone this week), are expected to attend, making it the most representative SA political gathering to date. There were 19 participants in Codesa 2 when it was derailed last May.

Government has emphasised that the meeting is being held to plan the resumption of Codesa-style talks, not to debate substantive constitutional issues.

On the agenda, according to the ANC, would be "an assessment of the current situation and the resumption of multilateral negotiations" (see chart).

The conference is being convened, the ANC adds, based on each party inviting one another. The venue is expected to be the World Trade Centre, near Jan Smuts airport, where Codesa sat. Parties and organisations will be represented by about three delegates each.

Scepticism

In view of the unrealistic optimism at the start of Codesa 2, a note of scepticism about this weekend's talks is, perhaps, in order — despite the series of intensive bilateral talks involving government, the ANC and Inkatha aimed at removing obstacles.

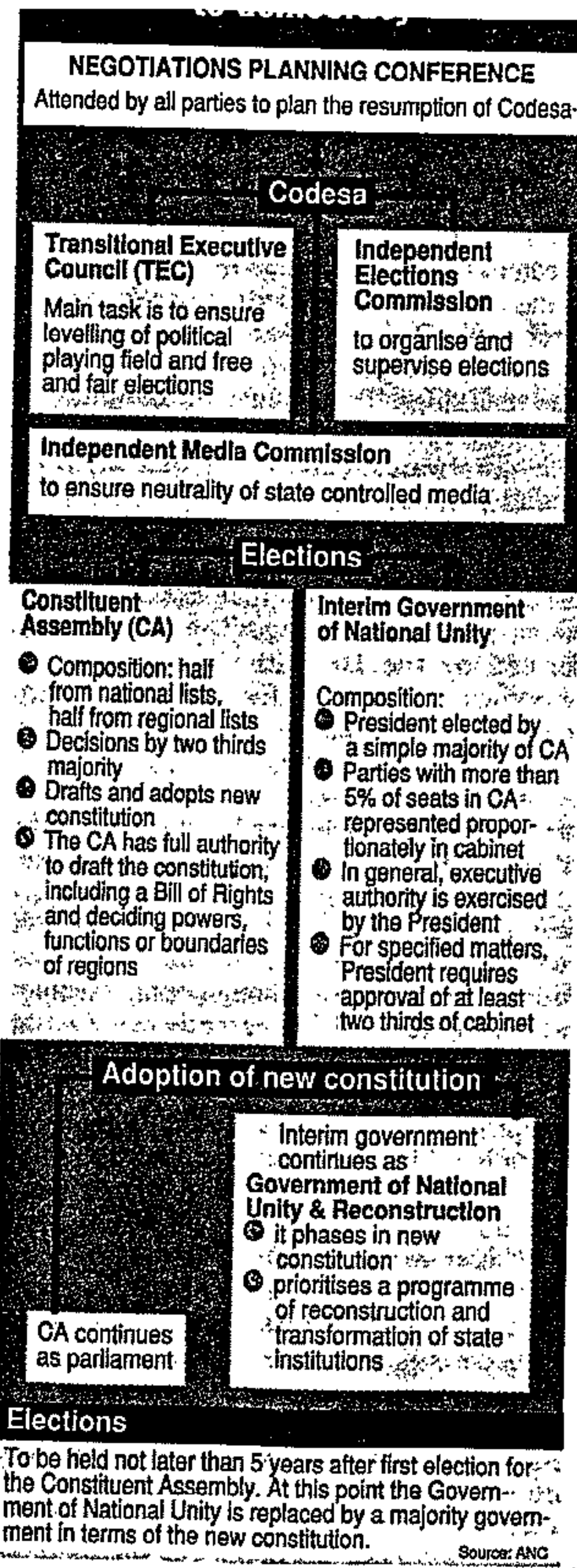
What are some of the icebergs lurking about that could delay the process, if not sink it altogether?

Though disruption of the planning session by the Inkatha Freedom Party has not been ruled out, government sources do not see it as a big threat.

The IFP is demanding that the issue of federalism be resolved before multiparty talks resume (see Federalist's last stand). But a government source says federalism will be high on the multiparty conference agenda and it is not necessary for the IFP to force the issue at this stage.

However, it is hard to predict how IFP leader Mangosuthu Buthelezi intends to play his hand. The extent to which he will push the federalism issue at the planning conference remains to be seen. His comments at Vryheid last weekend suggest that he intends making it a make-or-break issue.

Some people find it puzzling that Buthe-



FM 5/3/93

of CP supporters in this category, 48% of them "extremely intolerant."

Next come Inkatha Freedom Party respondents with a 52% intolerance level, followed by "the Indian parties" (41%), NP (37%) and PAC (29%).

The only groups which show a clearly tolerant attitude — in theory, anyway — are the supporters of the DP (83%) and the ANC/SA Communist Party (76%). Clearly, though, what the intelligentsia of a party believes is not always shared by its cadres on the ground.

Of particular interest, says Kotze, are any changes in these patterns (the survey has been conducted since 1990). In some cases, levels of intolerance are actually increasing. Compared with 1991, there appeared last year to be higher levels of intolerance for the CP, IFP, NP and ANC/SACP — with the CP (7%) and IFP (10%) showing the greatest increase in intolerance.

Not only political organisations are intolerant. In the "non-political" sectors to which respondents belong, "the most intolerant sector is the military, with an intolerance index of 67%." They are followed by agriculture (53%), labour (41%), churches (33%), bureaucracy (31%), semi-State organisations (28%) and academia (22%). Leaders in the media (10%) and business (12%) show the most tolerance.

Discussing the implications for the democratisation process, Kotze says the detailed findings reveal a pattern which evidently spells danger. With the society in transition, there are new and previously unknown freedoms for a large group. In exploring these new civil liberties, the boundaries of what was regarded as "acceptable" were being tested — "and tolerance is necessary so that the civil liberties can become ingrained."

"This is where opinion-leaders have an important part to play" — by leading the way in making the new rules of the game. However, if there are such high levels of intolerance among the opinion-leaders, the outlook for greater tolerance, a prerequisite for democracy — and more so for democracy in a divided society such as ours — is bleak.

Kotze suggests that what is needed is the acceptance of the rules of the political game in a constitution which has broad legitimacy. "In this way, a framework for procedural consensus can be created within which intolerance could be dealt with in a democratic way." Meanwhile, political parties and the State should create programmes that promote understanding of the necessity of political tolerance, he advises.

The next few weeks are crucial to SA's future as a stable federal state — or are they? Certainly that's the view of IFP leader Mangosuthu Buthelezi who has again been thumping his well-worn federalist drum. But it has also been suggested that this is a last-ditch attempt by him to grasp regional power before it is swept out of reach for ever.

Buthelezi used a weekend meeting at Vryheid, ostensibly to welcome new members and old friends Juric Mentz, Mike Tarr and Farook Cassim into the IFP, as a platform to echo his warnings that failure to secure a binding commitment to a federal republic now would be tantamount to signing away "our childrens' and grandchildren's" birth-right for 150 years for the sake of a five-year period to protect the NP's position of power and privilege.

In short, he maintained it would leave constitution-making to the mercy of an ANC-dominated constituent assembly.

"I tremble at the idea of that the guarantees for our freedom and fulfilment of our needs, wants and aspirations could be given in dealings between government and the ANC," said Buthelezi.

Therefore, he stressed, the main item on the agenda of the forthcoming multiparty

planning conference should be the determination of what form the new state should take. Buthelezi maintained that it should be decided, before matters progressed much further, whether SA is to be a unitary or a regional/federal state.

"This issue cannot be relegated to the end of the transformation of our society. We are not willing to negotiate constitutional principles other than federal principles, or any



Buthelezi ... bluff only effective as long as it's not called

matter related to interim arrangements unless there is an agreement on the issue of the form of a future state," he asserted.

However, his strong line on federalism is being interpreted by some as mere bluff. Cape Town University's Robert Shrirer explains: "The Buthelezi strategy is quite transparent. While he occupies an important institutional position under the old rules, his future position is problematical because it hinges on political support.

"It's part of the power game where those who have substantial power now, but stand to lose it in the future, seek to maximise their input. The converse is true of those, such as the ANC, who have the promise of power."

He adds, however, that there is clearly a limit to which present forces can shape future political models, and if Buthelezi pushes too hard he faces a real danger of being marginalised. "A bluff is only effective as long as it isn't called, and the danger for Buthelezi is that he'll overplay his hand," Shrirer says.

At this stage it seems that Buthelezi is asking for something that has rather to emerge from more inclusive negotiations, rather than being the prelude to them. While there is a growing recognition of the need to resolve regional issues through decentralisation, there is also a general view that power at the centre does need to avoid problems of the past on issues such as parliamentary sovereignty.

This has been accepted in principle by the ANC and government, if not the IFP, which

probably realises this is as far as the ANC can or is willing to go on the subject. Shrirer thus concludes that all one can hope for at this stage is broad agreement that any new system should in fact include the decentralisation of power.

Instead of bargaining from strength, he says, Buthelezi is signalling his doubt about his political power base. That, adds Shrirer, should be sufficient to weaken his position further if observers are astute enough to pick up the signals.

The reality is that there are two key players, the ANC and the Nats. They are the ones who will make or break any agreement. That is the bottom line irrespective of the importance given to fringe groupings by some analysts.

Implicit in Buthelezi's drum beats is the suggestion that the IFP could make things difficult if it doesn't get its way. But that would cast the IFP leader in the mould of a Jonas Savimbi — and we doubt whether he would relish that.

Talks adjourned after early hitch

AKG 5/3/93

304A

MARTIN CHALLENGER, Political Staff and Sapa

JOHANNESBURG. — South Africa's much-awaited multi-party negotiations planning conference at the World Trade Centre was adjourned for an hour before it even started today. The seven-member "facilitating committee", due to get proceedings started at 10am, was unable to reach finally on who would be allowed to attend the

planning conference.

The committee was also unable to clarify its own role at the conference.

Provisional chairman Mr Colin Eglin, who is also national chairman of the Democratic Party, proposed to delegates just after 10am that each party should nominate one person to attend a meeting to try to overcome stumbling blocks.

This suggestion was accepted unanimously.

Mr Eglin pointed out that the multiparty planning conference at this stage "has no formal structure and no formal authority". It was hoped the conference would be formally under way by 11am.

Earlier, there was an atmosphere of suspicion and intrigue as delegates expressed doubt about the possible success of the planning conference.

Backroom jockeying, and efforts by some groups to insert allies on to the conference room floor, created last-minute drama as a multi-lateral panel of seven chairmen met an hour before the 10am start for final preparations — not fully knowing who would actually be taking part.

Shortly before proceedings started, 26 teams were accredited to take part and were due to be seated in alphabetical order.

Some delegates even felt the issue of participation might jeopardise the talks, described yesterday by IFP president Dr Mangosuthu Buthelezi as "the most important meeting ever in the history of South Africa".

IFP sources disclosed last night that Zulu monarch King Goodwill Zwelithini and Dr Buthelezi would be in Johannesburg today to keep closely in touch with their negotiators but would not be at the trade centre itself.

Foreign observers from 42 countries were there today plus delegates from the International Committee of the Red Cross, United Nations High Commission for Refugees, the Apostolic Delegate of the Vatican, the European Community and its observer mission, the Commonwealth Secretariat and its observer mission, the United Nations observer mission and the Organisation of African Unity observer mission.

Another issue unsettling participants today was the composition of the seven-man chairmanship panel.

De Klerk

Star 5/3/93

shocked (304 A) at wrongs

CAPE TOWN — The fact that corruption had been found was because the Government was looking for it and was not covering up anything, President de Klerk said yesterday.

"That which the Government has taken the initiative to investigate is now on the table and the result of continuing efforts to contain corruption better," he said at a press conference.

"It shocks me too that so much corruption has been found."

Most of the corruption referred to in the reports of commissions of inquiry published had been found in other dispensations and structures.

"It must be realised that although we all do not agree with the present constitution, most of the corruption referred to happened in other structures," the President said.

"I do not appoint Ministers or Chief Ministers of the self-governing states.

"They are responsible to their electorate and not to me. This is even more true of the TBVC states."

De Klerk said he had as little say when a Minister in a TBVC state did anything wrong as he did if a British Prime Minister did anything wrong. — Sapa.

Free elections have taken knock

JOHANNESBURG. — Prospects for a fair non-racial election in South Africa have taken a severe knock from a row between black community leaders and white liberals who want to campaign in the townships.

Last week Mr Dan Mofokeng, head of the powerful civic associations in the townships around Johannesburg, warned

that "the people will use every tactic to prevent political activity by the (white) parties."

DP parliamentarian Mr Tony Leon responded with charges of authoritarianism, totalitarianism, even fascism.

"The jury is out" on whether South Africa could hold free and fair elections, he said.

"There are very few political organisations that believe in

democracy as a virtue rather than a means to an end."

Mr Mofokeng backtracked after the ANC repudiated his apparent disavowal of free political activity.

The DP and even the NP could campaign in the townships, he said, but added: "The only people who attend those meetings will be those who are serving on military establish-

ments." CT 5/3/73

Few blacks would risk that kind of branding, Mr Leon said.

Idasa's Dr Alec Boraine said that if the DP wanted a hearing in the townships it should go in at the invitation of black community leaders, or on a joint platform with black parties in return for a similar deal in white areas.

Ministers' housing: Experts appointed

TOS WENTZEL
Political Staff

(3048) ARCS/3/93

A PANEL of experts is being appointed to advise the government on the suitability and cost-effectiveness of the present housing scheme for ministers by which they are paid to stay in their own homes.

Announcing this yesterday, President De Klerk said the panel would include appropriate representatives from the private sector and would have access to data on which the present scheme was based.

Mr De Klerk, clearly upset by recent sharp criticism, said no corruption or enrichment was involved in the present scheme.

He said the provision of housing for ministers and certain other political office-bearers dated back to 1910.

As part of the government's programme to reduce State expenditure, an investigation was launched about three years ago into the provision of housing for political office-bearers.

It indicated that the old system of providing official residences was not cost-effective.

There were few other comparable countries which provided residences to all political office-bearers. In most they had to pay for their own housing.

Two years ago the scheme whereby most ministerial houses would be sold and political office-bearers would instead be paid a monthly allowance was introduced.

Substantial savings were effected and more could be saved.

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Voter education role for Sanco

27/6/13
ALTHOUGH the South African National Civics Organisation (Sanco) was not a political party, it had a great role to play in voter education, it said in a document given to the press yesterday.

Sanco held a special media conference to introduce itself to the press in the Western Cape before the launch of its Peninsula sub-region on March 13.

Important challenges included the role of civics in the transitional period and local government restructuring, the organisation said.

304H
"We also wish to condemn the harassment by the police and local authorities of our membership." — Sapa

Redcliffe quits

DP — for NP?

(South) Political Staff

A FORMER MP and a member of the Democratic Party's national council, Mr Charles Redcliffe, has resigned from the party.

Mr Redcliffe, who is also a member of the DP's regional executive, confirmed yesterday he had resigned from the party this week.

It is understood he is considering joining the National Party.

Mr Redcliffe, a former Labour Party member, was the first House of Representatives MP to join the DP.

He did not stand for Parliament in the 1989 election and is now a businessman in Cape Town.

CT6/3/93

Planning talks (30444) off to a scrappy start

ARG 6/3/93

**PETER FABRICIUS
and ESTHER WAUGH**
Weekend Argus Political Staff

KEMPTON PARK. — Negotiators at the planning conference for multiparty negotiations battled to achieve consensus among 26 highly divergent political groups on re-starting formal negotiations.

The first day of the conference yesterday was uphill all the way, ending in confusion and failure to agree on a straightforward resolution declaring support for the early convening of a formal multiparty negotiation conference.

But there were no walkouts and the decision on the resolution was postponed until today while the conference facilitating committee went into a huddle to try to agree on a mechanism for making decisions.

The Conservative Party, the Ciskei government and other members of the Concerned South Africans Group (Cosag) objected to the resolution — prompting accusations from the African National Congress and others that they were deliberately stalling negotiations.

The Cosag parties blocked the resolution despite the fact that the government — with the support of the ANC and its allies — had carefully excised any reference to the new constitution being drafted by an elected constituent assembly.

Cosag objects to the constituent assembly and believes a new constitution should be drafted in multiparty negotiations representing all existing groupings.

Although the ANC strongly backs the idea of a constituent assembly, ANC secretary-general Cyril Ramaphosa supported the suggestion that reference to it should be removed from the resolution.

He said this would ensure that the conference reached consensus on the need to hold a speedy multiparty conference

■ Turn to page 3

Is it all systems go for SA?

ScuTH 6/3-10/3/93.

3044

PHRASES and terms such as "the number of seats won", "constituencies" and "candidates" are not usually explained by those who use them.

The problem is that these terms are being used more often in the build-up to elections. Their meaning and application derive from the context of electoral systems.

An electoral system can be compared to an equation or formula used to translate the number of votes cast for a party into the number of seats the party will occupy in parliament.

In other words, the differences between various electoral systems lie in how each system converts the number of votes cast for a party into the number of seats it wins.

There are three main methods of allocating seats on the basis of votes won. These are, plurality systems, majority systems and proportional systems.

Plurality systems

The plurality system is also known as the single-member constituency system. It originated in Britain and was adopted by some British colonies. When constituencies first evolved, they were geographical areas or neighbourhoods.

Within each such constituency, representatives of the parties contesting the elections stand as individuals, i.e. as candidates.

The thrust of campaigns is that each candidate tries to win the largest share of the votes for himself, and thus automatically, for the party he belongs to and represents.

This means that the candidate obtaining a plurality of the vote, i.e. a number of votes exceeding that obtained by any other candidate,

but not constituting an absolute majority, is elected to parliament.

This system is also known as the first-past-the-post system. The problem is that a party might come to power without having won a majority of the total votes cast.

What matters is the geographical distribution of votes cast, rather than the total number of votes cast.

For example, in Constituency Apple, candidates A, B and C, win 18 percent, 19 percent and 20 percent of the votes. Candidate C will win the seat of that constituency.

In constituency Pear, candidates A, B and C win 15 percent, 10 percent and 11 percent of the votes. Candidate A wins the seat. The discrepancy comes at national level when the total number of votes cast are calculated.

The total number of votes cast in constituencies Apple and Pear, mean that the candidate belonging to party A has won the majority of the votes, i.e. 33 percent, as opposed to 29 percent for party B and 31 percent for party C.

However, because the votes are counted on a constituency basis, there is no reflection of the fact that party A enjoys majority support. Instead party A and party C have each won one seat. If the above example is expanded to include about 35 constituencies there may be gross misrepresentation in terms of which party won the most votes, and which party actually gained the most seats in parliament.

This is why the plurality or first-past-the-post system has been called undemocratic because a party can come to power on a minority vote.

Majority systems

Majority systems try to eliminate the main weakness of plurality systems, i.e. the possibility of a candi-

date winning a constituency on a minority vote.

Three main methods to avoid this have been devised under majority systems. These are the exhaustive ballot, the double ballot and the "alternative vote".

● The exhaustive ballot was used in Eastern Europe. After elections, the candidate with the lowest poll is eliminated and another vote is held. This continues until a candidate wins at least half the votes.

● The double ballot is used in France. If a constituency does not produce an overall winner a second election is held a week later. Candidates who gained 12.5 percent or more of the vote in the first election, can compete in the second one. French parties usually make mutually beneficial arrangements to ensure that only two candidates compete in the second round.

● The "alternative vote" is used in Australia. The voter votes for a number of candidates in order of preference. If no candidate has an absolute majority, i.e. 50 percent plus 1, the candidate with the fewest votes is eliminated and his second preference redistributed. This continues until one candidate has an absolute majority of the vote. In Australia it is compulsory to vote for every candidate.

Proportional representation

Proportional representation (PR) encompasses a number of different electoral systems, all of which share a common factor. This is that the allocation of seats to a party is in direct proportion to the number of votes cast for it. In other words, the number of seats gained by a party directly reflects the number of votes cast in that party's favour. No votes are lost in the sense of the final results not reflecting that party A or

B was voted for at all.

PR therefore tends to encourage a proliferation of parties, from big to small. For this reason it is usually necessary to agree on a cut-off point, i.e. a minimum number of votes to be gained to get one seat. For example, if there are 400 seats available and ten parties contest elections, it does not mean that even a party that gained 1 000 out of 20 million votes must get a seat.

It would be possible to divide the total number of votes expected, with the total number of seats available, in order to establish the minimum number of votes a party should gain in order to win a seat. Using the above example, this would mean that a party gains one seat for every 50 000 votes it wins.

Fewer parties

This is sometimes necessary to enable the work of parliament to proceed, i.e. rather fewer parties with sizeable constituencies than many parties, all of which have their opinions on matters of state, and all of whom clamour to be heard or consulted before laws are passed.

With the exception of the single transferable vote PR system, a Victorian relic, modern forms of PR are not candidate based.

Voters vote for a party rather than for an individual standing as a party representative. The party then decides which members sit in parliament. There are many ways of doing so. Some ways allow the voter to know in advance which party candidates will gain seats depending on the number of votes cast.

On the basis of media reports on the progress of negotiations, it seems that PR is the system most likely to be used in South Africa. In this context, more time will be spent on discussing PR next week.

W

HAT strikes about one about Sheila Camerer's reply to the ANC's Ebrahim Rasool is that she and the National Party actually believe their own propaganda. The danger is that the naive and trusting South African public may actually begin to believe it too.

I do not want to get in the middle of an NP/ANC fight but I cannot let Camerer and the NP get away with a lot of what has been said. Camerer raised a number of points which merit a reply.

She takes issue with Rasool over his assertion that those who opposed the tricameral system in 1983 have been vindicated. Camerer insists the tricameral system was an exercise to "prepare the way to full democracy". However, this assertion is open to dispute.

The tricameral system was introduced to prevent the march towards democracy.

Its purpose was to:

- Provide a political solution to the problem of "coloured" political representation;
- Prevent a "coloured"/Indian/African alliance;
- Entrench white domination and;
- Ensure Afrikaner hegemony.

Perhaps a few facts will refresh our memory.

The tricameral system was inaugurated in 1983 in response to a recommendation by the Theron Commission in 1976.

However, the idea of a new dispensation had been banded about for years before.

In 1968 we already had insight into government thinking which culminated in the tricameral system:

"A close affinity between whites, coloureds and Indians can only strengthen the ranks of the whites and increase the confidence with which they can work for a 'peaceful solution' of the Bantu problem".

CROSS TALK

The NP and the Tricameral

System

South 6/3 - 10/3/93

RH du Preez of the Department of History at the University of Transkei takes issue with the NP's **Sheila Camerer**, who in turn clashed with the ANC's **Ebrahim Rasool** in this debate:

The government was thinking up ways to prevent "coloureds" and Indians linking up with Africans to form a coalition of oppressed groups. The government could then deal with the "Bantu problem".

From 1971, there was also a protracted debate in Afrikaner circles regarding the future of the "coloured" people.

At that stage the Coloured Persons' Representative Council (CPC) was in a state of near-collapse, barely two years after being established.

At the height of the debate, Professor Nic Rhoades suggested that an umbrella constitutional body in which whites, Indians and "coloureds" were represented, would have to be established to solve the problem of "coloured" representation.

Wim de Klerk, editor of "Die Transvaler", suggested "coloureds"

be treated as citizens with political rights equal to whites.

Afrikaner academics such as AB du Toit, JH Coetzee, DP Botha and FA van Jaarsveld urged Afrikaners to re-think their political attitudes in respect of the "coloured" people.

However, factors outside government and Afrikaner circles forced them into action.

The seventies saw the emergence of Black Consciousness and radicalisation of the youth. The rebellious mood among "coloured" youth and their support for their African counterparts in 1976 took the government by surprise.

The support by "coloured" students of the Soweto uprising shocked the government. Even though it had dealt horrendously with the "coloured" people for 28 years, it never conceived the placid, politically apathetic "coloureds" would ever dream of rioting.



With the NP's record, who can ever believe its protestations of fair play?

The liberal Cape Nationalists saw their relationship with, and closeness to, the "coloured" people, wane. The old fear of an alignment between "coloureds" and Africans once again began to surface.

The evidence of combined African, "coloured" and Indian protest posed a potentially strong threat to white dominance.

The effect that "coloured" and Indian support for Africans had on the government was clearly demonstrated when, just days after the riots, PW Botha made an impassioned plea for adjustment to be made to official policy in order to forge stronger white links with "coloureds" and Indians.

The government realised something had to be done quickly to prevent a possible "coloured"/Indian/African alliance which would

pose a threat to Afrikaner hegemony and white domination and ways would have to be found to draw "coloureds" back into the white sphere of influence.

So, there is the motivation behind the tricameral system.

Just in case Camerer and the NP feel they have convinced the trusting South African electorate as to the bona fides of the tricameral system, let us consider the report of the SA Law Commission in its 1991 Report on Constitutional Models: "The 1983 tricameral constitution lacked substantive principle, constitutionalism, and even a regard for the law. It also failed to protect individual human rights, showed a fundamental lack of democracy, lacked an independent judiciary in the broad sense of the word, did not have adequate checks and balances, had no minority protection and gave excessive power to the president. It need hardly be argued that the problems being experienced by our country (today) are due at least in large measure to the shortcomings of the existing constitution."

Can we, therefore, really be expected to believe that the NP had the democratisation of South Africa in mind when it introduced the tricameral system?

Camerer states: "It was quite clear to the NP negotiators that it was the ANC which torpedoed proceedings (at) Codesa II".

Yes, but it must also be remembered that it was "quite clear" to the NP that apartheid was right; that race classification, the Group Areas Act and other inhuman laws were good; that the CCB was necessary; that corruption in state structures was normal; that detention without trial, murder and torture and assassination was justified. However it is just as "clear" to most South Africans today that the NP are not a perspicacious lot. With the NP's record, who can ever believe its protestations of fair play?

Wheels set in motion for government of national unity

Who will rule our land?

Star 6/8/93

(304 A)

(41A)

CAPE TOWN — If everything goes according to plan and the political crystal ball is right, the new government of national unity will be in place early next year under President Nelson Mandela.

President de Klerk will still have a key role — some say he may even be Mandela's right-hand man — but decisions on South Africa's future will be in the hands of the ANC.

At this stage, however, such predictions are little more than pipe-dreams in the face of a host of remaining uncertainties and unpredictables concerning the power structure, life-span, workability and legitimacy of the proposed government of national unity (GNU).

Certain proposals have been made, there is some common

ground between the NP and ANC, but much depends on whether or not the two main players can sell their ideas to a multiparty negotiating forum. Even though it is still early days, patterns indicating the possible shape of a GNU are beginning to emerge. A popular guess is that it will be a 20-member nonracial Cabinet in which the two main political players — the ANC and NP — and two or three other groupings such as the PAC, Inkatha or right-wing parties will be represented.

Depending on the outcome of the first nonracial elections, scheduled for early next year, there is also a possibility that only the two main players will qualify for representation in the Cabinet. If the popular concept of a GNU becomes reality, the Cabinet could look something like this:

Nelson Mandela (President); F W de Klerk (Vice-President); Cyril Ramaphosa (Minister of

THE possible shape of South Africa's first nonracial Cabinet is beginning to emerge and some experts predict it will be an ANC-dominated body. FRANS ESTERHUYSE presents a Cabinet profile based on current predictions.

State Affairs and Constitutional Development); Thabo Mbeki (Foreign Affairs); Professor Kader Asmal (Justice and Human Rights); Joe Modise (Law and Order); Derek Keys (Finance); Trevor Manuel (State Expenditure); Roelf Meyer (Security and Defence); Mac Maharaj (Health); Gertrude Shope (Social Services); Dr Frank Mdlalose (Regional and Local Government); Professor Caryl Chessell (Deputy, Regional and Local Government); Archbishop Desmond Tutu (National Reconciliation); Jay Naidoo (Consumer Affairs and Manpower);

Leon Wessels (Water Affairs and Forestry); Bhadra Ranchod (Tourism); Dr Pallo Jordan (Communications); Dr Sam Mutsaers (Economic Affairs); Patrick Lekota (Housing and Public Works); Clarence Makwetu (Culture); Dr Kraai van Niekirk (Agriculture and Land Distribution).

This tentative Cabinet profile is worked out on the assumption that the ANC will receive more than half of the vote, the NP between 20 and 25 percent and three other parties more than 7.5 percent each. A further assumption

is that representation in the Cabinet will be proportional on the basis of votes obtained.

This means a 20-person Cabinet will include at least 10 nominees of the ANC, five from the NP, and one each from, say, the PAC, the IFP and right-wing groupings. If the DP gets enough votes to qualify — which some analysts think is unlikely — another Cabinet member could be a DP nominee.

The composition of the Cabinet will also depend on the criteria to be used by the winning party and any other players invited to nominate members. High on the list of likely priorities will be the Cabinet candidates' expertise and experience. Public stature and credibility will also be important.

Also taken into account is the profound change likely to occur in the entire approach to government, which may call for some new Cabinet portfolios such as consumer affairs, land distribu-

tion, national reconciliation and human rights.

For some portfolios, people with special expertise or experience may be brought in from outside the political arena. For example, the choice of former National African Federated Chamber of Commerce and Industry president Mutsaers as Minister of Economic Affairs, Tutu as Minister of National Reconciliation, Naidoo as Minister of Consumer Affairs (in addition to Manpower), and human rights law professor Asmal as Minister of Human Rights (in addition to Justice).

The Cabinet profile also includes members of De Klerk's existing Cabinet among five NP representatives, one PAC representative (PAC president Makwetu), one representative of African right-wing groupings (Boshoff) and one IFP representative (IFP chairman Mdlalose).

FW's question: To pay or not to pay?

Political Staff

PRESIDENT F W de Klerk is to be asked in Parliament whether he is to follow the example of the British monarchy and start paying taxes on those portions of his salary that are at present tax-free. And the Minister of Finance, Mr Derek Keys, is to

be asked whether cabinet ministers have to complete a minimum period of service before qualifying for a pension and a gratuity.

These questions have been tabled in Parliament by Mr Desmond Lockey, the Labour Party MP for Northern Cape. His question to Mr De Klerk

is: "Whether in the light of the fact that the head of state of the Republic receives a tax-free salary and that the current British monarch has indicated that she will pay tax as from April 1, 1993, he is considering having the sections of the law in terms of

which his salary is tax-free, deleted; if not, why not; if so, what are the relevant details?" ~~3049~~ 3049

He has asked Mr Keys what the minimum period of service is for a cabinet minister. Mr Lockey also wants to know which ministers were

276/3/93

DISSENT

from COSAG stalls talks on day one

Star 6/3/93

PETER FABRICIUS
and ESTHER
WAUGH

THE planning conference in Kempton Park for multiparty negotiations was showing signs of strain yesterday as negotiators battled to achieve consensus among 26 political groups to get negotiations going.

The first day of the conference ended in confusion as delegates failed to agree on a straightforward resolution declaring support for the early convening of a formal multiparty negotiation conference.

A decision was postponed until today while the conference facilitating committee went into a huddle to try to agree on a mechanism for making decisions.

Objections by the CP, Ciskei's government and other members of the Concerned South Africans Group (COSAG) prompted accusations from the ANC and others that they were deliberately stalling negotiations.

COSAG parties blocked the resolution despite the fact that the Government — with the support of the ANC and its allies — had carefully excised any reference to a new constitution being drafted by an elected constituent assembly.

Stance

Although the ANC strongly backed the idea of a constituent assembly, ANC secretary-general Cyril Ramaphosa supported the suggestion that reference to it be removed from the resolu-

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COSAG parties blocked the resolution despite the fact that the Government — with the support of the ANC and its allies — had carefully excised any reference to a new constitution being drafted by an elected constituent assembly.

Stance

Although the ANC strongly backed the idea of a constituent assembly, ANC secretary-general Cyril Ramaphosa supported the suggestion that reference to it be removed from the resolution to ensure that delegates agreed on the need to hold a multiparty conference. This would send a positive message to the country.

The issue of the constituent assembly would be addressed at the multiparty conference.

The IFP's stance was not clear last night. Some IFP sources said they backed the resolution, but had problems with the fact that the conference had not agreed on how decisions would be made.

However, delegates resolved one of the main hitches — how the conference should make decisions — by agreeing that this should be done by "sufficient consensus".

The CP, which had been expected to insist on complete consensus, surprised other parties by accepting this mechanism.

A subcommittee, appointed to redraft the resolution, will report to the facilitating committee before the conference reconvenes at 10 am today.

Delegates described the problems as "procedural hiccups".

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Boesak challenges Rabie

By Guy Berger and
Rehana Rossouw

ANC Western Cape leader Dr Allan Boesak and NP politician Mr Jac Rabie are squaring up for a second confrontation following their TV debate on Agenda on Sunday.

Rabie cried "foul" after the debate while the ANC claimed "victory".

Boesak challenged the most senior brown Nat to set the date for a rematch debate.

"And if he can't come, let him send his baas," Boesak declared on Tuesday.

Boesak strongly rejected Nat claims that Sunday night's TV Agenda debate had been rigged against Rabie.

"I'm ready for any venue — in

SOUTH 673-10/3/95.
Mitchell's Plain, Elsie's River, Delft, all of the Karoo — even Boksburg (Rabie's home base)."

Boesak said if Rabie was "scared of a live audience then a one-to-one encounter in a studio will be in order".

He wanted to debate Rabie on the Nat's education strategy, the bill of rights, power-sharing and corruption.

"Rabie denied that he was tarnished by corruption, saying this was only part of the PW Botha era — let him explain that."

Boesak said that if Rabie refused a rematch, it would be an admission that the NP could not face the ANC in open debate.

Rabie said he was not prepared to debate Boesak through the press and was "definitely not scared" to debate him again.

In an open letter to Rabie on Wednesday, Boesak wrote:

"We would like to extend a personal invitation to you to continue the debate we began on Sunday night's Agenda.

"We believe there is enormous public interest in the programmes of the National Party and the ANC and that people must be given the opportunity to air their views and demand answers to their questions.

"I therefore repeat my challenge to you to join me in debate. I will be happy to meet you on the Cape Flats, in the Boland, or on television — with or without a studio audience."

Rabie's secretary confirmed that he received the letter and said he would respond "directly to Boesak and not to the media".

Plan for talks within 30 days

CT 6/3/93 (3047)

Political Staff

JOHANNESBURG. — Full-blown negotiations will get back on track soon with the multi-party planning conference poised to accept a resolution calling for their resumption within a month.

But in spite of consensus on this yesterday the conference descended into near farce amid a mix-up over how decisions would be taken and what procedures should be followed.

After an extraordinary and rambling debate on a resolution urging the speedy resumption of talks which was tabled by Transkei ruler Major-General Bantu Holomisa, it was decided that leaders of the 26 delegations at the World Trade Centre would meet last night to thrash out the issue.

Late last night the delegates emerged to say the issue had been resolved and it was "all systems go" for today's closing session.

leaders had delivered a series of bullish seven-minute speeches to the meeting in which all committed themselves to a resumption of talks.

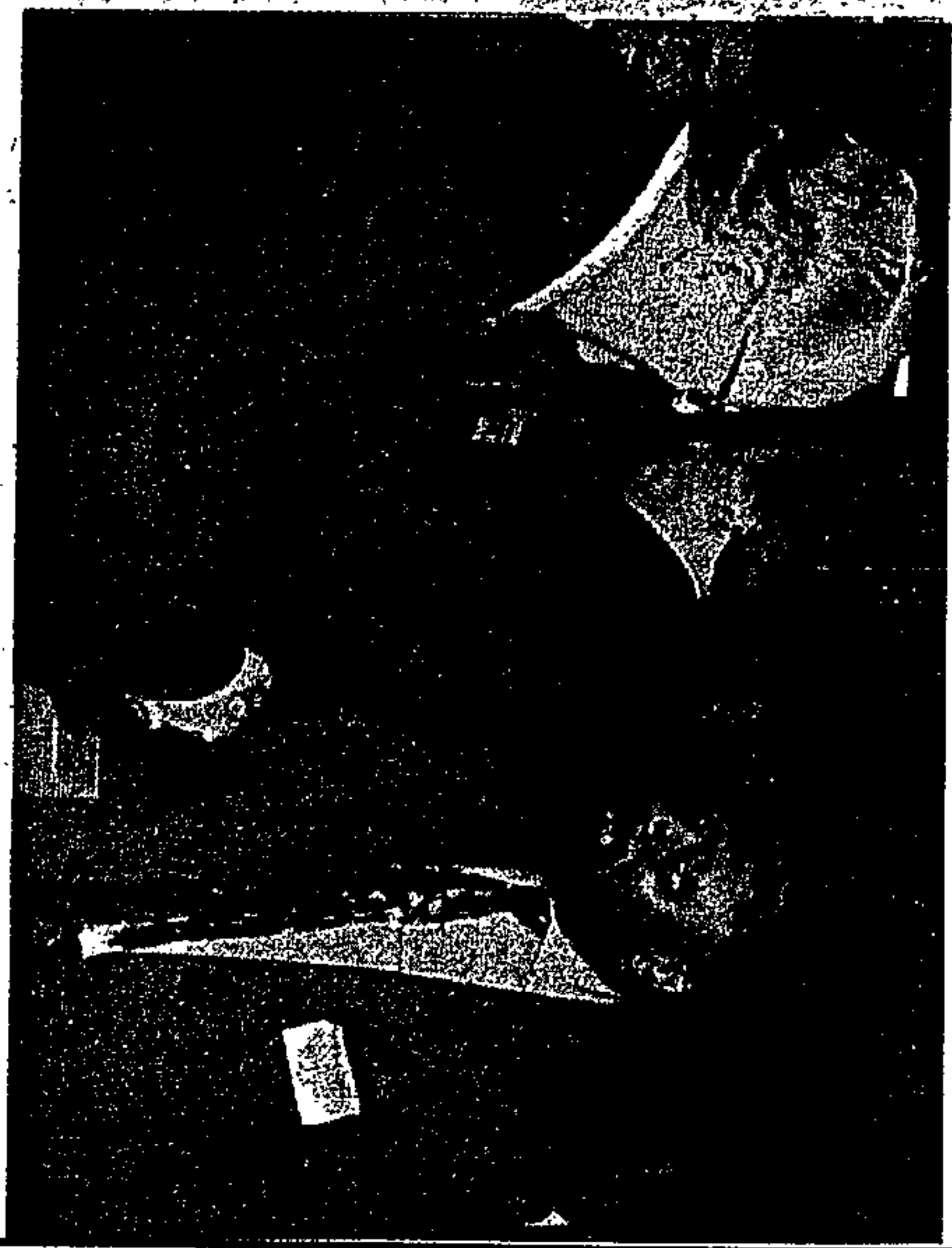
Present for the first time in such a forum were the Conservative Party and the Afrikaner Volksunie.

Also there were the Pan-Africanist Congress, the KwaZulu government and traditional leaders from the Cape, Transvaal and Free State — making it the most representative political meeting ever in South Africa.

Afterwards Local Government Minister Mr Tertius Delpoort said: "We have moved forward tremendously today. Anything can go wrong but I don't think it will."

And fears that Inkatha might disrupt proceedings proved to be unfounded with delegate Mr Joe Mathebs saying the organisation wanted a process that would "bring democracy quickly".

In spite of the upbeat mood it was



TALKS ... ANC general-secretary Mr Cyril Ramaphosa greets Mr Andries Beyers of the Afrikaner Volksunie at the multi-party planning conference in Johannesburg yesterday.

Picture: AP

clear that when the constitutional talks do resume there will be some serious differences. One of the most serious will be the objection of Inkatha and others to the government, ed constituent assembly should write the new constitution.

'SA fighters in Angola' 32 Battalion's founder to 'crash' final parade

By GUY OLIVER

SOUTH AFRICAN mercenaries "appeared" to be operating in Angola, Minister of Foreign Affairs Mr Pk Botha said yesterday in a statement.

It was the government's first official acknowledgment of South African nationals fighting in the renewed 16-year civil war and came a week after the Minister of Defence Mr Gene Louw warned SADF personnel that they would

face strict penalties should they enlist as soldiers of fortune.

The police are investigating. Earlier yesterday Unita's French spokesman Mr Jorge Valentin told a press briefing in Paris the Angolan government had recruited five South Africans to assassinate their leader Dr Jonas Savimbi.

Mr Valentin alleged the MPLA death squad comprised of former CCB and directorate of Covert

Collection operative Mr Buks Buys, former 32 Battalion member Mr Christo Olivier, ex-Covert Collection Mr Deon Gerber, and ex-special forces members a Mr Borman and a Mr Renens.

Colonel Jan Breytenbach, founder of 32 Battalion, dismissed the mission as "impossible".

● UN urges immediate ceasefire in Angola — Page 3

32 Battalion's founder to 'crash' final parade

By GUY OLIVER

COLONEL Jan Breytenbach, founder of 32 Battalion, is going to gatecrash the battalion's final parade on March 26 when it will be disbanded, he said.

He claims he hasn't been invited because he condemned President F W De Klerk's decision to disband the crack battalion.

Forged during the early years of the South African/Angolan war, the Portuguese-speaking battalion evolved into the most effective fighting unit the SADF possessed.

If everything goes according to plan and the political crystal ball is right, the new government of national unity will be in place early next year under Nelson Mandela.

Mr De Klerk will still have a key role — some say he may even be Mr Mandela's right-hand man — but decisions on South Africa's future direction will be largely in the hands of the African National Congress.

At this stage, however, such predictions are little more than pipe-dreams in the face of a host of remaining uncertainties and unpredictables concerning the power structure, the life-span, workability and the legitimacy of the proposed government of national unity (GNU).

Certain proposals have been made and there is some common ground between the NP and ANC, but much depends on whether or not the two main players can sell their ideas to a multiparty negotiating forum.

However, even though it is still early days, patterns indicating the possible shape of a GNU are beginning to emerge.

A popular guess is that it will be a 20-member nonracial Cabinet in which the two main political players — the ANC and the NP — and two or three other groupings such as the PAC, Inkatha or rightwing parties will be represented. Outsiders with specialised expertise may also be brought in.

Depending on the outcome of the first nonracial elections, scheduled for early next year, there is also a possibility that only the two main players will qualify for representation in the Cabinet.

If the popular concept of a GNU becomes reality, the Cabinet could look something like this:

President: Mr Mandela

Vice-President: Mr De Klerk

Ministers:

Mr Cyril Ramaphosa (State affairs and Constitutional Development)

Mr Thabo Mbeki (Foreign Affairs)

Mr Professor Kader Asmal (Justice and Human Rights)

Mr Joe Modise (Law and Order)

Mr Derek Keys (Finance)

Mr Trevor Manuel (State Expenditure)

Mr Roelf Meyer (Security and Defence)

Mr Mac Maharaj (Health)

Mrs Gertrude Shope (Social Services)

Dr Frank Mdlalose (Regional and Local Government)

Professor Carel Boshoff (Deputy, Regional and Local Government)

Archbishop Desmond Tutu (National Reconciliation)

Mr Jay Naidoo (Consumer Affairs and Manpower)

Mr Leon Wessels (Water Affairs and Forestry)

Dr Bhadra Ranchod (Tourism)

Dr Palle Jordan (Communications)

Dr Sam Mutsuanyane (Economic Affairs)

Mr Patrick Lekota (Housing and Public Works)

Mr Clarence Makwetu (Culture)

Dr Kraal van Niekerk (Agriculture and Land Distribution)

This tentative Cabinet profile is worked out on the assumption that the ANC will receive more than 50 percent of the vote in a general election, the NP between 20 and 25 percent and three other parties more than 7.5 percent each. A further assumption is that representation in the Cabinet will be proportional on the basis of votes obtained.

This means a 20-person Cabinet will include at least 10 nominees of the ANC, five from the NP, and one each from, say, the PAC, the IFP and rightwing groupings. If the DP gets enough votes to qualify — which some analysts think is unlikely — another Cabinet member could be a DP nominee.

The composition of the Cabinet will also depend on the criteria to be used by the

The shape of the GNU

30449
Aug 6/3/93

■ The possible shape of South Africa's first nonracial Cabinet is beginning to emerge — and some experts predict it will be an ANC-dominated body. Weekend Argus Political Correspondent FRANS ESTERHUYSE presents a Cabinet profile based on current predictions.



□ Mr Joe Modise



□ Mr Patrick Lekota



□ Mr Cyril Ramaphosa



□ Mr Trevor Manuel



□ Professor Carel Boshoff



□ Dr Palle Jordan

winning party and any other players invited to nominate members. High on the list of likely priorities will be the Cabinet candidates' expertise and experience. Public stature and credibility will also be important.

The Weekend Argus profile also takes into account the profound change likely to occur in the whole approach to government, which may call for some new Cabinet portfolios such as consumer affairs, land distribution, national reconciliation, and human rights.

For some portfolios people with special expertise or experience may be brought in from outside the political arena; for example, the choice of former National African Federated Chamber of Commerce and Industry (Nafcoc) president Dr Sam Mutsuanyane as Minister of Economic Affairs, Archbishop Desmond Tutu as Minister of National Reconciliation, Mr Jay Naidoo as Minister of Consumer Affairs (in addition to Manpower), and human rights law professor Kader Asmal as Minister of Human Rights (in addition to Justice).

The Cabinet profile also includes members of President De Klerk's existing Cabinet among five NP representatives, one

PAC representative (PAC president Mr Clarence Makwetu), one representative of Afrikaner rightwing groupings (Professor Carel Boshoff, who had cordial talks with Mr Nelson Mandela for two hours this week), and one Inkatha Freedom Party representative (IFP chairman Dr Frank Mdlalose).

The field for potential Cabinet ministers is so wide that choices had to be made virtually at random on the basis of suggestions from a variety of political specialists consulted this week.

Some say that apart from political factors, there are so many possible criteria that can come into play once a new Cabinet is to be chosen that it is virtually impossible to predict at this stage what it will look like.

Professor Willie Breytenbach, of Stellenbosch University's political science department, envisages two forms of interim government that could become parallel structures. One would consist of representatives of about half a dozen transitional executive councils to be established about the middle of this year if negotiations are on target, and the other will be a kind of

"super Cabinet" composed of representatives of parties that receive a certain specified level of support in the all-in elections.

The NP's proposal is that parties receiving a minimum of 10 percent of the total number of votes should qualify for representation in the Cabinet. Should this be the case, only the NP and the ANC are likely to qualify, says Professor Breytenbach.

If the ANC's proposal of five percent were to be applied, those likely to qualify are the ANC, NP, PAC, CP, Inkatha, and maybe the DP.

Professor Breytenbach suggests that a compromise may eventually be reached between the two proposals, resulting in a minimum votes percentage of 7.5 percent to qualify for the Cabinet.

After the election, the GNU is expected to take charge of all the portfolios already identified this year for the transitional executive councils, plus some other portfolios.

He foresees that an ordinary Cabinet under the chairmanship of Mr De Klerk may still function within a government of national unity to look after day-to-day administration.

Suppl to C/Press

Joint peace force

7/3/93 (304A)

A joint peace-keeping force made up of at least 1 000 personnel each from the PAC, ANC, Inkatha and the NP was necessary to help stop violence in SA. This was stated by the National Peace Accord vice-chairman and Methodist Church minister Rev Stanley Mogoba.

Mogoba was among a group of prominent South Africans who attended a four-day conference in Sintra, Portugal.

"We are not saying the armed forces of these organisations should **disband** or hand over their guns to the authorities. This has proved to be impossible. What we are saying is that a peace-keeping force involving all the major players could be part of the

solution to long-lasting peace."

He said money should be made available to buy uniforms and provide transport for this force. "These forces must be clearly and easily **identifiable** from the rest of the **civilians**."

"If members from all these organisations could form a joint peace-keeping force, I think part of our problems could be solved," he said.

DICTIONARY

Prominent: to stand out or be noticed.

Disband: to do away with.

Identifiable: easy to recognise.

Civilians: ordinary people; not military staff.

TALKS GIVE RAY OF HOPE

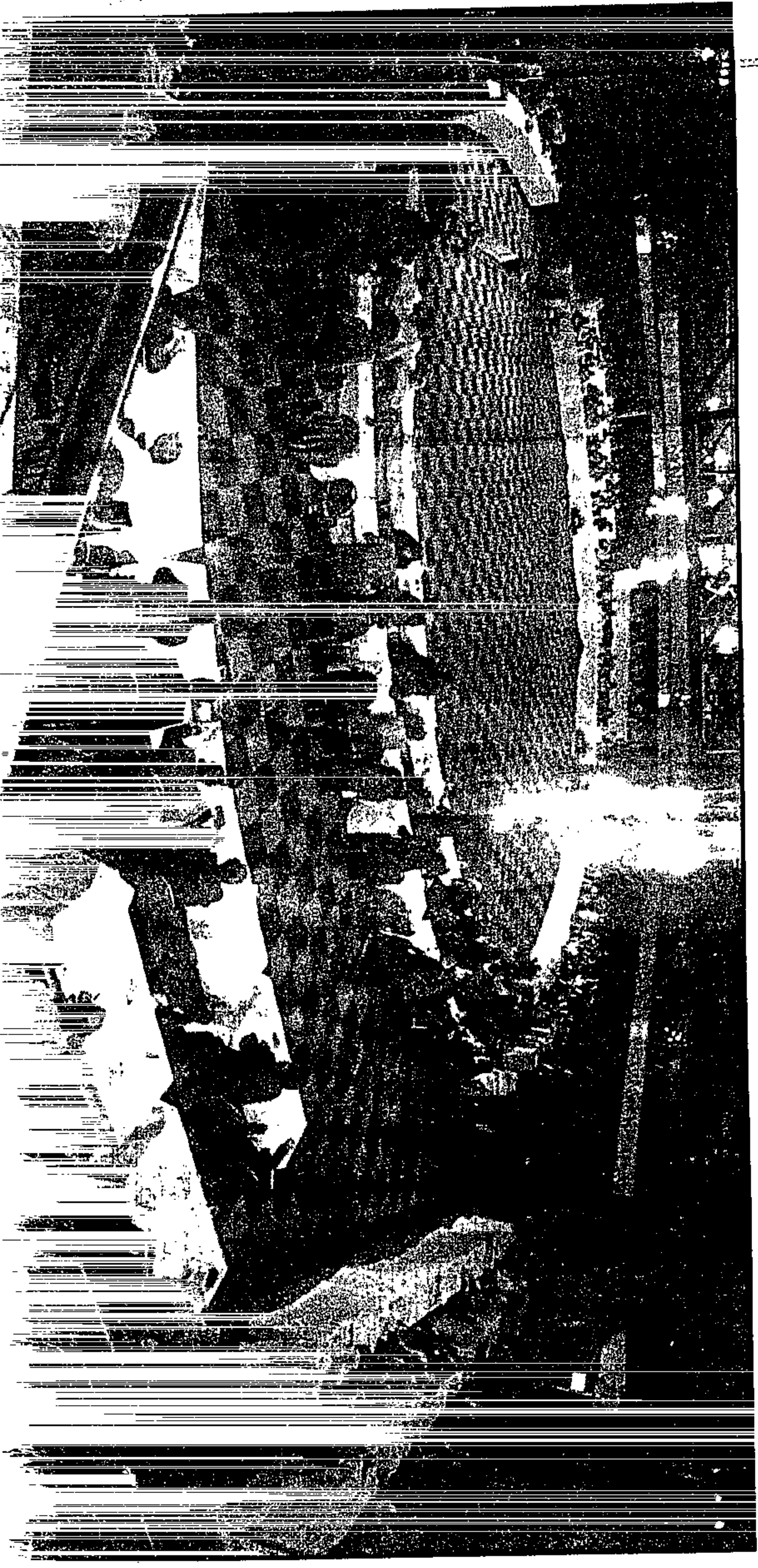
C/Press 7/3193
(304A)

**Parties
agree on
the need
for speed**

**By SEKOLA
SELLO and
THEMBA KHUMALO**

**"WE'RE READY
TO ROLL"** That
was the mood at the
close of the multi-
party planning con-
ference yesterday
when 25 of the 26
participating organi-
sations resolved to
launch full-blown ne-
gotiations within a
month.

It was agreed that
the multiparty negoti-
ating forum would kick
off no later than April
5. Only the Conserva-
tive Party did not en-



the multiparty negotiating forum would kick off no later than April 5. Only the Conservative Party did not endorse this resolution at the end of the two-day gathering at the World Trade Centre near Kempton Park. However, it is widely expected that the party is likely to take part in the forum.

ANC delegation leader and secretary-general Cyril Ramaphosa summed up the mood of the participants when he said: "This sends a ray of hope to the entire country".

Government delegation leader Dr Dawie de Villiers said he was delighted with the outcome of the conference and that he was optimistic negotiations were now on course.

The participants ranged from rightwing parties or organisations such as the CP and the Afrikaner Volksunie to the PAC.

Earlier there were tense moments when it appeared as if the CP would walk out of the talks.

The CP insisted that the conference was about to review the failures and shortcomings of Codesa. Spokesman Tom Langley also said the question of Umkhonto-WeSizwe, Apla and violence had to be discussed before a decision on dates for the start of full-blown talks could be made.

However, intervention by Inkatha chairman Dr Frank Mdlalose averted a feared CP walkout.

The only notable role player not at the talks was Azapo, though both the ANC and PAC are likely to persuade the movement to take part in forthcoming talks.

See Page 2.



ROUND TABLE... From the PAC to the Afrikaner Volksunie, parties gather for talks about talks at the World Trade Centre and decide overwhelmingly that the real negotiating show must hit the road no later than April 5.

Revenge 'motive for attack'

Press 11/31/93

THE victims of the latest Natal massacre died despite being neutral in a war between Inkatha and the ANC, their neighbours said yesterday.

Residents of Nkanyezini village, near Maritzburg, blamed gunmen loyal to Inkatha for the deaths of 10 people in an ambush on a minibus on Friday.

They said they believed the attack was intended to avenge the killing of six schoolchildren at the neighbouring village of Imboyi on Tuesday. Three of the victims in that attack were children of a local Inkatha leader.

About 7 700 people have been killed in political warfare since President FW de Klerk lifted bans on opposition groups and began dismantling apartheid three years ago.

"All the people are saying Inkatha is responsible for the attack," Nkanyezini resident Bernard Ngobo said.

He said Inkatha supporters from Imboyi drove through Nkanyezini on Thursday, shouting from their cars that they were going to kill all the children in the local school in retaliation.

But Ngobo said there were no ANC supporters in Nkanyezini.

"There is no ANC, the ANC ran away from here, now they are shooting us again, saying we're going with the ANC," he said.

Only the minibus driver escaped unscathed from the ambush on Friday in which an unknown number of gunmen armed with automatic weapons opened up with a hail of bullets on the bus.

Police said the gunmen then approached the minibus and fired with shotguns at point-blank range, leaving powder burns on the bodies. Four men and six women were killed.

Solomon Ngcobo said his 19-year-old

daughter Bonisive was one of them. She was at school in Imbali black township outside Pietermaritzburg and only came home at weekends.

"I feel very bad... I did not realise it was my child who had been shot," Ngcobo said.

He said Nkanyezini was a neutral area. "We don't have any political parties here, we are all neutral."

Inkatha leader David Ntombela said his organisation condemned the latest attack.

"We can't accept these killings - in one week 16 people have been killed," Ntombela added.

Police spokesman Craig Kotze said it appeared Friday's ambush was a political revenge raid for the Tuesday attack.

- Sapa-Reuter

Ons is baas...

waar's jou pass

By DAN DILAMINI Press 11/31/93

IT could be back to slavery for Groot Marico's black farm labourers if rightwingers get their way. They are demanding that blacks carry pass-books.

City Press investigations revealed that since last year Marico Bosveld Boereunie members and rightwingers decided at meetings - attended by police - to reintroduce the pass system in a bid to curb squatting.

There were plans to round up farm labourers and photograph them for "ID" cards. Jacob Molantoa, who said he was moving out of the area, told City Press that Groot Marico rightwingers did not regard blacks as human.

"They are only interested in our labour while paying us peanuts," said Molantoa, who earns R80 a month.

Family's night of terror

By BERENG MTIMKULU

THE Loving household in Boipatong was beset by hatred and double tragedy this week.

While the Loving family and friends were mourning the death of their mother Joyce Loving, 53, six armed robbers burst into the Dutch Reformed minister's home.

They left with goods valued at R20 000.

Father Peter Loving said he was left with his "smallest" - and ill-fitting - suit in his wardrobe. His fridge was pilaged of R6 000 worth of food bought for today's burial.

The robbers also took a video machine worth about R2 000, Father Loving's suits - worth

over R10 000 - cutlery, kitchen utensils, a music system worth over R2 000, R5 000 in cash, and personal items.

Tshidi Loving said that at about 8 pm a man entered, claiming his vehicle had a flat.

He then demanded the removal of a mourner's minibus to make way for their car.

"That's when I sensed trouble because I did not understand why the minibus should be removed for a car with a flat wheel," interjected Loving's aunt, Maria Mokona.

Loving said she and her aunt went outside to find six men, "one armed with a double-barrelled gun, the other with a pistol and the rest with knives".

'Just a little favour'

CP Correspondent

WHO said the SA Police are not quick on the draw?

A favour a Zulu family did for their Afrikaans neighbours in conservative Vanderbijlpark this week resulted in 50 detectives, the Internal Stability Unit and the SAP rushing to the scene.

Just after 7 am on Friday morning, domestic worker Emily Tshabala saw four black men waiting in a brown car on a streetcorner.

She saw a man push a white schoolboy and his suitcase into the back seat before speeding away.

Tshabala immediately notified her employer, Anna Kramer, who called the police.

A massive police search was launched and wild rumours about how a boy was "kidnapped" and shot dead circulated around the neighbourhood before it transpired that nine-year-old Nico Snyman was simply given a lift to school by the neighbours.

His mom, Anna, said: "Our neighbours across the road are Zulu-speaking and have a brown car. Nico and their six-year-old son, Sizwe, are best of friends. I realised it was Sizwe's dad who had picked him up."

Neighbour Beulah Kubeka, Inkatha publicity secretary for the Vaal and also a member of Inkatha's Executive Committee, said: "That's right, we were just doing the neighbours a favour."



We pay homage to of our coope

The pot still brandy comes in Mellow-Wood has been for at least five years in maturation cellars, becoming rich, mellow and exquisitely imbued with subtle flavor from the oak.



MEI

By SEKOLA SELLO
and THEMBA KHUMALO

C Press
11/3/93

(304)

The multiparty planning conference kicked off on a high note with eight new parties joining the negotiations at the World Trade Centre this week.

Meanwhile, two crucial issues — a unitary state and federalism — are likely to dominate future talks. The new participants — the PAC, Afrikaaner Volkseeminent (AVU), the Conservative Party, KwaZulu Government and delegates of traditional leaders from the Transvaal, Cape, Free State and Natal — joined a planning conference to prepare for full negotiations. Although the first day ended in confusion after a motion by Transkei's General Bantu Holomisa that delegates agree to convene full-blast negotiations after a month, delegates agreed to meet again in two days.

Left, right split but SA talks are on the go again!

The SACP's Joe Slovo warned against those who wanted to hold the future of the country to ransom "to pursue their personal and political interests". "In moving forward we must try to get as broad a consensus as possible. But if some among us want to hold the process hostage, then, with or without them, we must proceed. We can't allow history to be stopped by personal ambitions and narrow, sectoral power-plays."

CP spokesman Tom Langley said Codesa failed because it put emphasis on a central government and it did not make provision for self-determination for some of the South Africans could stand together. The government believed that it would be able to keep to its time scales for a transitional government and a general election — but said it had to be done. ANC general secretary Cyril Ramaphosa said there were compelling reasons to complete the negotiations. He said the country was "bleeding from every pore" and that the country was "bleeding from every pore". We have all been outraged by the wanton murder of six children in Maritzburg. He called on delegates to observe a moment of silence in sympathy. However, there was considerable uneasiness among the key delegates who expressed fears that unless these calls stopped, there would be walkouts. Two blocs emerged. The ANC-PAC alliance wanting a unitary, centralised state, and the Inkatha-CP grouping wanting a federal, decentralised state. Government spokesman Dr Tertius Delpont admitted that these two positions were likely to prove problematic but was optimistic that they could be solved.

The government seemed to be the odd-man out in supporting elements of both positions. It is generally believed that Pretoria is keeping its options open. CP spokesman Tom Langley said his party rejected "any plan to force our people into a unitary state under a single central government". KwaZulu government spokesman Dr Ben Ngubane said the boundaries and the powers of federal states had to be determined before any general election. Bophuthatswana slightly moderated their position to our independence. Although we are committed to immediately negotiate a federal solution, He said Inkatha was not interested in being party to "complex power sharing arrangements" and would snub any government of national unity. Overall, however, observers noted a thawing of relations between the ANC and the PAC. There was speculation that the two could lead a united patriotic front in future constitutional discussions. Azapo failed to turn up.

Walking talks tightrope

S TIMES 7/3/93

BY EDYTH BULBRING and CHARLENE SMITH

THEY came together to make history. Representatives of political parties, from the CP to the PAC, sitting down together for the first time in almost a year to chart the nation's future.

But five minutes after the planning conference, held at the World Trade Centre near Jan Smuts Airport, got under way this week it had to be adjourned to decide who should chair the meeting. This was not history, it was farce.

The aim of the meeting was deceptively simple: first, to decide what would become of agreements reached at Codesa; second, agree the next step in the writing of a new constitution for the nation.

The big two, the government and the ANC, after months of private talks, were in agreement: recognise past Codesa agreements, hold early elections and thereafter share power for five years while draft-

ing a new constitution. Their challenge: to get the rest of the parties to agree. Opposing them was the Concerned South Africans Group. An unlikely alliance of conservative white parties, independent homeland leaders and Inkatha.

For them the early election route favoured by the big two would result in either total annihilation at the polls or, in the case of Chief Mangosuthu Buthezi's Inkatha, a massive re-

duction in its power base. Their response: stop the government/ANC at all costs.

The first indications of the difficulties that ensued at the talks came on Thursday — the day before the conference began. Gathered at 11am was the seven-person committee whose job it was at this late hour to finalise the arrangements.

The IFP's Walter Felgate, who had just spoken to Chief Minister Buthezi, had a number of important points to raise.

The first was that, if the Kwazulu government delegation was not there in its own right, then Inkatha would not take part.

Second, Mr Felgate said, the chief minister insisted that Bophuthatswana representative Rowan Cronje be part of the chairman's panel, despite an earlier decision that he would not be one of the seven.

The third directive from Ulundi was that the planning conference should be all-inclusive — including such great unknowns as the United Federal Party and the Volkseenheidskomitee.

The rationale behind this was that the more splinter groupings which form part of Cosag were allowed to be present, the greater the clout carried by the grouping.

Dispute

Faced with a new set of demands, the politicians did what they do best — vacillated and put off a decision until the next day.

There were other, more urgent matters to discuss — such as seating arrangements. Even this was an issue for dispute.

While they agreed the parties would sit in alphabetical order, the problem arose with the Kwazulu government delegation. The ANC insisted it should sit under T, along with other traditional leaders. Inkatha insisted the delegation sit under K — for Kwazulu government.

And so they haggled.

Finally, it was decided that the traditional leaders would sit as Cape Province, Transvaal and Free State — while the problem of Kwazulu would be left to the next morning.

This meeting started at 9am but had little success in solving the problems of

the day before — starting with the dispute about the chairman's panel.

It seemed that if every little party's aspirations for a higher profile was to be catered for, every party would have to chair the meeting. This is precisely what was decided.

So now the meeting of 26 organisations would have 26 chairmen. As Pliny said: "Always something new out of Africa."

The newly elected 26 chairmen then further agreed on the principle of inclusivity. This was much to the relief of the 11 political organisations who had pitched up at the centre uninvited and were now sitting in a special waiting room, having been escorted there by security guards.

They would be allowed observer status until such time that it could be established exactly who they were and whom, if anybody, they represented.

In the relief of the moment, the sticky point of where the Kwazulu government delegation would sit was swept under the carpet.

So impatient were Mr Ramaphosa and his government counterpart, Roelf Meyer, to get the show on the road that they turned a blind eye to the fact that the CP and Inkatha had each increased their delegations by one person.

Finally, the conference could get under way, carefully monitored by flashing green, yellow and then red lights to ensure speakers did not go over their allotted seven minutes. The entire day was dominated by a restatement of old positions and rhetoric — most of it mindlessly dull.

All that was apparent was that those allied to the government or the ANC and those who are part of Cosag agree on little.

Rapid caucus huddles took place over bitter coffee and biscuits between Cosag members.

Then it dawned: the conference had not decided how it would make decisions. The day that began with an adjournment ended with another.

For this, taxpayers had forked out R1.2-million.

The Nats change colour



and pin their hopes on the bones

By NORMAN WEST: Political Reporter
THE National Party has decided to consult sangomas and other cultural experts in a search for a new symbol that will broaden its appeal among Africans.

It is also set to drop the colour orange as one of its official party colours.

The NP, which is anxious to distance itself from its apartheid image, has undertaken an extensive review of its colours and symbols. The aim is to adopt new colours and symbols that are in keeping with Africa for the forthcoming all-race elections.

A secret report by experts who probed the most suitable "logo" for adoption by the NP suggests that the proposed new symbols and colours need to be bounced off anthropologists, indunas, sangomas and other cultural experts to ensure they are credible and acceptable in an African context.

Unpopular

These people could, in a few sentences, give the traditional deep-rooted meanings of symbols within their cultural milieu, the report states.

For instance, to whites, an owl is a symbol of wisdom. To certain blacks an owl represents "the one who kills during the night".

The report says it was found nationally that orange was probably the most unpopular colour. The colour does not signify anything specific—unlike blue (associated with peace, water, truth, democracy and freedom); green (hope, the land and agriculture); black (associated with Africans, perseverance and strength); and yellow (prosperity, mineral wealth, the sun, justice and peace).

Of all the parties in South Africa, only the NP has orange as a party colour.

In a survey of African countries it was found that red and green were the preferred colours in about equal proportions, followed by yellow.

...the report also points out that the

Conference makes progress despite bickering among parties

NEW DEADLINE SET FOR TALKS

Times 7/3/93

By EDYTH BULBRING and CHARLENE SMITH

AFTER two days of intense bickering, 26 political parties yesterday agreed at the World Trade Centre to set a deadline of April 5 for the resumption of multi-party talks.

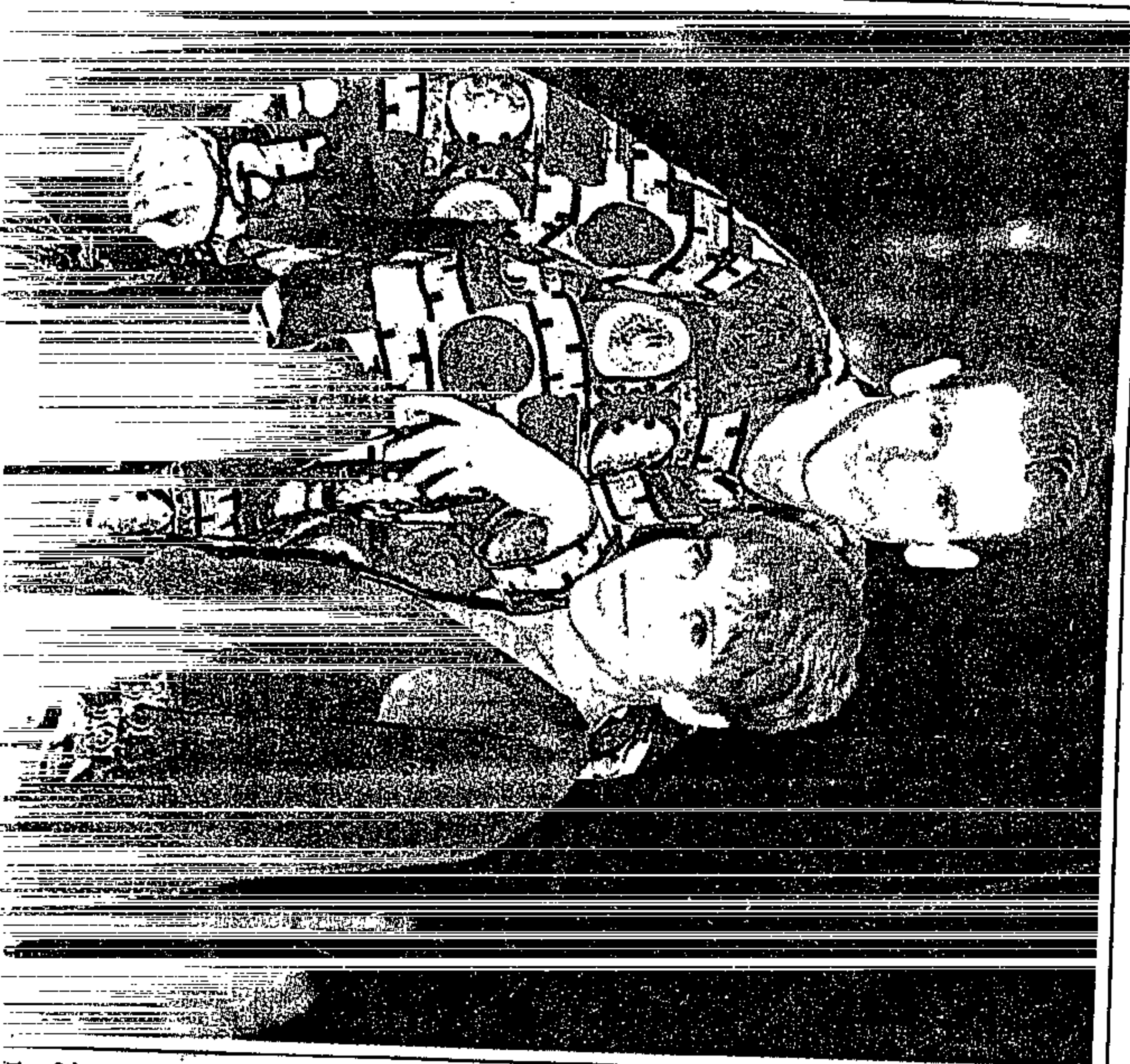
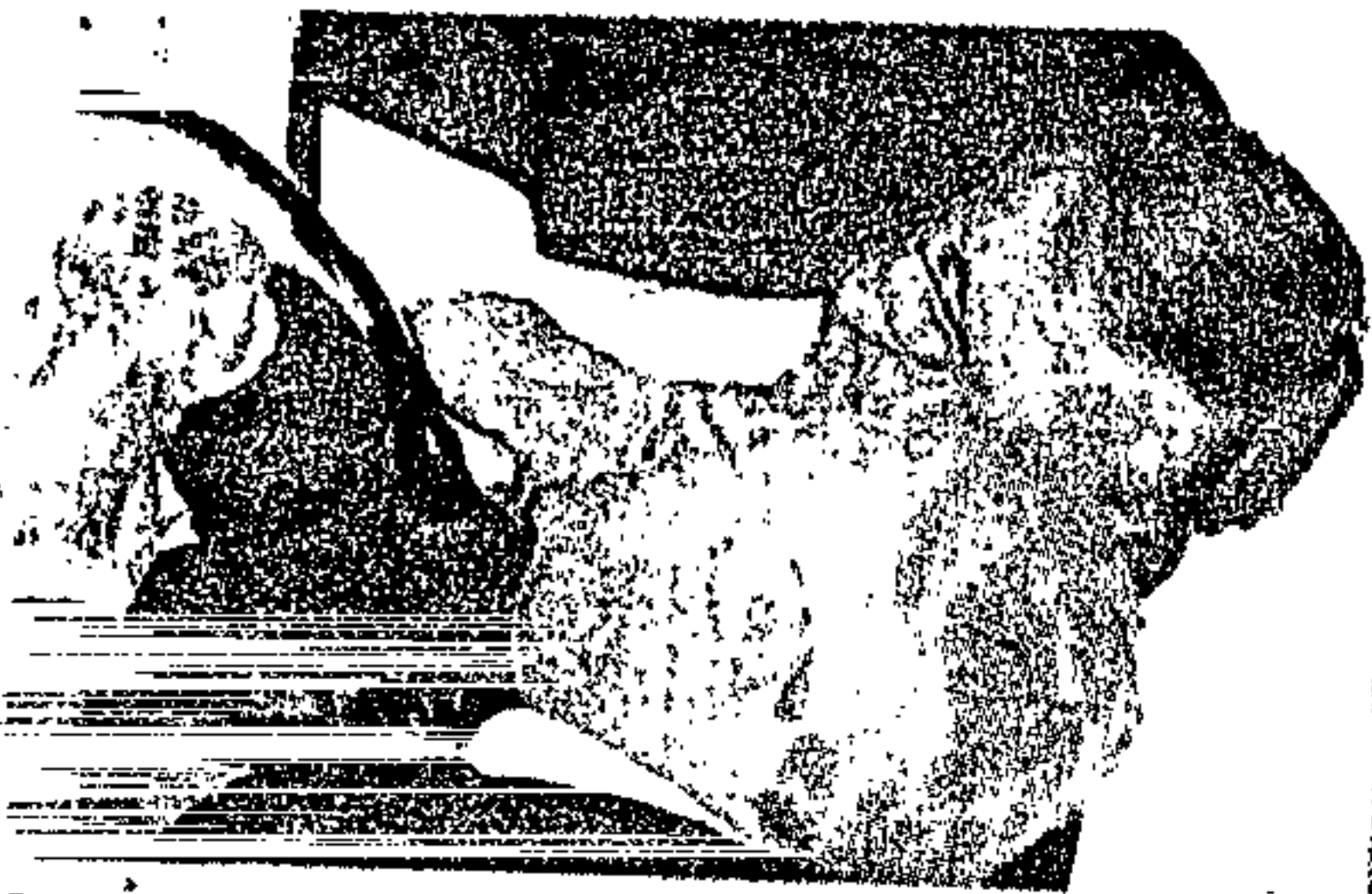
Important differences on procedural matters that remain unsolved have been passed on to a sub-committee for further discussion.

The two-day meeting held near Kempton Park was characterised by bickering, grandstanding and attempts by members of the Concerned South Africans Group (Cosag) — which consists of Inkatha, the Africaner Volksunie, the Conservative Party, Bophuthatswana and Ciskei governments — to win concessions under threat of scuppering the talks. Yet sufficient agreement emerged from this often stalled meeting for all parties from the Pan Africanist Congress on the left and the CP on the right to finally commit themselves to urgent talks. Clearly, progress towards the country's first non-racial elections has been hastened. The gains of the conference were threefold:

- All parties committed themselves to resume as a matter of urgency multi-party negotiations that will lead to drawing up a new constitution.
- There were no walkouts.
- And of most significance, for the first time parties such as the CP and PAC were drawn into the negotiations process.

Emergence

Government chief negotiator Roelf Meyer said the main objective



11th-hour guarantee saves SA Grand Prix from collapse

By JEREMY WOODS

A LAST-MINUTE agreement by First National Bank to underwrite financial guarantees in excess of R20-million has saved the 1993 South African Grand Prix from "total collapse".

Cars and drivers for the event began arriving yesterday, but as late as last Tuesday, the Grand Prix — set to be televised around the world and given international coverage by 650 foreign journalists — was balanced on a knife-edge.

The government had refused to pay a R17.2-million cash



SPEAKING WITH THE ENEMY: Hernus Kriel and Joe Slovo at Kempton Park

drawn into the negotiations process.

Emergence

Government chief negotiator Roelf Meyer said the main objective of the conference was to set a date for multi-party negotiations. "Reality and reason have succeeded in bringing us together."

ANC secretary-general Cyril Ramaphosa said: "We emerge from this with a deep sense of satisfaction that a torch of hope has been lit for our country. We are confident that the way has been opened

for a negotiated settlement of the South African conflict."

Inkatha central committee member Walter Felgate expressed the IFP's "total delight that this conference almost went to the next phase of negotiations. We can't afford to waste one week. An early start to negotiations for us is a great blessing."

It had been hoped that the meeting would decide on matters such as who should chair and participate in a revamped Codesa and, more important, what should become of agreements reached at Codesa. On these issues, however, no progress was made and the sub-committee was asked to resolve them.

Although the haggling centred on minor procedural matters, there are two broadly differing views of the road ahead.

The government and the ANC want Codesa agreements ratified, leading to the holding of early elections. Both are confident they will do well in elections and will serve in a government of national unity as well as being powerful actors in the constituent assembly that will draw up a new constitution at the same time.

Most of the Cosag grouping, on the other hand, will be eliminated by elections. Inkatha, the most powerful member of the grouping, foresees its Natal power-base being severely eroded unless it manages to secure in advance of elections agreement on powerful regional government.

Objections

While the government and the ANC went out of their way at the meeting to prevent any walkouts by Cosag members, particularly the CP, they are determined to adhere to a timetable that will see the first democratic elections by April next year.

Decisions at future meetings will be made on the basis of sufficient consensus and the government, the ANC and its allies believe the clout they carry is sufficient to move the process along by themselves if forced to.

They will do their utmost to keep Inkatha on board — but negotiators from both the government and the ANC said that if a party such as the CP attempted to hold up

□ To Page 2

Mobutu seeks home in Cape

By DIANA STREAK

EMBATTLED Zairean president Mobutu Sese Seko spent several days in Cape Town recently looking for a luxury property to add to the string of mansions he owns across the world.

Mobutu left his strife-torn country last month when fighting broke out over food shortages, worthless new currency and the president's resistance to multi-party reforms.

He is said to have a personal fortune of R30-billion, much of which he is alleged to have taken from Zaire's state coffers.

Luxury

A spokesman for Seeff Residential Properties — which, sources said, showed several luxury homes to Mobutu — declined to comment on his search for a Cape home.

However, the Sunday Times has established that Mobutu was shown several luxury properties in Hout Bay and Llandudno.

He expressed a "keen interest" in one house with a R14-million price tag.

Sources confirmed that a group of Zaireans, including Mobutu, spent several days in Cape Town, but left without buying any property. "No deal has been signed yet, and negotiations are continuing," the Sunday Times was told.



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Deadline set

□ From Page 1

the process or delay elections, it would be left by the wayside. *S Times*

The CP, while agreeing that talks should be held before April 5, was the only party present to object to a resolution that mapped out the way forward to the talks. *7/3/93*

Early yesterday morning the two-day planning conference appeared doomed. Cosag members raised objections at almost every point.

But in an attempt to

come out of the talks with a message of hope for a violence-stricken country, the ANC and the government decided to fudge differences so the meeting produced a resolution to which all parties committed themselves. *(304)*

After a three-hour delay it was decided that all parties would:

- Commit themselves to the resumption of multi-party negotiations within the next month to move towards drafting and adopting a new constitution;

- The meeting would be convened before April 5 this year;

- The first meeting would determine a new name to replace Codesa. It would also decide mechanisms and procedures including the method of chairing the meeting.

Man

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MATTHE

Star 8/8/93
(204A)

Everyone went away smiling, but the crunch must come

AFTER nearly a year, constitutional negotiations have at last begun moving out of the ways of bilateralis and back towards the mainline.

The planning conference held 1 Friday and Saturday at the World Trade Centre in Kemp-

ton Park agreed that formal institutional negotiations could resume at a multilateral forum to be held by April 5.

And this time, some interesting new passengers were on

board. On the far Left, despite ill being formally dedicated to overthrowing the State by force, was the Pan Africanist Congress. And on the far Right

as the Afrikaner Volksunie, dedicated to a separate Afri-

ner homeland. On Saturday, both committed themselves to being at the forum, along with 23 other par-

ties, governments and organiza-

And even further to the Right was the Conservative Party. Ambivalent as ever, it had one leg on board and hopped along the platform on the other.

It has reserved judgment on whether it will be at the forum, but has nevertheless remained on the facilitating committee that is to arrange it — and therefore is now part of the process.

The fascinating thing about the conference was how it insistently sucked these peripheral parties into the vortex of negotiations.

Government and other negotiators feared that the CP, the Inkatha Freedom Party, the Bophuthatswana and Ciskei governments — all members of the separatist/federalist Concerned South Africans Group (Cosag) — and to a lesser extent the PAC

Broadening the base of negotiations was one of the main achievements of the weekend multiparty planning conference. PETER FABRICIUS and ESTHER WAUGH ask whether the new far Right and far Left are likely to stay aboard.

had come to the planning conference looking for a reason to storm out of it.

The centrist Codesa parties bent over backwards to accommodate them and deny them the opportunity of a walkout without looking petty or obstructive.

From the start of the conference on Friday, the Cosag group was bristling for confrontation over the exclusion of the CP and the Bophuthatswana government from the seven-party chairmen's panel.

No problem. The panel was simply expanded to an unwieldy 26 to represent every organisation at the conference, and four

chairmen, rotating every hour or so, conducted proceedings, sometimes with almost disastrous incompetence.

Then Transkei leader Bantu Holomisa proposed a resolution committing the conference to multiparty negotiations — and an elected constituent assembly.

The latter is a very dirty word in the vocabulary of the IFP, CP and other Cosag parties and this would have been a certain walkout issue.

No problem. Constitutional Development Minister Roelf Meyer proposed that it be chopped out and ANC secre-

tary-general Cyril Ramaphosa supported him, even though the constituent assembly is an article of faith for his party.

The constituent assembly could be discussed at the multilateral forum, he said.

The PAC's quibble that the multilateral forum should be regarded as the "commencement", not the "resumption", of negotiations (because it does not recognise Codesa) was also indulged.

The Government-ANC strategy of thwarting potential walkouts was devised against the backdrop of a conference which was in no mood to toler-

ate any kind of grandstanding.

The big question that remained at the end, though, was that, having swallowed the parties on the extremes, would the negotiation process be able to digest them?

The price of getting them in was to postpone many of the crunch issues — such as the thorny question of ratifying the Codesa agreements — until the multilateral forum.

The planning conference did not even succeed in naming the new negotiation forum, as parties were divided on retaining the name "Codesa".

So much of the planning conferences work was held over that it is rather doubtful whether the multilateral forum will live up to its name and not become merely a second planning meeting.

Certainly the crunch is going to come over deferred issues such as the constituent assembly.

And again the question will arise whether the views of the PAC, CP and IFP are reconcilable with those of the mainstream.

Some Government and ANC negotiators believe the CP and PAC are now bound into the process and cannot opt out without losing face. But getting them to agree on fundamental matters, such as interim government and a constituent assembly, seems unlikely.

For the Government this will mean making the decision that has been haunting it for some time and has so far been deferred — whether to dump the IFP. The choice may be waiting at the multilateral forum. □



Roelf Meyer . . . supported by ANC's Cyril Ramaphosa

CP tests waters of negotiation

Political Staff

304A

JOHANNESBURG. — Unhappy and uneasy — but still part of the negotiation process.

That is the Conservative Party, after this weekend's multi-party planning conference at the World Trade Centre here.

CP delegation leader Mr Tom Langley said the CP's presence at the conference "says quite enough regarding our participation in the negotiation process at this stage."

"We are part of the mainstream of politics — and one of the five

major political players in the negotiation arena.

"Our participation in the Facilitating Committee (FACCOM) indicates we are keeping our options open, while continuing to state our case."

FACCOM, made up of all delegation leaders, has been handed the task of fixing a date and preparing for the first round of multi-lateral negotiations.

The CP stood alone in "reserving its position" on a resolution adopted at the conference, which committed all parties to work

"as speedily as possible" towards drafting a new constitution.

The resolution was described by the CP as a "premature declaration of intent", to which it was not prepared to commit itself at this stage.

African National Congress secretary-general Mr Cyril Ramaphosa said it had been agreed the CP should remain a member of FACCOM, despite the fact it had not accepted the resolution.

He said this was an attempt to give the CP space and room to reconcile their position with that of other parties.

'Torch of hope has been lit'

CT 8/3/93 (304A)

Political Staff

JOHANNESBURG. — South Africa is still on track to hold its first non-racial elections within a year — but the tough talking has yet to begin.

The commitment by 26 parties at the World Trade Centre here over the weekend to an April 5 deadline for the resumption of multi-party negotiations left most delegates in a bullish mood.

Constitutional Development Minister Mr Roelf Meyer said the government was "very happy" about the outcome of the conference and "we are definitely on target" for elections to an interim government of national unity within the next year.

He said the main objective of the conference was to set a date for the resumption of multi-party talks and by that yardstick it had obviously been a success.

ANC secretary-general Mr Cyril Ramaphosa said "a torch of hope has been lit" and "the way has now been opened for the resolution of the conflict in our country".

Inkatha central committee member Mr Walter Felgate said "an early start to negotiations is, for us, a blessing".

He also felt that the planning conference would in effect give rise to the "conference of review" the IFP was demanding.

The only glum faces in the cavern-

ous World Trade centre auditorium were those of the Conservative Party, which reserved its position on the resolution calling for a resumption of talks.

It said in statement later that its participation in the facilitating committee — with one member from each of the 26 organisations — that arose from the conference "indicates that we are keeping our options open while continuing to state our case".

It would not be drawn into any "premature declarations of intent".

After the conference closed at lunchtime on Saturday it emerged that the ANC was moving closer to other parties strongly in favour of regionalism.

But there are other gulfs in thinking which could seriously delay proceedings. Most troublesome of these are likely to be differences on how the constitution should be written.

Mr Felgate repeated at a press conference the IFP's insistence that a "panel of wise men" working in seclusion should be charged with drawing up the constitution.

The ANC and the government believe it should be done by a directly elected constituent assembly, which would also double as an interim government.

Meanwhile bilateral negotiations will continue, with Mr Ramaphosa and Mr Meyer both saying such talks had played a major role in the success of the conference.

Star 8/3/93
FW faces salary queries

President de Klerk is to be asked in Parliament whether he plans to scrap the legal provisions in terms of which his salary is not taxed. The question has been tabled by Labour Party MP for Northern Cape, Desmond Lockey. He asked whether De Klerk would follow the example of Queen Elizabeth, who has stated that she would begin paying taxes from April 1.

(304A)

focus on Negotiations

Sowetan 8/3/93

SOUTH AFRICAN Communist Party national chairman Joe Slovo rather warrants an award for participant of the negotiations planning conference.

His input at the multiparty planning conference held at the World Trade Centre in Kempton Park at the weekend drew applause from non-communists who flanked him at the conference table — Law and Order Minister Kriel and Pan Africanist Congress foreign secretary Gora Ebrahim — and others.

"We politicians have all had our say," said Slovo on Friday. "It is now time for the people to have their say."

"For the past three years we politicians have spoken to each other, at each other and past each other. We have been in bilaterals and multilaterals.

"Out there beyond the walls of the World Trade Centre, there is a growing impatience with our *speechifying*. And the most direct way for the people to have their say is, of course, through an election. Let the people elect their representatives to draw up a constitution that they will be able to call their own."

Slovo drew gasps and even envy from the media when he said: "I am absolutely convinced that across an extremely wide ideological spectrum, from free marketeers to communists, believers and non-believers, there is an emerging national consensus — in fact national impatience. The great majority of South Africans, black and white, want a new, nonracial constitution, they want a multiparty democracy, they want a justifiable Bill of Rights, and, above all, they want progress."

And he concluded: "In moving towards a new constitutional dispensation, the SACP is not talking about a 'communist' constitution or an 'ANC' constitution. We want a South African constitution. We want a united South Africa that respects the diversity of cultures, of languages and, indeed, our political beliefs."

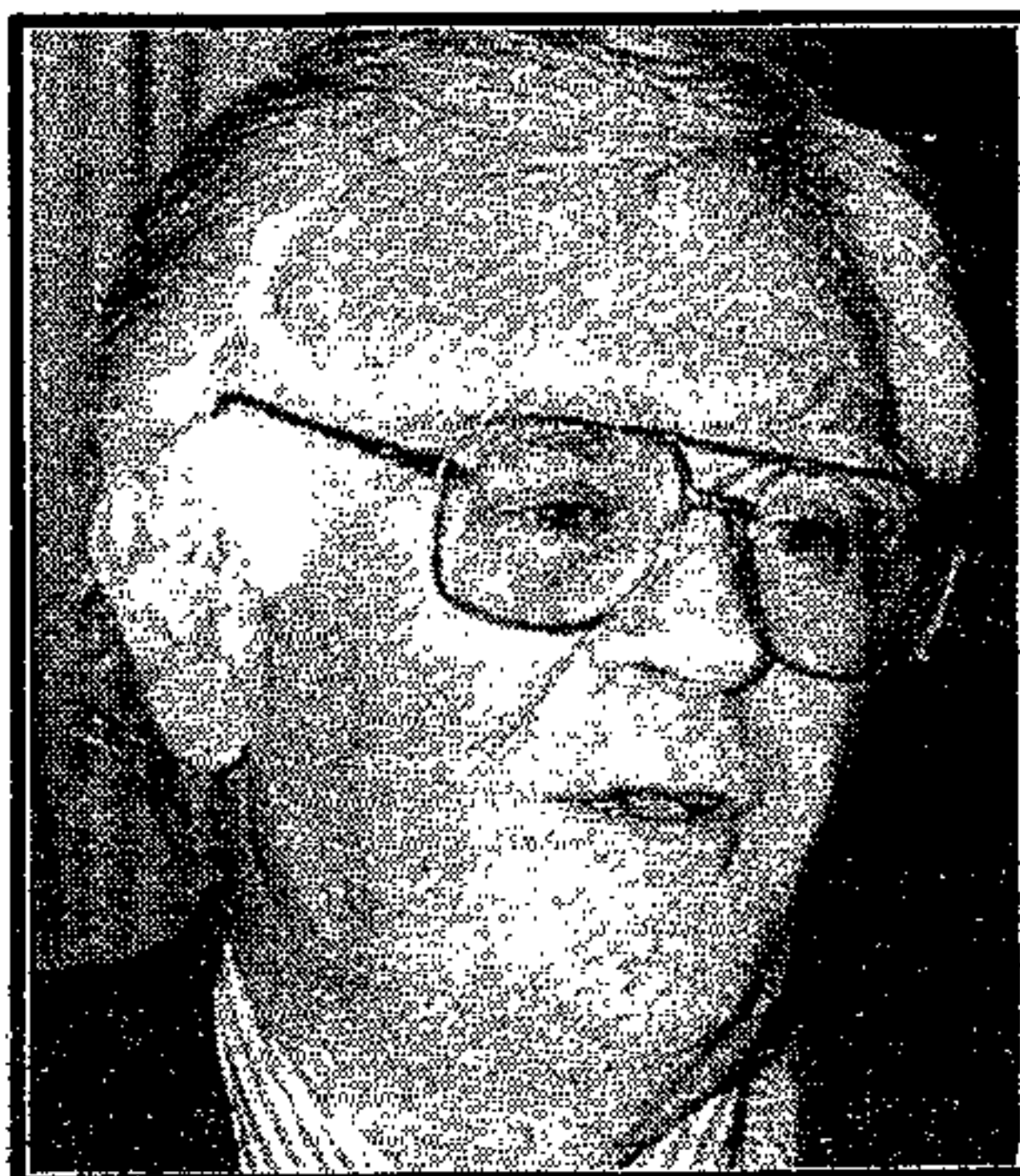
Indeed hope for a peaceful settlement sprouted at the multiparty planning conference held at the World Trade Centre where 26 parties and organisations, major and insignificant, agreed to negotiate rather than confront.

Even the Conservative Party, which refused to adopt the resolution on starting proper negotiations by April 5, said it would remain in the process and "wait and see".

The CP has a member, Mr Tom Langley, on the seven-man facilitating committee which includes what it terms its arch-foes — the ANC, PAC and SACP.

The two-day multiparty planning conference succeeded in getting a consensus decision involving and committing more political parties to the goal of a negotiated democratic order for South Africa than ever before.

The multiparty planning conference to nurture a successor to Codesa kicked off last Friday as an unqualified success. And the man that stole the show was none other than Joe Slovo, writes Political Reporter **Themba Molefe**: 304A ~~ETP~~



SACP luminary Joe Slovo.



Government chief negotiator Roelf Meyer.

“We politicians have had our say. It is now time for the people to have theirs through an election — Joe Slovo”

For the Inkatha Freedom Party the conference was a major victory.

Said national chairman Dr Frank Mdlalose: "We have succeeded in having the negotiations process, and indeed the dead Convention for a Democratic South Africa, reviewed. As with a dead body, a post-mortem has to be conducted rather than bring it back to life."

The Azanian People's Organisation now remains outside structured multi-party talks, which the Government believes may deliver the first open elections within little more than a year.

It was poised to state its position yesterday after it failed to attend the weekend's conference and after reportedly agreeing to attend.

The conference, which got off to a slow start with fears that it may be abortive, got round to it and ended on a high note.

Cyril Ramaphosa, the ANC's secretary-general, said the conference was "an unqualified success". And the Government's chief negotiator, Constitutional Development Minister Roelf Meyer, said: "I believe the conference had one objective — to get a date for the resumption of multiparty negotiations. We've succeeded and now we have a structure and agenda."

Also, the Pan Africanist Congress was "delighted" after succeeding to have the new process called the commencement of negotiations rather than a resumption. It also managed to have consensus that the name Codesa be changed when talks begin next month.

So far, so good, one could say, as South Africans await answers and would once more pin their hopes on the politicians to pull their country from the edge of an abyss.

(304A)
8/3/93

Back to drawing board for multi-party negotiations

Political Staff

SOUTH Africa's multi-party negotiations will re-start on Thursday, April 1, and with a name to replace Codesa.

Delegates will meet at the World Trade Centre in Kempton Park for two days. This was one of the first decisions taken by the 26-person facilitating committee that met at the close of the planning conference on Saturday afternoon.

Politically, the country goes back to December 1991 when the first round of Codesa was held.

Now the ranks of the negotiators have been bolstered by traditional leaders, the Pan Africanist Congress and right-wing white groups. None of the decisions reached at Codesa one and two will be binding on the parties, and will be seen as "constructive foundations".

One person from each of the 26 participants sits on the facilitating committee.

They elected a 10-person sub-committee that will meet this week. Its members are Mr Roelf Meyer, Minister of Constitutional Development; Mr Cyril Ramaphosa, general secretary of the African National Congress; Mr Benny Alexander, general secretary of the Pan Africanist Congress; Dr Frank Mdlalose of the KwaZulu Government; Mr Rowan Cronje of the Bophuthatswana Government; Mr Zam Titus of the Transkei Government; Mr Joe Matthews of the Inkatha Freedom Party; Mr Joe Slovo of the South African Communist Party; Mr Colin Eglon of the Democratic Party and Mr Pravin Gordhan of the Natal Indian Congress.

The sub-committee is to put together a draft agenda for a meeting of the facilitating committee on March 18, and for the multi-party negotiations.

It was agreed at the planning conference that each organisation would send two delegates and two advisers.

The meetings on April 1 and 2 will start with determining mechanisms, procedures and the work of chairmen.

NEWS FEATURE *Democratic Party meetings broken up by activists* ●

'Threat to fair poll'

Sowetan 8/3/93

304A

■ **NONRACIAL ELECTIONS** *Row over white liberals campaigning in the townships elicits charge of authoritarianism from DP parliamentarian:*

By Michael Sanders

PROSPECTS for a fair nonracial election in South Africa have taken a severe knock from a row between black community leaders and white liberals who want to campaign in the townships.

The white Democratic Party (DP) saw two of its meetings in Cape Town black townships broken up by black activists at the turn of the year.

Last week Dan Mofokeng, head of the powerful civic associations of black residents in the townships around Johannesburg, warned that "the people will use every tactic to prevent political activity by the (white) 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."

DP parliamentarian Tony Leon, at the forefront of his party's bid to recruit blacks, responded with charges of authoritarianism, totalitarianism, even fascism.

"The jury is out" on whether South Africa could hold free and fair elections, he said.

"There are very few political organisations that believe in democracy as a virtue rather than a means to an end."

Mofokeng backtracked after the African National Congress (ANC), which his organisation supports, repudiated his apparent disavowal of free political activity, a principle it must support in pursuit of its own demand for freedom to operate in black homelands run by hostile leaders.

But Mofokeng's attempts at reassurance, renouncing violence, hardly assuaged fears.

The DP and even the ruling National Party could campaign in the townships, he said, adding: "The only people who attend those meetings



Tony Leon ... "the jury is out"

There are very few political organisations that believe in democracy as a virtue rather than a means to an end

will be those who are serving on military establishments."

Few blacks would risk that kind of branding. Leon said: "The whole modus operandi of the civics at the height of the time of unrest was enforced community solidarity."

"There were certain methods for doing it. Collaborators were dealt with brutally and sometimes fatally," he said.

Mofokeng countered that the DP still enjoyed a parliamentary stake in a land where only the security forces can move around townships after dark with impunity.

"Whoever stands up and says 'free political activity' must clean up his own backyard."

He was incensed by a DP fly sheet aimed at blacks alleging that the ANC and NP "are fighting for power for themselves, not for the rights and needs of ordinary people."

"They do not care if you lose your job, your home or your life," it charged.

Archie Gumede, a pacifist and veteran ANC activist on the frontline of political conflict in Natal, said the DP circular displayed "a totally negative attitude."

"It's an outright attack on everybody. That's one thing that is going to create problems for them."

His view was echoed by Alec Boraine, head of the troubleshooting Institute for a Democratic Alternative for South Africa (Idasa).

"I would protect the right of the NP and DP to go anywhere they like to put their case freely without let or hindrance," Boraine said.

"But I would have thought that whites who have been, all of us, part of the problem for a very long time should be sensitive to the climate of the people living on the ground."

If the DP wanted a hearing in the townships, it should go in at the invitation of black community leaders, or on a joint platform with black parties in return for a similar deal in white areas, he suggested.

He said Mofokeng's attitude had more support than liberals realised and summarised a typical black position: "We have been living in a totally intolerant situation in this country for decades and we have been at the receiving end."

"Now suddenly whites who have had very little interest in our concerns, in our welfare, want our votes and want to come marching uninvited into our townships."

"We are not prepared to accept them. This is a time to take the fight in terms of voting. We can't deal tolerantly with people who have excluded us for so long." — Sapa-AFP.

Hardliners on way out

Old guard is losing control

Sowetan 8/3/93 (304A)
 ■ Improvement in relations between Pretoria and Harare: ~~304A~~

By Trevor Grundy
 Sowetan Africa News Service

HARARE — A new generation of Southern African businessmen and politicians are bringing about an improvement in relations between South Africa and Zimbabwe that the old guard hardliners had been unable or unwilling to achieve.

The establishment of full diplomatic relations will still have to await the installation of an interim government in South Africa, which is expected next year.

But in the meantime important advances are being made under the pressure of hard economic reality.

According to one Zimbabwe ruling party official, who asked not to be named, "the days of the hardliners in both countries are coming to an end. Let's face it, a lot of people in the government here would add up to the square root of nothing unless they were able to bang on night and day about South Africa."

Last week Derek Keys, South Africa's Minister of Finance and Trade and Industry, met Zimbabwe's Minister of Industry and Commerce, Christopher Ushewokunze, in Cape Town.

The Zimbabwean Minister also met the new South African Minister of Tourism, Professor Bhada Ranchod, and Foreign Minister Pik Botha.

Ushewokunze's trip to South Africa — the first by a black Zimbabwean Cabinet Minister and the first which enjoyed the support of President Mugabe — was prompted largely by pressure from the domestic textile industry.

"The industry could collapse," a Midlands mill owner said during the Cape Town talks.

"For God's sake, when is this government going to wake up and realise that we need one another."

Cabinet members: residences

68. Mr D S PIENNAAR asked the Minister of Public Works:†

- (1) Whether any members of the Cabinet occupy their private residences as official residences; if so, what is the monthly amount at which each of these Ministers leases his residence (a) to and (b) from his Department;
- (2) whether his Department has made any improvements to any of these residences; if not, why not; if so, what was the (a) cost and (b) nature of these improvements, in each case;
- (3) whether his Department will be compensated for these improvements when any of these Ministers retire from the Cabinet; if not, why not; if so, on what basis is this compensation calculated? B189E

The MINISTER OF PUBLIC WORKS:

(1) Yes.

(a) and (b).

No lease agreements exist between occupants and the State. Members of the Cabinet do however receive a monthly allowance in cases where they use private residences as official accommodation; in respect of which they receive the following standard monthly allowance, if the residence complies with prescribed requirements: an after tax provision of approximately R3 600 to enable the Minister to acquire a suitable residence; as well as an after tax allowance of approximately R3 170 to compensate the Minister for all services and running costs—such as gardening services, domestic cleaner, maintenance and insurance of fixed property, furnishings, electrical equipment, kitchenware and crockery, which are normally provided by the State in the case of State-owned residences.

Not all Ministers receive the maximum allowance. The allowance can be scaled down as a result of a compulsory evaluation process.

- (2) The Department of Public Works as such do not make improvements to any of the residences. On 29 May 1991 the

HOUSE OF ASSEMBLY

(304)

Cabinet approved that the State accept responsibility for the costs incurred with regard to the installation of security measures to private residences which are used by political office-bearers as official residences. The level of the security measures are determined by the Security Advisory Unit of the South African Police and the work is undertaken by private contractors after quotations have been obtained by the relevant office-bearer. The financial responsibility of the State is limited to the amount of the lowest quote and which complies to the specifications. There are however cases where Ministers, on their responsibility, have scaled down the security measures as proposed by the SA Police. The Minister can however, at his own cost, effect security measures at a higher level than that recommended.

- (a) The costs of the State's contribution are calculated to an upper limit of 5% of the value of the property of ministerial official residence as determined from time to time. The limit up to 30 November 1992 was R32 500 and at present it is R35 750.

- (b) The nature of the improvements coincide with the security of the relevant dwelling and are determined by the South African Police after evaluating the security of the subject property.

- (3) The State will also, in terms of the aforesaid Cabinet's approval, be responsible for the costs above the aforesaid 5% (mentioned in 2(a) above), if so required by the security evaluation, which will be written off by the State over a period of ten years: Provided that, if the term of office of the political office-bearer should terminate before expiry of the ten-year period, the outstanding amount be reimbursed to the State.

Prisons Act: sentences handed down

84. Mr L FUCHS asked the Minister of Correctional Services:

How many sentences were handed down in the year ended 31 December 1992 in respect

of the provisions of paragraphs (a), (b), (c) and (d), respectively, of section 54 (2) of the Prisons Act, 1959 (Act No 8 of 1959)? B218E

The MINISTER OF CORRECTIONAL SERVICES:

The information with regard to the period 1 January 1992 to 31 December 1992 is as follows:

- (a) In 3 693 cases prisoners were reprimanded.
- (b) Section 54 (2) (b) was repealed during 1978.
- (c) In 29 063 cases prisoners were sentenced to the deprivation of one or more meals on any one day. This figure represents 7,2% of the total number of prisoners admitted to South African prisons from police custody and courts during the calendar year 1992.
- (d) In 41 cases corporal punishment not exceeding six strokes was imposed in respect of convicted male prisoners.

During the present Parliamentary session legislation will be introduced in which comprehensive amendments of the present disciplinary system is proposed. A White Paper in which this matter is elucidated will also shortly be laid upon the Table.

Assaults by prisoners/prison warders

106. Mr L FUCHS asked the Minister of Correctional Services:

- (1) (a) How many complaints relating to assault were made by prisoners against prison warders in 1992 and (b) how many prison warders were (i) charged with and (ii) convicted of assault on a prisoner in that year;

- (2) (a) how many prison warders faced disciplinary hearings arising out of an assault on a prisoner, (b) how many prison warders were dismissed for assaulting prisoners, and (c) what other forms of disciplinary action were taken against such prison warders, in 1992? B220E

The MINISTER OF CORRECTIONAL SERVICES:

- (1) (a) A total of 1 482 complaints of al-

leged assault were received and registered.

The Department of Correctional Services regards every complaint of alleged assault on a prisoner by a member of the Department, no matter how petty, in a very serious light. In terms of the Departmental Orders, every complaint of alleged assault is registered in the appropriate register and properly investigated by the Commander.

Likewise, assaults on personnel by prisoners are not tolerated either and offenders are dealt with severely.

- (b) (i) and (ii)
59 Members were charged in public courts due to complaints of assault on prisoners. Of these, 53 members were found not guilty whilst 6 members were found guilty.

- (2) (a)
99 Members stood trial in terms of Correctional Services Regulation 71 (1) (th) read together with Section 53 of the Correctional Services Act, 1959 (Act 8 of 1959) on counts of assault on prisoners. Of these, 71 members were found not guilty whilst 28 members were found guilty and were sentenced in terms of Section 53 (2) of the Correctional Services Act.

In respect of 1 095 complaints, no substance could be found after thorough investigation to lay charges against any member of the Department. Furthermore, the Attorney-General refused to prosecute in 86 cases. On 31 December 1992, the remaining cases were still being dealt with.

- (b) Inquiries in terms of the stipulations of Correctional Services Regulation 77 (1) to determine the suitability of members to remain in service, *inter alia* led to the dismissal of one member against whom an offence of assault on a prisoner was recorded.

- (c) Besides sentences imposed in terms of Section 53 of the Correctional

HOUSE OF ASSEMBLY

NEWS Lawyers' seminar on corruption • Striking teachers meet to chart way forward

Voting rights for all answer

By Josias Charle

Sowetan
8/3/93

ONLY WAY Get rid

THE ONLY WAY to curb corruption and fraud in South Africa was to enfranchise all citizens of the country, Mr Moss Mavundla, a Pretoria-based attorney said at the weekend.

Speaking at a seminar organised by the Law Society of the Transvaal to debate corruption and fraud in the public and private sector, Mavundla said corruption and fraud were caused by political and economic factors.

"The Government has for the past 44 years managed to run the country down and the private sector is now reeling from an economic depression. Socio-economic factors also contribute to the corruption," Mavundla said.

Voters must be in a position to remove the government of the day in the event of a scandal if the perpetrators insisted on remaining in office.

Mavundla, who is also a senior official of the Pan Africanist Congress, said corruption on the part of the Government had been the concern of the silent majority for years.

He cited a few cases of Government

of Government 30/4

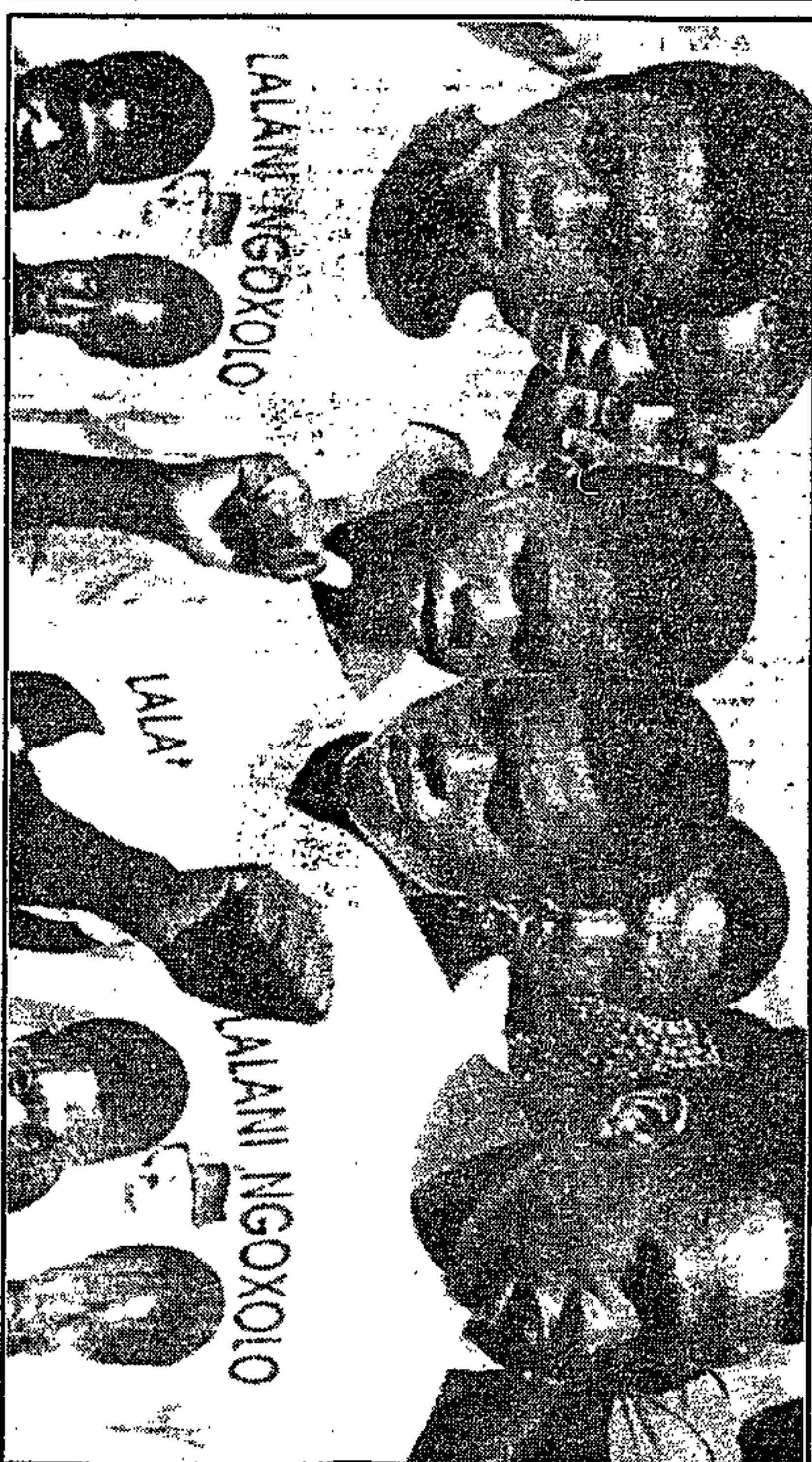
corruption to drive his point home. These included the "Info scandal" the "Inkathagale" affair and the recent revelations that Cabinet Ministers were being paid vast sums of money to stay in their own homes.

"Those who are enfranchised paid lip service to the corruption on the part of a regime that wasted the taxpayers' money and paid billions of rands to multi-state presidents, ministers and departments."

Speaking at the same seminar, a Pretoria Supreme Court judge, Mr Justice Pickard, said he supported the view of establishing a permanent commission of inquiry to probe corruption in the public and private sector.

He said such a commission should have powers of access to evidence and information quickly and effectively in order to be able to get to the core of the problem.

"There is no point in commissions sitting for many years without submitting reports. The issue of speedy investigation is important to restore the faith of the public in the system," Pickard said.



REST IN PEACE ... Mourners at the funeral of two slain African National Congress cadres, Mr Sizwe Mkhwanazi and Mr Mphahle Mthombeni. They were allegedly killed by police at Sebokeng, Vereeniging, last Friday. Police said the men died in a shootout while police were investigating the murder of a policeman. Families of the two men and the ANC have disputed the police version.

Teachers meet today to decide on strike

By Lulama Luti

Sowetan 8/3/93
Schools staff want their demands met first:

WHETHER Soweto teachers will go back to school is to be decided during a meeting at the Ipelegeng Commu-

week.

place a moratorium on all pending retrenchments. According to Sadu Soweto president Mr Malakanye Malakanye they had information that 518 teachers

Defusing the politics of ethnicity

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BROTHERS BORN OF WARRIOR BLOOD — Politics and Ethnicity in South Africa, by Gerhard Maré (Ravan, R24,20)

THE trouble with the SA debate on ethnicity, argues Gerhard Maré, is that the Marxists have traditionally viewed the phenomenon as a largely artificial one devised by the planners and beneficiaries of apartheid, while right-wing nationalists have viewed it as the predominant basis of socio-political relationships.

Maré believes both are wrong. And, as a left-wing Natal University sociologist brought up in a conservative, Natal, ethnic Afrikaner family, he has an appropriate combination of credentials to address the question — especially since the book focuses most closely on Inkatha.

The 121-page work is timely too, given that this is probably the most burning issue currently facing SA as it claws its way towards democracy.

The first section is a scholarly, often pedantic attempt to set out the theoretical basis of later analysis. This is not surprising, given the author's academic background, but rather hard going for the layperson.

The really interesting part begins thereafter as he paints a picture of Mangosuthu Buthelezi carefully and skilfully building his political base using (and sometimes abusing) symbols of Zulu history.

It is not a work which will please Buthelezi, who personally scolded



□ BUTHELEZI

Maré for a book on a related subject five years ago.

Buthelezi, Maré argues, has built his political kingdom by embarking on a process of "ethnic political mobilisation", portraying all who are against him as enemies of the entire Zulu nation. Maré quotes from an August 1990 speech where Buthelezi said: "I hope that the Zulu people of whatever their political affiliations will realise that the ANC campaign of vilification is no longer just

against me but also against the Zulu people as Zulu people."

Maré draws generously on the texts of Buthelezi speeches over the years — speeches that much of the media tends to ignore simply because of their frequency and length — to illustrate his arguments. He does the same with the speeches and statements of King Goodwill Zwelithini in outlining the history of the relationship between the king and Buthelezi.

Twenty years ago the NP and its security organs saw King Goodwill as a more pliant Zulu political leader who might do what Buthelezi refused to do — accept independence for KwaZulu. But Buthelezi outmanoeuvred them in their attempts to supplant him with King Goodwill. And he proceeded to mould the king into a titular head of the Zulu nation, purportedly above politics but in reality loyal to Buthelezi and conferring a legitimacy on his claims to be the central political leader of the Zulu nation.

In a remarkably nuanced observation, Maré notes: "It is not only that Buthelezi self-consciously manipulates history. He actually lives what he claims to be. The myth and the man, and the movement he represents and his own identity are one. Deny the one (or the way in which it has been constructed) and you deny the other."

Ethnicity, in itself, is not a "prob-

lem", Maré argues, and the solution is not to ignore it, attempt to eliminate it or assume it will disappear when apartheid does. Indeed, society can be enriched by variety. The problem, as we can see both in SA and in the former eastern bloc, is when it is used as a tool for political mobilisation.

The solution requires that ethnicity "as a social identity... be separated from political mobilisation, manipulation and fanning of ethnic sentiments". This can be achieved by strengthening "the range of alternative group identities... with the self-conscious purpose of removing ethnicity as the only 'obvious' presence at this level of social representation". He is referring here to trade union, church, women's, civic organisations and so on — organs of civil society, to use the latest jargon.

But these organisations cannot succeed in their task of demobilising ethnic politics if they themselves are identified with any particular political grouping. And here he only briefly alludes to the huge practical obstacle to his prescription: most of these organisations in SA are — whatever their official line — allied to one or other political movement, predominantly the ANC.

And that is why the threat of ethnic political mobilisation remains the biggest obstacle to a peaceful transition to democracy.

ALAN FINE

Star 8/3/93

You're on your own, (304A) Pik tells mercenaries

By Brendan Templeton

The South African Government has made it clear to former members of its Special Forces who are now guns for hire in Angola that they are on their own.

Foreign Minister Pik Botha said in a press statement yesterday that it would be "practically impossible" for his department to help the mercenaries if they ran into trouble in Angola.

He also warned that a hot reception awaited them when or if they made it back.

By offering their services as mercenaries, they were contravening the Defence Act and would face prosecution, Botha said.

His statement followed on the heels of revelations by weekend newspapers that between 80 and 100 ex-South African Defence Force men had flown to Angola.

It was unclear who they were going to fight for.

Some reports say the men will be guarding installations for an oil company in northern Angola.

But others claim the oil company is merely a front for the Angolan government, which wished to use their expertise to



Pik Botha . . . hot reception awaits soldiers of fortune.

clear strategic oilfields of Unita forces in north-west Angola.

A source last week told The Star that 84 South Africans had signed up for the trip to Angola.

The source claimed that 72 of the South Africans were former 32 Battalion members.

The rest came from the Civil Co-operation Bureau and Special Forces.

The recruitment was allegedly being organised by former-CCB member Lafras Luitingh, he added.

Luitingh could not be contacted for comment. It is believed he is in Angola at the moment.

THERE are two extremes in the black community: the radical black nationalist comrade and the "self-hating nigger" type who wants to be white. Andile Mzaidume tries to steer a middle course.

It is no easy task. As the Soweto chairman of the Democratic Party he has to run the gauntlet of militants who feel the DP has no right to operate in a black township. The 50 Soweto residents who attended a branch meeting at the Funda Centre in the township at the weekend, for example, avoided wearing DP T-shirts.

But Mzaidume insists the DP is not a white elitist party. "You might have Zach de Beér and Tony Leon in the leadership, but there are ordinary people in the party as well," said the 41-year-old computer programmer this week.

He attributes his "open mind" on political questions to the years he spent at the liberal, multiracial Swaziland private school, Waterford-Kamhlaba, where he wrote O-levels in 1970. He sends his own children, Mbeko and Nolutando, to the Holy Family Convent in the posh Johannesburg suburb of Parktown, lamenting the fact that they cannot get decent schooling in the township.

Mzaidume came from a middle-class background — his father was the principal of Orlando High School and he was raised in what was then considered an elite Soweto suburb, Dube. He was accepted at Leeds University in the United Kingdom, but never went because his father wanted him to study in this country. But because he did not study Afrikaans at Waterford, he could not get into a local university. "In those days you needed a black language and Afrikaans."

Never a radical, he has nevertheless suffered all the petty humiliations to which black South Africans are heir. His refusal to learn Afrikaans was in part motivated by an experience in Brakpan where Afrikaners forced him to walk around them on the pavement.

And when he joined IBM in 1974 as "what they called customer engineer, but that really means a technician" he confronted polite corporate racism. "One came across the attitude that whites have towards the black man: they

Running the gauntlet of intolerance



Andile Mzaidume believes in democracy Photo: GUY ADAMS

Why would a black man join the Democratic Party?
BAFANA KHUMALO speaks to Andile Mzaidume, chairman of the DP's Soweto branch

believe you are automatically inferior."

Training for blacks took place over a period of two years, while that of whites was shorter. "There were instances where you would train a white person and he would end up being your senior," he said.

It was at this point that Mzaidume believes he became an activist. After trying unsuccessfully to tackle his problems by going to his senior, he wrote a letter to the IBM head office in Paris. A consultant was sent out to investigate, and confirmed Mzaidume's criticisms — causing friction between him and white employees. In 1986 he left IBM to go solo as a computer programmer, doing maintenance work and sales.

Why did Mzaidume join the DP? "Basically I believe in democracy and I looked around. Democracy as expressed by the DP falls within the range of things I believe in.

"The African National Congress has been too violent. In the past people said we blacks had no legal means to express ourselves. My contention is that you cannot make up for oppression by killing somebody."

Mzaidume does not believe mass mobilisation is necessary to achieve change. "I don't think that marching in the streets is going to achieve anything for us," he says. "Emancipation for black people will be through economic empowerment."

"What we should be striving for is black people sitting in boardrooms influencing those decisions that affect us at the end of the day."

He cites with approval agreements between trade unions and employers to give shares to workers instead of increases. "That was a step in the right direction."

Mzaidume is aware the DP "is perceived as a rich man's party". But he sees it as his duty to ensure that it represents "the interests of the man in the street". Conceding that the ANC will win an election, he insists "the DP will make a showing. How good it will be depends on how we address the perception that we are elitist."

"It's all very well having these fascinating policy documents, but for most blacks, economics is not about reducing government spending."

"It's about having a job and being able to send your child to school."

The DP had so far failed to translate its policies into accessible terms because "it is slow to react, which I think is a problem with most white institutions".

A victim of intolerance — he says his family house was petrol-bombed in 1977 because his father had incurred the displeasure of his students — Mzaidume is highly critical of the lack of openness in the townships.

"The people who give us problems when we walk in the streets do so in the name of the ANC and the Pan Africanist Congress. The top structures of these organisations preach tolerance, but it never filters down to the grass roots."

"This is an area where extensive education will have to take place. People will have to be taught that if a guy belongs to another party, it's no reason to chop his head off."

Star 8/13/93

Urgent preparations (304A) for multilateral talks

By Esther Waugh
and Peter Fabricius

After Saturday's agreement among political groups to resume multiparty negotiations by April 5, delegates are urgently making practical arrangements to clear the way for the new talks.

A 26-member facilitating committee — whose members served as the rotating chairmen at the weekend planning conference at the World Trade Centre in Kempton Park — will meet at the same venue tomorrow

to begin preparing for a multilateral negotiating forum.

And the ANC and Government said they would hold bilateral discussions with a variety of groups to find common ground.

This means South Africa is back at the negotiating table and a significant step closer to a new constitution and representative government.

The process is also on target in terms of the Government and ANC timetables for the transition calling for the resumption of negotiations in March or April.

However, the planning conference succeeded only by postponing some vital issues which will certainly erupt at the multilateral forum.

The negotiating forum — which will in essence be an enlarged facilitating committee — will meet before April 5.

Constitutional Development Minister Roelf Meyer said the last series of bilateral talks had contributed to the success of the planning

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Star 8/13/93

Urgent preparations for multilateral talks

● From Page 1

conference.

The ANC and Government are due to meet within the next 10 days.

ANC secretary-general Cyril Ramaphosa said bilateral discussions had become an integral part of negotiations.

The ANC — in addition to meetings with the IFP to prepare for a summit between ANC president Nelson Mandela and IFP leader Mangosuthu Buthe — would soon hold discussions with the IFP on constitutional issues.

Ramaphosa was "absolutely certain" common ground between the two could be found.

In another development, the PAC took part in the "Codesa patriotic front" caucus meeting on Saturday and has been invited to a meeting of the patriotic front due to take place before the end of the month.

All the main parties hailed Saturday's agreement as a triumph that would send a message of hope to South Africa, but it is clear the next meeting will be tough.

The multiparty forum to be held by April 5 will not be on the scale of Codesa 1 or 2.

IFP negotiators said the conference would essentially be the Conference of Review it had been insisting on all along. (304A)

The planning conference as a whole resolved that the agreement could be "a constructive foundation" on which the process could be resumed. It also agreed to consider the objections of parties like the IFP to some Codesa agreements. (482)

The Codesa agreements include vital issues such as an elected constitution-making body and a transitional executive council to level the political playing field in the run-up to democratic elections.

CP delegation leader Tom Langley will attend meetings of the facilitating committee, but his party will decide on its continued participation only after the facilitating committee has concluded its preparations.

● Everyone went away smiling — Page 9

Major parties satisfied with planning conference results

GOVERNMENT, the ANC and Inkatha have expressed satisfaction with the weekend's multiparty planning conference at the World Trade Centre near Johannesburg.

The CP said the conference had failed to recognise the issue of self-determination, and warned that the entire process would fail if self-determination was not addressed.

Government said the conference had achieved its main objective of setting a timescale for the resumption of genuine negotiations.

Senior government negotiator and Constitutional Development Minister Roelf Meyer dismissed claims that the conference had not debated the real issues on the agenda.

"We had only one main objective, as far as this planning conference was concerned," Meyer said.

"Whatever other parties had at the back of their minds... there was only one thing that was the main objective, and that was to get a date for the resumption of multiparty negotiations," he said.

The ANC called the conference an "unqualified success".

ANC secretary-general Cyril Ramaphosa said his organisation viewed the conference with a sense of

deep satisfaction, adding a torch of hope had been lit.

The announcement that the new forum would be convened not later than April 5 was an indication of the urgency with which participants viewed the crisis in the country, he said.

"This sense of urgency raises the hope that all parties and participants do indeed have the political will to place the interest of our country above all else."

Ramaphosa said a summit between ANC president Nelson Mandela and Inkatha president Mangosuthu Buthelezi was still on the cards. It could take place before April 5.

Inkatha said it was delighted with the progress achieved at the end of the conference.

"This conference went straight into the next phase of the constitutional process, and the early start is a great blessing for us," said Inkatha delegate Walter Felgate.

The aim of the forthcoming conference, Inkatha national chairman Frank Mdlalose added, was to salvage something from Codesa.

Although Inkatha believed firmly in strong regionalism, their stance was negotiable, Felgate said. — Sapa.

Govt poised to sign pact with Harare

PRETORIA — SA might sign a new trade pact with Zimbabwe in the near future, government sources said at the weekend.

Zimbabwe's proposed amendments to the 1964 trade agreement with SA are being scrutinised by officials and representatives of organised trade and industry.

Trade and Industry director-general Stef Naude said it was not possible to give an exact date for the signing of a new agreement. But Zimbabwean Industry and Commerce Minister Christopher Ushewokunze would meet Finance Minister Derek Keys in June to review progress on negotiations towards a new pact.

ADRIAN HADLAND

At the ministers' first meeting last month, special attention was paid to trade in textiles and clothing, Zimbabwe's surcharge on imports, trade expansion strategies and tourism. (304A) (202)

Regarding textiles, an undertaking was given to Zimbabwe that an early interim solution would be sought to the problems faced by Zimbabwean exporters.

Last month's meeting between Keys and Ushewokunze was the first meeting between SA and Zimbabwean trade ministers since Zimbabwe's independence in 1980.

8/10/84 8/13/93

Deal on streamlining new forum

Race is on to beat April 5 talks deadline

B/DAY 8/3/93.
304A

IN AN effort to beat the April 5 deadline for the resumption of multiparty negotiations following the weekend planning conference, political parties met again on Saturday night to thrash out unresolved procedural issues.

The facilitating committee, representing members of all parties at the conference, met and immediately established a subcommittee to prepare the groundwork for the new forum.

The ANC and government said yesterday they were satisfied with the way the planning conference at the World Trade Centre in Kempton Park had ended and were especially pleased with being on target for the timetable they had agreed on.

Spokesmen hoped the new forum would reach agreement within two months of convening on the general constitutional principles binding an elected constitution-making body.

The planning conference decided that each party would have only two delegates and two advisers at the forum, which would be a working forum rather than a plenary talkshop. However, it is understood that the new forum would be empowered to set up task groups and working groups involving more people.

It was hoped that the forum would, by end-May, have paved the way for the transitional executive council to be established. A senior government negotiator yesterday said: "We cannot allow the forum to go on for six months. It would put us all way behind our schedule of holding elections by April next year."

But Inkatha and its allies have dis-

BILLY PADDOCK

agreed. They want the forum to negotiate a final constitution. They also rejected the concept of a transitional executive council preparing the country for elections.

Negotiators from the three major parties — government, the ANC and Inkatha — yesterday agreed on three major issues on which the facilitating committee would have to decide. These were: setting the date for the first meeting; deciding on the credentials of new parties wanting to join the process; and resolving problems of how the new forum would be chaired.

But they continued to disagree over the status of Codesa agreements and the immediate way ahead, especially the establishment of the transitional executive council. The parties appeared eager to get the new forum off the ground before the end of the month.

An area of disagreement could be deciding the status of 11 parties which had to attend the conference as observers. A government negotiator said the committee would have to look at their credentials to establish if they were representative.

The Concerned South Africans Group wanted to weight the forum with the maximum number of small groups opposed to the ANC and government, while the two largest parties wanted the forum to be as streamlined as possible, yet representative and inclusive.

Government and the ANC believe there was agreement that the Codesa agreements would form the foundation of the

□ To Page 2

Talks

B/DAY 8/3/93.
304A

new forum but Inkatha and its Concerned South Africans Group associates disagree.

The facilitating committee is to look at the Codesa agreements and make recommendations to the first meeting of the new forum on the issue.

The planning conference dispute over who should chair it raised the likelihood of a similar dispute during the next phase. One way of circumventing the problem is that a management committee, representative of all the parties at the talks, be established and appoint a chairman.

It was also learned yesterday that, despite the CP announcing it was "keeping its options open", it would be represented on the facilitating committee.

□ From Page 1

Despite the shift to more open multiparty talks, negotiators predicted that closed bilateral meetings would still dictate the process. A government negotiator said the new forum would not be able to function efficiently without common ground being reached in bilateral talks.

"Bilaterals are the most important way to facilitate agreement being reached in the bigger forum," he said.

A senior ANC negotiator agreed and said the proof of this was evident from the planning conference where bilateral meetings had paid off.

● See Page 3
● Comment: Page 6

Talks ⁽³⁰⁴⁴⁾ stumbling blocks fall ^{cr 8/3/93}

Political Staff

JOHANNESBURG. — The ANC is poised to adopt a policy on regionalism which could sweep away one of the biggest stumbling blocks on the road to a new South Africa.

And ANC leader Mr Nelson Mandela and Inkatha leader Chief Mangosuthu Buthelezi may meet within a month following good progress in

preparations for the "summit" meeting.

Both these developments could significantly boost the peace and negotiations processes.

They were announced in the wake of the successful weekend planning conference, at which an unprecedented 26 political organisations set an April 5 deadline for resump-

tion of constitutional talks.

The ANC's secretary-general Mr Cyril Ramaphosa, speaking to journalists after the conference, said a draft policy document being considered by the ANC "has brought us fairly close to those who advocate strong regional government".

Chief Buthelezi has made it clear the IFP favours strong federal

government.

Mr Ramaphosa said: "We believe regions are the levels where democracy and good government can be effectively practised".

The ANC was "amenable" to the powers, functions and boundaries of such regional governments being set out and entrenched in a new constitution.

He added that in terms of the draft policy document, it was proposed that central government should have "concurrent powers on a number of issues as well as overriding powers". Mr Ramaphosa thought the ANC and IFP could reach agreement on the issue.

Page 2

● Torch of hope has been lit

container ship last Friday. On SATV last night Mr Rodden said

EGVD XCVB

Magnus Malan replaced (2041)
ET 8/3/93
DR. Theuns Appelgryn has been appointed for
the Modderfontein constituency in place of
General Magnus Malan, who has retired.

Flurry of talks begins this week

Political Staff

A FLURRY of bi-lateral meetings between the major political players will begin this week, following the successful multi-party planning conference last weekend.

Today a sub-committee of the 26-party Facilitating Committee (FACCOM) will meet to

begin work on the agenda for the first round of multi-party talks, scheduled for April 1 and 2.

The PAC yesterday confirmed its continued participation, with secretary-general Mr Benny Alexander saying his organisation would propose the new forum for negoti-

ations should be a facilitating rather than a decision-making body.

He said one advantage of this would be that the forum would move faster in completing a facilitating task than it would if it were a decision-making body.

The new forum should be

democratic — decisions should be made at meetings and not in secret deals.

He said he believed it was possible to have a democratically elected constituent assembly in place by the end of this year. With the forum meeting daily on a full-time basis to achieve this.

(30147)

New date for talks is set

By Themba Molefe
Political Reporter

Sowetan 9/3/93.
■ Organisers wary of repeating mistakes made at Codesa:

THE date for the start of full-blown multiparty talks has been set for April 1 and 2.

What remains to be done is for the 26-member facilitating committee to endorse the date and make an announcement after meeting today.

Today's meeting is a follow-up to the successful multiparty planning conference held at the World Trade Centre in Kempton Park at the weekend.

It would also receive a report of a 10-member committee elected by the an agenda. Also, to implement res- charged with structuring the sec draft and administrative functions for the April 1 and 2 conference as well as formulating

a new name for the forum.

Sources said organisers were wary of repeating mistakes that led to Codesa's collapse and would appoint "politically neutral" people for the secretariat and administrative posts.

For example, Codesa's secretariat and management were headed jointly by leading African National Congress and Government personalities.

Meanwhile, the Pan Africanist Congress yesterday said it would propose that the new multilateral forum sit daily and on a full-time basis unlike Codesa which met weekly.

Secretary-general Mr Benny Alex- ness Press conference in Johan- essence prepare *usanda* should "in for elec-

tion of a constituent assembly, and among others, introduce the international community to its role in the process; and put structures in place to ensure the swift transition to democracy".

He said decisions must be taken inside the meeting and not in secret deals.

In another development, PAC national organiser Mr Maxwell Nemadzivhanani said the organisation would favourably consider the call by the Azanian People's Organisation for a pact with the PAC and African National Congress.

The ANC yesterday said it welcomed Azapo's approach but would remain open-minded.

304/1

New probe aims to curb electoral strife

CT 9/3/75
By BARRY STREEK
Political Staff

THE Goldstone Commission is to hold a special inquiry into curbing the potential for public violence and intimidation in a national election, its chairman, Mr Justice Richard Goldstone, announced yesterday.

He said in a statement that a panel of South African experts would be appointed to advise the inquiry.

International experts would also be asked to assist the panel, he said.

Mr Justice Goldstone asked all interested parties to furnish written submissions with regard to:

- The rules of conduct and procedure (including policing and security) that should apply in curbing public violence and intimidation at public meetings and activities relating to national elections;

- The relevance to public violence of the time-period during which voting should take place;

- The location, security and policing of polling stations;

- The conduct and procedures re-

lating to the counting of votes;

- Relevant measures following the conclusion of the election, and

- The role of government departments, the police and the international community.

Mr Justice Goldstone requested submissions from government departments, the police, political parties and organisations, relevant university departments and from international, church and welfare organisations.

He said the commission wished to consult with all South Africans to:

- Ascertain their fears and wishes regarding possible electoral violence and intimidation, and

- Educate the public about the political tolerance essential for free, fair elections.

Submissions may be sent to the Secretary of the Commission, Private Bag X858, Pretoria, 0001, by May 31.

● Azapo yesterday rejected Mr Justice Goldstone's appeal. A spokesman said Azapo would participate only if such an inquiry were conducted by a neutral international body.

ASSISTANT Secretary of State for Africa Hank Cohen stands down at the end of the week to make way for President Bill Clinton's appointee, fellow career diplomat George Moose.

South Africans have reason to remember Cohen warmly. He understood the country's predicament better than most. He earned the trust of the US Congress and thus helped restore the administration's control of policy towards SA. He appreciated the political dynamics of change and made the US a useful catalyst. Above all, he insisted on even-handedness.

There are not many people with a kind word for P W Botha these days. Cohen is one of the exceptions. President F W de Klerk and the ANC's Nelson Mandela might be "heroes" for having "built a consensus in both their communities for a moderate solution", he remarked in a recent farewell interview, "but you have to give credit to Botha for having set the psychological stage. I think history will show he did a lot, but we focused on his inability to implement rather than on his ideas."

It is very tempting for outsiders to take credit for SA's progress since 1990. Some have been unable to resist, prospectively demanding repayment from an ANC government for their assumed role in ending apartheid. Cohen would rather award the laurels to South Africans themselves.

They could be exasperating — as they were through much of 1992 when the major parties seemed to conclude that "delay was acceptable" — but when they wanted to, they made it easy for the US and its partners to be helpful.

"We didn't have a formal mediating role. We took advantage of the fact that the ANC, Inkatha, the PAC, the government and the CP put a great deal of emphasis on international recognition and approval of what they were doing. The feeling was that if they could convince the international community they were right, we would then pressure the other side. We took full advantage of that tendency. I would almost say we

Farewell to a constructive force in Southern Africa

B10N1 9/3/93

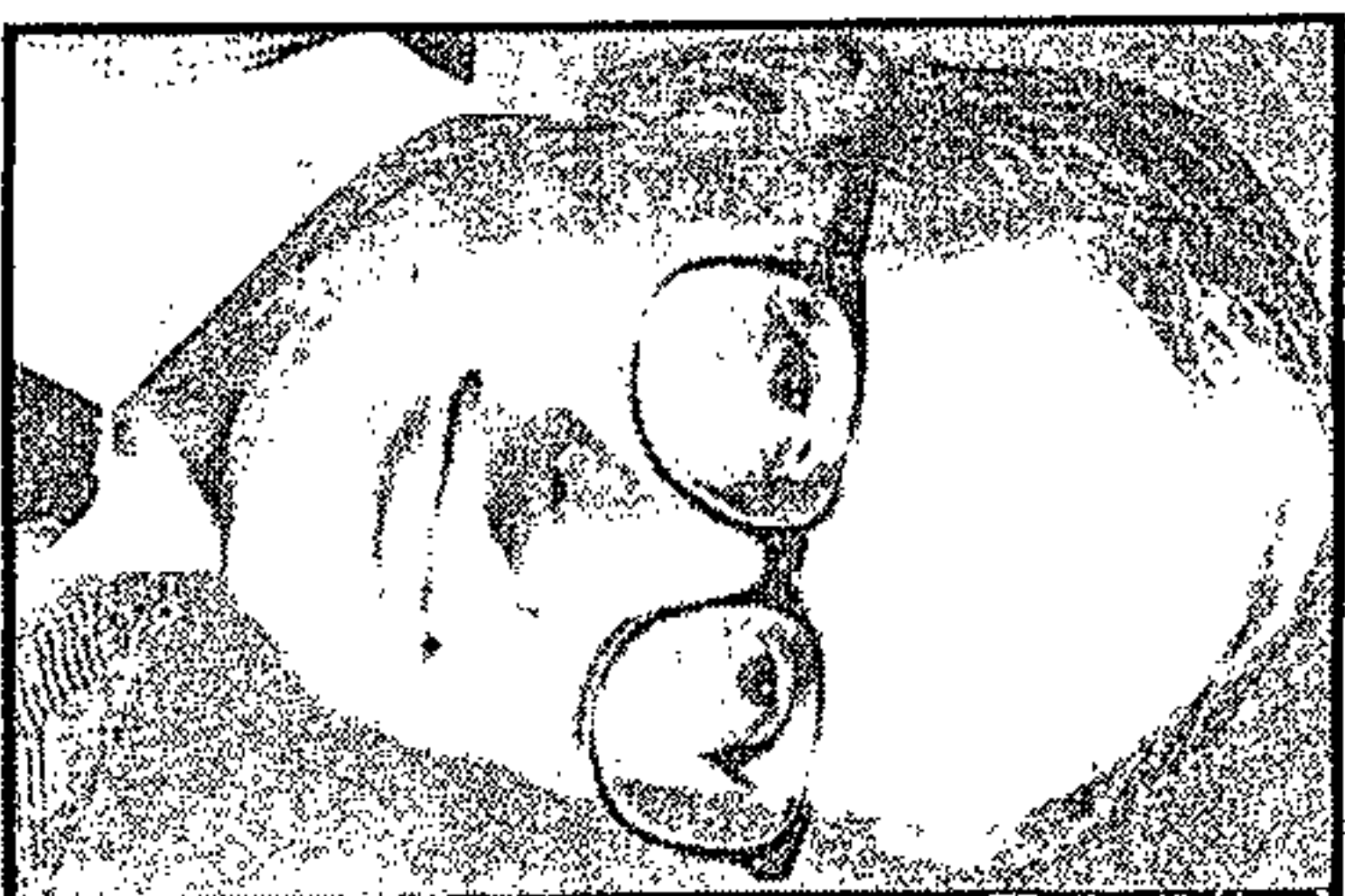
30414

SIMON BARBER in Washington

manipulated it by saying to the parties we think your ideas are generally right, but this or that aspect is unacceptable."

For example, De Klerk was told that the principle of checks and balances was fine, but if the government went further and pressed for a white veto or entrenched power sharing, international condemnation would surely follow. By the same token, the US and its allies would sympathise with the ANC on the need for economic and social redistribution, then add firmly "nationalisation and strong central government controls on the private sector will not work" and that "in a large diversified country like SA, regionalism is better than a centralised system".

The US, which generally acted in informal concert with Britain and Germany, was given plenty of opportunity to press these points. "Every time they had a negotiating session, the first thing both sides did was to convene the diplomatic corps and explain their positions. We used these sessions to criticise and ask probing questions. We found that what the US cared about was always given the highest priority by the protagonists, rather than what the UK, France or the others cared about." Some sells were harder than



□ COHEN

others. Cohen said he had a particularly tough time persuading the government that the UN did not need to be treated as the enemy and that a UN presence could "in effect give legitimacy to the whole process that De Klerk had unleashed". Foreign Minister Pik Botha and former

Foreign Affairs director-general Neil van Heerden "understood what we were driving at, but the guys in the Cabinet around De Klerk, it just boggled their mind".

They were won over by the even-handed professionalism of the UN High Commissioner for Refugees. When the observer question came up after Boipatong, the US further helped ease their qualms by rejecting the ANC's bid "to establish a Namibia-type situation" with huge numbers of UN personnel effectively taking over the transition. "We told them this was unacceptable because this wasn't Namibia, the SA government was in charge."

Cohen predicted that "the American anti-apartheid community" would press demands to flood the country with election observers. He would recommend the monitors be let in — "it doesn't have to be on a massive scale" — to show "there was nothing to hide". He added: "We think that even the ANC will accept that an election run by the De Klerk government will be free and fair and fairly counted. We don't think they're going to suspect rigging or that sort of thing."

Were he staying on, he made clear that one of his chief concerns would be how the new constitution was

written — should its basics be settled before a constituent assembly is elected or "should there be a lot for the assembly to decide"? He himself had no doubt about the answer. "If a constituent assembly, which is elected by one man, one vote, makes all the decisions, then you have not had negotiations. And if you don't have negotiations, you have severe insecurities on the side of minorities."

He believed Mandela had the "right attitude" about the need for power sharing, and supported the ANC's view that the arrangement should not be entrenched. Equally, experience elsewhere convinced him that the power sharing should be real, even if, in SA's case, it effectively meant overlooking the actual results of the first election in naming a cabinet. He felt sure the international community would hold the ANC's feet to fire on pre-election commitments, whatever the final vote tally.

"I believe in power sharing before elections. I know this is a sensitive issue in SA because the ANC is afraid the power sharing will be indefinite. But I think it is essential that people who distrust each other learn to live together before they go into an election where one of them is going to lose."

A lot of trouble could have been avoided in Angola, he said, if the MPLA and Unita had managed to agree on the power-sharing plan put forward by Zaire's President Mobutu at the Gbadolite negotiations in 1989. "If the government hadn't been so obsessed with (Jonas) Savimbi personally, insisting that he go into exile, I think it might have worked.... If (President Eduardo) Dos Santos had been smarter, he would have gone as far as offering Unita the prime ministership, which is what I recommended."

Looking back on his tenure, he said he would list SA neither as a success nor a disappointment. "We played a more than marginal role in encouraging certain trends through education and through diplomatic pressure.... But I feel that most of what has been accomplished there has been accomplished by South Africans."

Star 9/3/93

Patriotic Front members to discuss negotiations

By Kaizer Nyatumba
and Esther Waugh

304A

A Patriotic Front (PF) conference will be held in Lenasia, south of Johannesburg, later this month to discuss negotiations.

The meeting, the first to be held since 92 organisations formed the PF in Durban in October 1991, will bring together the ANC and its allies in Codesa, as well as the Pan Africanist Congress.

Although the 11 PF members at Codesa have been meeting regularly, this will be the first time the PF as formed in Durban will get together.

Organisations which attended the launch of the PF resolved a liaison committee should convene another meeting of the front within six months.

That never happened because the two main parties and co-conveners of the front, the PAC

and the ANC, fell out, with the PAC pulling out of negotiations accusing the ANC of colluding with the Government.

The PAC yesterday confirmed it would attend the meeting on March 27 and 28. PAC secretary-general Benny Alexander said the PAC would meet the ANC this week to finalise the agenda.

The revival of the front follows a series of bilateral meetings in the past two weeks between the ANC and PAC, the ANC and the Azanian People's Organisation (Azapo), the PAC and Azapo, and the PAC and the Labour Party.

Azapo did not attend the Durban meeting.

ANC spokesman on the PF liaison committee Ebrahim Ebrahim said that in addition to discussing the negotiations process, the meeting would review developments since the PF's formation as well as the future of the front.

Business of preparing path to talks begins

By Esther Waugh
and Kaizer Nyatumba

Negotiators get down to business today to prepare for the resumption of full-scale multi-party negotiations within a new forum by April 5.

Issues under discussion include the status of Codesa agreements, the participation of 11 groups which were given observer status at the weekend's planning conference, the chairmanship of the negotiating forum, the forum's name, as well as the role of the international community.

Today's meeting at the World Trade Centre will be attended by a 10-member sub-committee of the facilitating committee.

The facilitating committee — comprising the leaders of the 26 participating parties — was formed at the planning conference.

Democratic Party chairman

Ken Andrew said his party would propose that the negotiating forum be chaired by an independent chairman, and that delegates be available on a full-time basis for the duration of negotiations.

Andrew said his party favoured a technical committee being established to synthesise or identify possible consensus between the points of view expressed at the negotiating table.

At a press conference in Johannesburg yesterday, PAC secretary-general Benny Alexander said his organisation would propose a new name for the forum.

He said the international community had to be involved as neutral observers in negotiations, and help resolve deadlocks in the process.

The PAC would also propose that a series of referendums be held to resolve those deadlocks which the international community could not help solve.

Marike faces fiery trip to Atlantis

DENNIS CRUYWAGEN
Political Staff

MRS Marike de Klerk is to visit Atlantis as planned tomorrow, in spite of opposition and anonymous death threats to the Minister of Sport and MP for Mamre, Mr Abe Williams, who invited her to the West Coast town.

"The visit is going ahead. Why shouldn't it? It is our democratic right. Mrs De Klerk will speak in Atlantis," said Mr Williams who confirmed he had been getting death threats since Wednesday.

"When the first call came, I did not tell my wife, but she took the second call and was quite shaken."

He said the caller, who telephoned him three more times, asked him in Afrikaans: "Why are you bringing this Boer to Atlantis?"

He said he did not know who the caller was.

Some people were telling Atlantis

ARG 9/3/93
residents, invited to listen to Mrs De Klerk talk about "Good relationships in a new South Africa and the woman's prominent role", not to go.

Cape National Party leader Dr Dawie de Villiers accused the African National Congress of launching a campaign to try to disrupt Mrs De Klerk's visit.

This was typical of the ANC, which was quick to cite democratic rights but was politically intolerant and unable to discipline its members.

"The ANC tries to intimidate people through protests and threats. This behaviour does not fit in with the good and tolerant people of the Western Cape," he said.

But the Atlantis branch of the ANC said it believed Mrs De Klerk's visit had nothing to do with the well-being of residents.

"Such crude attempts at vote-catching will not fool people who have long

suffered the results of one of apartheid's worst nightmares."

The ANC (Atlantis), supported by the Principals' Association, Adult Education Centre and Orion Centre, said it upheld the principle of freedom of speech and political tolerance.

But Mrs De Klerk had made offensive remarks about coloured people, words which deeply offended the community.

She had reportedly said in 1989: "Coloureds are not people. They are leftovers. They have no binding power."

"We question the competence of such a person to provide guidelines to women and, in the light of her obvious contempt of the people she plans to address, can only conclude that her purpose is a piece of crude electioneering devoid of sincerity."

● ANC call to 'defend' W Cape against Nats — page 5

R6 000 a month to run homes

2044
183
AR 9/3/93

Political Staff

CABINET ministers living in their own houses in Cape Town and Pretoria may be paid up to R6 340 a month for gardening, domestic services, insurance and other running costs such as kitchenware and crockery.

On top of that the State will spend up to R35 750 a house to upgrade security.

This was disclosed by Public Works Minister Gene Louw yesterday when he gave parliament further details of the controversial scheme which pays ministers up to R162 480 a year to stay in their own homes.

Mr Louw was replying to questions from the Conservative Party MP for Potgietersrus, Mr Schalk Pienaar.

He said that under the compensation scheme, ministers were paid R3 600 after tax to acquire suitable residences as well as after-tax allowances of about R3 170 to compensate for running costs normally provided by the government in State-owned residences.

These included gardening and domestic services, maintenance and insurance of fixed property, furnishings, electrical equipment, kitchenware and crockery.

As these allowances were paid for each house, a minister living in his or her own house in Pretoria and Cape Town would qualify for double.

Marike 'a symbol of peace and love'

MRS Marike de Klerk yesterday described herself as "a symbol of peace and love" and insisted that she would not cancel her visit to Atlantis this morning.

In spite of anonymous death threats to the Minister of Sport and MP for Mamre Mr Abe Williams who invited her to the town, Mrs De Klerk said that problems were not solved with "anger and threats".

"I feel we should have freedom of speech. I have no political aim and I am going to Atlan-

tis to meet the women in the community," she said.

But ANC Atlantis branch chairman Mr Karl Cloete yesterday slammed the proposed visit, saying the NP had snubbed a recent invitation to attend the Atlantis Economic Development Forum and was now using "women and tea parties" to come to Atlantis to gain votes. A demonstration would be held "to say that Mrs De Klerk is coming at a time when 11 000 people are unemployed in Atlantis.

Her husband and the NP are responsible for what is happening here."

Mrs De Klerk insisted that she had never made the offensive remarks about coloured people attributed to her in 1989. "Those comments are completely devoid of any truth."

Mr Cloete said disruptions of the meeting were not planned.

"I have been the catalyst for many wonderful things that have happened," Mrs De Klerk said.

CT 10/3/93 (3044)

New minister for housing ¹²

A NEW Minister of Housing is expected to be appointed from the private sector shortly.

^{CT 19/3/93}
The delegation from the Building Industries Federation of South Africa (Bifsa) was informed by the current Minister of Housing Sam De Beer yesterday that the appointment is expected to be announced by the end of April with the post being taken up by June. (304A)

Bifsa executive director Ian Robinson said they had been told the new appointee was a person who did not carry "any apartheid baggage". (228)

This is the first ministerial appointment from the private sector since the appointment of the Minister of Finance Derek Keys.

Apartheid's legacy lives on, says report

By Kaizer Nyatumba
Political Reporter

The legacy of more than 40 years of apartheid under National Party rule remained "intractable" three years after President F W de Klerk delivered his epoch-making address in Parliament on February 2 1990, claims the South African Institute of Race Relations' annual survey.

The 708-page report, released in Johannesburg yesterday, said the majority of blacks continued to live without "the basic amenities necessary for their advancement, while at the same time having to contend with the fear, anxiety and disruption caused by unemployment and political violence".

It said South Africa's chances of addressing the situation "seem dismal", and noted that lack of funds was "hindering the progress of the National Peace Accord".

"Another problem identified by the National Peace Secretariat is the continued use of inflammatory language by speakers at political meetings, which exacerbated violence, intimidation and political intolerance and put at risk the slow and painstaking progress towards peace and stability."

However, the report noted there had been progress towards co-operation among political groups, the Government, business and communities.

This included the establishment of multiparty structures



De Klerk . . . speech's optimism not realised, says institute.

such as the National Housing Forum and the National Economic Forum.

But glaring disparities continued to exist among population groups, with blacks being worst off:

- As much as 25 percent of the economically active black population was unemployed, as opposed to 17 percent of coloureds, 13 percent of Indians and 4 percent of whites.

- Average monthly household incomes were R779 for blacks, R1 607 for coloureds, R2 476 for Indians and R4 679 for whites.

- Even though the level of poverty among whites was the highest since the 1920s, blacks still earned as little as 17 percent of whites' average monthly household income.

- As many as 58 percent of black households earned less than R700 a month.

Hundreds in protest against visit by President De Klerk's wife

Marike runs the Atlantis gauntlet

JENNIS CRUYWAGEN
AND MICHAEL MORRIS

MRS Marike de Klerk ran the gauntlet of several hundred protesting ANC supporters, many brandishing sharply critical posters, when she arrived at Atlantis today to address a National Party tea party.

The clamour rose to a crescendo as her car swept up to the Community Centre but as she got out, surrounded by security guards, she turned to the crowd and waved.

She was hustled inside where invited guests sat at neatly laid out tables.

Police and ANC marshals outside kept the crowd in check and international observers — one from the United Nations and one from the European observer mission — kept watch.

Earlier Sports Minister and MP for Mamre Mr Abie Williams faced a deafening show of disapproval, but he reacted: "This is part of politics in South Africa."

"It's unfortunate because it does not fit a social occasion like this, but in politics, boys don't cry."

The theme of many of the posters were the remarks reputedly made by Mrs De Klerk some years ago about coloureds being a "non-race".

One read "We are not non-entities" and another "Marike, wat is jou kleur?"

Reacting to this, Mr Williams said: "I am not aware that she said these things. I have never felt degraded. The fact is we are moving into a new South Africa and we must not look back ... we must be positive."

Other posters included "Jobs not tea parties", "Sweep the crooks and assassins from power" and, in a sharp jibe at Mr Williams, "Abie's got crayfish brains, that's why Atlantis goes backwards".

Chairman of the Atlantis branch of the Cape Teachers' Professional Association, Mr Gerrit Mathyse challenged Mrs De Klerk to apologise for the remarks she was reputed to have made about coloured people and to withdraw them.

The throng of ANC supporters made clear its opposition to the visit by Mrs De Klerk and other senior National Party figures such as Mr Williams and leader of the House of Representatives Mr Jac Rabie, but ANC officials made it clear they would allow the NP to have its say.

One official said to the crowd through a loudhailer: "We must show South Africa today that we are disciplined people. We must show that we are allowing the National Party to speak, but we must also show what our opinion of them is."

On behalf of the ANC's regional executive committee, Mr Cameron Dugmore said: "Mr Williams says he has support in Atlantis but the National Party had to hire a private company yesterday to distribute pamphlets in Atlantis."

"Today we are giving a clear message that the NP is not welcome in Atlantis."

Mr Serge Pijoff of the European Community observer mission and Ms Sylvana Rweyemamu of the UN mission, said that they had been asked to attend today's event by the regional peace committee and their role was limited to observing.

AKG 10/3/93

3047

Marike to visit town despite

threat to MP

CAPE TOWN — Marike de Klerk is to visit Atlantis as planned today, despite an anonymous death threat to the Minister of Sport and MP for Mamre, Abe Williams, who invited the State President's wife to speak in the west coast town.

"The visit is going ahead," said Williams, who confirmed he had received a death threat.

The anonymous caller had asked him in Afrikaans: "Why are you bringing this Boer to Atlantis?"

(304 A)
Cape NP leader Dr Dawie de Villiers accused the ANC of trying to disrupt the visit. — Own Correspondent.

Proposal for four-tier negotiation structures

Plenary session
(10 delegates each, including leaders of parties)

Multiparty negotiating forum
(3 delegates & 2 advisers each, including leaders of delegations)

Negotiations Committee/Council
(the delegation leader and one adviser each)

Planning committee
(10 members appointed for their expertise)



GRAPHIC: LIZ WARDER

Date set for all-party forum

By Esther Waugh
Political Reporter

The meeting of the all-party negotiating forum will take place at the World Trade Centre on April 1 and 2.

And a proposal for a four-tier negotiations structure will be considered next week by the 26 groups represented at last weekend's planning conference.

In terms of the proposal, negotiations will be put on to a full-time basis after the negotiating forum meeting at the beginning of next month.

A group of 10 negotiators — appointed not on party affiliations but for their expertise — yesterday thrashed out the proposal at the World Trade Centre.

The group also consid-

ered three possibilities as a name for the new negotiating forum — the Negotiation Forum of South Africa (Nefsa), Codesa or Codesa-Nefsa. No final decision has been taken.

It had appointed two ad hoc committees, said the chairman of yesterday's meeting, PAC secretary-general Bennie Alexander. (304A)

One committee will consider deadlock-breaking mechanisms and the other will look at the Codesa agreements.

Alexander said the committee considering deadlock-breaking mechanisms would comprise former PAC deputy president Dikgang Moseneke, ANC negotiator Mac Maharaj, Government adviser Fanie van der Merwe and IFP negotia-

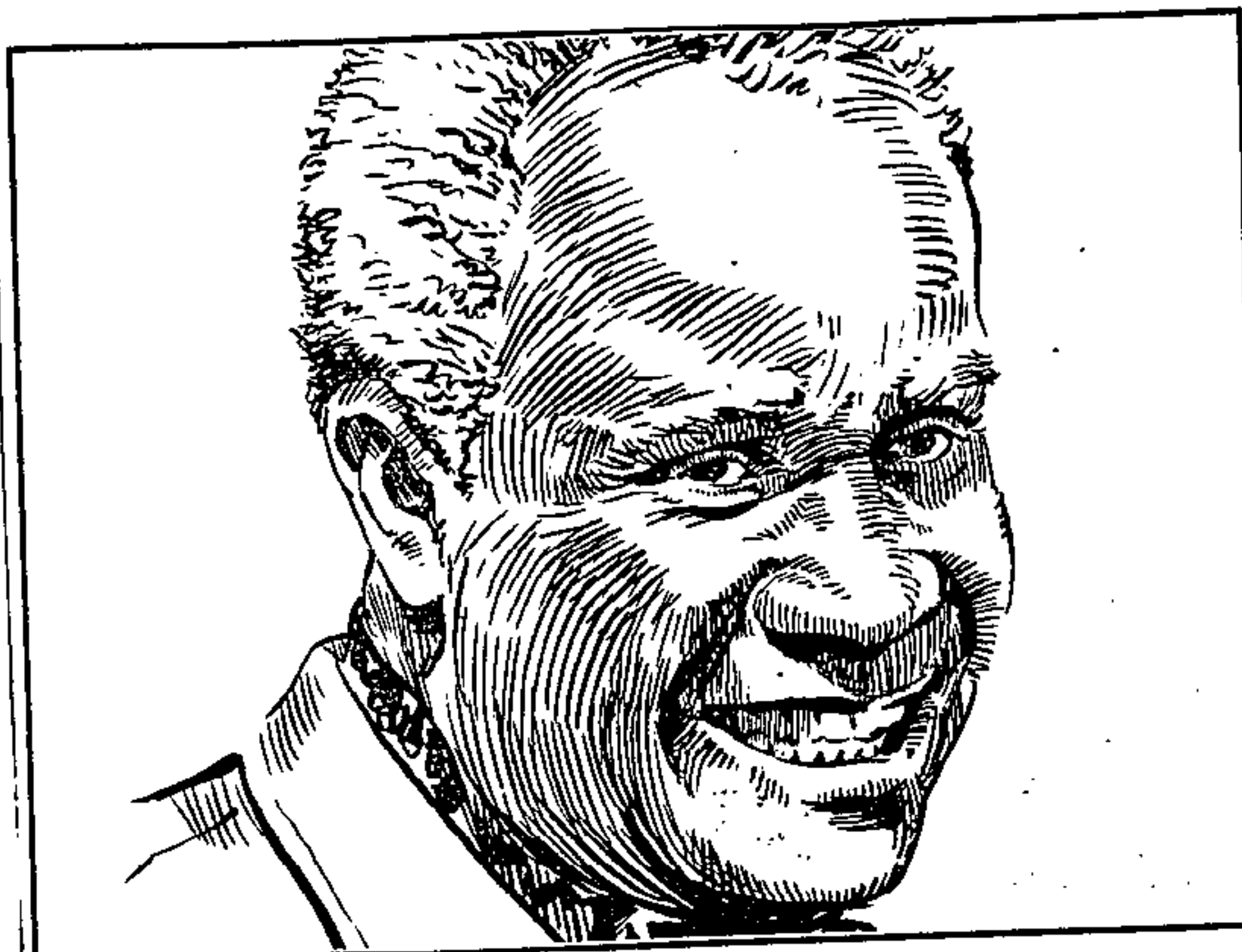
tor Joe Matthews.

But, Moseneke yesterday told The Star, he would not be serving on the subcommittee because he had other commitments.

The proposed structure of the negotiations process and the name will be considered next Thursday at a meeting of the facilitating committee comprising the 26 delegation leaders.

In terms of the proposal, a 10-member planning committee will meet on a daily basis.

A negotiations council/committee will comprise the delegation leader and an adviser from each party. Alexander said the council/committee would be where the "real" negotiations would take place.



Kenneth Kaunda ... met FW de Klerk.

Kaunda meets De Klerk and De Beer

Save the 10/3/73
■ Former president learns from South Africans:

Political Correspondent

KENNETH Kaunda, former **Zambian** president and now one of **Africa's** elder statesmen, met separately with President de Klerk and Democratic Party leader Dr Zach de Beer yesterday.

Standing on the wind swept steps of the main hall of Parliament, Kaunda said he had come to South Africa primarily to attend the solidarity conference held by the African National Congress.

"After that I stayed on just to learn from the leadership what was taking place."

Tuynhuys

He met De Klerk at Tuynhuys and De Beer at his Parliamentary office.

"De Klerk continues to impress me as an honest and sincere man. Margaret Thatcher says she discovered Mikhail Gorbachev. I discovered De Klerk," Kaunda quipped.

This was the fourth time Kaunda had met De Klerk. Their first meeting took place in August 1989 when De Klerk defied Mr PW Botha to see Kaunda.

As Kaunda was climbing into his car outside the main hall of Parliament, a group of white pupils from the Paul Roos Gymnasium school, who had at-

tended Parliament, walked past to their bus.

Some of the boys recognised Kaunda and waved. He waved back.

Kaunda has met leaders across the political spectrum while in South Africa, including Lucas Mangope of Bophuthatswana and Mangosuthu Buthelezi of the Inkatha Freedom Party, in Ulundi.

Meet Mandela

He will see ANC leader Mr Nelson Mandela in Johannesburg today and then return home. Kaunda has been in South Africa for 15 days.

De Beer and Kaunda knew each other from when De Beer was chairman of Anglo American in Central Africa from 1972 to 1974. De Beer used to have dinner in Kaunda's home every month.

"It was a very great pleasure for me to see him. We spoke about old times and not very much about politics," De Beer said.

"Kaunda thinks the problems are considerable, but he detects a real wish from political parties to overcome them," De Beer said.

Kaunda was president of Zambia from 1962 to 1992.

for the same cause that the late William Marsh sought to make provision in his will.

With regard to the requirement that the provision in question must be in conflict with the public interest, the Court *inter alia* held that — ~~the interest of the public in this country, the inhabitants of which are mainly non-white in colour, cries out for the need to house and to care for destitute children, whatever their ethnological characteristics may be.~~

- (2) No.
(3) A statement is not necessary.

Melamet Commission: transcriptions of telephone conversations

*13. Adv J J S PRINSLLOO asked the Minister of Transport:

- (1) Whether he intends making public the contents of transcriptions of telephone conversations of a certain person, whose name has been furnished to the Minister's Department for the purpose of his reply, which were submitted to the Commission of Inquiry into the Affairs of the Multilateral Motor Vehicle Accidents Fund (Melamet Commission) in 1992; if not, why not; if so, (a) when, (b) in what manner and (c) what is the name of the person concerned;

- (2) whether he will make a statement on the matter? B321E

The MINISTER OF TRANSPORT:

- (1) No, because I never received the transcriptions and their contents are therefore also not known to me.
(a), (b) and (c) fall away.

- (2) No.

Unlawfully absent teachers: salaries

*14. Mr J M BEYERS asked the Minister of Education and Training:

- (1) Whether there are currently any teachers in the service of his Department to whom, while they are unlawfully absent from duty, teachers' salaries are still being paid; if so, (a) how many and (b)

HOUSE OF ASSEMBLY

improvement of personnel administration is continuously attended to.

Private accommodation of political office-bearers: compensation

*15. Mr P G SOAL asked the Minister of Public Works:

- With reference to the reply to Question No 33 on 23 February 1993, (a) when was the scheme introduced in terms of which compensation is paid to political office-bearers who occupy private residences as official accommodation, (b) why was this scheme deemed necessary, (c) subject to what conditions is approval given for a political office-bearer to reside in private accommodation and (d) what total amount was so paid to political office-bearers since the introduction of the scheme up to and including 28 February 1993? B324E

The MINISTER OF PUBLIC WORKS:

- (a) From 1982 until 31 December 1990 individual requests were approved on an ad hoc basis. The present scheme, as dealt with in the answer to Question 33, has been in operation since 1 January 1991.
(b) Due to a shortage of official ministerial residences at the time and in view of the high cost of administering and maintaining the official residences, this optional scheme was approved to provide an equitable basis to compensate political office-bearers for expenses should they elect to use private dwellings as official residences.
(c) To qualify for full participation in the scheme, a private residence must be of similar status to official residences and comply with guidelines set by the Department of Public Works for evaluation purposes. In cases where comparative standards are not met after evaluation, the Minister of Public Works has been empowered by the Cabinet to approve a reduced compensation, after consultation with the Chairman of the relevant Ministers' Council or the Administrator where applicable.
(d) From 1982 to 28 February 1993 a total amount of R4 785 520,95 has been paid.

N3 bypass road: Pietermaritzburg

*16. Mr R F HASWELL asked the Minister of Transport:

Whether a final decision has been made on the routing, construction and financing of the N3 bypass road at Pietermaritzburg; if so, what are the details? B327E

The MINISTER OF TRANSPORT:

No. Three routes have been identified and evaluated from an environmental viewpoint. A draft report in this regard was submitted during December 1992. There are no real differences between the three routes and a decision regarding a route will be taken based on engineering principles.

In the meantime the Department is still undertaking the evaluation of the effects of fog conditions on the routes. This year was not favourable for this evaluation because fog conditions seldom occurred. This evaluation will most probably be done during the next rainy season.

Until the above-mentioned investigations are completed the Department will not be able to make any recommendation regarding a route to the South African Roads Board.

City/town councils: Coloured/Indian representation

*17. Mr R F HASWELL asked the Minister of Local Government:


Whether he intends introducing legislation in terms of which Coloured and Indian management and local affairs committees will be granted full representation on city and town councils; if not, why not; if so, what are the relevant details? B328E

The MINISTER OF LOCAL GOVERNMENT:

Yes, but as part of comprehensive and negotiated reform steps.

As I stated in reply to question 10 of 17 February 1993 and the Interpellation Question of the hon member for Pinelands on 3 March 1993 concerning the political management of the whole matter, an acceptable formula will have to be found in consultation with all interested parties and through negotiation, so as to arrive at restructured local authorities,

HOUSE OF ASSEMBLY

- (2) (a) and (b) 
It is still the intention to phase out the functions and activities of the SA Development Trust Corporation on 31 March 1993, where it is practically feasible. Arrangements have, however, been made for the said corporation to continue carrying out its project functions and activities should it not be possible for a recipient organisation to take over timeously. The phasing out of the corporation is therefore synchronized with the transfer of the projects concerned.

Depending on the advice of the Advisory Commission on Land Allocation and negotiations between the RSA and KwaZulu regarding the utilization of, *inter alia*, the sugar farms near Eshowe in Natal, it is in the meantime intended to transfer the management of the project concerned to the KwaZulu Finance and Investment Corporation.

As result of a report by a bilateral working group regarding the future status of the Rust Der Winter farms it is the intention of the Advisory Commission on Land Allocation to hear evidence in this regard shortly. The findings and advice will thereafter be submitted to the hon the State President for consideration. In the meantime it is intended to entrust the management of the Rust Der Winter project to the KwaNdebele Agricultural Company.

LBS countries/RSA: constitutional future
*3. Mr H D K VAN DER MERWE asked the Minister of Constitutional Development:†

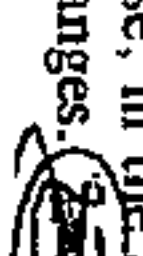
- (1) Whether (a) Lesotho, (b) Swaziland and (c) Botswana have at any time been invited to take part in talks with a view to a new constitutional dispensation for Southern Africa; if not, why not; if so, what are the relevant details;

- (2) whether he will make a statement on the matter?  B312E

The MINISTER OF CONSTITUTIONAL DEVELOPMENT:

- (1) No. These states are not involved in South Africa's internal constitutional process. Their relationship with South

HOUSE OF ASSEMBLY

- Africa is one in terms of the international law, which will have to be addressed by way of diplomatic channels. I am not aware of any interest shown by any of these countries regarding participation, in the wider sense, in the South African constitutional changes.  B313E
- (2) No.

Political party: changing of name

*4. Mr H D K VAN DER MERWE asked the Minister of Home Affairs:†

- (1) Whether his Department has received an application to change its name from a certain political party, the name of which has been furnished to the Minister's Department for the purpose of his reply; if so, (a) when and (b) what is the name of this party;

- (2) whether he will make a statement on the matter? B313E

The MINISTER OF HOME AFFAIRS:

- (1) No. (a) and (b) fall away.

- (2) No.

Minister P. K. Botha: undesirable person in Angola

*5. Mr J M BEYERS asked the Minister of Foreign Affairs:†  (304A)

- (1) Whether he paid a visit to Angola recently; if so, what was the (a) purpose of and (b) cost involved in this visit;

- (2) whether he or the South African Government has since been informed that he has been declared an undesirable person in that country; if so, (a) why has he been declared an undesirable person and (b) in what manner was he or the Government informed of this action;

- (3) whether he is still regarded as an undesirable person in that country; if not, why not; if so, what are the relevant details? B317E

The MINISTER OF FOREIGN AFFAIRS:

- (1) I paid two visits to Angola during October 1992.


- (a) (i) These visits took place between 12 and 17 October and 19 and

20 October 1992 respectively and were undertaken at the request of both the Angolan Government and Unita to act as mediator in the post-election crisis between the two parties. I was initially hesitant to do this while I was aware of the deep-rooted distrust which existed within the ranks of both parties. After the request to act as mediator had been supported by various governments, I nevertheless decided to endeavour, for the sake of peace and stability, in Southern Africa. After five days I succeeded in obtaining an agreement from the two leaders to meet each other on 19 October 1992. Agreement was also reached that the two leaders would at this meeting both commit themselves to a peaceful resolution of their differences and to co-operating to promote the economic rebuilding of Angola. I have no doubt that if that meeting could have taken place, Angola could have avoided the destruction and bloodshed which followed later. Unfortunately advisers of the leaders suggested at the last moment that delegations of the two leaders should first meet to draw up an agenda.

This delay led to a shooting incident in Luanda which was the spark that ignited the powder-keg.

- (ii) The two trips to Luanda and back from Luanda to South Africa, as well as the two trips from Luanda to Huambo and back to Luanda, amounted to approximately R13 000 per person. The accommodation costs of my delegation were carried by the Angolan Government.

- (2) I have never been declared an undesirable person in Angola. This was incorrect speculation on the part of the media. The South African Government

has been assured of this on two separate occasions:  (304A)
(i) On 16 November 1992 Mr Venancio De Moura, the then Angolan Vice-Minister of Foreign Affairs, now Minister of Foreign Affairs, assured the South African Representative in Luanda of the invalidity of such reports.

- (ii) The former Angolan Minister of Foreign Affairs, Mr "Loy" van Du-nem, who reportedly made the original statement, assured my Department during his visit to Cape Town on 10 February 1993 that the media reports in this regard were unfounded.

- (3) Falls away.

Mr Lolo Sono: disappearance

*6. Mr L FUCHS asked the Minister of Law and Order:

- (1) Whether, with reference to the reply to Question No 3 on 20 May 1992, the investigation by the South African Police into the circumstances surrounding the disappearance of Mr Lolo Sono has been completed; if not, (a) why not and (b) when is it anticipated that it will be completed;

- (2) whether he will make a statement on the matter? B332E

The MINISTER OF LAW AND ORDER:

- (1) Yes. (a) and (b) Fall away.

- (2) Yes. The case docket is at present in the hands of the Attorney-General of the Witwatersrand. This investigation into the disappearance of Lolo Sono is part of the controversy concerning Mrs Winnie Mandela and her so-called "soccer club". The appeal by Mrs Mandela against her conviction on a charge of the murder of Stompie Seipei is to be heard on 24-26 March 1993. The Attorney-General will decide on the matter of Lolo Sono after the appeal of Mrs Mandela has been heard.

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- (2) $\pm 83\%$
(3) no.

Certain high school declared Model D school

21. Mr L LOUW asked the Minister of Education and Culture:†

Whether he recently declared a certain high school, the name of which has been furnished to the Minister's Department for the purpose of his reply, to be a Model D school; if so, (a) why, (b) (i) on what date was the school so declared and (ii) how many White pupils were enrolled at the school as at that date, (c) (i) how many (aa) White pupils and (bb) pupils of colour are currently enrolled at this school and (ii) in respect of what date is this

information furnished and (d) what is the name of the school concerned? B272E

The MINISTER OF EDUCATION AND CULTURE:

No, a Model D school was opened in unitized buildings at Brandfort. With the amalgamation of the Hoërskool Staatspresident Swart, Brandfort and the Laerskool Brandfort in the buildings of the Laerskool Brandfort, the terrain of the Hoërskool Staatspresident Swart became available. On 1 January 1993 the new Model D Hoërskool/High School Brandfort was opened on this terrain. On 25 February 1993 it was attended by 70 pupils from other population groups and had no white pupils.

HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

QUESTIONS

†Indicates translated version.

For oral reply:

General Affairs:

State President:

President's Council: moratorium on appointments

*1. Mr P A C HENDRICKSE asked the State President:

- (1) Whether, in view of his announcement on 29 January 1993 that the President's Council is to be phased out, he will impose a moratorium on further appointments to this Council; if not, why not; if so, what are the relevant details;

- (2) whether persons appointed to the Council after 29 January will receive the same compensation in respect of early termination of services as will members of the Council appointed prior to that date; if so, why; if not, why not? C29E

†The MINISTER FOR PUBLIC ENTERPRISES (for the State President):

- (1) To the extent that I have the constitutional authority to decide on the appointment of members of the President's Council, it is my intention, subject to the quorum requirement in section 74 of the Constitution, not to make any further appointments. In my capacity as leader in Chief of the National Party I wish to state, subject to the afore-mentioned reservation, that no new appointment will be made either by means of decisions by the respective Houses in terms of section 70(1)(a)-(c) of the Constitution. For purposes of section 70(1)(d) of the Constitution I urge opposition parties to follow the same approach.

To the extent that the above-mentioned approach may require corrective legislative measures, the intention is to provide for them in the legislation concerning the final dissolution of the President's Council.

- (2)

No, because it is foreseen that the term of office of any member of the Council will play an important part in the determination of the extent of any compensation payable because of the Council's final dissolution.

Ministers:

Company in Lesotho: diplomatic protection for SA shareholders

*1. Mr L T LANDERS asked the Minister of Foreign Affairs:

- (1) Whether he or his Department has provided diplomatic protection in respect of South African shareholders of and investors in a company whose interests in Lesotho have allegedly been confiscated and whose name has been furnished to the Minister's Department for the purpose of his reply; if not, why not; if so, (a) when, (b) what was the (i) nature and (ii) extent of this protection and (c) what is the name of this company;

- (2) whether he will make a statement on the matter? C8E

The DEPUTY MINISTER OF LAW AND ORDER (for the Minister of Foreign Affairs):

- (1) No. No request from the South African shareholders of and investors in the company concerned for protection of their interests in Lesotho has been received by my Department.

However, the former South African Representative to Lesotho did entertain a request from a South African shareholder of the said company to enquire when judgement in an urgent application brought by the company and others against the Military Council of Lesotho and others in the High Court of Lesotho may be expected.

(a), (b) (i), (ii) and (c) fall away.

- (2) This matter has been dealt with in the State President's reply to question No 1 of 19 February 1993.

Mr L T LANDERS: Mr Chairman, is the hon the Deputy Minister in a position to reply to any questions?

P 70 — 12

(ii) The prisoner indicated that he is not guilty of the crime of robbery for which the court sentenced him to eight (8) years imprisonment. The prisoner's appeal against his sentence was dismissed but he still refuses to accept the sentence imposed by the court. His case is being attended to continuously and the following persons have already visited him: his mother, a social worker, a psychiatrist, an attorney, a representative from the Lawyers for Human Rights, a magistrate and the Commander. On 2 March 1993 he was still persisting with his hunger strike.

(c) 21 February 1993.

Leeuwkop Maximum Prison

(a) 6.

(b) (i) Since 4 February 1993.

(ii) Two of the prisoners were dissatisfied with the sentences imposed on them as well as the fact that they had no money for an attorney. The prisoners involved acknowledged that they had not previously brought their problem to the attention of the Head of the Prison. Their problems were subsequently attended to.

The other four prisoners were dissatisfied with the sentences imposed by the court. They were therefore not prepared to serve the sentences of imprisonment imposed by the court.

After continuous intervention by the Head of the Prison, all six prisoners ended their hunger strikes as follows: 2 on 27 February 1993, 1 on 1 March 1993 and 3 on 3 March 1993.

Pretoria Local Prison

(a) 1.

(b) (i) Since 11 January 1993.

HOUSE OF DELEGATES

(ii) This prisoner is an awaiting-trial prisoner and indicated that he wanted to be released. On 23 February 1993 he was handed over to the SA Police for admission to a public hospital. As far as is known he was still on hunger strike on 2 March 1993.

(c) The particulars of all prisoners who were on hunger strike on 21 February 1993 have been provided. In order to give more complete particulars, facts in respect of these cases have been updated to 2 March 1993.

(2) No. It should, however, be mentioned in general that in cases where a prisoner indicates his refusal to eat or when the staff notice that food has not been consumed during successive mealtimes, the Heads of Prisons consistently act in accordance with internationally accepted practices. Standard procedure includes the following:

- The prescribed balanced diet is still served at every mealtime.
- Participants are regularly cautioned regarding the detrimental effects of such actions on their health.
- Medical treatment is available on a continuous basis.
- complaints and requests are formally registered on a daily basis and all complaints, requests, causes or supposed reasons for the hunger strike, if any, are thoroughly investigated, attended to and resolved within reasonable limits.

Ambassadors/consuls appointed

10. Mr M RAJAB asked the Minister of Foreign Affairs:

- (a) How many persons were appointed to the post of (i) ambassador, (ii) consul-general and (iii) deputy consul-general in his Department in 1991, 1992 and 1993, respectively, and (b) in respect of each such appointment, (i) what is the name of the person concerned and (ii) (aa) in respect of what country and

(bb) for what period was he or she so appointed? D59E

THE MINISTER OF FOREIGN AFFAIRS:

TRANSFERRED IN 1991:*

- | | |
|--|---|
| (a) (i) Ambassadors 18 | (ii) (aa) Czech Republic (Prague) |
| (ii) Consuls-general 1 | (bb) from 08.04.91 to 01.04.95 |
| (iii) Deputy-consuls-general 0 | (i) Ambassador G R W Babb |
| (b) (i) Ambassador A Jaquet | (ii) (aa) Italy (Rome) |
| (ii) (aa) Switzerland (Bern) | (bb) from 11.07.91 to 01.10.96 |
| (bb) from 01.05.91 to 01.05.95 | (i) Ambassador A P Burger |
| (i) Ambassador P J Celliers | (ii) (aa) Bulgaria (Sofia) |
| (ii) (aa) Romania (Bucharest) | (bb) from 07.04.91 to 01.04.95 |
| (bb) from 01.04.91 to 01.04.95 | (i) Ambassador J C Lotter |
| (i) Ambassador J Kilian | (ii) (aa) Israel (Tel Aviv) |
| (ii) (aa) Argentina (Buenos Aires) | (bb) from 01.05.91 to 01.03.93 |
| (bb) from 01.07.91 to 01.07.95 | (i) Ambassador W Louw |
| (i) Ambassador C M Swart | (ii) (aa) Venda (Thohoyandou) |
| (ii) (aa) Finland (Helsinki) | (bb) from 01.12.91 to 01.12.95 |
| (bb) from 01.04.91 to 01.04.95 | (i) Ambassador J V Z Gryffenberg |
| (i) Ambassador C J Sidego | (ii) (aa) Poland (Warsaw) |
| (ii) (aa) Denmark (Copenhagen) | (bb) from 08.04.91 to 01.04.95 |
| (bb) from 01.10.91 to 01.10.95 | (i) Ambassador H H Schwarz |
| (i) Ambassador P A Swanepoel | (ii) (aa) United States of America (Washington) |
| (ii) (aa) Portugal (Lisbon) | (bb) from 01.03.91 to 01.03.95 |
| (bb) from 27.01.91 to 01.02.95 | (i) Consul-General E A Broekhuizen |
| (i) Ambassador K D S Durr | (ii) (aa) United States of America (Chicago) |
| (ii) (aa) United Kingdom (London) | (bb) from 01.07.91 to 01.07.95 |
| (bb) from 01.04.91 to 01.04.94 | |
| (i) Ambassador G C Olivier | |
| (ii) (aa) Russian Federation (Moscow) | |
| (bb) from 08.07.91 to 01.07.95 | |
| (i) Ambassador V R W Steward | |
| (ii) (aa) United States of America (New York) [UN] | |
| (bb) from 01.08.91 to 01.08.95 | |
| (i) Ambassador A Kilian | |
| (ii) (aa) Canada (Ottawa) | |
| (bb) from 01.12.91 to 01.12.95 | |
| (i) Ambassador A W M Burger | |
| (ii) (aa) France (Paris) | |
| (bb) from 01.02.91 to 01.02.95 | |
| (i) Ambassador N W du Bois | |

* Transfer dates provide a more accurate picture since there is often a reasonable time lapse between appointments and transfers:

TRANSFERRED IN 1992:

- | | |
|-------------------------------------|-----------------------------------|
| (a) (i) Ambassadors 11 | (ii) (aa) Czech Republic (Prague) |
| (ii) Consuls-General 12 | (bb) from 08.04.91 to 01.04.95 |
| (iii) Deputy Consuls-General 1 | (i) Ambassador G R W Babb |
| (b) (i) Ambassador G P Pretorius | (ii) (aa) Italy (Rome) |
| (ii) (aa) Paraguay (Asuncion) | (bb) from 11.07.91 to 01.10.96 |
| (bb) from 01.04.92 to 01.07.94 | (i) Ambassador A P Burger |
| (i) Ambassador N P van Heerden | (ii) (aa) Bulgaria (Sofia) |
| (ii) (aa) Belgium (Brussels) [EC] | (bb) from 07.04.91 to 01.04.95 |
| (bb) from 01.10.92 to 01.10.96 | (i) Ambassador J C Lotter |
| (i) Ambassador J A Eksleien | (ii) (aa) Israel (Tel Aviv) |
| (ii) (aa) Switzerland (Geneva) [UN] | (bb) from 01.05.91 to 01.03.93 |
| (bb) from 07.02.92 to 01.05.95 | (i) Ambassador W Louw |
| (i) Ambassador T G Visser | (ii) (aa) Venda (Thohoyandou) |

HOUSE OF DELEGATES

- Handwritten: Haurard*
- (ii) (aa) Lesotho (Maseru)
(bb) from 01.12.92 to 01.12.96
 - (i) Ambassador T van der Walt
(ii) (aa) Bophuthatswana (Mmabatho)
(bb) from 01.11.92 to 01.11.95
 - (i) Ambassador A Venter
(ii) (aa) Kenya (Nairobi)
(bb) from 06.01.92 to 01.01.96
 - (i) Ambassador E du Toit
(ii) (aa) Norway (Oslo)
(bb) from 05.12.92 to 01.12.94
 - (i) Ambassador L M Brand
(ii) (aa) Chile (Santiago)
(bb) from 01.02.92 to 01.02.96
 - (i) Ambassador H E Janse van Rensburg
(ii) (aa) Transkei (Umtata)
(bb) from 01.03.92 to 01.03.95
 - (i) Ambassador J P Roux
(ii) (aa) Austria (Vienna)
(bb) from 01.11.92 to 01.11.96
 - (i) Consul-General R Goris
(ii) (aa) Thailand (Bangkok)
(bb) from 08.09.92 to 01.09.96
 - (i) Consul-General W F Schoombie
(ii) (aa) United States of America (Bevery Hills)
(bb) from 01.07.92 to 01.12.95
 - (i) Consul-General R V Franken
(ii) (aa) Slovak Republic (Bratislava)
(bb) from 01.09.92 to 01.05.95
 - (i) Consul-General N S Schoombie
(ii) (aa) Germany (Frankfurt)
(bb) from 01.01.92 to 01.01.96
 - (i) Consul-General S J Kruger
(ii) (aa) Madeira (Funchal)
(bb) from 01.04.92 to 01.07.93
 - (i) Consul-General D Meyer
(ii) (aa) Germany (Hamburg)
(bb) from 01.02.92 to 01.02.96
 - (i) Consul-General M J Farr
(ii) (aa) Hongkong
(bb) from 01.09.92 to 01.09.95
 - (i) Consul-General D G M Fourie
(ii) (aa) Germany (Munich)
(bb) from 01.01.92 to 01.01.96
 - (i) Consul-General J Stauch
(ii) (aa) United States of America (New York) [Consulate General]
(bb) from 01.06.92 to 01.06.96
 - (i) Consul-General R de Jongh
(ii) (aa) Brazil (Sao Paulo)
(bb) from 24.07.92 to 01.08.95
 - (i) Consul-General P J Botha
(ii) (aa) Singapore
(bb) from 01.09.92 to 01.09.94
 - (i) Consul-General L Mullinder
(ii) (aa) Russian Federation (St Petersburg)
(bb) from 02.10.92 to 01.10.96
 - (i) Deputy Consul-General W Zastrau
(ii) (aa) United States of America (New York) [Consulate General]
(bb) from 01.02.92 to 01.02.96
 - (i) Representative J S Aldrich (Rank Ambassador)
(ii) (aa) Namibia (Windhoek)
(bb) from 16.02.92 to 01.03.96
- TRANSFERRED IN 1993:**
- (a) (i) Ambassadors 8
 - (ii) Consuls-General 1
 - (b) (i) Ambassador C F Jacobs
(ii) (aa) Turkey (Ankara)
(bb) from 01.03.93 to 01.03.97
 - (i) Ambassador N Steyn
(ii) (aa) Australia (Canberra)
(bb) from 01.01.93 to 01.01.97
 - (i) Ambassador D van Schoor
(ii) (aa) Ukraine (Kiev)
(bb) from 01.02.93 to 01.02.95
 - (i) Ambassador W P Steenkamp
(ii) (aa) Gabon (Libreville)
(bb) from 12.01.93 to 01.01.97
 - (i) Ambassador L Crewe-Brown
(ii) (aa) Malawi (Lilongwe)
(bb) from 01.03.93 to 01.03.97

HOUSE OF DELEGATES

- Handwritten: Haurard*
- (i) Ambassador V C R Dewing
(ii) (aa) Uruguay (Montevideo)
(bb) from 01.01.93 to 01.01.97
 - (i) Ambassador A van Zyl
(ii) (aa) Korea (Seoul)
(bb) from 23.02.93 to 01.03.97
 - (i) Ambassador C C Prins
(ii) (aa) Japan (Tokyo)
(bb) from 01.03.93 to 01.03.97
 - (i) Consul-General A D Pelser
(ii) (aa) Turkey (Istanbul)
(bb) from 01.03.93 to 01.03.95
- Children of inmates of prisons**
- | | | |
|-----|-------------------|---------------------|
| (1) | (a) | 0-1 years old = 126 |
| | | 1-2 years old = 17 |
| | | 2-3 years old = 44 |
| | | 3-4 years old = 14 |
| (c) | 31 December 1992. | |
- (2) Yes.

13. Mr M RAJAB asked the Minister of Correctional Services:

- (1) (a) How many children of inmates of prisons are there in prisons under the control of his Department, (b) how many such children have been there for more than (i) one year, (ii) two years and (iii) three years and (c) in respect of what date is this information furnished;
- (2) whether he will make a statement on the matter? D64E

THE MINISTER OF CORRECTIONAL SERVICES:

- (1) (a) In the interest of the children and parents concerned and in the absence of suitable alternatives, 201 young children are being accommodated with their mothers in South African prisons in terms of special arrangements.
- (b) (i), (ii) and (iii)

The statistics are unfortunately not centrally available in the format as requested and can only be obtained by means of an expensive and manpower intensive countrywide return.

The following information with regard to the ages of the children who were in prison with their mothers on 31 December 1992 may, however, be of value to the hon member:

In line with international practice, regulation number 94 of the regulations promulgated in terms of section 94 of the Correctional Services Act, 1959 (Act No 8 of 1959), a female prisoner may be permitted, subject to such conditions as are prescribed, to have her child with her in prison during the period of lactation and for such further period as may be necessary. The necessary clothing, food and medical treatment may be provided by the State for such period as a child remains in prison.

Standing departmental orders also determine that a child may remain in prison with the mother for as long as is deemed necessary for medical and nutritional purposes. Thereafter it should be endeavoured to remove the child from prison, subject to a certificate by the medical officer to the effect that the child would not be harmed psychologically or physically if separated from the mother. In a case where removal from prison is appropriate, it is a condition that suitable abode should be obtained beforehand. Social work personnel of the Department of Correctional Services are involved in investigating the placing out of these young children in co-operation with external social work organizations. When placing out could be arranged the mother, family, foster family or institution personnel, as applicable, are consulted.

All children are examined by the medical officer as soon as possible after admission to a prison or after birth in order to determine which medical treatment and nutrition is to be prescribed. The child's mass is taken monthly and the

HOUSE OF DELEGATES

International chairman for new SA talks

Sowetan 10/3/93,
■ April 1 date for negotiations:

By Themba Molefe
Political Reporter

304A

THE international community is to preside over the negotiations conference when full-blown multiparty talks begin on April 1.

An international chairman would replace Mr Justice PJ Schabert and Mr Justice Ismail Mohammed who presided at the Convention for a Democratic South Africa (Codesa).

This decision was taken yesterday at a meeting of a 10-member agenda committee that was elected at the negotiations planning conference attended by 26 parties at the World Trade Centre on March 5 and 6.

It is believed the Government participant gave in after arguing for the retention of the two judges.

This decision will be discussed when the facilitating committee, comprising 26 leaders, meets next Monday.

It was learned yesterday that negotiators failed to formulate a new name to replace the Convention for a Democratic South Africa.

Several names were bandied about but the Government and the African National Congress insisted "Codesa" be retained.

Opposition came chiefly from the Pan Africanist Congress and Inkatha Freedom Party. The PAC yesterday

Star 10/3/93

Former members of Koevoet have Aids

Crime Reporter

A number of former members of the disbanded Koevoet unit, now part of the SAP's Crime Support Unit in the northern Transvaal, have tested HIV positive, police said yesterday.

The SAP declined to say how many members of the unit, stationed at Rooiberg in the northern Transvaal, had tested positive.

Some cases had already developed into Aids and these people were receiving support from social workers, a police public relations spokesman confirmed.

Police could not release the particulars of the men because this

would "prejudice the trust ... between the individuals, the social workers and the medical staff involved", the spokesman said.

The Koevoet unit worked with the SAP during the Namibian war of independence. When Namibia became independent in 1989, the men streamed into South Africa looking for jobs with their former ally, the SAP.

They were incorporated into the SAP and are still used in the Crime Support Unit.

Police said yesterday that pamphlets on Aids written in the Owambo language, would be distributed to former Koevoet members.

Star 10/3/93

Question time makes debut

Political Staff

CAPE TOWN — President de Klerk is expected to face tough questions from MPs today when the cut and thrust of parliamentary politics is broadcast in the first of a fortnightly slot.

This brings South Africa in line with countries abroad, but opposition MPs say the way it has been introduced is cause for concern.

The debate will begin at about 4.45 pm and will be broadcast later on the TV1 programme 6 on 1.

One of today's questioners, DP national chairman Ken Andrew, said: "In principle, the

idea of having the president available to answer topical questions on regular basis is a sound one. However, the way is being implemented makes one wonder whether it is geared more to giving the president additional TV coverage than to providing greater accountability in Parliament."

Eighty-five MPs put their names forward for today's list, of whom nine were chosen randomly by computer.

Question time lasts 15 minutes and each questioner will be allowed only one follow-up question. There is no limit on De Klerk's replies.

Constitutional negotiating forum makes a fresh start on April 1

THE new constitutional negotiating forum will start on April 1.

Senior negotiators, who reached agreement yesterday on its structure and operation, said "a new mood of enthusiasm and good spirit" permeated the talks.

The agenda for the first meeting will be decided after next Thursday's meeting of the facilitating committee.

Finally on the agreement will be reached only at Thursday's meeting, but the proposals are unlikely to be rejected as most of the major parties' chief negotiators were present yesterday. They includ-

ed ANC secretary-general Cyril Ramaphosa, Constitutional Development Minister Roelf Meyer, Inkatha central committee member Joe Matthews, Kwa-Zulu government representative Ben Ngubane and PAC secretary-general Benny Alexander, who chaired the meeting.

To streamline the negotiating process, the agreement proposes that the forum be divided into four bodies. They are:

□ A plenary meeting, with 10 delegates per party, convened irregularly as with Codesa. It will be the highest decision-making body with the party leaders present;

g/p/ny 10/31/93
BILLY PADDOCK

□ A multiparty negotiating forum, with three delegates and two advisers per party. It will meet every fortnight with the first meeting on April 1 and 2;

□ A negotiating council, where detailed constitutional talks will take place. Made up of each party's chief negotiator and one adviser, it will meet three to four days a week; and

□ The fourth level, attached to the planning committee, which consists of 10 chosen representatives to keep the forum as a

whole moving forward. It will meet daily. All meetings will take place at the World Trade Centre in Kempton Park.

The thorny issue of chairmen for the forum appears to be resolved, with parties agreeing that at the plenary outsiders such as the two Codesa judges run proceedings. In the other structures delegates will choose a panel.

Flowing from the negotiating council will be some technical committees.

One committee will assess the status of Codesa agreements and circulate its findings. Ramaphosa said the aim was to find

out how Codesa agreements could form a constructive foundation for the new forum.

Another committee will investigate dispute resolution and deadlock-breaking mechanisms. It is made up of former PAC vice-president Dikgang Moseneke, ANC negotiator Mac Maharaj, Constitutional Development adviser Fanie van der Merwe and Inkatha's Matthews.

Yesterday's meeting could not decide on a name for the new forum. The PAC suggested the Negotiating Forum of SA (Neisa), others wanted it called Codesa and a third option was Codesa/Neisa.

Star 10/8/93
**SA, Lesotho
farmers meet**

BLOEMFONTEIN — A historic meeting between South African and Lesotho farmers at Hlalele on the South Africa-Lesotho border yesterday expressed hope that better communication would put an end to cross-border crime.

The two delegations agreed theft could no longer be tolerated, and Lesotho farmers, chiefs and residents asked that police action on their side of the border be stepped up. — Sapa

New measures to stop corruption

By Peter Fabricius
Political Correspondent

CAPE TOWN — Tougher new legislation to investigate and discipline corrupt public servants was accepted by all parties in Parliament yesterday.

Administration Minister Org Marais introduced the Public Services Amendment Bill — which triples fines for official misconduct and beefs up investigative powers — in the wake of a wave of corruption scandals.

Under the Bill, officials found guilty at a departmental hearing or who plead guilty will be fined up to R6 000, transferred, have their salary cut, be dis-

charged or forced to resign.

Departmental investigations into corruption will be conducted like court hearings and the Ombudsman will be given the power to force a department head to order inquiries.

Marais said that the Bill reaffirmed the Government's commitment to clean administration. He denied opposition criticism that the Government was not dealing adequately with corruption and said it had "openly and forcefully addressed maladministration and misconduct" through several investigations and by extensive preventive and corrective measures.

The Democratic Party, the

Conservative Party and others supported the Bill although DP public service spokesman Roger Burrows said the Bill noted that it did not apply to heads of department, the National Intelligence Service, the TBVC states and self-governing territories, and educators.

Burrows said the DP would support the Bill because it was a start. But it was not far-reaching enough to clean up the entire public service.

National Party Alberton MP Dries Oosthuizen said the legislation would enable malpractices to be identified early by the Ombudsman and nipped in the bud.

March 1993

Conference

'too rushed' ¹⁰² _{304A}

By Brendan Templeton

Inkatha Freedom Party leader Mangosuthu Buthelezi last night slammed this weekend's multiparty planning conference as "rearranging the kitchen chairs", saying it would be too rushed.

He had hoped the conference would open debate on constitutional issues.

Buthelezi said this in an interview at the Johannesburg Civic Centre where he was attending the induction of Johannesburg's new mayor, Les Dishy. He confirmed that the IFP was unhappy about the presence of Transkei representatives at the conference.

Row over party for Malan

MARIANNE MERTEN

31/08/93 10/3/93

A PLANNED Kempton Park Town Council farewell party for former Defence Minister Magnus Malan at the World Trade Centre has angered opposition CP councillors and the local ratepayers' association.

Retiring Water Affairs and Forestry Minister Malan was the parliamentary representative of Modderfontein, which falls under Kempton Park's control.

CP Kempton Park councillor Johan Hattingh yesterday said about 140 guests would be invited. At R55 a head it would cost taxpayers R7 700. A further R2 500 was allocated for a present, which would bring the total cost of the farewell gesture to more than R10 000.

Hattingh, who initiated the protest, said there was nothing he could do about the management committee decision because it had already been accepted by the council, but he would not attend the function.

"We are working with taxpayers' money. I cannot see how a small group of councillors can use taxpayers' money for a farewell party," Hattingh said.

Kempton Park town councillor Hans Muller said yesterday he thought the CP's reaction was for political gain. "It is simply a question of giving recognition to a man for his services to the community over many years."

Malan's Modderfontein constituency formed the greatest part of Kempton Park, Muller said.

Kempton Park Ratepayers' Association secretary Willa Ernst said yesterday the council's decision was political. The association had been inundated with calls from unhappy people and would oppose the party.

Experts will advise on polls

By Ismail Lagardien
Political Correspondent

THE Centre for Development Studies has pulled together an impressive list of delegates from around the world to its first of three national conferences on elections in South Africa.

More than 200 representatives and "specialists" from political organisa-

Sowetan 10/3/92
■ **Advisers called in from all over the world:** (304A)

tions, governments, trade unions and non-governmental organisations from around the world will meet in Bellville, near Cape Town, on Friday and Saturday.

The issues the conference will deal with include:

- The appointment procedures, membership, powers and authority of an election commission;
- Requirements for legitimate voter registration;
- Training of the proposed 70 000 administration officials for polling sites;
- Possible ways to minimise violence during election campaign and on polling day.

CP faces further split whether it comes aboard or turns its back

Decisive days ahead of 'Codesa 3'

Star 10/3/93

304A

THE most positive thing to emerge from last weekend's multiparty planning conference was the appointment of a facilitating committee to prepare the ground for Codesa 3, or whatever the new constitutional convention is going to be called.

In effect this committee is going to be an ongoing negotiating forum. It is there, in the many meetings it will have between now and April 5, that the real negotiating will take place — not in the big showpiece convention itself.

'Monty Python'

It must surely be evident to everyone by now, including the sceptics who have denounced the bilateral meetings between the Government and the ANC, that you can't conduct successful negotiations in a large public gathering. It is too unwieldy and it invites grandstanding, as we saw last Friday when within minutes of addressing its first substantive issue the planning conference degenerated in a Monty Python show of point-scoring and procedural haggling.

Salvage teams had to leap to the rescue and call for an overnight adjournment so that the facilitating committee could work out compromises. By noon on Saturday the committee had done so, and the plenary reassembled to endorse its work and end the conference with a display of mutual amity.

That is the way the negotiating process has to go if it is not to be wrecked by the compulsive posturers. Now the facilitating committee, with one member from each of the 26 political bodies, is an established institution and its job will be to thrash out compromise positions on all the critical issues still to be resolved. It will present these to the new convention as recommendations for for-



Allister Sparks

mal adoption. If there are any that it fails to resolve, you can bet your life they won't get fixed in the open plenary.

So that is where the action is going to be over the next four weeks. And tough action it will be, too. Widening the convention from the original 19 Codesa parties is a good thing, because making extremist groups party to the deal reduces the risk of revolutionary action from them afterwards, but it also makes it more difficult to get general agreement.

The single most difficult issue is going to be trying to reconcile the Government-ANC position that the constitution should be drafted by an elected constituent assembly, and the IFP's demand — supported by the Conservative Party, Bophuthatswana and Ciskei, the so-called Concerned South Africans Group (Cosag) — that it should be drafted by the multiparty forum itself.

The difference reflects the Cosag members' awareness that their strength is likely to be drastically reduced by an election, so they want to do the negotiating beforehand while all parties are equal. The ANC insists that the legitimacy of all parties must be established before they have a hand in drafting the constitution. Non-entities should not have an equal say.

The strength the two groups have in the negotiating forum will determine the outcome of the critical differences between them: the IFP's demand for a high degree of regional autonomy, verging on secession for Natal, versus the ANC's more centralised sys-

tem; the Conservative Party's demand for apartheid-style partition; and the Afrikaner Volksunie's quest for "Afrikaner self-determination".

Coupled with this is how many regions there should be, and where and according to what criteria their boundaries should be drawn.

There are other difficulties, too, that will face the facilitating committee: the PAC's determination to continue its armed struggle while it negotiates, and whether decisions taken at Codesa last year will be binding on the new participants. If we have to start again from scratch, it will delay everything for another year.

Such a list of problems may sound insurmountable, yet there are also some positive developments. One clear indication from last weekend's planning conference was that Cosag is not an effective negotiating alliance. Divisions quickly appeared between the IFP and the Conservative Party, with Bothuthatswana and the Ciskei following the Inkatha line and leaving Treurnicht's men out on a limb.

Coaxing

This reduces the risk of a solid secessionist-partitionist front posing a major obstruction to the broad area of agreement between the Government and the ANC.

There is going to be a concerted effort to pacify the prickly IFP and coax it into the deal. A Mandela-Buthelezi meeting, which is possible within these critical four weeks, could help.

The ANC will try to reassure Inkatha that it has moved from its earlier centrist thinking, and that its new regionalist policy is really federalism in all but name.

Compromise will have to be sought in the area of a pre-election commitment to a significant

degree of regional autonomy, with the details left to an elected constituent assembly.

The Afrikaner right wing is also fragmenting. Andries Beyers of the Volksunie is talking of "Afrikaner self-determination" rather than partition, opening the way for new compromise formulae to be offered. Nelson Mandela has made the extraordinary gesture of meeting Dr Verwoerd's son-in-law, Professor Carel Boshoff of the Afrikaner Vryheidstigting, opening the way for dialogue and reason to replace stereotyped attitudes and irrational fears.

All this is leaving the Conservative Party increasingly isolated. It more than any other group has some hard decisions to make in the weeks ahead. It was my impression coming away from the planning conference that the PAC is more firmly in the negotiating process than the CP; that the Patriotic Front is a more cohesive entity than Cosag.

The CP, adrift from its Cosag allies, is still hesitating over whether to take part or not. By abstaining on the resolution to resume multiparty negotiations while accepting a place in the facilitating committee, it is trying to keep its options open but in fact has merely revealed the indecisiveness that stems from its internal divisions.

It can't hesitate much longer. By April 5 it must decide whether to get its other foot on board or leap off into the perilous void of revolutionary resistance. Either way, it is a decision that will split it down the middle. And the more its hardliners show intransigence in the face of conciliatory gestures, the more the far-Right will continue to fragment.

Tough problems, with some helpful developments. It's going to be a momentous four weeks — perhaps the most decisive of the whole transition process. □

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Elections could dampen or aggravate the violence, says Patrick Laurence

Star 10/31/93

'No go' areas may decide victors

SOUTH Africa's main political organisations, including, critically, the NP, the ANC and IFP, are publicly unanimous on the need for non-racial elections to establish a legitimate and representative government.

Their declared pro-election stance invites the question of whether a free and fair poll is possible in the prevailing climate of violence.

It is not an idle question: last year more than 3 100 people were killed in politically motivated violence, the daily average number of deaths was 8.5 people.

The threat of violence to a peaceful settlement has been undermined in the past week by three brutal massacres in Natal: in the first, six schoolchildren were shot dead in an ambush; in the second 10 adults — six of whom were women — were slain in what might have been a revenge attack; in the third four people died when gunmen opened fire on a bus.

Mangosuthu Buthelezi, president of the IFP, has opposed plans to hold elections for a constituent assembly and a transitional government of national unity within the next 15 months, citing as one of his reasons the impossibility of holding free and fair elections.

The IFP, Buthelezi avers, will not accept a constituent assembly "elected in unfree and unfair elections in the current climate of violence and intimidation"; nor, Buthelezi adds, will it allow an "undemocratic" assembly to define boundaries of regions and powers of regional governments.

Buthelezi's political opponents, particularly those in the ANC, accuse him of using the ongoing violence as an excuse to avoid the verdict of the people in popular elections. But in its latest report on the violence, the International Commission of Jurists also concludes that free and fair elections are not possible.

However, the report is now more than six months old and, until last week, there was some evidence that the level of violence may have begun to tail off.

Thus the South African-based Human Rights Commission (HRC) notes in its latest report that the monthly tally of deaths in political violence has begun to decrease: the monthly average for the first two months of 1993 is 170.5, against a monthly average of more than 290 for 1992.

Even allowing for evidence that the downward movement of the graph showing fatalities started in November last year, it is still too

early to draw any definitive conclusions. As Matthew Kentridge, author of a penetrating book on the Natal conflict has observed, the undeclared war there waxes and wanes: what appears to be a tapering off may simply be the lull before the storm.

There is another complicating factor: the decrease coincided with a decision by the police to stop issuing their daily "unrest report", suggesting that the known number of deaths may have dropped because fewer are being reported.

The HRC figures do not take account of the latest killings in Natal. Judging from similar brutal episodes in the past, these massacres, tragically, have the potential to intensify the spiral of political assassinations in that unhappy province.

The latest carnage suggests that the epicentre of violence has shifted from black townships in the megalopolis around Johannesburg to Natal — where it began — not that it has begun to decrease on a national scale.

But the contention that the violence has made free and fair elections impossible must be weighed against a counter argument that the violence makes elections all the more necessary. Joe Slovo, na-

tional chairman of the South African Communist Party and a senior member of the ANC executive, has put the counter argument eloquently.

"In moving rapidly, now, towards one person, one vote elections, we will show those forces who have unleashed the violence in our country that they cannot stop the movement towards democracy by escalating the body count. But if we falter now, we will encourage ongoing violence."

The counter-argument is positioned on a fundamental premise: that a major cause of the prevailing violence is President de Klerk's illegitimate and unrepresentative Government (it was elected by less than half of an electorate drawn from less than 15 percent of the total population).

Its replacement by a government of national unity after a non-racial election will, it is reasoned, remove a primary cause of the conflict.

But there is a risk that an election may exacerbate rather than reduce the violence if it is held before the violence abates.

The ANC complains that there are parts of South Africa where it cannot campaign because they have been declared "no-go areas" to ANC cadres by tribal poten-

tates. It is referring chiefly to the politics of KwaZulu, Bophuthatswana and Ciskei, where anti-ANC leaders — Buthelezi, Lucas Mangope and Oupa Gqozo — are in power. Areas where rabid white rightwingers are powerful can perhaps be added to these tribal territories.

But the ANC is not a completely innocent party: it has itself contributed to the growth of a "no-go" mentality.

Its supporters have disrupted at least one meeting in a black township outside Cape Town held by the small white-led Democratic Party (DP) and have reportedly been involved in the breaking up of another. A top leader of the ANC-aligned South African National Civic Organisation, Don Mofokeng, has, moreover, vowed to prevent the largely white DP and NP from campaigning in black townships.

"The people... are not going to allow these parties to come to townships and start discrediting the sons of our land who have fought so hard for liberation," he has stated.

Mofokeng's remarks — which were later routinely repudiated by the ANC — have drawn a riposte from Tony Leon of the DP. "The jury is out," Leon says, "on wheth-

er South Africa can hold free and fair elections."

Leon's remark assumes greater relevancy in light of the arrest of members of the ANC's underground army for smuggling arms into Natal and the defence of their activities by the leader of the ANC in Natal Midlands, Harry Gwala. These events, coupled with the arrest of IFP men for gun-running, are ominous omens.

The ANC and the IFP have already succeeded in putting parts of Natal out of bounds to their rivals; to move freely in particular areas men and women have to carry membership cards of the dominant organisation in that area.

According to Natal farmer and former opposition MP Graham McIntosh, there are ANC and IFP areas within the town centre of Escourt, into which people dare not go without the appropriate membership card. Party membership cards have become the "dompas" of the 1990s, he says.

Unless national leaders campaign in concert for tolerance and take firm action against their recalcitrant followers, the pending election will be won by the party or combination of parties which can carve out the biggest or the most "no-go" areas. □

All parties give nod to bid to cut corruption

Political Staff

TOUGHER new legislation to investigate and discipline corrupt public servants was accepted by all parties in parliament yesterday.

Administration Minister Org Marais introduced the Public Services Amendment Bill — which triples fines for official misconduct and beefs up investigative powers — in the wake of a wave of corruption scandals.

Under the Bill, officials found guilty at a departmental hearing or who plead guilty will be fined up to R6 000, transferred, have their salary cut, be discharged or forced to resign.

Departmental investigations into corruption will be conducted like court hearings and the Ombudsman will be given the power to force a department head to order inquiries.

Dr Marais said the Bill reaffirmed the government's commitment to clean administration.

He denied opposition criticism that the government was not dealing adequately with corruption and said it had "openly and forcefully addressed maladministration and misconduct" through several investigations and by extensive preventive and corrective measures.

The Democratic Party, the Conservative Party and others supported the Bill though DP public service spokesman Roger Burrows said the Bill would apply only to the South African public service and not the 10 other administrations in the homelands.

The Bill: **ARG 10/3/93**

- Makes it compulsory and not discretionary as now — for the head of a department to launch an investigation into misconduct on the recommendation of the Ombudsman.

- Gives the head of the department the responsibility and powers to deal with misconduct (where this responsibility is currently restricted to the minister). The department head will also decide on the punishment.

- Allows for the appointment of both an investigating officer and a presiding officer to hear cases of misconduct.

Dr Marais said at the moment only an investigating officer was appointed, who acted as a presiding officer.

This meant there was no investigating officer in practice, resulting in important evidence sometimes not being available.

- Gives the investigating officer powers to subpoena any person to appear at a hearing and to produce documents and other evidence.

If this person refuses to do so, he can be fined up to R2 000.

Mr Burrows said the DP would support the Bill, as it was a start. But it was not enough to clean up the whole public service.

Corruption: Opposition zooms in on De Klerk

ARC 11/3/93

(304A)

MICHAEL MORRIS, Political Correspondent

CORRUPTION, ministerial accountability and the future of the armed forces dominated parliament's first president's question time as opposition MPs rounded on President De Klerk.

In his responses Mr De Klerk:

- Declared every South African should be eligible on merit for the highest posts in all fields, including the security forces;
- Conceded "things went terribly wrong" in the motor vehicle accident insurance fund;
- Insisted the government's hands were "clean" in its handling of corruption; and,
- Conceded the Goldstone Commission raid on a Military Intelligence base last November damaged the country's intelligence capability.

For the first time, television cameras zoomed in on the president as he faced off-the-cuff questions from MPs.

Corruption was a key issue.

Responding to a question from Salmon Barnard (CP Hercules), who said former Ministers Dr Gerrit Viljoen and Dr Stoffel van der Merwe should have been fired instead of leaving the Cabinet as millionaires, Mr De Klerk said they had received no greater pension than Conservative Party leader Dr Andries Treurnicht for his service in the Cabinet.

"Neither Dr Viljoen nor Dr Van der Merwe received a golden handshake. They received nothing more than any other member in this House will, according to their service," he said.

He added: "I am not prepared to have a witch-hunt conducted against ministers who left the Cabinet with clean hands."

The test for ministerial responsibility was whether a minister knew or should have known of any corruption or maladministration in his department, or whether sufficient measures were taken to prevent it.

"In no case where corruption or maladministration has been revealed was there any evidence to show that the minister in charge knew about it or was negligent.

"When we discovered irregularities we took firm action, and continue to do so."

He said it was the government that had taken initiatives such as setting up the office of the Ombudsman, appointing judicial commissions to inquire into corruption, strengthening the hand of the Auditor-General and acting on evidence of corruption.



**President De Klerk
... facing
opposition questions.**

But there were howls of derision when he declared: "This government's hands are clean when it comes to handling corruption."

He was also questioned by Democratic Party MP for Gardens Ken Andrew on why present Minister of Mineral and Energy Affairs — the former Minister of Transport — George Bartlett had not been held accountable for the problems in the Multilateral Motor Vehicles Accident Fund (MMF) and the Rail Commuter Corporation.

Mr De Klerk acknowledged that "things went terribly wrong, to a certain extent" when South Africa had moved from the old Third Party system to the MMF system, but defended Mr Bartlett, saying it was he who had drawn the Cabinet's attention to serious underfunding.

An announcement would be made about this.

He said controversial Rail Commuter Corporation investments had been made without the Cabinet's or Mr Bartlett's knowledge.

But Mr Andrew pressed him: "If ministers are not accountable for things that go terribly wrong, are they accountable for anything?"

The president replied that in all cases reports ordered by the government pinpointed the guilty parties and there had been no question of political mismanagement.

Answering a question from Conservative Party MP for Pietersburg Dr Willie Snyman, Mr De Klerk said the government did not recognise Umkhonto we Sizwe or Apla — the military wings of the ANC and the PAC — as forces equal in status to the SADF and its policy was that they could not be integrated.

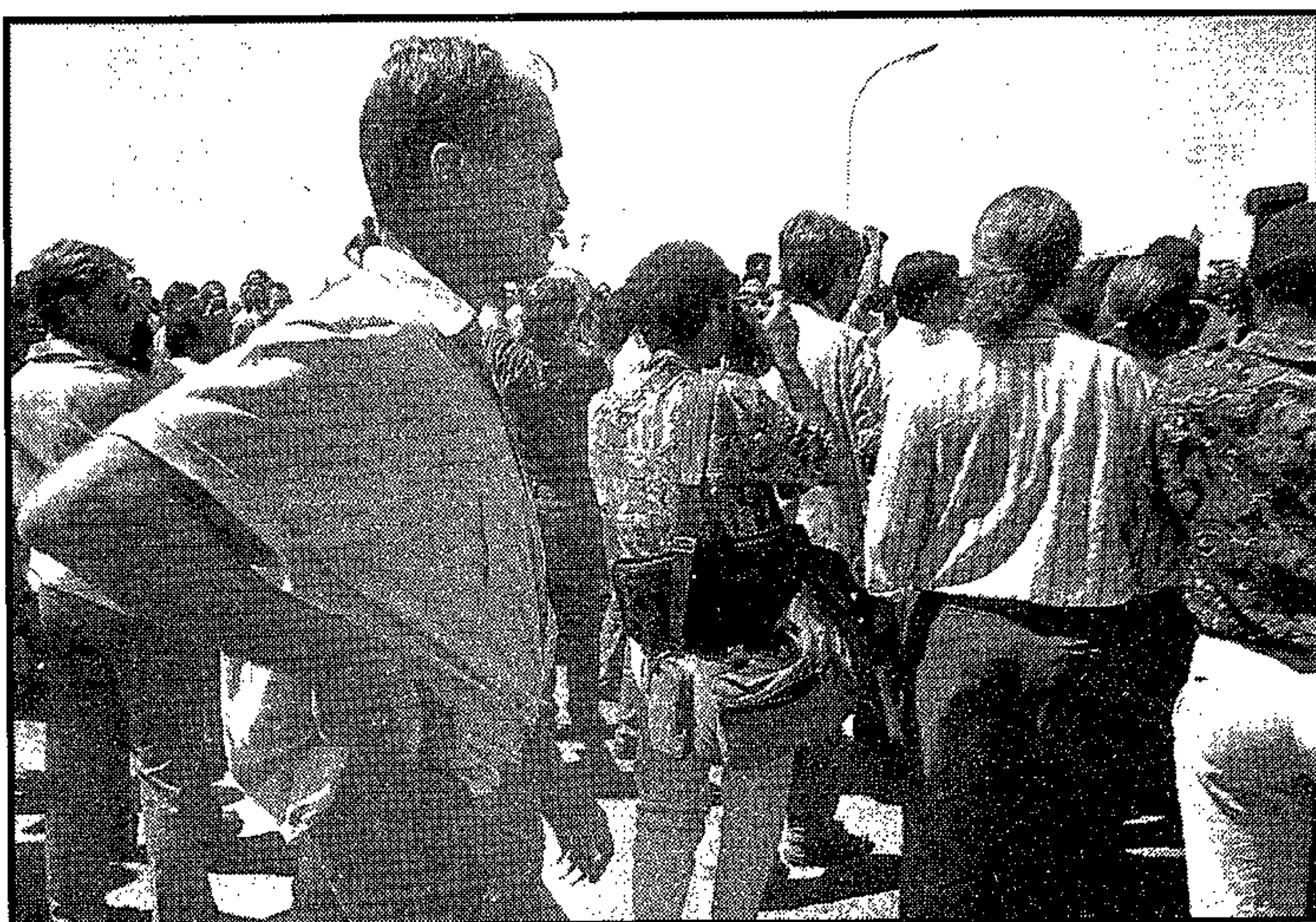
However, the government's view was that anybody should be eligible for service in the security forces, on merit.

This included the senior officer corps of the armed forces.



THE MARIKE TOUCH: Mrs Marike De Klerk, above, greets guests at a National Party goodwill tea party as the sounds of protesters, chanting and singing freedom songs outside, filter into the serene atmosphere of Saxonsea Community Centre in Atlantis.

□□□



EXPLOSIVE MOMENT: A policeman, left, reaches for his gun in the chaos that followed Mrs De Klerk's departure from Atlantis. A confrontation developed between plainclothes police and the protesting crowd when police alleged that a man drew a gun as Mrs De Klerk's car passed him.

Picture:
ROY WIGLEY, the Argus.

Marike 'hurt by unjust accusations'

DENNIS CRUYWAGEN
Political Staff

MRS MARIKE De Klerk says she has been hurt deeply by "unjust and unjustifiable" accusations being used to vilify her.

She was reacting to allegations that she had said coloureds were not people, but leftovers with no binding power.

Placards criticising her for making these remarks — as published in Vrye Weekblad newspaper in 1989 — were held aloft during her visit to the West Coast town of Atlantis yesterday.

In a written reply to an Argus inquiry, Mrs De Klerk said in 1989 President De Klerk had dealt with the "misrepresentation and erroneous" interpretation of a speech she had made nearly 10 years ago.

She said she and President De Klerk have the best of rela-

ARG 11/3/93

tions with all South Africans.

"In my capacity, both as State President's wife and wife of the leader of the National Party, there is a warm and cordial co-operation between myself and the coloured community."

She has the "highest regard" for coloureds and had, in close co-operation with their community leaders, gone out of her way to alleviate problems such as poverty, tuberculosis and child neglect.

"Because of our close cultural bonds, I — as an Afrikaans-speaking South African — have a special appreciation of the contribution by the coloured community to South African society."

It was with this disposition and spirit that she had gone to Atlantis, visited schools and took part in various women's gatherings in the past.

"All these events provided me with the opportunity to expand my contact with the community."

Yesterday's visit was a "community oriented goodwill event" to which she had been invited as a guest.

"It was not politically motivated."

Should she be invited to Atlantis or any other centre to take part in a NP function "it would be my prerogative to do so".

President De Klerk said in his 1989 statement that Mrs De Klerk had been done a great injustice through the distorted representations and inaccurate translation of her speech.

"Together with me she has fought a titanic struggle against the negative and narrow-minded racism of the far right in white politics. From every platform she promotes

the concept of reform and renewal."

He said the fact that Mrs De Klerk had been arguing for the inclusion of coloureds and Indians in the constitutional dispensation against the Conservative Party viewpoint was being deliberately overlooked.

What she had said about the coloured community had been taken out of context.

She had used the Population Registration Act definition of coloureds which defined this group in negative terms as non-black and not white and therefore "in quotation marks and by definition non-person".

In this context she had in no way reflected a negative opinion, feeling or attitude towards coloureds as a population group.

"Any person who so alleges is malicious and attaches an inaccurate interpretation to my wife's comments."

THE EUPHORIA over the symbolic success of last weekend's planning meeting should remain there — at the meeting. Beyond the gathering there were no successes. Nothing substantial or contentious was discussed.

The meeting's success rested solely on the fact that the PAC and Conservative Party attended and the Inkatha Freedom Party did not cause any problems.

It is matters of substance and even a palace revolt that could still see the PAC, the IFP and Conservative Party leaving negotiations. Admittedly this is the worst scenario.

The CP and PAC are notoriously dogmatic, as any party with a specific ethnic or racial identity base would be.

For its lack of numbers and depth, this theory excludes, for the time being, the identity-based parties in the tricameral parliament.

Besides the fact that the PAC is seeking to establish democracies of Africans for Africans and by Africans, both parties have separated two concepts which are inexorably intertwined.

Negotiations and compromise are like the chicken and egg situation: which came first?

Both parties seek to establish a state based on (their respective) party policies and not so much on universally accepted principles in whatever form.

That does not mean that the ANC and the National Party are perfect examples of anti-sectarian thought.

Nonsectarian state

These two parties have, in a manner of speaking, identified the need to create a nonsectarian state governed by universally accepted democratic principles.

Both the NP and the ANC have assumed positions that required serious compromises from both.

For the ANC the notion that liberation waves a red flag and rides a horse through a gauntlet of toothless peons (waving smaller red flags) has been supplanted by Realpolitik and a desperate need "to get on with it".

The ruling National Party, inscrutable as always, knows that without the ANC it cannot begin to imagine a future for itself. It has also accepted that, given the parlous state of the economy, for which, incidentally, it is largely to blame, it has perhaps become time "to get on with it".

The same cannot be said for the PAC and the CP or, to a lesser degree, the IFP, all of whom are locked in their own embrace.

The CP wants a separate Afrikaner state, the PAC wants a socialist state controlled by Africans and whatever else happens the IFP wants its leader, Chief Mangosuthu Buthelezi, in central

Sowetan 11/3/93.
The only success of last weekend's planning meeting was that opposing factions turned up in the same place at the same time. Only Cyril Ramaphosa and Roelf Meyer really got what they wanted.

Ismail Lagardien reports on the uncharted waters that lie ahead.



Roelf Meyer ... got what he wanted.

government and KwaZulu-Natal within a gentle push of independence or even secession.

These are the three non-negotiables in a (negotiations) process which cannot go without compromises.

Parties are dogmatic

Besides these specific non-negotiables, the three parties are also dogmatic about the process.

That the process should encourage economic stability (at least), let alone growth, is not an issue with the PAC, IFP and CP.

That the process should encourage social and political stability (at least), let alone lasting peace, is not an issue with the PAC, IFP and CP.

The PAC wants the process to go the PAC's way. The CP wants the CP way and pretty much the same can be said about the IFP.

It can be said that the ANC would have liked the process to go its own way. But looking at this movement's ideas about national unity (based



on voter preference) there is a great deal of pragmatism in these proposals.

An interim government of national unity does not mean that the ANC will sell out the ideals and objectives of the indigenous and disenfranchised people.

Less treacherous route

It simply means that the less treacherous route to eventual and unimpeded majority rule, that of keeping the voting bloc that contains South Africa's nefarious security forces in rein, is the better option.

In simpler terms, the NP might represent only 20 percent of the vote but 75 percent of this is the army, the police and civil service.

To summarily dump this bloc would be disastrous.

To the PAC this type of thinking is a sell-out and the leadership of the Africanists have said that much.

It is hardly likely that the CP's leader, Dr Andries Treurnicht, will sit in any cabinet under anybody who is in an alliance with communists or blacks for that matter.

It is hardly likely that the PAC will take a back seat to the NP in an ANC-led cabinet.

And Buthelezi. Well, the good doctor wants to have a big say in central government and the only say in KwaZulu-Natal.

It is early days yet for the neophytes. One need only reflect on how big the collapse at Codesa 2 was — when they actually started talking about real issues.

Last weekend was a breakthrough for the ANC's secretary-general, Mr Cyril Ramaphosa, and his Government counterpart, Mr Roelf Meyer.

They got what they wanted: the resumption of talks and maximum inclusion.

Beyond lies the uncertainty of the clash between party politics and the national interest.

To abuse an old cliché: You can lead a horse to the water but there's no guarantee that it will drink.

Star 11/13/93

FW evasive on spying claim

By Peter Fabricius
Political Correspondent

CAPE TOWN — Inkatha Freedom Party central committee member Walter Felgate and Bophuthatswana Cabinet Minister Rowan Cronje have spied on their own organisations for the South African Government, the Democratic Party has suggested.

President de Klerk refused yesterday in Parliament to confirm or deny the insinuation and was accused of evasion.

But Felgate strongly denied it and challenged the DP to repeat it outside Parliament where it would not be protected by privilege.

DP Umhlanga MP Kobus

Jordaan asked De Klerk in Parliament whether over the past 10 years the State had been directly or indirectly funding nine persons to furnish input and/or advice about certain cultural and/or political organisations.

Without initially giving names, Jordaan apparently identified three of the people involved when he asked De Klerk — after his refusal to reply to the question — whether he did not think that the activities of Felgate, Cronje and Professor Albert Blaustein (an American constitutional adviser to the IFP) were a "millstone around the neck of negotiations".

De Klerk replied that there was certain informa-

tion which it was not in the national interest to divulge.

To give the information Jordaan wanted would defeat the aim of the State's intelligence activities.

If he denied allegations that were untrue, this would mean that any future refusal to comment on similar allegations would be construed as admission.

Sandton's ANC-aligned MP, Dave Dalling, later issued a statement saying Jordaan had implied that the three men had been secretly paid by the Government to inform and advise on their organisations.

Dalling said De Klerk's "obvious evasion" of the questions was disturbing.

● More reports — Page 8

Star 11/13/93

Questions on corruption

(304A)

By Peter Fabricius
Political Correspondent

CAPE TOWN — There were no knockouts or surprises when President de Klerk for the first time faced the opposition in Parliament yesterday to answer unseen questions.

Speaker Eli Louw was obliged to grant extra time because when the allotted 15 minutes was over, only three MPs had put questions.

Predictably corruption was the main topic, while the Conservative Party also dwelt on the controversy over the Goldstone Commission's raid on a Military Intelligence front organisation

last November and on the integration of the SADF with the ANC's army.

CP Hercules MP Salmon Barnard asked why Cabinet Ministers had not been held accountable for corruption.

De Klerk gave the standard reply — that Ministers were held accountable only if they knew of misconduct, should have known of it, or had not installed sufficient checks to prevent corruption.

CP Soutpansberg MP Tom Langley asked whether intelligence secrets had not been betrayed to international observers of the Goldstone Commission in its

raid on the SADF's Directorate of Covert Collection in November. De Klerk said he would not have approved the raid if he had known of it.

NP Ceres MP Melt Hamman asked what was being done to curb political violence. De Klerk said the key was reconciliation among political parties. Law and Order Minister Hernus Kriel would be visiting Natal violence spots today together with ANC and IFP leaders.

Replying to CP Pietersburg MP Willie Snyman, De Klerk said Umkhonto we Sizwe would not be integrated with the SADF, but individuals could apply.

ANC protesters jeer at President's wife

CAPE TOWN — The President's wife, Marike de Klerk, ran the gauntlet of ANC protesters when she attended a goodwill tea in Atlantis yesterday.

She was jeered when she arrived, and as she left scuffles broke out between plainclothes policemen and the crowd when shouting protesters threw posters at her car. One policeman reportedly drew a gun.

MP Abe Williams, Sport Minister designate, nevertheless declared her visit a triumph for democracy.

ANC officials acted as marshals in co-operation with police as the protesters gathered outside the hall, singing, jeering VIP guests and holding up posters that read: "Jobs, not tea parties" and "Abe is a

puppet".

Williams accepted a memorandum from community organisations and the ANC branch calling for Atlantis to be declared a disaster area because 11 000 of its residents were jobless.

De Klerk told the guests she knew there were many problems in SA. "Yet we must talk. If we have only war and strife and intolerance to look to then we have no hope." The cycle of violence and mistrust had to be broken. "One cannot eat the vote. ... One needs people-orientated solutions and with these solutions we can start before the new constitution." — Sapa.

● Picture: Page 3

3049

8/10/77 11/3/79

De Klerk rebuffs corruption queries

CAPE TOWN — President F W de Klerk launched his instant question time yesterday — and received a barrage of questions on corruption from the CP and DP.

One focus of the attack was Mineral and Energy Affairs Minister George Bartlett, with Ken Andrew (DP Gardens) asking the President whether he still had confidence in the Minister's "competence".

Former Ministers Gerrit Viljoen and Stoffel van der Merwe, both of whom had headed the Departments of Education and Training and of Development Aid, also came in for a roasting.

The first questioner, SP Barnard (CP Hercules), said the two Ministers should have been fired — instead of leaving the Cabinet as millionaires. That annoyed the

Political Staff

President, who said he was "not prepared to have a witchhunt conducted against Ministers who left the Cabinet with clean hands".

He denied that either had received a golden handshake. They had received nothing more than any other MP would, based on their service.

The President said that when CP leader Andries Treurnicht and his deputy Ferdi Hartzenberg had retired from the Cabinet they had been paid a gratuity and still received a pension for the time they had served in the Cabinet.

De Klerk said the test for ministerial

□ To Page 2

Corruption From Page 1

responsibility was whether the Minister knew of any corruption or irregularities occurring in his department, if he should have known or whether sufficient preventive measures were taken to stop this happening.

"In no case where corruption or maladministration has been revealed were there any facts to show that the Minister in charge knew about it, or was negligent. When we discovered irregularities we took firm action and continue to do so as well as continually implementing new measures.

"This government's record is clean in handling corruption," he said to jeers and

interjections from the opposition benches.

De Klerk also defended Bartlett, admitting that while things had gone "terribly wrong" it had been during a change in systems involving the third party fund and SA Rail Commuter Corporation.

Bartlett had, in fact, brought the situation to the attention of Cabinet, and government would make an announcement on third party underfunding soon.

De Klerk said that in all cases the relevant reports had indicated which people had been at fault, and there had been no question of political mismanagement.

Star 11/3/93
**'Observers
for SA poll'**

By Esther Waugh
Political Reporter

UN Secretary-General Boutros Boutros-Ghali will be urgently informed of the need for international observers to monitor South Africa's coming election from an early stage.

A delegation of the UN Special Committee against Apartheid, which today completes a 10-day visit, will also inform Boutros-Ghali of the need to increase the numbers of the UN violence monitoring team and to widen its mandate.

The committee's chairman and Nigerian ambassador to the UN, Ibrahim Gambari, said the central message of his report to the General Assembly will be that the promising process of transition should be encouraged by the international community.

But the first two issues were so urgent that he would inform Boutros-Ghali of them before he has written his report, said Gambari.

The six-member delegation spent 10 days in South Africa on the first visit to the country of the Special Committee against Apartheid. Wide ranging discussions were held with many political leaders.

Star 11/3/93

ANC gives Marike rough reception

Political Staff

CAPE TOWN — Chaos erupted in Atlantis yesterday afternoon when police and security men reached for their weapons as angry ANC protesters surged around Marike de Klerk's car as she left a National Party function.

The State President's wife emerged waving from the community hall where she had been guest of honour at an NP goodwill tea for invited guests.

ANC marshals kept hundreds of shouting protesters behind a cordon, but as De Klerk's car moved off, the crowd surged forward, almost choking the exit.

(304A)
A roar went up from the crowd when a security man running alongside De Klerk's car drew his gun, claiming he had seen someone in the crowd with a firearm.

As the cars sped away, plainclothes police pressed into the crowd and there were angry ex-

changes as tempers flared.

ANC marshals battled to regain control and, after several minutes, got the crowd to sit down on the pavement.

When she arrived at the hall, De Klerk ran the gauntlet of several hundred protesting ANC supporters, many brandishing sharply critical posters.

The clamour rose to a crescendo as her car swept up to the community centre, but as she got out she turned to the crowd and waved.

Star 12/2/93

DP petition on corruption

By Peter Fabricius
Political Correspondent

CAPE TOWN — The Democratic Party today launches a countrywide drive to collect signatures for a petition demanding that President de Klerk appoint an independent commission to investigate State spending and eliminate corruption and waste.

The petition says billions of rands of taxpayers' money has been wasted through corruption and incompetence.

"On March 17, Budget Day, the National Party Government

(304A) will demand more of our money through higher personal taxes, an increase in VAT, a higher petrol price and increased postal tariffs.

"How do we know that this money will not also be lost to ongoing corruption, or Cabinet Ministers paid to live in their own houses, or given away in golden handshakes or used by the Nats to buy voters in the next election?" the petition asks.

It dismisses President de Klerk's claim that the corruption is not his Government's fault.

Star 12/31/93
Slabbert makes predictions

ANC leader Nelson Mandela is likely to be State President by May 1994, political analyst Dr. Van Zyl Slabbert told a seminar in Cape Town yesterday. Slabbert said he also believed F.W. de Klerk would serve in Mandela's Cabinet. (304A)

(304A) ARC 12/3/93

DP calls rules meeting over president's question time

TOS WENTZEL
Political Staff

THE Democratic Party is to call for a meeting of the rules committee of parliament to review procedures for the new fortnightly president's question time that began on Wednesday.

In a rambling, lack-lustre 26-minute session there were long questions and long answers from President De Klerk. In the end the Speaker extended what was to have been a 15-minute session because it was the first such session.

MP Colin Eglin, chairman of the

DP's parliamentary caucus, said today his party was not opposed to such a question session. The selection of questioners and the content of the debate, however, had to be reviewed.

The purpose of the short session should be to produce information. It should not, as happened yesterday, be a showcase for the political dexterity of the president without him giving specific answers to questions.

Questions should be targeted to topical issues and produce specific replies, as was the case during the prime minister's question time in the House of Commons in the UK.

DP stages protest against corruption

Political Staff

THE Democratic Party today launches a nationwide drive to collect signatures for a petition demanding that President De Klerk appoint an independent commission to investigate State spending and eliminate corruption and wastage.

The petition says billions of rands of taxpayers money has been wasted through corruption and incompetence.

In Cape Town today tables with petitions for the public to sign will be in St George's Mall at the First National Bank building from 12.30 to 2pm. Several Democratic Party MPs will be present.

"On March 17, Budget day, the National Party government will demand more of our money through higher personal taxes, increased VAT, a higher petrol price and increased postal tariffs.

"How do we know that this money will not also be lost to continuing corruption, or paid to Cabinet ministers to live in their own houses, or given away in golden handshakes or used by the Nats to buy voters in the next election?", asks the petition.

The petition dismisses President De Klerk's claim that the corruption is not the fault of his government and says he was a Cabinet minister throughout former President P.W. Botha's term.

It says President De Klerk's assurance that he had appointed commissions to probe the corruption was not enough.

The National Party was politically responsible for the corruption and must face up to its responsibility.

Civil servants should be charged in court and political heads must roll. (304A)

Mr Ken Andrew MP, national chairman of the DP, said today the government had consistently refused to accept responsibility or ministerial accountability for the wide-ranging corruption and maladministration that had been exposed. ARG 12/3/93

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Vol. 333

PRETORIA, 12 MARCH
MAART 1993

No. 14657

PROCLAMATION

*by the
State President
of the Republic of South Africa*

No. 14, 1993

304A

FILLING OF A VACANCY IN THE HOUSE OF
ASSEMBLY: ELECTORAL DIVISION OF MODDER-
FONTEIN

Under the powers vested in me by section 2 (1) of
the Filling of Casual Vacancies in Parliament Act, 1992
(Act No. 148 of 1992)—

- (1) I hereby declare that a vacancy has occurred in
the representation of the House of Assembly in
the Electoral Division of Modderfontein; and
- (2) I hereby order that the vacancy be filled within
21 days after the date of the publication of this
Proclamation, by the nomination of a member,
for the unexpired portion of the tenure of office
of the former member who vacated the seat
concerned, by the political party which in terms
of section 2 (2) of the said Act is competent to
make the nomination.

Given under my Hand and the Seal of the Republic
of South Africa at Cape Town this Ninth day of March,
One thousand Nine hundred and Ninety-three.

F. W. DE KLERK,
State President.

By Order of the State President-in-Cabinet:

L. A. PIENAAR,
Minister of the Cabinet.

96253—A

PROKLAMASIE

*van die
Staatspresident
van die Republiek van Suid-Afrika*

No. 14, 1993

AANVULLING VAN 'N VAKATURE IN DIE VOLKS-
RAAD: KIESAFDELING MODDERFONTEIN

Kragtens die bevoegdheid my verleen by artikel 2 (1)
van die Wet op die Aanvulling van Tussentydse Vaka-
tures in die Parlement, 1992 (Wet No. 148 van 1992)—

- (1) verklaar ek dat 'n vakature ontstaan het in die
verteenwoordiging van die Volksraad in die
kiesafdeling Modderfontein; en
- (2) gelas ek dat die vakature aangevul word binne
21 dae vanaf die datum van afkondiging van
hierdie Proklamasie, deur die benoeming van 'n
lid vir die onverstreke gedeelte van die amps-
termyn van die gewese lid wat die betrokke
setel ontruim het, deur die politieke party wat
ingevolge artikel 2 (2) van genoemde Wet
bevoeg is om die benoeming te doen.

Gegee onder my Hand en die Seël van die Repu-
bliek van Suid-Afrika te Kaapstad, op hede die
Negende dag van Maart Eenduisend Negehoenderd
Drie-en-negentig.

F. W. DE KLERK,
Staatspresident.

Op las van die Staatspresident-in-Kabinet:

L. A. PIENAAR,
Minister van die Kabinet.

14657—1

NEWS Dr Gluckman reports on ANC man's death • Controversy over wounded man

ANC and allies to join forces for election

■ 100 organisations expected to attend conference: *Southern 12/3/93*

THE ANC and its allies within Codesa have begun discussing the possibility of forming a broad election alliance to jointly fight South Africa's first all-in election, it was revealed yesterday.

Making the disclosure in Johannesburg, ANC deputy secretary-general Jacob Zuma said the possibility of his organisation entering into an election pact with its Codesa allies had been discussed at a meeting of these organisations yesterday.

Zuma said Azapo and the PAC could be party to such a pact once the "broad Patriotic Front" - formed in Durban in October 1991 - was off the ground and functional.

Matter is receiving attention

No further details of the proposed pact were divulged, and the matter was said to be receiving attention among the different organisations.

Organisations represented at yesterday's meeting were the ANC, the South African Communist Party, the Labour Party, KaNgwane's Inyandza National Movement, Lebowa's United People's Front, the Transvaal Indian Congress and the governments of Transkei and Venda.

Following the meeting, it was announced that at least 100 organisations are expected to attend the PF conference to be held in Lenasia, south of Johannesburg, towards the end of this month. - *Own Correspondent.*



POTCH GRADUATE ... It took many years of hard work and dedication for Mr Jacob Thammae (centre) to get his BA degree. Thammae was joined by his sister Mrs Julia Mashigo (left), Mrs Tickle Ntshibe and Mr Kaybe Ntsebe at the graduation ceremony at Potchefstroom University this week.

Smoking curbs likely

LEGISLATION to control the use, sale and advertising of tobacco products is to be tabled in Parliament this session, the Minister of National Health, Dr Rina Venter, said yesterday.

The Bill will include a clause to ban the sale of tobacco products to persons under the age of 16, she said at a media conference.

It will also empower the Minister to prescribe by regulation the health warning and details of dangerous substances of a tobacco product which have to appear on the packet or in advertising and to determine which claims may not be used in tobacco advertising.

Anyone selling cigarettes to minors will be guilty of an offence punishable by a fine or

Southern 12/3/93
■ **STRONG SIGNAL** Bill will include clause to

ban the sale of tobacco to under 16s:

imprisonment, or both similar to that of selling liquor to a minor.

Venter said it would be difficult to impose the ban on selling cigarettes to people under 16.

"There has to be a strong signal sent out on this and I hope the community and all responsible adults will help by laying a charge against people who supply children with cigarettes."

To prevent young people smoking, it was necessary to both reduce access to tobacco and

Social pensions to be equal
Southern 12/3/93
■ **Budget announcement expected:**

By **Ismail Lagardien**
Political correspondent

BLACK pensioners will receive the same pension as their white counterparts before the end of the year, possibly by October, Government sources have confirmed.

The announcement is expected to be made in Parliament next Wednesday when the Minister of Finance, Mr Derek Keys, tables the Budget for 1993/94.

The Budget then has to be passed by all three Houses of Parliament.

The present breakdown of pensions is as follows: Whites R345, coloureds and Indians R318 and blacks R293.

Besides parity, pensions are also expected to increase by the usual annual average of 10 percent.

inducements to smoke it. Although a health warning has been displayed on cigarette packets since 1986, most smokers had become accustomed to it and ignored the warnings.

"For warnings to be effective, we need a series of clear, well-presented, sizable, rotating health warnings which stress the harmful health consequences and the benefits of giving it up." - *Sapa.*

WHILE the 10-member planning committee was thrashing out proposals for a negotiation forum in Kempton Park this week, an equally important activity was underway at Pollsmoor Prison in Cape Town — manufacturing ballot-boxes for the country's first non-racial elections.

South Africa's eyes are still focused on the World Trade Centre in Kempton Park where the planning committee is trying to work out boring technical proposals for a negotiations structure.

But back at the party offices, the adrenalin is beginning to pump in anticipation of the inevitable electoral battle that lies ahead.

It matters little that the modalities for the election process have not yet been decided upon. The sweating behind closed doors, the seeking of compromises, the efforts to get the centre to hold, the highly confusing proposals for a negotiation committee to report to a multi-party negotiating forum which will be subservient to a plenary session — these things are no more than a prelude to the real thing.

The real thing will be the measuring of the actual support of each of the parties and movements represented at the still unnamed negotiation forum planned for April Fool's Day: elections, in other words.

However vehemently the Conservative Party digs in its heels and demands of the National Party that it stop the "farce of negotiations", like Ferdie Hartzenberg did on Tuesday, the CP is inexorably being drawn into the inevitability of negotiations and, ultimately, elections.

Expect new names to come to the fore in the next few months: ones that are not closely associated with the World Trade Centre where the planners and the negotiators are gathered.

In the case of the African National Congress, the people to watch are Popo Molefe, chairman of the ANC's election committee, and Patrick "Terror" Lekota, national secretary of the committee.

And in the NP, expect Dawie de Villiers, chairman of the information and management committee announced by President FW de Klerk last month, to gain in prominence. Other names in the NP that will soon be heard more often are those of Olaus van Zyl, Piet Coetzer, Gerrit Bornman, Theo Alant, Innes Aucamp, Malt Hamman, Piet Matthee, Rina Venter, Gerald Morkel and Dirk Bakker. All are members of the committee.

The first visible — and very audible — salvos in the election campaign were fired on Tuesday

Gearing up for election battle

W/ Mail 12/3-18/3/93. 3048
As negotiators struggle with technical problems, the real work is going on at party offices: preparing for elections. By CHRIS LOUW



Patrick 'Terror' Lekota



Rina Venter



Dawie de Villiers

this week when ANC spokesman Carl Niehaus addressed a rowdy meeting of Tuks students in Pretoria. Next stop for Niehaus is the Rand Afrikaans University from which he was expelled in the early 1980s for doing the unthinkable — displaying pro-ANC posters on campus.

Then it is into the heartland of Afrikaner conservatism, when he addresses students at the Potchefstroom University for Christian Higher Education in two weeks' time. And, in the not too distant future, probably also Stellenbosch.

For all the attention Niehaus's forays into Afrikanerdom are attracting, they are little more than a highly visible side-show. Afrikaans students are not expected to move over to the ANC in droves, no matter how often or how convincingly Niehaus states: "Ek is 'n Afrikaner."

It is in the townships that the ANC's real power lies. And at ANC headquarters in Johannesburg, contingency plans for the elections are being carefully prepared.

It is already clear that the different parties have contradictory approaches to how a constituent

assembly should be composed. The Pan Africanist Congress and the ANC, reluctantly supported by the government, propose an election for the constituent assembly. The Concerned South Africans Group (Cosag), consisting of the CP, Inkatha, Transkei and Bophuthatswana, prefers the present parties at the World Trade Centre to draw up a constitution before elections take place.

Although the ANC has come round to the government's view that much autonomous power must be conferred on different regions in South Africa, the borders of these regions is another thorny issue to be resolved. Former newspaper editor and political analyst Harald Pakendorf points out that it has yet to be decided at what stage of the process the borders of the regions will have to be determined — before or after elections take place.

Another political analyst, the Institute for a Democratic Alternative for South Africa (Idasa)'s Dr Frederik van Zyl Slabbert, has little doubt that a deadlock in the early stages of the negotiations process is unavoidable. "At some stage the big

parties will be forced to decide who will be marginalised and who not," predicts Slabbert. The marginalised groups may then include the CP and Inkatha if they insist on what the big parties regard as intransigence. But this will only happen, according to Slabbert, once the ANC and the NP are sufficiently convinced that the centre "as a critical mass" can move forward without risk to the transition process.

The danger of this is that dissent from right and left may then result in a clamp-down by an NP/ANC alliance, which may in an extreme case see the reintroduction of a state of emergency.

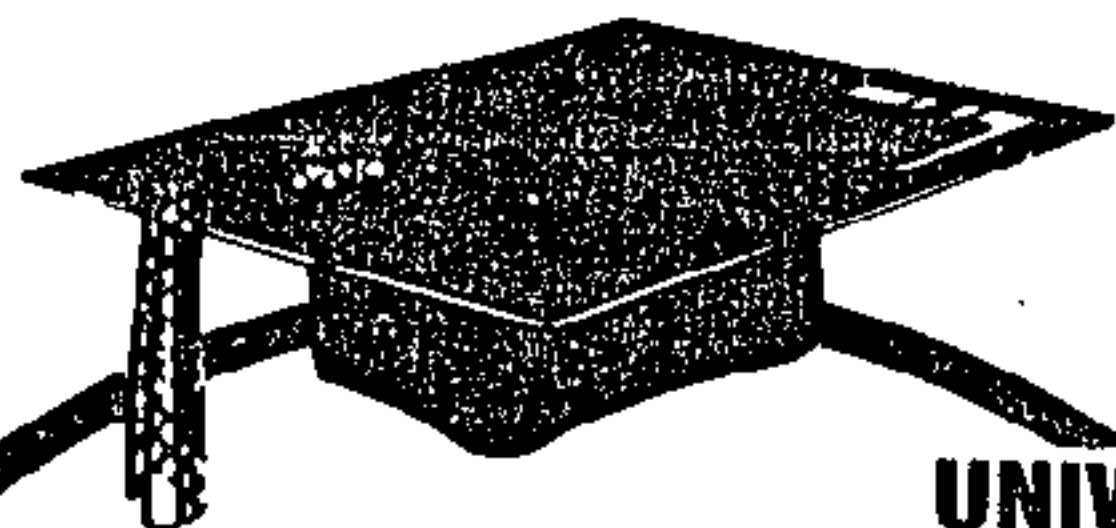
This danger is made even more real because of the fact that both the ANC and the NP have committed themselves to dates for the transitions process. The timetable creates a sense of enormous urgency. The major parties want elections by April next year, but this can only happen if their agenda is bought by those parties which they regard as necessary for "sufficient consensus".

Although the ANC and the NP agree on elections, a lot of manoeuvring can be expected in the period preceding these elections. Once a final date has been set, today's allies will become bitter political opponents again. Their first real clash may even come before the actual elections, when decisions are taken on election procedures.

How voters will be registered poses a very real problem, says Pakendorf — if they will be expected to register at all. The NP and ANC realise that there is not enough time left to prepare for registration if their target date of April next year is to be met. There is a way out, however. "If a list system is followed, where political parties draw up a list of their candidates who are then elected in proportion to the amount of votes each party gets, it will not be necessary for voters to register," says Pakendorf.

It would work like a referendum. Candidates would not be standing in constituencies, so voters could cast their ballots at polling stations anywhere in the country. An invisible mark on the voter's hand would prevent people from voting more than once.

The NP sets much hope on the lack of sophistication of the new electorate. It is known that about 15 percent of voters outside of the TBVC states are not in possession of identity documents. Most of them are black. According to Pakendorf it can be expected that even more people in the TBVC states who are entitled to vote will be without IDs. Most of these people are potential ANC supporters.



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A very serious comedy

W/ Mail 12/3-18/3/93. 3048
By CHRIS LOUW

NO matter how formal the ultimate decisions were worded, reading between the lines was a more reliable way of assessing the first two days of the most representative conference in South Africa's history.

On the surface the planning conference for multi-party negotiations held in Kempton Park last weekend may at times have resembled a farce, as one or two commentators have stated. But it is an impression that belies the seriousness of the matter.

The insistence of delegates that each of the 26 delegations at one stage or another chair the meeting cleared the way for some of the worst chairmanship imaginable at a conference of this importance. At one stage last Friday afternoon one of the rotating chairmen lost his bearings to such a degree that he had to be guided by a former *Scope* pin-up girl (now employed by the Consultative Business Movement, which organised the conference).

There were other instances reminiscent of farce, or at least comedy:

●National Party strongman Hernus Kriel forever seeming to be bending over for discussions with his neighbour, the South African Communist Party's Joe Slovo. Less than three years ago Slovo was still accused of being a "colonel in the KGB" and public enemy number one.

●The Conservative Party delegates scrumming together in pretend-serious discussion every time the cameras were focussed on them. Anything, as long as they were not pictured as being too friendly with their black neighbours from the Iyandza National Movement, it seemed.

●Also how harmless the CP delegation suddenly seemed, cut down in the conference hall to their real proportion in relation to the racial composition of the country.

●The traditional leaders from kwaZulu insisting that they did not represent traditional leaders, but rather the "kwaZulu government".

●The PAC insisting at every opportunity that the words "the resumption of multi-party talks" be replaced by "the com-

mencement of multi-party talks". They do not recognise the two Codesas, and they want the world to know it.

●Cyril Ramaphosa's little bit of grandstanding, asking the conference to bow their heads in a minute of silence for the victims of violence. A serious matter, yes. But can there be much doubt that the ANC general secretary, maybe in the far recesses of the back of his mind, wanted to embarrass the CP? In the event, even Ferdie Hartzenberg got to his feet to honour the minute of silence.

The farcical side of the conference was soon to be confirmed by the indecision of the CP. While the party's chief negotiator, Tom Langley, at a press conference confirmed the importance of the event by claiming the CP to be "one of the five most important parties" at the meeting, his colleague Ferdie Hartzenberg three days later in a press release downgraded everything to what he termed the "farce of negotiations".

The CP are perfecting the art of staying in while simultaneously staying out.

Indirectly Langley's claim contained a subtle admission. If South Africa was seen as one undivided country under white rule — the country the CP claims to represent — then it certainly amounts to quite a change in standpoint for the CP to relegate itself to only one among five important parties. In terms of their own logic they should be the only party of importance at the negotiations, not so?

There were other instances where reading between the lines disclosed more of what was happening than the official decisions could. Very little Afrikaans was heard, for instance. And when it was used, one always had the sense that it was for a functional reason, for the ears of the inner-circle. Like when Roelf Meyer cautioned delegates to act in a mature manner, "anders is ons 'n bespotting in die oe van die wereld" (or we will be a joke in the eyes of the world). Could it be that the warning was addressed to the CP which was out to obstruct proceedings as much as possible?



Protesters remind the president's wife of her reference to coloureds as 'leftovers'.

Coloured vote swings to Nats, says survey

By GAYE DAVIS: Cape Town

THE number of coloured people who support State President FW de Klerk and his National Party is not only overwhelming but has substantially increased, a new survey shows.

Commissioned by the Centre for Development Studies and carried out by the Department of Political Studies at the University of the Western Cape, the survey's findings are still in draft form — but show that, if an election were held tomorrow, the African National Congress would be left in the starting gates as far as coloured support goes.

Of 1 440 respondents canvassed during April 1992 countrywide, 74 percent said they'd back De Klerk and 62 percent the NP. Only nine percent said they'd vote for the ANC and only five percent for Nelson Mandela, while the Labour Party would win 7.6 percent of the vote.

This is a significant increase in support for De Klerk and the NP: a Human Sciences Research Council poll in September 1991 predicted 61 percent support for De Klerk and 54 percent for the NP.

According to the 1991 census, South Africa (excluding the TBVC states) has a population of 26.2-million of whom 11 percent (2.9-million) were formerly classified coloured. The report estimates that between 1.7-million and two million coloureds would be of voting age.

Most had mixed feelings about majority government (41 percent) while 22.5 percent, most of them in urban areas, felt it a "bad idea" — largely because of fears of black domination.

While 37 percent felt "positive" about the prospect of having a black president (39 percent were negative), only seven percent disapproved of having a white president. But the survey reflected tolerance of other groups as neighbours.

Over half the respondents couldn't distinguish between different economic systems, but 30 percent opted for a mixed economy, and 45 percent were unsure whether their financial situation would improve under majority rule.

Most of those surveyed (62 percent) evinced strong group identity — more a legacy of apartheid and the Group Areas Act than any racial or cultural phenomenon, notes the report.

Of the 17 percent who supported a

political party, 43 percent backed the NP, 22 percent the ANC and 28 percent the LP. The remaining seven percent was divided among the Democratic Party, the New Unity Movement, the South African Communist Party, Qibla and the (disbanded) United Democratic Front.

The NP emerged the clear leader as far as votes were concerned in all four provinces, with Natal registering the highest support (75 percent compared to the ANC's 7.3 percent). NP support in the other provinces (with the ANC support in brackets) showed as 60.9 percent in the Cape (9.4 percent), in the Transvaal 69.4 percent (six percent) and 53 percent in the Free State (18.5 percent).

Support for both the ANC and NP followed much the same distribution — strongest in urban areas, weakest in rural towns and on farms. LP support was highest in peri-urban and rural areas.

Among farmworkers, however, the ANC trailed (4.6 percent support compared to the NP's 55.4 percent and the LP's 20.9 percent) — perhaps, notes the report, because farmers have blocked extra-parliamentary organisations from access to their workers and in the past actively lobbied their workers to vote for the LP (and could now be doing the same for the NP).

The survey found both the NP and the ANC attracting a substantial proportion of youths, while LP supporters were older. The LP and NP enjoyed least support among the 18-20 age group.

Significantly, the ANC enjoyed more support than the NP among those with matric or degrees. Those with no education or only primary schooling backed the LP, while levels of education among those supporting the NP ranged from primary school to Standard Seven.

Significantly, most respondents (59 percent) got their political information from SABC-TV (19 percent via newspapers and 13 percent from radio) — and 91 percent thought the news they received was reliable.

The report suggests that this uncritical attitude, coupled with relatively low education levels (84 percent of respondents had not matriculated) could explain the extent of coloured support for the NP on the basis of a heightened susceptibility to propaganda and NP influence over the mass media.

now needs the 'non-people'

give recognition: FW de Klerk, for instance, by recently appointing two "non-people" to his cabinet, and the secret Broederbond by deciding, at least in principle, to allow them into the brotherhood. "Brown Afrikaners" are fast becoming an integral part of Afrikanerdom; it is only a question of time when the Cape National Party — the largest of the four provincial parties which make up the federal organisation — falls under coloured control (already 35 of its Cape MPs are coloured, against 45 whites).

But will the coloured people as a whole be seduced by the advances of a party which for so many years relegated them to the status of "non-people"?

If history were a reliable indicator the answer would probably be "no", the coloureds having enjoyed a fairly strong radical tradition over the decades, from the beginning of this century — when the coloured African People's Organisation campaigned vociferously for Britain to extend the franchise to all races as a pre-condition for the extension of responsible government to the defeated Boer republics — to the Reverend Alan Boesak's

dynamic contributions to the United Democratic Front, the organisation which, one suspects, effectively switched on the lights on De Klerk's road to Damascus.

But paradoxically it is becoming apparent, as the enfranchisement of blacks finally approaches, that there is a growing racial hostility towards them among the coloureds. Boesak himself concedes having seen more evidence of racism in the community "over the past year than I have in the last 15 years".

The centrality of African nationalism to the ANC is transparent and appears to be alienating coloured support. Coupled with this is the identification of the ANC with black violence. "The Nats have succeeded through the media in painting the ANC black, literally and metaphorically," says the coloured intellectual, Dr Neville Alexander.

But there is another dimension to coloured racism which has a particular pathos to it; the aspiration incalculated in them by the experience of second-class citizenship to be "white".

It is one of the most tragic, and hid-

den, aspects of apartheid society with which Boesak, for one, has long been acquainted. "My father was darker than Mandela. My mother was white. If she walked down the street you would not know that she had been classified coloured. When the National Party took over, people came to her and said to her she should divorce him — never matter that they already had a family of however many children."

For families in which lighter-skinned members did make the break, the consequences were traumatic. "They could never go back. They could never bring their husbands, or their wives to visit. The children could never know who their grandparents were. It destroyed fundamental things in our community, in people's hearts. As a pastor I had to deal with that."

What he had to deal with was something near collective schizophrenia. "For some people in this community, the bitterness was not that they were oppressed," says Boesak. "Their anger was that they were not part of those who discriminated against us. Because their desire to be white was linked up with the desire to be human."

UK journalist censured for Goldstone boob

Weekly Mail Reporter THE Foreign Correspondents Association (FCA) was up in arms this week over an embarrassing alleged breach of ethics by the representative of one of the world's most famous newspapers, *The Times of London*.

There was an attempt to expel *The Times'* Michael Hamlyn from the association for allegedly reporting the details of an off-the-record briefing by Judge Richard Goldstone. Details of Goldstone's frank discussion with journalists appeared in the paper on Sunday. *W/Mail 12/3-18/3/93*

The briefing, held last Thursday, was organised by the FCA, which was concerned that future briefings would be prejudiced by Hamlyn's alleged breach of the rules.

FCA members, however, are keeping mum about the incident, saying "the matter is being dealt with internally".

It is believed that Hamlyn has apologised and the FCA has submitted a formal apology to Goldstone.

Judge Goldstone's response was unknown to *The Weekly Mail* at the time of going to press.

Hamlyn declined to comment.

Watch out for Africa South&East in The Weekly Mail next week

Colleges: An open and shut case

W/Mail 12/3-18/3/93

DESPITE public commitments by the government to a single education department, three cabinet ministers have emphasised that in reality apartheid in education continues relentlessly.

Newly appointed Education Co-ordination Minister Piet Marais told parliament last week (in his capacity as minister of education and culture in the white House of Assembly) that two training colleges had been closed down last year.

This week, his colleague, Educa-

Does the left hand know what the right hand does? Certainly not in the various education departments.

By IAN CLAYTON

tion and Training Minister Sam de Beer, who is still responsible for black schooling outside the 10 homelands, said about 75 000 applicants were refused admission this year to

training colleges for blacks.

So while the white education department is merrily closing training colleges — and, according to Marais, 88 more white schools are due for closure this year — the black education department is turning away potential trainee teachers.

De Beer's department is also engaged in a large school-building programme — six more are to be erected in Khayelitsha alone this year — while Marais' department is still closing them down.

Meanwhile Abe Williams, minister of education and culture in the House of Representatives, told parliament this week that six teaching training colleges catering for coloured students are under threat of closure. Involved are 1 155 students and 132 staff.

De Beer said about 75 000 applicants have been refused admission to colleges under his department's control. "Since a large number of persons applied to more than one college, it is impossible to say exactly how many persons were refused admission," he said enigmatically in reply to a question which was tabled in parliament by Democratic Party education spokesman Roger Burrows.

"There is no general shortage of teachers," De Beer said, "but there is a shortage of posts and fully qualified teachers in subjects such as mathematics, physical science, accountancy, biology, technical subjects, English and Afrikaans."

●The South African Students' Congress (Sasco) will meet De Beer on Monday, March 15, to talk about government subsidy cuts, provision of emergency funding for black students who can't pay the up-front portion of their university registration fees, and the possibility of writing off a R52-million deficit incurred by the end of last year by "historically black universities" whose students defaulted on their fees.

At the same time, Sasco says, its mass action campaign will continue, with "regional activities" on Monday.

●See Review/Education

De Klerk remains silent on spying

W/Mail 12/3-18/3/93

By PHILIPPA GARSON
INKATHA Freedom Party central committee member Walter Felgate and eight other people were this week accused in parliament of being paid by the government to inform on various political parties.

Democratic Party MP Kobus Jordaan asked whether the government had for the past 10 years paid nine people — including Felgate, Bophuthatswana cabinet minister Rowan Cronje and United States constitutional advisor to the IFP Albert Blaustein — for information.

Jordaan said he raised the question this week because it was in the interests of the negotiations process to do so. "We are making use of the parliamentary channels at our disposal," he told *The Weekly Mail*. Jordaan insinuated in parliament that the three individuals mentioned were a "millstone around the neck of negotiations". The DP is likely to pursue the matter in future parliamentary interpolations.

State President FW de Klerk's eva-

sive reply to the question raised by Jordaan is startlingly similar to the answer he gave to the same MP two years ago when he asked whether the government was giving financial or other support to any political organisation.

De Klerk would not confirm or deny the question, saying that if he denied the question now, it could lead to future silences on similar allegations being interpreted as admissions. He said the furnishing of such information would run counter to the aims of the government's intelligence activities.

In March and again in April 1991 Jordaan asked De Klerk in parliament whether the government was providing financial or other support to any other political party. The state president sidestepped the question in precisely the same way, saying: "I confirm once again the principle standpoint, namely that denials in specific instances can lead to (situations whereby) later denials to give information in other instances, which are not in the

public interest, can be construed as admissions."

Three months later *The Weekly Mail* broke the Inkathagate scandal, revealing that the government, in particular the South African Police, had been funding the Inkatha Freedom Party.

Meanwhile both Felgate and Cronje have vigorously denied the allegations, challenging Jordaan to repeat the accusations outside the protective realm of parliament. Felgate has threatened to take legal action against Jordaan and Cronje has called on De Klerk to issue a clear reply to the allegation.

Martin Dolinchev, formerly a senior officer of the Bureau of State Security (Boss) and now working for the ANC, alleged in August 1991 that the state's intelligence services bolstered the IFP by providing direct security and surveillance services to the organisation. He said Boss set up an office in Empangeni which, manned by nine people, was the link between Pretoria and Ulundi.

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DATE	TIME	ADCOCK-INGRAM	DALRO	TRUST BANK ARENA
16/03	18:00	JOZI JOZI GUIDE P	DIE SON IS GROEN P	
	20:00	LONELINESS FOR TSUMPHUMF P	OUT OF CLASS P	THE RHINO WOMAN P
	22:00	DOWN SIDE UP P	GOLDEN GLOVES P	GLOBAL REPORT C
17/03	18:00	KWA LANDLADY P	MUZIK YE AFRIKA C	
	20:00	FORUM	GOLDEN GLOVES P	GLOBAL REPORT C
	22:00	FORUM	SANDINO'S DAUGHTERS P	IKASI - Jails Body and Soul P
18/03	18:00	REMEMBERANCE D	OUT OF CLASS P	
	20:00	LINDY NGWANE & TSHABALA QUARTET M	DIE SON IS GROEN P	DILEMMA C
	22:00	BUYANI M	SANDINO'S DAUGHTERS P	THE RHINO WOMAN P
19/03	18:00	ORNAMENTS D	MUZIK YE AFRIKA P	
	20:00	LINDY NGWANE & TSHABALA QUARTET M	SANDINO'S DAUGHTERS P	DILEMMA C
	22:00	MICHELE MAXWEL AND THE SHORT ATTENTION SPAN M	GOLDEN GLOVES P	FROM THE BLUES TO BRAZIL & BEYOND C
20/03	18:00	LONELINESS FOR TSUMPHUMF P	MUZIK YE AFRIKA C	
				IKASI - Jails Body and Soul P

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CV's and references should be forwarded by March 22 to
The Human Resources Manager, OLSET,
PO Box 8760, Johannesburg, 2000 or
faxed to (011) 339-6818

The Janus face of confused 'super racists'

W/Mail 12/3-18/3/93

304A

MEETING Abe Williams, Frank Arendse and Joe Marx — the alleged student-cheat turned cabinet minister, the mayor who was refused a drink in his own town and the lapsed revolutionary who fondly characterises his community as the country's "super racists" — is to share in the quandaries afflicting those who might well be described as South Africa's "confused people".

"I'm a rugby man," says Williams, proudly flapping his Five Nations tie. He's a lot more besides; among other things a fisherman's son who wheeled and dealed his way to the most senior position held by a coloured in South African public life.

Three weeks ago President FW de Klerk appointed Williams minister of sport, the first coloured man to hold a cabinet portfolio.

Williams is a long-standing figure of controversy. If it was not as a "collaborator" in the staging of rebel sports tours it was as a landlord allegedly ripping off tenants. Only last year he was denounced by the University of the Western Cape as a student cheat. Incensed at the way he was allegedly running coloured education into the ground, university staff leaked the charge that he had been caught cribbing during an exam and claimed he had also tried to bribe a lecturer to give him the questions beforehand.

The cheating allegations he shrugged off as "amusing"; imperturbability is the political style of Williams. A former prop-forward gone chubby, he was the picture of bonhomie as he similarly shrugged off my suggestion that De Klerk only appointed him to the cabinet because of the colour of his skin.

He joined the Nats in 1991 and again shrugged off the charge of betrayal. "We must move forward, trying to forget the bitterness of the past," he says passionately. And he insists it is a view shared by the majority of coloureds.

The coloured community is at the centre of a tug of war for votes between the National Party and the ANC.

DAVID BERESFORD profiles three prominent members of the community

Tired of political violence — which they identified with the African National Congress — and scared by the influx of black squatters into the Cape, "they feel threatened. And that makes people feel the norms and standards of the white community is the best for their protection." It is a fear he predicts will translate into an 80 percent majority for the National Party among coloureds in a non-racial election.

The prediction is diametrically opposed by Arendse, who also claims another first in public life. Last September he was elected the first coloured mayor of a white town — Franschhoek, the centre of the country's most celebrated vineyards.

Arendse's rise has also been meteoric. The youngest of 10 children of a farm labourer, he recalls he first wore shoes at the age of 16. Today he drives a Mercedes. A former prison warder, he made his money by opening a pub and off-licence in Franschhoek's coloured township, Groendal.

Last year Franschhoek successfully petitioned the provincial administrator to allow a merger with the township management committee in the name of racial unity and, when two white councillors bucked their ethnic allegiance, Arendse found himself the town's First Citizen. Not all the citizens appreciated his status; a local hotelier refused to allow the new mayor and his mayoress on the premises for a drink on the grounds they were not "members".

Arendse is negotiating the purchase



Marike de Klerk was invited to tea in the coloured township of Atlantis, but ...

of a local farm to build housing for indigent labourers being turfed out by local farmers in the face of rising costs. It happens to be the farm on which he was born and from which his family was ejected into penury when his father died 30 years ago. He does not revel in the irony, but says of his life story: "You can understand why the people are so hard against the white man ... I don't hate the white man. But I want to see other skin-coloured people rule."

It is a sentiment among coloureds which, he predicts, will translate into 75 percent support for the ANC.

The tales of the cabinet minister and the mayor earn guffaws from Joe Marx. The temptation is to compare Marx, with his white hair and beard, to his namesake, but the laughter and flow of expletives are too foreign to the British Museum reading room. Which is not to deny Joe Marx's revolutionary credentials. Once a prominent Marxist and executive member of the United Democratic Front, he had been detained twice and had served two years of a personal banning order when Mandela was released in 1990.

He is a fish and vegetable hawk who describes himself, without any sense of hubris, as "the most popular coloured in the western Cape". His

huge belly shakes as he chortles fondly over the coloured community: "When I was in prison I used to tell my interrogators: 'You people are going berserk for nothing. My people are bigger racists than you are. You hate me; my people hate the blacks'."

A cynical view? "No, no ... I only wish to God I could pronounce a different view," he says. His grandfather was a slave and slaves were made to sing praises to the whites for their supper. "If you sang well you got an extra dumpling of pig fat, or whatever," he says. "Our Dutch masters taught our people to respect the white man."

"Coloured people will vote for people like you, who are white, whatever you have done in the past. They have been completely indoctrinated."

But their radical tradition? "Coloured people are good actors," he burbles, breaking into expert mimicry which confirms the assertion: "If you come with an ANC T-shirt and ask, 'who are you going to vote for', they will say: 'Me? For the f-king ANC! Who do you think wants to vote for the f-king Boers? Never, ever! Then he'll go to the gate and tell his friends: 'F-king mothers, they think you're going to vote for the f-king kaffirs. They must be f-king crazy'."

Marike
W/Mail 12/3-18/3/93

By DAVID BERESFORD
THERE is a certain piquancy nowadays in recalling those unfortunate remarks by President FW de Klerk's wife, Marike, several years ago when she referred to the coloured population as "non-people". Vengeful enjoyment of the recollection lies in the fact that Marike de Klerk's own "people", the Afrikaners, are now arguably dependent on the "non-people" for their very survival as a "people".

As South Africa's fractious political parties continue to bicker over the country's constitutional future it is perhaps premature to anticipate the nature of the country's new dispensation. But to the extent that a drift can be detected it seems to be in the direction of some form of power-sharing related to percentages of the vote won at a non-racial election. Which means that more than three million of Marike de Klerk's "non-people" are likely to prove crucial to the ruling National Party — representative as it is of Afrikaner interests — remaining a significant political force in South Africa.

It is a perception to which the Afrikaner establishment has begun to

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Requirements: •IPM Diploma or Degree in Human Sciences •Ability to communicate at all levels.

Duties: Supervising the Recruitment Sub-section •Handling of advertisements of posts •Negotiating conditions of service with appointees •Arranging and attending selection interviews •Arranging transport, visas and work permits for candidates •Preparing letters of appointment.

Recommendations: •Experience in recruitment and general personnel management •Knowledge of one South African Black Language •Management and supervisory skills.

GENERAL INFORMATION

Typed applications, which should contain a full curriculum vitae and the names and addresses of three referees, should be sent to the undersigned, from whom further particulars may be obtained. **The Deputy Registrar: Personnel, University of the North, Private Bag X1106, Sovenga 0727.** Particulars concerning salary scales may be obtained from the Personnel Section. Attention: Douglas Phahlane, tel. (01521) 68-2503. Fax: (01521) 67-0142.

UNIVERSITY OF THE NORTH



SSK&B RECRUITMENT 40643

PSI JOINT EDUCATION TRUST VACANCY: PROJECT OFFICER

The Joint Education Trust is a partnership formed by leading private sector companies and major political, labour and educational bodies to address both urgent and long-term problems of education in South Africa.

The areas to which the Trust has given initial priority are:

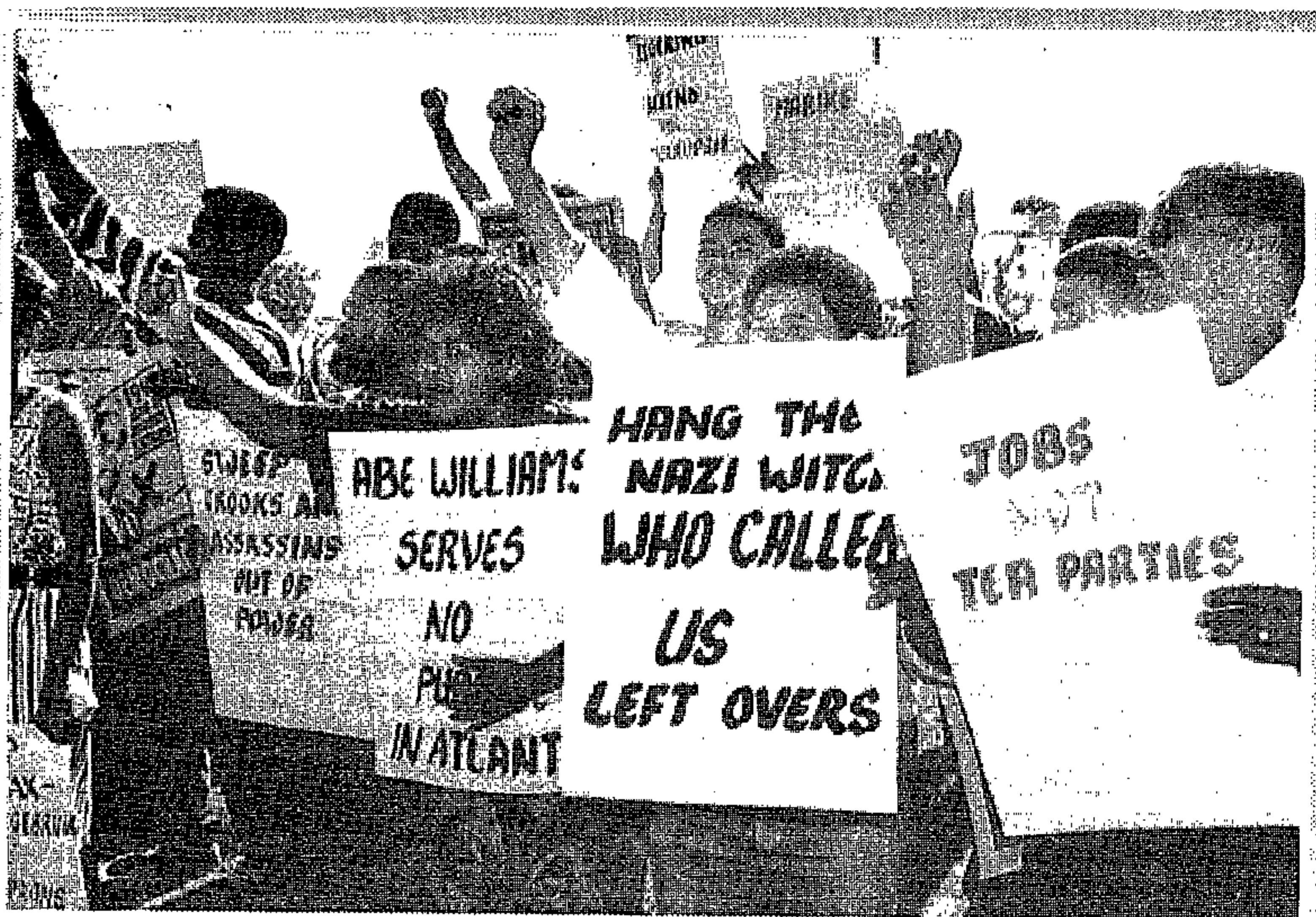
- Improving the quality of teachers particularly in Maths, Science and English.
- youth development, particularly amongst the out-of-school, out-of-work youth.
- adult basic education.

The Trust has a commitment to making a visible difference to both the quality and quantity of educational provision over the next four years. It has a particular interest in reaching marginalised rural communities.

The Trust has a vacancy for a Project Officer who holds a post-graduate qualification in education or an associated social science qualification. Project Officers are primarily responsible for assessing proposals, interacting with projects, and monitoring and evaluating projects. This is a hands-on job which requires knowledge of both the formal and non-formal education sectors. A certain amount of travel will be integral to the work of the successful candidate. Experience in working with rural communities will be a strong recommendation.

This is a responsible and challenging position. A highly competitive salary package will be negotiated with the successful applicant. Applications including a full curriculum vitae, the names, addresses and telephone numbers of two references, should reach the address below by 15 April 1993:

Deputy Director, Joint Education Trust, P O Box 178, WITS, 2050
Telephone: (011) 339-3212 Fax: (011) 339-3246



Protesters remind the president's wife of her reference to coloureds as 'leftovers'

Photo: AP

Coloured vote swings to Nats, says survey

By GAYE DAVIS: Cape Town

THE number of coloured people who support State President FW de Klerk and his National Party is not only overwhelming but has substantially increased, a new survey shows.

Commissioned by the Centre for Development Studies and carried out by the Department of Political Studies at the University of the Western Cape, the survey's findings are still in draft form — but show that, if an election were held tomorrow, the African National Congress would be left in the starting gates as far as coloured support goes.

Of 1 440 respondents canvassed during April 1992 countrywide, 74 percent said they'd back De Klerk and 62 percent the NP. Only nine percent said they'd vote for the ANC and only five percent for Nelson Mandela, while the Labour Party would win 7,6 percent of the vote.

This is a significant increase in support for De Klerk and the NP: a Human Sciences Research Council poll in September 1991 predicted 61 percent support for De Klerk and 54 percent for the NP.

According to the 1991 census, South Africa (excluding the TBVC states) has a population of 26,2-million of whom 11 percent (2,9-million) were formerly classified coloured. The report estimates that between 1,7-million and two million coloureds would be of voting age.

Most had mixed feelings about majority government (41 percent) while 22,5 percent, most of them in urban areas, felt it a "bad idea" — largely because of fears of black domination.

While 37 percent felt "positive" about the prospect of having a black president (39 percent were negative), only seven percent disapproved of having a white president. But the survey reflected tolerance of other groups as neighbours.

Over half the respondents couldn't distinguish between different economic systems, but 30 percent opted for a mixed economy, and 45 percent were unsure whether their financial situation would improve under majority rule.

Most of those surveyed (62 percent) evinced strong group identity — more a legacy of apartheid and the Group Areas Act than any racial or cultural phenomenon, notes the report.

Of the 17 percent who supported a

political party, 43 percent backed the NP, 22 percent the ANC and 28 percent the LP. The remaining seven percent was divided among the Democratic Party, the New Unity Movement, the South African Communist Party, Qibla and the (disbanded) United Democratic Front.

The NP emerged the clear leader as far as votes were concerned in all four provinces, with Natal registering the highest support (75 percent compared to the ANC's 7,3 percent). NP support in the other provinces (with the ANC support in brackets) showed as 60,9 percent in the Cape (9,4 percent), in the Transvaal 69,4 percent (six percent) and 53 percent in the Free State (18,5 percent).

Support for both the ANC and NP followed much the same distribution — strongest in urban areas, weakest in rural towns and on farms. LP support was highest in peri-urban and rural areas.

Among farmworkers, however, the ANC trailed (4,6 percent support compared to the NP's 55,4 percent and the LP's 20,9 percent) — perhaps, notes the report, because farmers have blocked extra-parliamentary organisations from access to their workers and in the past actively lobbied their workers to vote for the LP (and could now be doing the same for the NP).

The survey found both the NP and the ANC attracting a substantial proportion of youths, while LP supporters were older. The LP and NP enjoyed least support among the 18-20 age group.

Significantly, the ANC enjoyed more support than the NP among those with matric or degrees. Those with no education or only primary schooling backed the LP, while levels of education among those supporting the NP ranged from primary school to Standard Seven.

Significantly, most respondents (59 percent) got their political information from SABC-TV (19 percent via news papers and 13 percent from radio) and 91 percent thought the news they received was reliable.

The report suggests that this uncritical attitude, coupled with relatively low education levels (84 percent of respondents had not matriculated) could explain the extent of coloured support for the NP on the basis of a heightened susceptibility to propaganda and NP influence over the mass media.

now needs the 'non-people'

W/mal 12/3 - 18/3/93
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Five recognition: FW de Klerk, for instance, by recently appointing two "non-people" to his cabinet, and the secret Broederbond by deciding, at least in principle, to allow them into the brotherhood. "Brown Afrikaners" are fast becoming an integral part of Afrikanerdom; it is only a question of time when the Cape National Party — the largest of the four provincial parties which make up the federal organisation — falls under coloured control — already 35 of its Cape MPs are coloured, against 45 whites).

But will the coloured people as a whole be seduced by the advances of a party which for so many years relegated them to the status of "non-people"?

If history were a reliable indicator the answer would probably be "no", the coloureds having enjoyed a fairly strong radical tradition over the decades, from the beginning of this century — when the coloured African People's Organisation campaigned vociferously for Britain to extend the franchise to all races as a pre-condition for the extension of responsible government to the defeated Boer republics — to the Reverend Alan Boesak's

dynamic contributions to the United Democratic Front, the organisation which, one suspects, effectively switched on the lights on De Klerk's road to Damascus.

But paradoxically it is becoming apparent, as the enfranchisement of blacks finally approaches, that there is a growing racial hostility towards them among the coloureds. Boesak himself concedes having seen more evidence of racism in the community "over the past year than I have in the last 15 years".

The centrality of African nationalism to the ANC is transparent and appears to be alienating coloured support. Coupled with this is the identification of the ANC with black violence. "The Nats have succeeded through the media in painting the ANC black, literally and metaphorically," says the coloured intellectual, Dr Neville Alexander.

But there is another dimension to coloured racism which has a particular pathos to it; the aspiration inculcated in them by the experience of second-class citizenship to be "white".

It is one of the most tragic, and hid-

den, aspects of apartheid society with which Boesak, for one, has long been acquainted. "My father was darker than Mandela. My mother was white. If she walked down the street you would not know that she had been classified coloured. When the National Party took over, people came to her and said to her she should divorce him ... never matter that they already had a family of however many children."

For families in which lighter-skinned members did make the break, the consequences were traumatic. "They could never go back. They could never bring their husbands, or their wives to visit. The children could never know who their grandparents were. It destroyed fundamental things in our community, in people's hearts. As a pastor I had to deal with that."

What he had to deal with was something near collective schizophrenia. "For some people in this community, the bitterness was not that they were oppressed," says Boesak. "Their anger was that they were not part of those who discriminated against us. Because their desire to be white was linked up with the desire to be human."

ADMIN OFFICER/ SECRETARY

A flexible 2-year contract post.

Applications for the above post in the Gender Policy Unit, starting 1 May 1993 or as soon as possible thereafter, are invited from persons who share the University's commitment to the establishment of a non-racial, non-sexist, democratic society.

Reporting to the Gender Co-ordinator, you will assist in the formulation, implementation and administration of the affirmative action programme. Inter alia, your tasks will include

- wordprocessing and other normal secretarial work
- public relations duties
- liaising with students, overseas exchange programmes and the Ford Foundation
- organising projects and conferences
- handling telephone enquiries, stationery and library orders, etc.

Consequently you must possess proven secretarial, supervisory and organisational abilities including computer literacy, ideally WordPerfect. Additionally you must possess high fluency in English and well-developed, all-level communication skills.

In return we offer you a competitive salary over a 2-year contract which could possibly be renewed.

To apply, please telephone (021) 959-2988 or send a detailed CV (including the names, FULL addresses and telephone numbers of 2 referees) in assured confidence to the Personnel Department, UWC, Private Bag X17, Bellville 7535. Telefax: (021) 959-2989.

Closing date for applications: 30 March 1993.



University of the Western Cape

DEPT. OF COMPUTER SCIENCE

Tutor

Applications are invited for the position of Tutor in Computer Science for students in the College of Science. Applications for part-time appointments will also be considered. The successful applicant can start as soon as possible and the appointment will be until the end of 1994 in the first instance.

The incumbent(s) will provide tutorial assistance to first year students in Computer Science underprepared through their school experience for University study. Candidates should have an honours degree in Computer Science, should be sensitive to the problems experienced by the students, and should have an analytic approach to teaching and learning. There is considerable flexibility in the methods and organization of tutoring and candidates will be expected to show initiative in their teaching role.

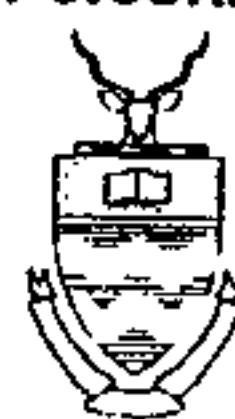
The Department of Computer Science is active in Computer Science education and would be keen to involve the incumbent(s) in this research. The post(s) would be ideal for candidates keen on furthering their studies in Science Education or Computer Science.

Salary: R26 529 - R41 391 per annum (full-time).

Benefits: Annual bonus, generous leave and medical aid, (if eligible).

Further details of the position and the Department can be obtained from Dr C Mueller, Department of Computer Science, University of the Witwatersrand, Private Bag 3, Wits, 2050 or fax (011) 339-7965.

Submit applications, including a detailed CV with the names and addresses of two referees to Wits University, Personnel Office, Private Bag 3, Wits 2050, or fax (011) 339-2223. Closing date: 31 March 1993. Quote ref ST 1505.



WITS UNIVERSITY

Facing the challenges of the future



Peace at last ... Children play in the streets of 'Beirut' where, a year ago, running gun battles raged

Photos: GUY ADAMS

A fragile peace comes to Alex

A year after the 'Alex war' initiatives by the community and outside monitors have brought peace to the poverty-stricken township.
By **PHILIPPA GARSON**

A YEAR ago an all-out war erupted in the congested township of Alexandra. Early in March, bitter gun battles broke out between former neighbours and friends and the once close-knit community was tragically divided into "no go" zones controlled by the Inkatha Freedom Party or African National Congress.

Thousands fled their ransacked, burnt-out homes in "Beirut", the Inkatha-controlled area bordering the Madala hostel where most of the fighting took place. ANC supporters fled the hostel and surrounding "Beirut" and Inkatha followers moved in. A total of 2 800 of the 360 000-member community were displaced, fleeing to relatives, churches and the local town council. The Alex clinic was awash with blood as the injured and dead kept pouring in.

Now, however, a miraculous — if fragile — peace has descended on Alex. Where bullets whizzed ceaselessly up and down in Third Avenue, people now mill about peacefully in the midday sun. Where the Madala hostel was a fortress manned by snipers, it is now a calm, though still dilapidated and stench-filled home to thousands of unemployed men who come and go freely.

Much of the credit for the astounding transformation of Alex into a relatively peaceful area with prospects belongs to the Interim Crisis Committee for Alex (ICC). Formed on April 1 last year when violence peaked, the ICC, which now has six task groups, has grown into a strong and credible body.

Although it falls under the National Peace Accord, the peace committee perceives itself as far more than a local dispute resolution committee, dedicated not only to violence monitoring, but to large-scale upliftment of the community in the belief that peace will never be attained without substantial upgrading of the area. The ICC is comprised of local ANC and IFP leaders, local and regional government authorities, business and church representatives, police and defence force members and international monitors.

Engaging directly with Alex residents, the ICC or its task groups hold meetings almost daily. According to the peace body there has not been one



Flashback ... Bloodied victim carried to safety in last year's violence

politically-related murder since December last year.

Pascal Ngakane, assistant director of the Alex Clinic, saw the worst of the violence last year. "Alex at the time was in flames — literally. We were inundated by large loads of patients shot by high-calibre, high-velocity weapons. Now political violence has dropped significantly. We haven't seen casualties of such violence for almost eight months ... we are seeing the results of the work the ICC has put into peace. The whole thing is so exciting. People are really beginning to find each other."

Mike Beea, representing the interests of the ANC and its allies on the peace committee, says peace has come about largely because of the impact the individuals serving on the ICC have made on ordinary community members. "People have learnt a lot about the National Peace Accord. They have learnt about tolerance. The majority of people in Alex don't belong to political organisations but they have suffered the consequences." He also notes an improvement in police-community relations.

Despite persistent lawlessness exacerbated by the tremendous amount of arms in Alex, police liaison officer Colonel Dave Bruce describes the township as "a success story", praising police, the ICC and the community for transforming the area into a "totally different place", and an example to other areas where peace initiatives are not working. In his view, the police, who raided Alex in full force in June last year, were pivotal in reducing violence and it was on their initiative that the ICC was formed.

Sadly, the criminal activity that subsided during the eruption of political violence has surfaced again and criminally related murders average five a week — symptomatic of the high level of stress in the densely populated community where 360 000 mainly unem-

ployed people are crammed on two-and-a-half square kilometres of land.

But the urge to fight over scarce resources has clearly been replaced by a desire to find solutions. There are signs everywhere of the reconstruction underway. "Beirut" has become known as the "reconstruction area" where homes destroyed by fire and looting are soon to be rebuilt. Clean-up operations have begun in earnest. Bulldozers have replaced Casspirs and young men who were once forced to participate in the pointless feuding are today converting shacks into houses.

Although the warring has ended, people still fear returning to their former homes and areas are still strictly "Inkatha" or "ANC", despite the political affiliation (or political indifference) of those who live there. Petersen Poswa, local IFP leader who sits on the ICC, says "it is not happening yet that people walk freely in each other's sections. That will depend largely on the ANC and IFP. We are trying through the ICC to achieve this."

The biggest challenge for the ICC looms large: the repatriation of the thousands of displaced people who are living in makeshift accommodation in six areas around the location.

Phillip Mdlangamandla, who represents hostel-dwellers on the ICC, says initial suspicion of the peace efforts has been replaced by the desire to facilitate the repatriation of people. "At first they didn't believe the ICC would bring peace. Now they are beginning to believe in it. They want the hostel-dwellers who fled to come back. There are no longer guns or weapons in this hostel."

Two men lounging at the entrance of the hostel confirmed this sentiment. "We feel very happy that there is peace. We can

be together with the ANC. They can come back."

The change in attitude of the hostel-dwellers, who increasingly feel they have a stake in the community, has partly come about through the efforts of the Direct Action Group, backed by the O'Connor Foundation, which is building new facilities for small business ventures and literacy classes in the hostel grounds and Greater Alex area. DAG, formed in November last year, is also engaged in a major clean-up operation of Alex, employing 138 people from the community. DAG also has 16 soup kitchens and is feeding 38 000 people every day.

Families who fled "Beirut" and are living in makeshift quarters in the town council buildings also express the desire for reconciliation. However they are bitter that their homes have been taken and that they continue to live like refugees. They are still too scared to venture up to "Beirut" to see what remains of their dwellings and some say they will never return.

S'TRUE EKSE

True tales from around Southern Africa, by **ARTHUR GOLDSTUCK**

In the pink

TRAFFIC officers in the Vaal Triangle have far too aggressive an image, according to delegates at the annual meeting of the Law Enforcement Coordinating Committee of the Vaal region. A solution, said one delegate, was to make traffic cops wear pink uniforms. The existing brown colour just made them seem aggressive.

Nose for trouble

PRIVATE security guard Jan Pretorius responded to an alarm signal in Edenvale at 5pm one afternoon. He saw no warning signs about dogs, and peered through a gate to see if anything suspicious was going on. A pitbull terrier then bit off three quarters of his nose.

Speaking from the Rose Acres Clinic in Primrose, Pretorius said he had laid charges against the owner, but did not want the dog put down. "The dog was just doing his job and so was I," he said.

Love less

LOVEMORE NYABEZA, a flight lieutenant and coach of the Zimbabwe Air Force soccer team, confronted MP David Rizive on a Gweru street on August 28 last year, and accused him of sleeping with his wife.

When Rizive denied the accusation, Nyabeza allegedly struck him down with a stone. He then beat him, bit him in the chest and poured sand in his eyes. This week, in the Gweru Magistrate's Court, he pleaded not guilty to assault.

No flies on Bill

BILL MACMENIGALL of Unconventional Engineering, a Johannesburg company that manufactures a fly trap called the Redtop Flycatcher, says South Africa's fly population appears to be larger and more of a nuisance this summer than before.

He believes the spreading of informal settlements and sewerage leaks are partly responsible.

In response, his company has developed a larger fly trap for farms and businesses, to complement the smaller trap it makes for domestic use.

WRITER

Materials Development Unit

The Career Information Centre (CIC) is a non-governmental organisation providing information about education and work. The Materials Development Unit of CIC is looking for a writer.

This person will be required to:

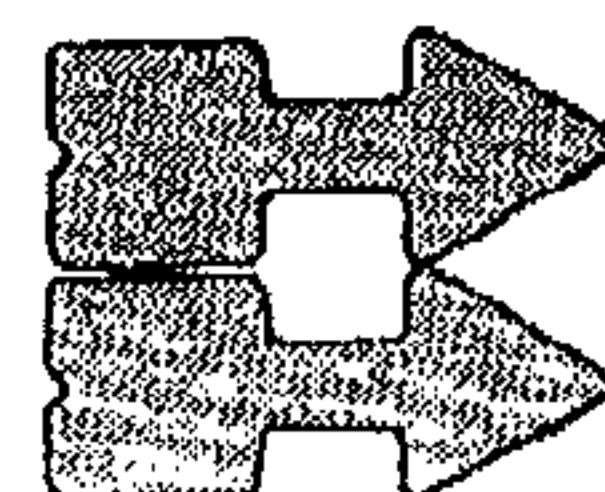
- * write up new and updated materials
- * co-ordinate the writing up of materials in CIC
- * do some editing in consultation with the co-ordinator

Skills needed:

- * Writing skills
- * Word processing skills

Write for or collect an Application Form from:

MDU, CIC,
36 Ecumenical Centre,
20 St Andrews Street,
Durban, 4001.



Tel: (031) 301-2097/8

CLOSING DATE: 26 March 1993

BY agreeing to answer regularly, spontaneously, a set of questions which he has not seen, President FW de Klerk has belatedly introduced greater accountability and openness in parliament in the dying days of his party's monopoly on political power.

If the African National Congress takes power, it is going to find a whole lot of practices in place that never applied to the National Party during the past 45 years.

We ought to be thankful to the NP for its expertise. Who else could be more aware of how easy it is to abuse political power, and who could be more capable of constructing a more abuse-proof system for its successor?

The NP has set up an ombudsman for civil service corruption, is fighting to ensure the impartiality of the SABC, has become an advocate of an enforceable Bill of fundamental rights, and is setting up a broad set of mechanisms to control government spending.

It's the principle that the best gamekeeper is a former poacher. As United States president Franklin Roosevelt said in 1933 when he appointed the notorious stock market swindler, Joe Kennedy senior, to head a new regulatory agency to tidy up the stock market: "It takes a thief to catch a thief."

While the NP is at it, perhaps it can go the whole way and hold public hearings on cabinet appointments, as is done in the US. I doubt whether many of the ministers of the past four decades would have been declared fit to hold public office had their selection been subjected to public scrutiny.

I suspect, though, that it's probably Joe Kennedy's telegenic son, president Jack Kennedy, whom De Klerk is seeking to emulate by exposing himself to the cameras in impromptu question time. It is a showcase for the president, clearly the Nats' hottest property in the election. De Klerk's qualities of seeming sincerity and affability, coupled with the art of the quick comeback, generally come across well.

Parliamentary open time is supposed to be based on the British system, but it heads South African democracy more in the US presidential style of election which, in the modern idiom, is the idiom of television.

Starting with last year's US election and developing under the Clinton administration, a "brave new world" is taking shape. The age of the electronic town hall meeting, the instant talk show, the overnight opinion poll is upon us. And South Africa has already gone some way down that road with Radio 702 leading the field.

The temptation is to welcome it as a valuable innovation in participatory democracy. Could an injection of pub-

The poacher makes the best gamekeeper

*W/March 12/3 - 18/3/93.
It has taken many years
but FW de Klerk, spurred
on by the fact that his
party won't be in power
for much longer, has
decided to introduce
substantial changes*



By **PHILLIP
VAN
NIEKERK**

lic involvement not help us to overcome the endemic boredom of the multi-party conference?

It would be great fun to mix the multi-party deliberations with the electronic town hall concept. Let people call in from all over the country and vent their feelings to the politicians.

Perhaps we could borrow talk show presenter Phil Donohue as the chairman, or host, storming around the room brandishing his microphone, raising an ironic eyebrow as Piet from Brakpan phones in on the car phone.

It could put some colour into the negotiations that was lost when the acerbic and witty judge, Mr Justice Ismail Mohamed, was hoofed out as co-chairman of the conference.

Instead of a seven-minute metro-nome, the leader of the Dikwankwetla Party would have 15 seconds — and would be brutally cut off if he failed to come to the point fast.

All eyes would be on the conference, transforming this most important moment in the life of the nation from a bore into something that could command the same audiences as international one-day cricket or soccer.

Unfortunately, it would play into two of the biggest weaknesses of politicians: the tendency to grandstand when given a platform, and cowardice in the face of opinion polls that determine what the public's alleged view on any topic under the sun could be.

And, given the delicacy of the negotiations, unpopular compromises could not be made in the full glare of electronic mob rule. Under such conditions the ANC would never have been able to offer a five-year post-

ponement of full majority rule and the NP would not have been able to scrap permanent power sharing.

Even the US constitution was drawn up in Philadelphia in 1787 behind closed doors. It was not until the final product was assembled that it was taken to the people.

But perhaps a more serious and more immediate hold-up is the unrepresentativity of many of the participants at the talks.

The ever-present danger last weekend was that the Concerned South Africans Group (Cosag) — the Conservative Party, the Inkatha Freedom Party, Bophuthatswana and Ciskei — would walk out. This fear has been held over till the next round on April 1.

The clash over whether South Africa ought to be a unitary state with regional government or a federal state with regional self-rule still lies ahead. The debate is skewed because the 26 participants arrive at the negotiating table without an electoral mandate.

The IFP, for instance, shows a rather immature view of democracy. After the breakup of Codesa last year, Chief Mangosuthu Buthelezi declared that the federalist versus unitary state breakdown was eight-all at Codesa, as if it was a parliamentary tie, with the governments of QwaQwa and kaNgwane equal in vote to the NP and the ANC delegations.

This sort of thinking lies behind the insistence of having two delegations at the conference, one for kwaZulu, the other for the IFP. But even if the IFP had 10 delegations at the conference, it would not change the equation, or what is perceived to be the requirement of sufficient consensus.

A more fruitful approach would be to examine the latest polling information to estimate how representative the various positions are.

According to the Human Sciences Research Council figures for 1992, the combined total of the Cosag parties amounted to about 16 percent (10 for the IFP, six for the CP).

However, this was based on a fairly low estimate of the size of the electorate (14-million as opposed to the Department of Home Affairs' 22-million) and excludes Bophuthatswana and the pro-ANC Transkei.

Mark Orkin, of the Community Agency for Social Enquiry, has extrapolated that if one includes Bophuthatswana and Transkei, and reallocates the HSRC's 10 percent undecided vote, the IFP and CP together would get 14 percent, with negligible support for the Bophuthatswana and Ciskei governments. The national figures would then be (with the original HSRC calculations in brackets): ANC 55 (43), NP 20 (21), IFP 9 (10), CP 5 (6), Pan Africanist Congress 2 (1), Democratic Party 1 (1).

According to a Research Surveys poll in November 1992, based on interviews with 3 850 respondents countrywide, the scoresheet looks like this: ANC 60, NP 17, IFP 5, CP 6, DP 4 and PAC 8. That puts the Cosag parties down to 11. Thus, the maximum range of Cosag, if it chooses to dissent, would be between 11 and 16 percent.

The only question then is whether they would have a regional veto anywhere. As Research Surveys have not yet done its regional arithmetic, one is left with the HSRC figures. Here, the IFP would have something resembling a veto in kwaZulu/Natal, with 37 percent against 21 for the ANC, 15 for the NP and one for the DP. The inclusion of the two for the CP would give Cosag a 39 to 37 advantage in Natal.

However, this contrasts with the polling data of Research Surveys which gives the IFP roughly half of the HSRC figures nationally and, one assumes, substantially less in Natal.

What it does reveal is that, on any of the available estimates, a deal between the NP and the ANC would amount to sufficient consensus nationally. While it is desirable that a settlement be as inclusive as possible, none of the other parties has the moral right to delay democracy.

And, if they don't like the deal, or don't believe the polling figures, they should put their money where their mouths are. A national referendum could give a genuine taste of popular opinion.

NEGOTIATIONS

FM 12/3/93

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A flickering torch

Despite a sinking feeling on the first day of last week's planning conference, which was marked by nitpicking over procedural matters, proceedings were deftly kept on track by the main players. Amazingly, agreement was clinched on the main objective: to resume multilateral constitutional negotiations within a month. April 5 is the target date.

At one point it looked as if some parties in the Concerned South Africans Group (Cosag) — the Conservative Party (CP) in particular — had turned up determined to derail matters. Nevertheless, the old Codesa participants were palpably happy to have the CP as well as the Pan Africanist Congress (PAC) on board.

Delegates representing 26 parties and organisations (aside from 11 other, mostly unheard-of groupings which were given observer status) had arrived at the World Trade Centre with no idea of how the meeting would be conducted. Matters had to be delayed for an hour while participants went off to decide.

Seated at the podium when they returned were Colin Eglin (DP), Cyril Ramaphosa (ANC), Chris de Jager (Afrikaner Volksunie) and Rowan Cronje (Bophuthatswana) from the facilitating panel who, it appeared, would chair the proceedings. "However informal this conference may appear," said Eglin, it was "another milestone on the road to a new constitution" and delegates bore "an awesome responsibility." There was a minute's silence for victims of the latest massacre in the Natal Midlands (see page 36), which appeared timed to coincide with and perhaps derail the conference. Happily, there were no walkouts.

It had been decided, Eglin explained, that the concept of inclusivity would apply in managing the conference, which he emphasised was only about "how and when a multi-party conference will meet."

Ramaphosa then assumed the chair, managed to get the participants and observers and the agenda formally adopted and announced that each would have seven minutes to make a statement. These were mostly platitudinous and dull — we dare not fail SA, trust and compromise are essential, we are facing economic collapse, violence had to be curtailed and so on.

The IFP's Joe Matthews stated his party's desire to see a "united, democratic and federal" outcome to the negotiations, though, attuned to the spirit of the meeting, Inkatha desisted from raising substantive issues at this point. "The whole question of the constitutional process and form of state should be placed at the top of the agenda" when substantive negotiations resumed, he urged, predicting that the "central statist will be mar-

ginalised."

The Ciskei presenter, T Zantsi, signalling the tough approach that would be adopted by allies in Cosag, claimed that none of the Codesa agreements had been officially adopted, which therefore meant that "the



slate is clean." He took issue with those who had engaged in mass action and the refusal by some to suspend private armies and criticised the government/ANC approach to negotiations. Regional interests would have to be safeguarded, he added.

While Ramaphosa later stated that "we want strong regional government and agree to have the powers, functions and borders of regions entrenched in the constitution," he added that "the central government should have full and concurrent powers and overriding powers." The issue promises to dominate and perhaps derail the talks next month.

The Afrikaner Volkswag's Andries Beyers — representing "a section of Afrikaners committed to self-determination in a federal state" — said their cause was justifiable. It would be a sad day if it were ignored. Such a state could be structured in a way that would not be to anyone's detriment and nobody would be discriminated against in an Afrikaner region. The Volkswag renounced all forms of discrimination.

The powers, functions and boundaries of regions would have to be agreed on in the multilateral negotiations and entrenched in a new constitution. Nelson Mandela's "sympathy for forms of self-determination," which had emerged from his meeting with Volkswag leader Carel Boshoff the week before, was of the "greatest importance," said Beyers.

The chairmanship had, meanwhile, shifted from Cronje to Mike Webb of the Ciskei, followed by the Dikwankwetla man and Inkatha's Matthews.

The CP's Tom Langley made a strong pitch for "the self-determination of peoples or states who so prefer." One of the reasons Codesa had failed, he said, was that it had emphasised a unitary type of state; another was because it had been dominated by certain parties. Bilateral agreements between the government and the ANC, which others were expected to rubber-stamp, should not happen again. The CP rejected an interim government and constitution and an elected constituent assembly.

Next day, the resolutions subcommittee (Eglin, Ben Ngubane, Meyer, Matthews, Praveen Gordhan, Joe Slovo and Benny Alexander) produced three resolutions.

On decision-making it was decided: "All decisions will be taken by general consensus. If this cannot be achieved, conference will use the method of sufficient consensus." Parties who disagree can record their objections formally, but will, in the spirit of co-operation, not hinder the process. While the chairman should decide whether there was consensus or sufficient consensus, this could be challenged by any party and the meeting would then deal with it "as is appropriate." This was adopted by general consensus.

Langley then objected that "certain matters will have been passed which we have problems with, like the continued existence of MK and Apla." Ramaphosa said he failed to see what this had to do with the resolution.

The IFP's Frank Mdlalose, apparently parting company with his Cosag ally, urged the CP to accede to the resolution. However, CP delegation leader Ferdie Hartzenberg said the party would "keep our options open"

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and abstain, though it would not pull out.

Under the chairmanship of Public Enterprises Minister Dawie de Villiers, the resolution was eventually adopted "by consensus" (excluding only the CP). In terms of the resolution, the multiparty forum will reconvene not later than April 5, with each delegation sending two delegates and two advisers.

The first meeting will, among other things, determine mechanisms and procedures, including chairmanship; how to accommodate the views of participants who were not in Codesa in relation to Codesa agreements; how those agreements can be a basis to build on; its name and structure; and the role of the international community.

CONSTITUENT ASSEMBLY

FM 12/3/93.

Smile on the face of the tiger

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The country should not work too desperately for rapid political consensus, in case it masks problems that will only surface later. To be sure, we all feel comforted and relieved when Roelf Meyer and Cyril Ramaphosa, the chief negotiators for government and the ANC respectively, emerge smiling from the latest round of "crucial" talks.

After so many disappointments and betrayals along the road already, there is anxiety for peace at any price. It is easy to get impatient when parties other than the ANC and government raise objections; we agitate for progress.

In particular, we become impatient (and nervous) when the IFP gets difficult. But consider what might happen if the legitimate objections of the IFP are ignored — and legitimate objections may be defined as those whose principles can be extended beyond the private political agenda of the IFP or its leader, Chief Mangosuthu Buthelezi.

The IFP has long objected to the idea that an elected constituent assembly should be entrusted with writing a new constitution. The basis for this objection has been best expressed by Herman Cohen, the retiring US Assistant Secretary of State for Africa — not a man renowned for taking sides in SA, least of all that of the IFP.

Cohen was quoted in *Business Day* this week as saying that he had no doubt about how a new constitution should be written: "If a constituent assembly, which is elected by one-man one-vote, makes all the decisions, then you have not had negotiations. And if you don't have negotiations, you have

severe insecurities on the side of minorities."

This is plain commonsense — so plain, in fact, that the only way the consensus-obsessed media have found to deal with it is to ignore it. Yet it can be argued that so important a creation as the national constitution should be the responsibility of experts — whose work would then indeed have to be ratified or rejected by an elected assembly. This was once, roughly, the view of the NP too — but such is its lack of bargaining power that it was forced to concede on this crucial point. No wonder Roelf smiles: he has no ammunition to speak of and must bluff his way as best he can.

It is all very well for the toiling negotiators to talk now about agreement being reached by the strange process of "sufficient consensus." We can be sure that when the members of an elected assembly take their seats, they will have the moral authority to decide by majority — simple, two-thirds, whatever — on any clause of any measure put before them. By then, the mysterious concept of "sufficient consensus" will probably have the status of a cute footnote in history books.

We do not need the IFP and Herman Cohen to tell us that an elected constituent assembly — whoever is in the majority — would be as qualified to write a new constitution as it would to perform the work of a rocket scientist.

Yet the ANC and the Nats have apparently reached consensus on this. Perhaps it is time for the rest of us to let them know it is not sufficient. ■

Jigsaw arithmetic

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Donald Simpson is a leading election analyst attached to Potchefstroom University

An analysis of the 1991 census, recently presented by Home Affairs Minister Louis Pienaar in parliament, reveals some important electoral facts.

There is only one area in SA which does not contain an indigenous "black" South African majority — that is, of course, the western Cape. The "coloureds" make up 58% of the population in this projected region (see box) and blacks only 15%; whites are an influential 26% and Asians 1%. The elections here could be the most exciting in SA, with the predominant coloured group deciding whether there will be an ANC majority in this area.

The ANC has proposed the creation of an additional, effectively Xhosa electoral region in the eastern Cape, which would mean 10 regions in SA — one more than the nine proposed by the Development Bank. If this proposal were accepted, it would leave the remaining eastern Cape vulnerable to attack from the ANC viewpoint, since blacks would make up just 50% of the electorate in the remaining eastern Cape area.

The National Party and the Department of Home Affairs favour only seven regions. The Nats basically accept the nine development regions but combine the western Transvaal with the northern Cape and the eastern Transvaal with the northern Transvaal.

There is an argument that the western Transvaal and northern Cape region — containing Bophuthatswana — could produce a surprise and that Natal might yet have an Inkatha majority on election night.

The tricameral electors (whites, coloureds and Indians) could be a decisive factor in five areas: western Cape (85% of population) and eastern Cape (50%), northern Cape (40%), Natal (21%) and the Witwatersrand (36%) and could be influential in the western Transvaal (19%). The degree to which the

African majority do not vote as a bloc for one party will give the tricameral electors a chance to elect parties that will hold the balance of power in a regional assembly. In Natal, for example, an even IFP/ANC split of votes could leave the tricameral electors able to decide the area's government.

In the western Transvaal and northern Cape, a comparison can be made with the southern part of Namibia in its 1989 election. The liberation movement equivalent to the ANC (Swapo) failed to get even 20% of the black vote in southern Namibia. The

The regions the ANC can most likely count on in an electoral battle for SA are: Border, eastern Transvaal, northern Transvaal and the Witwatersrand. There will be a substantial vote, if not an easy majority, in the eastern Cape, Free State, Natal and the northern Cape and this will guarantee the ANC at least 50% of the total vote and, with proportional representation, the same amount of seats.

If five regions do not have an ANC majority — including the western Cape, northern and eastern Cape, Natal and western Transvaal — this would present problems for the ANC, analogous to the position President FW de Klerk faced after the 1989 election when the Conservative Party controlled the northern, western and eastern Transvaal and most of the Free State and the DP had a substantial hold in Natal, Johannesburg and the Cape peninsula.

The proposed government of national unity will address the issue of decentralised power but it is already clear that strong regional governments disposed against the centre

Regional spread
Number of voters

(% = % of voters)

Regions	White	Coloured	Indian	Black	Total
Border	34,614 (9.7)	34,115 (9.6)	2,824 (0.8)	124,304 (34.0)	245,857
E Cape	167,860 (30.6)	231,768 (43.0)	1,676 (0.3)	167,860 (30.6)	502,164
E Transvaal	179,774 (18.0)	4,040 (0.4)	6,525 (0.7)	87,734 (8.9)	278,073
Free State	244,917 (10.1)	44,230 (1.9)	645 (0.03)	1,234,257 (52.0)	1,480,049
Natal	99,544 (8.6)	63,485 (5.5)	503,366 (44.0)	3,669,041 (31.9)	4,175,436
N Cape	77,210 (11.9)	188,755 (29.1)	1,456 (0.2)	404,129 (60.8)	661,550
N Transvaal	97,755 (9.7)	1,321,000 (13.1)	2,170 (0.02)	2,536,313 (25.0)	3,951,238
W Cape	576,855 (26)	1,296,899 (58.1)	18,663 (0.8)	326,670 (14.7)	2,219,087
W Transvaal	148,628 (16.3)	18,913 (2.1)	1,028 (0.1)	741,576 (81.5)	900,145
Witwatersrand	1,425,800 (30)	166,209 (3.5)	97,603 (2.1)	3,067,031 (64.5)	4,756,643
Total	3,480,046 (22)	2,158,947 (13.3)	644,738 (4.1)	15,283,856 (71.6)	21,503,586

Ovambos were seen as dominant in Swapo; similarly, the Ngunis could appear all-powerful in the ANC. The ANC has been careless in its treatment of this huge region.

The PAC and Azapo are dominated by Tswana- and Sotho-speaking leaders who will have an appeal in their home areas. The PAC's Dikgang Moseneke, from Mafikeng, like many black consciousness leaders, is a Robben Island "graduate" with all the credibility that gives. So, in the western Transvaal and northern Cape, the ANC faces a challenge from the Left, the Nats, Bophuthatswana leaders and the Ventersdorp/Potchefstroom rightwing presence.

and covering half the area of the country, could be formidable opposition.

Blacks comprise 72% of the total number of voters but this estimate, which includes many guesses in the TBVC states, might be too high. Black birth rate projections in the past 20 years have been overestimates.

The tricameral voters will provide the National Party with about 28% of all votes in SA and any black votes or votes for its allies will be a bonus.

The IFP is looking at about 10% of the total vote from these figures.

The ANC could score a maximum of 60% of likely votes — but it could be much less.

Buthelezi lashes out at De Klerk, Delpont

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BILLY PADDOCK

KWAZULU Chief Minister Mangosuthu Buthelezi yesterday lashed out at government for rejecting the federal constitution his assembly accepted in December and missing the opportunity of developing a "bottom-up negotiation process".

Speaking in the Legislative Assembly, where Local Government Minister Tertius Delpont opened the fifth session, Buthelezi said President F W de Klerk and Delpont had ignored the rights of the people of the KwaZulu/Natal region. *31 DAY 12/3/93*

He said when the constitution was published De Klerk slammed it, "and you, Minister, sat with the ANC to draw up a regional proposal for KwaZulu/Natal which slammed everything we did".

This was based on the assumption all regions were equal in having done nothing, whereas Kwa/Natal had done a great deal. "Your proposal to establish a national commission to tell this region what its boundaries, powers and structures should be created deep resentment among us."

Buthelezi said he was astounded that Delpont had said the KwaZulu/Natal constitution was unsaleable and not negotiable. He asked Delpont to convey KwaZulu's demand that it be assured its assembly would be left intact, with the people of Natal determining KwaZulu's destiny.

He said he was happy to call a referendum in the territory to see what the people wanted. Should they want their destiny

☐ To Page 2

Buthelezi

thrashed out in the region, this would be dovetailed and slotted into whatever was negotiated at national level.

He said the assembly was looking at the people of the region forming a central negotiating authority. Regional negotiations should begin so regions could negotiate their own boundaries.

"The powers which would then be prepared to devolve upwards to a central federal authority could be considered at a national negotiation level," he said. This would ensure residual power being retained at the regional level.

☐ From Page 1

In his address to the assembly, Delpont said strong regional government in a new SA did not imply weak central government. It would be to the detriment of the country if the central government was weak in any respect, he said.

Should a successful federal system be established it would hopefully emphasise cohesion on essentials such as economic development. "We need to be larger than our regions... It is a fallacy to think we only have to endure until each and everyone can escape to our own domain where we can ignore the existence of others."

SA reps wait all day for Apla

JOHANNESBURG. —
PAC bungling of travel
arrangements for its
military wing represen-
tatives delayed crucial
talks with the govern-
ment yesterday.

"To say that today was
a very frustrating day for
the South African
government is an under-
statement," Minister of
Law and Order Mr Her-
nus Kriel told a news
conference yesterday.

The meeting, due to
start at 10am in Gabor-
one, is now expected to
get under way only this
morning after Apla dele-
gates stranded in Harare
were forced to charter a
plane to get to the talks.

When the three Apla
members, led by chief
political commissar Mr
Romero Daniels, real-
ised they would have to
set foot on South African
soil, they refused to go
further than Harare.
They feared they might
be arrested at Jan Smuts
airport.

Mr Kriel, however, dis-
counted the threat of ar-
rest for the Apla com-
manders if they landed
at Jan Smuts Airport en
route to Gaborone.

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THE anarchist spirit of Sixties student leader Danny Cohn-Bendit is alive and well, but not living in Paris any more. It has moved to Pretoria in the unlikely guise of a tightly-knit group of rightwing students.

With no structured organisation (they are avowed anarchists) they refer to themselves as "Die Speelgroepie (the playgroup)", traipsing around in that grey area between student fun and fanning the flames of something more serious.

This week they showed their hand once again at a meeting addressed by the African National Congress' Carl Niehaus on the campus of the University of Pretoria on Tuesday.

With the hard core of Die Speelgroepie never having numbered more than a dozen people at a time, in the past two years they have been the prime engineers behind protests and disruptions of meetings addressed by political figures as diverse as FW de Klerk, Nelson Mandela and Gerrit Viljoen.

Among the members are law student Christiaan van der Merwe, Ernst Rex, (economics, philosophy), Danny de Beer (BComm), Paul Eek, Donald Pels and Bertus Mouton.

They are a varied bunch, loosely

A right sort of playgroup

Wim Mail 12/3 - 18/3/93.

A group of anarchists has been putting a little fire into rightwing protests at the University of Pretoria, reports JAN TALJAARD

united by the ideal of a future Afrikaner homeland and an affinity for radicalism. Members refuse to do national service, although in spite of their avowed aversion to any kind of structured authority two chairmen of the Conservative Party at Tuks have stepped from the ranks of the Speelgroepie.

Pols serves as publicity secretary for the national youth branch of the CP while Van der Merwe is the son of CP MP Daan van der Merwe.

Ironically, and in spite of these links, relations between the Speelgroepie and the CP are at best tenuous.

Radical statements and actions by the Speelgroepie such as the recent burning of the American flag in front of



Singing the right note ... Speelgroepie members Christiaan van der Merwe and Donald Pols

the US embassy in Pretoria are often met by official repudiations from CP headquarters.

Neither do they agree on broad policy: members of the Speelgroepie view the CP policy of partition as impractical, loosely aligning themselves instead to volkstaat proponents such as the Afrikaner-Volksumie, Avstig, and Vekom.

They explain their participation in events run under the auspices of the CP as an attempt to put a little fire into the

somewhat staid party.

In many ways the political sentiments of individual members mirror the fragmentation of the right. Even while sharing the Volkstaat ideal, they are divided on issues such as where to establish it and how to realise the ideal. Some swear they will shoot, while others are prepared to wait for circumstances that will make secession natural.

In addition, they produce a slick and professional-looking tabloid called

Dexter (Latin for right). Originally intended as a counter to the official student paper *Perdeby*, the paper briefly rose from obscurity last year with a report on an elaborate sting pulled on a security policeman trying to recruit informers from the Speelgroepie.

Currently plans are afoot for *Dexter* to hit the streets in an attempt to compete in the general market.

The centre of operations is a commune called House Jopie Fourie, after the Afrikaner rebel who was executed for his part in the failed 1914 rebellion.

The flag of the old Transvaal Republic flies outside. Inside it looks like just another commune. A spread newspaper separates a tired-looking Volkswagen engine from the carpet. It is in the garage where things are happening. Using two snail-paced 286 computers, the stirrers are toiling away, composing statements and newspaper columns.

"I don't even know if I will like a Volkstaat," one says. "I do not like authority and I suppose even a Volkstaat will have traffic cops..."

Roll on Cohn-Bendit. For the Speelgroepie Nietzsche may have replaced Sartre and *Die Lied van Jong Suid-Afrika* may have taken the place of the *Internationale* but the spirit lives on.

I WOULD LIKE TO TAKE THIS OPPORTUNITY TO ANNOUNCE THE GOVERNMENT'S PLAN TO LAUNCH A RED FACE DAY... TO RAISE FUNDS FOR THE BUYING OUT OF CORRUPT OFFICIALS.



Top city business executives back DP anti-corruption drive

CHAEI MORRIS

ME of Cape Town's top business executives were among 275 people who signed the Democratic Party's anti-corruption petition St George's Mall to back its demand for independent commission on State spend- and corruption.

people of all political persuasions and col- s were among them, too, but many pass- by simply ignored invitations to sign the- tion ... and one public servant who de-

clined to sign went as far as declaring: "I'm part of the corruption!"

Asked by a DP official what department she worked in, the woman replied with a gig- gle: "Finance."

Another government official, who jokingly implied that he, too, was part of the corrup- tion, signed the petition anyway.

While many hurried by self-consciously, apparently not wishing to commit them- selves, the degree of concern and anger among all sectors of the public about the ex- tent of corruption and mismanagement was

all too evident.

One of those who remained uncommitted was none other than former National Party secretary-general and former minister of the corruption-ridden Department of Develop- ment Aid, Dr Stoffel van Merve.

When DP official Ms Caroline Knott called to him: "Don't you want to sign our peti- tion?" Dr Van der Merve just walked on.

Others were apathetic. "There's so much corruption ... what's the point?" one said. "This isn't going to achieve anything," another said.

Two young men from Gugulethu had a dif- ferent view altogether. "If it's against cor- ruption, I'll sign," one said.

A woman from the Cape Flats approached the table enthusiastically, declaring: "Ek sal enige ding sign as dit against corruption is!"

Several traffic officers endorsed the DP's demand, but none of at least a dozen police- men who passed the table in the 1½-hour lunch-time initiative put his name on the list.

A man who at first felt that his member- ship of the ANC precluded him from signing a DP petition, eventually added his name.

'Question time used by Nats'

OPPOSITION parties are livid because they say the NP is using the new parliamentary question time to sell the president to the people.

Now the DP and the CP are to ask for a spe- cial session of parlia- ment's rules committee to tighten up procedures and prevent Mr De Klerk from turning the fortnightly event into a vote-catcher on TV.

The inauguration of the new question time is modelled on develop- ments in the House of Commons, where Prime Minister John Major takes opposition ques- tions without prior no- tice of what he will be asked.

But opposition whips here are now crying foul. They believe the NP — which is going to be selling the image of Mr De Klerk in the run up to the election — is already going for unfair advantage on TV.

According to the CP's chief whip, Mr Frank le Roux, Mr De Klerk "abused the occasion be- cause he didn't stick to the question". In his view Mr De Klerk made mini political speeches.

He also objects be- cause the TV transmis- sions only showed him at his best and in close- up while his questioners were shown from a dis- tance.

Says Le Roux: "TV must show it as it is. This week, at times, he stumbled, he was lost for words, he was frus- trated and he fidgeted. This was not transmit-

ANC's better campaigning skills net growing support in Western Cape

Nat pool hopes shrink



ANC split after election, says **Slabbert**

JOHN MACLENNAN **30/4/93** **Van Zyl Slabbert**
Political Staff

FORMER DP leader Dr Van Zyl Slabbert this week denied he is thinking of starting a new party, but forecast a major political regrouping after the first elections.

He predicted, for example, that the ANC would split with the unions and the SACP once it moved into a government of national unity. He said this was inevitable because its interests — as government — would inevitably clash with those of former allies.

"Once the ANC becomes part of the government it will also have to accept responsibility. This involves taking credit for both the rain and the drought."

Speaking at a Sanlam seminar in Cape Town, he said the country had entered a period of political horse-trading. This was evidenced by incentives to get Inkatha into the process. These involved putting strong regional government on the agenda and he forecast this would provide the major struggle in negotiations.

But the politics of tomorrow are also likely to be pragmatic. That is why he believes that someone like Finance Minister Derek Keys might well be asked to stay.

One of the factors pushing politicians to opt for common sense approaches is the proportional voting system. The bosses of each party will be responsible for drawing up a list of candidates and they would be unlikely to choose personalities who frighten off potential donors to party coffers.

"The big test after first election for the coalition government is to see that the economy works. They are going to have to provide a better deal in a very difficult climate because they will have to stabilise the situation at the same time."

He looks to a major regrouping in difficult circumstances and said it would be stupid to start a new party now because of the flux. "South Africa will have no 'magic day' transformation because this is not a colonial situation."

30/4/93
DANGER signs are flashing for the National Party in its Western Cape stronghold in South Africa's first non-racial elections due within a year.

The Nationalists have been routed time and again by strong African National Congress organisation in the Western Cape, which is the NP's greatest hope for capturing at least one region.

"The danger signals are showing for the NP if it can't hold its own at the propaganda level. Its support base mainly in the coloured group will be eroded," said Stellenbosch University's political science head Mr Henne Kotze. This week the NP was routed yet

30/4/93
Disorganised Nationalists can no longer take an election victory for granted in the Western Cape in the face of superior African National Congress organisation and commitment, reports **DAVID BREIER** of the Weekend Argus political staff.

again by ANC organisation, this time at Atlantis, where the ANC held a high profile demonstration and captured the limelight from a visit by the State President's wife, Mrs Marike de Klerk.

Local Nationalists admitted they handed a propaganda victory to the ANC on a plate by not organising any demonstration in support of Mrs de Klerk.

This follows the NP's recent humiliation at the live SABC Agenda programme, where the ANC brought in flag-waving supporters and outnumbered the Nationalists.

Afterwards the Nationalists whined about their treatment, reaping even more public scorn as a party that couldn't take the treatment they had dished out to others for decades.

Last year the ANC broke up Mr De Klerk's visit to Mitchell's Plain, which was poorly organised by the local Nationalists.

An ANC survey showed Mr De Klerk's support among people classified coloured, who formed the majority in the Western Cape, fell from a high of 78 percent in April last year to 67 percent by the end of the year.

The Human Sciences Research Council also found a downward trend for the Nationalists among all population groups over the past year.

The HSRC found coloured support for the Nationalists had fallen to 66 percent. But this was still overwhelmingly greater than coloured support for the ANC, which had risen to 6 percent from a very low base.

The coloured vote will be vital in the Western Cape, where it forms about 60 percent of the electorate, compared with roughly 20 percent each for whites and blacks.

He said ANC structures formed by the United Democratic Front and the "civics" were still intact, while the Nationalists had no established structures outside white areas.

"If the civics can be mobilised in elections to organise for the ANC, that will be another blow against the NP," he says.

The Nationalists had no local leadership figure to compare with ANC Western Cape chairman Dr Allan Boesak, who still pulled popular support and was a good organiser.

■ After a week of shocking new revelations of government "dirty tricks", pressure is mounting on the President to come clean.

JOHN MacLENNAN, Political Staff

ARG 13/3/93 (3044)

RENEWED calls to reveal the government's record of dirty tricks are to be made on President De Klerk in parliament.

He will be told bluntly: There can be no going forward unless the truth is known about the past.

This follows developments at the Goniwe inquest as well as Transkei leader General Bantu Holomisa's dramatic disclosure of documents linking the State Security Council — on which Presi-

dent De Klerk and other prominent Cabinet ministers served — to a top secret plot to eliminate former Ciskei leader Lennox Sebe and bring a sympathetic cabal to power.

So far, government response has been muted. President De Klerk said that in the past the government had to act as if in a wartime situation.

But the Democratic Party does not intend to let the government sweep away its shady role during the recent past like so much irrelevant history.

Mr Kobus Jordaan, DP member for Umhlanga, has already inferred that Mr Walter Felgate of Inkatha, Inkatha constitutional adviser, Prof Albert Blaustein, as well as Mr Rowan Cronje of the Bophuthatswana government, are paid agents of the government.

He made his controversial remarks — roundly denied by Mr Felgate — after failing to elicit a straight answer from Mr De Klerk as to whether the government had been paying people to report on cultural and political organisations.

Mr De Klerk will be back in the dock if the DP has its way. The party hopes to muster support for a special debate on the issue in the next two weeks.

Mr Eddie Trent, DP member for PE Central, said the party wanted all internal reports in relation to the Cradock Four.

Mr Trent said yesterday: "We want the truth. We are not looking for retribution. Even the relatives of Goniwe have said that. We just want to clean the slate. If the government does not come clean it will look like it is hiding something and protecting people. We don't want all classified documentation, just that of the Cradock Four."

The bombshell documents released by General Holomisa indict the government for a continuing dirty tricks campaign which includes murder of political opponents. The National Party is severely embar-

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DIRTY TRICKS: CHEATING

Marais: 'No compensation'

CT 13/3/93
DR Org Marais, Minister for Administration and Tourism, has asked the Cape Times to point out that he never received compensation for not residing at his official Cape Town residence, Reezicht (3047).

Dr Marais said that during 1990, 1991, 1992 and to the end of February this year, during parliamentary sessions, he lived at Reezicht.

In 1990 and 1991, Mr Marais received R125 162,21 after tax for living in his own Pretoria home for parliamentary sessions there.

Dr Marais moved into his own Cape Town home this year.

Unenviable task for politicians

DAVE MOHR

DON'T envy those politicians who will take power in the new South Africa. Unless the economy recovers dramatically, the next government will find itself in a financial straitjacket, unable to raise spending energetically to meet the demands of its constituents.

Government finance reflects the health of the whole economy. And the recession since early 1989 has squeezed government finances sharply. In the 1989/90 financial year, central government budget deficit was at the modest level of below 1 percent of gross domestic product (GDP).

As the economy has weakened since, so the deficit has swelled ominously. It will leap to around 9 percent of GDP in this financial year. So the central government will borrow R30 billion from the private sector to fund this year's budget deficit — compared to a mere R1,5 billion in 1989/90.

The deficit has reached dangerous — though not yet disastrous — levels. Some economists believe, though, that it should be reduced sharply, perhaps to the IMF-recommended range of 2 to 3 percent of GDP.

If it is to be cut, the options available are limited: raising taxes and/or cutting spending. But neither of these alternatives is costless or straightforward.

It is sometimes proposed that government should increase income taxes or VAT sharply. This option seems simple, but is singularly unattractive in the present economic climate. Raising taxes substantially in this week's Budget (for example VAT at 16 percent) would undermine private consumption spending, discourage firms from investing and prolong the current recession — perhaps worsening the deficit in the process!

The other alternative is for government to cut spending. If it was reduced by one fifth, the deficit would drop below 3 percent of GDP.

But cutting government expenditure tends to be slow and entails political costs. It may undermine future growth if valuable services like infrastructure and education are harmed.

What if government tries instead to stabilise the deficit until the recession ends? Modest tax increases (for example VAT at 13 percent, with the zero-rating of some basic foods) and limiting spending growth to 8 percent could reduce the 1993/94 deficit to a manageable 6 percent of GDP. And if all went well, an economic revival would ease the pressures on government finances in due course.

Hopefully this is the strategy chosen by government. The Minister of finance has announced that civil service pay increases will be kept down this year, that real government spending will fall slightly and that certain taxes will be raised. Provided these measures are not drastic, the deficit should fall a little, while the risks of renewed stagnation and political disorder are not excessive.

It is crucial, however, that when the economy does begin recovering, government must act tough on the deficit, steadily bringing it back to its safe 1980's average of 3 to 4 percent of GDP. Government should also use its resources more efficiently, and invest more. But grandiose capital projects or efforts to boost social spending soon may simply be out of reach, no matter how desirable they seem.

These financial constraints will create major problems for a new government in South Africa. If this government lacks the foresight to constrain expenditure when it comes to power, state finances could worsen yet further, until the private sector refuses to lend to the government any more.

This will be followed, in due course, by deep recession to bring inflation back to acceptable levels, harming poor people the most.

Nats split on sharing

DAVID BREIER
Political Staff

BITTER feuding within the government is intensifying between those who want to share power with the ANC and those committed to Inkatha.

This had led to new security force dirty tricks to undermine relations between the government and the ANC, parliamentary sources claimed last week.

President De Klerk ducked a question in parliament on nine alleged government agents working as stumbling blocks to negotiations.

He said there was "certain information on the activities of all three intelligence communities" (military, police and National Intelligence) that should not be dealt with in public "in the national interest".

He disclosed the government took steps last year to "limit damage" to Military Intelligence (MI) after the Goldstone Commission raided an MI front acting to discredit the ANC.

That raid led to the appointment of SADF Chief of Staff Pierre Steyn to control secret MI documents and the purging of MI officers — but not MI chief Lieutenant-General Joffel van der Westhuizen.

There is growing pressure on Mr De Klerk to explain why he has retained General Van der Westhuizen as head of MI in spite of the growing mass of dirty tricks evidence against him — including the Goniwe "death warrant" and the sinister Operation Katzen to counter the ANC in the Eastern Cape in the 1980s.

The sources said Minister of Constitutional Development Mr Roelf Meyer led the pro-ANC faction, which was becoming increasingly popular among rank-and-file Nationalists who saw no alternative to sharing power with the ANC as the IFP was believed to have little popular support.

The anti-ANC negotiation faction was said to be led by Minister of Local Government Mr Tertius Delport, a former University of Port Elizabeth academic, who last week opened the Kwazulu Legislative Assembly. He was a major force behind the government's drive for strong regional government.

FW faces challenge

passed over indications that some of its most prominent personalities knew of plans to eliminate "dangerous" black leaders, end the "revolution" in the Eastern Cape and set up governments which would not give Pretoria trouble.

The bad news for the NP, also, is that General Holomisa says he has another 12 secret files detailing covert activities of the government.

The documents tend to prove — and their authenticity has not been questioned — that the SADF and senior Cabinet ministers were involved directly in political shenanigans which would blow a normal government to pieces.

General Holomisa avers all members of the State Security Council, including President De Klerk, attended a meeting in Port Elizabeth in 1985 just a few weeks before a signal was sent to Pretoria allegedly arranging for the elimination of the Cradock Four.

Members of the council at the time also included ministers Mr Pik Botha, Mr Kobie Coetsee and Mr Adriaan Vlok. The present Minister of Local Government, Dr Tertius Delport, was consulted. Also implicated is chief of the SADF General Kat Liebenberg.

At the meeting it was decided to stabilise the Eastern Cape and General "Joffel" van der Westhuizen came up with a plan. The original draft of Operation Katzen was handed into the Goniwe inquest.

The plan involved developing the Eastern Cape into an independent power bloc against the African National Congress and United Democratic Front.

General Holomisa said: "The dirty tricks campaign against liberation movements is waged through the use of reactionary homeland leaders buttressed by white SADF soldiers. Any irresponsible and reckless conduct boomerangs on these leaders while Pretoria is saved from direct responsibility in outrageous acts."

He added: "The question to be asked is whether the strategy of killing blacks still remains in force."

He believes the documents should not be regarded as history because they have a direct bearing on negotiations.

■ More reports and pictures on page 15.



20 Voter education

PR system favoured for SA ...

PROPORTIONAL Representation (PR), judging from media reports, seems to be a favoured option by parties deciding on a future electoral system for South Africa.

Proportional electoral systems are one of three major types of electoral systems, the other two being plurality and majority systems.

Proportional systems have the most accurate method of translating actual votes cast in a party's favour into the number of seats won by that party. Therefore this system is thought more effective in a multi-party situation.

From the above, some political researchers believe proportional systems work better in deeply divided or multi-ethnic societies than plurality and majority systems.

Overall, its strongest feature is that the party that comes to power will be the one winning most votes.

Proportional methods may be divided into two main types: party list methods and the single transferable vote.

Party list methods are used by all West European countries with the exception of France and Britain.

There are four main types of list system.

The main difference between various list systems lies in whether the voter is given any choice in the candidates standing for a party.

Even if the voter is given some choice, all list systems mean the voter votes not only for an individual candidate, but for the party itself.

This means that if a voter's choice of candidate either had no chance of being elected or has more votes than needed for election, the vote cast may be used by the party to help another candidate on the list whom the voter may not even support or approve of.

Most lists reflect only one party's candidates. Of these, some allow the voter no choice regarding which candidate on the lists gets his/her vote. Some allow the voter to



VICTORY: Sam Nujoma being sworn in as Namibian president by United Nations secretary general Javier Pérez de Cuellar

extend his/her choice of candidates in preferential sequence.

Some lists, however, contain the names of candidates from different

parties. This means a voter can still vote mainly for his own party, but also for people from another party. **The single transferable vote** is

based on the premise that representation is of individuals, not parties or communities. The voter is therefore given the widest possible choice of candidates from all parties standing for elections.

Because voters vote on preferential basis, their first vote may be transferred to another candidate whom they also voted for if the first choice either has no chance or already has enough to be elected.

This means that, unlike party list methods, the voter's vote can never be used to help a candidate whom the voter does not support. The possibility of transfer needs to be authorised by the voters themselves. This system has shown itself less accurate in terms of proportional representation than plurality or majority methods.

Party systems simply refers to the number of parties a system contains.

People usually refer to two-party, multi-party or one-party systems. In two party systems such as America and Britain, two parties of equivalent size and with roughly equal prospects of winning, compete for power and usually one of them gains victory in terms of executive authority in parliament.

In multi-party systems a number of parties contest elections and government is usually done through

coalitions. However, sometimes one of the competing parties wins sufficient votes to constitute a majority on its own.

Government in this case may alternate between single party and coalition government.

Political scientists have had difficulty in deciding where the cut-off point between a two- and multi-party system actually arises, as in the case of Britain.

The reality is that more than two parties sit in parliament. However, only two of those parties have decisive impact on national issues.

Giovanni Sartori, a political scientist has given the following guidelines: a party is relevant to the classification between two- and multi-party if, firstly, it wins parliamentary representation and, secondly, it wields enough influence to form a coalition itself or drive its main opponent into forming a coalition.

In this sense the British system, while not numerically a two-party system, is effectively one.

Sartori also noted that in multi-party systems, the degree of polarisation between party coalitions seems to become greater the more parties exist in the system.

This also is linked with the degree of ideological distance between the parties and the number of distinctly separate positions held by them.

... but can we afford it?

THERE are some political observers who believe the costs of a proportional representation system outweigh the advantages.

They believe the best way to overcome the weaknesses of the PR system in South Africa is to build a constituency basis into the election system while maintaining proportionality in parliament.

In this way, seats will still be awarded to parties in proportion to their percentage vote but voters would be able to choose individual candidates on the ballot paper.

With a pure PR system, if parliament consisted of 400 members and the ANC won 60 percent of the national vote, they would be awarded 240 seats.

Likewise, the DFP would win 20 seats if they polled five percent of the national vote.

But, observers warn, the parties' MPs would not be accountable to the constituencies.

These are some of their other warnings:

- The PR system encourages factions to break from existing parties and compete on their own. PR always weakens the largest parties and strengthens small, minority parties.

In many countries with PR election systems no one party, or even a two-party coalition, gets a majority of votes in parliament.

Endlessly making and breaking coalitions means party elites trade-off compromises and shape and re-shape party programmes every few months, as coalitions come and go.

PR can lead to paralysis of legislative programmes of reform and the blocking of even minor reforms for decades.

In South Africa, PR might smuggle in a minority veto through

the back door. Every time a government appeals to a tiny party to help make up its 51 percent of parliament, the minority might agree only on condition there is no land redistribution or affirmative action.

- The parliamentary opposition is also fragmented into many parties. This means any alternative coalition also falls apart soon. So the ruling party need not fear that growing corruption, dictatorial style or policy changes will make it lose power.

- While PR may paralyse a parliament, it does not paralyse the bureaucracy, military and police from action. In South Africa, these institutions are hostile to the majority and will take time to be transformed.

- PR means every electoral appeal must be nation-wide. This favours the wealthiest parties able to pay for TV and radio advertisements costing millions of Rands.

CROSS TALK

THE TWO-DAY planning conference for the resumption of multi-party talks, held at the World Trade Centre near Johannesburg last weekend received mixed reactions from the media and political commentators.

The reactions expressed hope and scepticism.

There was hope because for the first time the conference included parties from both the left and right of the political spectrum. Five of them, including the Pan-Africanist Congress and the Conservative Party, were newcomers to the forum.

There was scepticism because it became abundantly clear there were still a lot of differences among parties in finding a lasting solution to the country's problems.

Nevertheless, apologists of "negotiation politics" emphasised the fact that there were no walk-outs, and that all parties present, save for the CP, endorsed the resolution to resume multi-party talks within a month. All this, for them, indicated "progress" and a "sense of urgency" to reach a settlement.

Azapo was a notable organisation absent from this conference. According to some media reports, the ANC and the PAC, following last week's conference, are expected to try to persuade Azapo to join talks next time around so as to make them fully representative.

What is the essence of Azapo's objection to the present talks?

We have pointed out that for us negotiations should be, as a minimum requirement, about the formation of the Transitional Authority consisting of international representatives.

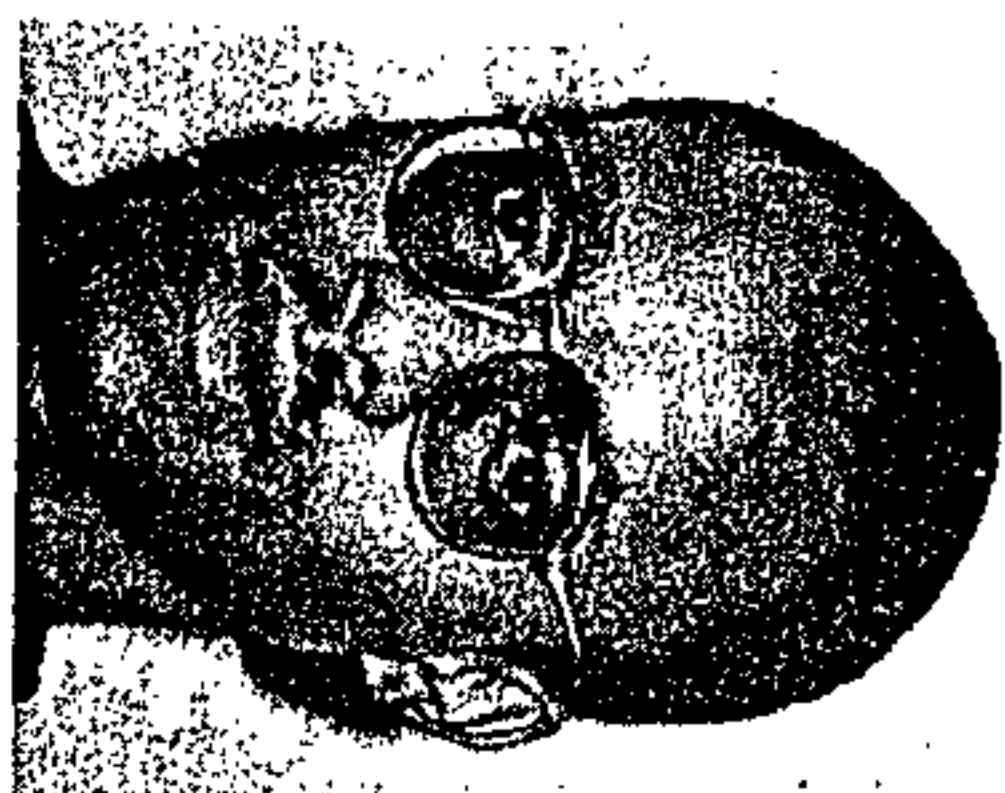
The task of this body would be to restrict and demobilise the apartheid armed forces, appoint independent election and media commissions and prepare the country for the election of a Constituent Assembly to draw up a democratic constitution.

Such talks must be presided over by a neutral chairperson to deny the regime the advantage of being a

Planning talks fall foul of

South
13/3-17/3/83
Azapo
30/4/83

The planning conference is over and political groups are preparing for real negotiations. But Azapo, which boycotted the conference, wants some fundamental changes before it agrees to take part. The government cannot be player and referee and it is essential that talks take place on neutral turf, argues **SIPHOMASEKO**, Azapo chairperson in the Western Cape. He explains Azapo's absence at the talks:



We insist that a second round of elections take place immediately after the task of a Constituent Assembly is finished. It is only the second elections that will deal with policies'

player and a referee at the same time, and, might we also add, to prevent a mockery such as the one that occurred last week when all 26 participants at the conference wanted to be allowed to chair.

In addition, the talks should be held at a neutral venue so that the regime would be unable to use its dirty tricks such as tapping or bugging its opponents' telephone lines before and during the talks.

Only when these requirements are met will Azapo participate.

We envisage a settlement that will lead to two elections: one for the Constituent Assembly and another immediately after the drawing up of a constitution to form a government.

We are saying this because, con-

trary to the propaganda that is fed through the liberal press, the first elections in South Africa would not be like the recent British, Kenyan, Ghanaian, Nigerian or American elections.

In those countries people voted either to elect a new, or re-elect an old, government because they liked (or did not like) their policies on the economy, family values, health sciences, one-party systems etc.

In short, in those countries these were elections which normally take place after a five-year period, or as a result of pressures to extend or expand "democratic" practices where they have been previously denied.

Above all, these elections were taking place in independent,

sovereign states. South Africa is neither an independent nor a sovereign state. This is a fundamental difference we must acknowledge.

Therefore, the first so-called non-racial elections will not be about politics *per se*.

These are going to be elections primarily for the liberation of black people, on the one hand, and the maintenance of the status quo, albeit in a revised manner, on the other hand.

Putting it differently, the value of every "black" vote cast will count as a vote for liberation; and the value of the majority of "white" votes cast will count for the preservation of "privileges", "rights" and "property". It is as simple as that.

It will only be during the second elections when people would consider as a primary concern issues of economic, health and education policies. Hence, we insist that the second elections must be held immediately after the task of a constituent assembly is finished.

In short, all we are saying is that the first elections in South Africa will be about the realisation of the goal which gave birth to the liberation movement in the first place. Otherwise, the second elections have no reason to exist.

It is against this background that Azapo is calling for the revival of a genuine Patriotic Front for the liberation forces to adopt a unified approach when dealing with the regime and its allies.

This approach will ensure that when we (as the Patriotic Front) campaign for the elections, the voices of black people in those elections are not split unnecessarily among the different organisations of the broad liberation movement.

For in essence the casting of their votes will be for liberation. Such an approach would also strengthen our commonly shared positions at the negotiation table, such as having a unitary state based on majority rule, as opposed to a federal structure based on power sharing, even with the smallest minority parties.

We reiterate that "any negotiations that take place without the existence of such a front will keep on foundering or be weakened".

In the second elections, the status of the liberation forces will change into real political parties, and they might decide to part ways or stay together.

It is at that stage when there would be campaigning in a conventional sense, that is, canvassing votes on the basis of sensible economic, health and education policies, and also addressing the questions of how to combat unemployment, poverty, homelessness, etc.

The task at hand now is to mobilise the vote that would lead to emancipation from oppression and exploitation.

Marike gets tea, but no sympathy

By Quentin Wilson

MRS MARIKE de Klerk tasted more than cream scones at her lavish Atlantis tea party on Wednesday. The state president's wife also sampled the anger of the coloured residents she was trying to woo.

Hundreds of ANC protesters thronged around the Saxonsea Community Centre, forcing Mrs De Klerk and her invited guests to be hurriedly escorted by police from their flashy cars to the function.

Many protesters attacked Mrs De Klerk for the anti-coloured remarks attributed to her in 1989.

Her host, Mr Abe Williams, the newly appointed sports minister, was also a target of the chanting demonstrators.

Before being bundled by police into the hall, De Klerk waved at the demonstrators while Williams grinned at his opposition.

Inside the hall the 70 guests, dressed in their Sunday best, sat at the tables and were served by waiters, who openly admitted to being policemen.

The police male choir provided the entertainment.

A few of the guests wanted to put questions to Mrs De Klerk after her speech but they were stopped.

This was a tea party, not a time for asking questions, said Williams.



ON THE TRIGGER: a plainclothes policeman reacts to jeering ANC protesters as Marike de Klerk tries to escape from her Atlantis tea party
Photo Yunus Mohamed

Some guests walked out in disgust, some even joining the demonstration outside.

"At the school where I work, there is a shortage of textbooks and other necessary facilities," Ms Marelda Adams complained.

"I wanted to ask her what can be done. Now I'm not even allowed to say anything."

"What good is this tea party if we

can't even ask questions. Cakes won't solve these problems. Besides, as a Muslim, I'm fasting anyway."

During his speech, Williams claimed that Atlantis enjoyed the "best infra-structure on the West Coast". This also proved a sore point for many guests, who murmured in disbelief.

"How can he say such a thing?" asked Ms Olga Fortune, a guest

who later joined the ANC's demo. "In Atlantis, there is only one school hall that has to be used by all the schools in the area."

After the proceedings, Mrs De Klerk's chauffeured car struggled to pass through the crowd.

A portion of the crowd moved in on her car, blocking her way and shouting abuse. Police then moved in to clear the way.

DP attacks 'apologist' Keys

TIM COHEN

CAPE TOWN — It was "astounding" that Finance Minister Derek Keys was so relaxed about wastage and corruption of between R1,2bn and R1,4bn in government, DP finance spokesman Ken Andrew said.

Andrew was commenting at the weekend on a speech made last week by Keys in which he estimated the amount lost to corruption at between R300m and R500m — a rare admission by a government member on the actual amount lost.

Keys said at an NP fundraising dinner that the level of corruption brought to light was no greater than that which existed in the public sector. Of the R54bn allocated in the Budget for consumption expenditure outside the TVBC states, only a fraction of a percentage point was lost to corruption, he said. This amounted to between R300m and R500m.

Keys denied that corruption was anything like the R9bn level alleged by the ANC.

Andrew said Keys — "in his new role as apologist for NP government dishonesty and incompetence" — tried to draw a parallel with criminal

behaviour in the private sector. Keys missed the point that people in the private sector who committed fraud and theft were prosecuted, fined and sent to jail.

But in the public sector government played for time, appointed commissions and, irrespective of what the findings were, very few people were ever prosecuted, let alone sent to prison to pay for their crimes.

Keys's "dismissive attitude" was most alarming. It was insensitive to shrug off a trend towards corruption as inconsequential and it was no excuse to claim the private sector was just as immoral, Andrew said.

The DP believed the capacity of the auditor-general's office should be increased substantially and there should be more scope for more performance audits.

There should also be qualified people available for speedy investigation and prosecution of offenders, while outside experts should be used wherever necessary, Andrew said.

NEWS IN BRIEF

^(304A) Positive view of talks

THE international community viewed renewed efforts to convene multiparty talks and SA's declining violence positively, UN Observer Mission head Angela King said yesterday. ⁽³⁰⁶⁾

Speaking after a visit to New York, where she briefed UN Secretary-General Boutros Boutros Ghali on developments in SA, King said monitors had reported a consistent decline in violence.

She said talks leading to the next negotiation phase were proceeding very well, and that peace committee officials should be praised for their efforts.

B/D Ay 16/3/93.

Beware the frustration of the youth

SOYTH 13/3-17/3/93

THERE is a popular misconception about who the destabilisers would be of a new order in South Africa. Many believe it would be right-wing groups, apartheid's bureaucracy and generally the old order at the forefront of resisting change to a negotiated solution.

But I disagree. I think it would be the frustrated sections of the oppressed, and especially the youth, who hold the greatest potential for destabilising the new system.

If the new dispensation fails to address the needs and expectations of the oppressed, the youth would become its worst enemies.

During the struggle, it was always the youth at the forefront of the battle.

This selfless choice was often at the expense of their self-development. It was they who chose to bear the brunt of savage state repression, it was they who sacrificed their childhoods in the fight against apartheid.

And what could they show for all their sacrifices?

Thus far, they have become spectators to the negotiating process that is essentially about them. They were forced to be Codesa watchers or passive recipients of talks reports.

Since negotiations started, and behind the scenes they started as early as 1986, the youth have not seen an improvement in their lives.

Even though we have had two years of negotiations, the situation must yet change on the ground. This has led to disgruntlement among the youth and a widespread disillusionment with the political process.

They do not feel that they belong, and until they become involved in the process, the potential for destabilisation remains.

No-one can talk about the future without taking the youth into account. After all, they have to live under the new order.

Their participation was not encouraged by any deliberate policy of any of the negotiating organisations. Some argue that this is unavoidable due to the nature of negotiations. But it is not and should not be the case. Negotiations should involve all those affected.

In many instances worldwide, transformation was aborted because changes were rejected by those for whom they were intended.

I do not agree with the concept of a "lost generation". It implies an army of street kids whose oppressed social position could always be justified because of the past.

No generation can give birth to another and then feel justified in trampling on them later.



SPEAKING OUT

Peter Mokaba

President, ANC Youth

League

Their position should rather serve as an added motivation for a quicker transformation — and yet talks drag on without change.

In Zimbabwe, for example, within a year of independence negotiations started, elections were held and a new government installed.

But in South Africa people are no longer sure what is happening. An issue constantly bugging the youth today is whether negotiations are about the things they fought for.

There is a strong indication that the ANC might end up in bed with the NP.

On the one hand, it may be a correct strategy as we are all South Africans and must

find common ground. On the other hand, the majority still regards the NP as the enemy.

They were the orchestrators of violence and it was proved that they waged war against the ANC. Thus it is difficult to stomach a power-sharing arrangement between the two groups.

This is not simply youth militancy. It is a legitimate concern about the advent of democracy in this country.

We have no problem with parties contesting elections, and proportional representation is important — but it should certainly not extend into the make-up of the cabinet.

The period immediately following elections would be the most crucial in the country's history. With the country at its most vulnerable, we would need a strong government to execute a far-reaching package of reconstruction and renewal.

A government of consensus, as the NP wants, will never achieve this.

It would be just as dangerous to pamper the old bureaucracy and promise them that their jobs are safe for the future.

What would this mean for affirmative action and transformation if these organs of power are not addressed?

Why do these bureaucrats deserve special treatment over the oppressed of this country?

Any arrangement which does not lead to the introduction of majority rule will not be good enough. Any compromise that allows the present government to cling to power is threatening and should not be tolerated. Nowhere in the world has this worked.

Portugal and Chile are apt examples. In both cases revolutionary forces made many compromises with the old order, which laid the seeds of bloody counter-revolutions later.

We should not provide the space for counter-revolutionary forces to regroup so they can fight us later. They should rather be dealt with now. There is no reason why this has to be postponed.

These are all issues which the ANC Youth League is taking seriously and would be taking up with ANC leaders.

Don't get me wrong, I am not against a government of national unity. It is an important part of nation-building. However, democracy should not be threatened along the way.

If the NP is to be part of this temporary government, it should not be on the basis of force but of magnanimity on the part of the ANC — and we must mobilise to defeat the NP convincingly at the polls for this to happen.

Election 'will set SA's future'

BELLVILLE. — South Africa's future would be determined along the lines set during its first democratic elections, the chairman of Zimbabwe's election supervisory commission, Mr Walter Kamba, said yesterday.

Speaking at a conference here he said the election would introduce a culture of democratic process into the country for the first time.

South Africa would never be the same after the elections.

The director-general of the Na-

mibian Broadcasting Corporation and one of the developers of the NBC's voter education programme, Mr Nahum Gorelick, said Namibia's independence elections demonstrated that voters' illiteracy did not imply ignorance. (304A)

"Illiterate people have the ability to make their own choices and make these choices intellectually."

After generations of apartheid rule the presence of Untag personnel and international observ-

ers had played an important role in building confidence in the democratic process, particularly in the rural areas, he said.

● South Africa's first non-racial election would not satisfy the needs and desires of all people, but democracy ensured electoral opportunity, said former US ambassador to the United Nations Mr Andrew Young.

Opening the conference, he said freedom was a constant struggle and democracy was a long-term project. — Sapa

Elections not the end of SA's problems says prof

DENNIS CRUYWAGEN
Political Staff

SOUTH AFRICA'S future would be determined along the lines set in the country's first democratic elections, said Professor Walter Kamba, chairman of Zimbabwe's election supervisory committee in Bellville yesterday.

Professor Kamba, former vice-chancellor of Zimbabwe University, said this election would not herald the end of South Africa's problems but the beginning of the difficulties ahead.

He said at a national conference on free and fair elections that a secret ballot was a cardinal requirement.

He said South Africa's first non-racial election would for the first time introduce the culture of the democratic process to the country, just as it did in Zimbabwe.

This election would be an election of transition.

"It will represent dramatic change, after which South Africa will never be the same again. All the people of South Africa will be responsible for their own destiny."

Voters would not only be able to elect their leaders, but they would have the opportunity of changing them through the ballot box in another election.

"This was the essence of

Zimbabwe's first non-racial elections in 1980."

At the same conference, Professor Mervyn Frost, Professor of Political Law at Natal University and a trustee of the Institute for Multi-Party Democracy, made a strong plea for negotiations to become more open so that the electoral system adopted by the country was understood by all South Africans.

He told delegates, who included representatives from the Conservative Party, the National Party, the ANC, Azapo and the Inkatha Freedom Party, it would be important for everybody to understand what the law was.

It would be all very well to have a very tight and rigorous electoral system, but it would be useless if it was not tied to laws guaranteeing freedom of speech, information, and the Press.

He said South Africa was already moving along the wrong route with negotiations and talks being held behind closed doors.

"If we want a democratic system we must demand transparency."

Though an interim government would play a key role in monitoring elections, Professor Frost said he would urge the passing of an electoral law which would give access to experienced monitors.

Spotlight on

elections

(3049)

ARG 13/3/93

A MAJOR debate has begun on the issue of how to ensure that South Africa's first all-in nonracial elections are "free and fair".

Political and constitutional experts have warned that the success or failure of the elections, scheduled for early next year, will depend largely on this issue.

They said the entire election process, including campaigns by the political parties during the run-up period, must not only be seen to be free and fair, but this must also be provable through a reliable, independent monitoring system.

These and other crucial issues are being discussed in Bellville this weekend at a national conference on free and fair elections. The discussions, co-hosted by national and international organisations, are one of three conferences being held on elections in South Africa.

Keynote speakers include a representative of the Organisation of African Unity (OAU), Mr L Joseph Legwaila, and a former United States ambassador to the United Nations, Mr Andrew Young. About 200 representatives of political organisations, trade unions and

non-government organisations are expected to attend.

Conference themes to be dealt with in detail include: elections in a political transition, the legal framework for elections, the scope of international involvement by the UN, OAU and others; an electoral commission, security issues, the role of the media, and a code of conduct for participants.

The Goldstone Commission is also focusing its attention on the coming elections. Mr Justice Richard Goldstone announced this week that a special inquiry is to be held into curbing the potential for public violence and intimidation in a national election.

A panel of South African experts as well as international experts will be asked to advise the inquiry.

While free speech and free political assembly have been threatened in some areas, there were signs this week of growing consensus among most of the major political players that all election activities must proceed unhindered and that all possible steps must be taken to ensure free and fair elections.

Despite threats from certain elements

■ The focus has shifted to the coming South African elections which involve a big challenge to political leaders and all their followers to adhere to the rules of the game.

FRANS ESTERHUYSE,

Weekend Argus

Political Correspondent

in the ANC, for example, to disrupt meetings by some of their rivals in some areas, assurances have come from the ANC's top leadership that the organisation stands for fully democratic elections.

ANC spokesman Mr Carl Niehaus said free political activity was one of the cardinal principles of democracy, and that the ANC endorsed the right of all parties to operate throughout the country.

Professor Vincent Maphai, head of the department of political science at the University of the Western Cape, said the

establishment of a culture of democratic tolerance would require not only constitutional change, but basic psychological and social transformation.

"A wholesale change of attitude and practice is needed at both individual and institutional levels," he said.

Criteria put forward so far to ensure democratic elections include:

■ All parties and candidates must enjoy freedom of speech, assembly and movement necessary to voice their criticisms and viewpoints, and to offer alternative policies to voters;

■ The rules and conduct of elections must be fair to all participants;

■ Free access to the ballot is not enough. Elections in which any of the participants are barred from the airwaves, have rallies or meetings harassed, or have newspapers censored or threatened are not democratic.

■ Elected officials are accountable to the people, and they must return to the voters at prescribed intervals to seek their mandate to continue in office. This means that officials in a democracy must accept the risk of being voted out of office;

■ The one exception is judges who, to insulate them against popular pressure and to help ensure their impartiality, may be appointed for life and removed only for serious improprieties;

■ The definition of citizen and voter must be wide enough to include a large proportion of the adult population. A government chosen by a small inclusive group is not a democracy;

■ Subject to the laws and constitution of the country, popularly elected representatives hold the reins of power. They are not simply figureheads or symbolic leaders;

■ To cast a free ballot and minimise the opportunity for intimidation, voters in a democracy must be allowed to cast their votes in secret;

■ The protection of the ballot box and counting of the votes must be conducted as openly as possible, so that citizens are confident that the results are accurate and that government does, indeed, rest upon their "consent";

■ The ground rules of the society in which elections are held must encourage tolerance and civility in public debate.

Sanco split over free, fair electioneering in black areas

3044
AKG 13/1/83

IN what appears to be a major political split, the Western Cape region of Sanco (the South African National Civics Organisation) has taken a strong stand in favour of democratic elections and the right of free speech and assembly in all areas.

Mr Lizo Kapa, Western Cape Sanco chairman, has, in effect, repudiated statements by a southern Transvaal Sanco spokesman threatening to prevent "white" parties from electioneering in black townships.

Mr Kapa told Weekend Argus this week the southern Transvaal statements were not in accordance with Sanco's national policy or its constitution, in terms of which the organisation stood for democratic principles and free election activity.

The southern Transvaal threat, voiced by Sanco's secretary for that region, Mr Dan Mofokeng, resulted in

■ A Western Cape political leader has given a new twist to the bitter war of words that has erupted over the issue of free electioneering in the black areas.

FRANS ESTERHUYSE, Weekend Argus Political Correspondent

a sharp verbal clash with the Democratic Party.

The DP MP for Houghton, Mr Tony Leon, accused Sanco of being an "extremist, undemocratic and fascist" organisation as the row continued over Sanco officials' threats to prevent the DP and the National Party from canvassing black support.

Last week, Sanco southern Transvaal chairman Mr Khabisi Mosunkutu said his organisation would "declare war" on the DP if it did not resign from the tricameral parliament within two weeks.

However, in Cape Town this week Sanco's Mr Kapa gave an emphatic assurance that Sanco stood for democratic elections and would allow any political party or organisation to state its case in any township without interference from Sanco.

"Sanco is a democratic organisation. It cannot prevent anyone from expressing his views. Whoever wants to hold meetings in our areas or townships will not be disturbed. But we are not there to protect other parties," he said.

Mr Kapa said Sanco was one of South Africa's "oppressed organisations".

It was a non-political organisation and would, therefore, not put forward candidates in an election. It was not aligned to other parties and remained independent and autonomous.

Sanco has been invited to the Bellville conference this weekend on free and fair elections. Mr Kapa confirmed that a Sanco representative would attend the discussions.

Western Cape regional chairman of the Democratic Party, Mr Jasper Walsh, said it was important that the leadership of political organisations should discipline and control their members.

He welcomed statements from the ANC's leadership to the effect that the ANC would not disrupt political meetings, but this was not enough. The ANC leadership should also discipline and control its members, he said.

■ Within the next 12 months, in all likelihood, South Africans will vote on a one-person, one-vote basis for the country's first democratically elected government. How will the various parties fare in the power stakes? A report by **DONALD SIMPSON**, an independent analyst based in Potchefstroom.

A PARTHEID'S creation of four distinct so-called "groups" allows us to more accurately determine the situation in the first democratic South African election. In this table the Department of Home Affairs' latest figures are analysed, province by province, for all 21.61 million possible voters. In reality, the numbers voting will be less, but in the highly charged political climate the 96 percent turnout of the 1989 Namibia election could be repeated here.

If there is a differential turnout, it is assumed that this will adversely affect the black voters, who are less experienced than the tricameral voters in elections. So the elected representatives generated by the black vote could be reduced and correspondingly increase the electoral "power" of the tricameral electors (who are only 28.3 percent of all electors).

This projection gives the ANC 53 percent of all seats in the new Assembly, a clear majority, but this majority is dependent on its white, coloured and Indian votes. The National Party and its allies are second with 26 percent of all seats and the IFP a distant third with a mere nine percent of all new MPs elected.

The accuracy with which one can decide on the CP vote is very precise, based on the last referendum and 1989 election; any Azanian gains will be at the expense of the ANC, and the IFP, if a wild card. With a moderate threshold, this projection ignores the DP, Labour Party, and others which will fall below the necessary numbers to win a seat.

In the 10 regions that the ANC has allowed for in a projection based on the nine World Development Bank regions, only the Western Cape region has a clear majority of tricameral electors (85 percent) and 58 percent coloured. However, the creation of a Xhosa homeland has left an "Eastern Cape" region only 50 percent African and 50 percent tricameral electors. This, if used in an election, might well not have an ANC majority.

Three other regions, including the Western Transvaal, Northern Cape and Natal, might not produce ANC majorities. In the N Cape, 60 percent of all voters are black but there is a belief that this region and the Western Transvaal with 79 percent black voters are similar to that in southern Namibia where, in 1989, less than 20 percent of black voters voted for the ANC's cousin Swapo. In these two regions the presence of Bophuthatswana and a powerful PAC/Azapo presence could alter the ANC pattern in results here.

Some people expect to wake up to an IFP victory in Natal on the morning after the election.

An analysis from the latest statistics of the 1991 census, just presented by Home Affairs Minister Louis Pienaar in parliament, reveals important hidden electoral facts:

There is only one genuine "natural" historical, continuous area in South Africa which does not contain an indigenous black South African majority — that is the Western Cape. The coloureds are 58 percent of this projected region and the blacks only 15 percent (whites are an influential 26 percent and Asians one percent).

The elections here could be the most exciting in South Africa. Here the predominant coloureds will decide whether there is an ANC majority in this area and then whether the ANC will allow a strong regional government.

The ANC, in its desire to see the traditional Xhosa area united has, by mistake, allowed for the creation of another area of non-African majority in the Eastern Cape. The ANC took the Xhosa heartland as a 10th region out of the greater Eastern Cape in the nine World Bank development regions.

This 10th region leaves the remaining Eastern Cape vulnerable to attack. The election will be contested regionally if the liberation movements, headed by the ANC, concede that. They cannot have everything their own way. The liberation movement policy is that only the four existing provinces, with the TBVC states re-incorporated, will be the regional constituencies for the election.

The National Party and Department of Home Affairs favour only seven regions which makes that option a possible compromise. It is a surprisingly central government-orientated option. The government's regions are similar to those of the nine development ones but link up the Western Transvaal with the Northern Cape, and the Eastern and Northern Transvaal are one region. There is still a belief that the Western Transvaal and Northern Cape region, which contains Bophuthatswana, could produce a surprise and that Natal might have an IFP majority on election night.

The tricameral electors are a decisive factor in five areas, the Western Cape (85 percent), Eastern Cape (50 percent), North-

ern Cape (40 percent), Natal (21 percent) and the Witwatersrand (38 percent) and could be decisive in the West Transvaal (19 percent).

The degree to which the African majority do not vote as a bloc for one party gives the tricameral electors a chance to elect parties which will hold the "balance of power" in a "regional" Assembly.

In the Western Transvaal area and Northern Cape a comparison can be made with the southern part of Namibia in its 1989 election. The liberation movement equivalent to the ANC (Swapo) failed to get even 20 percent of the black vote there. The Ovambos were seen as dominant in Swapo, and the Ngunis could appear all-powerful in the ANC. The ANC has been

How SA will vote in the next election

3049
ARC 13/3/93

Region	White	Coloured	Indian	Black	Total
Witwatersrand	1 425 890 (30.0%)	166 209 (3.5%)	97 603 (2.1%)	3 067 931 (64.5%)	4 757 633
Natal	397 544 (8.6%)	63 485 (1.4%)	503 346 (10.9%)	3 669 944 (79.2%)	4 634 319
Northern Transvaal	97 755 (3.7%)	4 321 (0.2%)	2 870 (0.1%)	2 535 318 (86.0%)	2 640 264
Border	83 614 (3.7%)	35 318 (1.6%)	2 924 (0.1%)	2 126 304 (94.6%)	2 248 160
Western Cape	576 855 (26.0%)	1 296 899 (58.4%)	18 663 (0.8%)	326 670 (14.7%)	2 219 087
Free State	244 917 (16.1%)	44 239 (2.9%)	645 (0.0%)	1 234 297 (81.0%)	1 524 098
Eastern Transvaal	179 773 (16.4%)	9 040 (0.8%)	8 525 (0.8%)	973 737 (83.3%)	1 169 075
Western Transvaal	148 628 (16.3%)	18 913 (2.1%)	4 028 (0.4%)	741 573 (81.2%)	913 142
Eastern Cape	167 860 (20.6%)	231 768 (28.4%)	6 676 (0.8%)	409 953 (50.2%)	816 257
Northern Cape	77 210 (11.5%)	188 755 (28.1%)	1 458 (0.2%)	404 129 (60.2%)	671 550
Total	3 400 046 (22.0%)	2 058 947 (13.3%)	644 736 (4.2%)	15 489 856 (71.7%)	21 593 585

Graphic: BOB GRIERSON, The Argus

Potential votes	Number of MPs	CP	NP	ANC	IFP	PAC	AZAPO
White 3.4m	63	20	38	3	3	0	0
Coloured 2.06m	38	1	25	10	1	1	0
Indian 0.65m	12	0	9	3	1	0	0
Black 15.5m	287	0	35*	198	30	15	9
Total 21.6m	400	21	105	212	35	16	9

*Includes NP's regional allies and Bophuthatswana

careless in its treatment of this huge, strategic and important region.

The PAC and Azapo are dominated by Tswana and Sotho-speaking leaders who will have an appeal in their home areas. Brilliant Dikgang Moseneke, from Mafikeng, like many black consciousness leaders, is a "Robben Islander" with all the credibility that gives. So, all in all, the ANC faces a challenge from the left, the National Party, the Bop leaders and the Ventersdorp/Potchefstroom CP/AVU/AWB in this region.

The regions that the ANC can count on in a desperate battle for the country are: the Border including all Xhosa-land, Eastern Transvaal, Northern Transvaal and the Witwatersrand. There will be a substantial ANC vote, if not an easy majority, in the Eastern Cape, Free State, Natal and the Northern Cape, and this will guarantee the ANC at least 50 percent of the total vote.

But if five regions do not have an ANC majority, including the Western Cape, Northern and Eastern Cape, Natal and the Western Transvaal, this would present the kind of problem President De Klerk faced after the 1989 election when the CP controlled the north, west and east Transvaal and most of the OFS and the DP had a substantial hold in Natal, Johannesburg and the whole Cape Peninsula.

The white homeland is centred on the PWV and made up of areas of former "white" Group Areas. These areas would have no financial strength to survive and would not accept their creation as a poor central homeland. So a white homeland, based on old apartheid areas is a non-starter.

Blacks are given as 72 percent of the total voters but this estimate, which includes many guesses in the TBVC states, may be too high.

The man FW would dearly love to sack

JOHN MACLENNAN
Political Staff

NATAL leader of the National Party George Bartlett has become a source of immense embarrassment to the party. But President De Klerk dare not fire him for fear of his leading a defection of Nats to Inkatha.

In the latest development Mr De Klerk has even been accused of misleading parliament in an attempt to cover up for his colleague.

Mr Bartlett's controversial performance as Minister of Transport came back to haunt Mr De Klerk during parliament's first experiment with free-fall question time this

week. In terms of this MPs can ask questions of Mr De Klerk without giving prior notice of their content.

Mr De Klerk was equal to his questioners until the DP's Ken Andrew quizzed him on ministerial responsibility and specifically the role of Mr Bartlett. That's when the wheels came off. Mr De Klerk was clearly ill at ease and he fumbled for words. Critics also say he also either made a mistake or deliberately bent the facts as he tried to defend Mr Bartlett.

The case against Mr Bartlett is only now taking proper shape as evidence of his maladministration continues to

mount. In essence it is that he should have known about and eradicated two scandalous situations which occurred while he was "on watch" at the Transport Ministry. His successor, Dr Piet Welgemoed, did just that by launching a clean-up within three weeks of taking over.

One involves the Railway Commuter Corporation. This was set up with no proper financing other than the vague and disputed agreement that Transnet would fund the corporation to the tune of R500 million a year. Transnet made exactly one payment, found it was short of cash and then denied it had to make any further

payments.

As a result the corporation's officials started making investments and playing money markets and it is sure the corporation will eventually lose at least R100 million.

The other instance of bad management involves the Multilateral Motor Vehicle Accident Fund. The auditors gave only a qualified report on its finances because, among other things, a provision for R1 000 million was not reflected in the balance sheet.

But in the same annual report Mr Bartlett pays tribute to the directors and staff of the fund for the way in which they

performed their duties and thanks members of the executive committee for the efficient manner in which they exercised their supervisory powers over the financial position, operation and management of the fund. In fact it had an accumulated deficit of R1.2 billion.

His successor, Dr Welgemoed, was instrumental in obtaining a judicial probe by Mr Justice Melamet. The judge noted that the committee so highly praised by Mr Bartlett had "failed lamentably" in doing its job.

According to the DP's Robin Carlisle, "Mr Bartlett has presided over the worst adminis-

tered department in South African history. It means he is unfit to be a minister."

He went along with his senior officials even though his successor found it necessary to fire the heads of both the insurance fund and the commuter corporation, among others.

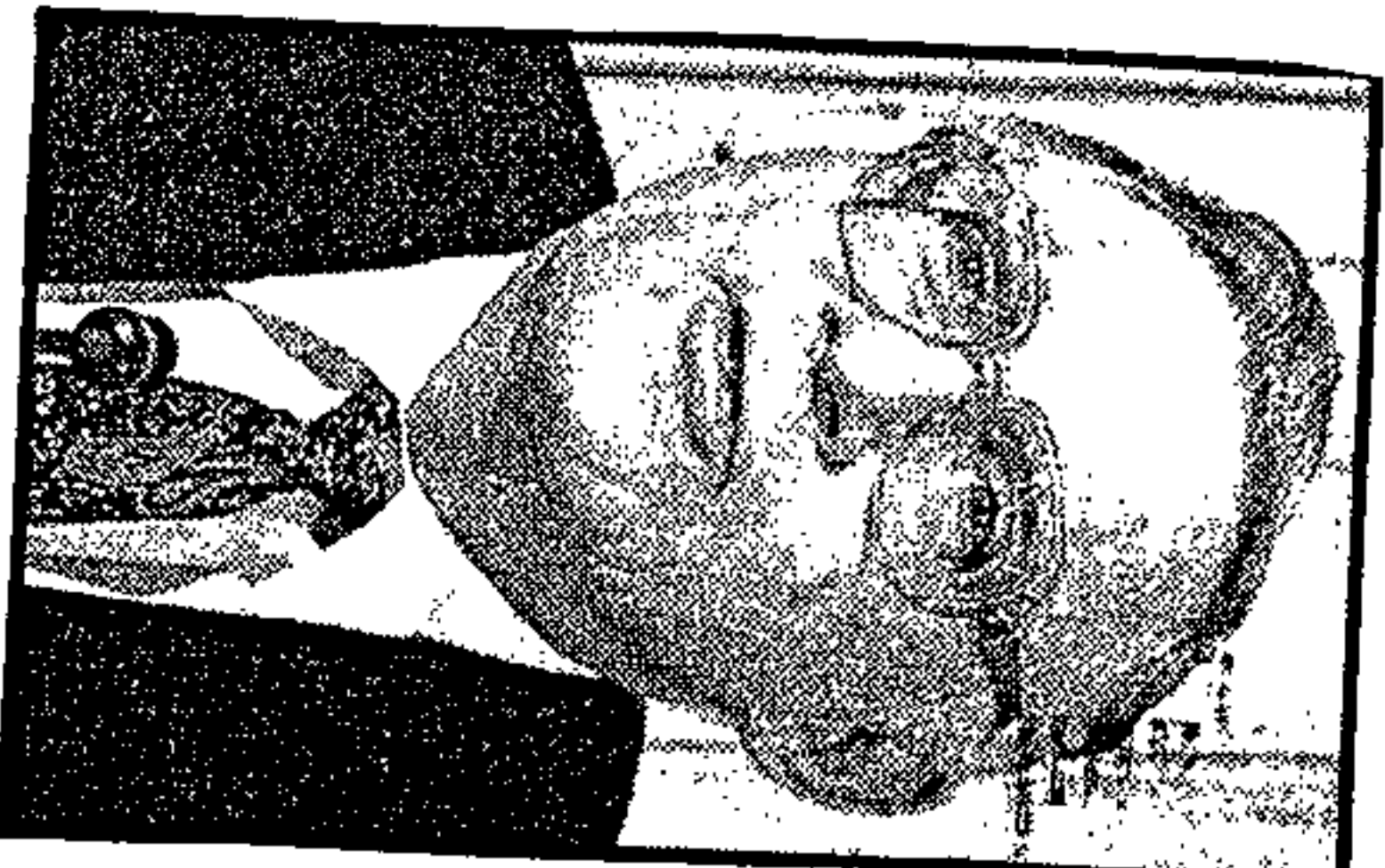
Mr Carlisle blames him also for related chaos in the department. The National Road Safety Council received R23 million in 1989/90, but found it could only spend R16 million.

Airports were allowed to run down and had a loss of R50 million before they were commercialised, again by Mr Bartlett's successor.

There was also huge corruption in the issuing of taxi licences and Mr Carlisle says this led directly to the taxi wars and the resultant deaths.

Mr Carlisle, who has the distinction of calling for Mr Bartlett's resignation 17 times in parliament during the past six weeks, says: "His appalling leadership has cost the taxpayers hundreds of millions of rands. Until Bartlett goes, the concept of accountability has no meaning in South Africa and if we don't breathe life into the concept now, its corpse will smother any attempt to build decent government in the future."

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□ BARTLETT ... Nats haunted by his past.

but dare not

A visit to the extreme edges of the political spectrum

Rightwing's sitting down a 'sell out'

BOU
AUG 13/3/93

THE wooden desk in the corner of Robert Van Tonder's study is more than 100 years old. On the wall hang pictures of the Van Tonder family members who fought for the Boer nation.

Historian that he is, the Boerestaat Party leader sits, surrounded by walls of books, and draws parallels between today's multiparty negotiations and those of the 1908 National Convention in Durban.

Then, some of the representatives of the Boer people from the Free State and the Transvaal, outnumbered though they were by British delegates, were part of the agreement which led to the formation of the Union of South Africa in 1910.

"They assumed co-responsibility, therefore, for that union, which effectively removed the Boer republics from their rightful owners."

Mr Van Tonder believes the Conservative Party and the Afrikaner Volksunie walked down the same road when they entered the negotiation building in Kempton Park earlier this month.

The CP "sold out" its supporters, he said.

"They fought the Referendum and got a lot of support on the basis that they would not negotiate, and now they are doing just that."

He describes the multiparty talks as "absolute lunacy" which will "open the gates" to a black majority government which will in turn lead to South Africa being "turned into a Third World state, with oppression, dictatorship and lack of democracy".

Although he has been variously described as a racist and anti-Semitic, Mr Van Tonder maintains he is anything but.

"It's not a question of race. It is a desire by a people to regain its land — land to which which



□ Robert van Tonder: The time has arrived for the self-determination of ethnic groups.

have rightful claim, claims which we can prove."

As for being anti-Jewish, Mr Van Tonder is an unabashed fan of Israel and all it stands for in terms of a people fighting for a homeland.

He believes the Boerestaat could learn from the lesson of Israel.

"In 1948, when they gained their freedom, there were only 400 000 Jews and more than 2,5 million Arabs in their country. But, with policies like immigration, and birth allowances, they expanded to where they are now the majority."

He doesn't believe he is fighting a losing battle, either. The resumption of talks is not the end.

"Time is on our side. The argument for self-determination from ethnic groups is one whose time has arrived. We are saying that if we continue down this road of the multiparty conference, we will arrive at a destination like Yugoslavia."

It's Codesa time again — folks!

304A
ARC 13/3/93

IT does not have a name yet, but South Africa's negotiators are well on the way to designing the talks forum that will change politics for good.

The old Codesa with its endless working groups baffled the minds of professional "codesologists", let alone the public.

But the new Codesa is not as complicated as it appears — although the politicians have tried their best to make it look like it.

In essence there is only one place where real negotiations will take place — the Negotiating Council (NC). Remember that name and take the rest with a pinch of salt.

The NC will consist of only one delegate and one adviser from each party or organisation — at present there are 26. Only the most senior negotiator of each party will be admitted as a delegate. It is strictly for the A Team.

The NC is where the real negotiation heavyweights like Mr Cyril Ramaphosa of the ANC, Mr Roelf Meyer of the government and new Inkatha "star" Mr Joe Matthews will sit.

The new-look "Codesa-style" forum has yet to be formally approved by the all-party Facilitating Committee which meets next Thursday.

Indications are that it will be

■ Here is where the real power lies in the new negotiating structure to replace the old Codesa.

MICHAEL MORRIS and DAVID BREIER, Political Staff

a three-phase process with the nitty-gritty constitutional details being hammered out in the Negotiating Council.

Reports and proposals will then be referred to a Multi Party Negotiating Forum for confirmation and then finally to Plenary for agreement and acceptance.

Apart from sundry bilaterals and technical meetings over the next few weeks, the next key date on the negotiations calendar will be April 1 when the Multi Party Negotiating Forum meets for the first time. This has been pencilled in as a two-day meeting.

Closely allied to the Negotiating Council will be a 10-member Planning Committee whose task it will be to ensure the talks process runs smoothly.

The larger Multi Party Negotiating Forum will probably meet once a fortnight, or more frequently if required.

Where necessary, it will appoint Technical Committees to investigate and report on specific aspects of the process, or any problem areas that may arise in the course of the talks.

Plenary sessions to be at-

tended by leaders like President F W de Klerk and Mr Nelson Mandela together with nine other delegates of each party, will be very showy and very rare.

These sessions will be largely ceremonial milestones to mark major negotiation achievements and formalise agreements.

The somewhat smaller group called the Multi-Party Negotiating Forum will consist of three delegates and two advisers from each party — in other words it will look exactly like the recent planning conference.

This is the forum that will meet on April 1 to launch the new negotiations.

Like the planning conference, it is likely to sit in public.

But like the planning conference, it will not be the scene of real negotiations.

The forum may meet fortnightly. Its job to ratify NC decisions is likely to be a formality — as it is unlikely to overturn decisions reached by negotiation leaders.

Real negotiation is the function of the NC with its smoke-filled rooms behind closed doors.

While the media is almost certain to be excluded from attending the NC, its workings are likely to be well-publicised.

NC decisions will be all-important. That is where the political future of the country will be thrashed out. The NC is due to sit on most days.

Then there is the 10-member Planning Committee which will work under the directive and supervision of the NC.

Its members are supposed to act as individuals and not as party reps.

Their task will be to plan and submit recommendations to the NC where the buck rests.

Planning Committee members will be in daily contact.

Then there will be a number of technical committees — two have already been appointed — to work on ad hoc tasks.

As for the name of this new structure, the National Party and African National Congress want to retain Codesa simply because there is no reason to change it.

But before you get palpitations about yet another committee, there is no need to panic.

The Facilitating Committee set up at last week's planning conference is really just the old name for what will in future be the NC — the body that takes the real decisions.

It's that simple — or at least so it seems now.

Negotiations: The new-look structure at a glance*

* SUBJECT TO APPROVAL NEXT WEEK BY THE FACILITATING COMMITTEE

PLENARY

Comprising all party leaders and nine delegates from each party, it will meet formally to adopt agreements achieved in the Multi Party Negotiating Forum. It will have independent chairmen.

MULTI-PARTY NEGOTIATING FORUM

Comprising three delegates and two advisers from each party -- chaired by a panel of seven chosen from its own ranks -- this body will receive and confirm reports and proposals from the Negotiating Council, for submission to the Plenary. It will probably meet fortnightly, starting on April 1 and 2.

NEGOTIATING COUNCIL

Comprising the chief negotiators from all parties, plus one adviser from each -- and also chaired by a panel of seven from its own ranks -- this is where the nitty gritty of negotiations will take place. It will probably meet for three or four days a week, and will report to the Multi Party Negotiating Forum.

PLANNING COMMITTEE

Ten members of the Negotiating Council will sit on the planning committee, essentially to ensure that the negotiation process as a whole runs smoothly. It will meet on an on-going basis.

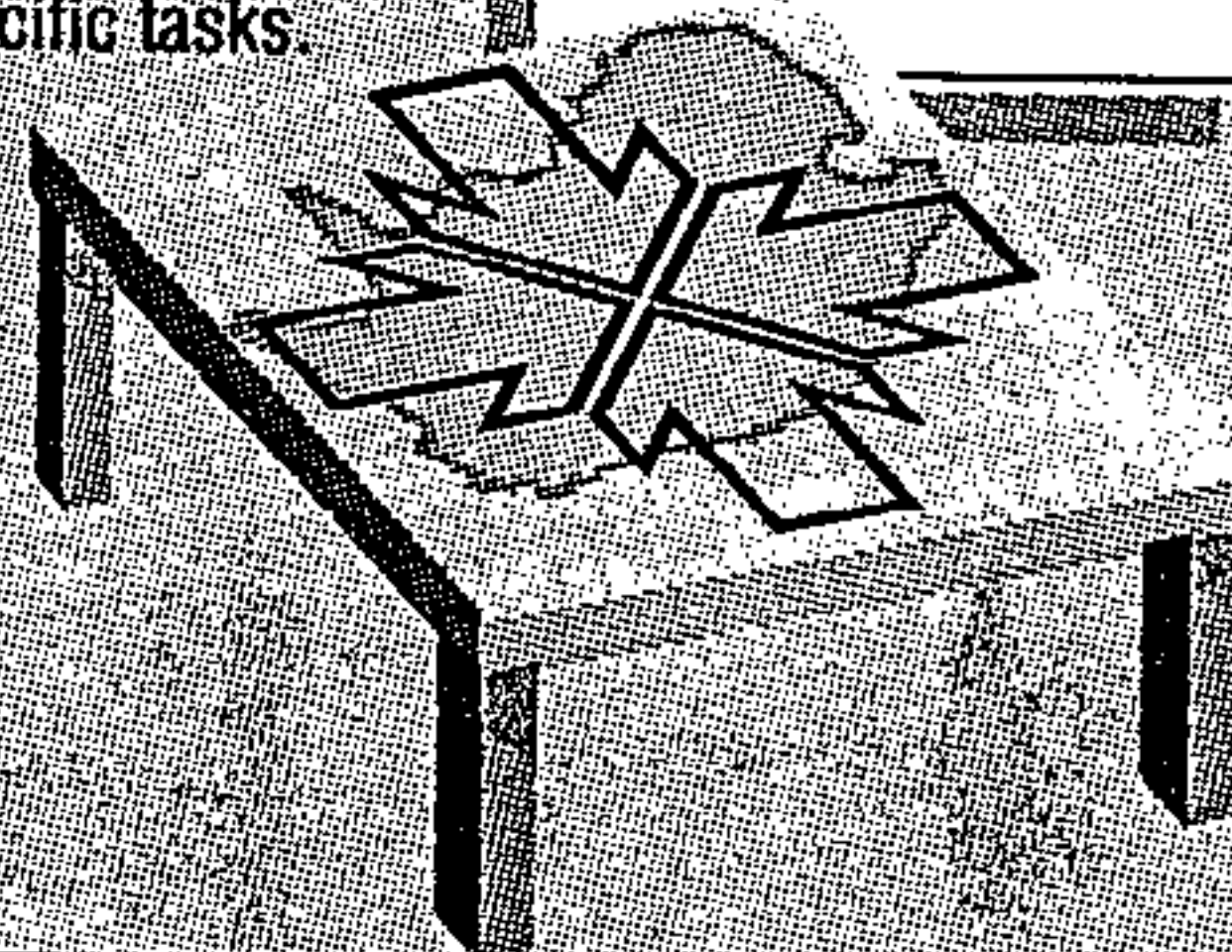
TECHNICAL COMMITTEE

Anyone appointed by the Multi Party Negotiating Forum -- but no foreigners -- may serve on technical committees established ad hoc for specific tasks.

TECHNICAL COMMITTEE

ADMINISTRATION

The administration of the new-look forum is expected to be much the same as Codesa's administration structure



Graphic: BOB GRIERSON, The Argus

Tough talking ahead for multi-party forum

SI Times

14/3/92

(304A)

THE country's new streamlined negotiating forum begins its real work out of the public eye this Thursday with the first meeting of the new negotiating council.

Consisting of the chief negotiators and an adviser from the 26 political parties present at last weekend's talks, the new forum will begin thrashing out substantial constitutional issues.

Agreements

First on the agenda will be to approve the new structures that will conduct the talks. This is not expected to raise any problems.

The negotiators will then consider the old Codesa

By EDYTH BULBRING
Political Correspondent

agreements; the criteria for admitting further participants; the role of the international community; and a new name to replace Codesa.

These issues have to be finalised before the parties meet on April 1 and 2.

Last Tuesday, the 10-member agenda committee met to discuss how negotiations will be structured. They proposed that:

- The tough negotiating work will be done in the negotiating council, which consists of the chief negotiator and an adviser from each political party.

The negotiators will take

turns chairing the meetings — in alphabetical order. They will meet three to four times a week and will report back independently to their leaders.

- Ad hoc technical committees will be appointed by the council to put agreements in black and white for the council's further consideration.

The technical committees have no executive authority.

Three technical committees have been appointed to consider the criteria for including other political groupings, look at past Codesa agreements and consider deadlock-breaking mechanisms.

- Substantial agreements will be taken to the multi-party negotiating forum, which as yet has no name.

Suggestions include Codesa, the Negotiating Forum of SA (Nefsa) or Codesa/Nefsa.

This body will consist of three delegates and two advisers from each political party and it will meet fortnightly to receive and confirm the decisions made at the negotiating council.

Panel

While this body appears to be superfluous to the talks, negotiators say its importance lies in keeping the party's constituencies up to date and involved. Negotiators are proposing that a rotating panel of seven people chair the meetings of this body.

Once a complete package on the various phases of the transition has been agreed to, the plenary session — consisting of the leaders and nine delegates of the political parties — will meet to formally endorse the package.

Negotiators expect that only two plenary sessions will be held before the first multi-party elections.

Signs of smooth transition in SA, says Andy Young

By FRED KHUMALO

(304A) 14/3/93
CPress
COMPARED to the war torn Middle East and eastern Europe — where adversaries are not even on speaking terms — SA is on a smooth road to political transition.

This is the opinion of veteran US civil rights campaigner and former US ambassador to the United Nations, Andrew Young, who arrived in Durban on Thursday.

Invited by the ANC to help with voter education, Young commended parties involved in political negotiations for their sincerity, and said the way they were handling the negotiations offered a glimmer of hope for a smooth political transition.

"All major political parties involved in the current political negotiations seem to be moving in the same direction and that is extremely encouraging," he said.

He conceded, however, this did not mean there were no problems here, but at least people were

talking about how to resolve their differences, unlike in "Bosnia, Serbia, and Croatia where they cannot even talk; where there is slaughter going on daily".

He said SA's interest in hosting the Olympic games in the year 2004 showed "the amount of optimism" prevailing in the country.

"This (the bid for the hosting of the Olympics) is taking for granted that SA will have a smooth political season. It assumes that the economy will be stable," he said.

His delegation was here to help South Africans understand that it was possible to raise private investment funds that would support the Olympics, he said.

Young's delegation, here on behalf of the Martin Luther King Centre, has studied education, labour, fund raising, voter education and youth needs and would return to Atlanta "to devise plans to help the democratic movement in SA".

By THEMBA KHUMALO

MANY white Afrikaners were like mussels - they had closed themselves tightly around their hurt and viewed everyone outside their shells as somehow less than human.

This was told to University of Pretoria students by ANC Afrikaner Karl Niehaus.

His presence on the campus evoked bawls of protest from CP youths, but Niehaus got his message across to applause.

His talk, on why the ANC did not recognise Afrikaaner national symbols and the white republic's anthem, *Die Stem*,

Niehaus ignores the CP hecklers

was occasionally disrupted by cries such as "Ver-aai-er" (traitor) from the crowd of about 150 CP youths.

They also sang snatches of *Die Stem* each time the ANC spokesman tried to explain the history of *Nkosi Sikelel' i-Afrika*.

Niehaus was flanked by a few black ANC supporters.

He said Afrikaners' acceptance of apartheid flew in the face of the

abuse they had suffered historically. It was surprising that Afrikaners failed to understand why blacks hated apartheid's symbols.

"Maybe it's because we have, like mussels, closed up around our own hurt and find it difficult to regard those outside our small circle fully as people.

This evoked the loudest howls and yells from the hecklers.

An Afrikaans woman

who narrowly avoided a clash with the CP youths, said afterwards: "These CP guys are so infantile it's disgusting. I think the CP as an organisation are the most intolerant lot politically. This thing about them being suddenly prepared to negotiate their *boere* state is a mere farce."

In July Nelson Mandela's speech on the campus was aborted when rightwingers shouted him down and took over the platform.

The CP's behaviour was condemned by university official Professor CWI Pistorius and DP and NP student representatives on campus.

How MPs get paid for driving their own cars

By EDYTH BULBRING
Political Correspondent

CABINET Ministers are not the only people in Parliament living high on the hog. While some ministers get paid for living in their own houses, more than 300 MPs are either paid to drive their own cars or can benefit from a generous scheme which enables them to buy a new car every four years.

Ordinary MPs receive a salary package of R118 000 a year.

In addition, MPs also benefit from the parliamentary car scheme. Introduced in 1981, the terms of the scheme differ from year to year, but the basis is as follows:

Every MP can apply for a state loan, repayable over four years, to buy a car.

The maximum loan has grown from R51 000 in 1989 to R136 000 this year.

The most attractive feature of the scheme is that the MPs in practice do not actually have to pay back the loans. Rather the state gives them a monthly instalment to pay back the loan it granted them.

An MP who bought a R136 000 car this year will receive R3 800 a month on top of his salary to enable him to pay for it.

After four years when the "loan" has been paid back, the MP is entitled to buy another car through the scheme. Whether he chooses to hold on to the first car or sell it is up to him.

But the attractions of the scheme do not end there. MPs who do not wish to buy a

new car through the scheme can register their own private vehicle with it. Having done so, they are then paid the maximum monthly allowance — R3 800 a month this year.

Many MPs choose to do this because the one catch of the scheme is that, if you die, retire or are not re-elected, you have to immediately repay the balance owing on the car "loan" granted you by the state.

What this means in practical terms is that an MP can buy a perfectly good second-hand car for R20 000 using his own money, or he can buy a new car using his own money for, say, R44 000.

But once he registers the car with the car scheme, the state will pay him R3 800 a month — sufficient to meet payments on a car worth R136 000.

But this is not all. To cover part of the petrol costs and maintenance of the car, every MP receives R684 a month.

Car allowances are also relative to the position held in Parliament. Office bearers get more.

The Chief Whip of Parliament, for example, is entitled to buy a car worth R226 000 or be paid out the same amount over four years after registering his private car with the scheme. In addition, he receives R1 400 a month for maintenance and petrol costs.

Ministerial representatives (unelected political appointees) can buy a car for R181 000 and receive a petrol and maintenance allowance of R880 a month.

The Nats change colour



and pin their hopes on the bones

By NORMAN WEST: Political Reporter
THE National Party has decided to consult sangomas and other cultural experts in a search for a new symbol that will broaden its appeal among Africans.

It is also set to drop the colour orange as one of its official party colours.

The NP, which is anxious to distance itself from its apartheid image, has undertaken an extensive review of its colours and symbols. The aim is to adopt new colours and symbols that are in keeping with Africa for the forthcoming all-race elections.

A secret report by experts who probed the most suitable "logo" for adoption by the NP suggests that the proposed new symbols and colours need to be bounced off anthropologists, indunas, sangomas and other cultural experts to ensure they are credible and acceptable in an African context.

Unpopular

These people could, in a few sentences, give the traditional deep-rooted meanings of symbols within their cultural milieu, the report states.

For instance, to whites, an owl is a symbol of wisdom. To certain blacks an owl represents "the one who kills during the night".

The report says it was found nationally that orange was probably the most unpopular colour. The colour does not signify anything specific—unlike blue (associated with peace, water, truth, democracy and freedom); green (hope, the land and agriculture); black (associated with Africans, perseverance and strength); and yellow (prosperity, mineral wealth, the sun, justice and peace).

Of all the parties in South Africa, only the NP has orange as a party colour.

In a survey of African countries it was found that red and green were the preferred colours in about equal proportions, followed by yellow.

The report bluntly points out that the NP should be aware that:

● South Africa's present colours and the colours of the NP itself, are "out of step" with Africa. There is no need for the NP to carry out research on whether

NATS THROW THE BONES

From Page 1
it needs to change—it simply must change. South Africa's national colours are going to change—and so will those of the NP.

● The aim of the identity change must be clearly spelt out and pursued until it is attained—it must not be seen as a "cosmetic" change.

Sources said that, although expert advice was against changing the

name "NP" during the run-up to the election because it could be construed as "a ploy", the name "New National Party" may be used in the interim.

When Mrs Marike de Klerk, wife of State President FW de Klerk visited the coloured metropolis of Atlantis on the West Coast on a "goodwill tour" this week, the event was advertised in party literature and posters for the first time as "organised by the

New National Party

Highly-placed parliamentary sources confirmed that the "image change" was being discussed "at the highest level", but the matter was regarded as "very sensitive".

They pointed out that the "political" problem with a name change at this stage was that it might be seen by blacks as a "cunning ploy" to attract non-white voters.

TALKS GIVE RAY OF HOPE

Suppl to C/Press 14/3/93
 Parties agree on the need for speed
 (304A)

"We're ready to roll!" That was the mood at the close of the multiparty planning conference, when 25 of the 26 delegations decided to get into real negotiations within a month.

It was agreed that the multiparty negotiating forum would start no later than April 5. Only the Conservative Party did not support this resolution at the end of the two-day gathering. However, it is expected that they will take part in the forum.

ANC delegation leader and secretary-general, Cyril Ramaphosa summed up the mood of the participants when he said: "This sends a ray of hope to the entire country".

Government delegation leader, Dr Dawie de Villiers said he was delighted with the outcome of the conference and that he was optimistic that negotiations were now on course.

"The talks went very well. I am satisfied with the conclusion," said De Villiers.

Minister of law and order, Hernus Kriel said he was encouraged by the PAC's commitment to end violence. He said the PAC endorsed a resolution in this regard and that he believed armed action by the PAC and APLA should or must come to an end.

The participants ranged from rightwing parties or organisations such as the CP and the Afrikaner Volksunie, to the PAC on the left wing of the political spectrum.

Earlier there were tense moments when it looked as if the CP would walk out of the talks.

The CP insisted that the conference was about to review the failures and shortcomings of Codesa. Their spokesman, Tom Langley also said the question of

Umkhonto weSizwe, Apla and violence had to be discussed before a decision on dates for the start of full-blown talks could be made.

The only role player not present at the talks was Azapo, though both the ANC and PAC are likely to persuade the movement to take part in forthcoming talks.

Participants to the conference agreed that the negotiating forum will have a new structure and name.

A 26-person committee comprising all participating organisations - including the CP has been formed to facilitate the launch of the multi-lateral talks in April.

DICTIONARY

Optimistic: to feel positive about something.

Endorsed: when you endorse something you support it.

Spectrum: entire range of anything arranged by degree.

Full-blown: actual or real.

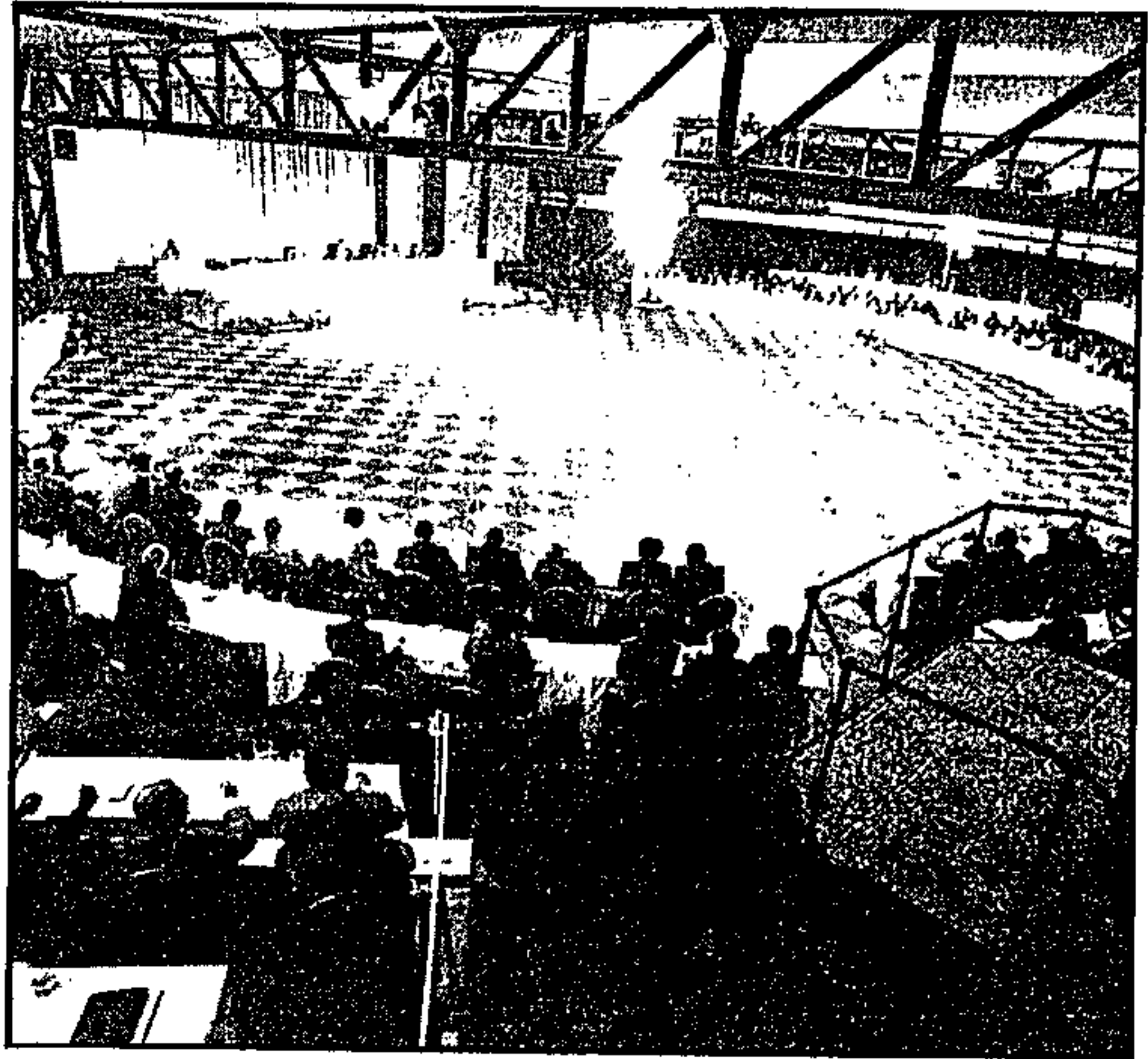
DICTIONARY

Personalities: people who are well known are called personalities. For example Shado Twala, Gordon Morris and Muhammad Ali are all personalities.

Gymnasium: a place or building with appliances that help people to exercise.

Postponed: to postpone something means to put it off for a later time.

Misunderstanding: to take words or actions in the wrong way.



Parties ranging from the PAC to the Afrikaner Volksunie, gathered for talks about talks at the World Trade Centre near Kempton Park.

Ali to arrive in South Africa

Muhammad Ali, the champion boxer, will arrive in South Africa on April 10. His tour of the country could last as long as a month.

Ali will be the guest of three different groups, the SA National Boxing Co-ordinating Council (SANBCC), Southern Sun and the Boxing Development Network.

During his visit he will also meet local Muslim bodies.

According to SANBCC president Solly Selebi, Ali will go to Durban first. He will spend three days talking to boxing personalities and looking at boxing gymnasiums in the townships.

Selebi said Ali will be in Johannesburg on April 15 and will spend a few days here.

"We've planned a big function

in Ali's honour at Nasrec's Old Buck Auditorium where he will have a chance to meet boxing fans before touring the Soweto gymnasiums," said Selebi.

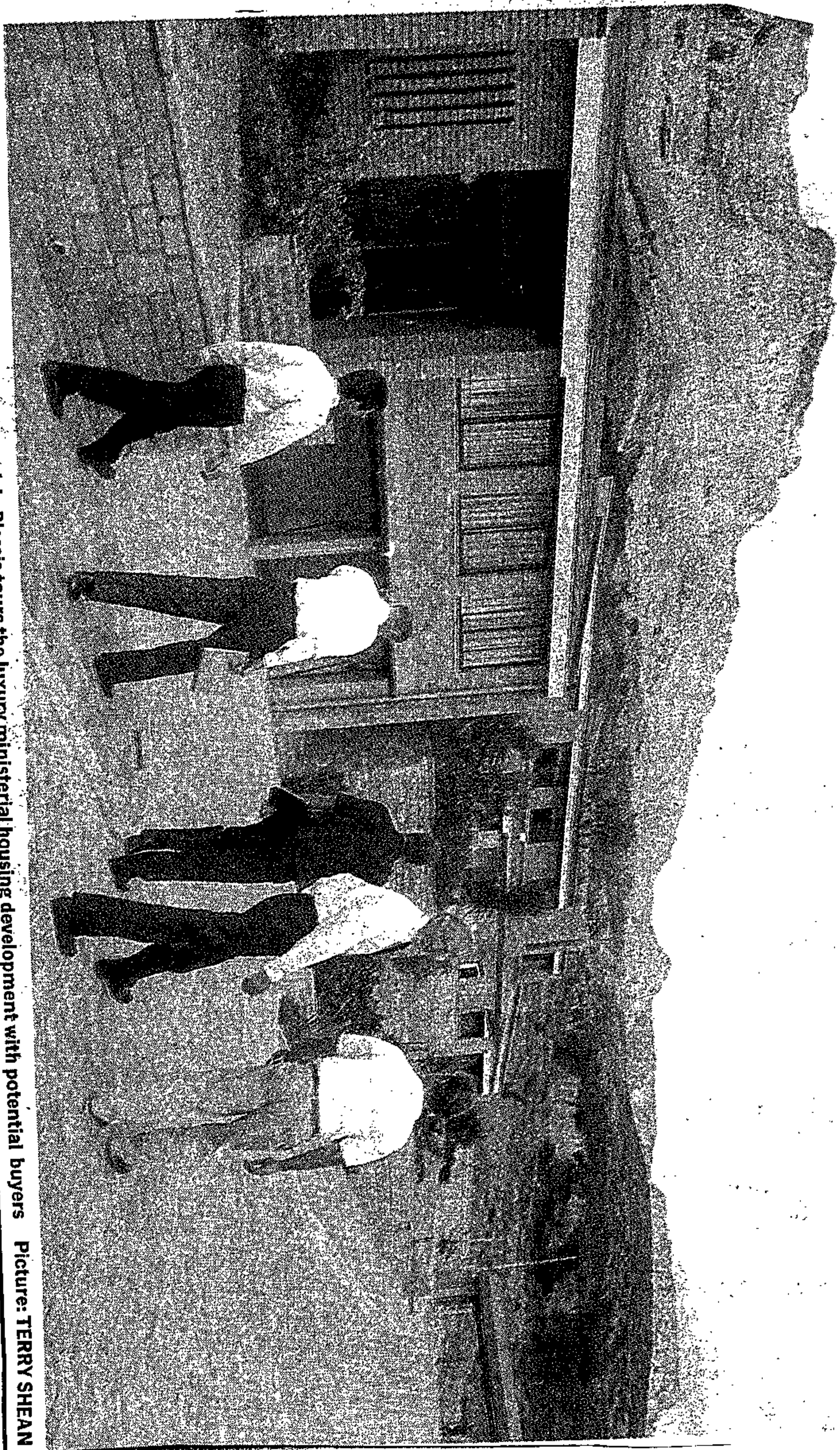
He said Ali would also be in East London, Port Elizabeth and Cape Town.

Selebi said Ali would not be asked by the SANBCC to donate money towards the development of boxing in the country.

"But if he feels like donating something to us, he is most welcome to do so," Selebi said.

M-Net Super Sport have agreed that at least some parts of Ali's visit will be on television.

Ali was supposed to have come to South Africa in February, but his trip was postponed due to a misunderstanding between the SANBCC and the Development Network.



UP FOR GRABS . . . former Finance Minister Barend du Plessis tours the luxury ministerial housing development with potential buyers Picture: TERRY SHEAN

STIMES

14/3/93

(5044)

S Times

14/3/93

30414

Where not even a light bulb blows without the taxpayer feeling it

By SHARON CHETTY

INSIDE Bryntirion Estate on Government Lane, east of the Union Buildings, 18 fully fitted and furnished houses lie in wait at taxpayers' expense while the occupants — ministers and their deputies — live in the Cape.

For the second half of the year when Parliament rises, at least as many houses in the Cape stand empty.

But when it comes to living standards, those ministers and their deputies who live in their own homes can afford the best an after-tax stipend of up to R3 170 a month can buy. In contrast, their colleagues living in state homes are provided with all the essentials, and standards are comfortable.

Those everyday necessities — crockery, gardeners, domestic workers and use of their own furniture — have been subsidised since 1990 by a handsome allowance. This keeps them in a manner the State President describes as "relatively high".

And they also get up to R3 600 a month after taxes to help pay off the bond.

unrooted homes are of varying sizes with manicured lawns, tree-lined driveways and — for the fortunate few — the ultimate outdoor status symbol: a cycad in the garden.

All the occupants need to bring when they set up home is their own silverware and linen.

The standard issue crockery in the houses is an 18-place setting of locally made Continental china with a gold state crest.

Furnishings are mostly dark mahogany. Wall-to-wall carpets cover wooden floors and the kitchens are equipped with melamine units, linoleum floors, microwaves, washing machines and tumble dryers.

Upkeep and maintenance is at the expense of the taxpayer.

Even when a light bulb blows, the taxpayer pays.

The Department of Public Works, which maintains the houses, employs an interior decorator, Santie Boonzaier, to make sure that standards are maintained.

China

After a brief visit to Bryntirion, we went shopping with an imaginary R38 040 budget to see what crockery, glassware and garden services could be bought. We didn't stint.

Continental china sells at R537 for an 18-place setting.

At the top of the range in bone china, however, is a 108-piece Royal Doulton dinner service for R6 258. Imported crockery in the Minton range can be bought from R98,99 a dinner plate to R516,99 for a covered vegetable dish.

Imported glassware — for red and white wine, champagne, sherry, whisky and brandy — can be bought for R3 690 a 108-piece set.

For silverware, an investment of about R6 000 would secure an impressive range.

With a R38 040 annual allowance, a minister could buy 70 Continental china sets, six Royal Doulton services, replace his glassware 10 times and buy six ranges of the best silverware.

Garden services vary. To maintain a half-acre would cost from R350 a month. The upkeep of a two-acre property could be as high as R600.

All you need to bring is your own silver and linen



EMPTY NEST... but furniture is immaculately polished

If the minister wanted a cycad, he'd have to fork out anything from R100 to more than R1 000. And if a rockery and pond are needed, initial outlay could be around R2 500.

Assuming a minister had a two-acre plot and wanted only the best, he could have his garden filled with 30 rare cycads or redesigned nine times a year.

The living wage for skilled domestic workers who cook and clean is

R500, according to the SA Domestic Workers' Union. At a minimum R6 000 a year in wage bills, R38 040 would enable him to employ six domestic workers.

Or, if a minister invested once only for all these services he would spend only about R26 000 of his annual allowance... leaving him more than R10 000 in reserve to invest in costly items such as exotic drinks... or shoes... or skiing holidays in the Alps.

LABOUR

Numsa devises sophisticated strategy

W/Mail 19/3-25/3/93

THE National Union of Metalworkers of South Africa's three-year bargaining strategy, unveiled this week, is an eloquent symbol of a changing trade union movement.

The country's largest union has placed itself at the cutting edge of the four sectors across which it organises and adopted ambitions usually reserved for the captains of industry.

"The objective (of Numsa) is to modernise the industry, while protecting employment, developing skills and career paths and developing world-class manufacturing."

Instead of the annual bargaining

round, the union has tabled a wide variety of proposals with deadlines staggered over the next three years. It has also tabled a demand for inflation-based increases over the next three years and added the rider that real wages should have increased 15 percent by 1994.

Numsa is looking to close wage differentials — the union believes that no worker should earn less than 60 percent of the artisan pay rates. Some workers in the motor industry earn 16 percent of the artisan rate.

"We now see negotiations as a process, rather than as an annual event," says Numsa national bargaining secre-

The country's biggest trade union has unveiled a three-year bargaining strategy, including wide-ranging proposals, instead of the annual wage and working conditions demands.

By FERIAL HAFFAJEE

tary Les Kettledas. "Every year we picked some targets and through a 'hit and miss' process tried to win some benefits for our members."

He also says many proposals were

entrusted to "sub-committees which became dumping grounds".

Instead of reducing the union's capability for strike action, the staggered targets make it easier for the union to organise, believes Kettledas. "We will be able to determine from time to time on which issues we will deadlock."

Key features of the new strategy are Numsa's efforts to streamline the grading system and link it to skills, career paths and remuneration, and to provide employment security.

"It's an integrated package which in addition provides productivity, quality, and efficiency in the industry and is crucial for its development," believes

Kettledas.

Numsa proposed that there should be only five grades across all industries, that workers' skills be assessed according to these grades and that new wage rates be set in place.

This will enable workers to progress along a career path and will entail added responsibility — or multi-skilling — for workers. Training will also be linked to industry education and training boards.

The union has also attempted to put almost identical benefit demands to employers in the motor, engineering, auto and tyre industries. It plans to negotiate the following:

- To unite all the pension funds in the different sectors into "single sector-wide schemes" and to do the same with racially based medical benefit schemes by this time next year.

- To negotiate disability support equivalent to 60 percent of workers' wages.

- To secure six months' maternity leave for women and to reduce working hours to 40 a week by 1996.

The union has also proposed bilateral working groups to restructure the industry by investigating production, export incentive programmes, regional policy and industry co-operation initiatives.

Bargaining committees have been cut down and mandate and report back procedures fine-tuned to ensure that fissures don't develop between the leadership and rank-and-file of the union because of its growing sophistication.

The union also agreed that the house agreements in the engineering industry — separate agreements in specific companies — should become part of the main (wage and working) agreement by July this year and proposed that the auto, tyre and motor-component manufacturing sectors merge by 1996.

STORIES of corrupt African politicians who took power after independence from the European colonisers have always been rampant.

South African politicians often justified apartheid by saying they didn't want the country to become "like the rest of Africa".

Recent revelations about widespread corruption in SA suggest their argument was debatable.

For years under apartheid, SA was plagued by corrupt businessmen and politicians who grew rich at the expense of the majority. But the government's secrecy made it difficult to ferret out who was responsible.

Greater scrutiny of the government by the media recently, led to commissions of inquiry which revealed the endemic nature of corruption in SA. Yet very few people have gone to jail.

"In what country can a general lie before a court and not be punished," asked Archbishop Desmond Tutu, referring to Eddie Webb, former chairman of the notorious CCB. "In this country, they promoted him."

The uncertainty of SA's future has led to people stealing as much as they can before they leave office, turning SA into nothing more than a large kleptocracy.

"Political uncertainty and social unrest have shortened the time horizons of all economic players and created a motivation to get rich quick, no matter what," said Stuart Morris, president of the Johannesburg Chamber of Commerce and Industry.

The number of suspected frauds in SA last year climbed to a record 58 500 - an increase of 77 percent in seven years. At present the police are probing 6 846 economic crimes in 10 magisterial districts on the Witwatersrand alone, according to Witwatersrand Attorney-General Klaus von Lieres.

In the past 18 months more than R5-billion in government funds have been lost as a result of widespread corruption in the country's public sector, said Auditor-General Peter Wronsley.

"My personal view is that they have a moral duty to pay all that money back to the state," said ANC housing adviser Michael Sutcliffe.

The government's involvement in "fraud, graft, and gross mismanagement" will ultimately cost the taxpayer billions of rands.

President FW de Klerk is expected to announce drastic tax increases this month, which can only hurt the country's majority and deepen the four-year-old recession.

"As the government budget speech draws closer, millions of underprivileged, unemployed and destitute will once again be told how much they will be taxed," said the ANC.

But, as the present government continues to lose credibility among its previous supporters, more and more people will attempt to evade paying taxes. This crisis of confidence, which now extends to the white community - a majority of whom have long supported the NP - threatens to breed more graft.

With a black government on the

SA has been plagued by corrupt businessmen and politicians who grew rich at the expense of the majority. But the government's secrecy made it impossible to point fingers. As JENNIFER GRIFFIN reports, recent scrutiny by the media led to shocking revelations, yet no one was jailed.

horizon, many leaders have taken to feathering their nests.

Last year the government paid 29 of its ministers over R3-million to live in their own houses.

The government's Public Works Director-General, Theo van Robbroeck, justified the expenditure by saying ministers were required to occupy residences that were "fit for their status".

Tens of millions of rands earmarked for upliftment projects in Soweto have disappeared in the past three years as a result of over-expenditure within the Soweto City Council.

A white civil engineer, now farming in the northern Transvaal, signed a multi-million rand sub-contracting deal for an essential services project in Soweto that was never completed. Almost R2-million is still unaccounted for.

Over R11-million was spent on a plastic-covered reservoir that is now used by Soweto residents as a trampoline. A R10 307 project undertaken by a Johannesburg engineering firm in which 150 kilometres of pipeline was

**Fraud in SA
escalated
77 percent
in the past
seven years**

supposed to supply Soweto households with water was riddled with irregularities.

However, the 44 black councillors who were sacked for mismanagement of the township's funds claim that their releases were to serve as a cover-up for mass corruption by certain white Soweto City Council officials.

In 1989 over 3 257 unemployment benefit cheques never made it to their beneficiaries. Instead R2 669 005 worth of cheques were intercepted and cashed. A three-year old investigation is still underway.

But the government is not the only one with dirty hands.

In the private sector, more and more managing directors are embezzling funds from their companies and then skipping the country. Slow prosecution of Bob Aldworth, the former director of Amalgamated Banks of SA, allowed him to leave for England after misappropriating R400 000

A future government could also be infected by corrupt members who are tempted to abscond with public funds.

Already the ANC has been found guilty of mismanaging development funds. Winnie Mandela was forced to resign as head of the ANC's Department of Welfare last year after large sums of money mysteriously disappeared.

**CRIMES
OF
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C Press

14/3/93

Stop pointing fingers — Kriel

By ELIAS MALULEKE

THE high profile tour of the massacre scene in the Natal Midlands near Maritzburg almost did not take off when the ANC delegation threatened to pull out unless their seven armed security guards were allowed on board the Puma helicopter.

The ANC insisted that security guards be allowed to carry their firearms and that seven members be allowed on board, but the police insisted that no arms should be carried and that only five members of the ANC would be allowed on board.

After brief deliberations between ANC legal adviser John Wills and Col Billy Dennis of the SA Police, it was resolved that the ANC could carry guns and that six members would be allowed on board.

The ANC delegation led by Midland chairman Harry Gwala and secretary Sifiso Nkabinde also comprised former DP MP's Peer Crouje and Rob Haswell and Youth league chairman Isaiah Ntshangase.

The Inkatha delegation comprised Nkosi NJ Ngubane, Inkatha's strongman David Ntombela and ZB Ndlovu.

The NP was led by Law and Order Minister Hernus Kriel and Natal Midlands NP leader and MP George Bartlett.

The police were led by Gen Wynand van der Merwe, deputy regional commissioner of police in the Natal Midlands.

However, in spite of professing a desire for peace in the trouble spots which in the last week have claimed 20 lives, including those of six schoolchildren, leaders of the two major

players in the conflict failed to shake hands.

Gwala and his entourage on were kept apart from the NP and Inkatha throughout the tour.

The NP delegation travelled separately with the Inkatha delegation in one chopper and the ANC and the police travelled in a separate chopper.

The Inkatha delegation and their ANC counterparts were playing to the media and pointed fingers at each other, each side saying they had nothing to do with the killings.

At no stage were the two parties seen talking to each other during the tour and the ANC actually pulled out of talks between itself, the Inkatha and the government planned to be held at a top Maritzburg hotel.

However, some within the ANC eventually forced Gwala

to join the conference when it was almost over.

Earlier during the conference attended by the government and Inkatha, Law and Order Minister Hernus Kriel slammed the ANC delegation for not being keen to stop the violence.

Kriel said: "We leaders should stop playing with the lives of our children and concentrate on solving the cause of the violence and we can only do so if we come together and start talking to one another."

The two parties had no option but to start talking to each other after agreeing to hold peace talks at a later date.

Gwala said such talks would only be fruitful if they were attended by all the major players, including the police who have been accused of taking part in the killings.

EAGER to ensure that its three "women's rights" bills become law by the end of this session, the government hastily organised a major national conference in Pretoria this week.

More than 700 people, mostly women, attended — many flown in on free tickets.

Rushing back home a few hours later, a number of frustrated participants wondered what the point had been.

The three bills, recently published in Parliament for discussion, deal with the prevention of domestic violence, the removal of a variety of discriminatory provisions still entrenched in certain laws, and the promotion of equal opportunities for women.

They make some important changes. For example, the bill on domestic violence applies equally to married couples and those living with each other "as if married" and makes it easier to obtain interdicts against a violent spouse.

However, there are also serious gaps in the drafts, some of them intentional — like the decision not to deal with abortion because it is "controversial". Critics also complain that women were not consulted before the

SA'S WOMEN SHOULD NOT ONLY BE SEEN, BUT HEARD

Stiles 14/3/93
THE SUNDAY MORNING ASSESSMENT

If the government is serious about ending discrimination against women it should consult women, says **CARMEL RICHARD**

content was formulated.

Monday's conference offered participants a daunting agenda: a welcome, an opening address and no fewer than five panels, each with three speakers, tea and lunch, all in just over five hours.

No space for questions, let alone comments. As a special concession, however, the chairman took a couple of written questions at the end of each section.

When pressure to take part continued, the organisers agreed to extend the conference by an hour.

The first question summed up the

concerns of many: Was this conference consultative or informative? If consultative, when was there time for consultation? If informative, was it necessary to fly people in from all over the country instead of simply sending them documentation to read?

Some of the official conference speeches were simply pat, alternatively sycophantic and patronising.

Then Wits law professor June Sinclair sliced through the waffle with her devastating analysis of the bills' flaws. Acknowledging that they abolished some important discrimination, she dealt at greater length with significant omissions.

Sections of the Black Administration Act were left untouched, even though they perpetuate the inferior status of African women married by customary law.

The bill did not finally scrap the marital rape exemption, so that violent husbands who rape their wives cannot be charged with rape if they live under the same roof.

The bill did not deal with abortion, leaving this issue for some no doubt desperate woman to raise before a future constitutional court.

And it left intact less obvious discrimination — like the restrictive judicial discretion to divide property on divorce.

As her list of complaints grew, so did the enthusiastic support. A standing ovation left no doubt that she captured the audience's feeling.

However, debate about the bills does not end with their content. Punted as evidence of government

concern about human rights and equality for women, the timing and haste with which the bills were drafted and published — without prior consultation — must also be evidence of government awareness that women form 54 percent of the electorate.

The government appears to hope that if the bills are enacted quickly, they will be a vote-catching sweetener in the anticipated elections.

Strategic thinking is, of course, the business of politics, but the Pretoria conference shows that government officials do not understand how to consult.

The random guest list left out key players: the lack of time for anything other than passive listening gave the impression that the organisers did not welcome real dialogue.

And why were Justice Department officials, including the minister, the new deputy minister and the director-general, not on the panels to answer

those few questions which were allowed?

Perhaps the biggest omission was not consulting the National Women's Coalition — 60 organisations around the country working together on a women's charter, among other projects.

This is major research and, if the government wanted to know "what women want", the coalition would have been an obvious group to consult.

What will happen to the bills? Clearly, if the government is determined, it has the power to ensure that they will be passed this session.

But if the bills are forced through, the resulting legislation will satisfy no one: the government risks criticism rather than credit; women will lose again with inadequate laws.

Since the government seems determined to go ahead, rather than leave the issue for a new regime, its best option now, and the best option for women, would be to refer the bills to the Law Commission (after appointing Professor Sinclair as an ad hoc member).

Then give the commission a brief to consult further and draft proposals ensuring real equality, taking into account the well-founded criticisms levelled at the present proposals.

NP statements 'outrageous'

Staff Reporter

THE ANC has dismissed NP statements about its role in allegedly desperately forcing a debate on the coloured issue as "an outrageous piece of nonsense".

Mr Piet Coetzer, chief director of the National Party's federal information service, said last week that such "ra-

cial debates" belonged to the past and that the NP invited the ANC to debate economic questions on TV.

ANC regional executive member Mr Ebrahim Rasool said that both Mr Jac Rabie and Mr Coetzer had earlier accepted Dr Allan Boesak's challenge.

He said the NP was finding electioneering among colouredshard.

Boerestaat unmask an 'FW spy/traitor'

JOHANNESBURG. — The Boerestaat Party has expelled a "government spy" and "Afrikaner traitor" from the party, BSP leader Robert van Tonder said. (304A)

This was announced at a meeting of the party's executive at the weekend.

Mr Van Tonder said the spy had sent regular reports on the BSP to President De Klerk's "information services". He had been summarily kicked out and other rightwing organisations he had infiltrated had been informed. ARG 15/3/93

The man's name was being withheld to protect BSP informants in government circles, Mr Van Tonder said. — Sapa.

FW facing toughest challenge since '89

Sowetan 15/3/93

(304A)

~~288~~

By Ismail Lagardien
Political Correspondent

■ Coloured parliamentary caucus crumbles and dashes NP hopes:

STATE President Mr F W de Klerk is facing his worst crisis since he came to power in 1989 — the disintegration of the National Party's parliamentary caucus.

Outside Parliament, De Klerk is facing a crumbling "coloured" support bloc, which his party had identified as a stronghold in the Western Cape.

De Klerk's kingpins in the House of Representatives, Mr Jac Rabie and Mr Abe Williams, have failed horribly to improve the NP's image in the so-called coloured community.

Williams has been declared the most unpopular man in the country by even the NP's mouthpiece on Sunday, *Rapport*, while Rabie's performance on the NP-controlled SABC a fortnight ago was appalling.

The NP had to call in its man-who-would-be-king,

Mr Roelf Meyer, to help recapture the "coloured" vote. Meyer is expected to speak on the same bill as Williams in the Western Cape within days.

The NP is not concerned, however. Deputy Justice Minister-elect Ms Sheila Camerer yesterday said: "It is important not to peak too soon."

Meanwhile parliamentary sources have said Meyer had become the NP caucus' *bête noire* and was responsible for the *de facto* split in the party — between supporters of closer co-operation with either the ANC or the Inkatha Freedom Party.

Besides this crucial issue, NP members of Parliament are believed to be "very concerned" about the recurrent scandals, particularly those about purported pay to political office bearers.

The pain of apartheid lingers on

304A

Aggrey

Klaaste's



HERE is no earthly or heavenly reason why we South Africans should be so lucky.

I am led to these thoughts by the savagery and blatant irrationality of the civil war in Angola.

I remind myself of similar acts of civic collapse in Mozambique and countries like Ethiopia, the Sudan and Somalia.

There is no reason why South Africa should be spared such chaos with its abominable civil rights record and pathological racism straight out of the Dark Ages.

Instead of our one continuous cry, we should be thankful for small mercies.

Most of us have forgotten, and thank God many of our children do not even know the type of evil that dogged our every step in the dog days of Dr Hendrik Verwoerd or Dr DF Malan.

What made the apartheid crimes even more abominable is that they were couched in "civilised" terms, and practised by people who claimed to be Christian.

There was a time when the regime and its priestly apostles believed they had Divine sanction to impose dehumanising restrictions on blacks, like the Pass Laws and Influx Control.

There was a time when those who were part of what we called The System believed they had God's right to murder people in jail, to attack our neighbours and generally deliver all sorts of mischief, injustice and damage on those who were not white like them.

It was made even more disgraceful because it was the iron fist inside the velvet glove that constantly stunned the oppressed.

The deepest irony is that the apostles of apartheid and others who benefited from such terrible ways are likely to get away with it.

In fact what is happening now is the

victims of apartheid seem to be suffering from the type of pain -- if things are fair -- that should have been the just desserts of the apartheid architects.

It is no small wonder that many young radicals cannot abide all the talk about the New South Africa.

It is no small wonder that those who have been in the struggle for so many years feel they have had the liberation rug pulled from under their revolutionary feet by the Machiavellian machinations of President FW de Klerk.

The irony becomes even more bizarre when you consider men like Nelson Mandela, Walter Sisulu and Wilton Mkwayi -- men who spent the best part of the lives in jail -- seem to have forgotten and forgiven the grave ills that apartheid heaped upon them.

The rest of us feel rather sheepish to be holding onto old gripes.

I guess some of us have the space to vent some of the spleen, as in this column, to make us feel better.

I can take all the imprisonment that the apartheid masters laid on me; the truth is I spent a lot of time breaking and spending time in jail for silly little laws like the Pass and Booze laws.

I can stomach all the uncertainties, the running away from the cops 24 hours a day.

The worst humiliation that still rankles was when some guys picked us up for a pass while I was taking my elderly mother to a doctor.

No sympathy.

Instead they seemed to be jeering more at the pain in my mother's face than the naked fear in mine.

I am, however, too lazy to hold a grudge against such people, both the physical perpetrators of such humiliations and the men who sat behind desks at the Union Buildings, or wherever, thinking up these terrible and insulting edicts.

The world, or rather life, is most unfair. While most of the people on the continent who treated their people with contempt and cruelty seem to have been adequately repaid -- in a process that is also taking the victims down with them -- the evil people who ran the juggernaut apartheid machine died fairly peaceful and happy lives. One does not wish to sound revengeful, but those who were either silent or active participants of the evils of apartheid also seem to be spared the payment of their sins.

On the LINE

NEWS FEATURE *Experts voice views on democracy • By-laws needed to stop rubbish dumping*

Debate rages as elections loom

Sowetan

15/3/93

(3049)

By Ismail Lagardien
Political Correspondent

THUMBS UP *Democracy, however flawed, is always better than conflict.*

WHILE PREPARING for an historic election which will include, for the first time, equal participation by indigenous Africans, South Africa is locked in a debate on democracy that is, understandably, unprecedented.

Each political activist in South Africa, however big or small, holds his or her own opinion on what, exactly, democracy means and how it can be achieved.

The only certainty in South Africa is, nevertheless, that everyone appears to be striving for democracy and the best that can be said is that there is a debate underway.

And at a conference in Bellville near Cape Town over the past weekend, political activists, observers and eminent persons from around the world gathered to keep the momentum of the debate on democracy rolling.

Idealistic sentiments

Although there were some startlingly romantic, naive and even idealistic sentiments, particularly from Mr Andrew Young, the former mayor of Atlanta in the United States, other speakers made healthy and realistic contributions to the debate on, especially, the forthcoming elections.

The keynote speakers, including Young, set the matrix for the debate on the elections which, through the Centre for Development Studies and its co-hosts and sponsors, will take the election debate on the road in South Africa.

Mr Dullah Omar, a Western Cape lawyer, noted early in his speech that, while it had become time for the ballot box to replace the bullet in South Africa and while elections played a vital role in democracy, they were not "the be-all and end-all of democracy".

"But," he observed, "you cannot have democracy without elections."

In the United Nations Declaration

of Human Rights, elections are described as an inalienable right.

Article 21 of the Declaration reads: "Everyone has the right to take part in the government of his (sic) country, directly or through freely chosen representatives..."

"The will of the people shall be the basis of the authority of government: this will be expressed in periodic and genuine elections which shall be by universal suffrage and shall be held by secret vote or by equivalent free voting procedures."

Young, detailing some of the achievements of minorities in the United State Congress with sanctions against the South African government — imposed by the Reagan Administration which was completely opposed to them — explained that democracy worked even for the losers (in elections) as well as for minorities.

"Elections won't satisfy everybody's needs, but (democracy ensures that) there will always be another election."

"Democracy, however weak insecure or imperfect, is always better than the violence which we have seen in Angola and Mozambique," Young said.

It was, however, Botswana's ambassador to the UN and leader of the Organisation for African Unity observer team in South Africa, Mr Legwaila Joseph Legwaila, who drove the reality home succinctly.

South Africa needed a much larger contingent of international observers for its first non-racial election, Legwaila said.

"What must be sought is an election which is as good as that held anywhere else in the world. One would be a fool not to realise that the forces of law and order in South Africa inspire little trust in the populace and in the international community."

"If the forces of law and order cannot be trusted and are even ac-

cused of instigating some violence, how can they be expected to ensure law and order during an election?"

"The sheer fragility of the process in Angola should indicate how great the need is in South Africa," Legwaila said.

If Legwaila was succinct, the chairman of Zimbabwe's election supervisory commission, Mr Walter Kamba, was foreboding: "(The election) will not mean the end of your troubles. It will be only the beginning."

"But you will be more prepared. You will be more likely to be committed to dealing with difficulties when you feel you are party to the decision-making process," he said.

The basis of an even marginally successful election was voter education and voter illiteracy did not imply ignorance, the director-general of the Namibian Broadcasting Corporation, Mr Nahum Gorelick, said.

"Illiterate people have the ability to make their own choices and make these choices intellectually," Gorelick said.

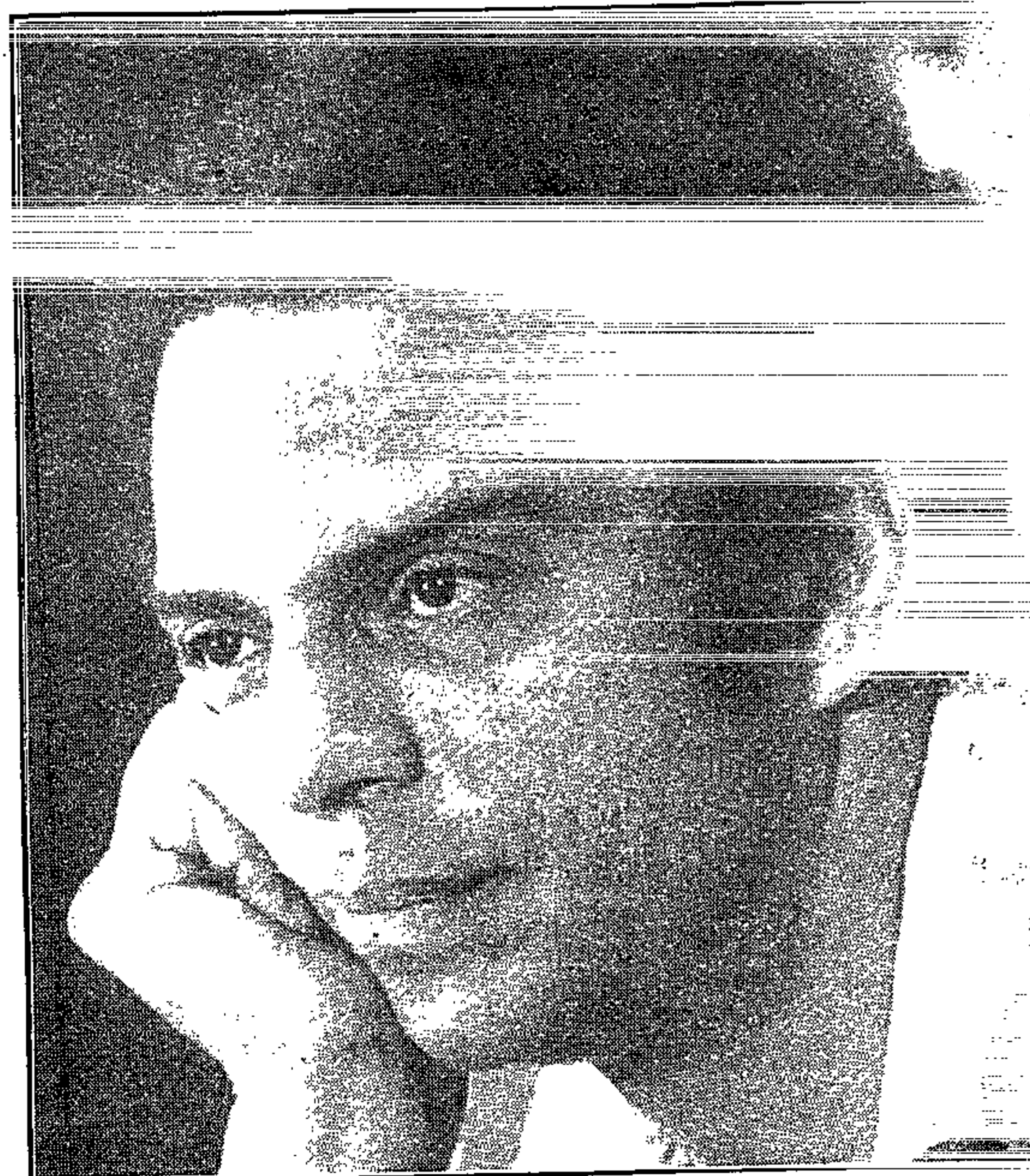
Independent broadcaster

It was important that the country's main broadcaster was placed under independent control to prevent one-sided and selective reportage.

"The South West Africa Broadcasting Corporation was the one factor that almost derailed the United Nations process in Namibia," Gorelick said.

By the end of the first day, the message that was the most clear was:

- that violence could continue through and beyond the next election;
- that effective control over the existing security forces had to be held;
- that the election would not be completely democratic; and
- that the South African Broadcast Corporation had to be taken from the control of the National Party and handed to an independent new body.



Andrew Young ... naive comments.

Meeting must be fruitful — Mandela

Own Correspondent

MARITZBURG. — ANC president Mr Nelson Mandela yesterday ruled out a meeting with IFP leader and KwaZulu chief minister Chief Mangosuthu Buthelezi until he was convinced such a meeting would be fruitful. Speaking at a press conference

after his three-day visit to strife-torn areas of Natal, he said he was not prepared to see Chief Buthelezi "until proper preparations" for such a meeting had been made.

He said ANC and IFP delegations were preparing for discussions but "I am determined not to make any move to see Chief Buthe-

lezi unless I am convinced that that meeting will be fruitful".

He said the ANC had already met Chief Buthelezi twice and took decisions, which, if implemented, would have put an end to the violence or at least reduced it. "But we did not succeed and one of the reasons was the lack of preparation for the meeting."

Mr Mandela appealed to ANC supporters to engage Inkatha supporters in talks to try to end the killings which claimed 20 lives in three ambushes in the past 12 days and 1 500 in the province last year.

"We are devoted to peace, particularly with the IFP," Mr Mandela said. "Go to Inkatha support-

ers and tell them you are their flesh and blood.

"IFP members are our flesh and blood, there's no reason to slaughter one another," he said.

He said he had wanted to attend the funeral of six children slain in an ambush two weeks ago, but had not received co-operation from Inkatha.

Meanwhile, Chief Buthelezi also called for peace and conciliation after Saturday's planned meeting between himself and Mr Mandela was cancelled "for security reasons". — Own Correspondent, Sapa

●Vital to prevent civil war in SA — Page 2

(3044) CT 15/3/93

ARC 15/8/93

Nats plot new image to capture black votes

TOS WENTZEL
Political Staff

3041A

THE National Party is considering changing some of its colours and symbols to give it wider appeal in an election next year.

Having dropped its archaic "kruithoring" (gunpowder horn) symbol in the early 1980s, the party is now also looking at its colours and its present symbol, an "NP" with an arrow pointing upwards.

Opinion polls and research are being carried out to identify ways of winning black votes.

Dr Dawie de Villiers, chairman of the party's new information and management committee, said the NP's colours, name, organisation and administration were being reviewed.

According to some Nationalist MPs, the party will try to adapt its "corporate image" to

the realities of a new South Africa.

Research so far has found that the present party colours of orange, white and blue are not popular in Africa. Orange, in particular, has been found to be jarring.

Animal symbols have also been found to be popular in Africa.

Black cultural figures will be consulted in the research process and a Nationalist MP did not rule out the possibility of approaching sangomas — traditional medicine men.

A name change is also being discussed but there is resistance to this in inner party circles.

While a new name could help the party to distance itself from its damaging apartheid past, some Nationalist leaders maintain that a change could be interpreted as the party being ashamed of the name.

'Green light for corruption'

ENTRUSTING a professionally disgraced person with a key position totally undermined the concept of open and clean administration, Democratic Party spokesman on justice Mr Tony Leon said yesterday.

Reacting to the appointment of Mr Piet Kemp as Registrar of Patents and Trade Marks, he said: "It makes a mockery of the government's stated commit-

ment to root out corruption and malpractice wherever it exists and is tantamount to giving a green light to professional misconduct of the most serious and reprehensible nature."

Mr Leon said Mr Kemp had been found guilty of misconduct by the Bar Council and had had his membership of the Society of Advocates terminated for overcharging the government.

Mr Kemp was one of the two advocates who represented among others General Magnus Malan and former Minister of Law and Order Mr Adriaan Vlok at the Harms Commission hearings.

"It is beyond our comprehension as to how this appointment has been approved," Mr Leon said. — Sapa

2432 304A
ET 16/3/93

Group warns on regionalism

Political Staff

JOHANNESBURG. — There is a danger in determining the powers and functions of regions too early in the negotiations process and this should rather be left to the last stages of constitution-making. (18/12) (30/4/93)

This is the conclusion of a report on regionalism drafted by local and foreign academics and

constitutional experts and released by the Consultative Business Movement yesterday.

The group is led by Anglovaal's Mr Clive Menell and includes Professor Marinus Wiechers, Dr Oscar Dhlomo, Dr Frederik Van Zyl Slabbert, Professor Charles Simkins and academics from the US, Britain and Canada. CT 16/3/93

The group also warned against

deciding on principles for regions "that are so broad and vague that their interpretation leads to conflict and dispute and minimises confidence".




































It suggested agreement be reached "on a framework of principles, definitions and criteria for approaching regional issues, before moving to the final stages of constitution-making".

Voting in new S A how it would work

3044
AR 6/13/93

Ballot paper for the Constituency of Rubicondorp South Five-member constituency

DIRECTIONS: Please mark one 'X' in the box beside your favoured candidate.
ONLY USE ONE 'X'

AFRICAN NATIONAL CONGRESS 			DEMOCRATIC PARTY 		
Christopher Hani (African National Congress/SA Communist Party) 			Zach de Beer (Democratic Party) 		
Dr Nelson Mandela (African National Congress) 			Denis Worrall (Democratic Party) 		
Albertina Sisulu (African National Congress) 			INKATHA FREEDOM PARTY 		
AZANIAN PEOPLES ORGANISATION 			Dr Gataha Buthelezi (Inkatha Freedom Party) 		
Dr Ihumeleng Mosele (AZAPO) 			Madlar Loea (Inkatha Freedom Party) 		
KONSERWATIEWE PARTY 			NATIONAL PARTY 		
Dr Andries Treurnicht (Konservatiewe Party) 			Pik Botha (National Party) 		
			F.W. de Klerk (National Party) 		
			Roelf Meyer (National Party) 		
LABOUR PARTY 			PAN AFRICANIST CONGRESS 		
Reverend Alan Hendrickse (Labour Party) 			Benny Alexander (Pan Africanist Congress) 		

MICHAEL MORRIS
Political Correspondent

polling ANC candidates in the constituency.

A CONSTITUENCY-BASED system of proportional representation, which allows voters to choose between candidates and not merely between parties, has been suggested by an American academic for South Africa's first crucial non-racial election.

Mr Andrew Reynolds of California University has had his proposal — along with others — published in a book, *Voting for a New South Africa*, with the support of the Institute for Multi-Party Democracy.

Mr Reynolds, who spent 1991/92 teaching at the University of Cape Town, suggests that there should be 37 multi-member constituencies electing a total of 300 representatives to the Constituency Assembly, with 100 "compensatory" national members which would be awarded to parties to ensure proportionality in the Assembly.

A voter would simply place one X next to the candidate of his or her choice and the party votes would be totalled to work out how many seats each party would be entitled to.

Mr Reynolds says: "For example, in the 11-member constituency of Wynberg-Khayelitsha, the ANC might win 30 percent of the vote and so be entitled to three of those 11 seats, but the individual ANC candidates filling those seats would be chosen by the voters as the top three

"Instead of being simply chosen by the party headquarters, the candidates elected would be the most popular party candidates in the constituency."

The accompanying graphic shows what the ballot paper would look like for a five-member constituency under the Reynolds scheme.

Voters in his fictional "Rubicondorp South" constituency would have merely to mark one X in the box next to the his or her favoured candidate.

Mr Reynolds says that his proposal "has two great advantages over previous 'list PR' ideas".

"Firstly, the system would have a constituency base to ensure a personal/geographic connection between the people and their representatives and, secondly, those elected to the Assembly would be directly chosen by, and accountable to, their constituents."

"In such a crucial election, to choose the very people who will draw up the new constitution, it seems highly desirable that they be judged by the electorate (rather than their parties) for their ability and honesty."

Professor Herman Giliomee of the University of Cape Town believes that Reynolds's proposal "may well be ... the most suitable one for a stable South Africa".

IT COULD LOOK LIKE THIS ... If South Africa used American academic Andrew Reynolds's version of constituency based proportional representation, this is what the ballot paper would look like. Voters in the (fictional) five-member constituency of "Rubicondorp South" would vote for the candidate, not just the party, of his or her choice.

Star 16/3/93

NP set for new image in new SA

Political Staff (304A)

CAPE TOWN — The National Party is considering changing some of its colours and symbols to give it wider appeal in an election next year.

Having dropped its archaic "kruithoring" (gunpowder horn) symbol in the early '80s, the party is now also looking at its official colours and its present symbol, an "NP" with an arrow pointing upwards.

Opinion polls and research are being carried out to find ways for the party to gain support among black voters.

Dr. Dawie de Villiers, chairman of the party's new information and management committee, has confirmed that the party is looking at these matters.

According to some Nationalist MPs, the party will try to adapt and modernise its "corporate image" to fit in with the realities of a new South Africa.

Research has shown that the NP colours of orange, white and blue are not popular colours in Africa. It has also been found that animal symbols are popular in Africa.

Black cultural figures will be consulted in the process and one Nationalist MP did not rule out the possibility that sangomas (traditional medicine men) might also be consulted.

A change of name for the party is also being discussed, but there is resistance to this in the party.

Star 16/3/93
**Govt to help
town angry
at Marike**

Political Staff

(304A)

CAPE TOWN — Hot on the heels of Marike de Klerk's controversial visit to Atlantis last week — marked by protests about unemployment and poor services — the Government has announced a "comprehensive" aid programme for the town.

De Klerk was the guest at a National Party-sponsored "goodwill tea", which was angrily opposed by ANC demonstrators whose posters reflected ill-feeling about the Government's attitude to the problems of Atlantis.

The town has one of the highest unemployment rates in the region.

Minister of Health Services and Welfare in the House of Representatives, the Rev. Andrew Julius — who is also a senior NP official in the Cape — said in a statement that the Government had noted the effects of high unemployment in Atlantis.

A "comprehensive" aid programme would be launched in co-operation with Dr. Rina Venter's Department of National Health and Welfare.

This would entail co-ordinating all welfare initiatives to make the most of existing resources, and provide additional money from the Department of Health and Welfare's emergency loan fund and the National Feeding Scheme.

Study on regionalism unveiled

THE Consultative Business Movement yesterday released a study on regionalism it said it hoped would help speed up negotiations by giving political parties options for dealing with this sensitive issue.

The report concludes that there is a danger in determining the exact powers and functions of regions too early in the negotiations process. It should be left to the final stages of the constitution-making process, such as an elected constitution-making body. *BIDAM 16/3/93*

However, the group also warns against deciding on principles for regions "that are so broad and vague that their interpretation leads to conflict and dispute and minimises confidence".

It suggests the best way forward is to strike a balance between these two. This

BILLY PADDOCK

would be possible by "reaching agreement on a framework of principles, definitions and criteria for approaching regional issues, before moving to the final stages of constitution-making". *(304A)*

The group also warns that regions must be involved in the negotiation or consultation process in some way.

The report, drawn up by a group of 19 local and international academics and constitutional experts late last year, examines three key issues regarding regionalism: regions and their demarcation; levels of government and their relationships; and regions and constitution-making.

The group, led by Anglovaal's Clive

☐ To Page 2

Regions

BIDAM 16/3/93

Menell, includes Tony Ardington of the SA Sugar Association, Bertus de Villiers of the HSRC, Oscar Dhlomo of the Institute for Multiparty Democracy, Prof Nick Haysom and Prof Charles Simkins of Witwatersrand University, Van Zyl Slabbert of the Metropolitan Chamber, Prof David Welsh of UCT and Prof Marinus Wiechers of Unisa. It also includes academics from the US, Britain, Denmark, Canada and France.

The report has been discussed with leading political bodies. Menell said their response was such that he was optimistic a solution to regionalism could be found.

One suggestion is that regions be allowed maximum flexibility to draft their own constitutions using guidelines drawn up by the national negotiations forum.

The group suggests two possible frameworks — for the demarcation of regions and for establishing powers, functions and duties of regions.

Demarcation criteria include economic functionality and a human and natural resource base; geographic coherence; institutional and administrative capacity; and socio-cultural issues.

A delimitation commission could play a

☐ From Page 1

useful role in allowing the democratic consultation of national, regional and local interest groups in the determination of boundaries. This could involve holding local referendums where necessary.

"While consideration should be given to the potential tax base of regions, a central mechanism such as a fiscal commission should be considered to facilitate a fair allocation of revenue to poorer regions," the report says.

It lists nine broad guidelines for dividing power between the centre and the regions. Essentially the centre should predominate where a state needed to act as a single entity or where minimum standards of services and equity were needed. These included defence, foreign affairs, immigration, currency, national standards regarding weights and measures etc.

"In aspects of those functions where variety, regional or cultural diversity is desirable, power should be allocated to the regions (eg certain aspects of education, language policy and culture)." Functions relating to territorially fixed matters (eg town and regional planning) should be allocated largely to regional authorities.

Food prices keep PPI low

FALLING food prices helped to keep the producer price index (PPI) for January at a low 7.4%, in spite of high increases for some products and for electricity and water.

Figures released by the Central Statistical Services (CSS) yesterday showed that the PPI rose by only 0.2% between December and January.

● PPI creeps up on higher energy costs — Page 9 CT16/3/93

Car thieves tie driver to tree

Staff Reporter

A KLEINVILLE man was robbed of his car and tied to a tree by three men with a pistol, in Mitchell's Plain yesterday.

Police said the men hijacked Mr Anthony George's white Nissan bakkie, forcing him into the back and drove to the False Bay coast, where they tied him to a tree and sped off.

No arrests have been made as yet. The bakkie's registration number is CY 150568.

BUSINESS BRIEF

Gold (Ldn) (close) \$328.75
Gold (NY) (close) \$329.25
Dollar R3,1980/95
BD 100 5738.0
FT index (100) 2922.4
Dow Jones 3442.4
Nikkei 18086.1

Deadlock: Strike by teachers looms

A NATIONAL teachers' strike of black and coloured teachers is looming following a deadlock in the salary talks between President F W de Klerk and the SA Democratic Teachers Union (Sadtu) yesterday.

Sadtu president Mr Shepherd Mdladlana told a press conference yesterday that the refusal of Mr De Klerk to budge on his 5% pay increase offer meant teachers would have to act.

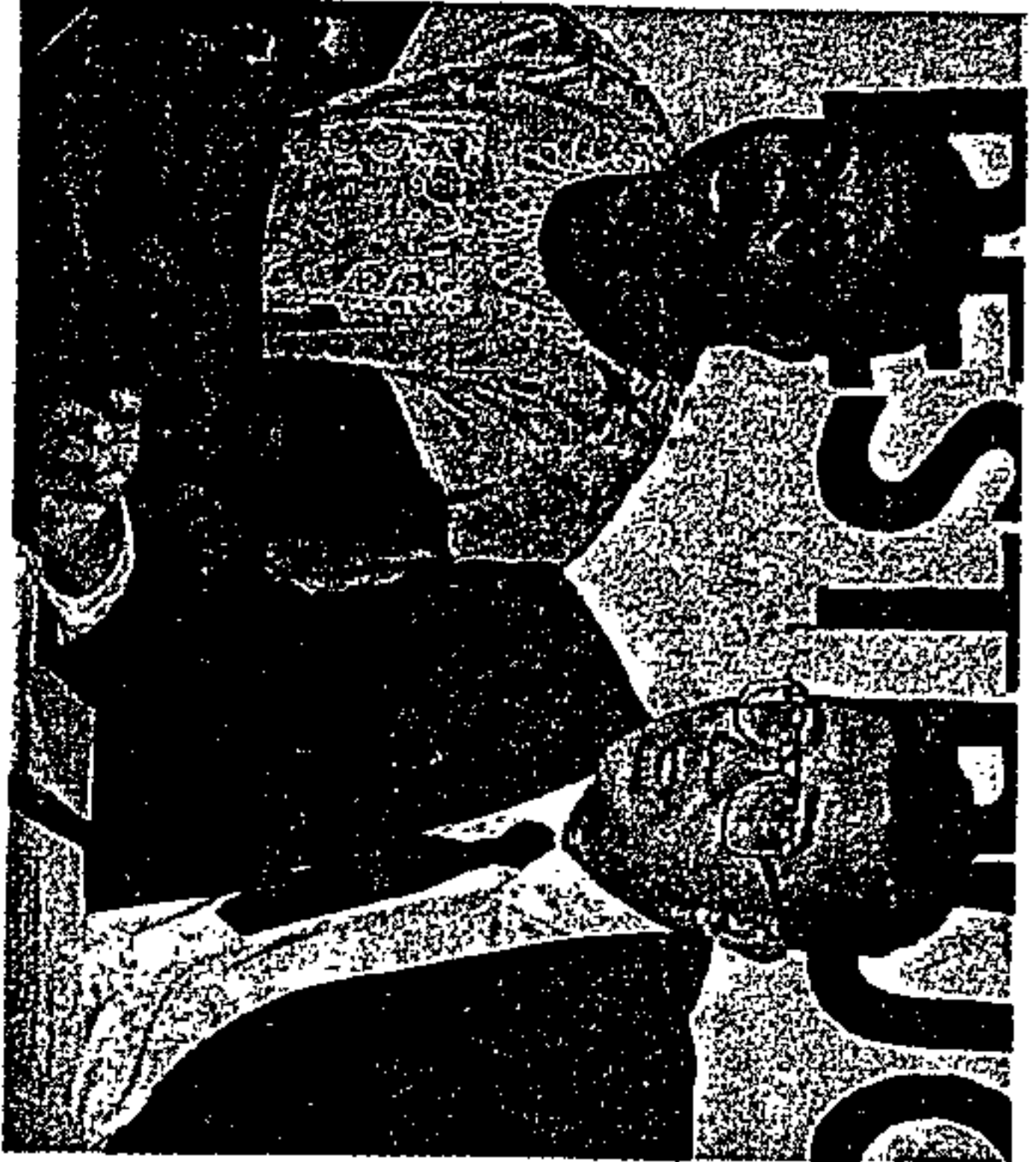
Sadtu is demanding a 25% increase.

Regional chairman Ms Vivienne Carelse confirmed last night that a strike ballot would be completed in two weeks.

If the vote is in favour, it is expected most of Sadtu's 60 000 members will strike.

Meanwhile, white teachers have also become increasingly militant about the 5% offer.

The SA Teachers' Association (Sata) has warned of abandoning responsible negotiations and resorting to



REPORTING BACK ... Secretary-general of Sadtu Mr Randall van den Heever (right) reports on Sadtu's talks with President F W de Klerk yesterday. With him is Mr Shepherd Mdladlana.

Picture: ANNE LANG

"other strategies" to resolve the dispute.

The giant Union of Teachers' Associations of SA (Utas) also rejected the 5% increase, but would not say yesterday if it would consider striking.

The government and Sadtu reached To page 5

Pik to meet UN head over Angola

JOHANNESBURG. — Minister of Foreign Affairs, Mr Pik Botha will meet United Nations Secretary-General, Dr Boutros Boutros-Ghali in New York this week to discuss accusations that South Africa is supplying Unita with logistical support.

Mr Botha flies to America tonight.

The charge against the South African government was made by Angolan President Jose Eduardo dos Santos in a letter to Dr Boutros-Ghali at the weekend. — Sapa

● Soyo dead my be local men — Page 5

'Trim Govt and save

By ANTHONY JOHNSON Political Correspondent

REDUCTIONS to the burgeoning bureaucracy could result in Budget savings of at least R5,5 billion, the Democratic Party said yesterday.

Recent revelations on wastage and maladministration had confirmed there was scope for greater efficiency, DP finance spokesperson Mr Ken Andrew said.

Reductions in staffing levels were also necessary, but not in the essential services such as teachers and police.

The abolition of own affairs departments and the rationalisation of services of at least R5,5 billion", he said.

Other Budget proposals he outlined were:

- The equalisation of social pensions.
- The government spend the same amount on education — about R20bn — but more wisely.
- A R300 million fund to assist new farmers.
- An additional R600m for crime prevention.
- Job creation and programmes for the poor.
- An extra R500m for poverty/starvation relief.
- Zero-rating VAT on medical services.

● VAT hike: Motor sales 'still slow'

Budget to be televised

TOMORROW'S Budget speech, expected to contain increases in the fuel price and VAT, will be televised in a direct broadcast from Parliament.

The announcement of the new Budget by Finance Minister Mr Derek Keys will be broadcast on TSS from 2.15pm to 4pm.

Plane stowaway dies

JOHANNESBURG. — The body of a 16-year-old youth was pulled from the wheel bay of a Malaysian Airline Boeing 747 after it landed at Jan Smuts Airport yesterday morning.

The body was discovered when a foot was seen hanging from the wheel bay, a police spokesman said.

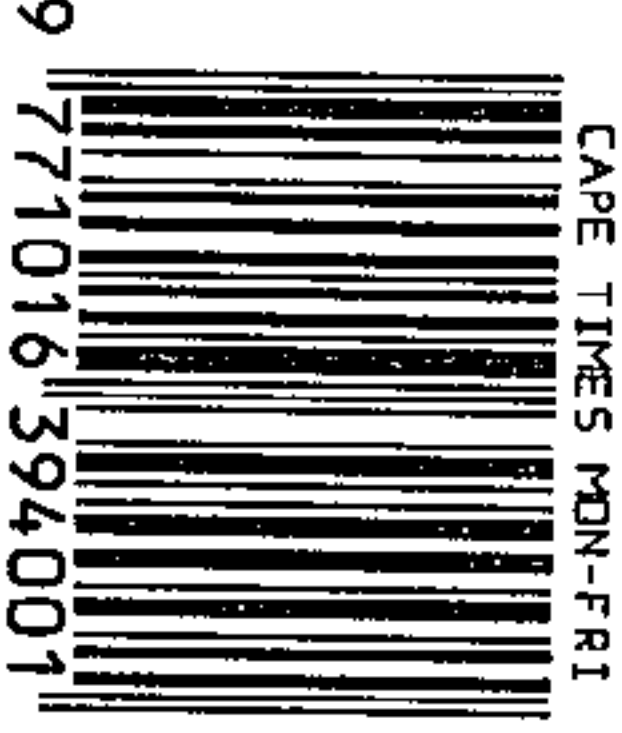
Police believe the boy climbed into the right rear wheel bay before flight MH201 took off from Kuala Lumpur, Malaysia.

One of the youth's legs was crushed above the ankle, probably by the retracting undercarriage.

The cause of death is to be determined by post mortem. But at minus 52° Celsius and at 12 000m, the boy almost certainly died of cold and oxygen starvation, aviation experts said.

The incident follows one in which a man recently tried to stow away in a wheel bay of an Egypt Air flight, but fell to his death when the pilot lowered the undercarriage.

Malaysian Airline general manager for southern Africa Mr Helmie Daud declined to comment. — Sapa



'Nat spy' expelled

THE Boerestaat Party has expelled a "government spy" and "Afrikaner traitor" from the party, BSP leader Mr Robert van Tonder said on Sunday. (304A)

This was announced at a meeting of the party's executive held in Randburg at the weekend.

Van Tonder said the spy regularly had sent reports on the BSP to State President FW de Klerk's "information services". He had been summarily kicked out and other rightwing organisations he had infiltrated had been informed.

Sowetan 16/3/93

'Disgraced' lawyer given top government posting

Political Staff

304A 2587
THE government has been castigated for appointing "disgraced" Pretoria advocate Mr Piet Kemp to a top official post after the Bar Council had found him guilty of misconduct.

Democratic Party justice spokesman Mr Tony Leon said Mr Kemp's appointment as Registrar of Patents and Trade Marks "makes a mockery of the government's stated commitment to root out corruption and malpractices".

Mr Leon said the Bar Council had found Mr Kemp guilty of misconduct and the Society of Advocates had terminated his membership for over-

ARG 16/3/93
charging the government while working for the Minister of Defence.

"What is even more alarming is that at the time of his appointment the General Council of the Bar has an application pending for his removal from the roll of advocates, which is the most extreme form of professional censure and condemnation which can be levelled against a practising advocate in South Africa."

Mr Leon said that both Minister of Trade and Industry Mr Derek Keys and Director-General Mr Stef Naude had supported Mr Kemp's appointment.

Bilateral talks seek consensus

By Esther Waugh
Political Reporter

In a further step in the negotiations process, a new round of bilateral meetings begins this week when the ANC and Government continue their ongoing constitutional discussions on Friday.

The Government and IFP are expected to resume their talks soon, but no date has yet been finalised.

The ANC-Government talks are aimed at achieving broad consensus on the transition. However, fundamental differences on regionalism and power-sharing remain between the two groups.

Friday's talks are expected to focus on regionalism, a government of national unity and legislation for a transitional executive council.

A crucial ANC conference on regionalism, where its draft document on regionalism will be discussed, takes place in

Johannesburg on Friday and Saturday. It will be attended by the organisation's 14 regions, which have proposed amendments to the draft document.

ANC negotiators said the draft document on regionalism had provided important impetus to ANC-Government talks and contributed to the breakthrough on a government of national unity.

ANC head of local government Thozamile Botha yesterday said no radical shifts from the draft document are expected. One of the areas of debate will be the number of regions in a new South Africa.

The draft document did not specify the number of proposed regions.

Botha said that once the document had been finalised, it would be presented to a proposed delimitation commission and a constituent assembly.

Negotiators indicated after the multiparty planning conference, held on March 5 and 6,

that bilateral discussions had become an integral part of the negotiations process.

They said the last round of bilateral meetings had contributed significantly to the success of the planning conference.

In another development, the Concerned South Africans Group (Cosag) — the IFP, Conservative Party, Afrikaner Volksunie and Bophuthatswana and Ciskei governments — begins a two-day meeting in Pretoria today.

Cosag spokesman Rowan Cronje said the meeting would finalise positions and strategies for the multiparty conference on April 1 and 2.

Cronje denied that a rift had developed between the CP and other Cosag members.

"This is blatant political mischief-making with no substance whatsoever," he said.

Cronje made the statement after what he termed Cosag's "most successful meeting yet", held at the weekend in Ciskei.

Star 16/3/93 (304A) (252)

Call to resolve debate on regions

By Patrick Laurence

Resolution of the debate over regions is essential to achievement of a national accord, according to experts assembled by the Consultative Business Movement (CBM).

The team, whose report was released yesterday, notes that there is virtual unanimity among key political players on the need for regions and regional government.

There are, however, different approaches on how and when boundaries should be drawn, by whom and on what criteria, as well as on the division of power between central and regional government.

The team, which was

led by businessman Clive Menell and which held discussions with the main political organisations, sought to identify criteria for the demarcation of regional boundaries and powers, rather than prescribe what the answers should be.

It did, however, take a stand on one issue: it came out in favour of a second legislative chamber — where regional interests would be represented — in the debate over whether South Africa's future constitution should have one or two chambers.

The report gives several reasons for its preference for a second chamber: it would involve regions in the leg-

islative process by giving them a role in forming national policy, and it would provide a check on the power of the lower Houses and thus ensure that laws had increased legitimacy and broader acceptability.

The report suggests that these criteria should be used to demarcate boundaries: economic viability, geographic coherence (they should not be too big or too small), administrative capacity, socio-cultural elements (ethnicity should not be overstressed but cannot be ignored), and historical boundaries.

The report advises in favour of between seven and 10 regions in a new South Africa.

NP seeks more acceptable symbols

CT16/3/93 (304A)

Political Correspondent

THE New Nats, or the Free Nats, campaigning under different colours and with a "thumbs-up" logo could be part of South Africa's political landscape soon.

NP sources confirmed yesterday that a change in the orange and blue party colours and from the "kruithoring" symbol were

being seriously contemplated in an effort to change the party's image.

However, there was resistance from "high up in the party" to a substantial name change and if this does come about it is "not likely to be substantial... something like the New National Party", said a source. Another NP member said the

party had been toying with the idea of getting the word "free" or "freedom" into the name.

They said consultants were being used to advise the party on the implications of colours and symbols in black communities.

Orange was apparently unpopular in such communities and would probably be scrapped, while the symbol being consid-

ered at the moment was the "thumbs-up".

No decisions have been made yet, but NP information team member Mrs Sheila Camerer said the results should be out by the end of the month.

She confirmed that consultants were being used in the research, but had not personally heard about the use of sangomas.

Large handouts for white farms

TIM COHEN

CAPE TOWN — Just under 40% of the Agricultural Development Department's 1991/92 expenditure was spent on subsidies, according to a report tabled in Parliament yesterday.

The department, which is concerned with "white" agriculture, published its report on the 1991/92 financial year.

Agricultural financing was the largest expenditure item of the department's R771,7m allocation, accounting for 40,3% of spending.

Almost all of the agricultural financing was devoted to subsidies.

Financial assistance consisted mainly of loans and subsidies made available to farmers from the agricultural credit account.

Aid for debt consolidation came to R98,7m, crop production loans were R157,1m. Land bought was R10m.

Subsidies paid came to R305,3m of which interest subsidies on carryover debt and new production credit accounted for R112,6m. Drought aid to stock farmers was R50,3m and farm labourer housing R16,5m.

ANC branches to thrash out regionalism policy

BILLY PADDOCK

THE ANC will hold a national conference at the weekend to finalise its position on regionalism and it is understood that the Consultative Business Movement's (CBM) report on the issue will be discussed.

All 14 ANC regions will meet in Johannesburg on Friday and Saturday to discuss amendments to a draft policy on regionalism, which ANC negotiators say has contributed positively in talks with government.

They claim positions in the draft document contributed to a deal on a government of national unity.

The draft did not specify the number of regions that should be demarcated. But the ANC has at other times proposed 10-region and 16-region demarcations. Experts gathered by the CBM favoured the smaller number of regions.

An ANC source yesterday said the draft policy was not expected to be altered substantially, although there would be considerable debate on the number of regions.

Another issue that will draw heated debate is the status of regions in a new SA. It is understood that some branches within the ANC would favour greater autonomy than others.

All the branches appear to favour a strong central government that would devolve powers to regions but retain ultimate control over them.

The source said the final proposal on regionalism would be presented to the proposed commission on delimitation, and then to the elected constitution-making body.

Our political staff reports from Cape Town that the ANC yesterday called on government to unilaterally end the "independence" of Transkei, Bophuthatswana, Venda and Ciskei. The ANC warned that there could be no resolution of the SA conflict unless and until the TBVC homelands were reincorporated and citizenship restored unconditionally to their inhabitants.

It said there was no possibility of holding national elections without the participation of the millions of people in the TBVC homelands.

The ANC said it was disturbed in the light of this to learn government was "touting for the concept that Bophuthatswana should be treated as a special case and not be subject to agreements on reincorporation".

Bill modernises rights around movable goods

TIM COHEN

CAPE TOWN — A Bill was tabled in Parliament yesterday aimed at modernising the rights of notarial bondholders of movable goods.

The Security by Means of Movable Property Bill also strengthens the rights of the grantors of credit compared to those of landlords where a lessee is in default.

The Bill notes that although pledge offers an excellent form of security, it no longer satisfies the needs of the modern commercial world, primarily because the pledgor loses the use

and enjoyment of the goods.

The Bill acts on a finding of the SA Law Commission which recommends changes that will mean goods will be deemed to have been pledged to the bondholder as if they have been delivered to him in pledge.

The Bill effectively extends to the whole country the situation that exists in only Natal.

Currently a notarial bond regis-

tered in Natal with regard to specified movable property has the effect of a real right, because legislation provides that the property is deemed to have been given in pledge even though delivery has not taken place.

A landlord currently has a tacit hypothec (a charge in property in favour of a creditor) over the lessee's property if the lessee is in arrears with rent.

The legislation proposes removal of this right in respect of most goods sold in terms of credit agreements.

Star (304A) Cover-up to protect Broeders alleged

● From Page 1

He makes it clear he regards the allegation of corruption in a serious light and undertakes to try to arrange a meeting between President de Klerk and Serfontein.

"I have already submitted a letter to the State President pleading with him to see you. I said this was a case of national interest," Christophers says.

The conversations between the two men took place after publication in The Star last month of the findings of Serfontein's investigation into alleged corruption in the Department of Transport.

Serfontein, who left the office of the Auditor-General at the end of December, was on Monday visited by the police, who had a warrant to search for documents relating to his audit

investigations. The office of the Auditor-General said it might lay a charge against Serfontein under the Protection of Information Act.

Christophers told The Star yesterday the conversations took place in private and he had not been aware he was being tape-recorded. He requested that details should not be published.

He said he regarded Serfontein as a very good auditor.

In the telephone conversations, he says: "The world knows you as a man that has ripped this disease (corruption) at other places and we must clear your name and keep your reputation intact."

Christophers said yesterday he had wanted to arrange an interview for Serfontein with De Klerk, but had never received any documentation from Ser-

fontein.

During the telephone conversations, Serfontein says he has had enormous problems with investigations into corruption at the MMF because of the omission of evidence.

Christophers replies that he is a senior man on the standing committee on transport and will try to keep the issue alive.

He says he has had a meeting with Transport Minister Piet Welgemoed, Auditor-General Henry Cluver, and three legal advisers about the MMF investigation, but that it was "highly unsatisfactory".

"They said it was okay as they know what is going on, everything is under control, I don't have to concern myself about it. These guys are following a strange path."

In the telephone conversa-

tions, Christophers asks Serfontein for a copy of an affidavit he (Serfontein) had signed pertaining to his investigation at the MMF. The affidavit was confiscated by police.

"As with the Development Aid story, there is big money involved. The people who stole money can now distribute it. They can silence people here and there," Christophers says.

● Last week, acting MMF director Willem Swanepoel admitted the accuracy of a report in The Star on February 26 which revealed that negligence by MMF personnel cost taxpayers millions of rands.

Swanepoel said the MMF had paid R3,3 million to President Insurance for handling 6 500 unsettled claims. The fund had now instituted a claim for nearly R4 million against President's insolvent estate.

Star 11/3/93 'Cover-up for Broeders'

By Jacques Pauw (304A)

There is a huge cover-up of corruption by very senior Government officials to protect the interests of members of the Afrikaner Broederbond, a prominent National Party member of Parliament has claimed.

He is Derek Christophers, MP for Germiston and one of the NP's whips.

His claims emerge in a series of telephone conversations with former assistant chief auditor Jaap Serfontein, the Government official who over the past two years investigated corruption in

the Department of Development Aid, the Multilateral Motor Vehicle Accidents Fund (MMF), and the Department of Transport, which administers the MMF.

During the telephone conversations, recorded by Serfontein, the two men discuss allegations of corruption unearthed during investigations into the MMF. This, they claim, was ignored to protect the interests of prominent members of the Broederbond and a company seen as being closely linked to that organisation.

The allegations concern corruption involving

R18 million which was never brought to light.

Responding to a question by Serfontein as to why the corruption was never revealed, Christophers says: "The people making money are Broederbonders. They look after each other."

He mentions the names of members of the Broederbond protecting fellow Broeders.

Christophers, who is also a member of the parliamentary standing committee on transport, says: "At the moment they are using the Broederbond to make money, to fill their pockets."

● To Page 3

Details on import sums disclosed

TIM COHEN

CAPE TOWN — SA issued import permits for new clothing to the value of R237m and second-hand clothing to the value of R22m during 1992, according to the Trade and Industry Department.

In answer to a question asked by CP MP Andries Bruwer, the department said import permits were issued in monetary value only and no mention was made of quantities or tonnage.

The question was asked in the context of complaints of the local clothing manufacturers that the comparatively high quantity of imports of second-hand clothing was affecting the viability of the local industry.

The department said the rand value of imports issued for meat during 1992 was R262m.

Import permits issued for milk powder were valued at R21m.

Because of high import duties on meat, permits were often not fully used and actual imports amounted to only 42,8% of the total value of the permits issued.

Parties meet to plan talks strategy

ALL THE major negotiating parties were locked in discussions yesterday to finalise their positions for tomorrow's meeting of the facilitating committee where the name, agenda and structure of the new negotiations forum will be decided.

The ANC's negotiations commission was meeting in Johannesburg, while government's team was meeting in Cape Town and the members of the Concerned SA Group, led by Inkatha, gathered in Pretoria for a two-day meeting.

Sources in the parties said the caucusing would not only focus on tomorrow's meeting but would also be developing strategies for the first meeting of the new multiparty forum on April 1 and 2.

The major decisions likely to come out of the meeting tomorrow are the endorsement of proposals thrashed out by a 10-man subcommittee last week on the structure of the new forum and how it will be run.

It is expected that the four-tier structure will be approved. It consists of a plenary, meeting irregularly when major decisions need full party ratification; a negotiating forum, meeting every two weeks; a negotiating council — heads of the negotiating teams and an adviser who will meet three to four days each week; and a planning committee of 10, meeting every day to ensure smooth functioning and help with dispute resolution.

There is likely to be some contention

over the name of the new forum. Government and the ANC want to retain Codesa for continuity while Inkatha, the PAC and some other smaller parties want another name. A suggested name is the Negotiating Forum of SA (Nefsa) or a combination of Nefsa/Codesa.

Another likely point of contention is the proposal that foreigners not be allowed to advise delegations and be part of technical committees. Associated with this is the proposal that all delegation members and advisers be full members of the parties and not be "foreign constitutional experts".

Inkatha and the Bophuthatswana government are protesting that this proposal is aimed at them and designed to deprive them of the best possible advisers.

The agenda for the first meeting of the new forum may be finalised.

Inkatha and its pressure group consisting of the Ciskei government, Bophuthatswana, the CP and the Afrikaner Volksunie, among others, wants regionalism and federalism to be the first item while government and the ANC would like to defer negotiations on this until later.

Meanwhile government and the ANC sit down on Friday for "at least a one-day bilateral meeting" to seek common ground and a similar approach on regionalism.

Another meeting between government and Inkatha is also scheduled before the resumption of multiparty talks.

BILLY PADDOCK

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BILLY PADDOCK

Preparations for more talks

Sowetan 17/3/93
■ Various parties to hold meetings:

By Themba Molefe
Political Reporter

304A

A SERIES of meetings by the various parties engaged in talks to shape the country's political future gets underway from today in preparation for full-blown negotiations next month.

The African National Congress and the Pan Africanist Congress meet tonight as joint conveners of the Patriotic Front (PF) formed by organisations opposed to the Government.

A meeting of the 92 PF member organisations is to be held in Lenasia on March 27 and 28.

Also today, the PAC meets Azapo and the National Council of Trade Unions to discuss the present political situation. It is speculated that this meeting might see the emergence of an "Azanian front" similar to the "Charterist" alliance of the ANC, SACP and Cosatu.

A two-day meeting of the Concerned South African Group (Cosag) begins in Pretoria today. Cosag comprises Bophuthatswana, Ciskei, Inkatha Freedom Party, Afrikaner Volksunie and the Conservative Party. This group favours federalism-regionalism as an option for South Africa.

Committee will shape Star 18/3/93 negotiations structures

CAPE TOWN — The 26-member facilitating committee of the multi-party planning conference meets at Kempton Park's World Trade Centre today to decide on the structure of a new negotiations forum.

A 10-man agenda committee is to present plans for a four-tier forum which will engage in a full-time process of negotiations from April.

If the plan is approved, constitutional negotiations will be initiated by the agenda committee, which is to be transformed into a planning committee. The 26-member facilitating committee is to be renamed a negotiations council; each participating party will have a representative and one advisor.

The council will negotiate behind closed doors until it reaches agreement on issues which will then be put on the agenda of a fortnightly meeting of a negotiations forum.

(304A) Debate

The forum will be constituted on a three-plus-two delegate/advisor basis and ratify agreements in public debate.

Once a large chapter of work has been approved, it is proposed that the highest negotiations body, the plenary, will meet to adopt formally these agreements. Party leaders will take 10-member teams to such plenaries, which will sit infrequently and will be televised live.

The negotiations will be further assisted by technical committees with specialist tasks.

Today's meeting is also expected to adopt a name for the new forum.

If approved, the new forum is to be officially adopted at the next meeting of the multi-party planning conference being arranged for April 1 and 2. — Sapa.

CAPE

All-race elections next year, says Meyer

MICHAEL MORRIS

Political Correspondent

30477
ARG 18/3/93

SOUTH Africa should have its first non-racial election not later than the end of next year, the government's chief negotiator, Minister of Constitutional Development Mr Roelf Meyer said.

He told a gathering of invited businessmen and academics in Cape Town last night that in spite of the risks of violence and intimidation in the run-up to the ballot, it was a vital step in South Africa's constitutional development and there was no choice but to go ahead.

Mr Meyer said in response to questions that fears of a violent election campaign were valid, "but we simply have no choice".

He said that the election was likely to be held during the first half of next year.

A crucial part of the negotiating process was to determine parties' support.

This was not only important in determining who would be represented in the transitional government after the election, but also in endowing it with legitimacy.

He said law and order measures could be partially effective in reducing violence, but, ultimately, only a political settlement would bring lasting stability.

Already the negotiation process had generated a spirit of reconciliation.

Mr Meyer said 1993 was a critical year.

"All South Africans face a choice this year — either we negotiate, or we retreat into the laager and prepare for a civil war that would destroy the whole country."

One of the gravest dilemmas was the contradiction between seeking agreements with negotiating partners while preparing for an election battle against them.

"This places us under great pressure and will require an enormous responsibility from all parties," Mr Meyer said.

ANC prepares for election campaign

Sowetan 18/3/93.

By Lulama Luti

■ Flag is modified for upcoming elections:

THE PWV region of the African National Congress will launch a vigorous election campaign from March 21.

The organisation aims to attract more than 2,5 million eligible voters in the region, which is half the voting population in the PWV.

Hoisting a new-look flag the organisation hopes to use during the campaign, ANC regional general secretary Mr Paul Mashatile also declared March 21 as the "Day of the Flag".

Traditionally this day is observed to mark the fatal shooting of 69 anti-pass protesters in Sharpeville by police in 1960.

"In this context, ANC flags and posters will be hoisted in all residential areas and on buildings and houses of our region," said Mashatile.

The new flag, which has the spear and shield logo inscribed between the ANC colours, will be used to popularise the organisation's colours as a build-up to the elections.

Mashatile said the campaign would run

for months until election time. It would involve door-to-door visits in which the public would be informed about the organisation's policies.

He said there were about five million people who were eligible to vote in the region and that the ANC hoped to persuade more than 50 percent of them to vote for the organisation.

"Sharpeville Day will still be commemorated and several top ANC officials are lined up to address rallies in the region," Mashatile said.

He said the activities would take place in the spirit of peace and the day should foster the spirit of reconciliation in the country.

● Meanwhile, Inkatha Freedom Party president Chief Mangosuthu Buthelezi is scheduled to address a peace rally at the Vosloorus Stadium at 10am on Sunday.

This was announced by IFP East Rand regional chairman Mrs Constance Zikalala on Tuesday. She said while this would be primarily a peace rally, the significance of March 21 would be acknowledged.

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Govt drive for 'fiscal federalism'

CAPE TOWN — Government intends promoting "fiscal federalism" in preparation for a new, regional constitutional dispensation, says the Finance Department's Budget Review. (49) (304A)

The review was critical of the current state of affairs, saying that when new governmental structures were previously created at the second or third tier, systems for the financing involved were designed on an ad-hoc basis. B10847 18/3/93

"The upshot of this was a fragmented system which not only had serious inherent flaws with regard to long-term planning by the central government and revenue authorities, but also raised questions concerning accountability for the utilisation of government funds."

The review said the key element of a decentralised system was to reconcile the autonomy of the several tiers of government with the necessity to co-ordinate the fiscal and economic management of the entire country.

Ideally, each government unit at every level should command adequate own rev-

TIM COHEN

enue sources for the financing of its services, since such authorities could then act autonomously and a direct link could be made between the spending and the taxing decisions of individual units.

This meant that if a community wanted more services it would have to bear the additional expenditure itself from higher taxes. This contrasted with the present state of affairs at regional level where provincial administrations had to look to transfers from the central exchequer for 85% of their revenue.

However, worldwide experience indicated that this ideal was not attainable in practice, and the income of the various tiers would have to be supplemented by intergovernmental transfers.

It was crucial that the system should promote certainty and long-term planning and the new constitution should provide for flexibility and co-ordination without posing a threat to the autonomy of the different tiers of government.

Big jump in salaries, perks for MPs

CAPE TOWN — A 37% increase in the salaries, allowances and benefits of MPs — up R78,4m from R57,2m — includes an increase of R16m for the purchase of new cars for parliamentarians.

The increases in allowances and subsidies for MPs comes when the government has refused to consider any further increases for teachers and public servants. *610AM 18/3/93.*

A spokesman for the State Expenditure Department said yesterday 119 MPs

304A *250*
Political Staff *ESP*

were eligible to buy new cars.

The total budget for Parliament in the 1993/4 financial year is R113,7m, an increase of R27,2m over last year.

Most of this increase — R21m — is for the salaries, allowances and other benefits of MPs.

The budget for the President's Council, to be abolished soon, has also been increased from R9,7m to R10,7m.

Star 18/3/92 Sharp criticism from opposition parties

Political Staff
(304A)

CAPE TOWN — Parliamentary opposition parties have sharply criticised Finance Minister Derek Keys's first Budget.

But some elements of the Budget have been welcomed.

Conservative Party finance spokesman Casper Uys said the most striking element of the Budget was that the man in the street would have to dig more deeply into his pocket to survive.

And the Democratic Party described the Budget as a great disappointment.

Finance spokesman Ken Andrew said: "In these times of acute economic difficulty for

people and businesses throughout South Africa, the Government has placed the burden almost entirely on the public's shoulders and has refused to curtail its expenditure."

But Afrikaner Volksunie (AVU) spokesman Cehill Pienaar said that, given the present economic constraints, the Budget was an "honest and open" one.

The CP said that despite the Government's repeated promises over the years to reduce the load on already overburdened taxpayers, this had not been done.

Uys said: "Indeed, by not introducing concessions to counter bracket creep, the burden of personal tax is increasing by a

sum of R2,5 billion."

Furthermore, inflation would rise once more as a result of the VAT and fuel increases.

In the sharpest reaction, Andrew said: "Finance Minister Derek Keys has failed to achieve the targets that he set for himself and the Budget. No amount of juggling with the figures should be allowed to disguise that."

However, he said positive elements of the Budget were equal pensions for all races, the paying of part of the fuel levy to regional services councils, bringing previously off-Budget items into the Budget and introducing tax exemptions on retrenchment packages.

Row over invites for FW, Mandela

BRUSSELS — A senior Euro-MP accused the African-Caribbean-Pacific (ACP) group of Third World countries of political immaturity yesterday for snubbing President F W de Klerk. (3047)

Italian Euro-MP Maria Luisa Cassanmagnago-Cerretti said the countries had proved "their lack of political maturity" by refusing to invite De Klerk to a conference in Gaborone.

The conference, a twice-yearly assembly of 69 members each from the European Parliament and the ACP countries, is sched-

uled to debate relations with a "democratic SA" between March 29 and April 2.

Last year the Euro-MPs and ACP countries sent invitations for the conference to De Klerk and to ANC president Nelson Mandela.

But Cassanmagnago-Cerretti said the ACP group had informed her yesterday that they were no longer prepared to allow De Klerk to come.

The Euro-MPs, therefore, decided to withdraw Mandela's invitation as well, she said.

She said there had been strong rumours that the

ACP was objecting to SA's alleged involvement in renewed fighting in Angola.

The Euro-MPs suggested that Angolan President Jose Eduardo dos Santos be invited to the conference along with De Klerk and Mandela.

The compromise was, however, turned down.

Cassanmagnago-Cerretti said the snub to De Klerk "adds insult to injury" after the ACP countries had rejected a European Parliament report last year which criticised them for their record on democracy and human rights. — Sapa-AFP.

'Fear must be addressed'

LLOYD COUTTS

MORE Afrikaners would find a political home in the ANC if the organisation was given an opportunity to convey its views without distortion, ANC spokesman Carl Niehaus said yesterday.

Addressing a meeting at Rand Afrikaans University (RAU), Niehaus said support from Afrikaners would come if the ANC could address fears about the preservation of the Afrikaans language and culture.

"There is no other political organisation in SA with a longer and stronger history of struggle for a non-racial and democratic country. But even if you are not prepared to vote for us we still have a duty to address your fears so that you do not refuse to participate in the democratic process out of fear," he told students.

A settlement was needed soon on democratic elections. Broederbond control needed to be wrested from the SABC and security forces.

New York state set to push investment in SA

WASHINGTON — New York state is talking to the ANC about ways to stimulate investment in SA once a multiracial government is in place, an aide to Governor Mario Cuomo said.

The final draft of a co-operation agreement to be signed by Cuomo and a new SA government would be ready soon, the executive director of Cuomo's advisory council on black affairs, Charles Moses, said.

"I hope we will take the lead. New York is uniquely equipped to carry out this mission."

Moses had been working on the text with ANC representatives and with the office of New York city mayor David Dinkins.

The agreement would extend New York's International Partnership Programme to SA. Countries currently participating included Poland, Lithuania, Ireland and Japan.

Benefits outlined in a draft now circulating include internships for SA blacks in New York's public health department, scholarships to state universities and technical colleges. The

SIMON BARBER

state might also establish a trade mission in SA, and would be on the record favouring investment.

Areas in which assistance would be offered included small business development, trade and investment promotion, education, science, public health, medical care and agriculture.

"When we get this thing signed, you're going to see a lot of exciting things happen," Moses said.

He said he had begun discussing the idea with Cuomo in 1991 as an alternative to sanctions legislation which the state assembly had refused to enact.

Moses said the date of signature, January 18 1993, had nothing to do with ANC President Nelson Mandela's presence in the US for President Bill Clinton's inauguration.

He said it would be up to Mandela and the ANC to decide whether it could be signed by the transitional executive expected to take power this year, or to wait for an interim government.

Stanley Uys in London on Britain's malaise and the lesson it holds for SA

Falling apart without a centre

STAAL 18/3/93

304/4

NEVER in the 16 years that I have lived in London have I seen the British nation so tortuously engaged in searching its soul.

Pessimism and cynicism are everywhere. All the great institutions are under critical scrutiny — monarchy, parliament, Church, judiciary, press, police, family life, not to speak of the economy, welfare state, education and the rest. The cynics are cutting great swathes with their scythes in the national life. A bit like home, isn't it?

The few optimists who are still around suggest that it is all cyclical — that nations have their ups and downs, and that Britain presently is just having a down. But when 49 percent of people polled say they would like to emigrate, the malaise is deeper-seated.

Some blame Margaret Thatcher — for leaving John Major enormous unsolved problems after

creating a Britain in which only the sharp-elbowed could survive. But Major was Chancellor of the Exchequer during Thatcher's reign, so he can't slough off all responsibility, although it is becoming plain by the day that Thatcher misjudged him hugely when she thought he was a Thatcherite.

Major is turning out to be the most unpopular Conservative Prime Minister since World War 2, and the watchers on the Tory ramparts are hinting that he may have to go before the next election in 1997 (preceded by Norman Lamont as Chancellor).

The limit of Major's present ambition, or so some of his critics say, is to manage Britain's decline. To one critic, this means for the Tories steering the country by the seat of its pants, and treating survival as a principal objective.

Last weekend, the Sunday Times described Major as a Prime Minister at bay, no longer

even in command of his party — the Conservative Party is in a crisis that can no longer be disguised and Major's leadership, if not yet in danger, is being increasingly questioned.

But while Major's (and the Conservative Party's) popularity slump in the polls, Labour is widely seen as a busted flush. The collapse of socialism in eastern Europe and beyond has robbed all of Europe's parties of the Left of ideological purpose. The theory is widespread now that two-thirds of Britain are affluent and one-third poor, and that the affluent two-thirds will always vote Tory, leaving no future for Labour.

This brings me to my hobby-horse — that a country needs a Centre, otherwise things fall apart. I have argued in this column that this is South Africa's central need. Britain has no Centre these days, and the falling apart of this once proud society is

pitiful to behold.

Various reasons are offered why Britain has no Centre. One is that it has failed to absorb the lessons of the end of the Cold War. According to this theory, it served Western interests to bind the European, US and Asian economies together by set boundaries of prosperity against communism's advance on both the Atlantic and Pacific littorals. But now that the Cold War is over, the world economy will change its contours dramatically.

"For Britain", says Will Hutton in *The Guardian*, "the implications are awesome: the new order will unmask Britain's position for what it is. The Cold War of capital mobility, plentiful inward investment and footloose multinationals allowed the UK to sustain its prosperity to consume and import too much, relying on foreign capital to bail it out. As the world unravels, so the need to consume

less, invest and export more on our own behalf will become more urgent. No corner of the national economy will be left untouched."

The Cold War was responsible for more than making British economic policy go haywire. Politically, it gave Britain much of its purpose and direction.

The other proffered explanation is that Britain lacks a Centre because the government lacks an opposition. How can a Centre be sustained, it is argued, if both the government and the opposition are directionless?

Which brings me to South Africa. The starting point of the new South Africa, surely, will be to create an organic Centre? And, as I have suggested before, that Centre must now be the power-sharing Cabinet, however weird a con-traption it turns out to be. A major element of the new consti-

tution will be regionalism (the coy word for federalism), and it will necessarily be an indispensable element, otherwise all manner of groups will not be taken on board.

But it must be understood that federalism will weaken rather than strengthen the organic Centre, so the power-sharing Cabinet will have to be viable enough and self-contained enough to stand on its own feet, even if it is surrounded by federal states. This is the minimum requirement, because even if an organic Centre can be created, there is no certainty that it will be able to deliver the goods.

If the power-sharing Cabinet succeeds, there is a reasonable guarantee that the conditions which brought it into existence will still prevail after the end of the proposed five-year period. If it falls, there is an absolute guarantee that the new South Africa will never be born. □

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...rate was announced, and April

id yesterday by Inland Revenue
...Hartingh.

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Property Services (Ampros)
uld absorb the four percent
n all residential land sales
end of June.

big blow' — Page 8

...Mrs Nontando Daki,
70, (left) and Mrs Khulukazi Baleka, 76.

Party costs go up

By ANTHONY JOHNSON
Political Correspondent

THE price of partying has gone up.

Finance Minister Mr Derek Keys
yesterday slapped additional "sin"
taxes on a wide range of alcohol and
tobacco products. The adjustments
take immediate effect.

The minister said they would gener-
ate additional income for the state
coffers of R320 million in 1993/94.

The increases include:
● Beer: 48c a litre or about 2c a
340ml can or dumpy (increased rev-
enue of R112m).

● Spirits: 37,7c a 750ml bottle
(R50m).

● Cigarettes: 2,45c per 10 and 5c per
50 grams of cigarette tobacco (R99m).

● Pipe tobacco and cigars: 5c per kg
(R400 000).

● Wine (fortified, unfortified and
sparkling): 4c per 750ml bottle
(R18,8m).

● Sorghum beer and beer powder:
1c a litre and 5c a kg (R6m).

● Cool drinks and mineral water: 2c
a litre (R34m).

● Alcohol firms react — Page 9
CT 18/3/93

Picture: BENNY GOOL

Pensioners happy over increases

Staff Reporters

ALL social pensioners
will receive an increase
of at least 7,5% from July
1, Finance Minister Mr
Derek Keys announced
in his budget.

The increase will also
apply to other social al-
lowances and will cost
the state R521,5 million.

Black pensioners
reacted happily yester-
day to the increase.
Among pensioners
visited, some were sing-
ing, ululating and shout-
ing at the top of their
voices.

Their increase, once
parity is reached, is an
effective R77 per month
— or 26,2%. In Septem-
ber, all pensioners will
receive R370.

Chairman of the
Phumani Organisation
for the Aged, Mr Sonny
Tyatyam, said both the
increase and the parity
were "great news" and
were very welcome.

MPs get 37% increase

By BARRY STREEK
Political Staff

A 37% INCREASE in the salaries,
allowances and benefits of MPs
— up to R78,4m from R57,2m —
includes an increase of R16m for
new cars for parliamentarians.

The increases in allowances
and subsidies for MPs comes at a
time when the government is re-
fusing to budge on demands for
additional increases in salaries
for teachers and public servants
— although MPs will receive the
public sector five percent in-

A spokesman for the Depart-
ment of State Expenditure said
yesterday 119 MPs became eligi-
ble to buy new cars this year. Last
year only 15 MPs were entitled to
buy cars under the car subsidy
scheme.

The total budget for Parlia-
ment in the 1993/4 financial year
is R113,7m — an increase of
R27,2m over the last financial
year. Most of this increase, R21m,
is for the "salaries, allowances
and other benefits".

The increases included an
extra R2,5m for constituency al-
lowances and R2,8m for salary
improvements (the 5% increase)
during the 1993/4 financial year.

In the last financial year,
R55,2m was provided for the sala-
ries, allowances and benefits for
MPs and a further R2m provided
under the Improvement of Condi-
tions of Service vote.

The budget for the President's
Council, which is to be abolished
soon, has also been increased
from R9,7m to R10,7m.

F
40
45
85
10
19
13

Cabinet homes row: FW announces probe

Political Correspondent

PRESIDENT De Klerk has announced a four-man panel of private sector experts to investigate the controversial issue of compensation paid to cabinet ministers to stay in their own homes.

The panel will advise Mr De Klerk on the "suitability and cost-effectiveness" of the widely criticised scheme.

The panel will also be asked to comment on any other aspects of housing for political office-bearers which it believes may be relevant.

A spokesman said it was hoped they would report "within a month".

The panel comprises Mr Eric Field, executive chairman of Murray and Roberts, who will chair the panel; Mr Brian Kirschman, executive director of the South African Property Owners Association; Mr Julian Nagy, national director of the Ernst and Young consultancy; and Mr J G M van Straaten, managing-director of Urban Property Consultants, Urban Residences and Urban Townhouse Management.

W/MAIL 14/3 - 25/3/93

Excellence Through Education

RECTOR and VICE-CHANCELLOR

The present Rector and Vice-Chancellor has indicated his intention to retire from his position on 30 June 1993.

As the Chief Executive Officer of the institution, the post of the Rector and Vice-Chancellor at the University of Zululand offers exciting prospects. It requires the candidate to be a distinguished academic who has considerable administrative and managerial experience. He must be innovative, energetic and enterprising, be a good planner and be capable of executing his plans efficiently. Moreover, he must command both national and international respect.

Not only should he be capable of taking the University into the local community and of selling it overseas, but he should also be able to relate to the broader South African community. His human relations should be excellent and he should possess excellent communication skills. He should also be able to relate to the parents of the student community at the University.

The candidate should, therefore, both literally and figuratively have the capacity to take the University into the next century.

As he is the academic leader he should be a person who has distinguished himself in his field of interest, should be an academic with a brilliant academic record and considerable experience in teaching. He should have an impressive publications record and should have delivered papers at national and international conferences.

The successful incumbent must uphold fundamental human rights. He should be familiar with and committed to the mission statement, roles, goals and objectives of the University.

The appointee will be expected to assume duty as soon as possible.

An attractive remuneration package commensurate with the responsibilities and seniority of the post will be negotiated.

Persons who wish to nominate or submit an application, should write to: The Director: Personnel, University of Zululand, Private Bag X1001, KwaDlangezwa, 3886, Republic of South Africa, who will provide further particulars OR sent letters of application, with full curriculum vitae and names of three referees to The Secretary of Council at the same address.

Applications to reach this office no later than 30 April 1993.



University of Zululand

Human-Mundels 14532

ers is: "We have to give up power and comfort. In contrast, our main adversary, the ANC, has a much easier task. All it has to do is tell its followers: 'We are going to bring you power and comfort.'"

The NP's problems are compounded by simmering discontent in the party. It is known, for instance, that Frik van Deventer — once hand-picked by PW Botha — was sidelined to the Cape Provincial Executive Committee as MEC because of his resistance to what he termed "FW's bending over backwards" to accommodate the ANC.

Tension in the NP is mainly personified by Constitutional Development Minister Roelf Meyer and Local Government Minister Tertius Delpot, who for a long time have barely been on speaking terms, even while negotiating with the ANC.

Behind their conflict lie differing interpretations of how to deal with the ANC. The Delpot group prefers the conventional NP approach: take decisions unilaterally, lobby for support, then push these decisions through, whether or not the ANC agrees.

Meyer's supporters, on the other hand, have become more sophisticated in the negotiating art, and prefer to discuss issues until consensus is reached. Ordinary MPs accuse them of being "swallowed by the ANC".

Delpot was active behind the scenes in a mini-revolt against De Klerk during the Cape Congress in East London in September last year, which focused on what was termed De Klerk's "ungainly capitulation to ANC demands". It was seen as a way for the Cape NP to re-establish its influence in the party, against the backdrop of accusations that De Klerk was surrounding himself with an inner circle of Transvalers.

In the event, De Klerk delivered a conciliatory speech in East London. This held off an open revolt, although tensions are still simmering under the surface. Many Nats support him because they see him as the only person who can keep the NP

together.

Tension is also building up in the caucus because of the way De Klerk abandoned his promise during last year's referendum that there would be a rotating presidency and a second chamber with veto rights in the interim government.

Adding to the tension are demands by Natal MPs, led by Bartlett, that the government should form a Christian Democratic Alliance with Inkatha before the elections. The Meyer group was convinced by opinion polls that the alliance was not feasible. Believing any future government which excludes the ANC will perpetuate armed conflict, it has opted for power-sharing in a government of national unity with the ANC.

Ironically, efforts by white NP members to make overtures to the ANC have also been resisted by "coloured" MPs, who left the Labour Party to join the NP mainly because of a fear of the ANC. While providing the NP with a much wanted non-racial face, the "coloured" MPs are thwarting efforts to build bridges to black voters.

Their presence has also ensured that many white MPs will lose their seats after the elections to make space for "people of colour".

According to the NP's own calculations, the party will win 80 seats in a parliament of 400 members. Of these, at least 25 will be allocated to coloured and Indian members, leaving only 55 seats for the NP's white members, and even fewer for Afrikaners, its traditional support base. This means only current cabinet members can be reasonably certain of retaining their positions in parliament.

This is a major reason for the NP's lack of quality. MPs elected to parliament after 1989 knew they would only be there for a limited period. People better qualified for the job were not interested.

The only strong men left in parliament are the mavericks, like Hernus Kriel and Justice Minister Kobie Coetsee. Coetsee harbours grudges because his role in the present negotiations process has not been recognised. De Klerk's dramatic announcements of February 1990 were to a large degree based on Coetsee's recommendations.

Kriel, presently minister of police, is the only cabinet member apart from De Klerk with a strong following in the caucus. There is a growing belief that he may challenge Dawie de Villiers for the Cape leadership.

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Wheels come off the Nat machine

W/MAIL 14/3-25/3/93

SOLER

Divided and demotivated, the formerly formidable National Party organisational structure is in tatters. Supporters doubt the NP can adjust to changing circumstances and fight an effective non-racial election. CHRIS LOUW reports from parliament

AN investigation of the National Party has revealed an organisation that is demotivated, disorganised and debilitated. Gone is the image of the much-feared, well-oiled party machine that dominated South African politics for four decades. Speaking to a wide range of party organisers, MPs and other observers, *The Weekly Mail* found:

- There is such deep division over negotiations strategy that two key government ministers, Roelf Meyer and Tertius Delpoit, are hardly on speaking terms.
- Party organisers, the backbone of the structure, have been resigning in droves.
- There is serious frustration in the caucus because of broken referendum promises.
- At least 80 MPs who realise there is unlikely to be a place for them in a new parliament are openly neglecting their constituencies — the core of NP support.
- Leadership problems are surfacing, particularly in the Cape.
- Senior cabinet members have a tough time convincing younger colleagues not to leave the party. The latest example is MP for Hillbrow Hennie Bekker, whom party leaders this week managed to convince not to join Inkatha.
- Natal provincial leader George Bartlett's push for the NP to create a Christian Democratic Alliance with Inkatha is creating disagreements.
- The all-important post of running the election campaign is in the hands of a man whose primary experience is in losing. The amicable Claus van Zyl stood against Wyndand Malan in Randburg in



George Bartlett ... Favours a Christian Democratic Alliance

1987, and lost.

NP parliamentarians who expect to lose their seats spend their time looking for other sources of future income. They have little enthusiasm for the countrywide elections scheduled for April next year, they do not believe in the new direction forced upon them by the party since February 1990 and they are ill-prepared to bring the message of the new South Africa — which to them means the loss of power and influence — to their followers.

The recent retirement because of "exhaustion" of senior cabinet and party members, including Gerrit Viljoen, Barend du Plessis and Stoffel van der Merwe, is symptomatic. Men who promised white South Africa the paradise of apartheid now have to lead their unwilling followers in the opposite direction.

The continuous revelations of official corruption, the alleged involvement of parliamentarians in illegal and covert security force operations, and scandals involving housing subsidies and other "fringe benefits" to cabinet ministers serve to hide an ever more serious problem: the weakening of the party machine.

The past few months have seen the near-total collapse countrywide of NP party organisation



Roelf Meyer ... At odds with his fellow negotiator, Tertius Delpoit

at branch level. Gone are the days when party organisers were prepared to suffer financial hardships for "the cause".

Party funds are drying up at an alarming rate. The NP branch in Simonstown recently asked in the local newspaper for members to send their fees to the party office. For the NP, traditionally a door-to-door party, this amounts to a public admission of how thinly the organisation is spread on the ground.

The Cape National Party, with "coloured" support, will form the backbone of the NP in non-racial elections. But leader Dawie de Villiers is better known for his friendly smile and philosophical speeches than for his strategising. The chief secretary of the Cape National Party and De Villiers' right-hand man, Karel Greyling, is a virtual unknown, little more than a party apparition.

For most of its 45 years in power the NP has fought elections on the basis of "Afrikaner survival". Now, on the eve of the country's first non-racial elections, supporters doubt the NP's ability to adjust its tactics to fit the demands of the changing electorate.

One party organiser complained that the message the NP has to bring to its traditional follow-

W/M and 19/3-25/3/93.

(3044)

Panel probes govt perks

By ANTHONY JOHNSON
Political Correspondent

THE lucrative housing schemes enjoyed by cabinet ministers will be reviewed by private sector experts after the angry public outcry at ministers being paid thousands of rands a month to live in their own homes.

President F W de Klerk yesterday named a four-man panel to probe "the provision of housing to political office-bearers" and the "suitability" of the payment of allowances in lieu of the provision of official residences. The panel comprises Mr Eric Field, executive chairman of Murray and Roberts (chairman);

Mr Brian Kirschman, executive director of the South African Property Owners' Association; Mr Julian Nagy, national director of Ernst & Young; and Mr J G M van Straaten, managing director of Urban Property Consultants.

The panel is expected to produce a report within a month.

(304A)
**Govt slated
on accounts**

Political Staff

THE government and various departments have been strongly criticised by the all-party Joint Committee on Public Accounts for the lack of control.

The committee, whose latest report was tabled in Parliament yesterday, unanimously expressed "concern" about various administrative deficiencies, which had previously been reported by the Auditor-General.

In particular, it criticised deficient overall management and control of the Multilateral Motor Vehicle Accidents Fund, its improper planning, serious procedural shortcomings and its poor financial statements. **ET 19/3/93**

The committee said it had noted the steps taken to rectify the fund's deficiencies and shortcomings but it remained concerned about "the progressive weakening financial position of the fund".

Deadlock on Codesa status

Own Correspondent

JOHANNESBURG. —

Delegates hammering out ground rules for multiparty talks scheduled for April 1 deadlocked again last night on the status of Codesa agreements and the name for a new forum.

A facilitating committee meeting decided yesterday more time was needed to resolve issues and scheduled three additional meetings (304A)

The meeting agreed on the form of a four-tier structure composed of a plenary, a multi-party negotiating forum, a negotiating council and a planning committee.

The final decision on the status of 16 new parties wishing to participate in the process was left for the next meeting.

'Most NP members will boe black in future'

South Africa 19/3/98

Foreign Minister Pik Botha talks to the press on the eve of his meeting with the Clinton administration

THE National Party expects most future members to be black, says Foreign Minister Pik Botha.

Mr Botha told a news conference here that the National Party, whose backbone has traditionally been made up of Afrikaans-speakers, aimed to stay in power even after majority rule was established.

"We are actively canvassing and receiving increasing support from our black compatriots. Race and colour have disappeared from our party," he said.

"We intend to become the majority party in South Africa — and logically can only achieve this if the majority of our supporters are black."

Mr Botha said claims that the NP was seeking to secure a white veto to maintain influence in a non-racial South Africa were absurd.

"How could we do that if the majority of our party members are black? We want to get rid of colour, totally get rid of it," he said.

Mr Botha is to meet US Secretary of State Mr Warren Christopher today in the first official ministerial contact between the white government and the Clinton administration.

Rival South African groups are due to resume constitutional talks in Johannesburg on April 1 in a fresh bid to thrash out terms for transition to democracy after a violence-racked hiatus of almost

Mr Botha apologised for apartheid.

"It was a mistake. It was based on racial prejudice. It was morally indefensible."

Mr Botha caused a stir in February 1986 when he said it was possible South Africa could have a black president in future.

He was harshly repudiated by then President P W Botha, who gave him a severe dressing down in parliament. — Mr Botha was repeatedly questioned about a Washington Post report yesterday, which said US officials feared South Africa was hiding enriched uranium from its nuclear programme, in spite of having joined the nuclear non-proliferation treaty in 1991.

He gave an assurance that doubts expressed by senior members of the Clinton administration about South Africa's nuclear programme and its alleged stockpile of weapons grade uranium "will be removed within the next two weeks."

He refused to explain how this would be done, but his statement follows the increasingly public expression of concern in the Clinton administration about South Africa's nuclear policy, and the country's programme for the production of advanced missiles and other weapons of mass destruction.

Today it became clear that the issue had become one of



HOWDY: Foreign Minister Pik Botha is greeted by Clalborne Pell, chairman of the US Senate Foreign Relations Committee, prior to his meeting with US Secretary of State, Warren Christopher, in Washington today.

the major, and most controversial, subjects on the agenda of their talks.

Coinciding with his visit, the Washington Post published a front page news report yesterday on the misgivings in Washington about South Africa's nuclear weapons capability and the development of technology to deliver weapons of mass destruction — the so-called South African space pro-

gramme, which US officials say differs in no respect whatsoever from a programme for weapons of mass destruction.

At a breakfast for South African journalists, Mr Botha conceded that the issue was a problem and said: "As from the date of our signing of the Nuclear Non-proliferation Treaty on July 10 1991, we have completely conformed with our commitments under

the treaty, and all the agreements and guarantees we have entered into.

"Whatever doubts or suspicions there might be as to what the position was before South Africa signed the Nuclear Non-proliferation Treaty, whatever doubts, they will be removed within the next two weeks. I can take it no further, and I ask for your understanding." When asked how such doubts would be re-

moved, and what credibility there would be to his undertaking if he was unable to say what new assurances might be forthcoming, he said: "No further comment."

reprocess it in the US as nuclear fuel. US officials have also expressed concern about a Russian report which noted that during an inspection visit to South Africa, Russian inspectors of the International Atomic Energy Agency were not allowed to visit an installation in the Kalahari which they had long suspected was a site for nuclear testing.

Mr Botha said that since South Africa's accession to the NPT, there had been inspections by officials of the International Atomic Energy Agency and there had been guarantees. "They have visited installations and have made reports and we have complied in every respect with our obligations under the treaty."

In the mid-1970s the Soviet Union released satellite photographs at the United Nations purporting to show a site for the testing of a nuclear device in the Kalahari. Reference to Russian concerns about South Africa's nuclear programme are included in a White House report prepared by the former Bush administration, in which that administration also expresses its "grave doubts" about the reliability of the South African government's declarations of the quantity of its weapon grade nuclear material.

In public comments, senior members of the Clinton administration have raised doubts about South Africa's declarations under the treaty. In evidence to the Senate earlier this month, the new director of the Central Intelligence Agency, Mr James Woolsey, said the administration had grave doubts about the validity of the South African government's declaration of the quantity of weapons grade uranium in the country's possession.

According to US nuclear experts, as little as 10 kilos of highly enriched uranium are needed for a nuclear weapon. Such quantities, they point out, are easily concealed. They have not revealed what the basis is of their suspicions or doubts about the government's declarations on the matter, but it is widely believed that they have concerns about the records kept on highly enriched uranium, and the apparent disappearance of a quantity of material.



Heir apparent? ... Some rightwingers favour replacing CP leader Andries Treurnicht with his deputy, Ferdi Hartzenberg

CP tries to heal the rifts

W/Mail 19/3 - 25/3/93

The Conservative Party's participation in multilateral talks has caused friction on the right. A special congress this weekend will attempt to prevent a further split, reports JAN TALJAARD

A CONGRESS of crises is looming for the Conservative Party. With its sixth biennial congress scheduled for the weekend, the question of whether or not to negotiate is threatening to widen existing rifts within the party.

Traditionally held in September, the congress was rescheduled for this weekend in an apparent attempt to exorcise discontent among party members.

A press release issued by CP general secretary Len Theron on Wednesday termed the congress "the most important in the history of the CP". The agenda will comprise points for discussion brought forward from the four provincial congresses.

The congress will be preceded by a public meeting to be addressed by CP leader Dr Andries Treurnicht today in Pretoria.

Speculation is rife that the CP executive may unveil more militant details of its plans for mobilisation to placate hardliners at the grass roots.

Sources say this discontent stems directly from the CP's participation in the recent multiparty planning conference, with the minute of silence for the victims of political violence being a particular bone of contention.

A hardline faction, including CP MPs Andrew Gerber, Joseph Chiole and Charl Hertzog, actively favour the replacement of Treurnicht with his deputy, Dr Ferdi Hartzenberg. Ironically Hartzenberg formed

part of the CP's team at the planning conference.

CP fundamentalists have difficulty coming to terms with the minute's silence, as a religious gesture in which "Moor and Mohammedan" and members of other races also participated.

Another nervous party faction is the Natal CP under the leadership of Carel Werth. They want to know whether the CP's plans for the future include the Natal region — and if it will be sacrificed by the CP as a pawn in the negotiating process.

Militants also oppose their party's participation in constitutional talks on the grounds that they voted "no" in the referendum, denoting that they do not want to negotiate.

Sources say, however, that it is unlikely that this discontent will lead to the ousting of Treurnicht. Even those opposed to Treurnicht realise that to depose him at this stage will only lead to further disarray within the party,

they say.

The tensions may however drive to its logical conclusion last year's split, which started with the breakaway of MP Andries Beyers to establish the Afrikaner Volksunie (AVU).

If the congress adopts a more militant stance and downplays negotiations, this may cause those CP members who lacked the courage to leave with Beyers, to finally take the plunge.

Reinforcing such a possibility is the recent defection of CP MP Koos "Bomber" Botha to the AVU.

Meanwhile, the Herstigte Nasionale Party, that diehard gang of hopefuls, has already moved in an attempt to capitalise on the tensions inside the CP.

Early this week leader Jaap Marais shuttled down to Cape Town under the guise of addressing a public meeting at Malmesbury. It is believed he used the opportunity to actively lobby hardliners and former HNP members such as Chiole.

With the CP viewed as a "defector" to negotiations, the HNP is positioning itself as the last true bulwark of white political resistance against the new South Africa.

The HNP is also planning a media conference for tomorrow. Insiders say Marais will come out strongly against CP participation in talks, while at the same time claiming that the HNP is now the true home of the 875 000 people who voted "no" in the referendum.

304A

Star 1913193
(304A)

MP: remarks about Broederbond distorted

By Peter Fabricius
Political Correspondent

CAPE TOWN — Germiston National Party MP Derek Christophers claimed yesterday that reports on his critical remarks about the Broederbond had been distorted.

He addressed the NP caucus in Parliament about his remark that there was a huge cover-up of corruption by very senior government officials to protect members of the Broederbond.

He had made the remarks in a taped telephone conversation with former audit official Jaap Serfontein, The Star revealed on Wednesday.

His explanation to the caucus had been accepted and his standing in the party was not in jeopardy, NP sources said.

In a press statement yesterday Christophers said he had made the remarks about the Broederbond only to take advantage of Serfontein's "fixation" with the organisation and

coax information from him.

Christophers, a member of Parliament's joint standing committee on public accounts, had been speaking to Serfontein about his investigations into corruption in the Multilateral Motor Vehicle Accidents Fund.

Serfontein had told him he had information which he wished to bring to the State President's attention urgently. He asked had Christophers to arrange a meeting with De Klerk because he wished to clear his name.

"To try to persuade him to hand over the information, I hammered on his fixation with the Broederbond.

"On the strength of the information I would decide whether I could arrange a meeting for him with the State President."

But Serfontein never gave him the information.

His efforts to do his duty were being distorted to serve private agendas contrary to the national interest, he said.

SA can't afford poll later than end of next year — Meyer

Star 19/8/93
(304A)

Political Staff

CAPE TOWN — South Africa could not afford to hold its first nonracial election later than the end of next year, according to the Government's chief negotiator, Minister of Constitutional Development Roelf Meyer.

Meyer told a gathering of invited businessmen and academics in Cape Town last night that despite the risks of violence and intimidation during the run-up to the ballot, it was a vital step in South Africa's constitutional development. There was no choice but to go ahead with it.

Meyer said in response to questions that fears of a violent election campaign were valid, but added: "We simply have no choice."

A crucial part of the negotiation process was to determine how much support parties had.

This was not only important in determining who would be represented in the transitional

government to be formed after the election, but also in endowing it with legal measures that could be partially effective in reducing violence.

But, ultimately, only a political settlement would bring lasting stability.

Already, the negotiation process had generated a spirit of reconciliation among parties.

Meyer said 1993 was a critical year.

He added: "All South Africans face a choice this year — either we negotiate, or we retreat into the laager and prepare for a civil war that would destroy the whole country."

One of the gravest dilemmas of the year was the contradiction between seeking agreements with negotiating partners while preparing for an election battle against them.

"This places us under great pressure and will require an enormous responsibility from all parties."

Negotiation process structure determined

Star 19/3/93

By Esther Waugh
Political Reporter

(304A)

The resumed negotiations process is taking shape after negotiators last night agreed on a structure which would eventually lead the country from apartheid to democracy.

Representatives of 26 parties have not taken a decision on the name of the negotiating forum or the status of Codesa agreements.

The structure will place negotiations on a full-time basis after a two-day meeting of the multiparty negotiating forum starting on April 1.

The highest level of the five-tier structure will be plenary sessions, where agreements will be formally adopted. They will be attended by the leaders of organisations and nine delegates.

The next level will be a multiparty negotiating forum comprising three delegates and two

advisers from each group. The forum, which will meet fortnightly, is therefore similar in composition to the multi-party planning conference held earlier this month. It will meet on April 1 and 2 at the World Trade Centre.

The forum's main function will be to receive and confirm reports and proposals from the negotiating council.

The negotiating council, comprising one delegate and two advisers from each organisation, will be the place where the real negotiations will take place. It will meet three or four times a week.

A planning committee will comprise 10 members appointed in their personal capacity and not as representatives of organisations. It will meet on an ongoing basis after April 2.

Several names — including Codesa or a combination of Codesa and one of other suggested names — are under discussion.

Ordinary voters do not need to be educated

BIDM 19/3/93

AS IF violence, unemployment and poverty were not enough, SA is about to be pulverised by "voter education". To those once mocked for advocating a qualified franchise based partly on education, this no doubt has an amusing side.

A case can be made for supplying voters with technical information: how voters will be identified; how double-voting will be prevented; how delimitation works; and so on. If the country changes to proportional representation, its intricacies will need to be explained.

Secret balloting is presumably well known to millions of members of trade unions, civic and religious associations, cultural bodies, and political organisations who used it to elect their leaders. At least, one hopes they did.

Beyond these technicalities, voter education is problematic. It presupposes that better educated people make more rational choices. The enthusiasm with which Hitler was embraced by the Germans, one of the most highly educated nations in Europe, puts paid to any such presumed link. Our own history suggests that "the masses" — ordinary people — are more sensible than some of the elites who will take it upon themselves to do the educating.

During the '80s a dozen opinion surveys showed that 50%-80% of South Africans (blacks included) rejected economic sanctions, which have brought their predictable ravages. Politicians here and abroad are now bemoaning the desperate straits of the economy, due in part to sanctions. Who can doubt that the masses had more wisdom than some of the elites, foreign governments and other agencies who imposed sanctions on them but now wish to educate them about politics?

Visiting Stockholm some years ago, I was told by a Swedish foreign trade ministry official that the surveys were throwing up the anti-sanctions results because they relied largely on illiterate workers and peasants "who probably don't understand the issues at stake". Her reason for dismissing black opinion on sanctions was the same as that of white verkramptes for denying blacks the vote.

Opinion surveys also showed strong support for the ANC, then still banned. How does one explain the apparent contradiction between support for the ANC and simultaneous rejection of one of its major policies? Simply. People were showing that they wanted drastic change, but not at any price. They rejected the

notion that the end justifies the means. This shows more political maturity than those whose ideologies assume the opposite.

In 1989 opinion polls showed that most people of all races favoured open residential areas. It was not until two years later that Parliament caught up with their enlightenment by repealing the Group Areas Act. Opinion polls have also shown that most people of all races reject violence while favouring power-sharing, constraints upon presidential power and substantial autonomous powers for provinces, cities and towns.

At the end of 1991, when journalists, diplomats and politicians thought a constitutional quick-fix would come about in 1992 and kick-start the economy, only a third of blacks expressed optimism about the year ahead. Last year's disasters showed the majority were right.

Polls can be wrong, and electorates can sometimes fall victim to demagoguery, brainwashing or the

latest fashions in political correctness. But there is no evidence that ordinary people are more susceptible to this than political elites. Judging by the rational choices they have expressed in opinion polls, it must be questioned whether ordinary people here need education about voting, other than about the mechanics. However, voters will probably need plenty of convincing that they will be free to vote as they please and that ballots will be secret.

Implicit in many of the views that voters need education is the view that they need to be educated to be tolerant of political opposition. But one needs to ask what the origins of political intolerance might be. Apartheid is an ideology predicated upon intolerance. Communism is also predicated upon political intolerance.

Who fell in love with Marxism? Was it the intellectuals or the masses? Who invented the ideology of apartheid? Was it supposedly ignorant blue-collar workers or intellectuals such as Verwoerd?

The track records of many political organisations disqualify them from educating the masses about tolerance. The less said about the record of the NP the better. Is there any reason to believe all their oppo-

nents are that much better? In a sea of poverty and ignorance, university campuses — English and Afrikaans, black, white, and mixed — are islands of privilege and knowledge but not of wisdom or tolerance. They will no doubt still host plenty of conferences on how to educate the masses.

Real voter education means educating people to be distrustful of ideologies and sceptical about the promises of politicians. It also means educating people to be suspicious of voter education packages such as the one putting about the fab that "all it takes" for better housing, jobs, water and so on to come about is "enough votes". It's doubtful that the elites are contemplating telling people to be sceptical, but the voters probably do not need to be told.

Who needs education about democracy? Who will teach the elites — like the Swedish official or the UN, EC and Commonwealth sanctioners — to respect and not despise the opinions of ordinary people? Quis custodiet ipsos custodes? Who will police the police? Who will monitor the monitors? Who will educate the educators?

□ Kane-Berman is SA Institute of Race Relations executive director.

LETTERS

THE TRANSITION FM 19/3/93

Late but essential (304A)

With negotiations tentatively back on track, increasing attention will now be focused on efforts to restore peace and bring armed groups under civil control before an election. The role of the SA Police, and SADF in particular, will need to be clearly defined and agreed on.

At a weekend conference in Cape Town, security issues consultant and Cape Town University's Centre for Intergroup Studies director Laurie Nathan said the SADF should be confined to barracks during the election campaign. He added that a UN monitoring force was essential to ensure free elections.

At a Sanlam symposium, also in Cape Town last week political analyst and PFP former leader Frederik Van Zyl Slabbert said political agreement on the role of the security forces was a prerequisite for successful transition.

Civil-military pacts had proved essential to transitions worldwide. SA started "late in the day" to tackle the issue. Initially the ANC regarded the security forces as President FW de Klerk's problem, but joint efforts were under way and progress was being made, as evidenced by last week's meeting in Natal between Law & Order Minister Hernus Kriel and ANC Natal Midlands leader Harry Gwala.

Slabbert said there was a reasonable chance the April 1994 deadline for elections would be met if there was agreement on the security forces' role. He added that a "development pact" between main parties would remove another issue of potentially serious conflict from the election platform.

"If we move into an election with the main parties fundamentally opposed on economic policy, the campaign will tear the country apart. It will be a fight over how to develop the country rather than a joint commitment to development." Slabbert said the likely outcome of the negotiators failing to reach "sufficient consensus" to take the process forward was either a clampdown on opposition or a referendum to seek a mandate to go on with the process.

Success in a referendum would marginalise those parties that may be delaying the process. To marginalise radical groups further after the election the new government would need to ensure delivery in areas such as job creation and education. If the new government could not deliver, the political centre would not hold, which could lead to a clampdown to restore stability — as was happening in Zambia.

Other analysts believe the imperative for the main parties to work together will be driven by the absence of overwhelming domination by a single group. The head of political studies at the University of the Western Cape, Vincent Maphai, says checks and balances inherent in the balance of power between the main political groups has saved the country from disintegrating even further into full-scale civil war.

In an article for a special report on preparing for democracy published this month by *Die Suid-Afrikaan*, Maphai says no single party or political force is in a position to impose its programme on others.

This situation is likely to exist for at least

the next decade and possibly longer and is SA's "best hope" for a more tolerant society.

"The business sector and the labour movement are other key actors in a similar position. Each is strong enough not to be ignored but too weak to go it alone. These factors cumulatively place definite constraints on the activities of all the main political players. In fact they are increasingly constrained to think in terms of alliances and pacts, rather than one-party systems. This in itself is an education for the political tolerance re-

quired for democracy."

However, he warns that unless a stable political settlement is achieved, the "disparate centres of power" may become important sources of destabilisation.

"A political settlement which establishes the rules of the game is necessary for a democratic transition. After all, a shared commitment to the rules of the game is what

political tolerance is all about. Democracy essentially means playing the game according to the rules whereby losers have to accept defeat but are not eliminated and remain in play for the next round. Tolerance does not mean there can be no winner, only that the winner does not take it all."

Maphai says SA's political organisations show marked tensions between principle and reality.

They are committed to democracy as their goal, but their behaviour towards rival organisations is often undemocratic.

Democracy cannot tolerate "liberated zones" and "no-go areas" for political rivals. He says political tolerance will not be fostered by "mere pious platitudes" from political leaders, but needs organisational and institutional transformation at all levels. ■



Slabbert ... civil-military pacts essential to transitions

THE WEEKLY MAIL
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one of the legends of world photography arrives in South Africa next week to open an exhibition of his work, jointly organised by *The Weekly Mail*. For a tribute to Alfred Eisenstaedt, turn to our Photographic Review, to be found inside *The Guardian Weekly*

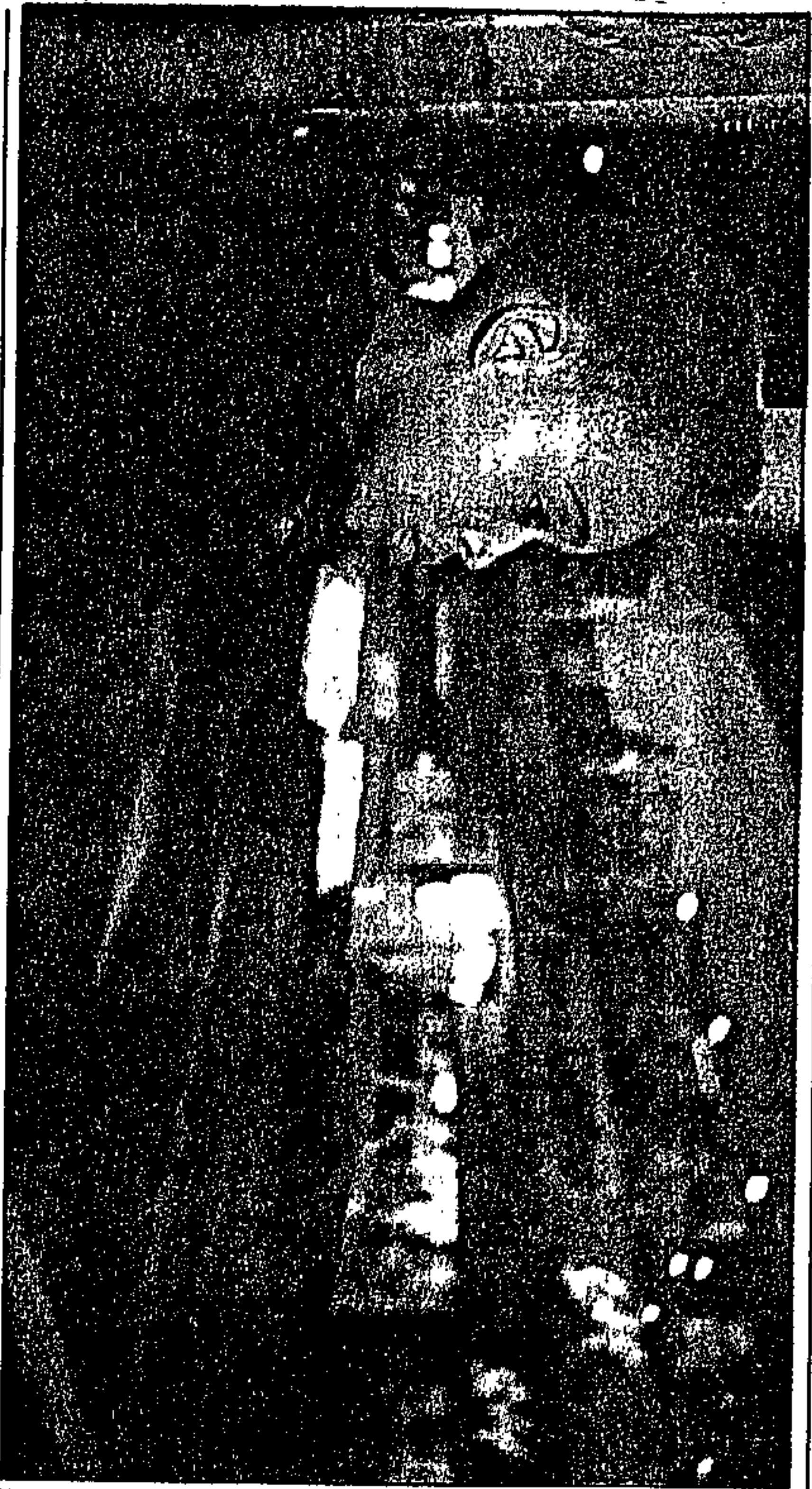
... of the party machine
 mass defections from FW's party machine

Rudderless

Nats in disarray



Not such good friends ...
 Roelf Meyer and Tertius Delpot



The invisible return of the pass raid

ANYONE walking down a South African street without an ID book is liable to be arrested. Sound like a grotesque fantasy? Not really; some 5 000 people have been arrested that way in the past two months. And of them, more than 1 200 were innocent of any crime

See PAGE 3

Strugglistas on the solidarity trail

FOR years they picketed South African embassies and boycotted South African wines, passionately adopting a cause thousands of miles away. Now that it's politically right-on to visit South Africa, there's been a flood of visiting "strugglistas", here at last to see the site of their long-distance struggles

See PAGE 11

It is late at night on a busy Hillbrow corner. 'Pretty', who claims to be 17, has been working the streets for three years, one of many young girls who have fled violent or impoverished homes to join a burgeoning trade in prostitution. See article on PAGE 12

Photo: GUY ADAMS

Mail 1913-25/3/93 3044

THE National Party is demotivated, disorganised and debilitated. Speaking to a wide range of party organisers, MPs and other observers, *The Weekly Mail* found this week:

- There is such deep division over negotiations strategy that two key government ministers, Roelf Meyer and Tertius Delpot, are hardly on speaking terms.
- Party organisers, the backbone of the structure, are resigning in droves.
- There is serious frustration in the caucus because of broken referendum promises.
- At least 80 MPs who realise there is unlikely to be a place for them in a new parliament are openly neglecting their constituencies — the core of NP support.
- Senior cabinet members have a tough time convincing younger colleagues not to leave the party. The latest example is MP for Hillbrow Hennie Bekker, whom party leaders this week persuaded not to join Inkatha.
- The public may still believe in the image of a formidable party machine, as in the days of Verwoerd, Vorster and Botha. But the reality is that the NP under FW de Klerk has lost most of its organisational capability.

See PAGE 2

A BUNCH of regional chauvinists hankering to turn back the clock, or a legitimate new voice joining the chorus for a federal system of government?

Whatever the case, the Free Cape Movement — which held its first public meeting in Cape Town recently — is ringing the right bells for those who believe the Cape would not only be capable of, but also better off, governing itself under a federal dispensation.

Co-founder and spokesman Christopher Hill, a businessman who settled in the Cape after leaving Zimbabwe a few years after independence, claims the movement raised R32 000 virtually overnight after running its first advertisement in Cape newspapers last week. Formed about three months ago, it claims 2 000 signed-up members and "tens of thousands of supporters", according to Hill. Run by a five-person committee (all of them white), Hill says one third of members are coloured people while the rest — bar about 50 or 60 black members — are white. At the end of this month, the movement will open an office in Claremont, to be run by a full-time secretary.

Hill says the Free Cape Movement speaks for people in the region who feel they're "in a lifeboat chained to the railings of the Titanic". The iceberg, in this case, is the threat of the Cape being ruled by either a dominant, uncaring central government, or "godless communist doctrines".

This antipathy towards both Pretoria and the African National Congress has drawn the movement into a liaison with the Inkatha Federal Party. Hill spoke at an IFP meeting in Cape Town last month, drawing cheers from an almost all-white, middle-class audience with rousing Free Cape rhetoric.

Cape of Good Riddance

Residents of the Cape who have long yearned to be rid of those money-bag Vaalies can turn to a new political group fighting for Cape autonomy, reports GAYE DAVIS

While the movement is considering a "federal alliance" with KwaZulu, Bophuthatswana, the Ciskei and "similar movements" in the northern and eastern Cape, it (some what paradoxically) rejected an invitation to join the Concerned South Africans Group because, says Hill, "we don't want *boersvats* or homelands or ethnic divisions in a vote". What the movement does want is autonomous regional government for

the Cape, within a federal framework. "We don't see a unilateral declaration of independence as a viable option," says Hill, "but we do wish to reclaim the natural course of the Cape's history. If we hadn't gone into the Union of South Africa in 1910, we'd be a self-governing territory — and it would be non-racial, because at that time there were no race qualifications."

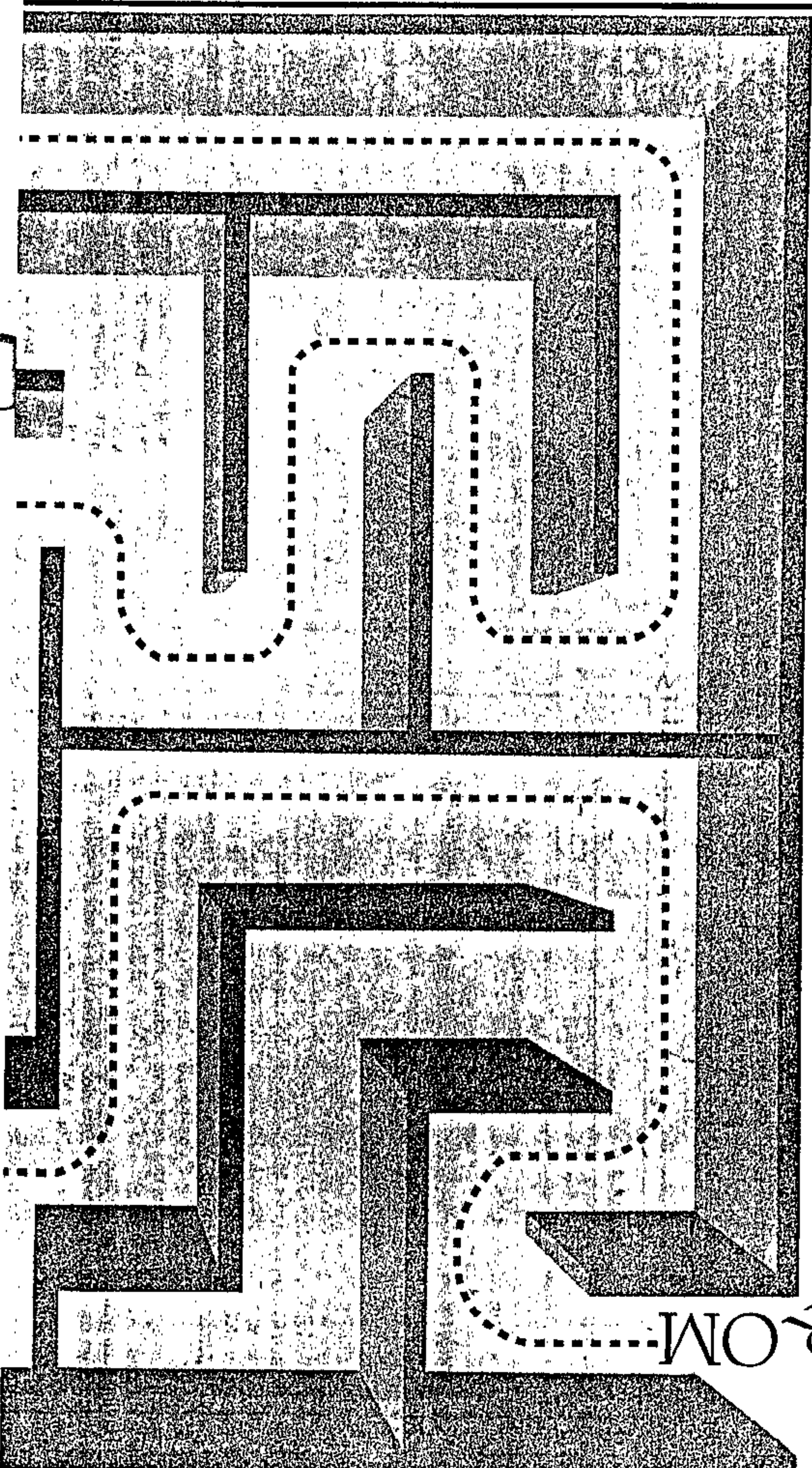
With a population as big as Ireland's, territory two-thirds the size of France, "an economy equivalent to that of Mauritius and education levels higher than those in Taiwan before that country's boom, the Cape could "grow like a rocket", according to Hill.

So far, the movement has been lobbying western Cape MPs "to choose between Pretoria and their constituents". If enough of them decided in favour of self-government for the Cape, they could hold the government over a barrel when it came to acquiring the necessary two-thirds majority to change the constitution, Hill believes.

"We would only become a political party if western Cape MPs weren't prepared to unshackle themselves from Pretoria, in which case we would field candidates against them. If elected, they would declare self-government for the Cape."

No western Cape MP has yet been persuaded to take this course. The Democratic Party's Roger Huley, who — along with National Party President's Council member Willem Steenkamp — helped draw up the movement's mission statement and offered advice, says his relationship with the Free Cape Movement ended there.

WE'VE ALWAYS SAVED OUR CLIENTS FROM



Various ^{Star 19/3/93} options

for land use aired

By ANITA ALLEN

INITIALLY, three options for land use of the Eastern Shores of Lake St Lucia were proposed: mining, tourism and forestry. Interested parties proposed another two: residential development and resettlement.

Agriculture was not considered viable due to inherently low fertility in the area, and the Department of Forestry agreed to phase out commercial forestry over the next 20 years.

Residential development was considered not feasible.

"Resettlement of displaced people as a land-use option was not considered during this EIA on the grounds that present government policy determined that the area would revert to conservation," the report says.

It was not within the brief of the EIA to comment on the legitimacy of resettlement claims. However, in view of the developments with respect to this issue in South Africa today, the report predicts that it is likely that valid claims will be settled by according some form of right.

The report concludes that both proponents of future land-use options on the Eastern Shores build this scenario and the possibility of accommodating the outcomes of such claims into their land-use plans. □

^{Star 19/3/93} Govt assurance

MINISTER of Environment Affairs Louis Pienaar has given an assurance that the Government's decision on the St Lucia mine would depend on whether the project would cause "irreparable harm to the unique ecosystems" of the area.

"No decisions will be taken by the government until the evaluations and recommendations of the review panel under the chairmanship of Mr Justice Leon are available," he said. — Political Staff. □

(304A)

REGIONAL POWERS

The middle way *FM 19/3/93.*

The Consultative Business Movement (CBM) report on regionalism in SA — compiled by a team of 19 local and international experts led by Anglovaal's Clive Menell — presents the kind of calm, rational look at this hot topic that strengthens the case of those who would turn the whole project of crafting a new constitution over to experts.

But the job is to be done by the politicians; acceptance of this is now so entrenched that any other method is unlikely.

The Inkatha Freedom Party, together with its unlikely allies in the Concerned South Africans Group, served notice from the outset of Codesa that it wants nothing

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CURRENT AFFAIRS

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less than "federalism." At the recent multi-party planning conference, Inkatha said it wants the "form of State," including regional boundaries and powers, to be determined before an election; and that these should be constitutionally entrenched and beyond the reach of an elected constitution-making body.

The CBM report argues, however, that "it is important to avoid prematurely deciding on the functions and powers of regional government."

In the interests of a democratic constitution-making process, irrespective of the mode of transition adopted by the parties, it says, two dangers can be identified if the politicians are too hasty:

- "Concluding the exact powers and functions of the region too early and in too much detail, thereby pre-empting participation and debate in the process"; and
- "Deciding on principles that are so broad and vague that their interpretation leads to conflict and dispute and they minimise confidence in the process on the part of some parties."

If the former applies to Inkatha, the latter pitfall seems inherent in the ANC's approach. Clearly, we need a middle way. ■

Dizzy ride on the roller coaster

W/Mail 19/3-25/3/93
South Africa's political power struggle is likely to be determined by prejudiced views about which is the 'real' face of the ANC

GOOD and evil are perhaps intrinsic to all political parties. But when the extremes are as vividly on parade as they are in the African National Congress, it makes for something of an emotional roller coaster.

Take, for example, an experience at the weekend. First there was the burial of the Mboyi children — the six high school pupils, from an Inkatha community, massacred two weeks ago by ANC members near the Natal capital of Pietermaritzburg. Although motive is not certain, it is probable that it was the culmination of a series of tit-for-tat killings in the course of which ANC members, or at least its supporters, were responsible for two other massacres over recent months, in which another 10 children died.

A couple of hours after that awful Mboyi funeral the other face of the ANC was on display. Sitting in a hall on the Pietermaritzburg campus of the University of Natal, in the noisy company of several hundred students, I was reflecting morosely on the likely fate of a country set to be governed by the murderers of children when a side door opened and the man walked in.

Nelson Mandela is impressive. There is something studied in his demeanour, in the dignity of his walk and speech and the pitch of his smile, which in others might seem the mannerisms of the political poseur. But in Mandela's case it comes across as the style of a man merely playing to the role in which history has cast him.

Speaking slowly and smiling on cue, he entranced his audience for 77 minutes with a reasoned and yet moving appeal for reconciliation, peace, and a commitment to the civilised standards of democracy which are far removed from the slaughter of children.

Unfortunately electorates do not enjoy the facility of correspondents in leaping communal divides. The outcome of the political power struggle in South Africa is likely to be determined more by prejudiced views as to which is the "real" face of the ANC than a balanced assessment of the good and evil intrinsic to a political organisation.

In the key province of Natal in particular, as the killing fields take on the additional aspect of electoral battle grounds, the outcome of the regional power struggle is difficult to anticipate. Polling assessments are confused. A recent survey by the Human Sciences Research Council (HSRC) gives Inkatha 37

per cent support in the province, a clear lead against the ANC's 21 per cent and the ruling National Party's 15 per cent. But the government-funded HSRC is regarded as pro-conservative and a more recent poll by an independent group, Research Surveys, shows Inkatha with 45 per cent support nationwide (against 11 per cent estimated by the HSRC) and, although a regional extrapolation is still being completed, it is expected to give it about 15 per cent in Natal.

However, the relevance of conventional polling to political realities of Natal is doubtful. Anti-apartheid activists engaged in various projects to "educate" inexperienced black voters in South Africa report that one of the major difficulties they face is the foreignness of secret balloting to tribal tradition, where the right of a community to know where individual allegiances lie is regarded as self-evident.

In an area like Natal, where the demands of survival have made physical polarisation so extreme on the ground, support at the polls is likely to be delivered more by way of territorial block votes than individual judgment.

Another dimension of black inexperience in the electoral tradition is the disproportionate effect on political organisation of white support. Mandela told his student audience at the weekend a story of how a referendum was staged recently in a Transvaal township — an ANC stronghold — on whether the name of a local school should be changed to honour a hero of the liberation struggle. The Nationalists decided to contest the vote and, to the astonishment of the township, won. ANC officials belatedly realised they had forgotten to campaign.

Word circulating in political circles has it that the National Party is quietly panicking over internal polls showing whites flocking to Chief Mangosuthu Buthelezi's standard. There is no confirmation of the figures but Inkatha is said to be able to claim 10 per cent of the white vote country-wide. Certainly Inkatha officials say they have signed up some 100,000 white members in the Transvaal alone and that they have not even got around to recruiting Natal's whites, among whom Chief Buthelezi tends

to be idolised. The capacity of such numbers of white supporters, including farmers and employers to help the chief garner the black vote, is likely to be considerable.

If these figures are accurate there are grounds for panic on the part of the Nationalists, because it could herald the loss of their entire party in Natal. There is speculation that it is precisely that fear which has saved the cabinet position held by the party's provincial leader, George Bartlett — currently Minister of Mineral and Energy Affairs.

Bartlett has now been implicated in several major scandals surfac-

ing from his earlier time as Minister of Transport. These are said to have cost the taxpayer billions of rands and reduced the ministry to a state of financial chaos. Opposition politicians have been baying for his blood: last week one MP demanded his resignation on 17 different occasions in Parliamentary debate.

President F W de Klerk has continued to protect him but he is accused of doing so solely out of fear that if he fires him, Bartlett — who has previously expressed unhappiness at the government's handling of Chief Buthelezi — will lead a mass defection to Inkatha.

It is a moral dilemma for the president. But just another of the ugly faces now to be seen in the struggle for power in South Africa.

By David Beresford

Demise of own affairs felt

CAPE TOWN — The first concrete effects of the demise of the tricameral parliamentary system were felt yesterday when the three own affairs houses presented budgets which expected the transfer of entire departments.

The Houses of Assembly, Representatives and Delegates all presented budgets which excluded allocations for agriculture, health or local government.

The moves are a consequence of President F W de Klerk's announcement that own affairs administrations would be phased out, and that as a first step several departments would merge on April 1.

The expenditure envisaged in the budgets was little changed from last year in all three houses as some expenditure would be excluded. However, in real terms, increases in expenditure approximating the inflation rate were presented.

House of Assembly Budget Minister Org Marais said estimated income would amount to about R9bn while estimated expenditure would be R9,259bn. The shortfall would be financed from surplus funds

TIM COHEN

in the house's revenue account. (306A)
Revenue was budgeted to decrease by R1,2bn — less than the R10,2bn budgeted in the 1992/93 year — while expenditure would be down from R10,5bn to R9,25bn.

House of Representatives Budget Minister Gerald Morkel said his R5,4bn budget made no allocations for own affairs agriculture, health or local government.

Income was budgeted to increase by R333m compared to the 1992/93 financial year, while the increase in expenditure was budgeted to be R30m more than the 1992/93 revised estimates.

Housing and development works was allocated R230m, an increase of 22,3%, and the R3bn voted to education and culture was 16% up on last year's figure.

House of Delegates Budget Minister Bhadra Ranchod said although his budget of R1,8bn was only 1,5% more than last year's, excluding the merged departments, it in fact showed growth of 12,7%.

Graft 'fractional'

JOHANNESBURG. — The level of corruption being brought to light in the South African government is no greater than that which exists in the private sector, according to Finance Minister Derek Keys.

Speaking at a National Party fundraising banquet last night, Mr Keys said evidence had been given to a commission of inquiry to the effect that corruption in the TBVC states and self-governing territories did not exceed five percent of total con-

sumption spending of R18 billion, suggesting that about R900 million had been "misdirected".

The minister contended the remaining R54bn allocated for consumption expenditure for the rest of the country was subject to only a "fraction of a percentage" of corruption — amounting to some R300m to R500m.

He denied corruption was at the R5bn-level as Cosatu general secretary, Mr Jay Naidoo, had stated. — Sapa

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(304A)

Pik Botha to ask US to 'forget the past'

CT 19/3/93 (304A)

From SIMON BARBER

WASHINGTON. — Foreign Minister Mr Pik Botha will ask the Clinton administration to "forget the past" when he meets Secretary of State Mr Warren Christopher and other senior officials here this week.

He also acknowledged that South Africa's rocket programme, which the US fears could easily be converted to military use, would be a serious point of contention in the talks.

President Bill Clinton's "closeness" to ANC President Nelson Mandela was based on apartheid, the minister said. He hoped that would now change and that the administration would judge South Africa's parties "on the merits of their policies".

Interviewed on CNN, Mr Botha said

he would seek US economic assistance, including grants for education, training and "social upliftment", as well as political support.

The prospect for the negotiations due to resume in early April were "very good", Mr Botha said.

The major outstanding issue was the degree of federalism that would be embodied in a new constitution, but Mr Botha said he thought the government would be able to bridge the gap between the strongly federalist IFP and the ANC's centralisers.

On the the missile question, Mr Botha said Pretoria wanted to be a member of the Missile Technology Control Regime (MTCR) "club" on terms that would enable it to continue its rocket programme.

Questions about CBM's role

By CHRIS LOUW

QUESTIONS have arisen about the role of the Consultative Business Movement (CBM), organisers of the two Codesas and the current multiparty planning conference at the World Trade Centre in Kempton Park, following a press conference on Monday addressed by the president of the Ruiterwag.

The Ruiterwag is the junior version of the Broederbond.

Headed by former dominee Theuns Eloff, the CBM has acted as a negotiations facilitator, and was thought to be independent of any political party or movement. At Monday's press conference, however, held in Anglovaal's headquarters in Main Street, Johannesburg, it transpired that CBM was involved in its own "confidential" agenda of "constitutional options".

Journalists were told that a booklet dealing with "Regions in South Africa" was drawn up by constitutional experts on behalf of CBM and "confidentially" presented to the major political parties attending the planning conference at the World Trade Centre on March 5 and 6.

Eloff insisted the document did not mean CBM wanted to influence the political process. He also denied that the document implied that CBM had a secret agenda of its own.

Eloff is a former president of the Ruiterwag. He was also a member of the Afrikaner Broederbond, but was expelled from the organisation after

attending the controversial Dakar meeting between a group of "internal South Africans" and exiled African National Congress leaders in 1987.

Heavyweights in the constitutional field — including Oscar Dhlomo, Van Zyl Slabbert, Charles Simkins, David Welch and Marinus Wiechers — helped to draw up the document for CBM.

Eyebrows were raised, however, when the press conference was addressed by Dr Bertus de Villiers, a senior official at the Human Sciences Research Council (HSRC) in Pretoria and believed to be current president of the Ruiterwag. De Villiers is reported to be the initiator of the Ruiterwag's constitutional proposals, which are regarded as "more liberal" than the Broederbond's proposals on the same subject, but still has "Afrikaner survival" as its main goal.

In his outlining of the working methods followed by the team of experts, De Villiers warned of the dangers of determining the powers and functions of regions too early in the negotiations process. This should be left to the final stages, he cautioned while giving "objective criteria" for deciding on the borders of the regions.

The document suggests that agreement be reached "on a framework of principles, definitions and criteria for approaching regional issues before moving to the final stages of constitution-making". Journalists were told the document was discussed with, among others, the ANC, Inkatha and the NP.

Business vetos Natal UDI

Wimani 1913-2573/93.

By FAROUK CHOTHIA

A PROMINENT Natal businessman who served on the kwaZulu/Natal Indaba came out strongly against secession this week, saying the region could not afford to be cut off from central government finance.

Speaking at a seminar organised by the Institute for a Democratic Alternative for South Africa, South African Sugar Association chairman Tony Ardington said: "UDI would be the ultimate folly."

Ardington added: "Natal would be exposed to huge uncertainty in export terms if it was to break away from the rest of South Africa."

"The prospects for our largest industry, sugar, would be bleak and we would cut ourselves off from vital government funding for education,

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health and roads. Most significantly, we would have to rely on our own tax resources to sustain public services. There is no way we could sustain things as they are now."

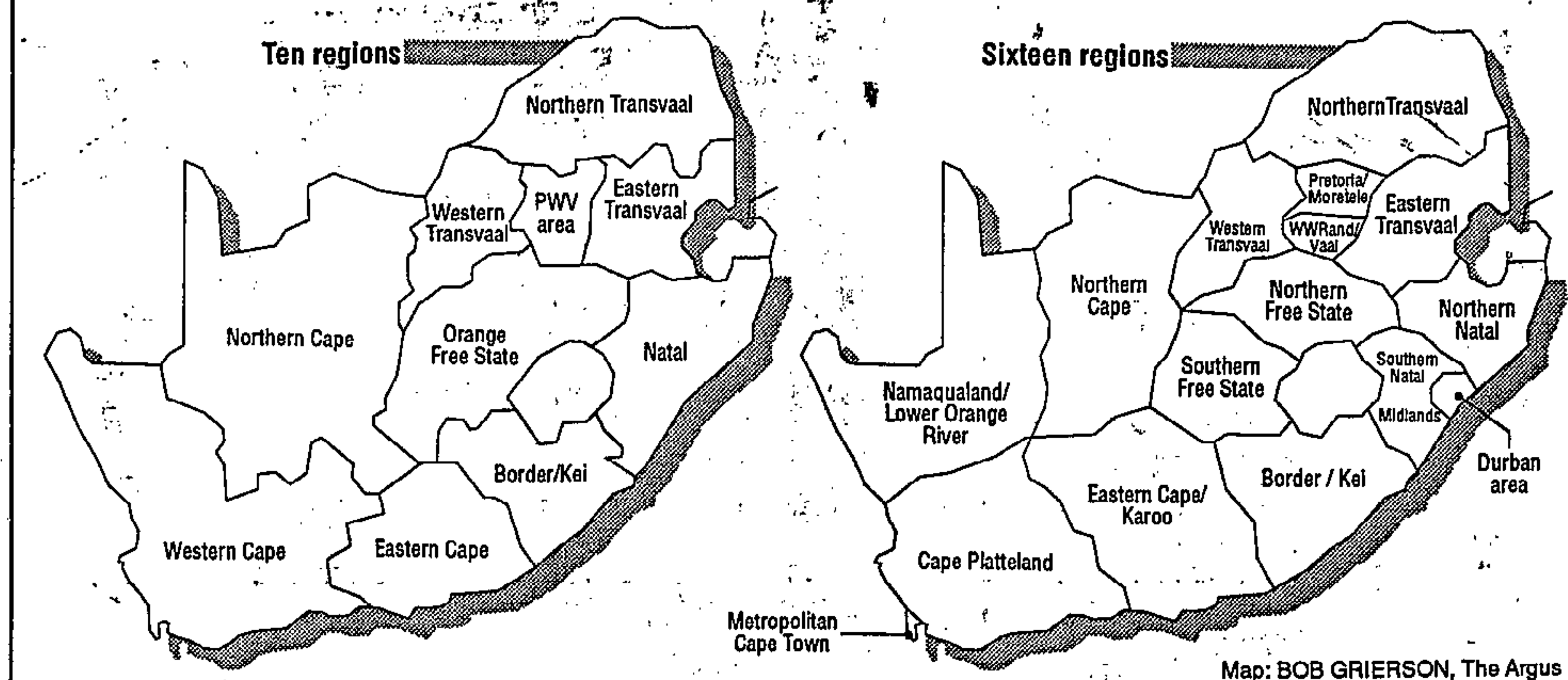
Ardington was also chairman of the Economic Committee of the kwaZulu/Natal Indaba.

His views are in sharp contrast to those of Inkatha and reflect that the organisation's support is weakening in the business sector.

Ardington said he supported federalism, but it had its drawbacks: a devolution of power would lead to increased "duplication" and corruption.

"Most corruption occurs at local government level — though our government is an exception," Ardington commented.

The new regions of SA - two ANC proposals



The ins and outs of federalism, regionalism

THE average South African might be forgiven for being confused about the meaning and interpretation of regionalism and federalism, especially since these concepts seem to have surfaced from nowhere in the last year or so to dominate political debate.

This confusion must be all the greater since the deadlocked Codesa 2 convention. Before the convention, it was widely, if uncritically, argued that the National Party and the African National Congress were moving closer to each other on regionalism, even if they disagreed on federalism.

Now, in the wake of Codesa 2, the media bombard their audiences with analysis, pointing out the major differences between regionalism and federalism and how the major political parties and movements stand on these issues.

In its most simple form, their positions could be captured in the following way. The Democratic Party is probably the only unqualified, and long-standing advocate of, federalism; the National Party is a little more coy, arguing for "regionalism based on sound federal principles"; The IFP seems to be approaching the stage where it will die defending federalism (perhaps even confederalism) for KwaZulu while the ANC accepts the existence of regions, but it is still not certain how much political power should be vested in regional authorities.

The differences between regionalism and federalism are important in their own right. Yet, the debate takes on an added significance at this stage of the negotiations process since fundamental constitutional questions about the distribution of political power between contending tiers of government are involved.

Thus, a choice, either way, between regionalism or federalism will have long-term consequences for the way South Africa is to be governed.

■ The federalism/regionalism debate has become something of a political football. **RICHARD HUMPHRIES** argues that the discussion is too simplistic and calls for a closer look at the implications of these options.

Put another way, the differences between the ANC and the NP cannot be equated, at this stage, with the policy differences between, say the Tories and Labour in the United Kingdom.

There, both parties accept the constitutional parameters within which politics take place; what is at issue are policy differences and emphasis within an accepted overarching constitutional order.

Here, we still have to decide on the shape of our constitution. This explains why President De Klerk, at the opening of the recent short session of parliament, reiterated the NP's determination to bind a future constitutional drafting body to principles which would guarantee regional authorities substantial political power.

The ANC rejects this because it, in *EFFECT*, gives the present minority-based government and the interests it represents undue power over a constitution-drafting body elected by all South Africans.

In a sense, the NP refuses to countenance suggestions that one way out of the regionalism/federalism deadlock would be to let the issue play itself out through process politics over a defined period. If a majority of voters came to accept that regional powers were important to their daily existence then this ought to be sufficient to ensure that authorities would be instituted.

For the NP, the problem is that the regional pressures which it thinks exist might be contained by other dynamics

during such a period. The ANC, also, might be uncomfortable about such a suggestion, given its historic opposition to homeland balkanisation.

It might be argued that both regionalism and federalism share a common point of departure — that power should be vested in the regions — which makes the differences between them rather irrelevant.

This is not so. At its weakest, regionalism refers only to the granting of either executive or political capacity to the regions, as an intermediate tier of government between central and local government. Regionalism could be categorised as a decentralised unitary state. It does not necessarily imply that these powers and functions will create powerful regional authorities which undercut the capacity of the central government.

Federalism, at its most basic, however, ensures that the regions (normally called states) have substantial political capacity. This power cannot be taken away by the federal (central) government without recourse to procedures laid down in the constitution which are designed to protect the powers of the regions. In a nutshell, the difference between regionalism and federalism amounts to the extent to which the powers of the central state are mitigated by powers granted to the states or regions on specific issues.

The chief advantage of regionalism or a decentralised state is that it would allow a new government to undertake the type of macro planning in social, physical or economic fields which are sorely needed.

Federalism's chief advantage must be its dispersal of power away from the central state to smaller units. In the South African context, this could translate into allowing regional minorities the ability to decide on important matters what might be seen as the dominance granted to a majority in a unitary state.

ARG 20/3/93
304A

Call for ANC, IFP alliance

Political Staff

INKATHA MP Mr Mike Tarr has called on his party and the ANC to form a pact, an alliance or even to merge.

The MP for Maritzburg North made his startling call during yesterday's own affairs budget debate in the House of Assembly. (13) #3047

CT 20/3/93
He said the argument between the ANC and IFP over who started hostilities between the organisations had become academic.

"I want to suggest there is now a compelling argument for the IFP and ANC to work together and co-operate in some form or other, be it by pact, alliance or even merger," he said.

He said there was considerable common ground between the ANC and IFP policies. "The point I want to make is that many of our differences are rooted in the past and not in what we want in the future."

The country now needed leadership to bury differences and change the climate in South Africa.

Pay on cabinet homes slated

CT 20/3/83
Political Staff

THE payment of R8 000 to R9 000 a month to cabinet ministers to stay in their own houses was a form of moral corruption, the ANC MP for Sandton, Mr David Dalling, said yesterday.

He said during the House of Assembly budget debate that the scheme was clearly not illegal.

However, each cabinet minister already earned about R200 000 a year, enjoyed unlimited free air travel, and had a luxury car and driver waiting for him at every corner, free servants and gardeners at his home — and yet over and above this was paid R8 000 to R9 000 a month to live in his own home.

Mr. Pik Botha was paid R116 730 a year or R9 727 a month extra, Mr George Bartlett R104 983 a year or R8 748 a month extra, Dr Rina Venter R115 110 a year or R9 592 a month extra and Mr David Graaff R158 354 a year or R13 196 a month extra.

He said the scheme enriched the ministers at the expense of South Africa's citizens.

■ The main contending political groupings apparently agree on the necessity of a number of constituent regions in the New South Africa. But which criteria will determine the final number, size and borders of those regions? asks **RICHARD HUMPHRIES** of the centre for Policy Studies, HSRC.

Regionalism presents far more difficulties and complexities than is indicated by the widespread agreement among political parties that "regions" do exist and ought to be vested with some degree of political power.

Trickier than it looks

Part of this complexity is illustrated by the almost bewildering array of proposals for new regions — proposals seem to range from a minimum of six to a maximum of about thirty regions.

Yet if one examines the criteria which underlie many of these proposals one finds very similar variables presented as the basis on which the regions were drawn.

For example, judging by statements of spokesmen of the major contending political groupings, there is near consensus on how the regions should be demarcated.

President F W de Klerk says historical boundaries, constitutional, demographic and cultural (that is language) "realities" and criteria which ensure economic and development viability could be used in defining regions.

Thozamile Botha, a senior ANC spokesman on regional government, says that historical evolution, functionality, language and economic viability should be the criteria.

Although the ANC and the NP initially agreed that the nine development regions should form the basis of the new regions, the two parties seem to be moving further away from one another in terms of the numbers of regions that should be created.

The centre of gravity within the NP and government now seems to favour fewer regions than the nine development regions. Although it is not the only indicator of this position, the Department of Constitutional Development presented proposals for seven regions at the recent state-sponsored federalism conference in Pretoria.

Within the ANC there is a strong current of opinion which favours much smaller regions than those proposed by the NP.

Senior spokesmen have recently suggested 14 as a possible number.

Part of the difficulties posed by regions stem partially from differing assumptions which are made about the nature and boundaries of regions themselves.

Are regions essentially physical or economic entities whose boundaries can be scientifically determined on the basis of various related criteria? Or are they sta-

ped/determined by the political and cultural views and preferences of the persons who happen to live in them?

Or do spatial entities truly make sense when situated within an over-arching or wider constitutional/political or economic system? Alternatively, if it is a combination of the above, how much weight is then to be attached to differing variables, such as language, history or economic functionality, to name only three variables?

If one takes a specific example, that of the contending proposals for a boundary between what is now southern Natal and northern Transkei, the way different actors use the same criteria to formulate different proposals is well illustrated.

This dividing line is a point of dispute between the ANC, NP and IFP.

The regional development boundary, between regions D and E, presently runs just north of Umtata. The ANC, in suggesting that a tenth region be created, effectively from a combined Transkei, Border and Ciskei region, has suggested that the existing northern boundary of Transkei be expanded to include the East Griqualand region.

This region was part of the Cape Province until the 1970s when it was transferred to Natal.

The Department of Constitutional Development, in turn, suggests the existing Transkei and Natal boundary be maintained, thus keeping East Griqualand in Natal/Kwazulu.

The IFP has not yet published specific proposals for a division but the chief minister of Kwazulu has on occasion suggested

that Kwazulu (or the Zulu kingdom) has historical claims to parts of northern Transkei. Clearly different aspects of "history" are being appealed to in this context by these three actors.

But what is economic functionality is seen as an important variable? Northern Transkei surely enjoys greater economic linkages, in terms of employment and access to markets, with southern Natal and Durban than it does with the southern Transkei or Border region. In turn the commercial farming community of East Griqualand enjoys even greater linkages with Natal.

If language is seen as a primary variable, then clearly the existing Transkei border is more appropriate for a division between Xhosa and Zulu speakers.

Thus what constitutes a balance between history, language and economic functionality in this case?

Language brings other problems if it is to be used in establishing regional boundaries. Many of the proponents of using language as a variable do so on the basis that it defines ethnicity and group identity.

From this follows the rather questionable assumption or belief that language does, or should, determine political values and hence support for a specific political party.

Two examples in present-day South Africa illustrate the problems of this position.

In Natal/Kwazulu, the ANC has succeeded in extending its strength at the expense of the IFP during the last decade, similarly

divisions among Afrikaners, which have emerged in the last decade too, undercut the viability of some of the proposals for a specific area of South Africa to be set aside as an Afrikaner homeland.

The lessons of this are that the connections between language and political preferences are not cast in stone, but are responses to changing political dynamics.

At another level, what utility does language have in this respect in areas where a variety of languages are spoken?

The Eastern and Northern Transvaal are examples of this, as is the PTV region and perhaps even some of the other metropolitan areas.

If language is to be used as a variable, some of these difficulties might be removed if language boundaries emerged out of process politics rather than from exercises in political engineering.

Finally, decisions about the size of regions are also dependent on broader political or constitutional questions.

If regions are to be vested with extensive political power it would seem more logical that they be larger rather than smaller regions.

Yet this need not necessarily follow if taxation rights were centralised, and an elaborate system of inter-governmental financial transfers was put in place to fund smaller regions with limited economic viability.

A potential benefit of small regions might be that they would facilitate higher levels of community participation in their executive structures than large regions.

30417
M49 20/3/93

Pik: Apartheid was a mistake

3049 CT 20/3/93

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WASHINGTON. — Foreign Minister Mr Pik Botha yesterday admitted apartheid was a mistake, declaring: "It was based on racial prejudice, it was morally indefensible."

Speaking at a news conference on Thursday before his Secretary of State Mr Warren Christopher yesterday, Mr Botha said warned that Africa was being marginalised as the world's attention turned to the problems of Eastern Europe and the former Soviet Union.

Mr Christopher offered his country's help in negotiations on a transition to democracy and majority rule due to resume next month.

"I'm pleased to note that negotiations are to be resumed in early April for the transitional government," Mr Christopher said when he welcomed Mr Botha to the State Department.

'SA admitted nuclear work'

VIENNA. — South Africa had admitted secretly enriching uranium to the level required for making nuclear bombs, a spokesman for the International Atomic Energy Agency (IAEA) announced here yesterday.

Mr David Kyd said the South African government had revealed this to IAEA in 1991 after it signed the Nuclear Non-Proliferation Treaty and opened its nuclear sites to inspectors from the UN agency.

The announcement came after the

International Herald Tribune yesterday claimed unnamed IAEA inspectors had said South Africa produced and secretly stockpiled enough uranium for 12 to 24 nuclear bombs during the 1970s and 1980s.

Mr Kyd said South Africa had "hidden nothing" from the IAEA inspectors.

Sources here say Pretoria is now trying to sell all its weapons-grade uranium to the US. — Sapa-AFP

"Negotiations are the only way to go. The US wants to help you in any appropriate way with these negotiations," he said.

Mr Botha described their meeting as a "precious moment".

"I have come here for the first time to discuss with you affairs without the burden of apartheid."

Mr Christopher was expected to raise with Mr Botha Washington's continued anxiety that South Africa was hiding enriched uranium from its nuclear pro-

gramme, despite having joined the nuclear non-proliferation treaty in 1991.

US officials also want South Africa to abandon its ballistic missile programme.

Mr Botha said this week South Africa wanted to join the Missile Technology Control Regime, an international agreement which limits the spread of "sensitive" missile knowledge. — Sapa-Reuter

BRIEFS

'Alien' arrests upset ANC

JOHANNESBURG. —
The African National
Congress yesterday
called for the Aliens
Control Act to be re-
vised immediately, fol-
lowing a wave of ar-
rests. (304A)

"The ANC is deeply
concerned at reports
that thousands of people
are being arrested on
suspicion of being illegal
aliens," an ANC state-
ment said. — Sapa.

14 Voter education

WALTON WALTON 24 1993

HERE are large numbers of South Africans who do not belong to a political party or organisation and some who do, but are still unsure about voting for them or another party. They are called swing voters.

Generally, these voters tend to be apathetic (for a variety of reasons), and their votes have to be actively sought.

These are the voters who can make a big difference to the predicted outcome of an election because no-one can accurately forecast how they will vote.

They can also be easily influenced by events immediately preceding an election.

A major reason for apathy is the

Parties must campaign for the 'swing voters'

SO4TH 20/3 - 24/3/93

fear of violence. This makes voters fear going to the polls and also makes them doubt whether voting would make a significant change to the ongoing violence that has become a feature of this country.

Their fear for their safety when they cast their vote is relatively easy to address. Civil society and political organisations and parties should ensure that adequate monitoring of events, both before and during elec-

tions, must be organised.

If the political climate remains as polarised as it presently is, it might be necessary to call on neutral international observers to play a role in monitoring an election.

Every effort should be made in advance to ensure that when elections are held, all the criteria for free and fair elections have been met.

The apathy arising from disillusionment is more difficult to

address, precisely because of the nature of swing voters. In general, they are not interested in political issues.

Unfortunately, this is also why they tend to feel so insecure and confused about what is happening around them.

Because they tend to shy away from political issues, they have also denied themselves an opportunity to be sufficiently informed and to anal-

yse and predict the possible course of the future.

This is why they tend to react according to what happens immediately before an election and why they are the main focus of any political party's election campaign activities.

Another cause of disillusionment and apathy among potential voters is the fact that they feel the "new South Africa" exists only in name, but has changed nothing in their lives.

People feel despondent about the fact that despite two years of negotiations, they do not directly experience positive changes in their lives.

The fact that they tend not to be involved while nevertheless expecting change to be delivered to them causes feelings of powerlessness.

Use your vote to get the changes you want

SO4TH 20/3 - 24/3/93

LL South Africans are concerned about violence in the country. Everyone is unhappy about the poor state of the economy which in turn affects every facet of life.

What people need to understand is that these are the things which their vote gives them a chance — small, but a chance nonetheless — of influencing.

The very fact that apartheid denied the vast majority of the population the vote for so many years while the governments of the day pursued exclusively white concerns, is an indication of exactly how great an influence the vote can have on government policies.

This is what many black South Africans still fail to realise — the link between the vote and their own power to change their lives.

All political parties stand for specific policies. They try to address the major concerns of their target audiences. Of course, in the past, parliament consisted of exclusively white parties addressing exclusively white concerns.

This is where the difference lies in the forthcoming election. The former whites-only parties realise they will not garner a significant portion of votes if they fail to address concerns of black people.

Some have begun to form alliances with black political groupings, others have begun recruitment drives for black members.

Besides them, there are mainly black political organisations which have never been represented in parliament before, but who have known political records and policies they have been espousing.

Yet again, there are black political parties which have had some parliamentary representation, either in the tricameral parliament or the bantustans.

It is not known how many parties are going to contest the forthcoming election.

The ball is in the voters' courts. Voters need to know exactly what they want from a future government, and on that basis select the party they think will accomplish those things.

Most probably the only extent to

which voters can prepare themselves is to study the policies of the parties clamouring for their attention and become familiar with their track records.

The central questions any voter needs to ask are: "Which party do I have confidence in to pay attention to my interests?" and "Which party do I believe is going to implement what it is promising to do once it has my vote?"

South Africans should not only be concerned about which party people will vote for but also that every person cast a vote on an informed basis.

No one should vote for a party because they were told to do so or on pain of some kind of retribution. No one should fall prey to igno-

rance about the secrecy of the ballot and the method of voting.

Everyone should take the trouble to inform themselves so that, when they vote, their vote counts for whichever party they are empowering on their behalf.

Apathy in this country has historic causes. We have a dark past which has made some believe it is safer not to know, question or rebel against the government.

But now people have the right to engage in free political activity. They have the right to demand certain rights in their country.

It would be a pity if they threw away their opportunity to decide their own future simply because their previously enforced powerlessness has now become a habit.

CROSS TALK

POLITICS, someone once said, is the art of the possible. Thus, when one looks at what needs to be done, at what is realistically achievable in South Africa today, one must do so from the standpoint of people who are involved in the struggle.

It is all too easy for those not involved and who do not carry the burden of responsibility for genuine transition to assume stances or outline a series of hypothetical scenarios.

In a political and social climate where there is work to be done, this becomes an academic exercise, a luxury, as it is the reality of the struggle which dictates what needs to be done, and what can or cannot be achieved.

The guidelines underpinning the negotiations process flow from the OAU (better known as the Harare) Declaration of July 1989 and the UN Consensus Resolution on Apartheid of November the same year. It was from these documents that the ANC identified the focus for negotiations: the struggle for a democratically-elected body — the constituent assembly — to draw up a new constitution.

This became the ANC strategy, central to which is non-racial elections based on one person, one vote and involving everyone, including the homelands.

This is our vision that gave rise to the need to negotiate on the procedures to ensure free and fair elections for a constituent assembly.

For this vision we entered Codesa, and also left it in June 1992 when it became clear other forms of pressure were needed to make the government accede to the demands of the people.

For this vision, therefore, we engaged in countrywide mass action until, at last, we brought the NP to the realisation that it would not be allowed to continue clinging to power at all costs.

Since then, we have come a long way to victory, to winning the clear demands we set over three years

Taking stock of victories

South 20/3 - 24/3/94

Although major hurdles have to be overcome on the way to democratic elections, NEC and ANC constitutional committee member **Advocate Dullah Omar** argues those in the struggle should look back at what has been achieved before continuing:

(304A)

ago. It is a victory that has been won through negotiations and mass struggle. Mass struggle has always been an integral part of the ANC's negotiations strategy.

On September 26 a document of much significance was signed. The Record of Understanding symbolised the first time ever that the NP government was compelled to agree that the constitution of this country would be drawn up and adopted by an elected constituent assembly. It was a triumphant moment and a great day in the history of the struggle for liberation.

But the government was compelled to agree to more than that. It agreed to the mechanisms that should be put in place to level the

political playing field to create a climate for free political activity.

Once again, there was huge government opposition to our proposals and it is testimony to the success of ANC strategy, together with mass action, that they were forced to agree to the setting up of a Transitional Executive Council (TEC). The function of the TEC is to take charge of those aspects of government — law and order, defence and aspects of foreign affairs — that would affect the creation of an environment in which free and fair elections should be held.

There were other victories too. The government, despite its efforts to the contrary, was forced to agree that it could not be player and referee and that elections would have to be conducted by an independent electoral commission.

'The Record of Understanding symbolised the first time ever that the NP government was compelled to agree that the constitution of this country would be drawn up and adopted by an elected constituent assembly. It was a triumphant moment and a great day in the history of the struggle for liberation'



ere and that elections would have to be conducted by an independent electoral commission.

Another crucial issue was that of control of the electronic media — of television and radio. The ANC, together with the democratic movement, has fought a long struggle to remove the SABC from government hands and place it under independent control. Despite numerous setbacks, agreement was finally reached that an independent media commission should be established.

Much was won. While it is true we have not won everything we wished for, we need only look back

to appreciate just how much was achieved.

Some fifteen years ago, when we started to build the democratic movement, there were many who thought we were trying to achieve the impossible. It was believed then that the government was so strong that its power could not be challenged.

Today, we are on the point of starting to dismantle that "unchallengeable" power. And today, ironically, many of those who said we would never, in the foreseeable future, win against the forces of oppression and apartheid, criticise us for having conceded too much.

Star 20/3/92

No role for foreigners in (304A) shaping new dispensation

CAN non-South Africans take part in shaping the new South Africa? This was the thorny question debated at the World Trade Centre this week — and the outcome has potentially serious repercussions for some groups, including the Inkatha Freedom Party.

Negotiators planning next month's resumption of full-scale multiparty talks decided that from now on "non-South Africans" may not be appointed to technical committees of the new negotiations structure.

Many non-South Africans have participated officially in negotiations since talks got under way in 1991, and their positions are now under threat.

One of the IFP advisers at the multiparty planning conference earlier this month was Washington-based constitutional lawyer Mario Ambrosini. Ambrosini was also seen at the World Trade Centre on Thursday, where the negotiations facilitating committee was meeting.

At Codesa in December 1991, one of the IFP's prominent advisers was US

ESTHER WAUGH, Political Reporter

Professor Albert Blaustein.

It is believed that the IFP's "foreign" advisers were among the targets of Government wrath in January, when Constitutional Development Minister Roelf Meyer said the party was being given bad advice by outsiders.

The decision taken this week is likely to cause headaches in political circles. It was announced by Rowan Cronje, Bophuthatswana's Minister of State. Journalists asked him whether he himself would be affected, as he is representative of a nominally independent country. SA Communist Party chairman Joe Slovo came to his rescue, however, interjecting that Cronje was "regarded as a South African".

Speculation even arose about Slovo's own position — he could not vote in last year's reform referendum because he was not in possession of an SA identity document.

'Chance to take democracy to new level'

South 20/3-24/3/93

304A

THIS is an exciting time to be in South Africa. I have been in and out of the country for many years and although I have been depressed by the problems, I have always been excited by the potential.

We can't help but compare the process happening in South Africa now with some things going on in other parts of the world.

This is a time when much of the world is pulling apart. We see the break-up of what used to be the Soviet Union and Yugoslavia seems to be bathed in blood.

We see the horrors of bloodshed, torture and rape daily on TV and this is what people expected of South Africa. For 20 years it has been customary to wonder not whether, but when, the bloodbath would come.

I want to congratulate South Africans for having chosen coming together to talk about democracy, in spite all of the temptations and tensions that exist to pull you apart.

You have an opportunity not only to survive and create a democracy, but to take democracy to a new level.

There is no place in the world where democracy is perfect. It is a system constantly trying to perfect itself. We in the United States have been trying to perfect it for 200 years and we still have a long way to go.

But there is no better way determined on this planet to resolve the difficulties, differences, the diversity of opinion, the diversity of need and the distribution of power and opportunity than the system of democracy.

We have seen an experiment in southern Africa. South Africa has been involved in Namibia, Zimbabwe, Angola and Mozambique and the choices by the South African government and the international community determined the outcome in all four instances.

I was here in 1977 in a meeting with John Vorster, convincing the South African government it was in their interest to give Rhodesia a chance to find a democratic route to independence.

To a great extent they were cooperative. Maybe for the wrong reasons. They never thought Mugabe could win.

But the international community — all the major trading partners of South Africa — worked with South Africa towards the independence of Rhodesia and Namibia.

And what we have seen is remarkable. These countries have not achieved all their ends but are certainly involved in an exciting



Photo: Rashid Lombard — Tanis

SPEAKING OUT

**Andrew Young
former United States
ambassador to
the United Nations**

struggle. I don't think there is a country with more potential than Zimbabwe, even in the midst of a drought and even though it has been in recession for 20 years.

By any standards, the South African experiment in Zimbabwe and Namibia ought to be regarded as remarkable and successful.

But South Africans have not always chosen the high road and the international community has not always held their feet to the fire. Where the international community has dabbled in reckless experiments the results have been as disastrous as they have been successful when we work together.

Angola would have generated the kind of wealth and activity that would have made it the pearl of southern Africa had South Africa

tried another route. The route it tried was at the invitation of the United States, so our hands are not clean either.

We are not casting judgement or blame. The contamination, pollution and corruption of democracy with violence has destroyed Angola, it has destroyed the economic strength of southern Africa. It has interfered with the growth and development of the western world's economy.

Everything happening in Angola has been financed and influenced by an absence of responsibility by western powers and a corruption of responsibility on the part of, if not the government of South Africa, then some elements of South African society.

They used Selous Scouts to train Renamo, encouraged Savimbi in his desire to destroy that country. They have all kinds of wild bands engaged in violence, as though in some way violence can interfere with the political process and enable them to maintain power.

But the power that is maintained by anybody in the mess of Angola and Mozambique is hardly worth it.

South Africa's economy would be far stronger if Mozambique was a strong trading power. The economy would be far stronger if Angola was developing its roads, bridges, schools and oil wells.

Clearly, violence doesn't work for anybody and if South Africa has unconsciously led itself into an experiment of democracy versus violence, I think we have got to make them conscious of the results of that experiment.

Democracy, however weak, imperfect and insecure in Namibia and Zimbabwe is far better than the results of violence in Angola and Mozambique where no-one has profited.

Martin Luther King's prophecy that injustice anywhere is a threat to justice everywhere is no more profoundly applied than to the events about to take place in South Africa.

For if justice prevails in South Africa, it will spread across the African continent.

People with goodwill are moving the world forward in a co-operative, just economic order. All of us can do better, but when the bottom drops out of Yugoslavia then the resources which would have gone for development will end up going for destruction.

So that is the choice for us — democracy or destruction. I don't think it is much of a choice, but it requires working out the details of democracy, not only to achieve wealth and opportunity for all citizens, but also to avoid further violence and chaos.

NP angry at claim of pay for (304A) services

Political Staff

THE National Party yesterday launched a blistering attack on Democratic Party MP Mr Kobus Jordaan for suggesting that prominent members of Inkatha and the Bophuthatswana government were paid for certain services by the state. C 203/13

Klip River MP Mr Jacko Maree asked in Parliament whether the DP had "taken up the cudgels on behalf of the ANC by sowing suspicion in the ranks of the KwaZulu and Bophuthatswana people".

DP 'growing the fastest' *304ft*

CT 29/13/73
Political Staff

THE Democratic Partry emerged from its East Cape conference this weekend saying it was "the fastest growing party in the area".

In a statement after its first restructured regional conference the DP, in "bullish mood" about its prospects, said its long-term goal was to win the regional government elections.

NP ducks Boesak debate

304A

South 20/3-24/3/93
By Rehana Rossouw

THE National Party was displaying a huge vote of no-confidence in senior NP member Mr Jac Rabie by refusing to set a date for a debate between him and ANC Western Cape chairperson Dr Allan Boesak, the ANC claimed yesterday.

Following a debate on TV1's Agenda last month which Rabie claimed was biased, Boesak challenged him to another debate.

However, NP federal information officer Mr Piet Coetzer said the NP was being "forced" into a debate on the coloured issue which it considered "racist and of the past".

Coetzer said the NP would prefer a debate on economic issues with another member of the party.

ANC regional treasurer Mr Ebrahim Rasool said Coetzer's claim that the ANC was forcing the NP into a debate was "an outrageous piece of nonsense".

"In the light of NP indignation at what they claimed was a piece of biased television favouring the ANC, this would seem to present an ideal opportunity for Rabie to save face after a debate he clearly lost," Rasool said.

"The SABC agreed, Rabie agreed and Coetzer agreed the debate should go ahead as soon as possible."

Since then Coetzer was "at great pains" to avoid the ANC.

He said the NP was finding electioneering in the Western Cape coloured community a lot harder than it predicted. Last week in Macassar, Touwsrivier and Atlantis, halls were packed with ANC supporters.

When Mrs Marike de Klerk and Mr Abe Williams visited Atlantis, crowds of people gathered outside, demonstrating against the visit.

"No wonder the NP refuses to enter into further debate about the coloured community. It must know by now that this is a debate it has no hope of winning," Rasool added.

Federalism an escape from reality

— Van Eck

ARG 20/3/93

2/82

304A

A voice from the African
National Congress claims that
"reactionary forces" are behind
the current enthusiasm for
federalism or regionalism. This
report by FRANS
ESTERHUYSE, Weekend Argus
Political Correspondent...

PROPONENTS of a federal system of government have been hit by a cold blast of disapproval from inside the African National Congress.

Mr Jan van Eck, ANC MP for Claremont, says concepts of regionalism and federalism are being used by a South African minority to escape from "the reality of a future ANC government".

His argument is that "reactionary forces" are trying to convince South Africans that a safe future lies in again dividing the country and its people into powerful separate regions, federal or even confederal states.

This is being done at a time when "South Africa and all its people need to be united into one South African nation".

Speaking at an ANC public meeting at Great Brak River this week, Mr Van Eck said it should be clear to anybody that the country and its people needed to be unified to overcome the deep divisions created over more than 40 years by "the divide-and-rule architects of apartheid".

"Over all those years, our people were torn apart into white, coloured, African and Indian group areas while Xhosas, Zulus, Sothas, Vendas, Tswanas and others were dragged into separate ethnic homelands. All this was an attempt to divide those South Africans who were not white and so ensure white minority rule."

Mr Van Eck suggested that a look at those most strongly agitating for dividing the country into strongly independent regions was enough to indicate their enthusiasm had nothing to do with a true belief in regionalism and federalism.

The enthusiasts included the National Party, the Inkatha Freedom Party, Bophuthatswana, the Conservative Party, the Afrikaner-Volksunie (AVU) and "a legion of other conservative white and black political groupings". (In a written extract from his speech, Mr Van Eck did not mention his former political home, the Democratic Party, which also favoured a federal system).

Their enthusiasm was "a desperate attempt to ensure some kind of hold on power by the minority who have been in power for so long that they cannot accept that in the new South Africa they will be out of power".

"In view of our past experience, surely it should be clear by now that we cannot yet again adopt constitutional models that have nothing to do with the individual merits of these models, but are based on and motivated by nothing other than fear. Fear of the reality of South Africa."

'Fat cat' attitude on corruption

By ANTHONY JOHNSON

OPPOSITION parties rounded on the government yesterday for being soft on corruption.

The Democratic Party started the ball rolling by charging that Finance Minister Mr Derek Keys's dismissive attitude towards public concern about corruption and maladministration smacked of "fat cat indifference" to people's suffering.

Mr Keys told a National Party fund-raising banquet this week that the corruption only amounted to about 1,25% of total government spending and that it was false to reason that if corruption stopped there would be lower taxes.

DP finance spokesman, Mr Ken Andrew, said it was astounding the minister was "so relaxed" about corruption and wastage of between R1,2 and R1,4 billion.

Later, Labour Party MP for Heidedal,

Mr Ben Grobber, said members of the public should stop paying taxes until the government accounted for wasted funds.

The ANC MP for Sandton, Mr Dave Dalling, said it appeared the NP was openly allowing the immoral plundering of taxpayers' money.

● The Democratic Party is to gather signatures for its anti-corruption campaign at the Mitchell's Plain Town Centre this morning.

(30/11) CT 20/3/93

Group may break from NP

Political Staff

3047

2/20/3/73

NATIONAL PARTY members have been contemplating the formation of a breakaway party — a broad, centrist alliance embracing Inkatha and campaigning on a strong federalist ticket.

Although it is understood that no movement is imminent, there are some in the NP who believe that such an alliance could draw

considerable support away from the NP and the Democratic and Conservative parties.

There has been unhappiness in the NP over recent negotiations agreements between the ANC and the government over what stage of the transition process the powers, functions and boundaries of regions should be decided.

This was sparked by the ANC's

claim last month after discussions with the government that these issues would be decided by an elected constituent assembly.

The government has since denied this position.

Senior government ministers have also moved quickly to reassure their NP colleagues, apparently succeeding in staying an imminent breakaway.

De Beer: Talks must succeed

Political Correspondent

NEGOTIATIONS urgently needed to succeed because between 40% and 50% of South Africa's would-be economically active population was unemployed, Democratic Party leader Dr Zach de Beer said in Parliament yesterday.

He said the earnings of many of South Africa's "great and well-managed companies" were declining, even in nominal terms, before allowance for inflation.

The economic decline was socially and politically destabilising and was fuelling the shocking crime wave.

The negative growth rate needed to be turned around by investment, which at current levels barely exceeded what was required to replace obsolete or worn-out capital stock.

Dr De Beer said South African society was "deeply threatened" by economic decline and a new urge to self-preservation was driving parties to a political settlement.

Tutu appeals for swift deal on SA

JOHANNESBURG. — Archbishop Desmond Tutu yesterday appealed to South politicians to "get off your butts" and reach a swift accord on the country's future.

Speaking on Radio 702 here, he said three years after President F W de Klerk started to dismantle apartheid, many people were beginning to wonder if change would ever take place.

"I want to tell them, it is going to happen," Archbishop Tutu said. "We must say to the politicians, for goodness sake, get off your butts and get on with the business of getting a new constitution for this country."

"We are getting tired of people behaving like prima donnas. I say this to all of them."

He said he would urge the US to lift sanctions as soon as agreements were reached on reducing violence, setting up a transitional authority and joint control of the security forces. — Sapa-Reuter

(3047) CT 20/3/93

Business is quietly moving SA to economic democracy

BUSINESS leaders at the 1987 Carlton Conference, which was supposed to be a historical landmark in South Africa's march towards reform, were taken aback when then-President P W Botha took the rostrum and roared at them to "leave politics to the politicians" and "stick to the business of business".

Looking back, the business team at the talks can now regard the admonition as an accolade — a back-handed tribute to the imprint that business was making in the reform process while the politicians dawdled.

Botha had been enraged by the way the private business sector was ignoring a virtual political standstill and pressing ahead with democratic reform on its own.

Botha, as both apartheid and his own political career crumbled, must have boiled in anger when the Consultative Business Movement (CBM) emerged a year later — and started building bridges across the chasm he had tried to create.

The whole reform programme entered a new phase as the CBM won more and more credibility across the political spectrum — from the Afrikaner Volkswag to Azapo, spanning the ANC, IFP, NP, Cosatu, CP, Nactu, PAC and the DP.

Even in retirement, P W must have fumed as the CBM explored routes towards democratic change, for instance with an active role in the evolution of the National Peace Accord, supplying secretarial services at Codesa and acting as interim secretariat at the National Economic Forum.

All the time, the CBM concentrated on a simple basic premise: "No political settlement will be permanent without a sound socio-economic foundation."

It has become a premise

Planning a bigger stake for black society in the running of the economy must become a top priority in corporate South Africa, argues the Consultative Business Movement. Companies have been given new guidelines to follow, reports MICHAEL CHESTER.

on which all the main players now seem to agree, even though vital decisions still need to be reached on how the political rudder steers South Africa towards a new future.

The now-now stance of the CBM was spelt out last week with the launch of a new publication entitled "Managing Change" with the significant sub-title "A guide to the role of business in transition".

It is laid out in a foreword compiled by a triumvirate of chairmen — Argus Group chairman Murray Hofmeyr, Southern Life Association chairman Neal Chapman and AECI managing director Mike Sander.

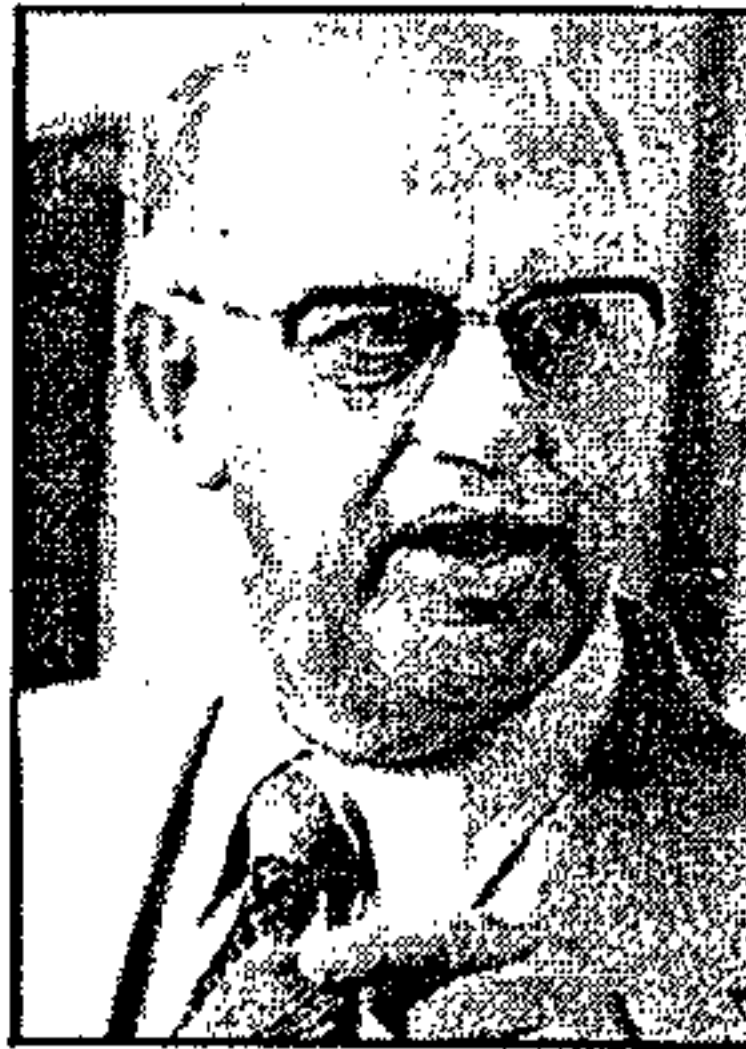
"The most significant initiative which business has taken part in," they write, "is no doubt the National Economic Forum launched in October 1992. Much remains, however, to be done."

"If, for instance, the political transition is not accommodated by economic growth and development, South Africa will not survive the demands placed on it in the next few years."

"The political transition will have to be followed closely by an economic transition which broadens participation and enables all South Africans to share in the economy."

"Nor will political transition alone meet the expectations of the disfranchised, to whom freedom means not only the vote, but also jobs, land, houses and education."

That becomes the whole theme of the book: how business should tackle its own internal reform and establish close community links in the



Forging ahead regardless . . . the Consultative Business Movement can now regard P W Botha's admonition as an accolade.

approach to election time — and well beyond.

"We cannot ignore the past when moving into the future, as aspirations feed off past injustices," argue the authors, all of them seasoned executives of the CBM.

"At the same time, business competitiveness increasingly depends on a skilled and productive workforce, sound economic policies, socio-political stability, growing markets and investment. Yet apartheid's legacy has resulted in the exact opposite."

"The moral poverty of apartheid has resulted in an equivalent poverty of human resource development, mistrust and division."

"South Africa has to transform itself from a nation which fights within itself to a nation that works together. In this process, business has a crucial role to play."

Stressing the need for a sound socio-economic foundation, the authors go on: "Future prosperity demands a coherent set of strategies for democracy, peace, growth and development that take account of the inherited legacy of the past, present limitations and future possibilities and aspirations."

"This is the subject of a complex web of negotiations across many spheres, the outcome of which will determine the shape and workability of a South Africa after transition."

"Not everything, however, need wait for the completion of multiparty negotiations."

"Government need not consult before scrapping repressive legislation and business need not wait before investing in productive enterprises. Similarly, programmes of democratisation and reconciliation are urgently required."

"The outcome of the transition will depend primarily on the statesmanship and leadership displayed by political leaders across the spectrum."

The CBM pursues the argument that most South Africans will expect eventual political democratisation to go hand-in-hand with economic democratisation.

In turn, it reasons, that means new challenges to business to pave a way towards black economic empowerment — with pro-active measures to ensure black society of a broader role in the ownership and management of the economy.

There's a long way to go, the authors concede, and new strategies are urgent. A few key facts that disturb them:

● Recent studies showed that

as few as 5 percent of all South Africans owned between them no less than 88 percent of the country's wealth.

● A massive 95 percent of managerial jobs are held by whites — yet whites will be able to account for only 45 000 of an additional 120 000 higher level managers who will be needed by the year 2000, underlining the CBM call for the urgent integration of more blacks into management posts.

● Blacks hold a mere 2 percent of a total of 2 550 directorships in the Top 100 companies listed on the Johannesburg Stock Exchange.

Pro-active strategies were vital to broaden the scope for blacks to share a bigger stake in the ownership and management of business.

A wide range of options could be selected, from management apprenticeship schemes to larger shares in financial control through equity holdings. Local and international affirmative action programmes had highlighted a number of important lessons to be learnt.

The authors of "Managing Change" by no means turn a blind eye to current realities about the extent of uncertainty, endemic poverty and political conflict.

Instead, they set out signposts to alternative routes that companies can follow to steer through the intense pressures they expect on the whole economic environment over the next four years.

"Those who are pro-active stand to survive and grow," they tell businessmen, "while those who fold their arms and hope the problem goes away may find themselves left in the wilderness."

● "Managing change", published by Ravan Press and printed by Creda Press, is priced at R44. □

Taking leave of own affairs (2049)

THE king is dead. Long live the king of own affairs, white own affairs, Minister of Administration Dr Org Marais said yesterday. ARG 26/3/93

Replying to a first reading debate on the own affairs budget, Dr Marais said the country was entering a new era.

It was not the funeral of own affairs, as had been suggested by members, but rather part of an evolutionary state of affairs.

The introduction of the tricameral system had been a fantastic breakthrough.

"I am proud of the evolutionary steps which we have taken over the years.

"We are taking leave of own affairs today.

"The king is dead. Long live the king of own affairs."

Corruption cover-up astounds DP

PETER FABRICIUS
Political Staff

304A

THE Democratic Party finds it astounding that Finance Minister Mr Derek Keys could be so relaxed about government corruption and wastage of between R1,2 billion and R1,4 billion.

DP finance spokesman Mr Ken Andrew said that was an enormous sum and was;

■ Greater by far than the whole additional fuel levy of R740 million;

■ Five times the total amount specifically allocated to address the massive need to reduce unemployment — about R250 million; and

■ Enough to equalise social pensions from April 7 — when VAT would increase by 40 per cent — rather than leaving pensioners to struggle on in the face of rising prices for five long months.

“Mr Keys in his new role as apologist for the National Party government’s dishonesty and incompetence tries to draw a

parallel with criminal behaviour in the private sector.

“Where he misses the point is that people in the private sector who commit fraud and theft are prosecuted, fined or sent to jail.

“In the public sector, however, the government plays for time, appoints commissions and, irrespective of what the findings are, very few people are ever prosecuted, let alone sent to prison to pay for their crimes.”

ARG 20/3/93

GROUNDS FOR HOPE: Two steps forward, one back — but we have come a long way towards inclusive democracy in three years

SA's age of miracles

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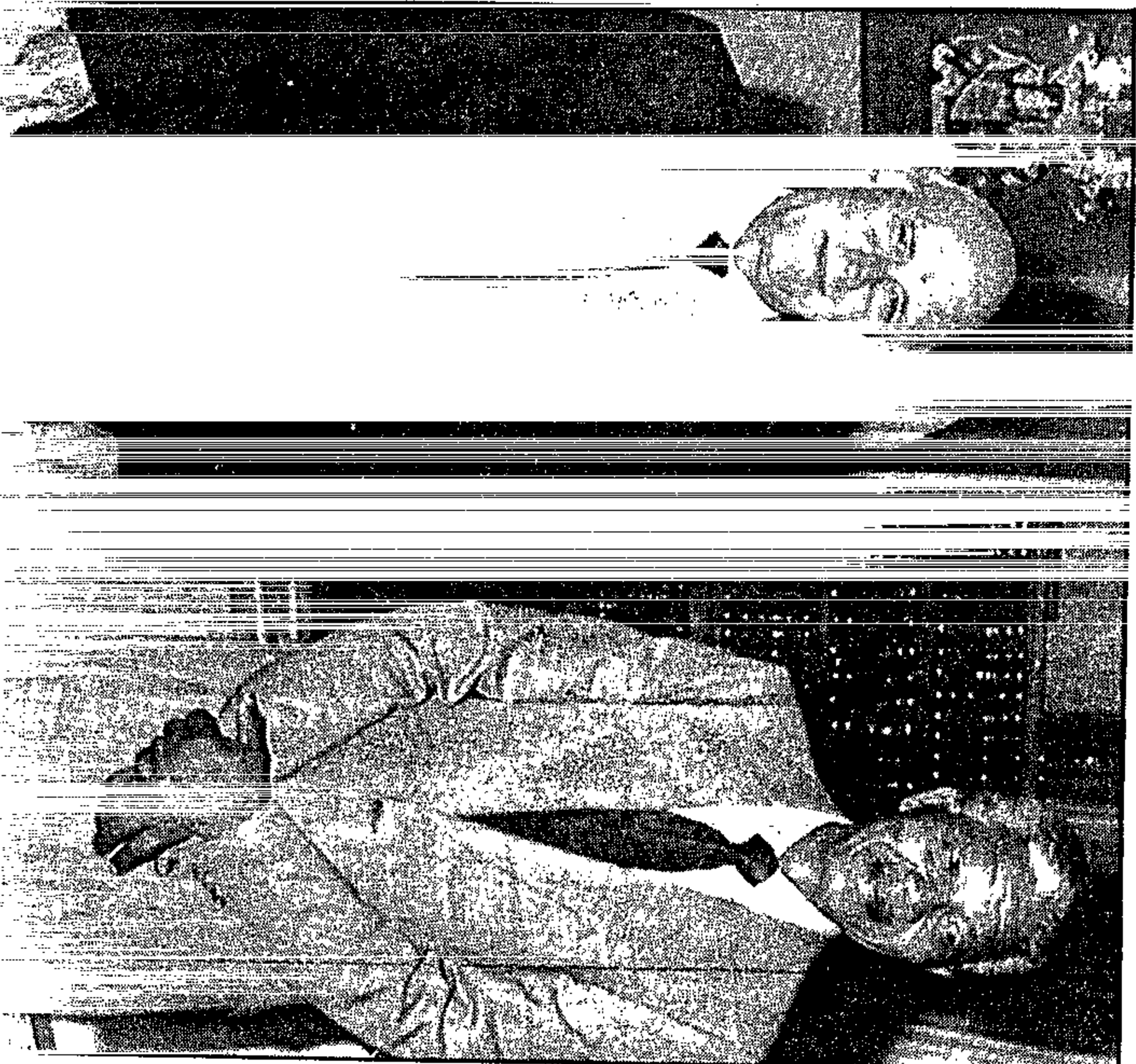
IMPATIENCE is the enemy of a hopeful future and is the last thing South Africa needs in this critical stage in the run-up to its first fully multiracial elections, writes COLIN LEGUM. The only positive approach lies in adopting a hopeful attitude — and there is much reason to be hopeful.

SOUTH Africa is truly a land of miracles. Where has it happened before that 36 parties, ranging from hard-core right-wing parties with a stubborn belief in the necessity of their own homeland to radical far Left groupings committed to armed struggle and the right to expropriate all white-owned land, have sat down to discuss a country's future?

And where, after 341 years of a racially exclusive power system, has

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surprising that the national mood here changes rapidly from optimism,



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However, even if these predictable developments do occur, the strong probability is that the "centre" will hold — the major players who are striving to achieve a reasonable consensus. And if the two compromising Afrikaner parties — the Afrikaner Volkswaie and the Afrikaner Volkstigting — succeed in winning support for one or two regions in which Afrikaners will find themselves comfortable as part of a non-racial South Africa, then the

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both are struggling to adjust to
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A remarkable feature of this
process is not that there has
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but that there has been so little
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It is all going so fast and so
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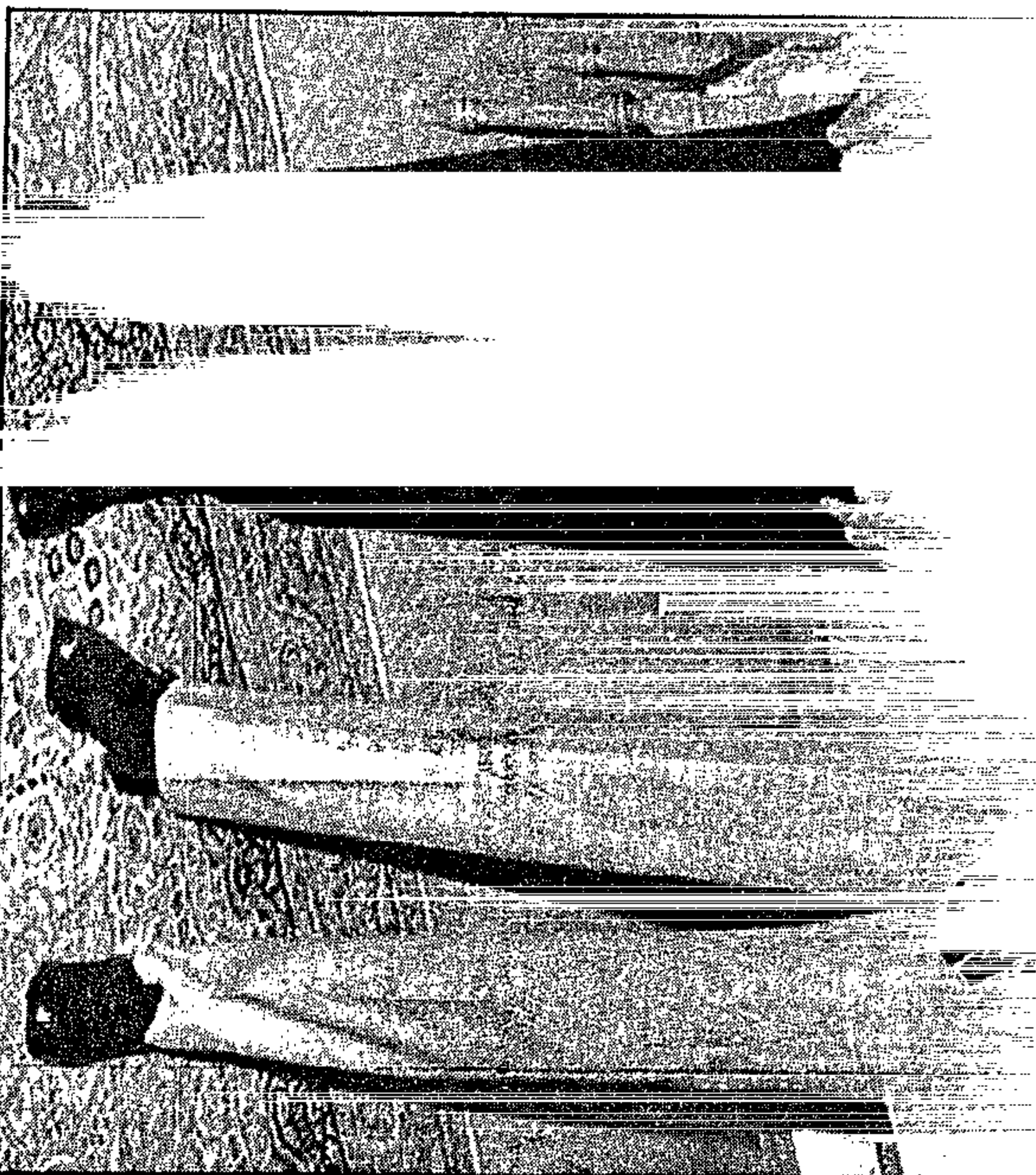
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THE DAY SOUTH AFRICA CHANGED: President de Klerk and Nelson Mandela on February 11 1990, shortly after Mandela was freed and nine days after De Klerk's historic speech in Parliament put South Africa on a course towards a new democratic dispensation, with equal rights for all. Just three years down the line, De Klerk envisages serving under a black president.

Breath-taking pace of change amid

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Because of this sensational
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Yet, what is predictable —
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● The author is editor of
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SOUTH Africa is truly a land of miracles. Where has it happened before that 36 parties, ranging from hard-core right-wing parties with a stubborn belief in the necessity of their own homeland to radical far Left groupings committed to armed struggle and the right to expropriate all white-owned land, have sat down to discuss a country's future?

And where, after 341 years of a racially exclusive power system, has its white president envisaged serving under a black president within a year or two?

All the changes so far have involved the acceptance of the need to convert an undemocratic racist society into an inclusive democratic one, and have taken place

at breath-taking speed: just more than three years. White and black society have been shaken to their foundations, and both are struggling to adjust to the new situation.

A remarkable feature of this process is not that there has been so much political violence, but that there has been so little — and, as yet, hardly any of it coming from a traumatised white community. This achievement of truly revolutionary change by relatively peaceful means is probably without parallel.

It is all going so fast and so well that it is hardly surprising that people of all races are still waiting for the other shoe to drop — the jackboot of white resistance or the scuffed sneaker of the black proletariat.

And since the miracle owes so much to two men — President F W de Klerk and the president-in-waiting, Nelson Mandela — anxieties about their state of health and the likely duration of their political ascendancy within their own electorates have become something of a national obsession.

How long can this peaceful process of dismantling the centuries-old white supremacist

state last? And where will it lead to? There is indeed much to trouble the minds of South Africans, not least the dismal state of the economy, the unemployment, homelessness, and so little change as yet in the living conditions of a majority of the population.

Because so few people anywhere have any understanding of the dynamics of historical process — of the time it takes, and of the ups and downs, the stops and goes — it is hardly

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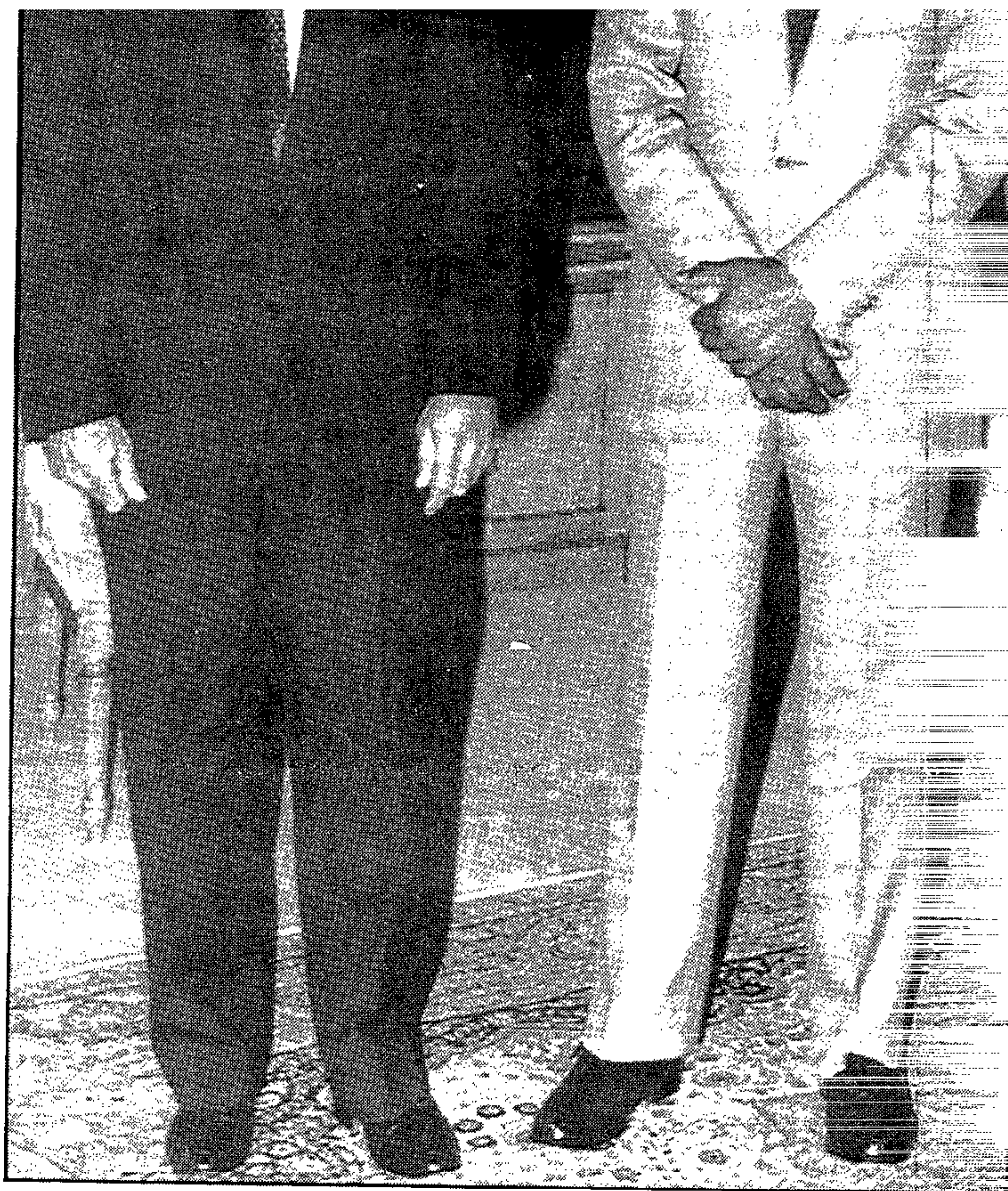
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change are an untaught science.

So, the media themselves set the tone for alternating moods between highs and lows. Each promising step is treated as if the new dawn had already broken; and each setback is represented as if it were the end of the dream.

What has happened in the three short years since President de Klerk's historic speech pronouncing the end of apartheid is that there have been a succession of two steps forward and one step back. But the step back is reported as if there had been no step forward.

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Yet, what is predictable — but discouragingly not being predicted — is that there is going to be an awful let-down when the negotiations proper get under way. Then the headlines will again speak of breakdown and setbacks; pessimism will return to the land.

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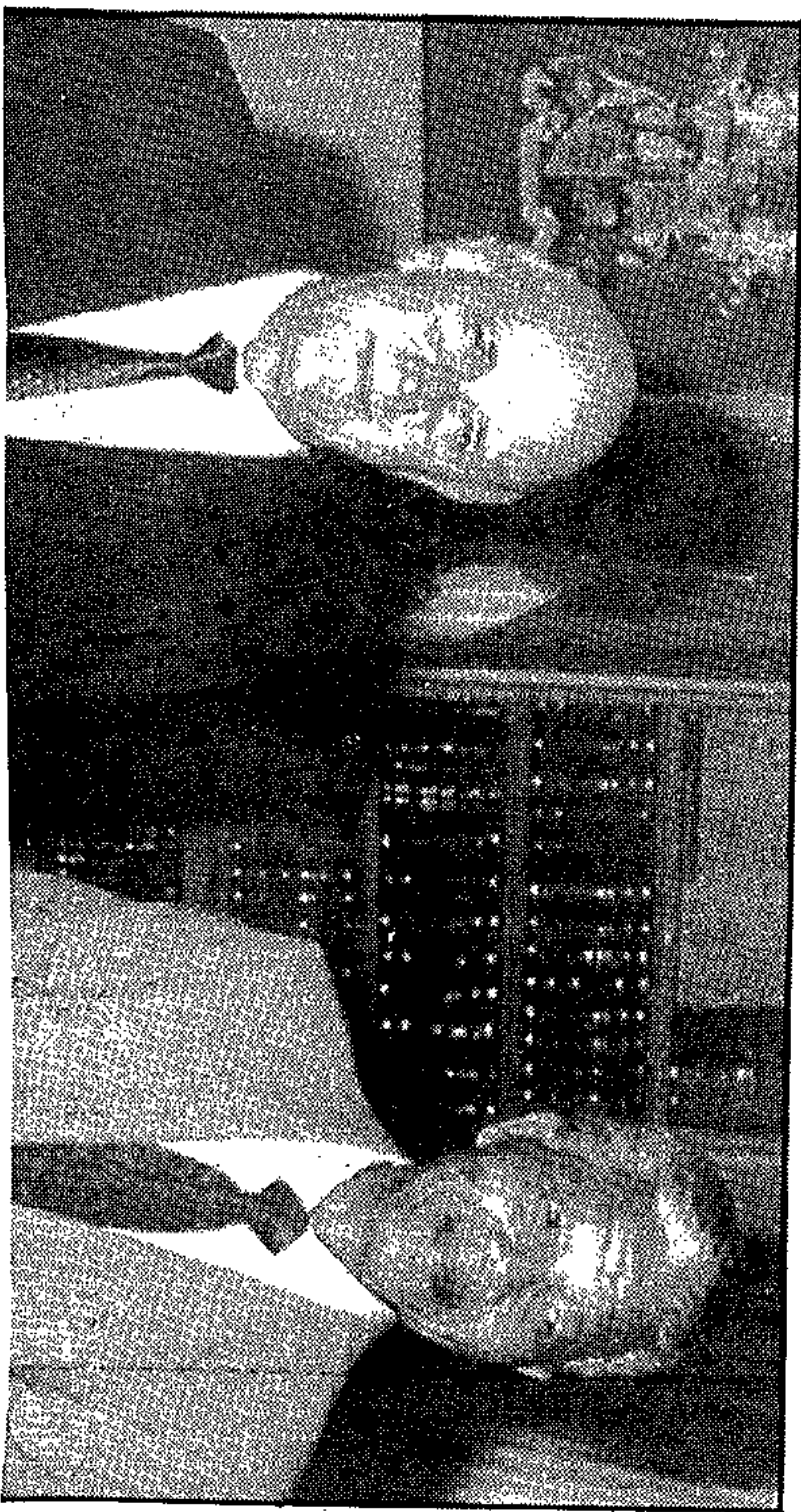
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GROUNDS FOR HOPE: Two steps forward, one back – but we have
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SOUTH AFRICA'S age of miracles

Star 2012/93

IMPATIENCE is the enemy of a hopeful future and is the last thing South Africa needs in this critical stage in the run-up to its first fully multiracial elections, writes COLIN LEGUM. The only positive approach lies in adopting a hopeful attitude – and there is much reason to be hopeful.



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Meanwhile, because of the state of the economy and the recognised reality that there is no hope of recovery until there is agreement on a new political dispensation, there are serious voices, especially in the media, who urge the need for a "quick solution even if it is a bad one" — as if a "bad solution" is a sound basis for restructuring the political and economic systems of the country.

IMPATIENCE in this situation is the enemy of a healthy future. The other two enemies are optimism and pessimism. The only positive approach lies in adopting a hopeful attitude. And there has been so much progress in what has already occurred over the past three years as to give genuine cause for being hopeful.

● The author is editor of *Third World Reports*, which he publishes from West Sussex in England. He wrote this article while on a visit to South Africa this month.

STAR

20/3/93

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Wheeler dealers wanted

30419
ARC 20/3/93

BRUCE CAMERON
Business Staff

SOUTH Africa's Department of Foreign Affairs should forget about sending people to do battle in the outside world with "good manners" as the main qualification.

Rather the department should send people who know how to wheel and deal in the real world of business and finance.

The call for the change, which was backed by Department of Finance director general Gerhard Croeser, was made by Eugene Nyati, director of the Centre for African Studies at the annual Old Mutual/Nedbank post-Budget debate this week.

Mr Nyati said the time was over for sending people out whose main training was "good manners".

What was needed were people with the skills to drum up investment and trade for South Africa adding the number of political officers should be cut.

Mr Croeser said he fully supported the call.

His department had taken the initiative a number of years ago to open an office in Europe to deal with the banking community, who lacked knowledge of South Africa.

'Expect the mother of all elections' — Morkel

DENNIS CRUYWAGEN

Weekend Argus Political Staff

MR Gerald Morkel, one of a brains trust of 12 plotting a National Party election victory, says the party fully expects to be confronted by its past in the country's first nonracial election.

The only coloured in the group headed by NP Cape leader Dr Dawie de Villiers, Mr Morkel's input and experience of coloured politics is a key element in the NP's bid to capture that vote in the Western Cape.

Some would call the former Cape Peninsula leader of the Labour Party a traitor for finding a political home in the NP, and others would say he was either a political realist or an opportunist.

He was certainly no political stooge and, having been a successful businessman, he could live comfortably outside the party political arena.

However, he passionately believed the NP was the only party "truly representative" of all South Africans. "Sometimes people will say they'd rather support the devil they know

than the one they don't."

He identified the NP's main opposition in elections as the ANC and not other parties in parliament.

"I believe the ANC's record is not an unblemished one. They, too, have a lot to explain to the electorate."

He said the NP expected to be confronted by its record and the inequities of apartheid in the "mother of all elections".

"I believe we can counter this by saying we have made mistakes, show us any other organisation which has not. We must go to the people honest

and fairly and say we've made mistakes."

"But, we must add that because of this, perhaps we are the only party capable of rectifying our mistakes."

He said ANC would have to purge itself of the SACP, just as the NP had discharged its right wing.

"Communism has failed throughout the world. It's ironical that in South Africa we still have a registered Communist Party. The communists are going to be the biggest millstone around the ANC's neck."

He said coloured people were a very religious group.

1994

Wanted: Fair people

TIPPED as the most powerful body in the country during the forthcoming elections, the proposed Independent Electoral Commission could have a major impact on the lives of all South Africans. Yet few people have heard of it. Fewer still have thought about its powers or who should serve on the commission.

Under the present electoral law the Department of Home Affairs runs elections through its director-general, who serves as the chief electoral officer.

The department has wide experience of overseeing elections, first through years of whites-only polls, more recently through elections for the tricameral houses. However, most parties involved in negotiations would argue against the department as an acceptable authority for the forthcoming elections because of its government links. So alternatives are needed: both a new electoral law and a generally respected body to oversee the polls.

Little has been published about the parties' proposals, but it seems that the National Party and the ANC share the view that an independent commission must be in charge of the elections. Some body would need to certify whether the elections were free and fair. If the certification came from a group of people widely accepted as eminent, experienced and themselves fair, the outcome would have greater local and international credibility.

All the other questions about the commission must still be answered by the Co-deca parties, but it seems likely that the IEC will be given significant authority. Powers of election commissions can vary widely. In some countries they might be strictly limited and have a purely administrative function like preparing ballot papers and boxes. Where commissions are given more power, they could have an additional quasi-judicial role with the authority to enact regulations.

AT THEIR most powerful they might, under unusual circumstances, be asked to draft the electoral law, setting out the detail of how the elections will be conducted. They might even have full judicial powers, with the right to adjudicate on complaints relating to the elections.

The ANC's model would give an IEC the widest pos-



RICHARD GOLDSTONE



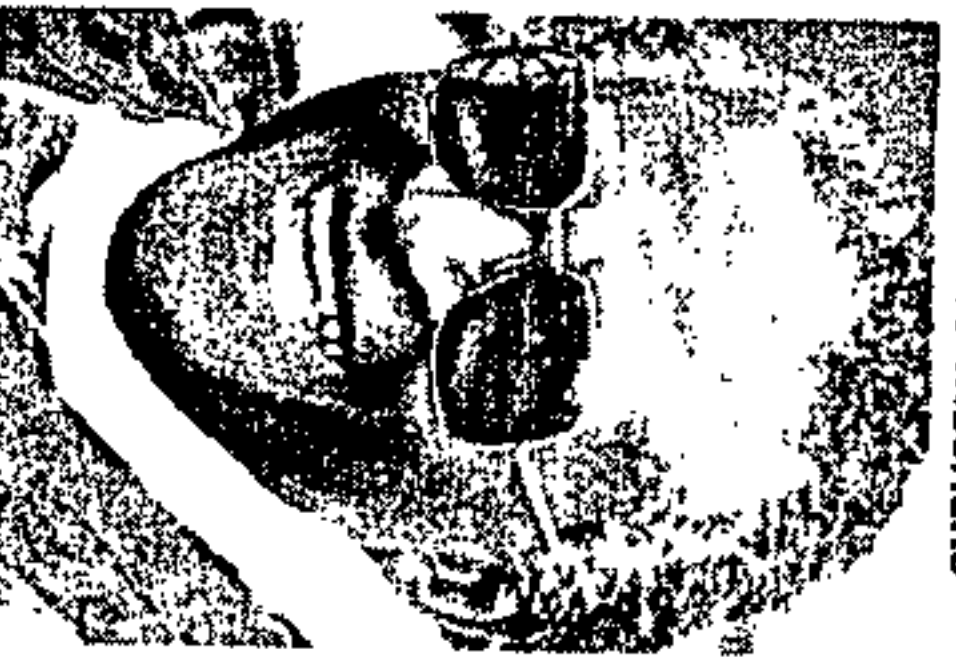
MARINUS WIECHERS



OSCAR DHLOMO



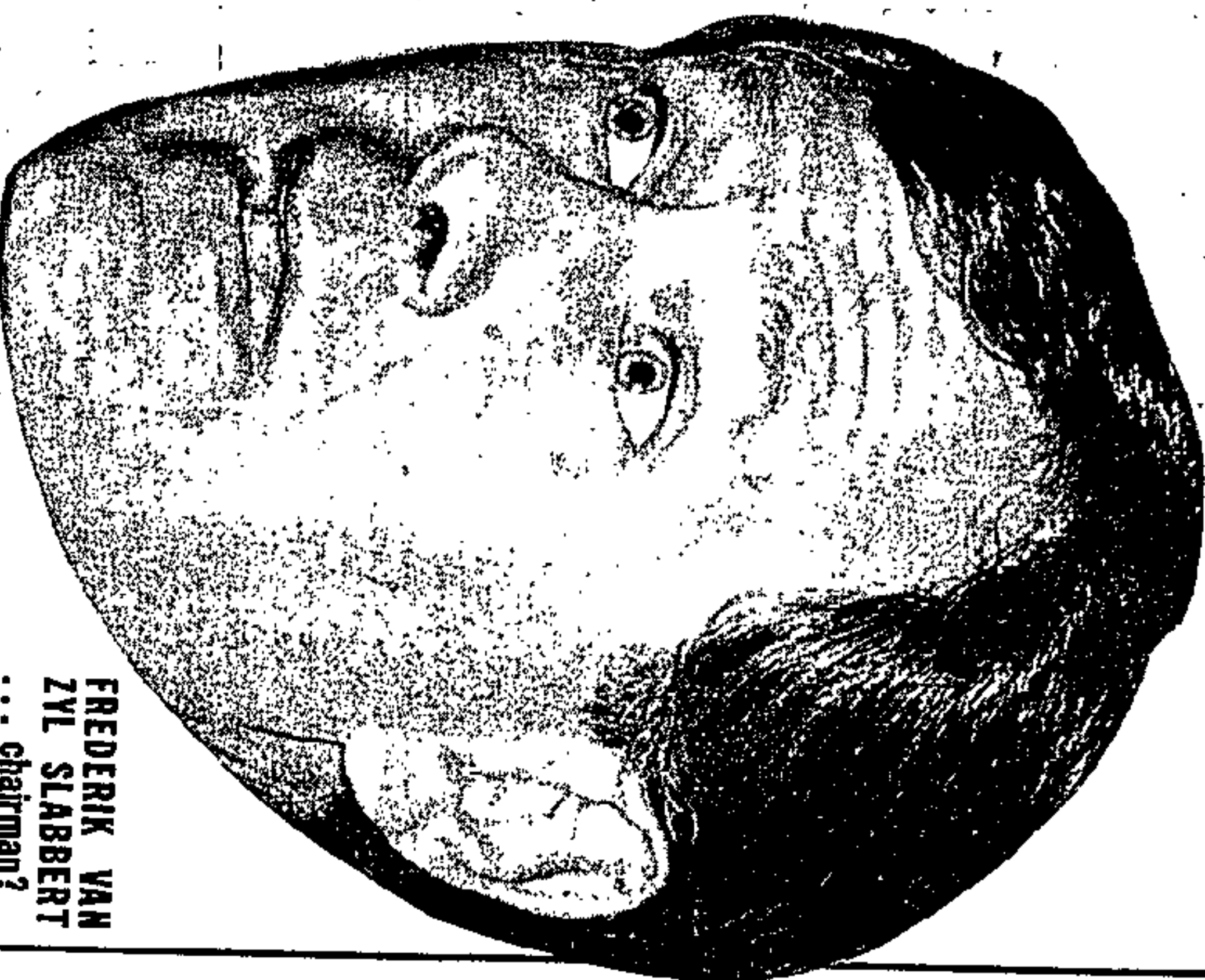
MAMPHELE RAMPHELE



DESMOND TUTU



SHEEMA DUNCAN

FREDERIK VAN ZYL SLABBERT
... chairman?

A powerful electoral body will soon be making important decisions affecting the lives of all South Africans. But who is going to serve on it?

CARMEL RICKARD reports

for free elections

electoral law for the Transitional Executive Council to authorise (though like other aspects of their work this could be delegated to sub-committees with experts brought in to help). They would also have the power to decide on voter identification and who would be eligible to vote.

The ANC view is that the IEC should also deal with security, ensuring that the "appropriate bodies" provide enough protection to parties and the public. It should also obtain agreement from all the political parties to campaign peacefully and abide by a code of conduct — the existing code of conduct or a new one.

Some of these suggestions appeared to find acceptance held in Cape Town last week on Free and Fair Elections, convened by the Centre for Development Studies at the University of the Western Cape and the US-based National Democratic Institute for International Affairs.

about irregularities would be final.

Sources within the ANC say this is a vital issue. If appeals were allowed to the courts against decisions of the IEC, it would cause lengthy delays and might even put the elections in jeopardy.

Should the IEC have the power to deregister parties which persistently intimidate voters — even if this means the election process cannot go ahead or has to start again?

Should international entities be included on the commission? For example, if the final word on issues under its jurisdiction, with no appeal allowed to the courts, what would happen should there be a complaint against the IEC?

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All the other questions about the commission must still be answered by the Codesa parties, but it seems likely that the IEC will be given significant authority.

Powers of election commissions can vary widely. In some countries they might be strictly limited and have a purely administrative function like preparing ballot papers and boxes. Where commissions are given more power, they could have an additional quasi-judicial role with the authority to enact regulations.

AT THEIR most powerful they might, under unusual circumstances, be asked to draft the electoral law, setting out the detail of how the elections will be conducted. They might even have full judicial powers, with the right to adjudicate on complaints relating to the elections.

The ANC's model would give an IEC the widest possible powers. Its supporters argue that this is necessary to ensure that the election results have broad support from all political groups.

The ANC suggestion is for an uneven number of commissioners, probably between seven and 17. They would be chosen by the Codesa parties from names submitted by the parties themselves.

According to sources within the ANC, their proposal is that these commissioners should be people with a record of non-partisan public service. They should not hold party office, nor be candidates in the election. They would also have to be available full-time during the election period.

They would have the responsibility of drafting an



RICHARD GOLDSTONE



MAMPHELE RAMPHELE



MARINUS WIECHERS



DESMOND TUTU



OSCAR DHLOMO



SHEENA DUNCAN

making important decisions affecting the lives of all South Africans. But who is going to serve on it?
CARMEL RICKARD reports



FREDERIK VAN ZYL SLABBERT
... chairman?

for free elections

STEWART 21/3/93

about irregularities would be final.

Sources within the ANC say this is a vital issue. If appeals were allowed to the courts against decisions of the IEC it would cause lengthy delays and might even put the elections in jeopardy.

Some of these suggestions appeared to find acceptance by delegates to a conference held in Cape Town last week on Free and Fair Elections, convened by the centre for development studies at the University of the Western Cape and the US-based National Democratic Institute for International Affairs.

Should the IEC have the power to deregister parties which persistently intimidate voters — even if this means the election process cannot go ahead or has to start again?

Should international eminent persons be included on

30/4/93

the IEC? What should be the relationship of the IEC to other bodies if their jurisdiction intersects? For example, the planned independent broadcasting authority would also have the task of ensuring fair access by the parties to the media.

Similarly, the Goldstone commission recently asked for representations about how to prevent intimidation and violence during the elections, a task which might fall under the IEC. One way round this particular diffi-

culty might be for the commission's chairman, Mr Justice Richard Goldstone, to be asked to serve on the IEC.

Other names mentioned as possible commissioners include Frederik van Zyl Slabbert (elected to the chair), Oscar Dhlomo of the Institute for Multi-Party Democracy, former MP Helen Suzman, Methodist Bishop Stanley Mogoba of the National Peace Committee, Anglican Archbishop Desmond Tutu, UCT deputy vice-chancellor Mamphela Ramphele, Unisa

law expert Marinus Wiechers, University of Zululand law professor Charles Dlamini, South African Council of Churches senior vice-president Sheena Duncan and "possibly some other judges".

An IEC should be in place as soon as an election date is officially announced. However, judging from the blank response to questions about the commission put to members of the public and even politicians, it seems that few people have given the IEC serious thought apart from some academics and a select group from the party hierarchies.

If the election and its outcome are to gain wide support, then there needs to be vigorous public discussion about the IEC and the individuals trusted to serve on it.

PARTICIPANTS from a broad range of political parties and non-governmental organisations heard suggestions that would extend the powers of the IEC even beyond the powers proposed by the ANC.

One such idea came from UWC public-law lecturer John Murphy. He proposed that the IEC should not act against only those election practices which were "unlawful" in the strict legal definition. The commission should be empowered to investigate and prevent activities it believed were "unfair", even if in all other respects these actions were lawful.

Thus, like many other questions about the IEC, must still

NP campaign to woo black vote takes off

THE National Party's new-look campaign to draw coloured and black voters takes off with a family day fair at Cape Town's Goodwood showground next Saturday. *S/ Times (Cape Metro) 2/3/93*

The fair is the official kick-off of the NP's Western Cape election campaign, which the party hopes will secure at least one regional majority for it in a new democratic South Africa. The State President, Mr F W de Klerk and Cape party leader, Dr Dawie de Villiers, will speak at the stadium. — Sapa *BOLA*

F.W. placates his would-be rebels

ST Times 21/3/93

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By NORMAN WEST
Political Reporter

STATE President FW de Klerk this week stepped in to defuse tension within his caucus after rumours that a group of MPs were considering following NP defector Jurie Mentz to the Inkatha Freedom Party.

Mr de Klerk told the caucus on Thursday "rumblings of discontent" had come to his ears about members of the caucus thinking of joining other parties like the IFP.

In a conciliatory address — which was applauded — Mr de Klerk told the caucus there was "much common ground" between the NP and the IFP.

He said on various constitutional principles, like a free market system and strong regional government in a federal state, the NP and the IFP were in agreement.

Differed

He said it would therefore "make no sense" to consider joining a formation in broad agreement with the NP on constitutional principles.

He would have understood it if there were NP members who wanted to join a party which radically differed from the NP.

Sources said Mr de Klerk seemed to have "hit on the right spot" in placating would-be rebels.

However, they said the dissatisfaction within the caucus stemmed from unhappiness with the way Constitutional Affairs Minister

Roelf Meyer was conducting bilateral negotiations with the ANC.

There was a perception that Mr Meyer was pandering to the wishes of the ANC, was too accommodating at the expense of the IFP which in turn threatened to alienate the IFP from the NP.

On some issues there were such strong feelings among a group of NP members — mostly whites — who were pro-IFP that at one stage the possibility of a "Cape secession" was broached should negotiations prove to be more in favour of the ANC and less in favour of regionalism and federalism as preferred by the IFP.

There has been considerable discontent within the NP over recent negotiation agreements between the ANC and government — specifically over the issue of the powers, functions and boundaries of regions.

Dissidents insist these issues should be decided before an election is held, rather than allowing, as the ANC wants, an elected constituent assembly the final say.

Rumours persist that Jeppe MP, Mr Hennie Bekker, wanted to join the IFP, but that he was persuaded not to do so only after a discussion with President de Klerk this week.

THE confident, combative tone in which Kobie Coetsee invited critical comment on his "Charter of Fundamental Rights" is most unfortunate.

The charter begins, in typically parsimonious spirit, not with a statement of fundamental rights, but with provisions circumscribing its application. It uses a strained language more appropriate to ordinary legislation than to a society's founding constitutional document.

Coetsee seeks to justify certain clauses in the government's charter on the basis of similar provisions in international instruments such as "The International Covenant of Civil and Political Rights".

Unfortunately, the reliance on international precedent does not extend to the jurisprudential framework which underlines modern human rights instruments. The minister claims that a bill of rights "serves as a code of conduct for the government of the day".

By contrast, modern human rights instruments grant rights to citizens and are seen not simply as shields but also as swords.

Sword

As the distinguished comparativist Mauro Cappelletti has written, "traditional human rights... have proved to be largely inadequate if not accompanied by that further human rights revolution which is reflected in what has been called the human rights of the second generation, that is social rights... To exclude social rights in a modern bill of rights... is to forget that the modern state has generally enlarged its reach and responsibilities into the economy and the welfare of the people."

The government's charter is certainly not a sword to provide citizens with the rights to which Cappelletti refers.

The issue in a situation of grotesque inequality is surely not whether rights should have a welfare content, but rather the most appropriate mechanism to secure these rights.

Coetsee's charter goes further than merely excluding welfare rights; it inappropriately casts free enterprise economic policies as fundamental rights.

No, it's not a rottweiler, but a shark and dinosaur

St Times
2/13/93

FIROZ CACHALIA and DENNIS DAVIS argue that the government's proposed charter of rights brings bad old habits to a new debate

The charter provides that property may be expropriated for public purposes subject to compensation at market value. By contrast, the Law Commission draft upon which Coetsee claims the charter has been based, provides for just compensation.

This formulation would allow a court to award compensation after a careful consideration of the equities; namely the respective claims of the state, the owner as well as the person who lost property possibly as a result of apartheid removals. The government's formulation effectively precludes initiatives to deal with the moral and legal claims of those who lost their land pursuant to government removal policies.

Similarly, the charter provides that every person shall have the right not to be subjected to taxes on property which will have a confiscatory effect or make unreasonable inroads upon the enjoyment, use of value thereof. The sheer scope of this clause is clearly designed to preclude a land tax but it could well destroy the existing system of rates and taxes.

In the field of labour law, the charter threatens the post-Wiehahn achievements. Notwithstanding the princi-

ple of collective bargaining, the charter affords individual employees the right to circumvent collective agreements.

The provision concerning education and training provides that every state-aided tertiary educational institution should have the right to determine the medium of instruction and the religious and general character of such educational institution. The intention appears to preserve state-funded Christian national schools and tertiary institutions such as Stellenbosch University, which appear determined to maintain their existing privileged status at the state's expense.

The most objectionable provisions of this charter are arguably those which are calculated to immunise racial exclusion and subordination over a field which could include sports clubs, residential areas and restaurants. The "free association" clause read together with Clause 2(2) which amounts to an interpretative instruction to a constitutional court to strike down anti-discriminatory legislation, is intended to entrench the private right to discriminate.

It is not our view that the state should be empowered

willy-nilly to interfere with the membership choices of voluntary associations.

However, where there is a compelling social interest, for example in overcoming racial and gender subordination, it should do so. Indeed, unlike the American bill of rights the government's charter will afford no protection to private parties aggrieved by restrictive racial arrangements and unlike the German constitution, which has been interpreted to apply to private institutions that perform public functions, the government's charter seeks to erect a Chinese wall between the state and society.

The provisions of the government's charter dealing with criminal injustice are also disquieting. The minister's interpretation of Clause 37, which deals with detentions, is either disingenuous or reflective of cavalier reading. The effect of the clause, clear detention for up to 10 days, is sanctioned by his bill; only for periods of detention of more than 10 days will the courts' supervisory role come into operation.

This provision is unique in the international context and reflects a steadfast commitment to authoritarianism.

Doubtful

The charter is also remarkable for the provision of detention "for investigation" and of witnesses "who refuse to divulge information" regarding an alleged offence. The minister's supposed human rights charter constitutionalises wide powers of detention without trial, makes no provision for inadmissibility of illegally obtained evidence and generally undermines the right of the accused.

A bill of rights without a right of access to the courts is a rather doubtful exercise.

The freedom of speech clause is an insult to the very idea as it provides for the licensing and registration of newspapers, a clause incompatible with press freedom.

Kader Asmal is wrong on one point — the bill is not a rottweiler — it is a poorly drafted combination of a jurisprudential dinosaur and a political shark.

□ Firoz Cachalia and Dennis Davis are with Wits University's Centre for Applied Legal Studies.

KEN OWEN IS ON LEAVE

MPs try to shed 'fat cat' image

MARTIN CHALLENGOR
Weekend Argus Political Staff

NATIONAL Party bosses are under pressure from MPs to peg salaries and perks to shake off fat-cat images.

Many people were annoyed by reports this week of extra money going to MPs.

The reports stemmed from a Budget item under the heading "Salaries, allowances and other benefits of office of office-bearers and other Members of Parliament".

The total increased from R55 154 000 in the 1992/93 financial year to R78 445 000 for the 1993/94 financial year. While MPs were publicly flayed, opposition MPs and even some National Party MPs

looked to the chief whip of parliament, Mr Alex van Breda, and NP chief whip Mr Kippies Niemann to come to their defence and explain the figures. However, they kept quiet.

The R23-million increase included money for the 9.9 percent salary increase MPs got last July. This matched the pay increase for civil servants. MPs now earn R118 000 a year.

Part of the money went to finance an increase in MPs' allowances for their constituency offices, which also went through last year.

A pension increase for former MPs was included.

The biggest slice of the increase — R11 900 000 — was for the MPs' motor vehicle loan subsidy scheme. The subsidy entails a new car for MPs every four years.

MPs get allowances of R2 833 a month to run their cars but have to pay parliament back for the purchase of the vehicles if they leave office before four years are up.

Yesterday MPs from all parties said there was no possibility of MPs getting more than a five percent pay rise on July 1 when the civil servants get their expected five percent.

Some MPs do not even want that. The Solidarity Party has tabled a motion for MPs' salaries to be pegged.

Mr Kassavan Padayachy said his resolution calling on the president to freeze increases in salaries and allowances for MPs in the current year "should be seen as an act of sympathetic solidarity with taxpayers".

REGIONALISM

Fuzzy distinction between federal and unitary rule

STAR 20/3/93.

(304A)

THE line separating unitary and federal states is frequently blurred, and slogans tend to further distort the debate, says the ANC's Thozamile Botha. PATRICK LAURENCE reports.

THERE is a need to shift away from slogans, remarks Thozamile Botha, the amiable but determined head of the ANC's department of local and regional government.

His comment is made with reference to the debate over whether South Africa should have a centralised unitary or a decentralised federal system of government. These labels or "slogans" oversimplify and distort the debate, Botha reckons. The line separating unitary and federal states is frequently blurred, he adds.

An ANC discussion document on regional policy supplements his point: "Many unitary states have federal features and many federal states have unitary ones; the Federal Republic of Germany thus has a more centralised state system than the United States of America..."

ANC regional policy — which proposes to recognise and protect regions and regional government powers in a founding constitution — should be seen in that context, Botha says.

All the main political organisations espouse regionalism in one form or another; all favour regional government, although Mangosuthu Buthelezi's Inkatha Freedom Party still talks of federalism.

Botha, who rose to prominence in the early 1980s as the chairman of the Port Elizabeth Black Civic Organisation, identifies salient differences between ANC regional policy and those of its political rivals. These differences relate primarily to the balance of power between the centre and the regions: the ANC, wary of the danger of encouraging centrifugal forces, wants a strong and ultimately dominant central government to hold the country together; its rivals, apprehensive of a tyrannical centre imposing its will on the regions, want stronger regional government.

Botha states: "The ANC's position begins from the premise that South Africa must be one united country. There must be a single constitution, from which regional powers and functions derive." Regional powers, he adds, can be entrenched.

The ANC, however, wants the central government's hand strengthened by giving it concurrent and overriding powers, Botha says. He cites education to illus-

trate his point. Regional government can be given power to formulate education policy but, since education is a "national asset", concurrent power will be vested in the central government to ensure there is a required level of uniformity on issues such as certification and curricula.

If there is a contradiction between regional and central government policy, the overriding power of central government will come into operation. Its policy will prevail. Botha gives two examples: if the central government lays down that education should be compulsory for at least nine years, regional governments would not be free to offer less; if the central government ruled in favour of nonracial education, regional governments would not be allowed to establish segregated schools.

ANC policy envisages, Botha says, a pivotal fiscal role for central government.

NP and IFP regional policy is based on the "principle of subsidiarity", Botha says, then elaborates on what the ANC understands by that. "The regions decide what powers and functions they want. Anything they don't want goes to the central government. In our view, that is premised on confederation. It can create the conditions for the fragmentation of South Africa. They want to develop regional constitutions which the central government would find difficult to amend or change."

Botha reiterates his fear that it is a formula which could lead to the disintegration of South Africa. Seemingly forgetful of his admonition against sloganising, he says: "The principle of subsidiarity is a confederal concept."

It would, Botha adds, make it difficult for the central government to deal with imbalances in wealth between the different regions and to address the historical inequalities of apartheid.

Agreement on the need for regional government in the future clearly masks differences over what regionalism means. Botha, however, is hopeful that a compromise can be reached.

"We should be able to agree that the establishment of regions is not intended to divide the country but to unite it by devolving democracy to the people."

● An important ANC conference aimed at refining its policy of regionalism ends today.

Koos in CP role

THE recently retired SADF Chief of Staff Planning, General Koos Bisschoff, is to run the Conservative Party's mobilisation secretariat.

The secretariat was formed at the CP's 11th annual national congress in Pretoria yesterday.

The mobilisation campaign was launched late last year in response to attacks by Apla on white farmers in the Eastern Cape and along the Free State border with Lesotho. (304A) (S)

21/3/93
S. Times

Don't be sidetracked by puppets who resent change, De Klerk told Move quickly, ANC warns FW

ARG-22/3/93 (304A)

NENNIS CRUYWAGEN, Political Staff

THE ANC has warned President De Klerk to move quickly ahead with negotiations and not to be sidetracked by National Party dissidents and puppets who resented change.

The warning was delivered in Langa yesterday by ANC shadow sports minister Mr Steve Tshwete at a rally to commemorate the 33rd anniversary of the Sharpeville killing.

He said negotiations were another terrain of struggle in which power was at stake.

"Our struggle has always been about power. We did not want to be ruled nicely by a white minority government. We wanted power, that's why we fought and died."

He said President De Klerk had to choose between democracy and NP dissidents and puppets who were refusing to move forward.

"We don't want De Klerk to be seen to be identifying with those who refuse to move forward. We want him to identify as soon as possible with elements who desire a speedy transformation to democracy."

"We are in a hurry to get a new constitution... That's why we are impatient with the delays in negotiations. Now is the time for the oppressed to rule in South Africa."

● The National Party is disintegrating like the Roman Empire because of injustice and corruption, says Mr Benny Alexander, general secretary of Pan Africanist Congress.

Addressing the 33rd anniversary of the Sharpeville shootings in Langa yesterday, he said President De Klerk was doing his best to hold the NP together, but was failing dismally, reports Vuyo Bavuma.

The colourful rally, marred by shouts of "One settler, one bullet" and pro-Azanian People's Liberation Army (Apla) songs, was attended by more than 2 000 people, including city councillor Mrs Eulalie Stott who sat behind the PAC officials.

Mr Alexander said the PAC was involved in talks because it wanted to guard against "secret deals being struck between NP and the ANC".

After the meeting Mrs Stott, who was introduced as a "friend of Philip Kgosana" (leader of the 1960 PAC march from Langa to Cape Town), said she came to "show respect for my friends who initiated a morally justified campaign in 1960 against the dreadful pass laws".

Asked whether she was uncomfortable about Apla's actions, Mrs Stott said: "I just hope that I will be able to see when all people can take part fairly in running government affairs — and people see that violence is no longer necessary."



SA to have 10 regions, says ANC

JOHANNESBURG. — The ANC committed itself to dividing South Africa into a maximum of 10 regions at a crucial conference over the weekend.

ANC secretary-general Mr Cyril Ramaphosa said the policy was adopted unanimously and would be unveiled today.

The regions are: Western Cape, Eastern Cape, Border/Kei, Natal, Free State, Northern Cape, Western Transvaal, PWV, Eastern Transvaal and Northern Transvaal.

But with some of the 200 delegates at the conference having called for only eight regions, the ANC said that some mergers may eventually take place if the residents in the areas agreed.

ANC sources said the Border/Kei and Eastern Cape, and Northern Cape and Western Transvaal regions could eventually merge.

A proposal that 16 regions be demarcated was rejected by the conference.

Delegates said the borders, powers and functions of national, regional and local government would have to

be set out in the constitution, which they said would be decided by a future constituent assembly.

They said the constitution would also have to provide a mechanism for financing regional and local government. But the national government would have to assign taxes and set limits via an advisory commission on fiscal decentralisation, which could be chaired by a judge.

Borrow

The judge could be assisted by two appointees from the central government, while local and regional government could appoint one representative each.

The ANC said that local and regional government would possibly be allowed to borrow money for capital expenditure subject to approval from the national government and the Reserve Bank.

Delegates also decided that there would have to be some regional representation on the constituent assembly, preferably through elections in the four existing provinces. — Sapa

304A

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CT 22/3/93

Another National Party

Star 22/3/93

MP lashes Broederbond

By Jacques Pauw

(304A)

Another National Party MP has slammed the Afrikaner Broederbond as an elitist group which is dictating matters and "misusing the trust of naive people".

In an article written for Vrye Weekblad, Sakkie Louw is highly critical of what he calls the sustained secrecy surrounding the Broederbond.

"I have always believed that dark habits breed dark deeds."

Louw, MP for Newton Park, is the second NP parliamentarian to have come out strongly against the Broederbond.

Germiston MP Derek Christophers had said there was a cover-up of corruption by senior Government officials to protect members of the Broederbond.

Christophers made his remarks in a taped telephone conversation with former assistant chief auditor Jaap Serfontein.

Broederbond chairman Professor Pieter de Lange said it was untrue that members of the organisation would be involved in a cover-up of corruption.

Louw asked why, if the Broederbond was so innocent, there was a need for secrecy.

● What the MP said on tapes — Page 15

CP plan of action for 'whites only'

B/DAY ERICA JANKOWITZ 22/3/93

THE national mobilisation campaign announced by the CP on Saturday would cater only for whites, although parallel structures could be created for other race groups concerned with civil liberties, CP leader Andries Treurnicht said yesterday. He said the initiative had been in the pipeline but recent attacks on civilians had emphasised the seriousness of the situation and the need for action. (304A)

The aim was to allow communities their right to self-determination, he said.

The CP would still rely on government to protect communities, but as it was clearly failing in this function a special commission — the mobilisation secretariat — had been set up, Treurnicht said.

The secretariat, to be led by recently retired head of the SADF's staff planning unit, Lt-Gen Koos Bisschoff, consisted of local and regional elected representatives.

Only "peaceful and legal" methods of ensuring the CP's aim of self-determination would be pursued, said Treurnicht. He did not envisage the use of military action as long as communities were not threatened and military force was not used.

The CP would invite all peace-loving (white) people to join the initiative, he said.

Sapa reports that Bisschoff, who also previously headed the SADF's eastern and northwestern commands, said at the launch that the nation's values — including Christianity and democracy — were under serious threat.

Campaign for election supervision

(304A)

JOHANNESBURG. — More than 50 anti-apartheid movements, development agencies, church bodies and trade unions are to campaign for international supervision, monitoring and verification of elections in South Africa.

CT 22/3/93
The initiative was launched yesterday, the United Nations-designated International Day for the Elimination of Racial Discrimination.

In a statement from London, the Liaison Group of European Community Anti-Apartheid Movements said the appeal was being organised to mobilise international public opinion in support of a sizable presence by the UN in conjunction with other inter-governmental bodies.

The campaign would appeal for:

- International monitoring of the electoral process throughout the election campaign.

- International supervision to prevent fraud and ballot rigging, and

- International verification of results. — Sapa

Star 22/3/93

Ex-SADF general elected to CP 'mobilisation' post

The recently-retired head of Staff Planning of the South African Defence Force, Lieutenant-General Koos Bisschoff, has been appointed head of the Conservative Party's mobilisation secretariat.

According to a statement released at the CP's general congress in Pretoria on Saturday, Bisschoff will be responsible for co-ordinating the party's national mobilisation campaign.

CP leader Dr Andries Treurnicht said details about the mobilisation campaign would be made known later.

Bisschoff previously commanded the SADF's Eastern

and Northern Western Commands. (304A)

He said his appointment should not be seen as a party-political development, but as support for a people's action.

He said the nation's values were under serious threat.

"The kernel of democracy is not the will of the majority, but the freedom of people and nations," Bisschoff said.

He saw self-determination as a basic right for each nation. He called on all peace and freedom-loving people to unite across party-political barriers and to act in defence of their self-determination. — Sapa.

There is still suspicion about SA's involvement in Angola, reports Colin Legum

Star 22/3/93

Can Pretoria be believed?

3044

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LAST week a message went from Abidjan in the Ivory Coast through a Unita agent directly to Jonas Savimbi proposing a fresh initiative to end the fighting and return to the negotiating tables. Within days a positive reply came back. His quick response was remarkable since for more than a month he has cut himself off from all contacts with Pretoria, Lisbon and Washington, which has led to suspicions about his whereabouts.

The message from Abidjan was signed by Thabo Mbeki, the ANC's foreign affairs spokesman, who was on a different mission in Abidjan. In essence it warned Savimbi of total world isolation if he continued the war and put off returning to negotiations.

Savimbi's reply was that he would respond to a new initiative if it was proposed by President Houphouët-Boigny, King Hassan of Morocco and Nelson Mandela. The first two are long-time supporters of Savimbi, while Mandela has been a staunch supporter of the MPLA government in Luanda. Savimbi's proposal is now being followed up through diplomatic

channels.

The ANC's involvement has come about through its concern about Luanda's allegations that the Pretoria regime is still engaged in clandestinely sending arms to Unita. Before visiting Luanda to learn more about the MPLA's grounds for suspecting South African involvement, Mbeki is known to have had exploratory talks with the Foreign Affairs Ministry in Pretoria to get an explanation of its current policy towards the Angolan conflict.

Whether or not he was convinced by Pretoria's denial of any involvement is not known; but he was told that the South African Government had emphatically informed Savimbi before the recent elections that he could expect no further assistance from them.

The question is why, despite Pretoria's disavowal of support for Savimbi, the Luanda government still remains unconvinced. A spokesman for the South African Foreign Ministry told me it understood why Luanda should remain suspicious in view of the substantial support it had given, militarily and otherwise, in the build-up

of Unita's strength in the past.

This suspicion was strengthened by the fact that shortly before the elections, Savimbi had paid a visit to South Africa. His explanation of the visit was that he had come to thank President de Klerk personally for the help he had received in the past. He surprised De Klerk by his confidence that he would win the elections.

This confidence was not supported by South African military intelligence, which reported to De Klerk that Savimbi was unlikely to win. But Savimbi brushed aside De Klerk's warning that he should not take his victory as a foregone conclusion.

Relations between Savimbi and Pretoria appear to have cooled off after Savimbi's defeat at the polls. The last communication Pretoria received from him was a telephone message on January 27.

Nevertheless, it remains a fact that a number of air and other operations have taken place from South African soil. These have taken two forms — airlifts by private South African registered aircraft carrying supplies, and the recruitment of mercenaries.

South African air operations

have been conducted by commercial firms ostensibly enlisted by international aid agencies to fly in food under the World Food Programme. It seems some operators gave false destinations for their flight operations and of the cargo they were carrying.

One company was under suspicion since it has in the past been contracted by the South African military to fly supplies to Unita during the time they were engaged in supporting Savimbi. When reports were received that this company was flying into Angola, Pretoria stopped its flights.

However, the South African Government has failed to stop all flights going to Angola because of the large number of private airfields in the country and because of the falsification of destinations reported by air operators.

The recruitment of mercenaries is a different matter since they are all destined to go to support anti-Unita forces and have been recruited by a well-known company in Pretoria which has confirmed that it had instructions from an agent acting for multina-

tional oil companies operating in Angola who were seeking security guards to protect their properties after Unita had occupied Soyo and other key areas in the oilfields.

When documentary evidence was produced to show that the recruitment of mercenaries was taking place, 300 had already left the country. President de Klerk ordered that an immediate stop be put to this recruitment.

However, there was a hitch when the Angolan embassy in Pretoria insisted that a number of former members of the 32 Commando, which gained notoriety in the war in Angola, were Angolans of Portuguese origin who had asked to be repatriated. He said they had a right to return.

Meanwhile, too, the 32 Commando Association, which represents the interests of its demobilised members, condemned the recruitment of its former members to go help "communists" in Angola against whom they say they had fought and suffered in "the cause of democracy". But, clearly, the offer of \$10 000 a month (R30 000) was too tempting for these "anti-communists" to turn down.

It seems likely these mercenaries were engaged in the successful operation to drive Unita's forces out of Soyo.

My own inquiries lead to the following conclusions. First, that clandestine operations originating from South African soil have gone to support both sides in the Angolan conflict.

Second, that despite Pretoria's interest in wishing to live down its past support for Unita, it failed to stop private commercial operators from flying in supplies to Unita territory because they misrepresented their destination and because some had initially been contracted by international agencies to carry food to Angola.

Third, that the South African Government seems genuinely concerned not to become involved in the Angolan conflict and supports United Nations and ANC efforts to help end the fighting and achieve a negotiated settlement.

Since the Angolan government does not accept Pretoria's *bona fides*, it would help to clarify the situation if the South African Government were to agree to a UN observer mission examining the allegations on the ground. □

DP campaigns in Soweto

CT 22/3/73

304A

JOHANNESBURG. — The Democratic Party will probably be the first government to be put into power after South Africa's first proper elections, Mr William Mnisi, a national chairman of the party, told a branch meeting in Soweto on Saturday.

"The DP will have influence out of all proportion to their numbers," he told a meeting of about 60 people that went undisrupted.

DP MP for Yeoville Mr Douglas Gibson urged residents at the meeting to vote for the DP as it was the only party "which cares about the ordinary man, the ordinary woman, as individuals".

The problems facing the country were poverty, injustice, oppression and corruption, Mr Gibson said.

The people of Soweto had for too long been satisfied with too little, he said. — Sapa, Own Correspondent

Own affairs to go general

PARLIAMENT. — A bill proposing to give effect to the fact that certain local government own affairs functions are being assigned to general affairs ministers and administrators was published in Parliament this weekend. (304A)

From April 1 this year functions for agricultural development, health services and local government are to be transferred to general affairs departments as own affairs are being phased out. — Sapa

De Klerk in plea to nation on violence

Star 23/3/93

● From Page 1

"old white people and children" would die.

Police Commissioner General Johan van der Merwe said yesterday the SAP were going all out to prevent further terror attacks.

"We have alerted all our forces and all our members. We are planning to take whatever precautions are necessary."

The PAC and Apla are still refusing to say whether its operatives were responsible for any of the attacks.

The attacks have been widely condemned.

The SA Council of Churches said yesterday: "It is a tragedy when children are made to be the innocent victims of violence. It is a tragedy when the terror of the random killings strikes at the heart of the nation. It is a tragedy when some feel the necessity to take the law into their own hands."

The ANC's PWV region said: "We call upon the police to ensure that law and order is maintained and also bring the

perpetrators of the killings to book."

In yesterday's attack, near Boipatong, four men armed with assault rifles jumped out in front of a car driven by Daniel de Bruyn (52) of Vanderbijlpark. They sprayed the car with bullets, killing Concer.

Law and Order Minister Hernus Kriel yesterday visited the scene of Friday's ambush, which claimed the lives of Sandra Mitchley (35), her son Sean Nel (14) and Clare Silberbauer (13).

He told reporters the Cabinet would decide what action would be taken on the "dualism" displayed by Apla and the PAC.

He said a satellite police station would be opened in Eikenhof within four to six weeks.

Questioned about a right-wing backlash against the killings, Police Commissioner Van der Merwe said yesterday he had not yet received any information that rightwingers were planning any specific action in revenge for the attacks. — Staff Reporters and Sapa.

De Klerk appeals to nation on violence

Star 23/3/93

(304A)

President F W de Klerk last night called on all South Africans to stand united in an effort to end the violence in the country.

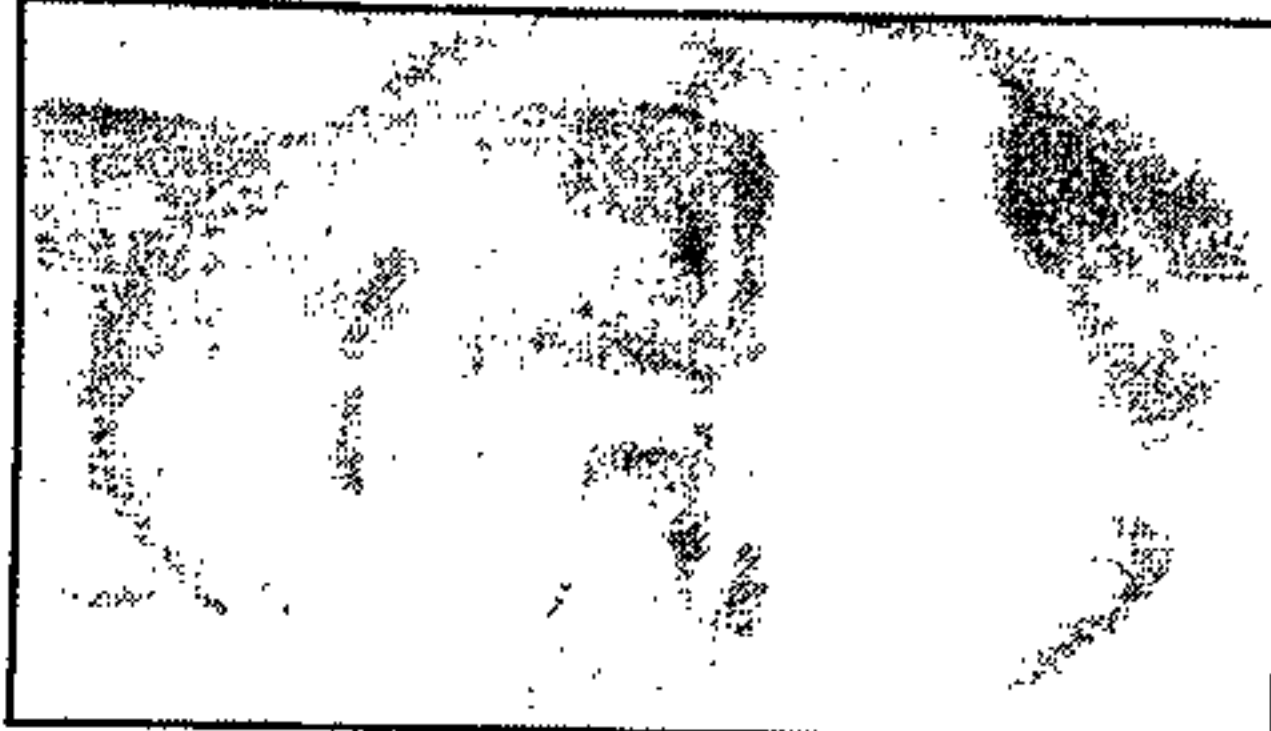
Speaking at a function in Sandton he said murder, especially of children, was something the Government could never condone.

Action could be taken by the security forces and negotiators, but South Africa as a whole should address the causes of violence, such as poverty.

President de Klerk said indirect as well as direct action should be taken to build a new South African nation.

Meanwhile, yesterday's third terror attack on white motorists in the Vaal Triangle has led police to begin escorting school buses and preparing to send in Defence Force troops to help protect civilians.

Vanderbijlpark businessman Tony Concer (54) was shot dead when four gunmen opened fire on a car in which he was a passenger. It was the third ambush on white motorists in as many



Concer... shot dead in yesterday's ambush.

● To Page 3

days in the Walkerville-Eikenhof area. A woman and two children died after a similar attack on Friday, and a Vereeniging man's car was set alight on Saturday by gunmen who said 1993 would be the year in which

Drove away... Daan de Bruyn with his wife Alida after he had been shot at near Boipatong.



Picture: Melody McDougall

(3044) 244

Zero-rated food prices to be surveyed

PRETORIA. — The Consumer Council yesterday started a nationwide campaign to monitor the food prices of basic foodstuffs to be exempted from VAT from April 7.

The council's executive director, Mr. Jan Cronjé, said the foodstuffs should be reduced by 10% on that date.

Besides Cosatu and Nactu, other consumer groups, including women's organisations, would help with the effort.

Mr Cronjé appealed to consumers to help with the project by reporting sudden price hikes of zero-rated food to the council.

Foodstuffs to be exempted from VAT include rice, fresh fruit, vegetables, vegetable oils, fresh milk, cultured milk, brown wheat meal, eggs and dried and split peas. — Sapa

Govt will watch over regions

304A
Own Correspondent

JOHANNESBURG. — The ANC was committed to a central government which would interfere in regional affairs only when necessary.

It would only interfere if regional governments acted in contravention of the national constitution, bill of rights and national legislation, Local and Regional Government Co-or-

March 1993
dinator Mr Billy Cobbett said yesterday.

However, the central government would have the right to override regional legislation in specified areas and have concurrent powers in others.

These decisions were taken at the organisation's weekend conference on regionalism.

Mr Cobbett emphasised the contravention had to be proven

and not just the central government disagreeing with the regional government's policies.

Where regions' functions and powers were entrenched in the constitution, central government could override if contraventions occurred. In areas such as education the central government would hold concurrent powers, ANC local and regional government head Mr Thozamile Botha said.

New group set up to keep eye on elections

JOHANNESBURG. — A new monitoring committee has been launched here to keep tabs on the coming interim and presidential elections.

The chairman of the new SA Independent Monitoring Committee, Mr Ettien Fourie, said yesterday the organisation would be independent and would be funded by the private sector. About 300 companies had been asked for financial assistance.

Mr Fourie said the committee would have 12 members, all South Africans, who were not politically active in any party or organisation. Most committee members, including himself, had previous experience in election procedures, however. — Sapa

ANC pledges govt of 'minimal interference'

THE ANC was committed to a central government which would interfere in regional government only when the latter acted in contravention of the national constitution, Bill of Rights and national legislation, local and regional government coordinator Billy Cobbett said yesterday.

However, the ANC still insisted that central government could override regional legislation in certain specified areas and have concurrent powers in others.

At a media briefing yesterday to discuss the organisation's weekend conference on regionalism, he said the aim was minimal interference in regional government but the central government was obliged to act if the constitution was contravened.

He emphasised the contravention had to be a proven one and not just a disagreement by the central government with the regional government's policies.

ANC spokesman Gill Marcus said finality had not been reached in the national negotiations on the form of a constitutional court or which particular body would be guardian of the constitution. "There will be a constitutional court and there may also be either a commission, legal body or review body that would evaluate the actions on agreed criteria and adjudicate on alleged contraventions," she said.

ANC local and regional government head Thozamile Botha said where regions' functions and powers were entrenched in

BILLY PADDOCK

the constitution, central government would have overriding powers if contraventions occurred. Other authority, such as control over education, would see central government holding concurrent powers.

"We have to ensure that there is a uniform standard throughout the country."

But the ANC rejected any notion of regions drafting their own constitutions as this would be tantamount to confederation.

Botha said the organisation believed regional policy could be finalised only as part of a national democratic constitution.

Under the ANC's proposals, regional policy would be implemented in phases.

Powers and functions of the interim regional government would be agreed on before the elections, it was disclosed. During the runup to elections the transitional executive council and its sub-councils could be extended to co-ordinate administration and begin rationalising services.

The ANC did not envisage direct regional elections until after the final constitution had been adopted. Representatives to regional executives could be appointed on the basis of proportional votes received during national elections. Each region would have the same number of seats.

Botha said the ANC had opted for 10 regions because "more than this would be too expensive and too much government".

POLITICALLY stable and economically prosperous post-apartheid SA "is unquestionably Africa's most promising long-term hope for renewal". So writes Council on Foreign Relations fellow Margaret Michaels in the latest annual America and the World issue of Foreign Affairs.

Foreign Minister Pik Botha had perhaps read that sentence before arriving in Washington last week. Do right by SA, was his message, for the continent's sake.

Naturally, he has a particular view of how a stable and prosperous SA is to be achieved, namely that it will require the full participation of the NP. He was here to ensure that the new administration — the first Democratic one he has had to deal with since 1980 — at least tacitly accepts this notion, and therefore will not tilt towards the ANC in the difficult constitutional negotiations that lie ahead.

Key issues remain to be resolved, he reminded the Americans, among them the distribution of power between central and regional authorities and, just as important, the specifics of how power sharing will be implemented after the first election. He wanted to make certain that Washington would throw its weight behind the right solutions, even if that meant having, on occasion, to stick up for the *ancien regime*.

The news that President Bill Clinton is ready to receive President F W de Klerk is evidence the Minister succeeded. Not that it was a tough sell. His fears of a tilt were exaggerated. And he perhaps read too much into ANC president Nelson Mandela's encounter with Clinton at an inaugural ball last January and subsequent meeting with Secretary of State Warren Christopher. But Botha cannot be blamed for wanting to make sure. After all, the last time people like Christopher and Clinton's security adviser Anthony Lake were

Pik woos the US with the fervour of a reformed sinner

BIDA 23/3/93 (304A)

SIMON BARBER in Washington

in office, SA was at its worst. "I cannot imagine your president supporting nationalisation (or) a human rights charter that is not in line with modern concepts (or) not supporting a market-oriented economic system," Botha told an interviewer. Actually, he could imagine all these things, though the reference to nationalisation was a bit gratuitous seeing as how the ANC has abandoned the concept. He added: "What we are asking the president of the US is to forget the past and to help us build a future, based on the merits of the parties. We are now in line."

Botha has a shrewd appreciation of the uses of the past, shrewder than many of his colleagues. In theory, it is the ANC's friend and the Nationalists' burden. In practice, however, the contrary may be true, especially in the US, where reformed sinners are often more warmly received than those they sinned against. Racial angst notwithstanding, this is a society that combines a short memory span with a readiness to forgive and embrace the reborn.

In remarks prepared for his appearance at the National Press Club last Thursday, Botha was to have said: "Apartheid was a mistake. It was an attempt to create separate

freedoms in an ethnically divided society, and it failed." He departed from the text to add that it was also "based on racial prejudice" and "morally indefensible". This was neatly done. More weight is often attached to what a politician says when he ad libs, and confession is more convincing when it does not seem to have been scripted.

Another aspect of SA's past is its nuclear weapons programme, or at least the well founded suspicions that it had one. This became an issue on Botha's first day here when the Washington Post reported US and Russian doubts about whether Pretoria had come completely clean on its highly enriched uranium inventory since acceding to the Nuclear Non-Proliferation Treaty in 1991.

In the past, such a story might have had Botha chewing carpet, especially since it guaranteed he would be asked about little else to the detriment of the points he really wanted to make. On this occasion, however, he seems to have spotted a grand opportunity (though it remains

to be seen whether his view is shared back home).

The world has a pretty good idea of the suffering inflicted by apartheid. SA's nuclear weapons history, by contrast, remains shrouded in secrecy. Nor, under the terms of its treaty obligations, is Pretoria required to disclose that history so long as it stopped whatever it was doing upon signing the treaty. Admitting guilt to a known set of actions is one thing. Confessing to past activities that may legitimately remain hidden is quite another. Indeed, it is hard to conceive a more persuasive demonstration of sincerity and good faith.

"As from the date of signing the treaty, we have completely reformed and the (International Atomic Energy Agency) inspectors confirm this in terms of our commitments," Botha told SA reporters after reading the Post article. Carefully choosing his words, he continued: "Whatever doubts or suspicions there might be as to what the position was before SA signed the treaty, they will be removed within the next two weeks."

To be sure, the phrasing was convoluted. Some may see it as weaselling. But the matter is delicate and it is entirely conceivable the Minister

was making policy on the fly. If so, more power to him.

The US intelligence community has informed Congress that SA may be in violation of articles II and III of the treaty. If all the community suspected was that SA had undeclared highly enriched uranium and might possibly seek to sell it to others, only article III need have been cited. Article II, on the other hand, bars not only the possession of nuclear weapons but the receipt of components, technology, even "assistance" from third countries. In other words, there is a very real possibility that full disclosure on SA's part may implicate third parties, including a close American ally.

Chances are, therefore, that SA will not be making everything public. However, what Botha is suggesting is that its books be opened fully to the US and others, probably through the International Atomic Energy Agency. That should not diminish the disclosure as an extraordinary gesture in itself, one that will do the government a world of good internationally. No country in SA's position has done anything like it.

The intent, and effect, of the move (assuming Botha can pull it off) is clearly to strengthen the prestige of the government as it heads into the final critical rounds of negotiation. This is highly creative use of past sins, all the more so since the ANC can only harm its own prestige if it gets in the way — as it might if it tries to block sales of SA's highly enriched uranium stockpile to the US or otherwise prevaricates. After all, an important reason the Americans are worried about SA's nuclear capacity is the thought that the capacity will soon be under ANC control.

The ability to get "in line", whether it be by supporting US objectives in places like Angola and Mozambique, or setting an example on nuclear proliferation matters, or simply by forthrightly admitting the error of past ways, is one of the government's most potent assets. Botha used it well last week.

BUSINESS DAY, Tuesday, March 23 1993

Pik voices support for Boris

Political Staff

THE government yesterday came out in support of embattled Russian President Boris Yeltsin.

Foreign Minister Pik Botha yesterday asked the Russian ambassador to SA, Alexei Makarov, to convey to the Moscow government the SA government's "best wishes for success". *BIOM 23/3/93*

The minister said he was "aware of the challenging and trying times which President Yeltsin is facing and have a deep understanding of the critical situation that has arisen in the Russian Federation".

Botha added: "The government supports the democratic principles for which President Yeltsin stands."

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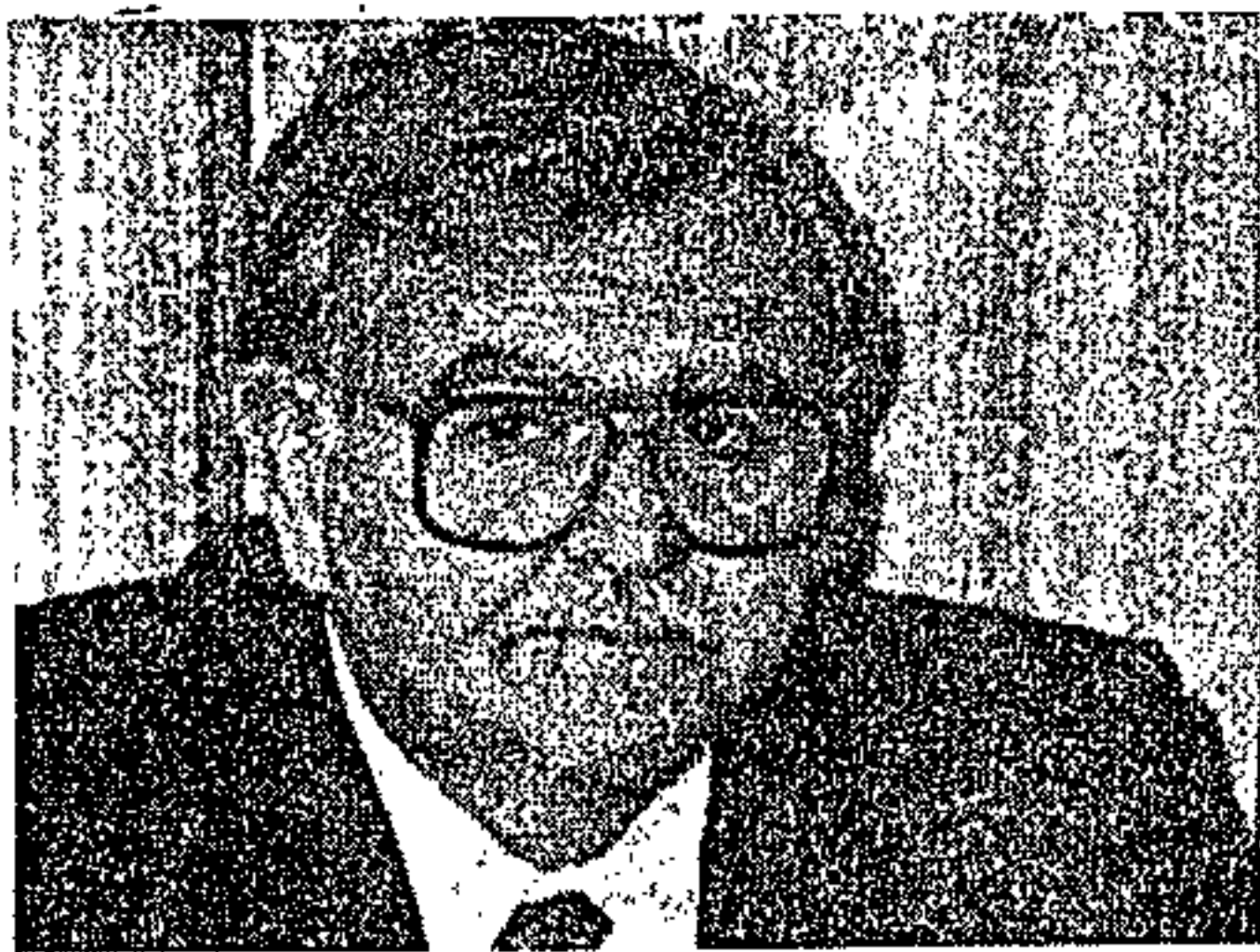
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ET 23/3/93 (24)
3049

warning

Latest attacks leading to polarisation — Kriel



CONCERNED . . . Minister of Law and Order Mr Hernus Kriel has appealed for cool heads.

By ANTHONY JOHNSON
Political Correspondent

THE government has warned of the possibility of a race war engulfing South Africa in the wake of three attacks on whites and the first apparent "revenge" shooting of a black child by right-wingers.

Law and Order Minister Mr Hernus Kriel gave this warning during his visit to Walkerville yesterday, the scene of Friday's killings. He arrived as AWB members staged a demonstration, and, noting their placards, said the attacks on whites were leading to polarisation.

The PAC's standpoint on violence was raised last night at the government's high-powered policy group meeting to discuss a plan for resuming next week's multi-party talks.

Mr Kriel also said the cabinet would meet in the next four days to discuss the PAC position.

Last night a caller to the Daily Dispatch in East London claimed Apla was responsible for the three attacks.

The caller, who identified himself as Ropa Hondo, deputy director of operations, said Apla had carried out the attacks near Walkerville, Fort Beaufort and Vanderbijlpark.

("Ropa hondo" means "blood war" in Shona).

The caller, who said he was telephoning from "somewhere in Azania", warned that further attacks would be carried out until Apla's demands were met.

The AWB yesterday blocked traffic on the M27 near the site of the Walkerville killings, and said the organisation would fight Apla "with everything at our disposal".

The AWB member in charge of the operation, "General" Johan "Hagar"

Thompson, said the protest was to bring to the attention of whites the fact that the government was doing nothing to protect them in the face of Apla attacks.

"Apla has declared war on whites. We accept the declaration," he said. AWB placards protesting the shooting said: "One settler one taxi" and "One white child one squatter camp". Chalked on the road were the words: "One child, 10 000 Apla".

Meanwhile a breakaway faction of the Wit Wolwe yesterday claimed responsibility for wounding a five-year-old black girl in Nigel — and threatened copy-cat attacks if the police did not stop the killing of whites.

Wit Wolwe secretary-general Mr "Boerstaat" Bosman said the shooting of Mzandile Morajane on Sunday was in retaliation for the attack on whites on Friday at Walkerville, south of Johannesburg, which left three people dead.

However, the organisation's leader, Mr Barend Strydom, later distanced it from the incident and said the claim was part of a smear campaign.

'Cool heads'

Mzandile was shot and wounded in an arm while walking with her father. She was shot from a moving car with a 9mm pistol.

The gunman was arrested minutes later, after he almost knocked down two other pedestrians.

Mr Bosman said the child was wounded when a Wit Wolwe general "lost his self-control through frustration and fired shots".

The "general", arrested on Sunday, faces charges of attempted murder and drunken driving.

Mr Bosman stressed the Wit Wolwe executive had not issued instructions for the shooting, but added it had "full understanding for the frustrations

March Madness Offer

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To page 2

P.T.O.

SA and Congo establish ties

Political Correspondent

SOUTH AFRICA and the Congo yesterday established diplomatic relations.

The agreement was signed at the Palais des Congres in Brazzaville at a ceremony attended by South African Deputy Minister of Foreign Affairs Mr Renier Schoeman and Congolese Minister of Foreign Affairs and Co-operation Mr Benjamin Bounkoulou.

Mr Schoeman was received by Congo's President Pascal Lissouba after the signing ceremony.

BOUAC 23/3/93

The Economist reports on the end of apartheid and the start of a new era

Becoming 'just another country'

SMC 24/3/93

3044

A FILM popular in Johannesburg this summer has been *The Angel, the Bicycle and the Chinaman's Finger*, a parable about a Japanese (sic) businessman willing to invest a fortune in South Africa's Post Office once racial discrimination has ended.

To see that it has, he points his finger at a small town in the Orange Free State. Its black, brown and white postal workers receive frantic orders from Pretoria to put on a display of racial harmony. Miraculously, they overcome their racial fears and perform a heart-warming nativity play for the Japanese inspectors.

Apartheid has disfigured too much since 1948 — not just laws and structures, but people's hearts as well — to end as happily as that. But ending it is. At the open-

ing week of what will probably be the last white Parliament in Cape Town last month, the Government promised an omnibus Bill to repeal remaining traces of discriminatory legislation.

A lot of National Party members did not turn up; they were too busy reviving businesses, law practices and other post-apartheid escape routes to tend their doomed parliamentary careers.

As entire government departments set up to run the intricate machinery of separate development, prepared to abolish themselves, the Defence Minister and his senior generals appeared before the press, talking queasily about the coming merger with Umtkhonto we Sizwe, the underground army of the ANC. Just as certain as the ending of

apartheid is the coming of the ANC. Its headquarters in down town Johannesburg contrast weirdly with the end-of-term feeling in Cape Town.

The atmosphere is that of a students' union that has just been told that it will shortly be running a country. Former political prisoners and ex-guerrillas sit alongside sympathetic academics and experts from overseas, writing and rewriting policies on the economy, land reform, housing and foreign affairs.

The ANC is confident of winning more votes than any other party in the forthcoming election, and of dominating the decision-making in the next government.

At that point, the ANC will have achieved the aim of black emancipation for which it was founded 81

years ago. Beyond that, nothing is certain. One possibility is that, with the job of liberation behind it, the organisation will begin to break up.

The struggle against apartheid was a bond that hooped together a multitude of people who would otherwise have quarrelled. In time, these factions will emerge into independent parties. Given the scale of the country's problems, it would be odd if the battle between these factions did not soon turn bitter.

A deplorable end to the history of struggle? No: only the resumption of normal politics, after the aberration of apartheid. From afar, South Africa was fascinating when it was a morality play. Its people may be better off when it has become just another country in Africa. □

The share of CEF (Pty) Ltd in Sasol III was sold for R2,9 billion. The payments schedule is as follows:

	R million
2 January 1991	750
2 January 1992	400
2 January 1993	400
2 January 1994	400
2 January 1995	400
2 January 1996	550
Total	2 900

Interest is calculated at a fixed rate of 16% on the balance outstanding.

Up to 2 January 1993 a sum of R1,55 billion, together with interest, had already been paid to CEF (Pty) Ltd.

(b) (i) 1988/89 to 1992/93.

(ii) information already provided under part I (a) of the question.

(c) The proceeds from the sale of strategic supplies were spent on a large variety of socio-economic projects.

The proceeds from the sale of state enterprises were utilized as follows:

1988/89	R million
Development Bank of Southern Africa	371
Local Authorities Loan Fund	100
Small Business Development Corporation	50
South African Housing Trust	45
Emergency housing	34
1989/90	
Redemption of public debt	2 994
1992/93	
Part financing of expenditures, as budgeted	168
	3 762

The amount of R44 million paid into the Revolving Fund in 1990/91 from the proceeds of the sale of National Sorghum Breweries was utilized for the upliftment of Black communities.

The proceeds from the sale of Sasol III are being used mainly for the financing of Mossgas.

HOUSE OF ASSEMBLY

(2) No.

*1. Mr H D K van der Merwe—National Education.† [Transferred to Own Affairs: Education and Culture.]

Cultural/minority groups identified

*2. Mr H D K VAN DER MERWE asked the Minister of Home Affairs:†

(1) Whether he intends introducing legislation to make provision for identifying and defining (a) minority and (b) cultural groups in the Republic; if not, why not; if so, when; (304A)

(2) whether he will make a statement on the matter? B316E

†THE MINISTER OF HOME AFFAIRS:

(1) No. The hon member is referred to my predecessor's reply to the hon member's Interpellation question regarding "groups" during the 1991 session of Parliament (Hansard: col 1121 of 23 April 1991).

(2) No.

†Mr H D K VAN DER MERWE: Mr Chairman, arising out of the hon the Minister's reply, I want to remind the House that 1991 is a very long time ago. If the hon the Minister talks about cultural groups in the constitutional discussions, how is he going to determine those cultural groups?

†THE MINISTER: Mr Chairman, if the hon member had paid attention to the reply he received in that interpellation debate, he would have seen that it is the standpoint of the Government that cultural groups should form themselves spontaneously and not by way of definition in terms of the law. That spontaneous formation is modelled on the basis of voluntary association, which is included in the Government's Declaration of Fundamental Rights, which will be on the agenda in the negotiation process.

†Mr H D K VAN DER MERWE: Mr Chairman, further arising out of the hon the Minister's reply, am I correct to understand him to be saying that a people, like the Afrikaner people, could then identify itself and could it

self determine who is a member of that cultural community and who is not? (304A)

†THE MINISTER: Mr Chairman, broadly speaking the hon member is correct, but I would not like to leave the matter of determining who is an Afrikaner solely in the hands of the hon member! [Interjections.] I think there are many more of us who are Afrikaners. [Interjections.] The fact of the matter is, yes, cultural groups will be able to identify themselves and to decide for themselves how they want to protect their interests and how they want to associate with one another. I personally believe that we should include the concept of dissociation in the concept of association.

Angolan peace negotiations

*3. Dr C P MULDER asked the Minister of Foreign Affairs:†

Whether he (a) was involved in the peace negotiations in Angola in 1992 and (b) is involved in these negotiations at present; if not, why not; if so, in what respects, in each case? B394E

†THE MINISTER OF FOREIGN AFFAIRS:

(Reply laid upon the Table with leave of House):

(a) Yes.

(b) Yes, in an indirect manner. The hon member will be interested in the contents of a letter which I personally handed to the Secretary-General of the UN on 17 March 1993, and which reads as follows:

Dear Mr Secretary-General

In view of the deteriorating situation in Angola and renewed allegations by the Government of the Republic of Angola regarding continued logistical support for UNITA from South Africa, I deem it necessary to once again place on record the South African Government's position in this regard.

I would like to state categorically that the South African Government does not support UNITA militarily or in any other way. The South African Government also does not support any party which opts for a military solution. It will also not support any par-

ty which attempts to obtain advantages inconsistent with the democratic process. In fact the position of the South African Government in this regard has been amply expounded in previous communications to you, and which have been widely published also as official documents of the Security Council.

I wish to stress that South Africa's interests would be ill-served by conflict, destruction and instability in the Southern African region: consequently South Africa's interests coincide with the interests of the people of Angola in a negotiated peaceful future. It is difficult to conceive what strategic or other South African interest could be served by becoming embroiled in a conflict which is not only detrimental to bilateral relations but also to the region and the continent as a whole.

In the past, when the world was a different place, a number of other states, including the United States and South Africa supported Dr Savimbi with the overall objective of enabling him to participate in a democratic process in Angola, which would establish an elected Government and bring to an end years of internal strife. That objective was achieved, although subsequently vitiated, when elections were held in Angola at the end of September 1992 in terms of the Bicesse Accords of 31 May 1991. The considerations of earlier years obviously no longer have relevance.

The South African Government, in its contacts with both President Eduardo dos Santos and Dr Jonas Savimbi and in its public pronouncements has consistently and strongly advocated the following:

- the obligation of the parties to honour the terms of the Bicesse Accords;
- the obligation of the parties to accept the results of the September 1992 election which were declared "generally free and fair" by the Secretary-General's Special Representative in Angola and which

HOUSE OF ASSEMBLY

was formally accepted by the South African Government;

- the need for the leaders of the two main parties in Angola to enter into dialogue to solve the impasse;
- the total rejection of force as a way of achieving political ends in Angola; and,
- support for the Security Council and Secretary-General of the United Nations in their efforts to salvage the peace and support for a continued and strong United Nations presence in Angola.

The South African and Angolan governments have, until recently, been steadily strengthening mutually beneficial relations and had exchanged Representative Offices in each other's capitals. Agreements, subsequently interrupted by the resumption of hostilities, had been reached on co-operation in a wide range of fields such as mine-lifting, manpower training centres and medical training and assistance. The South African Government had every hope of continuing and expanding this promising relationship. The South African Government has also consistently advocated closer economic ties between South Africa and Angola. South Africa's interest lies in promoting peace and economic development, not only in Angola but in the whole of the sub-region.

The South African Government has initiated a number of concrete and tangible steps to ensure that South Africa does not become embroiled in the tragic conflict in Angola, which I would like to enumerate hereunder:

- The Minister of Defence issued a statement on 26 February 1993 pointing out that in terms of existing legislation, it was a punishable offence for members of the South African Defence Force or the Reserve to render service as mercenaries or to recruit people to render service as mercenaries. In view of reports that a number of South Africans had already left for An-

gola, the South African Police are currently investigating possible transgressions of the applicable legislation. (Appendix A)

- I also issued a statement in this regard on 5 March 1993 warning South Africans, who are members of the South African Defence Force or the Reserve, against recruitment as mercenaries for service in neighbouring countries. I stressed the fact that this was an illegal act and that this was being done at their own risk. (Appendix B)

The Minister of Defence issued a statement on 2 March 1993 rejecting allegations that South Africa was supplying arms to UNITA. He further pointed out that the Armaments Development and Production Act determined that no armaments may be exported from South Africa without a marketing and export permit, issued by the Armaments Corporation of South Africa (Armcor). He added that the Government would prosecute any transgressors. (Appendix C)

- The Civil Aviation authorities issued a renewed directive to all private air operators on the question of unauthorised flights beyond South Africa's boundaries on 26 February 1993. (Appendix D)

The State President, Mr F W de Klerk wrote to President Eduardo dos Santos on 1 March 1993 in response to certain alleged activities of a Namibian registered company, "Namibian Commercial Aviation" (NCA) in support of UNITA. (Appendix E)

- Due to the above-mentioned measures, the Department of Transport, announced on 4 March 1993 that legal action had already been instituted against an offender violating the prescribed civil aviation procedures. (Appendix F)
- On 5 March 1993 I requested the relevant government departments

to take additional steps to prevent unauthorised private flights to neighbouring countries.

- The South African authorities have also notified several private air operators in South Africa of the implications of unauthorised flights beyond South Africa's borders.

The South African Government shares the concern of the UN at the failure of recent efforts to arrange peace talks between the Angolan Government and UNITA in Addis Ababa. We are disappointed at the failure of UNITA, although it may have had certain security concerns, to attend the peace talks particularly in view of the elaborate and accommodating measures taken by Mrs Margaret Anstee, the UN Special Representative for Angola, to enable the UNITA delegation to travel to Addis Ababa.

It remains the South African Government's firm belief that the only way ahead in Angola is the one proposed by the United Nations Security Council, amongst others in Resolution 811 adopted by the Security Council on 11 March 1993, which provides for dialogue between the two parties under the auspices of the United Nations. The Bicesse Accords remain the only meaningful framework within which peace can be restored to Angola. The Bicesse Accords should be reactivated as a matter of urgency with a view to their full implementation. We believe that the dialogue that was begun in Addis Ababa in late January 1993, deserves continued support from all parties and we urge both parties to demonstrate their commitment to peace by resuming substantive talks as a matter of urgency. Decisive action by the international community is now required to get the parties back to the negotiating table.

As mentioned to you before, I believe that the presence of a large contingent of UN peace-keeping forces in Angola, is essential for the implementation of a lasting ceasefire as well as for the success of the peace process as

a whole. I would also like to state that we have full confidence in Mrs Margaret Anstee and the role she has played in the search for a peaceful solution in Angola.

The suffering of the innocent civilian population in Angola constitutes a major tragedy. The ongoing destruction of the economic infrastructure in Angola is senseless and counterproductive. The South African Government is therefore also concerned about threats made by UNITA regarding further destruction of the economic infrastructure and appeals to UNITA to refrain from any further such action in the interest of the country and its people.

The South African Government remains willing to assist the international community, including the United Nations and the observers to the Peace Accords, to resolve the crisis in Angola. These efforts will, however, require decisive leadership and state-manship by both parties. The South African Government urges both parties to stop the bloodshed that has tragically claimed thousands of lives over the past several months and to commit themselves anew to dialogue and national reconciliation.

Please accept, Mr Secretary-General, the assurance of my highest consideration.

RFBOTHA

His Excellency Dr Boutros Boutros-Ghali
Secretary-General of the United Nations
United Nations Plaza
NEW YORK
17 March 1993

APPENDIX A:

STATEMENT BY THE MINISTER OF DEFENCE, MR GENE LOUW
26 February 1993

SERVICE AS MERCENARIES

As a result of allegations that South African citizens are recruited by other

Haward

countries for service as mercenaries, I would like to point out that it is a punishable offence for members of the South African Defence Force or the Reserve to render service as mercenaries or to recruit people to render service as mercenaries.

They are apparently recruited under pretexts but the obvious aim is to fight as mercenaries.

In terms of Section 121 A of the Defence Act, Act 44 of 1957, a member of the South African Defence Force, the Reserve or the auxiliary or voluntary nursing service may not "bind himself to serve or render service as a mercenary".

This applies to all members of the Permanent Force, Citizen Force, Commandos, including National Servicemen, the Permanent Force Reserve, the Active Citizen Force Reserve and the National Reserve and includes all members between the ages of 17 and 65 years. A person convicted of a contravention of this subsection is liable to a fine not exceeding R5 000 or imprisonment not exceeding two years, or both.

In addition anybody who tries to influence a member of the Defence Force "to bind himself to serve or to render service as a mercenary", shall, if convicted of a contravention of this subsection, be liable to a fine not exceeding R10 000 or imprisonment not exceeding five years, or both.

The South African Government supports all international peace efforts as well as such efforts in the Southern African region.

As an example the State President as well as the Minister of Foreign Affairs expressed on several occasions recently—inter alia in letters to President Eduardo dos Santos of Angola, Dr Jonas Savimbi of Unita and Dr Bontros Boutros-Ghali, Secretary General of the United Nations—the South African Government's full support for the peace process in Angola.

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The South African Government therefore supports the current UN initiative which has the objective of getting the parties to the negotiation table without delay in order to put an end to the military violence in that country as soon as possible.

In the interests of South Africa and of peace and stability in Southern Africa the Government will not tolerate a situation where Defence Force members, as described above, are recruited as mercenaries. Strict action will be taken against anyone who transgresses the relevant clauses of the Act.

APPENDIX B:

PRESS RELEASE

The Minister of Foreign Affairs, Mr Pik Botha, today (5 March 1993) announced that despite the Minister of Defence, Mr Gene Louw's earlier statement warning persons not to join up as mercenaries in neighbouring countries it seems like some individuals are indeed doing so.

It needs to be stressed that those who are doing it, are doing it illegally and at their own risk. Should they get caught South Africa's hands will be tied as we are not in a position to obtain Consular access or render other assistance to them.

APPENDIX C:

STATEMENT BY THE MINISTER OF DEFENCE, MR GENE LOUW

2 March 1993

EXPORT OF WEAPONS

From time to time rumours and reports circulate that instances in South Africa supply armaments to instances and countries in contradiction with existing legislation and regulations. Recently it has been alleged that South Africa supplies armaments to Unita.

I reject these allegations.

The Armaments Development and Production Act determines that no armaments may be exported from South Africa without a marketing and

Haward

export permit, issued by the Armaments Corporation of South Africa (Armcor).

Anyone who exports armaments without the required permit in contradiction with the Act, is guilty of an offence and upon being found guilty, is punishable with a fine not exceeding R10 000, or imprisonment not exceeding 10 years, or both.

As the Minister responsible for the administration of this Act and regulations, I would like to point out that the Government will prosecute any transgressors.

APPENDIX D:

ADVISORY TO PILOTS

Conveyance of armaments on board civil registered aircraft. The Department of Transport brings to the attention of pilots that in terms of the Convention of International Civil Aviation drawn up in Chicago during December 1944 and to which South Africa was a signatory and further adopted by the Aviation Amendment Act 1947 (Act No 42 of 1947) and including any amendments and/or additions thereto—it is an offence to convey any armaments on board a civil aircraft without the written permission of the Minister of Transport or the Commissioner for Civil Aviation as described by Government Notice No R901 of 4 May 1984. Pilots contravening the above law will be dealt with to the full letter of the law.

APPENDIX E:

Dear Mr President

Thank you for your letter of 29 January 1993 in which you expressed concern about certain alleged activities of a Namibian registered company, "Namibian Commercial Aviation" (NCA).

In view of the seriousness of these allegations, our mutual desire for peace in Angola, as well as our desire to maintain friendly relations, I had your concerns investigated. It transpires that NCA had been in existence for

nearly 15 years prior to Namibia's independence, and is a well-established commercial aviation company operating independently in the Republic of Namibia. It further emerged that none of the men listed in your letter is employed by the South African Air Force.

In view of the fact that NCA is a Namibian registered company, I would respectfully suggest that you pursue your enquiries directly with the Namibian Government. Various allegations regarding the activities of the company have to my knowledge been reported upon in the Namibian media in recent months.

According to these reports, a number of the crew members listed in your letter have on previous occasions been arrested by the Angolan authorities, and subsequently released after proper investigation. It is my understanding that flights were undertaken by NCA into Angola for humanitarian reasons, airlifting food and medical supplies to areas in need in Southern Angola, many of which flights were chartered by international food relief organisations. In addition, it is my understanding that such commercial flights were also chartered by media representatives and businessmen, wishing to engage in bona fide activities in Angola.

I would like to reiterate that the South African Government is in no way engaged in activities supporting UNITA, and that South Africa has no control over any flights from countries neighbouring Angola, such as Namibia, if flights originating from these countries have as final destination locations in Angola. As for privately chartered commercial flights originating in South Africa and flying to neighbouring countries, I can assure you that the South African Civil Aviation authorities scrupulously adhere to internationally prescribed procedures, as well as South African legislation, in insisting that all flights leaving South Africa airspace file proper flight plans. In

the event of flights not adhering to these procedures, the necessary legal steps will be taken against them.

You will understand that when such aircraft leave South African airspace, no further control can be exerted upon them. In addition, any attempts by Government without proper cause to inhibit or frustrate private commercial concerns from engaging in their legitimate day-to-day business in Southern Africa, including commercial transactions with Angola, run the risk of legal proceedings being instituted against the South African Government.

The South African Government will not support any party which opts for a military solution in your country, nor will it support any party which attempts to obtain advantages which are inconsistent with the democratic process.

It is also my opinion that the only way ahead in Angola at this juncture, is for the two parties to engage in dialogue, under the auspices of the United Nations, and that the Bicesse Accords be urgently reactivated with a view to their full implementation.

Please accept, Your Excellency, the assurances of my highest consideration.

FW DE KLERK

His Excellency

Mr Jose Eduardo Dos Santos
President of the Republic
of Angola

ANGOLA

APPENDIX F:

MEDIA RELEASE BY DEPARTMENT CIVIL AVIATION

MONITORING OF CIVILIAN FLIGHTS WITHIN THE RSA AND OVER BORDER FLIGHTS

With reference to recent press reports implying that flights within the RSA and across its borders can take place in an uncontrolled manner, the Department of Transport would like to

inform the public of the regulatory requirements pertaining to all pilots.

A flight plan shall be filed in respect of

- (a) all flights to be conducted in controlled or advisory airspace: Provided that this requirement shall not apply in respect of a local flight, a flight crossing an airway or advisory route at right angles or a "Visual Flight Rules" flight entering or departing from an aerodrome traffic zone or control zone, from or to an unmanned aerodrome, and where no other controlled or advisory airspace will be entered during the flight;
- (b) an international flight;
- (c) all flights in the public transport operation or public transport of cargo operation categories; and
- (d) a flight for which alerting action is required.

These flight plans have to be filed not later than 30 minutes prior to departure with an Air Traffic Control centre. In respect of over-border flights, any State may define additional requirements such as an application to land or overfly its territory up to 7 days prior to departure.

It is also a requirement in terms of both the Domestic and the International Air Services Acts that any proposed air service to be carried out for reward may only take place once a license has been issued by the appropriate body.

It is therefore not true to state that there will be no record of movements at all although some information may only be obtained after the fact.

It is of course true that the Civil Aviation Authority is not able to prevent people from breaking the law. However when this happens incidents are investigated and where appropriate prosecutions are made. In addition there are formal communication channels to pilots for example the Notice

to Airmen (Notam) system whereby on 27 February 1993 pilots were reminded of regulations pertaining to the conveyance of armaments on board civilian aircraft. The industry is to a large extent also self-regulating in the sense that unauthorized operations are reported when they occur.

The Department therefore wishes to disagree in the strongest possible terms with the sentiments expressed in recent newspaper reports on this subject.

Noenleput: Inquest

4. Adv J J S PRINSLOO asked the Minister of Justice:

- (1) Whether, with reference to the reply of the Minister of Law and order to Question No 8 on 17 June 1992, an inquest has taken place in respect of the death at or near Noenleput in the Kalahari in November 1991 of two persons, whose names have been furnished to the Minister's Department for the purpose of his reply; if not, why not; if so, (a) what was the result of this inquest and (b) what are the names of the persons concerned;
- (2) whether he will make a statement on the matter? B429E

THE MINISTER OF JUSTICE:

(Reply partially laid upon the Table with leave of House):

The details regarding this question are well known and can be found in official court documents. I could easily follow the usual practice of simply telling the hon member that these court documents are accessible to him and leave it at that, which would perhaps not be very courteous of me, as I know he is very busy and does not have the time to do that little bit of research. Whatever the case may be, I should like to point out the following facts in answer to the hon member's question.

- (1) Yes. The Attorney-General, Kimberley declined to institute a prosecution after studying the relevant dockets and an inquest into the circumstances of the deaths therefore had to be conducted.

Regional Magistrate C T G Jacobs was appointed to hold the inquest. The formal inquest in terms of the Inquest Act, 1959 (Act 58 of 1959), was finalized on 12 November 1992.

(a) and (b)

The findings of the regional court magistrate in terms of section 16 of the Inquest Act, 1959, as reflected by the record of the proceedings, are supplied hereunder with regard to the three persons killed in the event;

- (i) JURGEN MATTHEWS WHITE, a 22 year old male

- (a) Date of death: 7 November 1991.

- (b) Cause or likely cause of death: Loss of blood due to penetrating projectile wounds through the chin and body obtained during an armed encounter with the South African Police who lawfully pursued the armed deceased.

- (c) Whether the death was brought about by any act or omission prima facie involving or amounting to an offence on the part of any person: In the light of the fact that there was no acceptable evidence of how the wound under the chin of the deceased was sustained, the court was not in a position to make a finding as to who caused or administered it.

- (ii) JOHANNES JURGENS GROB-BELAAR, a 19 year old male.

- (a) Date of death: 7 November 1991.

- (b) Cause or likely cause of death: Rupture of the brain, neck, pectoral girdle and lung due to various bullet wounds sustained during an armed encounter with the South African Police who lawfully pursued the armed deceased.

- (c) Whether the death was brought about by any act or omission

cal Office-bearers Pension Scheme Act, 1984 (Act No 112 of 1984).

(i) Under section 8, 9 and 12 of Act 112 of 1984 a pension for the period 14 September 1989 to 19 September 1989 was awarded to the present State President. This pension was cancelled under section 16 of Act 112 of 1984 with effect from 20 September 1989.

On vacating the office of State President the present holder will be entitled, under section 13 of the Republic of South Africa Constitution Act, 1983 (Act No 110 of 1983), to a pension only.

New question:

Relations between RSA/Angola

*1. Mr T ABRAHAM asked the Minister of Foreign Affairs:

- (1) Whether, in the light of the State President's pledges of acceptance of certain agreements signed on 31 May 1991 and following the result of the United Nations monitored September 1992 elections in Angola for a government of national unity, the Government has given recognition to the duly elected Angolan government; if not, why not; if so, when;
- (2) whether the Government has as yet established diplomatic relations with the Angolan government; if not, why not; if so, when;
- (3) whether he will make a statement on the matter? C61E

The DEPUTY MINISTER OF FINANCE (Dr T G Alant) (for the Minister of Foreign Affairs):

(Reply laid upon the Table with leave of House):

- (1) The South African government believes that the peaceful resolution of disputes is the only acceptable way of finding solutions to political problems. It therefore supports negotiation in respect of all disputes and rejects violence as a means of achieving political objectives. In the case of Angola, the parties to the Bicesse agreements of 31 May 1991 committed

HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

themselves to a peaceful democratic process to elect a new government for Angola. South Africa endorsed these agreements. South Africa also accepted the results of the presidential and parliamentary elections which took place in Angola on 29 and 30 September 1992, as certified by the United Nations. During October 1992 I personally, at the request of both parties, became involved in efforts to get the leaders of both the MPLA and UNITA together in an attempt to avoid violence and to proceed with the peace process. The current situation in Angola does not offer much hope for a speedy return to a democratic and peaceful process. South Africa fully supports the peace initiatives of the Secretary-General of the United Nations in that country. I personally submitted a letter to the Secretary-General of the United Nations on 17 March 1993, which reads as follows:

"Dear Mr Secretary-General

In view of the deteriorating situation in Angola and renewed allegations by the Government of the Republic of Angola regarding continued logistical support for UNITA from South Africa, I deem it necessary to once again place on record the South African Government's position in this regard.

I would like to state categorically that the South African Government does not support UNITA militarily or in any other way. The South African Government also does not support any party which opts for a military solution. It will also not support any party which attempts to obtain advantages inconsistent with the democratic process. In fact the position of the South African Government in this regard has been amply expounded in previous communications to you, and which have been widely published also as official documents of the Security Council.

I wish to stress that South Africa's interests would be ill-served by conflict, destruction and instability in the Southern African region: consequently

South Africa's interests coincide with the interests of the people of Angola in a negotiated peaceful future. It is difficult to conceive what strategic or other South African interest could be served by becoming embroiled in a conflict which is not only detrimental to bilateral relations but also to the region and the continent as a whole.

In the past, when the world was a different place, a number of other states, including the United States and South Africa supported Dr Savimbi with the overall objective of enabling him to participate in a democratic process in Angola, which would establish an elected Government and bring to an end years of internal strife. That objective was achieved, although subsequently vitiated, when elections were held in Angola at the end of September 1992 in terms of the Bicesse Accords of 31 May 1991. The considerations of earlier years obviously no longer have relevance.

The South African Government, in its contacts with both President Eduardo dos Santos and Dr Jonas Savimbi and in its public pronouncements has consistently and strongly advocated the following:

- the obligation of the parties to honour the terms of the Bicesse Accords;
- the obligation of the parties to accept the results of the September 1992 election which were declared "generally free and fair" by the Secretary-General's Special Representative in Angola and which was formally accepted by the South African Government;
- the need for the leaders of the two main parties in Angola to enter into dialogue to solve the impasse;
- the total rejection of force as a way of achieving political ends in Angola; and,
- support for the Security Council and Secretary-General of the United Nations in their efforts to sal-

vage the peace and support for a continued and strong United Nations presence in Angola.

The South African and Angolan governments have, until recently, been steadily strengthening mutually beneficial relations and had exchanged Representative Offices in each other's capitals. Agreements, subsequently interrupted by the resumption of hostilities, had been reached on co-operation in a wide range of fields such as mine-lifting, manpower training centres and medical training and assistance. The South African Government had every hope of continuing and expanding this promising relationship. The South African Government has also consistently advocated closer economic ties between South Africa and Angola. South Africa's interest lies in promoting peace and economic development, not only in Angola but in the whole of the sub-region.

The South African Government has initiated a number of concrete and tangible steps to ensure that South Africa does not become embroiled in the tragic conflict in Angola, which I would like to enumerate hereunder:

- The Minister of Defence issued a statement on 26 February 1993 pointing out that in terms of existing legislation, it was a punishable offence for members of the South African Defence Force or the Reserve to render service as mercenaries or to recruit people to render service as mercenaries. In view of reports that a number of South Africans had already left for Angola, the South African Police are currently investigating possible transgressions of the applicable legislation. (Appendix A)
- I also issued a statement in this regard on 5 March 1993 warning South Africans, who are members of the South African Defence Force or the Reserve, against recruitment as mercenaries for service in neighbouring countries. I stressed the fact that this was an il-

HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

legal act and that this was being done at their own risk. (Appendix B)

— The Minister of Defence issued a statement on 2 March 1993 rejecting allegations that South Africa was supplying arms to UNITA. He further pointed out that the Armaments Development and Production Act determined that no armaments may be exported from South Africa without a marketing and export permit, issued by the Armaments Corporation of South Africa (Amscor). He added that the Government would prosecute any transgressors. (Appendix C)

— The Civil Aviation authorities issued a renewed directive to all private air operators on the question of unauthorised flights beyond South Africa's boundaries on 26 February 1993. (Appendix D)

— The State President, Mr F W de Klerk wrote to President Eduardo dos Santos on 1 March 1993 in response to certain alleged activities of a Namibian registered company, "Namibian Commercial Aviation" (NCA) in support of UNITA. (Appendix E)

— Due to the above-mentioned measures, the Department of Transport, announced on 4 March 1993 that legal action had already been instituted against an offender violating the prescribed civil aviation procedures. (Appendix F)

— On 5 March 1993 I requested the relevant government departments to take additional steps to prevent unauthorised private flights to neighbouring countries.

— The South African authorities have also notified several private air operators in South Africa of the implications of unauthorised flights beyond South Africa's borders.

The South African Government shares the concern of the UN at the failure of recent efforts to arrange peace talks

HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

between the Angolan Government and UNITA in Addis Ababa. We are disappointed at the failure of UNITA, although it may have had certain security concerns, to attend the peace talks particularly in view of the elaborate and accommodating measures taken by Mrs Margaret Anstee, the UN Special Representative for Angola, to enable the UNITA delegation to travel to Addis Ababa.

It remains the South African Government's firm belief that the only way ahead in Angola is the one proposed by the United Nations Security Council, amongst others in Resolution 811 adopted by the Security Council on 11 March 1993, which provides for dialogue between the two parties under the auspices of the United Nations. The Bicesse Accords remain the only meaningful framework within which peace can be restored to Angola. The Bicesse Accords should be reactivated as a matter of urgency with a view to their full implementation. We believe that the dialogue that was begun in Addis Ababa in late January 1993, deserves continued support from all parties and we urge both parties to demonstrate their commitment to peace by resuming substantive talks as a matter of urgency. Decisive action by the international community is now required to get the parties back to the negotiating table.

As mentioned to you before, I believe that the presence of a large contingent of UN peace-keeping forces in Angola, is essential for the implementation of a lasting ceasefire as well as for the success of the peace process as a whole. I would also like to state that we have full confidence in Mrs Margaret Anstee and the role she has played in the search for a peaceful solution in Angola.

The suffering of the innocent civilian population in Angola constitutes a major tragedy. The ongoing destruction of the economic infrastructure in Angola is senseless and counterproductive. The South African Government

is therefore also concerned about threats made by UNITA regarding further destruction of the economic infrastructure and appeals to UNITA to refrain from any further such action in the interest of the country and its people.

The South African Government remains willing to assist the international community, including the United Nations and the observers to the Peace Accords, to resolve the crisis in Angola. These efforts will, however, require decisive leadership and state-manship by both parties. The South African Government urges both parties to stop the bloodshed that has tragically claimed thousands of lives over the past several months and to commit themselves anew to dialogue and national reconciliation.

Please accept, Mr Secretary-General, the assurance of my highest consideration.

R F BOTHA

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17 March 1993

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HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

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APPENDIX C:

STATEMENT BY THE MINISTER OF DEFENCE, MR GENE LOUW

2 March 1993

EXPORT OF WEAPONS

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F W DE KLERK

His Excellency

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ANGOLA

APPENDIX F:

MEDIA RELEASE BY DEPARTMENT CIVIL AVIATION

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Mr T ABRAHAM: Mr Chairman, arising out of the hon the Deputy Minister's reply, I want to know whether the problem which has arisen out of relations with the new Angolan government has been the subject of bilateral discussions with other political parties such as the ANC.

The DEPUTY MINISTER: Mr Chairman, I want to ask the hon member to place that question on the Question Paper, so that the hon the Minister can reply to it directly when he is available.

For written reply:

Own Affairs:

Services at schools under Department Education and Culture:

(1) How many pupils enrolled at (a) primary and (b) secondary schools in each of the regions under the control of his Department during the first school term of 1993;

(2) whether any new services will become available at the above schools in the current year; if not, why not; if so, (a) what services, (b) in which regions, and (c) when, in each case;

(3) whether any existing services are to be terminated at the above schools in 1993; if so, (a) what services, (b) in which regions, and (c) when, in each case;

(4) whether he will make a statement on the matter? C44E

The MINISTER OF EDUCATION AND CULTURE:

(1) Pupil statistics for the first school term only become available when form VRE 76 is submitted at the end of the first term. The information request is thus not available yet.

(2) Yes.

(a)	(b)	(c)
Service	Region	Expected Completion Date
Humansdorp S/S	Port Elizabeth	20-03-1993
Electric City P/S	Bellville	12-03-1993
Spandanu S/S (substitution)	Middelburg	22-03-1993
Brandvlei P/S & Hostel	Springbok	30-04-1993
Beltsdorp S/S No 4	Port Elizabeth	03-04-1993
Gamble Street S/S (Toilet facilities)	Port Elizabeth	05-04-1993
Hawston S/S	Worcester	21-06-1993
Reigerpark S/S	Johannesburg	29-07-1993
Arcadia P/S No 2	Port Elizabeth	21-07-1993
Mandalay P/S	Wynberg	12-07-1993
Mitchell's Plain P/S 54	Mitchell's Plain	13-09-1993
Harold Cressy S/S	Wynberg	25-10-1993
Voorwaarts P/S	George	22-10-1993
De Aar S/S No 2 (Hostel)	Kimberley	03-11-1993
Grootbrakrivier S/S	George	20-04-1993
Heidelberg S/S	Worcester	16-11-1993
Mount Pleasant P/S	Worcester	07-12-1993
Danville P/S	Kimberley	03-12-1993

(3) No.

(a) Not applicable

(b) Not applicable

(c) Not applicable

(4) No. A statement is not deemed necessary.

Standard 10 examination written by teachers in 1992

13. Mr C I NASSON asked the Minister of Education and Culture:

(a) How many teachers at schools under the control of his Department who previously did not have a Standard 10 qualification wrote the Standard 10 examination in 1992 and (b) how many of these teachers (i) passed this examination with (aa) matriculation exemption and (bb) a school-leaving certificate, and (ii) failed this examination, in that year?

The MINISTER OF EDUCATION AND CULTURE: C52E

(a) The Department does not, for statistical purposes, keep records of teachers writing the Standard 10 examination.

(b) Not applicable in view of (a).

Per capita expenditure on education

14. Mr C I NASSON asked the Minister of Education and Culture:

What was the per capita expenditure, (a) including and (b) excluding expenditure of a capital nature, on pupils or students at State, (i) (aa) pre-primary, (bb) primary and (cc) secondary schools, (ii) colleges of education, (iii) technical colleges, (iv) technikons and (v) universities during the financial year 1991-92 and the financial year 1992-93 or the latest specified 12-month period for which information is available? C53E

The MINISTER OF EDUCATION AND CULTURE:

Financial year 1991-92

(a) (i) (aa) 505,48

(bb) 1 846,68

(cc) 3 144,1

(ii) 18 668,23

(iii) 6 818,14

(iv) Not available. Technikons—autonomous

(v) Not available. Universities—autonomous

*Mr C I NASSON: Mr Chairman, I should like to associate myself with the hon member for Pniel by saying that he was quite right. I want to tell the hon member for Belhar that he is completely out of touch with reality, because we are talking about 300 000 people whose rights, pension benefits and status as public servants have been prejudiced. [Interjections.]

The DP is highly concerned about these people, especially in view of the fact that the Public Service must cut its staff expenditure by 5%. We are concerned that if rationalisation occurs and those workers should lose their jobs, their retirement package would be considerably less favourable than those employees who were employed on a permanent basis. What we should like to see is that when we enter the new South Africa, the conditions of employment of temporary employees would be the same as those of permanent employees and that their retirement benefits would also be the same.

I am aware that until recently personnel associations and unions were holding talks with the Commission for Administration on this matter. However, no Press statement was issued afterwards. In the meantime these temporary employees in the Public Service are very concerned about their position, in view of the fact that at this stage rationalisation may well have a negative effect on their retirement benefits.

*The MINISTER FOR ADMINISTRATION AND TOURISM: Mr Chairman, the whole issue centres mainly on two aspects, namely allowing persons with many years service to join the Government Service Pension Fund and secondly, the need to give persons who hold non-classified posts an opportunity to be employed on a permanent basis.

I promised the House several months ago that we would resolve the issue. As a result these two issues have been receiving attention for a considerable period of time in the Public Service negotiating forums. I think that this has been the case for one year. So far many options have been considered and the matter has been debated in detail. All indications are that we have reached a point where the matter can be finalised and an agreement reached in the negotiating forum.

As this matter is still being dealt with in the negotiating forum, hon members will understand.

HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

stand that I cannot act unilaterally and pre-empt the issue. Consequently I cannot give hon members any further particulars at this stage.

However, I can say that arrangements are being made for a meeting of the negotiating forum this coming Friday and I trust that this matter will be finalised on that occasion.

I should like to repeat that when negotiations are under way between the commission and the 12 associations the Minister may not interfere. We cannot prescribe to them. However, we see eye to eye and I think that we shall be able to wrap up the issue next Friday.

*Mr J D SWIGELAAR: Mr Chairman, may I ask the hon the Minister a brief question? A problem arises when temporary workers are discharged in terms of section 16(1)(a) of the Public Service Act. Many of those people have been in the Public Service for 30 years. In such a case they would receive less than a person who is given an old-age pension. I want to ask whether consideration could not perhaps be given to the payment of a gratuity to these poor people.

*The MINISTER: Mr Chairman, we have a problem in the case of people who leave the employ of the State within the next three months. I can add that that is one of the matters for discussion which will be dealt with next Friday.

Debate concluded.

QUESTIONS

†Indicates translated version.

For oral reply:

General Affairs:

Questions standing over from Wednesday, 17 March 1993:

Cabinet Ministers: pension/gratuity

*1. Mr D LOCKEY asked the Minister of Finance:†

- (1) Whether Cabinet Ministers have to complete a minimum period of service in order to be eligible for the payment of a pension and a gratuity on the termination of their service; if so, (a) in terms of what statutory provisions and (b) what is this period of office;

(304A)

- (2) whether condonation has been granted for this period of office to be reduced to a minimum of five years in the case of certain Cabinet Ministers whose services are to be terminated with effect from 1 April 1993; if not, what is the position in this regard; if so, (a) who are the Ministers concerned and (b) what (i) would they have received in pension and gratuity prior to the abovementioned condonation, and (ii) will they receive in pension and gratuity after such condonation?

*The DEPUTY MINISTER OF FINANCE (Dr T G Alant):

- (1) No minimum period of service in respect of Cabinet Ministers is required by the Act to qualify for a pension and gratuity. Sections 9 and 11 (2) of the Members of Parliament and Political Office-bearers Pensions Scheme Act No 112 of 1984 have reference.

(2) No.

(a) (b) (i) and (ii) fall away.

State President: pension/gratuity

*2. Mr D LOCKEY asked the Minister of Finance:†

Whether he will furnish information on whether, since the commencement of the Republic of South Africa Constitution Act, 1983 (Act No 110 of 1983), pensions and gratuities have been paid to persons who, after retiring as Members of Parliament and Cabinet Ministers, were elected to the office of State President; if not, why not; if so, (a) in terms of what statutory provisions were pensions and gratuities thus paid and (b) what is the amount of the (i) gratuity and (ii) monthly pension received by the present incumbent of the above-mentioned office in respect of his previous service as a member of Parliament and Minister?

C50E

*The DEPUTY MINISTER OF FINANCE (Dr T G Alant):

Yes.

- (a) Pensions and gratuities to Members of Parliament and Cabinet Ministers who retire from service are paid in terms of

(304A)

sections 7, 8, 9, 11 and 12 of the Members of Parliament and Political Office-bearers Pension Scheme Act (Act No 112 of 1984). Any person who holds or held the office of State President is not entitled to any pension in terms of section 16 of this Act.

(b) The former State President was elected as such on 5 September 1984. Under section 7 (6) of the Republic of South Africa Constitution Act, 1983 (Act No 110 of 1983) he vacated the office of Prime Minister on the date on which he was elected as State President. He was inaugurated on 14 September 1984 as State President. He was acting State President for the period 5 September 1984 to 13 September 1984.

(i) On vacating the office of Prime Minister he became entitled to a gratuity under section 7 (i) (b) of the Members of Parliament and Political Office-bearers Pension Scheme Act (Act No 112 of 1984).

(ii) Under section 7 (i) (a) of Act 112 of 1984, a pension was paid to the former State President for the period 5 September 1984 up to and including 13 September 1984. Under section 16 of Act 112 of 1984 this pension ceased from the date (14 September 1984) on which he took office as State President.

On vacating the office of State President on 14 August 1989 he became entitled under section 13 of the Republic of South Africa Constitution Act, 1983 (Act No 110 of 1983) to a pension only, with effect from 15 August 1989.

The present State President was elected as such on 14 September 1989 and took office on 20 September 1989. Under section 7 (6) of the Republic of South Africa Constitution Act, 1983 (Act No 110 of 1984) he vacated the office of Minister on the date on which he was elected as State President.

(i) On vacating the office of Minister he became entitled to a gratuity, under sections 11 and 12 of the Members of Parliament and Political

HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

cal Office-bearers Pension Scheme Act, 1984 (Act No 112 of 1984).

(i) Under section 8, 9 and 12 of Act 112 of 1984 a pension for the period 14 September 1989 to 19 September 1989 was awarded to the present State President. This pension was cancelled under section 16 of Act 112 of 1984 with effect from 20 September 1989.

On vacating the office of State President the present holder will be entitled, under section 13 of the Republic of South Africa Constitution Act, 1983 (Act No 110 of 1983), to a pension only.

New question:

Relations between RSA/Angola

*1. Mr T ABRAHAM asked the Minister of Foreign Affairs:

- (1) Whether, in the light of the State President's pledges of acceptance of certain agreements signed on 31 May 1991 and following the result of the United Nations monitored September 1992 elections in Angola for a government of national unity, the Government has given recognition to the duly elected Angolan government; if not, why not; if so, when;
- (2) whether the Government has as yet established diplomatic relations with the Angolan government; if not, why not; if so, when;
- (3) whether he will make a statement on the matter? C61E

THE DEPUTY MINISTER OF FINANCE (Dr T G Alant) (for the Minister of Foreign Affairs):

(Reply laid upon the Table with leave of House):

- (1) The South African government believes that the peaceful resolution of disputes is the only acceptable way of finding solutions to political problems. It therefore supports negotiation in respect of all disputes and rejects violence as a means of achieving political objectives. In the case of Angola, the parties to the Bicesse agreements of 31 May 1991 committed

HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

themselves to a peaceful democratic process to elect a new government for Angola. South Africa endorsed these agreements. South Africa also accepted the results of the presidential and parliamentary elections which took place in Angola on 29 and 30 September 1992, as certified by the United Nations. During October 1992 I personally, at the request of both parties, became involved in efforts to get the leaders of both the MPLA and UNITA together in an attempt to avoid violence and to proceed with the peace process. The current situation in Angola does not offer much hope for a speedy return to a democratic and peaceful process. South Africa fully supports the peace initiatives of the Secretary-General of the United Nations in that country. I personally submitted a letter to the Secretary-General of the United Nations on 17 March 1993, which reads as follows:

"Dear Mr Secretary-General

In view of the deteriorating situation in Angola and renewed allegations by the Government of the Republic of Angola regarding continued logistical support for UNITA from South Africa, I deem it necessary to once again place on record the South African Government's position in this regard.

I would like to state categorically that the South African Government does not support UNITA militarily or in any other way. The South African Government also does not support any party which opts for a military solution. It will also not support any party which attempts to obtain advantages inconsistent with the democratic process. In fact the position of the South African Government in this regard has been amply expounded in previous communications to you, and which have been widely published also as official documents of the Security Council.

I wish to stress that South Africa's interests would be ill-served by conflict, destruction and instability in the Southern African region; consequently

South Africa's interests coincide with the interests of the people of Angola in a negotiated peaceful future. It is difficult to conceive what strategic or other South African interest could be served by becoming embroiled in a conflict which is not only detrimental to bilateral relations but also to the region and the continent as a whole.

In the past, when the world was a different place, a number of other states, including the United States and South Africa supported Dr Savimbi with the overall objective of enabling him to participate in a democratic process in Angola, which would establish an elected Government and bring to an end years of internal strife. That objective was achieved, although subsequently vitiated, when elections were held in Angola at the end of September 1992 in terms of the Bicesse Accords of 31 May 1991. The considerations of earlier years obviously no longer have relevance.

The South African Government, in its contacts with both President Eduardo dos Santos and Dr Jonas Savimbi and in its public pronouncements has consistently and strongly advocated the following:

- the obligation of the parties to honour the terms of the Bicesse Accords;
- the obligation of the parties to accept the results of the September 1992 election which were declared "generally free and fair" by the Secretary-General's Special Representative in Angola and which was formally accepted by the South African Government;
- the need for the leaders of the two main parties in Angola to enter into dialogue to solve the impasse;
- the total rejection of force as a way of achieving political ends in Angola; and,
- support for the Security Council and Secretary-General of the United Nations in their efforts to sal-

vage the peace and support for a continued and strong United Nations presence in Angola.

The South African and Angolan governments have, until recently, been steadily strengthening mutually beneficial relations and had exchanged Representative Offices in each other's capitals. Agreements, subsequently interrupted by the resumption of hostilities, had been reached on co-operation in a wide range of fields such as mine-lifting, manpower training centres and medical training and assistance. The South African Government had every hope of continuing and expanding this promising relationship. The South African Government has also consistently advocated closer economic ties between South Africa and Angola. South Africa's interest lies in promoting peace and economic development, not only in Angola but in the whole of the sub-region.

The South African Government has initiated a number of concrete and tangible steps to ensure that South Africa does not become embroiled in the tragic conflict in Angola, which I would like to enumerate hereunder:

- The Minister of Defence issued a statement on 26 February 1993 pointing out that in terms of existing legislation, it was a punishable offence for members of the South African Defence Force or the Reserve to render service as mercenaries or to recruit people to render service as mercenaries. In view of reports that a number of South Africans had already left for Angola, the South African Police are currently investigating possible transgressions of the applicable legislation. (Appendix A)

- I also issued a statement in this regard on 5 March 1993 warning South Africans, who are members of the South African Defence Force or the Reserve, against recruitment as mercenaries for service in neighbouring countries. I stressed the fact that this was an il-

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cal Office-bearers Pension Scheme Act, 1984 (Act No 112 of 1984).

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HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

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HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Secret meeting with Mandela

De Klerk acts to neutralise security crisis

CAPE TOWN — President F.W. de Klerk has summoned a special joint sitting of Parliament today to tackle a series of looming crises, particularly violence and fears of a race war.

The special sitting follows a secret meeting De Klerk held with ANC president Nelson Mandela on Monday.

One of the major issues to be addressed today will be the deteriorating security situation and the killing of innocent people. It is understood this was the focus of De Klerk's discussions with Mandela.

The President's office announced yesterday that the Goldstone commission's preliminary report on Apla's activities would be released today. The commission received submissions only from the SAP and the SADF.

Parliamentary sources said De Klerk would address wide-ranging issues and would take "major steps" to address fears that the recent violence would lead to a race war.

The ANC confirmed that De Klerk, Mandela, ANC secretary-general Cyril Ramaphosa and Constitutional Affairs Minister Roelf Meyer met to discuss constitutional issues.

At the meeting — the first between the two since December — Mandela is understood to have expressed concern about the recent spate of killings.

B1 DAY 24/3/93.

TIM COHEN

The special sitting will be followed by a "major" international news conference, sparking speculation that De Klerk would also address negotiations-related issues.

Among the issues De Klerk could address are the banning of Apla from future negotiations, allegations that SA has an enriched uranium stockpile and reports of clandestine security force activity.

The DP called on De Klerk to clarify his position on the role of the security forces, including that of Gen Joffel van der Westhuizen in the military plot Project Katzen.

The CP said De Klerk should not renege on his responsibility for the security situation, which would require as a first step an immediate end to negotiations with "terrorist" organisations.

Sapa reports that Inkatha president Mangosuthu Buthelezi said government had to insist on the disbanding of all private armies if SA was not to be torn apart by violence. He said the country was gripped in a web of fear which threatened its future survival as a democracy.

LEOYD COUTTS reports that the PAC yesterday made a conciliatory six-point proposal aimed at securing a lasting peace in SA, in an apparent attempt to downplay the recent spate of Apla attacks on whites.

□ To Page 2

De Klerk B1 DAY 24/3/93

(3044)

□ From Page 1

But hopes for an end to hostilities dimmed with an AWB announcement that it had formed an underground "retribution unit" to act against terrorist organisations, and warnings from the white Mineworkers' Union of vigilante action.

PAC secretary-general Benny Alexander yesterday called for a "sober" and "structural" approach to the resolution of violence. He said the PAC would propose the formation of a technical committee on armed formations as an offshoot of the multiparty negotiations forum.

The committee should investigate the best way of placing all armed formations under the control of a transitional authority after the signing of an agreement on a mutual cessation of hostilities.

Alexander said a transitional authority involving the international community should also control state-owned electronic media, foreign affairs, the supervision of elections and defined areas of the Budget. He said most organisations involved in multilateral negotiations were implicated in violence.

"The media may be correct in giving a sensationalised version of the events but the political leaders of our people must remain cool and sober as they meticulously work through the problem in order to find lasting solutions."

Meanwhile, AWB leader Eugene Terre-Blanche said he had been informed of the formation of the retribution unit, which consisted of AWB and commando members with specialist training in guerrilla warfare and terrorist eradication. He said he had long expected the formation of the unit, but distanced the AWB from its "imminent" actions.

"The incompetent methods of government and the chaotic, powerless condition the SADF and the SAP have been placed in, have necessitated that thinking and honest people take action against child murderers who call themselves freedom fighters."

The SACP, meanwhile, expressed its outrage at "the cycle of senseless race killings" and demanded that those responsible be brought to book. Spokesman Jeremy Cronin said the "Apla problem" undermined the SACP view that immediate multiparty supervision of all armed formations in the country was necessary.

Sapa reports that the SACP also called for the immediate resignation of Law and Order Minister Hennis Kriel and his spokesman Capt Craig Kotze, saying they were unsuited for office in a complex transition period.

□ Sapa reports that "Boerestart" Bosman yesterday denied that his faction of the Wit Volke was responsible for the shooting of a five-year-old black girl at Nigel.

FW to get tough with Apia

By Peter Fabricius
Political Correspondent

Scathing attack on Transkei leaders expected

President de Klerk is expected today to launch a scathing attack on the Transkei government which is reported to have been implicated by the Goldstone Commission for providing support for terror attacks attributed to the Azanian People's Liberation Army (Apia).

De Klerk is to address a joint session of Parliament and then a press conference to make a statement which Government sources say will be "very important".

It will include tough security measures against Apia and possibly some political action to deal with its political wing the Pan Africanist Congress.

According to some speculation, De Klerk may announce that the Government will refuse to continue negotiating with PAC until it denounces its position on Apia's armed struggle.

It is not clear what action, if any, De Klerk will take against Transkei although the Government has in the past not ruled out the possibility of hot pursuit raids and financial sanctions against the homeland which is dependent upon South Africa for most of its budget.

De Klerk is coming under increasing pressure from his MPs and constituency to take firm action to prevent further attacks.

The Goldstone Commission today releases the report of its investigation into Apia's alleged involvement in a series of terror attacks on whites since last year.

from the attacks. But extra-parliamentary parties, including the ANC and the IFP, warned that would be a bad tactical move as violence needed to be addressed at the negotiating table.

A Conservative Party statement claiming De Klerk and Mandela met on Monday was confirmed by the ANC.

Parliamentary pressure

FW to get tough with Apia

From Page 1

has been mounting for stronger action against armed attackers, to bar the PAC from talks if it failed to distance itself from Apia attacks, and to bring back the death penalty.

Both the Democratic and Conservative parties issued strong statements yesterday saying that if Apia was found to be responsible for armed attacks — with the blessing of the PAC — the PAC should be cast out of negotiations.

De Klerk has also been receiving feedback that supporters are enraged. King William's Town MP Ray Radue, who survived an Apia attack last

year, said: "This is the most fearsome I have felt the heat of the public's response to be for a long time. MPs are picking it up throughout the country. Something must be done if we want to forestall a race war, or the possibility of people taking the law into their own hands."

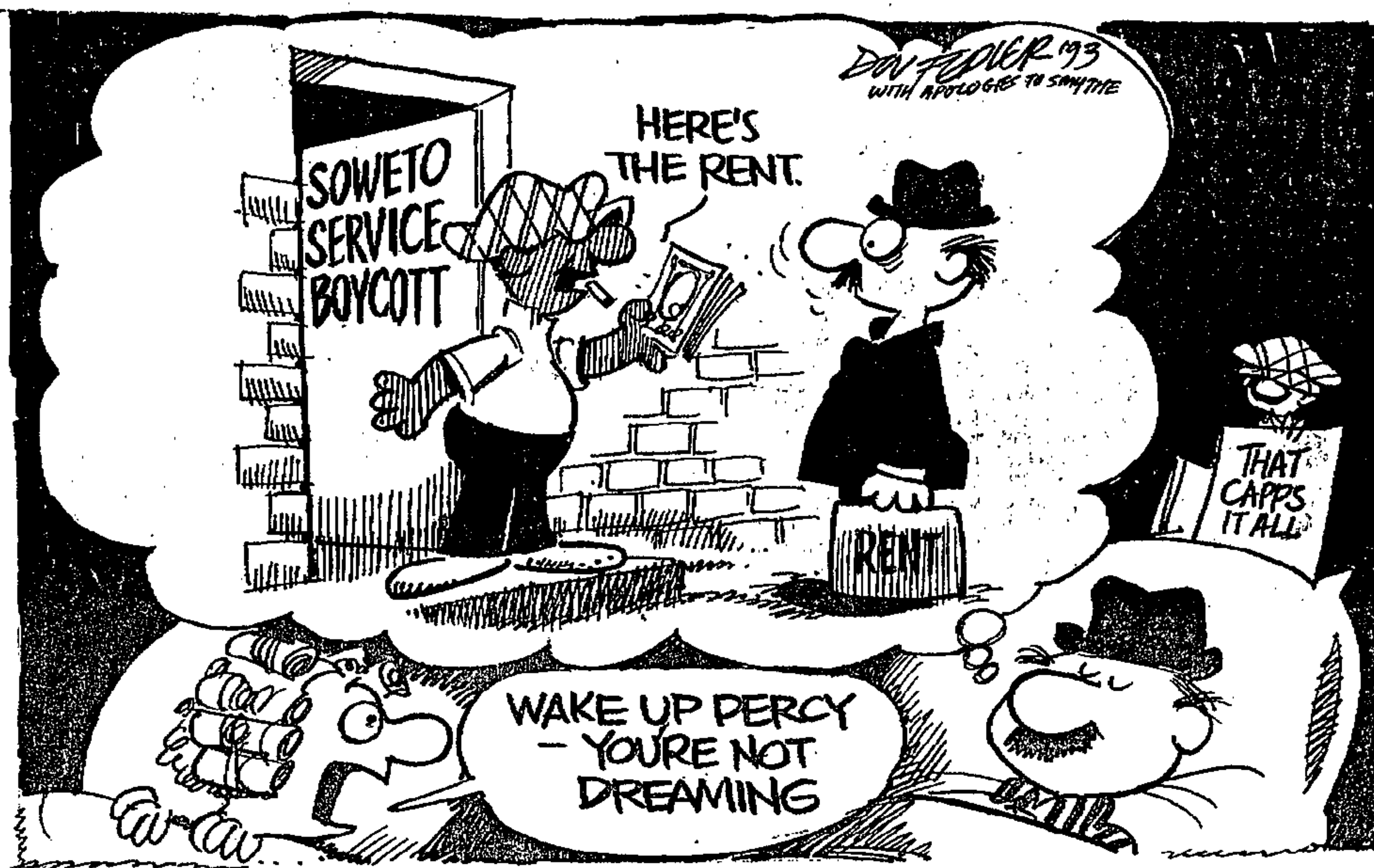
DP defence spokesman General Bob Rogers said "no decent citizen can countenance... such barbarism."

And CP Uitenhage MP Willem Botha warned whites in the eastern Cape would take the law into their own hands if the Government failed to take strong action.

Sapa reports from Ventersdorp that a group of AWB members, including policemen and SADF personnel, have formed an underground unit to carry out reprisal attacks for the murder of innocent civilians.

Reacting yesterday, Eugene TerreBlanche said he and his general staff were not responsible for the formation of the "retribution unit" and would not accept responsibility for any of its actions.

A document giving details of the unit said it comprises AWB and commando members who had received specialist training in the SADF and police. All were acquainted with guerilla warfare and tracking terrorists.



The Economist reports on the end of apartheid and the start of a new era

Becoming 'just another country'

SMAN 24/3/93

304A

A FILM popular in Johannesburg this summer has been *The Angel, the Bicycle and the Chinaman's Finger*, a parable about a Japanese (sic) businessman willing to invest a fortune in South Africa's Post Office once racial discrimination has ended.

To see that it has, he points his finger at a small town in the Orange Free State. Its black, brown and white postal workers receive frantic orders from Pretoria to put on a display of racial harmony. Miraculously, they overcome their racial fears and perform a heart-warming nativity play for the Japanese inspectors.

Apartheid has disfigured too much since 1948 — not just laws and structures, but people's hearts as well — to end as happily as that. But ending it is. At the open-

ing week of what will probably be the last white Parliament in Cape Town last month, the Government promised an omnibus Bill to repeal remaining traces of discriminatory legislation.

A lot of National Party members did not turn up: they were too busy reviving businesses, law practices and other post-apartheid escape routes to tend their doomed parliamentary careers.

As entire government departments, set up to run the intricate machinery of separate development, prepared to abolish themselves, the Defence Minister and his senior generals appeared before the press, talking queasily about the coming merger with Umkhonto we Sizwe, the underground army of the ANC.

Just as certain as the ending of

apartheid is the coming of the ANC. Its headquarters in downtown Johannesburg contrast weirdly with the end-of-term feeling in Cape Town.

The atmosphere is that of a students' union that has just been told that it will shortly be running a country. Former political prisoners and ex-guerillas sit alongside sympathetic academics and experts from overseas, writing and rewriting policies on the economy, land reform, housing and foreign affairs.

The ANC is confident of winning more votes than any other party in the forthcoming election, and of dominating the decision-making in the next government.

At that point, the ANC will have achieved the aim of black emancipation for which it was founded 81

years ago. Beyond that, nothing is certain. One possibility is that, with the job of liberation behind it, the organisation will begin to break up.

The struggle against apartheid was a bond that hooped together a multitude of people who would otherwise have quarrelled. In time, these factions will emerge into independent parties. Given the scale of the country's problems, it would be odd if the battle between these factions did not soon turn bitter.

A deplorable end to the history of struggle? No: only the resumption of normal politics, after the aberration of apartheid. From afar, South Africa was fascinating when it was a morality play. Its people may be better off when it has become just another country in Africa. □

F W calls in MPs on violence, Security

By ANTHONY JOHNSON
Political Correspondent

PRESIDENT F W de Klerk will address a special session of Parliament this afternoon on violence and other issues of national concern — just days after a secret meeting with ANC president Mr Nelson Mandela.

A major thrust of his address — billed by his aides as “wide-ranging and extremely important” — is

expected to deal with the deteriorating security situation in which several civilians died in random killings in the past week.

But the first top-level meeting between the government and the ANC in six months last night fuelled speculation in political circles that Mr De Klerk, with the approval of Mr Mandela, might soon set a date for non-racial elections.

Mr De Klerk’s aides also announced last night that the Goldstone Commission’s report on its provisional investigation into the PAC’s military wing, Apla, would be released today.

After addressing Parliament, Mr De Klerk will face a grilling from MPs during the State President’s question time before fielding questions from the media at a “major” international press conference.

Party sources said Mr De Klerk was intent on seizing the initiative by focusing attention on positive steps the government was prepared to take and defusing a potentially damaging crisis of confidence within his own constituency. Well-placed political sources said the other major issues Mr De Klerk could deal with today included the resumption of full-scale multi-party negotiations which are

set to resume next week, dirty tricks operations in the security forces and growing fears among whites and NP members that the government has lost its direction during the transition. An announcement on the new SABC board is possible. The disclosure of the first meeting between Mr De Klerk and Mr Mandela in six months was leaked by the CP yesterday which com-

plained the danger of “one-sided agreements” being struck between the NP and the ANC before the resumption of multi-party negotiations. The ANC last night confirmed a meeting took place in the Transvaal on Monday between Mr Mandela, ANC secretary-general Mr Cyril Ramaphosa, Mr De Klerk and

From page 1

Violence

the Minister of Constitutional Development, Mr Roel Meyer.

However, ANC spokesman Mr Carl Niehaus said the “informal discussion” dealt with constitutional matters. Another top ANC source said the “slaughtering of innocents” was also raised.

Government sources said Mr De Klerk was likely to increase pressure on the PAC to get its armed wing, Apla, to at least suspend the armed struggle as parties move into a fresh round of con-

stitutional negotiations.

In the face of growing criticism of the PAC’s ambivalent stance on the killing of innocent civilians, PAC secretary-general Mr Benny Alexander appealed to all political leaders to remain calm and meticulous in working to find lasting solutions for the violence in the country.

He said the PAC was aware of the implication of its armed wing, Apla, in the spate of killings on the Reef and in the Eastern Cape in the past week.

Mr Alexander proposed that “instead of

slinging mud at each other” parties partici-

pating in negotiations should set up a committee of representatives of all parties with armed wings to investigate the best way of putting all armies “under the control of a transitional authority involving the international community”.

The Democratic Party said if it could be shown that Apla was responsible for the “cold-blooded murders” of civilians and the PAC leadership continued to refuse to condemn such action, the organisation should be excluded from negotiations.

To page 2

Change: SA 'better suited'

PIETERSBURG.

South Africa was better suited to address change than former Eastern Bloc countries trying to cope with alterations there, a former East German professor said yesterday. (304A)

Prof Rainer Kunig was speaking at a seminar held by the Regional Development Advisory Committee here. CT25/3/93

He told members of the Seshego Civic Association, ANC, and the GaZankulu government that South Africa was better suited than Eastern European countries to addressing change.

South Africans should not opt for the quick-fix ostensibly offered by socialism, but had to work out its own market economy which would result in justice and progress.

Prof Kunig is attached to a research organisation in Berlin. — Sapa

Election washes down well

RIEBEEK-KASTEEL. — A soap powder election campaign washed down well with residents of this tiny Swartland town when 400 farm-workers went to the polls.

As part of a voter education programme, a perfectly simulated election campaign was mounted with household washing powders as "candidates".

To familiarise the workers with the ins and outs of electioneering,

organisers allocated a political campaigner to each of the candidates to lobby for their particular brand of soap powder. One of the workers was "arrested" in the simulation when he tried to vote twice and another was "arrested" for intimidation.

Department of Internal Affairs officials set up a voting booth in the town, with all the paraphernalia attached, and the workers then voted for their candidate. — Sapa

'A-bomb Star 25/3/93 project was risky, (304A) ridiculous'

By Julianne du Toit

The ANC and Democratic Party last night welcomed the fact that the Government has finally come clean on its nuclear weapons programme, while the Conservative Party said the reasons for a nuclear deterrent still existed.

"It's so ridiculous," said DP energy affairs spokesman Roger Hulley. "Billions of precious rands were spent on an ill-conceived concept that could never have been used."

"What were we going to do? Defend apartheid with an atomic bomb? And in any case, our unrest was national, we were not being attacked by any countries far away."

Hulley said the Koeberg project was probably a smokescreen, since nuclear energy would only really be needed when fossil fuels ran out in the next century.

The costs of making enriched uranium alone ran into hundreds of millions a year. It was a very high-cost technology that was unnecessary at the time, he said.

The ANC welcomed De Klerk's disclosures, but said it insisted the Government reveal what has happened to every gram of the stockpile of weapons grade uranium, which international experts estimate at between 200 and 325 kg.

The organisation also demanded the release of Professor Mouton's report on the dismantling of the weapons in Armscor's possession. The organisation said it could not believe there was no testing of weapons, since a double-flash, indicative of a nuclear test, was sighted in the South Atlantic Ocean in 1979.

It could also not believe there was no foreign assistance for the weapons programme.

Dr Andries Treurnicht of the Conservative Party said the Government had bowed to overseas pressure and had brought South Africa into a situation where its defence was weakened.

The mere fact of having nuclear weapons was a deterrent to attackers, he said.

The need for these weapons had not disappeared, he added.

JAW JAW Veg en

stryd: war talk?

By Dale Laufenbach

IF WORDS mean what they mean, the Conservative Party has a mightily curious use of the language.

Having elected to join the negotiation process, however tentatively, the public signals of the CP sound confusingly closer to war talk than talk talk.

Repeatedly come the words "fight" and "struggle" or, somehow more evocative in Afrikaans: "veg en stryd".

At a public meeting addressed by party leader Dr Andries Treurnicht in Pretoria last Friday night, a *dominee* blessed proceedings with a long, impassioned prayer: the CP delegates to the multiparty negotiating process were remembered "there where they fight and struggle".

Party deputy Dr Ferdi Hartzenberg said: "We're going to fight until we have our freedom again" and Treurnicht addressed his audience as "*geagte strydenote*", esteemed fellow strugglers.

"Total onslaught" was not, he opined, an outdated concept and 1993 was the "make or break" year.

The following day the four regions met for their biennial congress and Treurnicht attributed the success and the good attendance to the single item on the agenda named "mobilisation".

It was also announced that a former SADF general in charge of planning, Lieutenant-General Koos Bisschoff, was to head the "mobilisation secretariat".

Treurnicht was asked to be a bit more precise about mobilisation. Well, it was difficult to define, he said, prevaricating around a term which on the face of it carries a fairly explicit meaning: "organise for service or action—especially



Andries Treurnicht ... impassioned.

troops in time of war", says the *Oxford English Dictionary*.

"We are experiencing an attack across a wide spectrum," said Treurnicht. He identified the "power bases" of the ANC and SACP and said that in its way, the National Party too constituted a threat

"to the freedom of our people".

"Our aim is to organise across the entire spectrum and not necessarily in security only."

Mobilisation envisaged organisation in the areas of education and culture where the right to the language and ideals of the "volk" were under threat. Equally the economy was an area where mobilisation was needed as it was being used by the ANC-SACP alliance to transform South Africa into a state of "ungovernability".

Bisschoff was "a man of peace in charge of a peaceful organisation" said Treurnicht and his brief did not draw

So we learn 3513/93.

3044

There is an encroachment on the liberties of the people and we say don't leave us in the lurch

— Dr Andries Treurnicht

We're going to fight until we have our freedom again

— Dr Ferdi Hartzenberg



Ferdi Hartzenberg ... fight for freedom.

specifically on his military experience but to oversee mobilisation in this broadest sense.

Pushed to reveal how the CP saw mobilisation in the narrow, security sense of the word, Treurnicht said Apla and Unkhonto we Sizwe threatened "our people".

He said the Government was responsible for the safety of its citizens but if it failed then individuals had the "right" to protect themselves.

The CP envisaged mobilisation "through participation in existing structures", meaning the police and the SADF.

On a community level, mobilisation meant the creation of something like a neighbourhood watch but this plan was still "under consideration".

"We are on the defence," he said, denying that mobilisation carried any threat of an offensive.

"We are not trigger-happy. It is not a move of aggression to impose our will."

He refused to speculate as to whether these "defence structures" might be used offensively if the CP did not win its right to self-determination in an all-white homeland.

"We don't speculate ... There is an encroachment on the liberties of the people and we say don't leave us in the lurch."

Curiously now, this fight and struggled for self-determination is happening in the multiparty forum of still-to-be-named Codesa-style talks where the CP is participating albeit conditionally and "not with total commitment" as Treurnicht put it.

The CP's position on a white fatherland is "non-negotiable".

Asked "why negotiate then?" he was confident that within the ranks of the Concerned South Africans Group in which the CP shares a forum with the

Ciskei and Bophuthatswana governments and with the Inkatha Freedom Party, there were leaders equally motivated by self-determination and the principle that no one should dominate their "peoples".

"Do you envisage then an alliance between people who want to live separately from one another?" he was asked. Yes, was the straight reply.

The CP model was unshakably one of confederalism and on Friday night Treurnicht said to federalists "we're not putting our necks in that noose".

He told his audience that, in total agreement with the IFP, the CP rejected the idea of a unified South Africa and totally rejected too all agreements reached in negotiations previously in the forum of Codesa, agreements which are presently under review.

"(Of Codesa) we say with the Zulu leaders rest in peace ... or pieces."

Using the "*stryd en veg*" language again, he rationalised the CP's participation in the present multiparty forum: "We are there to fight for our freedom and not to be part of the negotiations fashion. Our freedom is non-negotiable."

The CP would not be pressured "to dance to the ANC-NP tune"; the CP would not hesitate to bow out if there was any danger of being swept along.

"No volk gives its fatherland away," said Treurnicht.

It is difficult to see this single-minded position fitting into the negotiations arena, characterised increasingly now by subtle shifts and compromises between the main players, the ANC and the Government, characterised too by a growing spirit of co-operation.

At some point the CP will have to define what "*stryd en veg*" really means. Taken literally there seems little hope for their continued participation in the process. More dangerously still, if these words are being used ambiguously and expediently by the CP politicians, at what point will their constituency, in a climate of alarming violence, take their leaders, literally, at their word?

DP welcomes, cautions

CAPE TOWN — The suggestion that political violence and lawlessness be placed on the negotiation agenda for joint action by all political groups was welcomed by Democratic Party law and order spokesman Peter Gastrow in a statement yesterday.

(304A)
"We also support a greater police presence and need for unambiguous response from the Transkei on the Apla issue," he said in reaction to President de

Star 25/3/93
Klerk's address to a special joint meeting of Parliament.

The suggestion that the moratorium on the death sentence be lifted needed to be debated with circumspection.

"Feelings of revenge and retribution can easily cloud a debate which should not be driven by primordial reflexes."

The DP reserved judgement on the announcement of plans to stabilise problem areas.

Sapa.

Star 25/3/93

'Strengthen Peace Accord'

CAPE TOWN — All political leaders should commit themselves to strengthening the National Peace Accord and its mechanisms, President de Klerk said yesterday. (304A)

Replying to a question from Chris Fisser (NP Rissik) during the State President's question time, he said strong leadership and discipline would be necessary to curb the violence.

"It is of key importance that the leaders of the Inkatha Free-

dom Party and the ANC find ways to come together and visibly show they can agree on the rules of the game."

Until they met and made peace he feared their followers would continue acting violently, he said. (304B)

He agreed with Fisser that those arrested for smuggling arms into the country should be disciplined internally by leaders of the political organisations they belonged to. — Sapa.

Violence 'top priority' -FW

CAPE TOWN — The Government felt strongly that there had to be a shift in emphasis in negotiations to end violence, President de Klerk said at a press conference yesterday.

(304A)
He told the media that the present spate of violence and the turn it had taken would obviously have an impact on negotiations.

25/3/93
The Government did not intend to disrupt the negotiations.

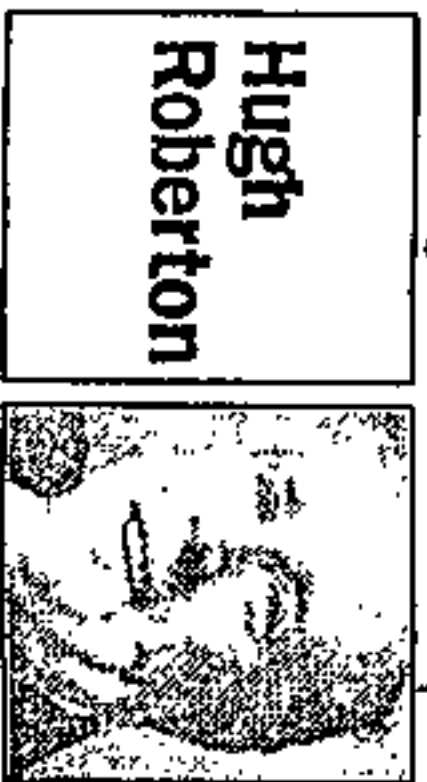
"But the Government feels very strongly that the emphasis should shift as top priority to bring violence to an end," he said.

(221)
All political groupings should be brought to the point where they officially distanced themselves from violence. — Sapa.

A White House welcome would harvest more than just prestige for the NP or ANC

US invitation no ordinary prize

STAN 25/3/93



Hugh Robertson

WHAT Pik Botha should have survived to become the world's longest serving Foreign minister is not difficult to see. He has personal charm, he knows how to exploit the mercurial moods and competing interests of the media, and his occasional outbursts make for lively television. His visit to Washington last week allowed his talents to bloom in profusion.

But behind it all, he was also the Transvaal leader of the National Party, a party which, he told the National Press Club, fully intended to win a majority in South Africa's first free elections. It was the NP side of Pik Botha — the side of the loyal party man and skilled Government representative — which was not always easy to distinguish in Washington from his diplomatic persona.

Take, for instance, his announcement that an invitation had been extended to President de Klerk to visit Washington on a date to be arranged between the two countries. At face value it gave tremendous international stature and apparent US approval to the man set to lead the NP in the coming elections. There was nothing wrong with that, except that one's political instincts suggested it probably was not the full picture.

Would the US lend the enormous prestige of an official visit and a meeting with President Clinton to only one of the major parties likely to compete for power in South Africa's elections? Or is it more likely that there would be a visit also by, for example, ANC president Nelson Mandela, who clearly has Clinton's personal admiration and whose standing in the US capital seems unassailable?

Given Clinton's commitment to the black community in the US, and his need to forge a strong alliance with the Congressional Black Caucus, would he forgo an opportunity to receive Mandela — who has become an icon to American blacks — while receiving De Klerk alone?

All this is not to say that Pik Botha misled anyone with his announcement of the invitation to De Klerk. It was his duty to repre-

sent the Government, not the ANC, in his talks with US officials. It is likely, too, that the subject of a visit by Mandela never arose. But with his political background, his knowledge of the US political system and his diplomatic nous, the idea might just have occurred to him that Clinton would have an interest in meeting a wider range of South African leaders.

Which gets to the point raised by Pretoria even before Botha's arrival in Washington, of whether or not the Clinton administration is going to tilt this way or that in favour of any of the parties who, hopefully, will soon be competing in South Africa's first fully democratic elections. While the Clinton team is still settling in at the State Department, there is every indication that they will maintain a policy of scrupulous neutrality,

at least as far as the major parties are concerned.

That is why it would not be surprising if they moved sooner rather than later to remove confusion that may have arisen over the issue of official visits to Washington. They might even go a step further, if the ripples of approval which greeted the NP-ANC agreement on power-sharing were anything to go by. They may well seek to reinforce the power-sharing concept by suggesting, for instance, a joint visit by the leaders of the major parties once a date has been set for elections.

Or, since an open invitation was extended to Clinton to visit South Africa, it is possible that by the time power-sharing actually is in place, he may visit the country to demonstrate his support of the major parties working together.

Certainly there appears to be keen interest, if not fascination, in the Clinton camp with the concept of the ANC and the NP actually pulling together in a government of national unity after so many decades of mutual animosity.

As for the smaller parties, there

appears to be a far less sympathetic mood in official Washington to Inkatha than there was during the Bush administration when Chief Mangosuthu Buthelezi was a regular visitor to the White House. And Chief Buthelezi's plan for a form of autonomy in Natal and KwaZulu has persuaded many here that he is, after all, a regional leader with a localised following rather than a credible national leader.

Also, the persistent images on American television of Inkatha supporters carrying weapons at their rallies — images shown again over the weekend — has tended to diminish sympathy for the organisation here. Likewise, the PAC's egg dance over the recent apparently random shooting of whites and the role of Apla, has left it with little public sympathy in the US, although the administration is careful not to condemn out of hand either the PAC or Inkatha — or, for that matter, the far Right.

It is the Democratic Party which may be a dark horse in winning support in the US. In spirit,

ethos and philosophy it most closely parallels the major parties in the US, although it is almost universally seen as a minor element in the South African equation. Nevertheless, there is a grasp, and respect, for its role as the cutting edge of change in white thinking and as a champion of civil liberties. If this does not translate into an invitation to the White House, at least it ought to facilitate some financial assistance from sympathetic Americans in the coming elections.

And that, in the end, may be the ultimate prize for South African parties seeking influence in the US. As Mandela has warned his American supporters many times, a lack of funds may prevent the ANC from fulfilling the expectations of its followers in the election. And whispers would have it that the NP is hard at work raising dollars to fulfil Mr Botha's prophecy that it will win a majority.

To either group, the prestige of a visit to the White House would be more than just a political bonanza. □

Star 25/3/93

FW-Holomisa clash looking unavoidable

By Peter Fabricius

CAPE TOWN — A showdown seems unavoidable between President de Klerk and Transkei military leader Major-General Bantu Holomisa over his alleged support for attacks in South Africa by the Azanian Peoples Liberation Army (Apla).

In Parliament yesterday De Klerk demanded an explanation from Holomisa about the Goldstone Commission's finding that Apla had used Transkei as a spring-

board for attacks into South Africa, had stashed weapons and trained in Transkei and that the Transkei government had supplied Apla with arms.

De Klerk later said at a press conference that he would have to consider "very firm steps" against Transkei if it ignored his demand for an explanation.

"They must not underestimate the seriousness of the situation if they try to play politics with us," the President warned.

304A

But soon after that Holomisa firmly rejected the Goldstone Commission findings which he said were based on untested evidence and he denied Apla had bases in the Transkei.

The Goldstone Commission presented its findings as provisional because they were based only on evidence submitted by the South African Police and South African Defence Force.

The Transkei government was invited to testify but had refused to do so.

- 18 Apla members held
- Death penalty may be restored

Star 25/3/93

Call-up to combat terror

By Peter Fabricius
Political Correspondent

CAPE TOWN — Spurred by fears of a looming race war, President de Klerk yesterday took a wide range of strong measures against the Azanian People's Liberation Army (Apla) and others suspected of political violence.

Addressing a joint sitting of Parliament in the wake of a spate of political revenge murders of white and black children, he said that 18 Apla members had been arrested and that he had launched a major call-up of troops to stabilise hotspots.

And he is poised to reimpose the death penalty and to act against Transkei following the Goldstone Commission's findings that the Transkei government had armed Apla members who used the homeland as a springboard for "frequent attacks into South Africa."

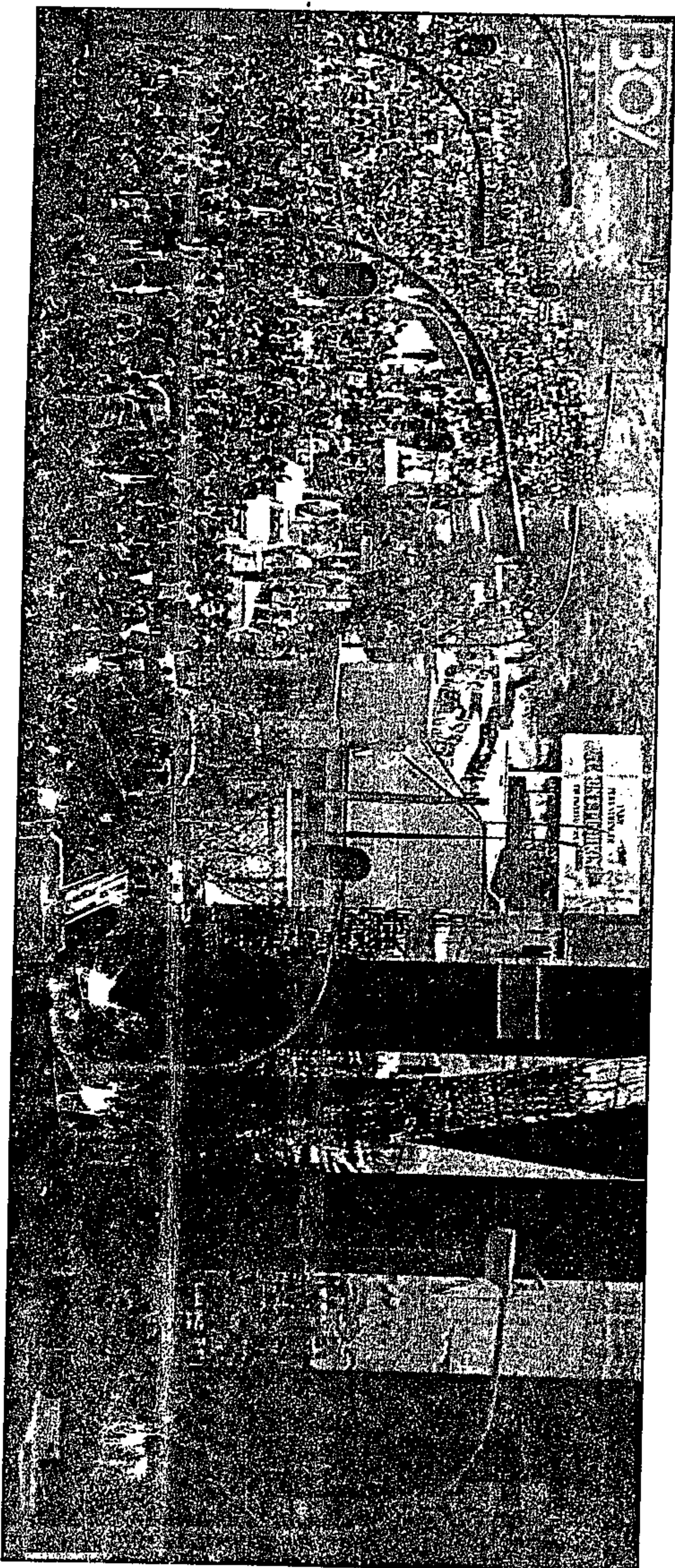
**More reports —
Pages 3 and 5**

He said the SA Police would soon unveil a 10-point action plan to control the widespread violence.

The President also disclosed a political initiative which could lead to the expulsion of the Pan Africanist Congress — political head of Apla — from negotiations.

He said the Government would try to persuade other parties in the negotiation process that no party could take part in negotiations unless it signed the National Peace Accord and distanced itself from violence.

De Klerk was spurred by



Unruly marchers ... close to 40 000 pupils paraded in the Johannesburg city centre yesterday in a one-day protest against exam fees. Picture: Etienne Rothbart

Pupils terrorise Jo'burg

By Phil Molefe
Education Reporter

Nearly 40 000 pupils protesting against exam fees went on the rampage in Johannesburg yesterday after a march to the offices of the Department of Education

in the vicinity of Sauer Bree. President and Diagonal streets as pupils damaged cars, looted shops, stole goods from hawkers and smashed about 300 cases of cold drink (provided by a soft-drink company for the marchers' benefit).

photographer was assaulted. Police had to use teargas near the library. White motorists trapped in their cars were abused by pupils shouting "one settler one bullet" and spitting at their vehicles. The ANC condemned the

"When an invitation reads, 'Dress formal' I am never quite sure whether it means I must wear evening dress or whether a lounge suit is acceptable."



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More reports — Pages 3 and 5

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He said the Government would try to persuade other parties in the negotiation process that no party could take part in negotiations unless it signed the National Peace Accord and distanced itself from violence.

De Klerk was spurred into action by the rising tide of public anger about the senseless killing of children.

Much of the anger among his own supporters has been fanned by the spate of murders of white civilians, allegedly by Apla.

But De Klerk was careful to avoid any accusation of bias. He mentioned several incidents involving both black and white victims, including the murder of six black schoolchildren in the Table Mountain area of Natal this month, the killing of two white schoolchildren and their mother at Eikenhof on March 19 and the so-called "revenge" wounding of a black child in Nigel.

He said these incidents showed the potential for polarisation between different race groups and some seemed to be the work of militant political organisations such as Apla and others.

He denied accusations that

● To Page 3

Call-up to combat terror

● From Page 1

the Government was more concerned about white deaths than black deaths and said these accusations helped foster racial tensions.

His moves on curbing violence were generally backed by the Democratic Party but reservations were expressed on the reintroduction of the death penalty.

The ANC demanded that the arrested Apla members be charged or released immediately, regretted the reintroduction of the death penalty and expressed concern about the 10-point plan.

Various organisations today expressed opposition to any increase in citizen force call-ups, Michael Sparks reports.

End Conscription Campaign Johannesburg chairman Chris de Vil-

liers said he did not believe the call-up would in any way affect the levels of violence in the country and described it as pandering to De Klerk's constituency.

He added that since the military had been scaling down call-ups over the past few years, more people were likely to ignore the call-up.

ANC spokesman Carl Niehaus said the organisation had always opposed forcing people to serve in a military capacity, protecting an undemocratic Government.

"If the attitude and credibility of the Defence Force is no different from in the past, the people in the townships are not likely to co-operate any more than before," he said.

The main measures De Klerk announced to curb

violence were:

● 18 "identified" members of Apla had been arrested and more arrests would follow.

● A comprehensive action plan to stabilise all problem areas, including a "reasonably drastic" increase in the manpower of the security forces. This would require the SADF to issue urgent call-ups.

● A motion calling for the reimposition of the death penalty would be put to Parliament as soon as possible. National Party MPs would be given a free vote on the motion — something the NP has not done for over 30 years.

● De Klerk said the PAC could not escape from its direct connection to Apla. Government would demand they focus on the ending of violence.

Yet more officials found living on taxpayer

CLIVE SAWYER

Staff Reporter

TAXPAYERS are not only paying for Cabinet ministers to live in their own houses — senior government officials get the same perk when parliament is in session.

Heads of departments, directors-general and deputy directors-general are paid "rent" by the State, calculated on what they paid for their houses.

Officials who do not live in official complexes at Acacia Park or Mouille Grange are eligible for compensation.

And provincial sources said three MECs were being paid to live in their own houses.

According to a document sent to The Argus, a head of department is being paid R4 702,17 a month for living in his Welgemoed house during the parliamentary session.

Electricity and water bills are also paid by the State.

The head of the Department of Local Government, Housing and Works in the House of Assembly, Mr L C Koch, was told to include electricity and water in his monthly allowance claim.

Director-General of Public Works Mr Theo van Robbroeck confirmed the scheme existed.

The average payment to senior officials was R2 270 a month, he said.

Compensation was calculated by a formula applied to the market value of the State-owned flats — each worth about R300 000 — at Mouille Grange in Mouille Point, and increased by R270 a month and 1 percent of the capital cost of the house for maintenance.

The lowest monthly payment was R954 and the highest R4 700.

Among those being paid to stay in their own houses during parliamentary sessions were:

- The director-general of Water Affairs and Forestry, Mr G C D Claasens;

- The director-general of Internal Affairs, Mr P J Co-lyn;

- The director-general of Finance, Dr S J Naudé;

- The director-general of Manpower, Mr J D Fourie;

- The director-general of Administration: House of Assembly; and,

- The superintendent-general of Health in the House of Assembly.

Mr Van Robbroeck said there was a shortage of accommodation for parliamentary staff and some had to find their own. Some were put up in hotels during the session.

He said it would be preferable to improve the package paid to staff and get rid of State accommodation, which

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us, Friday March 26 1993 5

New outcry over State 'gravy train'

from page 1

at Mouille Grange and Acacia Park stood empty when parliament was not in session.

The Provincial Administration said MECs being paid to live in their own houses were Mr Frik van Deventer (environmental and nature conservation, transport and traffic); Mr Peter Marais (hospital and health services); and, Mr Themba Nyati (welfare services and community development and social pensions).

Amounts being paid to the MECs were less than those paid to Cabinet ministers, and varied among MECs, a spokesman said.

He confirmed former MEC Mr Koos Theron was being allowed to stay in his former official residence at "market-related" rent while his new Hout Bay house was being built.

"When Mr Theron moved out, the house would be sold," the spokesman said.

The Provincial Administration was trying to sell official residences in terms of a Cabinet directive.

Jepppe outraged as MP joins IFP

Star 26/3/93

Staff Reporters

Jepppe residents reacted with outrage, dismay and dull resignation on hearing last night that their MP, Hennie Bekker, has swapped his National Party rosette for the red headband of the IFP.

Most of them called for him to resign his seat so that a by-election could be held to determine if he still had support.

Bekker said he would reconsider his position in Parliament if there was a total outcry against his action.

He now finds himself isolated as the only IFP MP in the Transvaal. Three Natal MPs — Vryheid NP MP Jurie Mentz, Democratic Party Maritzburg North MP Mike Tarr and nominated Solidarity MP Farouk Cassim have also joined IFP.

It was not strange that he had joined the IFP — there were more Zulus in hostels (25 000) than there were white residents (18 000) in Jepppe, he said.

The former-NP Transvaal chief whip believed the NP would be forever tainted by its apartheid past.

It was unrealistic to expect



Bekker . . . the only IFP MP in the Transvaal.

(304A) black South Africans to join predominantly white parties that had been part of the apartheid system, he added.

NP Transvaal leader Pik Botha said last night that the party's Transvaal executive had decided to expel Bekker for disciplinary reasons before he offered his resignation.

He would not say why, but it is understood that the reason was Bekker's disclosure last week that he was considering joining the IFP.

IFP leader Mangosuthu Buthelezi welcomed Bekker's decision and said he would try to

have him nominated to the party's central executive.

But the Jepppe MP's decision left neighbouring Yeoville's MP, the DP's Douglas Gibson, mystified. "I have known Hennie as a verligte Nat and always expected him to leave the NP. But I can't understand why he should choose the IFP," he said.

Elaine Swart of Malvern East was the only resident in a flash-survey who did not feel Bekker should resign.

"I don't really like the thought of the blacks taking over — in fact, I would hate it — but the whites have made such a mess of the country that I think it's time we gave someone else a chance. Things can't get any worse," she said.

Maria Swart of Jepppe said she supported "a different party", and did not like Bekker's joining a "black" party. "What's wrong? Is the NP not good enough any more?"

Bekker told Political Correspondent Peter Fabricius last night that he still believed that President de Klerk was one of the greatest leaders South Africa had ever had. But he felt the NP had lost the opportunity after the referendum to build an alliance of moderates.

CONFIRMATION that the South African government built weapons of mass destruction over a period of 15 years, dismantled them before it signed the Nuclear Non-Proliferation Treaty, and lied throughout, is the clearest argument yet for a Freedom of Information Act.

Secrecy and lack of accountability in government has resulted in a state rotten with corruption, an incompetent and often murderous police force and an army given to illegality. By the time we get to hear about the deeds committed with taxpayers' money, it's usually too late to stop them or hold anyone accountable.

In the United States, after the publication of the Pentagon Papers and Watergate, a Freedom of Information Act was introduced. It was an acknowledgement that no matter how effective the constitutional guarantee of freedom of speech and expression was, it did not bestow the positive right of access to government records.

One of the basic skills a journalist in the United States is coached on is how to make freedom of information applications. You can apply for information about CIA activities, FBI reports on individuals, including yourself, or minutes of secret meetings, if you can prove they are in the public interest.

It can be a lengthy procedure, but at the end of the day you usually get what you need. Any citizen is afforded the same right.

Contrast this with the absence of an enforceable right in Zimbabwe for the press to peruse Sally Mugabe's will, even though she was a public figure supposedly bound by a leadership code that limited the amount of property she could own.

If there is one thing we need right now, as paper shredders in the Union Buildings hum through the night, it is a Freedom of Information Act.

The Goniwe inquest in Port Elizabeth has been a revelation of how the evil intent of those in power was graphically recorded in black and white. It speaks volumes for their arrogance, that they believed the material would never fall into unfriendly hands. Yet they have left potential goldmines for the journalist, the historian and the citizen that should be discovered as soon as possible and preserved.

Unlike Germany, where the files of the Stasi were eagerly grabbed, no one here is forcefully demanding that the government open its files.

The politicians aren't much help. Not the African National Congress, nor the National Party nor the Inkatha Freedom Party have included an adequate freedom of information clause in their respective draft Bills of Rights.

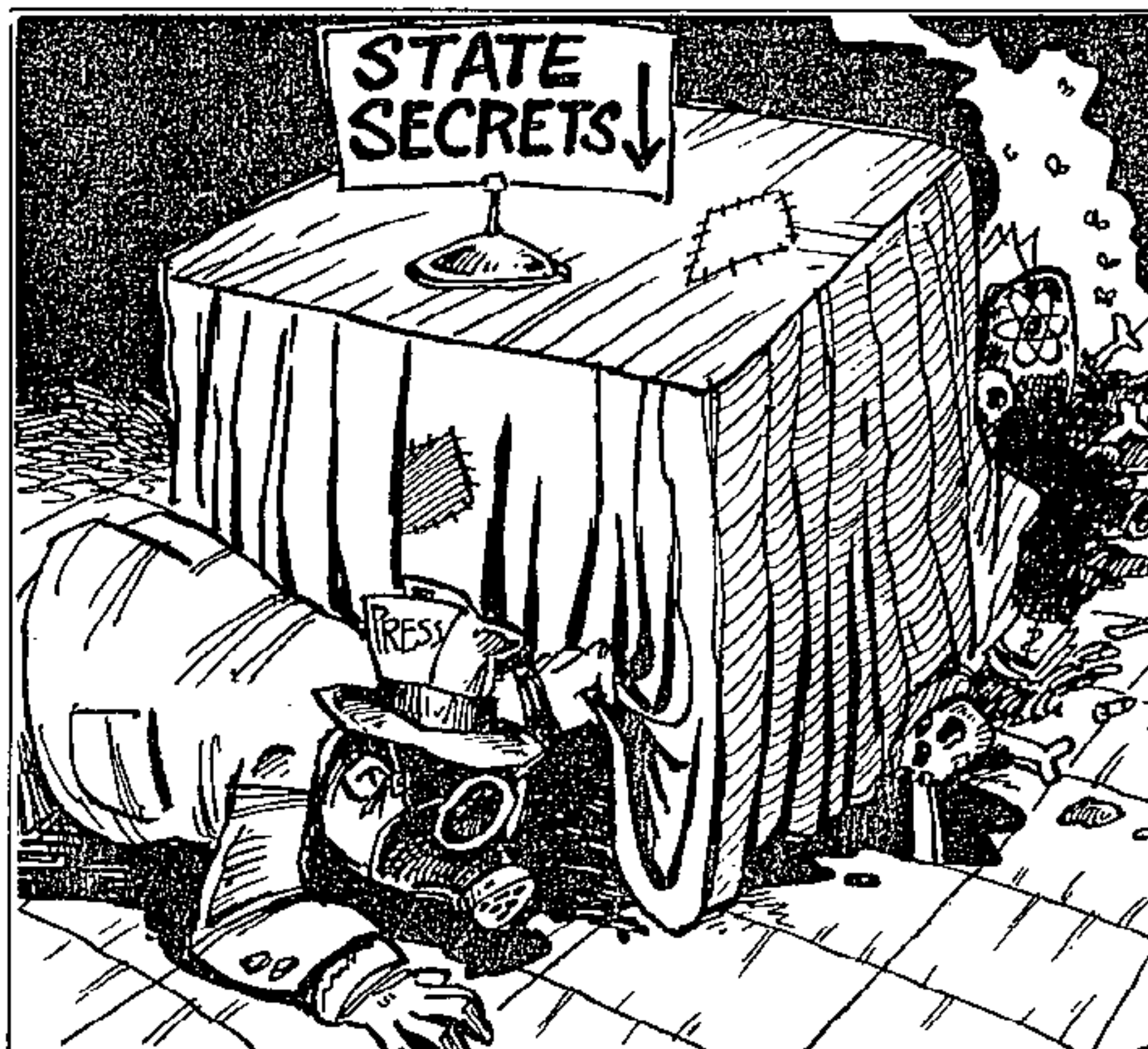
Not even the Conference of Editors, in their draft free press clause to Codesa last year, made any but the barest mention of freedom of information. ("Everyone has the right to freely ... inform himself.") They focused largely and predictably on the negative freedoms, mainly freedom from censorship.

Despite a statement in favour of diversity of information, the formulation of their clause would protect the status quo — a media market skewed towards the more affluent in largely white suburbs, which has grown ever more ideologically homogenous and less representative of the population at large.

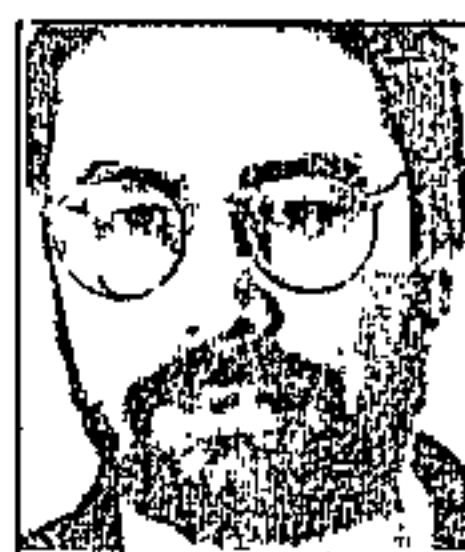
Of course, the editors were promptly ignored anyway, because all the draft Bills of Rights — the NP, the IFP and the ANC — have fairly major

Whose information is it anyway?

W/Mant 26/3-1/4/93



It's time to rip away the cloak of secrecy which surrounds government — and certain private sector institutions. A Freedom of Information Act would grant citizens a positive right to knowledge



By **PHILLIP VAN NIEKERK**

qualifications on press freedom.

Instead of being in the forefront of the clamour for access to government records, there is hardly a whimper of protest from editors.

Perhaps some small relief might yet come from the Democratic Party's Bill of Rights that is now close to completion. David Unterhalter, one of the lawyers working on the draft, says that whether or not to include a clause on freedom of information is still being debated.

The difficulty, he says, is that the DP is committed to putting only basic principles in the Bill, to keep it simple, uncluttered, and enforceable. Freedom of information legislation in the US — which is not part of the constitution — is heavily detailed, particularly in the rules of enforcement.

The converse, as Unterhalter points out, is that if freedom of information is not inserted into a Bill of Rights now, it is doubtful whether it will get

into law. Freedom of information is not likely to top the list of the ANC or the NP's legislative priorities in a new parliament.

If that is so, South African democracy would be impoverished. The right to knowledge is as empowering as the right to vote.

The aim of a freedom of information law should not be simply to make government more transparent, but to enshrine knowledge as a right superior to other potentially conflicting rights, such as private property. That is still a remote concept.

Among the lesser sins of the NP's mismanagement of the country in these last days of Rome is that of the R75-million generously granted to the Human Sciences Research Council in the Budget, R6-million will service the interest on a building.

The assumption, no doubt, is that the general public doesn't mind wasting valuable research money on an obscene neo-classical bureaucratic

edifice in downtown Pretoria, which architect Alan Lipman describes as a "second-hand fake of a fake".

After all, the HSRC, despite being publicly funded, has never viewed the general public as its client. It spends millions each year on research that never sees the light of day, or that goes for the exclusive use of government departments, corporations or paying clients.

Before the collapse of Codesa 2, only the NP and the DP had access to HSRC opinion polls that revealed that 25 percent in an election would certainly block the ANC and its allies in a constituent assembly, while one third would be risky.

The immediate cause of the deadlock at Codesa 2 — the dispute over percentages — bore a suspiciously close resemblance to the HSRC's figures.

The modus operandi of the HSRC is but one more symptom of the absence of a tradition in South Africa of believing that access to information is a right.

It is more tricky, but no less crucial, with private organisations that glean information of social value.

The Urban Foundation, for instance, has over the past decade produced some of the best demographic material on South Africa, but except for occasional carefully packaged presentations, the raw data is kept protectively under wraps.

The Centre for Policy Studies, on the other hand, sets the condition that a purchaser of research has to publish the material within three months, or the centre reserves the right to publish it itself. This would be a handy guide for the other think-tanks.

Freedom of information would be a direct challenge to the "intelligence"-gathering industry which is booming in these uncertain times. Though one suspects they could do as well by reading the newspapers, corporations pay a lot of money to risk analysts and other information traffickers to tell them about the socio-political environment for their investments.

What do they do with this information once it is no longer of strategic value? Can you buy information as you buy a car and retain it until you choose to sell it? Obviously it can't be compared. If somebody steals your car, you don't have a car anymore. If somebody finds your research in a library, you lose nothing.

What if someone makes a scientific breakthrough that holds the promise of a cure for Aids? It would be immoral, indeed criminal, to withhold such material from the general scientific community.

We are living in an age where enormous strides are being made in information technology. Apart from the inherent danger of television and the electronic media trivialising democracy, it is getting easier and easier to put a vast amount of information at ordinary people's disposal.

Why not include in a Freedom of Information law a requirement that every city open a library in which pertinent public information is fed into a data base, and provide officials to help anyone wanting to access that information? Like the right to vote, it would be free.

Redistribution of information cannot be countered by the arguments that it would be robbing Peter to pay Paul, or that it would be too costly.

Roll on the revolution, I say. The information revolution.

Execution a hanging question

By CHRIS LOUW

Wed 26/3 - 11/4/93.

BROAD support is sought by the government for the reimposition of the death penalty following an unprecedented wave of cold-blooded murders in the country, including the recent attacks attributed to Apla.

The death penalty was suspended by President F.W. de Klerk during his February 2 1990 speech in which he announced the unbanning of all political organisations. The moratorium was kept in place pending the completion of an interim charter of fundamental human rights which will be in effect during the transition phase.

Although parliamentary consent is not necessary to revoke the moratorium, De Klerk announced on Wednesday that the issue will be debated thoroughly in parliament before a decision is taken.

His announcement followed a press release by National Party MPs Hennie Smit (chairman of the NP's law and order study group) and Ray Radue (chairman of the study group on justice) in which they pleaded for the reposition of the death sentence.

In his announcement De Klerk said that NP MPs — now dominating all three houses of parliament — would be allowed to vote on the

issue according to their conscience.

Nat MPs are, as a rule, expected to toe the party line, although similar "conscience votes" have in the past been allowed, for instance, where liquor laws were concerned.

According to party officials there is a very strong feeling among ordinary MPs that the death penalty should be brought back.

This will definitely be supported by the Conservative Party and some individuals in the Democratic Party, making it a foregone conclusion that parliament will overwhelmingly vote for the revoking of the moratorium.

However, tensions may be created if the extra-parliamentary groupings, and more specifically the African National Congress, could not be persuaded to support the continuation of hangings.

De Klerk has already indicated that the government will embark on "an intensive consultation process with leaders of extra-parliamentary parties and organisations" to solicit their support.

Last year alone 20 135 people were murdered in South Africa.

The ANC was not available for comment at the time of going to press.

See PAGE 22

Women's place in the House

By STEPHEN LAUFER

Wed 26/3 - 11/4/93.

RILED by the all-male composition of the planned multi-party forum, women from across the political spectrum plan to disrupt next Thursday's crucial management committee meeting which is preparing for the talks.

The demonstration is being planned and co-ordinated by African National Congress Women's League leader Baleka Kgosisile. She hopes that women from all 26 parties involved in the negotiations and other women's groups will take part.

Inkatha women appear to be interested in participating, but at least some National Party women say they neither believe in demonstrations, nor that many women are currently up to the job of governing the country.

What has made ANC women and their allies particularly livid is the flippancy response by male negotiators to proposals for an expansion of the negotiating forum to accommodate a female adviser from each of the participating groups.

This would give women a more direct voice in the process than under Codesa II, where a gender action committee was the only forum for women's issues.

The proposal, adopted by the ANC executive, was put forward by secretary general Cyril

Ramaphosa at last week's meeting of the facilitating committee preparing full talks.

He was met by loud jeers from the all-male group around the table, says Kgosisile, as well as comments such as "We are all here on merit!" and "This is reverse discrimination!"

The ANC Women's League wants to put the point more forcefully to the negotiators when they meet again next Thursday.

They plan a 1 000-strong "welcoming committee" for negotiators arriving at the World Trade Centre and are looking at including women advisers, at least temporarily, in sympathetic delegations.

Says Kgosisile: "If we knew that the negotiators were all sleeping in one place the night before, they'd get a very early visit."

Lilly Coetzer, wife of Springs MP Piet Coetzer and a National Party Women's Action Committee activist, says she doubts members of her organisation will participate.

"We don't believe in demonstrations, we prefer to find other ways of putting pressure. I believe that if this country is to uplift itself, women will do it. But I feel that most women are not yet up to standard. Women must be chosen on merit. "We don't want puppets appointed."

REGIONALISM FM 26/3/93

Inching to consensus (304A)

The ANC endorses the listing in the constitution of those regional powers agreed to by an elected constituent assembly — subject to the retention by the central government of concurrent and overriding legislative powers.

"Concurrent powers" allocate different responsibilities with regard to one function, to different levels of government. The modern growth of government functions, and the complex linkages and interdependencies that have developed, particularly in the economic and social spheres, have made it unrealistic to think of allocating all or even most functions exclusively, explains a recent report on regionalism by the Consultative Business

FM 26/3/93 (304A)

Movement (CBM). Overriding powers refer to the right of the centre, in certain circumstances, to act as the higher legislative authority in an area allocated to regions.

Delegates from the ANC's 14 regions, together with its allies from Cosatu and the SA Communist Party, conferred last weekend to finalise policy on regional government — the issue the IFP wants placed at the top of the agenda when multiparty negotiations resume on Thursday.

The ANC conference starting point was its draft policy document, released late last year, which goes a surprising way towards accommodating "strong" regional government, much along the lines outlined by the

Cont — D

Nat MP for Jeppe quits, joins Inkatha

CAPE TOWN — Inkatha gained its fourth Parliamentary representative yesterday when Jeppe MP Hennie Bekker resigned from the NP.

He is the second NP MP to join Inkatha, following Vryheid MP Jurie Mentz who quit last month.

Inkatha has also gained Mike Tarr from the DP and Farouk Cassim from Solidarity. Seven MPs have joined the ANC.

Bekker said he believed it was time that white, coloured and Indian South Africans "walked the extra mile" and joined pre-

dominantly black political organisations.

As a "verligte" and liberal South African, he had serious doubts about whether the NP could free itself from the "apartheid ghost of its past". He said he would prefer to fight the coming election with a smaller, more directed party.

Bekker said he would hold a constituency meeting soon to discuss his plans. These included boosting Inkatha's growth and

☐ To Page 2

MP quits

promoting federalism. He would also advocate peace and reconciliation between all political factions.

NP Transvaal leader Pk Botha said the region's executive committee had decided to terminate Bekker's membership, "due to disciplinary reasons", before he had submitted his resignation.

Meanwhile Joe Marks, a Cape Town member of the ANC and the SACP, has joined the DP. He said ordinary people's

needs had been lost in the power struggle between the bigger parties.

The DP would be the party of ordinary people and he felt his ANC membership was not compatible with his lifelong service to the community.

Marks was a founder member of the UDF and was detained several times under emergency regulations. He was banned for two years until February 1990.

☐ From Page 1

'Winnie a co-perpetrator'

~~State~~ State
(304th)

BLOEMFONTEIN. — Mrs Winnie Mandela should have been found guilty of being a co-perpetrator in the assaults of teenage activist Stompie Seipei and three others and not merely an accessory.

State counsel Mr Jan Swanepoel, SC, made this submission yesterday to the full bench of the Appeal Court hearing

Mrs Mandela's appeal against her conviction and six-year sentence for kidnapping and being an accessory to assault.

Mr Swanepoel also submitted that the trial judge should not have accepted that her alibi for her whereabouts when the assaults took place "was reasonably, possibly true".

The state is asking the court to confirm

Mrs Mandela's conviction and sentence on four counts of kidnapping.

The state is asking the court also to find her guilty on four counts of assault and to increase her sentence appropriately.

Concluding his argument earlier Mrs Mandela's counsel, Mr George Bizos, SC, asked the court to acquit her on all charges.

CT 24/3/93

FW threatens to take action against Transkei

CAPE TOWN — The war of words between government and the Transkei administration escalated yesterday, with government poised to take action against the homeland.

Transkei military leader Gen Bantu Holomisa said yesterday President F W de Klerk had ordered the elimination of Apla members in Transkei.

In a strongly worded diplomatic note to the SA government, Holomisa rejected the finding of the Goldstone commission, which implicated the administration in Apla activities.

De Klerk yesterday reacted furiously to Holomisa's allegations, saying the Transkei leader's response was "unsatisfactory and inadequate". He said the administration's reaction included allegations that were "completely untrue".

De Klerk said "firm action" would be taken if the Transkei administration failed to take adequate steps following the commission's report.

Government was preparing a detailed answer to Holomisa's note and would release it soon after informing the Transkei administration, a spokesman said.

LLOYD COUTTS reports that Holomisa's formal note rejected the findings of the Goldstone commission and issued a veiled warning against a possible raid.

He said Transkei's intelligence service was aware of an operation to murder Apla operatives, and that the mobilisation of the Citizen Force was aimed at achieving this purpose. Security forces had met yesterday and finalised "ways and means of elimi-

nating innocent people".

"The grandstanding and political posturing which accompanied the release of the so-called findings of the Goldstone commission into Apla, and the singling out and painting of Transkei as a villain is totally unacceptable to the government and people of Transkei.

"I would like to alert you (De Klerk) to the fact that our intelligence is aware of the order personally given by you to the effect that certain persons deemed to be Apla members resident in Transkei be wiped out as a matter of extreme urgency," Holomisa said.

He further warned: "You have threatened to take action against Transkei. Please ensure you have taken precautionary measures so that the consequences of your actions do not boomerang in your face."

FW harvests world praise

WASHINGTON — President F W de Klerk appears to have scored an important public relations victory in the US and Australia with his dramatic disclosures about SA's now-discarded nuclear weapons.

The White House, the state department and Senator John Glenn — a leader of the US Senate's nuclear watchdog group — all welcomed the announcement.

SA ambassador Harry Schwarz said yesterday reaction from the Clinton administration had been extremely positive.

Our Political Staff reports from Cape Town that Australian Foreign Minister Gareth Evans said the new-found willingness to provide full information on SA's nuclear activities was "a welcome step".

However, Sapa-AFP reports from Tokyo the Japanese government said yesterday Japan was disturbed that SA had made nuclear weapons, even though they were destroyed.

● Comment: Page 8

No investment 'unless SA markets itself'

FOREIGN investors and financiers did not consider SA an obvious market and vigorous top-level contact was necessary to change, SA Foundation director-general Kurt von Schirnding warned yesterday.

Addressing the foundation's annual meeting in Johannesburg, he said hopes raised by fundamental political reform in 1990 had all too often been dashed.

Negotiations had broken down, the violence continued, the economy stagnated

and unguarded political rhetoric with predictably damaging consequences for overseas perceptions had been all too evident.

This, coupled with the major Western powers' own domestic malaises, had raised the possibility of SA being marginalised.

"It is not obvious to foreign investors and financiers why SA should be an opportunity for them," said Von Schirnding.

There was no alternative to top-level contact worldwide. — Sapa.

Milk Board's financial 'disarray'

CAPE TOWN — A parliamentary report has recorded the disarray in the Milk Board's finances caused by court judgments against its levy collection procedure which meant that the collection of R362m was invalid.

The Auditor-General, in a report on the Milk Board tabled in Parliament yesterday, said he was unable to express an opinion on the results of the Board's activities during the 1991/92 financial year because of the "uncertainties" involved.

The report notes that on June 5 last year, the Cape provincial division of the Supreme Court rejected an application by the board for payments of levies of a certain distributor. The implication of the application was that levies of R362m collected since 1987 were invalid.

The board had appealed against the outcome of the application and at the time of compiling of the report, the appeal had not been heard.

As a result of this, the amendment of the dairy scheme, the promulgation of the valid levies procedure and the procurement of bridg-

ing finance, the report did not express an opinion on the results of the board's activities.

During the 1991/92 financial year examined by the report, the board recorded a loss on exports in terms of its stabilisation fund of R46m compared with about R31m for the previous year.

In terms of judgment handed down by the Appellate Division in September 1991, certain levy notices published by the board for the purpose of imposing special and ordinary levies were declared invalid.

The board therefore credited levies amounting to R8,8m plus interest amounting to R4,3m to the accounts of the individual purchasers of milk concerned, writing off the total amount against its stabilisation fund.

Agriculture Minister Kraai van Niekerk was not prepared to approve this action by the board, which had consequently submitted a further application, the report noted.

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De Klerk still holds the key to successful talks

8/04/93 26/3/93

(3044)

BILLY PADDOCK

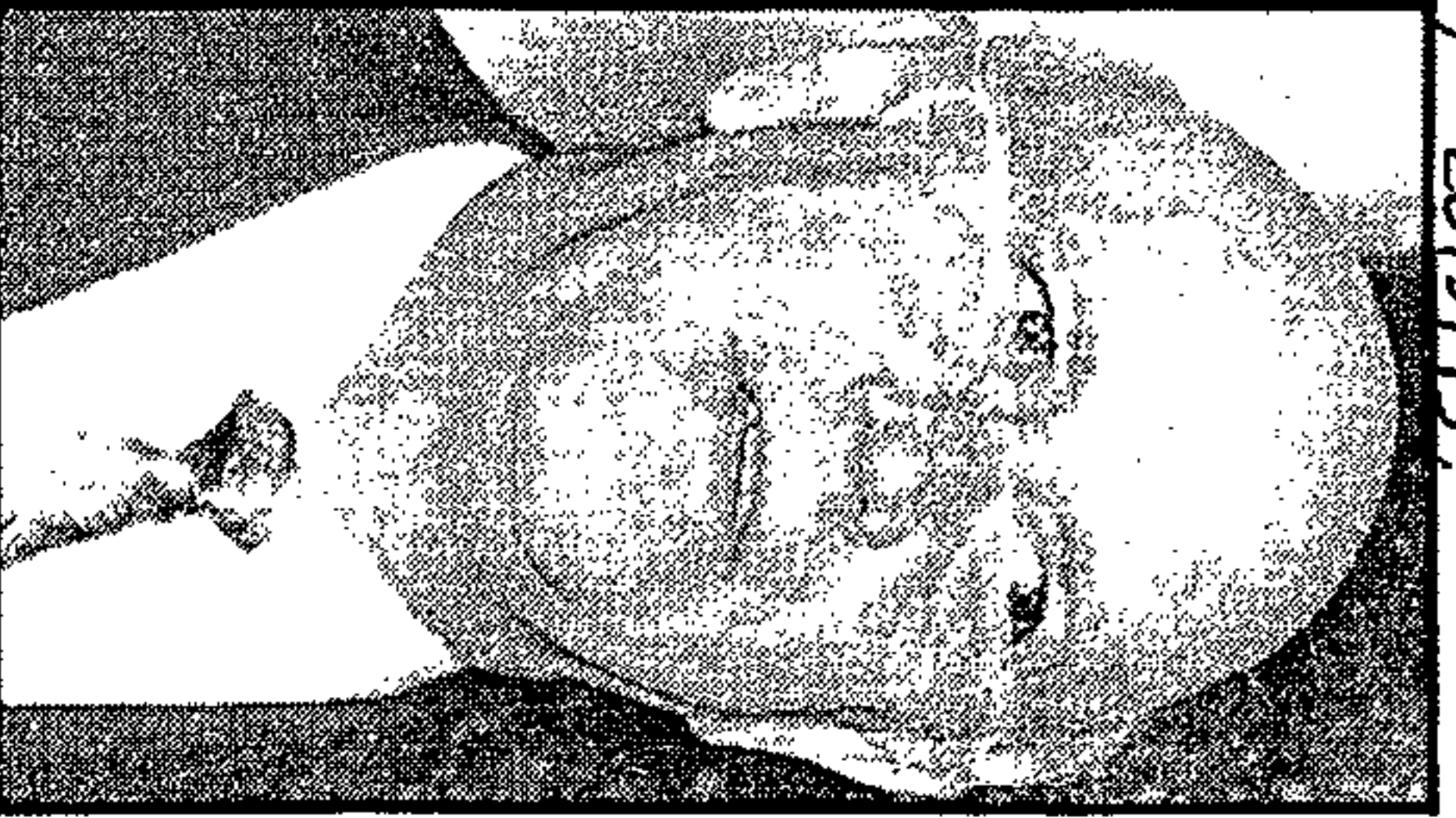
THREE years ago, by opening negotiation, with the ANC, President F W de Klerk overrode conventional NP wisdom that it was wrong to negotiate with a party committed to the armed struggle. Now he is set to repeat this with the PAC, hoping to reduce levels of violence and the possibility of a white backlash.

In his address to Parliament on Wednesday he handled the emotive issue of Apla carefully. He did not terminate negotiations with the PAC but took up the veiled olive branch so cautiously held out by the PAC's Benny Alexander the previous day.

At the same time he broke government out of the corner into which its chief negotiator, Constitutional Development Minister Roelf Meyer, and Law and Order Minister Hennus Kriel had painted it. Both Ministers firmly stressed that government would not negotiate constitutional issues with the PAC until it had suspended the armed struggle. Kriel in Gaborone during talks with the PAC and Meyer just before the multiparty planning conference.

The PAC has not suspended the armed struggle, probably because of a range of dilemmas it faces — one of them being a lack of control over its armed wing.

Government negotiators then found themselves in the invidious position of not being able to kick the



□ DE KLERK

ties — including the ANC and Inkatha — would not co-operate. The ANC said it would not support government in using the PAC's "failure to suspend the armed struggle as a reason to squeeze it out".

Government's only recourse, hardly feasible, would have been to withdraw from the process itself.

The PAC, meanwhile, which appears to have a renewed resolve to negotiations, has called for a "sober and structural" approach to ending the violence. Alexander said it wanted a technical committee of the new negotiations forum to be formed to investigate the best way of placing all armed formations under joint multiparty control.

This is nothing new. Government and the ANC have been locked in bilateral talks for more than two years trying to achieve this. The ANC last week said it wanted this issue debated in the multiparty forum in the open.

De Klerk implicitly grasped Alexander's call, and said violence and armed formations should top the multiparty forum's agenda. He said government would try and persuade

other parties in negotiations to adopt the stance that no party could take part in talks unless it signed the national peace accord and distanced itself from violence. All military wings, private armies and militant sub-organisations would have to be effectively and visibly bound to the curbing of illegal actions.

De Klerk has, in the SACP, a strong ally for this course of action. Yesterday SACP chairman and ANC executive member Joe Slovo said that when the ANC suspended the armed struggle it did so with its eyes open and "because it is inconsistent to negotiate with someone and at the same time open fire on them".

He said suspending the armed struggle was the correct thing for all parties to do if they wanted to negotiate change. But he stressed this had to be achieved at the negotiating table and not resolved through unilateral action by government.

Slovo said the resolution adopted by the planning conference abhorring the killings at Table Mountain near Maritzburg should be extended and the structures of the negotiating process "must state clearly its absolute abhorrence for violence. Then, at the negotiating table, the PAC will have to indicate clearly its attitude."

But Slovo also argued that, in large measure, the onus of controlling violence and the proliferation of

illegal automatic weapons rested with government.

Government was the chief culprit in delaying the implementation of phase one of the transitional programme — the implementation of the transitional executive council and its sub-councils, one of which would exercise joint control over all armed formations.

Negotiators across the spectrum, including government, say that the process cannot move forward until there is agreement on the joint monitoring of all armed formations.

Slovo says that after two years of negotiations between the ANC and government on this issue there has been no progress. "There is a reluctance on the part of government to share control over its security forces. We seem to find common ground in talking, but as soon as it comes to signing agreements where effect is given to joint monitoring, they pull back."

Inkatha and the Bophuthatswana and Ciskei homelands also reject the notion of joint control over their security wings.

Unless the parties can reach agreement on this crucial issue, where arms caches and their contents are identified and cadres and their camps are opened to inspection and monitoring, De Klerk's strategy will fail. He holds the key.

LETTERS

Women call for role in negotiations

Star 26/3/93
304A 20517
By Esther Waugh
Political Reporter

The issue of female representation at the negotiating forum could come to a head today when women meet at the World Trade Centre.

In an open letter to political leaders, the Women's National Coalition noted the relative absence of women in negotiations.

"Women are the most disadvantaged of South Africans. Collectively, they have the lowest income levels, employment, legal status, esteem.

"One of the great challenges facing all our leaders is how the new South Africa is going to accommodate the needs and concerns of women," the letter said.

The ANC Women's League last week threatened action if women were not adequately represented in the restructured negotiating forum.

An Inkatha Freedom Party meeting decided on Wednesday that women have full representation.

Star 26/3/93

'Gravy' scandal grows

(304A)

Own Correspondent

CAPE TOWN — Taxpayers are not only forking out for Cabinet Ministers to live in their own houses — senior Government officials get the same perk when Parliament is in session.

Heads of departments, directors-general and deputy directors-general are paid "rent" by the State, calculated on the purchase prices of their houses.

Officials who do not live in official complexes are eligible for compensation.

And provincial sources say three MECs are being paid to live in their own houses.

According to a document sent to a Cape Town newspaper, a head of department is being paid R4 702,17 a month for living in his house during the parliamentary

session.

Electricity and water bills are also paid by the State.

Director-General of Public Works Theo van Robbroeck confirmed the existence of the scheme.

The average payment to the senior officials was R2 270 a month, he said. The lowest is R954 and the highest R4 700.

Among those being paid to stay in their own houses are the Director-General of Water Affairs and Forestry, G C D Claasens; the Director-General of Internal Affairs, P J Colyn; the Director-General of Finance, Dr S J Naude; the Director-General of Manpower, J D Fourie; the Director-General of Administration (House of Assembly) and the Superintendent-General of Health (House of Assembly).

Van Robbroeck said there was a shortage of accommodation for parliamentary staff. Some were put up in hotels during the session.

The provincial administration said sums being paid to the MECs to live in their own houses were less than those paid to Cabinet Ministers, and varied.

Democratic Party MP Peter Soal, who tabled the questions which led to the disclosure of R3 million spent last year on political office-bearers' private houses, said details of payments to officials showed there was no end to the milking of taxpayers.

Taxpayers might be numb at wave after wave of revelations about the gravy train, but an outcry was likely to follow this new evidence of lavish spending, he said.

'Staggering increase in HIV cases' — insurer

Business Staff

A TOTAL of 1,01% of new applicants for policies with Southern Life in the six months to the end of December had tested positive for the HIV virus.

This represented a "staggering" 80% increase over the corresponding period the previous year, according to Mr Paul Truysens, general manager of Southern Life.

He said since Southern Life first introduced testing in August 1990 it had identified

348 HIV positive applicants, representing total life assurance cover of R36,3 million. In all these cases, life cover had been refused.

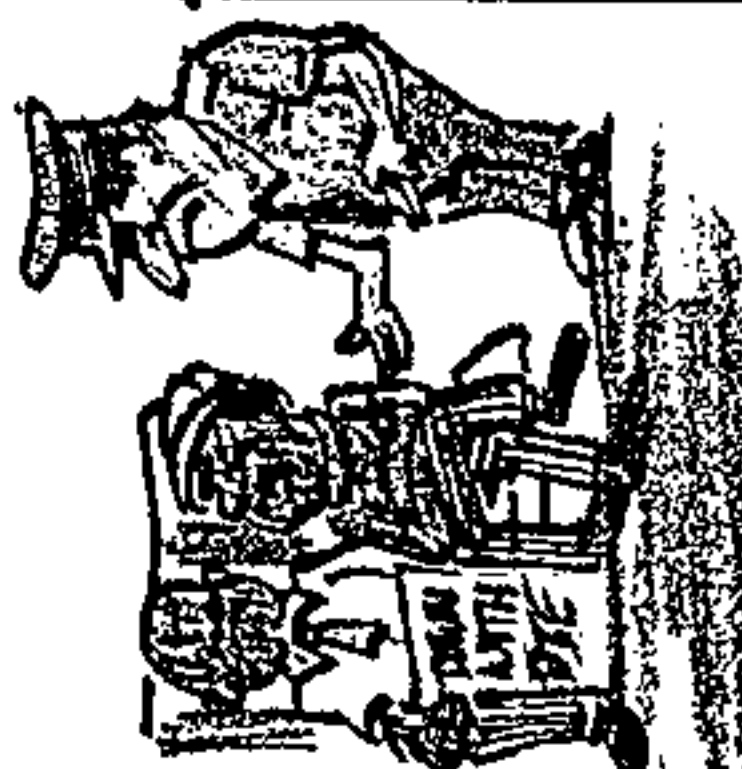
According to Mr Truysens, infection is most prevalent in the 25-35 age group where 1,2% of applicants tested were HIV positive.

"Southern Life's firm stance on HIV testing appears to have paid handsome dividends. By declining life cover to infected people we are protecting the interests of our current policy holders."

"We believe uninfected policy holders have a right to this protection and should not have to face rate increases or reduced payouts because of cross-subsidising HIV-infected lives."

Mr Truysens said insurers with less stringent underwriting requirements were effectively forcing their existing policy holders to share the cost of excess claims, although this problem would only become an issue in about five years' time when claims start arising.

crack of dawn



While we're protesting against exam fees, I've decided to protest against train fares.

BUSINESS BRIEF

Gold (Ldn) (close) \$332,15
Gold (NY) (close) \$332,55

SA 'appears poised to act on Transkei'

Political Correspondent

SOUTH AFRICA appears poised to act against Transkei following sharp exchanges between President F W de Klerk and Major-General Bantu Holomisa yesterday.

But in an angry reaction last night Mr De Klerk stopped short of announcing any specific actions, saying the government was preparing its response to allegations made yesterday by the Transkei ruler.

This follows blunt warnings by the State President that if Transkei failed to respond positively to a Goldstone Commission report suggesting links between Apla and the homeland government then "firm steps" could be taken.

Yesterday the Transkei military ruler flatly rejected the Goldstone Commission findings and alleged that Mr De Klerk personally had ordered the elimination of Apla members in Transkei.

A six-page diplomatic note sent by Gen Holomisa to Mr De Klerk yesterday said: "I would like to alert you to the fact that our intelligence is aware of the order personally given by you to the effect that certain persons deemed to be Apla members resident in Transkei be wiped out as a matter of urgency."

He described the Goldstone Commission as "illegitimate" and its findings as "hearsay from the regime".

PAC president Mr Clarence Makwetu last night claimed that Mr De Klerk's announcements on violence in Parliament on Wednesday were a bid to isolate the PAC and "play up to a section of the community, namely the whites".

Mr De Klerk's office last night slammed Gen Holomisa's response as "unsatisfactory and inadequate".

To page 2

From page 1

Holomisa

It contained allegations which were "totally untrue" and the "many falsifications and emotional outbursts" of Gen Holomisa were dismissed by the government as propaganda, said spokesman Mr Dave Steward.

On Wednesday Mr De Klerk issued a blunt threat to Transkei: "They must not underestimate the seriousness of the situation if they try to play politics with us."

Gen Holomisa's reaction was clearly not what Mr De Klerk hoped to hear.

The Transkei ruler said the president personally gave an order for Apla members in the homeland to be "wiped out" as a matter of extreme urgency.

"This unequivocally demonstrates that 'Operation Katzen' ... remains in force," Gen Holomisa said in a reference to an alleged plan to form a Xhosa-based movement pitted against the ANC in the Eastern Cape.

"Part of the purpose of mobilising the Citizen Force is to achieve this purpose," he said.

"The planning of the deployment of forces will obviously depend on the prevailing operational conditions. These troops will perform duties like, among others, patrolling, roadblocks and maintaining a visible presence".

Blow to ANC as activist joins DP

By BARRY STREEK
Political Staff

26/3/93
THE Democratic Party in the Western Cape received a boost yesterday when prominent activist Mr Joe Marks resigned from the ANC and the SA Communist Party and joined the DP.

A former vice-president of the United Democratic Front in the region and a member of the Cape Areas Housing Action Committee (Cahac), Mr Marks is a former ANC branch chairman.

His decision to join the DP is a setback to the ANC in its campaign to persuade coloured people to support it.

Mr Marks said at a press conference there were many reasons for his decision, but "the problem of accountability" was the most basic reason.

Decisions were being made at the top and then brought to the bottom for rubber-stamping.

He said the DP had been "unrelentingly opposed to apartheid, even when they, as a white party, had nothing to gain by it". He shared their vision of a human rights society and a social market economy.

Boesak: Atlantis exploited

Staff Reporter

THE government is exploiting poverty in "apartheid-created" Atlantis to win votes, ANC regional chairman Dr Allan Boesak alleged yesterday.

Dr Boesak said Atlantis residents were living under threat of eviction because the government had lifted "moratoria" on action against rent and electricity payment defaulters.

He said that while the NP appeared concerned about poverty in Atlantis, "nothing practical is done to alleviate the suffering"

CT 26/3/93

Golden opportunity for diplomat

CAPE TOWN — Dr Sampie Golden, South African's ambassador to Athens and former MP, has landed the plum diplomatic job of ambassador to Bonn. His fast rise to the Bonn posting has caused some ruffles among career diplomats.

Golden was MP for Potgietersrus from 1981 until he was defeated by the Conservative Party in the general election of May 1987. Bonn, London and Washington are considered the top three positions in the South African foreign service and all three are now occupied by politicians rather than professional diplomats.

President P W Botha immediately nominated him as an MP and then appointed Political Correspondent.

FM 26/3/93 (304A)

CURRENT AFFAIRS

CBM team of experts. But whether it is enough to satisfy the full-blown (con)federalist demands of Inkatha and its Cosag allies is open to question. They do at least go half-way in that direction, and indications are that government will be able to do business with the ANC on this key matter.

To ensure that regional governments will be adequately financed to implement national and regional policies, the ANC says, provision is made for an independent advisory commission on fiscal decentralisation "to ensure equity, transparency and objectivity in the distribution of national resources."

It was further resolved that the country

will be divided into "no more than 10" regions. The draft policy document includes an option of 16 regions, now scrapped; word is that the ANC may eventually settle for eight regions — one more than government has proposed and one less than the nine outlined by the Development Bank. However, final and binding decisions on this matter, as well as on the powers and functions of regions, are to be reserved for a democratically elected constitution-making body, says the ANC.

There was much concern at the conference regarding interim arrangements on regionalism, with anxiety over what are perceived to be unilateral efforts by government to restructure local and regional policies and ad-

ministrations. This seems unfounded in view of the Local Government Negotiating Forum launched this week by Local Government Minister Tertius Delpot, which includes SA National Civic Organisation leader Moses Mayekiso, an ANC man. Bottom-up negotiations of this kind, parallel to the national talks, are strongly advocated by Inkatha, which goes further in wanting regions to determine their own constitutions.

The ANC describes regional policy in the negotiation process, as well as in the future democratic constitution, as being of critical importance. It believes that a democratically elected regional government will have a vital role to play in promoting democracy, recon-

Continue

REGIONALISM
Inching to consensus

The ANC endorses the listing in the constitution of those regional powers agreed to by an elected constituent assembly — subject to the retention by the central government of concurrent and overriding legislative powers.

"Concurrent powers" allocate different responsibilities with regard to one function, to different levels of government. The modern growth of government functions, and the complex linkages and interdependencies that have developed, particularly in the economic and social spheres, have made it unrealistic to think of allocating all or even most functions exclusively, explains a recent report on regionalism by the Consultative Business

CURRENT AFFAIRS

struction and development.

The ANC has also resolved that elections for regional representatives in a constituent assembly (the interim phase) should be conducted on the basis of electoral regions, "preferably the four provinces based on the 1910 boundaries."

ANC head of local & regional government and housing Thozamile Botha says a delimitation commission (comprising specialists, those with a vested interest in regionalism and party representatives), should be set up to make recommendations on future regional boundaries in an integrated SA. Final decisions on these borders, powers and functions should, however, be left to an elected body, as regional policy could be finalised only as part of a national constitution, setting out such powers for all three tiers of government.

The ANC envisages regional policy being implemented in phases, with the TBVC and self-governing states "collapsing" after the elections. According to Botha, interim regional government would operate on a basis of the powers and functions agreed before the elections. (It is perhaps a pity that the ANC won't accept those very principles as binding on the constitution-making body as well.) Dismantling structures before the elections would be difficult, says Botha, but a Transitional Executive Committee could create a provincial-level structure to start the process of rationalisation.

In an interview in the latest issue of the ANC journal *Mayibuye*, Botha says: "It is agreed that different tiers of government need political, economic and developmental powers and powers to levy taxes. However, a certain degree of authority for the centre should be kept, to ensure the maintenance of stability and standards throughout the country."

He adds: "Our starting point is that SA is one united country. We therefore believe that everything must be based on a single national constitution. Regional variety will need to be provided for within that constitution, but we want to ensure that the constitution does not take away the principle of a single united country."

Easy roads to freedom

FM 26/3/93

304A



Pieter Joubert is a professor in the Department of Political Science at Potchefstroom University.

Though there is a whole spectrum of political parties and movements in SA, each with its own purported solution and socio-political vision of the future, the society is still fundamentally characterised by a profound dualism: black versus white, haves versus have-nots. This fundamental division will be exploited and inflame emotions in the coming election.

Of more than 20m potential voters it is really only the white minority segment (about 2,3m) which has really had the advantage of participating in elections. We have to accept that our pseudo-democratic dispensation, in which a small minority of coloured and Indian voters participated during the tricameral parliament, can be regarded only as a transition model.

Many white and black potential voters already have overlapping interests in terms of party political membership but there are nevertheless profound fears.

The broad white electorate hopes that the process of transition will culminate in a stable democracy. In spite of the fact that an interim government of national unity, in which the winning parties will have representation, is expected to rule for about five years after the first election, most white voters implicitly accept that the ANC will probably be the majority party.

Rampant crime

The implications of this have caused many whites to harbour fears and anxieties, revolving around expectations of negative discrimination (revenge for apartheid), unfair quota systems in the application of affirmative action, a socialist-leaning economic policy, rampant crime, the nature of future regional governments and deteriorating social and educational standards.

The large degree of ambivalence to be found among white voters at present is fur-

ther supported by statistics produced in the Human Sciences Research Council's quarterly *Information Update*.

Whereas almost 70% of whites declared themselves (in the March 1992 referendum) in favour of a socio-political negotiation process, only 50% believe that black and white share enough interests to be able to establish a "new SA."

More than 85% of whites believe the ANC cannot be trusted when it maintains that, should the ANC come to power, black dominance over whites will not be tolerated. The fact that most whites distrust the ANC is also reflected in the fact that the ANC, according to opinion polls, at present could rally only 1% of white electoral support. (The majority of coloureds and Indians also do not appear to support the ANC.)

Now we turn to the black electorate. Members of the Soweto generation of 1976, who became bound inextricably to the struggle, are now between 30 and 40 years old: it is a generation sympathetic in some degree to "no-education-before-liberation" and "the-struggle-is-my-life."

At present there are more than 4m young blacks who (according to opinion polls) have an unrealistic conception of what a new SA will yield. It is a group increasingly impatient with the ANC — after all, ANC president Nelson Mandela has now been out of prison for more than three years!

Opinion polls indicate that the young blacks in the electorate have the following attitudes and expectations:

- ☐ More than 60% believe that they will receive houses once a new government is in place and that the State will supply houses;
- ☐ Another 65% believe that a university degree will become accessible to them through a new government; and
- ☐ More than 65% believe the whites are "advantaged" by the violence in the country, while about 30% believe the NP and the SAP are jointly responsible for the violence.

Just as whites do not trust the ANC, so blacks are suspicious of the NP, though to a lesser extent: whereas only about 1% of whites support the ANC, polls suggest that about 7% of blacks support the NP (compared with 55% of Indians and about 60% of coloureds).

The political elite in SA can learn from the

new US President Bill Clinton about how to land in trouble rapidly should promises made during an election campaign not be met afterwards. And the nature of SA politics is volatile, far more complex than the US situation as we negotiate a highly emotional transition to the hoped-for democracy.

It is precisely because of the emotional nature of SA politics (essentially, white fears and black expectations) that the political elites will carry a double burden. On the one hand they will have to defuse and manage the fears and expectations of their own traditional supporters; on the other they will need to be sensitive to the image that other voters in the country have of them.

Political leaders, of course, are often responsible for creating unrealistic expectations. The PAC's Clarence Makwetu, during a recent TV interview with Sir David Frost, maintained that the PAC would "without doubt" win an election, while regular countrywide polls confirm that the PAC has less than 3% of the support of voters.

In the same vein, IFP leader Mangosuthu Buthelezi told Frost that opinion polls are unreliable, that anything can happen during an election, and that it is not excluded that the IFP can win an election — in spite of the fact that the IFP could at present draw about 11% of the electorate's support.

Individual support

In his turn, Foreign Minister Pik Botha last year maintained that the NP could win an election, in spite of polls indicating it can at present claim about 25% of the total electoral support. Yet regular polls indicate that the ANC can claim about 55%-65%.

Though both President F W de Klerk and Mandela have, according to the polls, more individual support than their organisations (the NP and ANC), there are hints that the NP and the ANC are both losing support.

Many ANC supporters are becoming impatient and frustrated by the perception that the ANC leaders — to use Winnie Mandela's words — "are getting into bed with the elite of the oppressors in order to enjoy the luxury of the satin sheets with them."

Politics is about choosing between difficult options but most leaders seem to be pretending at the moment that there is an easy way.

New blow to NP as senior MP opts for Inkatha

Political Staff

THE National Party has been dealt another blow with the defection of senior Transvaal MP Mr Hennie Bekker to the Inkatha Freedom Party.

He declared yesterday that the NP would never rid itself of the ghost of its apartheid past.

Mr Bekker, MP for Jeppe and the NP's Transvaal chief whip, is the second Nationalist MP to join the IFP.

He said it was time that white, coloured and Indian South Africans "walked the extra yard" to join predominantly black organisations.

It was unrealistic to expect black South Africans in large numbers to join predominantly white parties that had been part of the white-dominated power system.

Mr Bekker finally made up his mind yesterday after wavering for more than a week. He was expected to walk out last week but President De Klerk persuaded him not to go.



Mr Hennie Bekker

IFP leader Chief Mangosuthu Buthelezi warmly welcomed Mr Bekker into the party and indicated that he would be promoted immediately to the central committee.

NP Transvaal leader Mr Pik Botha said the party's provincial executive had decided to expel Mr Bekker for disciplinary reasons before he offered his resignation.

Mr Bekker became the first MP outside Natal to join the IFP. Three Natal MPs — Vryheid Nationalist MP Mr Jurie Mentz, the Democratic Party's Maritzburg North MP Mr Mike Tarr, and nominated Solidarity MP Mr Farouk Cassim — left their parties recently.

● Jeppe residents reacted with outrage, dismay and dull resignation on hearing that their MP had joined the IFP. Most called on Mr Bekker to resign his seat so that a by-election could be held to determine whether he still had support.

DP: Coloureds cheated by NP

THE National Party had cheated coloured people of their political rights, but was now trying to woo them back with hand-outs, games and a sudden concern for their plight, the DP said yesterday. (304A)

The NP's family fair at the showgrounds at Goodwood today sounded like the "bread and games" Roman emperors organised for Roman citizens after they were deprived of their political rights, it said.

CT 2/3/39

MP sets record straight

Political Staff

CT 27/3/93 (304A)

THE Democratic Party MP for Wynberg, Mr Robin Carlisle, said yesterday he accepted the ANC did not have a host of paid party jobs.

Mr Carlisle said in a statement that the African National Congress's regional office had taken exception to certain aspects of his statement welcoming former ANC member Mr Joe Marks into the DP.

"In particular, the ANC pointed out that they have no say in the allocation of government or quasi-government positions, nor do they have a host of paid party jobs'.

"These aspects of patronage refer, of course, to the NP and not the ANC, and to the extent that the wrong impression may have been created, I am happy to set the record straight," Mr Carlisle said.

CT 27/3/93

US congressmen will meet SA leaders in city

INFLUENTIAL US congressmen and officials in President Bill Clinton's administration are to meet South Africa's political leaders in Cape Town next month, organisers said yesterday.

The closed-doors forum, organised by the Aspen Institute, is expected to help shape the Clinton administration's policy on South and Southern Africa. Heading the list of visitors for the April 5-9 gathering is said to be Assistant Secretary of State for Africa-designate Mr George Moose. — Sapa-AFP

FRANS ESTERHUYSE

Weekend Argus
Political Correspondent

3044

BIDDING for support from voters in the coloured and black communities, President De Klerk launches the National Party's new-style election campaign in Cape Town this afternoon.

The rally, in the form of a non-racial family day fair, with fanfare bands, drum majorettes, a motorcade, balloons, floats, games and other colourful events, begins at the Goodwood Showground at noon.

Mr De Klerk, as leader of the National Party, is scheduled to speak at about 5pm for the official kick-off of the NP's Western Cape election campaign.

NP strategists have clearly chosen the Goodwood Showground as a more neutral venue to steer clear of any potentially stormy reception like the one Mr De Klerk had in Mitchell's Plain during a previous venture into the Cape Flats. He then encountered fierce protests and demonstrations by ANC supporters.

Today's carnival-style family fair, with lively music and fast-food stalls, is designed to appeal to the voters the NP is trying to attract across colour lines.

Gone are the days of solemn gatherings with koeksusters, boerewors and "swart gevaar" speeches by Nat stalwarts. And gone are the days of whites-only NP gatherings where the only black faces were those of servants or workers. Now the red carpet is laid out for people of colour.

Although braai vleis and potjiekos will still be available for Nat old-timers, today's Goodwood fair also caters largely for the potential new Nats — there are stalls offering halaal food, Chinese food, hotdogs, hamburgers and other popular snacks.

An arena programme this afternoon will include seven-a-side rugby, floats, a Miss NP contest, a tug-of-war, a potjiekos competition, a Coon show and a fanfare.

Cape party leader Dr Dawie de Villiers will welcome visitors and introduce President De Klerk.

The centrepiece of the party's campaign is a new carnival-style poster sporting a thumbs-up fist superimposed over the NP's arrow-up symbol. The new design is said to be favoured as the party's next official symbol.

However, a Cape NP spokesman told Weekend Argus yesterday that the thumbs-up symbol had been used by the Cape NP with the party's orange and blue arrow logo from time to time.

No final decision had yet been taken on the party's new colours and logo, which were still under consideration.

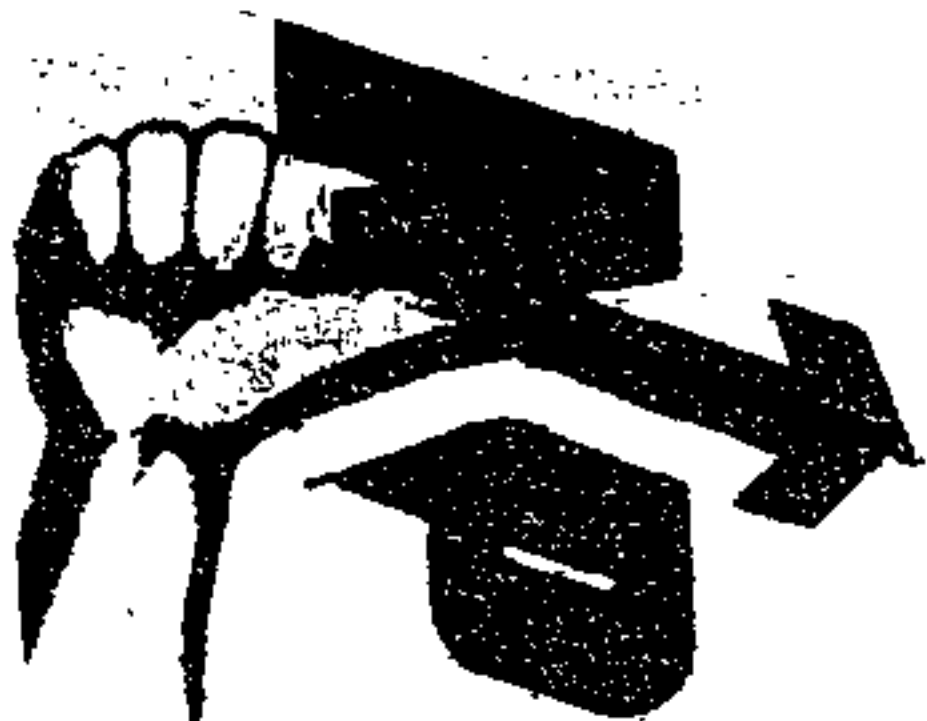
ANC 27/3/93

Within the next week or two the matter would again be attended to, the spokesman said.

Special care was taken with arrangements for today's launch because NP planners regard the Western Cape as a key region for the election campaign. They have high hopes of securing the NP's only regional majority here in a nonracial, democratic South Africa.

In a bid to boost its voter support in the coming open elections, the party is investigating new symbols and colours through consultations with marketing experts, psychologists and even traditional healers in the black community.

The new symbol, and possibly even a name change, will be aimed at getting the most favourable position and image on a ballot paper where only the parties and their symbols as opposed to candidates' names will feature.



feature.

The symbol is of particular importance to the many illiterate voters who will vote for the first time.

The Cape family fair poster is a major departure from the standard orange, blue and white colours which have characterised the National Party's public documents all the way back to the days when it had the Voortrekker *kruithoring* (gunpowder horn) as its symbol.

Some MPs favour an animal symbol but there is also strong support for the thumbs-up fist which, ironically, is a variation on black liberation symbols.

Whatever the new NP symbol, when it is finally chosen, it will be aimed at achieving exactly the opposite to that which the party's old *kruithoring* symbolised — defending the Afrikaner against blacks in battle.

The new symbol will now aim to befriend and draw blacks into the National Party "laager" — a critical factor in securing a strong position for the party in a government of national unity and in opposition to the African National Congress.

RULE OF THUMB: The thumbs-up symbol in the National Party's logo has been used by the Cape NP, and there is speculation that it may be included in the party's new national symbols.

A new hand of friendship opens Nats' election drive

■ The National Party, fully dressed up for a nonracial election, makes its debut in Cape Town today with a new-style election campaign.

Naude pays rent while parliament sits

DR Stef Naude, director-general of Trade and Industry, is not paid by the State to live in his own house when parliament sits in Cape Town.

(BB/304A)
In an article in The Argus yesterday Dr Naude was listed among a number of directors-general who were paid to stay in their own houses during parliamentary sessions.

Heads of departments, directors-general and deputy directors-general are paid "rent" by the State, calculated on what they paid for their houses.

ARC 27/3/43
Officials who do not live in official complexes at Acacia Park or Mouille Grange are eligible for compensation. Electricity and water bills are also paid by the State.

A spokeswoman in Mr Naude's office said the director-general did not have a house of his own in Cape Town and was not being paid to be accommodated.

"As a matter of fact he is paying rent for a flat provided for him by the Department of Public Works.

"His position, therefore, differs from that of ordinary sessional officials," the spokeswoman said.

Key political heavies shape up for talks

STAR
27/3/93
ESTHER WAUGH
Political Reporter

304A

NEGOTIATIONS get under way again next week, and key politicians are trying to alter their profiles in time — their physical profiles, that is.

For some unfathomable reason, some famous names are making a concerted effort to get into shape, after months during which their main exercise was talking.

The political heavyweights' weightwatchers programme cuts across party lines, and promises to produce a lean and mean negotiating team when talks start at the World Trade Centre on Thursday.

Leading the get-fit brigade is African National Congress secretary-general Cyril Ramaphosa, who has shed a whopping 11 kg. (He appears to have a side bet with South African Communist Party general-secretary Chris Hani — not directly involved in negotiations — who has lost 10 kg.)

Ramaphosa told Saturday Star that in addition to solving all the country's problems, his ambition was to lose another 4 kg. The secret of his success thus far, he said, was 40 minutes of exercise daily. Ramaphosa avoids red meat and starch and eats vegetables, chicken and fish.

Pan Africanist Congress secretary-general Benny Alexander revealed that he has shed three unwanted kilogrammes, and wants to get shot of another six.

He is transforming the garage at his Ennerdale home into a gymnasium. "I don't believe in diets. I believe in exercise," Alexander said.

Inkatha Freedom Party national chairman Dr Frank Mdlalose said he was exercising 10 minutes daily.

Mdlalose said he did not know how much weight he had lost, but was pleased to report that he could now fasten his jacket. He's given up eggs and bread, and enjoys fruit these days.

"I want to lose sufficient weight so I can jump around with ease," Mdlalose said.

Asked about his dietary doings, the Government's Constitutional Development Minister — the rake-like Roelf Meyer — could afford to be calm. His weight has remained constant since he left school (a fact he attributes to a highly efficient metabolism), and he doesn't need to follow a diet.

NEGOTIATIONS

We must know what's the buzz *Star 27/3/93* beyond earshot

THE latest buzzword in negotiating circles is 'transparency'. It was invented by SACP chairman Joe Slovo last May, has been the subject of furious debate ever since, and will be decided upon early next week. Political Reporter ESTHER WAUGH tries to peer through the controversy.

SHOULD negotiations for a future South Africa be open to the public, like parliamentary proceedings? This is the core question of the "transparency" debate, now raging among the various parties' senior representatives at multiparty talks.

Until now, journalists have been allowed to watch and report on the plenary sessions of Codesa only — but some delegates want to throw the doors open to all meetings. A decision on the question is expected to be taken on Tuesday when the Negotiating Council meets at the World Trade Centre in Kempton Park.

The SACP's Joe Slovo is the main campaigner for the "transparent" approach. At Codesa 2 in May last year, he first proposed that the media be allowed at Codesa proceedings.

After Codesa's collapse, Slovo formally proposed at a management committee meeting that a pool of journalists be allowed to attend the committee's deliberations. At the time, he said, "monumental ignorance and confusion" existed among the public about Codesa — "We are perceived as a mysterious cabal".

Few negotiators were enthusiastic about his proposal and no decision was reached before talks were called off. The counter-argument from those opposing Slovo's idea was that negotiations were best conducted out of the glare of publicity, and that a press presence could encourage posturing rather than hard political bargaining.

Ironically, the lack of transparency thus far is underlined by the fact that it is impossible to say with any certainty who supported the opening up of the process and who was opposed to it — the discussions all took place behind closed doors.

Ten months later, the ANC, Inkatha Freedom Party and Government say they are in favour of a press presence at the negotiations. IFP negotiator Walter Felgate says that as a general rule his party believes negotiations should take place in a "glass house". The public has a right to know what their parties are ne-

gotiating on their behalf, he says.

Journalists, unsurprisingly, are all for being allowed in. In Codesa's early heyday it was not uncommon for even professional "Codesa watchers" to admit to being thoroughly confused, and they do not relish a repeat performance. Journalists would wait outside the negotiating chambers where the 400-plus negotiators took their tea breaks. Except for the occasional press conference by Codesa's management committee or by the organisations, these were the only opportunities to glean a hint of what was happening behind the closed doors.

It was also not uncommon to get as many versions of the events as the number of participants one spoke to — with negotiators putting their organisations' particular spin on the events. This explains why some media would report a breakthrough on an issue — and others would simultaneously announce a deadlock.

Before the multiparty planning conference earlier this month, concerns were again expressed that the presence of the media could lead to "grandstanding".

But Slovo again tabled his motion at a meeting of the Negotiating Council a week ago. Afterwards he said the issue would be placed "high up" on the agenda of Tuesday's meeting. Had this meeting been open to the media, say some negotiators, members of some of the parties would have seen the primitive views on women's participation held by their male representatives on the committee.

A compelling reason advanced by some in favour of opening the proceedings is that Codesa participants, especially the National Party and ANC, ran into serious difficulties with their constituencies while negotiations were being conducted in secret behind closed doors.

The nature of the process dictates that serious obstacles be discussed in smaller committees out of the public eye. But, as Slovo insists, politicians at the World Trade Centre are not negotiating their own future but South Africa's. It is in the country's interests for the process to be transparent.

WHAT a sick and polarised society SA is.

Just when we thought the past was behind us and a new bright day was about to dawn, then bang! We go back to square one.

You do not need to be an activist or an astute politician to figure out what is taking place here.

Let your mind wander back to the dark days of apartheid and compare life as it was then with what it's like now.

Take a walk down your street, peruse your favourite newspaper, listen to the radio or watch your TV, and I'm sure you'll agree that things have gone from bad to worse.

This country was built on racism, but over the years many of us have endeavoured to fight this disease. It has not been an easy fight and many have died in their quest for a just society.

You would have thought that by now things would have got a bit easier, that sanity would

MY WAY

With Khulu Sibiyi

Grim harvest of apartheid



have prevailed. But no, racism is still rearing its ugly head.

Take the events of the last few days.

Wit Wolf and mass murderer Barend Strydom is now being glorified instead of condemned to the scrap heap of history despite his racist killings of seven black people.

Only in SA could such a person be sentenced to death, serve only a few months in jail and now enjoy the attention of society.

The man tells us with pride that members of his racist group have held an Apla man for more than a month.

"He is being held in a cave, but his health is good," says Strydom, "and Wit Wolwe will decide the man's fate at a court martial on April 15".

Strydom and his fellow fanatics are telling us that they are above the law.

But the police yesterday said they had interviewed Strydom and could find no evidence or information to back his claims. This man is a danger to society.

But wait. The same organisation, Wit Wolwe, denies having ordered the shooting of a five-year-old black girl in Nigel - an apparent revenge attack for

the Eikenhof killings last week - yet admits that one of its members lost his self control and the group "has full understanding for the frustrations and anger of its members".

And what about Apla? Your guess is as good as mine. But I say they are nothing but a bunch of irresponsible hoodlums masquerading as trained freedom fighters. Picking on soft targets, especially young children, does not make them heroes in the eyes of those they claim to be fighting for.

A child is a child, irrespective of colour, and should not be made to

suffer the sins of its parents. Who is Apla fighting this so-called war for? Certainly not for the majority of people in this country.

We want to believe that the PAC, supposedly Apla's mother body, is embarrassed by its actions.

PAC president Clarence Makwetu, who claims to be the head of the military command of the armed wing, has not been convincing in clarifying Apla's actions.

We also find it typically South African that when a few whites are killed, the entire South African army is called up.

Where was this army when blacks were killed in their hundreds over the last few months? It confirms the perception among our people that the government sees black life as cheaper than white life.

As Americans say, we have probably not seen anything yet. We are now reaping the grim harvest of building this country on racism.



LEFT: Pik Botha, who would not comment on which way he would vote, is known to oppose the death penalty



RIGHT: Adriaan Vlok, former Minister of Law and Order, says he favours retaining the death penalty

By NORMAN WEST: Political Reporter

A POLL taken this week showed that more than 200 out of 308 Members of Parliament would probably vote in favour of hanging as the ultimate form of punishment.

And while most Cabinet ministers preferred not to disclose their preference for or against hanging in a Sunday Times poll, Law and Order Minister Hernus Kriel said bluntly: "I will vote in favour of the retention of the death penalty."

His predecessor Adriaan Vlok echoed his sentiments. "I am in favour of hanging," he said. One of the few Cabinet members likely to vote against hanging is Foreign Minister Pik Botha who has privately expressed his opposition to the death penalty. Mr Botha would, however, not comment this week on the way he would vote.

President FW de Klerk on Wednesday expressed himself in favour of the death penalty, saying he believed it "should be part of the legal system and retained in a limited sense".

Mr de Klerk announced this week that MPs would be given a chance to vote for or against the death sentence in a forthcoming poll.

However, almost all NP MPs polled at random — white, coloured and Indian — spoke in favour of a return of hanging.

Conservative Party MPs were also unanimously in favour of hanging. But among the DP members there was a difference of opinion.

There are 308 MPs in Parliament. Of the 178 white MPs, 100 are members of the NP; 23 out of the 45 Indian MPs belong to the NP as do 45 out of the 85 coloured MPs. This gives the NP a strength of 168 out of 308.

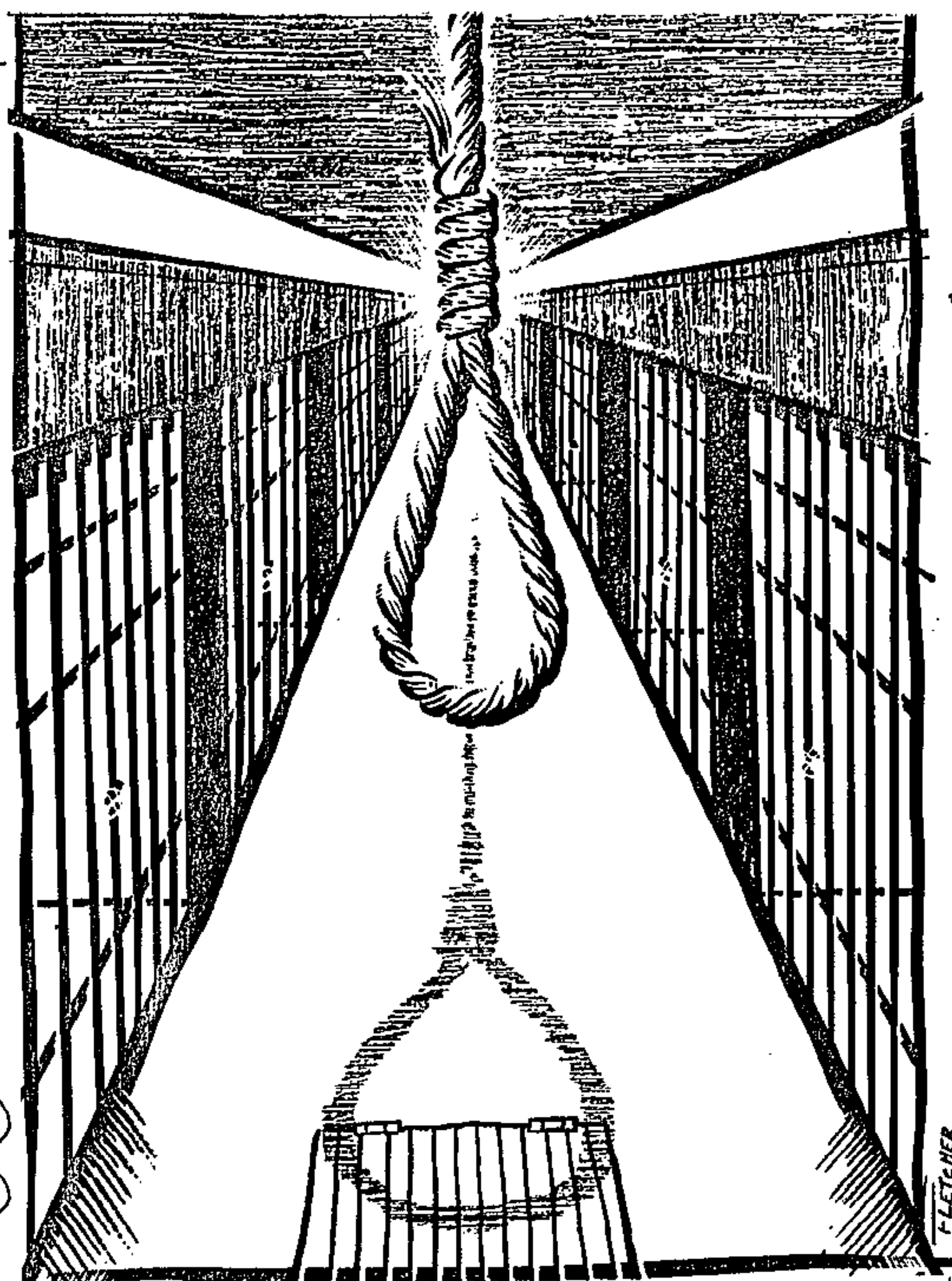
With the almost guaranteed support of all 36 members of the CP voting in favour of hanging, the death penalty advocates in the NP will enter the voting with a "best scenario" of 206 votes.

Mr de Klerk's first coloured Cabinet Minister Jac Rabie and chairman of the Ministers' Council in the House of Representatives, favours the return of executions.

"I believe the moratorium on hanging has to a great extent encouraged hooliganism. Society demands appropriate retribution for certain aggravating crimes. Killers of innocent people and

IT'S 'YES' FOR THE HANGMAN

304A
S/Times 28/3/93



vulnerable children, rapists and child molesters are among the kind of barbarians that deserve nothing less than the gallows," Mr Rabie said.

On the other hand, the first Indian Cabinet Minister and chairman of the Ministers' Council in the House of Delegates, Dr Bhadra Ranchod, gave an emphatic "no" to hanging.

Dr Ranchod, a nominated MP and internationally renowned jurist and founder member of Lawyers for Human Rights, said capital punishment was no deterrent for crime.

"But no civilised society should tolerate people who kill innocent people. Such barbaric behaviour deserves the harshest of punishments and that, in my view, should be imprisonment for life, not the death sentence."

Speaking in his special address to Parliament, Mr de Klerk said the "wave of cruel murder and homicide, the current disrespect for human life and the delays in the negotiation process" made it difficult for the government to maintain the moratorium on death sentences.

Mr de Klerk said a motion would be introduced in Parliament shortly to debate the issue of whether the moratorium on the carrying out of executions should be extended, or terminated.

NP members would be allowed a "free vote".

He promised intensive consultations with the other major political players on

the question, but the ANC has already stated it would scrap hanging when it came to power.

Conservative Party spokesman on Justice, Mr Jurg Prinsloo, said the CP "as a party" was in favour of the death penalty. The CP had not decided whether to allow its members a "free vote" or to vote "as a caucus".

Democratic Party leader Dr Zac de Beer said his members would also be allowed a "free vote" according to their individual consciences.

"I know that many of my chaps are in favour of the abolition of the death penalty. My view is that it should be retained only for special circumstances where the crime is an aggravated one."

DP justice spokesman Tony Leon said he would continue to oppose capital punishment.

FW fires the first salvo of NP election campaign

STimes (Cape Metro)

28/3/93

30/1/9

By NORMAN WEST, Political Reporter

PRESIDENT F.W. de Klerk has launched the National Party's election campaign in the Western Cape with a sharp attack on the African National Congress, which it sees as its chief opponent in the battle for the critical coloured vote.

The opening shots were fired before a crowd of about 10 000 people who attended a family-day rally of braaivleis, potjiekos and carnival stalls and events at the Cape Showgrounds in Goodwood.

The "non-racial" rally was planned as a vote-catching exercise to usher in the new image of the NP in a style the party hoped would appeal to less traditional potential voters.

Looking relaxed in an open-necked blue shirt and sports jacket, Mr de Klerk received a rousing cheer from the crowd when he arrived.

His speech was targeted at coloured and black people, who together account for more than 75 percent of the Western Cape community.

Unlike the NP's attempt to draw a similar crowd at Mitchell's Plain last year, there were no demonstrations yesterday.

Mr de Klerk was virtually chased out of Mitchell's Plain after a crowd of alleged ANC and PAC supporters drowned his speech and threatened to raze the marquee.

For yesterday's rally the NP chose a safer venue and used hundreds of "marshalls" to keep order.

Mr de Klerk emphasised that the old NP, with its apartheid policies, was "dead".

Of all the political groups, the NP was "the best guarantee for your future", he said.

Communism

The ANC was "bad news for the ordinary hard-working South African" and "did not display the courage to distance itself from communism".

● Did not display the courage to distance itself from communism.

● Continued to rob South Africans of jobs through its support for sanctions, mass action and stayaways.

● Did not take a clear enough stand against rent boycotts and school stayaways.

● Failed to discipline followers to avert violence.

Nor did Mr de Klerk spare other political parties.

The Inkatha Freedom Party was "too sectional" and the DP was a "rich man's party" and did not understand the needs of the average or poor South African.

The Labour Party was "disintegrating" and the Conservative Party becoming increasingly irrelevant.

The Pan Africanist Congress, with its bullet slogans, its black-power approach and its adherence to the armed struggle, lives in the past.

JAMES SAYS HE'S A NEO-NAZI SKINHEAD . . . PREPARING FOR WAR



NO COMPROMISE . . . James in the regalia of his other persona, as one of South Africa's leading neo-Nazis

Picture: CHRISTINE NESBITT

Ready to take up arms to maintain white rule

By NICK OLIVARI

BY day, James wears a suit and tie and holds down a desk job at an insurance company.

When he gets home to his swastika-daubed flat, he dons camouflage trousers and military-style boots to take on his other persona: one of South Africa's leading neo-Nazis.

His long hair is a source of irritation to 26-year-old James. He would prefer to emulate the shaven skulls of the European skinheads, but has to keep his hair to keep his job.

He does not compromise on the neo-Nazi, racist sentiments shared by skinheads around the world.

South Africa must continue to be governed by whites, he declares. He and hundreds of fellow skinheads around the country claim they are ready to take up arms to ensure this.

Although the branch members gathered in James's home last week declined to be identified other than by first names, one said there were 800 members in the Witwatersrand, with other groups in Cape Town, Durban and Port Elizabeth. All believed there was already a low-intensity war in Natal and it was only a matter of time before it hit the white population.

Said Dougie, 19, an apprentice vehicle designer: "There are arms to fight and I will personally take up these arms. We will go to war with a 100 percent effort."

James added: "My weapon is hidden away until the war comes."

Though the group stressed they were speaking as South African skinheads and not for the AWB, several did admit personal affiliations to the organisation and that they had been AWB-trained.

"I have been to AWB camps and training centres and would fully support any call they made to go to war," said Dougie. "I am currently an AWB corporal."

The group denied firm links with overseas skinheads but said they had right-wing "friends" in Germany, Holland and the United Kingdom.

Explaining their creed, James said: "Someone can get up and say I'm proud to be black but if a man says he's proud to be white he's branded a racist."

Disillusioned with most political parties, James said the CP were "liberal" and the National Party were inconsistent.

"The government indoctrinated me to fight against the communist onslaught," he said. "After two years in the army, with 14 months in Angola, the same government now tells me to accept all changes."

DoubleSpeak from ANC

SiTwe 28/3/93

3041

MERVYN FROST says talk about the ANC shifting its position on federalism is all bluff

WE South Africans are fearful and bewildered. Few are optimistic about achieving a democratic policy. Yet in the confusion of the violence and the complexity of the negotiating process, we need to keep our wits about us.

Our quest is, first, for a democratic system of representation at both local and central level. Second, we seek to combine this with mechanisms to prevent the abuse of power. A stable polity needs both of these. One without the other is hopeless.

Unitary South Africa has had 45 years of representative government for whites, without checks on government. The extent of the abuse of power has been remarkable by any measure. A unitary state under an ANC (or ANC/NP) government would be no different.

A key question is, who shall be represented and how? Will the citizens be governed from Pretoria alone, or will there be strong regional governments and strong regional representation at the centre? In short the core question is: will we have a unitary or a federal state?

Both the ANC and the National Party have over the past months been fudging the

matter through their use of the vague term "regionalism". There has been much talk of the two parties moving closer together on the issue. On the ANC side the talk is all bluff.

We ought not to be misled by the press release from the ANC this week in which it "confirms the importance of regional government". All political parties, pro-federal and anti-federal alike, acknowledge the importance of regional government. What we need to know is, first, what powers regional governments will be given, and second, how the regions will be represented at the centre and what powers will be accorded them there.

A close examination of the ANC's release shows the party to be squarely in support of a unitary state.

The 10 or so regions will, in terms of power, be like the provinces were in the Union of South Africa. They will have demographically elected governments (remember the provincial councils?). Certain powers will be granted to these provinces, but the centre will have "concurrent and overriding legislative powers". Thus, if the regions step out of line, Pretoria will correct them.

What is worse, the ANC says that the powers and functions of the regions are to be determined by a unitary constituent assembly. That is, an assembly without any built-in protection for the regions. This non-federal assembly will be akin to a parliament in a unitary state. We can hardly expect a unitary parliament to produce a constitution that is federal.

An implication of this for those in favour of a federal constitution for South Africa is that they need to make sure that the constitution-making body itself has built in federal elements.

Most importantly, the constitution-making body itself must be constructed in terms of an interim constitution which grants special representation for the regions. One way of doing this would be to have a two-chambered assembly with the second chamber reserved for equal regional representation.

Furthermore, the interim constitution would have to specify that decision making on constitutional issues would require majorities in both houses.

There is in South Africa, and internationally, a strong

set of political forces in favour of a federal constitution. These include the National Party, the Inkatha Freedom Party, the Democratic Party, several homeland parties, most trilateral parties, the entire business community, and the international community en bloc.

The regional branches of the ANC ought themselves to favour a federal option. For if they do not they are enslaving themselves to PWV control in perpetuity.

These pro-federal forces need to be harnessed now to ensure the constitution-making body is itself federal. If these forces fail in this, it is a pipe dream to suppose that the unitary assembly will produce a federal constitution.

There are several ways in which a federal force might be organised. One would be through a merging of pro-federal parties. Another more likely way would be through an alliance of parties around this single issue. For such an alliance to be successful it would have to be organised and in place before the first sitting of the Multi-Party Forum (Codesa 3).

□ Professor Frost works in the politics department at the University of Natal

ANC IFP meet soon

Political Correspondent
HERMANUS.

— In a significant breakthrough for negotiations the ANC and Inkatha will soon meet for talks on constitutional issues. The news comes amid a new mood of urgency for a settlement.

The ANC will also hold talks with the Bophuthatswana government. Senior ANC negotiator Mr. Mohammed Valli Moosa told a weekend media conference here that the ANC hoped the first meetings would take place soon.

The meeting with Bophuthatswana would take place within 14 days and would discuss the re-incorporation of the nominally independent homelands and other TBVC states into South Africa. The meeting would also discuss the role of an Independent Electoral Commission in the first democratic elections.

Confident

The ANC also unveiled a plan — which it says is designed to speed up the process — for a temporary regional government to be created in the four provinces at the same time as an interim government is formed.

A top IFP source said last night he was sure the IFP would take part in such meetings.

The two organisations have not held formal talks since the breakdown of Codesa II in May last year. However, there have been talks to facilitate a meeting between ANC president Mr. Nelson Mandela and IFP leader Chief Mangosuthu Buthelezi.

A major weakness in the negotiating process has been that the government negotiators have been forced to convey IFP positions to the ANC and vice versa. Bilateral discussions will put an end to this and could also have positive implications for the peace process by easing the animosity between the ANC and IFP.

APG 29/3/73

FW's talk of winning 'laughable' 304ff

Political Staff

PRESIDENT De Klerk was exercising a "poignant sense of humour" when he spoke of the National Party's prospects of beating the ANC in elections, said Mr Nelson Mandela.

Mr Mandela refused to comment further on Mr De Klerk's speech at the Cape Showground in Goodwood on Saturday.

Addressing a predominantly coloured NP rally, Mr De Klerk said South African voters had the power to cut the ANC down to size in the election, scheduled to be held early next year.

"The NP and I now see it as our duty to gather together all South Africans who belong together out of conviction.

"Our challenge is to keep the NP a winner. A strong NP is humanely speaking your best guarantee for the future," Mr



Mr Nelson Mandela

De Klerk told his audience.

Asked to respond, Mr Mandela merely laughed.

"You are doing De Klerk an injustice by taking him seriously. He does not mean for us to take him seriously.

"De Klerk has a very poi-

gnant sense of humour. We should leave it at that."

A few minutes earlier Mr Mandela had received a standing ovation at the end of the Patriotic Front conference in Lenasia, near Johannesburg, after he had conceded that some delegates' criticism of his organisation was founded.

However, he said it was important that delegates presented viable alternatives instead of complaining.

He also praised ANC negotiators, whom he called men of integrity who had represented the ANC and its allies in negotiations impressively.

Mr Mandela said some of the 26 organisations presently involved in multiparty negotiations were "pulling in different directions", while most of them feared democracy and wanted to stall the transition process.

Blistering attack on white Nats

MICHAEL MORRIS
Political Correspondent

ATG 29/3/93

PROMINENT coloured Nationalist MP Mr Dennis de la Cruz has delivered a blistering attack on white Nationalists for failing to attend a weekend festival at Goodwood.

"The whites let us down. This was tantamount to a stayaway," he said.

In an unequivocal and strongly worded statement today, he also warned the NP leadership to "get out of their ivory tower" and canvass at grassroots level.

"Saturday was an opportunity for the NP to show what a powerful machine they had, but it wasn't there."

The MP for Ottery — and the first coloured MP to apply for NP membership — said his commitment to President De Klerk and National Party policy was undiminished, but he was deeply concerned at the attitude of white Nationalists.

Invitations were sent to all constituencies in the Western Cape, but only a handful of whites turned up.

"This was negative, disappointing and discouraging," Mr De la Cruz said.

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POLITICS

ANC delivers talks warning

ARC 29/3/93 (30419)

Political Staff

HERMANUS. — Parties that try to delay negotiations on a new constitution will be left behind, the African National Congress has warned on the eve of this week's crucial multiparty forum.

ANC negotiations secretary Mr Valli Moosa said he was aware of suggestions that certain parties, such as the Conservatives, might deliberately obstruct progress.

"If there is any one or other party which is not prepared to be part of the process because of its opposition to democracy, then the show will have to go on without that party," he said at a news briefing.

The ANC believed the country needed the transition to democracy to start "desperately soon".

At the resumption of multi-

party negotiations earlier this month, the main negotiating parties bent over backwards to appease the CP and other conservative parties by deferring difficult decisions such as the need for an elected constituent assembly.

This decision is likely to come up again at this week's multiparty forum and the main negotiators will again come under pressure from the conservative parties to defer a decision.

ANC information secretary Mr Pallo Jordan was asked whether attacks by the Pan African Congress's armed wing, the Azanian People's Liberation Army, were likely to increase if the PAC dropped out of the talks.

He said it was impossible to anticipate what extremists to the right and left might do.

But it was important to try

to make the negotiations and the settlement as inclusive as possible so that "if some crazy goes into the bush to fight" he would not have a large support base.

ANC constitutional expert Mr Kader Asmal said it would be easier for a democratic government than for an undemocratic government to deal with extremists.

He denied that he was suggesting a democratic government would have more support if it used emergency powers against extremists, but it would be more capable of isolating forces that tried to undermine it.

However, a democratic government would have to have special emergency powers available to it. If these were used regionally, it would be acceptable. If the emergency became a national "pandemic" it would become untenable to use emergency powers.

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Roelf reacts to row over homelands

BILLY PADDOCK

GOVERNMENT was not planning to unilaterally terminate the nominal independence of Transkei, Venda and Ciskei, Constitutional Development Minister Roelf Meyer said yesterday. 9/08M 29/3/93

He was responding to an outcry over weekend reports that the Cabinet was considering ways of taking control of the homelands in the wake of repeated claims that Transkei was harbouring Apla guerrillas responsible for terror attacks in SA.

The ANC warned of serious consequences if government tried to force the reincorporation of Transkei into SA.

ANC information director Pallo Jordan and NEC member Prof Kader Asmal said yesterday any such attempt would wreck the negotiations process. Jordan said the organisation was in favour of reincorporation "but not into apartheid SA".

Transkei leader Maj-Gen Bantu Holomisa threatened that should government act against Transkei "it will be the end of the corrupt and murderous NP" government. "When addressing violence, you cannot do so without addressing the mother of all violence, which is the NP and the security council which functions to permanently remove people it considers interfering."

"I suggest that the way to deal with the violence is that the multiparty forum look into both state violence and that of the liberation movements. The solution should be arrived at through a political settlement with time-frames and not through unilateral or bellicose approaches from

□ To Page 2

Homelands

any party," Holomisa said. 304A 810AM 29/3/93

Meyer said the question of violence had to be dealt with in the multiparty forum starting this week because some parties, including the Transkei government, the PAC and the CP were not signatories to the national peace accord.

"Government sees it as essential and in the national interest that all parties jointly

decide on co-ordinated measures against violence in accordance with the resolutions already accepted by the multiparty planning conference," said Mayer. 304A 810AM 29/3/93

Jordan said government needed to account for its reversal from its former position which rejected calls for reincorporation of the TBVC states. It also needed to explain its omission of Bophuthatswana. □ From Page 1

De Klerk well-received at 'new' Nat Party launching

CT 29/8/93

PRESIDENT FW de Klerk launched the "new" National Party at a successful campaign in Goodwood on Saturday which attracted thousands of enthusiastic supporters and was not marred by disruptions from opposition parties.

Mr De Klerk, looking relaxed in an open-necked shirt, addressed the 5 000-strong mainly coloured crowd from a podium in the Cape Showgrounds strung with orange, white and blue balloons and giant portraits of himself.

"We, the NP, open our hearts and doors to all South Africans... I am proud to be

the leader of this young and dynamic new National Party which has declared war on racism and discrimination," he said to loud cheers.

A small contingent of white guests sat around the podium in an area enclosed by wire mesh which was strictly patrolled by marshals.

At least 70 buses were used to bring people to the rally, several from Boland towns such as Ceres, Montagu, Worcester and Paarl.

A large part of the crowd consisted of children.

Mr De Klerk was cheered when he criticised the ANC, saying: "The ANC continues to rob South Africans of jobs

through its support of sanctions and through often ill-conceived mass action, stay-aways and strikes."

He said South African voters had the power to cut the ANC "down to size" in the coming elections.

Political violence had to be stopped once and for all — through intensified security force action and the ongoing negotiation process, Mr De Klerk said.

NP regional leader Dr Dawie de Villiers said yesterday the NP was "quite delighted" with the turnout, which he estimated at more than 10 000. Staff Reporter, Sapa

Talks to start with a bang

(304A)

CT29/3/93

By ANTHONY JOHNSON
Political Correspondent

FIREWORKS are expected at the restart of multi-party negotiations later this week when the government plans to put the squeeze on Transkei and the PAC for allegedly fuelling violence in South Africa.

NP leaders have been under growing pressure from its constituency to take drastic action to stem the latest wave of attacks on civilians.

However, reports that the government was considering bringing Transkei military leader Major-General Bantu Holomisa to heel by terminating the independence of his homeland drew a sharp warning from the ANC.

ANC publicity director Dr Pallo Jordan at the weekend said in Hermanus the ANC would strenuously oppose any effort by an "apartheid South Africa" to administratively take over any homeland.

The ANC insisted that the phasing out of the homelands be accompanied by the bringing of all armed formations — including the SADF, the SAP, uMkhonto weSizwe, Apla, the Transkei Defence Force, the KwaZulu Police and others — under multi-party control.

A defiant General Holomisa — who played in a celebrity rugby game in Cape Town yesterday — warned at the weekend of strong counter-action if the South African government tried to apply military or financial pressure against the homeland.

The government's chief negotiator and Minister of Constitutional Development, Mr Roelf Meyer, yesterday denied the government planned to unilaterally end the independence of Transkei, Venda or Ciskei. But he said the question of violence would have to be dealt with at the talks.

He said efforts to exert pressure on Transkei were in line with the recommendations of the Goldstone Commission.

The commission last week found that Transkei was being used by Apla to launch attacks on civilians in South Africa. The PAC and General Holomisa have rejected the findings of the commission.

FW lures new voters ^{SOCA}

State President FW de Klerk, stuck with discredited "coloured" leaders Mr Abie Williams and Mr Jac Rabie, on Saturday launched the National Party's election campaign in this community himself.

Wetlan 29/3/93
Addressing an estimated 10 000 people in Goodwood, near Cape Town, De Klerk launched scathing attacks on the ANC, PAC, the Inkatha Freedom Party and the Democratic Party.

The ANC is seen as the NP's biggest threat in the so-called coloured community.

NEWS IN BRIEF

US, SA leaders to meet

INFLUENTIAL US congressmen and officials in President Bill Clinton's administration would meet SA's political leaders in Cape Town next month, the Aspen Institute said on Friday.

The closed-doors forum is expected to help shape the Clinton administration's policy on SA and southern Africa. (304A) (AP)

Assistant Secretary of State for Africa-designate George Moose is expected to head the list of visitors at the April 5-9 gathering. A second conference on SA's international economic relations is scheduled at a northern Transvaal game lodge for April 26-30.

8/09/29/3/93

ANC banks on winning half the ³⁰⁴⁴ votes cast ¹¹⁰

Political Staff

ANC 29/3/93

THE African National Congress expects to win at least 53 percent of the votes cast in South Africa's first all-in democratic election, according to one of its election strategists, Ketso Gordhan.

He told the Parliamentary Press Gallery in Hermanus the ANC's assessment of how well it would do was based on opinion surveys.

He believed the ANC would win 70 percent of the African vote, between 20 and 30 percent of the Indian vote, 10 percent of the coloured vote, and 2 percent of the white vote, giving the ANC a national vote of 53 percent.

"We think this reflects the minimum support the ANC now enjoys," Mr Gordhan said.

The ANC had 900 000 members — excluding its youth league and women's league — organised into 14 regions.

The ANC would open 94 sub-regional offices to work with its 1 400 branches.

Mr Gordhan said the ANC intended to have one volunteer to keep contact with every 100 voters — a total volunteer corps of 180 000 people.

"We are in the process of setting up such structures," he said.

Support for Cosatu and the South African Communist Party had to be added to the ANC's support, Mr Gordhan said.

Officials paid if state houses occupied

By BARRY STREEK
Political Staff

THE government confirmed yesterday that senior officials were paid allowances to live in their own homes—but only if all official accommodation for them in Cape Town was occupied, as is the case at present.

It also said the housing scheme for officials was different to the controversial scheme for ministers to stay in their own houses.

Democratic Party leader Dr. Zach de Beer said allowances for civil servants could not be seen as the same as those for cabinet ministers and there

could be no objection in principle to civil servants being compensated for being required to come to Cape Town. What counted were the cost of the scheme and whether the official accommodation provided for senior officials was fully occupied. The directors-general and deputy directors-general are

provided official accommodation at the Acacia Park housing estate and the Mouille Grange block of flats.

A spokesman for the Department of Public Works, Mr. Andre Meyerling, told the Cape Times that the accommodation for officials at this level was fully occupied and

an allowance was paid to those officials who could not be housed in government-owned housing.

The director-general of Public Works, Mr. Theo van Robbroeck, said the average payment to senior officials was R2 270, with the lowest payment being R954 and the highest R4 700 a month.

Full Marks for DP, says another defector

APG 30/3/93 (304A)
DENNIS CRUYWAGEN, Political Staff

FORMER United Democratic Front regional secretary Mr Joey Marks has followed his father Mr Joe Marks into the Democratic Party.

Mr Marks (Jun) is one of four ANC members who quit yesterday and joined the DP.

The others are Mr Gerry Siljeur and Mr Gavin Bailey of the Steenberg/Retreat branch and Mr Warren Morris of the Lavender Hill branch.

Mr Marks (Sen), a former UDF (Western Cape) vice-president who resigned from the SA Communist Party and the ANC last week, said today he expected more activists to leave the ANC.

"Judging from the calls I've been getting, more people are going to leave the ANC. I can't say if they will join the DP."

● Three National Party members in the House of Delegates yesterday had talks with Inkatha Freedom Party bosses in Ulundi with a view to crossing the floor, while Dr Kisten Rajoo (Merebank) resigned from the NP.

The names of just two of the three Nationalist MPs in Ulundi yesterday are known. They are Mr Michael Abraham (Tongaat) and Mr Pubal Govender (Isipingo). They may join the IFP this week.

Violence *Star 30/3/93* tops talks (304A) agenda

By Kalzer Nyatumba
and Esther Waugh

The armed struggle will top the agenda at today's negotiating council meeting at the World Trade Centre, ANC secretary-general Cyril Ramaphosa confirmed yesterday.

Following the recent spate of attacks on whites, the Government was insisting that violence and the armed struggle should top the agenda of both today's meeting and this week's two-day multi-party negotiations forum.

The ANC had agreed to the agenda, but would want the discussion to focus on the future of all armed formations, and not just the ANC's Umkhonto we Sizwe or the Azanian People's Liberation Army, said Ramaphosa.

He believed the ANC's three-phase proposal — the pre-transitional executive council (TEC) phase, the TEC phase and the period when a government of national unity was in place — would "resolve the problem of armed formations".

He reiterated the ANC's position that MK members could join the South African Defence Force on an individual basis.

The ANC proposals include the auditing of all armed formations and a moratorium on their recruitment in the pre-TEC phase, joint control of these forces in the TEC phase and total integration of all armed formations.

A Ministry of Defence spokesman said yesterday the Government would submit its proposals for a new defence force at the negotiating table.

The comparison between the National Party and the Nazis has been made before and to recall it would not be unfair — if you've been at the receiving end of apartheid.

In certain instances the comparison is appropriate, although the circumstances, admittedly, differ for obvious historic reasons.

But, to explore the parallel very briefly, it would be unrealistic to believe that the Jews of Nazi Germany would have voted for Hitler if he had been stopped, in mid-slaughter, and changed his party's name and colours...

This is the scenario, clearly an apocryphal one, that the National Party invokes on its campaign trail of hyper-reality in search of black votes and the absolute fake.

Racism

After having planted and cultivated racism, sectarianism and separatism and after having initiated and presided over the racial ordering of South African society for more than 40 years, the NP now wants black people to vote for it.

And to facilitate this, the NP is considering a change of its colours and possibly its name, definitely its symbols, as if the people of South Africa, the black people especially, of this beleaguered country cannot see beyond the fake.

Last weekend President FW de Klerk officially launched the NP's election campaign in Cape Town with a halaal carnival of "coloureds" at the Goodwood Showgrounds near the city.

After being run out of a "coloured" township, Mitchell's Plain, last year, De Klerk's advisers obviously saw the merit in holding last week's meeting at "a neutral venue" far from the Cape Flats where the NP had dumped these so-called coloured people after having stripped them of their pride, their honour and their dignity.

Unsolved crimes

The Cape Flats, it is said, has the highest rate of unsolved crime in the world. According to academics, the level of crime in the Cape Flats is a direct result of the high misery index which itself is a by-product of apartheid's dehumanisation.

Drug abuse and unemployment have increased the misery index in the region, while whites, by their own account, enjoy some of the best resources and privileges in the world in the shade of Table Mountain and on the Atlantic coast — far from the madness of places like Mitchell's Plain.

The Western Cape has the highest concentration of so-called coloured people in the country where they account for 75 percent of the local population — and an estimated 10 000 of them arrived to hear De Klerk speak.

To rapturous applause, De Klerk warned the crowd away from the traditional black political

The National Party has forgotten about apartheid and now wants black people to vote for it. *Sowetan's Political Correspondent, Ismail Lagardien*, believes that if black people do vote for the NP, the country deserves them for another 40 years:



FW de Klerk ... getting his election campaign going.

parties and cajoled them into the NP, which he said was the only party with vision.

After having forcefully removed Cape Town's coloured people from their homes in District Six in the late sixties and early seventies and planting them 20 kilometres away from the city in places like Mitchell's Plain, it was ironic that De Klerk had the gumption to tell these same people that the "new" NP was "the best guarantee for the future".

He failed to add, and the people failed to see, that it was the essence of the old NP that was speaking and that they (the so-called coloureds) were being used to entrench the privileges that apartheid had secured for whites.

It is fair to say that black people in this country cannot, in the short to medium term, break away from the maelstrom of misery that the NP has banished them into, for the simple reason that the effects of apartheid have not been reversed. Only the legislation has been repealed.

This effectively means that apartheid is still alive and to vote, therefore, for the NP, would mean supporting apartheid as its creators have, implicitly not recognised that any harm had been done.



De Klerk is trying to exercise a successful ballot box lobotomy of blacks by ignoring the past and concentrating on the future, while the past is still very much in the present

It can be argued that if they did they would have made an effort to reverse the effects and not just repeal the legislation that upheld it.

Therefore, also, touting support among "coloured" people — who are clearly a lot more privileged than millions of indigenous Africans because of the perverse social scale of racial categorisation that the NP applied — is also insensitive and cynical.

De Klerk is quite literally asking the "coloured" community to forget about the past, not to look around them at the misery among the larger black community in the present and vote for the NP for a better future.

Black power

He was very unambiguous about this when he criticised what he called "the black power approach" of certain parties.

Altogether De Klerk is trying to exercise a successful ballot box lobotomy of blacks by ignoring the past and concentrating on the future, while the past is very much still in the present and the future lies through the present...

Because quite evidently, for the NP at least, especially for the "new" NP, the misery and suffering does not exist, for apartheid was never wrong.

In the end all that one can say is that if black people do vote for the National Party — then we deserve another 40 years of denial.

4 more ANC men join DP

By BARRY STREEK
Political Staff

FOUR more ANC office-bearers in the Steenberg/Retreat area yesterday quit the ANC and joined the Democratic Party.

They are the former United Democratic Front (UDF) secretary and ANC branch co-ordinator in the Steenberg/Retreat area, Mr Joe Marks, a previous ANC branch chairman in the area, Mr Gerry Siljeur, and two

members of its executive committee, Mr J Bailey and Mr Warren Morris.

Mr Marks is the son of the former UDF vice-president in the Western Cape, Mr Joe Marks, who last week announced his resignation from the ANC and the SA Communist Party and his decision to join the DP.

The latest resignations were announced yesterday in a statement issued by Mr Farouk Da-

vids, a member of the DP's Western Cape regional executive.

He said this was a strong indication that dissatisfied ANC members saw the DP as a democratic alternative.

"The fact that so many credible grassroots members are joining the DP is a further indication that the DP is not a party of so-called 'rich people' as President F W de Klerk alleged over the weekend," he said.

Collision

CT 30/3/83 (304A)



Hernus Kriel

CouirSe

By ANTHONY JOHNSON
Political Correspondent

THE government yesterday flatly rejected the ANC's key demand for joint control over all security forces — setting the stage for a bruising confrontation when multi-party negotiations restart later this week.

Law and Order Minister Mr Hernus Kriel finally ruled out the concept of joint, multi-party control over all armed formations in the country in the run-up to elections.

Top ANC negotiators admitted this week they had been disappointed at the lack of progress made in recent bilateral talks on this issue which they consider central to free and fair elections, and to curbing the spiralling violence.

But Mr Kriel, apparently under pressure from a jittery National Party to both talk and act tough in the wake of recent attacks on civilians, delivered a stinging rebuke of the ANC leadership and the organisation's alleged involvement in the violence.

Govt rejects

ANC's key

demand

Dismissing members of the ANC's military wing, uMkhonto weSizwe (MK) as "nothing but criminals", he told Parliament the existing security forces would stabilize the country "come hell or high water".

The government was not interested in assuming joint control of ill-trained, ineffective and out-of-control MK criminals or their weapons.

But ANC secretary-general Mr Cyril Ramaphosa yesterday insisted on joint control "as a priority" to ensure proper con-

trol of all armed formations in the run-up to elections.

The ANC remained firm in its position that there would be no singular public scrutiny of MK without concomitant scrutiny of all other armed formations in South Africa.

"All armed formations, including the SADF, the armed forces of the TBVC states, Kwa-Zulu, Apla and right-wing armed units should be dealt with collectively during the pre-Transitional Executive Council phase," Mr Ramaphosa said.

In Parliament yesterday, Mr Kriel lashed out at remarks by ANC president Mr Nelson Mandela and the ANC-led Patriotic Front at the weekend which labelled "the apartheid regime and its agents" as the major culprits in the violence. Slamming members of MK as "nothing but criminals" who had achieved a low standard of military training, he said: "We are not interested in joint control over criminals."

"It's a political move by the ANC to get joint control over the security forces. We do not want joint control over MK over something that is not under control at the moment."

The MK command no longer had control over its members or the many AK-47s they possessed, he said.

Constitutional Affairs Minister and the government's chief negotiator, Mr Roelf Meyer, told Parliament last night that the question of violence had to be placed at the top of the agenda at this week's multi-party negotiations.

He said that pressure would be brought to bear on the PAC, Transkei and the Conservative Party to sign the National Peace Accord.

Meeting spells out MK role —
Page 2

White Nats hit back over festival turnout

(227) (304A)
MICHAEL MORRIS, Political Correspondent

WHITE members of the National Party have hit back at criticism from a coloured member about the poor turnout of whites at the party's Goodwood festival. CIRC 30/3/93

One of the party's top Cape spokesmen, Swellendam MP Mr Nic Koornhof, reacted to a report yesterday on the criticism by Ottery MP Mr Dennis de la Cruz by saying at least 2 000 white supporters attended the event.

Some of his National Party peers were angered by Mr De La Cruz's comments that he felt "disappointed and discouraged" by the attendance of "only a handful of whites".

Mr De La Cruz said his commitment to the NP and to President De Klerk remained, but he was concerned at the attitude of white supporters.

During debate in parliament last night Mr Koornhof said the NP was "colourless" and colour was "not an issue" at the Goodwood event.

He said at least 20 percent of supporters were white ... from 2 000 to 3 000.

"In my experience in the National Party, I have never known so many white supporters to attend a party meeting on a Saturday afternoon."

Star 31/3/93
**Respect
life, says
Camerer**

CAPE TOWN — All political leaders involved in negotiations had to develop a human rights culture and respect for the right to life among their supporters, Sheila Camerer (NP Rosettenville) said yesterday.

Speaking during the first reading debate on the Budget in Parliament, she said parties who did not support human rights and the right to life should be placed beyond the pale.

The ANC had suspended the armed struggle, but ANC leaders had to explain emerging evidence of continued MK complicity in political violence and to condemn such involvement.

(304A)
The Azanian Peoples Organisation and the Pan Africanist Congress had to seriously reconsider their continued commitment to the armed struggle. — Sapa.

Multiparty forum is gearing up

JOHANNESBURG. — Progress to multiparty negotiations moved forward last night when the Negotiating Council agreed on several steps, including the agenda, for the Multiparty Negotiating Forum.

The two-day forum starts at the World Trade Centre tomorrow, and will comprise:

- A Plenary of 10 delegates from each organisation,

- A Negotiating Forum with six delegates from each side to assess agreements from a Negotiation Council of two delegates and two advisers from each side, and

- A Planning Committee of 10 people.

The Plenary includes an unspecified number of women, the Negotiating Forum must have at least one woman and the Negotiation Council must also include at least one woman.

Violence and a name for the forum are the main agenda issues. — Sapa

Multiparty forum to look at political violence

By Esther Waugh
Political Reporter

The two-day multiparty negotiating forum which begins its meeting tomorrow is expected to develop clear guidelines on curbing political violence.

In addition, it is expected that the 26 political groups will confirm procedural issues and the Codesa agreements, said ANC secretary-general Cyril Ramaphosa.

Ideally, Labour Party representative Llewellyn Landers said, the meeting would agree on the transition process.

But, speaking at the same press conference after yesterday's negotiating council meet-

ing, Afrikaner Volksunie delegate Chris de Jager said it was hoped by some parties that the form of state for a new South Africa would be discussed in depth.

Ramaphosa added that the confirmation by the meeting of the Codesa agreements would not mean that any group which had not been party to these decisions would be bound by them.

In an "historic" decision, the negotiating forum decided that women would be included in negotiations and that the press be allowed to attend the proceedings.

Referring to "the development of a new culture of negotiations", Ramaphosa said:

"Issues affecting the country will no longer be negotiated in smoke-filled rooms".

The media will now be given access to the negotiating council — where the real negotiations take place — but the council could have "in committee" sessions on specific issues.

On the status of the Codesa agreements, Ramaphosa said it was decided that these agreements would be used as the foundation for the resumed negotiations.

The primary agreements have been compiled in one document while a summary of the agreements, which also included a proposal on how the transitional scenario developed at Co-

desa could be used, was tabled at yesterday's meeting.

The multiparty negotiating forum, which begins its meeting at the World Trade Centre tomorrow, would consider these two documents.

The 10-man planning committee will meet this afternoon to discuss recommendations on a structure for the talks on violence at tomorrow's meeting.

On violence and its impact on negotiations, the negotiating council believed "if we began pointing fingers, we will be left with a pile of ashes," Landers said.

No decision has been made on a name for the process.

Transition talks set to hit top gear

304A

Sowetan 31/3/93

EFFORTS to get South Africa's constitutional process on track paid dividends yesterday when the Negotiating Council agreed on steps to put the process of transition into top gear.

A full day of talks was held by the council's 26 participants to deal with tomorrow and Friday's Multiparty Negotiation Forum at the World Trade Centre outside Johannesburg.

A statement issued afterwards confirmed the structure of:

- A plenary consisting of 10 delegates from each organisation.

- A Negotiating Forum with six delegates from each side meeting on a bi-weekly basis to assess agreements submitted by a Negotiations Council made up of two delegates and two advisers meeting three or four days a week.

- A planning committee consisting of 10 people, with sub-committees in deadlock-breaking mechanisms, a committee to deal with the Codesa agreements and to

■ Negotiating Council agrees on new measures:

see how these deals fit in with the new forum and a communications sub-committee.

In all the structures, women have been given special emphasis with the plenary to include women.

The Negotiating Forum must have at least one woman and the council must have a woman as a delegate. The planning committee is however completely male-dominated.

A panel of chairmen will each rotate the chairmanship in the Negotiating Forum and the Negotiating Council.

They are Rowan Cronje of the Bophuthatswana administration, Mr L. Landers of the Labour Party, Mr MJ Mahlangu of Lebowa, Dr Frank Mdlalose of the IFP, Dr Dawie de Villiers of the National Party and Mr Pravin Gordhan of the Natal Indian Congress. - Sapa.

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Women — getting onto the political agenda

WOMEN occupy an unenviable position in society. Liberation struggles throughout

Africa have shown that despite the fact that women fight, die, are jailed, tortured, banished and exiled just like their male counterparts, unless they organise themselves into formations that lobby for their rights, they find themselves back where they started, even after independence and the installation of the new government they fought for.

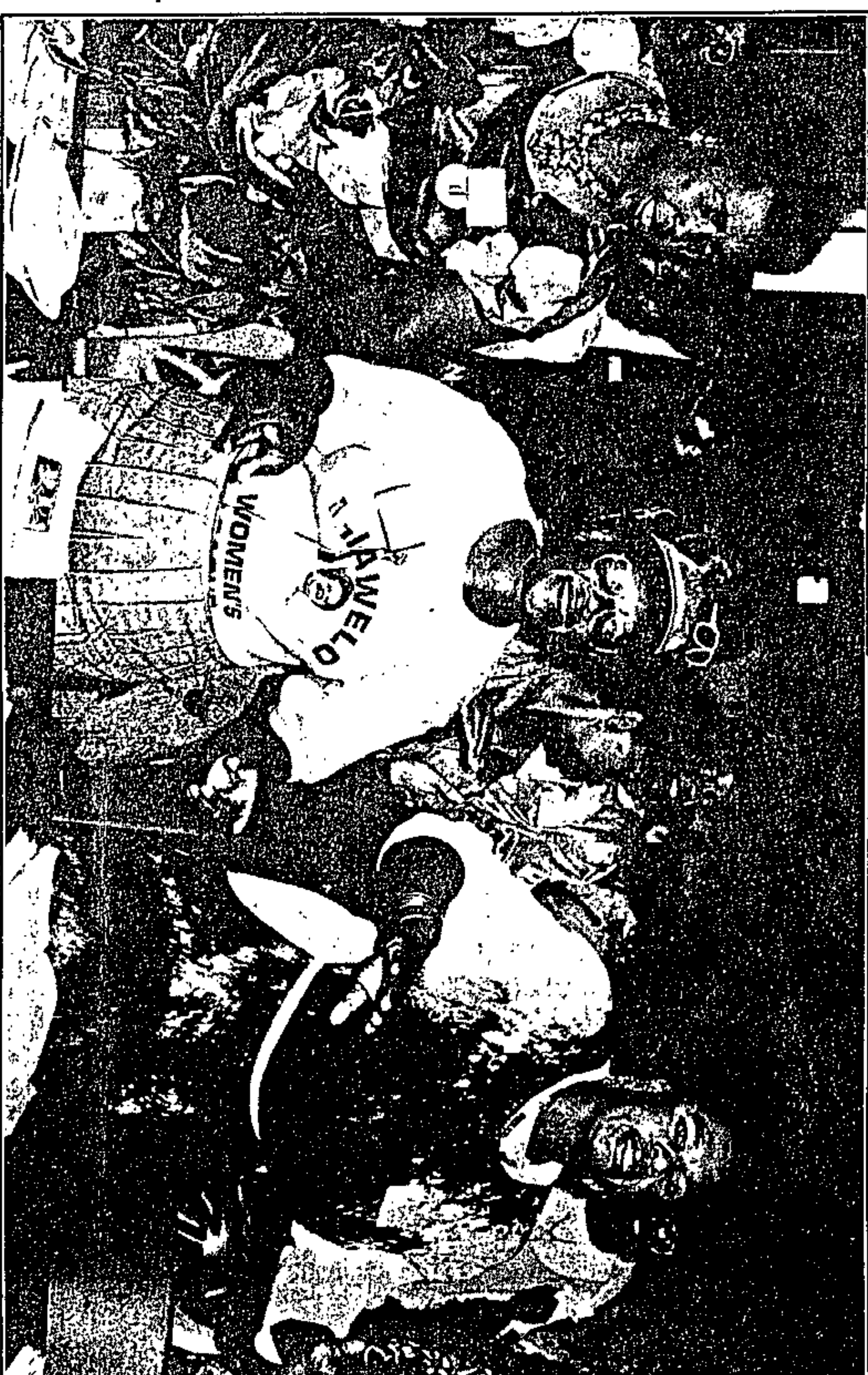
At least the process has begun in South Africa. When Codesa was formed, there were hardly any women involved in the negotiation process.

Only after intense lobbying from organisations concerned about the role of women was a Gender Advisory Committee established within Codesa.

The role of this body was to advise working groups about specific problems facing women and to monitor Codesa resolutions to ensure interests of women were considered.

Outside Codesa the Women's National Coalition was formed in April 1992. Women from different political parties and individuals came together in recognition of the fact that they share the same problems irrespective of political or ideological differences.

The aim of the Coalition is to



DOWN BUT NOT OUT: ANC women members were defeated at the organisation's national congress last year when they attempted to introduce a gender leadership quota system

ensure women's rights are included in the laws and constitution of the "new" South Africa.

The Coalition plans to draw up a charter outlining women's needs and requirements of a new government, as perceived by women.

Most organisations which formed part of the mass democratic movement do not have women's structures within their organisation. Many of the structures which did exist faded into the background because women themselves were not taking their issues seriously.

There are still areas in South Africa where women cannot do simple things like open credit accounts or apply for loans without their husbands being signatory to the agreement.

Married women are still taxed more than their husbands, who are referred to on tax forms as 'married persons', giving the impression that women are not regarded as persons.

The irony is that it is based on the assumption that the bulk of a married man's earnings gets ploughed into maintaining his family. The reality is that most families cannot survive without the wife's income. Yet tax discrimination creates the impression that a wife's earnings are pocket money while a husband sweats to maintain the home.

Surveys prove women tend to be more conscientious about performing tasks, more careful, more considerate and more dedicated than men.

Yet in all fields of employment there are few women at management level.

The power of the vote can be used to improve women's lot.

Women must realise the vote is an individual right. No-one has the right to tell them how to vote. If a husband tries to do so, a woman can still conceal her choice.

Her voting preference is her own secret. If the only means to maintain peace in the home means agreeing with her partner, when a woman enters a polling booth only she will know where she made her cross.

Women also need to examine the policies of parties contesting elections and see how adequately they deal with women's rights.

In fact, women should start lobby-

ing within organisations long before election day to ensure their demands are represented in the policies and programmes of their organisations.

Women constitute about 53 per cent of the South African population. This means the majority of votes in an election can be cast by women if they all vote.

Women therefore have considerable leverage to ensure their needs and concerns are addressed by a future government.

The time for South African women to make themselves heard is now. Waiting until a new government is in place will be too late. It is time that women all stood up for themselves instead of griping in corners about the hard lot they bear.



Apla issue 'threatens' political talks

By Quentin Wilson

THE ARREST of 18 suspected Apla operatives could be expected to impact on negotiations, President FW de Klerk said on Wednesday.

The PAC's dualistic approach to peace and its refusal to sign the Peace Accord threatened negotiations, he argued.

De Klerk also announced that a 10-point police plan and a stepped up call-up of SADF personnel to curb violence — particularly violence perpetrated by Apla and "other lunatic fringe elements".

"The PAC can no longer escape responsibility for the actions of Apla," the state president told a special session of parliament.

De Klerk's pressure on the PAC may, ironically, serve to unite the currently divided organisation — and increase its popular appeal.

And if the pressure leads to negotiations taking place without the PAC, the ANC will be unable to revive the Patriotic Front against the government.

A Goldstone commission report released on Wednesday said PAC president, Mr Clarence Makwetu and the organisation's first vice-president, Mr Johnson Mlambo, serve on Apla's high command.

The Goldstone report urged all nations to withhold assistance to the PAC and Apla and singled out the Transkei government for allowing the Bantustan to be used as an Apla springboard.

Transkei denied this, pointing out that only the SADF and SAP had given evidence for the report.

At the time of going to press, the PAC could not be reached for comment.

However, the ANC expressed concern at the "undisclosed 10-point plan and implicit increase in the powers of the police and army".

It called for the detained suspects to be charged or released, while also saying that the culprits of recent violence had to be brought to book.

"These murders are an act of provocation designed to derail the negotiations and peace processes."

STICKING TO ITS GUNS: PAC supporters were prominent at a march by pupils in Cape Town on Wednesday, demanding that exam fees — increased from R72 to R105 — be scrapped. The march was later marred by students who throw bricks, threatened people and damaged cars in Nyanga. The ANC said its leader Mr Tony Yengeni "was witness to a disgraceful incident when, after he stopped to try to restore order amongst the students, they surrounded his car and threatened him". The ANC, which had supplied marshalls for the march, condemned "hooligan behaviour" Photo: Yunus Mohamed

'Bok Tobias crash tackles council in building row

By Quentin Wilson

MR ERROL Tobias, the first coloured South African who played in a Springbok rugby jersey, has threatened to sell his Caledon plot to the ANC if the local authorities do not grant him permission to build a housing complex.

Tobias, who in 1981 came under fire from anti-apartheid organisations for participating in a Springbok tour to New Zealand, is now trying to crash-tackle the town's white town council and coloured management committee.

After they turned down his building plans earlier this month, Tobias said he would offer the half-acre to the ANC for use as a squatter camp

if they do not reverse their decision.

"It could very well happen if they don't allow me to build," said Tobias. "I know the whites here don't want the ANC in Caledon, so they would have to choose between them or my building."

Plans for the complex, which would accommodate 20 families, were initially rejected by the white Caledon municipality and the coloured management committee because the building covered too much of the plot.

After redrawing his plans to suit their requirements, Tobias' scheme was still rejected.

"They still have not given me any reason for refusing the redrawn plans. It does not make sense. The venture would provide employment for builders in the area, it would

improve the suburb of Bergsig, where I live, and it would help to address the housing shortage.

As someone who was seen to legitimise apartheid sport in the early 1980s, Tobias has turned to fighting apartheid structures from the outside.

Apart from his run-in with the authorities over his housing scheme, Tobias is furious that they have failed to provide the necessary services for Bergsig.

"The park in Bergsig has been neglected over the years and so have the roads. When they tried to retar a road last year, they did not even flatten it beforehand — so it's useless.

"We need to build a civic in the area to put pressure on these people. In fact, the whole management

committee should resign. They do nothing to upgrade this area," he said.

Caledon town clerk Mr J Huisamen said the municipality still had to decide on Tobias' plan.

"I wish he would tell the whole truth. It is not the plan that is under dispute, but whether that area could be used for a housing complex.

"There have been objections from neighbours to the idea, and we are waiting for Tobias' response to their objections before we finally decide," Huisamen said.

Huisamen said he had "no problems" with Tobias' plan to sell the land to the ANC for use as a squatter camp.

"He can do what he likes with the land, that is none of my business — it's his land," Huisamen said.

A crucial time for women's power

South 27/3 - 31/3/93

SOUTH African women can achieve more political power in the next five months than they could in the next 10 years, an American political scientist believes.

Mr Robert Darcy, co-author of "Women, Elections and Representation in Democratic Nations", said it was difficult to understand why democratic political institutions have managed to thoroughly exclude women from political life.

Women are in the majority in many countries, have the same political ability as men and achieved political rights in most democratic countries 50 or more years ago.

Political leadership

"The result should have been the full incorporation of women into positions of political leadership — not their almost complete exclusion.

"Women have the kind of characteristics desirable for politics. Men are violent and argumentative while women desire to negotiate, have empathy and are able to understand two points of view," Darcy said.

In Anglo-American countries — the United States, United Kingdom, Canada, Australia and New Zealand — women got the vote at the turn of the century.

Women's suffrage movements were among the strongest grassroots organisations with membership numbering millions.

"What was interesting was how the women used their vote. They didn't enter into political life," Darcy said. "Their organisations did not turn their real political muscle into political power."

Darcy said one of the key reasons for this was that women achieved the vote in these countries when democracy had already been established for years and politics was an "old game".

"Politics was regarded by the women as corrupt, violent and rotten and party politics was regarded as the most corrupt, violent and rotten," he said.

"The women did not want to get involved in this. They used their right to vote but they avoided party politics. Some women thought of starting their own political party but

this idea didn't wash."

It was only in the late 1960s and early 1970s that women writers like Betty Friedan and Simone de Beauvoir admitted that women had successfully marginalised themselves from politics of power.

Women admitted that their strategy had failed and that the remedy was electing women in substantial numbers to political office.

"So it has only been 20 years since women came into mainstream politics and this is reflected in the low numbers of women in power," Darcy said.

New democracies

"However, in countries where there were brand new democracies this century, women played a major role in government.

"Political parties were viewed as an instrument of democracy when women moved into politics."

Darcy said this is why in Finland, for instance, women formed 38 percent of the National Assembly while a year ago they were six percent in the United States, 16 percent in new Zealand and 12 percent in

Canada.

Another reason for the low percentage of women in Anglo-American politics was the political stagnation in those countries in the past two decades.

The same political parties were returned to power after elections and the turnover rates for incumbents were very low. A major factor slowing the movement of women into political offices is that for each seat gained by a woman, a seat must be lost by a man.

Election systems do not favour women and when they are changed, like in the past US election, women win significantly higher numbers of seats. The US Voting Rights Act, which created more voting districts saw women's representation in Congress double last year.

"Quota systems have been effective in ensuring women are represented in political office, especially when coupled with list proportional systems which ensure that women are not placed at the bottom of a list in a proportional representation election," Darcy said.

"But there are no textbook solu-

tions to the problem. Women have to act at the level of practical politics and force their male colleagues to take their concerns seriously.

"In South Africa women have to identify the problems affecting their participation in political parties and start nibbling away at those problems to work to success in the future.

Solutions

"Shift the burden of the problem to the men. Let them come up with solutions. On the eve of an election no political party is going to want to be seen as unfriendly to women. Women can make more progress here in the next five months than in the next 10 years.

"Centralise the women's demands to one issue — like a 40 percent quota — and campaign to the point of women walking out of the party.

"Play the same political game as the men. If they say they are a women-friendly party, they are not going to want angry protests from women. They are going to solve the problem quickly to get it off the agenda."

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Business wants more political clout

CAPE TOWN — Organised business, increasingly uneasy about whether government adequately represents its interests in negotiations, has made a bid for a more direct role in the political process. ~~FILE~~ (30/11)

Sacob director-general Raymond Parsons said yesterday although his organisation accepted that political groups should be the principal parties at negotiations, a method for other bodies to make contributions ought to be structured into the process.

He said a possible way to achieve this would be to have hearings on topics discussed by the new negotiating forum and for the forum to call for contributions by interest groups.

TIM COHEN

Sacob was particularly interested in what fiscal constraints should be written into a constitution and the role regional government could play in imposing fiscal discipline.

Sacob would also favour the strengthening of the powers of the auditor-general.

Organised business is understood to be concerned about the influence Cosatu has on the negotiations process through ANC "surrogates".

There was concern business interests were not adequately represented by government's delegation, whose understanding of economic issues business believed to be inadequate.

Violence 'must not stop talks'

810m 31/3/93
CAPE TOWN — Under no circumstances should the negotiating process be delayed or interrupted because of violence, DP leader Zach de Beer said yesterday.

Speaking during the first reading debate on the Budget, he said if this were allowed to happen it would mean any blackmailer with a few AK-47s could hold up the process. That would mean the economy would be destroyed, ruining all South Africans.

De Beer said escalating violence since the President's announcements on February 2 1990 had led many whites to ask whether F W de Klerk should not have continued on the path of his predecessors.

Many people, even those who had fought apartheid, had not realised how seriously apartheid had damaged SA society.

If De Klerk had hesitated to take the steps he did on February 2 1990, the danger would have increased and the situation would have become much worse.

"The ugly events we see around us were to a large extent predictable," said De Beer, "because a badly distorted society has to find its way to normalcy."

Andries Beyers (AVU Potchefstroom) said South Africans from all communities would support strong and determined government action against political violence.

Pierre Cronje (Ind Greytown) said government should make an ex-gratia pay-

ment of R500 to every family that had lost someone in the violence in Natal.

The violence had destroyed complete communities and the fabric of society itself, he said.

Programmes would have to be set up to address the legacies of this war in terms of reconstruction of homes and social networks, and in terms of restitution.

Eddie Trent (DP Port Elizabeth Central) said government was "butchering SA's automotive industry in the same way it had butchered the textile industry."

"This Budget demonstrates just how insensitive government is to the motor industry," he said. (304A)

Government refused to stop ad hoc tinkering with the local content and duty structures that were — to say the least — mind-boggling in their complexity.

"This state of affairs, to an industry that is required to make long-term strategic decisions, is totally unacceptable and unbelievably frustrating."

Relief should be granted from the non-rebatable, mandatory payment of excise duty on all motor vehicles. Protective duties applicable to input materials and the local content programme should be reviewed, and VAT input credits extended to the purchase of passenger vehicles for business purposes. — Sapa.

Delegations must include a woman

~~304A~~ BILLY PADDOCK 304A

ALL political negotiating parties will have to expand their delegations at the multi-party talks and in the negotiating council, by one delegate — who has to be a woman.

At a meeting of the negotiating council at the World Trade Centre yesterday, Inkatha's Suzanne Vos argued for compulsory female representation.

She threatened to disclose the full text of discussions on the women's issue if the council did not recommend the delegations be enlarged. *BIDM 31/3/93*

The council agreed to recommend the change, which will give each party four delegates in the negotiating forum and two in the negotiating council, the main negotiating body in the new structure.

The negotiating council teams will consist of a delegation leader and a woman, who will have full negotiating rights.

In the plenary session, all negotiations will include women.

It was also agreed that women would be allowed to caucus as women and put forward the women's cause at the negotiations forum. This means they can break ranks with their political party agenda if it conflicts with the women's agenda.

The recommendation will be tabled for final ratification at tomorrow's forum discussions. Sources said it was unlikely to be rejected.

Parties also agreed that the media would be allowed to attend the talks.

The negotiating council indicated that violence was going to be high on the agenda for the two-day meeting which starts

☐ To Page 2

Delegations

BIDM 31/3/93

~~304A~~ 304A

☐ From Page 1

tomorrow.

It gave its planning committee, which meets today, a mandate to submit a structure for discussions on violence.

ANC secretary-general Cyril Ramaphosa said it had been decided that the planning committee should handle this as the question of violence should transcend party political interests.

"Violence, in this forum, can best be approached in a structured way and constructively with a much better chance of finding solutions," he said.

On Codesa agreements, the council could not reach a conclusive agreement on their status. As a compromise, it was decided that a subcommittee would draft a consolidated document for the council's consideration.

A summary would be presented to the forum tomorrow.

Ramaphosa said this was a major breakthrough as this document, together with the primary Codesa agreements and the summary, would set the scene for negotiating substantive matters.

It would also form the foundation of the

new forum.

However all the parties had not agreed to be bound by the Codesa agreements, which were still open for final debate.

The council also agreed on a rotating panel of six permanent chairmen for all council and forum meetings.

It also agreed on a set of standing rules for the negotiations process. Tomorrow's meeting will have to adopt mechanisms and procedures, standing rules, the name of the new forum, its composition and structure, and who will participate.

The transition process, including Codesa agreements and the accommodation of parties not at Codesa, will be discussed; and a decision needs to be taken on the phases of the transition process and the international community's role.

Inkatha also wants to discuss whether the new SA should be a federal or unitary state.

Yesterday's meeting decided that the final point on the agenda for the two-day meeting would be the way forward and issuing instructions to the negotiating council regarding constitutional issues.

that the regulations are complied with. However, I believe we should accept that it is not always possible to exercise 100% control over these matters.

However, I should like to come to the defence of the important role played by the nongovernmental organisations and say that it would not be possible for the State, for example, to provide more than six million people with food if we did not make use of almost 1 600 nongovernmental organisations. We simply do not have the infrastructure.

*Mr J H MOMBORG: Mr Chairman, I am glad that the hon the Minister is in the right position for this interpellation.

I agree wholeheartedly with the hon member for Heilbron that State-aided organisations dealing with social upliftment should be controlled properly to ensure that the real people benefit, and not a few individuals who fill their own pockets. It is of the utmost importance that as much money as possible is channelled, for instance, to an awareness programme on Aids.

We are about to have our first free, nonracial, one person, one vote election. People will be liberated for the first time. It would be a tragedy if liberation finally came to the vast majority of our people, and they were too ill to enjoy their freedom. It is estimated that South Africa is four years ahead of the rest of Africa as far as the impact of Aids is concerned.

These are crucial, precious years to prevent a disaster of catastrophic magnitude hitting our community. Are we going to utilise this period of grace, or are we going to squander it? If we squander it, this Government and we ourselves will be guilty of gross negligence.

We are justifiably horrified when six kids die in the Tafelberg area. I hope that we will feel the same horror regarding the plight of the hundreds of orphans whose parents die of Aids. The hon the Minister should give the money to these organisations who do social upliftment work, but she should make sure that the money reaches the people and does not end up in the pockets of money-makers.

*Adv C H PIENNAAR: Mr Chairman, we do appreciate the assistance measures such as feeding schemes for the labourers of the farming community, etc.

HOUSE OF ASSEMBLY

However, I want to warn the hon the Minister not to be too quick to tell us how effective all these assistance measures are. There is an hon Minister sitting in our ranks who said he inherited a can of worms from his predecessor, and that was after that predecessor had sung the praises of the various measures that had been introduced.

I want to quote to the hon the Minister the following extract from page 355 of the De Loor Report:

As concluded in Chapter 10, many of the institutions involved in housing are experiencing accountability problems. It is therefore recommended that accountability of the institutions involved in housing be improved through the appropriate application of the proposals made by the committee of inquiry.

That was the Browne Committee.

The same concern was expressed by the hon the Minister of Finance. There is a proliferation of institutions which are not channelling the money effectively to where it should be going. The fact of the matter is that in our situation in which the State provides the funds, it is the taxpayer who comes off second best in the long run.

*The MINISTER OF NATIONAL HEALTH: Mr Chairman, I think it is very important for me to say in the first place that the State has a very important responsibility to ensure that these transfer moneys paid to nongovernmental bodies are utilised properly. I agree with the hon member that care should be taken to ensure that the necessary control measures are introduced and implemented.

Let me tell the hon member at the outset that I am not standing up and saying that there are no problems. Of course there are problems. This was my experience in the welfare organisations. It is for that reason that we are now examining whether it will be possible to devolve the funds as far as possible to the people who really need them. What is of specific importance in this regard is that we need co-operation, not only from the media, but also from the community leaders, and everyone must work together in a supervisory capacity because it is very difficult for a department to supervise funds it has paid to a nongovernmental body.

An example of this is the nutrition development programme where we encountered problems in

seven programmes. However, the department took immediate steps and introduced the necessary measures to prevent these malpractices continuing. It is not possible to eliminate them completely when one is working with people.

However we should also express our appreciation to many nongovernmental bodies that render very useful services, and of whom we may justifiably be proud. Let me repeat that it would not be possible for the State, for example, to purchase the services that are rendered by thousands of volunteers out there, and that are subsidised by us. The subsidy we pay is not adequate remuneration for the work they do. It cannot come close to meeting the needs which exist out there, and for this reason it is vital that many of these bodies should generate funds from the private sector and should also rely on the support of the public. [Time expired.]

Debate concluded

QUESTIONS

Indicates translated version.

For oral reply:

General Affairs:

Ministers: appointments/transfers

*1. Mr H D K VAN DER MERWE asked the State President:

Whether he will furnish statistics of how many (a) appointments and (b) transfers of Ministers and Deputy Ministers in respect of general affairs have taken place since he assumed his present office; if not, why not; if so, what are the relevant details? B5625

The STATE PRESIDENT:

Yes. Excluding the occasion on which I appointed a new Cabinet and Deputy Ministers on assuming office, there have been 12 occasions on which I used my powers in terms of sections 24 and 27 of the Constitution to change the composition of the Cabinet and/or Deputy Ministers.

(a) Appointment of—
Ministers 17; and
Deputy Ministers 12

(b) Portfolio transfers in respect of—
Ministers 27; and
Deputy Ministers 8.

These statistics do not include mere name changes, the mere falling away of particular ministerial responsibilities or the addition of previously non-existent ministerial responsibilities, as those changes do not amount to transfers. They do, however, include the appointments which take effect only tomorrow.

*Mr H D K VAN DER MERWE: Mr Chairman, arising from the hon the State President's reply, can he indicate to us whether this erratic reshuffling of the Cabinet contributes towards the present poor administration and maladministration that we are experiencing in the country? [Interjections.]

*The STATE PRESIDENT: Mr Chairman, during the same term one of the Ministers died. Later the Speaker also died, which led to the appointment from the Cabinet of the present Speaker. During that time 11 Ministers also resigned. [Interjections.]

Restructuring occurs within every party. [Interjections.] How many editions of the *Panor* have there been in the past two years? [Interjections.] How many information officers have there been over the past two years? [Interjections.] The CP also undergoes reshuffling. [Interjections.]

My own ministerial career proves that it is nothing new. In the first seven years of my service as Minister I had nine portfolios. [Interjections.] Hon members did not complain then.

A portion of these statistics stems from innovative decisions by the Government. Never before in our history has a role such as that of Minister for Economic Co-ordination been allocated. That was innovative action which led to improved economic co-ordination and planning. These statistics include the abolition of a department in which many problems were experienced, an abolition which had also long been called for by hon members of the opposition parties. In our fight against corruption and bad management we had the courage to close that department and to create a completely new regional situation.

Therefore my reply to the hon member is no, these transfers, with the exception of the forced transfers brought about by circumstances be-

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your control, such as, for instance, illness and death, were all of a constructive nature and led to better management.

†Mr H D K VAN DER MERWE: Mr Chairman, further arising from the hon the State President's reply, I wish to ask whether the very fact that so many of his Cabinet members are retiring is not proof of the fact that the hon the State President cannot give them direction and guidance.

†The STATE PRESIDENT: Mr Chairman, I suggest that the hon member Mr H D K van der Merwe speaks to my colleagues to find out whether they are satisfied with my leadership. The acrimony of the CP and the manner in which they concentrate on trying to disparage my leadership prove that they are very eager to have me out of the way. [Interjections.]

†Adv J J S PRINSLOO: Mr Chairman, further arising from the hon the State President's replies, I would like to ask whether he can explain to us what functional improvement the transfer of the hon the Minister of Defence, who was appointed and then dismissed within less than a year, achieved in the Cabinet.

†The STATE PRESIDENT: Mr Chairman, the hon the Minister of Defence who is now retiring is doing so because he indicated that he has come to the end of a very long political career. If his service as Administrator is included, he is one of the longest serving members of this House.

As Administrator he served the Cape with great distinction. He is one of the best loved Administrators that we have had. [Interjections.] His transfer to the Department of Defence was brought about by the retirement and illness of Dr G Viljoen. That necessitated the transfer of the new young hon Minister of Defence, Mr Roelf Meyer, to the Department of Constitutional Development.

It happens that transfers have to be made as a result of circumstances beyond one's control. I am sorry that the hon the Minister of Defence could not serve in this office longer and that his retirement has caught up with him. He is a competent man.

I would like to pay tribute to each of the hon Ministers who are retiring today, as I also did in Cabinet today and at a farewell function. They served South Africa with great honour. Their

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contribution to the Cabinet was excellent and we thank them most sincerely. [Interjections.]

†The CHAIRMAN OF THE HOUSE: Order! Before we proceed with questions, I must point out to hon members that when an hon member avails himself of his right to put a question to an hon Minister and the hon the Minister takes the trouble to reply to that question, there are hon members who are interested in the reply. It is not an invitation for general comment from hon members.

Mrs De Klerk: visit to Atlantis

2. Mr J J WALSH asked the State President:

(1) What was the total cost to the State of his spouse's visit to Atlantis on or about 10 March 1993;

(2) whether he will make a statement on the matter? B581E

†The STATE PRESIDENT:

(1) The direct cost to the State of the visit referred to in the question was limited to the cost of her transportation by motor car to and from Atlantis. The distance involved is approximately 104 km, giving an estimated petrol cost of R13,00 for the trip. One could also include the cost of car wear and tear, which according to current AA rates would give a total cost of R276,16.

As the hon member is aware, the wife of the State President does not receive any kind of remuneration, despite the extensive official duties which she is expected to perform. Neither does she receive a clothing allowance, even though she is expected to maintain a high standard in her personal attire. As far as the indirect cost to the State is concerned, it was basically limited to the provision of security, which was necessitated by intimidatory threats by the ANC. Security in this regard was provided by the South African Police and is available to all public figures, political parties, sports organisations and the like whenever it is deemed necessary on the basis of a risk analysis. The security services were rendered by the South African Police in the ordinary course of their public duty, and did not give rise to any significant expenditure which would not have been incurred if the relevant visit had not taken place at all.

(2) Yes. All civilized countries provide adequate security to their Heads of State, their spouses and other public figures who might be the targets of radical political organisations or individuals. For those who are thus protected, it represents a cumbersome but unavoidable intrusion into their privacy. To blame them for the costs incurred would be the case of adding insult to injury.

Mr R M BURROWS: Mr Chairman, arising from the reply of the hon the State President, could I ask him whether, as a matter of principle, the direct costs incurred by the State, whether by his spouse, himself, or any Cabinet Minister or Deputy Minister going to address a closed political party function, should not be refunded directly by the political party involved? I ask that on a question of principle.

†The STATE PRESIDENT: Mr Chairman, the transport of all members of Parliament is subsidised, and the direct cost involved in that is paid to them whatever they use that transport for, whether for the purposes of advancing the interests of their political party or whatever other duty, or even for their own private relaxation.

As opposed to that, there is a perks tax, which provides for the personal part of the official transport, which is thus provided by the State. In the case of the Executive, the same applies. I am in a somewhat different position, in that I do not pay tax. It might be news to the hon members, but my wife has to pay tax and regularly pays tax.

†Mr J H MOMBERG: Mr Chairman, further arising from the hon the State President's reply, I want to ask him whether or not the allegation made that policemen served the tea during that function is correct.

†The STATE PRESIDENT: Mr Chairman, I have to apologize to hon members because I did not reply to one of the questions. To the best of my knowledge it was not an official NP function. As far as the question of the hon member for Simon's Town is concerned, I was not there to see who did or did not serve the tea.

I doubt whether the future of this country in these serious times we live in is going to be influenced by either the R13 or the R276 or by who was kind enough to hand my wife a cup of tea. [Interjections.]

†The CHAIRMAN OF THE HOUSE: Order! The arguments among members must stop.

Ministers:

*1. Mr L FUCHS—Justice. [Withdrawn.]

*2. Mr E W TRENT—National Intelligence Service. † [Question standing over.]

Cape Town/Somerset West: crime on N2

*3. Mr A GERBER asked the Minister of Law and Order:†

(1) Whether any serious crime against motorists on the N2 freeway between Cape Town and Somerset West were reported to the South African Police during the latest specified period of 12 months for which information is available; if so, (a) how many and (b) what kinds of crime;

(2) whether the Police have taken any steps to protect motorists on this freeway; if not, why not; if so, what steps;

(3) whether he will make a statement on the matter? B485E

†The DEPUTY MINISTER OF LAW AND ORDER:

(1) Yes.

(a) 32 cases.

(b) 28—malicious injury to property (threw stones at vehicle)
1—malicious injury to property (threw petrol bomb at vehicle)
1—malicious injury to property (threw tree-stump at vehicle)
1—malicious injury to property (threw iron pipe at vehicle)
1—malicious injury to property (threw brick at vehicle)

(2) Yes.

The road is patrolled on a 24-hour basis by a fully equipped vehicle.

(3) No.

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HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

QUESTIONS

†Indicates translated version.

For oral reply:

General Affairs:

Provincial hospitals: admission on racial basis

*1. Mr P A C HENDRICKSE asked the Minister of National Health:

- (1) Whether the allocation of beds and the placing of patients in wards in provincial hospitals is currently done on the basis of race; if not, what is the position in this regard; if so, why;
- (2) whether she or her Department intends taking any steps in this regard; if not, why not; if so, what steps;
- (3) whether patients are required to state their race when applying for admission to such hospitals; if so, why;
- (4) whether hospital staff are required to record the race of patients; if so, why;
- (5) whether hospital staff receive any training in determining the race of patients; if so, what are the relevant details? C76E

†The MINISTER OF NATIONAL HEALTH:

- (1) No, the allocation of beds and the placing of patients in wards is done according to needs and availability;
- (2) falls away;
- (3) yes, only for epidemiological (statistical) reasons;
- (4) yes, for epidemiological (statistical) reasons;
- (5) no.

†Mr P A C HENDRICKSE: Mr Chairman, arising out of the hon the Minister's reply, she says that a patient's race is recorded for epidemiological reasons, but is it only coincidence that when one visits a provincial hospital every-

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one belongs to the same race group? I refer specifically to the provincial hospital in Uitenhage in this regard.

I went to the maternity unit of that hospital in Uitenhage earlier this year . . .

†The MINISTER: Mr Chairman, the hon member must ask a question.

†The CHAIRMAN OF THE HOUSE: Order!

The hon member must put his question.

†Mr P A C HENDRICKSE: Mr Chairman, if the hon the Minister listens to me she will hear what my question is about.

Why were there only Coloured ladies in the one maternity ward and only White ladies in the next maternity ward? The specific person whom I went to visit there, is somebody whom the hon the Minister's Government had earlier classified as Coloured. On her admission form it says that she is an Indian. On her baby's form it says that she is an Asian. How are these things determined?

†The MINISTER: Mr Chairman, complaints have been received as a result of the situation at Uitenhage. The CPA has investigated the matter thoroughly, and action has accordingly been taken to ensure that there is no form of discrimination against any patient.

As far as the statistics are concerned, it is an internationally accepted custom that it is essential to have this information available for epidemiological research. It is for this reason that it is done.

†Mr P A C HENDRICKSE: Mr Chairman, further arising out of the hon the Minister's reply, if she says that it is an internationally accepted custom, how does she define Coloured? "Coloured" also appears on these forms.

†The MINISTER: Mr Chairman, I do not think it is my duty to give a definition of what a Coloured is. I think it has already been clearly defined according to the old dispensation. [Interjections.] However, what is important is that recorded statistics are classified according to race groups.

†Mr P A C HENDRICKSE: So it is according to race?

†The MINISTER: According to epidemiological statistics, yes.

†Mr P A C HENDRICKSE: Does a Coloured race exist from an anthropological point of view?

†The CHAIRMAN OF THE HOUSE: Order! Does the hon member for Addo wish to put another question?

†Mr P A C HENDRICKSE: No, it is no use, Mr Chairman.

Amount spent on housing for members of Ministers' Council

*2. Mr J C OOSTHUIZEN asked the Minister of Public Works:†

What is the total amount spent by the State on housing for members of the Ministers' Council in the House of Representatives since 4 February 1992 up to the latest specified date for which information is available? C77E

†The MINISTER OF PUBLIC WORKS:

Certain members of the Ministers' Council make use of private accommodation for which they are compensated in terms of the Compensation Scheme for Political Office-Bearers. Others live in official accommodation. The particulars of the compensation scheme were covered extensively in recent questions in Parliament and also enjoyed extensive media-coverage.

The State President has subsequently appointed a panel of experts to advise him on the suitability and cost-effectiveness of the compensation scheme. Until the findings of the panel are known, it is not considered appropriate to further comment on this subject.

†Mr J C OOSTHUIZEN: Mr Chairman, arising out of the hon the Minister's reply, I asked what total amount was spent by the State on accommodation for members of the Ministers' Council in the House of Representatives since 4 February up to the latest specified date for which figures are available. The hon the Minister did not reply to my question, and I should like to have that information from him.

†The MINISTER: Mr Chairman, could the hon member give me a little more detail on exactly what he wants. Is he also referring to state housing?

†Mr J C OOSTHUIZEN: Yes.

†The MINISTER: Thank you very much. I could not deduce that from the question. As far as state housing is concerned, I cannot easily give a precise amount. I shall tell the hon member exactly why. The houses are new. The State paid for them. No bonds have been registered on them. The direct cost per month—for services and rates—amounts to R780 per house. To this one can add maintenance which has, up to now, probably been minimal. It is, however, usually calculated at 1% per annum because it may be that there is no maintenance carried out during the first two or three years but that it is done in the fifth and sixth year, and then one needs the total calculation.

If I should make a calculation, it would work out to R625 per month. In other words we are talking about direct expenditure here, particularly rates and service charges. Then there are also hidden costs, for example devaluation of furnishings, and repair costs to housing, accumulating at a certain percentage, that can be calculated in full only later.

If one wanted to take it further one could say that the State, in fact, invested a certain amount, for example R600 000, and that the potential loss in interest at the treasury rate is 15% per annum. Then one could make that calculation. If the hon member says precisely what he wants to know, I shall reply to his question with the greatest of pleasure.

†Mr J C OOSTHUIZEN: Mr Chairman, further arising out of the hon the Minister's reply, in an interpellation of two weeks ago he could clearly give figures on what was spent on housing for the former Ministers' Council. It is strange that today, now that the present Ministers' Council is involved, he suddenly has no figures.

†The MINISTER: That is not difficult. I gave figures last time in the interpellation debate. I said either in the interpellation or in reply to a question that potential interest rates on bonds are also included. I was subsequently criticised because bonds had not been registered. The hon member must tell me how to do it. I can tell him the valuation of official housing that is available is R600 000. This was determined by a private valuer. If he wants to calculate the interest on that, he can do so at 15%. That comes to R90 000 per annum.

HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

9pm with a weekly programme called "Ordinary People".

The programme allows people in the street to share their feelings. Should be riveting stuff.

South Newspaper

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By Rehana Rossouw

THOUSANDS of National Party supporters this weekend are expected to flock to the Cape Showgrounds at Goodwood for the party's "Family Fair".

The event promises to be a "multicultural" affair, aimed at traditional white supporters and those of the darker-skinned variety.

NP MPs in 24 coloured constituencies in the Western Cape have been advertising the event widely and have arranged hundreds of buses to transport supporters.

From Mitchells Plain alone, 38 double-decker buses will ferry people to the fair.

Not only will the traditional koeksusters and boerevrou be on sale, but Halaal and Chinese food as

'Multicultural' koeksusters

SOUTH 27/3-31/3/93

well. Of course, a potjiekos competition is included in the day's events.

Cultural activities include a boere-orke, drum majorettes, coons and a disco.

There will be a number of sporting activities including rugby, soccer, a tug-of-war, golf and Iron Man contests.

A highlight of the day will be the choice of "Miss National Party". It remains to be seen whether the judges follow in the footsteps of the

Miss South Africa contest and choose a winner who is not blonde and blue-eyed.

Saturday's programme starts at noon with stalls and competitions. At 2pm, the sport and beauty contests begin and at 4.30pm the drum majorettes get their turn, along with those in the parachute displays.

An hour-long meeting starts at 5pm with an address by President FW de Klerk and the day's programme ends with the disco.

● Belhar NP MP Belhar Mr Stan Simmons could face disciplinary action after he used parliamentary letterheads and envelopes to send thousands of invitations to the family fair to residents in Delft and Belhar.

By using parliamentary stationery, Simmons did not have to pay postage for the mail.

It is against parliament's rules to use its stationery for party political work.

Simmons said he was aware that his actions were against the rules, but said he was aware of at least one occasion when this was done before.

"I have submitted a sworn affidavit and it is up to parliament to decide whether action will be taken against me," he said.

Deputy Minister has high hopes

Sowetan & Radio Metro

Talkback

By Isaac Moledi



with Tim Modise

THE GOVERNMENT was hopeful that a Transitional Executive Council would be established by June this year, Constitutional Affairs Deputy Minister Mr. Paa. Schoeman said on the Sowetan/Radio Metro Talkback Show last night.

Schoeman said the Government's objective was to include as many political players as possible to avoid a situation like that in Angola - where UNITA rebels were in conflict with the Government forces.

He said it was possible to hold elections in April next year and establish a government of national unity by June. Schoeman said the Government was hopeful that multi-party talks would succeed because many parties had real

ised the only solution to the country's problems was a negotiated settlement.

He emphasised that State President F.W. de Klerk's statement that the Government would accept the outcome of the elections even if the National Party lost.

"The functions of the Transitional Executive Council have not yet been finalised",

Schoeman.

"I do think the Government can do things better - it is still calling its negotiating partner, the ANC, a bunch of criminals. Critics of other parties will

not solve the problem."

Peter, Thokoza

"We don't want the politicians to capitalise on a situation where the masses of our country don't understand what they are talking about. When we talk we should go to the level of those who were even denied education by the apartheid system."

Ricky, Benoni

"If the Government wants to negotiate genuinely, it should do

just that. Why do we have some parties which do not want to negotiate with the Government?"

Stanley

"Why should the NP refuse joint control of the South African Defence Force and all its paramilitary wings?"

George

"Codesa failed. How optimistic is the Government that the present multi-party talks will not fail?"

Peter, Krugersdorp

next Talkback topic Tel: (011) 714-8063

THE image of the music industry has been badly tarnished by the failure of artists to arrive at poorly organised concerts. The Sowetan/Radio Metro Talkback Show has invited Yvonne Chaka Chaka and others associated with the music industry to the studio to discuss the problem. You can share your view by phoning host Tim Modise between 7pm and 8pm tonight. See page 21.

Vital multiparty meeting starts on Reef tomorrow

Political Staff

(3047) AUG 31/3/8

THE two-day multiparty negotiating forum which begins its meeting in Johannesburg tomorrow is expected to clarify guidelines for curbing political violence.

It is expected that the 26 political groups will also confirm procedural issues and the Codesa agreements, said ANC secretary-general Mr Cyril Ramaphosa.

Labour Party representative Mr Llewelyn Landers said that ideally the meeting would agree on the transition process.

But, speaking at the same Press conference after yesterday's negotiating council meeting, Afrikaner Volksunie delegate Mr Chris de Jager said it was hoped by some parties that the form of state for a new South Africa would be discussed in depth.

Mr Ramaphosa added that the confirmation by the meeting of the Codesa agreements meant that any group which had not been party to these decisions would not be bound by them.

In an "historic" decision, the negotiating forum decided that women would be included in the negotiations and that the Press would be allowed to attend the proceedings.

The media would have access to the negotiating council but the council could have "in committee" sessions on specific issues, Mr Ramaphosa said.

No decision has been made on a name for the negotiating forum.

DP tells whites to face fact they must pay

3047
ARG 31/3/93

MICHAEL MORRIS
Political Correspondent

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

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

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

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

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

"But, after all, when the haves sit down to negotiate with the have-nots, can one

really expect anything different? After all, what do the have-nots have to give to the haves?"

Dr De Beer added: "Our favourite and most worn-out cliché of these past couple of years is the phrase 'level the playing fields'.

"Well, if you have a bulldozer and piece of uneven ground and you want to level it, you really have to push the dirt from the high ground to the low ground, don't you?"

"That is what we are seeing and what we are bound to see."

He said he hoped whites would acknowledge these things in order to gain perspective.

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

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

Dr De Beer concluded: "We must all accept that what was done on February 2, 1990, was absolutely right, even though it came many years later than it should have done."