

S.A. GOVT & POLITICS

1993

JULY - MONTH

BASIC DIFFERENCES MAY BE BRIDGED

Talks: crucial compromise

Star 11/7/93

By Esther Waugh
and Chris Whitfield

South Africa's negotiators yesterday took one of the biggest leaps forward in the talks process to date.

A day of straight talking in five hours of bilateral meetings led to a crucial compromise proposal on the process to move from apartheid to democracy.

The deal, accepted by "sufficient consensus" in the Negotiating Council, is poised to bridge fundamental differences between those wanting an elected constitution-making body and parties demanding that significant regionalism be agreed upon now.

The breakthrough resolution mapped out, in essence, the process for the transition to a new constitution. The Conservative Party opposed the resolution while the Afrikaner Volksunie, the IFP and the KwaZulu and Ciskei governments — all members of the Concerned South Africans Group (Cosag) — reserved their positions.

However, some Cosag members confirmed privately they were encouraged. They would now wait to see how the agreement emerged in a draft interim constitution which a negotiations technical committee has been mandated to compile.

The compromise includes agreement that:

- A proportional representation election will elect national and regional interim governments — including the constitution-making body.
- Constitutional principles, including those for "strong" regional and central government, would be adopted by the multiparty negotiating process and be binding on the constitution-making body.
- Boundaries for the regions will be determined for elections and during the interim phase by the commission on the delimitation of regions.
- Powers, functions and structures of regions will be agreed upon in the multiparty negotiating chamber and entrenched in the interim constitution.
- A transitional executive council, an independent electoral commission and an independent media commission will be created.

Although no time frames were set, the progress could give the negotiation process a significant boost. Implicit in the proposals are that there will be a single constitution for the entire country, and no separate regional constitutions.

The compromise will go a long way to allay the fears of the Concerned South Africans Group (Cosag) parties on entrenched regional government, and IFP sources were last night delighted. The Government, ANC and their respective allies have won concession for an elected constitution-making body

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Crucial compromise in talks

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Dr Ben Ngubane of the IFP said the agreement "shows that everyone is trying to find consensus", but cautioned there was "still a long way to go".

The compromise was struck during five hours of meetings outside the negotiating chamber during the day and after talks on the crunch issues had been postponed. Negotiators said it had been important to go behind closed doors and away from the posturing that sometimes characterises Negotiating Council debate.

Cosag first held discussions with Patriotic Front members before meeting Government negotiators.

to draft the final constitution. Constitutional Development Minister Roelf Meyer described yesterday as "one of the most important in the process so far". The focus had now shifted to the compilation of the interim constitution, hopefully within reach by mid-August.

ANC secretary-general Cyril Ramaphosa was also enthusiastic about the agreement, saying "the scenario for drafting the new constitution on a democratic basis has been accepted".

The Labour Party's Lewellyn Landers said talks had taken a "quantum leap".

Star 17/93 'No end yet to US sanctions'

By Peter Fabricius
Star Bureau

WASHINGTON — The United States government has acknowledged that remaining American sanctions will probably not be lifted as hoped while President de Klerk and African National Congress leader Nelson Mandela are on a high-profile visit to the country. (255)

After De Klerk arrived here yesterday, a Government source said that tomorrow's crucial Negotiating Forum meeting would probably not culminate in firm agreement on a transitional executive council and an election date.

These are the conditions which must be met if ANC leader Nelson Mandela is to issue the long-expected call for sanctions to be lifted.

South Africa watchers were hoping that this would happen in the full glare of media attention while De Klerk and Mandela are here to meet President Clinton and to receive the Philadelphia

Liberty Medal.

A highly publicised appeal would have attracted the attention of the scores of state and city legislatures which still impose sanctions.

Although De Klerk played down the sanctions issue, there is certain to be disappointment and even disillusionment here if Mandela does not sound the expected all-clear. (177)

Arriving at Andrews Air Force Base in his Falcon jet from Europe, De Klerk reported that there had been good progress at the World Trade Centre. (254)

"We are very near a breakthrough," he said.

Asked if his and Mandela's visits should be considered a failure if America did not move to lift sanctions now, De Klerk gave his standard reply: "I have not come here with a shopping list. Sanctions will be lifted in step with the progress we are making."

De Klerk will meet World Bank president Lewis Preston, International Monetary Fund

managing director Michel Camdessus and several chief executives of major corporations.

Meanwhile, Mandela wasted no time yesterday asking supporters to help him raise millions of dollars so he can get out the vote in South Africa's pivotal elections next year. Reuter reports. (304A)

"Opinion polls show that if the elections were held today the African National Congress would probably win," Mandela told a cheering crowd of more than 3 500 at the Concord Baptist Church of Christ in the New York borough of Brooklyn.

Mandela is expected to pick up about \$250 000 (R825 000) from the first fund-raiser during his US trip.

"If we are going to win the election we must be able to afford transport vehicles to take people from their homes, from their workplace to the voting booth," he said.

"If we don't have that capacity we may lose the election ... If we are

going to beat them we must have the resources. We must have the funds. We must have the money," he said.

Today, Mandela planned to meet New York corporate executives who said they planned to raise some \$10 million (R33 million) to help the ANC.

Mandela then heads to Washington to meet US congressional leaders. Other stops on his itinerary include Chicago, Los Angeles, Atlanta and Indianapolis before he heads back to South Africa on July 12.

Tomorrow, both leaders see Secretary of State Warren Christopher (separately) before meeting Clinton while Mandela also meets the Freedom Forum, prominent African-American leaders and Africare.

De Klerk addresses the National Press Club. On Saturday, he flies to Kennebunkport, Maine, for lunch with former president George Bush and his wife in their summer home.

Walk-outs and chaos mar council meetings

Star 11/14/93

By Melody McDougall
Vereniging Bureau

Two meetings of the Vanderbijlpark Town Council last night ended in confusion when both the council's monthly meeting and a special meeting to vote on a motion of no confidence in the management committee had to be ad-

jourled.

The drama began when NP caucus members initially refused to enter the council chamber after a few armed men — allegedly AVF and AVF supporters — were spotted outside.

The confusion continued when virtually the entire rightwing caucus staged a walk-out shortly

after all the councillors assembled in the chamber to vote on the motion of no confidence.

The NP called for the vote at the beginning of the month, accusing the right-wing management committee of being unable to negotiate a new dispensation with surrounding black local authorities. (30ftA)

Minutes later five NP caucus members also left the chamber, leaving only mayor Org du Plessis (NP) and management committee chairman Gerhard Smith (AVF). The meeting was adjourned.

About 30 minutes later the full council gathered in the council chamber for the ordinary monthly

meeting. But NP caucus member Willie van Rensburg proposed that it be adjourned as the issue surrounding the motion of no confidence had not yet been resolved. Again the meeting was adjourned.

NP caucus leader Johan Kilian, later said he and his colleagues were initially reluctant

to enter the council after they had spotted armed rightwingers outside the building.

He said he also received an anonymous call from a man earlier yesterday who said: "You f... Kafir-boetie — put a foot in the council chamber tonight and we will silence your big mouth forever..."

'Only registered parties in poll'

By Kaizer Nyatumba
Political Correspondent

As negotiators at the World Trade Centre argued about the transition process yesterday, Home Affairs Minister Danie Schutte announced that all organisations which intended to take part in next year's election would have to register as political parties. (AFP) (304A)

In a move likely to cause a clash between the Government and the ANC, Schutte said it was inconceivable that in an election "the particulars of any political grouping could be in-

Star 11/1/93
cluded in a ballot paper and that it could submit candidate lists without first being registered as a political party.

"This requirement regarding the registration of political parties is accepted worldwide without exception in democratic election procedures."

The ANC — which still relies heavily on overseas donors for its finance — has often said it would not become a political party before the election.

Schutte said the result of registration would be that all political parties would subject themselves to "relevant ethical

codes, qualifications, rules and regulations, and election procedures".

Schutte said the Government had already submitted to the Negotiating Forum a draft electoral Bill in which the registration of political parties was proposed "in clear terms".

He said that in his discussions with all major political players he had never gained the impression that any of them was against registering as a party.

ANC spokesman Ronnie Mamoepa said yesterday his organisation did not think it was "crucial" for it to register.

Police move to avert violence

ACF117/93

(3047) (1993)

By ANTHONY JOHNSON

Political Correspondent

POLICE would do everything possible to prevent "a blood-bath" at the World Trade Centre today when rival protests by the AWB and the ANC are planned, the Minister of Law and Order, Mr Hernus Kriel, said last night.

Mr Kriel was commenting on an ANC statement on Tuesday that the organisation was planning a series of protests today, including a possible demonstration at the centre.

Spokesmen for the AWB were not available, despite numerous attempts to contact them, to give details of their action plan for today.

Mr Kriel said police — and if necessary the Defence Force — would do everything possible to prevent the marches, which will be treated as illegal, from taking place.

Extraordinary measures would also be taken to protect the multi-party negotiations venue, including the promulgation of an "unrest area" regulation banning the carrying of firearms in the Kempton Park magisterial district.

Kriel shrugs off ANC calls for him to resign

Political Correspondent

THE Minister of Law and Order, Mr Hernus Kriel, yesterday shrugged off ANC demands that he resign in the wake of the police's handling of last Friday's storming of the World Trade Centre by right-wingers.

The demand for him to quit was made on Friday by ANC leader Mr Nelson Mandela at a press conference and repeated yesterday by ANC NEC member Mr Mathew Phosa.

"The SAP's failure to act against the right-wing is a matter of serious concern," Mr Phosa said.

national concern," Mr Phosa said. "Today more than ever the SAP stand accused of conniving and colluding in a serious crime against the people."

But Mr Kriel told a press conference yesterday that it was the prerogative of the State President to decide whether he should quit.

He said he had spoken by phone to Mr Mandela twice, while the ANC leader was attending the OAU summit in Cairo, "and he did not repeat the request that I resign".

Mr Kriel said he believed the police had acted in a professional manner.

Security precautions included encircling the World Trade Centre with razorwire and bringing in water cannons, armoured vehicles and a large contingent of police.

The Defence Force would also be on standby.

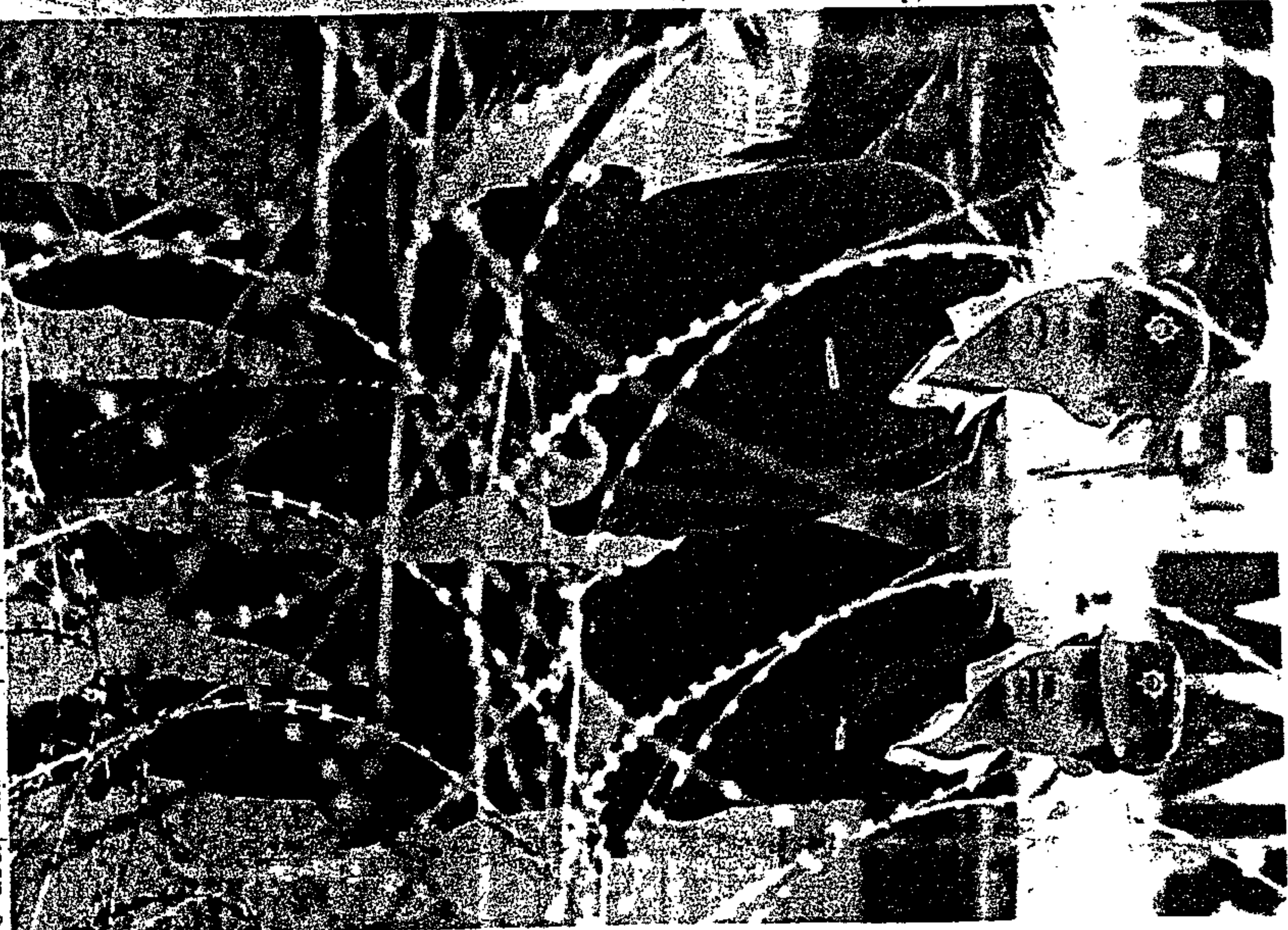
Mr Kriel told a press conference the regulation banning firearms would be promulgated last night.

"I think it is wise immediately

to promulgate this regulation, so that people will not turn up (at the centre) with firearms, being done to prevent violence, and bloodshed at the World Trade Centre," he said.

Police would also liaise closely with the security committee at the talks venue.

Mr Kriel said no one had applied for permission for the marches.



KEEPING WATCH... Armed policemen, behind razorwire, keep a watch on protesting PAC supporters outside the World Trade Centre, scene of last week's assault on the building by right-wing extremists. The ANC has called for a day of mass action today to protest against the police's handling of the AWB actions.

Picture: AP

Breakthrough



JOHANNESBURG. — A breakthrough in the negotiating process was achieved yesterday when political parties agreed on a process to draft the next constitution — a two-stage process involving the election of an interim government to finalise the constitution.

"Today was probably one of the most important days in the negotiation process so far," senior government negotiator and Minister of Constitutional Development Mr Roelf Meyer told a press conference after a tough day's negotiations, mostly behind closed doors.

"The (constitutional) route map to democracy has been adopted. Wonderful," African National Congress secretary-general Mr Cyril Ramaphosa said afterwards.

After a full day of confidential meetings between parties to reach common ground, the negotiating council instructed the technical committee to draft a "constitution for the transition".

In essence, the Inkatha Freedom Party and the Concerned South Africans' Group parties get their strong regional government powers and functions entrenched in an interim constitution, while the ANC and the government and their allies get the two-phased process involving an elected constituent assembly.

The agreement follows Tues-

Own Correspondent
CT 17/93 (304A)

day's deadlock between Inkatha and the ANC. The draft interim constitution will make provision for an election on a proportional representation basis for a constitution-making body, legislature and

POLICE MOVE TO AVERT VIOLENCE

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national government for the transitional phase. This must include a national and a regional component and must provide for regional legislatures to be elected and regional governments to be established in the transition.

The powers, functions, and structures of the regions will be entrenched in the constitution, which should also include fundamental human rights on a justiciable basis. There should be a constitutional court/tribunal to ensure the justiciability of the constitutional principles, fundamental rights and of the constitution itself.

The council agreed that no parties tied themselves to the interim constitution until it was fully discussed and agreed. Agreement will depend on consensus in the council on constitutional principles.

The principles will be binding on the elected constitution-making body. The commission on regions has to finalise its recommendation on regional boundaries for regional elections during the transition phase.

The negotiators also have to reach agreement on transitional structures, such as an executive and an electoral commission. They are charged with agreement on the interim constitution and the repeal of discriminatory legislation.

The Conservative Party opposed the resolution; Ciskei and the Afrikaner Volksunie reserved their positions, and Inkatha and the KwaZulu and Bophuthatswana governments agreed on the direction of the process but wanted to see "the exact words" used in the constitution.

Nats slate ANC push for restructured police force

STEPHEN COPLAN

THE NP has criticised ANC legal adviser Matthew Phosa's demand that the Law and Order Ministry be abolished and police headquarters general staff be replaced by a multiparty civilian-dominated police directorate.

Speaking at a national peace secretariat and Police Board workshop in Johannesburg yesterday, Phosa repeated the ANC demand for Law and Order Minister Hermus Kriel to resign. He also called for the resignation of Deputy Minister Gert Myburgh and those officers with "bloody hands".

In a statement yesterday, the director of the NP's "anti-defamation campaign", MP Nick Koorhof, said Phosa's demands reflected the ANC's "communist/Nazi" characteristics. The ANC had no right to attack Kriel, under whose direction the SAP had undergone tremendous changes, or demand his resignation.

The directorate, Phosa said, would deal with daily command, control and management of the police and report to the transitional executive council's law and order subcommittee.

To solve the current crisis in police-community relations, the SAP should accept it was one of their own making, said Phosa. Police should take responsibility for their actions and realise that communities would support the police only when they supported communities.

The NP alleged that most intimidation could be linked to ANC members and supporters. The ANC rarely helped the SAP combat crime in the areas it controlled.

It said the ANC had now embarked on a "discredit a much-needed stabilising force in our country" campaign. Inkatha central committee member Ben Ngubane told the workshop joint control of security forces should be depoliticised but he questioned whether politically trained soldiers could be impartial.

SAP community relations spokesman Brig Zirk Gous said police had dramatically changed over the past three years. ADRIAN HADLAND reports Myburgh told an RSA Technikon diploma ceremony in Paarl yesterday all police training courses were being revised to adopt community policing as the central theme.

He said a new technikon diploma, compulsory for all wishing to become commissioned officers, would be introduced from next year.



● PHOSA

Numsa, Seifsa fail to agree on wage hikes

LLOYD COUTTS

TRADE union and Seifsa representatives failed to reach agreement on wages yesterday, but Numsa said some progress had been made on its demands for restructuring the steel and engineering industry.

The main agreement between employers and unions expired yesterday.

"The total agreement expired today, June 30, but in not one of the industries are we even close to agreement," said after the meeting in Johannesburg.

He said engineering sector employers had agreed to reduce their grading from 13 grades to five, with two additional grades for artisans and technicians, by 1996. National organiser Bernie Fanaroff said the reduced grading was central to Numsa's demands.

Numsa negotiations co-ordinator Chris Lloyd said employers had indicated that Numsa's vision of restructuring the industry had merit. "The problem is other parties in the industry don't see the need to restructure."

No agreement was reached on wages in this sector after management had stuck to its 6% offer, while Numsa had dismissed proposals for regional exemptions. Kettleas said the tyre industry had offered an 85c increase on actual wages or an increase to bring wages to a proposed new minimum.

Management had also offered a 7% across-the-board increase for artisans. Neither offer had been accepted. Kettleas said management had "basically agreed" to a five-grade structure in this sector, but that neither party was "in a position for final agreement".

Motor sector employers had offered minimum rates to a par with actual rates, or a 58c increase, and a 6% across-the-board increase for skilled categories.

Demands for an agency shop had not been entirely accepted, but employers had proposed a bargaining fee for non-union employees.

Security cordon for talks centre

ADRIAN HADLAND

PRETORIA — A massive security cordon would be thrown around the World Trade Centre this morning as both the ANC and AWB were expected to undertake protest marches to the seat of the negotiating council, Law and Order Minister Hernus Kriel said yesterday. (251)

Armoured vehicles, water cannons, razor wire, roadblocks, a significant security force presence and "other measures" would be employed to prevent even the formation of any protest marches, Kriel told a media conference. (304A)

Information had come to light that both the ANC and the AWB planned to march in force to the centre tomorrow, he said.

However, ANC spokesman Carl Niehaus denied that the ANC had planned any demonstration at the World Trade Centre. Kriel's allegation was "unacceptable" as it had caused tensions within the ANC.

However, police spokesman Col Johan Mostert said the SAP had information that supporters of both the ANC and the AWB would be gathering at the centre and that Umkhonto we Sizwe members would be armed with AK-47 rifles. He said only certain elements within the ANC were involved.

No one in the AWB could be reached for comment yesterday, but right-wing sources confirmed that a demonstration had been planned for Kempton Park.

Kriel said no applications had been submitted for permission to march and any protest would be treated as illegal.

"This could create a volatile situation and could lead to nasty incidents," he said. New regulations for the Kempton Park magisterial district, which is already an

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Security

B/Day

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official unrest area, were introduced last night forbidding the carrying of firearms in public.

STEPHEN COPLAN reports that ANC legal division chief Matthew Phosa warned yesterday that if right-wing violence continued, MK cadres would be armed and deployed in volatile areas. (251)

Speaking at a national peace secretariat and Police Board workshop held in Johannesburg, Phosa said: "MK cannot stand by with folded arms and watch the SAP allow things to slide into chaos." (304A)

He warned that if the right wing had no respect for the ballot box, an armed response would be the only solution.

WILSON ZWANE reports that PAC

leaders said they called off a planned mass protest at the World Trade Centre yesterday because of a tightening of security at the centre.

About 25 PAC supporters arrived to protest against the right-wing action last week. PAC negotiator Patricia de Lille said PAC followers had been asked not to come in large numbers as a precautionary measure aimed at avoiding violent incidents.

A seven-member PAC delegation led by deputy president Johnson Mlambo was allowed into the centre, where a memorandum of demands was handed to the planning committee of the multiparty talks.

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CP wins ~~Star~~ 11/7/93 Boksburg Ward 15

The Conservative Party yesterday won a municipal by-election in Boksburg by 78 votes. ~~3048~~

CP candidate Jan Botha polled 438 votes compared with National Party candidate Willie Tredoux's 360 ~~(248)~~

The percentage poll was 37,04 and there was one spoilt ballot.

The Ward 15 seat became vacant with the resignation of former Boksburg mayor T J Ferreira of the CP, who resigned from the council for financial reasons.

The NP has 10 representatives in the council. The CP has nine councillors and the Herstigte Nasionale Party one. — East Rand Bureau.

PAC hits back at Right

By Sizakele Kooma

PAN Africanist Congress vice president Mr Johnson Mlambo led about 20 members of his organisation into the World Trade Centre yesterday in protest against the invasion by rightwingers last Friday. (21/11/93)

The PAC had earlier cancelled a planned demonstration by its members at the centre, avoiding confrontation

with the security forces who had set up heavy reinforcements in and around the premises. (30/11/93)

"We wanted to show our deep concern and anger at what happened on Friday but the Government thought there was going to be an Apla invasion.

"We scaled down the numbers of protesters because we did not want our voice to be ground in the blood of our own people," Mlambo said. (30/11/93)

He said the PAC wanted the security forces to end their double standards and demanded that talks be moved to a neutral venue. The venue, he said, would be provided by the international community who would also chair the talks.

Asked if the PAC would pull out should the talks not be moved to a neutral venue, Mlambo said the PAC was evaluating and its position.

● See page 3.

NEWS Interim constitution on central and regional governments to be drawn up

Negotiations take giant leap

Sowetan 11/7/93

TALKS at the World Trade Centre took an important step forward yesterday when negotiators agreed to the drawing up of an interim constitution based on both strong central and regional governments.

"Today was probably one of the most important days in the negotiation process so far," senior Government negotiator Mr Roelf Meyer told a Press conference after the talks.

"The route map to democracy has been adopted," said African National Congress general secretary Mr Cyril Ramaphosa.

Twenty-two of the 26 parties adopted a compromise resolution spelling out the constitutional way forward.

The resolution was brokered during a flurry of

bilateral and multilateral meetings to prevent a public showdown between the parties.

"The negotiating council accordingly requests the technical committee on constitutional issues to draft a constitution for the transition," the adopted resolution states. (306/19)

Resolution was opposed

The resolution was opposed by the Conservative Party, with the Pan Africanist Congress, the KwaZulu Government and Ciskei reserving their position.

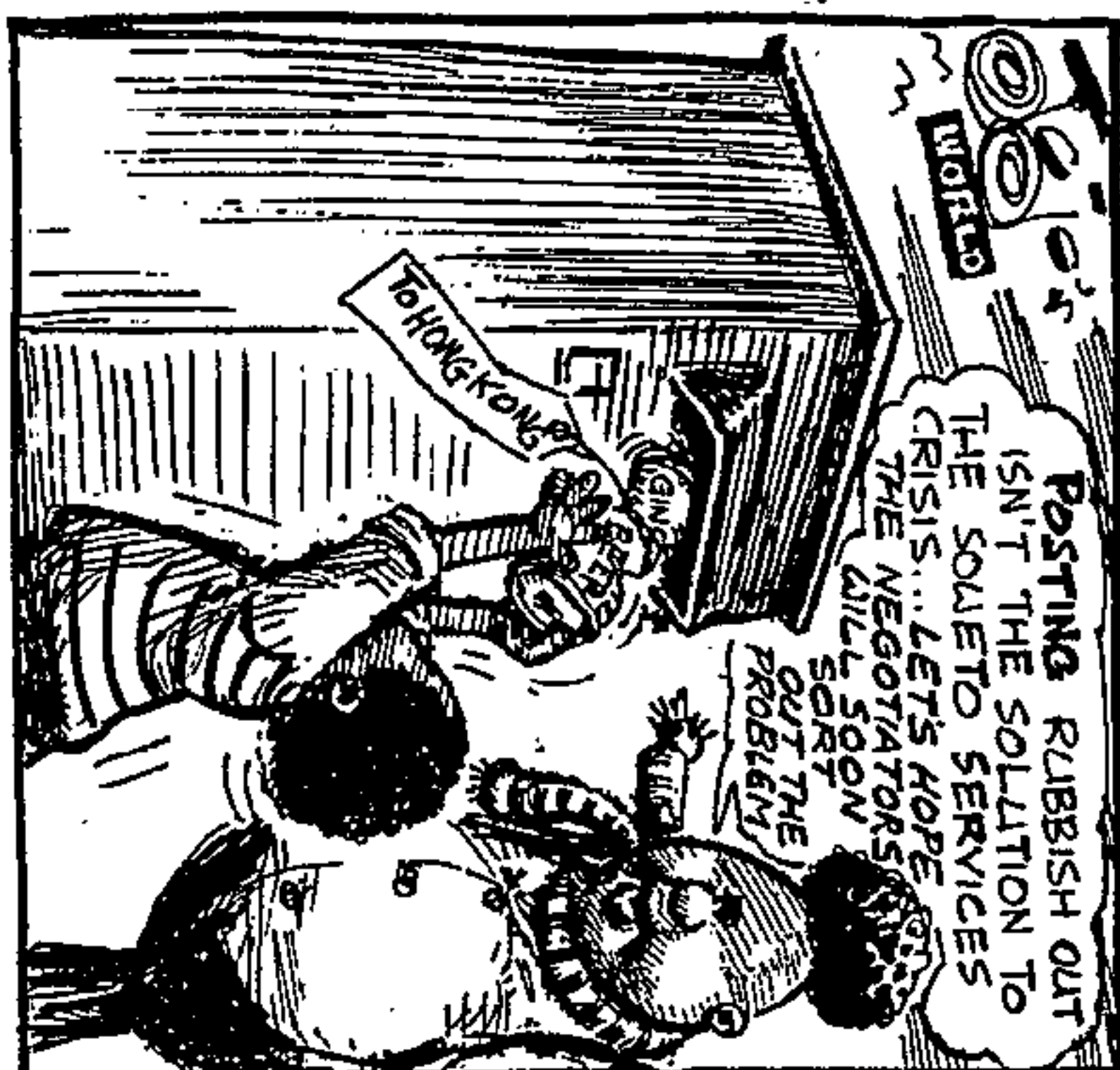
The PAC will consult with its principals today before taking a decision, while the Ciskei and KwaZulu indicated they would wait for the draft constitution before deciding.

Last night's decision is the first real compromise contained in writing between the two main camps in the negotiation process.

On the one hand there is the Government and the African National Congress and their allies and, on the other hand, the Concerned South Africans Group and one or two parties from the self-governing territories.

So far they have clashed on almost every substantive issue raised in the talks process.

Senior Bophuthatswana negotiator Rowan Croje, a member of the planning committee which finally drew up the resolution, described the adoption as "a major move forward" to resolve the two biggest differences between the two sides.



One step closer to interim govt

New deal on constitution ends impasse

B/Day 11/7/93

A BREAKTHROUGH in the negotiating process was achieved yesterday when political parties agreed on a process to draft a new constitution.

After a full day of confidential meetings between parties to reach common ground, the negotiating council instructed the technical committee to draft a "constitution for the transition". This step will allow for the election of an interim government which will finalise the constitution and govern the country during the transition.

In essence, the Inkatha Freedom Party and the Concerned South Africans Group parties get their strong regional government powers and functions entrenched in an interim constitution, while the ANC and government and their allies get the two-phased process involving an elected constituent assembly.

The agreement follows Tuesday's deadlock between Inkatha and the ANC.

The interim constitution will provide for an election on a proportional representation basis for an interim government which will finalise the constitution, legislate and govern during the transitional phase. This must include a national and a regional component and must provide for the election of regional legislatures and establishment of regional governments in the transition.

The powers, functions and structures of the regions will be entrenched in the con-

BILLY PADDOCK
and WILSON ZWANE

stitution, which should also include fundamental human rights on a justiciable basis. There should be a constitutional court/tribunal to ensure the justiciability of the constitutional principles, fundamental rights and of the constitution itself.

The council agreed that no parties tied themselves to the interim constitution until it was fully discussed and agreed. Agreement will depend on consensus in the council on constitutional principles, including provision for strong regional and national government. (304A)

The principles will be binding on the elected constitution-making body and be justiciable. The commission on regions has to finalise its recommendation on regional boundaries for regional elections during the transition phase. (32) (13)

The negotiators also have to reach agreement on transitional structures (such as a transitional executive and an independent electoral commission) and on the interim constitution and the repeal of discriminatory legislation.

The CP opposed the resolution; Ciskei and the Afrikaner Volksunie reserved their positions; and Inkatha, the KwaZulu government and the Bophuthatswana government agreed on the direction of the process but wanted to see "the exact words" used in the constitution.

Sowetan 11/7/93

Langley walks out in protest

Sowetan Correspondent

CONSERVATIVE Party chief negotiator Thomas Langley yesterday stormed out of the negotiating chamber in protest against remarks made by the chairman, Natal Indian Congress negotiator Pravin Gordhan.

After another CP negotiator, Mr Fanie Jacobs, put a question to the negotiations technical committee,

drawing attention to his faulty microphone.

Gordhan replied that the fault could have been caused by his party in last week's rightwing occupation of the chamber.

Langley rose from his seat in the back row and angrily denied it had been his party.

Gordhan withdrew his remark and apologised as Langley stormed out of the chamber. (304A)

A chairman, Langley said, should be neutral, objective and conciliatory.

Gordhan was "partisan, aggressive and prejudicial".

"I am sick and tired of it. We are forever subjected to it. I stood up in protest to draw attention to the chairman's behaviour," Langley said.

He said he would discuss his return to the council chamber with his colleagues.

Boesak accused of 'distorting' history

DENNIS CRUYWAGEN
Political Staff

ACTING Democratic Party regional chairman Mr Roger Hulley has accused ANC (Western Cape) head Dr Allan Boesak of using distorted propaganda in an attempt to compete with the DP for support among coloured people.

Mr Hulley was reacting to criticism by Dr Boesak that the DP had been "involved in apartheid".

The DP viewed the attempted smear of its proud anti-apartheid record as an indication that the ANC was deeply worried about the party's substantial and growing support on the Cape Flats.

"The public at large knows Dr Boesak's attempt to reinterpret history lacks all credi-

bility, especially in the light of the ANC's electoral alliance with the Labour Party."

With the country's first democratic elections approaching, the DP would expect such attacks, but Mr Hulley said the party would focus on what it had to offer in future.

"Comparisons of historical pedigree will get us nowhere. The DP offers the public a party untainted by violence, racism or corruption and which rejects coercion and intimidation as political methods."

The DP's advice to Dr Boesak and the ANC was to compete on policies for the future.

"We suspect he is looking backwards because the ANC is deeply divided when it tries to look forward."

Helen Suzman to head UK foundation

The Argus Foreign Service

LONDON. — Former South African politician Helen Suzman is to head a foundation in Britain to provide for the advancement of the ideals of liberal democracy in South Africa.

The Helen Suzman Foundation — which also aims to assist in the establishment and maintenance of a democratic form of government in South Africa — will be launched next Wednesday.

Speakers at the launch will include Mrs Suzman herself, British MP Sir David Steel and Democratic Party MP Peter Soal.

Mrs Suzman, who was MP for Houghton between 1953 and 1989, will act as patron of the foundation.



Mrs Suzman

SOUTH AFRICA 11/7/93

Row over registering parties for election

□ Government 'jumping the gun' says ANC

Political Staff

THE government and the ANC clashed today on the issue of political movements registering for the coming election.

Minister of Home Affairs Danie Schutte said the government believed that any political organisation which intended taking part in the election should not only register as a political party but should also register with a view to taking part in the election.

ANC spokesman Carl Niehaus said the government was jumping the gun. Such matters would still have to be negotiated.

Mr Schutte said the consequence of such registration would be that the political parties would subject themselves to relevant codes, qualifications, rules and regulations and election procedures.

It was inconceivable that in an election held on a proportional representation basis the particulars of any political group could be included on a ballot paper and that it could submit candidate lists without first being registered as a political party.

Registration was a prerequisite for the levelling of the playing field.

The government had already submitted a draft Electoral

Bill to the Negotiation Forum in which the registration of political parties was proposed.

The technical committee at the negotiations had also proposed that an independent electoral commission should register parties.

Mr Niehaus said the ANC wanted to enter the election as a liberation movement. It did not accept present legislation dealing with elections.

The government could in the meantime not take unilateral decisions on this.

All the rules and procedures to do with an election were still matters for negotiation and eventually for the independent electoral commission.

'Struggle' depends on talks outcome

ARG 11/7/93

The Argus Correspondent

JOHANNESBURG. — The outcome of multiparty talks would determine whether the exiled Black Consciousness Movement of Azania continues with the "armed struggle", a spokesman for the movement has said.

The spokesman read a "position paper" on behalf of the movement at a two-day seminar in Johannesburg yesterday on the "Armed struggle/action: its relevance to the transitional period and the post apartheid era".

The seminar was hosted by the Community Development Foundation.

Participants were generally pessimistic about the success of negotiations at the World Trade Centre.

Mr Mac Maharaj of the ANC and General Pieter Hendrik Groenewald of the Afrikaner Volksfront, who were billed as speakers, did not attend.

The movement said the armed struggle was not a matter which a group of people could decide upon. It was by and large imposed upon the people by the ruling classes.

"So it depends entirely upon the content of the product, or commodity if you will, that will come out of Kempton Park; whether or not armed struggle will continue to be the order of the day."

Mr Siphos Maseko of the University of the Western Cape's Political Studies Department said that for the past three decades armed struggle had been embraced as one of the ways to obtain a political settlement.

Govt cannot decide election rules → ANC

AN INDEPENDENT election commission, not the NP government, would determine the arrangements for the forthcoming democratic elections, the ANC said yesterday. *B/Day 2/7/93*

It rejected as unacceptable a statement by Home Affairs Minister Danie Schutte that all political organisations would have to register as parties in order to contest the elections, Sapa reports. *(204A)*

"The ANC will not allow the NP government to unilaterally determine the arrangements for the elections."

Electoral arrangements were currently the subject of multiparty negotiations and government could, therefore, not pronounce unilaterally on the matter. It had to accept that negotiations brought the obligation to heed the views of others. *(204A)*

GERALD REILLY reports from Pretoria that Schutte also said recently government had submitted to the negotiating forum a draft electoral Bill which provided for the registration of parties and their participation in elections.

The technical committee on the independent electoral commission had also proposed the commission should be responsible for the registrations.

Schutte said all major players he had discussed the issue with agreed groupings should register.

He stressed registered parties would be subject to all relevant ethical codes, qualification rules and regulations applying to electoral procedures.

"It is inconceivable in an election held on a proportional representation basis that political groupings could be included in a ballot paper and submit candidate lists without being registered."

He added: "To ensure a level political playing field for all in the election, it is of paramount importance that parties subject themselves to the same rules and regulations."

Police phalanx guards talks — no 'bloodbath'

JOHANNESBURG. — A formidable security phalanx was thrown around the World Trade Centre yesterday. But the possible "bloodbath" between the AWB and the ANC mooted on Wednesday night by Law and Order Minister Mr Hernus Kriel failed to materialise. CT 217193 (304A)

Hundreds of police guarded the razor-wire encircled talks venue and patrolled on horseback and in armoured cars. Snipers, too, were on the alert. But all was quiet on the negotiations front. (217193)

Talks showdown

3048
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By ANTHONY JOHNSON
Political Correspondent

JOHANNESBURG. — A battle royal is expected at multi-party negotiations today when the high-powered Negotiating Forum meets at the World Trade Centre here to confirm April 27 next year as election day.

The government and the ANC alliance were determined last night that the poll date would be nailed down at today's session — which takes place hours before President F W de Klerk and Mr Nelson Mandela meet US President Bill Clinton in Washington. But defiant members of the Concerned SA Group (Cosag) led by Inkatha yesterday vowed to "vehemently" oppose what they regard as a government/ANC bid to "steamroller" a decision on the election date before key constitutional issues are settled. Tensions — and suspicions — between the two major camps were

Battle royal expected Over firm polling date

heightened last night when the Negotiating Council adopted a resolution calling for a start to drafting legislation dealing with the highly contentious Transitional Executive Council.

The resolution was passed when its key opponents — Inkatha, the KwaZulu government and the Conservative Party — were not present in the debating chamber. Other Cosag members such as the Afrikaner Volksunie and governments of Ciskei and Bophuthatswana opposed the resolution.

The major power blocs at the multi-

party talks held strategy sessions until late into the night while the 10-member Planning Committee met in a bid to defuse the looming showdown.

CP sources said the party could stage a walk-out today if the election date issue was forced through but would consult with its Cosag partners before settling on a final counter-strategy.

Some Cosag negotiators predicted that today's showcase session could degenerate into an acrimonious "fiasco" and a "showdown" and that "much

of the positive progress made in recent weeks could be spoiled."

However, the government's chief negotiator, Mr Roelf Meyer, told the Cape Times late last night that the government — following consultation with the ANC and other parties — would put forward a compromise proposal today which should serve to take some of the wind out of Cosag's sails.

In essence, the 26-party Negotiating Forum, will be asked to confirm the April 27 date subject to the satisfac-

tory finalisation of the still-to-be-negotiated interim constitution — hopefully by mid-August.

This is seen as the most effective counter to Cosag's "blank cheque" argument.

The pro-election date bloc will argue that agreements already reached on how to deal with violence, the process for drafting the constitution and a wide range of broad constitutional principles endorsed at yesterday's Negotiating Council meeting constitute sufficient progress to back the finalisation of a poll date.

Their case was strengthened last night when the Negotiating Council adopted a resolution calling for the drafting of legislation to create a Transitional Executive Council (TEC).

But the move is expected to prove controversial because of the absence of key Cosag members from the council at the time.

A top government source said last night that if the Inkatha and KwaZulu delegations failed to return from Umtali and boycotted today's negotiating forum meeting, Chief Mangosuthu Buthelezi was "asking for trouble".

Volksfront, AWB clash likely

Biday 21/1/93
DIRK VAN EEDEN

SPARKS are expected to fly between AWB leader Eugene Terre'Blanche and top office-holders of the Afrikaner Volksfront when they meet today to discuss the storming of the World Trade Centre in Kempton Park a week ago.

The Volksfront leaders are expected to tell Terre'Blanche to fall in line with the discipline set down by the organisation's directorate.

They are also expected to tell him that AWB members will not be allowed to attend future Volksfront rallies clad in their distinctive camouflage uniforms.

This will be the second time the Volksfront executive committee has discussed the World Trade Centre incident, allegedly led by Terre'Blanche and members of his personal guard, the Ystergarde.

Even though Terre'Blanche is a member of the committee, he did not personally attend the first meeting, which was held on Tuesday.

Sources close to the Volksfront said yesterday that today's meeting was expected to be "extremely tough".

After the first meeting, CP leader and Volksfront chairman Ferdi Hartzenberg said a second meeting had to be called to "discuss certain issues with certain elements within the Volksfront".

The two organisations will hold their own separate media conferences after the meeting.

According to the invitation to the AWB conference, the relationship between the AWB and the Volksfront, the events at the World Trade Centre last Friday, and possible future actions are to be discussed.

The sources said this was a sure sign that the AWB's continued membership of the Volksfront was not certain.

Volksfront directorate chairman Gen Constand Viljoen has already condemned the forced entry into the centre, calling it "unfortunate and undisciplined".

The continued AWB membership of the Volksfront had also come under pressure from within the AWB, the sources said.

Koppies agreement

THE ANC consumer boycott of Koppies and the blockade of the town by right-wing Action Committee members were called off late on Wednesday night after a marathon meeting between the parties.

The ANC, Koppies Action Committee, regional peace committee and the Koppies Town Council said they were all thrilled with the outcome.

The parties agreed to lift all consumer boycotts, stayaways and counter actions immediately.

They also agreed that the local peace committee should be reinstituted and restructured and in future special procedures should precede boycotts, stayaways or marches.

As a result of the agreement an ANC march planned for yesterday went ahead after it had been banned on Wednesday.

About 3 000 people marched from Kwakwetsi to the Koppies showgrounds and the local branch of the ANC Women's League handed a memorandum to the police.

Police said the march had been peaceful, but that arsonists marred the event, when fire was set to an old barn and tyres. — Sapa.

Eikenhof killing suspects appear in court

JONATHAN DAVIS

FOUR people suspected of the AK-47 attack in March on motorists at Eikenhof, south of Johannesburg, appeared in the Meyerton Magistrate's Court yesterday.

The case was remanded until August 2 to allow the attorney-general to determine under what charges they should be prosecuted, state prosecutor Susan van Deventer said.

Paulus Molakwane, 21, was released on bail of R3 000 and David Masalemane, 39, on bail of R200. Moses Thebogo Ramafikeng, 23, was unable to attend the hearing and was remanded in absentia. A 16-year-

old youth was released into the custody of his parents.

The four, said to be ANC members, are suspected of the attack in which Sandra Mitchley, 35, her son Shaun Nel, 14, and Clare Silbauer, 13, all of Eikenhof, were killed.

Three other suspects arrested in connection with the shooting — Siphiwe James Bholo, 24, Samuel Siphon "Fish" Gavin, 29, and Piti Boy Ndwene, 19 — will appear in the Vereeniging Circuit Court on Monday.

Goldstone papers over cracks — Holomisa

TRANSKEI military leader Maj-Gen Bantu Holomisa has launched a scathing attack on the Goldstone commission for allegedly ignoring evidence of security force complicity in political violence.

Addressing a two-day conference in Harare on "Sustainable Peace and Stability in SA", he claimed the commission could not command the support and respect of the black majority because of the manner in which it had treated evidence of military intelligence funding and training of Inkatha volunteers.

"Goldstone is merely papering over the cracks. The commission is a sham instrument to bluff and delude black South Africans and the interna-

tional community into believing that President F W de Klerk is perturbed at the slaughter of blacks when in reality his security forces foment the violence."

According to a copy of his speech made available in Johannesburg, Holomisa said De Klerk had publicly admitted security force members were involved in violence.

Revelations of security force complicity in the so-called black-on-black violence and the continued public display of weapons and provocative acts by white right-wingers had the potential to trigger off a race war in SA.

Discussing the reorganisation and restructuring of the SADF, Holomisa said it was imperative that a transitional executive council be estab-

lished immediately to exercise full control over all armed forces.

The integration of the TBVC armies, Umkhonto we Sizwe and Apla with the SADF would restore the SADF's credibility and legitimise it as a national defence force.

However, Holomisa warned homeland governments and the liberation movements not to accede to the integration of their forces before an acceptable political settlement had been achieved.

He said current bilateral negotiations on this issue between the SA government, the homelands and the ANC should be terminated and the matter referred to the multiparty negotiating forum instead. — Sapa.

*Last week's right wing
attack was a mere
curtain-raiser to a
militant strategy
known as 'Plan C'*

How talks broke the logjam

THE African National Congress bent over backwards this week to ensure that the country will go to the polls next year.

ANC negotiators at the World Trade Centre had to tackle a white party proposing a constitution for an imaginary country and a stubborn black party refusing to accept the idea of

electing constitution-makers.

The National Party's Roelf Meyer and Dawie de Villiers had every reason to smile broadly after Wednesday night's "breakthrough". Federalism, as everyone knows, is exactly what the NP wants. And that was exactly what they got.

● Grasping the nettle. See PAGE 3

Wm and 217-817193



The day Inkatha suddenly recognised reality

21 Day 21/7/92

EQUILIBRIUM and reality suddenly struck home this week in the minds of the Inkatha Freedom Party and the Concerned South Africans Group (Cosag) negotiators. And they had to compromise.

The compromise has made it possible for an interim constitution to be ready by mid-August, with a transitional executive in place and sanctions officially called off by the ANC.

The seeds of the compromise came from the technical committee that has repeatedly warned negotiators they were on essentially two incompatible paths and had to all move and find a bridge.

They came up with the equilibrium proposal last week and refined it further on Monday.

The proposal marries a two-phased process of interim government elections, in which a constituent assembly would finalise the constitution, with the regional demands of Inkatha and its allies in Cosag.

It entrenches strong regional government in the interim constitution and holds out the possibility of regions having their own constitutions. A technical committee member said last week if the idea of equilibrium

and the full meaning of this could get through to Inkatha president Mangosuthu Buthelezi, a settlement would be possible.

Most Inkatha negotiators are entitled to believe they have got just about everything they wanted.

Why did it take so long? What caused the turnaround in the past 48 hours that could not have happened 10 days earlier?

Maybe Buthelezi's pique at not being part of the US medal ceremony with President F W de Klerk and ANC president Nelson Mandela had worn off; the process had been sufficiently delayed to prevent agreement on a transitional executive, denying his political opponents the kudos that would have come to them this weekend with an announcement by President Bill Clinton that sanctions were lifted.

Another, more likely, explanation is that the power axis among the Inkatha negotiators has shifted. This depends on which group has Buthelezi's ear, and the "more reasonable" Joe Matthews and Frank Mdaloase are moving into ascendancy over the more hardline Walter Felgate and his foreign adviser Mario Ambrossini.

BILLY PADDOCK

It is clear that when Matthews or Mdaloase are negotiating, there is a more conciliatory approach and a search for solutions than when Felgate is in the chair, fighting tooth and nail on every possible point.

It is also understood that Matthews left the negotiating chamber on Tuesday evening to phone Buthelezi, that on Wednesday the green light was glowing in Umlund, and Buthelezi decided it is time to seek a compromise.

Felgate stormed out of the World Trade Centre on Wednesday. His departure came after an altercation with Cosag partner Rowan Cronje of Bophuthatswana, when it was decided that Matthews would be the Inkatha negotiator in the bilateral and multilateral meetings that preceded the compromise.

Cronje played an important part in the turnaround. A shrewd politician, he paved the way for a resolution "to break the deadlock" on Tuesday night.

A decision on the resolution was never taken, but it was the basis of

Wednesday's breakthrough. It said the equilibrium proposal was the best way forward after Felgate had rejected the technical committee's report and proposal.

Reality struck home on Tuesday night. That night's "deadlock" was clearly fabricated.

There was no evidence of it developing any differently from the preceding weeks, but suddenly ANC secretary-general Cyril Ramaphosa launched an attack on Felgate and declared a deadlock. SACP negotiator Joe Slovo did likewise and said: "We need another Lewis Carroll to write Alice in Wonderland or rather Felgate in KwaZulu."

They were clearly indicating to Inkatha that they had to join the real world. The ANC and its allies had compromised as much as they could and were not going further.

Over the past seven weeks the ANC and its allies as well as government became increasingly irritated with Inkatha's filibustering and holding out on a settlement, while they were conceding ground.

The DP's Colin Eglin said the DP and other parties had made considerable concessions. "I would like to ask those parties

that reject the two-phase approach -- what are you prepared to compromise?" Eglin said.

Cronje called for parties to sleep on the proposal and discuss it on Wednesday. He said it was a very important document with implications that could be seen more clearly the next day.

He also, "was intimating that it was time to caucus and discuss the proposal with principals. He knew the time had come to compromise."

There had been lobbying at a variety of levels all week and it became clear to all in the chamber that the equilibrium proposal was the closest they were going to get to one another. The parties had succeeded in avoiding a breakdown once more by last-minute, quiet negotiations rather than fighting in the open.

Wednesday's deal makes today's forum meeting easier and more likely to succeed. Parties are likely to approve April 27 1994 as the election date for the interim government. But this is likely to be combined with a declaration based on Wednesday's deal that several conditions, including justiciable principles of regional government, had to be met before the elections could take place.

IMF willing to lend to SA, conditional on

R2,8-billion

political pact

loan

APR 2/8/93

PETER FABRICIUS
The Argus Foreign Service

WASHINGTON. — South Africa could get a loan of \$850 million (R2 839 million) from the International Monetary Fund as early as November if negotiators reach agreement within three to six weeks on a transitional executive council and an election date.

President De Klerk disclosed this last night on the eve of his and ANC leader Nelson Mandela's meetings today with President Clinton.

Mr De Klerk revealed the availability of the loan after successful meetings with IMF managing director Michel Camdessus, the World Bank and big American corporations.

Mr De Klerk said he would go home with the message that South Africa was on the threshold of long-term World Bank support.

And several of the corporate leaders he had met, many of whom had disinvested, were planning to reinvest, he said.

Mr De Klerk said he thought that a negotiations agreement was possible within three weeks.

It is estimated that the IMF loan could save South Africa nearly \$30 million (R100 million) a year in interest alone as it would probably be offered at prime rates.

Observers believe the IMF loan would lend financial respectability and would reassure the international financial establishment that South Africa is a good credit risk.

The loan would be a Compensatory and Contingency Financing Facility (CCFF), a category of credit aimed at helping a country get over a special balance of payments problem.

The drought has placed a strain on foreign reserves because it has wiped out the export surplus and made food imports necessary.

The IMF has assessed that South Africa requires \$850 million to address this problem in the year to June 1993.

But South Africa must complete the formalities of the loan bid within six months.

Because the formalities will take time, this imposes a much earlier deadline for a negotiated settlement — Mr De Klerk estimated three to six weeks.

Before granting the loan, the IMF wants to see agreement on a TEC and election date and also broad consensus among South African parties on the need for the loan.

Yesterday Mr Mandela firmly quashed hopes that he might issue a call for the lifting of sanctions during his visit.

Speaking to reporters in between meetings with Congress Africa specialists, Mr Mandela said: "There can be no question of me making an announcement during this visit."

He said that even if negotiators reached agreement today at the World Trade Centre on a transitional executive council and a date for elections, the ANC's national executive would have to meet before the go-ahead could be given for sanctions to be lifted.

NEWS Alleged failure to pay fine • Negotiations forum to ratify agreements

Winnie facing arrest

Sowetan 21-7-93

Sowetan Correspondent

A WARRANT for the arrest of Winnie Mandela has been issued following her failure to pay the R15 000 fine which was imposed by the Appeal Court in Bloemfontein on June 2.

However, the chief registrar of the Rand Supreme Court, Mr Mathys Lourens, said yesterday that as far as he could ascertain Mandela had not yet been taken into custody.

Mandela's conviction for kidnapping was upheld by the Appeal Court in Bloemfontein but she was given the option of paying a fine of R15 000 instead of having to serve an effective six years in jail.

She faces a year's imprisonment in default of payment.

She was also ordered to pay R5 000 compensation to each of the surviving kidnap victims.

The charges arose from the kidnapping of 14-year-old activist Stompie Seipei, Kenneth Kgase, who was then aged 29, Thabiso Mono (then 19) and Gabriel Pelo Mekgwe (then 19) from the Methodist Church manse in Orlando West, Soweto, on January 6 1989.

The full Bench of the Appeal Court set aside Mandela's 1991 conviction on four charges of being an accessory to assault after the fact.

Avoid jail

Lourens said, however, Mandela could still avoid going to jail if she or her lawyer made representations before a judge to ask for an extension or to arrange for payment to be made in instal-

ments.

The registrar also confirmed that the deadline for the payment of the R15 000 compensation money was today and if Mandela did not comply with the court order another warrant for her arrest would be issued.

Mandela's co-accused in the kidnapping trial, Xoliswa Falati (39) started a two-year jail term on June 9 this year after her conviction was upheld by the Appeal Court.

Falati was sentenced in May 1991 to six years imprisonment for the kidnapping and assault with intent to do grievous bodily harm.

On appeal the sentence was reduced to four years, of which two were suspended.

She is serving her sentence at Diepkloof Prison near Soweto.

Vote on a new SA

Sowetan 21-7-93

By Themba Molefe

THE larger negotiating forum is set to ratify decisions establishing a new constitutional order when 208 negotiators meet at the World Trade Centre today.

The negotiating forum is an extension of the 26-party Negotiating Council which has been meeting since April 1 and has made decisions described broadly as major breakthroughs.

Chiefly, the forum is expected to endorse an agreement that the country's first non-racial elections be held not later than next April 27.

Also, agreement has been reached that a transitional executive council with legislative powers be put in place as the country moves into a democratic transition.

However, the TECs, which were ex-

pected to have been agreed upon yesterday, should have "teeth" and the only means to do this would be by having the present Government passing legislation.

However, Parliament is presently in recess and the State President, Mr F.W. de Klerk, is expected to announce the opening of a special session in September. (SOWETAN)

Chief negotiator

The Government's chief negotiator, Mr Roelf Meyer, has said the TECs could be put in place without necessarily passing legislation, thus raising concern that the TECs would be "advisory" bodies.

Yesterday, the negotiating council was expected to receive a motion from the Government that the Pan Africanist Congress be expelled from the process because of its refusal to abandon arms.

STAMP IT MAN! I'M NOT

me 50



THE WHITE RIGHT

Believing in fairies

FM 2/7/93

(304A)

The attack on the World Trade Centre last Friday is important — not because it heralds the destruction of the negotiating process or a rightwing coup, but for what it revealed about our politics.

It has to be admitted that the thuggish occupation had a chilling symbolic effect — but the ugly images must be placed in perspective.

The unease stems from the way in which the centre has appropriated some of the imagery of sovereignty — because it is in Kempton Park, not Cape Town, that the future of the country is being hammered out.

But parliament does remain sovereign, if a little shakily at present, and it is probably just as well that the rightwingers revealed their true nature at the ersatz assembly rather than the real one. As a result, the seemingly more scholarly and fastidious rightwingers, in the CP and the more moderate Afrikaner Volksunie, have been placed on the horns of a dilemma.

If the CP and AVU do not refuse to be associated with the brownshirt thugs of the Afrikaner Weerstandsbeweging, they will be discredited as condoning crude fascism. If they do distance themselves, thus depriving the AWB-types of even a shred of intellectual credibility, their vague threats of action will sound hollow indeed.

The greatest damage was not the broken glass or the assault on the dignity of Amichand Rajbansi, who was slapped by a masked thug. The major casualty was the credibility of Gen Constand Viljoen, leader of the Afrikaner Volksfront.

The appearance of Viljoen, some years after retirement from a distinguished military career, appeared to be a lifeline to the rightwingers. This was not some neo-Nazi toy colonel, but a respected SADF combat general.

It is common cause that Viljoen did not plan the invasion of the World Trade Centre. What is more important is that he was powerless to stop it. To his credit, and in contrast to the CP MPs who stood by, he did make an attempt. But this slightly built, blue-suited figure with a megaphone was simply ignored by the storm-troopers.

Viljoen now probably understands why Andries Treurnicht, founder of the CP in 1982, always avoided calling the AWB to heel — there was an overwhelming danger that they would ignore him. But Treurnicht was a wily and seasoned politician. Viljoen,

in contrast, has appeared politically naive and credulous. He admitted that the Volksfront demonstration had been thoroughly planned and at no time had the AWB indicated its plans to invade the centre.

The issue was due to be discussed by the Volksfront as the *FM* went to press. But nothing less than the expulsion of AWB leader Eugene Terre'Blanche and his grim band will restore any credibility to Viljoen.

The other aspect of the violence is the attitude of the police. At the talks the previous evening it was agreed that only five rightwing representatives should be allowed in to hand over a petition. This was the form with previous demos at the centre. Though it is legal to carry licensed firearms, apparently a request was made for rightwingers to leave their guns in their cars. The police say they accepted assurances from Viljoen and other rightwing leaders.

Despite all the outrage, the police decision not to shoot was probably wise. It might have unleashed a terrible firefight among the thin partitions of the Meccano-like construction, injuring or killing delegates and others.

A young plain-clothes member of the SAP described to the *FM* how, at one point, the AWB was confronted by police. Pointing to a spot in the corridor outside the NP offices — which are sandwiched between the chamber and the government suite, in which the delegates were hiding — the policeman explained that he and other colleagues, down on one knee with rifles cocked, issued a warning to the advancing marauders: "One more step and we'll open fire." Whereupon



the armed, black-masked Aquila guards of the AWB halted in their tracks. If just one person (on either side) had lost his nerve at that moment, said the policeman, "there would have been a bloodbath."

The *FM* asked CP MP and negotiator Fanie Jacobs where he believes that last Friday's demonstration has advanced the CP's cause. "I think some people have come to realise that no lasting peace will be attained without the self-determination of the Afrikaner people being realised."

On the AWB's behaviour, Jacobs had this to say: "We in the CP make a very clear distinction. We say you cannot achieve the freedom of your people by slapping others, by attacking individuals ..."

When it was pointed out to him that CP leader Ferdi Hartzenberg was standing by as the armoured vehicle drove through the glass door and did nothing to stop it, Jacobs replied: "That's not true. I saw Dr Hartzenberg and Gen Viljoen asking the people not to go inside."

□ There was talk among negotiators that the Volksfront would stage another demonstration today. ■

SEPARATISM

Foot in the door

Government still believes the CP can be swayed to accept something less than a separate Afrikaner state, which would be along the (nonracial) lines proposed by Andries Beyers's Afrikaner Volksunie. This, in the words of a government source, could "entail a state, within a unitary federal system, in which there may be a dominating Afrikaner interest in a part of the country dominated by Afrikaner interests."

The NP, which sits as a separate delegation at the talks, has formally submitted a proposal to this effect to the regional boundary delimitation commission set up by the negotiating council. The NP identifies a region in the north-west Cape — more or less in line with the proposal by Carel Boshoff's Avstig movement. But what government and the NP — and the ANC certainly — will not endorse is the CP's demand for a separate racial state in a confederal system.

Nor will Inkatha, whose Joe Mathews said in last week's debate on the CP's demand: "It requires a great deal of patience to hear that we're dealing not with the freedom of the black people, but Afrikaner self-determination ... This looks as if it is only an issue because of the impending democratisation of this country ... The vast majority are very impatient with any suggested break-up of this country. We fought like mad for the CP to come here and put their case in the interests of democracy, but that's not to say there are not powerful arguments against their concept."

The rightwing delegates took great umbrage when Stella Sigcau (Cape Traditional Leaders) suggested tongue in cheek that perhaps Robben Island might be considered as an Afrikaner homeland. The CP, meanwhile, was this week due to give the council an idea of where it thinks an Afrikaner-only

Council adopts key principles

Parties start work on new constitution

B1 Day 21/1/93
304A

THE skeleton of SA's future constitution began to take shape at the World Trade Centre yesterday with the adoption of key constitutional principles by the multiparty negotiations council.

Negotiators spent most of the day debating the principles, which according to a resolution adopted on Wednesday, will be entrenched in a "first" or interim constitution as well as the country's final constitution, Sapa reports.

Delegates agreed that the constitution be the supreme law of the land, that there be a separation of legislative, executive and judicial powers and that the judiciary be independent and impartial.

Representative government embracing multiparty democracy, regular elections, universal adult suffrage, a common voters' roll and proportional representation also found favour with negotiators.

After much debate, parties agreed that the collective rights of self-determination in the formation and maintenance of civil society be recognised and protected. Delegates accepted that all should enjoy universally accepted fundamental rights, freedom and civil liberties, protected by the constitution.

They also agreed that the legal system should ensure the equality of all before the law and an equitable legal process.

Traditional leadership according to indigenous law should be recognised and protected in the constitution. However, it would be subject to fundamental rights contained in the constitution.

A CP-proposed constitutional principle was referred to a technical committee for formulation. The principle sought to ac-

LLOYD COUTTS

knowledge the right of self-determination, which would allow own political status through legislative and executive powers in the form of territorial independence and autonomy.

Delegates agreed that provision be made for freedom of information to allow open and accountable administration at all levels of government. They decided that each level of government should have appropriate and adequate legislation and executive powers and functions to enable them to function effectively.

The allocation of powers between different levels of government should be made on a basis conducive to financial viability at each level and to effective public administration.

Delegates decided a framework for local government powers, duties and functions should be set up in the constitution.

The powers and functions of the national and regional levels of government should include exclusive and concurrent powers, and the power to perform functions for other levels of government on an agency or delegation basis.

They decided that a commission representing each of the regions should recommend equitable allocations to the regional governments from revenue collected nationally. This would be done by taking into account the national interest and disparities within the regional governments, as well as population and developmental needs, administrative responsibilities and other legitimate interests of the regional governments.

● Comment: Page 6

'NP can't call elections tune'

JOHANNESBURG. — An independent election commission, not the National Party government, would determine the arrangements for the elections, the African National Congress said yesterday. (SOLHA)

The ANC rejected as unacceptable a statement by the Minister of Home Affairs, Mr Danie Schutte, that all political organisations would have to register as parties to contest the elections. — Sapa

No power-sharing

w/m ail 217-817/93

By CHRIS LOUW

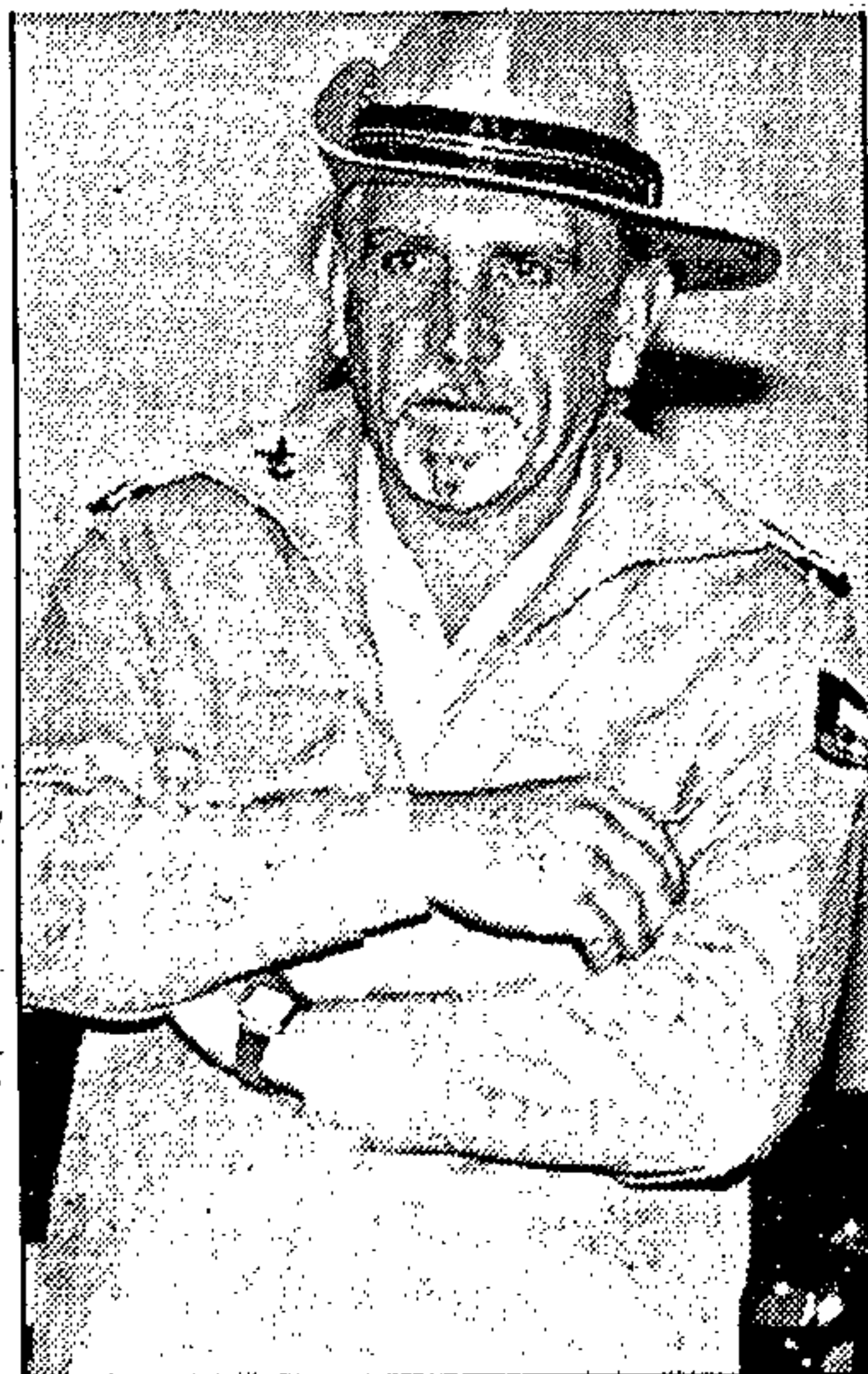
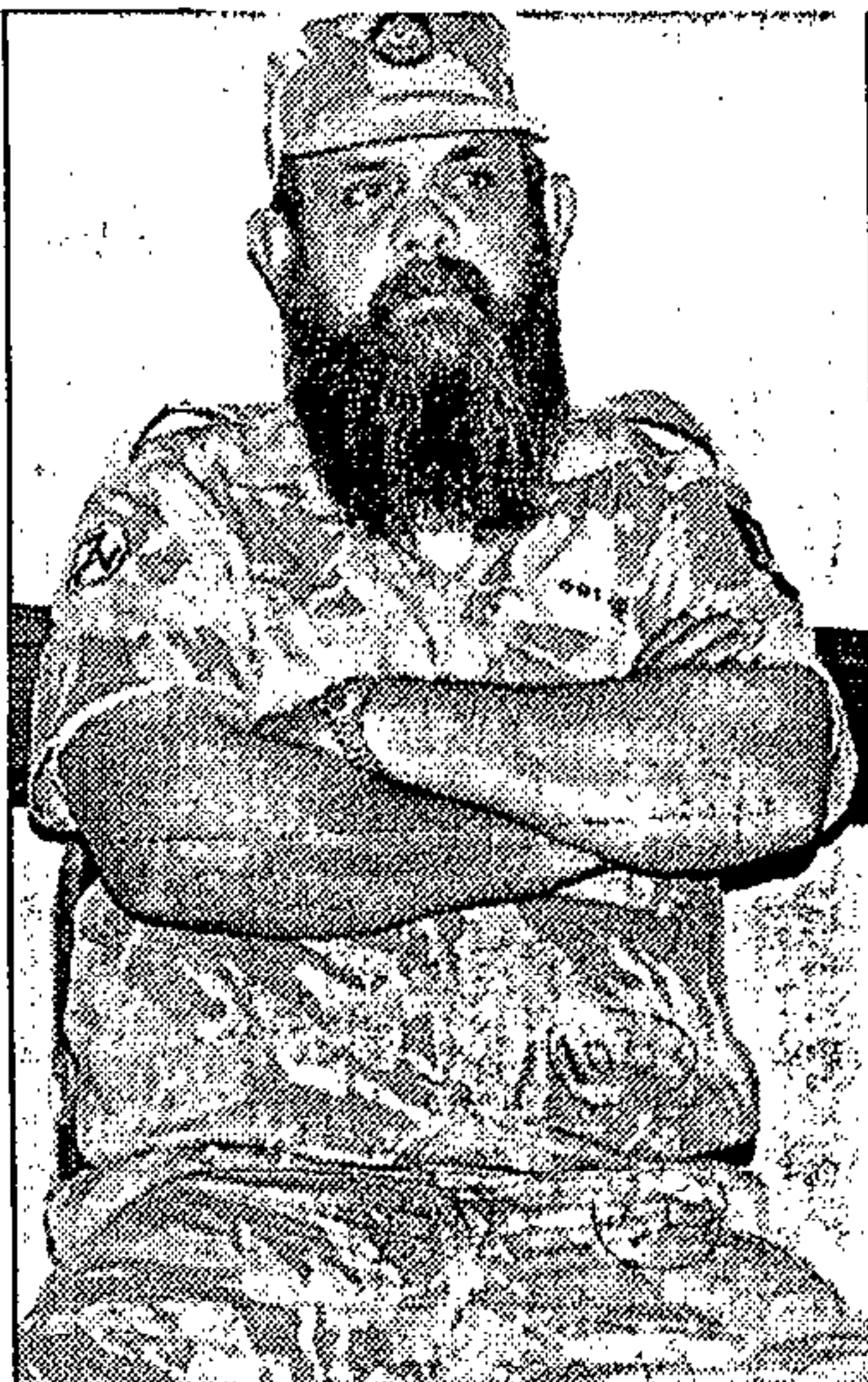
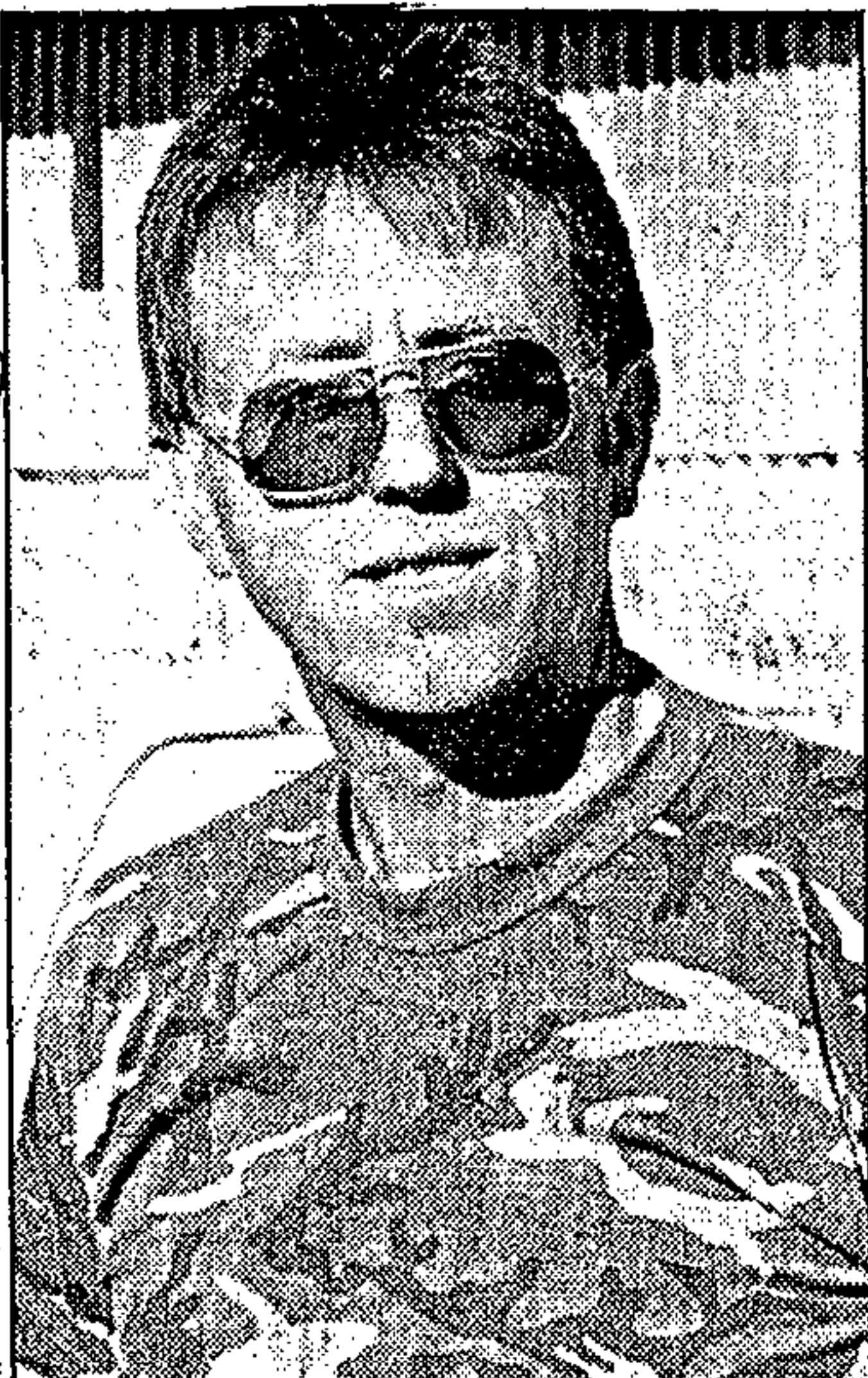
PRESIDENT FW de Klerk this week in Austria confirmed that the government had abolished its plans for "enforced power-sharing". A multi-party cabinet, he said, would only exist in the transition period, which will last about five years. (304A)

The Weekly Mail last week revealed that the NP has gone back on its referendum promise that power-sharing would be entrenched in a future constitution.

De Klerk told the Austrian parliamentary association in Vienna that proportional representation in the cabinet would only apply during the transition. He said that in this period "special positions" should be created for the leaders of the major parties. But a "forced coalition" could not be written into a final constitution.

This constitutes a significant departure from the constitutional proposals handed in by the government at the negotiations last month. Proportional representation in a future cabinet by representatives of all major parties would be entrenched in the "constitutional principles", according to these.

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Eddie von Maltitz ... AWB Free State member

'General' Hagar Thompson ... AWB east Rand

Andrew Ford ... Boere Weerstandsbeweging

Protest a 'mobilising success'

Wimail 2/7-8/7/93

By JAN TALJAARD

THE stage may have been hogged by Afrikaner Weerstandsbeweging chief Eugene Terre'Blanche — but lesser-known rightwing activists were central to last week's protest at the World Trade Centre.

By rightist standards, the protest — as opposed to the storming of the centre — was a mobilising success. Significantly, more than the estimated

3 000 protesters could have turned up if negotiations had not been postponed that day.

With the AWB's biggest single commando situated on the east Rand under the leadership of "general" Hagar Thompson, the strong AWB presence came as no surprise. What was perhaps surprising was the large AWB contingent from the Free State.

This group included people like

"general" Dirk Ackerman. Other rightwingers from the Free State that featured prominently were AWB chief of staff Alec Cruywagen and his wife, Ansie, Eddie von Maltitz and a host of minor characters.

Also strongly represented was the northern Transvaal region, with firebrands Leonard Venter and other members of the Boere Krisis Aksie featuring on the day of the meeting as

well as in the pre-rally organisation.

The Boere Weerstandsbeweging was represented by Andrew Ford.

Controversial former kwaNdebele police commissioner Brigadier Hertzog Lerm, now based in the Warmbaths region, also chose the opportunity to resurface.

Also vital to the turnout were the four generals comprising the directorate of the Afrikaner Volksfront. Although organised at relatively short notice, the rally was preceded by countrywide canvassing and at least 14 meetings addressed by the generals.

Starting off with a meeting in Port Elizabeth on June 11, they covered large parts of the country.

At one such meeting, jointly addressed by generals Constand Viljoen and Tienie Groenewald in Nelspruit before last Friday's events, thousands of enthusiastic supporters turned up.

Leaflets announcing the rally were distributed on Tuesday, June 22, at the rugby match between northern Transvaal and the visiting French team.

A Kimberley telephone number was also circulated in rightwing circles. A tape recorded message exhorting people to go to Kempton Park awaited the caller on the other end of the line.

International experts find police ill-prepared

Wimail 2/7-8/7/93

By STEPHEN LAUFER

THE police were naive to rely on agreements with rightwing marchers who stormed the World Trade Centre, says a European police expert.

Contingency planning should have assumed that they would violate undertakings to keep their demonstration peaceful and orderly. And once they reneged on their undertakings, the police should have been in a position to deal with the onslaught.

Said a police source within the EC Observer Mission: "Detailed pre-planning should have foreseen how attractive a high-profile venue such as the WTC would have been to rightwing protesters. It should have been assumed that they presented a threat, and preparations should have been

made accordingly."

Crowd situations required the police to demonstrate clearly that they were in charge of the territory, and that they intended retaining control, said the police officer.

Interlocking metal barriers should have been placed across the entrance to the WTC an hour before the demonstrators were due to arrive. Several hundred police officers should have been in place as protesters began to arrive, indicating that "the territory belongs to the security forces".

The commander should either have deployed mounted police behind the barriers or had them in reserve, along with a strong force of riot policemen from the Internal Stability Unit.

"The ISU would have been kitted

out with flameproof overalls, helmets with visors, ankle, knee and groin protectors, and short and long shields," said the European policeman.

The number and firepower of the arms carried by the rightwing at the the WTC would have created a problem, said the police expert. "But one can counter most threats by a show of force with large numbers of police."

The breakthrough with an armoured vehicle, which the police would probably not have been able to prevent physically, should have been answered by the immediate "plugging of the gap" left by the vehicle to prevent demonstrators streaming in after it. The immediate arrest of the driver and crew would have demonstrated police determination to retain control.

Shed your camouflage, ET warned

By JAN TALJAARD **30/11/93**
SHAPE up or ship out. This was the message to be delivered to the Afrikaner Weerstandsbeweging and its leader, Eugene Terre'Blanche, by the executive of the Afrikaner Volksfront this week.

The week may still see the end of the shaky relationship between the AVF and the AWB, as tensions between the organisations reached new heights after last Friday's debacle at the World Trade Centre.

Not only is Terre'Blanche going to be asked to pull AWB members into line at future AVF rallies, but he may also be asked to leave his beloved camouflage uniform at home when appearing under the AVF banner.

The crunch will come today, a week after the WTC incidents, when these issues are to be thrashed out between Terre'Blanche and other members of the AVF's executive council.

Although AVF frontman General Constand Viljoen briefly compared the storming of the WTC to the storming of the Bastille, he later joined CP leader Ferdi Hartzenberg in condemning unruly and unlawful conduct. It appears that the storming of the WTC may have been an exclusively AWB conspiracy which caught the AVF supremos and the police with their pants down.

Terre'Blanche once again emerged from last Friday's debacle as the arch-opportunist of the rightwing.

With only Viljoen and Hartzenberg due to speak at what was intended to be a peaceful protest meeting, Terre'Blanche grabbed every opportunity to get to the centre of the stage.

While Viljoen and Hartzenberg were eventually left to mumble shame-faced apologies in front of a derisive gaggle of journalists at the WTC, Terre'Blanche managed to slip in a few fiery speeches under the pretence that he was trying to instil order.

In response, the AVF sought his presence at an emergency meeting on Tuesday in Pretoria. Terre'Blanche excused himself on the grounds that his people were being arrested and he had to get them out of custody.

The remaining members of the executive council went ahead with the meeting, which developed into day-long, bitterly divided debate on whether Terre'Blanche should be allowed to stay on as part of the AVF.

It remains to be seen if Terre'Blanche, long used to being king of the rightwing castle, will comply with the wishes of other AVF leaders.

FW stands up US congressmen

W/Mail 2/7-8/7/93

By ARTHUR GAVSHON: London

THE South African government has refused an invitation for President FW de Klerk and African National Congress president Nelson Mandela to informally meet the United States Senate Foreign Relations Committee when they are in Washington next week.

A State Department official said members of the influential Congressional group were "mystified and miffed" by the rejection.

De Klerk and Mandela are to be presented jointly with the Philadelphia Liberty Medal by President Bill Clinton on July 4, American Independence Day, for the role the two South Africans have played in the process of transforming the apartheid state into a non-racial democracy.

One line of speculation among state and congressional officials was that De Klerk anticipated critical questioning over the performance of his security services when far-rightwingers invaded the World Trade Centre in Kempton Park.

Timing of the visit by De Klerk and Mandela to Washington was by no means fortuitous. Clinton knew that agreement on a date for South Africa's first non-racial elections would have been reached by the end of June and that the formation of Transitional Executive Council would follow.

These developments would meet the preconditions set by the Clinton administration for ending sanctions against South Africa and for the announcement of aid and credit facilities by the World Bank and International Monetary Fund.

(22) (304A)

On a July 1985 ABC News/Washington Post poll, Americans were asked whether they thought Ronald Reagan's cancer would recur before he left office. Most — 54 percent — thought it would; 33 percent said no, and only 12 percent gave the only right answer: that, frankly, they didn't know.

Perhaps in a society where opinion polls are God, public opinion can prevent the recurrence of malignant polyps on the president's diode-num — or conversely, inflict them like woodoo on a less popular incumbent.

We in South Africa stand at the other extreme. Public opinion has no standing except in planning ad campaigns to flog new brands of motor cars or toothpaste.

Americans have an almost narcissistic fascination with their own opinions. Among interesting facts published recently: 37 percent of Americans in their twenties believe corruption is an important factor in getting ahead; or, only eight percent of Texans would like having Madonna for a neighbour "a lot".

We don't even have a "we" to speak of. Pollsters are only beginning to discover collective South African views, and to employ more meaningful social categories than the increasingly dubious "black" and "white".

The government has even imposed opinion poll blackouts in the runup to elections, on the assumption that knowing what other people were going to do would interfere with the process of democracy. They did this, even as they manipulated public opinion with radio, television, newspapers and every tool at their disposal.

There are critical debates in America that opinion polls are an increasingly dangerous substitute for democracy — and are largely to blame for the low turnout in elections (barely 50 percent). During the 1988 campaign, the Doonesbury cartoonist jokingly called the presidential election off 10 days early because the polls indicated, correctly, that Michael Dukakis had a snowball's chance in hell of getting elected.

But the best argument for allowing opinion polls to be published right up to the eve of the election is an objection in principle to censorship, which is supposed to be outlawed in our Bill of Rights. One could go further and suggest that there is a democratic right to know what other people think: that political parties such as the National Party and the African National Congress, with their own private polling organisations, do not have a greater right to election information than ordinary voters.

Unfortunately, independent polling in South Africa is hugely expensive. There is a well-developed commercial market research industry which, every now and then, publishes polls on such mundane matters as whether whites or blacks feel more optimistic now than they did a year ago.

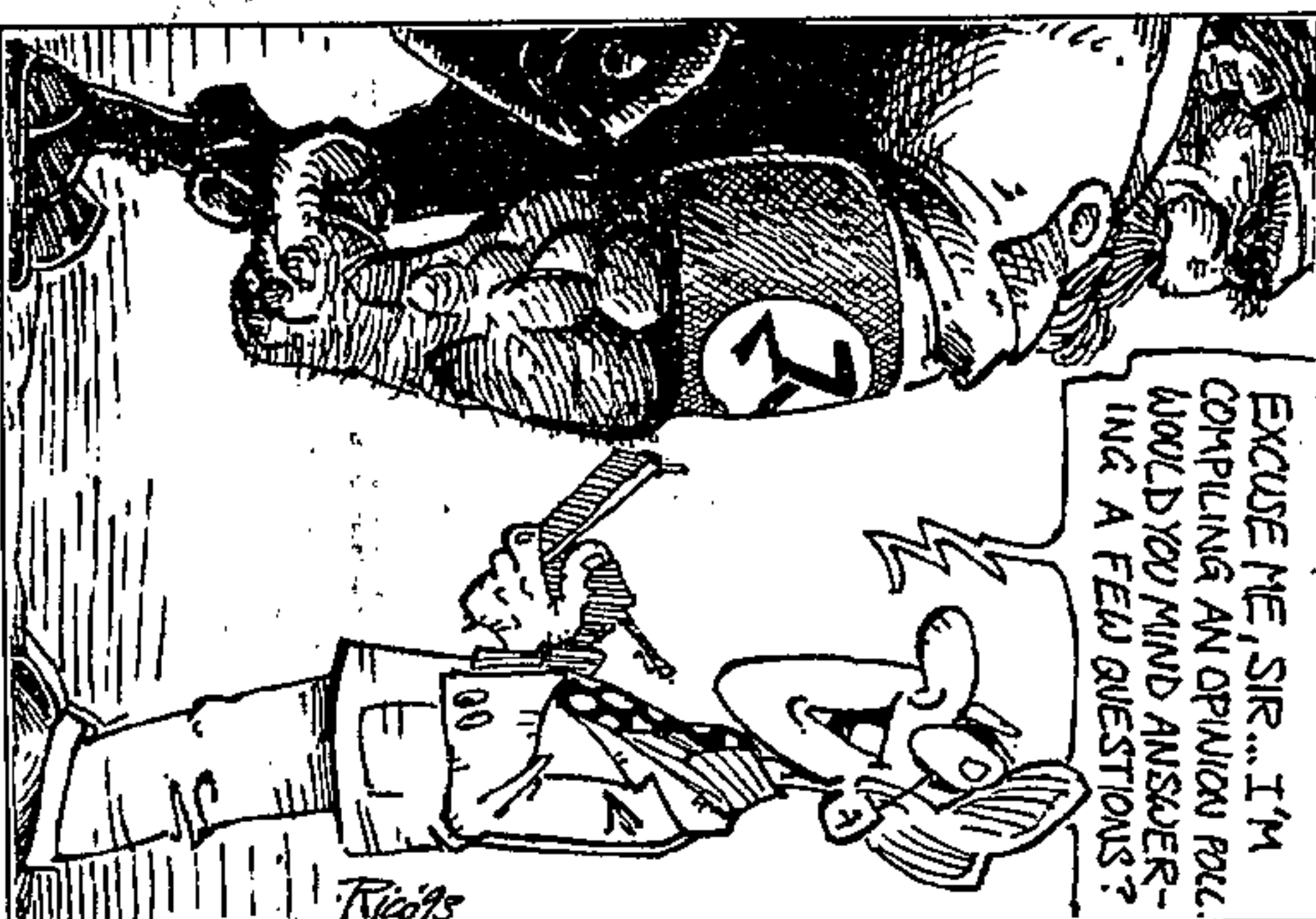
Public opinion research is a secondary, public relations byproduct of market research — and

Will Eugene get a painful case of piles?

We do have opinion polls but only those which ask intelligent questions are useful. What South Africans think on specific issues remain mysteries



By PHILIP VAN MEERK



quite often it tells.

There are polls like the one conducted by Markinor, asking whether blacks and whites favoured power sharing, which made no attempt to distinguish the motherhood and apple pie concept of all people sharing the riches of the country from the infinitely more sinister National Party design to thwart majority rule.

Nobody seems to ask really pertinent questions. The views of most South Africans on specific issues remain deep mysteries, peppered over by racial and social stereotypes and the extravagant claims of politicians.

Some groups like the Community Agency for Social Enquiry (Case) have done impressive and

— to get involved in instant polling, the snapshot of opinion that technology has made possible. Who would like to know, for instance, after the rumble at the World Trade Centre last Friday, what percentage of Africans are: (a) Proud of the Ystergaarde, (b) Disgusted, (c) Think they should be turned into boerevrouns and fed to the Magaliesberg vultures?

How many blacks in the age groups 16 to 24 agree with the chant "kill a boer"? What is the approval rating of Peter Mokaba, Winnie Mandela, Mangosuthu Buthelezi, Brenda Fassie? What percentage of people living in urban townships would favour a clampdown on crime and illegal weapons once a democratic government is elected? How many township dwellers have lost all respect for the law after last Friday?

There is a strong sense that the limp police response to the Afrikaner Volkfront invasion and the acquittal of the Sanlam insurance agents who, we are to believe, didn't roll a minibus-load of blacks down a hill to a fiery death in order to profit from life insurance policies, has made a lot of people hopping mad.

Is there some way, short of a riot or an attack on whites, that quantifies reactions to these events quickly and puts the politicians on the alert?

In seeking to know whether there is sufficient consensus to push on with building the new South Africa, would it not be helpful to know that the political allies of the neo-fascists, the Concerned South Africans Group, have the support, say, of a mere seven percent of the population? Opinion polls are a handy reality test to measure politicians. Unfortunately, the only time the people's opinion was seemingly sought in South Africa was to bypass politicians — not to discover the truth, but to prove a counter-proposition, which was that blacks opposed sanctions.

A longer-term objection to a poll-driven society is that it produces craven politicians of the Bill Clinton or John Major variety who, instead of using polling data — including their own approval ratings — as part of their armoury of intelligence when formulating policy, allow it to replace genuine leadership.

But that is a problem with the calibre of politicians, not of the polls. Similarly, to avoid manipulative polls, it is up to the newspapers to arm their reporters with bullshit detectors to sniff out phoney or flawed polls instead of just dropping press releases unquestioningly into the paper.

An opinion poll which asks intelligent questions and interprets answers thoughtfully is an enormous asset to democracy. It has the potential to be far more democratic than a Radio 702 call-in programme or a mass meeting where a few rowdy individuals can provide a false sense of a community's opinions.

Come on South Africa, take a cue from the Americans: how many of you think that Eugene Terre'Blanche is about to come down with a really painful case of piles?

SA's mature revolution

A member of the opposition for over three decades, Colin Eglin sees the changes of the past three years as slow in coming. But the effect of the ANC's patience, he told

CHRIS LOUW, will be the attainment of true democracy

VERY, very mature revolutionaries, a state president who did not quite appreciate the consequences of his actions, and the most protracted, negotiated, discussed, considered revolution in modern history ... These are the factors that will ultimately lead to true democracy in South Africa.

This is the view of Colin Eglin, respected political analyst, Democratic Party MP and a previous leader of both the Progressive and the Progressive Federal Parties, who has opposed the National Party's apartheid policies for decades. He is the only man in parliament who has gone through three different constitutions — the constitution establishing the Republic in 1961, the 1983 constitution for the tricameral parliament and the present negotiations for a new, democratic dispensation. Now he acts as the DP's chief negotiator.

In an interview, Eglin, who has followed political events in South Africa closely since he was first elected to parliament in 1958, expressed his amazement that all apartheid structures were still in place — three and a half years after the release of African National Congress leader Nelson Mandela.

On February 2 1990 Eglin believed the end of apartheid was finally in sight. But President FW de Klerk proved to be a much more effective strategist than he was given credit for.

"But it is also because the ANC have been very, very mature revolutionaries. They have actually decided they want to get it right. And even if it takes some time to get it right, they prefer to get it right."

The effect of the ANC's patience, according to Eglin, was that they have refined their constitutional and economic policies, and have almost formulated a health policy and an education policy. "It is as if they are saying: 'We don't want to be just another African state, we want to show that we are different, that we can make it work.'"

"It has been good for South Africa, but the underlying problem is that you're getting an impatient crowd of youngsters who say: 'Look, old men, you're taking too long.'"

But Eglin said there were many issues to be sorted out in the five years following the first elections for a constituent assembly, and before



Veteran ... Colin Eglin has sat through the creation of three different constitutions

real democracy could be established in terms of a new constitution.

"There are new boundaries to be determined for regional governments, there will be new bosses, new functions. Once you've drawn up your final constitution, you've got to restructure your civil service, you'll have to restructure in particular your security forces. You've got to restructure your whole fiscal system, in that you are going to have to have various levels of government sharing in central funding."

It was one thing to say there was a new constitution, but another thing to put it in place. "The long process from where you are to where you want to be will be decided by the interim government of national unity. They will preside over that phasing-in process. And when it is all phased in, they will say: 'Right you are, now we are going to phase ourselves in by having another election.'"

"Then you'll have to phase in a senate. There are 39 government departments on the central level. They'll have to be restructured. It is an enormous process."

"Even the 1961 constitution didn't have that much restructuring, because really it was just changing from a monarchy to a republic. A clause in the 1983 constitution, on the other hand, allowed the state president to declare what were 'own affairs' and what weren't 'own affairs'. Over a 10-year period, things were gradually restructured and new departments were created."

Eglin believes it could take anything between one and four years for the final constitution to be put in place. "The understanding that the government and the ANC have is that the first constituent assembly-cum-parliament will be

there for five years. It makes sense, because you can't expect 400 people to give up their jobs as schoolteachers, as architects, as lawyers and come to parliament when it is only for nine months."

Although the Democratic Party has accepted the inevitability of the current process, they have argued for a separate constituent assembly consisting of experts. "It would have been possible to get top-class academics who could take a year's leave. But if it is expected of them to sit as backbenchers in parliament, they will not be willing to do that. They need some permanence, or some continuity."

But the criticism is restrained by optimism. "De Klerk started a process which was irreversible from the time he unbanned the ANC and let Mandela out of jail ... There was no way he could have put them back in jail and reimposed the ban."

"I think philosophically he understood what he was doing, but I doubt whether at that stage he knew precisely what was going to happen. I don't think he realised that all apartheid was to go. In his first speech he said you could still have group representation, the building blocks will be the groups."

If De Klerk had understood what was meant, says Eglin, he probably wouldn't have started the process.

"He thought it would be a process in which certain aspects of the status quo would remain. It would be a modification. Having said that, he is quite effective in getting his way. If you had said to me after he let those guys out of jail that every apartheid constitutional instrument would still be in place three and a half years later, I wouldn't have agreed."

ANC 'grasps the nettle' of compromise

Mail 2/7-8/7/93

This week was one of the most

important in the negotiating process

so far, with most parties reaching

agreement on the drafting of an

interim constitution.

CHRIS LOUW reports

SOUTH AFRICA'S major liberation movement, the African National Congress, bent over backwards yet again this week to ensure that the country will go to the polls next year for its first ever democratic elections.

In one of the most crucial weeks in the negotiating process, ANC negotiators at the World Trade Centre had to tackle a white party with a constitution for an imaginary country, and a stubborn black ethnic party refusing to accept the concept of democratically elected constitutional makers.

The National Party's Rieff Meyer and Dawie de Villiers had every reason to smile broadly after Wednesday night's "breakthrough". In this week's debates, they could project an image of reasonableness, while "spoilers" in the Concerned South Africans Group (Cosag) took the casualties in their battle to entrench federalism in a future constitution.

Federalism, as everyone knows, is exactly what the NP wants. And that was exactly what they got.

After weeks of avoiding the real issue — who draws up the final constitution — ANC chief negotiator Cyril Ramaphosa on Tuesday insisted that the 26 negotiating partners "accept that a deadlock exists". "Let us grasp the nettle and agree to find a solution," he said.

The ANC wanted a democratically elected constituent assembly to draw up a constitution for the country. Most of the parties in Cosag — fearful that national elections may eliminate them — insisted that the present, undemocratic body of negotiators draw up the constitution.

The South African Communist Party's Joe Slovo was less diplomatic than Ramaphosa. Accusing the Inkatha Freedom Party of fearing democracy "like the devil himself", he added that "if this means a parting of the ways, so be it".

In spite of the tough words, it was — once again — the ANC which was willing to compromise.

Key IFP negotiator Walter Felgate might as well have been in Ulundi. While most other parties, with the exception of the Conservative Party, were drawn by the dynamics of the pro-

cess to compromise, ensuring a convergence of ideas, all Felgate could come up with was a repeated: "Never, never."

He was reacting to a compromise proposal by the technical committee on constitutional issues, which provided that constitutional principles binding an elected constituent assembly and ensuring a strong regional dispensation be made justiciable.

Foreign diplomats at the World Trade Centre had little doubt that IFP representatives were given little room to manoeuvre by the "big boss" in Ulundi, Chief Mangosuthu Buthelezi, who issues their instructions.

IFP central committee member Jurie Mentz,

on the other hand, offered a kinder view. The IFP, he said in an interview, suffered from "a terrible fear" that they would be cheated. This also explained their insistence on staying in Cosag, despite last Friday's racist invasion of the World Trade Centre by their partners in the CP.

"We believe we have to find protection in a herd, otherwise the lions might catch us," Mentz said.

What was ultimately decided, after many wasted hours of "bilateral", was that the current negotiators will be responsible for an interim constitution under which the first elections are held. This constitution will be based on both strong central and regional government, with provision for regional legislatures and the establishment of regional governments during transition.

The powers, functions and structures of the regions in the transition period will also be determined by the present body of negotiators.

This "compromise on a compromise" was accepted by 22 of the 26 delegations, with most Cosag members reserving their positions and the CP opposing.

Watching the process at the World Trade Centre unfold were the CP's increasingly sulky negotiators, Fanie Jacobs and Thomas Langley. Jacobs has in the past week spent late nights drawing up a grand draft constitution for the "staat van die Afrikanervolk".

It is a beautiful document, if you are an Afrikaner, with provision for the rule of law, territorial integrity, human rights, personal freedoms, equality before the law, freedom of speech, freedom of assembly, and with property, educational and marriage rights entrenched. There is one slight hitch: it is a constitution for a country that does not exist.

The CP still refuses to divulge details of the boundaries of its *volksstaat*. When asked in the passages of the Trade Centre where the *volksstaat* would be, one CP negotiator shrugged off the question by replying that it "would serve no purpose" to provide this information.

Observers believe the CP may be afraid to announce the territory of its *volksstaat* because it is bound to exclude most Afrikaners, which will no doubt lead to a significant loss of support for the party, even among rightwingers.

» SATIN LEAF «

THE first broadside in a comprehensive campaign of rightwing resistance — symbolically dubbed “the 10 plagues” — was fired last Friday when rightwingers ran amok at the World Trade Centre.

Industrial sabotage, the formation of a “government within a government”, selected power failures, late or non-payment of taxes, a refusal to pay television licences and various ploys to slow down the running of the bureaucracy and state machinery all form part of the planned campaign.

Termed “Plan C” by Afrikaner Volksfront (AVF) strategists, resistance is ultimately aimed at wrenching a *volksstaat* from the rest of South Africa, if necessary by means of secession.

Thus the symbolism of the “10 plagues” — plagues that were visited upon the pharaoh when he refused to allow the Israelites to leave for a country of their own.

With Plan A (the parliamentary option) and Plan B (negotiations) seen as increasingly dwindling prospects in the right’s attempt to acquire a white homeland, the AVF has already embarked firmly on what it calls “non-violent resistance”.

The opening salvo went horribly wrong, however, when a mob of Afrikaner Weerstandsbeweging supporters rammed through the plate glass front of the WTC, causing damage estimated in excess of R200 000.

Described beforehand by Conservative Party leader Dr Ferdi Hartzenberg as the start of “the first phase of resistance politics”, the meeting

Rightists unleash 'the 10 plagues'

W/Week 217-817193

The incident during which

rightwingers ran amok at the World

Trade Centre last week was not a

spontaneous protest but the start of a

systematic campaign of resistance —

including industrial sabotage, power

failures and tax boycotts.

By JAN TALJAARD

was intended to be peaceful. This was confirmed by supreme AVF strategist Major General Tienie Groenewald. Without divulging details, he also admitted that further actions were to be implemented. Groenewald is on record as saying that more than 98 different forms of non-violent resistance can be employed.

Sources close to AVF think-tanks, such as Groenewald’s Institute for Strategic Analysis

(INSA) and the Volkseenheidskomitee (Vekom), said that the methods under discussion ranged from industrial sabotage to civil disobedience.

As far as the former is concerned, “test runs” had already been conducted at certain selected power stations where industrial “accidents” had brought operations to an effective standstill.

Rightwingers are quietly boasting that they are able to interrupt the flow of electricity from certain power stations for as long as three weeks at a time.

Attempts to slow down the already plodding bureaucracy include plans for sympathetic civil servants in key positions to take sick leave on days of crisis. Also under discussion is the sending of indecipherable correspondence to and from state departments.

Strategies involving blue-collar workers and members of the all-white trade unions consist of “go slow” and “tools down” actions.

Even before the envisaged *volksstaat* is estab-

lished, the AVF is planning to establish a “government within a government”. In last week’s issue of *Die Patriot*, mouthpiece of the CP, plans for a “people’s government” consisting of *volksamptenare* (people’s officials) and representatives of the *volk* are unveiled by Dr Willie Snyman, deputy leader of the CP.

“Circumstances will leave the Afrikaner/Boere Volksfront with no other choice but to appoint elected officials and elected representatives to carry on with the struggle against a (future) communist regime,” he says.

In what appears to be a first step in this direction, the town council of Villiers in the northern Free State this week announced its decision to resist the integration of municipal structures and to maintain the “sovereignty” of exclusively white structures.

Similarly in the northern Transvaal, Warmbaths firebrand Chris Wagner has compiled a comprehensive document on alternative structures for a large part of the northern Transvaal region. It forms part of the “Eastland” region favoured by the majority of *volksstaters* as a future *volksstaat*.

Titled “A Development Strategy for the Bushveld Region”, it states as its aim the development of an “affluent region in which inhabitants of the Bushveld will be able to live in harmony, according to their character and value system, with one another, with their environment and with adjoining regions”. The establishment of a form of state is also discussed in the document.

Bitter row looming at meeting of talks forum

(304A)

ARG 2/1/93

□ Cosag may walk out in dispute over election date

Political Staff

JOHANNESBURG. — A bitter showdown is looming at today's meeting of the high-powered Negotiating Forum.

A row over an election date seems inevitable, with prospects of a Concerned South Africans Group (Cosag) walkout if April 27 is fixed as the day the country goes to the polls.

The government and African National Congress are understood to be determined to have the date confirmed — but the decision may be couched in language allowing for adjustments if the process does not proceed quickly enough in future.

Today's deliberations of the negotiations parent body — which ratifies agreements reached in the Negotiating Council — will be critical to the success of the meetings tomorrow between President Bill Clinton and President De Klerk and ANC leader Mr Nelson Mandela.

Mr De Klerk will meet Mr Clinton

in the White House only hours after the Negotiating Forum is scheduled to close. Mr Mandela will follow immediately afterwards. If sufficient progress is made, Mr De Klerk and Mr Mandela could call for the lifting of remaining American sanctions.

Last night the Kwazulu government and the Inkatha Freedom Party delegations, the core of Cosag, flew to Ulundi to consult Chief Mangosuthu Buthelezi. The tone of today's meeting could depend on his response.

Cosag delegates said the "sufficient consensus" basis on which agreements had been reached was a bone of contention and several important resolutions had been adopted without their support.

Two of these are the provisional setting of the election date and agreement last night that draft legislation on the creation of a transitional executive council — to prepare the country for elections — should be prepared.

Agreement on these two issues is

critical to the lifting of sanctions.

The meeting comes in the wake of encouraging progress in negotiations this week and agreement on steps to a new dispensation. But this agreement is also under threat if the Cosag group rejects the existing definition of sufficient consensus.

Other than an election date, the forum is expected to be asked by the government to agree that an interim constitution be ready for legislation by mid-August.

On April 1 the forum instructed the council to focus on the form of state and constitutional principles, a constitution-making body, an interim constitution and self-determination.

Agreement on several constitutional principles as well as the form of state — a prerequisite to Cosag agreement on the fixing of an election date — are outstanding.

Most parties agreed in principle on Wednesday to an elected constitution-making body and an interim constitution.

Star 31-7-93
Violence at Stanger march

STANGER — About 13 people, including two children, were attacked and several shop windows damaged by about 400 protesters on Thursday, SABC radio news reported yesterday. Police said tear-smoke and birdshot were used to disperse the crowd protesting against the storming of the World Trade Centre by rightwingers. — Sapa (211)

Spoornet man robbed

CAPE TOWN — Spoornet employee Alan Fischer was pistol-whipped and robbed by two armed men of R25 000 in ticket office takings at Khayelitsha station yesterday morning. — Own Correspondent

Star 31-7-93
Danes aid trauma centre

CAPE TOWN — The Trauma Centre for Victims of Violence and Torture has received R1,18 million from the Danish government. — Sapa (211)

Clinton gets nod from poll

WASHINGTON — President Clinton's popularity grew by seven points to 46 percent in one week, but more people (47 percent) still disapprove of how he is governing, the USA Today, Cable News Network and Gallup poll found. — Sapa-AFP

Star 31-7-93
SACC to debate sanctions

THE South African Council of Churches (SACC) is to address the question of sanctions and the drawing up of a code of investment for South Africa at its national conference next week. General secretary Reverend Frank Chikane said after the lifting of sanctions it was important that such a code should exist to assist the programme of investment and ensure investors did not "entrench further the old order of imbalance". (304)

FW, Mandela brief Clinton

SAPA-AP, PETER FABRICIUS

WASHINGTON — President F W de Klerk and Nelson Mandela yesterday discussed with President Clinton progress toward dismantling apartheid.

The White House rendezvous came after public statements by the two visiting leaders disagreeing on whether international sanctions against their country should be kept in place.

De Klerk told a luncheon gathering the sanctions exacted an unnecessary economic price.

"Every day that we lose, somebody pays for it. And it's not me and Mr Mandela," De Klerk said. "The unemployed are paying for it. And those without a roof above their heads. And those who are hungry."

Agreement at home

De Klerk and Mandela later met Clinton to issue a progress report on ending racial separation.

Hours earlier, negotiators in South Africa reached final agreement on terms for elections on April 27.

Mandela said he believed sanctions should remain until he was satisfied on the make-up of an interim government.

"There is no question of us making any statement in regard to sanctions during my visit in the United States. This is a matter which we will address in South Africa," Mandela said.

● TO PAGE 2.



F W DE KLERK: The unemployed are paying the price.



NELSON MANDELA: Not in a position to agree upon sanctions.

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Sanctions

● FROM PAGE 1.

"Until that council has been installed we will not be in a position to agree upon sanctions."

De Klerk said after meeting US Secretary of State Warren Christopher yesterday he was confident the remaining US economic sanctions would be lifted shortly.

Both De Klerk and Mandela are eager to attract extensive foreign private investment to make it easier for the post-apartheid government to deal with the country's pressing economic and social problems.

De Klerk is convinced the estranged Inkatha Freedom Party will

come back on board negotiations and will participate in the April 27 elections.

Mandela said that he would try to persuade the IFP to come back on board, but if he failed, negotiations would have to go on without them. The two leaders were speaking shortly before going to the White House for separate, successive meetings with Clinton.

He did not think the IFP's failure to endorse the April 27 election date would upset the timetable for change. He believed the IFP had refused to accept the date only because it wished to be sure that its main concerns were addressed in the transitional constitution, which should be agreed to by mid-August.

Star 3/7/93



A tunny thing happened at the forum

Chris Whitfield
and Esther Waugh

THE only punctual delegate at yesterday's closing session of the Negotiating Forum was not a delegate. (304A)

An unidentified man, who had easily circumvented security arrangements, stood on the podium bearing a large, hand-written banner while tardy negotiators milled about.

Neither the banner — nor his speech — were readily understandable, but he clearly wanted to make a point. The point, subsequent inquiries revealed, had something to do with the mysterious death of Dr Robert Smit.

Had his say

Natal Indian Congress negotiator Pravin Gordhan, chairman for the afternoon, stopped security men intent on ejecting the interloper and invited him to have his say.

When he was later removed — gently, under the chairman's protection — it emerged that he had signed in at the World Trade Centre as a "driver for the PAC".

Earlier in the day, another "stranger" was identified and removed from the hallowed chamber. He at least was better known — IFP adviser Dr Mario Ambrosini, who may have many qualities, but not the requisite South African passport.

Delegates complained about a foreigner's presence in contravention of

● TO PAGE 2.

INSIDE

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Driver

● FROM PAGE 1.

standing rules and then chairman Rowan Cronje

of Bophuthatswana asked IFP delegation leader Joe Matthews to take the necessary steps.

Matthews obliged, saying: "I was not aware that the member concerned was here, and I will not give him any protection."

That was the end of Ambrosini's brief stint as a delegate, with the SACP's Joe Slovo resorting to parliament in language: "It is your duty, chairperson, to order the removal of a stranger from the house."

Stranger things have happened in negotiations, and yesterday produced other oddities. Some delegates burst out in applause when the chamber's vast television screen began to show the Wimbledon semi-finals. (304A)

The day ended on an appropriate note when IFP, KwaZulu government and CP delegates finally staged their long-awaited walk-out. They nearly left it too late.

Thanks to an adjustment in the agenda, the whole meeting closed minutes after their symbolic departure. It was not entirely clear to journalists in the lobby as to who was walking out and who was just going home.

APRIL 27

COSAG brushed aside as election train set to roll

Talks: Government, ANC force the pace

ESTHER WAUGH
and CHRIS WHITFIELD

THE African National Congress and the Government yesterday bit the bullet and forced real movement towards a new order, bypassing vigorous opposition from the Concerned South Africans Group (COSAG).

The day ended with a symbolic walkout from the Negotiating Forum by the Inkatha Freedom Party, the KwaZulu government and the Conservative Party over a decision to fix the election date for April 27 — but all are expected back in the process soon. (304A) (442)

See Editorial — Page 8

The rejection by some COSAG members of the "sufficient consensus" basis on which the agreement was struck followed significant progress and studious attempts by other parties to avoid confrontation that could damage the process.

Besides the election date, overwhelming agreement was reached among the 26 parties at the World Trade Centre on the process to be followed in arriving at a democratic order, including the drafting of legislation for a transitional executive council, the principles that would be binding on a constitution-making body and how to tackle the violence sweeping the country. (442)

A draft constitution could be tabled in two weeks, and Government negotiations chief Roelf Meyer and his ANC counterpart, Cyril Ramaphosa, are confident it could be adopted and ready to pass through Parliament in August.

The election date was always going to be the crunch issue, and it was evident that the IFP and KwaZulu delegations

TO PAGE 2.

Talks

FROM PAGE 1.

had returned from an overnight consultation with Chief Mangosuthu Buthelezi with attitudes hardened. (442) (304A)

A lengthy argument broke out in the forum — "which ratifies negotiating council agreements — over whether enough parties had supported the issue to provide for "sufficient consensus". A break of nearly two hours for meetings on the issue failed to provide a solution, despite the tabling of several compromise resolutions. (442) (442)

It is understood that IFP delegates told negotiators that their instructions from Ulundi were not to discuss any compromise.

However, IFP delegation leader Joe Matthews told journalists the IFP would be back when negotiations resume in two weeks, but its continued participation would depend on a draft interim constitution being compiled by a negotiations technical committee.

IFP negotiator Thomas Langley said a decision on when to return to the talks would be made in consultation with party leader Dr Ferdi Hartzenberg.

Essentially, however, the day was marked by

considerable progress in several areas, notably:

- Fixing the election date for April 27 next year, or earlier if possible. It was noted that adoption of a transitional constitution and other agreements would have to be reached before elections.

- How the transition process should run, including the transitional executive council, simultaneous elections for both central and regional government and the delimitation of boundaries for regions before elections.

- An independent media commission and an independent electoral commission will also be established, while discriminatory legislation will be scrapped.

- A range of principles that will be binding on a constitution-making body. These make provision for a proportional representation election, a multiparty democracy, a bill of rights, three-tier government with democratic representation and "adequate legislative and executive powers" at each level.

- Steps to end violence, including a national peacekeeping force, moves toward unified security forces and the ending of hostilities.

Ramaphosa said: "The democracy train is on track to its ultimate destination. This is one train that will not and cannot be derailed."



Jockey Pierre Strydom, ahead of training partner
● Photograph: STEVE HILTON-BARBER

July fever is not as it used to be

ROBERT GARNER

ranked one of the finest horses in South African racing history.

The superstar filly has not raced since flopping in the Administrator's Cup at Gosforth Park in March, but she is working well again according to

close of business last night punters had already wagered more than R1 million. This was slightly less than at the corresponding time last year.

The current tote favourite is Dancing Duel.

Projected win and place payouts are:

1. Emms Club 5.5 2.

ET denies AWB, AVF split

PRETORIA. — AWB leader Mr Eugene Terre'Blanche dismissed reports yesterday of a looming split between the AWB and the Afrikaner Volksfront (AVF) as an attempt to drive a wedge between right-wing groups. "They did not succeed," he said at a news conference held

at a popular steakhouse here. Meanwhile, Law and Order ministry spokesman Major-General Leon Mellet said yesterday police were aware of the far right-wing's planned national resistance campaign and are on top of the situation. Also, the South African Council of Churches (SACC) said yes-

terday it felt it had a responsibility to help the right-wing in "crossing the bridge", and will discuss this at its five-day national conference starting on Monday. SACC general secretary Dr Frank Chikane said yesterday right-wingers were also victims of apartheid. — Sapa

Cosag in revolt as poll date set

By ANTHONY JOHNSON
Political Correspondent

JOHANNESBURG. — South Africa's 20 million voters finally have their date with destiny — April 27 1994.

The 26-party Negotiating Forum meeting at the World Trade Centre yesterday ratified the poll date amid fierce opposition from the six-member Concerned South Africans Group.

The talks climaxed with a walk-out by the Inkatha Freedom Party, the KwaZulu government and the Conservative Party delegations.

ing of sanctions.

"We are discussing some fresh initiatives around this event," he said.

Mr De Klerk said after his talks with Mr Chris-topher that sanctions had not been a particular topic of discussion and he had not come to his. — Sapa-Reuter

● Sanctions plea — Page 2

The Afrikaner Volksunie and the governments of the Ciskei and Bophuthatswana vehemently protested the resolution, but stopped short of joining the walk-out.

Most Cosag members said they would return when negotiations resumed after a two-week recess. Only the CP said it had to consult its leadership before returning.

The formal approval of the date by "sufficient consensus" capped a day of high drama and fiery debates at the multi-party talks which saw the Cosag parties fighting a determined

South African gold shares.

"We are expecting further keen interest tonight," he said yesterday.

Most South African institutions, which had been off-loading their gold shares over the past three years, had been "caught with their pants down" and had "missed the boat", he said.

"New York started buying gold shares when we should have and they have already seen 100% gains.

"The fact that they are still chasing gold shares indicates they are extremely bullish that bullion is still on

showed the greatest gains in the past two days and rocketed by between 30% and 100% in heavy trading.

The higher gold price, which in rand terms is around R1 300 an ounce against an average of less than R1 000 last year, bodes well for the economy and for gold and foreign exchange re-

An improvement in reserves could take the pressure off the Reserve Bank and pave the way to a drop in interest rates, economists said. The gold price closed at \$385.70 an ounce in New York last night.

● Rand gains on gold's rise — Page 5

rearguard action to the bitter end to torpedo efforts by the ANC.

An elated ANC secretary-general Mr Cyril Ramaphosa told a press conference: "The democracy train is on track and moving ahead towards its ultimate destination."

The government's chief negotiator, Mr Roelf Meyer, said that the agreement reached yesterday amounted to "a major milestone" in the road to democracy. He was confident negotiations could finalise details of a transitional

constitution by next month — a target shared by the ANC.

Mr Meyer said the fact that the Negotiating Forum was able to fix a date, endorse a wide-ranging resolution on violence and approve dozens of binding constitutional principles during yesterday's session meant that President F W de Klerk would be able to convey a "positive message" to US President Bill Clinton during their meeting yesterday.

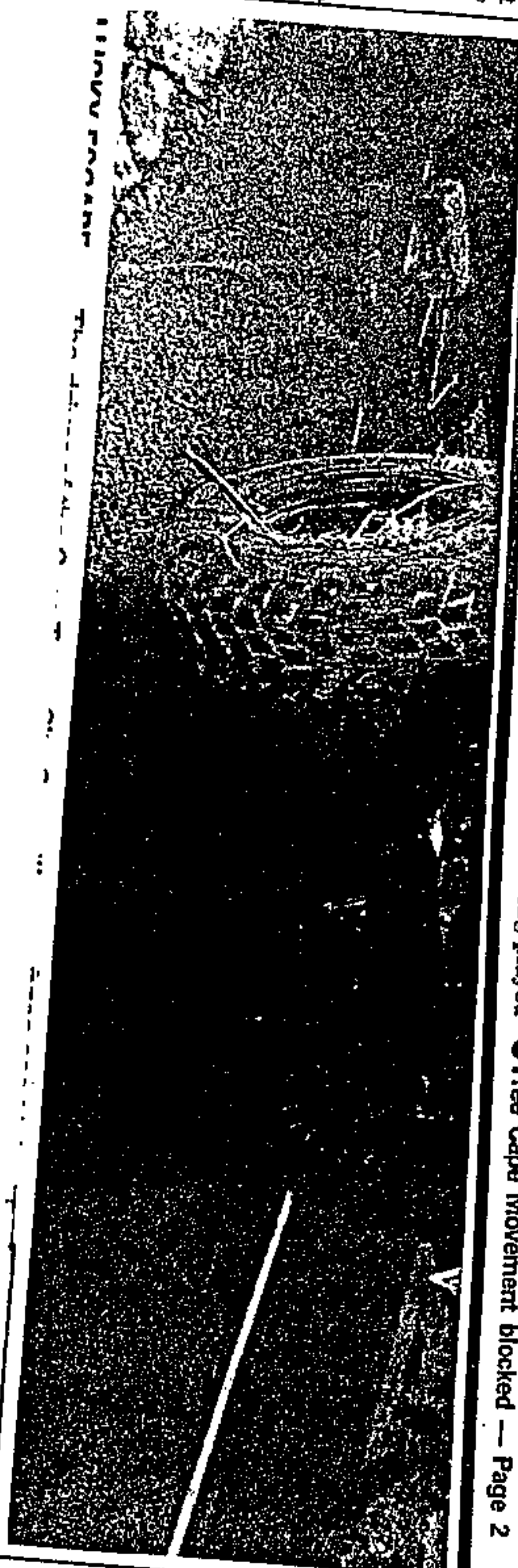
A number of parties privately voiced reservations about the "spoiling role" being played

● Free Cape Movement blocked — Page 2

by the IFP's Chief Mangosuthu Buthelezi and some of his advisers at the talks.

One top source said bluntly: "Chief Buthelezi is now part of the problem. It's about time he came here (to the World Trade Centre) so he could understand what was going on."

The resolution approved by the Negotiating Forum allows for the election date to be moved forward if a final settlement on substantive issues is reached earlier than expected.



Marike reaches out with a golden touch

Weekend Argus Correspondent
MADRID. — Mrs Marike de Klerk this week collected an international award for her work in founding the Women's Outreach Foundation. She accepted "on behalf of all the women of South Africa".

The Italian-based Together for Peace Foundation made the women's award to Mrs De Klerk on Thursday for her work in South Africa since recently founding her organisation to help South African women play a more significant role in developing parts of the country.

Mariapia Fanfani, president of the Together for Peace Foundation and wife of a former Italian statesman, presented a gold globe and ribbon of honour to Mrs De Klerk for her "stance against any form of racial and political discrimination".

Said Mrs De Klerk: "I accept this award on behalf of all South African women. These women are changing it for peace. We are facing a tremendous challenge. This challenge is compounded by burden — burden of quality, integrity, of

disease, of hunger, distrust and fear."

"The Women's Outreach Foundation, of which I am the chairperson, is just one of many organisations that are now reaching out in South Africa to achieve the very objectives of the Together for Peace Foundation," she added.

"It all started at the ecological summit in Rio de Janeiro last year when 64 wives of the world leaders present decided we should do something more than our husbands," she explained.

"When I got back to South

Africa, where there must be thousands of charities, I got in touch with an old university friend and we worked out where there could be a niche for a foundation.

"We decided there was a need for helping women at grassroots level. Those who have to walk miles for supplies, often left for a long time without their menfolk and with children to care for. Now we are established in Pretoria and have a education scheme for trainers that we then send out to give groups of women 10 lessons."



☐ **TOUCHING:** Mrs De Klerk's work is rewarded.

Harare's SA peace meeting a success

ROBIN DREW
Weekend Argus Africa News Service

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AFR 37193

HARARE. — The three days of discussions behind closed doors here which focussed on ways of achieving a peaceful transition in South Africa including the formation of a new national army led to frank exchanges between senior South African Defence Force officers and officials from the PAC's armed wing Apla.

Mr Justice Richard Goldstone said the discussions had

been very candid. "All of us were delighted with the candour with which people spoke," he said in an interview afterwards.

"People with very different views came together and spoke openly. They debated rationally and politely," said Mr Justice Goldstone, one of more than 40 delegates to the meeting of the Southern African Peacekeeping and Peacemaking Project launched last year.

Chaired by Nigeria's General Joseph Garba, the meeting brought together military men, analysts and academics with an interest in the region. Mr Justice Goldstone told the meeting of the issues that had been raised with his commission which will make recommendations about how to curtail violence in the forthcoming election.

The important issues included who would police the election, whether there should be a multi-party peacekeeping force, whether there should be multi-party control of the security forces, the question of political activity preceding the election, the control of rallies, codes of conduct which would be binding on parties, matters concerning ballot boxes and vote counting, the role of international observers and whether the election should take place on one day or more than one day, whether there should be mobile polling stations and how results should be declared.

Judge Goldstone said there was a tremendous will to succeed at the multi-party negotiations which, in spite of the recent traumatic incidents, remained on track.

Free Cape Movement blocked from talks

By ANTHONY JOHNSON
Political Correspondent

JOHANNESBURG. — The bid by the Free Cape Movement to gain entry to the multi-party talks has been squashed.

The Negotiating Forum yesterday also rejected the application by 14 other parties anxious to get a piece of the action at the World Trade Centre.

They are: The People's Democratic Christian Party, United Federal Party, Sindawonye Progressive Party, Reform Party of South Africa, Insika National Party, National Forum, Afri-

can Democratic Movement, People's Progressive Party, Merit People's Party, National Seoposengwe Party, Third Force National Party, Green Party of South Africa, Sofasonke Party and the United Asian Front.

The Volks Unity Party and the Christian Democratic Party withdrew their applications. Discussions on whether to admit the Afrikaner Freedom Foundation were underway.

A resolution adopted yesterday allows parties that failed to make the grade to resubmit their applications to the relevant technical committees.

US: FW, Mandela meet top officials on visit

304A

WASHINGTON. — President F.W. de Klerk and ANC leader Mr Nelson Mandela had separate meetings with US officials yesterday and voiced optimism about an early end to economic sanctions.

"It is just a question of time. Sanctions are on their way out," Mr De Klerk said after a 30-minute meeting with Secretary of State Mr Warren Christopher.

Mr Mandela, who met Mr Christopher minutes after Mr De Klerk's departure from the State Department, said earlier that sanctions could be lifted within three weeks but added that the call would not come during his two-week stay in the US.

The two men were due to have separate meetings with President Bill Clinton later last night.

Mr Mandela said after meeting Mr Christopher that installation of a transitional executive council still remained a factor in allowing the ANC to call for the lifting of sanctions.

"We are discussing some fresh initiatives around this event," he said.

Mr De Klerk said after his talks with Mr Christopher that sanctions had not been a particular topic of discussion and he had not come to the US with a "shopping list". — Sapa-Reuter

● Sanctions plea — Page 2

More than. Development planner LAURINE PLATZKY gives her view, with academic GAVIN MASDORP.

South 317-717198

Federalism: fear of majority rule?

N EITHER a unitary nor a federal state is inherently more democratic than the other. Arguments imported from elsewhere to support one side or the other help to confuse as much as to inform us.

South Africans need to decide how best to tackle the enormous tasks ahead: first, how to build a culture of democracy from grassroots to an openly accountable government and, second, how to redress the legacy of apartheid: division, fear and poverty.

It appears that fear of majority rule underlies most calls for federalism in South Africa. Those who fear losing their power and wealth look at the country and see how it can be divided to exclude as many of the poor as possible from where they live.

The irony is that unless they plan to reintroduce influx control along with their federal options, they will not be able to engineer the maintenance of their privilege. Unless there is more equitable distribution of resources, people will be forced by circumstance to migrate (as they always have) to the metro areas to find jobs, to attend technical schools, to be treated in hospitals, etc.

In the long term it is in the interests of both rich and poor to design a country offering roughly equal opportunities, wherever people may live.

Yet others support federalism as an obstacle to "tyrannical centralised authority". But, unless a minority is confined to a geographical area (be it bantustan or volkstaat), how its opinion is best represented in government is a function of voting systems rather than the form of state alone.

It is widely recognised that Proportional Representation is the most fair reflection of a wide spectrum of opinion.



LAURINE PLATZKY

But under PR we will have no parliamentary constituencies, so local democratic participation will become dependent on how the political parties spread their nominations of party representatives on the central list. Will only the head office party hacks be nominated? Or will a regional (and gender) spread be ensured?

Likewise, will the candidates for regional government be nominated from the metro areas, or will men and women throughout the region be included?

And for local tier elections, particularly in rural areas, will the chiefs and elitists continue to control local affairs?

The nature of politics is that whoever is

mobilised and shouts the loudest is likely to be rewarded. Thus not only the form of the state, but a democratic culture will determine how accountable and accessible government will be.

Two major questions in the quest for democracy and equity are:

- How best are powers distributed between tiers of government? and
- How should national wealth and resources be collected and divided?

Certainly, each regional government should decide its own priorities for development. Depending on the region's history, its advantages and disadvantages, it should be free to focus resources where it, rather than the central state, sees fit.

But in the view of our peculiar apartheid history, we would want checks and balances. We need to ensure that the central government cannot ignore local concerns or human rights, e.g. Pretoria should never again be able to order the destruction of communities such as District Six.

Yet we would want Pretoria to override the "Boksburg" option in which a right-wing municipality might wish to ban the free movement of blacks into the town centre at night.

These examples illustrate the importance of a national constitution which would protect the rights of all citizens and override the power of lower tiers of government to introduce repugnant local regulations.

Codesa 2 agreed that the right of regional government to exist should be written into the constitution. Further, if the centre does not approve of priorities democratically decided at regional or local level, it should not be able simply to halt funds to that region to punish its government.

Federalism versus the unitary state debate appears to be high on the agenda of those

seeking to win political power, rather than for those concerned with addressing poverty.

A federal system implies each state should be economically viable and that state funds should be distributed WITHIN rather than BETWEEN states.

However, in South Africa only the PWV region is really economically viable and its wealth has been built by people from all over the country.

Thus all regions will demand a share of the wealth from our main national assets: the mines and industries which are clustered in the PWV. Income and company tax will have to be collected nationally and distributed between the regions according to a nationally agreed formula.

Issues such as poverty and unemployment are not different in Natal or the Western Cape, yet the scales and strategies to address them may be different. This calls for a national framework for regional development. In other words, regional government should have the power to identify priorities, motivate for national funds and implement its own programmes.

At the same time the regions should not be able to compete destructively with each other, such as bantustans did in the past when they tried to attract investment through downbidding their labour, banning trade unions and cutting taxes, so that they raised too little to provide basic services for their inhabitants.

If macro economic growth and the long term development of all South Africans is our goal, strong regional and local government within a unitary state is the most likely winning scenario.

● *Laurine Platzky is a regional development planner working part-time for the Development Action Group in Cape Town.*

I take TerreBlanche seriously — Yengeni

South 2/1-7/1/93

A waste of
South 2/1-7/1/93

AWB leader

By Christelle Terreblanche

STEPH JACOBSON, "commander" of the Western Cape AWB, has distanced himself from the AWB assault on the World Trade Centre. And he laughs at the suggestion of the AWB waging a full-scale war on the negotiation process.

"Their leaders are a bunch of drunkards and schoolboys," Jacobson told SOUTH. "They cannot be taken seriously." (SOUTH)

"The World Trade Centre incident seems like a waste of time and money to me. They will spend a lot of time in jail and the courtroom, after which their weapons will be taken away," he says.

Jacobson himself was declared unfit to own a firearm after being tried for vandalising a controversial penis-shaped sculpture of Eugene Terreblanche in Cape Town.

Jacobson denied he had resigned from the AWB. According to him he has received two letters which stipulate that he has been thrown out of the far-right movement.

However, after consultation with the AWB commander general, Servas de Wet, he says he has been assured that this is not so.

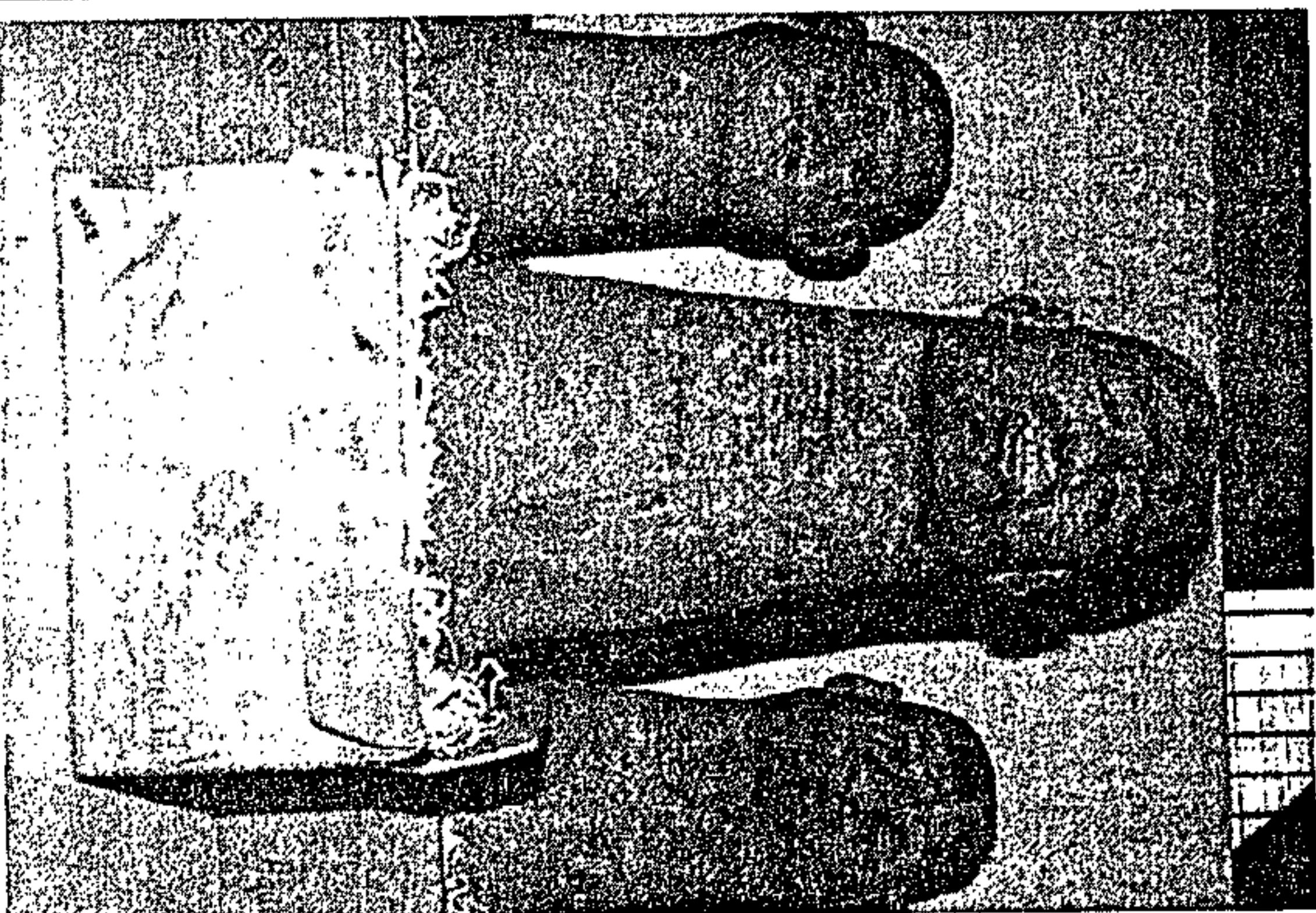
De Wet apparently supports Jacobson's demand that he appears at a tribunal, but Terreblanche does not want to consider this.

Jacobson has slammed the "state of chaos" reigning in the Western Cape AWB. He also claimed to have "proof" of "widespread drunkenness" among national leaders.

"I will soon have sworn affidavits from my generals," he promised.

He maintains that "dozens" of the "thousand or so" AWB members in the Western Cape have resigned in the past two weeks, including some "generals".

● The AWB could not be reached to respond to Jacobson's comments.



AWB MEMBER: Steph Jacobson defended TerreBlanche last year by smashing this statue. Now he is trashing his former leader

... and the leader's cousin

IN CASE you were wondering, SOUTH's political editor, Christelle Terreblanche, has worked as a democratically orientated journalist in both South Africa and Namibia.

Although only one member of the French Terreblanche family, Etienne, fled to South Africa in 1691, it is genealogically estimated that at least two million South Africans now carry his genes.

SOUTH's Christelle and the Terreblanche family tree. They are also politically at opposite ends of the spectrum.

However, some of her close relatives are members of the AWB and its armed wing, the Iron Guard.



Christelle Terreblanche

By Christelle Terreblanche

THE ANC and its allies — MK and the Youth League —

must prepare for war against the AWB (Afrikaner Westersandbeweging), says Mr Tony Yengeni, ANC Western Cape Secretary.

Yengeni was responding to threats of war made by AWB leader Mr Eugene Terreblanche following the storming of the World Trade Centre last week. (SOUTH)

Terreblanche said on an SABC "Agenda" programme this week: "We are preparing ourselves for war as the ANC, the Communists and Apla (Azanian Peoples Liberation Army) have already declared war on us."

Earlier, the AWB leader told SOUTH the incident at the World Trade Centre was "only the beginning". (SOUTH)

"When a vote is cleared out of its fatherland, you can expect resistance," Terreblanche says.

Yengeni says that, unlike some, he takes Terreblanche very seriously: "He is not just a crazy fool."

"I agree with him for the first time ever. This was only a dress rehearsal. We are up against something much more vicious from now on."

Yengeni emphasised that he was not asking for anarchy and war.

"But we cannot only preach peace and reconciliation, while these people are trying to destroy the process."

"The leadership has a responsibility to tell people they should take this man seriously."

In his response Dr Allan Boesak, Western Cape ANC chairperson, told SOUTH: "Even though I am dead set against any kind of violence, particularly state violence, the South African Defence Force (SADF) should be mobilised to protect South Africans against the AWB."

Boesak said that the armed forces should be integrated as a matter of extreme urgency in order to deal with the "onslaught on democracy".

"I do not understand Heruus Kriel's (the minister of law and order) hesitancy in this regard," Boesak stated.

"What these people are doing is trying to block the legitimate aspirations of the majority of South Africans with violent deeds. We have no choice but to fight them."

However, on Wednesday Kriel promulgated regulations fortifying the carrying of weapons in the Kempton Park Magisterial District, saying police had information that both the ANC and AWB were going to march on the World Trade Centre on Thursday.

Barbed wire, Nyala and Casspir armoured vehicles, water cannons and a large contingent of SAP members were dispatched.

The ANC said earlier it would converge on the Centre to protest against "the onslaught on democracy" by the AWB. No announcement about a march was made by the AWB. (SOUTH)

Kriel indicated that roadblocks and other measures would be set up to prevent marches from forming, rather than breaking up groups or trying to keep the two groups from each other.

"If people defy the ban on the display of weapons, we will arrest them and their weapons will be confiscated," he told journalists from his office in Pretoria. (SOUTH)

"This will be done with sensitivity," Kriel added.

He would not answer questions on why the SAP was not rounding up the AWB as was the case a few weeks ago when police had information that the PAC was planning attacks.

"This is a question the SAP must answer," Kriel said.

He also denied that police acted in favour of the AWB at the storming of the World Trade Centre on Friday.

Yengeni said although the activities of the AWB should be curtailed, the ANC was aware that not all Afrikaners and right-wing people were violent.

"With most of them we can still sit down and work out a solution. If we don't, we would have a disregard for history."

South - 7/1-92 'Government must hold nation together'

BECAUSE South Africa is a nation of many groups and cultures, the central government needs sufficient powers to hold the nation together and direct its economy through, among others, the equitable redistribution of resources.

This is the opinion of Professor Gavin Maasdorp, director of the Economic Research Unit at the University of Natal in Durban.

Maasdorp makes a strong plea for regional delimitation on the basis of economic flows and not only short term political goals.

He says an elaborate federal structure with well-entrenched regional autonomy may not be conducive to economic development.

"Economic reconstruction in South Africa requires a strong central government with the power and competence to implement national development strategies, to engage in appropriate fiscal planning and to promote regulatory harmony."

Maasdorp lists the powers and economic functions which he sees as critical for the central government to retain:

- Monetary Policy — No country can have more than one monetary policy, and the KwaZulu proposal for a central bank for Natal/KwaZulu is absurd;
- Fiscal Policy — central government should maintain tax harmony throughout the country and provide assistance to poorer regions. It therefore needs to maintain national spending and taxation authority;
- Foreign Trade Policy — South Africa has a very open economy, and trade policy

THE ANC PLAN

AT A NATIONAL CONFERENCE HELD ON 19 AND 20 MARCH 1993 TO FINALISE REGIONAL POLICY, THE ANC PROPOSED A MAXIMUM OF 10 REGIONS

Source: MAYHEW April 1993 p9



The ANC has wavered between 10 or 16 regions. At a national conference, in March this year, they endorsed this 10 region map of a future SA

becomes extremely important in order to maintain the country's competitiveness in world markets;

and this needs to be retained;

- Transport and communications — these are extremely important for the country's international competitiveness, and key elements such as telecommunications policy should be retained with a clear demarcation of devolved powers to regions;
- Social Services — national standards in terms of education, health and pensions need to be maintained, and services should be reciprocated between regional bodies.

Maasdorp says the number of regions should be minimised, bearing in mind that the system is costly, especially if they are federal states.

"While these financial costs might be offset by sociopolitical benefits in a heterogeneous society, the general policy should be minimal government, and the policy of regionalism should be in line with this goal," he concludes.

CROSS TALK debates are presented in association with the Institute for Multi-Party Democracy, a non-partisan organisation not affiliated to any institute or political party. Its mission is to promote multi-party democracy, political tolerance and national reconciliation in South Africa. For more information, telephone (021) 25 112054/55

SOUTH readers are encouraged to respond to any of the viewpoints presented on this page.

South 357-717193
~~121~~ (3044)
Sanco voter training on line

THE SOUTH African National Civic Organisation (Sanco) is finalising its training project for instructors in voting procedures to prepare black communities for voting in the forthcoming election.

At a news conference in Johannesburg last week, Sanco's deputy general secretary, Mr Matthew Phetla, said 66 people were involved in the project.

When trained they would conduct workshops educating communities in the southern Transvaal on voting procedures. Sanco boasts four million members in this region.

The project is being conducted by experts from the Independent Mediation Services of South Africa and Mada Trust, specialists in the development of human resources, Phetla said.

Sanco will conduct its programme on a non-partisan basis because of the organisation's support base, which comprises members from the ANC, the PAC and Azapo.

The Sanco voter education programmes will run parallel to those conducted by other organisations, such as the Congress of South African Trade Unions (Cosatu).

Disadvantaged South Africans expect real change after elections. Experience elsewhere highlights the political and economic challenges to affirmative action policies

Consensus vital for affirmative action

South 317-77193

UNLESS affirmative action programmes intended to empower marginalised sectors of a population are implemented with consensus, they cannot succeed, a visiting American scholar has warned.

Professor Myron Weiner, invited by the Urban Foundation to deliver a lecture on affirmative action, used examples of policies in India, Malaysia, Sri Lanka and the United States to explain his theory.

Weiner highlighted a danger — whenever consensus-based affirmative action policies are tampered with for political expediency, they deteriorate.

Consensus, however, excludes people opposed to affirmative action on the basis of a racist belief in the supremacy of one group. Such people would never be satisfied with even a consensus-based approach.

In India and Sri Lanka, Weiner said, consensus-based affirmative action policies which had been working fairly successfully were unilaterally changed for reasons of political expediency.

In both cases this led to political unrest and violence by groups not consulted about subsequent changes, and who perceived these changes as having negative effects on them.

The two central questions in any affirmative action programme are:

- Who should be the beneficiaries?
- What must be the benefits?

India is a hierarchical society where an individual's standing in society is dependent on whether they belong to a high or low caste.

The post-independence nationalist leadership of India wrote into the constitution there should be no discrimination on the basis of religion, race, sex, descent, place of birth or residence. Attached to this was a clause empowering the state to make special provision for the advancement of "socially and educationally backward classes" or citizens.

Consensus in India was that the most disadvantaged groups were a caste known as the "untouchables" who, at 135 to 140 million, comprised 15 percent of the population.

The other disadvantaged group was the isolated tribes who at 65 million people were seven percent of the population.

The two groups were given seats in parliament and other elected bodies in proportion to their population figures.

Special quotas aimed at empowering them were implemented for admission into schools, colleges and employment in government services.

Apart from the specific reference to the "untouchables" and the tribes, the constitution also allowed special benefits for other backward communities.

The government did not act on this proviso because:

- Many communities wanted to call themselves "backward".
- The differences between the oth-



WHAT'S NEXT: After getting the vote, marginalised people cannot exercise real power unless affirmative action programmes are implemented

er backward and advantaged groups were not as clear as those between the advantaged and the tribes and "untouchables".

In 1990 the Indian prime minister, because he wanted to win electoral support, announced there would be quotas for other backward classes in university admissions and government employment.

The government established a quota of 27 percent for other backward communities on top of the 22 percent provided for the tribes and the "untouchables". This meant 50 percent of quotas were reserved for three quarters of the population.

The writers of the draft Indian constitution warned that "the provisions for special benefits should not eat up the provision for equal opportunity for all".

The new 50 percent quotas were, however, leading to exactly that.

The result was demonstrations and violence by those classes excluded from the quota system.

A problem with high quotas was that because limited resources were spent on mass education at primary and secondary level, only a small number of people from the tribes and the "untouchables" could benefit from the quota system at univer-

sities and in government posts.

Despite this, India now has a small and growing middle-class of "untouchables" and tribal people. Outside of this small middle class, the two groups still remain the poorest in India.

However, this is not because of the failure of affirmative action policies. It is because the economic growth rate in India was so low, the necessary expansion in educational and social services which could have uplifted these communities did not happen.

It is for this reason that, without education from this primary level being freely accessible, quotas at the levels of university and government employment could not build a big community of well-off people from the tribes and the "untouchables".

The post-independence government in Malaysia consisted of a coalition drawn from the three population groups.

The Malays, the largest group, were closely followed by people of Chinese descent and a small Indian minority.

The Chinese were the trader and merchant community. The Malays consisted of a small aristocracy with a large rural poor and uneducated component. The post independence constitution made reference to "special rights of Malays" without specifying these rights.

Only after riots in 1969 did the Malay-dominated government act on this clause. It did so by introducing an economic policy meant to speed up economic growth and provide special benefits for Malays.

Many non-Malays were resentful of this, but the Chinese leadership in government allowed it.

The Malays were then allowed to control the administrative services, the police and the army.

"Stated bluntly, the deal was that the Chinese would make money while the Malays could run an administration that pursued pro-growth policies," Weiner said.

The special benefits provided for the Malays were land settlement schemes for rural Malays, agricultural credit and rice subsidies.

Because by 1969 few Malays were in management and they held only two percent of equity in firms, Malay equity capital was expanded and appointments in the civil service were at a ratio of four Malays to one non-Malay.

By 1990 Malay equity capital had been boosted to 22 percent, much in the hands of Malay institutions

rather than individuals.

"For the next 20 years (from 1969) the economy of Malaysia grew at between six and seven percent a year," Weiner said.

"The combination of economic growth and special benefits produced a Malay middle class. Disparities between most Malays and most Chinese continued, but there was a general levelling upwards."

The reason why the goals of the programme were not fully fulfilled is that while Malays entered universities in large numbers, it was mainly in the liberal arts.

The Chinese, on the other hand, chose mainly science and technology subjects, thus gaining an advantage in industry and technologically advanced areas.

In general Malays did better at finding employment in the public than in the private sector.

"However, there were gains among the rural poor as a result of the land settlement and rural development schemes, the growth of public education, and, most importantly, in the expansion of opportunities for employment," Weiner concluded.

● Professor Myron Weiner's lecture on Affirmative Action: "The International Experience", was taken from *Development and Democracy* (published by the Urban Foundation).

Mobile ID units

South 317-77193

Mobile Identity Document units made possible after negotiations between the ANC and the Department of Home Affairs are currently stationed at:

- Ottery, Varkensvlei Road, Community hall from Tuesday.
- Ocean View library on Thursday and Friday.
- Mandela Park in Hout Bay.
- Lusaka Squatter Camp at Fawu offices in NY1, Guguletu.
- KTC Squatter Camp — Masimcidane Educare Centre, NY 78.
- Brown's Farm, at a hall near the station.

South African citizens who are not yet in possession of identity documents can apply at the units.

Applicants should take their birth, marriage and other relevant certificates along to speed up the process, which should take six weeks.

Applicants may have their photographs taken for R5,50.

Sanco voter training on line

South 317-77193

THE SOUTH African National Civic Organisation (Sanco) is finalising its training project for instructors in voting procedures to prepare black communities for voting in the forthcoming election.

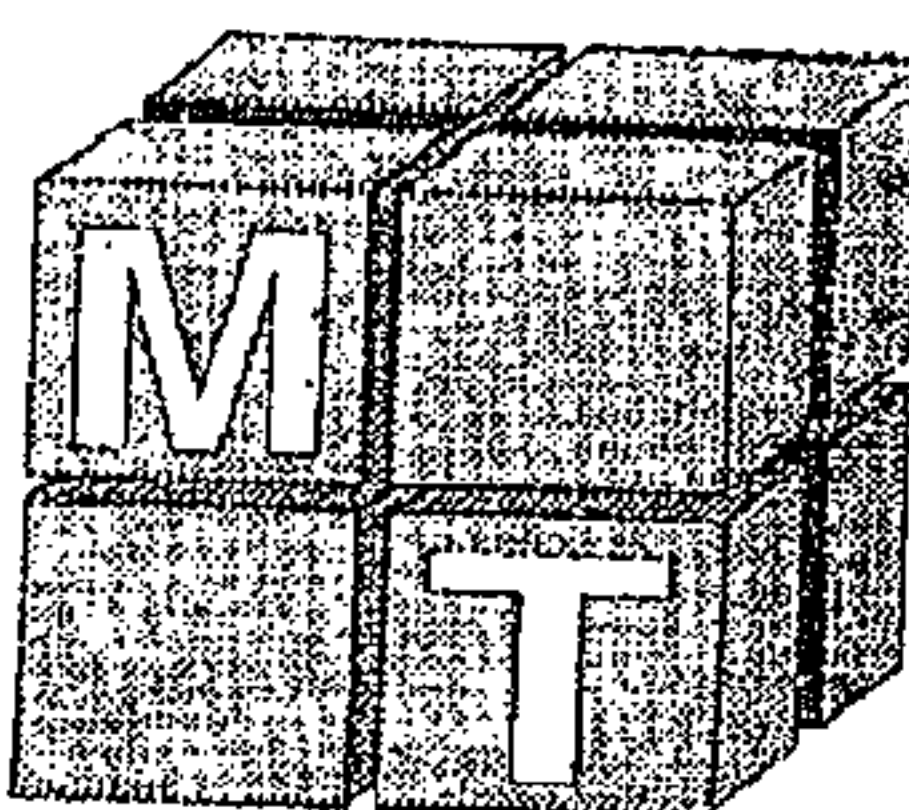
At a news conference in Johannesburg last week, Sanco's deputy general secretary, Mr Matthew Phetla, said 66 people were involved in the project.

When trained they would conduct workshops educating communities in the southern Transvaal on voting procedures. Sanco boasts four million members in this region.

The project is being conducted by experts from the Independent Mediation Services of South Africa and Matla Trust, specialists in the development of human resources, Phetla said.

Sanco will conduct its programme on a non-partisan basis because of the organisation's support base, which comprises members from the ANC, the PAC and Azapo.

The Sanco voter education programmes will run parallel to those conducted by other organisations, such as the Congress of South African Trade Unions (Cosatu).



This page is a joint project of MATLA TRUST and SOUTH

WHAT does the hill-side settlement of Imizamo Yethu in Hout Bay and the northern plains of Namibia have in common? Both are homes of Ovambo communities.

Although many Ovambo have lived and worked in Hout Bay for over a decade, some have still not been able to get work permits.

Those with permits are employed in Hout Bay harbour by companies like Irvin and Johnson, while those who haven't are employed on privately-owned boats at exploitative wages.

Department of Home Affairs spokesperson Mr Neil du Bois says that all Ovambo it "catches without work-permits, will be sent back to Namibia".

This approach is justified in terms of the law, but it ignores the fact that these Ovambo are not simply illegal immigrants.

Mr Charlmagne Mguga, Hout Bay ANC Youth League member, says his organisation believes the Ovambo are an integral part of the community.

"There are about 150 Ovambo living here with us. Most of them were a part of the community even before we moved up here," Mguga says.

"They were involved in our struggle to get this land. In December 1990, one of the Ovambo was killed in a struggle with the police around the land issue.

"How then can Home Affairs say that these people are not part of our community?

"In those days many of the

'Ovambo are here to stay'

South 37-77193



LOCALS: Ovambo residents (from Left) Namo Xholisa, Ntsikelelo and Michael Mfazwe

Ovambo stayed on the boats, but since we got land here they want to be able to have homes too. Most have local wives or girlfriends and want to be able to buy plots and settle down.

"When they were living on the boats and working here, Home Affairs didn't seem to mind them, it's only since they've started to settle in that the trouble started.

"It's crazy, even those with work permits and South African ID

books are having difficulties buying plots and houses in Imizamo Yethu — the camp administrator refuses them permission, saying they don't belong here."

Mguga refuted Home Affairs' argument that Ovambo were depriving South Africans of work by accepting lower salaries.

"It's not a question of them depriving others of work, but rather of them being exploited," he said.

"We are starting to mobilise to try

and improve their working conditions."

Despite pressure from Home Affairs, the Ovambo are becoming more involved in the community.

"At a recent ANC meeting a number of Ovambo were elected onto the executive committee. Finally they can voice their opinions in the broader community," Mguga comments.

Many Ovambo have more humble objectives than leadership posi-

tions in the ANC. All they want is to be left to live their lives at Imizamo Yethu.

Mr Festus Ndiili arrived in 1987. He works as a fisherman and has a work permit.

"I have two children in Namibia, but am not married. Maybe one day I will get married here. Whatever happens, I don't ever want to leave. This is my home now," Ndiili says.

Mr Ntsikelelo Idifali has been in Hout Bay since 1990.

"We are happy here as there is work. In Namibia, because they are restructuring the economy, it is difficult to find work.

"People come here looking for work and stay illegally because if they apply for passports and work-permits they are arrested.

"It seems to us that it is far easier to get a work permit if you're white; look at how many Eastern Europeans are coming to South Africa. We have as much right to be here as they do."

"Oupa" is an 87-year-old Dama who has lived in South Africa since 1946.

"I know all the people here, I don't know Ovambo or Xhosa, I just know people," he said.

"You can't say they're Ovambo and send them away, they're part of our community. We have here Xhosa, Zulu, coloured and Ovambo. We've worked hard over the years to create a peaceful community and we don't want Home Affairs, or anyone, to try and disrupt it."

BY SHANNON NEILL

Boubedryf Pensioenarisse

1. Was u all ooit die verlede werksaam in die boubedryf?
2. Is u ouer as 65?
3. Het u Boubedryf-voordeelseels ontvang?

Indien u "JA" geantwoord het op al drie vrae, en u het nog nooit pensioen geeis nie...

MOET ONS DRINGEND MET U PRAAT!

U word versoek om asseblief onverwyld met one in aanraking te kom by hierdie adres:

Die Bounywerheidsraad

W estelike Provinsie, Thomas Patullo-gebou,
Jan Smutsstraat 19,
Strandgebied
Kaapstad.

TELEFOON
(021) 21-2030

ansformed onal forums



Border-Kei Development Forum (BKDF)

and hostels.

The NHF identified 14 issues for immediate attention, of which four required intervention.

These were around the 1993/4 state budget for which a submission on the use of housing funds was presented to the government; negotiation with the government to achieve joint control of the R326-million to be used for upgrading hostels; an attempt to stop the government from selling off state land; and discussion with the government to prevent unilateral restructuring.

The Communication and Participation Committee (CAP) was organised to facilitate communication between constituencies and communities. It issues newsletters to constituencies and key actors.

THE BKDF was formed in July 1992. Groups directly represented are: Ciskei government, South African government, Transkei government, ANC, Cosatu, Democratic Party (DP), National Party (NP), PAC, South African Communist Party (SACP), Sanco, Border Business Action Committee, Border Regional Development Association, Border Services Organisation Forum.

The BKDF meets monthly. It is assisted by an executive committee which meets between monthly meetings. Both report back to each other on proceedings. It is left to BKDF members to inform their constituencies on progress.

The BKDF's specific objectives are to:

- Formulate strategies to alleviate poverty and improve economic

opportunities for less privileged communities.

- Focus on employment creation and maintenance.
- Identify policy instruments and opportunities for implementation within specific social and economic sectors.
- Encourage participation in planning and development by all.
- Identify those aspects which will strengthen the economic base of the sub-region.

Four working groups, under the auspices of a directorate, deal with economic development, urbanisation, human resources and rural development.

National Economic Forum (NEF)

THE NEF was formally constituted on 29 October 1992. It comprises three blocs: business, labour and government.

The NEF is split into committees dealing with short and long term issues. Long term issues are discussed at monthly meetings, while smaller task groups meet more regularly. Task groups report back at monthly meetings. When decisions are reached at these, a press statement is released.

The NEF aims to examine:

- Economic and related socio-economic issues while aiding the transition to democracy.
- The generation and sustaining of economic growth.
- Social and developmental needs.
- Improving utilisation of human and capital resources.
- Linking internal and international economic developments.
- Improving participation of stakeholders in economic decision-making.

Those organisations that do not fall into the required categories may apply to participate in the NEF if they represent a constituency affected by macro-economic policy, are representative and a national body.

National Training Board (NTB)

THE fourth NTB was formed on May 1, 1991, and will run for three years.

The board is appointed by the Minister of Manpower and consists of 24 members — seven each from employers and employees in the private sector, seven from training-related public sector groups and three with expertise and services useful to the board.

It meets three times a year and only reports to the public if a report has been concluded.

It liaises with concerned public groups.

Its objectives are to:

- Co-ordinate, facilitate and promote training.
- Identify needs, deficiencies and problems in training.
- Develop the national training infrastructure.
- Set training standards within the legislative and training framework.
- Collect information on manpower training.

Other forums currently working in South Africa include: The Food Logistics Forum, The Vaal Forum, Durban Region Initiative, PWV Regional Economic and Development Forum, Orange Free State REDF, Eastern Transvaal RDF, Central Witwatersrand Metropolitan Chamber, Kosh 2000 Initiative, Port Elizabeth Single City Forum, Eastern Cape REDF, Natal/Kwazulu REDF and the Northern Transvaal Development Forum.

National Electrification Forum (NELF):

THE NELF was launched on May 14, 1993. Membership includes central government, local government, civic organisations, trade unions, political parties, the business sector, Eskom and a number of development organisations.

It has a plenary which will be attended by stakeholders in electrification and a management committee supported by a secretariat. A working group will be created to advise on conflict resolution at a local and regional level.

NELF believes discussion and consultation with concerned communities to be as important as electrification. Electrification will, therefore, be a result of national consensus.

It plans to liaise with other forums working on related issues.

Its objectives are:

- To accelerate electrification in South Africa, particularly in disadvantaged communities. Residents will be empowered through training in specific skills.
- Bring social upliftment and improved health and living conditions through electrification.
- Stimulate economic growth in both the formal industrial sector and the informal sector through electrification.

National Consultative Forum on Drought (NCFD)

THE NCFD first met on June 26, 1992, to discuss drought relief measures. Since its inception its focus has shifted from drought response to rural development.

Membership comprises church representatives, civics, liberation movements, unions, business, non-governmental organisations, homeland governments, welfare organisations and central government.

A steering committee administers programmes with the support of a secretariat, an operations room and a number of task forces dealing with water supply, nutrition, employment, agriculture and long-term development.

It focuses on:

- Training communities to organise development in their areas.
- Providing communities with drought-proofing information.
- Providing skills training that aid development.
- Funding and infrastructure development.

It has established:

- A national early warning system (NEWS) to identify areas threatened by drought to try and deal with the problems before they become endemic.
- Regional forums to deal with regionally specific problems.
- A water supply task force to establish a water infrastructure for rural communities.
- An employment task force.
- A nutrition task force (NTF) functioning through working groups on food relief, surveillance and monitoring projects.

Govt by na

Joint control by all major political players over key national areas will soon be a reality with the institution of the transitional executive council and its sub-councils — mainly to facilitate the so-called "levelling of the playing fields". This will certainly transform government and decision making in South Africa during the run-up to the election.

But on several levels the ground has already been prepared for this transition to joint control.

During the past few years several forums have been established in important and contentious areas and have currently become an integral part of decision making. An Education Forum is being put together.

The major national and regional forums now number 22 — with the National Economic Forum, the new Local Government Negotiating Forum and the National Housing Forum the most important and influential.

Most of these forums are representative of a wide spectrum of disenfranchised people, but not all include government representatives.

Most consult with the public, while others mainly draw on the expertise of professionals.

It is still uncertain whether all will function after the election.

The National Economic Forum is set to play a key role next year when it will most likely help draft a provisional budget in the absence of a parliamentary sitting before the election.

The forerunner of these forums is the National Training Board set up shortly after new legislation in 1981 made its formation possible. But nearly all others sprang up after 1990 and their wide involvement is a far cry from the old advisory boards.

CHRISTELLE TERREBLANCHE and **SHANNON NEILL** focus on nine of the more important forums:

Western Cape Economic Development Forum (WCDEF)

THE WCDEF was formed in April 1991 and officially launched in December the same year.

It anticipates filling an important position in a future democratic government.

All members of the WCDEF are plenary members. This group meets quarterly and meetings are open to the press.

The plenary appointed a 16-member steering committee with four representatives from each of the four major voting blocs — organised labour, organised business, community and political organisations and regional and local authorities.

In addition, there are two non-voting blocs including development funding and service organisations, central government and the parastatals.

It established six commissions. These deal with:

- Short-term job creation through public works programmes, special employment projects and similar initiatives. Skills training will be an integral part of all job-creation programmes. The commission will identify agencies to implement employment programmes, rather than executing projects itself.
- Urban development which interacts with other relevant forums working in this area.
- Education and training is developing proposals to address questions of literacy and numeracy,

vocational training and organisational capacity building.

- Economic growth and restructuring will examine questions of attracting investment; export promotion; co-ordination of tourism development; co-ordination of small, medium and emergent enterprises support; and industrial growth restructuring strategies.
- Rural and agricultural development, focusing on the Winelands and the rural areas of the Western Cape.
- Development strategy integrating the work of all the commissions.

ment legislation and examining various legal and constitutional policy options and models.

ment legislation and examining various legal and constitutional policy options and models.

National Local Government Negotiating Forum (LGNF)

THE LGNF was launched on March 22, 1993. Its objective is to racially intergrate local government at all levels and it anticipates replacing the Council for Co-ordination of Local Government Affairs.

The LGNF has a statutory group involving local government, provincial administration and central government, and a non-statutory group working under the auspices of the South African National Civic Organisation (Sanco).

Its three working groups meet on a fortnightly basis. They report to a management committee which in turn reports to a 60-member plenary group. The LGNF holds regular press conferences to inform the public of its progress.

Its working groups deal with:

- Legal and constitutional matters, planning alternative local govern-

ment legislation and examining various legal and constitutional policy options and models.

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ment legislation and examining various legal and constitutional policy options and models.

Water and Sanitation 2000 (WS2000)

THIS FORUM, WS2000 was launched in 1991 by a group of professionals. This was extended to include other interested parties in January 1992 when the Standing Committee on Water Supply and Sanitation (SCOWSAS) was launched to compensate for the sector's inability to meet current needs. It is now known as either WS2000, or SCOWSAS.

Members of the standing committee include the Rural Advice Centre, ANC, Sanco, Congress of South African Trade Unions (Cosatu), Umgeni Water, Rand Water Board, Transvaal Provincial Administration, Inkatha Institute, Department of Water Affairs, Association of Water Boards, Human Sciences Research Council, SA Institute of Civil Engineers, Valley Trust, Pan Africanist Congress (PAC), Durban Water and Waste, Development Water and Waste, Development Bank of South Africa, Department of National Health, Azanian Peoples' Organisation



(Azapo), Water Research Commission, Watertek, Water Institute of Southern Africa and the Association of Regional Services Councils.

The standing committee meets monthly to review work done by sub-committees and task groups. At present it is left to committee members to inform their constituencies of progress.

SCOWSAS focuses on three areas:

- Education, training and affirmative action in the sector.
- Determining which institutions best meet the needs of the country.
- Deciding the costs of maintaining viable services.

SCOWSAS is not a negotiating body, but the feeling among some members is that it should be one.

The National Housing Forum (NHF)

THE NHF was formed in August 1991. It initially planned to deal with problems surrounding hostels, but extended this to include broader housing issues.

Members include the ANC, Azapo, Inkatha Freedom Party, PAC, Sanco, Material Manufacture and Supply Sector, Construction Consortium, Association of Mortgage Lenders, Life Offices Association, South African Co-ordinating Com-

mittee on Labour Affairs (Saccola), Cosatu, Independent Development Trust (IDT), Kagiso Trust, South African Housing Trust and the Urban Foundation.

The NHF is a negotiating forum involved in internal negotiation and external bi-lateral negotiation with the government.

It will provide a forum for discussion around housing, rather than providing housing itself.

It consists of a plenary which meets four times a year where all party is represented. It decides recommendations for the co-ordinating committee.

The co-ordinating committee a member from each party, meets regularly, and is aided by working groups. It is responsible for co-ordination and development of policy and strategy proposals.

The working groups are led by experts and trainee members from disadvantaged organisations. They deal with issues of land services, end-user finance and subsidies, housing options, institutional structures, integration of the

'Nongwe's broken promises sparked violence 31-7-11193

By Sabata Ngcal

CONTROVERSIAL squatter leader Mr Jeffrey Nongwe is responsible for the violence in Crossroads, claims one of his former committee members.

Mr Amos Nyhakathya, who broke away from Nongwe's committee in February, said trouble began when Nongwe could not fulfil his promise to build houses.

When Nongwe took over the squatter leadership from Johnson Ngxobongwana in 1990, he persuaded people from Section One to move to Lower Crossroads in order to prepare land for housing.

He allegedly promised that the people would pay rent of 75 cents a month when houses were built.

The houses would be ready by the end of 1990.

Nongwe allegedly told people to "put a tyre around my neck" if he did not fulfil his promise.

But by the end of 1991 no houses had been built. In October 1992,

Nongwe told residents from Sections Two and Three to move to Lower Crossroads.

Residents insisted they were not prepared to move until the houses promised to Section One residents were built.

Reminding him of his "promise", they demanded to put a tyre around his neck.

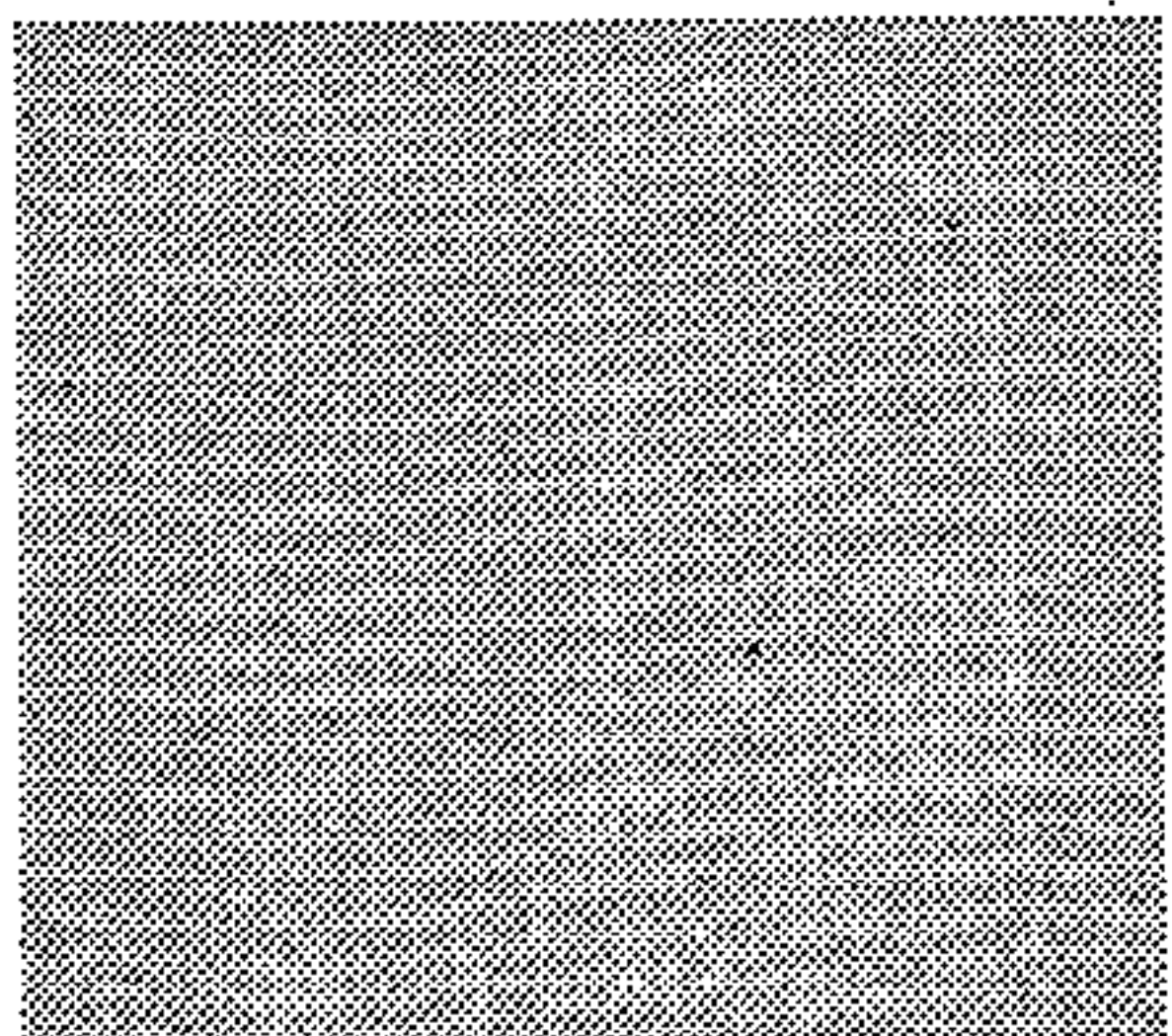
Residents discovered that a contract signed by Nongwe and the Cape Provincial Administration was for servicing the sites only.

It is claimed Nongwe demanded a seven rand a month levy from each of the 80 000 squatter residents since the beginning of 1992.

In January this year, after Nongwe returned from holiday in Transkei, he tried to find out from his men if the Section Two and Three residents still resisted moving.

Nongwe allegedly told his headmen at the January meeting that the residents would be forced to move.

This resulted in some committee members breaking away from his



JEFFREY NONGWE

"cabinet".

Nongwe could not be reached for comment by the time of going to press.

More than 40 people have died, hundreds injured, and shacks destroyed since February this year.

"As long as Nongwe, the SADF and the police are still in Crossroads, there will never be peace," Nyhakathya said.

Police spokesperson Colonel Raymond Dowd dismissed the statement as "untrue".

"If it wasn't the presence of the SADF in Crossroads there would be more violence," he said.

'Road map to democracy' 31-7-11193

By Christelle Terreblanche and Sapa

CONSTITUTIONAL negotiating came into its own yesterday when "sufficient consensus" was reached by multi-party negotiators to go ahead with drawing up of an interim constitution for elections. (30419)

Fears of another breakdown in talks early on Wednesday were allayed after several bilateral meetings in which major obstacles were overcome. (30419)

The deal saw the ANC and the NP concede that both strong regional and national government will feature in the interim constitution, which will continue to bind an elected constituent assembly that writes a permanent constitution for South Africa.

Details of the regional powers still need to be thrashed out.

"The road map to democracy has been adopted. Wonderful," Sapa quoted ANC secretary-general Cyril Ramaphosa as saying.

The minister of Constitutional Development, Roelf Meyer, added: "Today was probably one of the most important days in the negotiation process so far."

Experts from the technical committees were wary to comment shortly after the compromise, but said it certainly meant major advances had been made. (30419)

The compromise brokered on Wednesday means that the boundaries, powers, functions, duties and structures of regions will be finalised by the unelected multi-party forum during the current round of negotiations.

These will then be binding on an elected constitution-making body.

Sources say there will not be a separate national constitution and regional constitutions. Principles for both will be entrenched in a single "list" drawn up by the negotiating council.

The technical committee on constitutional affairs will draw up the interim constitution and hand it to the negotiating council for debate before being endorsed.



AR 6
3/7/93

Clearly intending to play down the walkout and keep the door open to Cosag, Mr Ramaphosa said parties should be allowed time to consult with their leaders. The ANC was satisfied that no party had been "steamrolled" into any agreements, he said.

Mr Meyer and Mr Ramaphosa telephoned President De Klerk and ANC president Mr Nelson Mandela in Washington after the meeting.

April 27 - SA goes to the polls

(3044)
MCC
3/7/93

IT'S DASTY!

ESTHER WAUGH and CHRIS WHITFIELD
Weekend Argus Correspondents

The ANC and the government have bitten the bullet and forced real movement towards a new order and a firm election date, bypassing vigorous opposition from the Concerned South Africans Group.

Yesterday's negotiations ended with a symbolic walkout from the negotiating forum by the Inkatha Freedom Party, the Kwazulu government and the Conservative Party over a decision to fix April 27 as the date for the first democratic elections — but all are expected back in the process soon.

Some Cosag members rejected the "sufficient consensus" basis on which the agreement was struck after significant progress and studious attempts were made by other parties to avoid confrontation that could damage the process.

Besides the election date, overwhelming agreement was reached among the 26 parties in the World Trade Centre on:

- The process to be followed in arriving at a democratic order — including the drafting of legislation for a transitional executive council;

- The principles that would be binding on a constitution-making body; and

- How to tackle the violence sweeping the country.

A draft constitution could be tabled in two weeks and government negotiations chief Mr Roelf Meyer and his ANC counterpart Mr Cyril Ramaphosa are confident it could be adopted and ready to be passed through parliament in August.

The election date was always going to be the crunch issue and it was evident that the IFP and Kwazulu delegations had returned from an overnight consultation with Chief Mangosuthu Buthelezi with attitudes hardened.

A lengthy argument broke out in the forum — which ratified negotiating council agreements — over whether enough parties had supported the issue to provide for "sufficient consensus".

A break of nearly two hours for meetings on the issue failed to provide a solution in spite of several compromise resolutions being submitted.

It is understood that IFP delegates told negotiators that their instructions from Ulundi were not to discuss any compromise.

"The IFP and Kwazulu delegations came here with instructions to protest," said sources.

However, IFP delegation leader Mr Joe Matthews told journalists that the organisation would be back when negotiations resume in two weeks.

He added that the IFP's continued participation depended on a draft interim constitution being compiled by a negotiations technical committee. The draft should be ready for negotiators when they resume work.

CP negotiator Mr Tom Langley said a decision on when to return to the talks would be made in consultation with party leader Dr Ferdi Hartzenberg.

■ To page 3.

■ From page 1.

Other Cosag members — Bophuthatswana, Ciskei and the Afrikaner Volksunie — did not join the walkout but reserved their positions.

Essentially, however, the day was marked by considerable progress in several areas:

- Fixing the election date for April 27 next year, or earlier if possible. It was noted that adoption of a transitional constitution and other agreements would have to be reached before elections;

- How the transition process should run, including the transitional executive council, simultaneous elections for both central and regional government and the delimitation of boundaries for regions before elections;

- An independent media commission and an independent electoral commission will also be established;

- Discriminatory legislation will be scrapped;

- A range of principles that will be binding on a constitution-making body were agreed on. These make provision for a proportional representation election, a multiparty democracy, a bill of rights, three-tier government with democratic representation and "adequate legislative and executive powers" at each level;

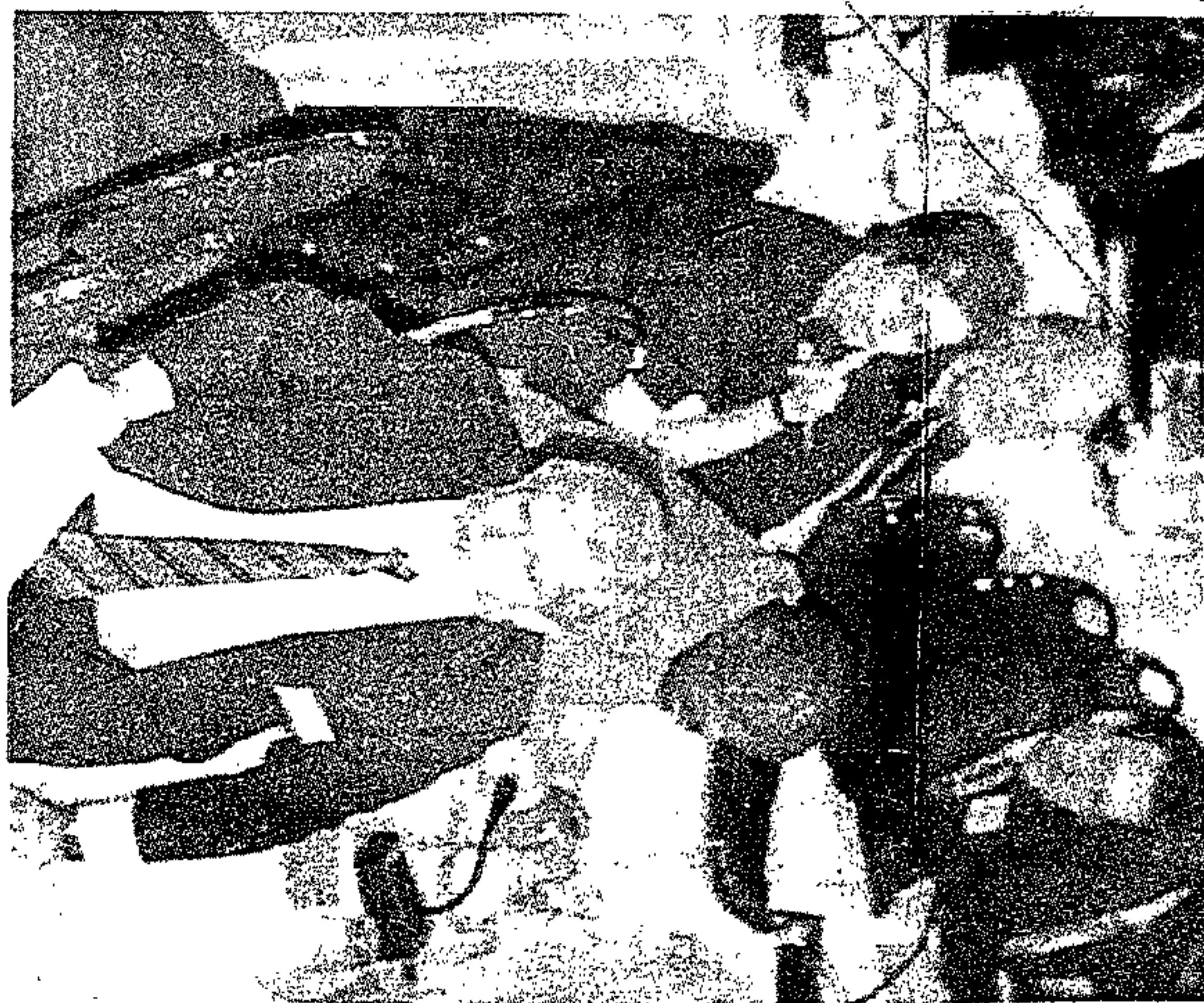
Mr Meyer characterised the day as "a step in the process of developing the new South Africa" in spite of the walkouts.

- Steps were also agreed on to end violence, including a national peacekeeping force, moves toward unified security forces and the ending of hostilities.

Mr Ramaphosa said: "The democracy train is on track to its ultimate destination."

He added: "This is one train that will not and cannot be de-

□ NOT INTERESTED: The IFP's Walter Felgate leaves the conference hall at the World Trade Centre yesterday in protest at a date being set for elections next year.



Death blow to apartheid

■ From page 1

matter of time. Nelson Mandela may even ask for the economic siege of the apartheid state to be lifted when he and Mr de Klerk receive a joint "liberty" award tomorrow from President Bill Clinton in Philadelphia. (304A)

Negotiators taking part in multi-party talks officially declared yesterday afternoon, despite objections from the right wing, that elections would be held on 27 April next year for a government of national unity whose primary task it would be to draft and adopt a new constitution. ARG 3/7/93

The decision hammered virtually the last nail into the coffin of the system which has legally enforced racial discrimination in South Africa for the past 45 years and caused untold suffering to the country's black majority.

The nub of the sanctions issue is not so much the limited remaining government sanctions originally imposed by President Reagan in 1985, but the dozens of measures taken by individual states and cities, and the boycott threats against US companies which did business with white-ruled South Africa. Only a clear and unequivocal statement by Mr Mandela will suffice to end these restrictions.

Yesterday's resolution confirming the election date contained a number of clauses designed to appease the dissident and disparate Cosag grouping, such as the proviso that numerous agreements on the nature of the post-apartheid state would have to be reached in the multi-party talks before an election could take place.



■ WASHINGTON VISIT: US secretary of State Warren Christopher escorts President F W de Klerk into the State Department in Washington yesterday.



■ ON TOUR: Allan Neuharth chairman of the Freedom Forum gives ANC president Nelson Mandela a tour at the Forum in Arlington, Virginia. Former hostage Associate Press Middle East correspondent Terry Anderson, left takes part in the tour.

Clinton offer to get SA back into world

PETER FABRICIUS
Weekend Argus Bureau

WASHINGTON. —

US President Bill Clinton has promised support for South Africa and given a commitment to persuade the G7 nations to help reintroduce the country into the world economy.

Mr Clinton promised this support after a meeting with President De Klerk and ANC leader Mr Nelson Mandela at the White House late yesterday.

However, Mr Clinton made it clear that this would be conditional on the establishment of a Transitional Executive Committee or a similar form of interim government.

His separate meetings with the two South Africans was marred by the cancellation of an expected joint "photo" session. This opportunity of showing unity between the country's top leaders was apparently called off at the request of the ANC.

South African diplomatic sources said it seemed the ANC did not wish to give Mr De Klerk added credibility by Mr Mandela and Mr Clinton appearing in a photograph with him.

Mr Clinton said in a statement the US administration was working with Congress and anti-apartheid groups to develop additional support means for South Africa once negotiations had progressed to a point where it was appropriate to lift remaining sanctions.

■ Apartheid will end next year. For the first time in South African history people of all races will take part in elections for a democratic government on 27 April 1994, report JOHN CARLIN and RUPERT CORNWELL in Washington

An end to international sanctions is, as President FW de Klerk said yesterday, simply a

■ To page 3

Talks train steams ahead

(304A) ARG 3/7/93

DALE LAUTENBACH
Political Staff

A SUMMIT between Inkatha leader Chief Mangosuthu Buthelezi and President De Klerk leading to a "record of understanding" between them might be what it takes to break the pattern of IFP intransigence at the multiparty talks.

No one has formulated this in so many words for the record yet, but reading between the lines of what happened at the Negotiating Forum meeting yesterday when the election date of April 27 next year was ratified by "sufficient consensus", this might be the only way to root out the ill will which saw the IFP and the Kwazulu government delegations leave the forum in protest.

For those parties that did support the date the day's work was a relentless push forward to a democratic future and, as ANC negotiator Cyril Ramaphosa put it, a move "on the democracy train" towards a final settlement by mid or late August.

He felt the major obstacles were behind the negotiators, that the framework for a transitional constitution and the transition process had been constructed and that what lay ahead was the filling in of details.

A tired government negotiator, Roelf Meyer, was also upbeat and said that while for some it had been a day of obstacles, it had also been "another step forward in the process of the development of the new South Africa".

■ Significant progress was made at negotiations yesterday, despite the IFP's last-minute walk-out.

When the meeting ended he spoke to Mr De Klerk in Washington and "the president is comfortable about what happened here in the sense that we achieved what we wanted".

Of the parties that walked out, he said their moves had not been unexpected and there was "no significant reason for concern". He believed they would be back and the door to the negotiations process remained open.

The day was characterised by a "will-they, won't-they" guessing game as to whether the IFP and Kwazulu delegations would walk out over the ratification of the election date.

In the event they did, about one minute before the end and with the qualifier from IFP negotiator Joe Matthews that they were merely "adjourning to consult our principals".

The move, based on their objection to the ruling of the resolution's adoption by sufficient consensus, could not be characterised as a definitive exit from negotiations.

The Conservative Party piggybacked on this little display, but for very different reasons. Namely, that self-determination for Afrikaners has not been guaranteed.

Other members of the Concerned South Africans Group — Bophuthatswana, Ciskei and the Afrikaner Volk-

sunie — did not join the walkout but reserved their positions.

For some time the perception has been discussed widely that the principal in the case of the IFP, Chief Mangosuthu Buthelezi, was the problem. Many have expressed the opinion that understandings and agreements have been reached by IFP and Kwazulu negotiators at Kempton Park only to run on to the rocks when they reported back to Ulundi.

Dr Ben Ngubane, leader of the Kwazulu delegation, acknowledged that the perception about Chief Buthelezi's rule from Ulundi was an "unfortunate one that does not make our task easier".

It seems, though, that attitudes towards the IFP are hardening. National Party negotiator Leon Wessels warned at the start of yesterday's proceedings that "the process is bigger than any one party".

ANC and government negotiators who deal with the IFP in bilaterals and often report success there are at pains to know how to deal with their absent partner, Chief Buthelezi. There have been suggestions in some quarters that if he attended negotiations himself he might get a better grip on this process, in which no one gets precisely their own way.

At the heart of the IFP demand is a strong federal system for South Africa. This has received virtual guarantees in negotiations of late with even SACP negotiator Mr Joe Slovo noting that it was "common cause" that the constitution would have both unitary and federalist elements.

FW, Mandela

Cifred 417193

Bickering dominates US visit

IT was to have been a display of black-white harmony in SA's quest for a non-racial system but there was more friction than friendship in Washington on Friday between State President FW de Klerk and ANC president Nelson Mandela.

Their differences prompted cancellation of a White House photo session. Beyond that there was long-distance sparring between the two on the question of sanctions against SA.

At one point, Mandela said De Klerk was "irrelevant". De Klerk, in turn, said Mandela's ANC was aggravating poverty in SA by insisting that sanctions remain in place. (304A)

The day began with word from SA that negotiators had reached final agreement on terms for a one-person, one-vote election next April 27. (304A)

Mandela welcomed the announcement but said sanctions should remain intact until the setting up of an interim government. (304A)

Unemployed are paying

At a luncheon gathering, De Klerk reacted sharply when he was asked about Mandela's stand on sanctions.

"Every day that we lose, somebody pays for it. And it's not me and Mr Mandela," he said. "It's not the political leaders who are paying for this. The unemployed are paying for it. And those without a roof above their heads. And those who are hungry."

Later, Mandela was asked about a De Klerk prediction that the sanctions could be lifted in six to eight weeks if the negotiation process went smoothly.

Standing in the White House driveway, Mandela said de Klerk had fought very hard to prevent sanctions in the first place. The decision to remove them, Mandela said, "does not lie with him. And he has no right to set any time frames. He just is irrelevant on the question of removal of sanctions".

Their day was to have been crowned by a joint photo session with Clinton in the Rose Garden. But the White House cancelled it without explanation less than an hour beforehand. - Sapa-Reuter

→ class

By THEMBA KHUMALO

BARRING an unforeseen obstacle, South African political organisations could from next week start preparing themselves for the country's first general elections, earmarked for early next year.

In a major ground-breaking compromise aimed at placating both supporters and opponents of an early election date, negotiators agreed to the drawing up of an interim constitution based on both strong central and regional government.

This compromise went a long way towards satisfying the two camps divided between the Inkatha-aligned Concerned South Africans Group (Cosag) who favour strong regional government and the Patriotic Front which favours a strong, central authority.

The breakthrough came after two days of intense behind-the-scenes bargaining in lengthy bilaterals and multilaterals, punctuated by prolonged adjournments, demonstrations and fears of walkouts.

So tense was the mood before the midweek breakthrough that SACP chief negotiator Joe Slovo accused the Cosag group of trying to stall the talks because they "feared the outcome of the elections".

An exasperated Slovo warned that the democratic process might have to go on without certain parties if they deluded themselves into thinking that they might stand in the way of elections. In an uncompromising mood, Slovo, said: "If there has to be a parting of ways, so be it."

Both Cosag and the ANC factions seemed to be digging in their heels and earlier predictions were that prospects of a compromise were receding fast - until Wednesday's breakthrough.

Although there is now hope for an early election date, refusal by Cosag and the PAC to endorse the resolution to mandate the Technical Committee on Constitutional Issues to draw up a draft constitution, has raised concern about obstacles being raised.

The Cosag grouping has taken divided positions on the issue. The CP, which is one of the two senior members of this alliance (the other being Inkatha), rejected the resolution outright. The other members, which included Inkatha, KwaZulu, Bophuthatswana, Ciskei governments and the Afrikaner Volksunie reserved their positions until the constitution is drawn up.

"We don't want to go into the future blindfolded, giving an interim government a blank cheque for the abuse of power," they said.

The 26 parties at the talks have been divided between the ANC, PAC and Pretoria and their allies who want elections to be held before the drafting of a new constitution so as to guarantee accountability on the one hand, and the Cosag group who demand the drafting of the constitution before elections to obviate the "abuse of power".

Explaining their stance, Ramaphosa said the current negotiators did not have a mandate to draw up a constitution because they were not elected.

Ramaphosa said: "As far as the ANC is concerned it will be undemocratic for the parties here to draw up a constitution because we are an unelected and therefore undemocratic lot. We should see ourselves more



GREAT COUNTDOWN... Sham elections, such as these forming part of the old PW Botha tricameral system, are gone and could be replaced by the REAL thing!

Many bilaterals and multilaterals later a broad agreement is reached

C (Rads 417193

D-DAY LOOMS

as facilitators of the peace process than elected representatives of SA."

The ANC has had to climb down from this position and has now agreed that the constitution be drafted by the Technical Committee on Constitutional Matters, itself an "undemocratic lot".

Veteran advocate Arthur Chaskalson leads the team of lawmakers serving on this committee which is now faced with the daunting task of drawing up the document which will essentially be the supreme governing law of a new SA.

The draft document will also provide for deadlock-breaking mechanisms and special majorities by which decisions will be taken.

It will provide for the election of regional legislatures and the establishment of regional governments in the transition. Fundamental human rights during the transition will also be catered for.

The Commission on Delimitation/Demarcation appointed by the 26 parties will make recommendations on regional boundaries for the purposes of elections and on regional government during the transitional

phase.

The parties agreed on the legislation to make provision for the establishment of a Transitional Executive Council, an Independent Electoral Commission, an Independent Media Commission and Independent Broadcasting Authority.

The breakthrough comes on the eve of ANC leader, Nelson Mandela and State President FW De Klerk receiving the Philadelphia Liberty Award from US President Bill Clinton in recognition of their peace role in SA.

JULIUS ROBERTS' FURY

C/Press 44-7/93

By THEMBA KHUMALO

INKATHA has threatened to unleash the wrath of "two million" supporters in the streets countrywide to stop the ANC, the government and 18 other parties from setting April 27 next year as a date for SA's first non-racial general elections.

This warning was sounded by Inkatha central committee member Walter Felgate.

He was speaking soon after Inkatha chief negotiator Joe Mathews led a walkout by his party and the Conservative Party during the negotiating forum talks at the World Trade Centre on Friday.

Felgate said the walkout was aimed at showing that people on the ground were "sick and tired" of ANC-government "manipulation" of the talks.

"We are saying we don't want an interim government. We want the general elections to be held all at once at the end of next year once a new constitution has been drawn up and accepted by every citizen."

He said violence was a possible option to force the pro-April date parties to defer their proposal.

Felgate added his party and the CP would consult their principals and by this week they would probably begin holding bilateral talks with the government and the ANC to try to strike a compromise.

The walkout came after forum chairman Pravin Gordhan ruled that the

Inkatha vows to take to the streets

election date had been reached "through sufficient consensus".

The date was also opposed by the PAC, Ciskei, Afrikaner Volksunie and Bophuthatswana delegates. (4/2)

Patricia de Lille of the PAC said they were opposed to the April date because the proposed interim constitution would be binding on the constituent assembly. The PAC would nevertheless take part in the April elections. (4/2)

Opponents of the date were roundly condemned as "opportunists and power-mongers, most of whom benefited in the apartheid office". (30/4/93)

Maria Moramochi of Nelson Mandela's United People's Party drew loud applause when she said some people were opposed to the date because they led "fat-cat lives and their children attended the best schools while people on the ground were homeless and their children had no education at all".

However, ANC general secretary Cyril Ramaphosa and Minister of Constitutional Development Roelf Meyer - at separate press conferences afterwards - expressed hope that Inkatha and the CP would resume their seats when the Negotiating Council reopened two weeks from now.



AT THE WORLD TRADE CENTRE

IT'S all over bar the shouting — and one last, feverish round of horse-trading.

The shouting will be loud and long, and will range from the ululation of Inkatha-supporting Zulus girding for battle to the lonely pule of the Conservative Party.

The horse-trading will centre on the wording of legislation to flesh out a remarkable range of decisions taken on the form and substance of the next constitution and how to get there.

Full settlement is months away, but the most important concerns of the ANC and its opposition in Cosag were met in principle this week.

The ANC wanted a constituent assembly to be elected to draft South Africa's "final" constitution. Cosag parties wanted to have a say in that constitution now, before many of them are all but wiped out by that election.

The two bottom lines were linked in a resolution adopted this week.

Cosag — a loose grouping of Inkatha, people who have homelands and people who want them — has made its acceptance conditional on getting the sort of interim constitution it wants and binding the future constituent assembly to the constitutional principles underpinning the draft (204A) (IFP).

This is a big, but not insurmountable, condition. It remains to be seen whether the ANC and the government's stated commitment to strong regional government goes far enough to meet the fears and needs of the Cosag parties.

Parties have eight days to tell the technical committee on constitutional issues what they would like to see written into the next constitution.

Once again this brilliant group of lawyers and academics will have to marry fears and hopes, democratic and peculiarly South African clauses into a comprehensible document. They are good at this.

Between the acceptance of the draft constitution and elections lies a transitional phase. Great strides were made in this area as well with the acceptance, in principle, of a Transitional Executive Council, an Independent Media Commission, Independent Broadcasting Authority and Independent Electoral Commission.

Other technical committees will spend the next two weeks drafting legislation for these transitional organs.

Inkatha, whose petulant chief has tried to block almost every wobbly step forward, and which remains uncommitted to allowing the process to progress until it sees the final draft constitution, felt the chill wind of *realpolitik* blowing through its cosy Cosag parlour this week as allies opted for movement.

Inkatha's junior partners realised that their common end-goal — strong regions and shelter from the harsh light of elec-

tions — was being hampered by Ulundi's dyspeptic blasts.

"We are a group of people with very different philosophies," said Bophuthatswana's Rowan Cronje after Friday's forum meeting when asked why he had not joined the IFP in walking out "to consult principals" on the election issue.

It was Mr Cronje who brokered the bilateral agreement that led to the breakthrough.

This crucial meeting on Wednesday — between Cosag and the Patriotic Front

— was characterised by "a really constructive attitude on both sides", he said, as Messrs Slovo and Ramaphosa went out of their way to assure the meeting of their commitment to strong regional government.

Not present at the bilateral meeting was Mr Walter

Felgate, defender and comforter of the unfortunate Dr Mario Ambrosini, an American citizen and constitutional adviser who is increasingly getting on the nerves of Inkatha delegates and the talks at large.

Dr Ambrosini was kicked out of Friday's forum because he is a non-South African — and after IFP delegation leader Joe Matthews muttered that he was "not even aware this person was here. I am not giving this person any protection".

Dr Ambrosini may have looked even more miserable than usual, but Roelf Meyer and Cyril Ramaphosa both wore huge grins on Friday.

Their unseemly race to be recorded as proposer of the breakthrough resolution on Wednesday said it all.

Mr Meyer won, but both men had pulled it off by deliberately restraining themselves from confronting the crucial issue of the talks for three long months.

Behind the scenes, two powerful and opposing forces had kept this delicate strategy on course.

The government, with a smug 45 years of barely accountable rule under its belt, knew how to be patient, how to spend hours, weeks, listening to the concerns of the other delegates until they slowly shed some suspicions, trusting first the process and then their own voices.

The ANC, hounded by a hungry and volatile constituency, brought the urgency of this ominous rumble to the talks.

"Every day was a learning and teaching process," said a government source. "For the first time we had to deal with the raw politics of a real constituency out there."

At the end of an extraordinary week, an unstoppable vehicle was set in motion. And, with a very real interest in the draft constitution to be bashed out between now and mid-August, Cosag will be committed as never before.

Claire Robertson

^{SITimes 4/7/93} New ship of state gets ready to sail

Park, where the white ruling class is represented by the NP, the DP and the ANC, and the white underclass is represented by Cosag.

The fact that white workers were the strongest supporters of apartheid was only to be expected. All over the world, racial and national differences are felt more keenly lower down the social scale.

As people advance economically and socially, they become more secure, they are able to move into suburbs further removed from the racial frontline, and they begin to copy the liberal fashions of the international bourgeoisie.

THE fundamental reason for the collapse of apartheid was that since 1948 a large fraction of the whites had moved from the working class to the middle class and had adopted the liberal ideas of the upper class. Sanctions, by slowing down this process, merely prolonged apartheid (which I believe was the aim, conscious or unconscious, of the sanctions campaign).

The whites who remain in the working class are not only potentially dangerous politically but are of crucial importance to the economy. South Africa is awash with university graduates but it has a critical shortage of tradesmen.

The white artisans, foremen and supervisors are the bedrock of South African industry. It is mainly because of them that we have the best infrastructure in Africa. When black workers have gone on strike at large factories, production has been little affected; if white workers went on strike, production would cease completely.

During a recent visit to Zimbabwe, I was struck by the failure of Zesa (Zimbabwe's Eskom) to provide

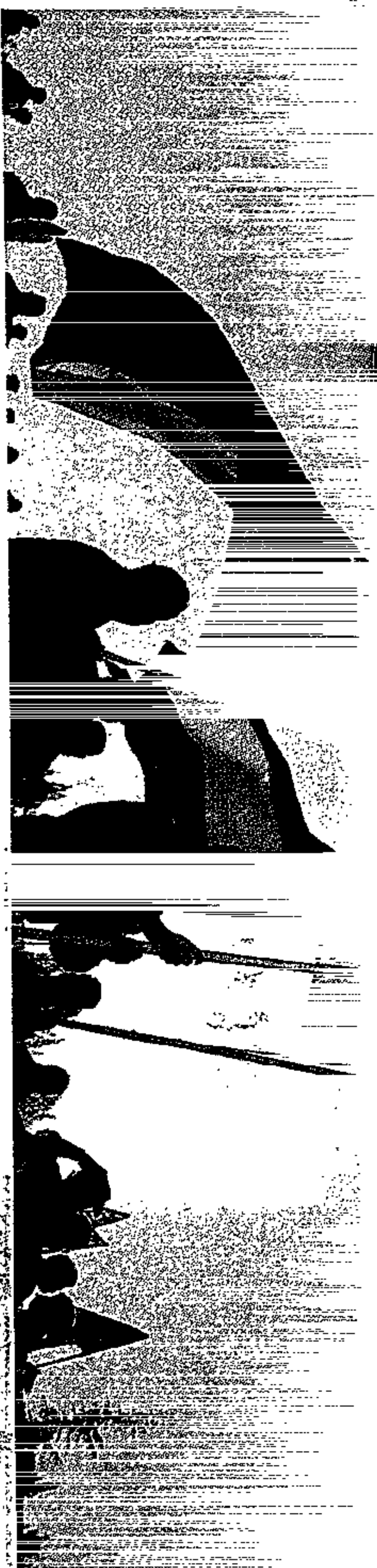
sufficient electricity, despite having good power stations, particularly at Hwange. The reason is that it lacks the skilled men to run them. The white artisans left Zimbabwe en masse when President Robert Mugabe took over, and the economy has been devastated by their departure.

At our mill in South Africa, there are a number of these ex-Rhodesians, all excellent, skilled workers who could easily run those power stations. All of them still love the country of Zimbabwe, and all of them hate Mugabe, as he seems to hate them.

A similar mutual loathing exists in South Africa between white workers and the ANC. The leaders of the ANC, who are quite at ease in the company of the white capitalist bosses, seem unable to talk to the white toiling masses. Support for the ANC and the Communist Party is limited to the most privileged whites, such as the precious souls who inhabit our universities.

The white workers overwhelmingly prefer Inkatha to the ANC. Part of the reason might be that Inkatha, even if it contains the ancient Zulu enemy, is clearly indigenous — of South African soil — whereas the ANC, with its overseas funding and advice, seems foreign, condescending and anti-South African.

The National Party, which



FEARFUL ... white workers, abandoned by the National Party, now rally around the AWB flag.

Picture: CHRISTINE NESBITT

was once the party of the white workers, abandoned them as it moved up the social ladder. The CP and its allies, being closer to the land and the workshop, have moved in to woo them.

In the 70s, business leaders, from the vantage point of their head offices in Johannesburg and their swimming pools in Sandton, realised that there must be a redistribution of wealth. So, facing the challenge with unflinching resolve, they dug deep into the pockets of their white workers to give to their black workers.

THE result is that skilled white workers in South Africa are now worse off than skilled workers in Western Europe (from where they originated), whereas unskilled black workers are enormously better off than unskilled workers in black Africa.

On the factory floor, white workers sullenly endure the reforming edicts of their remote bosses, including affirmative action (which, they believe, is a plot to replace them with black men). Ordinary, decent men though they are, they are driven, by the imperious attitudes of senior management, to seek security in other directions.

When I asked an engineering foreman, an English

immigrant, why he had joined the whites-only Iron and Steel Union, which is sympathetic to the CP, he replied in a thick Lancashire accent: "Because nobody else looks after the white worker." After work, the white workers buy guns, cheer the CP, attend the rallies of the AWB, and are now looking to General Constand Viljoen for salvation.

In England, newspapers like the Daily Mirror and the Sun express the concerns of the working man. In South Africa, the white workers have no public voice. Public debate among whites consists entirely of middle-class chatter among journalists, politicians, academics and businessmen — among people who have no experience, and no understanding, of life in factories and mines.

When majority rule came to Zimbabwe, the white workers left. But the white workers in South Africa have nowhere to flee. Brooding, unsettled and fearful, they feel cut out of the deal for the new South Africa. They are rejected by the NP, ignored by the academics and editors, abused by big business and despised by the ANC.

They are vital to the economy. They are heavily armed. I suggest we start talking to them.

□ Andrew Kenny is an engineer at a South African factory

S. TAMES

4/7/93

504A

But what about the (white) workers?

THERE are two taboo subjects in South African politics. Each is as shocking to the politically correct as sex was to the Victorian English.

The first is the failure of black Africa. There is a stricken silence when you point out that black Africa under majority rule is a catastrophe, much worse than South Africa under apartheid.

The second is the white working class. The same silence falls when you point out that it was only the privileged whites who opposed apartheid and that the white working class supported it all the way.

A political chasm divides white South Africa. It is not between the English and Afrikaners but between rich and poor. The rich welcome the new South Africa; the poor deplore it. On one side are the accountants and academics who live in northern Johannesburg and Pretoria's Waterkloof; on the other are the boilermakers and mechanics who live in Vanderbijlpark and Secunda. You can see this division

When the AWB broke into the World Trade Centre, the almost universal reaction of white workers at the factory at which ANDREW KENNY works was one of chortling delight. He explains why

(3044)

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DP spotlight on youth

Sitiveno 4-1-1993
IT was crucial to show the amount of support the Democratic Party had among young people, national chairman of the DP Youth Fred Nel said at the 1993 national congress near Bloemfontein this weekend.

Mr Nel said young people would form the largest segment of the voters in the election, which would "hopefully" be held in April 1994.

He added that the DP was the only party committed to a new South Africa which did not have a military wing. — Sapa

(238) (304A)

Right-wing towns vow to fight 'mixed' control

STI 11/11/93

RIGHT-WING town councils vowed this week to take up arms rather than hand over control of "white" facilities.

Conservative Party spokesman on local government Pikkie Coetzee said 87 councils in the Transvaal, Free State and Cape had pledged support for the Afrikaner Volksfront's Plan C, aimed at forcing recognition of a volkstaat.

"We will not accept the proposed legislation that would see non-racial councils in place by October. It's simple: we do not want members of the ANC or SACP running our towns. We will not let them take over and tell us what to do," said Mr Coetzee. (2044A)

He said residents of 66 CP-controlled towns in the Transvaal had supplied a mandate for action by voting for the right-wing councils. "This means they recognise the sovereignty of whites, and this will be maintained."

By JOCELYN MAKER

The Local Government Negotiating Forum resolved at a plenary session on Wednesday that existing local authorities be replaced by nominated transitional local and metropolitan councils. Legislation to this effect is to be tabled during the short session of Parliament in September.

The town-council of Villiers responded to the announcement by firing off a letter to Local Government Minister Tertius Delport — a key member of the government's negotiating team at the multi-party talks — the Free State Provincial Administration and the United Municipal Executive.

Voted

Mr Ockert van der Westhuizen, mayor of the northern Free State town, said his council would "fight tooth and nail" against racial integration.

He said his council "remained true to Christian norms and standards as spelled out in the Bible" and believed "God introduced differentiation, and that which God has separated should not be joined by people".

"More than 50 percent of Free Staters voted "no" in last year's referendum and, combined with the outcome of the 1988 municipal elections, this gives us a clear mandate — they did not want the Separate Amenities Act abolished and they do not want a multi-racial council."

Arrest

Mr van der Westhuizen — a district leader of the Volksfront and member of the OFS Municipal Association's executive council — said all 12 CP-controlled councils in the province would "rather shoot it out than hand over their municipalities".

"We will not allow blacks to run this council, and if anyone tries to force us, there'll be a revolution."

"Residents will stop paying rates and taxes, light and water bills and the police will have to arrest the councillors and mayors. We will make our towns ungovernable."

Mr Koos le Roux, president of the CP-dominated Transvaal Municipal Association, said the organisation totally rejected the proposed legislation.

"We intend to remain in place and should our concept of self-determination be ignored and mixed councils be forced on us, there will be trouble."

"The TMA is committed to a peaceful solution and we have shown our willingness to assist our non-white neighbours through services, advice and financial support, which is happening in a multitude of Transvaal towns."

Mossel Bay mayor Johan Oosthuizen said the nine CP-controlled town councils in the Cape would resist multiracial control.

"Mr de Klerk is in charge of a jellyfish government and not even he can stop me. I will not allow my town to be run the way he wants it," he said.

De Klerk and Mandela in amazing Washington stand-off

SA SQUABBLES RUN THE SHOW

SI Times 4/17/93

By EDYTH BULBRING in Washington

SHABBY party politicking thwarted an attempt by US President Bill Clinton to turn this week's visit to America by President FW de Klerk and ANC leader Nelson Mandela into a display of national unity that would unlock billions of rands in aid for South Africa.

The American hosts, who went out of their way to assure economic support for a democratic South Africa, looked on in amazement as Mr Mandela repeatedly snubbed Mr de Klerk and the two leaders traded personal attacks in a visit fraught with tension. (3047) (3047) One example was Mr Mandela's refusal to be photographed

with the two presidents on the White House steps.

How Mrs Clinton



snubbed Mariké

By EDYTH BULBRING

MRS Mariké de Klerk received a resounding snub from America's First Lady, Hillary Clinton, when an approach by the South African embassy for a meeting between the two presidential wives was ignored.

Cockereels crow as the Boks just miss the mark

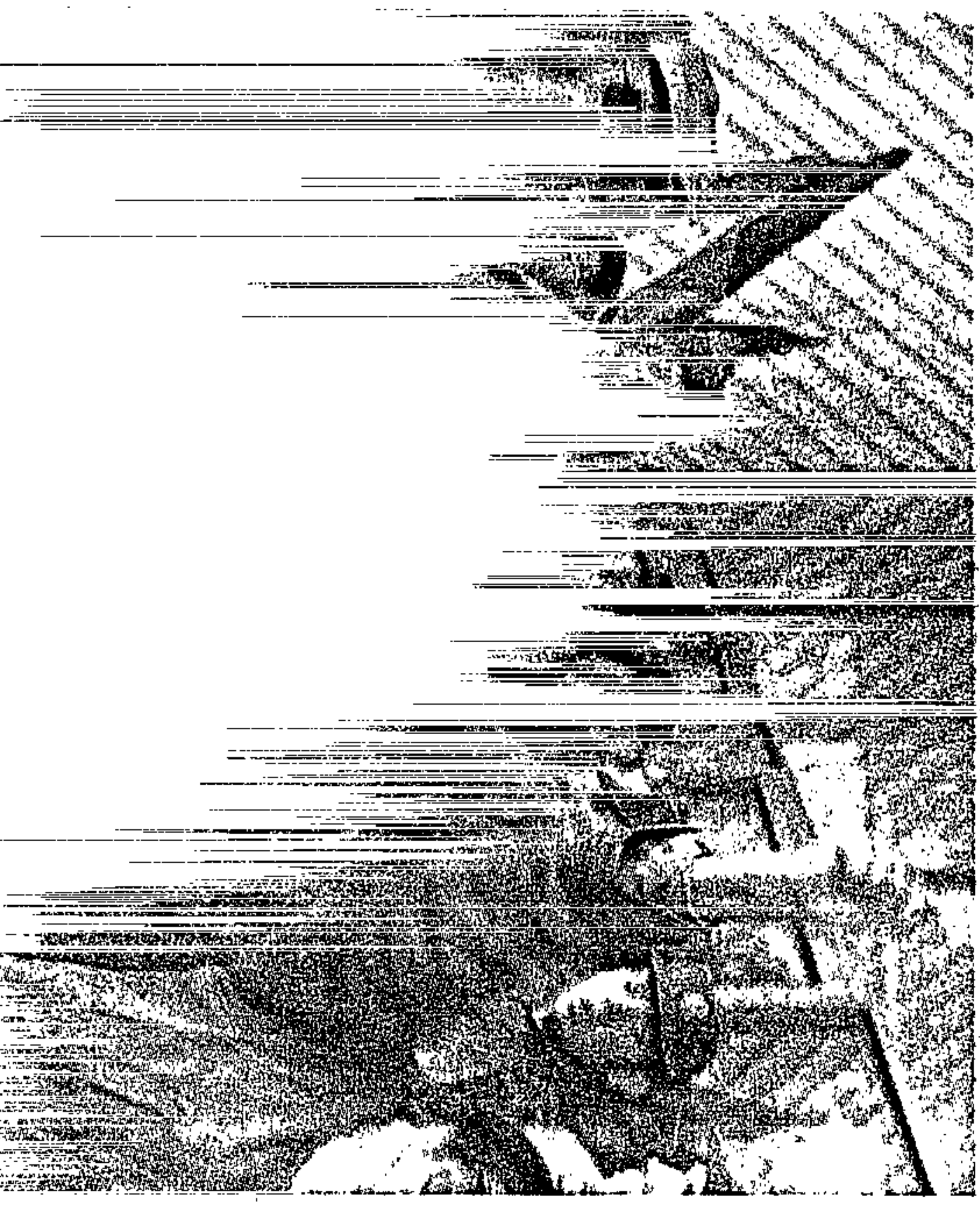
By DAN RETIEF

THE French cockerei crowed in the night at Ellis Park yesterday as the Tricolores beat South Africa 18-17 in an electrifying Test to claim the two-match series.

After playing to a 20-20 draw in Durban a week ago, the French fought back to overturn a spirited start by the Springboks, who led 8-0 in as many minutes.

Although the Tricolores did not manage to score a try against the South Africans in their first floodlit Test match, their greater experience and stronger discipline told as the match built to an exciting finale. In an atmosphere of tangible tension

The screaming AWB 'colonel' and her



SA squabble in USA

From Page 1

agreement on a TEC would be sufficient.

The difference between simple agreement and Parliament approving legislation could be several months.

Mr Mandela's insistence on parliamentary approval will delay not only the lifting of sanctions, but also an IMF loan of \$850-million (about R2,5-billion) to counter the loss of export earnings because of drought-relief programmes.

The second curved ball bowled by the ANC was its refusal to attend joint functions in the capital with Mr de Klerk.

The ANC was determined to ensure that Mr de Klerk's "piggy-back ride on Mr Mandela into the White House" — as one ANC official termed it — was made as uncomfortable as possible.

ANC aides felt that if the leaders were photographed together, Mr de Klerk would be placed on an equal moral platform with Mr Mandela, making the organisation's opposition to sanctions in the face of apparent harmony difficult to defend. (304A)

Besides declining to have his photograph taken on the White House steps, Mr Mandela also refused to attend a National Press Club lunch with Mr de Klerk on Friday. (142)

Mr Clinton was informed of the change of plan about the photograph several minutes before entering the Oval Office to hold a 40-minute meeting with Mr de Klerk. (22)

But, according to a spokesman for the SA president, Mr de Klerk was received warmly by Mr Clinton, who expressed great eagerness to do whatever he could to help South Africa. "We sit here and marvel at what you are doing," he told Mr de Klerk.

Sources close to the meeting said Mr de Klerk told Mr Clinton he expected agreement on a TEC by the end of July, agreement on an interim constitution by mid-August and legislation on a TEC to be approved by Parliament in mid-September.

He also told Mr Clinton he expected to be a co-leader — with Mr Mandela and, probably, Inkatha leader Mangosuthu Buthe-

lezi — in a government of national unity.

Mr Clinton assured Mr de Klerk the US would encourage investors to return to South Africa. He said sanctions would soon go completely, and he would promote IMF and World Bank involvement in SA.

Mr de Klerk also expressed concern that agreements reached in negotiations could be "torn up". He asked Mr Clinton for assistance in ensuring that the international community would underwrite negotiated agreements.

Mr Clinton assured Mr de Klerk he would press for this in the G-7 summit communique.

The meeting between Mr Clinton and Mr Mandela was dominated by concerns about the right-wing threat, the intransigence of Inkatha, and the uneven way in which Mr de Klerk handled the attack on the World Trade Centre.

Mr Mandela stressed nothing could be taken for granted, and said Mr Clinton could assist in ensuring that elections took place.

In a stinging attack on Mr de Klerk after the meeting, Mr Mandela said the lifting of sanctions did not depend on the SA president, but on "the democratic forces led by the ANC".

"He has no right to set time frames because he is irrelevant on the question of lifting sanctions," said Mr Mandela.

Mr de Klerk said later: "Nothing is irrelevant to me that concerns South Africa." He was tired of the ANC "playing God about sanctions".

● Former American President George Bush said yesterday he saw great prospects for the future South Africa.

He was speaking at his home at Kennebunkport, Maine, where he and Mrs Barbara Bush received President and Mrs de Klerk.

Mr Bush said he had invited the South African presidential couple to his home out of friendship and respect for Mr de Klerk.

He said everyone in the United States was saluting the exciting democratic changes taking place in South Africa.

President de Klerk said he had become friends with Mr Bush via the telephone.

"I once spoke to Mr Bush from the Lowveld while he was in the Oval Office."

● To promote International Monetary Fund loans and World Bank involvement in SA; and

● To encourage US private-sector investment.

Hope

Mr Clinton also assured Mr de Klerk he would press the G-7 countries at their summit in Tokyo next week to reintegrate South Africa into the world economy.

However, the US will only push for economic involvement in SA after there is a firm commitment to an election date and the transitional executive council has been established.

The TEC will be the first stage of joint rule in the run-up to the April 27 elections next year.

The visit by Mr de Klerk and Mr Mandela to Washington this week was initially billed as an occasion for the announcement of the lifting of sanctions and a symbol of reconciliation between the two main political players.

Entrench

But the trip was blighted from the start as both leaders kept a cool distance and pursued their own political agendas.

Mr Mandela made no bones about his intention to spend two weeks in America to raise funds for the ANC's election war chest, and to entrench his image as the only future leader of South Africa after an election.

For Mr de Klerk, the intent was to counter impressions that he represented the lame-duck government of the past and to assert himself as one of the co-leaders of the future.

On his arrival in Washington, Mr Mandela stubbornly dictated the public debate on the lifting of sanctions by announcing in a television interview that they would only be lifted once legislation was passed in Parliament to implement a TEC.

He maintained this position despite Mr de Klerk's insistence that simple

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CA '93
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Negotiators agree on building blocks for South Africa's new constitution

NEGOTIATORS this week adopted 26 constitutional principles which will serve as the building blocks for South Africa's new constitution.

The principles listed here will be binding on the constitution drawn up by World Trade Centre negotiators and the one to be drafted after the first non-racial elections.

The principles include:

- The constitution of South Africa shall provide for the establishment of one sovereign state with a common South African citizenship and a democratic system of government committed to achieving equality between men and women and people of all races.
- The constitution shall be the supreme law of the land, be binding on all organs of government, and prohibit racial, gender and all other forms of discrimination. It shall also promote racial and gender equality, and national unity.
- There shall be a separation of

powers between the legislature, executive and judiciary, with checks and balances to ensure accountability, responsiveness and openness.

● The judiciary shall be competent, independent and impartial, and shall have the power and jurisdiction to safeguard and enforce the constitution and all fundamental rights.

● There shall be representative government embracing multi-party democracy, regular elections, universal adult suffrage, a common voters roll, and, in general, proportional representation.

● Provision shall be made for freedom of information so there can be open and accountable administration at all levels of government.

● The diversity of language and culture shall be protected and conditions for their promotion shall be encouraged.

● Collective rights of self-determination in forming, joining and main-

taining organs of civil society, including linguistic, cultural and religious associations, shall, on the basis of non-discrimination and free association, be recognised and protected.

● All shall enjoy universally accepted fundamental rights, freedoms and civil liberties, protected by entrenched and justiciable provisions in the constitution.

● The legal system shall ensure the equality of all before the law and an equitable legal process. The principle of equality before the law includes laws, programmes or activities that have as their object the amelioration of the conditions of the disadvantaged, including those disadvantaged on grounds of race, colour or gender.

● Provision shall be made for the participation of minority political parties in the legislative process in a manner consistent with democracy.

● Amendments to the constitution shall require special procedures

involving specified majorities.

● The government shall be structured at national, SPR (state/provincial/regional) and local levels.

● The powers and functions of national and SPR governments shall be defined in the constitution. Amendments to the constitution which alter the powers, boundaries, functions or institutions of SPRs shall in addition to any other procedures specified in the constitution for constitutional amendments, also require the approval of a specified majority of the legislatures of the SPRs. Alternatively, if there is such a chamber, a specified majority of the chamber of parliament composed of regional representatives, and if the amendment concerns specific SPRs only, the approval of the legislatures of such SPRs will also be needed.

● A framework for local government powers, duties, functions and structures shall be set out in the

constitution.

● National and SPR governments shall have fiscal powers and functions which will be defined in the constitution. The framework for local government shall make provision for appropriate fiscal powers and functions for different categories of local government.

● Each level of government shall have a constitutional right to an equitable share of revenue collected nationally to ensure that SPRs and local governments are able to provide basic services and execute the functions allocated to them.

● A Financial and Fiscal Commission, representing inter alia each of the SPRs, shall recommend equitable fiscal and financial allocations to the SPR governments from revenue collected nationally, after taking into account the national interest, disparities within the SPRs as well as the pop-

ulation and developmental needs, administrative responsibilities of each of the SPRs.

The following criteria shall be applied in the allocation of powers to the national governments and the SPR governments:

● The national government shall not exercise its powers (exclusive or concurrent) to encroach on the geographical, functional or institutional integrity of the SPRs.

● Where it is necessary for the maintenance of essential national standards, the maintenance of economic unity, the maintenance of national security or the prevention of unreasonable action taken by one SPR which is prejudicial to the interests of another SPR or the country as whole, the constitution shall empower the national government to intervene through legislation or such other steps as may be defined in the constitution.

● Where there is necessity for South Africa to speak with one voice, or to act as a single entity — in particular in relation to other states — powers should be allocated to the national government.

● Where uniformity across the nation is required for a particular function, then legislative power over that function should be allocated predominantly to the national government.

● Where minimum standards across the nation are required for the delivery of public services, the power to set such standards should be allocated to the national government.

● In the event of a dispute concerning the legislative powers allocated by the constitution concurrently to the national and SPR governments, which cannot be resolved by a court on a construction of the constitution, precedence shall be given to the legislative powers of the national government.

new constitution

From theory to practice

SITING 44-1193

By CLAIRE ROBERTSON

TALKS at the World Trade Centre will resume in two weeks to deal with a back-breaking workload as negotiators attempt to give substance to six pieces of legislation.

With elections less than 10 months away, the negotiating council has the task of redefining how the country is to be run until then.

The negotiators have to hand down legislation protecting the rights of all citizens, the voting itself, the constitution in terms of which this will all happen and mechanisms aimed at preventing a hiatus in government as the country moves through the transition.

Suggestions

These measures have been adopted in principle, but their final acceptance by the disparate delegations will depend heavily on the detail.

Already in hand are 26 constitutional principles adopted by the negotiating forum. The parties have eight days to submit further constitutional suggestions.

In the next two weeks, the technical committee on constitutional issues will draft a constitution for the transition period, and the negotiating council is expected to adopt the draft by the end of August at the latest.

The constitution will guarantee fundamental human rights to all South Africans. These rights will also have to be adopted by the council after another technical committee has drafted them according to instructions.

The council will also consider draft legislation aimed at "leveling the political playing field" before the election next year.

This legislation, already in hand or to be drafted within weeks by yet more

technical committees, will empower:

- A Transitional Executive Council — a form of joint rule for the run-up to the elections. This legislation is expected to be ready to forward to Parliament for final adoption in September, although TEC structures may already begin to take shape next month.

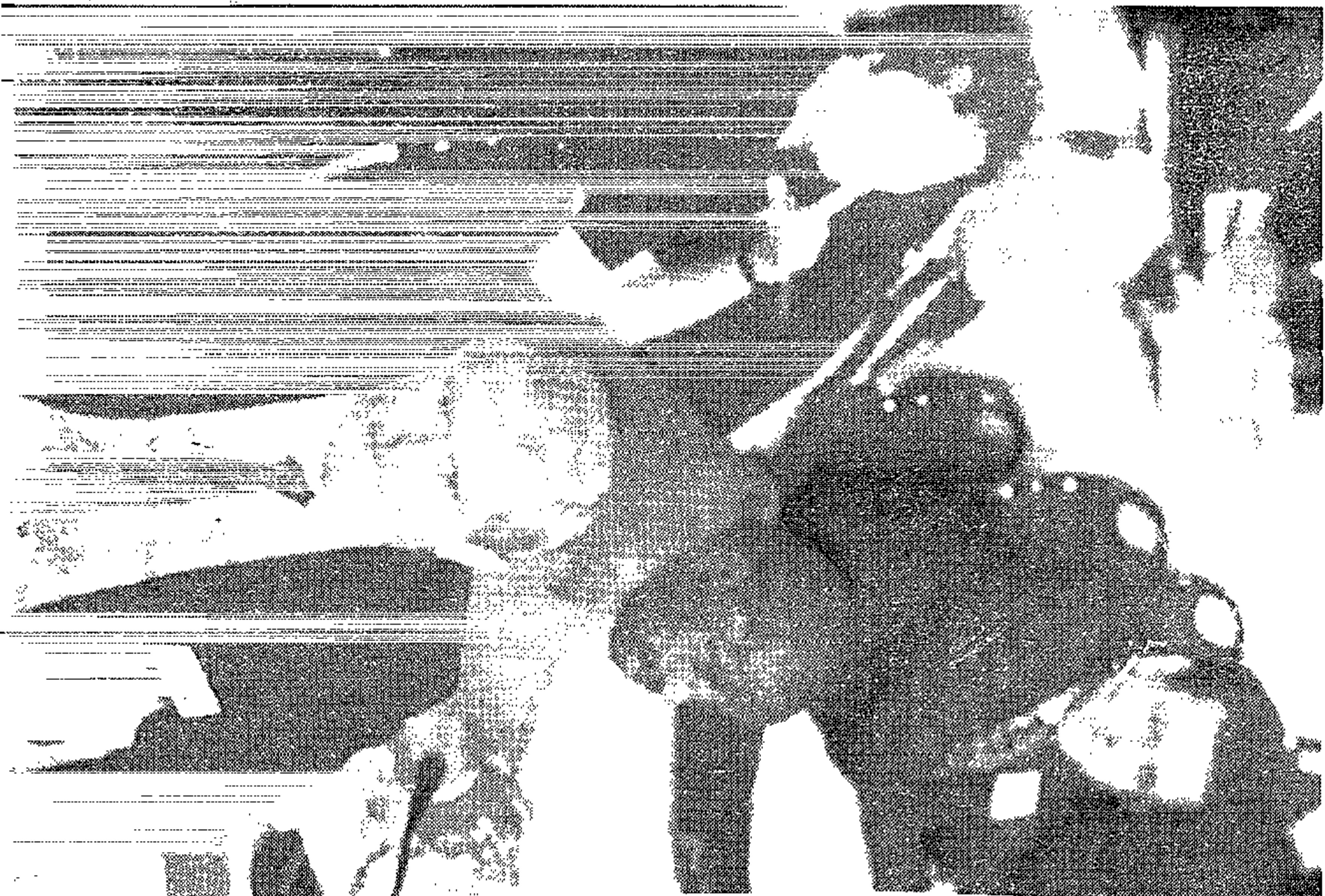
- An Independent Electoral Commission to administer and conduct free and fair elections. The broad terms of its mandate and administrative structure are already all but agreed upon, but the council has yet to decide on central issues such as the terms of an Electoral Code of Conduct and criteria for determining whether the first election may be considered as having been free and fair.

- An Independent Media Commission and Independent Broadcasting Authority. A draft bill for the establishment of these bodies has already been drawn up, with the object of ensuring equitable treatment of all political parties by broadcasting services, and to prevent state-financed publications and information services from being used to promote the interests of any political party. It is still to be ratified by the council.

(3044) Package

- The repeal of the last vestiges of apartheid legislation. Although a plethora of specific acts and statutes has been identified, the council has agreed that a higher code should also be established to deal with this legislation and any which may have been missed. All legislation will be judged by this code and scrapped if it fails to meet its standards of non-discrimination.

All of these measures — and the draft constitution — are to be understood as a package. Each is interlinked, and agreement on details is subject to final adoption of the whole package. Once the legislation has been



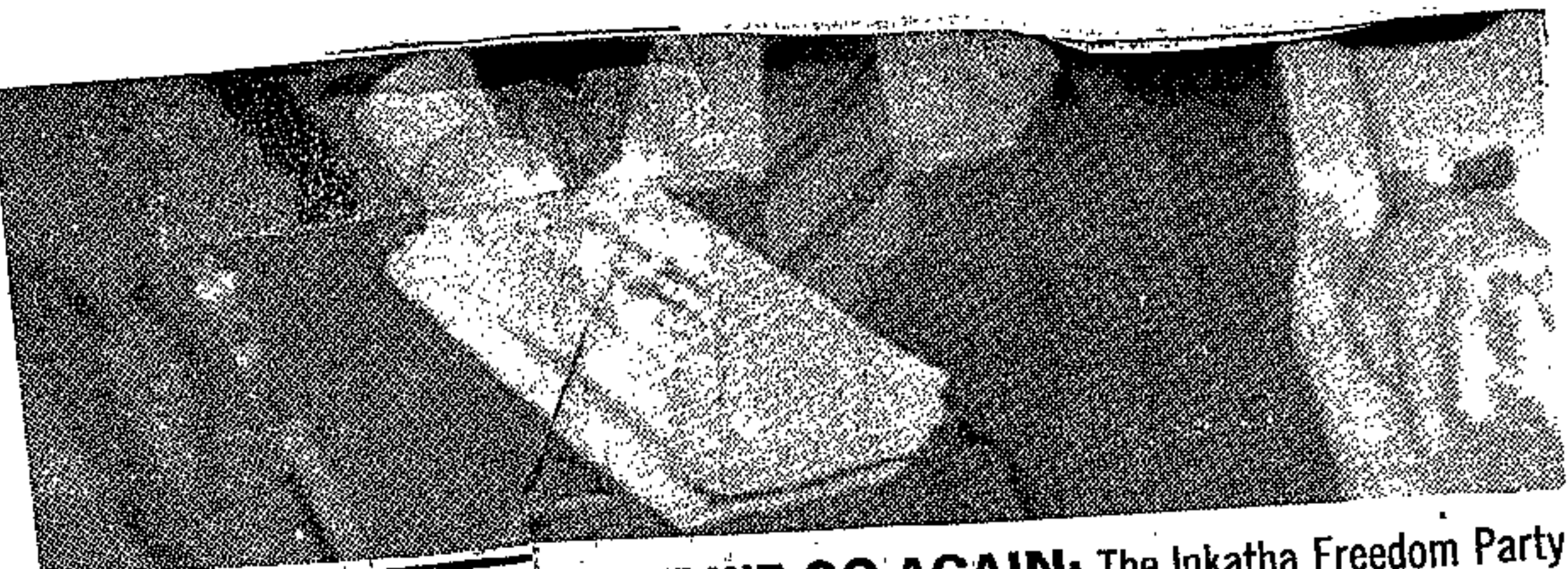
S Times

4/7/93

304A

adopted by the council, it must be ratified by a plenary, and then passed by Parliament.

The council's technical work will be hampered at every turn by a political agenda. The needs of the smaller parties will have to be accommodated in the ANC and government's grand design.



HERE WE GO AGAIN: The Inkatha Freedom Party walked out of the talks this week for the second time since they began, again over the election date. But this time, IFP delegate Walter Felgate (seen leaving the conference hall, above) and his companions left in the company of only the Conservative Party. And they will be back, according to IFP delegation leader Joe Matthews.

Glimpse *St Times 14/7/92* into our future

By CLAIRE ROBERTSON

AFTER an astonishing week of progress, the talks at the World Trade Centre have nailed down the framework for a liberal democratic constitution for South Africa.

"The democracy train is on track," a jubilant Cyril Ramaphosa said on Friday after a Negotiating Forum meeting which adopted 26 constitutional principles and ratified April 27 next year as the date by which elections must be held.

The principles borrow from leading Western democracies to include elements such as a bill of rights, a multi-party democracy and a three-tier system which includes strong regional and central government, similar to the US system. (304A) (19)

● Full story on Page 4

Roelf intercedes in city council rumpus

By CHARMAIN NAIDOO

SUPER-Nat negotiator Roelf Meyer yesterday stepped in to reinstate four National Party members of the Johannesburg city council who were suspended for supporting a Conservative Party vote of no confidence in the management committee. (304A)

Mr Meyer, chairman of the NP in Johannesburg and Soweto, met his vice-chairman, Mr Andre Fourie, and the ousted councillors to determine how best to deal with the crisis.

The suspensions would have reduced the number of NP councillors to 15.

Coalition

The four councillors — Rupert Korb, Ernie Fabel, Theuns Oosthuizen and Eddie Venter — denied they had disregarded party policy by voting with the CP.

All councillors have been warned they are not to side with the Conservatives on any matters.

Yesterday Mr Kruger said: "There was a no-confidence motion against the NP management committee and we did not have an overall majority."

"The caucus decided it would not deal with either the CP or the DP. I felt that we should form a coalition

rather than become the opposition, and by dealing we got Marietta Marx and Jan Burger on to the committee.

"It was obvious which way history was going and we wanted to be on the 'correct' political side," he said.

"The leadership is self-serving and uninterested in the day-to-day running of things. All they want is to protect their jobs in the new dispensation. We are left to deal helplessly with our constituency." (240)

Mr Korb and his colleagues saw their no-confidence motion as the "act of desperate men who want to be heard".

The caucus met on Friday. The four men were allowed to explain their action, but no decision was taken.

Then yesterday, after the meeting with Mr Meyer, it was announced the four members "unconditionally withdrew their motion of no confidence" and that their suspensions had been lifted.

'US has not abandoned De Klerk'

By Peter Fabricius
Star Bureau

PHILADELPHIA — Reports in the London Sunday Times that the United States administration has abandoned President de Klerk and thrown its weight behind the ANC are being dismissed in the US.

The British report follows the separate meetings between US President Bill Clinton and De Klerk and ANC President Nelson Mandela on Friday when Mandela apparently snubbed De Klerk by refusing to be photographed with him and Clinton.

Sources of the US administration, SA Government and ANC pooh-poohed the report yesterday. (S)

US ambassador to South Africa Princeton Lyman, who is in America for the visits of the two South Africans attended both meetings and indicated that neither was consistent with the interpretation that De Klerk had been dropped. (SOLA)

He said both meetings had gone well: "The whole tone and substance of the meetings was to commend both men for the negotiation process and to sup-

port the process."

ANC sources also dismissed the report and said that nothing in Mandela's meeting with Clinton supported it.

They pointed out that the White House had wanted Clinton to be photographed with De Klerk and Mandela to reinforce its view that both were equally important to the process.

A Democratic Party White House would probably be naturally more inclined to be sympathetic to the ANC than the Government but would not show it, the sources said.

South African Government sources also dismissed the report and said that the meeting with Clinton had gone well.

Apart from the business side, the two leaders had swapped professional politicians' observations about the difficulties of elections, and the atmosphere had generally been good.

Commenting on a report in the South African Sunday Times that the White House had snubbed De Klerk's wife Marike — by ignoring her request to meet First Lady Hillary Clinton — Lyman said he did not know if there had been such a request. (GTA)

It was possible it might have gone directly from De Klerk's office to the White House.

Split emerging among city Nats

By Jacqueline Myburgh

A deep split is emerging in the National Party caucus in the Johannesburg City Council, after the suspension of four Nat councillors on Thursday because they had proposed a motion of no confidence in the management committee.

The men have threatened to resign from the caucus because of poor Nat leadership.

Sources said a caucus meeting on Friday to discuss the suspension of councillors Rupert Korb, Ernie Fabel, Theuns

Oosthuizen and Eddie Venter, was heated at times. The Star witnessed deputy leader Jan van Blerk storming out of the meeting room shouting: "If they want to break away and form their own party, let them!"

The crisis has prompted the unexpected admission from another caucus member of his role in rigged management committee elections three years ago.

In a letter to the meeting that was obtained by The Star, Nat councillor Hein Kruger revealed

that he, management committee deputy chairman Marietta Marx, and councillors Kevin Wearing and Robert Rousseau had struck a deal with the Democratic Party in April 1990. This was to ensure Nat representation on the city's management committee.

Kruger said that if Fabel, Venter, Korb and Oosthuizen were now suspended for acting against caucus policy, then he (Kruger), Marx, Wearing and Rousseau should also be suspended.

He said there was a lack of leadership in the caucus and called on the

meeting to reconsider the suspensions.

Marx and then councillor Jan Burger were elected to the DP dominated committee in April 1990 as a result of the deal, the letter said.

Nat leader Koos Roets said after the meeting on Friday the incident was "history". He would not take any action against the members.

Neither Kruger, nor the three named by him in the letter would comment on the matter.

The caucus will meet tonight to discuss the four men's suspension.

FW irrelevant in sanctions issue – Mandela

Leaders in ugly clast

304A

Star 5/7/93

By Peter Fabricius
Washington Bureau

PHILADELPHIA — President de Klerk and ANC leader Nelson Mandela had an ugly public clash yesterday just moments before they were to receive the Philadelphia Liberty Medal for their joint efforts at peace and reconciliation.

The simmering squabble about sanctions, which has marred their visit to the US, burst out in a savage attack by Mandela on De Klerk at a press conference just before they received the medals in the presence of President Bill Clinton. (304A)

The incident jarred completely with the huge, festive celebration marking America's 217th birthday. (304A) Taking up an earlier attack on De Klerk as someone who was "irrelevant to the lifting of sanctions", Mandela slammed him as the leader of an illegitimate government lacking credibility.

"We don't regard him as the president of South Africa, but as a leader put there by only 15 percent of the population," Mandela said bitingly after yet another difference with De Klerk about who had the right to lift sanctions. (304A)

Shortly after the clash, the two leaders put aside their differences and mounted a podium in front of Independence Hall where the US Declaration of Independence was signed 217 years ago, to receive the liberty medals from Clinton and Philadelphia mayor Ed Rendell.

After receiving the medals and a \$190 000 cheque they shook hands.

'US has not abandoned FW' — Page 5

Although he did not issue the call for the lifting of sanctions which once seemed possible, Mandela did call upon Americans to invest in the new South Africa.

Clinton replied by saying the US was ready to help with voter education and alleviating poverty.

In his acceptance speech, Mandela said it might seem strange that he as a freedom fighter should be sharing the honour of the award with someone who had been a custodian of apartheid. But he reminded America that their forefathers, who had written the US constitution 200 years ago, had permitted the system of slavery.

In his speech, De Klerk highlighted the importance of the question of federalism and appropriate balance between the State and the central government in South Africa, Sapa reports.

He said there should be a Bill of Rights to protect individuals and minorities, and checks and balances to prevent the misuse of power.

"It is symbolic that we, who are so greatly honoured today represent two powerful political forces which



At the airport . . . the wounded hijacker is helped by ambulancemen last night. A passenger was also hurt.

Picture: Ken Ooster



A police negotiator . . . carries the hijacker's gun.

'Drunken' hijacker shot in head

By Peter Davies

A dramatic four-hour plane hijack drama ended at Jan Smuts Airport late last night when police stormed a twin-engined Royal Swazi Air Fokker 28 jet and shot the drunken AK-47 wielding hijacker.

The aircraft's pilot and the only other passenger were "slightly wounded" in the

siege which paralysed the airport. The pilot was shot in the left leg, the passenger in the right shoulder, and the hijacker in the head.

They were all reported today to be in a stable condition in the Hydromed Clinic on the East Rand.

Acting State President and Foreign Minister Pik Botha told a hastily called press conference shortly after-

wards that the hijacker struck soon after the aircraft took off from Maputo, Mozambique, en route to Swaziland at about 6 30 pm.

Earlier, Transport Minister Piet Welgemoed rushed to Jan Smuts Airport where he was joined by Botha.

The man, a Mozambican "wanted in his country" and later described by SAP negotiators as "under the influ-

ence of alcohol and very aggressive", threatened the captain with an and demanded to be taken to Australia. He also demanded alcohol on the flight.

The captain said he had enough fuel to land at Maseru in Botswana but was not granted permission because of the hijacker's behaviour with the landing lights.

● To Page 3

Smuggling not difficult at Maputo's lax airport

By Hans-Peter Bakker
Star Africa Service

How was it possible for a drunken, wanted man, brandishing an AK-47, to get through customs and immigration in Maputo to hijack a Royal Swazi aircraft?

Actually it is not so difficult.

Everybody in Maputo is aware that it is not what you know, but who you know that counts.

As one young Mozambican boy who wanted to sell me a rhino horn assured me: "Customs . . . no problem." He explained that his brother's girlfriend's sister was a customs official and as long as he gave the word, I could take whatever I wanted out of the country.

I suppose an assault rifle or two packed into my hand-luggage would also have

with a sophisticated, modern airport.

Hours before the departure, passengers start elbowing for the check-in counter. Having a confirmed ticket is no guarantee of getting a seat.

With the prized boarding pass in hand, a sweaty struggle to get through immigration and customs begins.

It is generally accepted that customs officials also need to make a living and are expected to squeeze out of you whatever they can — unless of course you know the right people.

Once through that, another scrum to get on to the plane begins. Sometimes even having a boarding pass is no guarantee of getting a seat on the plane.

If you make it on to the plane you can never know what lethal hand-luggage

'Treated like mushrooms'

Staff Reporters

Confused passengers and spectators were fobbed off with three different untrue stories as the Royal Swazi Air hijack drama unfolded on a distant runway at Jan Smuts Airport last night.

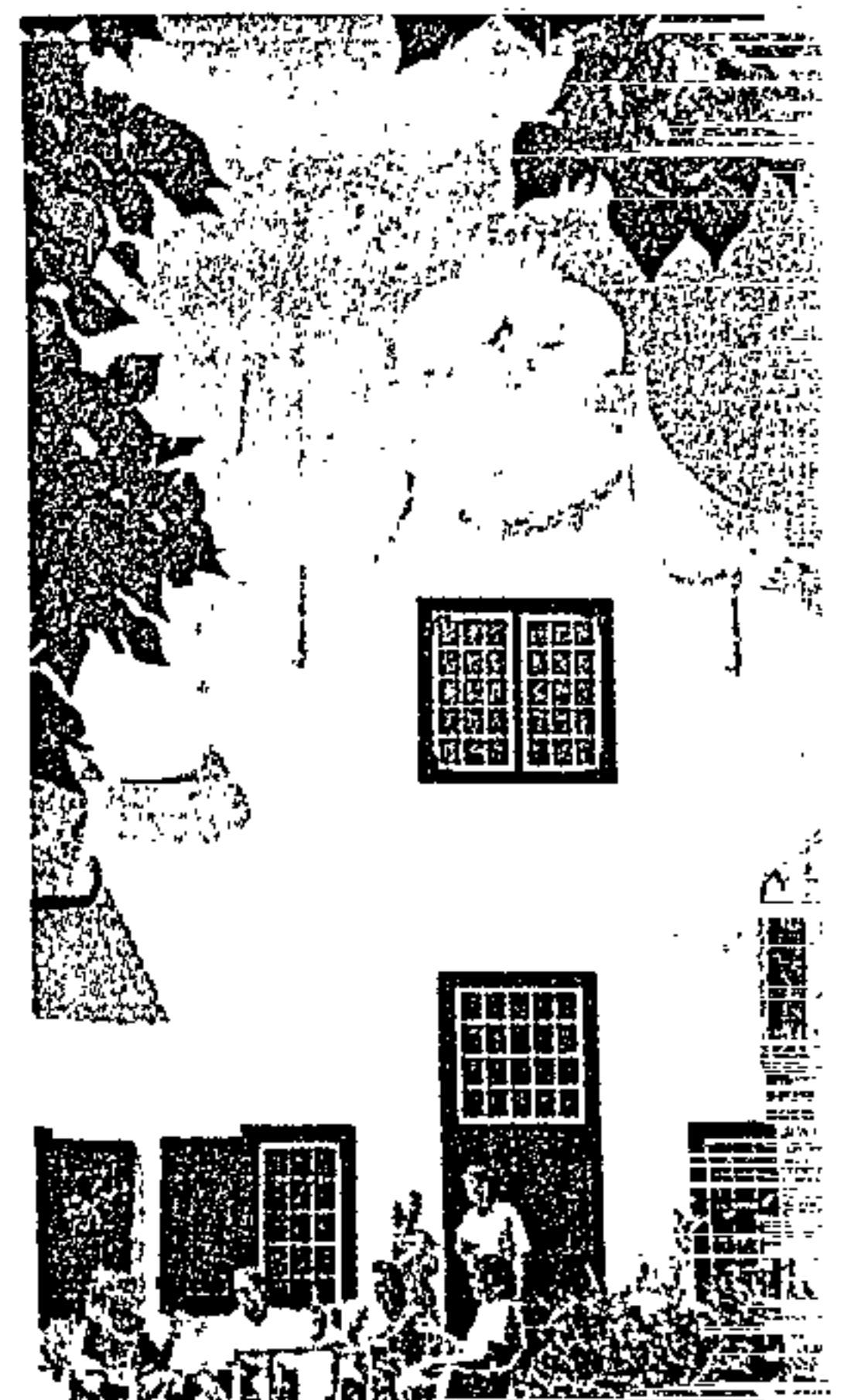
Impatient passengers were told that:

- Strong winds had made it impossible to land.
- There was an obstruction on the runway.
- Oil on the runway had made landing impossible.

Irate passengers converged on the airport's information desk demanding to know when flights were expected. First they were told that the Mauritius flight had to be sent back to Durban.

This was later revised and passengers were told that the plane was expected to land soon.

"They treat us like mush-



Leaders Star 5/7/93 in ugly clash

● From Page 1

the ceremony.

The earlier clash between the two leaders followed remarks by Mandela taking exception to De Klerk's forecast that sanctions could be lifted in a matter of weeks and to his announcement that the International Monetary Fund was ready to lend South Africa \$850 million (R2,8 billion).

Mandela had snapped back that the lifting of sanctions and the granting of IMF loans was not the Government's prerogative, but the ANC's.

Yesterday Mandela said the ANC was ready to lift sanctions — possibly within weeks — once a transitional executive council had been installed but that it would first check De Klerk's Government very carefully to ensure it did not interfere as it had with the appointment of a new SABC board.

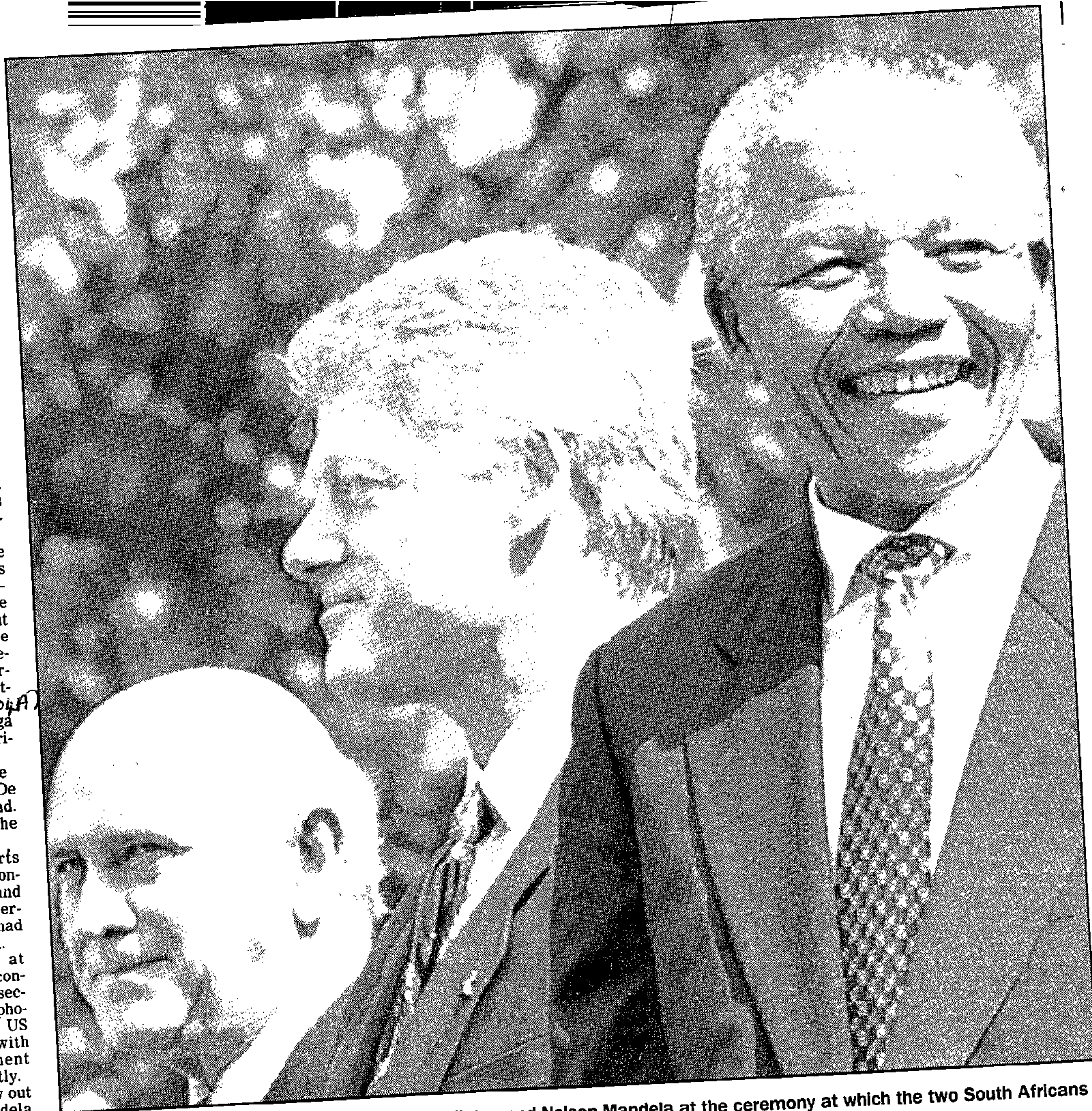
The SABC appointment saga had been a "very painful experience" with De Klerk, he said.

After Mandela's attack, the press conference ended and De Klerk was unable to respond. But he vowed to take up the issue again once at home.

Kaizer Nyatumba reports that there was widespread consternation in Government and National Party circles yesterday at news that Mandela had repeatedly snubbed De Klerk.

They expressed dismay at Mandela's behaviour, and contrasted it with that by ANC secretary-general Cyril Ramaphosa when he travelled to the US to receive a joint award with Minister Roelf Meyer recently.

● President de Klerk flew out of the US last night. Mandela will stay on until July 12 to raise funds for the ANC election campaign, reports Sapa.



All smiles . . . President de Klerk, President Clinton and Nelson Mandela at the ceremony at which the two South Africans were presented with Philadelphia Liberty Medals yesterday.

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Political Correspondent Chris Whitfield looks at an evolving National Party policy

Star 5/1/92

The meaning of power sharing

30/4/92

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WHEN white South Africans went to the polls in last year's referendum, they were urged by the National Party to support a negotiated future based on "power sharing". The concept was — and still is — subject to wide interpretation, and it is being steadily refined (some would say redefined) in the course of negotiations. The NP's final definition of acceptable power sharing will, of course, partly determine the country's future. What does the NP really mean by the term?

At the time of the referendum, President de Klerk and others explained that power sharing meant a party getting 51 percent of the vote would not get 100 percent of the power, as parties in Westminster-style systems — including the NP — have in the past.

"Mechanisms" in a new constitution would ensure that the majority could not "dominate" minority groups. In the moments after the announcement of the hefty win for the reformist "Yes" vote, an elated De Klerk stood before a battery of cameras on the steps of Tuynhuys and told the watching world that the NP's new

mandate to negotiate a power sharing deal would guarantee everyone a place in the sun. Earlier NP proposals, most specifically its "framework" for a new constitution unveiled in Bloemfontein late in 1991, introduced the phrase "participatory democracy". The document mooted an executive made up of all the major parties. At the same time the first suggestion of a rotating presidency — probably consisting of the three leaders of the major parties — was raised. Government Ministers at the time also pointed to other parts of the document that would entrench power sharing. These included a proportional representation voting system, "regionalism" (as they preferred to call it) and a Bill of Rights. This vision has been considerably refined over time, although its major elements are still present.

Since then, debate on the issue has largely centred on the interim constitution which, if ANC and Government thinking prevails, will last a full five years. It has been evident for some time that the ANC will accommodate power sharing requirements in the interim stage. This would probably

amount to representation in the Cabinet reflecting the percentage of the vote gained in an election. How leaders of the major parties will be accommodated is still being "kicked about" by ANC negotiators.

Presuming that the Concerned South Africans Group (Cosag) or armed rightwingers do not destroy negotiations entirely before an agreement is reached on an interim constitution, it seems the NP's mandated desire for power-sharing will be part of that agreement. But can it hope to extend such an agreement to the final constitution, scheduled to be drawn up by that interim parliament?

Bottom line

Yes, says President de Klerk. Opening the short session of Parliament in October last year he spelt out his bottom line on negotiations — an elected constituent assembly would not be given a blank cheque to negotiate any constitution. In an interview with Britain's Financial Times recently, he said: "We are talking about the need, in a government of national unity, to be governed on the basis of consensus between the

main role players when considering fundamental issues." The newspaper concluded that De Klerk was not about to hand over power to a majority-rule, winner-take-all black government. "Not now, not ever."

The Government proposals for an interim constitution tabled in a negotiations technical committee last month gave more detail. In a section on "principles governing constitution-making in South Africa" — the principles that it envisaged would be binding on whatever body draws up the final constitution — it included a section on participatory democracy. It called for "the representation of parties in the executive, relative to their representation in the legislature". No, says the ANC. Anything that smacks of a permanent veto would not be acceptable.

On June 23 the negotiations technical committee on constitutional matters tabled its report on the principles that it suggested could be binding on a constitution-making body. Absent from this was any principle similar to the Government submission for entrenched representation in the Cabinet, immediately giving rise to suggestions that the Govern-

ment had quietly dropped its insistence on power sharing. Government sources insist this is not the case. One said: "The Government will see to it that the (binding) principles do cater for a sharing of power." Pointing out that considerable debate on the constitutional principles lay ahead, he reverted to the familiar phrase: "The Government will promote mechanisms to ensure 51 percent of the vote does not give any party 100 percent of the power."

What appears to have happened is that the Government — faced with ANC rejection of a system that could seriously curtail its power to govern (presuming it gains a majority in a second election) — has begun to search for less crude ways of achieving this. First hints of this became evident as far back as September last year, at about the time when President de Klerk and Nelson Mandela signed the Record of Understanding which led to a resumption of negotiations. Indications became much more firm in the course of crucial Government/ANC bosserode late last year and early this year. The deal was that permanent power sharing, en-

trenched in the executive, would only last five years, while the ANC would make concessions on regionalism.

At that time it became evident that the "rotating presidency" scheme was being dropped and there was movement in the thinking on entrenched positions in the executive. Besides the limits on power inherent in the NP's Bill of Rights and the proportional representation system, the Government appears to be looking towards regional power bases, with entrenched representation in and restrictions on central government. "But the debate is not over about the composition, the effect and the influence of the executive," said one Government source.

Some opponents of the Government, with the Codesa 2 breakdown still in mind, believe it may attempt to have the interim constitution transformed into a permanent one. Whatever the case may be, it is evident that the book has not been closed on power sharing, and certainly not in the minds of the more hardline NP members. The question is the extent to which the notion can evolve, without losing its meaning altogether. □

Star 5/7/93

All-in election 'now urgent'

By Kaizer Nyatumba
Political Correspondent

Negotiators heaved a sigh of relief at the weekend following the Negotiating Forum's confirmation of April 27 1994 as the date for the country's first all-in elections, but warned that urgency would have to be the catchword.

Negotiators said it was now incumbent on the 26 parties and organisations in the talks to ensure that progress on remaining issues was swift. The Negotiating Forum also ratified agreements on the drafting of legislation for a transitional executive council and discussed how to tackle the ques-

tion of violence.

For the second time in three weeks, the IFP and the CP walked out towards the end of the talks, but this time without the backing of the Concerned South Africans Group (Cosag), who stayed behind. (AP)

Political observers believe the two parties will return to negotiations when the Negotiating Council (NC) sits in two weeks' time. (BOLA)

The formal setting of the election date has been welcomed abroad, with Canadian External Affairs Minister Perrin Beatty saying his country will lift remaining sanctions as soon as agreement has been reached "on the out-

standing issues".

ANC secretary-general Cyril Ramaphosa and Constitutional Development Minister Roelf Meyer have expressed the hope that the constitution could be adopted by the NC and be ready to be passed in Parliament by August. (AP)

SACP chairman Joe Slovo, yesterday said negotiations had to come to an end soon so that the different parties could prepare for elections.

"The filibustering must stop now that we are 10 months away from an election. There is still some fine-tuning to do, but it looks as though the people will finally have their say," Slovo said.

CP seeking justification for struggle

CT 5/11/93
Staff Reporter

THE Conservative Party is taking part in negotiations to seek justification for a possible armed struggle, says Northern Transvaal Chamber of Industries political analyst Dr Wim Booyse.

Basing his comments on the CP's constitutional proposals, Dr Booyse said: "There is no seriousness in the CP's proposals when it comes to reaching a compromise on the future of the Afrikaner."

"There is no mention of a confederation in the CP document. They are talking of pulling out because they want a sovereign state."

He said the CP was following the same route taken by the ANC and the PAC in the 1960s.

Right wing will resist 'passively'

Bl Day 5/7/93

(304A)

DIRK VAN EEDEN

THE right wing has reached the end of the multiparty negotiations road and will hammer out plans this week to pressure negotiators into accepting a volkstaat, says Volksfront director Gen Tienie Groenewald.

He said the Volksfront would ask its supporters within six weeks to approve a volkstaat map and a passive resistance campaign.

CP caucus member Jurg Prinsloo said yesterday the CP would consider its continued participation in the multiparty talks as a matter of urgency this week.

Groenewald said it had become increasingly clear the ANC and government dominated multiparty negotiations and that negotiators would not grant the right wing an independent state.

He emphasised, however, that the Volksfront would continue bilateral negotiations with government and traditional leaders.

Before October, when the transitional executive council was due to come into operation, the Volks-

front had either to convince NP MPs not to give parliamentary approval to decisions made at negotiations, or it had to make the implementation of the TEC impossible. Passive resistance would play a major role in this regard.

Even though details of the passive resistance campaign, dubbed the "10 plagues" by CP leader Ferdi Hartzenberg, had not yet been made available, it is understood such a campaign would include strategic power failures, the withholding of farm produce and taxes, and mass rallies.

It aimed to show the power of the right wing, just as the ANC/SACP/Cosatu alliance had done through its rolling mass action.

"The ANC has not given in on a single demand, not through cunning negotiations, but through the threat of violence."

Veteran right-winger Jaap Marais said it would be difficult to keep Boer resistance passive.

SAFE to get tough over

ANC 'aware of economic situation'

Formula to end sanctions in pipeline

Biday 5/7/93

THE ANC national working committee is to devise "over the next week or two" a new formula to determine the timing of an ANC call for the lifting of financial and other sanctions.

Secretary-general Cyril Ramaphosa made this disclosure at a media conference after the multiparty negotiating forum adjourned on Friday.

It followed mixed signals from ANC president Nelson Mandela, who said on his trip abroad that lifting sanctions would have to await legislation establishing a transitional executive council.

Ramaphosa said the working committee would, on instruction from the national executive, assess the ANC's sanctions stance. The ANC was aware of the difficult economic situation.

He said one possibility for the working committee to consider was a formula in which transitional executive committee structures were set up before legislation establishing them was passed.

Ramaphosa said the ANC did not expect the transitional structures to replace the existing government. "But it must have teeth when it comes to levelling the playing field" in the period leading up to the proposed April 27 1994 election.

Meanwhile, Concerned South Africans Group (Cosag) members appear to have decided that the election date resolution, passed by "sufficient consensus" on Friday, is not a sufficiently important issue on which to risk a deadlock.

Unhappy at the idea that other parties might seek to "bulldoze" decisions through the negotiating forum without their agree-

ment, Cosag members challenged the ruling and said they did not consider themselves bound by the resolution.

They argued that it was premature to set an election date before full agreement had been reached on all other issues — such as an interim constitution.

The ANC and government blocs concede that agreement on these issues is a prerequisite for an election. However, they argue that setting a date "focuses the mind" on the need for haste in resolving outstanding issues. (304A)

Asked about the low-key reaction of his delegation, Bophuthatswana government representative and Cosag strategist Rowan Cronje said a negotiating council sub-committee was investigating the sufficient consensus issue. He was content to await the outcome of this investigation.

Cronje, who is also one of the rotating chairmen of the negotiating council and forum, declined to say what ruling he would have made on the election date resolution had he been in the chair at the time.

Delegates at Friday's negotiating forum meeting confirmed council resolutions on issues including violence; the drafting by a technical committee of an interim constitution; a transitional Bill of Rights; the establishment of an independent electoral commission; an independent media commission; the repeal of discriminatory legislation and laws impeding free political activity; and to establish transitional executive committee structures.

ALAN FINE

Dual standards, says Ciskei

EAST LONDON. — A decision to bar Ciskei's African Democratic Movement from the multiparty talks at the World Trade Centre has been blasted by the homeland government as "a blatant show of dual standards" (S) ARG 5/7/8

Ciskei government spokesman Cederick Harrop said the ADM had as much right to be part of the process as the ANC.

"The ADM structurally is parallel to the ANC. There is no valid or logical reason why the ADM's application for inclusion should have been rejected," he said.

(304A)
The ADM was one of 15 parties denied access to the negotiation process by the Negotiating Forum.

Other parties which failed to make the grade include the People's Democratic Christian Party, United Federal Party, Sindawonye Progressive Party, Reform Party of South Africa and the Green Party.

Two parties, the Volks Unity Party and the Christian Democratic Party, withdrew their applications, and the forum is still reviewing an application by the Afrikaner Freedom Foundation (Avstig). — Sapa.

Sanctions



3044A

row mars medal day

APR 5/7/93

□ Mandela attacks De Klerk

PETER FABRICIUS
The Argus Foreign Service

WASHINGTON. — The simmering squabble about sanctions burst out in a savage attack by African National Congress leader Mr Mandela on President F W De Klerk at a news conference just before they received liberty medals from President Bill Clinton.

The incident jarred completely with yesterday's occasion, a festive celebration of America's 217th birthday on the country's most cherished holiday.

Taking up an earlier attack on Mr De Klerk as somebody who was "irrelevant to the lifting of sanctions", Mr Mandela slammed him yesterday as the leader of an illegitimate government lacking credibility. "We don't regard him as the

President of South Africa, but as a leader put there by only 15 percent of the population," Mr Mandela said after yet another difference with Mr De Klerk about who had the right to lift sanctions.

Shortly after the clash, the two leaders once again put aside their differences and mounted a podium in front of Independence Hall, where the US Declaration of Independence was signed 217 years ago, to receive the liberty medals from Mr Clinton and Philadelphia Mayor Mr Ed Rendell.

After receiving the medals and a \$100 000 cheque, they shook hands. Although he did not call for the lifting of sanctions, which once seemed possible, Mr Mandela did call on Americans to invest in the new South Africa. Mr Clinton replied by saying the US was ready to help South



OLD PALS ACT: President De Klerk and Mr Mandela wave after receiving the medal from President Clinton, rear.

Africa with voter education and with alleviating poverty.

Mr Mandela said in his acceptance speech it might seem strange that he, as a freedom fighter, should be sharing the honour of the award with somebody who had been a custodian of apartheid.

But he reminded Americans that their forefathers who had

written the US Constitution had also permitted the system of slavery.

Both men received standing ovations from the crowd of several thousand.

Mr Clinton paid tribute to Mr Mandela for his courage and dignity and said he remained "unbowed, unbroken and unembittered" by his 27

years in jail.

He saluted Mr De Klerk for his wisdom and courage in asking his people to give up something that was not theirs in the interests of peace and freedom.

The Rev Leon Sullivan, the black cleric who instituted the code of conduct for American investors in South Africa, spoke for at least some of the crowd

when he said: "The main reason we are here is Nelson Mandela."

Several hundred marched to protest against Mr De Klerk receiving the award, but did not disrupt the ceremony.

The news conference ended after Mr Mandela's attack and Mr De Klerk was unable to respond.

Sowetan 5/7/93

Leaders clash

By Ismail Lagardien
Political Correspondent

CONTROVERSY swirled around the visit to America of Mr Nelson Mandela and President FW de Klerk where they were expected to jointly receive the Philadelphia Liberty Award last night. (304A) (JAP)

De Klerk's visit was greeted with malignant reviews and comments from Washington through New York to London.

Mandela, on the other hand, reportedly refused to be photographed with De Klerk after their separate successive meetings with US President Bill Clinton.

According to *Associated Press* reports, Mandela refused to be photographed with De Klerk beyond last night's joint award ceremony in Philadelphia where they received the Liberty Medal from Clinton "in recognition of their efforts to end apartheid".

The influential London newspaper, *The Sunday Times*, said in an editorial yesterday that De

Klerk was rudely overshadowed by Mandela with whom, White House aides made it very clear, Clinton wanted to forge a lasting relationship. De Klerk's visit was also described as a public relations disaster.

The New York Times and *Washington Post* — America's most influential dailies — referred to De Klerk as a "lame duck president".

Besides avoiding being photographed together during the days before yesterday's award ceremony in Philadelphia, Mandela and De Klerk clashed heavily, through the media, on crucial issues in South Africa.

In their public clash, De Klerk said that sanctions were "unnecessary" and should be lifted when a transitional executive council was agreed upon.

Mandela, on the other hand, said he believed that sanctions should remain until after legislation for the TEC had been passed by Parliament and he was satisfied with the composition of an interim government.

African-American leaders have protested against De Klerk's sharing the medal.

focus on talks

Sowetan 5/7/93

SOUTH AFRICA's first nonracial elections will be held on April 27 next year and a new constitution could be in place within weeks from now. The date was ratified by the majority of parties engaged in negotiations at the World Trade Centre at Kempton Park on Friday.

The important next step is the drafting of an interim constitution by a group of experts. This will be tabled for adoption by negotiators in August and passed through Parliament in September.

Recommendations from the council which are adopted by the negotiating forum become binding on participants.

Notably, if sufficient progress is reached earlier in the negotiations, the election date could even be brought forward.

The negotiating council meets again on July 19 after extensive work is completed by technical committees appointed to aid negotiators on issues at the table.

Effectively, therefore, a timetable to transition has been set up as follows:

STAGE 1: The multiparty negotiations process begins in April to tackle constitutional issues including the process leading to a new and democratic constitution.

STAGE 2: The multiparty negotiating forum adopts a set of constitutional principles.

It states: "The constitution of South Africa shall provide for the establishment of one sovereign state with a democratic system of government, a common South African citizenship and a government committed to achieving equality between men, women and people of all races."

- A team of seven experts will draft an interim constitution for the transition period.

Based on the constitutional principles, the constitution will incorporate recommendations of a commission looking into regions and the future of homelands, especially the independent TBVC states, regional and local government.

- A Transitional Executive Council or Transitional Authority is to be put in place which will oversee the implementation of an Independent Electoral Commission, independent media commission and independent broadcasting authority as well as the repeal of discriminatory legislation and the entrenchment of fundamental human rights during transition.

STAGE 3: Elections for a constitution-making body or constituent assembly will be held, possibly over three days, and starting not later than April 27 1994.

- The elections, in terms of the transitional constitution, will provide for a legislature and national government during the transition. This will also include the establishment of regional governments.

The election will be held according to a system of proportional representation.

The long-awaited ratification of the country's first nonracial election date has at last set South Africa firmly on the course to true democracy. Political Reporter **Themba Molefe** looks at the timetable of transition:

3044A



DISCUSSING OUR FUTURE ... Negotiators have set April 27 1994 as the date for elections.

The powers, functions and structures of regions for the transitional period will be determined in the constitution.

- A constitutional court or tribunal to ensure "justiciability" of the constitutional principles, fundamental rights and the constitution itself will be established.

- Participants have been given until July 12 to make further input to the technical committee on constitutional issues (with regard to the transitional constitution).

STAGE 4: The elected constitution-making body or constituent assembly proceeds with drafting the country's constitution and legislation.

Meanwhile, Friday's ratification of the date for the country's first non-racial election was not without incident.

The six members of the Concerned South Africans Group (Cosag) participating in the talks opposed setting the date.

Two of them, the Inkatha Freedom Party and the Conservative Party/KwaZulu government, went further and walked out of the negotiation chamber in protest.

Except for the CP, the other Cosag members indicated on Friday they would be back in the negotiating council when it reconvenes in about two weeks after a recess.

The CP said it needed to consult with its principals before taking a decision.

The leader of the CP delegation at the talks, Mr Tom Langley, said the party could either remain outside the talks or return.

On the other hand, it was perhaps the Government which best summed up the results of Friday's events.

"The day was another step in the process of developing a new democratic South Africa," said chief negotiator and Minister of Constitutional Development Mr Roelf Meyer.

Trust vital in new SA

— De Beer

BLOEMFONTEIN —
The Democratic Party was the only party that had never been accused of involvement in violence, nor had it ever been accused of stealing the people's money, DP leader Dr Zach de Beer told the DP Youth at their national congress near here yesterday.

He said trust was going to be vital in the months ahead (304A)

Most whites did not trust the ANC and most blacks did not trust the National Party, he said. But these were big parties, which would have to be in a government of national unity.

It was vital for the DP to see that the ANC and NP were not alone in that government. — Sapa

Multi-party negotiations take a break

Political Correspondent

THE multi-party negotiations have gone into a two-week recess.

But while negotiators have a short break from formal talks, behind-the-scenes activity will continue in preparation for the resumption of horse-trading in the 26-party Negotiating Council.

In particular, various technical committees will be hard at work during the break drafting proposals for an "interim" constitution, as well as draft legislation to guide South Africa through the transition to elections in April.

After adopting 26 constitutional principles that will help shape the interim and final constitutions last week, negotiators will concentrate on their return to the World Trade Centre on the details of the "first" or transitional constitution which will remain in force for the first five years after an election.

Both the government and the ANC expressed confidence at the weekend that most of the remaining business of the Negotiating Council could be wrapped up by mid- to late August.

● A spokesman said at the weekend that the Pan-Africanist Congress would participate in next year's elections "if and only if they are designed to establish a constituent assembly that will draw up a new constitution for a new state", Sapa reports

focus on talks

Sowetan 5/7/93

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On the other hand, it was perhaps the Government which best summed up the results of Friday's events.

"The day was another step in the process of developing a new democratic South Africa," said chief negotiator and Minister of Constitutional Development Mr Roelf Meyer.

White House denies reports that it has deserted F W

304A
ARGUS 17/93

PETER FABRICIUS
The Argus Foreign Service

PHILADELPHIA. — Reports in the London Sunday Times that the US administration has abandoned President De Klerk and thrown its weight behind the African National Congress are being dismissed here.

The British report followed the separate meetings between President Bill Clinton and Mr De Klerk and ANC President Mr Nelson Mandela on Friday when Mr Mandela apparently snubbed Mr De Klerk by refusing to be photographed with him and Mr Clinton.

Sources of the US administration, SA government and ANC pooh-poohed the report today.

US ambassador to South Africa Princeton Lyman, who is here for the visits of the two South Africans, attended both meetings and indicated that neither was consistent with the interpretation that Mr De Klerk had been dropped.

He said both had gone well. "The whole tone and substance of the meetings was to commend both men for the negotiation process and to support the process."

ANC sources also dismissed the report and said that nothing in Mr Mandela's meeting with Mr Clinton supported it.

They pointed out that the White House had wanted Mr Clinton to be photographed with Mr De Klerk and Mr Mandela to reinforce its view that they were equally important to the process.

A Democratic Party White House would probably be naturally more inclined to be sympathetic to the ANC than the Government but would not show it, the sources said.

SA government sources also dismissed the report and said the meeting with Mr Clinton had gone well.

Apart from the business side, the two leaders had swapped professional politicians' observations about the difficulties of elections and the atmosphere had generally been good.

Commenting on a report in the South African Sunday Times that the White House had snubbed Mr De Klerk's wife Marike by ignoring her request to meet First Lady Hillary Clinton, Mr Lyman said he did not know if there had been such a request.

POLITICS

Negotiators relief over fixing of poll

Political Staff

JOHANNESBURG. — Negotiators heaved a sigh of relief at the weekend following the Negotiating Forum's confirmation of April 27, 1994, as the date for the first all-in election and the adoption of a number of constitutional principles, but warned that urgency would have to be the catch-word from now on.

Commenting on progress registered in multi-party talks last week, leading to Friday's successful Forum meeting, negotiators said it was now incumbent on the 26 parties and organisations in the talks to ensure that progress on remaining issues was swift.

The Negotiating Forum, whose sitting had been postponed twice in a month because of lack of sufficient progress in the talks, also ratified agreements on the drafting of legislation for a Transitional Executive Council, the principles which would bind a constitution-making body and on how to tackle violence.

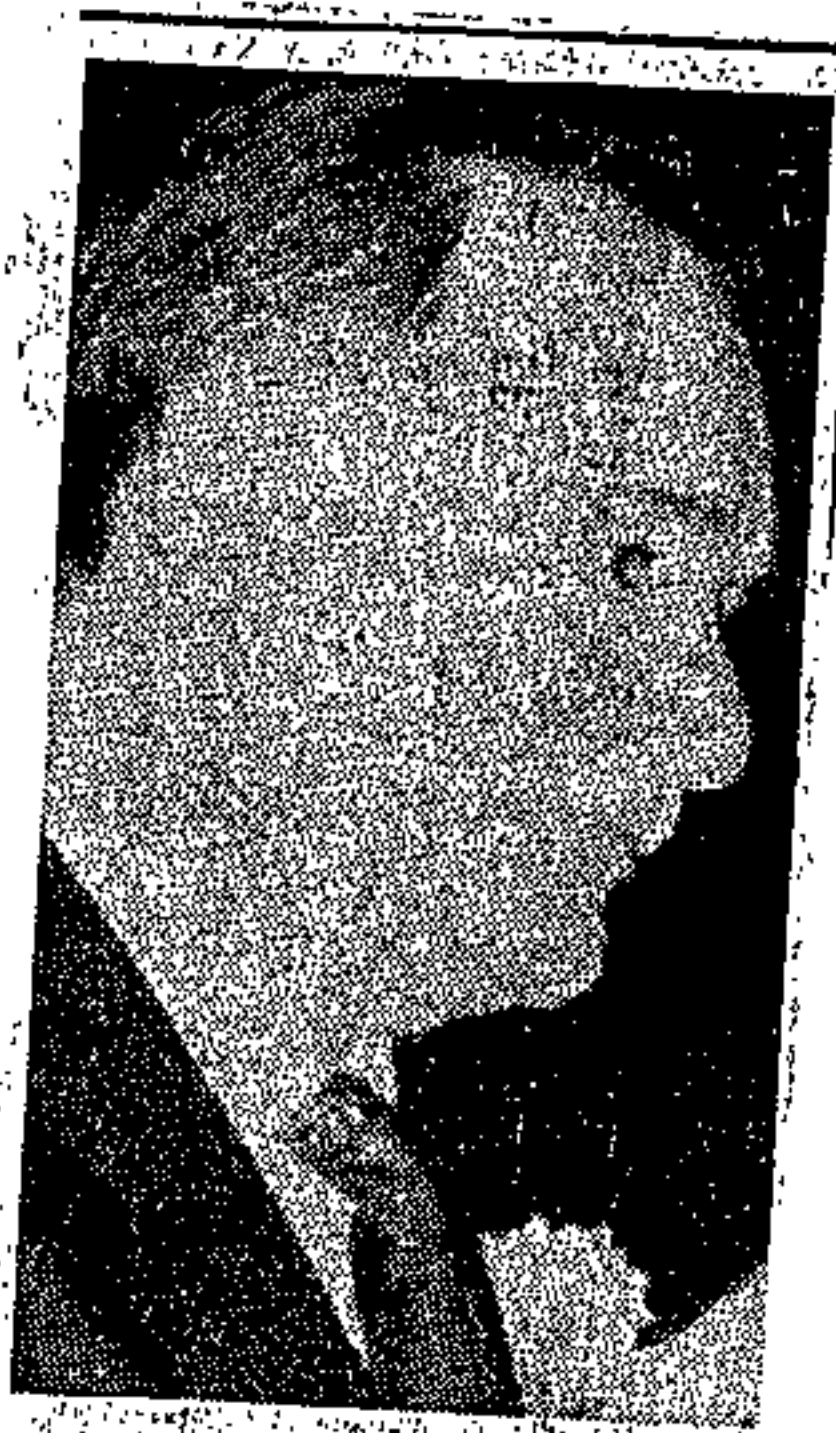
For the second time in three

weeks, the Inkatha Freedom Party (IFP) and the Conservative Party (CP) staged a walk-out towards the end of the talks, but this time without the backing of their Concerned South Africans Group (Cosag) who remained in the meeting.

Although the IFP could not be reached for comment yesterday because its central committee was locked in a marathon meeting in Ulundi all day, other negotiations and political observers believe the two parties will return to negotiations when the Negotiating Council (NC) sits in two weeks' time.

The technical committee on constitutional issues will be hard at work for the next two weeks in an effort to produce an interim constitution to be debated by the NC at its next sitting. **ARG 5/7/93**

ANC secretary-general Cyril Ramaphosa and Constitutional Development Minister Roelf Meyer have expressed the hope that the constitution could be adopted by the NC and pass through parliament in August.



PRESSURE
Gen Tienie Groenewald

Time to draw Boer map — general

Own Correspondent

JOHANNESBURG. — THE right-wing must leave multi-party negotiations and hammer out plans this week for passive resistance to pressure negotiators into accepting a Volkstaat, said Volksfront director General Tienie Groenewald.

He said the Volksfront would ask its supporters to approve a Volkstaat map within six weeks.

And CP caucus member Mr Jurg Prinsloo yesterday said the CP would consider its continued participation in the multi-party talks as a matter of urgency this week.

Gen Groenewald said it had become increasingly clear that the ANC and the government dominated multi-party negotiations and would not grant the right-wing an independent state.

He emphasised, however, that the Volksfront would continue bilateral negotiations with the government and traditional leaders.

Gen Groenewald said the Volksfront had to convince NP MPs not to give parliamentary approval to the formation of a Transitional Executive Council.

Campaign

If this did not work, he said, the Volksfront would have to make the implementation of a TEC impossible.

He said passive resistance would play a major role in this campaign.

But veteran right-winger Mr Jaap Marais yesterday warned that it would be difficult to keep Boer resistance passive.

"As the means of passive resistance run out and people get restless for results, it will be impossible to avoid guerrilla warfare, which is part of the Afrikaner history."

Even though details of the passive resistance campaign, dubbed the "10 plagues" by CP leader Dr Ferdi Hartzenberg, had not yet been made available, it is understood that it would include strategic power failures, the withholding of farm produce and taxes and mass rallies.

● Right-wing to fight municipal move —

Page 2

US media ignores SA leaders' feud

By Peter Fabricius
Star Bureau

WASHINGTON — The American media have enthusiastically applauded the receipt by ANC president Nelson Mandela and President F W de Klerk of the Philadelphia Liberty Medal, hardly placing any stress on the clash between the two leaders which preoccupied the South African press.

It thus appears that the public spat between De Klerk and Mandela just before the ceremony, and the general squabbling that has marked their visits, has not detracted greatly from the positive impact of their joint award.

The story of the award ceremony — presided over by President Bill Clinton — was top news in the Philadelphia news-

papers but less prominent in the national press.

The Philadelphia Enquirer devoted the top two-thirds of its front page to the story, under the headline "City hails Mandela, De Klerk", and used a picture of the medal presentation.

The Enquirer also gave a large amount of space inside the paper to the story and carried the full text of both De Klerk's and Mandela's acceptance speeches.

The New York Times had a picture of Clinton, Mandela and De Klerk on the front page and a small story on page three which called their sharing of the award "something of an incongruous association", but noted that both had been praised by Clinton.

The Washington Post relegated the story to page three with a photograph and report which observed that although the two South Africans had been "decidedly cool" to each other ear-

lier, they had singled each other out for praise at the ceremony.

The Washington Times also took a positive line with a front-page headline: "Clinton applauds S Africa".

In an editorial, the influential Washington Post called the award ceremony a "moment of deep resonance" and defended the decision to give the award to De Klerk as well as Mandela.

● Leaders of the American Jewish Committee honoured Mandela with an award yesterday in recognition of his contribution to human rights, reports Sapa-Reuter. (304A)

At a meeting in his New York hotel the Jewish leaders also expressed their concerns to Mandela about extremist right-wing groups in South Africa.

Later in the day, Mandela held another private meeting with the Council of Churches before attending a private dinner held by billionaire banker David Rockefeller.

Star 6/7/93
ET won't be

**'intimidated
by Goldstone'**

Staff Reporter **252**
204A

AWB leader Eugene TerreBlanche has declared that he will not testify before tomorrow's Goldstone Commission probe into the recent right-wing action at Kempton Park's World Trade Centre.

In a statement yesterday, the AWB said TerreBlanche had been notified of the request to testify, but had told the commission's secretary, Glen Cuthbertson that he would "not allow himself to be intimidated or threatened (and) will therefore not testify before the commission".

A spokesman for the Goldstone Commission said no one could be subpoenaed to appear before the commission.

IFP lashes out at govt, ANC/SACP

By ANTHONY JOHNSON
Political Correspondent

CT 6/7/93
304A

THE Inkatha Freedom Party has called for the multi-party negotiations process to be halted — and has accused the government and the African National Congress of “coming together to sell South Africa down the river.”

A sharply worded statement issued yesterday by Chief Mangosuthu Buthelezi's office after an IFP central committee meeting at Ulundi at the weekend also contained stinging personal attacks on Mr Nelson Mandela and President F W de Klerk.

The statement comes hot on the heels of the walkout by the IFP and KwaZulu delegations from Friday's meeting of the 26-party negotiating forum. The government and the ANC-

SACP alliance are also accused of “connivance”.

The IFP central committee accuses Mr Mandela of “courses of action” that have divided the country and “thrust it to the very brink of civil war.”

The IFP central committee castigates Mr De Klerk for being “wrong” and adds that “his receding back into the ANC camp will go down in history as a failure to deliver the promise of his February 2, 1990, speech”.

It says the break in talks should be used “to assess what it would mean to go ahead without the participation of parties representing at least half the future electorate”.

Meanwhile, both the government and the ANC have expressed confidence that Inkatha will return to talks at the World Trade Centre after the two-week recess.

Ideas for new regions pour in

By Day 6/7/93

TIM COHEN

THE debate on a new regional dispensation has shifted into top gear with the ANC proposing eight new provinces, the DP proposing nine and various other groups suggesting widely differing ideas. (11) (20/4/93)

There was so much interest in the debate that the regional delimitation commission established by the negotiations forum yesterday extended the deadline on proposals from today until Friday. (22)

Both government and the ANC will publish their submissions today.

It is reliably understood that the ANC intends proposing that SA be divided into eight regions. This would constitute a departure from earlier ANC plans which suggested 10.

The ANC's proposals are broadly based on the nine regions outlined by the SA Development Bank, which in turn were based on the development regions established after the Good Hope and Carlton conferences between government and business in 1981.

Discussion documents published by the ANC last year suggested only one significant departure from the bank's proposal, making provision for a Xhosa homeland including Transkei and Ciskei.

The bank's proposals would broadly maintain the Free State and Natal, divide the Cape into northern, eastern and western sections and the Transvaal into four sections with the PWV at the core.

The DP proposed that the Cape be divided into two parts: Ciskei, Transkei and surrounds become Keiland; and Bophuthatswana and surrounding areas become the Kalahari.

It suggests the northern Transvaal area be known as Bushveld, the Free State, Natal and Transvaal retain their names and much of their existing land and the PWV become known as the Witwatersrand.

The DP's proposal uses as its criteria language, functionality, traditional or historical boundaries, demographic characteristics, a meaningful resource base and the proposed region's development potential.

"The DP believes that the gerrymandering with political boundaries which has characterised our past should not be perpetuated," it says.

The official government advisory body, the National Regional Development Advisory Council, also published its proposals yesterday. It suggested seven instead of the present nine development regions, on the grounds that economic viability demanded that there be as few regions as possible.

The council suggests merging the northern and western Cape development regions, and the Free State and western Transvaal.

It also proposes the border of the eastern Cape region be extended to include Transkei.

THE theory was that President F W de Klerk and ANC president Nelson Mandela should have come here as a neat package symbolising all the kinds of nice and uplifting things that the 4th of July ideally stands for. It was a silly theory, proving yet again the amazing capacity of Americans — especially the worthy sort who hand out medals, prizes, honorary doctorates and other such wall hangings — to view the world in cartoon terms.

Sunday's Freedom Medal extravaganza may have been a splendid way to inaugurate (and help justify) Philadelphia's new multimillion-dollar convention centre. It also did wonders for the egos of sundry local potentates, including mayor Ed Rendell. The Rev Leon Sullivan got to exercise his lungs. And one could not but feel happy for the US Park Service official who introduced Mandela to the media at Independence Hall on Saturday. Turned out in her spiffy Baden-Powell hat and uniform, she looked as she was about to burst with pride. This was surely the high point of her life.

The same could not be said of the honorees. All the massed choirs, laser *son et lumiere* shows and superheated oratory in the world could not have made this an ennobling day for either man. The script called for them to be SA's George Washington, James Madison and Thomas Jefferson rolled into one. In reality, and to put it kindly, they were not quite there yet. Strain as they might for appearances sake, there was no mistaking that these were two very mortal politicians. Theirs was the embrace less of reconciliation than of sumo wrestlers looking to butt each other out of the ring.

Of the two, De Klerk proved himself the cannier competitor, making up for what he lacked in electoral muscle and US crowd appeal with a practised infighter's guile and patience. His boldest stroke was to announce, on Thursday, that the IMF stood ready to advance SA an \$850m loan — up front and in cash — by

Mandela and FW refuse to dance to the American tune

SIMON BARBER in Philadelphia

Bladey 61-11q3

November 11 only (and the condition did not have to be openly articulated) the ANC would get its act together.

This rocked Mandela on his heels. Simply by agreeing to share the Freedom Medal, he had granted his opponent a new lease of legitimacy and international prestige. Now here was De Klerk pressing home the advantage by making it appear that all that stood between SA's poor, hungry and homeless and their material wellbeing was the ANC's desire for an unashably centralised state. The obvious counterthrust would have been that the ANC had already been highly flexible on the federalism issue, and that it was the government's own intransigence which was holding up the formation of the transitional executive council, and thus the fulfilment of the ANC's already reduced terms for calling off remaining sanctions.

Even more sensible would have been to say that, sanctions or no sanctions, foreign loans and investment would not begin to flow again until those taking the risks saw a solid political consensus on the ground. Otherwise, De Klerk's flank was covered. It was not the government that was holding up the council, he could argue, but Mangosuthu Buthelezi and his Concerned South Africans Group partners, in contrast



Clinton and Mandela at the Philadelphia medal ceremony. Picture AP

to whom the government was all sweet reason.

Mandela's position was not improved by the stated purpose of his US visit. Understandably, he wanted to play down the importance of the Freedom Medal, since its glory could only reflect on his opponent too. But he erred in emphasising the fundraising aspect to the extent he did.

especially since he made it seem (which in the end it probably is) a largely partisan operation.

This led to an invidious comparison between De Klerk, the statesman looking out for his country, and Mandela, the party hack, shaking the trees at every opportunity, however inappropriate, for campaign cash. Perhaps, after so many years of struggle, the ANC has grown too used to expediency to care or even recognise how it can look to others.

At all events, Mandela seemed never fully to regain his composure. This did not matter to the ANC's US cheering section who would declare him the winner under almost any circumstance. In other quarters, however, his reputation suffered.

The Clinton administration had hoped to seize upon Mandela's and De Klerk's visits as a defining moment. The photos would have said it all: Bill Clinton officiates as two bitter racial antagonists sweep aside the past in a dramatic gesture of reconciliation and head off to build democracy. SA rejoins the community of nations. Clinton unveils new and imaginative policy, perhaps even a doctrine.

Of course, things did not quite turn out that way, and it was probably fanciful to have thought that they would. But it was Mandela who suf-

fered the most from the deflated expectations. De Klerk — and, also, let it be said Buthelezi, who had surely seen the chance of setting the ANC leader up by stalling the negotiations — cornered him into taking the stand that wrecked the show.

De Klerk kept his composure, and said all the right things throughout (well almost — accepting the medal on behalf of the likes of Lucas Mangope was certainly a lapse). Mandela allowed himself to be seen as petty, sanctimonious and not too astute.

His grumpy assertion outside the White House that De Klerk had no right even to predict when sanctions might be removed, and indeed was "totally irrelevant" on that score, was not the rhetoric of a statesman. His insistence the following day that De Klerk had no business dealing with the IMF, for that was the ANC's job, smacked of arrogance.

Nonetheless, one had to sympathise with his outburst at Sunday's joint media conference. Trapped into the contradiction of having to continue to insist on sanctions while at the same time pleading for massive foreign investment and aid to ensure that the new order delivered more than just empty rights, he finally blurted the truth that made the whole medal affair a charade. He could not trust his co-recipient.

And out his frustrations tumbled. However much he might decry De Klerk as "illegitimate", the man still held the real reins of power. He might have been elected by only 15% of the population, but he was still president in the world's eyes and could still use the authority and prestige that came with the title to outflank the ANC. At home, he could still use the law to put his own people on the SABC board despite agreeing to be bound by an independent panel of jurists. And what was to stop him doing the same with the transitional executive council unless a law was passed to prevent him?

Only sanctions, a weapon now so self-defeating and contradictory that its possession and use diminished the ANC's stature. Mandela neither needed nor deserved to be put in this position, least all to make Americans feel good on Independence Day.

US media hail Mandela, De Klerk

PETER FABRICIUS
The Argus Foreign Service

WASHINGTON. — The American media have hailed ANC President Nelson Mandela and President De Klerk's receipt of the Philadelphia Liberty Medal with enthusiasm — and with hardly any stress on the clash between the two leaders which preoccupied the South African media.

If the media focus is the judge of how the event was received here, then it seems the public sat between President De Klerk and Mr Mandela just

□ Little emphasis on the 'squabbles' during visit

before the ceremony — and the general squabbling throughout their visit — did not detract greatly from the positive impact of their receiving the award.

The story of the award ceremony on Sunday, Independence Day — presided over by President Clinton, was splash news in the Philadelphia media but less prominent in the national press.

The Philadelphia Enquirer, the main local paper, devoted the top two-thirds of its front

page to the story — under the headline "City hails Mandela, De Klerk" — and a big colour photograph of the medal award.

The Enquirer also gave a large amount of space inside the paper to the story and carried the full text of both President De Klerk and Mr Mandela's acceptance speeches. The New York Times had a picture of President Clinton, Mr Mandela and President De Klerk on the front page and a small story on page three which called their sharing of the award

"something of an incongruous association" but noted that both had been praised by President Clinton.

The Washington Post relegated the story to page three with a photograph and report which observed that although the two South Africans had been "decidedly cool" to each other earlier, they had singled each other out for praise at the ceremony.

The Washington Times also took a positive line with a front-page headline: "Clinton

applauds S Africa."

In an editorial, the influential Washington Post called the award ceremony on Independence Day a "moment of deep resonance" and defended the decision to give the award to President De Klerk as well as Mr Mandela.

On the day commemorating America's struggle for freedom, it was fitting to honour "another revolution that is underway in a distant land."

"It adds to the allure of the Fourth of July that this nation can pay tribute to two men who have contributed to an historic turn in South Africa."

DP names regions

THE DEMOCRATIC Party yesterday recommended that South Africa be demarcated into nine regions for the first nonracial proportional representation election.

The proposal was submitted to the Commission on the Demarcation-Delimitation of Regions appointed by the negotiating council at the multiparty negotiations.

The regions in the DP's proposal are Western Cape, Eastern Cape, Keiland, Free State, Natal, Kalahari, Transvaal, Bushveld, and Witwatersrand.

Sowetan Reporters and Sapa (304A)

focus on federalism

Sowetan 6/7/93

THERE IS A PREDILECTION for federalism in South Africa that could be the biggest threat to real redevelopment, upliftment and national unity in the country.

By identifying federalism as a component of democracy, even before a democratic election has been held to install a representative quorum which will write a constitution, its advocates are placing the future of a fractured country in jeopardy.

They are effectively taking a society that was divided by apartheid (for distinctly racist reasons) into ethnic enclaves and power blocs and providing these centres with political power at regional and local level before any national unity has been achieved.

It is so that South Africa has neither any national symbols nor a national identity.

In terms of the logic expressed by the advocates of federalism this early in the political debate, regional identities, arguably the products of apartheid, should be entrenched first before a semblance of national unity can be achieved.

Surely creating regional entities with (existing, apartheid created) ethnic identities would be a perpetuation of apartheid's demographics.

In the *Federalist Papers*, the Bible of federalism, one of its three authors Alexander Hamilton, who was at Philadelphia for the Convention that led to the formation of the United States of America under its constitution, warns against disunity.

"A firm Union will be of the utmost moment to the peace and liberty of the States as a barrier against domestic faction and insurrection.

"It is impossible to read the history of the petty republics of Greece and Italy without feeling sensations of horror and disgust at the distractions with which they were continually agitated and at the rapid succession of revolutions by which they were kept in a state of perpetual vibration between the extremes of tyranny and anarchy."

Federalism has proven itself in countries such as America, Australia and Canada.

However, after years of constitutional, institutionalised and policed separatism, the fractures in South African society run too deep for them to be entrenched legally, again, by other means, before national unity is achieved.

It can be argued that in South Africa today Hamilton's tyranny and anarchy exists legally, in places like Bisho and Ulundi, even.

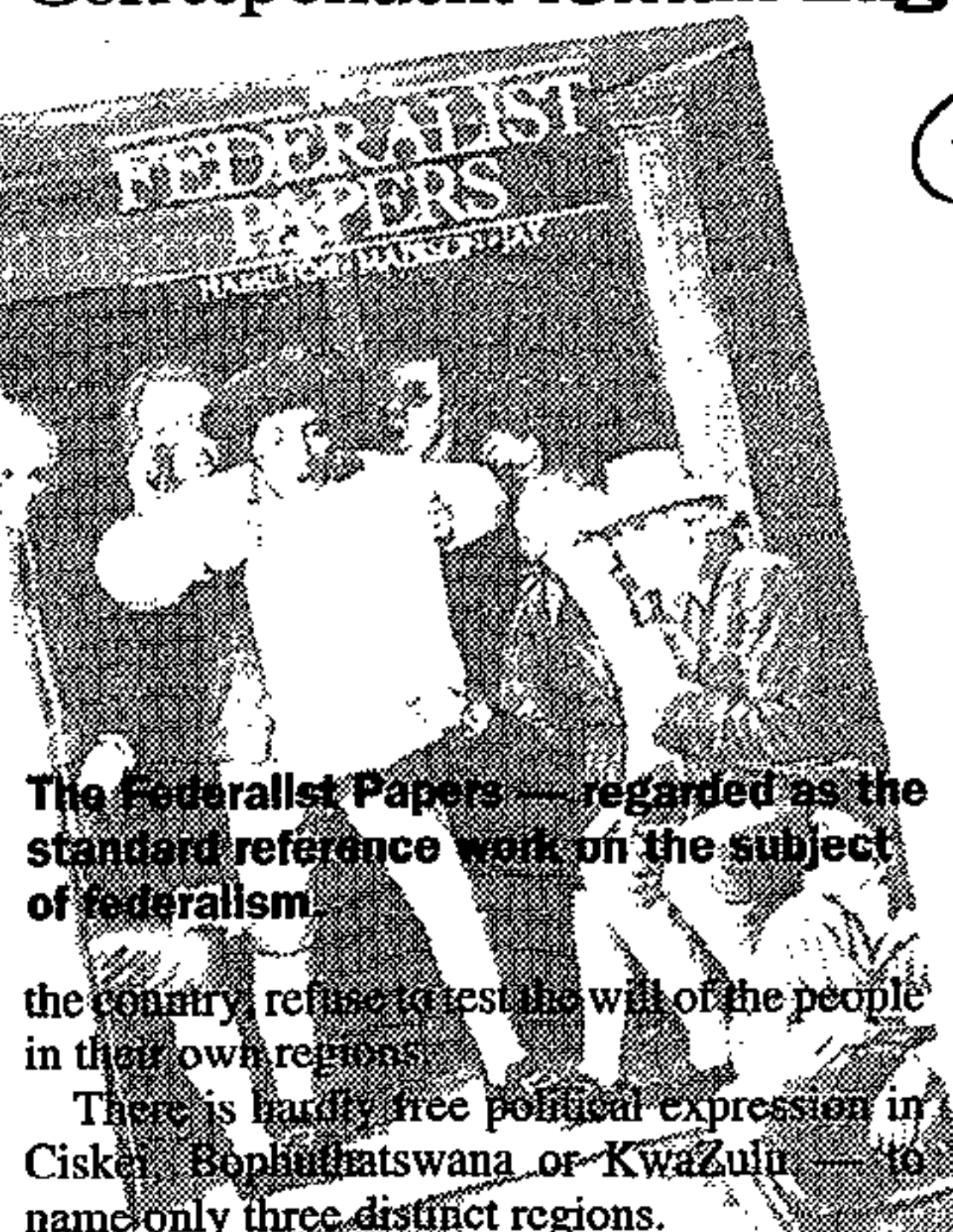
South Africans also already experience the "sensations of horror and disgust", not because of what might be, but because of what already exists.

The satraps in the existing fiefdoms within South Africa, that have become increasingly obstreperous as democratic progress is made in

The debate on federalism is perhaps premature as it could lead to the country being divided into regions originally determined by apartheid, argues *Sowetan* Political Correspondent **Ismail Lagardien:**



(304A)



The *Federalist Papers* — regarded as the standard reference work on the subject of federalism.

the country, refuse to test the will of the people in their own regions.

There is hardly free political expression in Ciskei, Bophuthatswana or KwaZulu — to name only three distinct regions.

The white State President of South Africa is yet unable to hold a public meeting in white controlled areas in the Western Transvaal without violent repercussions.

The World Trade Centre, the supposed citadel of democracy, is hardly safe from invasion by people who are opposed to the political process of reconciliation and progress towards national unity.

These are the same people who hold a balance of power in regions of the Western Transvaal.

Give them regional power and no black person or even white person slightly to the Left of them is guaranteed access to the Western Transvaal. Black political movements are similarly unwavering in their opposition to free political activity by white parties such as the National Party and Democratic Party in traditionally black townships.

On another level, a freak sideshow is developing where a so-called coloured faction now want secession.

This comes in the wake of similar noises by white supremacists on the Far Right and by the leader of the Inkatha Freedom Party, Chief Mangosuthu Buthelezi.

Surely, then, there is a desperate need to pull the country together first, before dividing it up into legal and semi-autonomous regions.

Surely, if federalism is decided upon as an absolute before a constituent assembly is elected, then one of the ubiquitous technical committees might just as well be appointed to fill in what can be regarded as relatively insignificant details of a new constitution.

This predetermination of the form of state before there is even a semblance of national unity in fact detracts from the merits of decentralisation and of the devolution of power.

There is at this stage of South Africa's redevelopment a desperate need to pull the country together, as it were.

A strong government of national unity (for all the right reasons) should, in principle, not oversee the constitutional refracturing of a country already divided along such emotional, and indeed superficial, lines.

Such a government should give itself the task of healing the wounds inflicted by apartheid, racism, crime and violence and specifically of uprooting poverty.

Such a government should, in the short-term at least, make uniform representations to the international community; which should be seen by ordinary people as being conducted by their national leaders.

After this and when measurable progress has been made in crucial areas such as education, housing and health and when there is real rapport between black and white leadership — unlike the superficial trysts of the World Trade Centre, — then, perhaps, decentralisation and the devolution of power can come about in a more gradual and evolutionary way.

This, it can be argued, is the essence of federalism, to devolve real political power to the regions in a mature and methodical way and not at once, before a constitution is written.

The fact of the matter is that there is no real power at the centre and to make it possible for the proliferation of power in regions could be disastrous.

If, however, a strong centre pulls together the country, creates a single national identity with acceptable national symbols, South Africa could rise above its present schizophrenic self as a composed nation in search of its berth in the international community.

Change signal soon

By Ismail Lagardien
Political Correspondent

A TRANSITIONAL Executive Council will have political power when it is legally instituted after the short session of Parliament later this year. (304A)

While elements of the TEC could be in place within weeks, draft legislation will go before Parliament to give legal standing to the body. This would signal the first real shedding of power by the ruling National Party to a more democratic, multiparty force.

A controversy was started when the Minister of Constitutional Development, Mr Roelf Meyer, said in Parliament last month that legislation for the TEC was not necessary.

Meyer did, however, agree at the Negotiating Forum last Friday that legislation would be necessary for the TEC. The secretary of the ANC's negotiations commission, Mr Mohammed Valli Moosa, said yesterday: "They (Government) were party to decision on Friday that legislation should now be drafted for

the TEC so that it can be empowered by Parliament."

There appear to still be slight differences between the main protagonists, the ANC, and Government, on the exact powers of the TEC.

It is understood that the Government does not expect to abdicate after the installation of the TEC and that it is not prepared to shed much executive power.

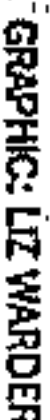
The ANC and PAC feel, however, that effective political power has to be entrenched in the legislation for the TEC. "Its main task would be to ensure that the playing field is levelled," Moosa said yesterday.

The PAC, while not married to the wording, also has the idea that a Transitional Authority should have effective political power.

The TEC is expected to have sub-councils in law and order, defence, foreign affairs and home affairs.

The ANC wants the IEC to have absolute power.

ANC proposal for 8 regions



Steuer 717193

The only truly independent press is one which can stand on its own feet financially and politically, Argus Holdings chief executive Doug Band said in an address at the Grahamstown Festival today.

He said recent changes within Argus had and would occur under the broad ambit of "unbundling".

It had to be recognised if the group was to accommodate newspapers under its control and prevent outside intervention, it was necessary to alter some attitudes and structures within the English language newspaper groups themselves.

W. H. T. 11

The Government blueprint calls for either seven or nine regions, and that of the ANC for eight. The familiar provinces — Cape, Natal, Free State and Transvaal — as well as the TBVC states and the independent national states — will disappear.

Both the Government and the ANC agree to a large extent on regions for parts of the eastern Cape, Natal, eastern Transvaal, the PWV, and northern Trans-

"We believe it is desirable and in their own interests for the TBVC states to be incorporated now, to be partners in the transitional executive council, and have a say in the new constitution.

The ANC says in a paper to be submitted to the delimitation commission: "All Bantustans must be reincorporated into South Africa." Fourie told a

media conference that the Government's view was that there was room for consensus with the ANC on the recommendations.

Scenario A: south-western Cape (including Cape Town), north-western Cape (most of Bophuthatswana), eastern Cape Border/Kei, Free State, western Transvaal, Vryburg Boputhatswana area and Gwaqphutsi/Na-let/Kwa-Zulu eastern

Scenario B: northern, southern and Western Cape; eastern Cape, Border/Kei, Free State, Gazankulu, PWV, remaining portion of Bophuthatswana and KwaNdebele.

Qwaqwa, most of Bophuthatswana; Natal/KwaZulu; northern Transvaal, Venda, Lebowa and Gazankulu; PWV, portion of Bophuthatswana and KwaNde-

The ANC's recommendations are: western Cape; eastern Cape; Border/Kei; Free State and Qwaqwa; northern Cape; and western Transvaal; PVV and eastern Transvaal; Kangwane northern Transvaal and home lands; Natal/KwaZulu, Bop-

phuthatswana is included with the northern Cape. Fourie said most people have their own ideas as to how the country should be divided.

The Government's proposal is guided by a maximum devolution of power and functions entrenched legislative powers

The Government had attempted to take into consideration all points of view, particularly in regard to the Free State and eastern Cape areas.

"There is a lot of unhappiness, particularly in areas bordering on Transkei. In addition there have been other responses such as from the northern Cape where people say they are able to sustain themselves," Fourie said.

existing development regions, had been looked at by the Government and the two views published yesterday are believed to be the best.

The ANC said there had been a "wide debate on its original discussion document relating to the proposed regions."

mission would be extremely difficult, the ANC said care would have to be taken in determining boundaries. City states had to be avoided — a direct response to a suggestion published yesterday that Pretoria should be separated from the PWV.

The ANC also said that "germanymandering in South Africa" has reinforced a tendency for regions to be disjointed, and that account had to be taken of

Existing boundaries need to be maintained as far as possible.

Calling for a clear statement of basic economic rights of individuals and corporations, Saebch said it would be a grave oversight to allow such fundamental rights as individual property rights to go by default.

siding boghees, in its submission, said regional border should follow watershed dividing lines to facilitate water source management.

1 nation

Dam levels down to 41 pc

The total amount of water in dams in the Vaal River system which serves the PWV has dropped to 41,5 percent, well down on the 52,5 percent at the same time last year. The Sterkfontein Dam which feeds the Vaal Dam is 76 percent full. No rain has fallen in the PWV this month, where the long-term average is a mere 6,5 mm, according to the Rand Water Board — Staff Reporter.

Hijacker to appear in court

A 23-year-old man who hijacked a Royal Swazi Air passenger aircraft on Sunday will appear in the Kempton Park Magistrate's Court today. Police said no charges had been formulated as offences in terms of the Civil Aviation Act were still being investigated. The man was found to have false identity documents. — Sapa.

Guard beats off attackers

A gang of robbers fled empty-handed from a Vanderbijlpark scrap metals business after shooting at an employee, Bereng Mokwena (31), yesterday. Mokwena is recovering in hospital from a bullet wound. Police said five armed men approached Mokwena and began firing at him. The men fled when Mokwena returned fire. — Vereeniging Bureau.

Suspect shot in buttocks

A suspected robber was wounded in the buttocks in a shootout with police yesterday, after he and another man tried to hold up a Fidelity Guards team outside the Nedbank in Stanley Street, Auckland Park. — Staff Reporter.

Unions, post office agree

The Post Office reached a wage agreement yesterday with two trade unions which had rejected the company's pay offer in May. In a statement, the Post Office said the Post Office Employee Association of SA and the Post and Telecommunication Workers Association joined three other trade unions in accepting the company's wage offer. — Sapa.

Fire destroys 76 shacks

Hundreds of people were left destitute in Kuils River outside Cape Town yesterday after a raging fire destroyed 76 shacks. The fire started when a paraffin stove burst into flames. A strong wind swept the flames out of control and firemen could not save the homes. — Sapa.

IFP, AV 'discuss threats'

Inkatha Freedom Party leader Mangosuthu Buthelezi met a delegation from the Afrikaner Volksfront in Ulundi yesterday to discuss threats to the Zulu and Afrikaner nations, according to a KwaZulu government official. They discussed multiparty negotiations and ways Zulus and Afrikaners could stand together to ensure their nations survived. — Sapa.

Unrest restrictions lifted

Law and Order Minister Hernus Kriel yesterday lifted the unrest regulations for the magistrate districts of Estcourt, Winterton and Mool River in Natal. The repeal appeared in a special Government Gazette and took effect immediately, SABC radio reported. — Sapa.

Cash rolls in as Americans fete Mandela

ARG 7/7/93

3049

□ 'Batteries charged' by visit

CHICAGO. — African National Congress president Mr Nelson Mandela was the star attraction at a series of fundraising events yesterday aimed at pulling in millions of dollars for the organisation's election campaign.

"I will go back to my country full of strength like a battery that has been charged and I will always think of this occasion with very fond memories," said Mr Mandela during a whirlwind tour which at times recalled the style of the old-time politician on a hunt for campaign dollars.

Supporters at one \$100-a-plate lunch lined up to hand Mr Mandela cheques and cash, and some reports said the ANC leader may have received as much as \$100 000 (R334 000) at a single function.

Chicago Mayor Richard Daley urged residents at one event to "reach down in your pocket" and handed Mandela a symbolic key to the city.

Mr Daley said: "This is a great day for our city. A statesman, a freedom fighter and in-

ternational hero has honoured us with this visit."

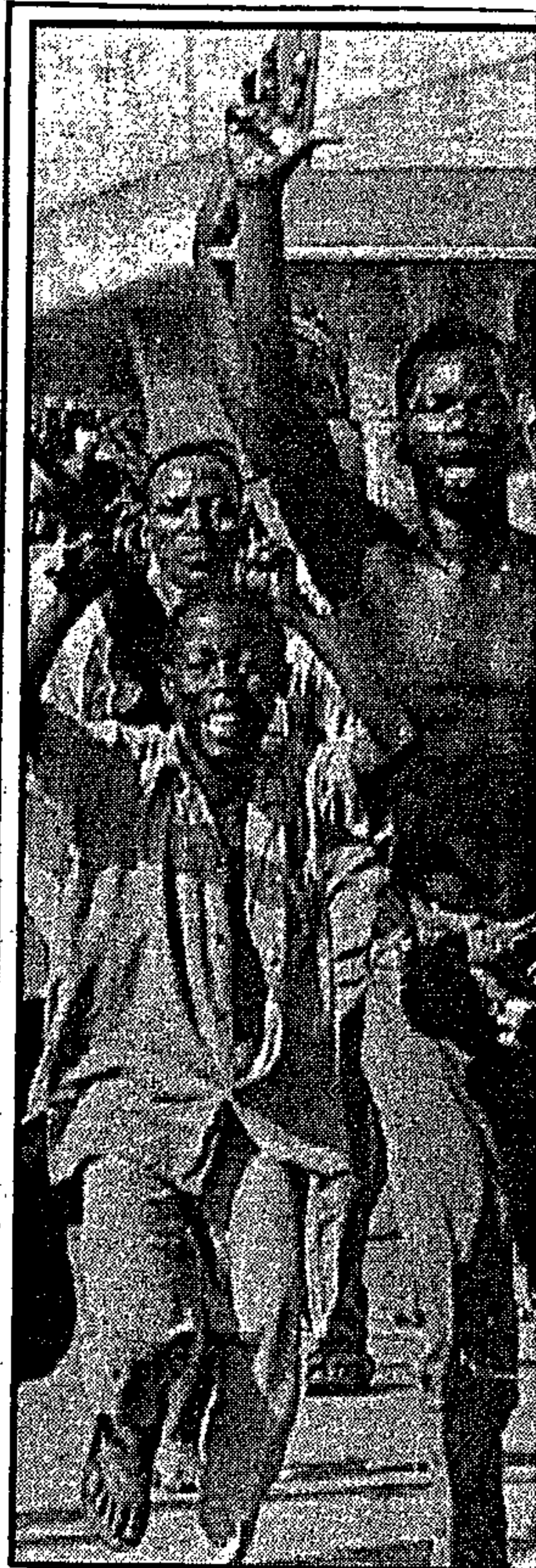
Mr Mandela is in the United States on a two-week visit to raise funds for a voter registration drive and to educate the electorate ahead of next year's elections.

An election date of April 27, 1994, was agreed to last week by democracy negotiators. It was supported by the government and the ANC, but opposed by conservative groups.

Mr Mandela has said that of the 22 million voters eligible to take part in the elections to end 350 years of white domination, some 19 million would be voting for the first time.

He told one Chicago support group that "when you are in prison, especially a South African prison where all prisoners are black and all warders are white, then you have to live through that in order to understand how cruel human beings can be to others".

He added: "Friendship and support from friends is something which is a source of tremendous inspiration always and to everyone." — Sapa-Reuter.



DANCING IN THE STREETS: Democratic protests against the annulment

Mugabe warns of farm showdown

ROBIN DREW
Argus Africa News Service

HARARE. — A showdown threatens between the courts and the government of Zimbabwe over the land issue.

President Mugabe, speaking to parliamentarians, said he would "brook no interference"

from the courts over the acquisition of land from white farmers for resettlement.

If necessary, he declared with emotion, "we will have our own UDI". But he hoped to avoid this and to rely on the Land Acquisition Act.

The government intends tak-

ing about half the commercial farmland, amounting to some five million hectares.

Legal opinion has been given that acquisition under the Act may be an abuse of the owner's rights as set out in the Declaration of Rights in the constitution.

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Plans for the new SA

304A

By ANTHONY JOHNSON
Political Correspondent

THE new South Africa is taking shape as major parties, such as the ANC and the government, show increasing agreement and flexibility on how the regions should be carved up. 27/7/93

Proposals yesterday by the two major parties to the multi-party Commission on the Demarcation of Regions reveal that the ANC and the government have moved closer together in recent months on the drawing of boundaries.

The ANC yesterday proposed the formation of eight regions, whereas the government presented

PARTIES DIFFER ON CARVING UP SA

See PAGE 5

"concept scenarios" allowing for either nine or seven regions. But the overlap in the regions and the criteria used in arriving at them were striking. Minister of Regional and Land Affairs Mr André Fourie remarked that it was "surprising how similarities are beginning to develop between various parties" on an highly emotive process which often entailed "strong Currie Cup feelings".

He also saw "room for consensus" with the ANC where the two sides differed on boundaries.

The ANC's expert on regional affairs, Mr Thoma-zile Botha, noted that in deciding on regions his organisation had tried to concentrate on socio-economic and functional criteria rather than political considerations.

The commission, which must submit its findings to the multi-party Negotiation Council by July 26, yesterday extended its deadline for written submissions until Friday.

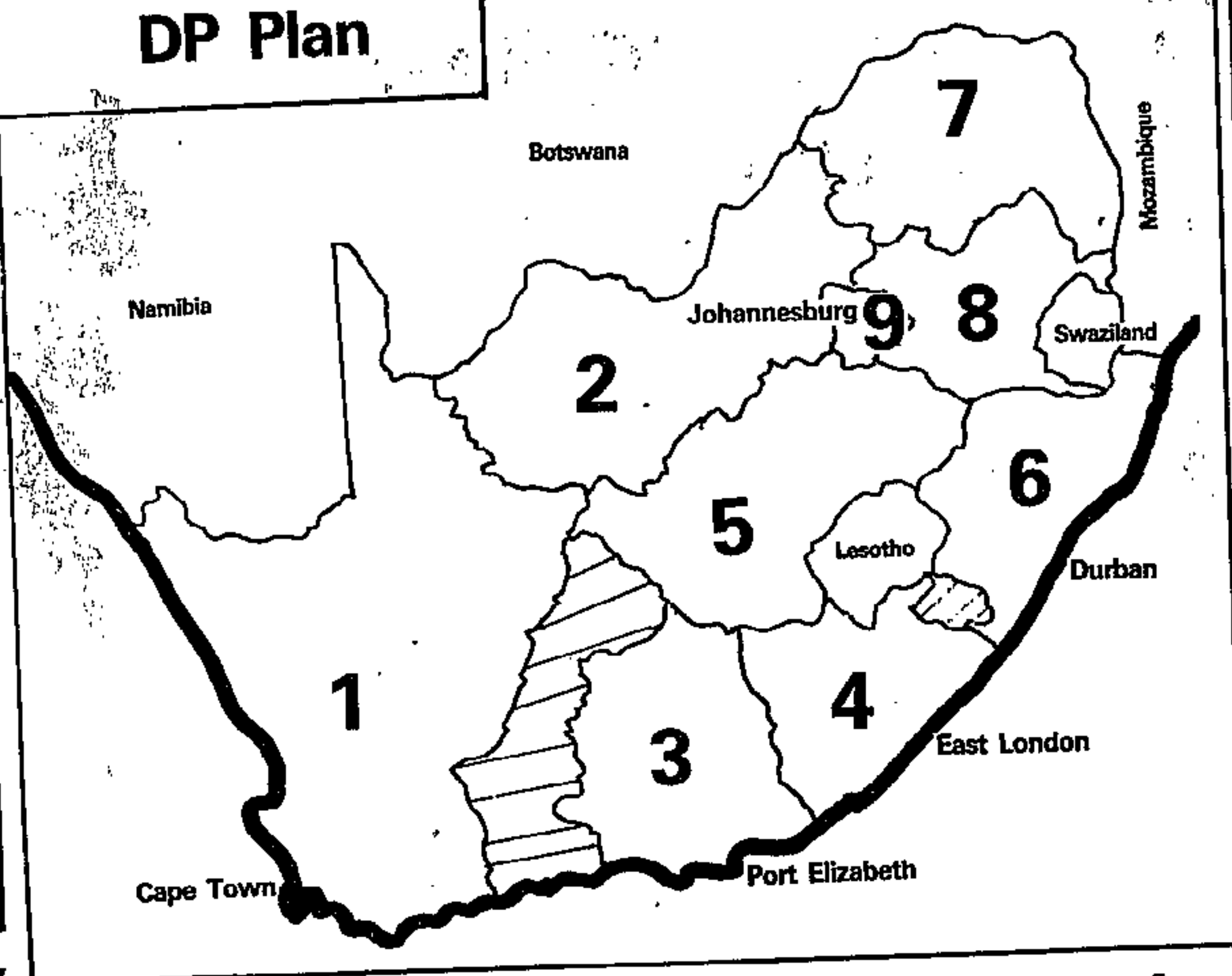
Among submissions handed in yesterday was that of the Afrikaner Volksunie, which proposed two Afrikaner homelands — one around Pretoria and the other encompassing much of the North-western Cape and Boland regions.

The Conservative Party-led Afrikaner Volksfront is expected to make its submission today.

Both the the SA Chamber of Business and the Afrikaanse Handelsinstituut urged the commission to restrict the number of regions to a minimum for economic stability and coherence.

The boundaries eventually settled on by the 26

DP Plan



From page 1

parties at the World Trade Centre will be used for voting in regional representatives to Parliament in April next year and for the election at the same time of separate regional legislatures.

The ANC proposal and the government's seven-region scenario for regional boundaries submitted yesterday were almost identical. The only significant difference was that the ANC wants the Western Transvaal and much of Bophuthatswana to form a separate region, while the government would prefer these areas to be grafted on to the Free State.

Although the government expressed a preference for its nine-region scenario, it allowed that it "will not lose any sleep" if the commission opted for its second-choice.

The similarities that emerged yesterday between the ANC and government approaches include:

- An emphasis on the usefulness of the existing nine economic development regions being used as a point of departure when settling on future regions.
- The need for flexibility and the establishment of "soft" boundaries, which can be changed at a future stage if necessary.
- Regional boundaries should be governed by socio-economic, language and geographic criteria rather than be a function of political manipulation.
- All the homelands should be incorporated into a united South Africa.

DP goes after black youth

Political Correspondent

THE newly elected national leadership of the Democratic Party Youth announced a plan yesterday to aggressively recruit new members in strife-torn black townships countrywide and the TBVC homelands.

DP Youth leaders said its membership had more than doubled in the past year. "In the coming year, we intend to increase our membership sixfold."

They said youths were joining the DP in such large numbers that "we stand to become the largest and most influential youth organisation in South Africa".

focus on gender

Sowetan 7/7/93

TWENTY-SIX political parties and organisations are currently working towards the establishment of equality among all races in South Africa. Among them are women who will also ensure that the new society will not elevate or denigrate its people on the basis of their sex. Women make up 50 percent of the delegates of the negotiating council.

Despite some hindrances, being ignored by the Press and sometimes ridiculed by their male colleagues, they believe they have achieved a few significant successes on behalf of the female community.

The breakthrough might not be major but they mean a lot, considering the deeply entrenched sexist views of our patriarchal society.

Guiding principles

Their victories include the reinstatement of what they thought was a guiding principle and an important clause to the negotiations process.

During Codesa the opening line of the declaration of intent stated that the process was moving towards a nonsexist and nonracial South Africa. The line was omitted from the documents of the present talks.

"We fought for its reinstatement because we believe the words reinforce the reasons for the whole process. Our end picture, what we are fighting for, is a nonsexist and nonracist society," ANC delegate Baleka Kgositsile said.

Fair climate

Kgositsile, who is also a member of the organisation's National Executive Council and secretary-general of the ANC Women's League, said women delegates had also drawn the Technical Committee on Violence's attention to the fact that ensuring a fair climate for free political activity during elections should not be discussed in the context of political organisations only.

"While we should ensure that intimidation by opposing political parties does not occur, we should not forget that violence also impacts on women and that this might interfere with their right to engage in free political activity.

"Women are exposed to violence outside and inside their homes, where some of them are prevented by their husbands from attending meetings. They must therefore be legally protected from situations that make them feel vulnerable and therefore unable to participate freely in politics," she said.

Influential crop

But what Kgositsile thinks is most important about women being in the negotiations, is the learning experience it affords the most influential crop of men in the country.

Women delegates battle on at the multiparty talks to make men understand gender issues, says Baleka Kgositsile. She outlines to **Sizakele Kooma** the battle against sexism and the few gains made:



Baleka Kgositsile ... secretary-general of the ANC Women's League.

(304A) (355A)

"Our participation is important for the input we give on gender issues in guiding a process that will lay the basis for a constitution. But I also believe that our interaction with men is gradually opening their minds to gender issues. They will respect women and realise that they should be taken seriously.

"This will take us as a country forward as far as the role and place of women in decision making is concerned."

Kgositsile said there were limitations in the structure of the negotiations council as to the range of issues they could discuss. She said she believed, however, that a national machinery was needed to sensitise society on women's issues and intervene where there were still discrepancies.

Fully functional

One of the proposals made by the Gender Advisory Committee to the previous forum, Codesa, was for a gender structure to be set up and to be fully functional before a Transitional Executive

I believe that our interaction with men is gradually opening their minds to gender issues. They will respect women and realise that they should be taken seriously

Council was put in place.

The structure, which would ensure that gender issues were taken up and did not just end on paper, has not been established.

Said Kgositsile: "Progress at the talks has been very slow. The TEC was supposed to be set up by the end of June but it wasn't. Many changes can also not be made under the present Government."

The sluggish pace of the talks, she believes, should not be taken advantage of by the Government which earlier this year released a list of discriminatory laws that it said would be repealed. Five of the bills, she said, had been submitted to the technical committee on the repeal of discriminatory laws.

No right

"The Government has no right to unilaterally restructure laws. The negotiations forum must decide how the issues are to be addressed. They are not honest, their motive is to win people to their side and get votes when elections come."

What of the women's charter which the Women's National Coalition hopes will be ready by November? It must be given some place in the constitution-making body, Kgositsile said.

NEWS Blueprint of future regions • Desperation pushes former exiles to commit suicide

SA set to get a new look

Sowetan 7/7/93

Sowetan Correspondent

THE Government and the ANC yesterday presented their views on how South Africa should look like in the future.

The Government's blueprint calls for either seven or nine regions and that of the ANC for eight.

The familiar provinces — Cape, Natal, Free State and Transvaal — as well as the TBVC states and the independent national states will disappear.

Both the Government and ANC agree to a large extent on regions for parts of the Eastern Cape, Natal, Eastern Transvaal, the PWV region and Northern Transvaal while areas of the Western Cape, Free State, Border and Northern Cape are points of contention.

"We believe it is desirable and in their own interests for the TBVC states to be incorporated now, to be partners in the

transitional executive council, and have a say in the new constitution," Regional and Land Affairs Minister Mr Andre Fourie said in Pretoria yesterday.

The ANC says in a paper to be submitted to the delimitation commission: "All bantustans must be re-incorporated into South Africa and a united country created." (Sowetan 7/7/93)

Fourie told a media conference that the Government's view was that there was room for consensus with the ANC on the recommendations.

He said most people had their own ideas as to how the country should be divided.

"It is, however, surprising how similarities develop between the various parties," he added.

In its submission, the South African Chamber of Business emphasised the importance of economic considerations.

Calling for a clear statement of basic economic rights of individuals, including corporates, Saccob said it would be a grave oversight to allow such fundamentals as individual property rights to go by default.

It also called for minimising the burden on taxpayers by having the minimum number of regions.

It said regions should be viable economic units.

The South African Association of Consulting Engineers, in its submission, said regional borders should follow watershed dividing lines to facilitate water resource management.

It also submitted that borders should be selected to locate all communities with common interests in "interdependent housing areas, work opportunities, recreational facilities and places of worship" within one region.

Sad plight of ex-exiles

Sowetan 7/7/93

HUNDREDS of jobless returnees are flooding into offices of the South African Council of Churches countrywide looking for food and assistance, the SACC's national conference heard yesterday.

Delegates were told of unacceptable conditions at exile reception centres, of foreign women who returned with their South African husbands only to be abandoned, and of suicides among those who returned and could not make ends meet.

Other delegates told of exiles who could not trace relatives or find jobs and who were streaming to SACC offices for food. A warning was sounded of the possible political ramifications of the problem and the need for urgent and dramatic intervention.

"This is tragic. People who fought for liberation should be enjoying what they fought for. Their situation is an indictment on us," commented SACC president Dr Khoza Mgojo.

Facing high unemployment at home,

the returnees' plight was aggravated when many did not receive all or part of promised grants due to fraud and irregularities in the now defunct National Coordinating Committee for Refugees.

About R55 million intended for the reintegration of exiles was channelled through the NCCR by the United Nations High Commission for Refugees between 1991 and late 1992.

Fraud involving about R400 000 committed through a sophisticated network of computer and bank specialists was detected, while a network of purloined returnees who claimed grants on the basis of false UN identification documents was discovered.

About R206 000 of the stolen money was recovered, and charges were brought against those involved, the conference was told. — Sapa.

CP dinosaur does not stir

GAVIN DU VENAGE

IT WAS to be, in the words of one council official, "the last kick of the dinosaur". Afterwards he commented that the dinosaur had not even twitched its tail. 11/19/93

Yesterday's no-confidence vote in Johannesburg City Council's management committee was over before it began.

The CP, the official opposition, had called the motion in an attempt to bring the management committee to its knees by driving a wedge into the DP/NP alliance. It had been supported by four rebel NP councillors and a number of independent members. (30/1/94)

Speeches had been prepared and business engagements rescheduled. Councillors filed into the chamber anticipating what one official predicted would be "the best fireworks display in years".

But before the meeting could begin, Mayor Les Dishy announced the motion had been withdrawn. The six CP seats stood conspicuously empty as their occupants drank tea in the lobby.

Councillors reacted angrily at the announcement. Management committee deputy chairman Eddie Magid called the affair a "scandalous waste of ratepayers' money".

CP councillors were not available for comment.

Government, ANC give views on a future SA

ARG 7/7/93

304A

□ Blueprints envisage country divided into regions

The Argus Correspondent

PRETORIA. — The government and the African National Congress have presented their views of what South Africa should look like in the future.

The government blueprint calls for either seven or nine regions and that of the ANC for eight.

The familiar provinces — Cape, Natal, Free State and Transvaal — as well as the TBVC states and the independent national states will disappear.

Both the government and the ANC agree to a large extent on regions for parts of the Eastern Cape, Natal, Eastern Transvaal, the PWV, and Northern Transvaal while areas of the Western Cape, Free State, Border and Northern Cape are points of contention.

"We believe it is desirable and in their own interests for the TBVC states to be incorporated now, to be partners in the Transitional Executive Council and have a say in the new constitution," Mr Andre Fourie, Minister for Regional and Land Affairs, said in Pretoria yesterday.

The ANC says in a paper to be sub-

mitted to the delimitation commission: "All Bantustans must be reincorporated into South Africa and a united country created."

Mr Fourie told a media conference that the government's view was that there was room for consensus with the ANC on the recommendations.

The government's blueprints make provision for:

Scenario A: South Western Cape (including Cape Town); North Western Cape (most of Bophuthatswana); Eastern Cape; Border/Kei; Free State, Western Transvaal, Vryburg-Bop area and QwaQwa; Natal/Kwazulu; Eastern Transvaal/Kangwane; Northern Transvaal, Venda Lebowa and Gazankulu; PWV, remaining portion of Bophuthatswana and Kwanabele.

Scenario B: Northern, Southern and Western Cape; Eastern Cape, Border/Kei; Free State, QwaQwa, most of Bophuthatswana; Natal/Kwazulu; Northern Transvaal, Venda, Lebowa and Gazankulu; PWV, portion of Bophuthatswana and Kwanabele; Eastern Transvaal and Kangwane.

The ANC's recommendations are: Western Cape; Eastern Cape, Border/Kei; Free State and QwaQwa; Northern Cape and Western Transvaal;

PWV; Eastern Transvaal Kangwane; Northern Transvaal and Homelands; Natal/Kwazulu. Bophuthatswana is included with Northern Cape.

Mr Fourie said most people had their own ideas as to how the country should be divided.

"It is, however, surprising how similarities develop between the various parties," he said.

The government's proposal is guided by a maximum devolution of power and functions, entrenched legislative powers for regions, simultaneous elections for regional and parliamentary legislators and regional representation in the transitional parliament.

The ANC said there had been wide debate on its original discussion document relating to the proposed regions.

Stating that it believed the work of the Delimitation Commission would be extremely difficult, the ANC said care would have to be taken in determining boundaries.

There should also be ethnic balance and that during transition a need for workable, flexible boundaries, with a constituent assembly having the final say, was important.

Election date a morale-booster — but still no clarity on what kind of government

Star 7/11/93

At last, the talks bring

304A

Results

WIDESPREAD excitement has greeted the formal adoption by the Negotiating Forum of April 27 next year as the date for the country's first all-inclusive election. The reaction is understandable.

Multi-party negotiations have been going on since December 1991, and bilateral talks between the Government and the African National Congress (ANC) since May 1990, when the two groups discovered that neither side — to use ANC official Thabo Mbeki's phrase — "had horns". Throughout this period negotiators have had precious little to show for their efforts. Instead, a miscellany of factors conspired to make their task difficult.

Violence continued to sweep through the country and ravage largely impoverished communities, the economy showed no real improvement, unemployment soared and the crime rate skyrocketed. Although a few middle-class blacks — including those in the leadership of the ANC — took advantage of the changes and

moved to formerly whites-only suburbs, the overwhelming majority of blacks remained at the lowest rung of the social ladder. For some the situation even worsened.

Negotiations, and the individual interlocutors within the cosy confines of the World Trade Centre, began to be viewed with a degree of scepticism in certain quarters. People became impatient with the snail's pace of negotiations, and dissenting voices within the ANC began to be heard — questioning both the wisdom of remaining within a process which did not deliver, and some of the numerous concessions the organisation was making.

Viewed against this background, the declaration adopted by the Negotiating Council on May 7 — less than a month after popular ANC and South African Communist Party leader Chris Han's assassination — was an important morale-booster. The negotiators were finally sending a strong message to South Africans that they were going somewhere, and that the process of negotia-

tions would not go on endlessly after all.

Now that the date has finally been formally set for April 27 next year — despite vociferous objections from a handful of parties which publicly profess to want democracy but privately fear it — long-suffering South Africans can be forgiven for being a touch excited. Finally *they*, as opposed to the politicians, will get a chance to indicate their preferences.

But apart from the fact that we now know with some certainty when that watershed election will be held, it is questionable whether there is all that much to be excited about in the short term. Agreements reached in negotiations last week suggest strongly that the election will be more for a government of national unity with a five-year life-span, than for the much-vaunted and argued-about

constituent assembly.

As the name suggests, the function of an elected constituent assembly or constitution-making body is to write a constitution. But the Constituent Assembly (CA) to be elected next year will be effectively bound and fettered by the interim constitution to be agreed upon within the next two weeks at the multiparty talks, as well as a host of "constitutional principles".

It is no secret that the Government wants the interim constitution to be as close as possible to the final document to be produced by the CA.

The Inkatha Freedom Party and its fellow conservative allies in the Concerned South Africans Group, on the other hand, are unambiguous about the fact that they want the unelected Negotiating Council to write the constitution.

If, as the agreements reached in negotiations so far suggest, the interim constitution will not differ much from the final one, the powers and functions of regional governments will be determined by the council, and the delimita-

tion of those regions will be done by the council, then the question arises: why elect a constituent assembly?

Agreements reached say quite specifically that the constitutional principles will be binding on the CA. The CA will have, very little room within which to manoeuvre, and will have to operate, within the parameters of agreements fashioned at the World Trade Centre.

This leaves the CA vulnerable to being taken to court by some disgruntled party which might later feel that the body of elected representatives has gone beyond its scope of competence on some issues.

What we are heading for is a federal system — the Government has always insisted on "strong regional government" — whose nuts and bolts will have been finalised at Kempton Park. Unlike the IFP, the Government knew that one could call something by another name and still get it.

Although elections for a CA will be held next year, it can be argued that the Government and the IFP

— and not the ANC — have scored a major victory. The CA to be elected could be a toothless dog, redundant soon after its first sitting.

What next year's election will do, then, will be to separate "the men from the boys", as it were, and once and for all put many insignificant but big-talking parties in their place. Apart from the very small parties, which will disappear, one can imagine groups like the IFP and the Conservative

Party, presently chief proponents of "constructive filibustering" in negotiations, emerging from the election with far less clout than they enjoy at the moment.

It would be more honest to say the April 27 election is going to be for a government of national unity rather than for a constituent assembly, for that is what recent developments in negotiations suggest.

That would further explain the understanding between the Government and the ANC that the CA will not dissolve once the constitution has been written, but will continue as a government of national unity. □

CAN the parting of the ways between the National Party and the Inkatha Freedom Party be far off?

This is the question frequently being asked in political circles since the showdown last week at the World Trade Centre which helped to expose new fault lines in South African politics.

The Negotiating Forum resolved that "sufficient consensus" had been reached on an election date — despite the vehement opposition of the entire six-party Concerned South Africans Group (Cosag).

In essence, this means that the other 20 parties — most of them falling into the Government or ANC camps — have decided that the negotiations train can move ahead in future even if the Cosag parties are not on board.

Having bitten the bullet — walk-outs, dark threats and murmurings of civil war notwithstanding — the Government, the ANC and their allies will be more inclined to repeat the performance next time a crunch issue crops up.

This sends a powerful message to the IFP, the governments of KwaZulu, Bophuthatswana and Ciskei, the Conservative Party and the Afrikaner Volksunie (AVU), many of whom had believed that the major power blocs dared not leave them behind if the Cosag alliance managed to act in concert.

But more important, the decision by the Government to move ahead without Cosag on the highly sensitive election date issue signals an important shift in its relationship with Inkatha.

Election predictions

Just a few months ago, many top Nats could not conceive of a future without Inkatha falling comfortably and comfortingly in the NP camp in the run-up to elections.

Even if, in the absence of a formal alliance, the expectation was that there would at least be an "understanding" and a constructive working relationship between the NP and the IFP as part of their joint commitment to fight the common foe — the ANC.

Final parting between NP and Inkatha is inevitable

CT 7/7/93

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Midweek Politics
By ANTHONY
JOHNSON

Mr Pik Botha would casually lump together votes expected for NP and IFP in his election predictions and the State President, Mr De Klerk, has been fond of reciting the similarities that exist between the principles and policies of the two parties.

Whenever there was a suggestion that it might be time to re-evaluate relations between the parties, Natal Nat MPs would throw all their toys out of the caucus cot.

But all this is now changing and the NP/Government negotiating teams at the World Trade Centre, as well as party strategists, are in the throes of a thorough reassessment of relations with Inkatha — both at negotiations and at the hustings.

After repeated efforts by Inkatha and the KwaZulu Government to stall or torpedo negotiations, IFP leader Chief Mangosuthu Buthelezi is now referred to in Government circles as "part of the problem".

The NP/Government camp is becoming increasingly upset by what it believes to be poor or simply incorrect advice and information being fed to Chief Buthelezi about developments at the World Trade Centre by his coterie of white advisers.

The Nats are especially livid about claims that they have sold out on federalism — something which the central committee of the IFP clearly believes, if the statement issued after its weekend meeting is anything to go by.

But another reason for the cooling of relations between the NP and the IFP is the belated realisation by the Nats that both parties are aiming at almost identical election markets — so-called "moderate" blacks and whites, coloured people and Indians who are nervous about the future.

Some of the NP's top strategists now believe the IFP — and not the ANC — should be regarded as the NP's main rival in Natal.

Ex-ANC man in top post

7/7/93
A FORMER office-bearer of the ANC and the defunct United Democratic Front has been elected to the national leadership of the Democratic Party Youth.

Mr Sipho Ngcobo (24), a former branch chairman of the ANC in Maritzburg, was elected as vice chairman of the DP's Youth at its national congress in Bloemfontein at the weekend. Patricia Zwane (23) of Daveyton, Benoni, was elected second vice chairman and Mr Colin Douglas (23), a law student at the University of Cape Town, chairman. *(304A)*

'SA election fund won't support ANC'

From SIMON BARBER

WASHINGTON. — The ANC will not be receiving corporate donations raised by the South Africa Free Election Fund (Safe), a registered charity launched at the request of ANC president Mr Nelson Mandela to collect money for voter education, a spokesman for the group said.

Mr David Andelman, who is serving the fund, said Safe

"will be sending money to non-partisan groups", though specific groups had yet to be chosen.

ANC communications director Mr Pallo Jordan, with whom Mr Andelman is liaising on the project, was unable to offer further details.

He did not rule out the Matla Trust as a beneficiary.

Matla has received funds from the US National Democratic Institute.

Sony Pictures chairman Mr Peter Guber, also on the Safe board, is holding a Hollywood dinner for Mr Mandela tomorrow to raise funds for Safe.

The fund, which hopes to raise at least R33m in corporate donations, has registered with the Internal Revenue Service as an apolitical charity so that donations will be tax-deductible.

To maintain that status, and

also to avoid having to register as a foreign agent, it must ensure that it is not officially associated with the ANC, and cannot raise money directly for the organisation, Mr Andelman explained.

Mr Mandela, who was fund-raising in Chicago yesterday, has left it unclear whether he is seeking money for the ANC or for non-partisan voter education.

Buthelezi in talks with AVF

INKATHA Freedom Party leader Chief Mangosuthu Buthelezi met a delegation from the Afrikaner Volksfront in Ulundi yesterday to discuss threats to the Zulu and Afrikaner nations, according to a KwaZulu government official. They discussed multiparty negotiations and ways Zulus and Afrikaners could stand together to ensure their nations survived, said an assistant to Buthelezi. Former SADF chief General Constand Viljoen led the AVF delegation.

Sowetan 7/7/93

Weapons may have been concealed in prams - SAP

AWB 'attack plot'

By Helen Grange

Star 8/7/93

Afrikaner Weerstandsbeweging members formed a shield around the Viper armoured vehicle which smashed through the glass front of the World Trade Centre 13 days ago — pointing to a conspiracy to attack the building, the SAP told the Goldstone Commission yesterday.

Denis Fine, SC, representing the SAP at the first day of a preliminary inquiry into events on June 25 at the World Trade Centre, further submitted that weapons were possibly concealed in children's prams and under coats prior to being brandished once the rightwingers were inside the building.

AWB leader Eugene TerreBlanche refused to appear at the inquiry, chaired by Mr Justice Goldstone, despite a summons served on him on Monday.

Mr Justice Goldstone asked the police to open a docket on TerreBlanche and investigate a possible charge against him for failure to appear, and to urgently place the docket before the Transvaal Attorney-General.

Bloodshed

TerreBlanche said on Monday that he would not be "intimidated or threatened" by the commission into appearing, and would refuse to respond to the summons. He may now face a fine of up to R4 000 or one year's imprisonment or both.

The inquiry yesterday heard the versions of the SAP, the Afrikaner Volkfront (which organised the demonstration) and the multiparty security force employed to protect delegates at the multiparty negotiations.

Fine insisted that the police, contrary to criticisms levelled against them, had acted in a manner which prevented possible bloodshed. "If arrests had taken place or shots fired during the course of the demonstration, it was the belief of the SAP that violence would escalate, and deaths of many would have occurred."

The protesters were heavily armed and the situation was volatile, he said.

To date, the police had arrested and charged 66 people following the incident, some of whom had been subsequently released, he added.

The SAP asked the Goldstone Commission to recommend urgently that legislation be enacted, with heavy penalties, to prohibit the possession of dangerous weapons at public demonstrations.

Fine suggested that for the offence of carrying a weapon

● To Page 3

AWB 'conspiracy to attack Trade Centre'

● From Page 1

at a public demonstration where the carrying of firearms had been outlawed, a severe jail sentence without the option of a fine should be introduced.

Andre Van Wyk, SC, giving the versions of Afrikaner Volkfront leader General Constand Viljoen and CP leader Ferdi Hartzenberg (an executive member of the AVF), submitted that both men had tried on several occasions to stop the protesters from moving toward the World

Trade Centre building.

They had had no knowledge of any preplanned attempts to enter the building and believed this was a spontaneous act by the protesters.

They felt, however, that the Government decision not to allow the 10 000-strong group of protesters to gather on the large tract of land south of the building and instead to confine them to a small triangle of land adjacent to the highway, had substantially exacerbated tensions.

"If the demonstrators

had been allowed to gather on the terrain south of the centre, these events would not have occurred," Van Wyk said.

Dr Theuns Eloff, heading the multiparty negotiations administration, told the commission it was clear that once demonstrators were inside the building, neither Viljoen nor Hartzenberg had any control over the situation. Only TerreBlanche seemed to wield any control.

The SAP was adamant that once the demonstrators had entered the premises, and the un-

armed multiparty security forces were not equipped to deal with the situation, Eloff said.

The demonstrators, some with Uzzi shotguns, had caused extensive damage to property. Coffees had been turned over and spit water had damaged computer printers, while papers, attaché cases and spectacles were stolen.

Mr Justice Goldstone asked the parties to present him with recommendations at the end of the hearing on steps to be taken. The hearing continues today.

Whites 'resigned to poor government'

CAPE TOWN — White South Africans have become resigned to poor government administration and increased taxation, according to the findings of a national opinion survey released yesterday.

A study conducted among 800 white women by the Omnichcek division of Research Surveys soon after this year's Budget found fewer than 20% of respondents believed government would succeed in improving its administration in the coming year.

Nevertheless, only 7% of respondents said they resented having to pay the higher taxes which resulted from poor administration.

Two out of every three respondents said increased taxes were necessary to keep the economy on a sound footing, while one in four said they had become

resigned to tax increases.

Omnichcek director Binky Kellas said the result indicated that South Africans were clearly "under no illusions" about the quality of administration provided by government.

However, it was equally clear that they did not realise what effect the historically poor administration had had on the country's economy (204A)

"They believe that increased taxation will rescue the economy, and that it is their duty as responsible citizens to shoulder the burden," she said.

Kellas added that there were people who had become so accustomed to ever-increasing demands in terms of taxation and inflation that they would accede to further demands.

Political Staff

Call for new drought plan

MARIANNE MERTEN

THE National Consultative Forum on Drought has called for the establishment of a national early warning system for food security to co-ordinate government drought relief to rural communities and commercial agriculture.

A forum newsletter, Drought Monitor, said the drought had "highlighted the desperate need for a more systematic way of gathering information about natural disasters" to ensure SA's food security.

Information currently available was inadequate for the planning of effective relief and development programmes, it said.

The early warning system would monitor indicators such as crops and live stock, water levels, weather patterns and food sales. The information gathered through these indicators should be widely accessible and form the basis of policy responses.

SA's regional diversity is now recognised to be such that few argue for either a political or developmental framework based exclusively on centralised control. Regionalism has become the political buzzword among almost all political parties.

What is striking about political shifts on the regional tier is just how rapid the shifts have been, and quite how closely aligned different parties' regional visions have become. This rapidly derived consensus appears to be linked to the perceived urgent political need to reincorporate the homelands into SA. A further point is the perception that at least a rudimentary level of institutional capacity and development competence lies in homeland and provincial bureaucracies.

One of the primary problems in the regional debate has been the confusion of regional issues with ethnicity and development issues. These inter-relationships were, of course, deliberately emphasised during the period of Verwoerdian apartheid.

Suspicion on the part of many opponents of the NP government, that regional-federalism would mean the perpetuation of the homeland divisions and "ethnic regionalism", has been considerable.

However, the NP's recent proposals do not have a strong ethnic format. In practice, there are few proposed regions which would have a clear ethno-linguistic identity. The principal exceptions are:

- The western Cape where Afrikaans is spoken by a clear majority;
- The Transkei/Border/eastern Cape region where Xhosa is dominant; and

- Natal, where Zulu is the obviously dominant language.

These three regions survive in basic form irrespective of the various border configurations envisaged by the ANC and NP. In the rest of SA, ethno-linguistic diversity makes it difficult to distinguish a clear majority identity in any one of them, although an Afrikaans/Tswana alliance in the NP's north-

west region is possible.

One of the implicit assumptions of those critical of a regional-federal constitutional framework has been that such a framework would exacerbate SA's high levels of regional inequality in development. Samir Amin, writing in the socialist journal *Work In Progress*, has suggested that federalism seems to be part of Western capitalist strategy to divide the solidarity of the working classes, to believe that under regional-federalism much of the decision-making and financial responsibilities will be transferred from the central level to the "states" or "provinces".

In that case, even if no geographic area with a white majority can be drawn into existence, there will be "rich" and "poor" states. This division will enable the minimal concessions that are required to align a new black political bourgeoisie with the continuation of the system.

The association between race, region, and inequality is, however, by no means self-evident. As early as 1970, Prof Denis Fair of Wits University observed that areas of greatest prosperity were those with the highest percentage of black working class. In addition, SA's ethnic complexity has now been so thoroughly scrambled by urbanisation that it is hard to find a link between

ethnicity, race, and regional income inequality.

Nevertheless, regional income inequalities remain (see report below). In terms of political allegiances, there are only three regions which could potentially fall outside ANC control on the basis of either the NP or ANC regional breakdowns — the western Cape, the northern Cape/northwest region and Natal.

The ANC's prospects appear weakest in the western Cape where 1992 HSRC surveys showed 54% of potential voters supported the NP and only 15% the ANC. In the northern Cape/northwest it would appear that ANC support is stronger but not sufficient for an outright majority. The NP and its allies could dominate regional government there.

In Natal, ANC support is estimated by the HSRC at only 21% and here, if the HSRC figures are correct, an Inkatha/NP combination could muster a majority of votes.

In all other regions the ANC is likely to dominate the regional tier. Fairly high levels of devolution of powers of revenue-raising and regional responsibility for spending, therefore, need not threaten the ANC's dominance of the national

economy. The ANC would almost certainly retain control in the vital economic heartland of the Transvaal, and would likely also control important peripheral and port regions, including the northern and eastern Transvaal and the Border/Kei area.

So, even if the pattern of events in the western Cape or Natal should not be to the liking of the ANC-controlled central government, it would have several options. It could, for example, strengthen infrastructural, trading and port links between the PWV and Maputo, and/or the PWV and East London or Port Elizabeth. This, no doubt, would exert a strong "disciplinary" influence upon any regional "rebelliousness" in Natal and/or the western Cape.

In contrast, carefully constructed regional economic growth strategies designed by possibly more conservative regional regimes in Natal and the western Cape in particular, could provide important forms of economic competition. For example, if the ANC attempted strong redistributive measures, through its political centre and through its control over several regions, it might be possible for more market-oriented or conservative taxation policies in Natal or the western Cape to attract to those regions greater local and interna-

tional investment. No party that strongly subscribes to a nationalist vision can easily contemplate regional-federalism — unless it is likely to lose the political centre. The NP's recent conversion to regionalism comes, ironically but predictably, in the twilight years of its national political abilities and ambitions, and during a period when it seeks to constrain the central powers of its main competitor — the ANC. That the ANC should be wary of regional-federalism and high levels of regional devolution under such circumstances is understandable.

The ANC's resistance becomes even more understandable in the context of a historical legacy of grand apartheid, and the perception that strong regional government can coincide with ethnic balkanisation and a political coalition-building strategy based upon the maximisation of the divisiveness of ethnicity. However, given the extent to which regional economic inequalities and urbanisation processes have become disentangled from race and ethnicity, it seems unlikely that such problems could recur. Fiscal transfers will be necessary to offset regional economic inequalities under almost any boundary scenario.

Moreover, it will be necessary to decide how significant regional divisions really are to the reconstruction of the regional tier in comparison with pressing issues of the construction of metropolitan government and rural equivalents. These are the more salient scales at which developmental and regional institutions should operate in the future.

For this to occur, however, the debate on the regional tier will have to move away from political equilibrium building and servicing of constituencies, and move into a new phase informed by the practical developmental challenge of urban and rural reconstruction.

□ McCarthy is geography professor at the University of Natal, Maritzburg. This is an edited version of an article in the latest edition of the *Urban Foundation publication, Development and Democracy*, published today.

Regionalism poses no threat to an ANC govt's hegemony

B/Dag 8/7/93

JEFF MCCARTHY



SA's regional diversity is now recognised to be such that few argue for either a political or developmental framework based exclusively on centralised control. Regionalism has become the political buzzword among almost all political parties.

What is striking about political shifts on the regional tier is just how rapid the shifts have been, and quite how closely aligned different parties' regional visions have become. This rapidly derived consensus appears to be linked to the perceived urgent political need to reincorporate the homelands into SA. A further point is the perception that at least a rudimentary level of institutional capacity and development competence lies in homeland and provincial bureaucracies.

One of the primary problems in the regional debate has been the conflation of regional issues with ethnicity and development issues. These inter-relationships were, of course, deliberately emphasised during the period of Verwoerdian apartheid.

Suspicion on the part of many opponents of the NP government, that regional-federalism would mean the perpetuation of the homeland divisions and "ethnic regionalism", has been considerable.

However, the NP's recent proposals do not have a strong ethnic format. In practice, there are few proposed regions which would have a clear ethno-linguistic identity. The principal exceptions are:

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Regionalism poses no threat to an ANC govt's hegemony

B/Dag 8/1/93

JEFF MCCARTHY

west region is possible.

One of the implicit assumptions of those critical of a regional-federal constitutional framework has been that such a framework would exacerbate SA's high levels of regional inequality in development. Samir Amin, writing in the socialist journal *Work In Progress*, has suggested that federalism seems to be part of Western capitalist strategy to divide the solidarity of the working classes, to believe that under regional-federalism much of the decision-making and financial responsibilities will be transferred from the central level to the "states" or "provinces".

In that case, even if no geographic area with a white majority can be drawn into existence, there will be "rich" and "poor" states. This division will enable the minimal concessions that are required to align a new black political bourgeoisie with the continuation of the system.

The association between race, region, and inequality is, however, by no means self-evident. As early as 1970, Prof Denis Fair of Wits University observed that areas of greatest prosperity were those with the highest percentage of black working class. In addition, SA's ethnic complexity has now been so thoroughly scrambled by urbanisation that it is hard to find a link between

ethnicity, race, and regional income inequality.

Nevertheless, regional income inequalities remain (see report below). In terms of political allegiances, there are only three regions which could potentially fall outside ANC control on the basis of either the NP or ANC regional breakdowns — the western Cape, the northern Cape/northwest region and Natal.

The ANC's prospects appear weakest in the western Cape where 1992 HSRC surveys showed 54% of potential voters supported the NP and only 15% the ANC. In the northern Cape/northwest it would appear that ANC support is stronger but not sufficient for an outright majority. The NP and its allies could dominate regional government there.

In Natal, ANC support is estimated by the HSRC at only 21% and here, if the HSRC figures are correct, an Inkatha/NP combination could muster a majority of votes.

In all other regions the ANC is likely to dominate the regional tier. Fairly high levels of devolution of powers of revenue-raising and regional responsibility for spending, therefore, need not threaten the ANC's dominance of the national

economy. The ANC would almost certainly retain control in the vital economic heartland of the Transvaal, and would likely also control important peripheral and port regions, including the northern and eastern Transvaal and the Border/Kei area.

So, even if the pattern of events in the western Cape or Natal should not be to the liking of the ANC-controlled central government, it would have several options. It could, for example, strengthen infrastructural, trading and port links between the PWV and Maputo, and/or the PWV and East London or Port Elizabeth. This, no doubt, would exert a strong "disciplinary" influence upon any regional "rebelliousness" in Natal and/or the western Cape.

In contrast, carefully constructed regional economic growth strategies designed by possibly more conservative regional regimes in Natal and the western Cape in particular, could provide important forms of economic competition. For example, if the ANC attempted strong redistributive measures, through the political centre and through its control over several regions, it might be possible for more market-oriented or conservative taxation policies in Natal or the western Cape to attract to those regions greater local and interna-

tional investment.

No party that strongly subscribes to a nationalist vision can easily contemplate regional-federalism — unless it is likely to lose the political centre. The NP's recent conversion to regionalism comes, ironically but predictably, in the twilight years of its national political abilities and ambitions, and during a period when it seeks to constrain the central powers of its main competitor — the ANC. That the ANC should be wary of regional-federalism and high levels of regional devolution under such circumstances is understandable.

The ANC's resistance becomes even more understandable in the context of a historical legacy of grand apartheid, and the perception that strong regional government can coincide with ethnic balkanisation and a political coalition-building strategy based upon the maximisation of the divisiveness of ethnicity.

However, given the extent to which regional economic inequalities and urbanisation processes have become disentangled from race and ethnicity, it seems unlikely that such problems could recur. Fiscal transfers will be necessary to offset regional economic inequalities under almost any boundary scenario.

Moreover, it will be necessary to decide how significant regional divisions really are to the reconstruction of the regional tier in comparison with pressing issues of the construction of metropolitan government and rural equivalents. These are the more salient scales at which developmental and regional institutions should operate in the future.

For this to occur, however, the debate on the regional tier will have to move away from political coalition building and servicing of constituencies, and move into a new phase informed by the practical developmental challenge of urban and rural reconstruction.

McCarthy is geography professor at the University of Natal, Maritzburg. This is an edited version of an article in the latest edition of the *Urban Foundation publication, Development and Democracy*, published today.

AVU to hold poll on map

B/DAY 8/7/93

DIRK VAN EEDEN

THE Afrikaner Volksfront yesterday declined to propose a new regional dispensation for SA, offering instead a breakdown of regions where the opinion of "Boere-Afrikaners" would be tested. (204A)

Although the front said the map was not a proposal for new regional dispensation, one region outlined includes areas traditionally considered important to right-wingers. It incorporates much of rural Transvaal and part of the Free State and Natal. It also includes Pretoria, Bloemfontein, Kimberley and Richards Bay.

Volksfront directorate chairman Gen Constand Viljoen said at a briefing in Pretoria that the map was not final and would be subject to the approval of "Boere-Afrikaners" in an opinion poll to be held within

two months.

Sapa reports that he said it had to be stressed the "areas and sub-areas do not represent borders of states, provinces or regions". Only once the opinion poll had been held could a practical and reconciliatory recommendation be made, he said.

"Through bilateral negotiations and agreements with other peoples and communities who recognise the Afrikaner/Boer's right to self-determination, final borders may then be established. We need our own little Israel where we can survive; a safe haven for all Afrikaners wanting to survive in an Afrikaans milieu."

□ To Page 2

AVU map

B/DAY 8/7/93

□ From Page 1

CP MP and Volksfront constitutional committee chairman Jurg Prinsloo requested government to make available to the Volksfront the statistics and logistical information necessary for the opinion poll. He said the poll would not be a referendum with a single, simple question. A number of questions would be asked, the most important of which would be whether the individual was in favour of a volkstaat and where it should be. After the poll the Volksfront leadership would enter into bilateral discussions with other nations. Prinsloo said the Volksfront map was compatible with Afrikaner Volksunie designs. (204A)

However, HNP leader Jaap Marais rejected the Volksfront's claim that it had the support of the majority of Afrikaners for a proposed volkstaat. He said it was well known that many right-wing leaders, even within the CP, opposed the idea of a

"The CP rejected a volkstaat for many years and I'm not convinced that CP leader Ferdi Hartzenberg is in favour of it now."

The scientific accuracy of the poll would always be questionable and an opinion poll would serve only to create unattainable expectations. (204A)

Prinsloo said the poll would be aimed at finding out what "Boere-Afrikaners" thought, but declined to say who would be considered "Boere-Afrikaners". The term is usually used to exclude black and white Afrikaans speakers in the Cape.

TIM COHEN reports that — according to sources — Inkatha intends submitting proposals for a regional dispensation which mirrors the nine "development regions", with the caveat that changes to this model be negotiated locally.

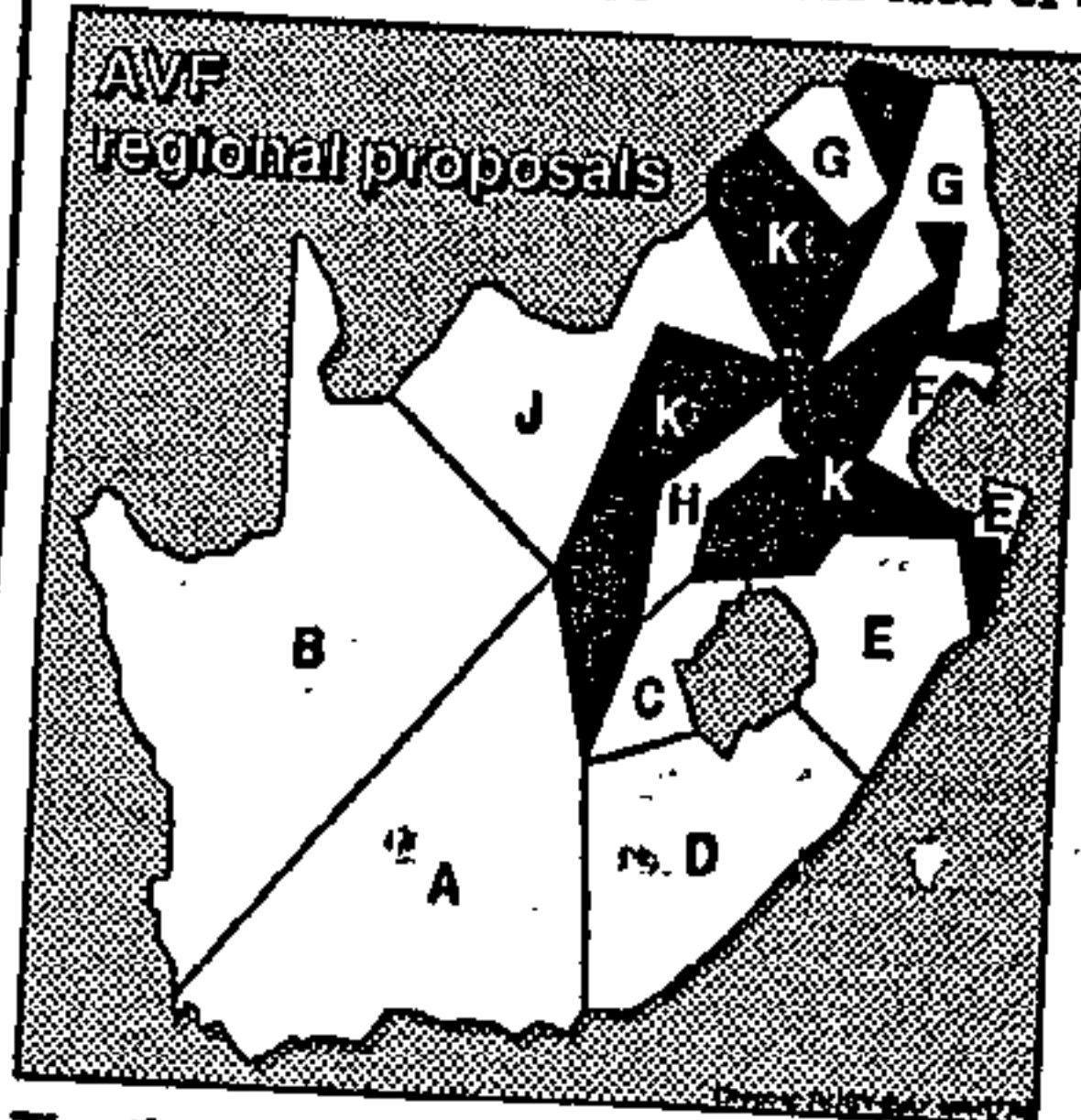
An informed source said Inkatha would submit proposals to the regional delimitation commission in time for tomorrow's deadline, but these would advise that a final decision should not be taken by the commission itself. Inkatha would suggest that the commission use the nine development regions as a basis for its suggestions.

The development region delimitation, which divides the Cape into three and the Transvaal into four regions, has been used for the past decade by government for development planning purposes. However, the source said that Inkatha would argue in addition that deviations from this delimitation should be negotiated at local and regional levels before the next election.

"The delimitation should not be decided on a national level," the source added.

Inkatha would wish to negotiate the boundary between Natal and Transkei as there were strong historical reasons why East Griqualand should be included in Natal, the source said.

● See Page 6



The three largest regions on the Afrikaner Volksfront map, to test opinion on a volkstaat, are: A — liberal Cape Afrikaners; B — coloured people; and K — a proposed volkstaat for "Boere-Afrikaners".

Negotiating Star 8/7/93 Forum set

for talks

The Northern Joint Negotiating Forum (NJNF), comprising representatives from Randburg, Alexandra and Sandton will meet on Friday next week to debate appointing a transitional local council. (304A)

The NJNF agreed yesterday that last week's agreement in the Local Government Negotiating Forum on non-racial councils should be discussed. — Metro Staff.

NEWS Businessmen join regionalism debate • Terre'Blanche sticks to his guns

IFP lauds Buthelezi stand

By Ismail Lagardien
Political Correspondent

THE Inkatha Freedom Party's central committee has resolved that multiparty negotiations should stop and that the election date for a constituent assembly be revoked forthwith.

Lauding Chief Mangosuthu Buthelezi for his "courage", the IFP's central committee feels that their leader has been vindicated by the sell-out of black liberation by the ANC and the ruling National Party.

"We stand in awe of how again and again he (Buthelezi) is proved right. Now that the Government and the ANC have come together to sell South Africa down the river, we thank God that our president (Buthelezi) stands firm on the hallowed values for black liberation," says a statement containing the resolutions of the IFP central committee. The IFP says that, having reviewed the negotiations process, it applauded its negotiators' stand in rejecting the setting of an election date before the country even had a constitution. (SOWETAN) (30447) The IFP called on President F.W. de Klerk to

withdraw his support for a constituent assembly and "that the negotiating process now be halted". "We, the members of the central committee of the IFP, stand appalled at the sudden betrayal of trust on the part of the South African Government when it put the full might of the state behind the ANC-SACP alliance's determination to establish a constituent assembly which any major party could dominate and which will specifically be established to act as both the Parliament and the constitution-making body for the country," the statement says. (SOWETAN) (30447)



AVF: No regions proposal until Afrikaners polled

CT, 8/7/93 (304A)

PRETORIA. — The Afrikaner Volksfront has refused to draw up a proposed new regional dispensation for the country until the "will of the Afrikaner volk" has been tested by means of an opinion poll.

Instead the AVF has proposed to divide the country provisionally into approximately eight areas where the opinion of Afrikaner people can be tested separately.

"It has to be stressed that these areas and sub-areas do not represent borders of states, provinces or regions," said AVF leader General Con-

stand Viljoen.

Only after the opinion poll could a recommendation be made which would be practical and reconciliatory, he said.

"Through bilateral negotiations and agreements with other peoples and communities who recognise the Afrikaner/Boer's right to self-determination, final borders may then be established."

AVF constitutional expert Mr Jurg Prinsloo, would not be drawn on who would qualify as an Afrikaner. — Sapa

W Cape: Business, ANC agree

CT 8/7/93 (304A)

Staff Reporter

CAPE commerce and industry and the African National Congress have proposed almost identical boundaries for the Western Cape to the Commission on the Demarcation of Regions.

The area proposed is bounded by the Orange River in the north and Oudtshoorn and George in the east.

Commerce and industry have criticised the National Party's proposed regions in Plan A, saying the relatively small Western Cape and large Northern Cape area would have little economic rationale.

Cape Chamber of Industries executive director Mr Colin McCarthy said yesterday his chamber and the Cape Town Chamber of Commerce had put their proposals for the Western Cape to the commission together, without knowing what the ANC's proposal was.

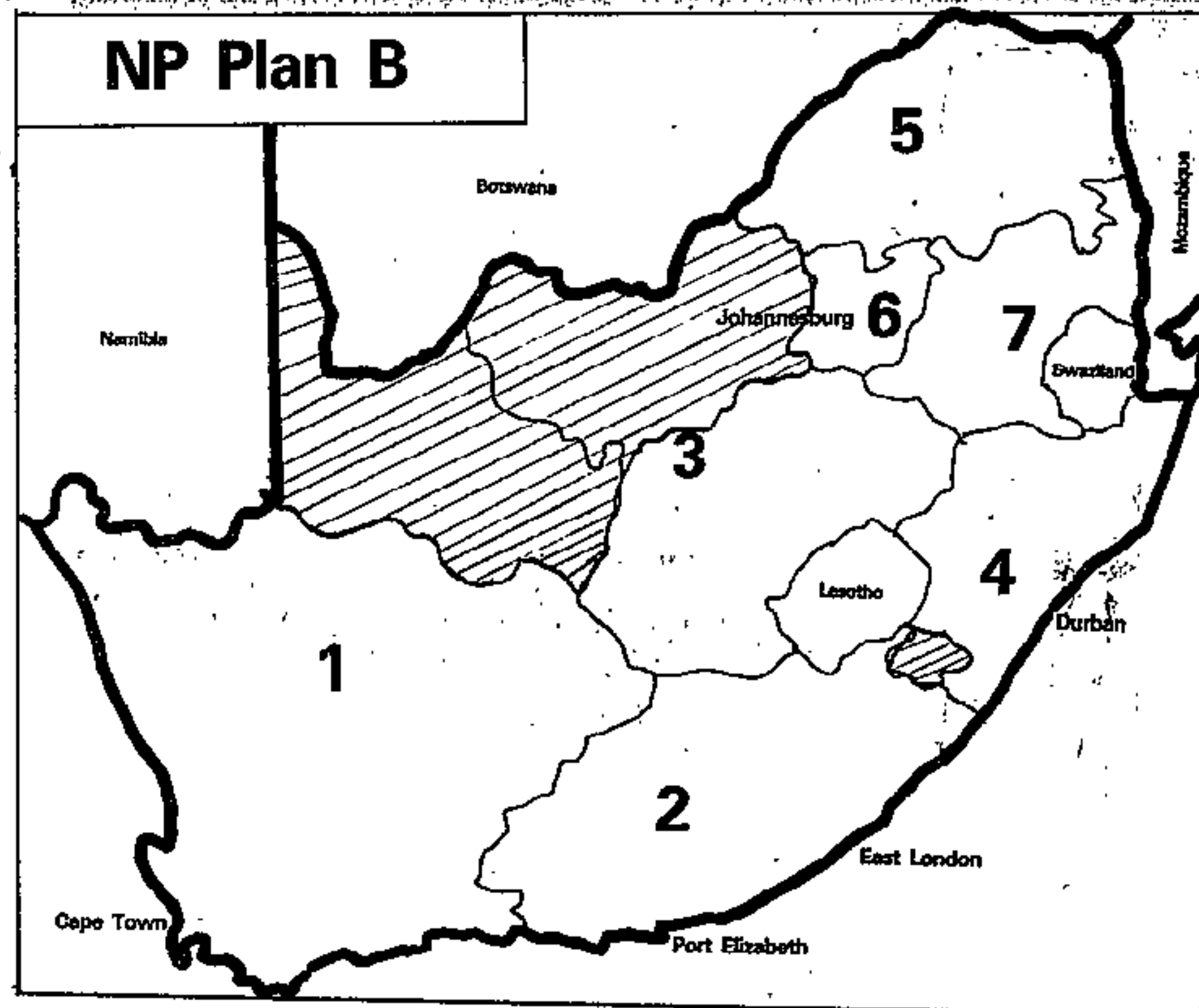
"It came as quite a surprise that ours were almost identical to the ANC's.

"The area we propose has a *raison d'être* from an historical, political and a economic point of view," Mr McCarthy said.

He said the NP's Region 2 in their Plan A would create a region in the northern Cape which was geographically large and economically very poor.

Cape Town Chamber of Commerce acting executive director Mr Albert Schuitmaker said their proposals were based on viewing the Western Cape as an economic entity with industry and commerce centred in the Cape metropolitan area surrounded by an agricultural region.

"The NP's smaller Western Cape region in their Plan A would make us an economic power house. "However, it would leave a big Region 2 in the



SMALL DIFFERENCES ... How close they are! The big shaded area on the map of the National Party's "B plan" shows where the African National Congress's "extra" region would be situated. The only other difference in the plan is a small area bordering the Eastern Cape and Natal regions.

Northern Cape with very little industry or commercial activity.

'Holistic approach'

"Our proposals did not look selfishly at the Western Cape, but holistically at the region being a function of the entire South African economy," Mr Schuitmaker said.

Both commerce and industry have stressed the need to restrict the number of regions to a minimum to avoid the creation of an enormous bureaucracy and duplication of functions.

A director of Wesgro, Mr Chris Newton, welcomed the inclusion of Oudtshoorn and George in both the ANC and NP proposals for the Western Cape.

He pointed out that the northern boundary for the region was less critical for metropolitan Cape Town.

The Great

THE crucial issue of regionalism is now high on the agenda as the main players bring their proposals to change the face of South Africa. Questions to be decided include the boundaries of regions in the new South Africa and what powers they will have. Some new perspectives on

this debate are introduced today in papers published by the Urban Foundation. It is argued that regional issues and the way they are resolved are of two-fold significance — they will affect the country's prospects of becoming a more inclusive and just society as much as they

will determine the chances of internal political stability. The new wide-ranging contribution to the national debate is contained in a 58-page Urban Foundation publication, *Development and Democracy*, which deals specifically with the regional question and federal-type

Debate

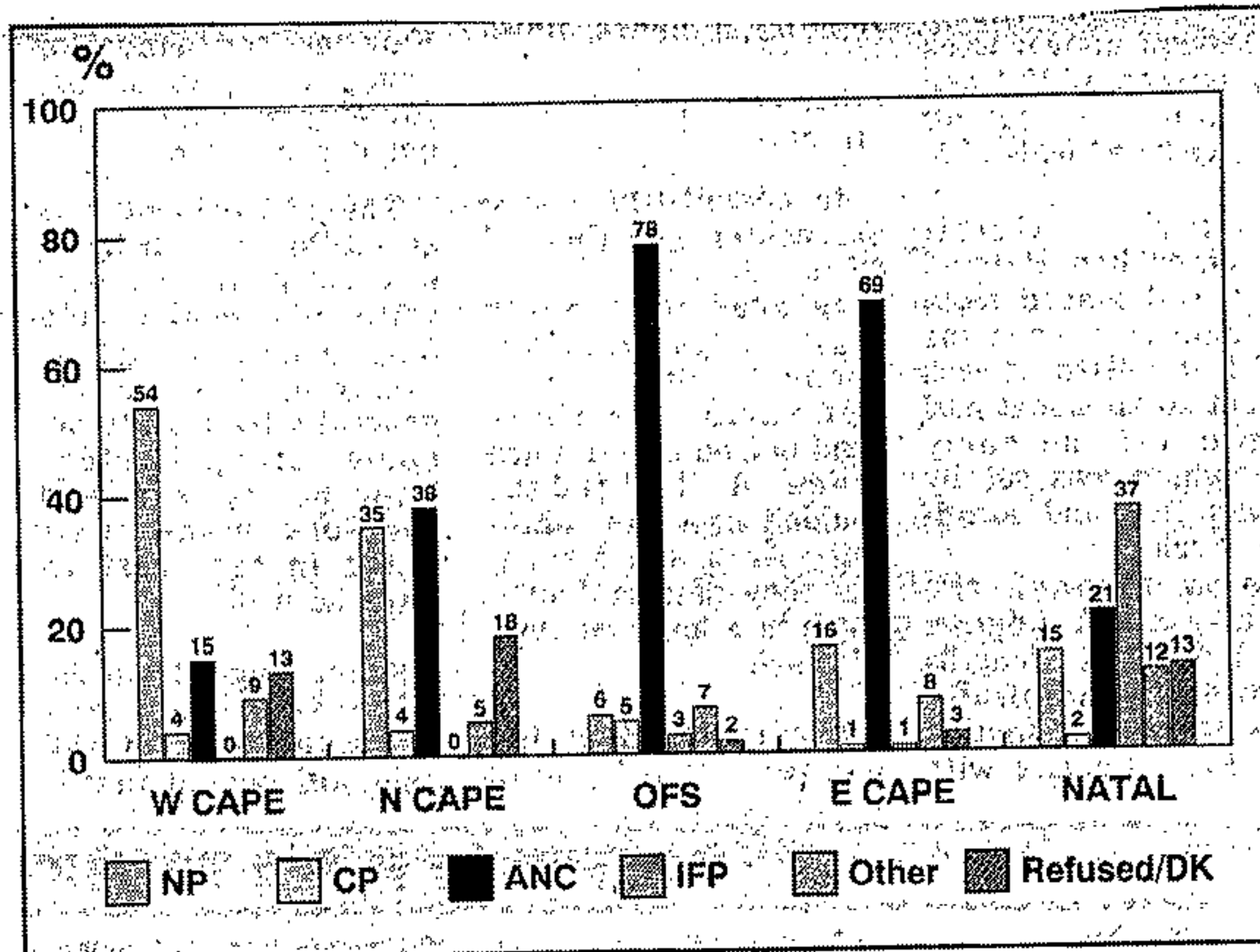
systems of government. The publication includes analyses of federalism by academic experts, a panel discussion on regionalism by senior representatives of selected political parties, and comment by leading specialists. Also included is the case

against a federal system of government, as put forward by Natal political scientist Mr Ralph Lawrence, and a comment on the panel discussion by top researcher Professor Lawrence Schlemmer, vice-president (research) of the Human Sciences Research Council

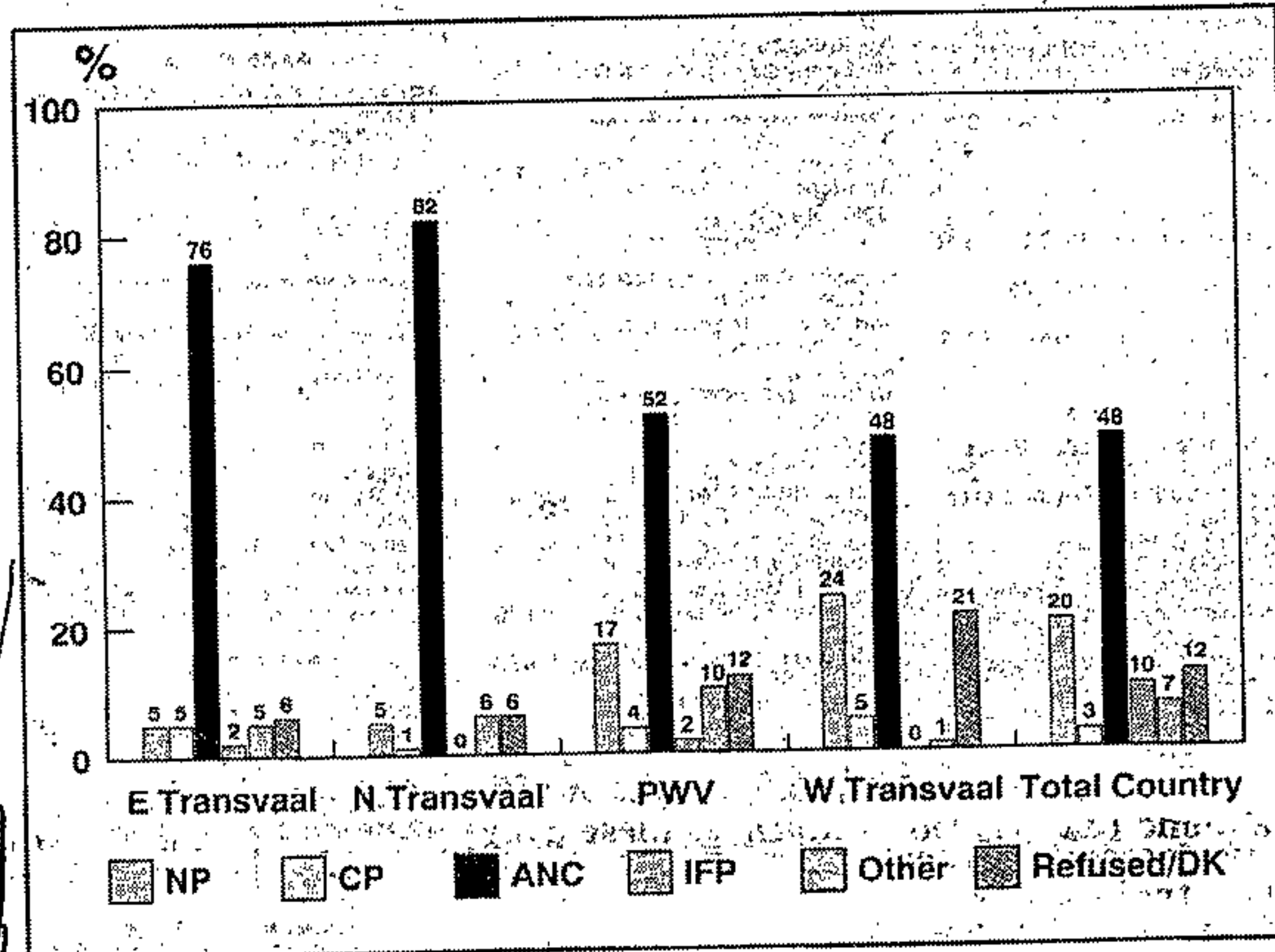
(HSRC). The panel included representatives of the Inkatha Freedom Party (IFP), the Pan-Africanist Congress (PAC), the government's Constitutional Development Service, the African National Congress (ANC) and the Democratic Party.

(3044)
ACG-8/7/93

304A ARG 8/7/93



PARTY SUPPORT: The graphics show party-political support in South Africa's nine economic development regions, based on a Human Sciences Research Council (HSRC) sample of 6 000 a region in September last year.



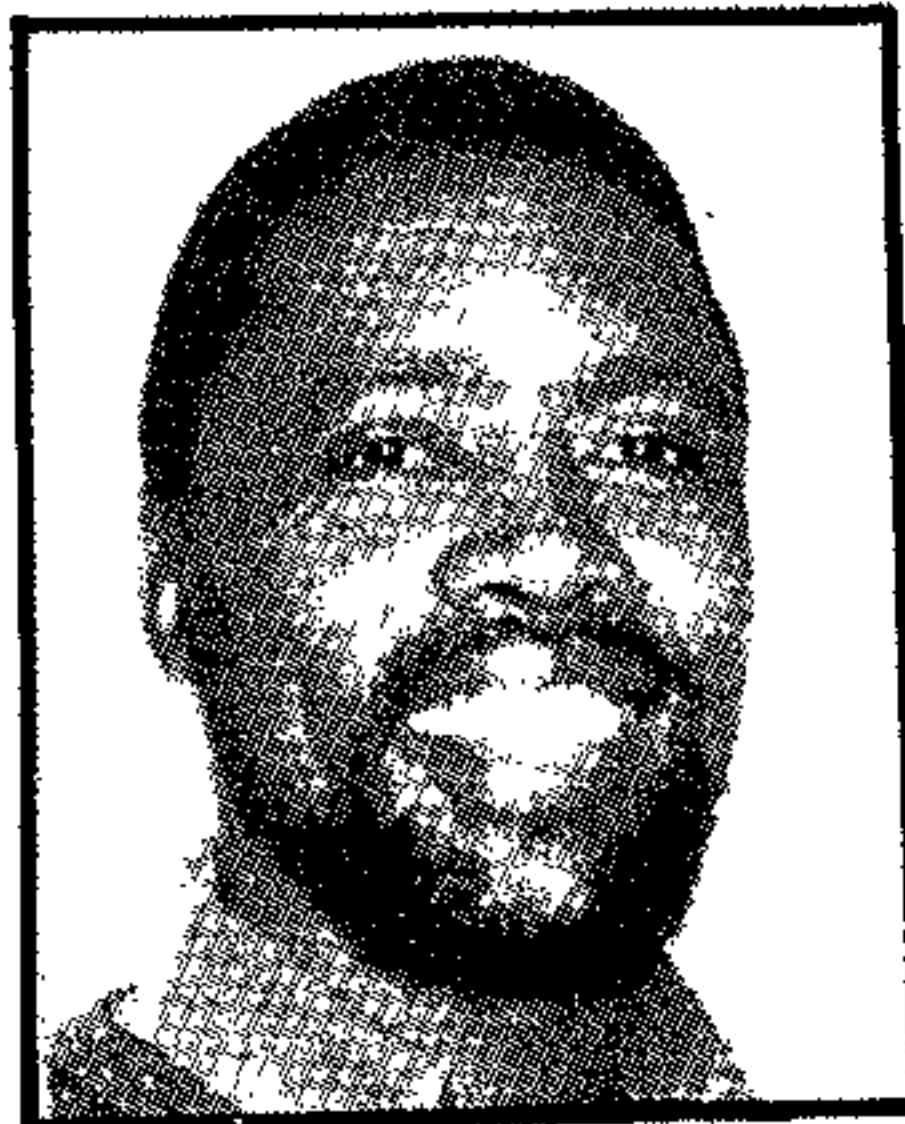
periods is one of public fallibility which in turn demands humility and caution in public action," writes Ms Bernstein in the Urban Foundation's new research publication *Development and Democracy*. "However powerful the state (or the corporation), however virtuous its intentions, it can be wrong, its policies or actions can fail horribly. We don't know what will work and more often than not things fail."

There can hardly be a better example of this than the failure of apartheid. And, appropriately, it is at this point of her argument that Ms Bernstein puts forward a plea for decentralisation, with regional and local diversity.

She is convinced, she says, that all action, whether by the public or the private sector, should be seen as "experiments".

If regions and cities are allowed to compete with each other, it will be possible to see which policy experiments work.

"It would be preferable to



Dr Sibusiso Nkomo ... regionalism brings government closer to the people.

the past which, she says, should be avoided. These include:

- The notion that large cities must be contained by "bribing" industrialists to set up factories near the black homelands has failed "dismally". Billions of rands were wasted in a fruitless attempt to prop up apartheid through an ineffective industrial decentralisation strategy.

- "The country and the nation cannot afford to make the same mistake again — even in a different guise."

- Do not tamper with the free movement of people.

Ms Bernstein says she is concerned to read in the ANC's draft document on regional policy that the ANC is worried about migration between regions inside the country, of either people or capital, in response to different policies in the regions.

"Don't let us repeat the costly errors of the past. Free movement of people, goods and capital within and between regions of the country is absolutely essential for future development," she writes.

- The objective of all future policies — and in particular good regional policy — must primarily be the welfare of people and not places. Success or failure in South Africa will ultimately be assessed by the quality of life of individuals. Thus the key test for any regional policy is going to be: have the life chances and opportunities of an individual South African improved wherever he or she may live in the country?

The focus of policy should be aimed at providing basic standards of education, health

sees a return to the only viable option for South Africa.

And he says this country's future is so closely linked with that of its neighbours that negotiations with the "frontline states" are now just as crucial and urgent as the current constitutional negotiations.

"South Africa will sink or swim with its neighbours," he says.

Professor Taylor's viewpoint on a future South Africa — seen in the world context — is put forward in the latest issue of the Urban Foundation's publication *Development and Democracy*, released today.

He holds the chair of political geography at the University of Newcastle-upon-Tyne, England, and is the author of *Political Geography: World Economy, Nation-State and Locality*. He has also written five other books, edited six books, and is currently editor of the *Journal of Political Geography*.

On the South African issue, he clearly regards the economic factor as being of overriding importance. "Whatever South African political instruments are created, they will have to reflect the economic needs of a semi-peripheral country that is relatively isolated in the world economy," he writes.

Professor Taylor suggests South Africa needs to "see inwards and outwards simultaneously" in designing new state structures.

"Looking outwards first, we see a stagnant-at-best economic trajectory of South Africa in the world economy — not unlike much of the rest of the semi-periphery in today's conditions."

However, he expects the world's economic downturn "will not last forever, and we can expect a major sustained global upturn in economic growth within the next decade."

To take advantage of this opportunity, South Africa would need to create an enabling state that could help to create an integrated economic region in Southern Africa.

A Southern African region — with South Africa as its base — is probably the only location on the whole continent that can be economically strong enough to sustain capital accumulation within the region, says Professor Taylor.



Professor Peter Taylor ... negotiations with "frontline states" just as crucial.

He notes that Britain, for example, gains from the success of its European neighbours. Mexico's strategy is to "grow on the coat-tails of the USA". And, in the same way, South Africa needs the erstwhile "frontline states" as part of a successful future trajectory.

"South Africa will have to face the world through its regions. Without this it will, I predict, rapidly peripheralise, whatever the strength of the next global economic upturn."

On the question of South Africa's future system of government, Professor Taylor writes: "Looking inwards, there would seem to be no alternative to some federal arrangement once the current coercive state is dismantled. Any future union by consent will have to express the cultural diversity of the country."

"The problem is that, as we have seen, once you begin down the path of ethnic/cultural federal representation there seems to (be) no end."

"Beware Russian dolls, the goal of acceptable cultural geography boundaries, for all is a chimera that can only end in disaster — ethnic cleansing is the current phrase for it."

However, a carefully crafted federal arrangement can be an instrument to blunt divisions. The safest way forward, he suggests, is probably to retain existing provincial boundaries for the time being and to enact some form of minority constitutional protection.

Wide agreement that regionalism has place in new SA

THERE is general consensus that regionalism has a place in the reconstruction of governance in South Africa.

So says Dr Sibusiso Nkomo, a leading academic specialist, in his response to a panel discussion by representatives of key players in South Africa's constitutional negotiations.

A report on the discussion was released by the Urban Foundation today in its publication *Development and Democracy*.

Dr Nkomo says the consensus on regionalism exists, even though different interpretations of the concept of regionalism for South Africa are reflected in the agreement.

He poses the question: "Will South Africa eventually become a nation state wherein all of its people will accept one common citizenship, and accept and defend their system of government?" (304A)

Dr Nkomo is the academic leader of the newly-founded Public and Development Management Programme at the University of the Witwatersrand. He holds a doctorate from Lincoln University, Pennsylvania, and has held fellowships at the Institute for Social Studies, The Hague, and at the British Civil Service College in Sunningdale. He was the founding director of the Centre for Public Policy and Diplomacy at Lincoln University from 1988-91, and has served as an adviser to the

World Bank, the Ford Foundation, and the US Council on Foreign Relations. ARG 8/7/93

He says the South African discourse in some instances gives the impression that South Africa, under the many interpretations of regionalism, will have to be divided into independent nation states.

"The emphasis on a central government in the discussion salvages the possibility of the disintegration of the country," Dr Nkomo writes. "Rightfully so, the emphasis on the existence of central government presents hope that a nation state will come into existence with citizens of the different regions subjecting themselves to the national interest and democratically accept-

ing a new political economy dispensation.

"One, then, presumes that the regions will be granted autonomy and yet their decisions will not contradict the national constitution and interests. This is certainly a precondition for the equal treatment and development of all regions."

Dr Nkomo said several compelling reasons had been provided for the establishment of regional governments. These include:

- It brings government closer to the people;

- It could facilitate the process of redistribution;

- Regionalism could provide an effective mechanism for formulating sustainable development.

Warning: All action should be experimental

426-8/193 (30414)

The time has come for South Africa's decision-makers to learn the lessons of the past to ensure history does not repeat itself, says a top analyst and social strategist. FRANS ESTERHUYSE of The Argus Political Staff reports.

LOOK again at the failure of apartheid and why it was a national disaster. Then, don't let us repeat the costly errors of the past.

This advice comes to South Africa's constitution-makers and political leaders at a critical moment of the peace process — when all attention is being focused on how we are to be governed in the future.

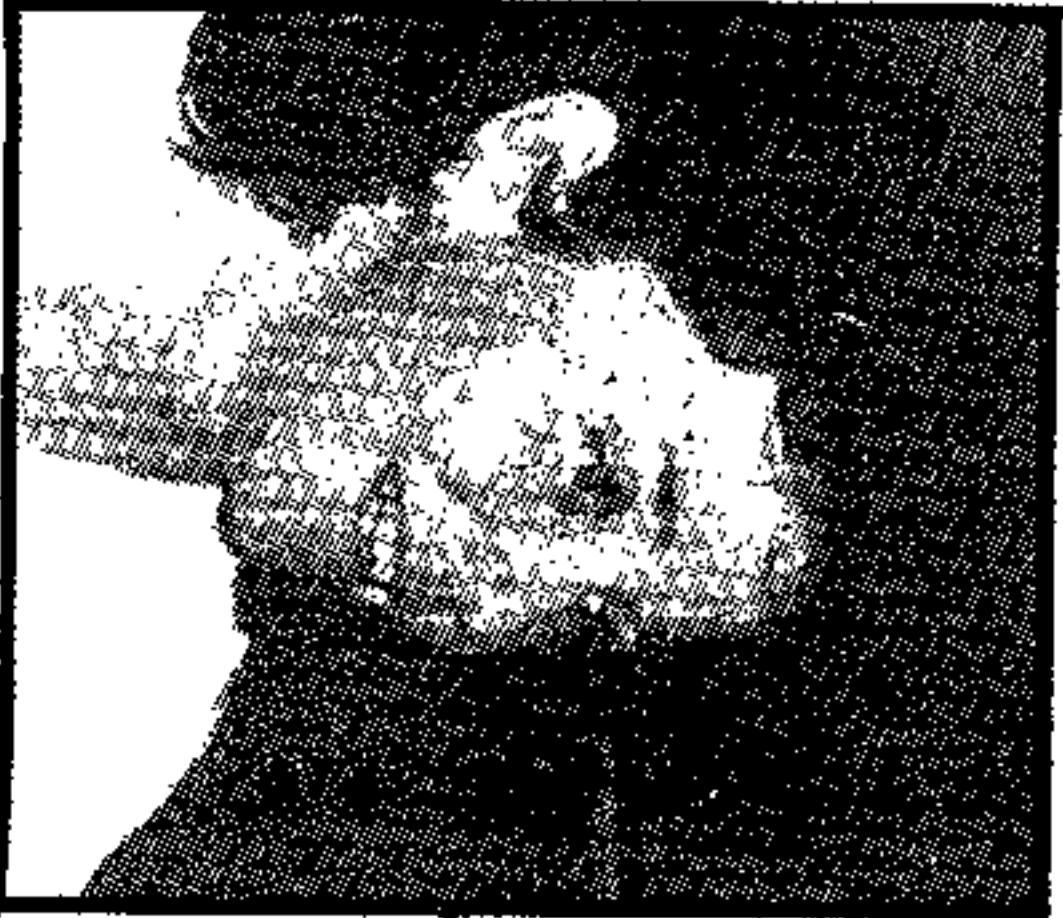
Are we to have a federal system of government or a unitary system with power from the top? Or a mixture of the two?

The plea for another look at past errors and for rethinking the whole concept of government comes from Ms Ann Bernstein, an executive director of the Urban Foundation and head of its Development Strategy and Policy Unit.

There is a note of urgency in her call. She warns there is a grave danger of certain crucial questions being ignored or overridden "in the scramble to strike a constitutional deal".

And she has a further warning for decision-makers: anyone who in 1993 can state with certainty that he or she knows the answers to South Africa's problems has failed to understand fundamental lessons of the 20th century and of the past four decades of apartheid rule.

"The central lesson of both



Ms Ann Bernstein ... makes a plea for another look at past errors.

experience a failure in one part of the country and perhaps a success somewhere else rather than to have what exists in South Africa today — failure throughout the country, an entire national disaster as a result of the arrogant experiment of apartheid that failed.

"In a system which allows for regional autonomy with respect to development policies citizens will have protection. They are the ones who will choose their regional government, and they can vote them out. In extreme cases they can vote with their feet and move from one region to another — thereby delivering a very clear message to the decision-makers," Ms Bernstein writes.

She outlines more errors of

care, and infrastructure for all citizens, wherever they live in the country.

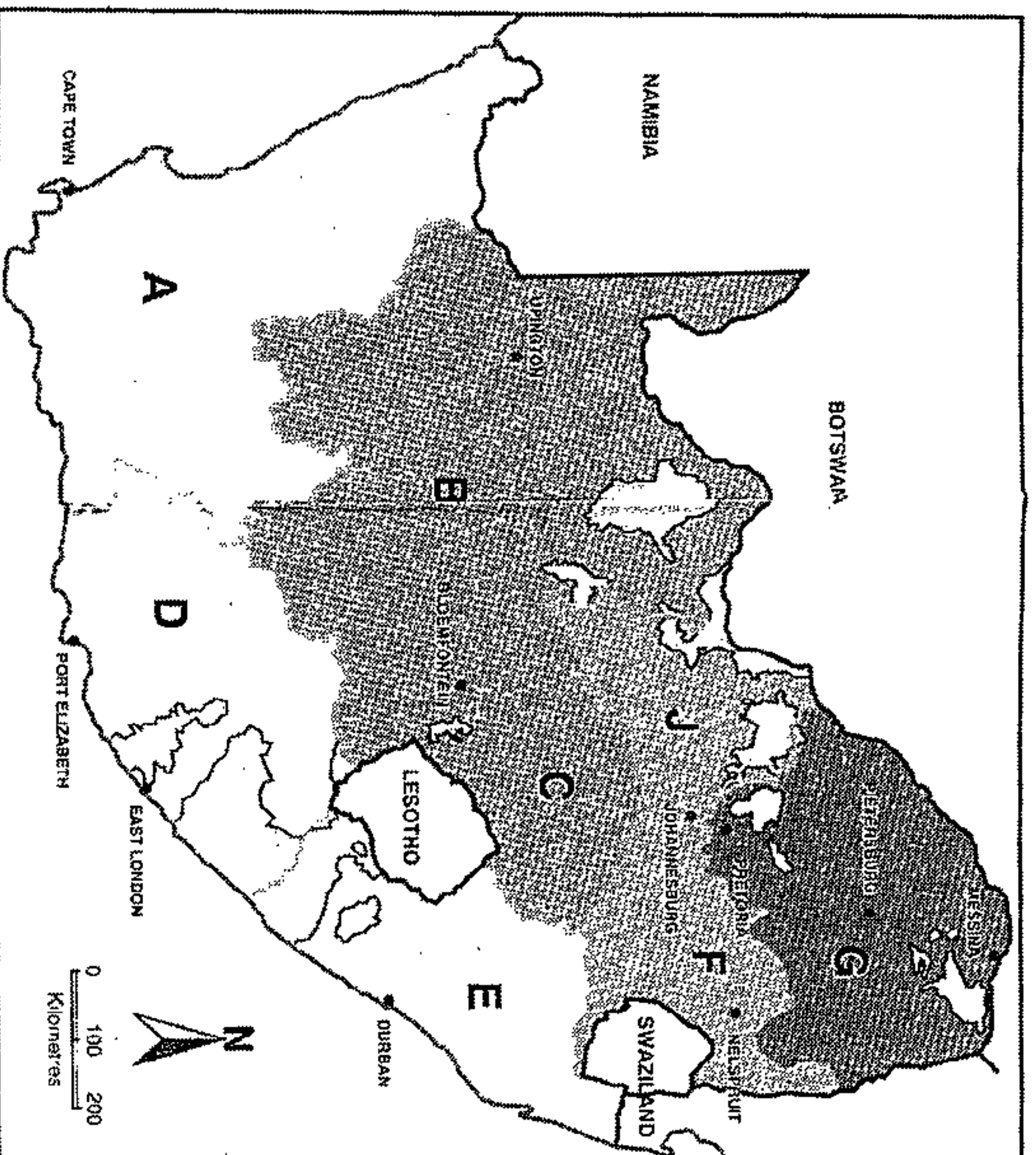
■ Move away from growing bureaucratic control.

One of the "great dangers" to be avoided is the creation of "a very large and inflexible army of officials who believe they 'know' what is best for South Africans".

"It is not the bureaucrats who should decide what the people of Khayelitsha, Soweto, or New Brighton want with their allocation of public expenditure — it is the community itself that should decide what it needs first and how that money should be spent."

Ms Bernstein argues that civil servants should facilitate this process and empower communities to make these decisions for themselves.

"This new role for the future entails a very different kind of civil service to the one most people are accustomed to," she says.



SHARED CITIES: A 1992 Urban Foundation suggestion of six regions, put forward for discussion, is based on the sharing of metropolitan areas to minimise regional inequalities. Region A: Western Cape and part of the northern Cape; Region B/C: Part of northern Cape, combined with the Orange Free State, thereby sharing Bloemfontein as capital; Region D: Eastern Cape and Border/Kei, with Port Elizabeth as capital city; Region E: Natal/KwaZulu, with Durban as capital city; Region J/F: Western Transvaal, part of the PWV area, and Eastern Transvaal, with Johannesburg as capital city; Region G: Northern Transvaal and part of the PWV area to include Pretoria as capital city.

The only viable option

426-8/193 (30414)

A leading analyst's vision of a new South Africa is that of a federal-type state forming the basis of a powerful economic bloc in Southern Africa. FRANS ESTERHUYSE of The Argus Political Staff reports.

AN international authority on political geography, Professor Peter J Taylor,



outlines more errors of

New SA map is taking shape

By CLAIRE ROBERTSON

THE commission charged with drawing up the new map of South Africa called in two of the country's major political players this week to quiz them on their regional proposals before embarking on the final stage of its work. (204A)

The commission is expected to finalise its preliminary report for submission to the multi-party negotiating council by the middle of next week.

The ANC and the National Party were called to answer questions on their similar proposals, which put forward the division of the country into between seven and nine regions. (112)

The PAC and the Transkei government were also called to answer questions on their proposals, and the commission heard further submissions from Afrikaner Volksfront leader General Con-

stand Viljoen at his request.

The commission, which has heard almost 60 oral arguments for various regional plans and sifted through almost 250 written submissions, allowed seven more submissions to slip in after the deadline closed 10 days ago. They included one from the Intando Yesizwe party.

Yesterday the commission met to consult with technical experts on environmental and economic aspects of the proposals, and now awaits a report from experts at the Department of Water Affairs and the University of Pretoria, who worked with a "super computer" to marry the various maps to highlight aspects in common between them.

Members will study the submissions during the week and meet again for three days over the weekend to finalise the preliminary report.

PARLEY VIEW Govt outsmarted the rest

(2045)

BILLY PADDOCK

CONSTITUTIONAL Development Minister Roelf Meyer and ANC secretary-general Cyril Ramaphosa have expressed jubilation and huge optimism at the setting of an election date and the beginning of the drafting of an interim constitution. They believe that a transitional executive is just around the corner, and transformation to democracy is almost complete after three years of talks and talks about talks.

President F W de Klerk this week, too, said decisions at the negotiations last Friday proved conclusively that change was irreversible.

Others are less optimistic. A bank manager says he avoids reading the political news in the newspapers: "It is too manic. One day I am up in the clouds and the next I am down in the dumps. The political pressure just becomes dangerous to my health."

And he may be closer to the truth. Because only the first hurdle has been crossed. All parties (with the exception, perhaps, of the CP) are now talking a similar language and are agreed on the process ahead. But there is lots of negotiating still to do, with the hardest bargaining ahead.

Until now, the major power brokers were fighting to set the process on their specific course, leaving the detail of the crucial issues such as the constitutional principles, the

exact powers and functions of regions, and a Bill of fundamental human rights for later.

Inkatha Freedom Party president Mangosuthu Buthelezi implicitly recognised precisely this when he said on Monday that he was not yet prepared to accept the process until he had seen the draft constitution and it had been debated fully.

The ANC/government axis had determined at the beginning of these resumed talks that the major differences between parties on the process to be followed — a transitional executive leading to an interim government which would also draft the final constitution — would be tackled only once all the parties had been locked in with little chance of walking out and marginalising themselves.

They achieved exactly what they set out to do. They locked in key parties like Inkatha, and got broad agreement on the process to be followed. In the process they were condemned for having sealed a secret deal and bulldozing the other parties. But there was no secret deal. All

the indications are that the "victors" were the government strategists and negotiators — who have outmanoeuvred the other parties, including the ANC. And there is a lesson there to be learned by Inkatha, if it wants to learn it.

Government negotiators have said all along that the ANC had to soften its stance and accept both a constitution primarily negotiated in an unselected, multiparty forum and one which gave regions strong powers. But they did not bludgeon the ANC with these demands at every turn, causing the organisation to become inflexible and harden its position.

Instead, they slowly and gently worked on the ANC in the name of inclusivity and legitimacy of the process. At the same time, they gave the ANC negotiators time to bring their constituency along with them in conceding ground on the elected constituent assembly — which is like a



□ MEYER

mantra to the organisation.

The point has now been reached where the ANC has accepted the idea of an interim constitution that is so comprehensive and complete that it will leave the constituent assembly almost no room to manoeuvre. Gov-

ernment has helped the ANC achieve one of its key demands, but this is of no concern because it will achieve little for the ANC.

Now a realignment of forces is about to take place. Government will find itself largely supporting Inkatha's constitutional proposals, simply because it has more in common with Inkatha on this score. And they will be joined by the DP which has always stood for federalism and spoken of a comprehensive "next" constitution.

The ANC will get its constituent assembly, but with the interim constitution's principles being binding on it and justiciable in a constitutional court, it will be shackled to such an extent that, essentially, the final constitution will have been drafted in the non-elected negotiating forum, as originally demanded by government and Inkatha.

The ANC has also accepted a government of national unity, and hence no majority rule and no full democracy, for the next five years at least. Democracy, as the ANC has effectively conceded, is a luxury which has had to be sacrificed on the altar of peace, stability, reconciliation and economic growth.

We now watch with interest how the ANC will fare against De Klerk in the power-sharing debate.

Slicing up SA's cake

Sowetan 9/7/93

THE MULTIPARTY COMMISSION on the Demarcation of Regions over the past week received various oral and written submissions on a new regional dispensation for South Africa.

The commission on Monday extended the deadline for recommendations to today, as it was overwhelmed with proposals on how South Africa should be restructured in a new regional dispensation, and expected a lot more to flow in this past week.

Among the significant submissions this week were those from the ANC, the Government, the Democratic Party, the AVU and the National Regional Development Advisory Council.

The ANC and the Government appear to be reaching a confluence in their ideas on a new regional dispensation for the country while the AVU, understandably, included an Afrikaner homeland in its proposals.

Both the ANC and the Government used the nine economic regions of the Development Bank of South Africa as the departure point for their recommendations.

The Government has proposed two scenarios (A & B) which provide for seven and nine regions respectively while the ANC has proposed eight regions.

Divided in 10

In its document submitted to the commission on Tuesday, the ANC said its recommendations were based on a decision taken at its May 1992 policy conference where it was resolved that the country should be divided in 10 regions or fewer.

In this regard it proposed the following eight regions:

- The Western Cape, which will include as its northern and eastern boundaries, the magisterial districts of Namaqualand, Kenhardt, Prieska, Hopetown, Philipstown, Colesberg, Noupoort, Richmond, Murraysburg, Beaufort West, Prince Albert, Oudtshoorn, Uniondale and Knysna;
- The Northern Cape, including the western districts of Bophuthatswana, and the Western Transvaal including the rest of Bophuthatswana not within the Orange Free State or PWV regions;
- The OFS including QwaQwa and the ThabaNchu district of Bophuthatswana following 1910 boundaries;
- The Eastern Cape and Border including Ciskei and Transkei and East Griqualand following 1910 boundaries;
- Natal including KwaZulu;
- The Eastern Transvaal including KaNgwane;
- The Northern Transvaal including Lebowa, GaZankulu and Venda; and
- The PWV region including KwaNdebele and the Odi 1 and Moretele districts of

focus on regionalism

Here's how the ANC, the Government, the Democratic Party, the AVU and the National Regional Development Advisory Council see the composition of South Africa in the new dispensation.

Political Correspondent **Ismail Lagardien** reports:



Bophuthatswana.

The ANC stressed that the boundaries of the electoral regions should remain flexible "until finally adopted by the Constituent Assembly".

"We must urge that the Constituent Assembly should be the vehicle to act on any recommendations in respect of proposed regional delimitations," the ANC said.

The Government's preferred scenario is:

- The Western Cape including the Boland, the West Coast, the Southern Cape and the Little Karoo;
- The North Western Cape;
- Eastern Cape excluding Ciskei and Transkei.
- The majority of Ciskei and Transkei.
- OFS, including Western Transvaal, as much of Bophuthatswana as possible and including the Vryburg district.
- KwaZulu-Natal area which includes the so-called Pongola finger, formerly forming part of the Eastern Transvaal development region.
- Eastern Transvaal.
- Northern Transvaal.
- The PWV area, excluding Sasolburg, which will fall under region 5.

Second choice

The basic difference between Government's preferred Scenario A and its second choice, Scenario B is that in the first, regions 1 and 2 (the Western and North Western Cape) are combined to form a single region.

The same principle is applied to regions 3 and 4 (the Eastern Cape and Kei area), thus reducing the total number of regions to seven.

The Minister of Regional and Land Affairs, Mr Andre Fourie, said on Tuesday, when the Government announced its preferences, that the TBVC states could be accommodated in this delimitation with the Transkei and Ciskei being accommodated in the proposed region 4, Bophuthatswana in region 5 and Venda in re-

gion 8.

Fourie said that, while the Government preferred Scenario A, it was not inflexibly tied to it if the commission chose its second scenario.

Fourie pointed out that Scenario A complied with the criteria laid down by the commission, in that four of the proposed regions were more or less identical to the original development regions identified in the 1980s.

"Although Scenario A remains our preference, we will not have sleepless nights if (the commission) removes the boundaries between regions 3 and 4 and regions 1 and 2," Fourie said.

Afrikaans Influence

The submission that the AVU made contained a proposal for eight regions, two of which retained a strong Afrikaans influence.

They are Afrikanerland, which includes the Pretoria-Verwoerdburg-Akasia metropolitan area as well as the Eastern Transvaal, and Oranje, which consists of most of the present Cape Province.

This is reportedly where Afrikaans is the predominant language.

The AVU stressed that there would be no forced removals in any of its regions for the sake of ethnic purity.

Its regions are: ● The Kaap die Goeie Hoop (Cape of Good Hope) which includes the Cape Town metropolitan area and Southern Cape coastal region; ● The Kei, made up of the Transkei, Ciskei and Border; ● Satswa which includes the Orange Free State, Western Transvaal and Bophuthatswana; ● Capricorn, which comprises most of the Northern Transvaal; ● KwaZulu, the present Natal province; and ● Egoli, the Witwatersrand and Vaal Triangle region; and 7 and 8. Afrikanerland.

The DP proposed nine regions.

They are: ● Western Cape; ● Eastern Cape;

● Continued on facing page

P.T.O. pg

DP warns business against continuation of 'cronyism'

B/Dewy, 9/7/95
(304 A)

TIM COHEN

DP MP Tony Leon last night lambasted the SA business community's "flirtation" with the ANC, warning against a continuation of the "cronyism" which was a feature of the NP's past relations with business.

Speaking at the Kearsney College old boys' annual dinner, Leon quoted ANC president Nelson Mandela, who said in the US that the reaction of SA business to ANC approaches had exceeded the organisation's wildest expectations.

"SA businessmen realise that democratic forces must win, so no questions are asked as to what organisations can be funded," Leon quoted Mandela as saying.

Mandela's "boast" was an interesting reflection on the morality and strategy of the local business community.

"It is no secret that certain business organisations, which today are opening their doors and their coffers to the ANC, were, as recently as three years ago, raising millions of rand for

the NP while it still supported apartheid."

It was ironic that in the week of Mandela's "boast", the true face of the ANC was revealed in its proposal for a "reconstruction levy" to which all SA citizens and corporations would have to pay half their assets.

"A few more such 'innovative' proposals will achieve what sanctions, disinvestment and capital flight never quite managed — the total ruination of our economy."

"The recently announced activities of the Thebe Investment Trust suggests that the 'Boeremafia' of old, in which the same few institutions were conspicuously and disproportionately favoured with government contracts and access, would be replaced by a similar — although differently complexioned — charmed circle of business insiders," he said.

The DP had suggested to constitutional negotiators a code of ethics for politicians.

Pretoria 'pivotal' to Afrikaner state

B/Day 9/7/93

PRETORIA — An Afrikaner-dominated federal state that included Pretoria was the bottom line for the Afrikaner, Afrikaner Volksunie leader Andries Beyers said yesterday. (304A)

Discussing the proposed Volksunie map of federal states at a media conference at the World Trade Centre in Kempton Park, Beyers said his organisation's map, unlike that of the NP and ANC, emphasised cultural homogeneity and historical claims.

He said this was a modern tendency followed in Bosnia, Nigeria and India. In SA, however, cultural homogeneity was contaminated by an unfair association with apartheid.

He warned that conflict and bloodshed had often been the result of a disregard for the importance of cultural homogeneity.

The ANC did not want Pretoria to form part of an Afrikaner federal state, but rather of the cosmopolitan Witwatersrand region so that it could say it had captured the heart of the regime, senior Volksunie member Schalk Burger said.

For the Afrikaner, however, Pretoria was like Paris to the French. Historically, ethnically and economically it was independent of the cosmopolitan Witwatersrand.

Including Pretoria in the Wit-

DIRK VAN EEDEN

watersrand would mean the Witwatersrand would dominate economically and in terms of citizen numbers.

TIM COHEN reports the NP and DP have both slated the Afrikaner Volksfront's call for a referendum on the boundaries of a Boerestaad as impractical and racist.

NP media director Marthinus van Schalkwyk said yesterday it was disclosing that the front intended asking its supporters where they wanted a Boerestaad to be situated.

"They now confirm that the majority of voters have known all these years — they don't have a plan. This decision by the Volksfront/CP has now finally exposed their lack of a credible policy," Van Schalkwyk said in a statement.

DP national policy advisory committee chairman Hennie Bester said the front's insistence on a referendum for Afrikaners without specifying who Afrikaners were, indicated the poverty of the front's policy.

There were no existing mechanisms to distinguish racially pure Afrikaners from other Afrikaners. The proposal was racist and practically impossible, he said.

● Comment: Page 6

Cosag threat over elections

By CHRIS LOUW

W/ Mail 9/7-157/93

304A

THE negotiation process last week survived its most serious crisis, with only three parties walking out, but the real damage will only be known when the negotiating council reconvenes on July 19.

For a brief moment this week, attention was focused on the regional maps handed in by the different parties. These maps will, however, soon disappear from the public eye while the commission for states, provinces and regions studies the proposals in order to work out a viable regional dispensation.

What will not disappear are the strains left by last Friday's negotiating forum meeting.

Court action against a decision taken by negotiating forum chairman Pravin Gordhan is still not excluded by parties who walked out.

Last Friday Ciskei negotiator Mike Webb threatened legal action when Gordhan ruled that "sufficient consensus" existed to accept April 27 next year as the election date — despite the fact that seven of the 26 parties did not agree.

This week, Inkatha Freedom Party central committee member Hennie Bekker insisted the possibility of court action by his party had not been excluded. Everything depended, he said, on whether the IFP's demands for a highly autonomous federal state were accommodated in proposals drawn up by the technical committee

on constitutional matters.

Last Friday's walkout was caused by conflicting interpretations of the concept of "sufficient consensus", with both the Inkatha Freedom Party and the Conservative Party arguing that consensus was not possible — or "sufficient" — if it excluded them.

Accusations that a secret deal had already been struck between the government and the African National Congress, and that other parties were merely taken along, are growing louder. This week IFP MP Mike Tarr said the government and the ANC were "running on their own".

"It seems they now believe we are not necessary for sufficient consensus," he complained.

Despite strong condemnation of the process by Inkatha's central committee after a meeting on Sunday, indications are that the IFP will stay in the negotiations. Tarr confirmed this, adding: "If the (government and the ANC) think they can ram something down our throats, it will provide us with a major theme on our electoral platforms."

This was echoed by Bekker, who said the IFP would have to have a close look at the technical committee's draft constitution before deciding on further action.

"If they do provide for a federal state and the interim constitution provides for regions to decide on powers and functions, then we will accept it."

S. Africa Sets Date For Multiracial Poll

Guardian/W in W/Man 9/7-15/7/93. (304A)
Paul Taylor in Johannesburg

IN a historic step toward ending 3½ centuries of racial oppression, South Africa Friday set next April 27 as the date of its first election in which blacks as well as whites will be allowed to vote.

The date was ratified at a contentious meeting of a multiparty negotiating forum here just hours before President Frederik W. de Klerk and African National Congress President Nelson Mandela held back-to-back meetings in Washington with President Clinton.

The vote will be for a 400-member constituent assembly that will serve as a parliament for up to five years and write a new constitution designed to provide a framework for South Africa's emergence as a multiracial democracy.

Mandela, who turns 75 this month and spent more than a third of his life in prison opposing the apartheid system of legislated racial oppression, is the odds-on favorite to become president of a democratic South Africa as a result of next April's balloting. He is in the United States in part to drum up foreign investment and international development aid to jump-start his country's battered economy, where the unemployment rate in the formal job market is 40 percent.

Even with Friday's long-awaited breakthrough, however, Mandela was not quite ready to call for removal of the remaining economic sanctions against South Africa imposed during the apartheid era. He said one more procedural hurdle still has to be cleared and expressed hope that this would occur in a matter of days or weeks.

As part of a grand compromise struck earlier this year between de Klerk's white minority government and the ANC-led black liberation movement, the executive branch of that first government will be a coalition, with a cabinet made up on a proportional basis of all parties that receive more than five percent of the popular vote.

The incumbent National Party, which has been in power continuously for the past 45 years, currently runs a distant second in polls to the ANC, which expects to win an outright majority next April from an electorate that is 75 percent black. Negotiators for the government and ANC have yet to resolve whether the coalition cabinet will govern on a straight majority basis or will be subject to a form of minority veto.

The setting of an election date is the most important milestone so far in the transition from apartheid to democracy, but it has come at a high cost. At least 10,000 South Africans have died in political violence since de Klerk released Mandela from prison in February, 1990 — nearly double the number who died in apartheid-era violence previously.

The April 27 date was negotiated in a forum that includes 26 political organizations representing South Africa's rainbow of color, race, ideology, geography and ethnicity. It has been meeting, on and off, for 18 months.

Seven of the 26 parties did not agree to Friday's step, arguing that an election date should not be fixed until South Africans know the kind of state they will be asked to vote for. Two of the most powerful dissenters — the black, Zulu-based Inkatha Freedom Party and the white, Afrikaner-based Conservative Party — walked out of the forum in protest but made clear they would be back when talks resume in two weeks.

Both the Conservative Party and Inkatha are pressing for the new South Africa to have a weak central government, out of their mutual fear of the ANC's electoral strength.

The Conservative Party is also pushing for a separate nation for white Afrikaners — a demand that has no chance of being satisfied and could lead to acts of sabotage and terror by militant white right-wingers. More moderate Afrikaner groups are willing to settle for a unitary state that includes a region in which Afrikaners might aspire to become a majority.

Inkatha wants a confederal arrangement in which the powers of the regions supersede the powers of the central government. Its support base is heavily concentrated in Natal, one of South Africa's four provinces.

In a major concession to Inkatha, the ANC agreed last week that the unelected negotiating forum would draw up an interim constitution and that the principles embodied in that constitution on federalism and other matters would be binding on the constitution-writing body to be elected next April. The net effect of the two-stage approach is to give Inkatha and other proponents of a weak central government a more favorable forum in which to try to entrench their proposals.

Continued on page 16

S. Africa Poll

Continued from page 15

When de Klerk and Mandela scheduled their trip to the United States a month ago, they had hoped it would be timed so they could use the occasion to call for the lifting of all remaining sanctions against South Africa. However, Mandela and the ANC are insisting that before they declare the democratization process irreversible, a multiparty Transitional Executive Council must be established to oversee such state functions as the security forces, the media and the election commission during the campaign preceding the April 27 election. 9/7-15/7/93

At the moment, the ANC and government are still haggling over how much authority the transitional council will have and whether it can begin work before Parliament reconvenes in September to legislate it formally into existence. "We are looking for a formula that might allow us to call for the lifting of sanctions before September," said Cyril Ramaphosa, ANC's top negotiator.

Most of the anti-apartheid sanctions imposed by Congress in 1986 were lifted under an executive order issued by President Bush in 1991 in recognition of the South African government's movement toward a

Date Set

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nonracial political system. However, one key federal law remains on the books — the Gramm Amendment, which prohibits the United States from supporting World Bank or International Monetary Fund loans to South Africa. Both those institutions are eager to reengage here after an absence of decades, and South Africa is eager for their help.

More than 150 state and local governments in the United States still have anti-South Africa sanctions laws on the books, and they make it awkward for U.S. companies that want to invest here. Mandela, whose extended trip to the United States includes fund-raising for the ANC's campaign coffers, is giving signals to U.S. businesses that he wants them back in his country as soon as possible. Once the transitional council is in place, he is expected to lobby for removal of state and local sanctions, though some in the U.S. anti-apartheid movement want them to stay in place until the new government is elected.

As a result of sanctions, the U.S. business presence in South Africa fell from 360 companies and \$2.7 billion in investment in the early 1980s to 110 companies and \$1 billion in investment in the early 1990s.

COUNTDOWN TO THE ELECTION

304A

FM 9/7/93

For SA, the general election on April 27 will almost certainly be the event of the decade, if not the century. On that day 18m people — most of them first-time voters — will go to the polls to elect an interim government which will lead the country into its next phase of governance and constitution-making.

Everyone, especially employers of millions of voters, has a duty to ensure that the elections are as free and fair as possible; they are conducted without intimidation; voters are properly informed on procedures; and that they are emotionally prepared for the outcome.

To help business deal with issues that will arise as the election approaches, such as the need to minimise tension and conflict in the workplace, the need to be perceived as unbiased and the need to

educate employees on voting procedures, Global Conferences and the FM are presenting a special two-day conference entitled "Election Countdown" at the World Trade Centre in Kempton Park on August 11-12.



Mudge

Speakers include: Joe Napolitan, of France, political consultant to heads of State and author of *The Election Game and How to Win It*; Dirk Mudge, Namibian parliamentarian; Angela King, head of the UN observer mission to SA; Marinus Wiechers, professor of Constitutional & International Law at Unisa; and Vernon Mwaanga, Zambian Minister of International Affairs.

To make sure you're brought up to date on what the election means for you and your business, call Jenny or Yvette on (021) 683-3265 or fax (021) 683-4086 to reserve your seat.

Transitional constitution *Star* 'ready in 10/11/93 six weeks'

OWN
CORRESPONDENT

DURBAN — A transitional constitution based, among other principles, on a federal model for the future South Africa will be ready within six weeks, according to National Party chief negotiator at the multi-party negotiation forum and Minister of Constitutional Development Roelf Meyer. (304A)

Speaking at the opening of the second National Party Youth federal congress yesterday Meyer said the parties at multi-party negotiation forum have agreed on nine principles to be included in the transitional constitution, among them, the form of state, which was based on federalism.

Volkstaat?

However, he pointed out that the notion of a volkstaat as espoused by the right wing "was not something real".

Meyer said, although the notion of a volkstaat was based on the principle of self-determination, this could not be based on geographical solutions.

"Self-determination should be fulfilled as a subject in the process of a democratic constitution including a Bill of Rights (to ensure the right to language and cultural practices), devolution of powers, various checks and balances, as

● TO PAGE 2.

Transition

● FROM PAGE 1.

well as proportional representation.

Meyer also told the congress that it was the responsibility of the youth to use the constitution carved out of the negotiation to bring about a new democratic South Africa. (304A)

"You are the emancipating generation be-

cause you do not have preconceived ideas about each other like some of us had in the past."

Meyer said the new National Party no more represented values belonging to whites or Afrikaners, but to all South Africans.

"We are a party that stands for free enterprise as a basic policy, ie, promoting a policy that can make this country flourish."

'Cinderella' hurled into turmoil

PAT CANDIDO ~~245~~ BOLIA
Weekend Argus Reporter

PORT ELIZABETH. — The Eastern Cape, long considered the Cinderella province, has been thrown into turmoil with proposals for re-drawing the map for a new South Africa.

The fate of the Eastern Cape — whether a separate region or lumped with Border-Kei — has become one of the most emotive issues before the commission on delimitation/demarcation.

Many felt that a televised remark by Regional Affairs Minister André Fourie, that the government would not have sleepless nights if the commission decided to unite the Eastern Cape with Border-Kei, reflected the official attitude to an area which is battling for survival.

Only the African National Congress, "after proper consultation with members", has come out in support of the idea which big business sees as a scheme to pool the resources of the only industrialised area within the region.

"As a business community we take exception to Mr Fourie's

willingness to compromise on the borders of the Eastern Cape," said Brian Wasmuth, director of the Midland Chamber of Industries, who warned that big business would pull out if the Eastern Cape became part of a greater region. ARG 10/7/95

Pointing to political instability that had plagued Ciskei and Transkei, he said the Eastern Cape was a picture of relative political stability.

"By putting together a region consisting of the Eastern Cape, Border, Ciskei and Transkei, divergent and opposing political thinking capable of generating intense conflict, instability and violence will be put into a single melting pot.

"This could be the death knell of what otherwise could develop into an economic stronghold."

He said it would be a travesty of justice if the Eastern Cape were to be sacrificed in political interplays and trade-offs. The area would end up a strife-torn economic wasteland.

The MP for Port Elizabeth Central, Eddie Trent, who is spearheading the campaign for a

separate region, said it was impossible to carve the country up into regions that were economically viable.

The metropolitan areas of Cape Town, Port Elizabeth/Uitenhage and East London/Berlin had developed as national service and administration nodes.

Each had potential for economic growth and job creation and it was essential to make government more accessible and functional.

Black businessmen also came out in support of a separate region. Richmond Vantyi, chairman of the East Cape African Chamber of Commerce, said the Eastern Cape had shown relative political stability and strong political leadership.

He said black businessmen had indicated they favoured a settlement where the Eastern Cape would operate as a region separate from Transkei, Ciskei and the Western Cape.

He agreed with Mr Wasmuth that the economic base of the Port Elizabeth/Uitenhage metropole would not be enough to assist the development of the vastly under-developed Kei area.

C TOWN'S LEADING CAR-FI

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REMOVABLE FACE PANEL

FEATURES:

SA goes on to drawing board...

ARG 10/11/93

3049

Experts get deadline to carve acceptable map

■ A team of experts is starting to draw a map of the new South Africa and its regions. The deadline for proposals expired yesterday.

FRANS ESTERHUYSE

Weekend Argus
Political Correspondent

EXPERTS sitting on a specially-appointed commission sit down today to begin the formidable task of drawing the map of the new South Africa from a mountain of conflicting proposals and evidence.

By yesterday's deadline for proposals, more than 140 written submissions and a flood of oral evidence had been received by the commission.

This week alone, oral evidence was heard from 52 people in four major centres — Cape Town, Port Elizabeth, Durban and at the World Trade Centre in Kempston Park.

From today, the commissioners are working against the clock to meet a six-week time limit for making their proposals to the Negotiating Council at the World Trade Centre.

Not only will they be wading through a multitude of proposals and regional maps for changing the face of South Africa, but they have to find a path — acceptable to most of the main players — through a maze of emotive issues, politically explosive plans, and even some eccentric demands.

To design a map for the new South Africa and its regions that will please everybody looks like a superhuman, if not impossible, task at this stage.

The commission's co-chairman, Professor Flip Smit, rector of the University of Pretoria, told Weekend Argus the commission had been working up to 18 hours a day and would continue to work long hours to process the material and work out its recommendations.

He said yesterday: "I'm very encouraged by the incredible co-operation we received across political and racial lines in various regions. People have come forward with reasonable proposals submitted in good spirit and with a willingness to sort out their own problems within their regions instead of leaving it to the authorities."

He said it was hoped to finish most of the initial paperwork by July 24. After further consideration, agreement about the commission's report could be reached by the evening of July 26.

At that stage, the commission would go "back to the drawing board" to make the necessary adjustments for the final draft of its report. If all went well, the report could be ready in the last week of July.

Professor Smit said that when the commission received its brief on May 28, the instruction was that it had to complete its task within six weeks — which would have been by mid-July. This was not possible, he said, but the commission was trying to complete its work as soon as it could.

Apart from proposals and maps received from all the major players, like the African National Congress, the National Party, the Democratic Party, the Afrikaner-Volksunie and other rightwing groups, the commission received scores of proposals from other organisations, local and regional authorities, business and industry, farmers' organisations and Cape judges.

The submissions and oral evidence would be systematically sifted and studied before the commission would form its own decisions and recommendations.

In some cases, rival groups had come together to work out joint proposals. By doing this, they apparently had come to know one another for the first time.

"Sometimes one gets tears in one's eyes to see how hard people

are working for peace. And yet, some proposals are simply not attainable," said Professor Smit.

He said the criteria according to which the proposals for regions and their boundaries would be evaluated included:

■ Economic viability, or whether or not a proposed region would be able to sustain itself;

■ Movement of goods and services, or what transport and services were available;

■ Historic factors like arrangements that could affect present-day administration or jurisdiction in a region;

■ Availability of services like judicial, health and education services;

■ Language, culture and ethnicity; and

■ Geographic factors.

An indication of the minefield of problems awaiting the commission came this week when disputes erupted between local authorities in the Cape about conflicting proposals for regional boundaries.

One dispute is raging over borders between two proposed regions — Eastern Cape and Southern Cape.

Local authorities in Southern Cape towns, including George, Knysna and Mossel Bay, are hotly disputing a proposal from Port Elizabeth's Midland Chamber of Industries that part of the Southern Cape be incorporated into the Eastern Cape region.

Meanwhile, Eastern Cape local authorities, politicians and public bodies are disputing proposals from the NP and the ANC that the Eastern Cape should form part of a region that would include the Border region, Ciskei and Transkei.

Disputes also are said to be brewing among rightwingers over proposals made so far for an Afrikaner homeland, and the failure of the Conservative Party and the Afrikaner-Volksfront to produce maps with clear proposals for regional boundaries for such a homeland.

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Marching on with a bold message!

BOUHA
ARG 10/7/93

A FUNNY thing has happened to the Democratic Party's youth movement on the way to next year's polls — almost overnight it has changed colour from largely white to largely black.

Not only has its leadership become predominantly black, but the vast majority of delegates to its national congress last weekend were black. And more black, coloured and white people are said to be flooding into the movement from other political groupings such as the African National Congress, Inkatha Freedom Party (IFP) and the National Party.

Newly elected DP Youth national chairman Colin Douglas, 23, says the DP is becoming the political home of peace-loving people in all corners of South Africa — "people with real liberal values who want to get ahead free from violence, strife and conflict."

And such people are flocking to the DP Youth from all sides.

His words were echoed this week by the movement's two national leaders, vice-chairwoman Patricia Zwane, 23, in the Transvaal, and Sipho Ngcobo, 24, vice-chairman in Natal.

Mr Ngcobo, who defected from the ANC last year, said young black people in Natal were flocking to the DP Youth because they were frustrated by the ANC's involvement in violence and intimidation. He predicted the DP would be "the party of the future" and could come into power — but only after the new South Africa's second election when voters would have experienced some of the problems he foresaw under an ANC-dominated government.

Ms Zwane, speaking from Benoni, said the movement was growing fast in black townships, despite intimidation in some areas. Many new branches were being formed.

In Cape Town, Mr Douglas and Western Cape DP Youth chairman Ryan Coetzee told of the transformation.

They said the movement had "taken off" and was now the fastest-growing political youth organisation in the country.

At the DP Youth's 1993 national congress in Bloemfontein last weekend the movement committed itself to a new era of liberal activism, involvement in peace structures and the establishment of a liberal democracy in South Africa.

Mr Douglas, a final-year law student at the University of Cape Town, said: "We are not frightened off by the political conditions the DP faces. We are convinced of the universality of our liberal message — and there are liberals in every corner of the land."

He and Mr Coetzee gave these facts and figures reflecting growth and change in the movement:

■ For the first time the leadership of the DP Youth now has a majority of black members. The 18-member national executive has 11 black members.

■ Delegates to the movement's national congress last weekend totalled about 250, of whom about 90 percent were people of colour. There were twice as many delegates this time, compared with attendance at last year's national congress.

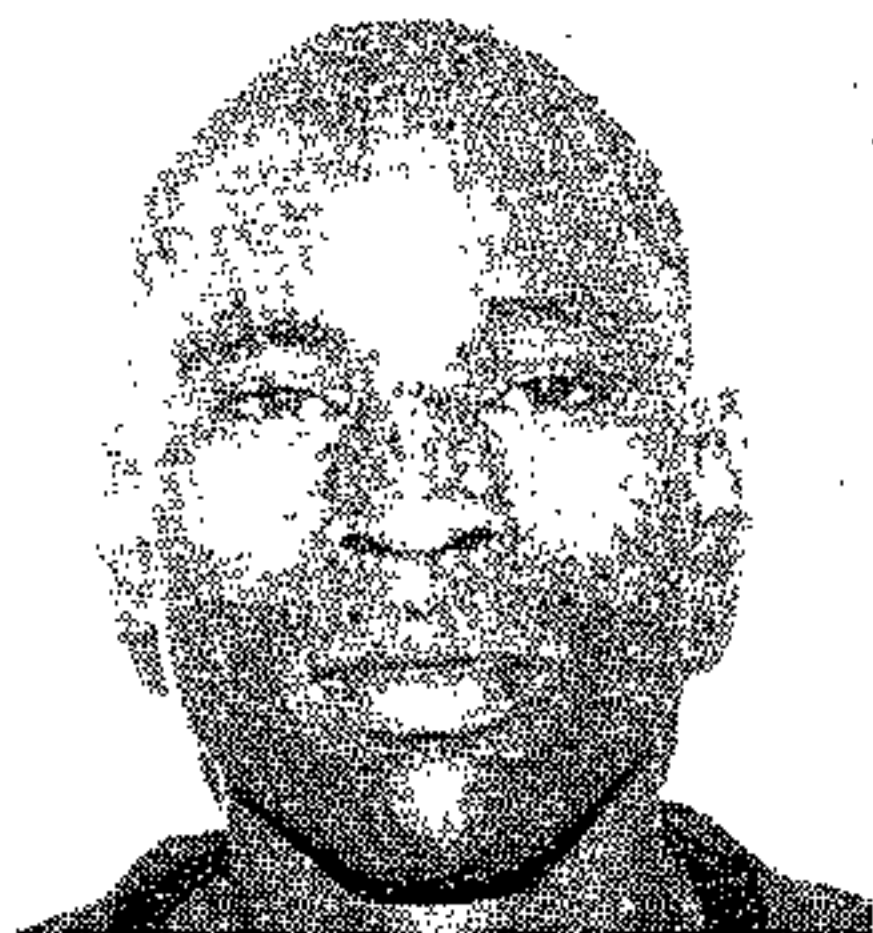
■ About half of the total number of delegates this time were former members and supporters of the ANC. The most prevalent shift of political allegiance towards the DP was from the ANC, Mr Douglas said.

■ Total membership of the movement, according to branch membership figures, has virtually doubled in the past year, and opinion polls show a "substantial number" of people are potential DP voters.

■ Last year 16 Western Cape delegates attended the DP's national youth congress. This time there were 65 Western Cape delegates, of whom only five are white (including Mr Douglas and Mr Coetzee).

■ A National Party branch secretary at the University of Stellenbosch, Nolene Wessels, defected from the NP at the end

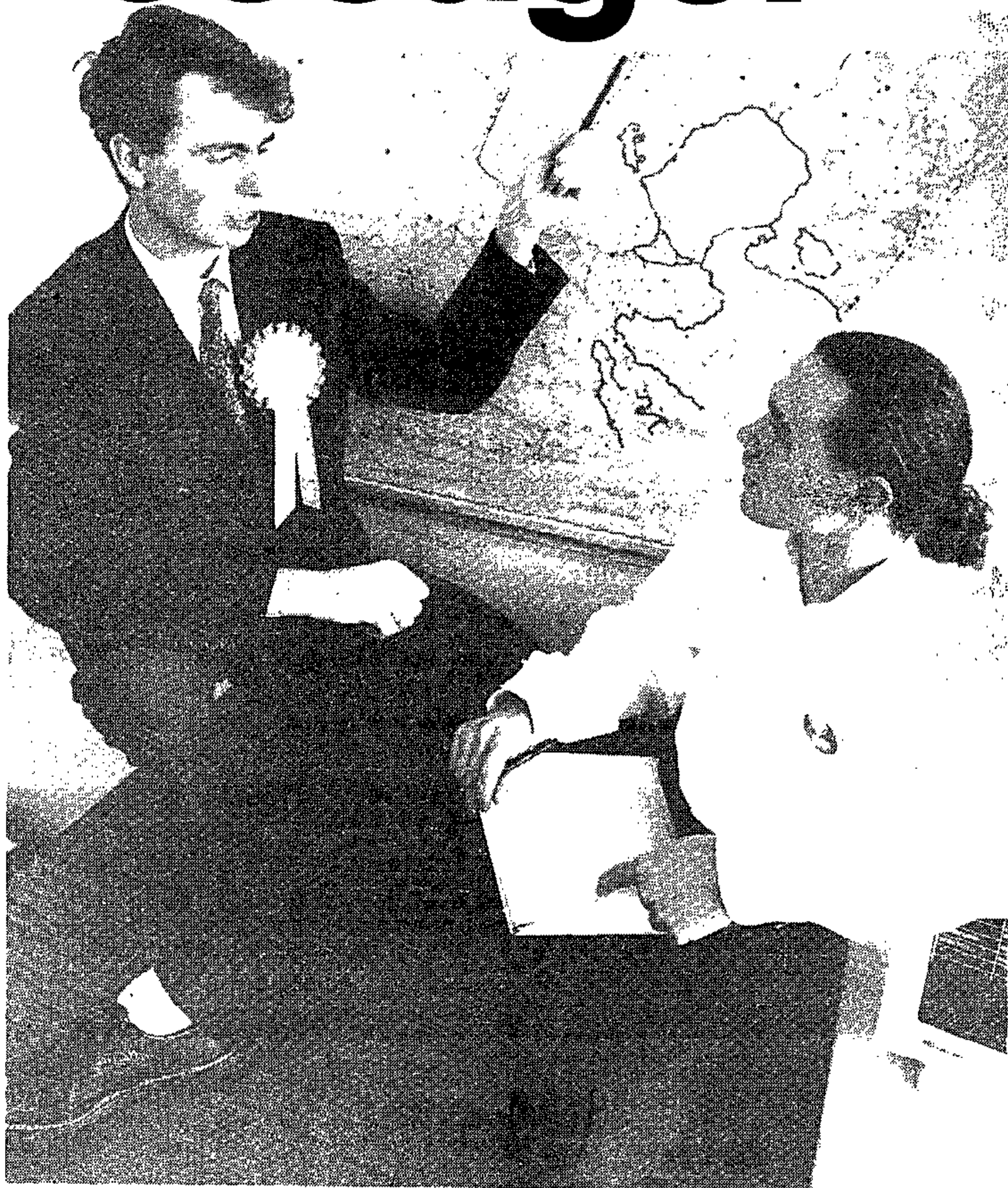
■ The Democratic Party's youth are on the march. They have a message and are facing up to South Africa's realities more boldly than many older politicians. Weekend Argus Political Correspondent **FRANS ESTERHUYSE** reports.



□ **SIPHO NGCOBO**, DP Youth vice-chairman.



□ **PATRICIA ZWANE**, DP Youth vice-chairwoman.



□ **'FASTEST-GROWING YOUTH GROUP IN SA ...'** Colin Douglas, new chairman of the DP Youth, and Ryan Coetzee, Western Cape chairman.

DP put money where their mouths are

FRANS ESTERHUYSE
Weekend Argus Political Correspondent

A DVICE from veteran political analyst Dr Frederik van Zyl Slabbert was heeded by the DP Youth when the movement embarked on its new initiative to assert liberal values.

Dr Slabbert's words, quoted in last weekend's congress agenda above the movement's key resolution, read: "Now is the most dangerous time for people of liberal persuasion to heave a sigh of relief."

"In the South African context it is quite unique that liberals get an opportunity to put their money where their mouths are."

Liberals have it now."

The DP Youth's relevant congress resolution commits the movement to a "new era of liberal activism."

The resolution also seeks to commit the DP, by way of a motion to the their national congress, to state in its election manifesto that the DP is "a liberal party grounded in liberal democratic principles."

It also seeks to ensure that all DP election candidates commit themselves to the principles and independence of the DP, and urges the main party to become "bolder and more forthright in its advocacy of liberalism in South Africa and in its

criticism of all who threaten liberal values."

In a preamble to the resolution, the congress noted that the DP had a long history of defending and promoting liberalism in South Africa — and had done so in "an extremely hostile environment".

It also noted that:

■ "The current political environment is one in which the rights of individuals continue to be violated, where free choice, free speech and tolerance are constantly under attack"; and

■ "Many DP Youth members live under threat, bravely defending liberal values in this political climate."

of last year and joined the DP. A number of other former NP members followed her into the DP.

Significantly, many of the new student members of the DP at Stellenbosch are said to be women who defected because they were tired of sexism in the NP. One example of the kind of sexism they object to is cited as the refusal of the Ruiterswag, the Afrikaner-Broederbond's junior wing, to accept women as members.

Last weekend's congress agreed unanimously that DP Youth members should not be members of "secret" organisations such as the Ruiterswag, Sons of England and Freemasons.

The congress also decided by a majority that a separate national student organisation should be established to further the aims of the DP Youth on campuses of tertiary institutions and high schools.

Mr Douglas said he believed the strength of the DP Youth and its appeal to young people lay in its emphasis on liberal values.

"A substantial percentage of young South Africans are liberals — that is, they are people who are non-racial in their outlook, who want peace and who value the individual most highly."

In this respect the DP differed from other political groupings such as the NP, the ANC and the IFP, all of whom were nationalists in their outlook.

"They view the individual as a means to a collective end," Mr Douglas said. "The result is that the rights of ordinary individuals are violated in the supposed interest of the group. This approach is in essence an authoritarian approach."

The main thrust of this argument was put across thus in a statement from the DP Youth leadership after their congress: "The DP is the only party whose philosophy, policies and track record will put power in the hands of the individual citizens, not the politicians."

The movement also pledged itself to put new impetus into its recruitment campaign, especially where citizens' rights are

under attack — including Transkei, Ciskei, KwaZulu, Bophuthatswana, and violence-torn townships such as Katlehong, Tembisa and Khayelitsha.

"The NP, ANC, IFP and their allies will not be allowed to forget our right to recruit members everywhere," the movement said. "Young people — especially former ANC Youth League members — are joining the DP Youth in such numbers that we stand to become the largest and most influential youth organisation in South Africa."

"While the youth wings of the ANC and IFP sow violence and intolerance, and the NP youth are demoralised, disorganised and sustained only by financial payments to its office-bearers by the NP head office, the DP Youth works boldly for peace, human rights and social reconstruction."

The DP Youth claims to be the only political youth movement whose leaders are all under 25. "Unlike the ANC, NP and IFP youth wings, whose leaders are all in their 30s, the DP Youth is a genuine youth organisation," the movement says.

July 10 to July 14 1993

'NP will play election dirty'

South 10/7-14/93
by Christelle Terreblanche

THE ANC has punched holes in a National Party (NP) statement that accuses the ANC of tribalism.

The NP had commented on the ANC Youth League (ANCYL) proposal that Mr Thabo Mbeki instead of Mr Cyril Ramaphosa replace Mr Walter Sisulu as the movement's next vice-president.

The NP described the proposal as "embarrassing" because it shows up "ethnic" discrimination and a lack of democracy within the ANC.

"It is well-known that Ramaphosa is a Venda and not a Xhosa," the statement reads. (304A) (117)

"The fact that Mr Peter Mokaba (ANCYL national leader) and the ANCYL suddenly has problems with the leadership of Ramaphosa could not be explained in any other way."

The statement says that Mbeki, the ANC Foreign Affairs director, would ordinarily be too moderate for the youth, but that he has been proposed because he is a Xhosa.

However, Mr Tony Yengeni, ANC Western Cape secretary, pointed out Mokaba himself was a Venda-speaking person.

"I am disgusted with the NP's dishonesty," Yengeni told SOUTH. "The ANC has for decades been the champions of non-racialism while the NP has brought only death and destruction to this country with its ethnic and racial policies."

"This is a cheap propaganda trick in the wake of the NP rally in Northern Transvaal to win the hearts and minds of Venda. It shows up the Nats approach to the election campaign. They are going to play dirty."

ELECTIONS: Where we stand

1994 will be the 332nd year since Van Riebeeck landed at the Cape.

It is the first time every South African has the right to vote.

Your birthright to elect the government of your country has been fought and won only after decades and centuries of struggle.

Now it has been secured, and election day is officially April 27 next year.

For this momentous occasion, SOUTH has drafted a manifesto for its election coverage.

- We confirm without hesitation that our coverage of the election will be firmly from the point of view of disenfranchised South Africans.
- We are proud to declare that SOUTH will never be a neutral observer in the coming months.
- Pinning our colours to the mast, SOUTH openly declares that it supports non-racial, non-sexist and democratic values and will judge all parties on this basis.
- We therefore pledge to provide you, the reader, with independent, honest and reliable facts about the election.
- We pledge to expose any electoral intolerance, intimidation, disinformation, bribery and abuse.

● We pledge to develop SOUTH's pioneering voter education thrust, going behind the daily news to explain the complicated issues and rules of the poll.

● We pledge to encourage a culture of democratic tolerance and debate, empowering readers to vote and to campaign in full awareness of what the other side is saying.

● We will make our pages available to a range of political viewpoints and party advertisements.

● Finally, as the only truly independent newspaper in the Cape, we promise that you can count on SOUTH for really full and fair coverage of the contest that lies ahead.

To give readers the best election coverage in the Cape, SOUTH has put together a uniquely qualified election reporting team. It is headed by Elections Editor Rehana Rossouw, a highly competent and dedicated journalist with a solid democratic record. Her team includes political editor Christelle Terreblanche, probably the best parliamentary reporter in South Africa; Sabata Ngcai, a seasoned professional reporter trained at SOUTH; and campaigning journalist Quentin Wilson whose byline will be well-known to readers. Watch this space!

Signed:

Guy Berger

Editor

SOUTH 1017 - 147193

(2000)

(2000)

Power to the people — in their regions

By Hennie Bester, MP

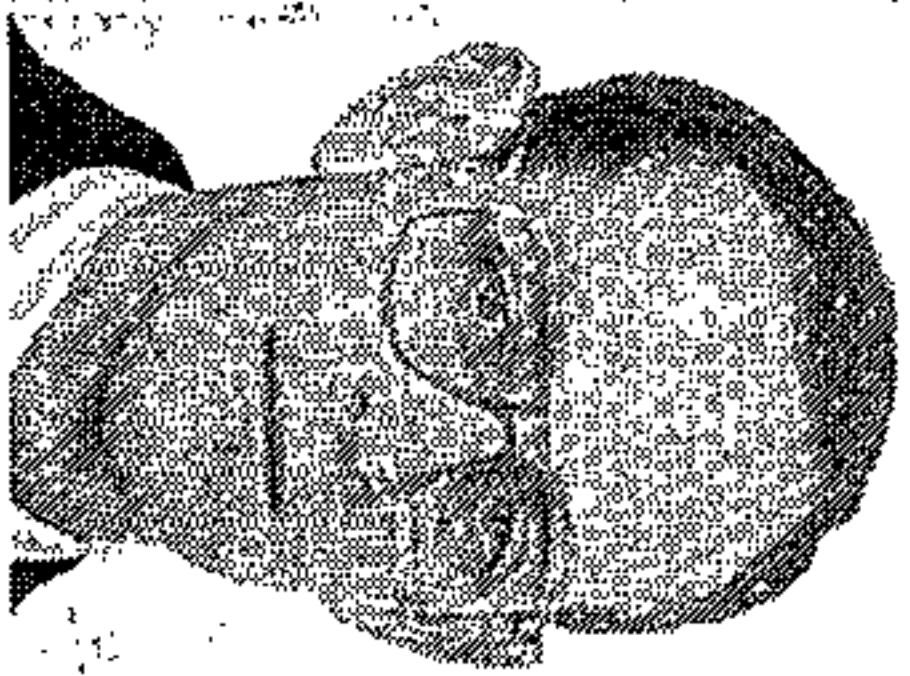
THE FUTURE success of regionalism in South Africa will depend largely on whether we get the recipe for regional government right or wrong. Of all political parties in South Africa, the Democratic Party is the only which, from its inception, has supported a federal form of government.

We have not done so from a fear of majority rule. Neither have we supported it for the promotion of sectional political interests, or for ethnic reasons. We have always believed this is the best way South Africa can be governed.

Why? Because we think a strong regional government will:

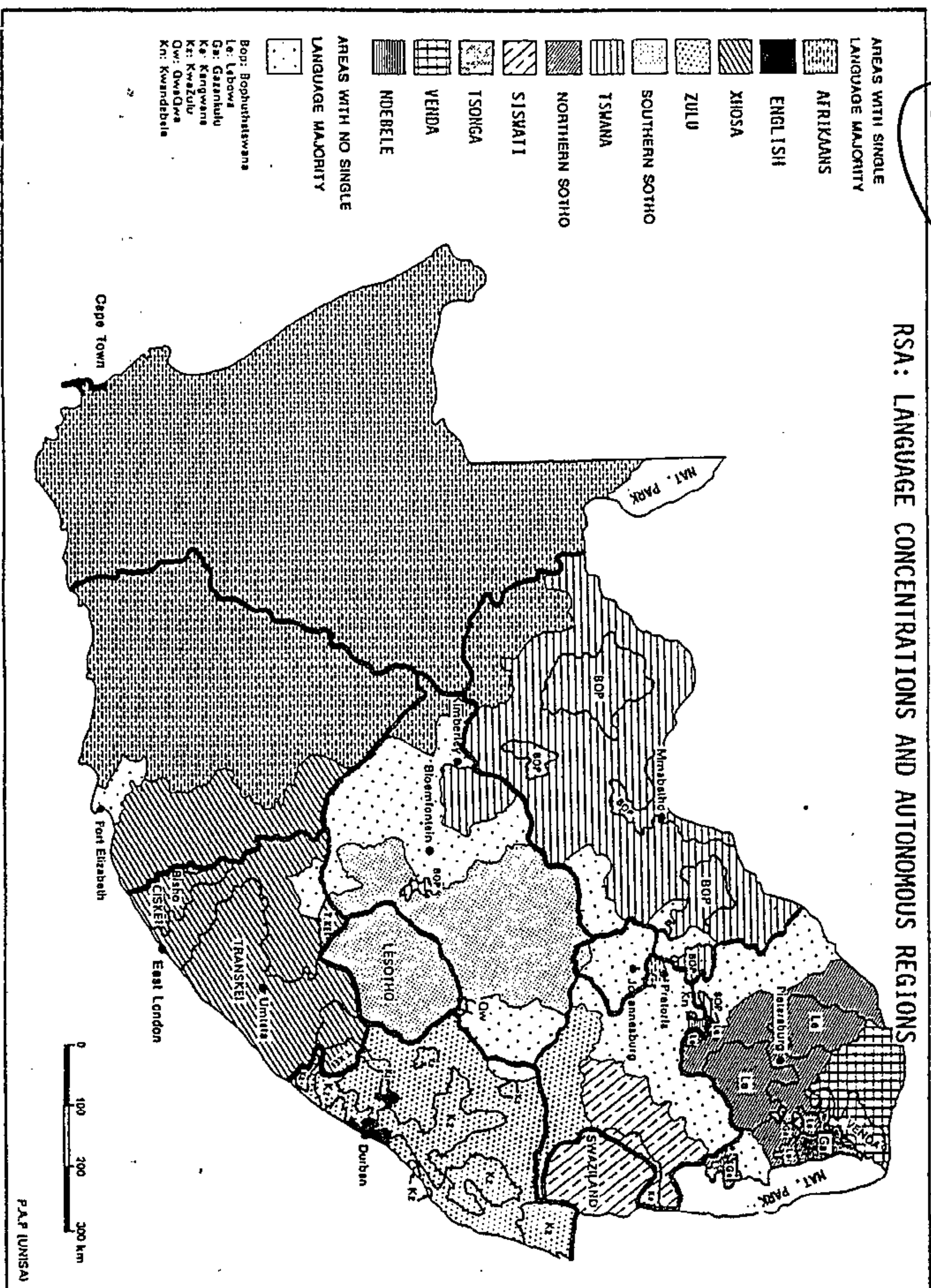
- Bring power closer to the people
- Decentralise the vast potential for political conflict in South Africa
- Produce more efficient social services, even within centrally-determined policy directives.

● Be the best option to accommodate our country's socio-cultural differences.



HENNIE BESTER

What sort of regional government do we propose? We believe powers and functions of regions should be entrenched in the national constitution, a position already accepted



LAND AND LANGUAGE: A map of language concentrations in SA: this distribution will have a decisive influence on the regional demarcation of the country

SOUTH 10/7-14/7/93

304A

CROSSTALK

The Democratic Party puts its case forward for the demarcation of South Africa into nine regions under a national constitution containing a bill of rights

by parties participating in the multi-party negotiation process.

Secondly, we believe the maximum possible powers and functions should be devoted to regional and local government level. The secret lies in the word "possible". Not all regions will be able to perform the same functions on regional level.

Moreover, during a period of national reconstruction, it will be necessary to generate many national policies for, especially, the delivery of social services.

One will therefore have to find the right mix between powers delegated to regions (for example, taxation and the road system), concurrent powers between national and regional government (education and economic development would probably be examples), and residual powers which could reside at either national or regional levels.

Thirdly, we believe regional legislatures should also be elected during the first non-racial election. Such regional legislatures should be able to draft regional constitutions, provided that these will be compatible with the national constitution.

It should be remembered that the national constitution will run throughout South Africa. The bill of rights contained in the constitution, especially, will apply in all regions, preventing any region from, for example, adopting a racially discriminatory constitution.

Will regional government work, in the sense of benefiting most South Africans? This will depend on at least the following considerations:

- The quality of political leadership and civil servants at regional government level. Political leadership at regional level will need to be not only dedicated to regional development, but also to the overall aims of national reconstruction and nation building. The civil service at regional level will need

to be streamlined and competent, unlike the current position in parts of South Africa.

- The powers and functions devolved to regional government. At the very least, regional government will need taxing powers. However, the danger also exists of devolving centralisation of government to regions and creating huge bureaucracies. There needs to be a flow of powers to local governments, rather than a power-grabbing attitude at regional government level.

- The national constitution will have to provide for the transfer of funds from one region to another. Not all regions in South Africa will be equally economically prosperous. Some will provide more than their needs, while others will be in desperate need of outside development capital. Without generosity between regions, we can forget about economic growth for our entire country.

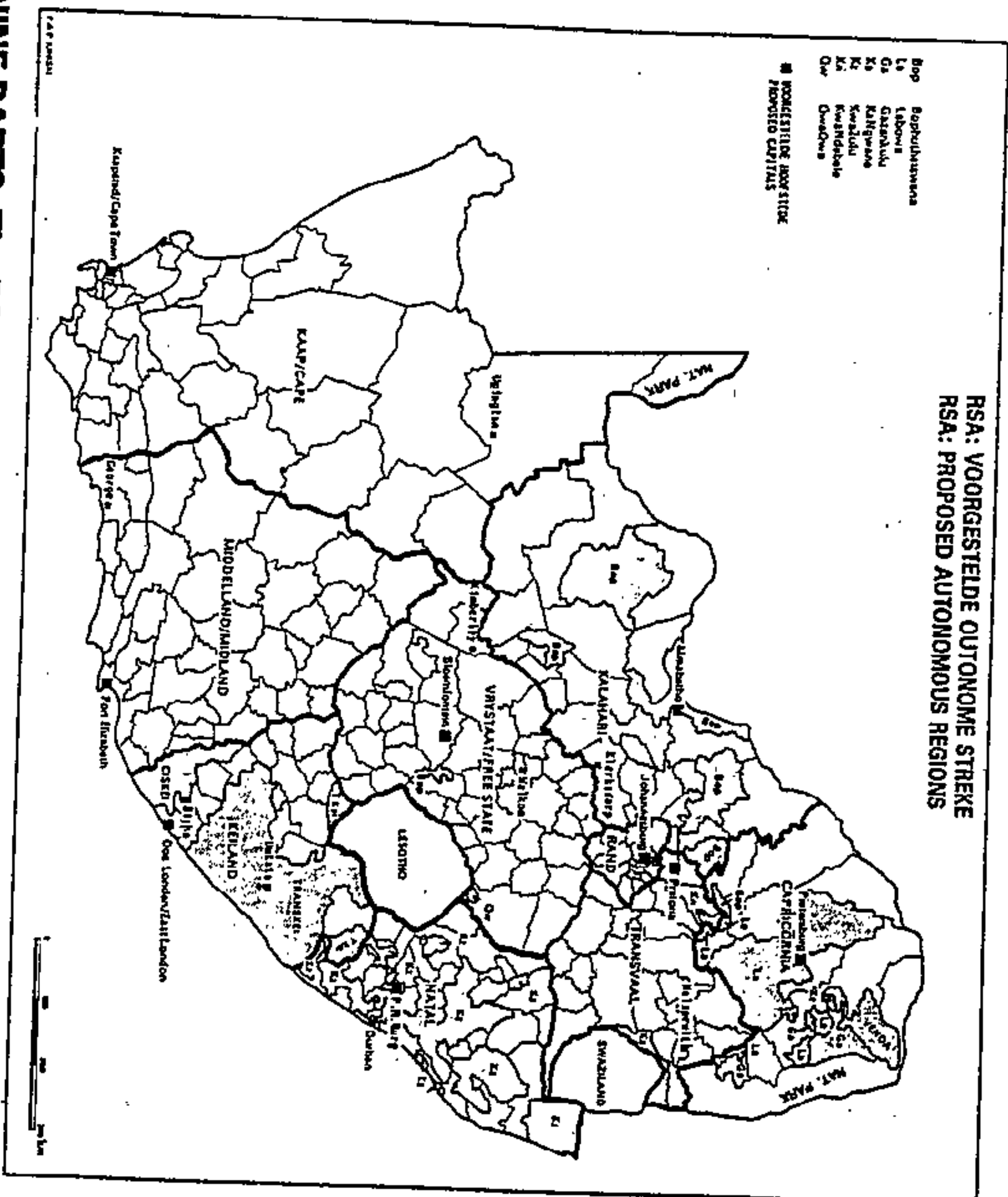
- The size and delimitations of regions. The Democratic Party has proposed nine regions for the new South Africa — the Western Cape, Eastern Cape, Kelland, Natal, The Free State, Kalahari, The Witwatersrand, Transvaal and Bushveld.

In our delimitation we endeavour at all costs to avoid sectional political interests and the gerrymandering of the past, and to create regions which will be able to rally around a commonality of interests and be truly autonomous.

- The rules of the game regarding coordination of economic development and delivery of social services between regional and central government must be clear. Although many policies will be centrally originated, all of them will be regionally implemented. Houses are built in Mitchell's Plain and not in Pretoria, even if they are planned there.

- Finally, the success of regional govern-

RSA: VOORGESTELDE OUTONOME STREKE
RSA: PROPOSED AUTONOMOUS REGIONS



NINE PARTS: The DP's proposed regional map for a federal South Africa

ment will depend on whether South Africans can develop a spirit of nation building. South Africa is desperately needed as a generator of economic growth and development for the rest of the continent. For our own survival, we must address this task vigorously and we can only do it as a united nation. But we won't be able to do it if regions spend their energies squabbling among each other.

CROSSTALK debates are presented in association with the Institute for Multi-Party Democracy, a non-partisan organisation not affiliated to any institute or political party. Its mission is to promote multi-party democracy, political tolerance and national reconciliation in South Africa. For more information, telephone (021) 25 1120/54/55.

SOUTH readers are encouraged to respond to any of the viewpoints presented on this page.

South 1017 - 1417/a3

Call to political parties to obey code of conduct

By BARRY STREEK
Political Staff

304A
CT 16/7/93

POLITICAL parties could be ordered to suspend or expel members if they contravene the negotiated code of conduct.

These are among the proposals made by the Technical Committee on Violence to the Multi-Party Negotiating Council.

Consensus is emerging among political parties at the negotiations that tough penalties are needed to make the code of conduct enforceable.



READY TO VOTE . . . Guguletu residents queue to register as voters for next year's first democratic elections at mobile offices set up by the Department of Home Affairs. Picture: BENNY GOOL

Blacks: New govt, better life

Staff Reporter

BLACKS hope for a better life when a new and democratically elected government comes into power — but fear “another Angola” could develop if contesting parties do not accept the election results.

Guguletu residents interviewed at a Department of Home Affairs office while registering to vote yesterday felt the greatest change in their lives was having the vote for the first time.

Mr Khwezi Peter, 22, said the chance to vote for a new government was a “change for the better”.

“However, there will not be much change when a new government comes to power. The employers will still be the same but opportunities will increase as sanctions are dropped.”

Mr Patrick Molosi, 31, said: “After the elections, we will have a democratic South Africa in which people will have the same

opportunities and where it won't be as one-sided as it is now.”

However, he warned South Africa could become another Angola if parties did not accept the election results. He said the Afrikaners' call for self-determination and an own homeland was tantamount to apartheid and could spark violence.

ANC member Mrs Nozipho Ncapai, 54, said “everything would run smoothly” after the elections, irrespective of whether the ANC or the PAC won the majority vote.

CT 10/7/93

(304A)

ABOUT THA

304A

11/7/93

By SEKOLA SELLO

FOLLOWING this week's release of proposed regional boundaries for a future SA by various political organisations, the issue of federalism has now forced its way into the open.

Now ordinary people will have a chance to scrutinise the proposals – not just lawyers and constitutional experts.

With the ANC, the National Party and the rightwing Afrikaner Volksunie (AVU) having gone public with their views on what the new SA should look like – including an Afrikaner homeland – regionalism/federalism is likely to dominate political discussions in the run-up to the country's first democratic elections.

Rights

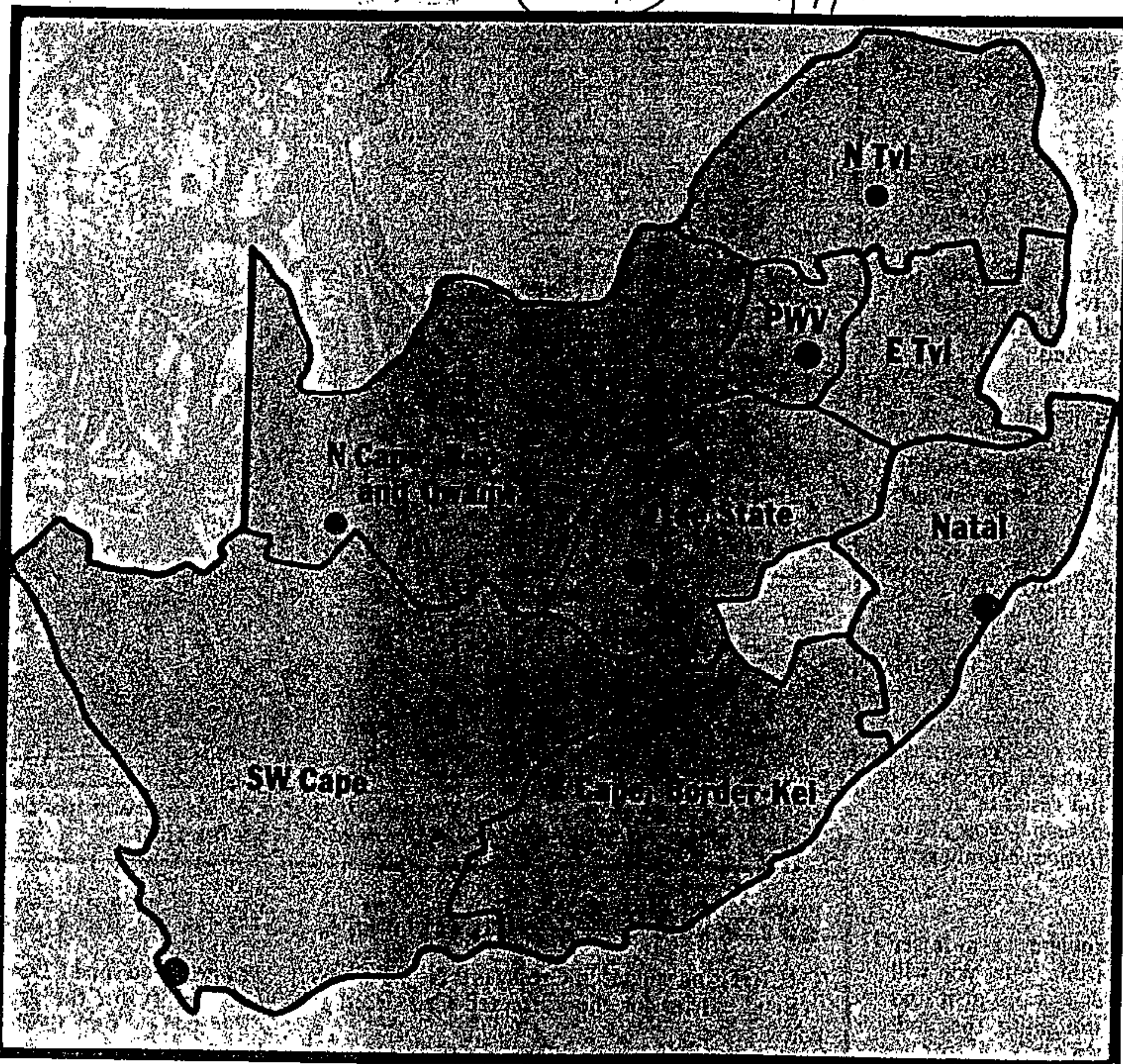
What powers should the regions that will ultimately emerge have? What will be their relation to central government? These are among the sticky questions that will tax the minds of politicians and citizens in the coming months.

However, some experts warn about the danger of focusing on constitutional principles only while ignoring socio-economic development; the rights and responsibilities of individuals and the kind of constitution that would best serve citizens and communities.

Engineers have also waded into the subject and advised that water catchments, commuter transport, resources and the seat of government are major factors to be considered when boundaries are being drawn up for future regions.

According to the South African Association of Consulting Engineers, in terms of water resource development there would be enormous advantages if regional borders were chosen to follow watersheds rather than river courses.

As far as other resources such as mineral deposits, natural forests and conservation areas were



concerned, the association said it was important not to divide resources unnecessarily.

Such is the sensitive nature of regionalism/federalism that Inkatha, the CP, AVU, Bophuthatswana and Ciskei governments have intimated that they will not take part in future elections unless this issue is resolved before any hustings.

Some development experts argue that regionalism/federalism issues could well determine whether the country emerges as a true democratic and non-racial society.

It is also argued that the manner in which this issue is addressed will fundamentally affect the country's chances of dealing successfully with what

Ann Bernstein of the Urban Foundation (UF) describes as the "three great national challenges facing the country".

These are:

- Massive socio-economic development;
- Building a democracy; and
- Returning to sustained and inclusive economic growth.

By finally making public their draft proposals on the delimitation of regional boundaries, the ANC, government and AVU have placed before the masses an issue which has been vigorously debated behind closed doors.

It is interesting to note that to a large extent the government's two proposed regions and those of the ANC are not dissimilar.

Such is the convergence of views between the two that the government has completely moved away from the Verwoerdian dream of defining regions along ethnic/linguistic/cultural lines.

Two of the AVU's eight regions are to all practical purposes based on ethnic/linguistic/cultural considerations.

The two regions with a strong Afrikaans influence are Afrikanerland, which includes the Pretoria/Verwoerdburg/Akasia metropolitan area as well as the eastern Transvaal.

The second is Oranje which comprises most of the present Cape province.

According to the AVU, the two regions are respectively the

IT 'F' WORD

C1 Press

11/7/93

areas where the highest density of Afrikaners are to be found and where the most Afrikaans-speaking people resided.

Interestingly enough, both regions are dominated by people who are not white.

Blacks are in the majority in the Afrikanerland and the Oranje region is dominated by coloured people.

The moderate rightwing party stressed that no forced removals would take place from the regions and that the recommendations were based on strong regional government.

Although serious efforts were made to steer away from boundaries with echoes of the discredited homeland system or on areas based on ethnic considerations, most regions are still dominated by blacks with the exception of the western Cape where Afrikaans-speaking people are in the majority.

But, it seems drawing up these boundaries was comparatively easier than addressing some of the other problems which go hand in hand with regionalism.

Difficulties with regionalism arise when trying to strike a balance between the powers given to federal states or regions and those retained by central government.

Inkatha's president and KwaZulu chief minister Mangosuthu Buthelezi, a strong advocate of federalism, has in recent months expressed fears about what he calls "the tyranny of central government".

While the ANC is still committed to a unitary state, their thinking has shifted slightly and it appears they would opt for a federal alternative on condition this may not lay the basis of future secession.

Balkanisation of the country is their worst fear.

Most parties at the Multi-party Negotiating Forum agree on the need for central and regional governments to have original powers but there is serious disagreement on the nature of shared powers, their extent



FEDERAL OPTION ... KwaZulu chief minister Mangosuthu Buthelezi.

and how these powers will be determined.

Inkatha and members of the Concerned South Africans Group want these points cleared up and written into a constitution before elections.

In an interview in the UF's bulletin, *Development and Democracy*, the ANC's director of legal and constitutional affairs, Zola Skweyiya, comes into conflict with Inkatha and Cosag when he accepts the need for constitutional safeguards and constraints for regions but at the same time maintains that residual powers lie with central government.

The ANC has a deep mistrust of strong regional government as advocated by Inkatha and its alliance partners because of fears that should these entities have too much power (particularly Buthelezi), regional leaders may be tempted to secede or not to work in the national interest.

KwaZulu government chief spokesman at the negotiations, Ben Ngubane, has acknowledged in the UF bulletin that Inkatha's much vaunted model on regional government, the KwaZulu/Natal constitution, is a more confederal than federal document.

Although fears of secession

Issue of power

tops the agenda

are real, most analysts argue that whatever the final outcome of the boundaries, the ANC is likely to dominate most of the regions, fears of secession by Inkatha or any rightwing group may be exaggerated because of the economic costs this would entail for those breaking away.

It is pointed out that an ANC-led government would control the economic heartland of the country - the Witwatersrand - and also important peripheral and port regions like East London and Port Elizabeth, and could use this economic muscle to bring any rebellious groups to heel.

The ANC says the following principles should guide the drawing up of future regions:

- The regions should be economically and socially functional;
- The regions should allow for balanced urban and rural development;
- The regions should be compact;
- The regional boundaries should take into account population size and geographic product;
- The regional boundaries should, wherever possible, take

into account existing boundaries; and

■ Popular acceptance and a sense of rightness should be taken into account.

Proposal

The ANC's proposed regions are: western Cape; northern Cape (including the western districts of Bophuthatswana); Free State (including QwaQwa and Thaba Nchu); eastern Cape which is divided into Border, southern Transkei and Border-Kei (including Ciskei, Transkei and east Griqualand); Natal; eastern Transvaal including KaNgwane; northern Transvaal (including Lebowa, Gazankulu and Venda).

The government's proposals are: south western Cape (including Cape Town); north western Cape; eastern Cape; Border-Kei; Free State, western Transvaal, Vryburg and QwaQwa; Natal/Kwazulu; eastern Transvaal/Kangwane; northern Transvaal, Venda, Lebowa and Gazankulu; PWV; portion of Bophuthatswana and Kwandebile; eastern Transvaal and kaNgwane.

Egoli

The other government option is: northern, southern and western Cape; eastern Cape, Border-Kei; Free State, QwaQwa, most of Bophuthatswana; Natal/KwaZulu; northern Transvaal, Venda, Lebowa, Gazankulu; PWV; portion of Bophuthatswana and Kwandebile; eastern Transvaal and kaNgwane.

The AVU's recommended regions are: Kaap van Goeie Hoop (Cape of Good Hope) which includes the Cape Town metropolitan area and southern Cape coastal region; the Kei, made up of the Transkei, Ciskei and Border region; Satswa which includes the Free State, western Transvaal and Bophuthatswana; Capricorn, which comprises most of the northern Transvaal; KwaZulu and Egoli, the Witwatersrand and Vaal Triangle region.

FW hits at ANC, SACP ties

SA MUST never again make the mistakes of practising racial discrimination and injustice, State President FW de Klerk said yesterday.

Addressing a Durban NP youth congress, De Klerk also hit at ANC-SACP ties, claiming a "handful" of communists had wedged their way into the ANC's leadership in an attempt to become part of a future government without traveling the democratic route. (304A) (HIA)

■ Reports by CP Reporters, Ecna, Sapa.

AWB'S

COMRADES IN ARMS

Eop, Ciskei and Inkatha will join me in the fight against the communists'

□ MANGOPE



□ GQOZO



□ MYENI



C Press 11-11-83

INKATHA, and the Ciskei and Bophuthatswana governments, would form a fighting front with the AWB against the ANC and its allies in defence of a confederal state, the AWB leader Eugene Terre'Blanche revealed this week.

In an exclusive interview with City Press, Terre'Blanche disclosed that he had the "full support" of the three bodies and that their leaders have assured him they would fight alongside the AWB against the "communists" who advocate a unitary state.

"I have the support of President (Lucas) Mangope. I met him and we made a joint statement that we will, in the case of war against the communists, defend each other," he said.

He also said his organisation had



BY MOSES MAMAILA

entered into a military agreement with the Ciskei military ruler, Brig Oupa Gqozo. "I saw him (Gqozo) last week in Bisho where we decided that we will help each other in case of a conflict between the communists and him or us," Terre'Blanche said.

Attempts to reach Gqozo to confirm the claims failed.

Terre'Blanche revealed that although Inkatha leader Mangosuthu Buthezi repudiated the non-aggression pact signed by Inkatha and the AWB in the media, "my agreement with the executive of Inkatha in the Transvaal still stands".

Inkatha Transvaal leader Musa Myeni signed the non-aggression pact with the AWB which was later rejected.

To Page 2



THREE'S COMPANY... AWB leader Eugene Terre'Blanche says he can count on Bop, Inkatha and Ciskei in the battle against those who want a unitary state.

PICT: ANDRIES MOENKKA

Were generals paid for guns or spying?

By PATRICK GOODENOUGH C Press

WHAT did Ciskei get for almost R900 000 from rightwing consultancy company Multi-Media Services (MMS)? Was it guns or intelligence? It was disclosed this week that Ciskei paid R883 683 to MMS - run by prominent rightwingers Gen Tienie Groenewald and Riaan van Rensburg. According to invoices the money was for "intelligence gathering (RSA) and situation reports", and "travelling and accommodation for MMS directors, staff and operators".

But a highly placed Ciskei government source claims the money was for AK-47 assault rifles, sparking fears Ciskei and the white right may be preparing to destabilise a future SA government.

The source said on November 5 last year dozens of brand-new AK-47s lay stacked three-deep along one wall of Gqozo's 20-metre long Bisho office.

Van Rensburg this week denied the company dealt in weapons. "If I did intelligence gathering and evaluation and recommendations and actions, I wouldn't be worth my salt if I divulged what I was doing."

Groenewald's Afrikaner Volksfront colleague, Gen Constand Viljoen, became a partner in MMS in May. MMS chairman Van Rensburg and his brother

To Page 2

CLASSIC AMERICAN TASTE

AWB's reveals its comrades in arms

CIP-read 1117193
(304A)

■ From Page 1

by Buthelezi.

Asked if Inkatha approached the AWB to nullify the agreement, the leader of the organisation in the Transvaal, Humphrey Ndlovu, said: "As an organisation we did not go back to the AWB but they (AWB) should have read in the papers that we distance ourselves from the pact."

He emphasised that the agreement was a matter between Myeni and the AWB.

Ciskei, Bop and Inkatha, all members of the Concerned South Africans Group (Cosag), are known to be advocating a confederal form of state. The proposal has been rejected by the negotiating council in Kempton Park.

Terre'Blanche warned that there would not be peace in the country if the "various nations" were forced to share power.

Asked if the reports that the rightwingers were plotting a coup were true, Terre'Blanche replied: "Do you think I can

answer that? Do you want me in jail? You are bloody lucky that you can still have me here today. They already want to put me in jail because of the fact that I do not want to testify to the Goldstone Commission." (116)

Asked if he was afraid of being arrested, Terre'Blanche said: "Tell Goldstone to send a Caspir to come and pick me up. I am not afraid of being arrested." (101)

He said the AWB commandos were being trained by the Defence Force, SA Police and other security forces. They were legally arming themselves in preparation for the war against the communists.

He said although he was opposed to the eruption of the race war, the "terror operation by MK and Apla", which, he said, targeted whites simply because they are white, would mobilise the Afrikaner to attack blacks.

Anti-racism law nurtures political apartheid

THE Voting Rights Act of 1965 did two important things. First, it said that no one's right to vote could be abridged — for example, through the use of literacy tests or poll taxes or gerrymandering — on the basis of race.

Secondly, it subjected to federal oversight the voting procedures of jurisdictions where voting rights had been abridged (principally, though by no means exclusively, in the South).

Over the ensuing quarter-century, the Act has been repeatedly amended by Congress and fleshed out by the courts. In the process, it has come to be construed as saying that the right to vote implies considerably more than simple access to the ballot box: it is a right to racially proportionate representation.

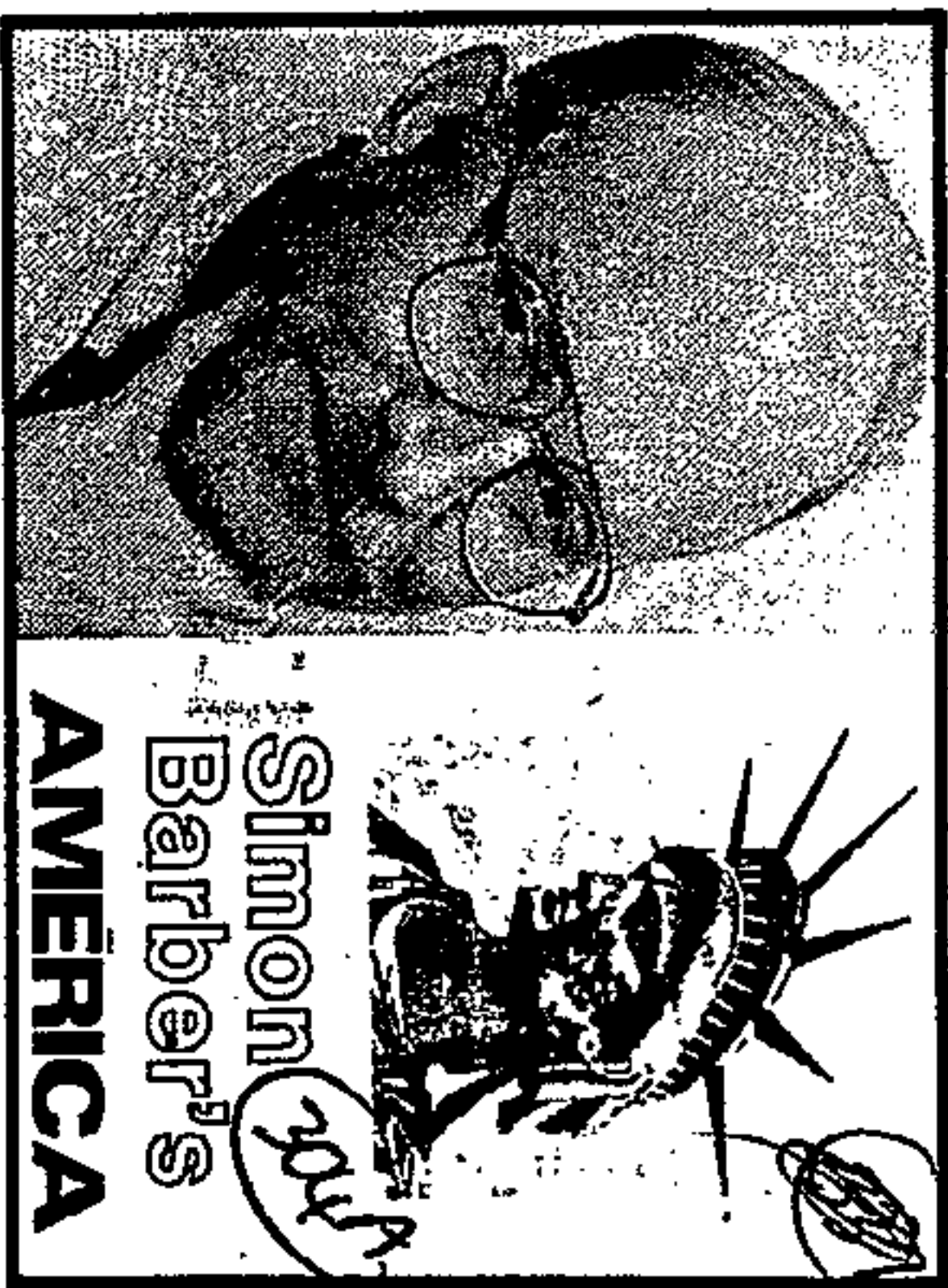
Proportionality has been achieved through the delimiting of "minority-majority" voting districts; in effect, bantustans. In a strict sense, the approach has worked: by last year's election, the congressional black caucus has grown to 38 members, 37 of them in the 435-member House of Representatives. This is not far short of the ratio of blacks in the country as a whole — around 10 percent.

The problem is the underlying theory — that voting is, at root, a tribal ritual in which voters can only be said to have achieved the outcome they desire if one of their own group is elected.

This is a grimly deterministic notion, suggesting that people's political choices are genetically pre-ordained. It is, in a word, racist. But, unlike the forms of racism it was devised to supplant, it has been officially declared constitutional — at least for the time being.

There has been a good deal of misunderstanding over the Supreme Court's recent ruling on the validity of North Carolina's 12th congressional district, a cartographic abomination created on the express instructions of the Justice Department to add another black face to the state's delegation in the House.

Nearly 300km long, and in stretches less than 100m across, the district appears to have been drawn by having some tobacco-chewing state legislator expectorating across



the map. The excuse: some way had to be found to corral enough blacks into a single new constituency to ensure they elected one of their own without endangering incumbents.

A group of white North Carolinians sued to have the districting plan overturned. Their case made its way to the Supreme Court, where they contended that the 12th district amounted to "racial gerrymandering".

This, they argued, contravened the constitution's 15th amendment, which binds the states to grant all persons within their borders equal — and therefore, in theory, colour-blind — protection under the law.

In a 5-4 decision written by Justice Sandra Day O'Connor, the court sympathised, but did not, in the end, agree. To have done so would have effectively invalidated the vast and complex apparatus of race classification and compulsory entitlement adopted since the mid-60s to redress past discrimination.

O'Connor and those who voted with her — including the court's lone, and politically incorrect, African-American, Clarence Thomas — did not like the 12th district or any other of the curious shapes scattered across the political

map for the same purpose. They thought it preferable that districts make at least some geographic sense. Appearances, they said, mattered.

They noted the extraordinary irony that during the post-Civil War reconstruction, recalcitrant whites in Mississippi created a similar "shoeless" district to marginalise black voters, and it was just such practices that the Voting Rights Act had been intended to halt.

The ruling continued: "A reapportionment plan that includes in one district individuals who belong to the same race, but who are otherwise widely separated by geographical and political boundaries, and who may have little in common with one another but the colour of their skins, bears an uncomfortable resemblance to political apartheid."

"It reinforces the perception that members of the same racial group, regardless of their age, education, economic status or the community in which they live, think alike, share the same political interests and will prefer the same candidates at the polls."

"Racial classifications of any sort pose the risk of lasting harm to our society. They reinforce the belief, held by too many for too much of our history, that individuals should be judged by the colour of their skin."

"Racial gerrymandering, even for remedial purposes, may balkanise us into competing racial factions; it threatens to carry us farther from the goal of a political system in which race no longer matters."

For all that, the justices could not bring themselves to strike down the 12th district and its misbegotten siblings. They could find nothing in either the constitution or their own precedents that would enable them to do so. Instead, they feebly argued that racial gerrymandering was allowable as long as the government could prove a "compelling interest" in doing it.

In essence, they deferred the issue, letting the balkanisation of which they complained proceed. The only consolation is that they have opened the door to many more such suits.

That in itself may impede the cartography of race, but the neo-apartheid principle behind it still stands.

All systems go for transition

S/Times 11/6/93

MOHAMMED VALLI MOOSA says those opposed to agreements reached at the World Trade Centre last week are opposed to democracy itself

THE decisions adopted by the negotiating forum last week are far-reaching not only because the election date has been finalised, but because there is agreement on the entire scenario for the transition.

The following are the key elements of the scenario:

- Negotiators conclude their work by adopting a package on all the elements of the transition, including legislation for the Independent Electoral Commission, Independent Media Commission, Transitional Executive Council and an interim constitution.

- An Independent Electoral Commission, Independent Media Commission and Transitional Executive Council are established to level the playing fields.

- Elections are held on April 27 1994.

- An elected Constituent Assembly is established with both national and regional representatives. The assembly is bound by the constitutional principles adopted by the forum on July 2 and any others that may be agreed on by negotiators.

The elections will also result in the establishment of an interim government. It will operate in terms of an

interim constitution which will include justiciable fundamental rights.

At the same time, interim regional governments, provision for which will be made in the interim constitution, will replace all existing regional government structures.

- The final constitution, as drafted and adopted by the Constituent Assembly, is implemented.

Apart from the decision on the election date, all the other agreements were not challenged by any of the 26 participants to the negotiations.

The question that arises is: What compromises has the ANC made to secure such an agreement?

Before answering this question, it is useful to examine the two broad categories of concerns among the contending parties.

On the one hand, the ANC and the Patriotic Front insist that the central feature of the transition must be the drafting of the new constitution by democratically elected representatives of the people.

Some of the Cosag parties regard federalism as fundamental. The SA government regards both federalism and "power sharing" as fundamental.

In order to assist the process, negotiators appointed a technical committee of experts to advise them and draft proposed agreements.

In a report tabled on May 19, the committee expressed the following view unanimously: "There is no universally accepted definition of federalism, and we are not convinced that, in a discussion on the form of state, it would be useful or indeed possible to use as a point of departure preconceived concepts such as unitary or federal states."

This made it possible for negotiators to drop the contest for labels and begin to discuss their real concerns.

On the crucial question of who should draft the constitution, the committee suggested, as a possible solution, "the careful and sensitive formulation of a mutually acceptable principle of regional government, adequate constitutional principles and provision for the democratic creation and adoption of the final constitution".

The Cosag parties opposed this approach until, on the eve of the July 2 forum, a bilateral meeting was held between them and the ANC/Patriotic Front.

At this meeting, the ANC spelt out the scenario for the

transition in its entirety, leading to common ground with at least some of the Cosag parties. The scenario, which was adopted by the forum, accommodates the basic positions of the ANC. The answer to the question posed above is found in the dictum "firm on principles, flexible on tactics".

In exercising flexibility, the ANC has agreed to constitutional principles relating to regional government which are more detailed than it would have preferred. These principles, however, fall well within the ANC's policy framework.

The scenario for the transition, which is now the property of the multi-party negotiations process, is one which should be acceptable to all South Africans who are serious about change. The fact that arch-federalists like the DP and NP voted in favour of it speaks for itself.

At this stage of the negotiations process, the only conclusion one can draw is that those who still oppose the emerging consensus at the World Trade Centre stand opposed to democracy itself.

□ *Mohammed Valli Moosa is secretary of the ANC's negotiations commission.*

MP claims defamation

By NORMAN WEST, Political Reporter

NATIONAL PARTY minister Gerald Morkel has asked the state-attorney to issue summons for R100 000 against a Labour Party Member of Parliament for alleged defamation. (304A)

Mr Morkel, the House of Representatives (HoR) Minister of the Budget and of Housing, is claiming damages from Mr Desmond Locky, the son-in-law of LP leader, the Rev Allan Hendrickse.

Mr Morkel has also instructed the state-attorney to issue summons for a similar amount against a Cape Town-based "alternative" newspaper which published allegations attributed to Mr Locky earlier this year.

Mr Locky is alleged to have claimed in a published interview that Mr Morkel and his wife, Hazel, were among a group of National Party HoR MPs and their wives who enjoyed free holidays overseas at taxpayers' expense as a reward for defecting from the Labour Party and allowing the NP to take control of the HoR.



Gerald Morkel

Yesterday Mr Morkel confirmed he had instituted legal action against Mr Locky and the newspaper.

"I have instructed the state-attorney to commence proceedings in the action for defamation.

The matter now rests with the state-attorney," he said.

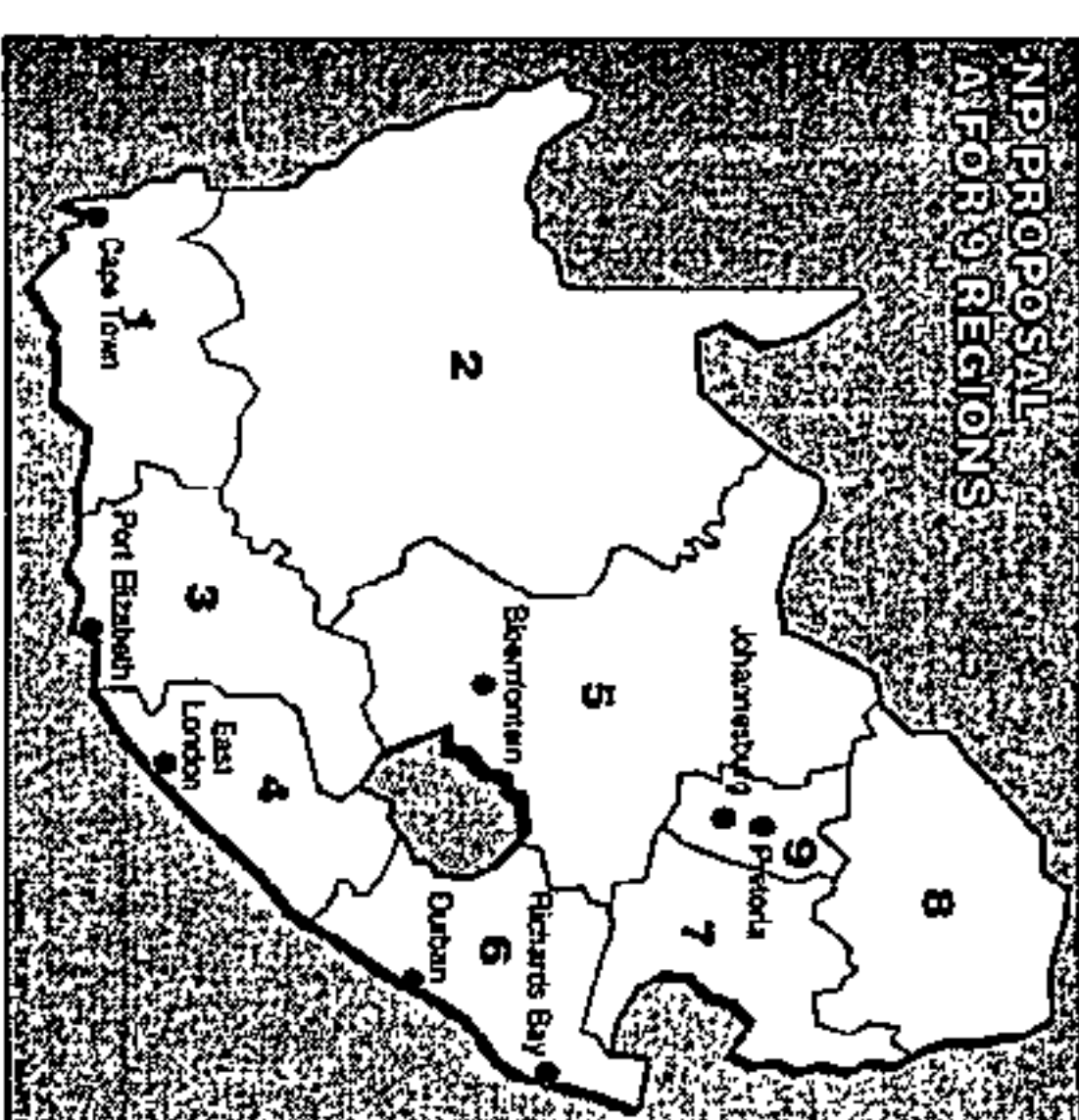
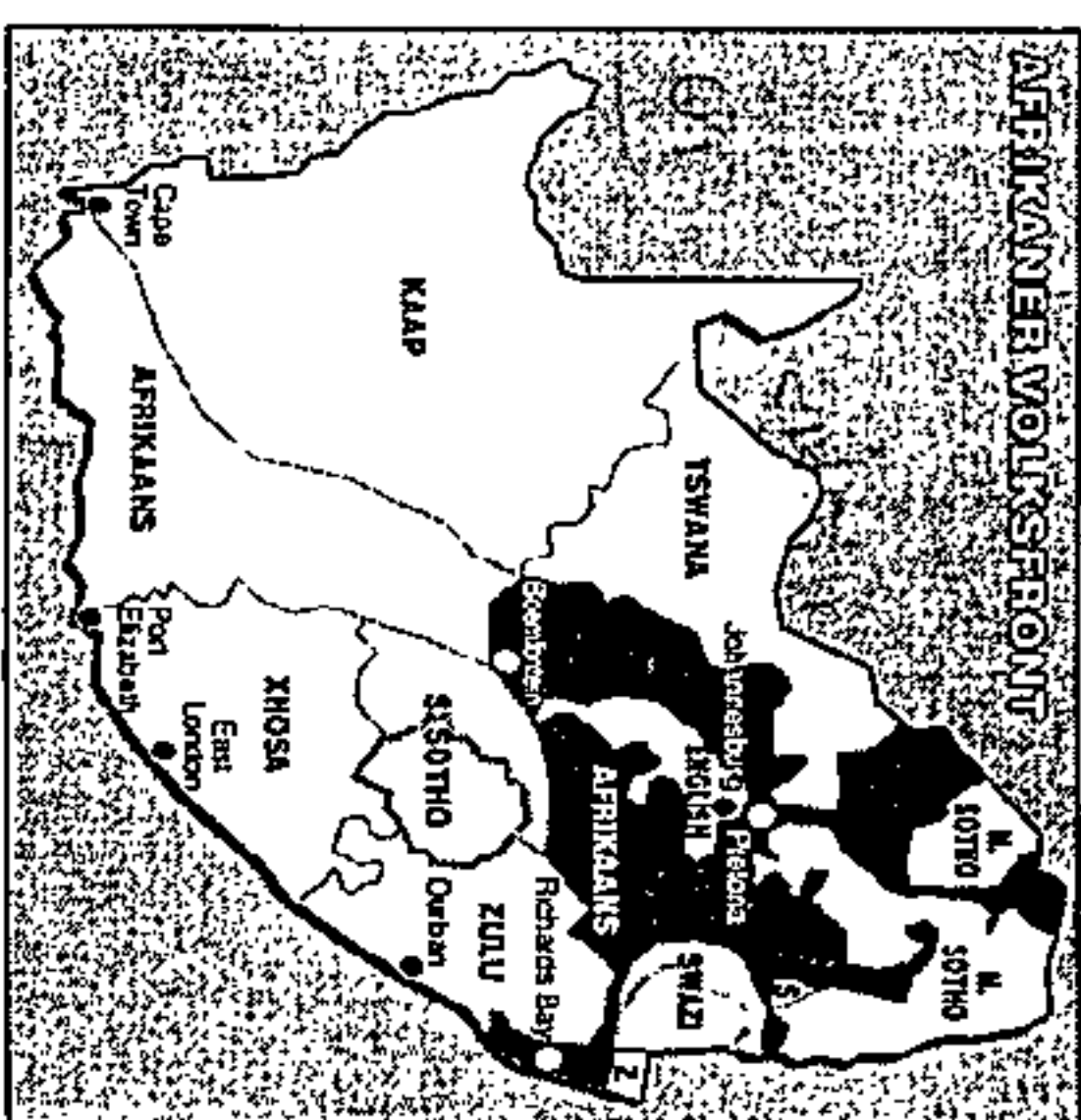
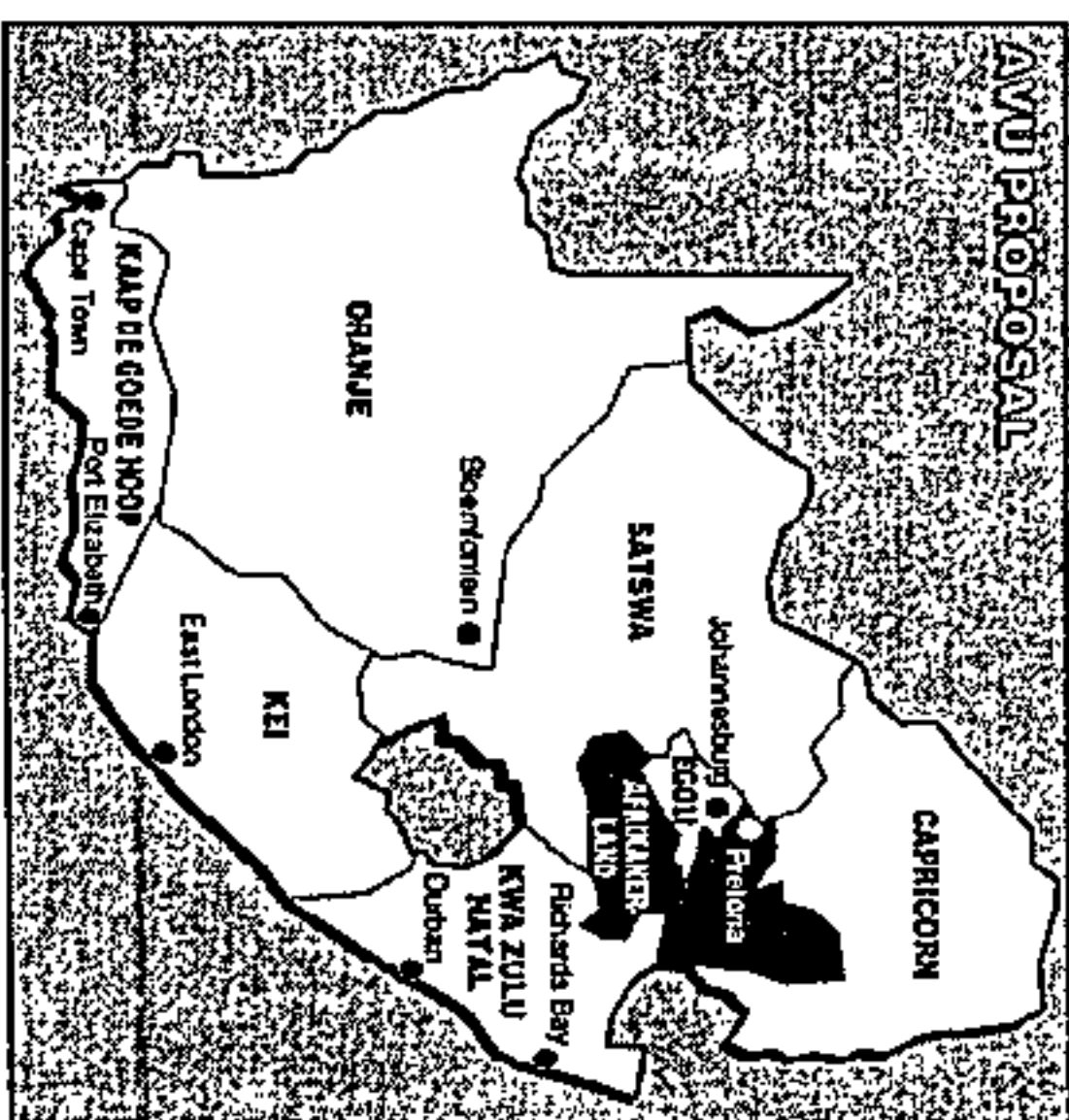
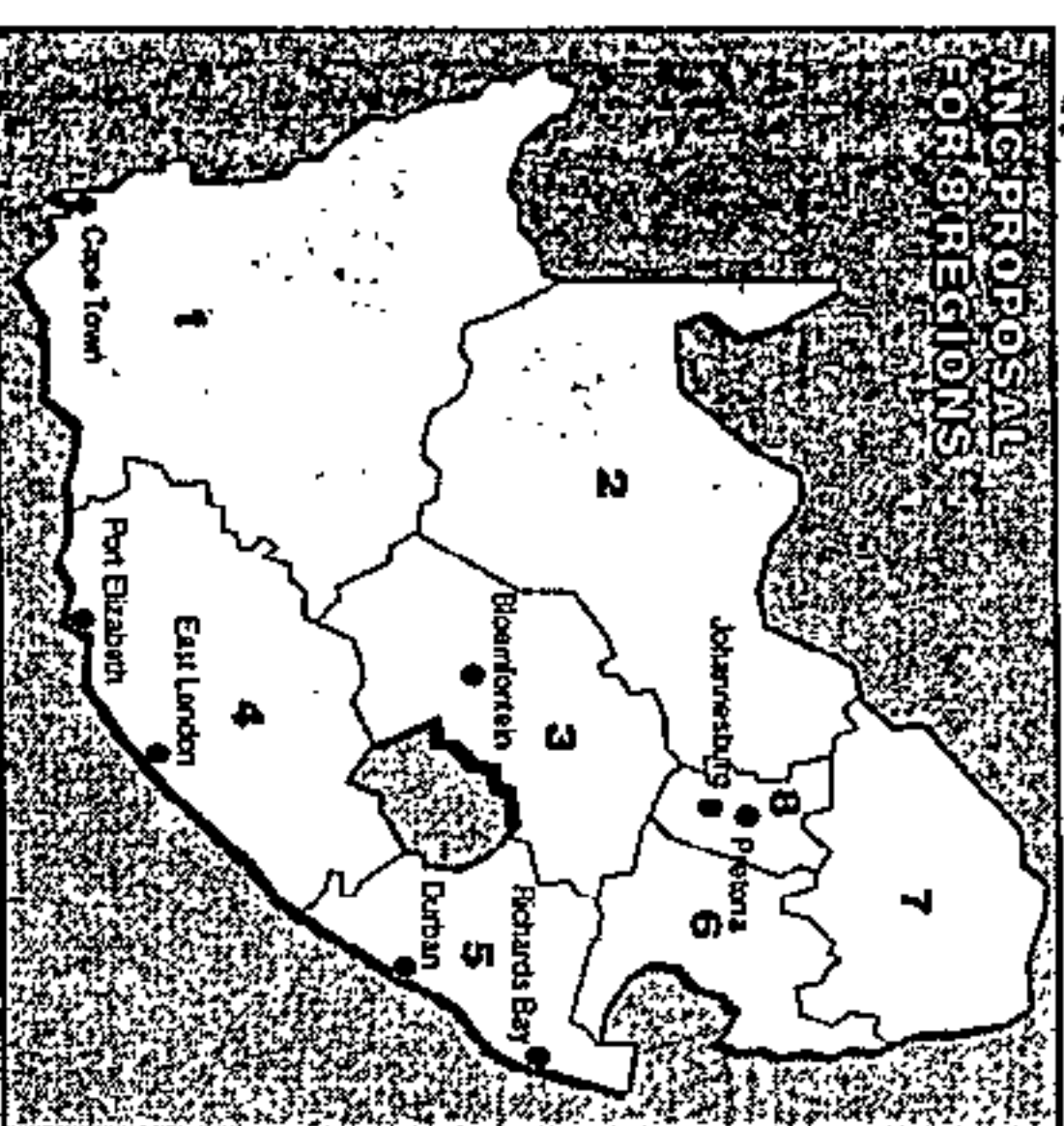
Mr Locky is quoted in the article as saying: "Mr Morkel and his wife flew back from a holiday in Canada to attend a one-day NP caucus in the Eastern Transvaal, and then returned to Canada to complete their holiday. Additional return fares alone cost taxpayers R30 000".

Mr Morkel said: "It is entirely untrue. Neither I nor my wife have ever set foot in Canada."

He accused Mr Locky of using parliamentary privilege on numerous occasions in the past to make highly-contentious statements which, he claimed, would be actionable if they were repeated outside the House.

In terms of the Rules of Parliament, an MP may not be sued, no matter how defamatory his remarks, as long as they are made during legitimate debates in Parliament, where all MPs are protected by parliamentary privilege.

THE MAKING OF A NEW SOUTH AFRICA



□ CARTOGRAPHER'S NIGHTMARE... these maps reflect how the main players — the NP and the ANC — and the more conservative parties, the Afrikaner Volksfront and the Afrikaner Volksunie, believe South Africa should be divided

By CLARE ROBERTSON

THEY have come in their scores to put their interests on the map — from politicians quoting "demographics" and "racial imbalances", to sturdy farmers invoking the Bible and the principles of animal husbandry.

The commission on the demarcation of regions had sat through more than 50 oral presentations in four cities and sifted through at least 119 written submissions when the deadline passed at noon on Friday.

But the most difficult part was yet to come as the 15 men and women sat down yesterday to begin the mammoth task of trying to make sense of the many and differing visions of how the country should be divided. These visions were based

LAYING CLAIM TO THEIR SLICE OF THE LAND

on arguments based on carefully thought-out scientifically based plans, to gut-felt pleas that things should be left as they are.

The commission will also have to play Solomon in battles over national treasures such as the Kruger National Park.

The Nats and the ANC propose dividing the park into two, but the two regions each promised a share — the northern and eastern Transvaal — have entered the fray, each to demand the whole park for themselves.

The commission members have two weeks to submit a

draft plan for the regions, though privately they agree that no final picture will emerge so soon.

The map will also have to be debated by the Negotiating Council, and with some parties already speaking of "bottom line" demands, it promises to be a heated exchange.

Beyond the commission offices, politicians involved in the regional issue are also being targeted by those who see riches in their own maps, with a slew of small towns desperately seeking regional capital status.

ANC head of local and regional affairs Thorzani Bolela

refused this week even to contemplate the squabble over regional capital status in the eastern Transvaal. He had just received demands from no fewer than five towns in another region — the eastern Cape — that they be declared the capital.

The interest in the divisions ranges from groups that place all their hopes on regions dominated by their own kind to the broader view of the ANC.

Comfortable in the belief that it will soon have most, if not all of the cake, the ANC is less concerned about where it

is cut. It only wants to ensure that the slices are equal and, as Mr Bolela put it, "that party political considerations are not allowed to supersede the interests of the nation."

One of the last delegations to bring its submission to the mahogany tables of the commission at the World Trade Centre on Thursday afternoon was the Thabazimbi Agricultural Union.

Clutching briefcases and biblical texts, the Bomsnara boere were given a polite hearing as they argued for the retention of the Transvaal's borders, the separation of tribes, and that each folk is granted its own share of land.

Not much is certain about the new map, except that none of these demands will be met.

Testing 'will of the people'

STimes 11/7/93

(304A)

PEOPLE living along the borders of proposed new regions in South Africa may be given the chance to decide which areas they will fall under.

The "will of the people" may have to be tested by referenda or other appropriate mechanisms to decide the more contentious regional borders, according to Thozamile Botha, ANC head of local and regional affairs.

This development follows a week in which a commission set up to report on the demarcation of new regions for the country was flooded with submissions from political parties, engineers, ecologists and members of the public.

A number of controversies came to light — from traditionally Xhosa areas balking at the prospect of being incorporated into predominantly Zulu Natal, to attempts to set up Pretoria as the capital of an Afrikaans-dominated region.

In areas such as the present southern Natal-Transkei border, the wrong decision "will create border wars", said Mr Botha.

Visit

"At the end of the day, the delimitation commission may have to visit these areas and find out the will of the people, by referenda or whatever other means they find appropriate."

Mr Botha also said the separation of the Eastern Cape into its own region — as sought by many in the area, and proposed by the NP this week — could well be viable.

The final regional boundaries would have to be decided by a constituent assembly after the elections, he said, but there seemed to be broad consensus on the eight or nine regions proposed by the ANC and coinciding in many respects with those of the NP.

It is believed the NP's nine-region proposal was partly a concession to parties which have long campaigned for a form of Afrikaner self-determination.

The main players have made it clear that a white Afrikaner homeland will not be tolerated, but it is understood the NP was prepared to suggest a region corresponding in part to the Orania "homeland" in the north-western Cape.

Contentious

This is on the understanding that should this "administrative" area be won, the Afrikaner Volkstigting and other conservative groups are on their own as far as the political struggle in the region is concerned.

Other Afrikaner aspirations for their own region are likely to be more contentious.

The most pressing is the demand that Pretoria, once the seat of government of the Transvaal Republic, regains its place as the capital of a predominantly Afrikaans region

SPECIAL REPORT by CLAIRE ROBERTSON

proposed by the Afrikaner Volksunie.

The AVU proposes the acceptance of a "geographical area the Afrikaner can call his own", but agrees to abide by the non-racial, democratic nature of the new South Africa, including the bill of rights.

The AVU envisages having to enter into election pacts with other parties in the area — Christian Democrats united against the Social Democrats, as AVU leader Andries Beyers put it.

The area it has chosen for "Afrikanerland" coincides to a degree with the Eastern Transvaal regions of the NP and ANC — but includes Pretoria.

Both the NP and ANC want Pretoria to remain part of the separate PWV region.

"We are not opposed to the AVU proposal, but it has to be tested against all the criteria for establish-

ing regions. A parochial, ethnic-based interest cannot be allowed to overrule economic interests," said Mr Botha.

"In terms of the economic cohesiveness of the area, Pretoria is very much a part of the PWV. People who live in Pretoria work in Johannesburg, and vice versa. Cutting Pretoria off into another region could create havoc with tax bases, for instance.

"But if this AVU region satisfies all of the other criteria, we'll look at it again."

Prize

Mr Beyers said this week that "Pretoria is the bottom line for the Afrikaner".

AVU member Schalk Burger said he recognised that "in any revolutionary struggle, the great prize is the capture of the regime's seat of power —

and this may be in the back of the ANC's mind. Pretoria really is a problem".

While not opposed to any group settling in and eventually dominating a region drawn up on a sound economic basis, Mr Botha is adamant that regional borders will not at the outset gerrymander their way around areas dominated by a particular group to scrape home with an ethnic majority and create artificial ethnic states.

The AVU proposal is guilty of this, cutting predominantly black KwaZulu and KwaZulu out of a region which otherwise shares important elements with that proposed by the DP.

The DP's and the AVU's submissions to the commission were based to an extent on a map drawn up "purely as an academic exercise" by Unisa senior lecturer in political geography Nols Pienaar in November.

Mr Pienaar concluded it was necessary to separate Pretoria from the rest of the PWV area, which otherwise generated 39 percent of the country's GDP.

With Pretoria removed, it still accounts for 29 percent.

The Eastern Transvaal region — known as the Transvaal or Afrikanerland in other maps — will produce a just-viable 17 percent if it gains Pretoria as its capital.

Without Pretoria, the region will produce just nine percent, and will join the far northern Transvaal, aka Bushveld, Capricornia or Capricorn, and Kei as beggar regions

relying on wealthier areas for handouts.

Although the Kempton Park negotiators have already accepted that a Fiscal Commission will be established to oversee the equitable redistribution of income among the regions, there are fears the body will be so politicised that dependence on these funds will need to be cut to the minimum by creating balanced regions.

Mr Pienaar argues that in its commercial orientation and cultural character, Pretoria is already very different to Johannesburg and the rest of the Witwatersrand area.

"The PWV was never a region, just a conglomeration of towns that developed near one another," he said.

Diverse

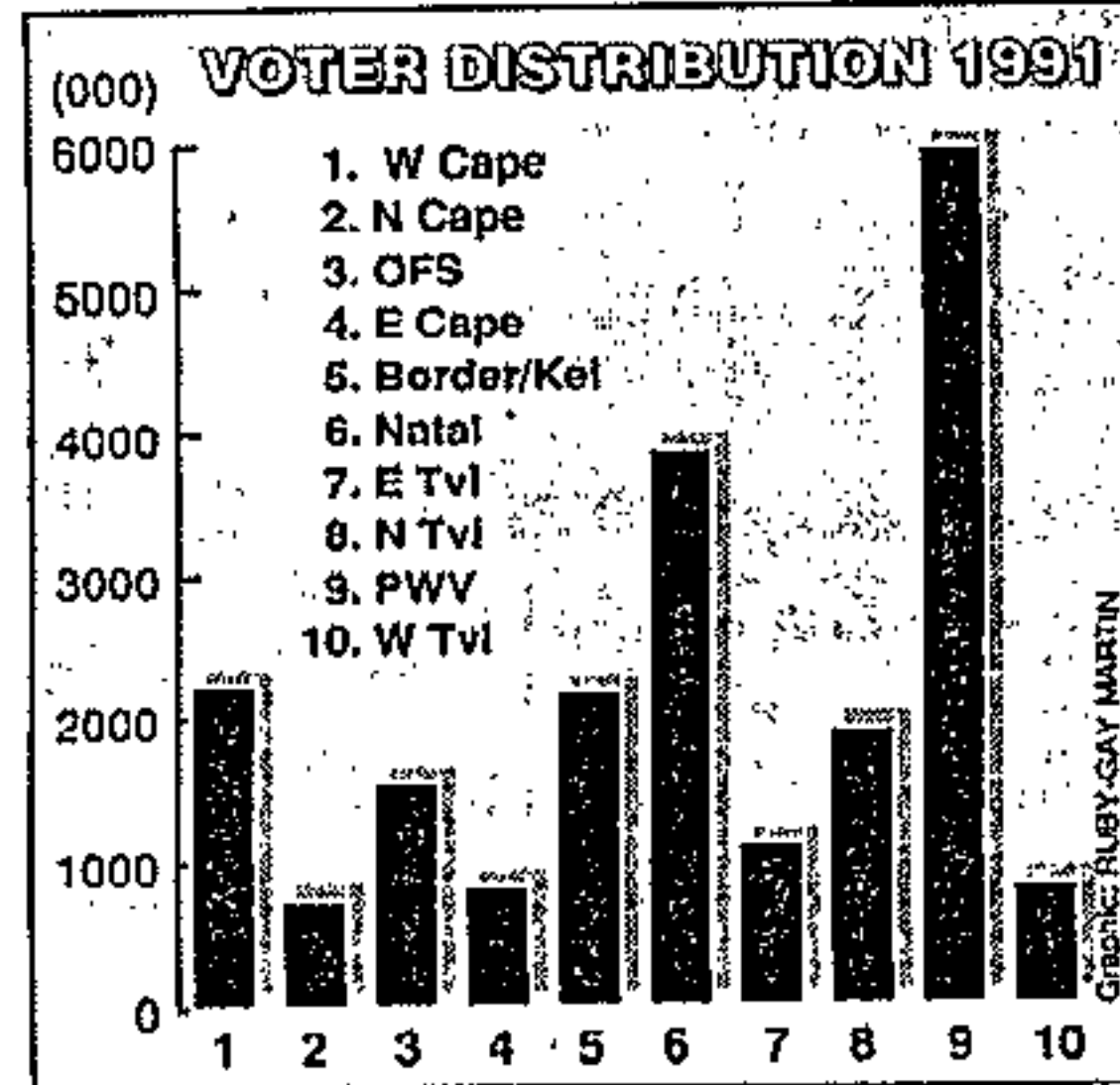
Pretoria is overwhelmingly Afrikaans and service-oriented (as opposed to Johannesburg's manufacturing and service cast).

The Johannesburg Chamber of Commerce and Industry and the Johannesburg Afrikaanse Sakekamer both proposed that Pretoria and Johannesburg were too diverse to fall within one region.

The AVU's exclusion of KwaZulu and KwaZulu allows it to scrape home with a 51 percent "western language" majority.

Existing or fudged "Afrikaner majorities" in the area aside, the AVU's argument is overwhelmingly "cultural".

"Pretoria is very important to our people. Our history is there... the Ou Raadsaal is there," said Mr Beyers. "And Loftus Versveld."



Women fear unfair poll

Political Correspondent

ONE-THIRD of white women voters are sceptical about next year's election being fair and wary about "dirty tricks" when it comes to counting ballots. (204A)

Only half of white women in the PWV area are sure that their votes will be confidential in the upcoming election, according to a study conducted by the Omnicheck division of Research Surveys.

The telephonic survey conducted among 200 white women last week revealed that significantly more Afrikaans than English-speaking respondents were "totally sure" that their ballot would be secret.

Identity soon for 'faceless' forum

By THEMBA KHUMALO

DESPITE their breakthrough on the agreement to draft a new transitional constitution, the 26 parties taking part in the multiparty talks still have to agree on a name for their negotiating forum after Codesa was rejected early this year.

The parties, dubbed "faceless negotiators" because of their inability to find a name for the forum, are poised to debate the issue extensively at the Plan-

ning Council meeting next week.

The name Convention for a Democratic SA (Codesa) was rejected by newcomers such as the PAC and CP on the grounds that it bore the hallmark of the earlier aborted talks. (304A)

At least 10 new names have been proposed and the parties must agree on one not later than the end of July.

Among the new names proposed are Negotiating Forum for SA (Nefsa), SA Constitutional Forum (Sacof), Constitutional Forum for SA (Cofsa), Con-

vention for Negotiating a Democratic SA (Conedsa), Convention for Negotiating a SA Democracy (Conesad), Democratic Convention of SA (Decosa), Multiparty Constitutional Convention (MPCC), Multiparty Democratic Convention (MPDC) and Negotiating SA (Negosa).

A delegate at the forum quipped: "Maybe we should enter a new SA without a name. What's important is the progress we make regarding agreements more than names."

Support for OFS option grows

By BILL KRIGE

A CRISIS is looming over the east Cape Drakensberg region's bid to join the Free State amid claims that its "test" of black opinion is a sham.

The town of Ugie — traditionally a liberal stronghold on the high plateau north of Transkei — is the only one of 13 municipalities willing to be linked with the homeland in an enlarged eastern Cape.

"The other 12 are only doing this to stay white," Ugie town clerk Rocco Joubert claimed this week. "With all-white councils due to disband in October, it's a last throw of the dice."

Threats

None of them, he said, had sounded out black opinion, adding: "They are trying to take decisions for blacks, and that will never work again."

All the major political players who have tabled plans at the demarcation commission suggest the region should join the neighbouring Xhosa heartland and the east Cape.

But the rebel Drakensberg RSC — claiming the support of 35 municipalities and other organisations — believes the future of the enclave south of the Orange lies on the opposite bank of the river.

And, according to sources in Ugie, they are prepared to use strong-arm methods — threats to scrap plans to build roads, for one — to back their bid.

The black local authori-

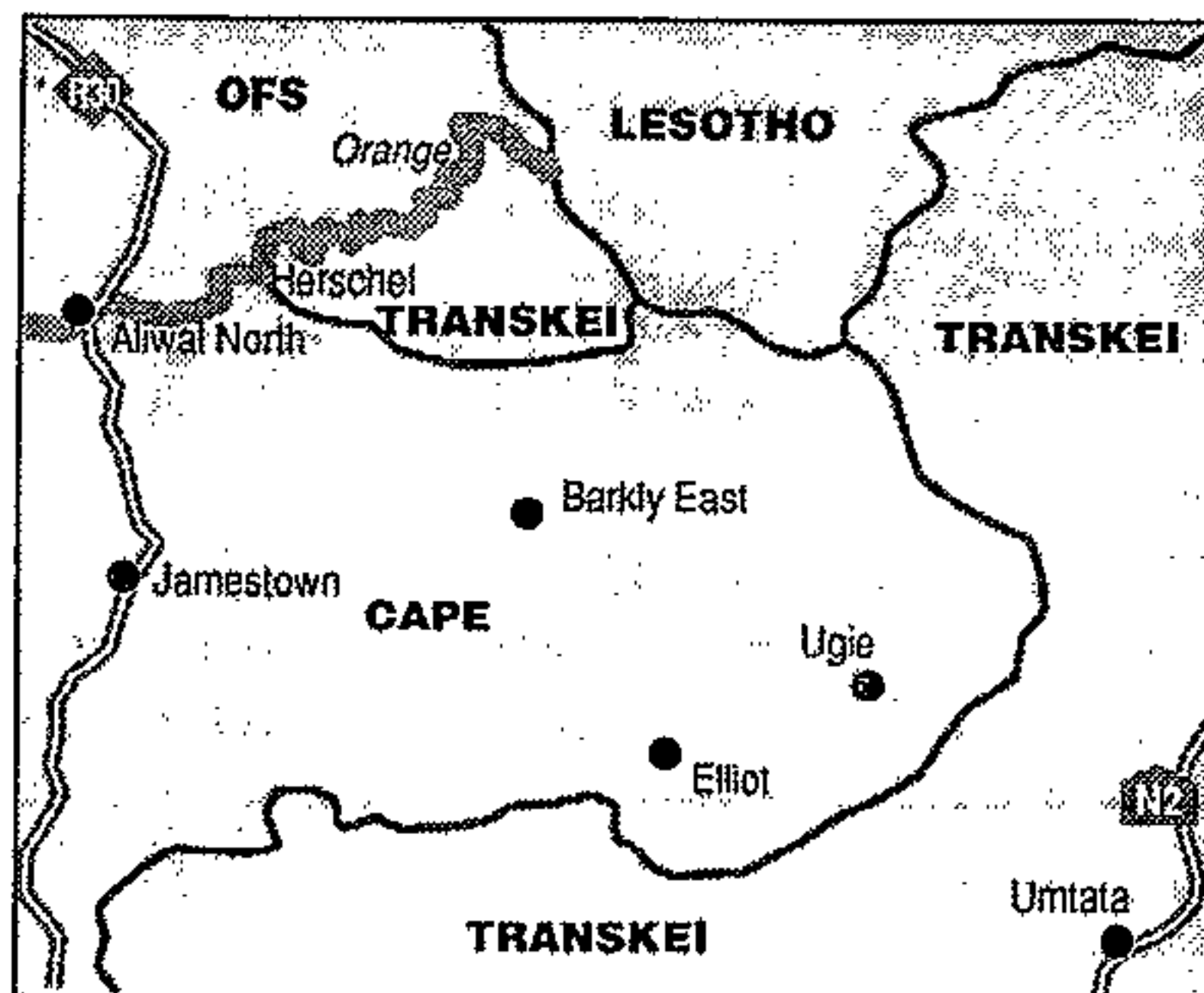


STAYING PUT ... Ernie Cooper of Elliot feels a prisoner in his own home

Pictures: BILL KRIGE



LONGING TO GO HOME ... Fanie and Elsa de Klerk



UP FOR GRABS: The east Cape Drakensberg

ties, whose support the RSC claims, are moribund.

The ANC's Aliwal North chairman, Mr Buyisile Jonas, has warned that race tensions will rise sharply if the deal proceeds.

"People are querying the idea and the feelings are very negative. They feel it's a political ploy," said

Mr Jonas, who feared it might lead to an upsurge in violence.

Ironically, black business leaders in the Transkei district of Herschel — a separate pocket from the main territory populated mainly by Basothos — are keen to sever ties with Umtata in favour of

Bloemfontein. Among whites in the Drakensberg area, there has been a swift rise in support for organisations of the far right following almost two years of murderous attacks across the Transkei border by Apla and the rising crime.

Drakensberg RSC chief executive Earl Loxton

denies there is a hidden political motive in the application to join the Free State, claiming the reason is economic. No one, he says, wants to be saddled with a bankrupt Transkei.

He concedes that the ANC has not been consulted and claims many Xhosas in centres like Aliwal North

town and Burgersdorp have "no interest" in being associated with Transkei.

In a small flat in Elliot — a town which favours the Free State option — live Fanie and Elsa de Klerk, whose farm 10km distant and fringing on Transkei was attacked by an Apla gang last August.

"Would we want to join Free State? The heart says yes, but the head says no," said Mrs de Klerk. "This is where we want to live." They long to "go home when the war is over".



BUYISILE JONAS
"Political ploy"

Shortly before the mid-night attack, a second Apla gang opened fire on their neighbours, Ernie and Daphne Cooper. Today their home is a fortress.

"My farmers' association has voted for the Free State option and I'll go along with that," said Mr Cooper, who stresses he couldn't move even if he wanted to, which he doesn't.

"I'm a prisoner in my own house, a prisoner in my country. No one would ever offer what the farm is worth."

'Viva FW' at youth meeting

By CARMEL RICKARD

CRIES of "Viva FW" met President de Klerk when he arrived at the National Party's youth congress in Durban yesterday.

His wife was greeted with a more elaborate slogan: "Heyta, comrade mama Marika de Klerk, Heyta".

As if to emphasise the new look, non-racial NP, the couple were led into the hall by the Cape Flats Royal Pipe Band, made up of coloured and black school-children, while a group of toyi-toying black NP members, one draped in a party flag, followed the procession up the aisle. About a third of the audience were not white, though the platform table was almost exclusively white and male.

In his speech Mr de Klerk said the announcement of an election date meant the parties were like athletes waiting for the race to start. He said that, while the NP had rid itself of apartheid, the ANC had not rid itself of those things which were wrong in its past. 11/7/93

The ANC continued its alliance with communists, though this philosophy had brought destruction and poverty to hundreds of millions around the world. The ANC also clung to sanctions, even though the process of change was clearly irreversible. (30/4/93)

Police probe ET

(3044)
POLICE were still investigating AWB leader Eugene Terre Blanche's failure to respond to a summons to testify before the Goldstone inquiry into the right-wing invasion of the World Trade Centre, police said yesterday. *S Times*

A spokesman said investigators wanted to obtain a statement from Mr Terre Blanche before handing the docket to the attorney-general. *(292)*

Mr Justice Goldstone has asked the police to open a docket after Mr Terre Blanche failed to attend a preliminary hearing. 11/19/93

Whites shift to IFP from NP

Own Correspondent

DURBAN. — Whites and Indians in Natal are turning their backs on the National Party and the Democratic Party as they swing to the IFP and ANC.

According to a poll, the NP and President F W de Klerk remain the most popular of parties and leaders but, since a similar poll in 1992, there has been a shift of whites to the IFP and Indians to the ANC.

While in 1992 white support for the NP was 47% and Indian support 70%, today it has dropped to 31% and 36%.

Natal MEC joins IFP

CT2/1/93

DURBAN. — Natal MEC Mr Peter Miller has resigned from the National Party to join Inkatha Freedom Party.

Mr Miller, 51, supports a strong federal dispensation.

He announced yesterday that he told Natal NP leader Mr George Bartlett on Monday of his intention to resign.

IFP spokesman Mr Ed Tillet said yesterday: "He is a good man to have and we welcome him."

IFP national chairman Dr Frank Mdlalose said it was "too soon to tell" whether Mr Miller would receive a high-ranking position in the IFP.

"With all his experience and diligence, he would be of value to any party," Dr Mdlalose said.

Mr Miller's resignation ends a 14-year career in provincial politics — seven as Member of the Provincial Council for South Coast until the council was dissolved in 1986 and seven as an appointed MEC.

He said yesterday he did not expect a position in the IFP and had not discussed what role he would play in the party.

He would devote his energies to the promotion of the IFP. — Sapa, Own Correspondent

Top Muslim explains stance on voting for NP

Political Staff

A MUSLIM religious leader has explained why he said it would be *haraam* (sinful) to vote for President De Klerk.

Muslim Judicial Council member Imam Hassan Solomons said the National Party had succeeded

in turning many South Africans into racists.

Muslims were not exempt and some had told him they preferred the NP to a black government.

However, Imam Solomons claimed it was *haraam* for Muslims "to say this".

He said President De Klerk and the NP claimed they stood for religious freedom. (304A)

However, when MIM head Sheik Nazim Mohammed had opened Codesa 2 with a prayer — as other religious leaders had done — Mr De Klerk walked out.

ANC-IFP pact 'to withstand strains'

Political Staff

AGREEMENTS reached last month between Mr Nelson Mandela and Chief Mangosuthu Buthelezi are likely to stand.

New strain was put on the relationship between the ANC president and the IFP leader after Mr Mandela made statements in the United States about Chief Buthelezi and the IFP last week.

Chief Buthelezi objected strenuously to Mr Mandela's statements, which he said did the quest for peace and reconciliation "a great disservice".

One of the main agreements bound the two to address joint rallies in violence-torn areas.

Mr Mandela was quoted as having told the US Press that Chief Buthelezi allowed himself "to be used by sinister forces" and that the IFP was "a surrogate" of the government.

The IFP leader said that by again seeking "to viciously smear" both him and the IFP, Mr Mandela had "blatantly reneged" on agreements reached at their meeting outside Johannesburg on June 23.

He said Mr Mandela's statements amounted to an "untruthful provocation which will further exacerbate tensions between our two parties and hinder the peace process".

However, the IFP leader lat-

er told The Argus's sister newspaper, The Star, that he had not repudiated the agreements reached at their meeting.

"The status of the agreements on my side is not in question," the IFP leader said.

ANC PWV and Southern Natal regional leaders Tokyo Sexwale and Jeff Radebe have denied that Mr Mandela had violated either the code of conduct for political parties contained in the Peace Accord or the spirit of agreements reached in the two leaders' June 23 meeting.

The ANC, they said, remained committed to both peace and the agreements reached. **ANC 12/7/93**

Mr Mandela first made his accusations about Chief Buthelezi and the IFP when he addressed the United Nations in New York about a year ago.

An angry Chief Buthelezi subsequently refused to hold talks with Mr Mandela, and laid a complaint with the National Peace Committee, which failed to resolve the dispute.

Chief Buthelezi said "provocative statements" specifically linking the recent spate of violence to those wishing to block or postpone the April 27 election were "a travesty of the truth and cheap party-political rhetoric at the expense of the on-going suffering of our people who deserve better".

ANC, government bid to smooth IFP ruffled feathers

Political Correspondent

PRETORIA. — Efforts to address the Zulu threat to negotiations begin with government-Inkatha Freedom Party talks in Pretoria tomorrow and could be advanced by Mr Nelson Mandela's offer to meet Zulu King Goodwill Zwelithini.

Government circles indicated that a meeting between IFP leader Chief Mangosuthu Buthelezi and President De Klerk might offer a solution to the IFP intransigence at the negotiating table and a threat not to return to negotiations when they resume on Monday.

An ANC source said such a meeting could indeed be constructive and if Mr De Klerk "was willing to pull out all the stops to convince Buthelezi to remain within negotiations, it could work".

He said the ANC had nothing further to offer the IFP.

"The feeling is that we have gone as far as can reasonably — or even unreasonably — be expected. Any further compromises would put us in jeopardy with our own constituency."

ANC spokesman Carl Niehaus confirmed today that the ANC would send an envoy to King Goodwill within a week.

Mr Mandela's offer to meet the king follows the row which began at the weekend when

statements by the king brought accusations by the ANC in Natal of manipulation by the IFP.

Speaking at Jan Smuts Airport soon after his return from the United States yesterday, Mr Mandela said the ANC had taken note of concerns raised by King Goodwill, and was happy that he had come forward to express them.

"We believe that the king's concerns are crucial and should be handled in a manner satisfactory to all, including traditional leaders," the ANC leader said.

His response differed markedly from that of the ANC in Natal, which has accused the IFP of manipulating the king and bluntly called on him "to choose between patriotic Zulus and the IFP".

The row erupted when King Goodwill, who addressed a gathering in Durban on Sunday with Chief Buthelezi, said there could be no elections before it was accepted that Kwazulu would be included under a constitution endorsed by the people of the Kwazulu/Natal region.

Meanwhile, government sources confirmed that Constitutional Development Minister Roelf Meyer would lead a government delegation to a meeting with the IFP in Pretoria tomorrow.

New look at regional functions

CT 12/7/93 (304A)

Own Correspondent

JOHANNESBURG. — Joint regional administration is set to swing into action soon following the establishment of steering committees between provincial authorities and all of the six self-governing states.

Anticipating a new regional dispensation for South Africa, the five steering committees are due to report soon on what administrative functions can be merged immediately.

The government has expressed confidence that the steering committees' reports will identify a large range of functions for joint administration.

Land and Regional Affairs Minister Mr André Fourie says joint administration could begin even before the demarcation of regions by the negotiations process is complete.

Although the steering committees are expected to come up with ideas about how administrative efficiency can be improved, the mandate of the bodies explicitly excludes the possibility of the merger of the administrations.

Changes to the existing political structures and changes to the budgetary processes involved are not on the agenda.

Regional govt set to swing into action

B/Day 12/7/93

~~2122~~ (304A)
TIM COHEN

JOINT regional administration is set to swing into action soon following the establishment of steering committees from provincial authorities and all six self-governing states.

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Land and Regional Affairs Minister André Fourie says joint administration could begin even before the demarcation of regions by the negotiations process has been completed.

Lebowa, Gazankulu and the Transvaal Provincial Administration (TPA) are involved in one steering committee, with Venda represented as an observer.

A separate steering committee has been established between KwaNdebele and the TPA. Progress appears to be slowest with KaNgwane, where government indicates only that discussions are taking place on

"issues where there are administrative points of contact with the TPA".

The formation of a steering committee between QwaQwa and the Free State provincial authorities has reached an advanced stage, and this group is expected to be the first to table proposals.

The KwaZulu government and the Natal Provincial Administration have already asked government to vest the Joint Executive Authority of Natal with the necessary powers and executive authority so that certain functions may be carried out jointly as soon as possible.

Although the steering committees are expected to come up with ideas about how administrative efficiency can be improved, the mandate of the bodies explicitly excludes the possibility of the merger of the administrations.

Changes to existing political structures and changes to the budgetary processes involved are not on the agenda, and responsibility for the functions merged will

□ To Page 2

Regional govt B/Day 12/7/93 □ From Page 1

remain vested in the existing political structures. (~~2122~~)

However, where possible, functions that will apparently be merged in a future administration will be carried out jointly in terms of agreements achieved by the authorities involved. (304A)

Financial discipline is apparently high on the agenda, with representatives from the departments of Finance, State Expenditure and the Commission for Administration represented on the steering commit-

tees. The self-governing territories are represented by a minister and a senior official, the provinces by an MEC and a senior official and representatives from the Regional Affairs Department also sit on the steering committees.

The committees have been asked to examine duplication in administrative functions, how to deliver services more effectively, the correction of socio-economic backlogs and fiscal controls.

'Progress' on regions

JOHANNESBURG. — Good progress is being made by the Commission on Delimitation/Demarcation of Regions, the commission said at the weekend.

The commission had received 241 written submissions, and 52 requests from individuals and organisations to make oral representations.

"The commission has been impressed by the number and the quality of the submissions received," the

commission said in the statement. "Good progress is being made."

A technical support team is co-operating with members of the commission in applying the criteria for the delimitation of regions to the various proposals. (Sapa)

The commission convened on Saturday to consider submissions and will meet again on Friday and Saturday. — Sapa CT12/7/93

Don't be deceived by election date — Sexwale

EDWARD MOLOINYANE
Staff Reporter

PEOPLE should not be deceived by the April 27 date for the election — it might not take place as the government aimed to scuttle it through violence, ANC PWV chairman Mr Tokyo Sexwale said at a rally in Khayelitsha.

The gathering was held yesterday to mark the second anniversary of the assassination of Mr Michael Mapongwana, an ANC member and Western Cape Civic Association chairman.

The rally, in the Khayelitsha community hall, was also addressed by the ANC's Natal Midlands firebrand Mr Harry Gwala.

The date was "very dangerous" because since its announcement more violence had reared its head, said Mr Sexwale. The period leading up to elections was unpredictable and looked gloomy.

"The date of elections should not deceive you into believing that everything will be fine. Who thinks April 27 will change De Klerk's dirty mind. We must be vigilant ... until the date arrives more people are going to die. The question is, are we ready to fight if things go wrong?"

To chants of various new election slogans such as "Now is the time, vote ANC" and "One Mandela, One president" Mr Sexwale said voting itself was fighting.

tells Khayelitsha rally



Picture: OBED ZILWA, The Argus

COMRADES: Natal midlands ANC chairman Mr Harry Gwala, left, and his PWV area counterpart Mr Tokyo Sexwale at a rally in Khayelitsha yesterday.

"Our cry is about the land. We are fighting for things like houses, clinics, transport and a living wage. If a new constitution does not produce all these

things, then bury it," he said.

Referring to the slogan "Kill the boer, kill the farmer", Mr Sexwale said the chant did not belong to ANC Youth League

leader Mr Peter Mokaba, but to the ANC.

"The chant can't just be thrown away. You never know what's going to happen in this country.

"Why is Walter Felgate of Inkatha not charged for calling for bloodshed while we are charged for chanting slogans?"

"We have suspended the slogan for a while. We don't know what's going to happen."

Mr Gwala, who stole the show with his fire-spitting speech ridiculing moderation, said he had a message from Natal for the "Young Lions" in the Western Cape.

"All young people must learn to shoot with a gun. People have got a tendency to refer to De Klerk as comrade but he is an enemy."

The notion of some people that they wanted to die for liberation was wrong.

"I want to destroy oppression and live and not die for liberation," he said to applause.

Referring to the recent World Trade Centre invasion by the Afrikaner Weerstandsbeweging, Mr Gwala said some leaders had "just vanished".

"Do you mean we will keep on electing people who will keep on running away when (AWB leader) Terre Blanche and his army comes. They should have confronted him and asked him what he wanted," he said to laughter and ululating.

'IFP won't get a better deal'

304A
CT 13/7/93

Political Staff

INKATHA Freedom Party leader Chief Mangosuthu Buthelezi and the KwaZulu government had "got the best deal they were likely to get" at negotiations and had to start compromising, government and ANC negotiators said yesterday.

They were responding to speeches by Chief Buthelezi and Zulu King Goodwill Zwelithini on Sunday in which they demanded that KwaZulu/Natal be regarded as a region and be allowed to first draft and have accepted a regional constitution before national elections took place.

A senior government source said: "Inkatha have been offered the best deal they will ever get and they had better realise it. The other parties are not going to go along with them and accept that KwaZulu has a sovereign constitution prior to a national election.

"They have come 90% of the way in this process and everyone has tried to meet them and their fears. They must now shift and show some flexibility."

An ANC negotiator said: "Enough is enough. Why should

Govt, ANC respond to Zulu leadership

they keep holding the whole of South Africa and the negotiating process to ransom. We have conceded so much and cannot continue trying to meet Inkatha when they keep changing the goalposts."

The ANC and DP, in separate statements, also said the Zulu kingdom was not the same as apartheid-created structures such as KwaZulu and its legislative assembly.

The ANC said it was not trying to destroy the Zulu kingdom but it was fighting to dismantle all apartheid created structures, including KwaZulu.

The DP said the KwaZulu government was brought into being by the mother of all apartheid legislation, the Self-Governing

States Constitution Act, and the kingdom of the Zulus had never been one and the same as the KwaZulu government.

"The Zulu kingdom, like all others, will thrive under a democratic South Africa," the ANC's three Natal regions said.

"The ANC cannot be accused of trying to dismantle the Zulu kingdom... Democracy will restore their dignity and will end their manipulation by apartheid," they said in a statement issued by Natal ANC spokesman Mr Dumisani Makhaye.

"Zulus have always been part of South Africa and the struggle for national liberation. No force on earth will succeed in trying to isolate and quarantine any section of South Africans.

"The IFP, knowing its lack of support among patriotic Zulu-speaking South Africans, decided to call the rally in the name of His Majesty. It decided to con the people by calling its rally a Zulu imbizo," the statement said.

The DP said in a statement, issued by the chairman of its regional executive, Mr Kobus Jordaan, that if KwaZulu became part of the new Natal/KwaZulu region with its own constitution, it was obvious that present structures would disappear.

Campaign to promote peace

B1 Day 13/7/93
THEO RAWANA

A TWO-WEEK national peace campaign, designed to influence all South Africans to further the cause of peace, is to be launched on September 2.

A co-ordinating committee with representatives from business, labour, church, education, police, youth, women and other organisations was chosen at a meeting in Johannesburg yesterday.

Headed by Jayendra Naidoo of the national peace secretariat, the eight-man committee would streamline and co-ordinate ideas put forward by delegates at yesterday's meeting, and report back on August 2, the meeting decided.

The first day of the campaign would be known as "National Peace Day" and activities would include a five-minute traffic standstill in every city, accompanied by a minute's silence. Church services would be held throughout the country.

Peace ribbons would be worn during the entire two-week period.

Individuals and organisations who were not signatories to the national peace accord were urged to take part in the campaign.

Public election funding 'not on'

B1 Day 13/7/93

(304A)

TIM COHEN

THE Home Affairs Department will staunchly oppose attempts by political parties to negotiate funding from public coffers for their election campaigns.

A Home Affairs spokesman said yesterday the department was against subsidising political parties' election campaigns with public funds.

Although no final decision had been taken on the subject in negotiations and the ministry had not yet decided on the issue, there were good reasons for not financially assisting political parties' election campaigns.

If it was decided that political parties be financially assisted, it would almost certainly have to be done in proportion to the popular support of parties.

For the first democratic election, it would be difficult to measure this support accurately.

Even after the first election, funding political parties in relation to their support would tend to unfairly boost the positions of popular parties

compared to their less popular counterparts.

It would be possible to build in a mechanism that would benefit smaller political parties more than bigger parties. However, the public could then legitimately ask why parties with little popular support should be funded out of relation to their size.

"Proportional funding is a double-edged sword," the spokesman said, pointing out that public funds for election campaigns were not available in many other countries for these reasons.

However, funding of political parties had become easier recently, following the scrapping of laws which restricted foreign funding of local organisations.

There were no limitations on the amount that political parties could receive, and there were also no limitations on who they could receive it from, the spokesman said.

AST May, Namibian President Sam Nujoma visited Washington with a substantial delegation, and became the first African leader to pay an official call on President Bill Clinton. It was widely judged to have been a successful trip. An important reason was that Nujoma had taken care to include in his party members of the opposition. Washington's Africanists were treated to a rare, and convincing, display of reconciliation in action. People were impressed.

Many had hoped for a similar display when ANC president Nelson Mandela and President F W de Klerk came to collect their freedom medals earlier this month. The hope was perhaps excessive. Namibians have long since passed through the sound barrier of their first election and have come to terms with the radically different dynamics that lie on the other side. In SA it is still April 1989, Namibia time.

Nonetheless, there was something distinctly unnerving about Mandela's demeanour here. Far more was expected of him than ever was of Nujoma and his colleagues at the equivalent period, and he himself had done much to raise those expectations. His pre-trip interview with Fortune magazine, for example, evidenced a degree of statesmanship, and an openness to pragmatic compromise, that rose far above partisan conflict. "Let us build a new SA," he said, "where there will be peace and mutual confidence among population groups.... We are saying let bygones be bygones."

His was not the Mandela who toured the US for the past fortnight. The Mandela Americans have seen has appeared less concerned with constructing a new and successful democracy than with raw power and its acquisition.

To be sure, this has thrilled those who the ANC sees as its natural American constituency (and who in

Mandela lets slip the gentle mask of reconciliation

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2049

SIMON BARBER in Washington

turn see Mandela as some kind of perfect saviour. And it would not be altogether unnatural if he has felt tempted (with or without a little prodding from communications director Pallo Jordan) to play to the groundings.

But these are the people least in need of mobilising (except perhaps when it comes to lifting state and local sanctions, something for which Mandela was decidedly not asking). The more important target audience, by far, were those to whom Mandela seemed to be addressing himself in the Fortune interview: the investors, bankers and other decision makers still in need of convincing that SA is not going to be another Angola but rather a bigger and better Namibia.

Everyone recognises that Mandela has a right to despise De Klerk and the NP, but his international stature, and the world's hopes for his country, rest in large measure on the fact that he has chosen instead to be magnanimous.

However, his performance over the past fortnight has been such as to cast doubt on whether he has really made that choice.

It is entirely understandable that he did not wish to use his joint ap-

pearances with De Klerk to grant him absolution. In power terms, that might have levelled the field a little too much, and would not have played well back home among those who already sniff betrayal.

But surely, and however much some of his hosts were pressing for photo opportunities to serve their own agendas, his purpose could have been fully served simply by his maintaining a proper and dignified distance.

There was nothing wrong in turning down an invitation to appear with De Klerk at the National Press Club, but the White House should have been notified well in advance that a joint session in the Rose Garden was not on and that Clinton's meetings with the two leaders should be scheduled, if not on separate days, then certainly not back to back. For that opened the way for what the Press, starved of more solid fare, was bound to interpret as a snub.

Which, it now seems clear, is precisely what Mandela and his advisers intended: they were out to humiliate De Klerk and to remind the world who really was in charge. An important question is whether this is what the world wants to hear as it ponders its next moves towards SA. Of course, De Klerk got his kicks in too, but he did so more subtly. His effort to position himself as the champion of American constitutional values and principles was well executed. (Mandela quite shrewdly countered by quoting Frederick Douglas on the constitution's lacunae in his medal acceptance speech.) More provocative was De Klerk's use of the IMF. By dangling the possibility of SA getting an \$850m loan before Christmas, he was casting the sanctions-fixed ANC as irresponsible spoilers who put party before country.

Mandela's response — essentially to say that De Klerk and his government had no business talking to the international financial institutions, for this was the ANC's prerogative — was disproportionate, as if he had been caught off guard and was lashing back.

But in retrospect it appears to have been more than a one-off counterattack and rather part of a concerted strategy to revile and belittle an electoral opponent.

Now that an election date has been all but set in stone, Mandela seems to have taken off the gloves. De Klerk,

he has been saying at almost every opportunity, is "illegitimate", "totally irrelevant", and dishonest (the SABC board affair being an example), to boot. Nor has he limited his venom to the President. The Friday before the Philadelphia award, he had a savage go at Mangosuthu Buthezi, too, declaring him in effect a traitor to his race. The Inkatha leader, he told an audience that had come to hear him speak on freedom of the Press, wanted "to be ruled by whites".

Mandela may feel that such rhetoric is good for raising funds, but there is clearly more to it than that. Indeed it is difficult not to conclude that, having obtained an election date, the ANC leader has decided there is no real need for further compromise or conciliation: the overriding objective must be simply to rally the troops, fill the campaign coffers (with the help of foreign donors lulled into the cosy belief they are financing non-partisan voter education), and go all out for the biggest margin of victory possible so as to minimise the role of other players in the promised government of national unity afterwards.

That, at any rate, is the logic of how Mandela has been comporting himself over here. Perhaps, when he returns home, he will return to earth also and recognise that the election will be worthless if all it succeeds in doing is further sundering an already divided country.

Shortly after the collapse of Codesa II last year, ANC secretary-general Cyril Ramaphosa briefed the executives of several trade unions on what had happened. He mentioned that some of his colleagues had been comparing notes with Swapo. The Namibian comrades said they were glad they had not won enough votes to ram through their own constitution because it was essential that opposition forces had a sense of authorship, too.

The fruits of that wisdom were on display when Nujoma came to town last May. Will they be on display again if President Mandela comes back here a year hence?

Ciskei and Bop deny AWB claim

Sowetan 13/7/93

CISKEI and Bophuthatswana have denied claims by AWB leader Eugene Terre'Blanche that the homelands had a military agreement with his organisation.

Terre'Blanche said in a newspaper interview at the weekend that the Inkatha Freedom Party, Ciskei and Bophuthatswana would form a fighting front with the AWB against the ANC and its allies.

He said the AWB had entered into a military agreement with Ciskei military ruler Brigadier Oupa Gqozo last week. (BOLLA)

Ciskei government spokesman Mr Cedric Harrop said the media department was "unable to trace any military treaty with the AWB and therefore cannot confirm the existence of any such document". (PSS) (PSS)

A spokesman for the Bophuthatswana government yesterday denied Terre'Blanche's claim and said: "Bophuthatswana is committed to negotiating a better dispensation in Southern Africa, not making war."

He said it was correct that the Bophuthatswana government had had talks with the AWB. But then it also had talks with the PAC, IFP, National Party and many other political groupings across the spectrum. "But to allege that we have agreed to form a political fighting front with the AWB is totally incorrect," he said. — *Ecna and Sapa.*

Star 13/7/93

Buthelezi flays Govt, ANC

11/11/93 2047

By Kaizer Nyatumba
Political Correspondent

The Government has cast aside the interests of its supporters in its haste to jump into bed with the ANC, Inkatha Freedom Party (IFP) leader Chief Mangosuthu Buthelezi said yesterday.

Addressing a meeting in Port Elizabeth, Buthelezi again accused the Government and the ANC of entering into secret deals and said the National Party appeared to have forgotten the promises which saw it win last year's referendum.

The KwaZulu Chief Minister said what South Africa needed now was "broad-based social and political consensus" on the need for

economic growth and the means to achieve it.

He said the Government — which had cast aside its supporters' interests in its fight for political survival — had done little to alleviate the fears of its people.

Buthelezi said the IFP had been warning about the Government's "sell-out position" for almost a year now, and said Pretoria's acceptance of a government of national unity with a five-year term was "yet another facade for a pact to exclude all others from ... government".

"The citizens of South Africa, after years of bitter struggle and sacrifice, will refuse to be subjected to another demoralising dictator-

ship which will strip them of their freedom and their basic civil rights.

"The five-year transitional proposal tabled at multi-party negotiations imposes a solution which is the least likely to produce results respectful and protective of cultural and social pluralism," Buthelezi said.

President F W de Klerk and ANC president Nelson Mandela also came in for censure for their behaviour in the US last week.

South Africa, Buthelezi said, needed to move speedily towards a settlement. If negotiations went on indefinitely, the process would lose legitimacy — "an outcome our country can ill afford".

'Nightmare' on maps

JOHANNESBURG. — A 15-member commission has begun to pore over scores of maps and documents in an bid to draw the inner borders of South Africa in what one newspaper has described as "a cartographer's nightmare".

Among the bevy of far-right parties insisting on a separate white homeland for Afrikaners, the only formation to have presented a detailed map has been the tiny Afrikaner Volksunie (AVU).

According to the AVU project, Afrikaners would account for a majority 39% of the state's population.

Zulus, with 19%, and Sothos with 16% would comprise the two other major ethnic groups in the proposed homeland of 2,7 million.

In all, the technical commission heard 50 oral explanations and received 119 written — or drawn — proposals by the time the deadline for submissions expired at midday on Friday. — Sapa-AFP

Govt plan premature — ANC

THE ANC yesterday criticised government's plans for joint administration between provincial authorities and non-independent homelands as "wholly premature".

The ANC's statement follows the announcement by government that it was forging ahead with plans for certain functions of provincial authorities and non-independent homelands to be merged, if possible even before constitutional decisions are made.

The ANC said in a statement that it had serious objections to the process involved and was concerned that this issue was at the heart of the regional debate in constitutional negotiations.

The statement said that while the ANC would welcome the reincorporation of the homelands, as well as the imposition of much-needed

financial discipline, serious problems still remained.

"Government should not need reminding that this is a sensitive issue that goes to the heart of the regional debate in the constitutional negotiations. (143) (148) (304A)

"While it is claimed that the political structures will remain unchanged, it is nonetheless a reality that these steering committees are comprised of wholly unrepresentative structures, with no mandate to be taking decisions."

Government was seeking to term the changes "administrative adjustments", but this did little to allay fears that the wider political agenda remained obscured, the statement said.

The delimitations commission of

the multiparty negotiating forum was currently engaged in the process of evaluating evidence on future regional boundaries.

"It is, therefore, wholly premature to be dealing administratively with the issue in advance of the necessary political decisions.

"The ad hoc nature of the exercise is evident in the fact that only one of the nominally-independent bantustans, Venda, is involved, and then only in an observer capacity."

The issue underlined the urgent need for the rapid installation of the transitional executive council, and the referral of the matter to a sub-council on local and regional government.

"The dangers of having to restructure twice in the period of a few months will otherwise become a possibility," the statement added.

TIM COHEN

July 14 1993

DP unveils its interim constitution proposals

Bidewy 14/7/93

(304A)

BILLY PADDOCK

THE DP has proposed an interim constitution providing for an elected president with limited powers, a prime minister and a 20-member multiparty cabinet to run the country by consensus.

DP negotiations co-ordinator Ken Andrew, unveiling the proposals yesterday, said his party believed the next constitution should not be regarded as temporary and thus had to be comprehensive.

The DP proposes a two-chamber parliament with the president elected by a simple majority at a joint sitting of both houses.

The president will appoint the cabinet members from the elected MPs. Each party with more than 5% of the vote will be entitled to proportionate cabinet representation, and the president will have to accept party leaders' nominations. The president will appoint a cabinet member as prime minister.

If no consensus can be reached in the cabinet, decisions will be taken on a two-thirds majority basis, giving effective multiparty control over line management functions.

The DP proposes that all ministers be individually accountable to the president and parliament for the administration of their ministries, and collectively accountable for the administration of the cabinet.

The president will be obliged to fire any minister if the lower house resolves by a majority that it has no confidence in him.

The president will be commander-in-chief of the defence force; shape foreign policy and appoint ambassadors subject to the confirmation of the upper house, which approves all senior public servant appointments; negotiate

treaties; declare states of emergency; call referendums; and commute criminal sentences or grant pardons.

The DP proposes a lower house or national assembly of 400 members, elected on the basis of proportional representation. All parties with more than 1% of the vote will be represented in the house. Three hundred of the members will be elected from regional party lists and 100 from national lists.

Each voter will have two ballot papers. One will be counted twice — for the national list and the regional list — while the second will elect the regional legislature.

The upper house or senate will be elected by separate electoral colleges for each region. Each region will have a minimum of four senators and a maximum of nine.

The constitutional principles negotiated at the multiparty forum must be absolutely binding on the elected body. Other constitutional matters must be amended by at least a 70% majority of the national assembly.

Amendments to the powers, duties, functions and boundaries of the regions require a majority of 70% of both houses, sitting separately, plus a 75% majority in the regional legislatures affected.

Amendments to the Bill of Rights require a 75% majority in both houses, and the same majority from 75% of the regional legislatures.

Regional legislatures should systematically assume the powers, duties and functions assigned by the constitution to regions and finalise their own regional constitutions.

only pe
was not

accommodating the desires of Afrikaner

appearing on

'Train staff for election'

Labour Reporter

1428 304A
ARG 147/93
A MAJOR trade union is to urge employers to train shop stewards for next year's election and make voter education facilities available to workers.

At its biennial national conference, the 130 000-strong Food and Allied Workers' Union (Fawu) resolved to approach employers to "release" at least one shop steward at factories where the union organises to be trained for the election.

The union also resolved to ask employers to make voter education facilities available to their workforces.

Prevent abuse of power, says DP

Star 14/1/93

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304A

By Kaizer Nyatumba
Political Correspondent

The Democratic Party's proposals to the technical committee on constitutional issues would ensure that South Africa's interim constitution provides for accountability and proper checks and balances to prevent the abuse of power, the DP said yesterday.

At a Johannesburg press conference to unveil the DP's constitutional proposals, MPs Tony Leon and Douglas Gibson said the party's proposals would ensure that "even the first constitution" made provision not just for accountability, but also representativity and practicality.

The DP's proposals include a 20-member Cabinet constituted on a proportional representation basis from parties enjoying at least five percent

support in a 400-member National Assembly elected on proportional representation, with a cut-off point of one percent.

Of these MPs, 300 would have been elected from regional party lists, and the other 100 from national lists.

The Cabinet, whose members would have to be MPs, would have to take decisions on the basis of a two-thirds majority if consensus could not be reached.

'Eliminative' vote

Each region would have a minimum of four and a maximum of seven representatives in the Senate, based on the number of votes cast in that region.

The president would be elected at a joint sitting of both Houses of Parliament "on the basis of an eliminative ballot" requiring a 50 percent plus one majority.

Ministers — from whose ranks a prime minister would

be appointed — would be accountable to the president and Parliament, and the president would be obliged to fire any Minister on whom the National Assembly passed a vote of no confidence.

Other proposals made by the DP include:

- Amendments to the constitution would have to be approved by at least 70 percent of the National Assembly, and amendments dealing with the boundaries and powers of regions would require a 70 percent majority of both Houses of Parliament sitting separately, plus a majority in three quarters of the regional legislatures.

- The Bill of Rights could be amended by a 75 percent majority of both Houses sitting separately, plus 75 percent of the regional legislatures.

- Regional legislatures would systematically assume the powers, duties and functions assigned to them by the constitution.

NEWS IFP offered 'best deal possible' ● Court sequel

Sowetan 14/7/93

Talks' ball in IFP court

THE Government and ANC are adopting a wait-and-see attitude regarding Chief Mangosuthu Buthelezi's decision not to return to the multiparty negotiations.

Buthelezi told a meeting in Port Elizabeth this week the Inkatha Freedom Party would not return to negotiations before a federal system of government had been agreed upon.

He said to continue participating in multiparty negotiations before this condition was met would amount to "politi-

By Ismail Lagardien

Political Correspondent

cal suicide" and warned the IFP was "not prepared to be bullied into our own suicide". (30417) (#13)

Both the Government and ANC agreed, however, that Buthelezi had received "the best deal he was likely to get" and had to start making compromises. (#13)

A senior Government source said:

"Inkatha has been offered the best deal they will ever get and they had better realise it.

"The other parties are not going to accept that KwaZulu has a sovereign constitution prior to a national election."

An ANC executive showed little concern, saying Buthelezi was "holding South Africa and the negotiating process to ransom" while all parties at the negotiating council had made many concessions.

DP proposes framework for transitional stage

304A

APG 14/7/93

JOHANNESBURG. — The Democratic Party has released proposals for a constitution for the transitional period and has predicted most of them will end up in South Africa's final constitution.

The proposals were the key elements for a constitutional framework and were not a draft constitution, the DP said here yesterday.

The details could be worked out once multiparty negotiators had agreed on the constitutional framework, the party said.

"Ninety-nine percent of what we are saying here will be in the new constitution," predicted DP MP Douglas Gibson.

The DP proposed a president and a prime minister, both from the ruling party and both with clearly defined executive powers.

The state president would not have overriding powers, said DP negotiator Ken Andrew, MP.

The DP — echoing views expressed by members of the Concerned South Africans Group (Cosag) at democracy talks at the World Trade Centre in Kempton Park — said terms such as "interim constitutions" or "transitional constitutions" were legally and

constitutionally meaningless.

Most negotiators, including the DP, have agreed that an elected constitution-making body will draw up the country's final constitution after elections on April 27 next year. Meanwhile an interim constitution will serve.

Both constitutions, negotiators agreed, would be based on entrenched constitutional principles.

The DP said it supported a bicameral system of government, both in the interim and for the future.

It proposed that a national assembly, or lower house, comprise 400 proportionally elected members with a cut-off of one percent to ensure maximum inclusivity.

Three hundred members would be elected from regional party lists and 100 from national lists.

"As there are no reliable census figures and there will be no voters' rolls, the DP is suggesting that the exact allocation of seats per region takes place after the election in accordance with the number of votes cast in a region."

The DP proposed that the first regional legislatures should be elected on the same day as the national assembly, on April 27. — Sapa.

Volkstaat (30/11)

ANC will talk

Own Correspondent
21/11/93

DURBAN. — The ANC was willing to discuss an Afrikaner homeland in multi-party and bilateral talks, ANC spokesman Mr Carl Niehaus said yesterday.

He was responding to a US newspaper which quoted Mr Nelson Mandela as saying the "ultra-right" should "quietly work out" which region it wanted and discuss a possible compromise with the ANC.

But Mr Niehaus said the newspaper partly misinterpreted Mr Mandela, who had "never accepted the concept of an Afrikaner homeland".

Govt 'premature' on joint administrations

CT 14/7/93

Political Staff

(304A)

THE government's unilateral administrative restructuring of regional administrations was wholly premature, the ANC said yesterday.

It said in a statement it was concerned that the government seemed to be unilaterally making provision for the imminent joint administration of regional authorities.

"These agreements are currently being negotiated in a number of steering committees."

● Support for the Eastern Cape as a separate region continued to grow yesterday as the Cradock Town Council prepared to host a meeting today to co-ordinate an action programme to halt incorporation with the Ciskei-Border region.

6 months' pay for govt men

CT 141713
Political Staff

MINISTERIAL representatives, whose positions are to be scrapped on October 1, are to be given an additional six months' pay after their retirement, the State President's office confirmed yesterday.

The abolition of the controversial ministerial representative posts was announced by President F.W. de Klerk in June 1991.

He said the 13 ministerial representatives would get the same retirement provisions as members of the President's Council.

New booths sta 14/11/93 prison-built

Pretoria Correspondent

When South Africans go to the polls next April many will cast their votes in brand new polling booths — built by prisoners and staff of the Department of Correctional Services.

The tender for the construction of 5 500 booths is fast nearing completion at Pretoria Central, Zonderwater, Leeuwkop and Kroonstad prisons.

The booths differ from those white South Africans are used to in that they are triangular and not the old square version.

Correctional Services said each booth cost R112 and took about 14 hours to produce.

The remainder of booths needed for the more than 7 000 polling stations will be coming from old stock.

An estimated 22 million people are eligible to make their mark in the booths in the country's first, multiparty general election on April 27.



Democracy in the making . . . prisoners and Correctional Services staff at Pretoria Central Prison work on the 2 200 voting booths which they are building for the landmark South African general election in April.
Picture: Patricia Hagen

Free for all in Star 15/7/93 rush for voters



Fax machines are already working overtime in the offices of political parties as propagandists fight to sway voters in elections scheduled for next April. ALAN DUNN views the opening week.

POLITICAL war, according to one sage, is where everyone shoots from the lip.

South Africa's political forces have begun a 10-month electoral campaign and are already deeply engaged in hostilities.

This prompt start to electioneering for what Natal Nationalist leader George Bartlett once described as "the mother of all elections" threatens the mother of all political wars until ballot day on April 27.

Judging by the daily deluge of faxes on the country's news-desks, it promises to be a venomous war of sniping, sustained conventional assaults and non-consequential skirmishes. Political groups, including the Inkatha Freedom Party (IFP), which have refrained from endorsing the April 27 target for an election, are in full, bayonet-charge cry. (30/4/93)

Take last week: Mandela and De Klerk prickled at each other in Washington DC and Philadelphia in what should have been a moment of triumph for South Africa; Mandela broadsided Buthelezi; Buthelezi lashed back; the IFP's Dr Frank Mdlalose chimed in; the ANC and IFP ding-donged over who was responsible for the Reef carnage and the DP chided Mandela for not returning promptly from abroad to douse that mayhem. (15/7/93)

The ANC accused the IFP of plotting the assassination of its entire leadership corps in Natal; the IFP branded these life-threatening utterances and referred them to the National

Peace Committee; the DP and NP lambasted the Afrikaner Volksfront's dodgery in the debate on regional boundaries; the NP fumed at PAC racism and the repeated use of "kill the boer" slogans. So it went on...

Then, as if to blow the enemy away from their fax machines, the IFP rolled out a close-typed cannon of a press statement:

"IFP slams ANC propaganda", it headlined its indictment sheet, launching itself at ANC claims against the party as a "crass insult to the intelligence of millions of South Africans".

Unlike the ANC, it argued, it was able to produce concrete evidence showing the IFP was the primary victim of a vicious, full-scale military offensive unleashed by its opponent in Natal and on the Reef.

The IFP claimed to have in its possession evidence to show that (among other things):

- ANC warlords have sought to undermine the legitimacy and integrity of chiefs who scorn ANC overtures yet, in a remarkable display of ANC double standards, embrace traditional leaders sympathetic to their cause.

- Communities who spurn ANC advances are brutally attacked.

- Renamo-style ANC bandits were currently engaged in an unprecedented "arms race". Established infiltration routes were being used to smuggle weapons into the country.

- For every victim of political violence aligned to the ANC, the IFP was able to show five IFP victims.

Borrowing revolutionary clichés which hallmark the style of the ANC and its allies, it said: "It must be remembered that the ANC are masters at sowing deception, having learnt their subterranean craft from Eastern and Soviet-bloc countries."

These were only some of the volleys in the first week of the election campaign. It threatens to be a war of words in which political groups will assign full-time keyboard bombardiers to fire the fax machines at their opponents' every sneeze. □

Right wing's sound and fury concerns business

Big Day 15/7/93
(204A) (\$52)

ANDY DUFFY

JUST as it applies its own peculiar brand of fire and brimstone to the political arena, so the far right has begun issuing threats to industry.

Under the umbrella of the Afrikaner Volksfront (AVF), the militant right has threatened business with go-slows, strikes, power cuts and industrial sabotage.

The political credibility of the right wing aside, it is clear the movement does have the capacity to upset business severely.

Supporting unions, such as the Mineworkers Union, the Steel and Allied Industries unions and the Post and Telecommunications Union, are not large in number. The MWU has just 44 000 members out of a total industry workforce of more than 1-million employees. Their influence, however, is another matter.

In mining, MWU members dominate whole stratas of middle management. With such people out, even for a day or two, production, grades and costs are hit, damaging earnings for a whole quarter, higher gold prices or not.

While unofficially the Chamber of Mines has admitted as much, officially it is loathe to comment. "We're not going to go outside and say this is the extent of damage that can be caused, because that can be debilitating," a source said. Current wage talks have also made comment tricky.

Sacob is less reticent. Labour affairs director Gerrie Bezuidenhout said the whites-only unions in many cases were "the backbone of production. Any industrial action by them

will have serious consequences".

Anglo American, which could be hit on just about every one of its business fronts, is also taking the movement's comments to heart. But if the threat is obvious, how to react is less so. Companies are naturally reluctant to disclose their contingency plans.

Eskom, brought into the firing line when the AVF claimed it could cut power supplies for up to three weeks, is counting on three elements: security; the ability of management to step into the breach; and common sense.

"If you take Eskom out you cripple the whole country," an industry source says. "Then what is there to take over? You have shot yourself in the foot."

Strategy

Concerted action would certainly cause Eskom "embarrassment", the source adds, but once it had been shown to be ineffective, then the bluff would be called — a logic Eskom hopes will discourage the AVF from acting.

The strategy suggested by Sacob is that companies react in the same way as they have to mass protests, such as rescheduling leave or adjusting production beforehand to minimise disruption.

Telkom senior GM Johan Lourens says the organisation has "taken precautions to ensure it is able to provide clients with continuous services at all times".

In a worst case scenario, this presumably means concentrating on

emergency services. What further precautions there will be, Lourens declines to say, adding only that Telkom "will do everything in its power to safeguard its assets", including institute criminal prosecution.

The prospect of right-wing industrial action also poses a different challenge from those of the past.

Business makes clear that it has no objection to mass action, particularly, Anglo adds, "when no other channels for negotiations or protest are available". Anglo says that in this case, however, the multiparty talks are the "appropriate forum for negotiation and possible protest by the AVF. Industrial action is inappropriate."

Sacob joins Anglo in drawing a line. Bezuidenhout says there are certain criteria for what it deems acceptable action, mainly that it does not disrupt the economy or lead to violence.

But disrupting the economy is precisely what the AVF threat implies. In such circumstances, Bezuidenhout says, it would be "difficult for us to take a stance on what business should and should not do."

Perhaps not unexpectedly, the AVF and its associates have made their threats through the media, for maximum publicity. None of the apparent targets, such as the Chamber of Mines and Eskom, have been approached directly.

Business is divided over why the AVF does not detail its plans to use industry to secure its volkstaat. Many, though, are relying on the right wing's penchant for threatening damnation rather than its ability to summon it.

Govt 'sold' its constituency

CT 15/7/93
304A

Staff Reporter

THE government has sold out its constituency by colluding with the ANC about a constitutional settlement so that a few government members could retain senior positions in a government of transition.

Addressing a meeting of about 350 people in the City Hall last night, IFP leader Chief Mangosuthu Buthelezi said the government had promised its constituency during the referendum that negotiations would lead to power-sharing and that built-in guarantees would ensure that domination would be impossible.

"In total contradiction, the government/ANC five-year plan embodies a two-stage transitional process which will empower an elected constituent assembly to draft the final constitution during a transition period of five years."

Chief Buthelezi, who received a standing ovation before and after his speech from an almost exclusively white audience, said the formal endorsement of this proposal would mean that the South

Plot to save jobs, says IFP

African government was acting outside the mandate of the referendum agreement.

"In order to accommodate these proposals the government would have to abandon its original referendum directive to negotiate for a fully-fledged constitution detailing the powers and boundaries of the regions and the states in the transitional constitution, prior to the election of the new government.

At Codesa II the IFP and the government held the same positions on these issues and Chief Buthelezi said he remembered former government negotiator Dr Gerrit Viljoen assuring Inkatha that the government also rejected

the idea of a constituent assembly.

The record of understanding between the government and the ANC therefore came as a big surprise to the IFP.

"There are many members of government who are naturally opposed to the clandestine deals struck between the official government negotiators and the ANC.

"I have been notified that there are many cabinet ministers who are deliberately kept uninformed about compromises the government is prepared to make, in order to avoid the show-down this would cause."

● The IFP has entered the election campaign with an appeal for funding of the IFP and the "Mangosuthu Buthelezi Election Fund", Sapa reports.

The appeal, contained in a party pamphlet marked personal and confidential, was distributed at a business breakfast in a Johannesburg hotel yesterday which was addressed by Chief Buthelezi.

● **Hardly a Zulu weapon in sight**
— Page 4

Agreements 'no problem': IFP MP

Political Staff

INKATHA Freedom Party MP Mr Farouk Cassim said yesterday he had "no problem at all" with the provisions agreed to by most parties for an elected constituent assembly. **CTIS/7/93**

The burning issues of the day could be handled by the Multi-Party Negotiating Forum and then an elected constituent assembly could negotiate a new constitution for South Africa, he said.

"I have no difficulty with that," Mr Cassim said at an Independent Mediation Services of South Africa forum in Cape Town on the approaches by different parties to the election scheduled for April 27 next year.

The IFP withdrew from the negotiations when an April 27 election date was agreed upon.

Its leader, Chief Mangosuthu Buthelezi, said the party would not return to the talks until there was agreement on a federal system for South Africa and on a "form of state".

90% homeland voters support ANC — claim

Political Staff

THE ANC had the support of about 90% of the estimated 3,5 million voters in the four independent homelands, Democratic Party MP Mr Robin Carlisle said yesterday.

These voters would take part in next year's elections as South Africans as far as his party was concerned, Mr Carlisle said at a forum on voting, organised by the Independent Mediation Services of South Africa. CT 15/7/93

Right wing welcomes self-determination shift

B1 Day 15/7/93

PRETORIA — Right-wing organisations yesterday welcomed what was perceived as a more tolerant approach to Afrikaner self-determination by the ANC, but warned that it was still to be proven that it was not mere semantics.

ANC leader Nelson Mandela told a news conference on Tuesday on his return from a visit to the US that the ANC was willing to concede to certain Afrikaner

DIRK VAN EEDEN

demands for self-determination in a new SA.

However the organisation was not in favour of ethnic states.

Mandela said Afrikaners who wanted self-determination should demand one of the new regions where they could "organise as is necessary".

Afrikaner Volksunie leader Andries Beyers said yesterday Mandela's speech came closer to Volksunie policy than when they had met earlier this year.

He said that up to now the ANC had opposed any Afrikaner reorganisation in a future dispensation.

The Volksunie's proposed map of regions called for two areas where Afrikaans-speaking people could dominate — one in the northwestern Cape and another in the Transvaal with

Pretoria at the centre.

The Volksunie accepted that its members would have to share citizenship in these areas with people of other political persuasions and was willing to gain political power through democratic means in these regions. (304A)

Beyers said all people living in the area would have the same citizenship and that such an Afrikaner-dominated area would subscribe to the constitution and human rights code of the federal republic.

Afrikaner Volskvront director-general Tienie Groenewald said Mandela's speech gave the impression that there was greater acceptance of the Afrikaner's right to self-determination within the ANC.

He said it was clear that the ANC and government had bowed under Volks-

front pressure and realised that the Afrikaner would not cede his right to self-determination.

However, he suspected Mandela's speech could have been mere semantics aimed at keeping Afrikaners "off his back". It was clear the ANC would not accept a sovereign Afrikaner state.

Negotiators at the multi-party talks would decide in the next few days about the powers of regional and central governments of the future dispensation. It would be clear from this whether Mandela's speech was mere election politics or an honest approach to the Afrikaner.

CP general secretary Lem Theron said yesterday his party was "rather sceptical" about the speech and "this kind of soft-soapy" did not impress the CP.

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2014. 2015. 2016. 2017. 2018. 2019. 2020. 2021. 2022. 2023. 2024. 2025. 2026. 2027. 2028. 2029. 2030. 2031. 2032. 2033. 2034. 2035. 2036. 2037. 2038. 2039. 2040. 2041. 2042. 2043. 2044. 2045. 2046. 2047. 204

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NP throws Star 15/1/93 off rumours of defection

By Kaizer Nyatumba
Political Correspondent

The National Party has denied that some of its MPs were disgruntled with recent political developments and had sent out feelers to the Conservative Party with a view to joining it.

Commenting on CP MP Tom Langley's claim that the CP had invited at least 25 disillusioned NP MPs to talk to his party about the future, NP spokesman Danie du Plessis said it was obvious the CP chief negotiator was "fishing on dry ground".

"There is no truth in the statement that a group of or individual NP MPs are dissatisfied and are intending to resign from the NP. This hackneyed tactic to sow suspicion among NP caucus members is extremely boring," he said.

"Should the CP not continue with negotiations, (its) tactics will be viewed as just another ploy to distract attention from (its) untested pipe-dream," Du Plessis said. (304A)

He also criticised AVF leader General Constand Viljoen's reported demand for 25 years of free political association in an Afrikaner "volkstaat".

Election code 'should have tough penalties'

MICHAEL MORRIS

Political Correspondent

TOUGH penalties — including temporarily silencing key political figures and cutting parties' air-time on radio and television — should be written into the code of conduct to govern political activity during the election campaign.

Democratic Party MP Mr Robin Carlisle told an Independent Media Services of South Africa (Imssa) seminar on election preparations yesterday that "savage" and enforceable sanctions were vital if the code of conduct was to have any real value.

The code is being negotiated at the World Trade Centre talks.

Mr Carlisle, who shared the panel at the seminar with representatives of the ANC, the National Party, Inkatha Freedom Party and Azapo, said after his address that the parties should bind themselves to tough, enforceable penalties for breaches of the code.

"The sort of thing I would like to see is that if a party is found guilty of a breach, it should lose all air-time on radio and television for a week or two.

"At the same time, the regional leader in the area in which the breach occurred should be barred from making speeches for the same period.

"This is the sort of thing we ought

to be looking at. We have got to make the code work," he said.

Mr Carlisle said key problems for the electoral process were a high intolerance of white parties among blacks, and a lack of trust in the secrecy of voting.

Among the chief goals were to ensure the secrecy of the ballot, to "depoliticise" the polling booths — banning parties from operating within their proximity — and to achieve a situation in which the "losers accept the outcome".

ANC representative Mr Vincent Diba agreed that punitive sanctions should be drafted by the independent electoral commission and imposed on parties acting in breach of the code.

Azapo spokesman Mr Jimmy Yekiso said Azapo's view "is that everybody should be free to canvass anywhere, but we are not prepared to guarantee the safety of canvassers".

Azapo would enter next year's election only if its demand for a constituent assembly was met.

National Party MP Mr Hendry Cupido told the seminar that South Africans could not hope to conduct the election on their own and that international monitors would be crucial.

IFP MP Mr Farouk Cassim rejected the notion of an interim government, saying the winner of next year's election should form the government.

WPM linked to Steir 15/7/93 KKK, neo-Nazis

By Bronwyn Wilkinson

The realisation that no black person would belong to something called the World Apartheid Movement (WAM) had prompted the organisation to change its name to the World Preservationist Movement (WPM), the right-wing movement's leader Koos Vermeulen said yesterday.

In an interview with The Star, Vermeulen said the WAM had realised it needed to introduce "a right-wing home for non-whites" and had thus decided to woo other ethnic groups.

A few months ago, Vermeulen said, WAM officials had gone into the streets interviewing blacks, coloureds and Indians "to test the temperature". (349)

He said the organisation received a good response when it asked these people if they would be interested in joining "an anti-ANC organisation" that could guarantee them the pre-

servation of their own language, culture and land.

WAM had only just changed its name to WPM, he said.

Vermeulen said some members objected strongly to the inclusion of blacks and had threatened to leave the movement.

"But they can go and join the AWB," he said.

The organisation had a whites-only military wing, but this operated purely on a defensive basis, he said.

On multiparty negotiations he said: "We will permit them to negotiate, but we won't be involved. But if they come up with a constitution that we are not happy with, we will do something about it and perhaps become less defensive."

Vermeulen said his organisation had ties with more than 100 organisations world-wide including the American Ku Klux Klan and several German neo-Nazi movements.

By ALLISTER SPARKS

WITH the process of transition all but agreed, and our first democratic election only nine months away, it is time to start looking beyond that to some of the issues that will face the new Government of National Unity and Reconstruction on May Day 1994.

For if it is true that the election of a democratic government will bring to an end one chapter of problems, it will assuredly open another. The legacy of apartheid, its distortions of our economy and our social structure, what it has done to our education system and our skills base and, above all, to people's minds, will be with us for another 50 years.

Disillusionment

First among the post-apartheid problems will be a crisis of unfulfilled expectations. The whole of black South Africa will expect that, with the election of a new democratic government and a black president, their lives will be transformed the next day. And of course they won't. As the example of Eastern Europe shows, restructuring a country that has been ruined by a misbegotten ideology

New crop of problems for a new government

(South) CT 15/7/93

is a slow and difficult process and things may well get worse before they get better.

The new, inexperienced government will struggle to find its feet and it will have to work through an obstructive old bureaucracy. There is no way this government will be able to deliver at the speed and on the scale expected of it.

Disillusionment is inevitable — which is the moment the PAC and radicals within the ANC-alliance itself are waiting for, to exploit with accusations that the new regime has betrayed the cause of black liberation and is simply enjoying the silken sheets of high office.

A second problem will relate to legitimacy. For many South Africans, and nearly all blacks, this highly sectarian government is illegitimate. Blacks have had no part in electing it and do not accept its moral authority or that of any

of its institutions — its commissioners, its police, its judicial system, even its laws. No social stigma attaches to breaking the law or going to prison. Indeed, that can even be a badge of honour, proof of one's rebellious credentials.

Being agin' the Government has become a habit of mind and that has extended to a rejection of all authority — in schools, in universities, in civic organisations, even in the home where the authority of parents is seriously eroded. The long struggle against apartheid has bred a culture of revolution.

How is this to be turned into a culture of citizenship? Will the authority of the new government be readily accepted or will it, too, feel the aftershocks of ungovernability? Nelson Mandela tells young blacks to go back to school and they ignore him. Student anarchy has become a way of life.

Restructuring

The State President, Mr De Klerk, seems to have got the message at last that there has to be a clean-up of the security forces. The Commissioner of Police, General Johan van der Merwe, will go. So, I'm sure, will the Chief of the Defence Force, General Kat Liebenberg, and his heir apparent, Lt-General Joffel van der Westhuizen. Joint control is on its way.

But will a restructuring of the security forces give them instant legitimacy? Can a community which for generations has regarded the police

as the "enemy" change overnight and regard them as friends and protectors?

Will there be immediate respect for the law and the legal process? I doubt it. And the trouble is the new regime will find it more difficult to assert its authority than the old, for these will be its own people responding as they were encouraged to in the time of struggle.

More problematic still will be a culture of entitlement that apartheid has induced. People involved in aid projects have long been aware of the dangers of a dependency syndrome, but an entitlement syndrome is something beyond that. It is an attitude that says because I have suffered, because I have been discriminated against and disadvantaged, I am entitled to be given — whether it be a job or a matric certificate or admission to a university.

Take the case of the rent and service boycotts, some of which have been going on for a decade. Township residents have grown accustomed to not paying these costs. After speaking to many of them, it is clear they feel entitled to this saving as a form of compensation for being forced to live in such run-down ghettos. It is an understandable view but when will it cease?

Insidious

After so many years of non-payment, will these householders suddenly be prepared to start paying their rents and service costs when a democratic government takes

office? Will they be prepared to celebrate their political liberation with a sharp drop in living standards or will they not be more likely to claim that liberation means they are more entitled than ever to be compensated for past wrongs?

If this syndrome manifests itself widely, as I fear it will, it will place an insidious lien on the conscience of the new regime. Politically difficult though it may be, it is something that must be resisted.

There is a critical line between affirmative action, which is valid and constructive, and this culture of entitlement, which is corrosive and debilitating. Affirmative action is to give potential talent its chance; to pander to the culture of entitlement is to encourage sloth.

The culture of entitlement, if allowed to take hold, will run counter to the work ethic the new South Africa needs to inculcate if we are to attain an economic growth rate that can keep pace with our rate of population growth.

I focus on these looming problems not as a prophet of doom. On the contrary, as regular readers of this column know, I am optimistic about our long-term future. But it is important, I think, to look realistically at what lies ahead so that some preemptive planning can take place, and so that white South Africans in particular, who are all too inclined to be cynical, can have a better appreciation of what our black political leaders are up against.

NP denies approach of MPs to right-wing

CRIS/7/92 Political Staff (30244)

SPECULATION by the CP that unnamed NP MPs had approached the right-wing was untrue, NP information chief Mr Jacko Maree said yesterday.

"There is no talk of any group of NP MPs, or even individual MPs, wanting to resign."

Mr Maree also said the NP welcomed a statement by Afrikaner Volksfront leader General Constand Viljoen that the right-wing did not reject the principle of a new South Africa. There was, however, no substance to General Viljoen's request for 25 years of free political association in a "volkstaat".

Rightists ²⁴⁴ welcome ANC stance ^{15/7/93}

Own Correspondent

PRETORIA — Right-wing organisations yesterday welcomed what was perceived as a more tolerant approach to Afrikaner self-determination by the ANC.

ANC leader Mr Nelson Mandela told a news conference on Tuesday that the ANC was willing to agree to certain Afrikaner demands for self-determination. However, it was not in favour of ethnic states.

Afrikaner Volksunie leader Mr Andries Beyers said Mr Mandela's speech came much closer to AVU policy than when they had met earlier this year. He said up to now the ANC had opposed any reorganisation of Afrikaners in a future dispensation.

Conservative Party general secretary Mr Lem Theron said his party was "rather sceptical" about the speech and "this kind of soft soap" did not impress the CP.

Election to cost 'about R155m'

By BARRY STREEK
Political Staff

25/15/7/93
(3044)
THE election next year will cost South African taxpayers about R155 million and involve 135 000 officials, National Party MP Mr Hendry Cupido said yesterday.

But the Democratic Party MP for Wynberg, Mr Robin Carlisle, said the DP felt the NP had drastically underestimated the number of polling stations and officials needed to ensure that the election was free and fair.

Mr Cupido, the MP for Kasselsvlei, said 7 400 polling stations would be required, but Mr Carlisle said more than 10 000 and perhaps as many as 17 000, with at least 150 000 officials, would be needed.

A minimum of 20 000 monitors, including international representatives, would also be needed.

Mr Cupido told a multi-party forum on voting organised by Independent Media-

tion Services of Southern Africa that 22 500 polling booths would be necessary, compared with 6 053 used in 1989.

All speakers at the forum, who included Mr Vincent Diba (ANC), Mr Jimmy Yekiso (Azapo) and Mr Farouk Cassim (IFP), supported an enforceable code of conduct for all parties.

Mr Carlisle said the acid test of the process would be whether the losers accepted the results of the elections as fair.

CP retains Springs majority

Star 15/11/93
The Conservative Party retained its majority in the Springs Town Council last night when candidate Boet White polled 317 votes in a municipal by-election, winning the Geduld seat by 103 votes. Delia de Jager, an independent with CP affiliation polled 214 and Petro Recchia, also independent, 151. The percentage poll was 27. —
Own Correspondent.

(214) (304A)

NP surprise
at ANC call

THE NP youth wing expressed surprise yesterday that the ANC Youth League had called on farmers to allow free political activity so that political groups could have access to farm workers.

The ANC Youth League made the call at its regional conference at the weekend. 304A

The NP Youth said after ANC Youth League president Mr Peter Mokaba had recently joytoyed to the tune of "Kill the Boer, kill the farmer", he could hardly expect sympathy or co-operation from farmers.

It said the ANC Youth League "must be reminded of their statement that they will not allow the NP to organise freely in black areas".

THE BUSINESS OF ELECTIONS

304A

FM 16/17/93.

April 27 may seem a long way off, but the country's major political groupings have already started campaigning.

International political consultant and author of *The Election Game and How to Win It*, Joe Napolitan will be in SA next month to advise on the machinery of a modern election campaign.

Napolitan has been a personal consultant to nine heads of state, including Charles de Gaulle and Giscard D'Estaing. He is one of several heavy hitters assembled by Global Conferences and the

FM to address their "Election Countdown" conference at the World Trade Centre, Kempton Park, on August 11-12.

The conference is aimed at the business sector, with the emphasis on how business can deal with issues brought about by the election. These include minimising tension in the workplace; educating employees on voting procedures; and the need for employers to be seen as unbiased.

To book your seat at this important conference, call Jenny or Yvette on (021) 683-3265 or fax (021) 683-4086.

A federal constitution, by any other name

Edw. 16/1/93

2047

SA WILL have a classic federal constitution in all but name, and will become one of the few countries in the world to develop a federal system from a unitary one.

Despite the public pronouncements of politicians involved in electioneering, the constitutional principles embody all the essential elements of federalism. DP negotiations co-ordinator Ken Andrew bears this out, saying: "As a party that has campaigned tirelessly for more than 30 years for federalism, by any normal understanding of the word and system, we have federalism."

According to the principles, as agreed so far, the regions will have original designated powers, the resources to implement them and protection from central government interference.

The powers, duties and functions of regions will be spelt out in the constitution. The one area of major contention in this list will be who controls the police and security forces of the regions.

In spite of near apparent consensus on these matters, commentators

and foreign diplomats warn that the simultaneous process of negotiating a settlement and electioneering is dangerous. The consequences are becoming clear.

All the major political parties have embarked on their election campaigns. In the process they are interpreting the agreements and progress in negotiations in a dangerously partisan fashion.

At the same time, the technical committee charged with drafting a constitution is under undue pressure. "Are the goalposts being shifted? Are my principal's public statements the real position?"

It has been an open secret for some time that the major negotiations and compromises are taking place in the technical committee, which produces all its reports unanimously — a major feat given that the members represent, even if indirectly, political players.

The draft constitution will be ready at the earliest on Wednesday, and negotiators are likely to discuss it after a few days' study.

The constitutional technical com-

BILLY PADDOCK

mittee still has to produce a report on confederation and self-determination, to be discussed next week in order to accommodate CP demands. It is unlikely a way will be found to accommodate the CP's demand for a separate homeland.

Therefore the main issue is how the draft constitution will turn out and how it interprets the discussions in the negotiating council.

All eyes are on the committee and the document it will produce. Inkatha Freedom Party leader Mangosuthu Buthelezi this week has been on a tough electioneering schedule, travelling around the country, including the eastern Cape for the first time, to address businessmen, in the main, calling for donations to fight the elections early next year.

But at the same time, he is disputing the fact that a tentative election date has been set, and warning that there is no chance of a federal consti-

tution resulting from the present process. Inkatha has said it will not be at negotiations until a draft constitution has been tabled.

All but three of the constitutional principles have been agreed to in the negotiating council. The three outstanding ones relate to the relationship between central government and regional governments.

This is where the major sticking points will be. The committee is hoping these can be resolved swiftly in bilateral talks if the internal deadline of mid-August is to be met. The deadline has been set so that the draft constitution can be placed before Parliament and passed at its special session in September.

According to a technical committee member, the debate is about how specifically the powers and functions of regions should be spelt out in the constitution. The ANC is seeking a more vague definition than Inkatha and the DP.

The ANC is likely to accede and it is expected that the powers and functions of regions and their relationship to central government will be

dealt with separately in the interim constitution. These will be binding on the elected constitution-making body.

The draft constitution is likely to favour a single state with strong federal principles; a second House of parliament made up of regional representatives or elected senators; and an executive that is made up of a president, a prime minister and an enforced coalition cabinet.

There may be some trade-offs with regard to the executive, and where President F W de Klerk fits in. The ANC will not accept a troika presidency, and government is reaching the stage where, for the sake of progress, it will have to accept that De Klerk's power-sharing ideal is not going to get off the ground. There may be provision for deputy prime ministers for the second and third parties.

Andrew has a point when he says that there have to be checks and balances and protection of minorities. But if this is taken too far, and the majority will is emasculated, elections are unnecessary.

LETTERS

Doubt over IFP, Kwazulu's attendance at negotiations

PRETORIA. — Attempts to resolve constitutional differences between the government and the Inkatha Freedom Party/Kwazulu government appeared to have been partly successful — but it remained unclear whether the IFP would resume its seat at multiparty negotiations when they resume on Monday.

Minister of Constitutional Development Roelf Meyer described yesterday's meeting between the government and the IFP/Kwazulu government delegation as constructive and said the concerns articulated by the IFP and

Kwazulu government recently had been addressed. ~~3049~~

He said it was clear from the discussions that the IFP, the Kwazulu government and the South African government shared the same views and objectives as far as a future constitution was concerned. ~~112~~ ~~157~~

"We agree that a future constitution should be based on federal principles, that it should be the supreme law of the land, and that it should provide for a constitutional state. ARG 16/7/93

"Fundamental rights should be adjudicated over by a constitutional court, regional legislatures and regional government should be elected, and there should be special provision for amendments to the constitution.

"It is hard to understand why the IFP and the Kwazulu government should differ from what we believe has already been adopted in the negotiation process."

Mr Meyer said the IFP/Kwazulu delegation had not indicated whether they would return to negotiations on Monday. — Sapa.

Govt, Inkatha's constitutional aims similar, says Meyer

PRETORIA — The negotiations process received a boost yesterday when Constitutional Development Minister Roelf Meyer said this week's bilateral meetings between the Inkatha Freedom Party and government had shown that the two parties shared the same views and objectives regarding S.A.'s future constitutional arrangements.

Government had agreed with Inkatha that a future constitution should be based on federal principles, Meyer told a news briefing.

Both parties also felt that there would be elected regional legislatures and regional government, that a constitutional court

ADRIAN HADLAND

would adjudicate over questions of fundamental rights, that the constitution could be amended through a special provision and that the constitution would be the supreme law of the land.

"We share the same views and overall the same objectives," Meyer said.

Concerns expressed by Inkatha had been addressed during the meetings and, as a result, Meyer could see "no reason why they should not be back at the negotiating council on Monday."

This was denied by Inkatha negotiator Walter Felgate, who said Inkatha would

not return to negotiations until a draft constitution had been tabled before the council.

Meyer said the talks had indicated that common ground existed between the two parties, in particular on the substance of future constitutional arrangements.

In the light of this, it was hard to understand why Inkatha had differed from what was adopted in principle by the negotiating forum earlier this month.

This week's discussions, which would continue at the weekend, were aimed at conveying to Inkatha the views of government on the contents and interpretations of those principles, "and to ensure they are

being understood the same way we do."

The next important step in negotiations was to judge the draft constitution upon its completion — probably by the end of this month — by the technical committee, Meyer said. "The real test of whether our constitutional objectives are being met will be in the contents of that draft."

Remarks made recently by Inkatha leader Mangosuthu Buthelezi concerning government's views on power-sharing and the way in which government had been conducting its negotiations were clearly part of Inkatha's election campaign, Meyer said. The remarks were far removed from the truth.

ELECTIONS FM 16/7/93

The costs of goodwill

30/4/93

Will the ANC be able to fund its general election campaign? It aims to raise R200m. "We can," asserts ANC elections commission secretary Patrick Lekota, pointing out that a fund-raising campaign has been launched. "But it's difficult to say at the beginning how much money it will be possible to raise."

Indeed, Nelson Mandela's appeal for funds in the US recently appears not to have been a resounding success. It's thought Mandela aimed to raise US\$20m, but no-one is saying how much is in hand, or even pledged. Lekota says it's too early to say whether the US campaign flopped or not. Besides, it was only one leg, kicking off a worldwide search that will include Europe, Scandinavia, Africa, Asia, the Middle East, Japan and Australasia.

Mandela last week also launched a campaign in Britain, starting with an appeal to readers of *The Guardian*, in which it was admitted that an ANC victory could not be taken for granted.

But with other causes beckoning in the West, there is the problem of donor fatigue; and as the election draws nearer, international donors will want to be more even-handed. And despite the Mandela magic, he cannot be everywhere. Even so, says Lekota, "we are confident that on a continuing basis — not having all the money at once — we will be able to fund it." The fund-raising campaign will, therefore, run parallel to campaigning for the election, set to take place in April.

Lekota is optimistic — "given the goodwill that exists towards the ANC both inside the country and internationally" — that the money will be found to keep the campaign going. He suggests it will be done on a "weekly/monthly basis," which sounds a little ad hoc.

The figure of R200m is based on R10 per voter, which is a third of what the ANC says the NP budgeted for the white referendum in March 1992. "We're at a disadvantage compared to the NP with its resources," says Lekota. He claims that the Nats spent R500 000 to mobilise 5 000 people at its recent multiracial Pietersburg rally.

At R500 a head, Mandela's 75th birthday bash this week (57 tables with 12 guests each) is expected to raise over R300 000 — a drop in the ocean of R200m.

The ANC appears not to be too interested in print media campaigns, since about 60% of its market is illiterate. Nonetheless, an ANC-supporting newspaper is due to be launched (funded by Lonrho and advised, it is thought, by former *Observer* editor Donald Trelford and to be edited by *New Nation's* Zwelakhe Sisulu).

Radio is considered a more productive area, though a problem here seems to be that "listeners can't raise questions since many do not have phones," says Lekota. "So we need to be able to find other means, drawing and relying on, for example, our experience from campaigns of the UDF and the Defiance Campaign." Local community initiatives are something we'll see a lot of, he adds.

Some observers, like DP executive director James Selfe, suggest that the ANC will concentrate on its urban constituencies while relying on affiliates and parties that support it to deliver rural and group votes — like the Labour Party, Natal Indian Congress and certain homeland parties, like Intando ye Sizwe in KwaNdebele.

According to Selfe, the amount of cash a party would need depends on the kind of election strategy it follows. A countrywide campaign, which the ANC as the government-in-waiting would go for, would cost between R350m and R500m, says Selfe (about R30/voter). On the other hand, a more cost-effective way involves segmenting your market into areas and spending accordingly: more where you want to make inroads, less where you are certain of winning.

For all that, the ANC could rely on April 27 being a different kind of poll — a liberation or decolonisation election that will guarantee a surging majority to the organisation. After those who are emotionally tied to supporting the ANC have delivered their IOUs in this election, a more logical reconfiguration of party support could get under way.



REGIONS — 1 FM 16/7/93 Journey with many maps

The criteria in terms of which the commission on regions must recommend boundaries seem to some experts to amount to motherhood and apple pie. They include the obvi-



THE ELECTION

FM 16/7/93

Let battle commence 304A

With the announcement of the April 27 election date, SA's longest and almost certainly most expensive political campaign has begun. Some (possibly over-optimistic) estimates are that over the next 10 months R50m-R65m will be spent in above-the-line media on educating and wooing voters — a nice windfall for the media.

In addition, there will be considerable expenditure below the line. Most of the money will be spent by the leading political protagon-

ists, though most participants feel the State will have to shoulder the bulk of the burden of voter education.

However, with the ANC already out of the starting blocks, a major decision still has to be made concerning the use of electronic media. The technical committee of the multiparty conference at Kempton Park has recommended that there should be no television advertising, a move to protect the smaller players who would have difficulty finding the money for TV ads.

But the committee believes radio should be allowed to accept political advertising. This is vital as a big proportion of the 20m voting population is illiterate. About 18m will be first-time voters. Because of this medium's importance in an election context, its expansion is likely to be accelerated once radio is deregulated.

The SABC expects to have 17 radio stations in operation by the beginning of next year and, according to Peter de Klerk, executive vice-president of the Association of Advertising Agencies, another 34 independent stations are expected to become operational during the first quarter of 1994. More than 100 potential new broadcasters are waiting for the opportunity to apply for licences, mostly radio but some TV. The decisions, however, will not be final until passed into law. Inkatha Freedom Party CEO Joe Mat-

thews is critical of what he feels is unseemly haste in making the recommendations. "It was not given sufficient thought," he says.

Another decision that has to be made by the technical committee of the multiparty conference is how to control political advertising. The code of the Advertising Standards Authority (ASA) does not cover political advertising but the ASA has suggested procedures and concepts. "We have sent these to the technical committee and, when the rules are approved, we will write them into the code," says De Klerk.

The National Association of Broadcasters has not taken a stand on political advertising, says chairman Stan Katz, because "we have some members for whom the issue is very sensitive. Radio broadcasters will make their own decisions on this. The Independent Media Commission will be laying down the rules but we have already produced our own set of suggested rules."

Cinemark, the company which sells cinema advertising, is precluded by its terms and conditions from accepting party political advertising and has decided not to seek any variation in these terms

because of the danger of angry audience reaction to ads they don't like.

Questions that still need to be addressed include whether there should be a limit on the amount of money which a political party may spend on advertising and how broadcast air time should be apportioned to be fair to all protagonists. It seems to have been accepted that there should be no limit on foreign funding, but this remains a contentious issue with some parties.

Among political parties, the ANC has already started running ads which, if not exactly election advertising, are geared towards changing voter attitudes. Its agency is the Hunt Lascaris subsidiary, AM&C, which describes itself as a "through-the-line" specialist.

The strategy is distinguished by speed of response ("Quo Vadis, Afrikaner?" appeared within days of the World Trade Centre attack by the AWB), an absence of sloganeering and insistence on the issues, avoiding personalities and innuendos. AM&C creative director Louis Gavin saw the ad as a breakthrough in extending a hand

of friendship from the ANC to Afrikaners.

National Party advertising will be handled by Optimum Marketing Communications, the newly established subsidiary of Saatchi & Saatchi Klerck & Barrett. MD Eldad Louw has had wide experience of political advertising, including the Kenya campaign for Daniel arap Moi, the NP campaigns in 1983, 1987 and 1989 and last year's referendum campaign. Louw says a strategy was presented last November. The agency is now working on it and has been given a budget (which he is not free to disclose).

The Inkatha Freedom Party has not yet appointed an ad agency, though CEO Joe Matthews says several agencies have approached him. "We are trying to raise money locally and overseas," he says.

The Democratic Party has also not appointed an agency. Marketing and communications director Caroline Knott says this will be done closer to the election, probably after the DP congress in October.

Africa awaits FM 16/7/93

With 600m people, the African continent is not a market which multinational advertisers can afford to ignore as they have in the past, believes Malcolm Miles, senior vice-president of McCann-Erickson Worldwide.

"There has been a sea change in client attitudes," he says. "They are beginning to talk about their Africa business as a totality. Only 18 months ago they were not." For these reasons, Miles believes the International Advertising Association regional conference at Lost City in September (which he is addressing) is "tremendously significant. There hasn't been one like it before, in a pan-African marketing environment."

Many clients still view Africa as comprising 46 separate markets, none of them big enough to support a worthwhile ad campaign. "Now our client companies and our agency network are organising on a basis which gives us a very strong African infrastructure using centres of excellence and shared resources," Miles says. "As an example, our SA agency is handling the production of an ad conceived in Egypt for a multinational client, and which will be used elsewhere in the Middle East."

McCann has a network of agencies in 15 African countries handling pan-African advertising for clients such as Coca-Cola, Nestlé, Gillette and Unilever. "Africa is important because there is a move towards a consumer society. More important, it is not that expensive to get into African markets right now. If clients wait 10 years the cost of entry will be far higher."

Tony Koenderman



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Democracy!**

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against
right-wing
terrorism!**

ANC advertising ...
an early start

Govt, Inkatha 'share views'

20419
11/13
CR16/7/93

Own Correspondent

PRETORIA. — Bilateral meetings this week had shown that the government and Inkatha shared the same views and objectives regarding South Africa's future constitutional arrangements, Constitutional Development Minister Mr Roelf Meyer said yesterday.

The government had agreed with Inkatha that a future constitution should be based on federal principles, he told a news briefing.

Both parties also felt there should be elected regional legislatures and regional government, that a constitutional court should adjudicate over questions of fundamental rights, that the constitution should be amendable and that the constitution should be the supreme law of the land.

"We share the same views and overall the same objectives," Mr Meyer said.

Common ground

Concerns expressed by Inkatha had been addressed during the meetings and, as a result, he could see "no reason why they should not be back at the negotiating council on Monday".

But Inkatha negotiator Mr Walter Felgate said Inkatha would not return to negotiations until a draft constitution had been tabled before the council.

Meyer said the talks had indicated that common ground existed between the two parties, in particular on the substance of future constitutional arrangements.

In the light of this, it was hard to understand why Inkatha had differed from what was adopted in principle by the negotiating forum earlier this month.

The next important step was to judge the draft constitution upon its completion, probably by the end of this month.

"The real test of whether our constitutional objectives are being met will be in the contents of that draft."

Mandela still wants 14-year-olds to vote

JOHANNESBURG. — ANC president Mr Nelson Mandela said he would ensure that children of 14 and upwards would vote in elections after those to be held next April.

Addressing an election rally in the northern Free State township of Tumahole yesterday, he said he accepted that only people of 18 years or older would vote in South Africa's first multi-racial election.

Controversy over the issue began when the ANC leader made a similar statement during a visit to Natal earlier this year. The call was widely rejected, however, and his own national executive issued a statement saying their president had only been making a suggestion and that official ANC policy was still a voting age of 18 years.

Star 16/7/93

Pessimism rife in SA - poll

Half of the white and black respondents sampled in the latest Markinor Gallup poll believe that the relationship between white and black South Africans has deteriorated.

Results of the survey, which was conducted in April and May this year among 800 whites and 1 000 blacks, were released yesterday. Similar polls were held last year.

The latest data shows that the number of blacks who believe the inter-racial relationship had grown worse had shot up from 15 percent in May last year to 49 percent in the latest poll. The number of whites with similar sentiments also in-

creased dramatically from 18 percent to 48 percent.

Only 20 percent of blacks and 24 percent of whites considered the inter-racial relationship to be fairly good. (304A)

The number of whites who believed President F W de Klerk was leading the country well had dropped from 46 to 22 percent. Among black respondents, only six percent considered De Klerk's performance favourably compared with 28 percent in the May 1992 poll.

Fifteen percent of blacks and 12 percent of whites believed families were currently better off economically than in the past.

— Sapa.

A "PEACE Army" of between 5 000 and 10 000 soldiers drawn from the South African Defence Force, Umkhonto weSizwe, the Azanian People's Liberation Army and the homeland armies is to be established shortly to monitor the country's first democratic elections.

Proposals for the establishment of the peace-keeping force have been accepted by the major negotiating parties. Details, leaked to *The Weekly Mail*, are contained in a report by the multiparty negotiating process' technical committee on violence, to be published on July 26.

According to sources close to the National Party and the African National Congress, the corps may be formed as early as the end of July — that is, in two weeks' time — and certainly not later than August.

The corps will be based on the concept of a United Nations peace-keeping force, but will be an internal military formation consisting exclusively of South Africans. It will be under multiparty control or control of the Transitional Executive Council (TEC), and will aim to "maintain internal stability".

It will be the first time MK soldiers and SADF troops have served under a common banner. The negotiating parties are understood to have agreed that the merger of the security forces with MK and other armed formations will not be possible before the elections.

Broad agreement already exists among the major parties at the negotiations on the founding of the peace corps, and acceptance of the technical committee's report is seen as a formality.

'Peace army' to oversee election

W/week 16/7 - 22/7/93.
The establishment of a peace-keeping force to monitor elections will see Umkhonto weSizwe soldiers and SADF troops serving under a common banner for the first time — perhaps by the end of this month. **CHRIS LOUW** reports

The formation of the corps forms part of measures to "level the playing fields" in the run-up to the elections. The purpose is to have an independent force overseeing the elections, instead of the state's highly controversial security forces.

It has tentatively been agreed that the SADF will concentrate on protecting installations and borders and that the police will concentrate on fighting crime.

According to sources, parties at the negotiations feel strongly that the peace corps should be established as soon as possible to allow them time to grow into an integrated unit with shared values. After the elections, its functions would be determined by an elected government in consultation with the relevant parties.

The principle for the establishment of the peace army has already been adopted by the negotiating council. Provision for its existence is made in a resolution adopted on June 22 by all 26 parties

represented at the World Trade Centre.

Resolution 11.1 of June 22 states that the "technical committee on violence (should) prepare detailed proposals on the desirability, financing, establishment and composition of a Peace/Youth Services Corps".

Resolution 11.2 provides for the National Peace Committee and members of the technical committee on violence to "be entrusted with the initial drawing up of structures for a peace corps".

This has now been done, and will be accepted by the negotiating council after the tabling of the report on July 26.

The two resolutions were based on the fourth report of the technical committee on violence, tabled on June 2. The initial intention was to provide a body "to constructively channel the energies and anger of the youth, particularly the unemployed and marginalised youth, during the transition and thereafter".

The committee proposed that all parties/organisations/administrations submit their views on the desirability of the establishment of a peace corps/youth services corps as a matter of urgency".

Parties were also asked to take "due regard" of the experiences of other countries and the need to ensure full participation by both young men and women.

In bilateral discussions between the major parties it has been decided to drop references to the youth, and instead turn the corps into a professional peace-keeping force to ensure that elections are free and fair.

This was done to accommodate concerns of participants in the negotiations that the present security forces lack the legitimacy to oversee the elections.

The peace corps, according to one source, "could really lay the basis for multiparty co-operation". It has been agreed that it must be formed as soon as possible after the establishment of the TEC, which is expected to be by the end of the month.

Concern was expressed this week by both ANC and NP sources that the Inkatha Freedom Party — which initially seemed to have supported the idea — may try to obstruct the formation of the peace corps. The IFP, still smarting after the negotiating forum accepted April 27 as the election date in the teeth of their objections, is in an unpredictable and destructive mood.

Although the IFP and the Cosag parties may delay the establishment of the corps, they are not expected to be able to prevent it.

WHEN the Inkatha Freedom Party had the chance to speak up, it preferred to keep quiet. But now that the negotiating council has agreed on an election date, the party has suddenly become vocal in its rejection of crucial facets of the process.

The IFP may be consistent as far as its ultimate goals are concerned, but its strategy is highly unpredictable.

One example: when key IFP negotiator Joe Matthews led his delegation in a walk-out during a session of the negotiating forum two weeks ago, he made it clear that his party would be back when negotiations reconvened on July 19. Now, however, IFP leader Mangosuthu Buthelezi is threatening to withdraw from the process unless his demands are met.

To confuse things further, it is known that the IFP earlier this week presented its own proposals for an interim constitution to a technical committee in Kempton Park — despite its vociferous opposition to any interim measures leading to democracay. The IFP and kwaZulu walk-out was in fact precipitated by the forum's decision to accept a two-phase transitional process, including an interim constitution.

In the next few weeks, all eyes will be focused on the IFP and kwaZulu options. Inkatha may influence the course of negotiations even more decisively than the white rightwing. And the manipulation of Zulu King Goodwill Zwelethini to whip up Zulu nationalist emotions has introduced a novel dynamic.

The IFP's lack of consistency in its negotiations strategy is highlighted by a recently published book on the failure of the two Codesa conventions that preceded the present multi-party process.

Entitled *The Long Journey: South Africa's Quest for a Negotiated Settlement*, it is the most authoritative work yet published on the efforts to find a negotiated political settlement. Edited by the Centre for Policy Studies' Steven Friedman, it underlines the subdued role of the IFP in all the Codesa working groups while important decisions were being taken — decisions that have a direct impact on the present process.

Inkatha's limited participation, the authors say, is difficult to explain. One explanation is "that it simply failed to send a senior delegation"; another "that Buthelezi's absence made it impossible for IFP delegates to operate effectively, since the only man who could really bind it to agreements was not there".

Buthelezi, it seems, did not expect the IFP to "present a strenuous defence of its interests, since he expected the real bargaining to begin only when his terms were met and he joined the negotiations". This would only have been when a multi-party forum — as Buthelezi insisted — began drafting a constitution that would be put to the electorate; the IFP from the beginning rejected the notion of an elected

In, out, in ... Inkatha's talks tactics



New dynamic ... King Zwelithini

Negotiations are entering their final phase, depending only on Inkatha's unpredictable approach. CHRIS LOUW sets the scene for the resumption of talks

W/maul 6/7-22/7/93
constitution-making body.

Whatever the reasons, the IFP's comparative silence limited Codesa's ability to solve problems which have now emerged:

Neither the National Party nor the African National Congress took the IFP particularly seriously. The IFP's proposals were largely ignored — specifically in Working Group Three, whose brief was to suggest the transitional arrangements, interim government or transitional authority — without Inkatha objecting.

When the negotiations resume on July 19, it is precisely on the issue of a transitional authority that conflict can be expected.

Inkatha spokesmen, including Buthelezi, have made it clear that they first want to see what the technical committee on constitutional matters comes up with before deciding whether negotiations serve any further pur-

pose.

The IFP insists that it wants a final say on the regional powers and functions and boundaries of its proposed kwaZulu/Natal region. Although the other negotiating parties — most significantly the ANC — have bent over backwards to accommodate the IFP's demands for strong autonomous regions, this is the one concession that will not be made.

The ANC and the NP accept that the central government will have to have overriding powers in a new dispensation, and that an elected constituent assembly will in the final analysis be responsible for deciding on powers, functions and boundaries.

Conceded in the last meetings of the negotiating council was a set of constitutional principles ensuring strong powers for regional governments, including fiscal powers. Another principle that will bind a future constitution-writing body is that the "national government shall not exercise its powers (exclusive or concurrent) to encroach on the geographical, functional or institutional integrity" of the regions.

For the IFP, this was not good enough. It has insisted through its two key negotiators, Matthews and Walter Felgate, that the current, unrepresentative body draws up the final constitution, and that elections be held before the end of the year, making transitional arrangements superfluous.

The final deadline for the submission of interim constitutional proposals was set for Tuesday this week. Despite the angry rhetoric, the IFP quietly handed in its proposals just before the deadline. Exactly what it is proposing is not known, however.

Both ANC and NP negotiators are now waiting with bated breath to see what the IFP's next move will be. They are unclear on how serious the IFP is in its threat to withdraw from the negotiating process.

Regardless of whether the IFP and kwaZulu delegations report at the talks on Monday, it will be another week or so before the crucial issue of the interim constitution is discussed. This is how long it will take the technical committee to study the various proposals and come up with a compromise proposal.

Though the talks have reached a pivotal stage, next week's sessions are expected to be taken up by mostly technical issues, which will be of little interest to a public hungry for tangible results.

But once the process restarts towards the end of the month, things may start to happen with speed. The negotiators are now quickly reaching the end of the pre-election phase.

On the table for the next few weeks are the transitional constitution, final constitutional principles and the preparation of the structures for an election. This phase could be finalised by the end of August — leaving the country for all intents and purposes ready for its first democratic elections, well within the deadline of April 27 next year.

BENCHMARKS

Guest columnist **PAUL BENJAMIN**
looks at the law, the lawyers
and the courts

Auditing the democrats

W/ment 16/7-22/7/93
304A

AS South Africa approaches its first democratic elections, clarity as to what is meant by democracy will be vital to the process of adequate voter education.

An impressive project administered by a team at the Essex Human Rights Centre might prove extremely useful. Its object is "to produce authoritative landmark studies against which the condition of democracy and political freedoms in the United Kingdom can be measured over time, and so enable the public to judge whether this country is becoming more or less democratic and free".

The centre suggests that there are two fundamental requirements for the existence of democracy: first, popular control of decision-making within the political sphere and elsewhere in society. This requirement necessitates control over decision-makers.

Second, there is the requirement of political equality — that is, the equal capacity to self-determination, an equal right of all citizens to influence the collective decisions of society.

From this it can be concluded that democracy is not an all-or-nothing concept. The centre thus argues that there is a need to develop specific and measurable indices which, with systematic and impartial procedures, test conditions for democracy. It has constructed five major issues that come within the scope of its audit: competitive elections; accountability and public scrutiny of government institutions; levels of government; citizenship rights; and the role of civil society.

Two examples will have to suffice here as being illustrative of the audit — namely, elections and citizenship rights.

The check list for a democratic election encompasses:

- How far is appointment to the legislature and government office determined by popular election, open competition, universal suffrage, secret ballot?

- How independent of government and/or party control are the elections, procedures for voting and the registration process, and how free from intimidation or bribery is the election itself?

- How effective a range of choice and information does the electoral and party system allow voters? Is there fair and equal access for all parties and candidates to mass media and other means of communication?

- To what extent do the voters carry equal weight, and how far is there equal opportunity to stand for public office?

- What proportion of the electorate votes, and how close does the composition of parliament and the programme of the government reflect the choices made by the electorate?

Similar questions are asked to ascertain the democratic nature of citizenship:

- How clearly does the law define civil and political rights and liberties of the citizen, and how effectively are they protected?

- How secure are citizens in the exercise of their rights and liberties, and how far is their equal enjoyment of them constrained by social, economic or other factors?

- How well developed are voluntary associations for the advancement and monitoring of citizens' rights, and how free from state harassment are they?

- How effective are procedures for informing citizens of their rights and for educating future citizens in the exercise of them?

- How free from arbitrary discrimination are the criteria for admission of refugees or immigrants to live in the country, and how readily can those admitted obtain equal rights and citizenship?

The adoption of these tests can assist individual South Africans to determine the democratic content of the programmes of the various parties competing for election. Nearly all the 26 parties at the negotiating forum claim to be democrats. It would be interesting to note how many pass a democratic audit.

THE rightwing consultancy engaged by Ciskei to gather intelligence in South Africa played a major role in forming the Afrikaner Volksfront (AVF).

Pretoria-based Multi-Media Services (MMS) was also the chief organiser of the rightwing occupation of the World Trade Centre recently, according to information gathered by an intelligence agency.

MMS is run by prominent rightwingers, including General Tienie Groenewald and Riaan and Koos van Rensburg. *The Weekly Mail* last week reported that Ciskei paid over R800 000 to MMS for "intelligence gathering". Speculation, rejected by Ciskei, has been that the money might have bought the homeland new AK47 rifles.

Now an intelligence report by a well-placed rightwing source for the first time outlines in detail the process leading up to the establishment of the AVF.

According to the report, in the newspaper's possession, the two Van Rensburgs were present at a meeting in Pretoria on November 25 1991 between Afrikaner luminaries Dr Wally Grant, Professor Adrian Poni, Professor Willie Lubbe and Professor Victor D'Assonville.

Three months later, on February 22 1992, this

Masterminds of the Afrikaner Volksfront

Rightwingers reported last week to have supplied 'intelligence' and possibly arms to Ciskei have been identified as the prime movers behind the recent occupation of the World Trade Centre. PATRICK GOODENOUGH reports

group, called the "Committee of Four", formed the 25-strong body called Eenheidskomitee 25 (EK25).

Although the Van Rensburgs' names apparently did not appear on the minutes of those meetings, their company, MMS, was responsible for convening them, according to the document.

Riaan van Rensburg then recruited Groenewald, an old acquaintance, who in turn brought on board generals Koos Bischoff, Cobus Visser and Lothar Neethling.

At a meeting in Pretoria on June 13 1992, EK25 expanded to EK35, and was renamed the Volkseenheidskomitee (Vekom).

Almost a year later, a meeting was convened, once again through MMS, with invitations to General Constand Viljoen and 65 rightwing groups. The generals were asked to unite the rightwing *volk* and the Afrikaner Volksfront was formed on May 19.

In May, Riaan van Rensburg confirmed that Viljoen had become a partner in MMS.

The report names the Van Rensburgs as key manipulators in the entire process, including the decision to bring in Viljoen.

During the World Trade Centre incident, Riaan van Rensburg was visible at Viljoen's side; he is a short, bespectacled and suited man with long blonde hair.

Meanwhile, further details have emerged about the dealings MMS had with Ciskei. According to several sources, the contract signed with military leader Brigadier Oupa Gqozo promised a huge range of services, did not specify their cost and was "irrevocable".

The contract — signed by Gqozo and MMS chairman Riaan van Rensburg — specified that the company would provide a broad range of services, from public relations and computer networking to intelligence assessment and propaganda, over a three-year period.

Several sources recalled that Gqozo had signed the document before his legal advisor, Mickey Webb, or council of state officials had seen it. Webb could not be reached for comment.

Gqozo had also been warned by a senior South African Defence Force officer in the region to steer clear of MMS, they said.

When finance officials began querying the large invoices submitted by MMS, Gqozo at one stage tried to secure R500 000 from the homeland's defence budget to help cover the bills. Senior Ciskei Defence Force (CDF) officers refused.

MMS also wanted to install a computer in the CDF military intelligence office, to give the company access to all information available. Gqozo's then-head of military intelligence, Ockert Swanepoel, reportedly refused permission.

Swanepoel also clashed with MMS over a contract to bring in former Boss training officer General Tai Minnaar to run a "VIP protection course" for Gqozo's bodyguard.

The MI chief was fired, and Van Rensburg later boasted to council of state staff that he was responsible.

Sources said that bank officials in Bisho had queried Van Rensburg's demands that the bank immediately cash government cheques for large sums. The MMS man was apparently not prepared to have the money transferred electronically to a bank in South Africa.

When Gqozo terminated the contract with MMS in February, the company billed the government for a final sum of R235 300. Council of state representatives insisted on a R30 000 refund for alleged over-payment for video work, and on a further R100 000 refund for "under supplies". MMS walked away with R105 300.

Battle for US hearts – and pockets

W/Mail 16/7-22/7/93.

SOUTH AFRICA faced another 10 to 15 years of violence from "elements on the right and the left", President FW de Klerk predicted during his visit to the United States.

The sombre forecast was one of several intriguing glimpses into the minds of De Klerk and African National Congress president Nelson Mandela during their contest for the hearts and minds of the American people this month. Both were in the US to receive the Liberty Medal from President Bill Clinton for their contributions to the development of democracy in South Africa.

De Klerk told reporters in Washington on July 2 that the violence would emanate from whites resisting the transfer of power to blacks, and from blacks seeking to avenge decades of indignity at the hands of white fellow countrymen.

He sought to balance his forecast, however, with the assertion that South Africans would ride the storm ahead. Violence would be confined to the "lunatic fringe", and South Africa's fundamental stability would remain intact.

For his part, Mandela disclosed to interviewers in Atlanta, Georgia, that he had offered quietly to come to terms with far-right Afrikaners seeking regional autonomy in a restructured South Africa, and that he was awaiting a response.

He also revealed that when he emerged from prison in 1990, Inkatha's Mangosuthu Buthelezi and De Klerk proposed that the three of them "should form a troika (of their political parties) ... which should decide the political agenda for the country". He added: "I, of course, totally rejected that."

Elaborating on the deal he envisioned with what he called "the growing ultra-right movement", Mandela said it could count on "the loyalty of a substantial section of the civil service, of the police and the army", all well-trained, highly literate and militarily sophisticated. The ANC sympathised with and considered "quite reasonable" their demand for their own region after more than three centuries of power, he said. But their demand for self-determination would be infectious with Buthelezi and nine homelands joining in.

Mandela went on: "So what I have said to them is: 'Don't talk about the right of self-determination for the Afrikaner, because that we're not going to do. But you must quietly work out a map. Tell us what region you would like and give it to us without making a noise ... and we will see whether we can compromise with you ...'"

"Because in any case regions are going to be created. We would like, therefore, within that policy, to accommodate them."

This was vintage Mandela, displaying the moderation and reasonableness which White House officials, speaking privately, said they envied — even if it risked the wrath of Mandela's followers back home.

Recognising that risk, the ANC leader was careful to balance his public utterances by assailing his opponents. He branded De Klerk, for instance, the leader of "an illegitimate and discredited" regime, even while acknowledging he needed the president as much as the president needed him to achieve their shared aim of an elected non-racial democratic government.

Mandela dismissed Buthelezi, whose sense of insecurity, he said, had diminished the role he had played in the struggle against apartheid and who was insisting on a form of statehood now "because he knows that when it comes to elections he might be wiped out".

It was inevitable, then, that the attention of the White House, the Congress and the media would be focused more on Mandela than on De Klerk. Mandela won the headlines not only because of his charismatic past; he also seemed better able to identify the ANC's struggle for rights with the heroes of the American revolution than De Klerk was able to do.

De Klerk sought to shrug off the pot-shots aimed at him by declining to indulge in what he called "petty politics".

Despite disavowals by De Klerk's office, US officials say there was undoubtedly concern in the De Klerk camp at what was perceived to be the Clinton administration's attitude towards him. It was no accident that America's First Lady, Hillary Clinton, did not pick up the suggestion by the South African embassy in Washington that she meet Marike de Klerk.

There were areas, however, where the two leaders were seen to be working together in South Africa's broader interests — notably in their separate exchanges with the International Monetary Fund, the World Bank and with the administration

The US visits of FW de Klerk and Nelson Mandela this month set the stage for some intriguing glimpses into the minds of the two leaders.

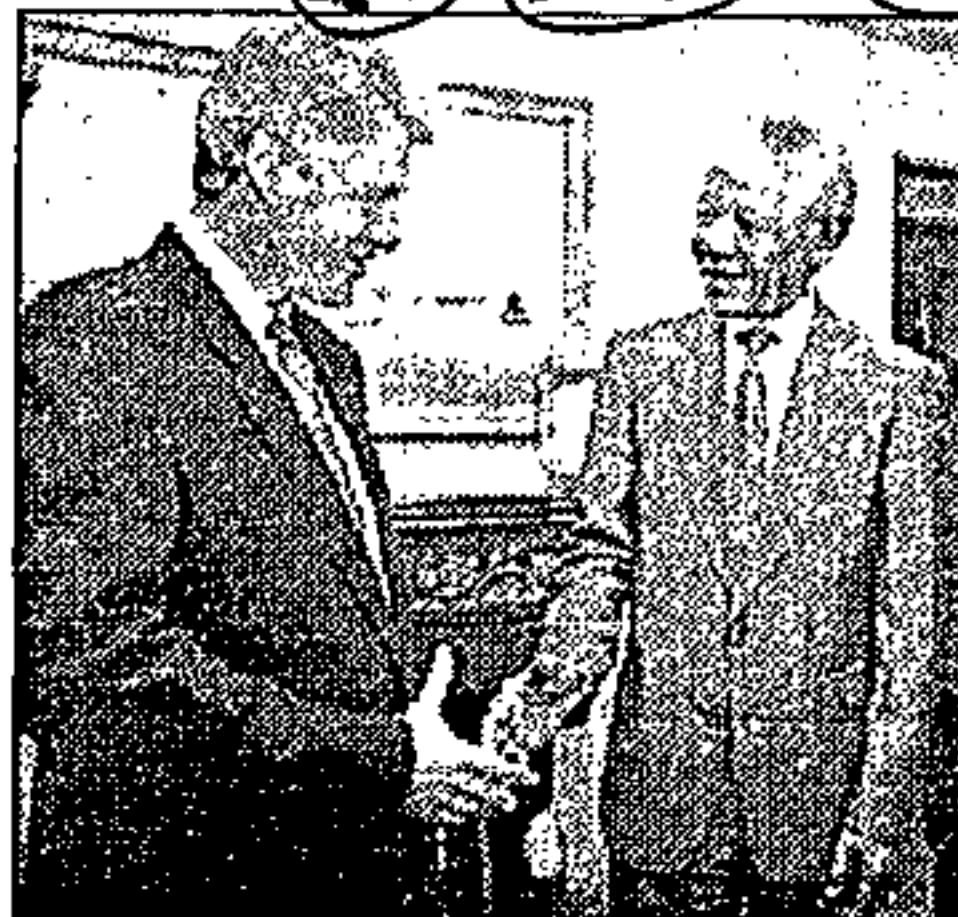
By ARTHUR GAVSHON

itself about future funding and credits needed to uplift the country's economy.

But, here again, the initiative seemed to rest with Mandela, who withheld a call for the final removal of sanctions until total agreement on the formation of a Transitional Executive Council (TEC) had been negotiated in Johannesburg.

Mandela again laid the onus on De Klerk. He cited the president's intervention in the selection of the SABC board, arguing that he wanted to ensure this would not be repeated in composing membership of the TEC.

In his proclaimed mission of raising \$43-million for the ANC's voter education and electoral programmes, Mandela exposed himself and his



Presidential handshake ... Clinton and Mandela organisation to some political dangers.

A British diplomat observed: "There is a fine line between educating voters and campaigning for votes. If charitable bodies or corporations donate funds for voter education, and then dis-

cover those funds are being used for political purposes, they could be in trouble. And the ANC, too, could be accused of misusing those donations if they have come from tax-exempt groupings. The ANC ought to watch out."

In his fundraising swing through seven US cities, Mandela was not accorded the hero's welcome he received after his emergence from jail in 1990. Nor did he expect it — his quest was purely for financial backing. The ANC estimates it needs something like R140-million — about half for its voter education programme and the rest for electoral campaigning. The infrastructure being developed for voter education is intended also to serve its electioneering activities.

But his drive for money won the backing of many famed American figures in business, politics, entertainment. Corporations ranging from Coca-Cola to HJ Heinz and Sony Pictures also participated.

In the UK this week, a parallel fund-raising operation began with a full-page advertisement in *The Guardian* at a cost of about R45 000. The aim is to raise about R5-million.

THE UNIVERSAL FAVOURITE



The largest selling Gin in the world

Black Nat with a chequered past

W/Mail 16/7-22/7/93. 304A

AN alleged murderer, who claims to have ties with the Afrikaner Weerstandsbeweging and threatened to assassinate African National Congress leaders, is working for the National Party as an official in Soweto.

Patrick Hlongwane is now the information officer of the NP's Soweto branch — even though he was implicated in the murder and abduction of African National Congress activists in the 1980s.

After joining FW de Klerk's new-look party last month, Hlongwane attended the NP's Youth Congress in Durban last week. He joined the crowd in rapturous chants of "Viva De Klerk" when the NP leader addressed the conference on Saturday.

In buoyant mood, Hlongwane shook hands with De Klerk — and fired off a series of questions to him on constitutional issues and on the NP's election strategy.

In an interview, Hlongwane said he was not only an NP member — but also a member of the AWB.

He commented: "I'm a member of the AWB militarily. Politically, I'm NP. I honour president De Klerk as a man of integrity."

Hlongwane added that he had ties with the AWB because the NP did not have a military wing and if he ever needed "to go and kill" he could rely on the AWB to supply him with weapons.

Hlongwane said he joined the NP after discussions with its election coordinator for the Greater Johannesburg and Soweto region, David Chuenyane.

Chuenyane — a former member of the Pan Africanist Congress — said the NP accepted Hlongwane

Patrick Hlongwane, information officer of the NP's Soweto branch and a former ANC detainee, claims to be an AWB member and is alleged to have been involved in the murder and abduction of ANC activists in the 1980s.

FAROUK CHOTHIA reports

within its ranks because "it's an open party" and the NP thought "we could salvage someone like him".

Chuenyane said the NP had warned Hlongwane not to make "controversial statements" and the NP would consider "disciplinary action" against him for his comments to *The Weekly Mail*.

"He assured us: 'I'm a changed man. I want to work for peace'," Chuenyane added.

Hlongwane later telephoned *The Weekly Mail* and denied he still had ties with the AWB. "I was with the AWB. I'm no more with the AWB," he commented.

ANC spokesman Carl Niehaus said the NP's decision to give membership to Hlongwane proved that the NP could only win over blacks with "dubious records" and not "people of stature".

In 1991, Hlongwane returned to South Africa to make revelations of torture in ANC detention camps, severely embarrassing the organisation. With other alleged victims, he formed the Returned Exiles Committee and pressed for an independent inquiry to investigate their

claims. Hlongwane also threatened to form a hit squad to assassinate ANC leaders he believed were responsible for the abuses.

The ANC hit back by claiming that Hlongwane was a police operative who assisted in the killing of ANC activists in Lesotho and in a security police plot to kidnap United Democratic Front and civic leaders. Hlongwane denied the charges.

Before joining the NP in Soweto, Hlongwane lived with alleged IFP warlord Thomas Mandla Shabalala in Lindelani, near Durban, but denied being a member of the IFP.

At its latest Commission of Inquiry into human rights abuses, chaired by businessman Sam Mot-suenyane, the ANC presented a video tape early last month which showed Hlongwane confessing that he had helped the South African Defence Force kill exiled "comrades" in Lesotho in 1982.

In the video, Hlongwane said three comrades were killed after being lined up against a wall. He admitted killing at least one of them with an R1 rifle — which is a police issue weapon — and said he was paid R500.

According to *The Star* newspaper, Hlongwane was present at the commission hearing when the videotape was shown. When Mot-suenyane asked him whether he had anything to say, he replied that the killings were carried out by "professionals".

Hlongwane later complained to *The Star* about its report, saying he had "long maintained that he was forced at gunpoint" to make the "untrue" confession.

He insisted he had never been an IFP member.

'Army of peace' to monitor the polls

w/moul 16/7 - 22/7/93

A THOUSANDS-STRONG "army of peace" comprised largely of Defence Force soldiers and former guerrillas will monitor the coming elections.

Proposals for the peace-keeping force, to be formed within the next few weeks, have been accepted by all major negotiating parties.

The corps will be based on the concept of a United Nations peacekeeping force, but will consist entirely of South Africans under the control of the transitional executive.

This will be the first time MK soldiers and SADF troops serve under a common banner.

Although the dissenting IFP and Cosag parties may delay the establishment of the corps, they are not expected to be able to prevent it.

● See PAGE 2



Litter muncher. On a road the local school have collected cans and discarded debris.

ous: historical boundaries and infrastructure; the need to rationalise structures and to limit costs and inconvenience; consideration of language and cultural realities and so on. But do they go far enough? (304A)

Perhaps a potent criticism is that the commission, appointed by the multiparty negotiating process, will have had a mere two months to complete this important task. In New Zealand a similar commission spent years defining boundaries, based often on local referendums. There is concern about public hearings regarding regional boundaries; the reintegration of artificially divided metropolitan areas; the protection of the efficiency of cities and towns; rural-urban and regional inequalities; reintegration of racially divided rural areas; consultation; and awareness of inter-regional jealousies.

The Urban Foundation's Ann Bernstein, a member of the commission, recently listed such telling guidelines, in the form of do's and don'ts. Bernstein correspondingly warns against things like using regional boundaries to bolster selective political constituencies, entrenching old apartheid geographic and political divisions and creating large bureaucracies remote from local communities and individuals.

The regional debate, she says, is really about three core issues:

- ☐ How to reincorporate the homelands into one nation;
- ☐ How to accommodate the fears of minority groups, and
- ☐ How to accommodate the largest party's concerns about the dilution of its power to govern from the centre.

A look at the boundary maps proposed by the main parties, which appear tribally based and are scarcely backed by explanation, seems to bear out Bernstein's jibe about the regional debate having been "confined to the political parties and their constitutional advisers who are mainly drawn from the legal profession."

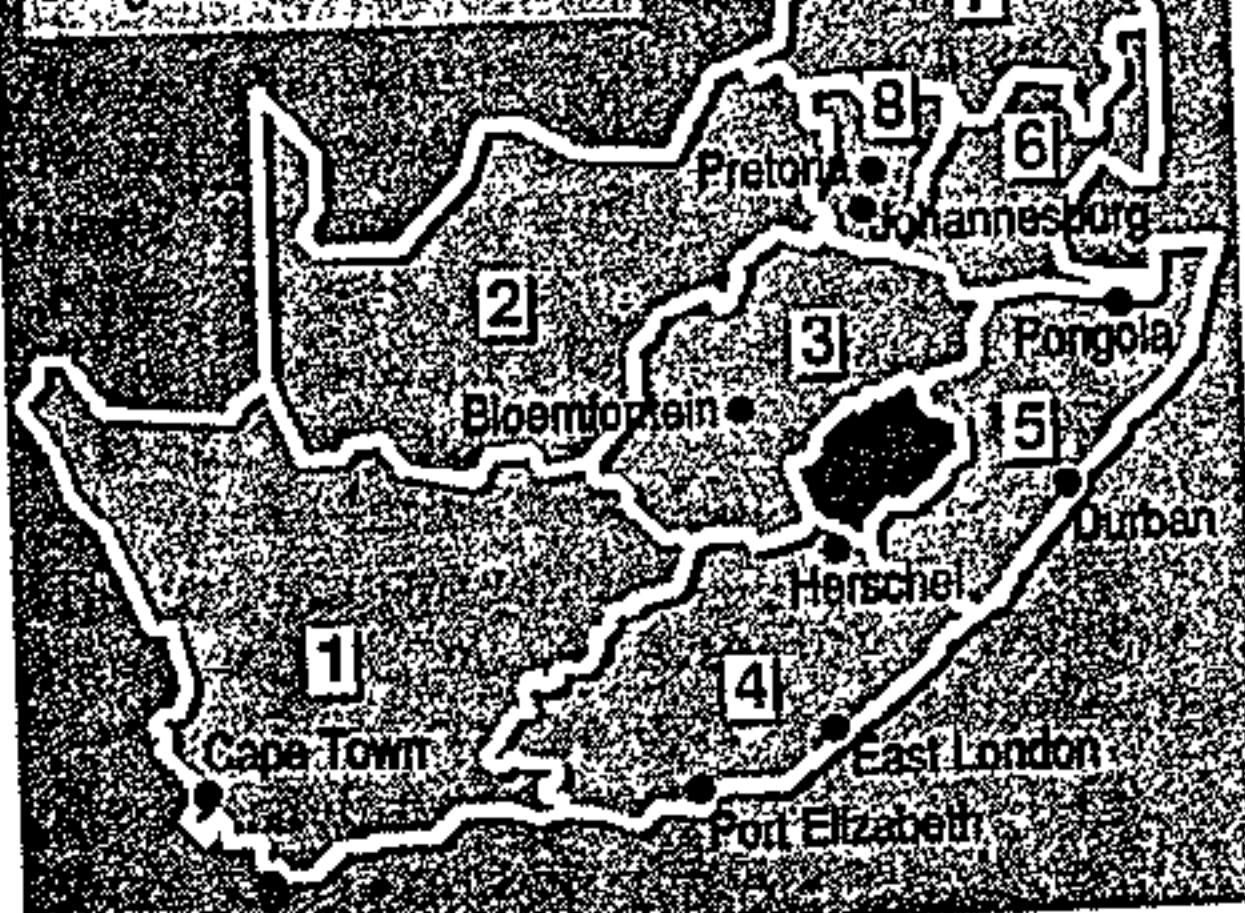
Thus it is not known why the NP makes two proposals — for seven and nine regions. The sceptical view, says an ANC man, is that it's an attempt to delay matters by creating confusion or that the nine-region proposal amounts to short-term and short-sighted gerrymandering with an eye on the election. It splits the ANC's eastern Cape stronghold and creates an additional western Cape region which the NP has a good chance of winning.

Reacting to criticism that its proposals seem tribal in outline, an ANC spokesman says it's impossible to avoid the tribal lines designed by 40 years of apartheid. The important thing was that the boundaries shouldn't give rise to ethnic mobilisation.

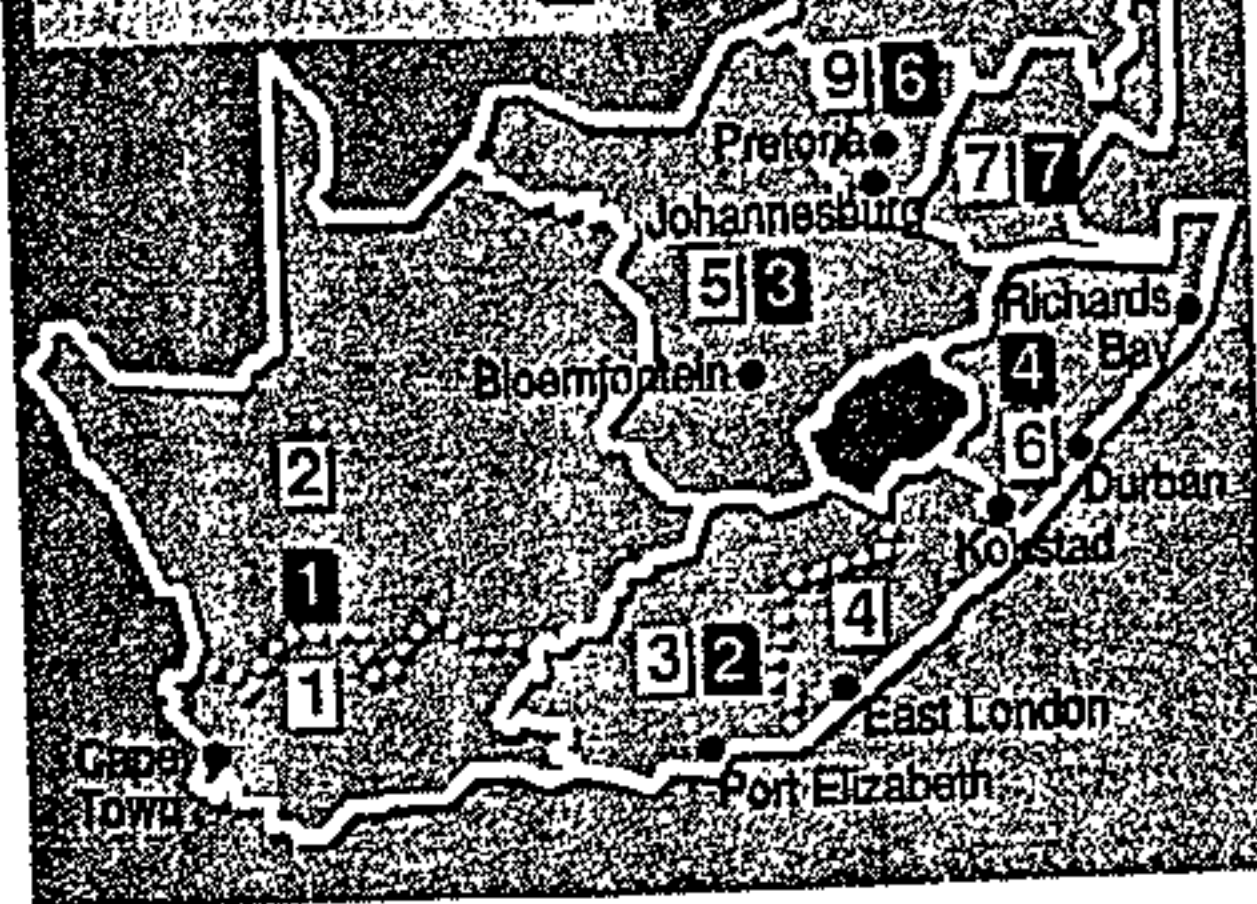
Semi-federal carve-up Regional border proposals



The ANC's proposal 8 regions



The NP's proposals Proposal A - 9 regions A Proposal B - 7 regions B



While the organisation saw the need for boundaries for the election, it believes allowance should be made for minor adjustments afterwards, based on referendums in local districts in contention.

Such areas could include Herschel and Kokstad/Mt Ayliffe in eastern Griqualand, which could be torn between the proposed Natal and eastern Cape regions.

The National Regional Development Advisory Council, in its submission, identifies 12 such "problem areas," which it urges the commission to look at closely. Among them: Pongola, Pondoland, Odi-Moretele, the Kruger National Park, Delmas, Sasolburg and Oberholzer — and the eastern Cape (development region) as a whole, "which is very complex."

Spokesman Chris van Schalkwyk says the advisory council's seven-region proposal, which is close to the NP's, has been tested to some extent, as the council is made up of regional associations comprising public- and private-sector representatives. An educated

REGIONS — 1 Journey with many maps

The criteria in terms of which the commission on regions must recommend boundaries seem to some experts to amount to motherhood and apple pie. They include the obvi-

guess as to why there are two NP proposals is suggested by Van Schalkwyk: the seven-region plan is a question of affordability, while the nine-region one is "perhaps to try to accommodate regions which have built up their own identity."

The commission's report is expected on July 26.

Buthelezi *Star 16/7/93* attacked by NP and DP

By Kaizer Nyatumba
Political Correspondent

Inkatha Freedom Party leader Chief Mangosuthu Buthelezi yesterday came in for a roasting from the Government and the Democratic Party following his widely publicised opposition this week to agreements reached in negotiations.

Buthelezi, who has been travelling across the country accusing the Government and the ANC of having struck secret deals, has suggested the IFP and KwaZulu government delegations might not return to negotiations at the World Trade Centre on Monday until he obtained guarantees for a federal system of government.

In what Constitutional Development Minister Roelf yesterday described as Buthelezi's electioneering, the IFP leader told predominantly white meetings in the main centres that the Government had abandoned promises it had made to the white electorate during last year's referendum and was now selling out to the ANC. (2044)

But after meeting a two-man IFP-KwaZulu delegation in Pretoria yesterday, Meyer said: "It is quite clear that these statements are mainly part of election campaigning."

DP western Cape chairman Jasper Walsh, in a statement released in Cape Town, described the IFP leader's recent statements as "a transparent ploy to avoid the spotlight of ascertained electoral support".

Roelf's past, present and future

W/Mail: 76/7-22/7/93
LOUW: Where exactly do we stand with the negotiations?

MEYER: The last outstanding issues have to be finalised before we can prepare for an election. What will be discussed in the next few weeks is the transitional constitution, final constitutional principles and the preparation for the structures for an election: the Transitional Executive Council, the Independent Media Commission, the Independent Electoral Commission and the scrapping of discriminatory laws.

An enormous amount of work has been done since April 1, if you look at the reports of the various technical committees and the resolutions that have been accepted.

Q: Did the government compromise in a big way to get the process going? And are there specific instances where you gave way?

A: Each party negotiates to attain its goals, to achieve what it sees as in its own best interest. The government feels satisfied that it has achieved its goals. And I'm sure that other parties will say the same. The result is that negotiations have succeeded, negotiations are the victor, because you have a win-win situation.

Of course there are compromises. It does not necessarily mean there are concessions. It means that you present your views in a way that makes them acceptable to the other parties. This (attitude) also applies to the other participants.

Q: There were no real concessions from your side? Didn't you change your goals at all?

A: There were no substantial concessions in the past months' negotiations. Government made its concessions at the beginning of Codesa, on December 2 1991. We conceded then that the constitution-writing process in South Africa would consist of two phases — a transitional phase and a final phase. And in terms of that goal we were successful.

If you look at the Record of Understanding (of September 1992), it is an expression of that concession. And if you look at the constitutional resolutions that have been accepted in the past weeks, they are a confirmation of the Record of Understanding.

Q: But the fact that you had a Record of Understanding after the collapse of Codesa in itself implies that there must have been concessions which had to comply with the ANC's demands.

A: Not substantially. The Record of Understanding was a description of the process on which we had agreed earlier.

There was nothing substantially new in it. I think the ANC was satisfied because they got a well-defined formulation which they might have thought hadn't existed earlier.

Q: There are rumours that there are people in the NP caucus who are unhappy with the direction negotiations are taking. They say they are not informed, they don't know what's going on. Can we expect NP MPs to resign in the immediate future?

A: I don't know what is going on in other people's heads. But as the process unfolds there are a lot of guys who suffer a degree of uncertainty. That uncertainty, to my mind, will be replaced by certainty the moment the transitional constitution is accepted and the issues are addressed that cause uncertainty.

Q: Won't it just change the groundrules to such a degree that people will have no choice but to accept the new rules?

A: We started a new game on February 2 1990. The groundrules changed totally as from that day. It may be that some guys didn't initially realise it. The fact of the matter is that we are now in the final phase in the confirmation of those groundrules. I think it is a bit of both: people come to the conclusion that they do not have any other option, and others, who accept that there must be changes but were uncertain about the content of those agreements, can get certainty from the transitional constitution.

I am referring specifically to the constitutional principles that have been accepted. They have in themselves contributed significantly to cutting out uncertainty. I can judge from calls that I get, from people who say now they are satisfied. It is not possible to confirm things like that before they are in writing and before they have been negotiated and accepted.

I have heard that on more than one occasion

On the eve of the resumption of talks, **CHRIS LOUW** spoke to

the government's chief negotiator **Roelf Meyer** about what lies ahead at the negotiation table, the future of the National Party, the relationship with Inkatha and the rightwing threat



Roelf Meyer ... 'The NP will primarily not be a white party'

you have reported that the NP is on its way out. I radically disagree.

Q: I would have thought as the groundrules changed and the NP loses the power of the state, the power of patronage, it doesn't control state TV any more to create a favorable impression of itself — all these factors will contribute to weaken the NP. Professional politicians will find that they can pursue their careers better in a predominantly black party.

A: If you are going to project that image, it will give me great joy. You will be misleading our opponents. It will definitely not work like that. Politics has already normalised itself since the opening up of the NP's membership. Today the NP is, as far as contents are concerned, a fully integrated party. It is true that the leadership is primarily still white. But what we have to emphasise, is that leadership is about leadership in the final instance, not about the colour of the person's skin. The NP is in a good position to produce the leaders that the country will need and which people will ask for.

Q: For me the analogy is Namibia. If you look at how much groundwork was done by someone like Dirk Mudge ... And even so, Mudge did rather badly in the elections. When President De Klerk goes to Pieters-

burg, it is nothing more than the white, Pretoria-based NP that quickly goes to Pietersburg.

A: I will concede that: we do not yet have a bottom-up support base as far as the black community is concerned. That is common cause. It may be an impediment, but it is not decisive. The bottom-up support does exist in other communities — the coloured community, and there are indications that it exists in the Indian community.

Q: You do not have much time to solicit more support and to start organising before the elections.

A: Nine months is a long time in politics, a very long time. Many things can happen ... I can guarantee you your prediction is absolutely wrong.

Q: When I go to Nationalists in parliament, the portraits on the wall are those of Malan, Strijdom, Verwoerd ... They represent a history that I don't think is saleable.

A: I prefer paintings of animals on my walls. (Laughs)

Q: The rules of the game will change to such a degree that a basically white party like the NP won't be able to survive for much longer.

A: It says only one thing — that the NP will pri-

marily not be a white party. Sure, the culture will have to change visibly. But the change of the logo has already borne fruit.

Q: But the core of the party are the old Nationalists, apartheid — that is the message that still comes through.

A: I don't say the logo is everything, but it is a contributing factor. Moving away from the *kruithoring* (Boer powder horn) is a step ahead.

Q: Is a compromise with Inkatha possible?

A: My view is that we stand with the resolutions that have been accepted. At the same time we believe Inkatha is a very important political player. They cannot be sidelined or ignored. Therefore maximum consensus is what we would like. I work from the premise that they — like all other parties — will put South Africa's interests first and therefore will go along with the process.

Q: What went wrong between the NP and Inkatha? It was accepted that you were natural alliance partners. Now it seems as if the NP is closer to the ANC.

A: As far as the process is concerned there is more agreement between what the government and the ANC stand for, namely the two-phase process. Inkatha disagrees. But if you look at the contents of the constitutional proposals, there is more agreement between us and Inkatha — the fact that there must be a constitution based on federal principles, for instance.

Q: So one can expect greater co-operation between the NP and the IFP after the changing of the political groundrules?

A: Yes, as far as our parties have shared views on a regional dispensation. There may then be more outward concord, also as far as economic policies are concerned. Alliance forming is not necessary before an election.

One should rather approach the elections on the basis of your own independent views. The outcome of the elections will determine to what extent parties will co-operate afterwards.

Q: What are you going to do about the rightwing? Are you going to go on appeasing them, as you did when they invaded the World Trade Centre?

A: I can't talk on behalf of the police. My responsibility as negotiator is, on behalf of the government, to spread the net as wide as possible to catch up as many parties as possible. I stay in discussion with the Conservative Party and the Afrikaner Volksunie on a bilateral level to see to what degree they will come into the process.

Q: Aren't these decisions taken at cabinet level?

A: Of course, yes, but I am not the spokesman on that subject. If you want someone to talk on the subject, you'll have to approach Hemus Kriel.

Q: The next important step at the negotiations will be the introduction of the Transitional Executive Council. What will be the relationship between the TEC and the cabinet? What will be the powers and functions of the TEC?

A: That still has to be decided. But the core issue is that there must be political interaction between the fine-function minister and the sub-council involved — an exchange of views and opinions on an ongoing basis. Exactly how it will happen, will have to be laid down in legislation. There must be a distinction between political influencing as opposed to the day-to-day management of departments. It is not possible for a body like the TEC to attend to the day-to-day management. My impression is that in 75 percent of cases the parties already agree on the powers of the TEC. The police is maybe the best example where there is substantial agreement between the various parties, according to the reports of the technical committees.

Q: Will the sub-councils and the ministers enjoy basically the same powers?

A: Not necessarily. The minister's powers are determined by legislation. One will always have to analyse these. It is an open question whether the sub-councils really want the responsibility of the ministers. I don't think they really want to accept all the nonsense that ministers have to stand father to.

Maybe it will be a good thing if we can make them co-responsible! It must be remembered, however, that right from day one the idea with the TEC was that it would be involved only with the levelling of the playing fields.

Voting at 14: Mandela's call universally slammed

By BARRY STREEK
Political Staff

THE renewed call by ANC president Mr Nelson Mandela for the voting age to be reduced to 14 was strongly criticised yesterday by other political groups.

The Democratic Party said reducing the vote age would not help solve the genuine grievances of South Africa's youth.

The National Party said it was clear that Mr Mandela's ego did not always allow him to do the right thing.

And the Conservative Party said it

showed that Mr Mandela was a dangerous and reckless person.

The DP home affairs spokeswoman Ms Dene Smuts said: "Reducing the voting age can only replace fatalism with false hope and expectations, instead of genuinely serving their interests."

"These can be addressed by encouraging the economic conditions, including foreign investment, which will lead to job creation."

In its comment, the NP said: "Mr Mandela must watch out that he does not create expectations in the youth that he can not fulfill."

Denying the dictates of blind *Star 17-11-93* revolution and brute repression

NEGOTIATIONS start up again at the World Trade Centre next week. If all goes well, this will be the last round. Within weeks a political settlement could be wrapped up, and it will be for the special session of Parliament in September to pass laws that start the final transition from old South Africa to new.

The conference halls at Kempton Park will have served their political purpose, and can revert to hosting exponents of world trade — more of them, hopefully, than in the sanctions-strangled past. The negotiators will have to find premises from which to operate and run the transitional executive council (TEC), South Africa's first experiment in truly non-racial governance. It may not look and sound like it, but these are heady times.

With the nation's fascination (ranging from rapturous to morbid) centred on next year's election, no one is making too much fuss about the step in between, the TEC. This seems a pity. Seen in its proper context, and with a bit of talking-up, the moment of the TEC's birth later this year could be turned into a trigger-point for a surge of optimism and renewed energy.

Such opportunities to enthuse a punch-drunk public do not come by all that often, and should be seized upon. If — and any valid political prognosis in this country should be preceded by that two-letter word — all or most of the parties at the talks behave as sensibly as they should, the TEC can be the first tangible proof that all we have been through in the past three years is both worth it, and leading somewhere.

The TEC has huge symbolic significance, first and foremost. It can be an indication to the voteless majority that change for the better really is coming, and simultaneously an assurance to the previously privileged that change is not going to mean chaos. It is an embodiment of a potentially magnificent compromise.

For the first time in nearly 400 years, a structural start will have been made in distributing

UNDERCURRENT
 AFFAIRS

**SHAUN
 Johnson**



WHAT is worrying is the blunt possibility of an upsurge of violence dwarfing anything that has gone before. Leaders fear a last-ditch offensive to "drown the transition in blood", to quote Cyril Ramaphosa.

power, and responsibility — a task once considered quite impossible. For the first time, also, we would be able to look forward with hope to a system with sufficient legitimacy to stamp out the wild and destructive elements which have flourished in the interregnum.

The symbolism will go way beyond our borders: a message will be sent out that rationality still prevails in South Africa, that the transition has not spun out of control, and that stability is not a chimera. We should all, whatever our skin pigments and living standards, be popping champagne corks on TEC day — the day the dictates of blind revolution and brute repression are denied.

So that is what we could have, if *rationality prevails*. We will not have it unless relative peace does too. This is the rougher side of the transitional coin. There is at the moment a mood of frank alarm in the top echelons of both the ANC and the Government. It is so intense that it is not even primarily party-political: by

this I mean that the politicians are concerned enough to be concerned for the entire nation.

What is causing the worry is the blunt possibility of an upsurge of violence which dwarfs what has gone before in scale and intensity. Leaders are convinced that a last-ditch offensive will be launched between now and next year to "drown the transition in blood", to use Cyril Ramaphosa's phrase. The negotiators are unsure of their own capacity to stop that. They see in the latest East Rand havoc a glimpse of a terrible future, imagining the effect of, say, 10 Sebokengs a week, every week.

The situation today in Sebokeng, among other tragic townships, is such that a single shot fired in the air by anyone is enough to prompt a fusillade in response, and spark off a small war. The security forces, or rather their leaders, have abdicated responsibility and leave the people to their fate. They say it is too dangerous to maintain law and order when night falls and, if they are not prepared to do it, who is? Things have gone horribly wrong on this score, and it is little wonder that top politicians are beginning to recognise that a fresh start has to be made, what has been tried so far has not worked.

What is required now is nothing short of a defensive offensive, launched by everyone who can contribute, in defence of the prospects we have for a workable political future. They are prospects that, once lost, will not be retrieved.

We urgently need new and bold thinking on everything from the control of the security forces, to the scale of the Peace Accord structures, to the powers of the Goldstone Commission, and beyond.

● *Shaun Johnson is being sent to Siberia, via Moscow. This is not as a result of readers' suggestions, but at the invitation of the Russian Press Association. Johnson says he fully intends to try to send Undercurrent Affairs back home from that side of the world, but if it does not appear for the next two weeks, readers will know why.*

Tarred with the brush of the lunatic Right

Star 17/1/83

THAT all white Afrikaans speakers belong to the AWB is a popular misconception, writes HANS PIENAAR. A fair number are ready and waiting for the new South Africa. (3047)

EARLIER this year I found myself staring into a campfire in Maputaland, northern Natal, with three fellow Afrikaans speakers and some black trainee journalists. Conversation carefully turned to ethnic matters, and in jest one of us asked our black friends how they would see us if they were to pretend that they had only just met us.

We would think you were members of the Afrikaner Weerstandsbeweging, one said, and the others nodded in agreement. Why, we asked, because we all wore beards? No, came the reply, because you spoke Afrikaans.

This tallies with research done some years ago by Rand Afrikaans University MA student Mercia Blignaut. At the English private school in Johannesburg where she taught, more than half of the pupils polled believed all Afrikaners belonged to the AWB.

So how do decent, ready-for-the-new-South Africa Afrikaners rid themselves of this image?

Recently I put my name to an advertisement placed by 150 Afrikaners calling for steps to be taken against the Right. It made the point that all Afrikaners were not like that. I have to admit that I felt a little apprehensive at the time. Not that I was afraid of what the rightwingers would do: I was unsure of how Afrikaans speakers who had similar views to my own would react.

When I took part in a similar sort of action some years ago, I was gagged and then fired from the board of the "alternative" publisher I helped run. And sure enough, the only aggression came from two friends, who lambasted us in letters to the press for seeking publicity and being guilty of Afrikaner chauvinism, simply by identifying ourselves as "Afrikaners".

The incident illustrates the passions involved and the dilemma facing Afrikaans speakers. "Afrikaner" is still a race-exclusive concept; very few black Afrikaans speakers have the slightest desire to call themselves Afrikaners.

In that respect one critic, Wits University Afrikaans lecturer Peter-John Massyn, was right. Just invoke the name Afrikaner, even for the sake of redefining it, and you step right into the old

racial trap left behind by apartheid. You are identifying with a racially delimited group.

He and his colleagues, organising a conference at Wits, fell into the same trap even before the conference started. Called *Afrikaans uit die Doofpot* after John Miles's prizewinning novel about a hit-squad death, the conference is intended to debate the liberation of Afrikaans from its repressive past.

One would think that this would entail ensuring that at least 40 percent of the speakers were black, as liberating Afrikaans clearly means opening it up to the very people whose forefathers created it and who were suppressed (put in the "doofpot") in the name of the preservation of Afrikaans.

Indeed, if one were to apply the Maputaland campfire test, the Wits conference would, without hesitation be branded AWB. Nearly all the speakers are white, lower-middle class to poor and a great number wear beards.

Of course, it is inconceivable that there is any racism among the members of a department which has a proud history of fighting apartheid. The irony is that in the past members of the department fought bruising battles against academics who tried to keep politics out of culture.

Speaking out on issues like "Afrikanerskap" often requires up-ending one's priorities. When this also entails speaking out in an area which in the past was dominated by unsavoury propaganda practices, it is understandable that most Afrikaners become a silent majority.

There are times when ethnicity becomes a pressing issue — when members of other groups start looking at you, even around campfires. Then Afrikaner philosopher Professor Johan Degenaar's words of wisdom come into play: "Pretending that one's identity is created by oneself only is undemocratic."

The Maputaland test shows that Afrikaans speakers who endorse the new South Africa, and are ready for a vastly diminished role in it, owe it to their fellow South Africans to start speaking up on what exactly it means to be an Afrikaans speaker in South Africa — even when it entails denying that it means anything.

AWB now takes to the skies

Star 17/7/93

304A

CAPE TOWN —

There was shock and dismay among the country's politicians and peace-makers when a defiant Afrikaner-Weerstandsbeweging (AWB) announced plans to launch its own "air force" complete with squadrons of private aircraft and helicopters — some to be flown by former SADF pilots — and a paratroop unit.

The Government faces mounting pressure to stop the growth of private armies before their "war games" become uncontrollable.

The spotlight this week fell on the military-style activities of the AWB which was slammed by the Goldstone Commission for its recent violent invasion of the World Trade Cen-

THE AWB's plan to launch its own "air force" has been greeted with shock and dismay. FRANS ESTERHUYSE reports.

tre in Kempton Park — the nerve centre of South Africa's peace process.

But, almost in the face of the Goldstone Commission's findings, Eugene TerreBlanche announced in a radio programme this week that the AWB's "air wing" will be introduced to the public on August 7 when the AWB's "Wenkommando" is to be given the freedom of the town of Schweizer-Reneke. The "air wing" would give a fly-past of about 21 aircraft.

AWB spokesman Andre Snyman — described as the command-

ing officer of the "air wing" — has been quoted in newspaper reports as saying the new "air force" would be used mainly for transporting supplies and the leaders of the movement.

Professor Mike Hough, director of the Institute for Strategic Studies at the University of Pretoria, said although calls had been made for banning private armies, there was still no legislation under which this could be done.

At this stage of the run-up to elections, it seemed a ban on private armies of the Left and the Right was highly unlikely. What was more likely was that attempts could be made to bring such forces into a peace-keeping force for the elections.

On the issue of the AWB's "air force", he said there seemed to be little the Government could do, except in the event of contraventions of existing laws.

Uncertain and scary grasp of what majority rule means

Staff Writer
20th

G All Day begins her seminar on democracy with a few questions. The answers often disappoint, but no longer surprise her.

Can the majority shut down a newspaper published by a minority group? she asked a group of black factory workers. "Yes," they said in unison. "Can the majority cut off the ears of people in the minority?" "Yes," they replied. "Should the majority be permitted to kill members of the minority?" she tried. "No," answered one man. "That would be intimidation."

South Africa will hold the country's first all-race election on April 27 but preparing for it will be a daunting task. After decades of neglect millions of blacks are illiterate.

The country has no history of political tolerance. Blacks remain suspicious of whites and faction fighting between rival black groups has killed 10 000 people the past three years.

Political parties and some non-partisan groups, like Days Groundswell organisation, have started teaching democracy. They are making progress, though hiccups are common. The Matla Trust, a black de-

GREG MYRE

velopment group, ran into problems when it created a lighthearted play about how to vote, which it performs for black students and workers around Johannesburg.

The actors told the audience they must go to the "polling station" — an unfamiliar term that sounded like "police station" — words that inspire dread in many blacks. The play was revised to substitute the phrase "voting booth."

Elderly blacks sometimes say they are too intimidated to

vote, said Gill de Vlieg of the Black Sash. They fear the wrath of rival black factions in their neighbourhoods. They also worry that the white Government will somehow cut off their pensions if they demand to vote. De Vlieg said.

Some women like Black Sash works with have not held a pencil in their lives, and the group teaches women how to mark an "X" on a ballot paper. "Voting is still a very mysterious thing. It takes people a while to get over their fears," De Vlieg added.

The African National Congress, the overwhelming election favorite, teaches voting at

its rallies and tells its supporters they must be tolerant of all their rivals.

At a recent event that packed a 30 000-seat soccer stadium, ANC officials passed out mock ballots, told supporters to fill them in and place them in boxes on the way out. But as ANC officials were making their way through the stands, the crowd was chanting, "Kill the Boer! Kill the Farmer!"

Some groups allied with the ANC have said white parties shouldn't be allowed to campaign in black areas. Already, rallies by white groups in townships have been broken up. The election campaign is cer-

tain to heighten tensions in already violent black areas. In Natal, many villages are dominated by either the ANC or Inkatha Freedom Party, and it would be impossible for either group to campaign freely in opposition territory.

At one of Day's recent seminars at a high school in Natal, a young man said his party would "go to war" if it didn't win the election. Another described democracy as the main cause of "prostitution, drug trafficking and a higher crime rate in western countries."

A common question is whether a president, once elected, is president for life. — Sapa-AP

Buthlezi lashes NP and ANC in Cape Town speech

By Christelle Terreblanche

"WHEN the Record of Understanding was signed by the State President with the ANC in 1992, that is what started the first crack in the National Party." (HIS)

This was said by Mr Mangosuthu Buthelezi, President of the Inkatha Freedom Party (IFP), addressing an audience of about 500 people in the Cape Town City Hall on Wednesday evening. It was his first official speech in the city as IFP leader.

He said the NP government we see today is far cry from the "South African saviour" it was portrayed as in the early 90's. (304A)

"The rhetoric of democracy has been exploited by the government, leaving South Africans with an obscure range of interpretations, but no clear vision for the future." (HIS)

He therefore finds the Record, as well as the ANC and government insistence on a constituent assembly, "circumspect". The IFP is the only party at the multi-party negoti-

ations which has not yet endorsed April 27, 1994 as election date.

He recounted how he "tried to forge unity amongst the oppressed", as chairperson of the South African Black Alliance, which Inkatha formed with the Labour Party before the formation of the tri-cameral parliament.

"It is disinformation and propaganda which try to reduce me to size by making me a regional leader when for decades my approach was always national," he said.

'Army needs multi-party control'

South 17/7 - 21/7/93

By Rehana Rossouw

POLITICAL control of the security forces during the transitional period would be meaningless without operational control, a multi-party discussion forum heard on Wednesday.

The forum, addressed by General Bob Rogers of the Democratic Party, Mr Patrick McKenzie of the National Party, Mr Moreti Matau of the ANC and Mr Benny Alexander of the PAC, was organised by the Institute for Multi-party Democracy. ~~(SADF)~~

The politically partisan SADF had to be replaced by an army which would serve and defend all the people of South Africa, Alexander said. ~~(SADF)~~

"Conflict will only come to an end through a mutual cessation of hostilities," he said.

"The SADF must be confined to barracks. This is possible, as there is no foreign threat to South Africa at the moment.

"Then a single, national army of a new type must replace the SADF."

Alexander said the PAC believed

that during the transitional period a multi-party transitional authority should exercise full political and operational control over the security forces. ~~(SADF)~~

Mr Moreti Matau of the ANC's uMkhonto weSizwe agreed with Alexander that both political and operational control was possible.

"There must be management of the crisis in this country. If all the political players do not take joint responsibility, there will be no

peace," Matau said.

The ANC favours the formation of a National Peacekeeping Force to manage security in the transitional period.

"This is a difficult, expensive task, we are told. But the cabinet decided recently to spend R200 million to police the white farms.

"Why should investing in the future of all the people of the country be a problem?" Matau concluded.

SOUTH AFRICA - 21/7/93
(304A)

Federalism will divide the African majority

FEDERALISM, AS proposed by other parties like the NP, is out of the question in our country.

For decades we have been ruled by a central government that managed to uplift the standard of living of whites to the level it is today.

Though this was done at our expense as oppressed people, it still illustrates that to reverse the present imbalances we will need a central government that will harbour the interests of the presently voteless majority.

The idea that federal government is to be

achieved by an over-arching political authority, while at the same time giving diverse units (racist and ethnic) the opportunity for local self-government and preservation of certain local peculiarities, is nothing else but an attempt by whites to cling to the privilege and material advantages they are enjoying at the expense of the African worker and peasant. The National Party ate its political cake and the PAC is going to ensure that it does not have it.

We will fight for the establishment of a constituent assembly as it is the only alternative

that will usher in a democratic constitution that will effectively end minority rule by the present racist parliament.

This is the way we will end the crisis of apartheid, unemployment, homelessness. Because of these crisis the National Party and its alliance is now suffering a greater spiritual and moral collapse, as evidenced by the epidemic of corruption or misappropriation of public funds attested to by their own auditor-general. Let them be buried with their corruption by the ballot for a non-racial, non-sexist Azania.

Which voting system? It's a crucial choice

South Africa 17/11 - 21/11/93

AS SOUTH AFRICA heads towards a new democratic constitution, most parties agree that voting should take place on the basis of proportional representation.

A proportional representation system means that parties are represented in parliament in proportion to the number of votes they receive in an election.

If, for example, 28 percent of South Africans vote for a particular party, then that party will be granted 28 percent of the seats in parliament.

This is in contrast to the constituency system used in the houses of the present tricameral parliament.

There is now general agreement that proportional representation is the best system for a new South African constitution.

However, there are different kinds of proportional representation systems that differ, say researchers Mr Andrew Reynolds and Mr Bernard Grofman in their recently released report "Choosing an Electoral System for the New South Africa: The Main Proposals" (30419).

Which system is chosen can have a profound effect on how the various parties fare in the election. They identified five proposals for the rules under which a constituent assembly/interim parliament would be chosen. All five have made an impact on the debate among political elites in South Africa.

The African National Congress, National Party and Democratic Party share agreement on some type of list proportional representation as the basic electoral mechanism.

American academic Professor Donald Horowitz argues, however, in his book "A Democratic South Africa — Constitutional Engineering in a Divided South Africa", for a constitution that will facilitate a smooth transition to democracy and "conciliatory power sharing".

Horowitz sees the electoral system as "by far the most powerful lever of constitutional engineering for accommodation and harmony in severely divided societies".

Reynolds's proposal rests on three main premises: that the most viable and widely acceptable system for post-apartheid South Africa will be a form of proportional representation; that the system should be as easy as possible for the voters to understand; and that the existing proportional representation proposals

(ANC, NP and DP) fail to provide the geographical and personal accountability essential to any dynamic and democratic electoral system.

"Because of South Africa's authoritarian history, her dehumanising treatment of the majority of her people and the potent power keg that her ethnic divides could easily ignite, any new South African constitutional dispensation needs to be based on long-term realism and short-term pragmatism," Reynolds and Grofman conclude.

"Electoral system design is particularly crucial for the emergence of a new democratic South Africa. The first new assembly will not only serve as a parliament, it will serve as both a drafting and a ratifying body for the new constitution."

Poll shows ANC most popular by far

JOHANNESBURG — The ANC remains by far the most popular organisation among metropolitan blacks, with 76% of a new poll's respondents naming the ANC as their first or second electoral choice.

In the latest Markinor Gallup poll of 800 whites nationally and 1 000 blacks in metropolitan areas, 68% of blacks

said they would vote for the ANC compared with the 75% recorded in May last year.

Next most popular among blacks was the PAC, whose support remained at 22%, and the SACP, which doubled support from 11% to 22%. Azapo support rose from four to seven percent.

The NP had 10% support

among blacks, but only 43% of whites supported it compared with 67% in May 1992.

IFP support remained at five percent of blacks and 17% of whites. CP support among whites stayed at 26%, while DP support dropped from 33% to 22% for whites and from six to three percent among blacks.

White support for Mr Mandela increased from one to three percent, while white backing for Mr De Klerk fell from 72 to 46% and from 13 to four percent among blacks.

Support for the IFP's Chief Mangosuthu Buthelezi stayed at four percent among blacks and 25% among whites. DP leader Dr Zach de Beer was backed by 14% of whites.

CP leader Mr Ferdi Hartzenberg received eight percent.

Mr Mandela's lead as blacks' most popular choice rose from 65 to 70%, followed by SACP chairman Mr Joe Slovo at 27%, up from 15%.

Whites who felt Mr De Klerk was leading SA very well dropped from 46% to 22%. Blacks who agreed fell from 28 to six percent. — Sapa

New SA map is taking shape

By CLAIRE ROBERTSON

THE commission charged with drawing up the new map of South Africa called in two of the country's major political players this week to quiz them on their regional proposals before embarking on the final stage of its work. (204A)

The commission is expected to finalise its preliminary report for submission to the multi-party negotiating council by the middle of next week.

The ANC and the National Party were called to answer questions on their similar proposals, which put forward the division of the country into between seven and nine regions. (411)

The PAC and the Transkei government were also called to answer questions on their proposals, and the commission heard further submissions from Afrikaner Volksfront leader General Con-

stand Viljoen at his request.

The commission, which has heard almost 60 oral arguments for various regional plans and sifted through almost 250 written submissions, allowed seven more submissions to slip in after the deadline closed 10 days ago. They included one from the Intando Yesizwe party.

Yesterday the commission met to consult with technical experts on environmental and economic aspects of the proposals, and now awaits a report from experts at the Department of Water Affairs and the University of Pretoria, who worked with a "super computer" to marry the various maps to highlight aspects in common between them.

Members will study the submissions during the week and meet again for three days over the weekend to finalise the preliminary report.

THERE was a time when the Natives were terribly restless. Not any more. Now it is the Boers who are restless. They want their own white homeland. This they are prepared to fight to the last drop of blood to attain.

What arrogance, you may say. In whose country do they want this homeland? Why do they want a piece of land now, when all these years they enjoyed the freedom of the whole country, including the now independent countries of Namibia, Swaziland, Botswana and Lesotho.

Is it not an irony that at one stage the five million whites in this country enjoyed and moved freely in 87 percent of the land while black people who numbered 27 million were restrained to 13 percent of the land?

Why, indeed, would people want their little piece of homeland - which I suspect would be in some small remote area - when they could still enjoy the

□ MY WAY With Khulu Sibuya

Fighting for the land



freedom of the entire country in a new non-racial and democratic SA?

Is it because some people cannot tolerate a possible future black government when all these years they enjoyed a whites-only government? If this is not racism, then I challenge the white rightwingers to explain to us what to call it.

When asked to comment about a white homeland, a member of the black consciousness movement said: "Black people have tolerated white arrogance enough! Those who come from Holland,

Poland or elsewhere and want a white homeland can go and have it where they came from. (304A)

In Azania and in Africa, he said, they must live on terms defined by blacks or leave. Black people and the BCM will never allow such an arrangement on the land of our forebears.

There is a strong element within the ANC which wants to work out an acceptable arrangement to grant rightwing Afrikaners their own homeland. They argue: "If this is what they want and this will bring a long-

lasting peace in our land, why can't we give it to them?" (304A)

The PAC has been consistent in their slogan of Africa for Africans. They do not recognise colonial borders in Africa, let alone those who want a separate piece of land in Azania.

This brings me to an interesting conversation I had on Friday with Geoffrey Nyarota, editor of the Zimbabwean news service, AIA. For those who do not know Nyarota, he is that brave journalist who uncovered the Willowgate scandal.

Nyarota exposed a scam in the Mugabe Cabinet where ministers bought cars cheap and sold them at higher price to the poor Zimbabweans. He paid a heavy price for this because he was fired from *The Herald*.

Nyarota said South Africans have a lesson to learn from his country where after 13 years of independence, black people in Zimbabwe are worse off now than they were before independence. "Yes, we are free in our country," he said, "but we are financially worse off."

The irony of our independence is that while there is widespread unemployment and starvation among blacks, whites are financially well-off and enjoying the fruits of independence.

The reasons for this is that investors were scared off by Mugabe's initial socialist tendency, "and now that he wants to switch to capitalism, the investors are sceptical and playing a game of wait and see".



Police probe is likely into AWB invasion

By RAY HARTLEY
Political Reporter

LAW and Order Minister Hermus Kriel is expected to announce an inquiry, possibly headed by a retired judge, this week to investigate police conduct at the World Trade Centre during the June 25 right-wing invasion.

A ministry source said Mr Kriel was furious at the police failure to halt the advance of AWB members who crashed through glass doors at the centre in an armoured vehicle.

The source said Mr Kriel was determined to hold an investigation with more credibility than past internal police inquiries.

Mr Justice Richard Goldstone said in the report of the Goldstone commission inquiry into the invasion that police officers in charge of security forces on the day were guilty of "a dereliction of duty". Law and Order spokesman Captain Craig Kotze said police would be "more pragmatic" in future and would not take the organisers of demonstrations at their word.

He said Mr Kriel was investigating the banning of firearms and dangerous weapons at political demonstrations.

Mr Justice Goldstone said the deployment and commanding of around 600 policemen to protect the centre needed to be fully investigated.

Delegates to the World Trade Centre represented the future of South Africa. "Every possible effort must be taken to ensure that there is no repetition of such conduct," the judge said.

The decision by police not to use force inside the centre was "a sensible one in the circumstances" and had averted a bloodbath.

The judge singled out the AWB as being primarily responsible for organising the invasion of the multi-party negotiating chamber, which caused R700 000 damage.

He said the AWB members had behaved like "hooligans" and deviously planned the occupation of the centre.

He called for stricter penalties on the unauthorised carrying and displaying of dangerous weapons at public demonstrations, and said the wearing of "disguises or any form of face covering" should be made an offence with severe penalties.

"The commission is of the view that the wearing of any paramilitary uniforms at public political meetings be outlawed," Mr Justice Goldstone said.

NP accused of bribery to woo votes

By RAY HARTLEY
Political Reporter

STARTLING allegations that the NP was using taxpayers' money to woo black voters and had attempted to bribe DP members into supporting the party by offering them money and cars emerged this week.

Sport and Welfare Minister Abe Williams offered government welfare payouts to impover-

ished coloured voters in the Western Cape in a letter printed on official NP stationery.

And DP Youth chairman Colin Douglas has alleged that two DP members had been approached by NP officials and offered perks in exchange for their loyalty to the NP.

Mr Williams's letter called on people earning less than R600 a month to apply for assistance of between R64 and R216 a month from the House of Representatives at the Saxonsea town hall on May 11.

"The needy (unemployed and poor) can apply for community help on Tuesday, May 11, at the Saxonsea hall."

"The department's offices in Atlantis will also be open. This arrangement has been made to be of

assistance to more people," Mr Williams said in the letter, which was not dated.

Mr Williams was recently embroiled in controversy after documents showed he had authorised the payment of R9 000 for an NP tea party attended by Mrs Marike de Klerk in Atlantis. 1817193

The money came from the House of Representatives' budget, though the tea party was an NP event. (3049)

Transparent

Mr Williams could not be contacted for comment on the latest incident.

DP justice spokesman Tony Leon described Mr Williams's letter as "out and out political bribery" and called for a full investigation into NP abuse of taxpayers' money to win votes.

"Mr Williams wouldn't know an ethical dispute if

ABE WILLIAMS's welfare payouts



it fell on his lap. He's an offensive pork-barrel politician," Mr Leon said.

Southern Transvaal DP Youth executive member Sandile Dube said he had been approached by an NP official who tried to persuade him to join the NP. "He said money talks louder than words," Mr Dube said.

He said the official, a Mr Booyens, who made the approach 10 days ago, had offered him a top post in the NP in the area.

A DP Youth activist in Carolina, Mr Sipho Xaba, was offered a car on condition that he join and work for the NP, Mr Douglas said.

"The transparent attempts by the NP to buy black DP members speaks of their inability to be a viable political force in a post-apartheid SA."

"They also demonstrate that little has changed in NP tactics," he said.

Big money coming your way

see page 15

Political parties gear up to win your election vote

ALL major political parties in the Western Cape are hard at work formulating strategies for their election campaigns in the upcoming "Battle of the Border".

Political Reporter NORMAN WEST asked spokesmen of the various parties and political organisations about their election plans and membership.

Inkatha Freedom Party (112)

INKATHA media spokesman in Cape Town, Mr Cloete Breytenbach, said that Inkatha started making a serious bid for Western Cape voters five months ago, 50 branches comprising an average of 100 members each, have been established in the Western Cape.

Most of the branches are in white areas and 80% of members are white, said Mr Breytenbach. He admitted black and coloured membership "was not what it could be".

African National Congress

MS ZOU KOTA, head of the ANC election campaign in the Western Cape, said the ANC had established 125 branches and was in the process of launching another 65, all with a minimum of 100 members per branch.

She said the ANC regarded the Western Cape as "very important".

Ms Kota said the ANC would conduct house visits on Mondays to answer questions.

Democratic Party

MR JASPER WALSH, Democratic Party chairman in the Western Cape said in June the DP had recruited 1 172 members of which 95% were "coloured".

He said so far the DP had 66 branches in the Western Cape and are establishing branches at the rate of two per week. New members are coming mostly from the presently disenfranchised community.

Azanian People's Organisation

THE Western Cape publicity secretary of the Azanian People's Organisation (Azapo) Mr Jimmy Yekiso said Azapo will only participate in an election if it is for an elected constituent assembly charged with writing a democratic constitution.

Pan Africanist Congress

THE Pan Africanist Congress (PAC) hold a similar view, but although it claims a growing membership in the Western Cape, PAC Western Cape chairman, Mr Theo Mabusela, refused to release statistics. However, it is known that the PAC so far has more than 50 established branches in the Western Cape. In the past week alone, the PAC had started three branches in Stellenbosh, New Crossroads and the area known as KTC Camp, he said.

National Party

MR HENNIE SMIT, MP for George and chairman of the NP's Cape Information Committee, said the NP had approximately 1 000 branches in the Cape. In preparation for the election, strategy committees have been established in all eight NP organisational regions.

He claimed the NP was particularly strong in the Western Cape.

Urgent talks fail to defuse crisis over breakaway threat

BUTHELEZI GOES TO THE BRINK

STimes 18/1/93



CHIEF BUTHELEZI: Accused of ulterior motives

By CLAIRE ROBERTSON and RAY HARTLEY

GOVERNMENT negotiators held talks for more than three hours with Inkatha yesterday, but failed to defuse a crisis sparked by Chief Mangosuthu Buthelezi's threat to start breakaway constitutional talks.

Angry government negotiators were stunned by Mr Buthelezi's latest threat of independent action, which the IFP leader said could lead to civil war. "This makes all the talks we are having with them absolutely ridiculous," said one senior negotiator.

Mr Buthelezi dropped a bombshell on Friday by saying the IFP would have to choose between forming a "break-away constitutional convention" and "eating humble pie" at the World Trade Centre.

Government chief negotiator Roelf Meyer held talks yesterday with an IFP delegation — including hardliners Mario Ambrossini and Walter Felgate — to discuss the latest threat. The meeting, scheduled before Mr Buthelezi's statement, went on far longer than planned as government negotiators struggled to make sense of Inkatha's private, reasonable stance and its public threats.

At the meeting, the government tried to convince Inkatha that its constitutional objectives were attainable "within the framework of resolutions already adopted" by negotiators.

Boks run up record win
By DAN RETIEF
Adelaide

GOLDSTONE RAIDS HOME OF MYSTIC



"This makes all the talks we are having with them absolutely ridiculous," said one senior negotiator.

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latest threat. The meeting, scheduled before Mr Buthelezi's statement, went on far longer than planned as government negotiators struggled to make sense of Inkatha's private, reasonable stance and its public threats.

At the meeting, the government tried to convince Inkatha that its constitutional objectives were attainable "within the framework of resolutions already adopted" by negotiators.

But the Inkatha delegation failed to offer any assurances that the party would not quit the talks. Another meeting will be held on Tuesday.

Political parties, already frustrated by Inkatha's posturing, have vowed the talks will go on — without the IFP if necessary.

SA Communist Party chairman Joe Slovo said: "If this threat is intended to intimidate the process, it will fail miserably."

Credibility

"I have no doubt the talks can continue without the IFP. One doesn't want to risk antagonising any party to the talks, but on the basis that no party can hold the talks to ransom, we can continue without them."

The African National Congress has also offered to revive behind-the-scenes efforts to keep the IFP at the talks.

"It is sad that they are painting themselves into a corner," said ANC spokesman Carl Niehaus. "I do not understand what they hope to achieve by this."

"We are prepared to enter into further discussions to convince them to stay in the process. The only negotiating forum with credibility is the forum at the World Trade Centre."

For now, however, the IFP has not totally severed its links with the talks. Mr Buthelezi said yesterday the IFP would return once a draft constitution had been tabled.

IFP chairman Dr Frank Mdlalose moved to defuse the controversy, saying Mr Buthelezi "was raising merely one of a number of options to consider".

Ciskei, stablemate in Inkatha's Concerned South Africans Group, would "consider this option in the

□ To Page 2

Boks run up record win

By DAN RETIEF
Adelaide

THE Springboks had a rollicking game of target practice at Thebarton Oval here yesterday as they smashed a South Australia Invitation XV 90-3.

In running up the highest score yet recorded by a South African touring side, the Springboks took turns in having pot-shots at their opponents' goal-line.

By the end, they had hit the target 14 times with scrumhalf Robert du Preez matching the feat of his fellow halfback, Joost van der Westhuizen, in Perth on Wednesday by claiming four tries.

The previous highest victory margin in Springbok annals was the 83-0 victory Wynand Claassen's team scored over Nelson Bay in New Zealand in 1981.

In yesterday's match, fullback Hugh Reece-Edwards contributed 25 points by way of a try and 10 conversions.

Free State flank Ruben Kruger, making his debut in the green and gold, was named Man of the Match.

Coach Ian McIntosh said he would "not spend sleepless nights" worrying about the Wallabies.

● See Page 26

Pik's smash

admitted responsibility for the accident.

"He phoned us to apologise and said the matter would be taken care of."

Mr Awie Marais, a spokesman for Mr Botha, said the minister was usually driven by a chauffeur, but his driver was not available on Wednesday.

Mr Botha was "taking a short holiday" but was expected to return this weekend, Mr Marais said.

Buthelezi goes to the brink

□ From Page 1

event of all others being unacceptable — but we would like to exhaust all other options", said Ciskei delegate Mick Webb.

Mr Buthelezi has been accused on all sides of having ulterior motives for threatening to split the talks. (416) (304A)

IFP ambivalence is attributed in equal parts to attempts to stall elections, to internal divisions among the party's constitutional advisers, and to Mr Buthelezi's fury at being "marginalised" by the ANC.

The internal divisions were highlighted yesterday when a senior IFP negotiator, asked to explain what lay behind the latest Ulundi threat, said: "Don't ask me — ask the person who wrote the speech."

Mr Niehaus said: "One hopes the reason the IFP is playing this game is not simply because they are afraid they will not get support in elections."

Negotiators are growing dizzy trying to keep up with Inkatha's constant shifts in position.

Two weeks ago, Inkatha said it would "not participate in the debate" until it saw a draft constitution which met its needs.

On Wednesday, IFP delegates revived the war talk by stressing their unhappiness at the sufficient-consensus method of reaching decisions. Mr Felgate demanded that no decision could be seen as binding unless Inkatha agreed to it.

On Thursday, Inkatha said it would boycott the talks altogether until it saw the constitution.

And on Friday, Mr Buthelezi threatened to split the talks.

But yesterday, he re-committed himself to the talks as long as the draft constitution was acceptable, and made no mention of forming a breakaway grouping.

IMF money waits for the lame ducks

SOUTH Africa's two lame-duck presidents, F.W. de Klerk and Nelson Mandela, have both returned from the US where the former visited Michel Camdessus, managing director of the International Monetary Fund. The Group of Seven leading industrial nations, which dominates the voting at the IMF, is keen to foster a political settlement in SA (one Bosnia is more than enough).

So Mr de Klerk emerged from his meeting with the news that SA could expect a \$850-million loan from the IMF this year.

Nelson Mandela, also a lame-duck leader in that he has no official power, did not see the IMF, but immediately objected.

The ANC has been involved in behind-the-scenes discussions on the issue of IMF finance, but believes Mr de Klerk does not have the mandate to speak for SA.

It wants a say in how the money is spent (social development projects, for instance).

There have also been worries in other quarters that this money is too expensive.

SA can turn on the tap for IMF funding, assuming that its lame duck leaders find a way to overcome their disabilities. COMMENT by KEVIN DAWE.

So the flapping of winged ducks produced much hot air and little clarity on what might be the best economic news in a long time.

Economist Mike Brown of Frankel, Pollak, Vinderne has looked at the issue closer than most. He says Mr Camdessus stressed that the IMF would consider only an application from the transitional executive council.

As far as foreign finance goes (all sane observers agree we need foreign funds) this is cheap money, says Mr Brown.

"The interest rate is an average of money-market rates of the major currencies and currently works out at 5.02% a year. Loans are repayable over three years."

Mr Brown says this is less than half what SA is now paying on foreign loans. An added bonus is that

unlike World Bank money, which may take months if not years to begin flowing to SA, the IMF loan will be credited to SA virtually overnight.

It will double our effective foreign-currency reserves, allowing scope for an interest-rate cut by Reserve Bank Governor Chris Stals.

But perhaps best of all, because this loan will be extended in terms of a special facility for temporary balance-of-payment (BoP) problems (in SA's case, the drought), it does not come with the IMF's tough conditions usually linked to an economic reform programme.

But there are some conditions. The loan is for BoP difficulties — it cannot be used for domestic spending, nor can it be used to repay foreign loans by commercial banks. Another condition is that this IMF facility must be used while the coun-

try is experiencing the temporary problem. With the effects of the drought now receding, it is reckoned that SA will have to make the application by the year-end.

We have seen many windows of opportunity close (such as the chance for Mr Mandela to call for an end to sanctions while getting a medal from President Clinton) as negotiations have dragged on.

The open window at the IMF may also close as the national interest again succumbs to politicking.

SA will have to have access to IMF resources, if only to be able to secure a final accord with creditor banks to get rid of the debt standard, opening the way for new private loans.

Private money will remain shy of moving to SA until it sees that the IMF, the banker of last resort, has approved this country.

But we have two lame ducks in charge, neither with the power to turn on the IMF tap. What the IMF and its G-7 backers want is a joint effort before the money starts flowing.

C Press 18/7/93

TALKBUSTERS!

Inkatha and the CP pull out of democracy forum

By SEKOLA SELLO and Sapa

CONSTITUTIONAL talks are facing a serious crisis following the withdrawal of the Conservative Party - and Inkatha's decision not to return to the 26-party negotiating process when it resumes tomorrow.

Inkatha leader Mangosuthu Buthelezi has also threatened to launch an alternative negotiating forum (30/4/93).

The CP delivered this body blow to the negotiations yesterday when they announced that they would not return to multi-party talks until the Afrikaner's right to self-determination receives unequivocal recognition.

This comes a day after Buthelezi, in one of his longest attacks yet on the way negotiations are being threatened to split up the democracy talks and set up a rival forum with his federalist allies.

Political observers claim that threats by both the CP and Inkatha could be a well-co-ordinated move aimed at disrupting the talks which are expected to start tomorrow.

CP chief secretary Dr Lem Theron said party leader Dr Ferdie Hartzenburg had made the announcement to withdraw at an Afrikaner Volksfront meeting in the western Transvaal town of Lichtenburg yesterday.

"Dr Hartzenburg... announced that the CP would on Monday no longer be taking part in the negotiations process until the negotiating council grants unequivocal recognition to the Afrikaner's full right to self-determination."

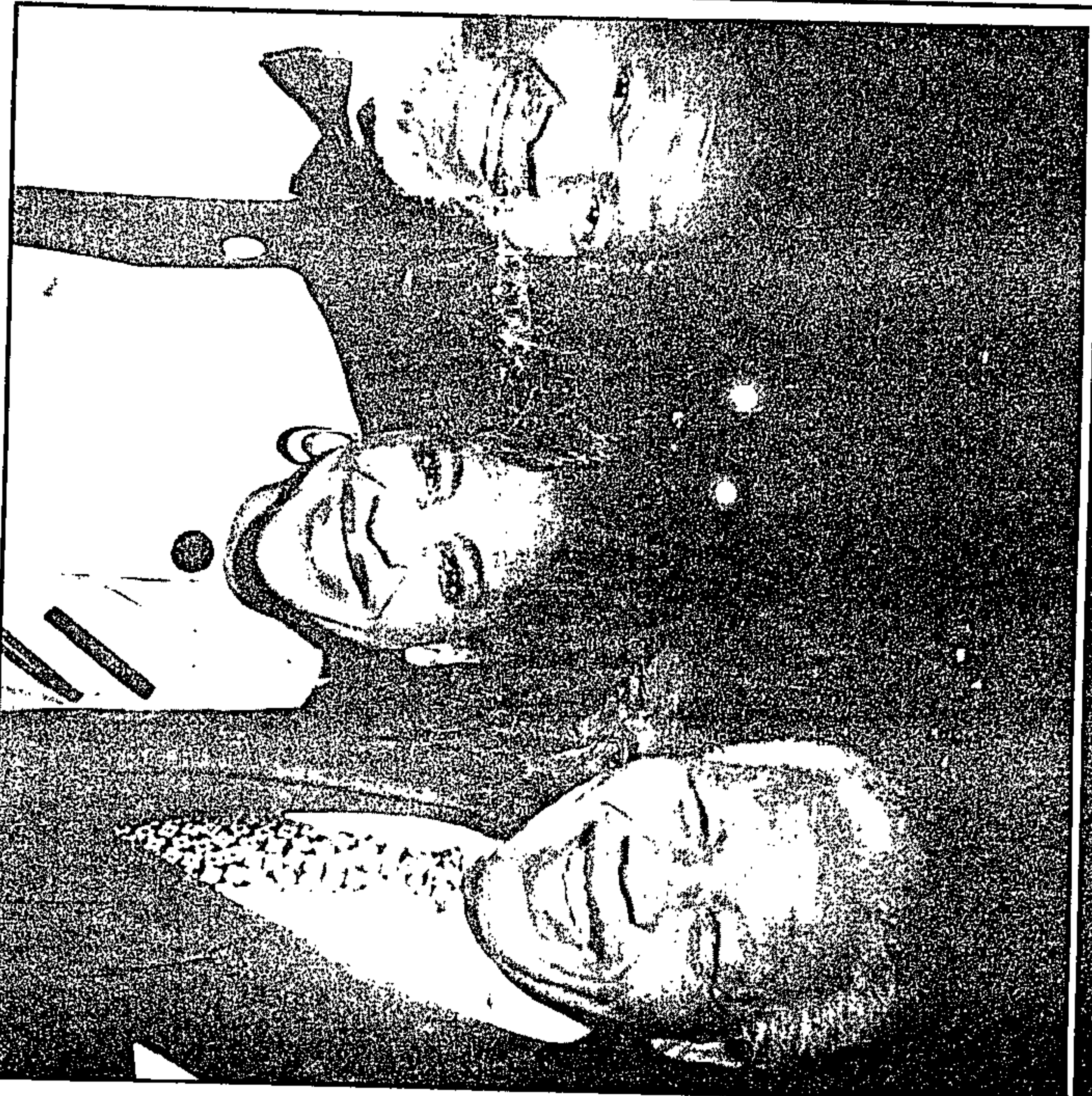
The ANC's Ronnie Mamoepa said the organisation would continue to appeal to all organisations including CP and Inkatha to throw their weight behind the process.

In one of its strongest criticisms of Inkatha yet, the democratic party said the decision by the Umlund-led party was the latest example of "Inkatha's fortunate and disruptive approach to negotiations". National Party leader at the talks Dr Dawie de Vries said Inkatha's decision to temporarily suspend negotiations was shortsighted.

It is clearly Inkatha's intention to broaden its port base by a show of strength and independence. It is a dangerous game which denigrates the importance of the negotiations for the sake of political expediency," De Vries said.

In his opening address to Inkatha's annual conference in Umlund on Friday, Buthelezi warned that rate negotiating processes could lead to a "civil

HAPPY, HAPPY AT MANDELA'S 75th



LIVING AT 75... Nelson Mandela, whooping it up at his 75th birthday, extended a long arm of welcome to Dr Nhato Mollana and his pretty wife Peggy. Mandela's celebration at the Carlton Hotel last night was one that will be remembered for a long time. Read all about it on page 10.

WPM to lure black members

C Press 18/7/93

By MOSIS MAMALLA

WORLD Preservationist Movement leader Koos Vermeulen said this week the rightwing organisation would train black members to use lethal weapons.

Vermeulen shot to prominence this week when he told journalists that self-confessed Inkatha member Victor Khehisi Kheswa - who died in police custody last Saturday after being implicated in several Vaal massacres - was a member of the WPM, formerly the World Apartheid Movement.

Vermeulen told City Press in Pretoria that the organisation's name had been changed to accommodate Inkatha members. "I lied," he said. Kheswa was our member. We were trying to reach our black supporters," Vermeulen said.

Asked if he was not



KOOS VERMEULEN
... WPM leader.

disowning Kheswa because of mounting controversy, Vermeulen said: "I do not want to cause any more trouble for Inkatha." Law and Order Ministry spokesman Capt Craig Kotze said police were investigating reports that Kheswa worked for the WPM. ANC spokesman Carl

after action.. satisfaction



CP pull out of democracy forum

By SEKOLA SELLO and Sapa

CONSTITUTIONAL talks are facing a serious crisis following the withdrawal of the Conservative Party – and Inkatha's decision not to return to the 26-party negotiating process when it resumes tomorrow.

Inkatha leader Mangosuthu Buthelezi has also threatened to launch an alternative negotiating forum (304A) (11B)

The CP delivered this body blow to the negotiations yesterday when they announced that they would not return to multi-party talks until the "Afrikaner's right to self determination" receives unequivocal recognition.

This comes a day after Buthelezi, in one of his strongest attacks yet on the way negotiations are going, threatened to split up the democracy talks and set up a rival forum with his federalist allies.

Political observers claim that threats by both the CP and Inkatha could be a well co-ordinated move aimed at disrupting the talks which are earmarked to start tomorrow.

CP chief secretary Dr Lem Theron said party leader Dr Ferdie Hartzenburg had made the announcement to withdraw at an Afrikaner Volksfront meeting in the western Transvaal town of Lichtenburg yesterday.

"Dr Hartzenburg... announced that the CP would from Monday no longer be taking part in the negotiations process until the negotiating council grants unequivocal recognition to the Afrikaner's full right to self-determination."

The ANC's Ronnie Mamoepa said the organisation would continue to appeal to all organisations including the CP and Inkatha to throw their weight behind the talks.

In one of its strongest criticisms of Inkatha yet, the Democratic Party said the decision by the Ulundi-based party was the latest example of "Inkatha's unfortunate and disruptive approach to negotiations".

National Party leader at the talks Dr Dawie de Villiers said Inkatha's decision to temporarily suspend negotiations was shortsighted.

"It is clearly Inkatha's intention to broaden its support base by a show of strength and independence. That is a dangerous game which denigrates the importance of the negotiations for the sake of political expediency," De Villiers said.

In his opening address to Inkatha's annual conference in Ulundi on Friday, Buthelezi warned that separate negotiating processes could lead to a "civil war".

Buthelezi's proposal to establish a separate "constitutional convention" of Inkatha and its federalist allies in the white right-wing and conservative black homelands came two weeks after democracy negotiators in Johannesburg set April 27 as the date for SA's first non-racial election.

Buthelezi has demanded that federalism be entrenched in a future constitution before the planned April 27 1994 poll, in which the ANC is expected to win a majority.

Musicians left poor and sore

By MOSES MAMAILA

TWENTY-SIX musicians and technicians who took part in the "Heal Yourself" concert in Durban have not been paid – amid reports of misappropriation of hundreds of thousands of rands.

Disgruntled musicians told City Press yesterday that the money of the

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By SEKOLA SELLO

WITH the country's first non-racial elections just months away, the image of State President FW de Klerk among blacks has taken a serious knock.

Cold comfort for the National Party leadership is that the popularity of chief rival Nelson Mandela is rising among blacks as well as whites.

These are the latest findings of a Gallup Poll on socio-political and economic trends carried out by the Markinor research group. (304A)

The research, carried out among 800 whites na-

Mandela up, De Klerk down

CIPress 18/7/93
tionally and 1 000 blacks in metropolitan areas during April/May this year, shows that in the last six months Mandela's popularity has increased slightly among blacks (from 7.9 to 8.4 on a 1-to-10 scale) and whites (from 2.7 to 3.6) (4A)

According to a Markinor spokesman, Mandela's "performance and display of leadership after Chris Hani's assassina-

tion have earned him new respect".

During the same period, the popularity ratings of both De Klerk and Inkatha leader Mangosuthu Buthelezi among whites have not changed. However, among metropolitan blacks, De Klerk's popularity has declined slightly from 4.5 to 4.1.

A strange finding of the poll is that Buthelezi's rating has improved

slightly from 1.9 to 2.1. This is contrary to the general argument that township violence is harming Inkatha.

SACP chairman Joe Slovo and PAC president Clarence Makwetu share one thing in common — they are the least popular among whites.

However, Slovo edges out Makwetu as the second most popular politician after Mandela among blacks.

The ANC still remains the most popular political organisation among metropolitan blacks, followed by the PAC.

REC boss now NP activist

C/Press 18/7/93

By FRED KHUMALO

A CONTROVERSIAL Returned Exiles Committee leader who claimed torture took place in ANC camps, is now a prominent National Party activist.

But outspoken REC chairman Pat Hlongwane has no qualms about also revealing his close links with the AWB, a relationship he calls a "marriage of convenience, if you like".

Hlongwane led hundreds of NP youths, many of them black, in chanting "Viva de Klerk!" when the State President arrived at the NP's Durban youth conference last Saturday.

"I joined the National Party upon realising that it has changed its attitude. It gives me great pleasure to belong to the party, to brush shoulders with the State President, who is, in my opinion, a great statesman and a person of integrity," Hlongwane said.

Bongani Mngomezulu, an NP organiser in Dlamini, Soweto, confirmed Hlongwane was employed as an NP information officer.

"We've been having a lot of problems trying to organise black people in the township," said Mngomezulu, himself a former Azapo member who crossed to the Democratic Party before finally finding a political home in the NP.

Hlongwane, who won publicity for the REC cause when he told the country about alleged atrocities in ANC camps in Angola, now lives in Soweto.

As a result of people like Hlongwane and Mngomezulu many black youths have joined the NP.

Hlongwane, who has been living in Durban with Inkatha central committee member and Lindelani mayor Thomas Shabalala, left Inkatha three months ago. Inkatha had been instrumental in establishing links between the REC and the AWB, he said.

"The AWB has pledged support for those of us fighting against communists, and those of us opposed to the ANC creating a unitary state."

The alleged links between Inkatha and the AWB have since been confirmed by rightwinger Eugene Terre'Blanche.

And last Sunday's Inkatha-organised *imbizo* saw the party moving closer to the white right wing in its opposition to a unitary dispensation. Both also share their commitment to secession should this option be necessary. (304A)

Hlongwane, who has claimed members of his Port Elizabeth-based family were killed in the mid-1980s on the orders of the ANC security apparatus which detained him as a suspected SA government spy, said he and his AWB cronies are ready to fight against the ANC should the elections for a constituent assembly be foisted upon them.

Hlongwane, with the help of the conservative Washington-based International Freedom Foundation, a renowned opponent of the ANC, managed to get a commission established to hear alleged ANC detention camp abuses in Angola.

Hlongwane, also known as Dlongwana, last year told City Press the commission formed phase two of the REC's campaign, which could culminate with the assassination of ANC leaders and cadres responsible for allegedly committing atrocities against exiles.

The ANC says Hlongwane is a SA security police stooge who confessed to taking part in the kidnap of three eastern Cape UDF and civic leaders - Sipho Hashe, Champion Galela and Qaqawuli Godolozzi. The three disappeared in 1985. But Hlongwane later renounced the confession, saying it had been made under duress.

THE Democratic Party has learnt the hard lessons of opposition. It has watched authority being abused, seen government stomp on civil liberties and witnessed the triumph of rule by law over the rule of law. With a new constitutional order and government looming, we're not now going to relax, go soft or go easy. The job of any liberal democrat is to keep the government — and government — honest, accountable and transparent.

The DP proposals for an "interim constitution" presented to the technical committee of the multi-party negotiations' process this week are anchored in the deeply held belief that government works best when its potential for abuse is curbed and when it is held as close — and accountable — to the people as possible.

When it comes to engineering the nuts and bolts of a new constitution, it is preferable to be guided by hard-nosed reality rather than by mushy sentiment.

Limit

There are some parties who imagine that the constitution in place when the constituent assembly is elected next April will be of a very temporary nature, and that the detail of it is less important than the fact that the popularly elected representatives will compile the finished product.

The DP has always opposed the idea of merging the functions of a parliament with a constitution-making body. But since the government and ANC are insistent on the election of one body to perform both functions, our new proposals insist that strong, meaningful and effective checks and balances be incorporated to ensure that the elected body abides by the constitutional principles currently being finalised at the World Trade Centre.

These principles — ranging from the acceptance of regionalism to the need for the separation of powers — will form the girders underpinning the bridge between the current multi-party talks and the future elected assembly. But they are ties which must bind. In our view, these

Strong checks and balances anchor DP plan

St Times 18/7/93



TONY LEON explains the thinking behind the Democratic Party's proposals for an interim constitution which were tabled this week

constitutional principles will be inviolable.

Certain parties, most prominently the ANC, have suggested that deadlines and strict time limits be set on the work of the constitution-making body. While they claim adherence to the principle of super-majorities agreeing to the constitution, their bottom line is that if the elected body cannot muster a two-thirds majority, a referendum with a bare majority of 50 percent must settle the issue. We cannot imagine a scenario more divisive and dangerous than imposing a constitution on a country which almost half the people oppose.

Our proposals limit the lifespan of the elected body to four years. But if in that period — however improbable — no constitution is finalised, then fresh elections will be held and the process will have to continue.

The first order of business of the elected body will be to finalise the new constitution in accordance with the principles agreed to at the multi-party negotiations. We believe that each of its clauses must, generally, be assented to by 70 percent of the members of the elected

lower house, or national assembly.

This high threshold will ensure that a very significant majority of South Africans, through their chosen representatives, concur with the constitution. Once the constitution is in place, future amendments will require a two-thirds majority of both the lower and upper house (senate). This provision is consonant with procedures elsewhere in the democratic world.

The crunch constitutional issue in South Africa is regionalism or federalism. The DP not only recognises this reality but has always been a proponent of dispersal and decentralisation of power and the diffusion of authority.

Strong regional governments will not only curtail the centralisation of power, but will also assist national political minorities to achieve power in local or regional contexts. The powers, duties and boundaries of regions will also be determined prior to the election of the constitution-making body.

We therefore propose that each region — through an electoral college — nominate

senators to an upper house. Then any proposed amendments to regional powers and boundaries will require the 70 percent approval of both the lower house and senate, plus a majority in at least three-quarters of the regional legislatures, which will be elected simultaneously with the constitution-making body. This affords real and substantive protection to regional interests.

A bill of rights is also being fashioned at Kempton Park for the "interim period". But in the four years' lifespan of the elected body, legislation could be passed affecting fundamental rights. Since the assembly elected next year will both finalise a constitution and govern the country, it is vital that a bill of rights operate to protect the individual against majoritarian impulses, howsoever constituted.

Values

Because the bill of rights should represent the core values common to the whole society, even higher majorities are required to enact (and amend) it. We propose here a requirement of 75 percent of both houses of parliament and further approval from 75 percent of the regional legislatures voting by a similar margin.

These elaborate majorities are necessary for creating a constitution which will enjoy maximum popular support and which will endure because of the consensus required to enact it. But we also need a government which can govern effectively.

For this reason, we propose that the first president be elected by the national assembly with a 50 percent vote and that he be entitled to choose his own prime minister. But their powers — and those of the multi-party cabinet — will be strictly regulated by the constitution.

In sum, our proposals will ensure that a new government honours the commitments reached at negotiations — and that all South Africans are taken forward into the new constitutional order.

□ Tony Leon, MP, was co-author of the DP's interim constitution proposals.

Freedom of town for AWB

By Peter Wellman

The western Transvaal town of Schweizer-Reneke, which claims the best race relations with its township of any local authority in the country, is giving the freedom of the town to the Afrikaner Weerstandsbeweging's Wenkommando next month (30/4).

Mayor Joey Fourie said he did not foresee any problems with Ipelegeng township over the decision. None of the councillors was an AWB member and the council vote was unanimous.

Fourie said Schweizer-Reneke was a conservative community and Ipelegeng residents knew that mass action by the ANC-aligned civic association was not allowed.

"If you want to know more about our relations with Ipelegeng ask the mayor, Jonas Marumo."

A National Party organiser in the western Transvaal, Marumo would not comment on the Wenkommando decision.

A spokesman for the Ipelegeng civic association said the community had rejected Marumo as their leader.

He said Ipelegeng residents were mostly ANC-aligned, and had picketed the local Department of Education and Training offices in May.

"The AWB were waiting for us, and our people were sjambokked. So were people who had nothing to do with the protest."

The freedom award will be made on August 7 after a Wenkommando parade and a flypast by aircraft of the AWB's new "air force".

Start the day by saying 'Nats are crooks' Boesak urges pupils



Dr Boesak

DENNIS CRUYWAGEN
Political Staff

ARG 19/7/93

DR Allan Boesak says President De Klerk and his colleagues in the National Party government are "a bunch of crooks (skelms)".

At an ANC meeting in Mitchell's Plain yesterday, Dr Boesak urged coloured pupils returning to school tomorrow to tell their teachers they

wanted to begin the day by saying: "De Klerk is a skelm."

The message should be repeated in church on Sunday, he said.

But ANC Western Cape chairman Dr Boesak said today he did not mean Mr De Klerk had personally stolen money.

"I said Mr De Klerk was a crook because he is the leader of the National Party, a party which over the years

has robbed our people of everything they had," Dr Boesak said.

"They took our land, the vote and our homes. And if they want us to believe they have changed they must tell us why they have earmarked money for secret projects."

He said Mr De Klerk had not really apologised for the hurt caused by apartheid.

IFP, CP, KwaZulu quit talks

By Esther Waugh
Political Correspondent

Three of the 26 groups at the negotiating table — the Inkatha Freedom Party, KwaZulu Government and the Conservative Party — will not return today to the World Trade Centre for a meeting of the Negotiating Council.

The IFP general conference resolved in Ulundi yesterday to suspend its participation in negotiations unless the Government "clearly declares its position on the continuing deployment of MK (Umkhonto we Sizwe)".

In another resolution, the party demanded what amounted to a veto right in negotiations.

● To Page 3.

The Star Monday July 19 1993 3

Talks hit trouble as three parties pull out

● From Page 1

The conference rejected "the right" of the Government, SACP and ANC to determine whether there was sufficient consensus and refused to "re-enter negotiations until there are assurances that there will henceforth be no sufficient consensus without the IFP's concurrence".

Constitutional Development Minister Roelf Meyer last night reiterated his view that there was no reason for the IFP and KwaZulu government not to take part in constitutional talks.

Further talks take place tomorrow between the two groups and the Government. Sufficient consensus is expected to again be on the meeting's agenda.

Meyer would not comment on the CP's withdrawal from talks. CP leader Dr Ferdi Hartzenberg said on Saturday that his party would not take part in negotiations until the Afrikaner's right to self-determination was recognised.

Cosag members at the World Trade Centre — the IFP, CP,

Afrikaner Volksunie (AVU) and the Ciskei, KwaZulu and Bophuthatswana governments — are scheduled to meet early today before the meeting of the planning committee and the Negotiating Council.

AVU leader Andries Beyers and Bophuthatswana chief negotiator Rowan Cronje yesterday said their delegations would attend today's meetings and take part in all the debates.

But, Ciskei negotiator Mickey Webb said "at this stage" his government would take part in all negotiations except those on constitutional matters.

When the Negotiating Council resumes meeting today after a two-week recess, it is expected to discuss an independent media commission, an independent electoral commission and an independent broadcasting authority. Other issues scheduled for negotiations are the repeal of discriminatory legislation and fundamental human rights during the transition.

A transitional executive council and a draft of an interim constitution will only be discussed next week.

Sowetan 19/7/98

Town to honour AWB

THE Western Transvaal town of Schweizer-Reneke, which claims the best race relations with its township of any local authority in the country, is giving the freedom of the city to the Afrikanerweerstandsbeweging's Wenkommando next month.

Mayor Joey Fourie made the claim about his council's dealings with the Ipelegeng community in an interview with *Sowetan's* sister newspaper *The Star* on Friday, when he said he did not foresee any problems with Ipelegeng over the decision. (304A)

Asked to substantiate his claim, Fourie said Schweizer-Reneke was a conservative community, and Ipelegeng residents knew that mass action and demonstrations by the civic association were not allowed.

"If you want to know more about our relations with Ipelegeng, ask the mayor, Jonas Marumo," he added.

A National Party organiser in the Western Transvaal, Marumo would not comment on the Wenkommando decision, but said he had no complaints about his relations with the town coun-

cil.

Fourie said the freedom of the town had earlier been conferred on the local SADF commando. The council had thought it fitting that the Wenkommando also receive the honour.

A spokesman for the Ipelegeng civic said the community had long ago rejected Marumo as their leader.

The freedom award will be made on August 7 after a Wenkommando parade and a flypast by aircraft of the AWB's new "air force".

'Sufficient consensus' the key

Inkatha sets conditions for rejoining talks

Bl Day 19/1/93

HS 304A

THE Inkatha Freedom Party's annual general conference yesterday resolved to suspend participation in negotiations until other parties agreed that no decision could be made without its concurrence.

In a separate resolution, the congress also mandated the national leadership to suspend participation in negotiations until government declared its position on the continuing deployment of Umkhonto we Sizwe and its control of arms caches.

The resolution follows the CP's decision on Saturday to pull out of the forum until its demand for "Afrikaner self-determination" had been met. Inkatha negotiators had previously said they would return to negotiations when a draft constitution was tabled.

The congress resolved "with a deep sense of gravity" that it was instructing its delegation to "reject the right of the ANC/SACP alliance and the SA government to determine when there is or is not sufficient consensus in the negotiating chambers and to refuse to re-enter negotiations until there are assurances that there will henceforth be no sufficient consensus without Inkatha's concurrence".

The resolution then instructs that the Inkatha negotiators should "consider very seriously the feasibility of an alternative negotiating forum of a national multiparty constitutional convention, if there is insufficient remedy for the negotiations at the World Trade Centre".

Meanwhile, government has rejected Inkatha's proposal to set up an alternative negotiating forum as "unworkable" but has

said it would continue to encourage the organisation to clarify its "vague and contradictory" requirements, a senior negotiator said. This message follows a week of intense bilateral discussions between government and Inkatha.

The call for a "go-it-alone" constitutional convention was made on the eve of the conference by Inkatha president Mangosuthu Buthelezi at a meeting of the party's national council.

Deputy Constitutional Development Minister Fanus Schoeman said government negotiators were having difficulty forming a clear picture of what Inkatha wanted in addition to what was already offered by the existing negotiation process.

From government's point of view, there was nothing that Inkatha leaders raised in the extensive discussions held over the past few days that was not wholly compatible with what was being discussed in the existing forum, he said.

Furthermore, Inkatha was shooting itself in the foot by not participating in the discussions as it would be missing out on an opportunity to shape the future constitution into a form it was demanding.

This problem could become particularly acute this week as it was possible that the negotiating council might discuss those sections of the interim constitution dealing with regionalism on Wednesday.

Inkatha's objection to a constitutional assembly deciding on the final constitution

□ To Page 2

Inkatha

Bl Day 19/1/93

was misplaced it had already been decided that certain constitutional principles would bind the constitution-making body. "This is not a real argument," he said.

Government sources said Inkatha seemed to want agreement that the Kwa-Zulu/Natal aspect of negotiations should be agreed separately and "cast in stone".

Government was pressing for a solution for the whole country, and separate agreements on various areas were therefore not realistic, the source said. (13)

● Sapa reports Inkatha is to retain its current leadership, after Buthelezi invoked

special powers granted to him in December 1990 whereby he is able to lengthen the term of party officials without elections.

Saying the violence in black townships and rural areas had failed to see the establishment of the necessary branches, Buthelezi told the IFP national council it had not been possible to fully implement the party's constitution. (304A)

"We do not have a sufficient number of the structures of the new constitution in place to hold party elections for the various leadership posts in the party..."

□ From Page 1

IFP out of talks

Sowetan 19/7/1993

By Themba Molefe
in Ujundi

THE Conservative Party and Inkatha Freedom Party have thrown down the gauntlet and will not return to multiparty talks when the negotiating council resumes its work today.

Both parties said at the weekend they would return to the talks only after the negotiating council had met certain conditions.

The IFP said at its annual conference in Ujundi yesterday that it would go back only after the Government had declared its position on the ANC's military wing, Umkhonto we Sizwe.

The party also said it would look at the feasibility of having an alternative negotiating forum in opposition to the present negotiations.

This means the IFP could start its own negotiations with the rightwingers to challenge the present process.

In an interview with *Sowetan* on Saturday, IFP president Chief Mangosuthu Buthelezi said almost 300 members and leaders of the party had been assassinated to date.

He said the IFP had now mandated its national leadership "to suspend participation in negotiations unless the South African Government clearly declares its position on the continuing deploy-

ment of MK and the holding of undisclosed arms caches by MK within the territory of the Republic of South Africa and the territories of the TBVC states".

The party also declared: "The IFP warns of dire consequences for the country, for democracy and stability should these political killings continue."

Buthelezi said his party was not against negotiations but domination of the talks by the ANC and the Government.

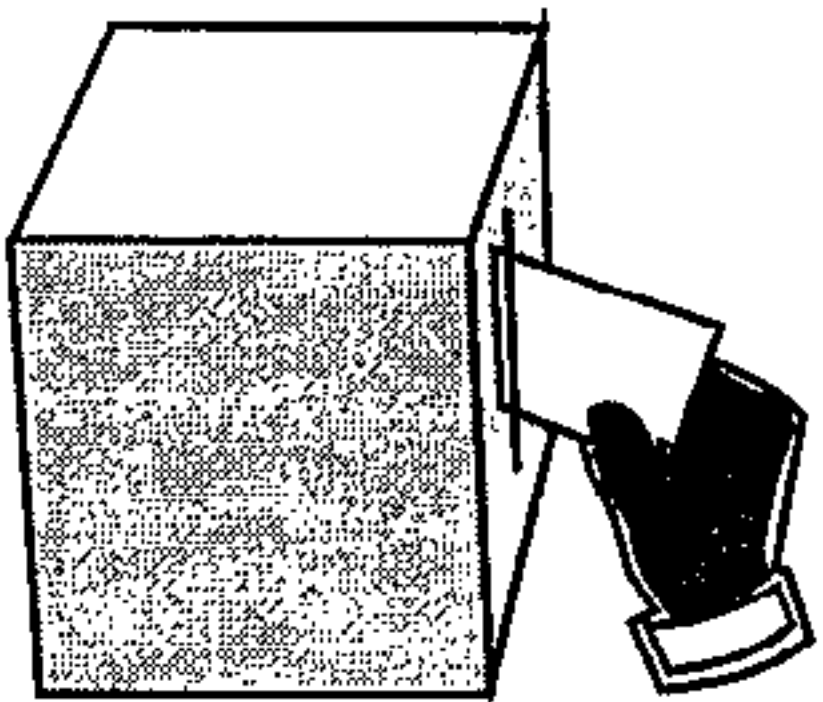
In his speech to yesterday's conference Buthelezi said: "Nothing has been more abused in the negotiation process than this term 'sufficient consensus'."

"In the ANC-South African Communist Party alliances' desperation to hold elections for a constituent assembly at the soonest possible date, they introduced a motion calling for elections. We do not even know what kind of state we are going to have, we have no constitution," Buthelezi said.

Political Correspondent **Ismail Lagardien** reports that CP leader Dr Ferdi Hartzenberg has withdrawn his party from the negotiations table until the Afrikaners' right to self-determination received "unequivocal" recognition.

He said Afrikaners and "patriots of other language groups" had the right to govern themselves in their own sovereign and independent fatherlands.

The Negotiating Council assemblies at the World Trade Centre today to start work on the establishment of a transitional executive council.



THIS is the first in a series of pages aimed at preparing readers for the forthcoming elections in April next year.

The series will cover topics concerned with the meaning of democracy, the value of the vote, and what a constitution is, with special reference to federal and unitary options. Close to elections we will explain how to vote.

Voters big role in moving SA to *Sowetan* 1917193 era of democracy

■ **STIFF TEST** Next year's election will

severely test society's resolve.

By Ismail Lagardien
Political Correspondent

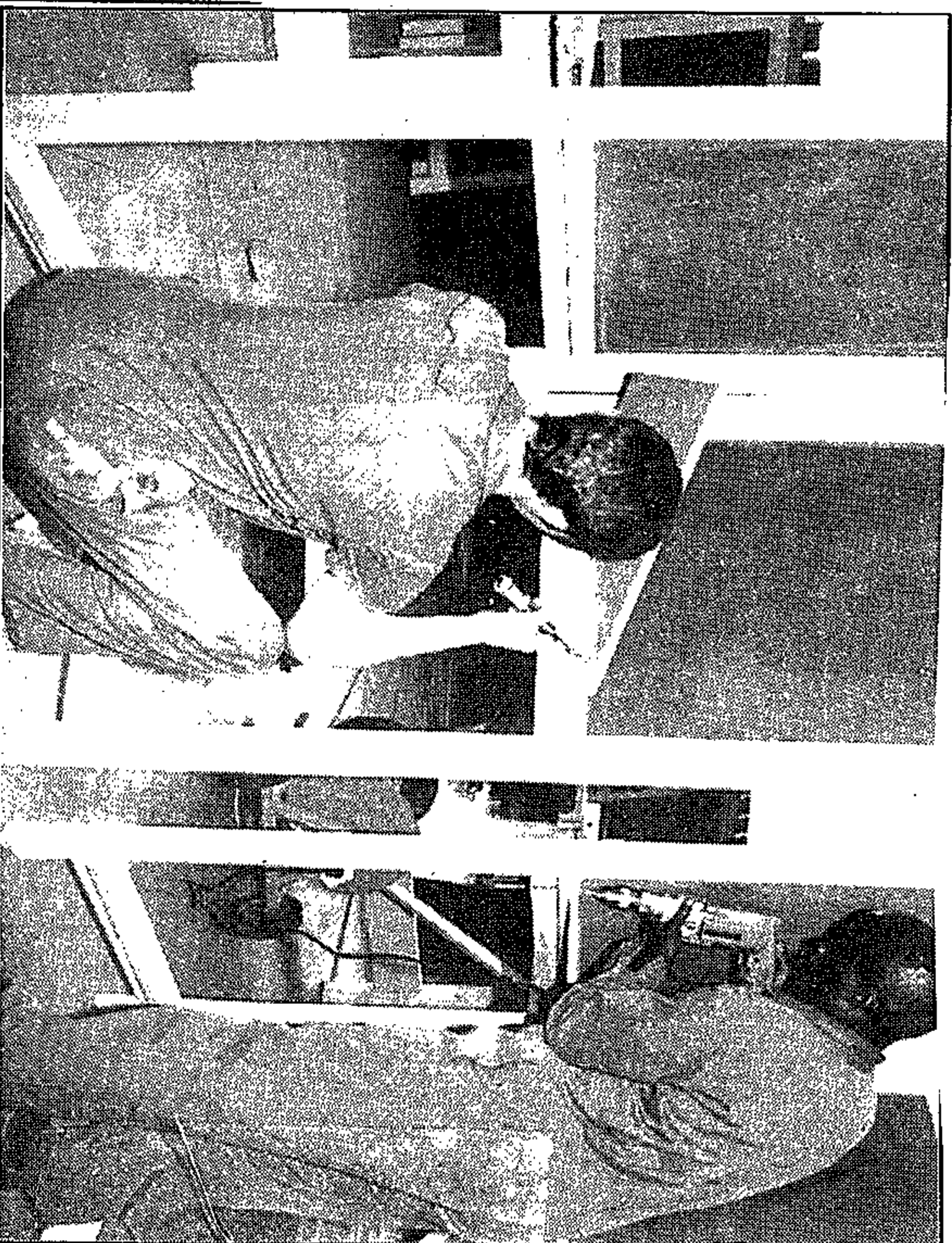
THE tolerance level of all South Africans will be severely tested over the next nine months. That is if the country's first non-racial elections are held on April 27 1994. This period could end in protracted war, or, at best, in a tenuous peace. Either way, the choice is up to ordinary South Africans and their leaders.

The biggest attraction of next year's election is that it will be the first in the history of the country to include black

The ruling National Party prides itself, through the utterances of its chief negotiator, Mr Roelf Meyer, that it has "managed to avoid an uhuru situation in South Africa".

After the seemingly intractable conflict of the 1980s and the increasing international pressure - and a great deal of shove not push after the collapse of the East Bloc and eventually the Soviet Union - the liberation movement and Pretoria had to settle for second best: negotiations and compromise. (3044A)

Hence the start of negotiations in May 1990.



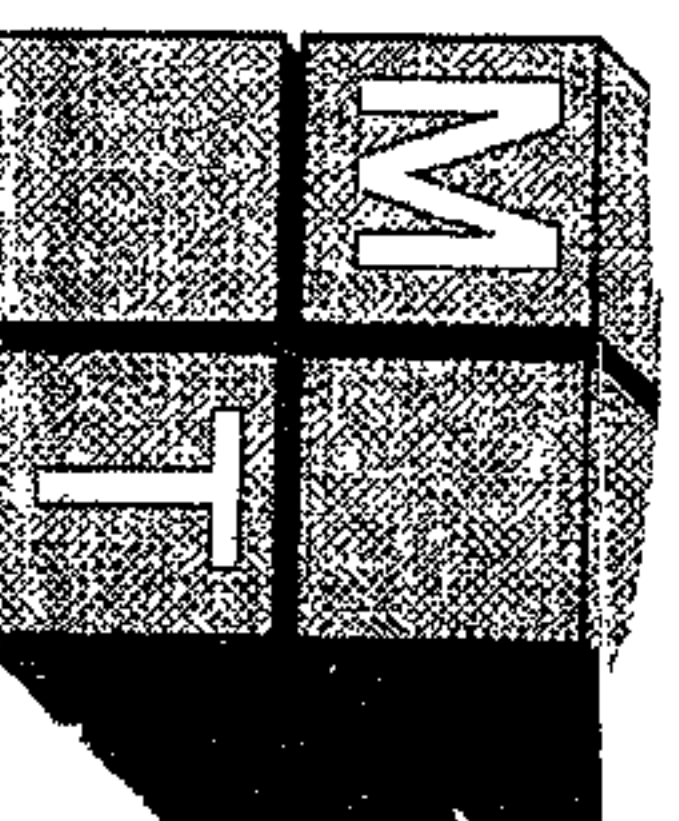
Prisoners build polling booths for next year's election.

How X came to *Sowetan* 1917193 mark the spot

(3044A)

Today we start looking at what is meant by democracy. Democ-

This voter edu-



cation series is a joint project of Sovetan and Matla Trust

movement.

This was a move away from citizens merely relying on the constitutional self-restraint of the political and governmental elite in relation to the ordinary citizens. The black civil rights movement was directed at ensuring the full and concrete implementation of the constitutional guarantees contained in the US Constitution's post Civil War Amendments.

A resounding achievement of the civil rights movement was forcing the US Supreme Court in 1954 to reject clauses in the constitution sanctioning "separate but equal" education and ending race or colour based segregation in US public education schools. This is a strong example showing that the actual implementation and success of democracy in any country does not depend only on the government but on the citizens themselves.

The content of a democratic right:

Democratic rights must not be confused with calls by all and sundry based on their own definition on what their rights are.

The fact is, whatever one perceives to be one's own rights, must be measured against whether or not those rights impinge on or limit the equal rights and opportunities of everyone else in the society.

Many people in our country are still clamouring for the so-called rights which are in fact privileges that they were only to enjoy in the past at the cost of denying the majority of the population their rights.

These people need to get educated about what democracy is.

longer rule directly but through their elected representatives, whom they select by voting on election day. This is what makes the vote such a significant political right. It gives everyone a say in who will rule and what policies should prevail in the government of the day.

Characteristics of a democratic system:

Things characterising a democratic system are the following:

- All adult citizens irrespective of race, religion or gender must have the right to vote.
- Any citizen should be able to run for public office.
- Free and fair elections must be held regularly to allow citizens to exercise "rule by the people".
- All citizens must have the right to form independent political parties to contest elections.
- There must be alternative sources of information independent of the government.
- There must be some kind of an institution that ensures the peaceful departure of a leader who loses elections.
- Moreover democracy must be monitored. Many peoples lacked a truly crusading and pro-active civic consciousness aimed at monitoring government behaviour.

The role of the civil society:

A pro-active form of people monitoring the government originated amongst black Americans in the United States during the 1940's and come to be known as the civil rights

people". The term originated in ancient

Greece around the year 450BC during the period of the city state. There were then still many limitations on who qualified for the franchise.

Some of them were only freemen and not slaves, males and not females and moreover only property owners.

Generally it was affluent male heads of households who actually voted. This has been the case throughout the world.

The debate which began in ancient Greece about who actually constitutes the people has been going on for centuries.

In South Africa people who could exercise the vote were defined as whites only, the rest were excluded.

Because of the small size of the city states, all those with the franchise had a direct say in matters of government.

In the city state of Athens for example there were only about 4 000 people in the meeting place during the process of ruling through direct democracy.

Today we no longer have city states. Direct democracy cannot work as countries have swelled to encompass many cities within their boundaries.

Referendums are surviving examples of direct democracy. They are usually practised when an issue is so controversial that leaders need a direct mandate from the people in order to continue governing as before.

An example of this was the white referendum in 1991 on whether or not negotiations between the government and the ANC should continue.

This was however not fully democratic in the sense that it was a whites only referendum.

The swelling of countries to encompass entire nations and cover huge geographical territories resulted in a shift from democracy to representative democracy.

The meaning "rule by the people" is still the same but the people no

country are locked between the lack of black unity, on the one hand and the extremely difficult path to the election.

Whatever emerges after the election will have to be based on tolerance, understanding, compromise and concession.

It is as much up to the politicians as it is up to the people, ordinary people, in South Africa.

The single objective in South Africa is to prevent replacing the misery of apartheid with the misery of post-election Angola.

This worst case scenario should be avoided at all costs. The answer, perhaps, is that the voting public must understand the principles that underscore the electoral process.

South Africa's road to democracy might seem tyrannical, but the people of this country must find the peace at the end of it - or remain lost in tyranny forever.

people.

There will, therefore, be a scramble for votes.

But given South Africa's immediate history — and the danger signals abound — it is difficult for those who were the victims and who remain the legacies of apartheid, to accept that the ruling National Party may now canvass for votes in black communities.

It is similarly difficult to accept that each vote for the National Party, in terms of democratic principles, would carry the same weight as any vote for either the ANC, PAC, Azapo or South African Communist Party.

Worse still: it is unspeakable that liberation will now result from standing in a queue at the polls.

But this is the challenge for South Africans — black South Africans in particular.

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PAC joins Cosag in objecting to 'sufficient consensus' mechanism

MULTIPARTY negotiations hit a new snag yesterday when the PAC joined Cosag members in insisting that decisions should not be taken without their concurrence.

Negotiations began without most of the members of the Cosag group who met in a nearby hotel to discuss Inkatha's demand that it would not return to talks without a veto right over decisions.

Members of the group, with the exception of Inkatha and the CP which has also withdrawn, returned in the afternoon, saying they would also have to reconsider their positions if the method of making de-

cisions was not changed.

Inkatha members also held discussions with the PAC, after which the PAC declared its support for Inkatha's decision, taken at its annual conference, that no decision could be valid without its assent.

However, the negotiating council's discussions continued despite Cosag's absence after it was established that a quorum of at least 17 members was present.

The council decided against discussing the absence of Inkatha and the CP, which has cleared its World Trade Centre office, after members were informed that there

TIM COHEN

had been no formal indication of the parties' withdrawal or their reasons.

The forum spent the day considering the reports of the technical committee on the independent broadcasting authority and the independent media committee, which were broadly agreed to. Amendments on some issues were suggested and the committee will present final drafts of proposed legislation before the month-end.

After returning to the meeting, AVU negotiator Moolman Mentz called for a re-

view of the "sufficient consensus" mechanism in terms of which decisions were taken.

The mechanism does not require a numerical majority but rather stipulates that a decision will be deemed to have been made if the process can continue despite objections from some parties.

Natal Indian Congress negotiator Frávin Gordhan said the ad-hoc committee set up to discuss the question of sufficient consensus would meet today to finalise its proposals.

Bophuthatswana negotiator Rowan

Cronje said the committee discussing the sufficient consensus mechanism would have to take into account a "new reality".

This was that there were effectively three groups taking part in negotiations — the Cosag group, the government group and the ANC group. The sufficient consensus requirement ought not to be satisfied without the concurrence of any one of these groups, because any solutions that were found would not be lasting.

PAC negotiator Patricia de Lille agreed with Cronje's objections, saying that some

PAC Bidu 2017/93

From Page 1

groups felt they were taking part in talks simply as "voting cattle".

Gordhan, chairman of the discussion group on sufficient consensus, argued in favour of the existing formulation, saying it gave the process enough flexibility to come to a decision on a broad variety of different issues.

However he was confident that agreement on a new formulation could be found which would not affect the flexibility but which could "modify the application" of the formulation.

But these agreements would not be possible unless changes were made to ensure that none of the parties engaged in the buster, he said.

To Page 2

Party political TV broadcasts for April elections?

Political Staff

JOHANNESBURG. — A proposal for party political broadcasts on television during the elections has come under the spotlight at the negotiating council.

A report by a negotiations technical committee on an independent media commission recommended that such broadcasts be prohibited because of the costs involved.

However, several parties argued in favour of party political broadcasts.

This proposal and several others have been referred back to the technical committee for further consideration before July 29.

PAC negotiator Barney Desai argued that party political broadcasts on television were essential because large sections of the media were controlled by conglomerates.

SA Communist Party chairman Joe Slovo said there ought to be no distinction between television and radio broadcasts on the matter.

However, ANC secretary-general Cyril Ramaphosa disagreed with their arguments. He said only parties with enough money would be able to afford such broadcasts.

The "political playing field" should therefore be levelled in this regard.

The first democratic elections should not be lost or won because of parties' resources, Mr Ramaphosa said.

Democratic Party delegate Peter Soal supported the ANC secretary-general, saying television was a "glamour medium" which not everyone had access to as was the case with radio.

NEWS Government says discussions must continue

IFP, PAC to hold talks

By Ismail Lagardien
Political Correspondent

THE Negotiating Council resumed its business as usual yesterday despite the absence of the Conservative Party, Inkatha Freedom Party and KwaZulu administration.

The Council resolved to continue its work until it has received formal notification from the IFP and CP of their withdrawal from multiparty talks; the Government was particularly adamant that talks should continue.

In the meantime the Concerned South Africans Group held a meeting yesterday to discuss its particular gripes with talks in general, the council and especially the procedures for the adoption of resolutions, among which is the concept of sufficient consensus.

And in a surprise move the PAC yesterday held a snap bilateral meeting with the IFP, allegedly to discuss the latter's reasons for its withdrawal from talks.

Mandate

The secretary general of the PAC, Mr Benny Alexander, confirmed that his leader, Mr Clarence Makwetu, had given the mandate for the meeting and that the outcome thereof would be taken back to the PAC president before any action would be taken.

The meeting between the PAC and IFP raised eyebrows at the World Trade Centre yesterday where a *de facto* alliance between the two parties was emerging on the issue of sufficient consensus. At the end of the Cosag meeting yesterday, the IFP and CP remained out

of the Council meeting.

The IFP wants special veto powers in negotiations. It wants sufficient consensus to be based on its approval of any agreements reached or resolutions accepted in the Council.

The IFP has changed its mind three times over the past week over what would bring it back to negotiations.

First the IFP said it would return once the issue of federalism had to be confirmed, then said it would return when an interim constitution was tabled and afterwards said that once the Government ruled on the continued existence of the ANC's military wing, Umkhonto we Sizwe, it would resume talks.

The CP was frank enough to say that it wanted an Afrikaner homeland to be guaranteed before it would return to negotiations.

Lawyers to probe highway shootout

Another of the Sisulu bodyguard's dies

By Lulama Luti and Sapa

A SECOND bodyguard of ANC deputy president Mr Walter Sisulu died in hospital yesterday following Sunday's shootout between police and Sisulu's convoy.

The guard was injured when police and ANC bodyguards exchanged fire on the Soweto highway as the Sisulus were returning from Mr Nelson Mandela's birthday celebrations at the Carlton Hotel.

One guard died soon after the shooting and a third at Baragwanath Hospital. The ANC yesterday named the two guards who died as Mr Jabulani Cebo Ntli and Mr Ishmael Molokane.

Meanwhile, the organisation said lawyers Mr Matthew Phosa and Mr Fink Haysom would represent it in investigations to be headed by Witwatersrand Regional Commissioner of Police Lieutenant-General Koos Calitz.

ANC spokesman Mr Ronnie Mamoepe said Phosa and Haysom would meet Calitz today.

He said the ANC insisted on the involvement of the international police monitors who are in the country. The organisation also wanted independent experts to be part of the investigations, he said. Witwatersrand police spokesman Brigadier Zirk Gous could yesterday not confirm if there would be a meeting between Calitz and the ANC legal team today.

YOU'RE WASTING YOUR

Sowetan 20/7/93
Natal may expand borders *(105)*

A REQUEST that Griqualand East be allowed to remain part of Natal in the new dispensation has been submitted by the Durban Regional Chamber of Business to the Commission for Regional Demarcation.

In oral and written representations, the chamber also proposed that the part of Transkei known as the "Island of Umzimkulu" be incorporated into the Natal region and that the province should retain the coastal strip between Port Shepstone and Port Edward. *(304A)* *(254)*

Cops deny Kei border row

THE SAP yesterday denied they had stopped manning the South Africa-Transkei River border post, saying they had only withdrawn from the office of the Department of Interior to set up their own charge office 3km into the Republic. *Sowetan 20/7/93*

Police spokesman Colonel Christo Louw said police had moved away from the border post last Thursday to set up a charge office "where the roadblock is being conducted". *(254)* *(105)*

"It is not true that we have withdrawn the roadblock. It is still in place," he said.

Sowetan 20/7/93
Lesotho scheme nears end

CONSTRUCTION of the Lesotho Highlands Water Scheme's southern tunnel is expected to be completed within weeks, almost two years ahead of the planned completion date of April 1995. — *Sowetan Correspondents and Sapa.* *(165)*

Sowetan 20/7/93

AWB slams raid by Goldstone

THE Afrikaner Weerstandsbeweging yesterday condemned the Goldstone Commission's raid on World Preservatist Movement leader Koos Vermeulen's home last week and accused the commission of being a "partisan, pro-ANC vigilante" (252)

"This raid has now revealed what awesome powers Goldstone has unilaterally appropriated unto himself," said the AWB in a statement. The commission raided Vermeulen's home on Friday following his statement that "Vaal monster" Khetisi Kheswa was a member of the WPM, an ultra-rightwing organisation formerly known as the World Apartheid Movement. Kheswa was sus-

pected of being involved in a number of killings in the Vaal Triangle and elsewhere. He was arrested by police and died in their custody two weeks ago.

The AWB said the raid on Vermeulen's home meant commission chairman Mr Justice Richard Goldstone could raid anyone's home at any time, even if the Attorney-General and the Police Commissioner did not believe there was sufficient reason to do so. Goldstone had become like the "thought police" in George Orwell's novel 1984. — Sapa. (252) (304A)

Consensus a spanner in works

Star 20/7/93

304A

Esther Waugh
Political Correspondent

The Negotiating Council is continuing without the Inkatha Freedom Party, KwaZulu Government and Conservative Party, but a problem is looming over the decision-making mechanism in constitutional talks.

The six members of the Concerned South Africans Group (Cosag) at the World Trade Centre yesterday clearly indicated their unhappiness about sufficient consensus rulings whereby decisions are taken.

Despite the withdrawal of the three parties from negotiations, the other three Cosag parties — Bophuthatswana Government, Ciskei Government and Afrikaner Volksunie (AVU) — continue to take part in the NC.

Cosag members yesterday denied that there was a split in the group — or differences over negotiations tactics — because of the continued participation by some of its members.

Although the row over sufficient consensus rulings has been brewing for some time, the latest unhappiness comes in the wake of a resolution taken on Sunday at the IFP's general conference which stated that

the party would refuse to re-enter negotiations until sufficient consensus included the IFP's concurrence.

Several delegates at the World Trade Centre interpreted the IFP resolution as a demand for a veto right in constitutional negotiations.

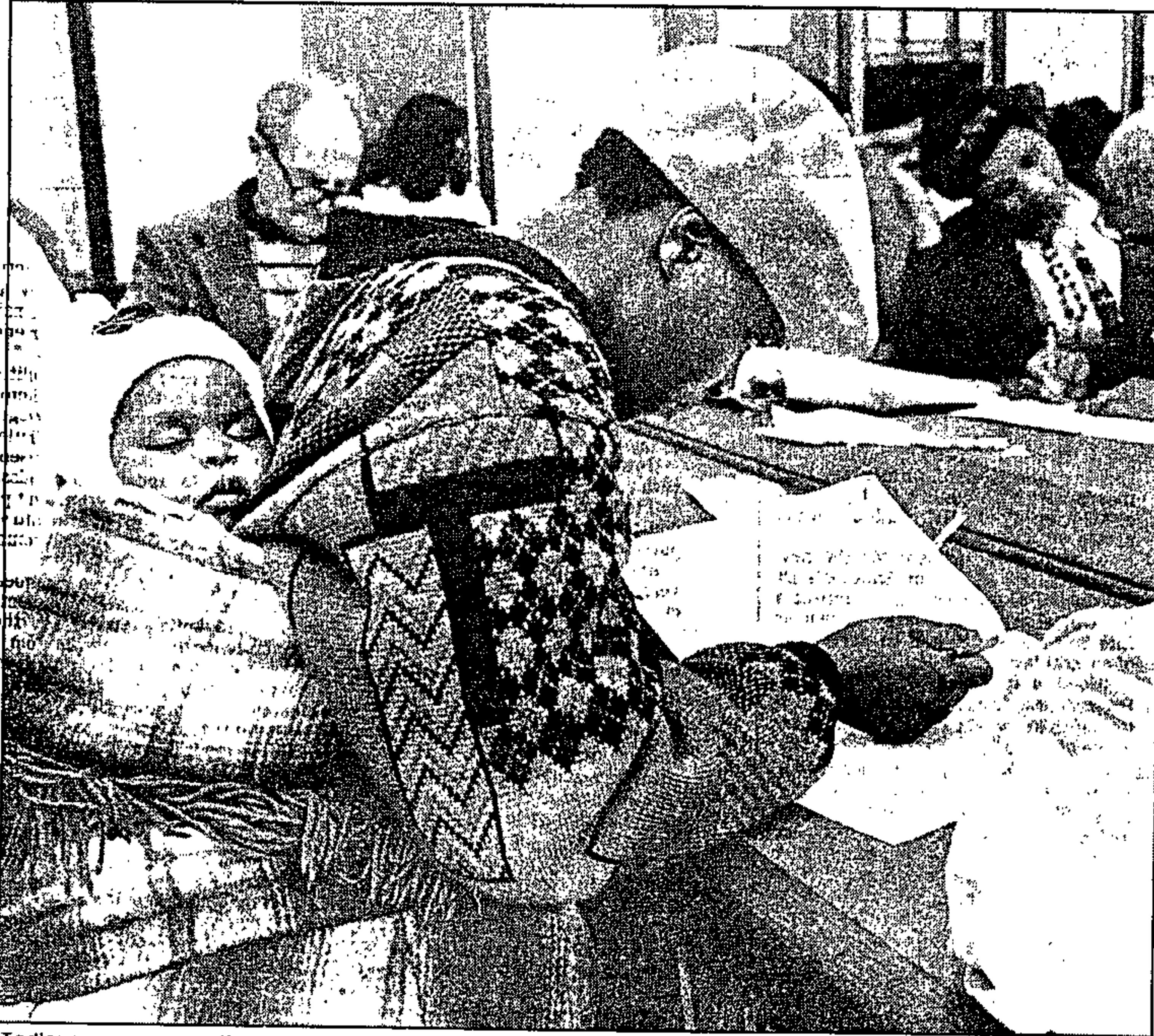
ANC secretary general Cyril Ramaphosa said the IFP and KwaZulu Government decision to walk out was based on "very weak and unconvincing" grounds.

"The IFP was doing a disservice to its members by not participating in the most important process that is shaping the future of the country. Their withdrawal will not shape the future", he said.

Ramaphosa noted that the IFP had agreed to sufficient consensus as a decision-making process.

"There is no reason why legislation should be delayed because some parties feel they cannot agree. We have used sufficient consensus effectively and where sufficient consensus included them (the IFP), they have not expressed unhappiness. That's hypocritical," Ramaphosa said.

● Another round of talks between the Government and the IFP is scheduled for this afternoon.



Tedious process . . . the queues at the Home Affairs offices have been growing by the day as the election date creeps closer. The need for IDs in opening bank accounts has also swelled the queues.



Don't miss out . . . a poster outside time for next year's election.

Star 2017

Getting to the po

THE Civitas Building in downtown Pretoria is one of those government buildings which are more important to John Citizen than others. The Struben Street skyscraper holds two key government departments — Health and Welfare, and Home Affairs — without which Mr Average South African would be lost. It is a case of getting to Home Affairs to register birth, marriage, divorce or death — and relying on Health and Welfare to see you through life. Now there's a new role . . . Home Affairs lies between John (or Jane) Citizen and a vital cross on an A4-size paper — the ballot form. On April 27 1994 — the Negotiating Forum at the World Trade Centre has decided — South Africans of every race, colour or creed will go to the polls for the first democratic election to be held in this country. It will decide which party will rule this land of 37 million people. At least 20-million are eligible to vote, about 16-million (almost all black) for the first time. As far as the government is concerned, there will be no chance whatsoever of voting

A scant 10 months before its first democratic election next year, South Africa has embarked on a scheme to provide eligible inhabitants with identity documents. **NORMAN CHANDLER reports.**

unless the voter holds a valid ID. Drivers' licences or other similar documentation will not be acceptable.

By the end of May this year, 17 608 525 new IDs had been issued to citizens over a five-year period, the vast majority since the unbanning of black political organisations three years ago.

If one takes the official statistic of 43 000 a week, then the score now stands at 17 909 525. This means that over the next nine months, there are just over two million people still eligible to obtain an ID.

It is expected that, in the end, 98,4 percent of whites, 89,1 percent of coloureds, 94,2 percent of Asians and 81,1 percent of blacks will be able to vote.

Home Affairs spokesmen say the "tempo at which identity documents are issued has increased significantly over the past two years".

This is seen as a result of the African National Congress and other political players' nationwide advertising and billboard

campaigns, urging followers to obtain an ID.

However, not everyone is happy with the Home Affairs' handling of arrangements for the election. While all parties want to ensure an election that is free and fair, the ANC says the government cannot unilaterally decide on the form of the election.

Obviously all parties are looking to get as many people as they can to the polling booth.

The big question is whether all will make use of the opportunity — world statistics show that Africa's average turnout at the polling station is just over 60 percent. The vote is voluntary in countries such as South Africa.

Voluntary or not, the rush is on for identification. To make it easier for harassed and hard-pressed civil servants at Home Affairs head office and regional offices in the major centres, the department is asking for early requests for ID documents. That the call has not fallen on

deaf ears is evidenced from the long queues that form daily.

A further key development to ease the process has been the employment of people of all races at the department's regional offices. The shift away from the previous policy of employing a majority of whites is making communication easier, particularly for returning exiles and many others who are watching democracy at work for the first time.

In addition, there are specialised staff on hand to deal with more difficult situations.

A further move has been the registration of people who have never been formally and legally registered by the Department of Home Affairs.

Instead of either a copy of a birth certificate or a birth entry number, applicants for ID documents can now also provide a baptismal certificate, a marriage certificate, a school certificate or any official document on which birth particulars appear — even a statement from a matron confirming the birth at a hospital or clinic.

And if all that fails, then a sworn affidavit by a family member will suffice.

The run-up to April's poll also does not exclude citizens

Long wait

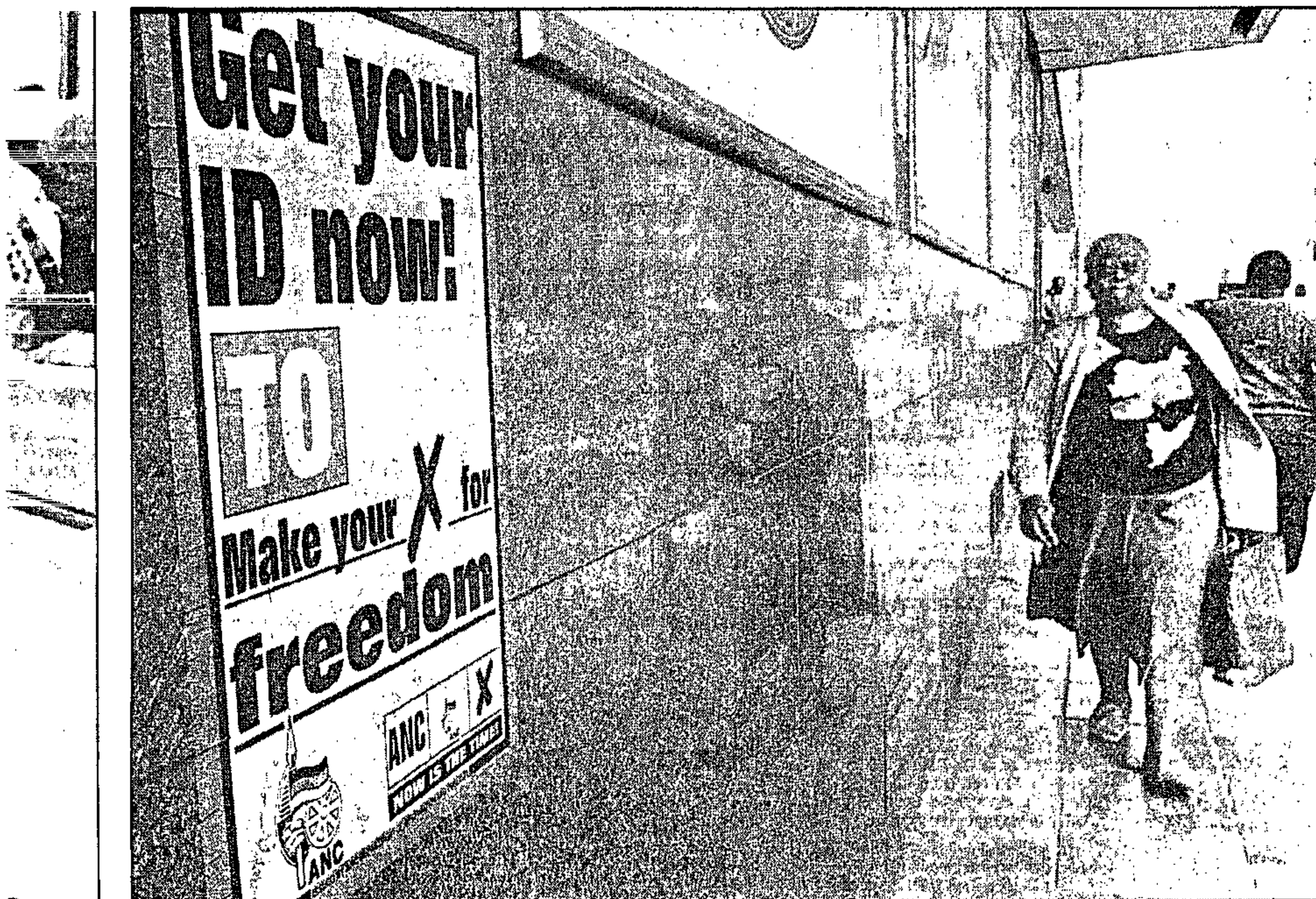
THE queues at Home Affairs have been longer every day since the announcement of next proposed election date.

Many shuffling forward the quest for identity documents say it is a long tedious process. The blame themselves they either lost their erroneously filled in the when first applying for document. Others are time applicants, keen to the disappointment of unable to vote.

The rush for IDs has boon to freelance and photographers, who said

of the so-called TBVC states Transkei, Bophuthatse Venda and Ciskei.

If TBVC citizens were "fully and permanently" in South Africa before July 1986, then they, too, could apply for the restoration of South African citizenship terms of the little-known restoration of South African



Don't miss out... a poster outside the Home Affairs Department in Johannesburg urges people to obtain their ID documents in time for next year's election. Pictures: Stephen Davimes

he polls on time

is evidenced from the that form daily. key development to process has been the of people of all at the department's re-offices. The shift away previous policy of em- a majority of whites is communication easier, for returning and many others who are democracy at work first time. addition, there are specia- on hand to deal with difficult situations. their move has been the of people who have been formally and legal- by the Depart- of Home Affairs. of either a copy of a certificate, or a birth number, applicants for ID can now also pro-baptismal certificate, a certificate, a school or any official docu on which birth particu- — even a statement a matron confirming the at a hospital or clinic. if all that fails, then a affidavit by a family will suffice. run-up to April's poll does not exclude citizens

Long wait for IDs, and the right to vote

By McKEED KOTLOLO

THE queues at Home Affairs have been growing longer every day since the announcement of next year's proposed election date. Many shuffling forward in the quest for identification documents say it is a long, tedious process. The majority blame themselves because they either lost their IDs or erroneously filled in the forms when first applying for the document. Others are first-time applicants, keen to avoid the disappointment of being unable to vote. The rush for IDs has been a boon to freelance and studio photographers, who said busi-

ness had improved greatly since the announcement of the election date.

At the Home Affairs regional office in Pretoria — still known to black people as "the pass office" — stands an advertisement which extolls the virtues of the ID. (233) With an ID, it says, "You can buy a house, go to university, get married, get a driver's licence, apply for a pension, write the matric examinations — and have a vote in the elections".

A final-year BA student at

the University of Durban-Westville, who did not wish to be named, said: "Had it not been for the coming elections, I would have not bothered coming to this office. To me, it was the same as the old 'dompas', used by the oppressor to keep a record of black people. But I know that without it I will not be able to cast my vote for the people I want in government."

Other applicants said they needed the document to be able to open bank accounts.

Meanwhile, the queues get longer as bureaucracy gets into gear for 1994. □

about 30 and whites, 35 years and four months.

While the registration process has been going along apace, Home Affairs has also started to oversee other aspects of an election which is expected to cost the taxpayer about R154-million.

So far, 17 000 polling booths have been built and distributed nationwide, with another 5 500 being manufactured, for the almost 7 000 polling stations.

Ballot boxes, those vital boxes which will determine the future government, are also being distributed well in advance of polling day. So far, nearly 12 000 have gone to far-flung corners of the land, with a further 3 000 being built.

Other interesting statistics which have come to light are that 144 tons of paper is likely to be used during the election process, along with 20 900 pencils and 30 million paper clips.

There are to be 26 million A4-sized ballot papers — all of which will not be numbered so that identification of voters is impossible — to be printed by the Government Printer before next April, thought to be the largest printing job ever attempted in South Africa. □

of the so-called TBVC states — Transkei, Bophuthatswana, Venda and Ciskei.

If TBVC citizens were "legally and permanently" resident in South Africa before July 1, 1986, then they, too, could qualify for the restoration of their South African citizenship in terms of the little-known Restoration of South African Citi-

zenship Act of 1986.

However, if they intend to remain in the TBVC states, their chances of voting are remote — but in this topsy-turvy political world, even this could change because the issue is under consideration at the multiparty forum.

In a country with a relatively young population, the debate on

who can vote and who cannot is destined to assume gigantic proportions once it reaches the multiparty forum.

It has been estimated by the Institute for Race Relations that the average age of a voter will be 30 years and three months. Black voters are likely to be about 25 years and five months, coloureds and Asians

nue around Durban

NP won't give Hlongwane a job

Sowetan 20/7/93

FORMER ANC detainee and leader of the controversial Returned Exiles Coordinating Committee Mr Patrick Hlongwane was turned down for a job by the National Party because of his background, NP spokesman Mr Daryl Swanepoel said yesterday.

Swanepoel, the NP's spokesman for the greater Johannesburg and Soweto region, acknowledged Hlongwane held an unpaid, junior post as information officer of the NP Soweto branch, "a position any member could fill".

"He wanted to work for us and we put him on probation while researching his background and the decision was taken not to employ him."

He said Hlongwane had joined the Soweto branch of the NP and had agreed to subscribe to the policy and principles of the party.

"He is no more than an ordinary member of the party who filled, as a volun-

teer, an information post at the Soweto branch."

Swanepoel said the NP had no evidence to substantiate reports that Mr Hlongwane was a murder accused.

"If such charges are forthcoming, we will reconsider his ordinary membership."

It was reported over the weekend that Hlongwane was a self-confessed member of the AWB and had also been implicated in the murder of ANC activists in the 1980s.

Yesterday, the NP demanded that ANC spokesman Mr Carl Niehaus retract his reported statement that only black people with "dubious records" or people of "no stature" could be won over by the NP.

Swanepoel said Niehaus' statement was an insult as the NP had thousands of black members drawn from both professional and worker ranks. — *Sapa*.

PAC supports Cosag demand

CT 20/7/93 (304A)

JOHANNESBURG. — Multi-party negotiations hit a new snag yesterday when the PAC joined Cosag members in insisting that decisions should not be taken without their concurrence.

Negotiations began without most of the members of the Cosag group, who met in a nearby hotel to discuss Inkatha's declaration that it would not return to talks without a veto right over decisions.

Members of the group, with the exception of Inkatha and the CP, which has also withdrawn, returned in the afternoon, saying they would also have to reconsider their positions if the method of making decisions was not changed.

All six Cosag parties said yesterday they would wait for the draft constitution, which is not expected to be tabled before next Monday, before making any constitutional decisions.

Today is crunch day for the future of all-embracing negotiations, with the government going all out to get boycotting political parties back into constitutional talks amid warnings that the country could be plunged into a full-scale civil war.

IFP may fall in line with govt, ANC

JOHANNESBURG. — Inkatha says it is prepared to consider a two-phase transition process — as proposed by the government and the ANC and their supporters — if the form of state is agreed to in advance and the new constitution contains six specific elements.

The six requirements of a new constitution, spelt out in a confidential briefing document, are that:

ment, are that:

- It would establish a constitutional state.

- It would have in it a complete Bill of Rights.

- It would make provision for a constitutional court to protect the constitution.

- It would make provision for (regions) which would each have their own constitution.

- It would lay down procedures to bring about constitutional change by the approval of the changes by special majorities, including special majorities in (regional) legislatures.

It would establish (regions) and fix their boundaries, powers and functions within the parameters of an agreed division of powers between them and the central government. — Sapa

able consensus", which he defined as agreement across a broad front, should replace the "sufficient consensus" concept at constitutional talks.

Inkatha members also held discussions with the PAC, after which the PAC declared its support for Inkatha's decision, taken at its annual conference, that no decision could be valid without its assent.

Speaking after a three-hour Cosag meeting, while talks were continuing, at a hotel near the World Trade Centre, IFP negotiator Mr Walter Felgate accused the government and the ANC and their supporters at the talks of operating "like a cabal which is trying to dominate and steamroll the process". — Own Correspondent, Sapa

Last night a spokesman for Constitutional Minister Mr Roelf Meyer said a government team would hold a bilateral discussion with an Inkatha delegation at 2pm today.

The spokesman said the government was working on arranging discussions with the Afrikaner Volksfront (AVF) but no details could be released yet.

Last night Inkatha spokesman Mr Farouk Cassim indicated that Inkatha would accept the April 27 date for a national poll as long as concessions on the issue of the form of state and federalism could be reached at the bilateral meeting.

Mr Cassim — included in the five-member IFP delegation today — said he was optimistic the government would accept that a system of "reason-

Social-democratic pact the best system for new SA, say academics

TOS WENTZEL of The Argus Political Staff reports

20419
M20/17/3

THE social-democratic system of Germany is the most rational and likely scenario for a new South Africa, according to two prominent commentators on sociological and political affairs.

The two Canadian academics Professor Heribert Adam and Professor Kogila Moodley who are frequent visitors to South Africa set out their theory in *The Negotiated Revolution* which is published by Jonathan Ball.

They describe what is taking place in South Africa as a "reluctant reconciliation".

"The ambivalent alliance between the two major contenders for power, the National Party and the African National Congress results from a balance of forces where neither side can defeat the other.

"It is their mutual weakness, rather than their equal strength, that makes both longtime adversaries embrace negotiations for power-sharing. Like a forced marriage the working arrangement lacks love but nonetheless is consummated because any alternative course would lead to a worse fate for both sides."

In considering future scenarios the authors reject the Zimbabwean and Yugoslavian ones.

Under the Zimbabwean scenario South Africa would descend into a pseudo-democratic patronage system with changing clients favouring shifting alliances of expediency. This "clientelism" is characterised by high levels of corruption and little democratic accountability.

Three major structural differences made a Zimbabwean course unlikely in South Africa.

In the first place the failure of the new Zimbabwean civil service resulted largely from the departure of half of the country's white population after independence.

Relatively skilled incumbents had to be replaced by poorly prepared African bureaucrats whose lack of expertise was often camouflaged by claims of entitlement.

In the case of South Africa a large-scale exodus of skilled administrators to a receptive neighbouring country is ruled out. Any new government would have to rely on

the existing civil service and Africanisation would take place more through attrition than through replacement or expansion.

In the second place the expansion of the Zimbabwean civil service resulted from the absence of a strong private sector to absorb newly graduated students.

In South Africa a much stronger private sector was keen to recruit blacks and give itself an African image.

Thirdly the strong role of the private sector in the governance of the country would counteract the kind of corruption that befell Zimbabwe.

Referring to the Yugoslavian scenario, the authors maintain that most of the massacres in South Africa were not linked to an ongoing ethnic secessionist conflict but amount to political killings during a transitional power struggle about the post-apartheid order.

In Yugoslavia all sides resorted to the battlefield because a victory seemed possible and advantageous after the discredited political rules had broken down. In South Africa mutually credible political rules were in the process of being established for the first time because the beneficiaries of past illegitimate power realised the advantage of being legitimate political shareholders.

The most rational and most likely scenario for South Africa therefore was a social-democratic pact between business, labour and key state bureaucracies as practised in post-war Germany.

This pact would involve genuine co-determination in the private sector and negotiated wage constraints and limited price increases in order to make South Africa competitive in the world market and raise productivity.

In return for the State's extended social investments in education, health and housing unions would abandon adversarial labour relations and class warfare. Labour and business would see themselves more as partners in rebuilding a new nation, not as adversaries engaging in regular trials of strength through strikes and mass action.

This scenario did not presuppose high employment and high levels of welfare in or-

der to work. An affluent economy with high social wages and stable industrial relations was the goal, not the precondition of the social-democratic vision.

The much romanticised Swedish model was introduced in the 1920s when Swedish economic development was approximately at the level of current South African development.

There were some problems.

South Africa had one of the most militant trade union movements in the world. Its leaders were deeply suspicious of cooption by capital and favoured independent workers' control.

Another problem in reaching a social compact was the scepticism of management toward union representatives as full decision-makers from the shopfloor to the boardroom.

There were, however, emerging forces that pursued a wider vision and occasionally achieved breakthroughs.

Among these were the launch of the tripartite national economic forum last year, the deal struck between Cosatu and the government about unionisation and social benefits for farm and domestic workers along with Cosatu's new say in controversial draft legislation for public-sector workers.

Above all there was the restructured National Manpower Commission.

The authors conclude that, "with such remarkable pragmatic rationality on both sides of the continuing ideological disagreement there is no reason for South Africa to fail in the quest for reluctant reconciliation. If a highly politicised and better-organised labour movement could lead the way to stability and rationality, suspicious competing political leaders will have to fall into line.

"In this process of forging cautious cooperation many a utopian dream will be disappointed, particularly on the left, but also among hardline advocates of an unfettered free market.

"Their capitalist vision nonetheless will survive in a modified form. The socialists will have to sacrifice most of their dream because they have the least real power, despite the mass sympathy for restructuring."

Talks go on without 3 Cosag objectors

ARC 20/7/93
304A

Political Staff

JOHANNESBURG. — Constitutional talks continue today without the Inkatha Freedom Party, the Kwazulu government and the Conservative Party, but a problem looms over the decision-making mechanism.

The six Concerned South Africans Group (Cosag) members at the World Trade Centre yesterday voiced their unhappiness about consensus, but the Bophuthatswana government, the Ciskei government and the Afrikaner Volksunie (AVU) remain in the negotiating council.

Cosag members yesterday denied there was a split or differences over negotiations tactics leading to the continued participation of only half its members.

Although the row over sufficient consensus rulings has been brewing, the latest unhappiness comes in the wake of a resolution taken on Sunday at the IFP's general conference that the party would refuse to return to negotiations until consensus included the IFP.

Several delegates interpreted the IFP resolution as a demand for a veto in constitutional nego-

tiations.

The first report on the issue by an ad hoc committee will be tabled today, but the committee is unable to continue meeting as it includes members of those parties now boycotting the talks.

Some negotiators expressed fears yesterday that the three parties walking out could delay the completion of draft legislation.

Constitutional Development Minister Roelf Meyer said: "The fight for sufficient consensus is something I cannot believe."

He noted that the rulings to which Cosag objected — those on an election date and a draft constitution — were not of a "conclusive" nature.

Mr Meyer said that this week "non-constitutional" issues were being discussed.

ANC secretary-general Cyril Ramaphosa said the decision by IFP and the Kwazulu government to walk out was on "very weak and unconvincing" grounds.

"The IFP is doing a disservice to its members by not taking part in the most important process that is shaping the future of the country," he said.

Cosatu to educate voters

Own Correspondent

DURBAN. — The Congress of South African Trade Unions (Cosatu) launched an election and voter education campaign yesterday, saying it would "throw its full weight behind a decisive ANC election victory".

However, the organisation believed all workers should have access to "impartial voter education and information" regardless of which party they voted for, a spokesman said.

For Cosatu's campaign to succeed

the co-operation of employers was "essential" and initial discussions had been held with the SA Employers' Consultative Committee on Labour Affairs (Saccola) and the Consultative Business Movement (CBM).

Guidelines had been sent to more than 30 000 Cosatu shop stewards, the spokesman said.

These included "paid time off" for shop stewards to receive training on voter education and for workers to attend seminars on voter education.

Draft legislation finalised next week

Political Staff

JOHANNESBURG. — The third element of a package of draft Bills which will underpin the transition process has been discussed by the negotiating council.

The draft legislation is expected to be finalised next week.

Aspects of draft legislation on an independent electoral commission were yesterday referred back for a second time to a negotiations technical committee for further consideration.

Other elements of the Bill, including the role of international observers, will be discussed today by the 10-member planning committee before they will be re-

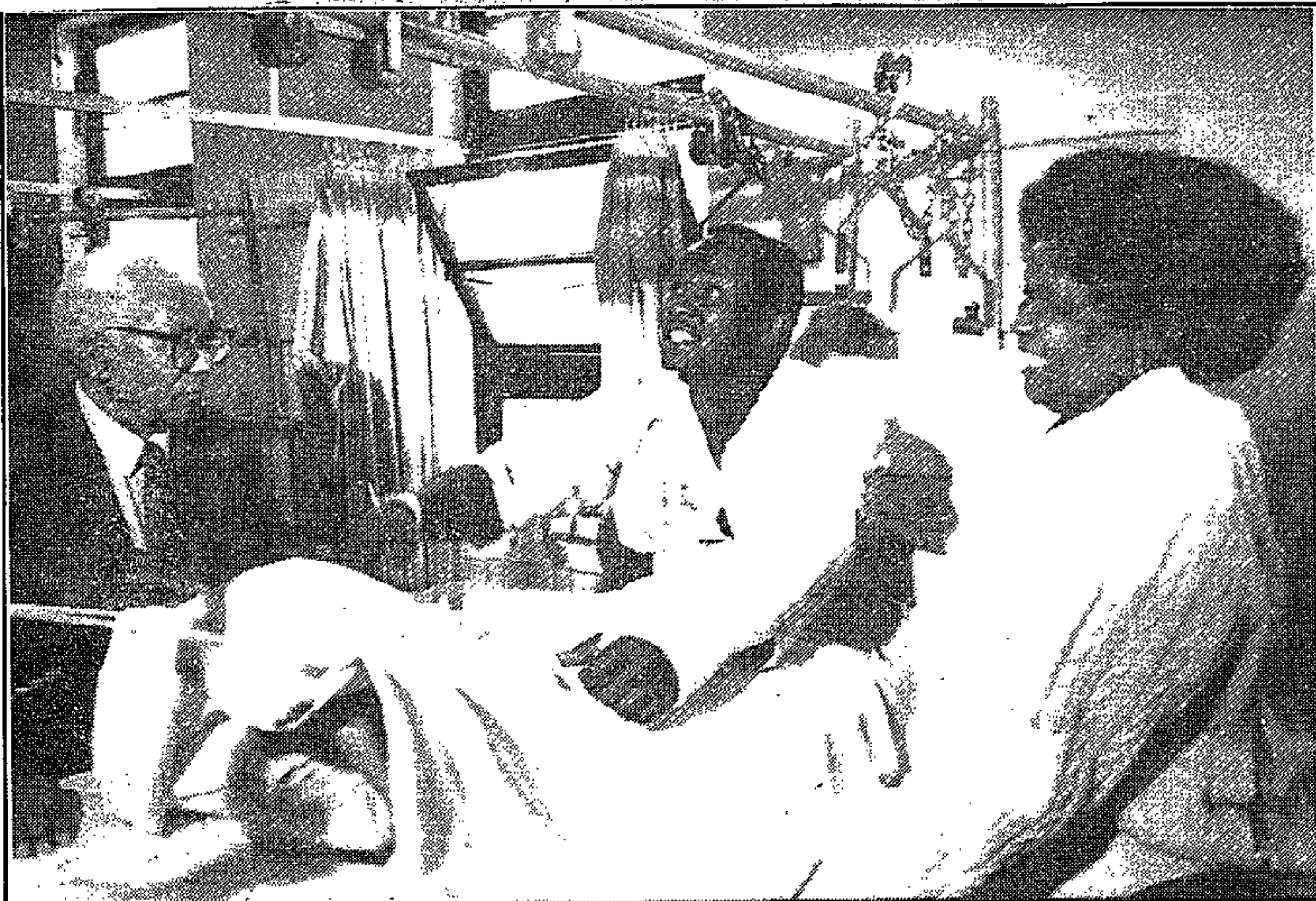
ferred back to the negotiating council for discussion.

Draft bills on an independent media commission and an independent broadcasting authority were discussed on Monday.

Negotiators are rushing against time to complete and agree on draft legislation before mid-August in order to pass them in the September parliamentary session.

The negotiating council, which meets today for the last time this week, will discuss draft Bills on the repeal of discriminatory legislation and fundamental human rights during the transition.

ARG 21/7FB



ALIVE ... ANC Deputy President Walter Sisulu and his wife Albertina visited one of his injured bodyguards, Reggie Makhubu, at the Baragwanath Hospital yesterday. Makhubu was one of Sisulu's three bodyguards who were injured and one killed during a shootout with police on Sunday morning on their return from Nelson Mandela's birthday party. PIC: PAT SEBOKO

Nats, IFP locked in day of tensions

Sowetan 2/7/93

By Ismail Lagardien
Political Correspondent

A DESPERATE bilateral meeting between the Government and the Inkatha Freedom Party dictated the tensions at the World Trade Centre yesterday where the negotiating council resumed its work.

A Government team, led by Minister of Constitutional Development Mr Roelf Meyer met an IFP delegation under the leadership of Mr Ben Ngubane to try and bring Inkatha and the KwaZulu administration back into multiparty talks.

Ngubane, who is the official leader of the KwaZulu administration's negotiating team, said the IFP and KwaZulu had "exercised their democratic right" by withdrawing from negotiations and "taking a step back" when some of their

crucial principles were crossed in the multiparty talks.

Ngubane said they would continue to talk "until our principals are sure that sufficient progress has been made".

The IFP wants an effective veto over any decision taken in multiparty negotiations and is particularly sceptical about "sufficient consensus" — the mechanism used to reach agreement in the negotiating council.

Demand

Sufficient consensus in negotiations has until now been a fig-leaf for agreement between the Government and the ANC.

The IFP has also demanded that the Government rein in, as it were, the ANC's military wing, Umkhonto we Sizwe, and that the form of state be agreed upon ahead of anything else before it would start negotiating any matter of substance.

Shortly after the meeting, the negotiating council received the first report of the ad hoc committee on sufficient consensus.

Procedure

The committee report suggested that the concept of "insufficient consensus" be inserted in the standing rules for procedure in the negotiation process.

The committee also recommended that guidelines for the application of sufficient consensus be formulated to facilitate the application of the standing rules.

The proposed guidelines are to be discussed with leaders of negotiating groups before it comes up for debate on Monday.

Sufficient consensus should, however, be retained during the decision-making process, according to the committee.

Govt in deadlock with Inkatha

Political Staff

JOHANNESBURG. — The government and a joint KwaZulu government and Inkatha delegation of negotiators emerged from extended talks yesterday still firmly deadlocked over the issues of "sufficient consensus" and regional governments' powers.

Little progress was made, with delegations stating they had to report back to principals.

A government source said the main problem its delegation faced was the constant "moving of the goalposts".

An Inkatha source described the meeting as "beating about the bush". The real crunch would come when the draft constitution was disclosed, he said.

Meanwhile, an ad hoc committee examining the "sufficient consensus" mechanism recommended that the standing rules for negotiations remain as they were, but a set of guidelines should be formulated to facilitate their application.

This recommendation, which has not yet been discussed by negotiators, falls short of the demand by Inkatha, other Cosag members and the PAC that there should not be sufficient consensus without their concurrence.

Negotiators said this demand, effectively

Visiting Soviet official urges pre-election poll

PRETORIA. — A referendum should be held before South Africa's general election on the issue that a new government could not change agreed-upon principles without consulting all communities, Supreme Soviet Member of Parliament Mr Oleg Germanovich Rumyantsev said yesterday.

Mr Rumyantsev, who is also head of the Russian Constitutional Commission advising President Boris Yeltsin, was addressing a news conference here. He is on a semi-official visit to South Africa and has had talks with government officials and the Conservative Party and is scheduled to hold discussions with the ANC/SACP and the IFP.

Principles agreed upon by the various political parties at the multi-party talks should be "untouchable", he said. This should be put to South Africans in a referendum. — Sapa

tively for a veto right, was not compatible with the spirit of negotiations and they doubted Inkatha could be lured back to negotiations with a formulation that fell short of this "impossible" demand.

The committee rejected an amendment to the standing rules that would define what constituted "insufficient consensus".

"We still insist that there cannot be sufficient consensus, especially on the important issues; if Inkatha is not in agreement," an Inkatha the source said.

The parties said they would continue discussions next week.

Negotiations remain stalled as govt and Inkatha talks deadlock

GOVERNMENT and a joint KwaZulu government and Inkatha delegation of negotiators emerged from extended talks yesterday still firmly deadlocked over the issues of sufficient consensus and regional governments' powers.

Despite encouraging official comments from both parties, little progress was made, with delegations stating they had to report back to principals.

A government source said the main problem its delegation faced was the constant "moving of the goalposts".

An Inkatha source described the meeting as "beating about the bush". The real crunch would come when the draft consti-

tution was disclosed, he said.

Meanwhile, an ad hoc committee examining the sufficient consensus mechanism recommended that the standing rules for negotiations remain as they were, but a set of guidelines should be formulated to facilitate their application.

This recommendation, which has not yet been discussed by negotiators, falls short of the demand by Inkatha, other Cosag members and the PAC that there should not be sufficient consensus without their concurrence.

Negotiators said this demand, effectively for a veto right, was not compatible with the spirit of negotiations and they doubted

Inkatha could be lured back to negotiations with a formulation that fell short of this "impossible" demand.

The committee rejected an amendment to the standing rules that would define what constituted "insufficient consensus", following which various procedures would kick in.

It argued that existing rules effectively granted the chairman this facility.

Its report said available mechanisms would include adjournments to allow informal discussions, the setting up of tech-

nical committees and allowing participants time to consult their principals.

The report also insisted that clear time frames should be set, noting that a "constructive negotiating spirit" would go a long way toward avoiding filibustering.

The joint Inkatha/KwaZulu government delegation claimed that President F. W. de Klerk gave a personal undertaking to Mangosuthu Buthelezi in September last year that "no fundamental and crucial decisions would be taken without Inkatha agreeing".

This had consistently been ignored.

"We still insist that there cannot be sufficient consensus, especially on the important issues, if Inkatha is not in agreement."

the source said, denying that this amounted to a minority veto.

He also accused government and the ANC of "saying very nice things about regionalism and it amounting to federalism, but when the crunch comes where we want guarantees, they tell us this is not possible".

Inkatha was insisting that all residual powers, or those not specifically listed in the constitution, had to reside with the regions, not central government. So far the list of powers to be entrenched in the regions amounted to 20 whereas self-governing states already had 38 powers.

Negotiations

BIC 2117193

From Page 1

It also insisted that a region's autonomy was beyond question and doubted that the justiciability of constitutional principles was possible. Therefore there was no check on an elected constituent assembly interpreting the "binding" principles any way it chose.

The government source said: "It is rubbish that we have reneged on sufficient consensus. They conveniently forget that in October 1991 it was exactly what they wanted and we gave a commitment that at all stages a backdoor would be left open.

"This is exactly what has happened. When we took the decision to set an election date we left a door open for them to save face by including a clause that it was not binding until the total package had been agreed to."

Officially the parties said constructive

progress had been made in the talks and they would continue discussions next week.

KwaZulu and Inkatha delegation leader Ben Ngubane said: "We will continue bilateral talks until our principals are satisfied that sufficient progress has been made."

Constitutional Development Minister Roelf Meyer said constructive progress had been made and "the objective is to see whether we can find a way that Inkatha and the KwaZulu government return to the negotiations".

Manpower Minister Leon Wessels said progress was made in that they got closer to discussing matters that "are close to the heart of Inkatha".

The government source said that at the end of the day "very little, if any, progress was made".

To Page 2

Attempted murder probe into shootout

POLICE are investigating a possible attempt to murder Walter Sisulu following a shootout between policemen and bodyguards escorting the ANC deputy president to Soweto after Nelson Mandela's birthday party on Saturday night.

The ANC and police yesterday agreed to co-operate in the investigation of the incident, during which a bodyguard was killed and two injured. **BIDAY 21/7/93**

A police statement said a docket of attempted murder had been opened.

Regional police commissioner Lt-Gen Koos Calitz and ANC legal department head Matthew Phosa had agreed that the ANC would make available two cars involved in the incident for forensic tests.

The ANC would also provide police with the names of ANC investigators and the name of a forensic expert appointed by the ANC.

A request by the ANC to involve two international police experts in the investigation would be taken to the Attorney-General by the ANC.

The statement said the identity of the policemen involved in the incident would "eventually be revealed" and ANC legal representatives would have free access to the bodyguards arrested.

"A request to have access to the two policemen

LLOYD COUTTS

involved will be referred to the Attorney-General," it said.

Both parties had also agreed to prevent the investigation degenerating into a "trial-by-media".

The ANC, meanwhile, denied yesterday reports that a second bodyguard had died after the shootout.

An ANC statement said one bodyguard, Ismael Moloane, had died when police and ANC bodyguards exchanged fire.

Jabulani Cebo Ntuli was shot, but is stable and recovering in hospital. Themba Makuba sustained injuries when the vehicle overturned, and is recovering in hospital. Both are in a satisfactory condition, but are being kept under police guard.

The ANC statement said bodyguard Jerry Radebe had been detained and was due to appear in court yesterday. This could not be confirmed by police.

"Oddly, it is one of the victims of the attack who has been arrested while the perpetrators have not been held accountable. We demand his immediate and unconditional release, and guarantees from the police of the safety of all the people concerned," the ANC said.

rest

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Referendum advised for SA

DIRK VAN EEDEN

CONSTITUTIONAL principles for SA should be tested in a referendum before an election and entrenched so these principles could not be changed without the consent of all communities, Russian MP Oleg Rumyantsev said yesterday.

Rumyantsev is the president of the Russian Fund for Constitutional Reforms. He is visiting SA as a guest of the Department of Foreign Affairs and is to meet various political leaders during his stay.

Rumyantsev warned SA negotiators not to rush the transition, but rather to make sure all parties agreed on the principles of the transition. **BIDAY**

Any constitution could be changed as the ruling party changed. Therefore constitutional principles had to be entrenched and all ethnic groups had to agree to changes in constitutional principles, he said.

However, he warned against establishing ethnic states because that would lead to inter-ethnic clashes. **21/7/93**

SA should have more than the proposed

seven to nine states. More states would increase the quest for a federal government and insure SA remained a single state, he said. **(30/4/93)**

These states should have maximum self-determination, provided regional policies were subject to the constitutional principles and a Bill of Human Rights.

Rumyantsev said Russia had made mistakes in transition which SA should avoid. Most important of these was rushing the process and blindly following IMF recommendations to adopt pure capitalism.

"Yeltsin jumped for IMF recommendations and everybody is suffering."

He was in favour of a mixed economy for Russia and advised the same for SA.

Rumyantsev said he did not have a mandate to represent his government, but he hoped it would promote closer links.

Rumyantsev also welcomed attempts to establish close economic ties.

Focus on federalism

Sowetan 21/7/93

MANY OF my professional colleagues are plumping for a federal South Africa. I, however, remain sceptical. Not that I am opposed to federalism in principle, various forms of state and a host of mechanisms of governance are perfectly consonant with democratic rule.

The important issue to my mind is that we South Africans shift our society as irrevocably as we can in a democratic direction. Would federalism assist us in this?

I think not and I give two reasons why I believe so. In the first place, a decision in favour of a federal state as opposed to a unitary alternative would not secure a sound political settlement. A proper settlement would have to command genuine and overwhelming agreement among us all as to the basic configuration of a democratic policy. Otherwise we will be foredoomed to building an edifice on shifting sand.

Second, federalism would not facilitate good government: by this I mean the ability of governing institutions to fulfil their brief according to the requirements of a national constitution, and also in keeping with the expressed preferences of the duly elected political representatives of the citizenry. Let me spell out both themes.

At the moment, the debate in South Africa about the desirability of federalism seems to be concentrated on the objective of trying to reconcile divergent political interests for the sake of an immediate consensus that will entice, but also ensnare, the African National Congress and its "regionalism".

Now, I grant that federalism has been touted for many a more respectable reason, although in the cauldron of national negotiations such refinement is either lost entirely, or deployed purely as a weapon of political expediency.

Federalism

What does federalism entail? At root, it imposes a territorial shape on society by political means, with mechanisms of governance established to enshrine this.

Most typically, a system of dual political sovereignty is instituted whereby central government and regional or provincial governments are each granted constitutionally delineated powers that are both original and autonomous.

Thus a central — namely, a federal — government's sphere of authority need not countenance interference from any regional government and vice versa.

I can foresee problems on several fronts. Key political organisations are able to paper over their differences by adopting regionalism as the way forward. Yet serious discrepancies will

At most, regionalism can only serve as a short-term means of forging a national political settlement. **Ralph Lawrence**, political studies lecturer at the University of Natal, Pietermaritzburg, explains why he is not a federalist: **304A**



probably surface when the scheme is put into practice, because each organisation will seek to advance its own interests, and these are incorporated in that body's very interpretation of regionalism.

Bedfellows

Assume, if one will, that the National Party and the African National Congress become regional bedfellows. Come a regionalist democracy, how would education policy, say, be construed? The NP would be looking to devolve decision-making to the regions themselves, while the ANC may opt for a holistic approach stemming from central government.

What prime unanimity in such a situation?

Our political landscape is characterised by profound ideological divisions. At most, regionalism can only serve as a short term means of forging a national political settlement

The attributes of significant policies, in other words, are closely intertwined with a political organisation's understanding of how such policies should best be administered and this, in turn, helps to inform the organisation about the preferred nature of the state.

To reiterate. Our political landscape is characterised by profound ideological divisions.

At most, regionalism can only serve as a short-term means of forging a national political settlement. Even then, can such a compromise be sold to the loyal supporters of the protagonists?

Will some not protest that their leaders have been thrown off track?

By getting a whiff of power, are they not imagining themselves treading the governmen-

tal corridors? Precisely because the concept of regionalism, pertaining either to a form of state or to a mechanism of governance, is inherently flawed, it cannot serve as a catalyst for a true meeting of political minds: thus, it can never be the linchpin of a political settlement for us.

Better, therefore, to focus on federalism as federalism, and not to cloak it a guise for whatever reason. It's very simple. A unified state which makes provision for dual sovereignty is ineluctably federal in nature: by contrast if a state grants regions powers that are less than sovereign, substantial though they may be, the dispensation is a unitary one.

Is a political settlement based on federalism properly understood? The motives bother me. I have a strong sense that those espousing federalism harbour a deep fear of a transformed South Africa. Construed thus, federalism is a defensive measure. For some, this acts as a bulwark against undiluted majority rule by transferring incontrovertible decision-making powers to regional authorities.

Big government

For those hostile to "big government" — for those who want to "bring government closer to the people", federalism supposedly offers the optimal solution. And others who already have a regional power base wish to consolidate their control there, beyond the clutches of an apparently predatory federal government: the legacies of apartheid, the sundry "homelands", "self-governing states", bear witness to this.

To put it bluntly, how can there be a "new South Africa" if, by seeking our respective boltholes, we avoid one another as far as possible? When federalism is treated predominantly as a political refuge — and this doesn't have to be so — the emphasis is placed on us agreeing to differ, not on us finding a sense of commonality.

A political settlement founded on mutual suspicion and recalcitrance hardly augurs well. My concern is that federalism would both symbolise and enshrine these drawbacks.

This article from the Urban Foundation publication *Development and Democracy* has been edited. Tomorrow we argue the case for federalism.

Embargo on details of draft constitution

At last – blueprint for the new SA

By Esther Waugh
Political Correspondent

The eagerly-awaited first draft of an interim constitution for the new South Africa has been distributed in the Negotiating Council sitting at Kempton Park's World Trade Centre – but negotiators want to keep its contents from the public until Monday. **304A**

The 61-page report has been strictly embargoed until it can be discussed in the council on Monday afternoon.

It is not known if the Inkatha Freedom Party and its Cosag partners, who have walked out of the talks, will attend that meeting.

Yesterday Inkatha said it would not take part in any further meetings of the council until its objections to passing motions by sufficient consensus were addressed.

Plea to media

Negotiators say the embargo on the draft has been placed to give negotiating groups an opportunity to study the draft, formulated by the negotiations technical committee.

In an accompanying note to the "combined report of the technical committee on constitutional issues", the media are told that the council has decided "to implore and appeal to all participating organisations not to discuss in public or comment publicly on the Combined Report" before it is presented on Monday.

Media breaking the embargo could be evicted from the talks for a period, probably a minimum of three weeks.

ANC secretary-general Cyril Ramaphosa told The Star: "We really believe that the media people are disciplined and are appreciative of the sensitivity that surrounds this report and will not seek to break the embargo."

Afrikaner Volksunie leader Andries Beyers said today he hoped that newspaper editors would observe the embargo. "It is sensitive and can influence parties outside the talks," he said.

Negotiators this week

● To Page 3



Water drawers ... two children in Schweizer-Reneke's Ipelegeng township trundle water home from a public tap. The township is catching up with the conservative white town. See report on Page 3.

New SA blueprint at last

● From Page 1

... began discussing draft Bills which form a package underpinning the transition to democracy.

Draft legislation on fundamental human rights during the transition, an independent media commission, an independent electoral commission, an independent broadcasting au-

thority and the repeal of discriminatory legislation have been referred back to various negotiations technical committees.

The draft Bill on fundamental human rights will be included as a chapter in the interim constitution. It only covers rights and freedoms regarded as essential for the transition.

Negotiators are racing against time to complete and agree to the draft legislation before mid-August for them to be passed by Parliament in September. **304A**

According to the schedule of meetings for the Negotiating Council, the constitution is to be finalised on "August 9 and the following days".

F
Southern

Inkatha 'moves goalposts again'

Govt, ANC join forces to save talks

BIDAY 22/7/93

BILLY PADDOCK

GOVERNMENT and the ANC have embarked on a joint effort to head off what they perceive as a serious threat to a negotiated settlement, following Inkatha's announcement yesterday that it would not attend any further multiparty talks until its demand for a veto was met.

An Inkatha memorandum delivered to the negotiating council yesterday said: "We hereby confirm that we will not attend any further meetings of the negotiating council or its structures until there is a satisfactory solution to the problem of calling sufficient consensus decisions in the face of considerable opposition."

It added that Inkatha would not accept any definition of sufficient consensus if "major players such as government, the NP, the ANC alliance and the Inkatha-KwaZulu government groupings" were unable to accept the ruling. (304A)

Constitutional Development Minister Roelf Meyer and ANC secretary-general Cyril Ramaphosa were not present at the negotiating council for the day. They met behind closed doors to discuss solutions.

Deputy Constitutional Development Minister Fanus Schoeman said Inkatha was demanding a veto right. It was "moving the goalposts" and hiding behind procedural issues as pretexts for not participating in negotiations.

He said the latest Inkatha move was a threat to the legitimacy of the negotiating process, and all parties were looking for ways to accommodate their demands and bring them back into the process.

The ANC is to meet Inkatha tomorrow in

an attempt to woo it back, while further government-Inkatha meetings will take place next week.

However, ANC and government sources said that while they were prepared to go a long way to meet Inkatha, there would be a time when they could no longer meet demands which were constantly changed as earlier demands were met.

Inkatha's memorandum said the resolution instructing the technical committee to draw up a draft constitution for discussion by the negotiating council did not meet its requirements and it therefore rejected the draft that was made available confidentially to parties yesterday.

Inkatha said it had reserved its position on the resolution on June 30 because it believed the instructions did not adequately reflect the gains made in two caucus meetings between itself and government and between Cosag and government.

Schoeman said the test of whether the committee had been correctly instructed would be to look at its draft. "Instead they (Inkatha) are prejudging the whole thing before seeing one single word of what the technical committee has produced."

Inkatha's latest decision is a shift from its previous position stated as recently as Tuesday that it would attend the negotiating council meeting as soon as the draft constitution was tabled for discussion.

"We cannot understand or accept that they will be absent when this constitution will be debated. Any party that is serious

☐ To Page 2

Talks

BIDAY 22/7/93

☐ From Page 1

about negotiating a settlement must be present if they want to influence the constitution," said Schoeman. (304A)

He said Inkatha initially demanded federal principles in the constitution, and now that the new dispensation was clearly federal "they move the goalposts again".

"They are just looking for a reason not to participate in negotiations," Schoeman said. He pointed out what he described as a contradiction in the memorandum where Inkatha states that it is committed to nego-

tiation. "We cannot understand this when they are not here attending the process."

He said the council was building the constitution chapter by chapter starting on Monday. If Inkatha was not present through this process it would not be able to have its views included in the constitution.

He said it seemed Inkatha wanted to wait until the interim constitution had been finalised and then reject it, claiming it had not been part of the process.

● See Page 6

Idasa warns of election pitfalls

MICHAEL MORRIS
Political Correspondent

SOUTH Africa could end up in a "terrifying power vacuum" with a headless bureaucracy and armed forces with no central accountability if next year's elections were not well conducted, and the results broadly accepted.

This warning by the Institute for a Democratic Alternative for South Africa's (Idasa) comes as political parties prepare for the first democratic elections.

Idasa programme director Mr Paul Graham says in the editorial of the Institute's journal, *Democracy in Action*, that although the elections are "not everything", they could provide South Africa with a kick-start.

"Trusted and representative government, the ending of international isolation, the chance for a new start in human rights, policing, civil service, development projects... these are the tonics we all need to deal with the malady of violence and despair."

But, for these things to be achieved, South Africans need to grasp the opportunity.

"If we do not get these elections right, we could find ourselves in a terrifying power vacuum with a headless bureaucracy and armed forces with no central accountability."

"Nobody should underestimate the dangerous passage we are going through," he said.

Forum for motor ferry industry

Labour Reporter

A NEGOTIATING forum has been established in the motor ferry industry involving the Transport and General Workers Union and five of the biggest companies in the sector.

A joint statement by the union and the SA Motor Ferry Association said: "A feature of the agreement is that the union and the association will submit their demands to one another by no later than the end of July each year, with negotiations commencing in August for implementation on January 1 every year."

Wienburg slams pension deal

Municipal Reporter

CITY councillor Mr Arthur Wienburg wants colleagues to vote against a proposal to allow three councillors to join the controversial "buy-back" pension scheme.

"I have always been opposed to the principle of buying back service, especially where this will have a negative impact on hard-pressed ratepayers' funds, because the R300 000 will be taken from fast-diminishing reserves."

"I trust councillors will have the common sense and sensitivity to vote against this proposal," Mr Wienburg said.



MUSIC MAKERS: The

'Elections must go ahead to stop the violence'

The Argus Correspondent

JOHANNESBURG. — It was vitally important that democratic elections took place as scheduled on April 27 to put an end to the uncertainty stoking the flames of violence, Mr Justice Richard Goldstone said.

Speaking at a Johannesburg Rotary Club lunch yesterday, where he received the Club's Achiever of the Year award, Mr Justice Goldstone said a serious cause of the violence

was ongoing uncertainty.

"Businessmen can't make plans, investors won't invest and people in their homes can't plan for the future. It's vital that the election date agreed to becomes a reality," he said.

Referring to criticism that the National Peace Accord and its structures were proving ineffective in quelling the violence, Mr Justice Goldstone said it was "dangerous" to depreciate the efforts of the Peace Accord out of frustration and anger at

the ongoing killings.

"Without the National Peace Accord, and the thousands of people working for it on the ground, things would be immeasurably worse," he said.

Addressing criticism levelled at the Goldstone Commission's reports on its inquiries — which have not to date found beyond doubt that a "third force" exists — Mr Justice Goldstone said a distinction had to be drawn between judicial methods and the meth-

Aug 22 1993

"Too frequently, the courts and commissions are criticised for conclusions which are not in line with public feeling. There may well be feelings concerning a third force, but there is no evidence so far to prove its existence. It doesn't make sense to criticise us for not drawing conclusions when there is no evidence."

Mr Justice Goldstone said the effects of racism would take decades to cure.

Mandela, De Klerk honoured

PHILADELPHIA — ANC leader Mr Nelson Mandela, honoured on Sunday with President FW de Klerk for helping bring South Africa to the threshold of democracy, turned to fund-raising to prepare for the first nonracial elections next year. (235)

"We want to put an end to apartheid and the only way to do that is for our brothers and sisters around the world and in this country to give us the money that will enable us to win the election," Mandela told a rally of about 2 500

supporters.

"We have popularity. What we want is power in our country. We want to turn that popularity into political power." (304A)

US President (444)

Earlier, he and De Klerk were jointly awarded the Philadelphia Liberty Medal by US President Bill Clinton and Philadelphia mayor Mr Edward Rendell at an Independence Day ceremony.

De Klerk and Mandela shared the R300 000 prize for their work to dismantle apartheid.

Clinton praised their efforts and pledged America's support.

"They are working together to liberate all South Africans, to restore material wealth and to bring spiritual health to their beloved country," he said at the awards ceremony.

De Klerk flew out of the US on Sunday night shortly after the ceremony. — Sapa-Reuter.

By Peter Wellman

SCHWEIZER-RENEKE — The learning curve towards a New South Africa has only just begun to move in this conservative Western Transvaal town, but at least it is a beginning.

On one hand the council is giving the freedom of the town to the Afrikaner Weerstandbeweging's Wenkommando on August 7, which offends residents of Ipelegeng township.

The council does not give a damn, and mayor Joey Fourie points out that Ipelegeng, outside the municipal boundary, has no say in this.

It seems the council is doing it in the vanishing style of "own affairs" administration. The AWB are "our people", said

Fourie, pointing out that many of them are, or were, in the local SADF commando.

The honour gives the Wenkommando the right to parade through the town once a year with fixed bayonets, and have free drinks on the mayor at a function afterwards.

As for Ipelegeng, Schweizer-Reneke councillor Sias Meyer comments: "I want the blacks to live as well as we do."

He wants improvements for Ipelegeng, and would prefer blacks to remain there.

Nonetheless, Meyer and the rest of the council (eight Conservative Party, one National-

ist) are resigned to changes by the end of the year. The Administrator of the Transvaal is due to appoint multiracial and unified municipal councils until local government elections, following the general election planned for April next year.

They will take it as it comes, knowing that some day they will certainly be a minority on the council.

Broadly, Ipelegeng's 15 000 people, including squatters, support the ANC alliance, and members I spoke to there were open and friendly.

They want a unified non-racist town, with a representative

council, and jobs — which are scarce. White farmers are the major employers, and a groundnut factory employs about 300 workers.

They also want improvements, including an end to the bucket toilet system. And the creche is a disgrace: one huge room with hardly anything in it, and no doors for the toilets.

Ipelegeng mayor Jonas Marumo, a National Party organiser, did not sound sympathetic. He said two women teachers took over an unfinished council building more than two years ago and undertook to have it completed.

Town slow to shed old SA

(304A)

Star 22/7/93

'Charge Viljoen' - ANC

(304A)

By Kaizer Nyatumba
Political Correspondent

The African National Congress yesterday called for Afrikaner Volksfront (AVF) leader General Constand Viljoen to "be charged and brought to book as a matter of urgency".

This came after his alleged threat in Pietersburg on Tuesday night that his organisation might have to resort to violence if it could not

get it's own volkstaat.

The Government also sharply criticised Viljoen's threat.

"General Viljoen is again encouraging people to take warlike actions," said Deputy Constitutional Development Minister Fanus Schoeman.

The ANC said Viljoen's threat — which it described as "an outrage" — should not be taken lightly.

"There can't be a more

serious indictment (of) the AVF than that they are calling their supporters to arms when they have the fullest opportunity to negotiate their positions and present them for democratic endorsement or rejection by all South Africans.

"The ANC has made it abundantly clear that we are prepared to discuss issues pertaining to cultural and language concerns affecting all South Africans. We are, how-

ever, not prepared to be subjected to threats of racist violence if the ultra-right wing does not get (its) way.

"In this we know we are supported by the vast majority of South Africans, including the majority of Afrikaners," the organisation said.

All those who engaged in inciting racial hatred and violence had to be charged and brought to book "as a matter of urgency".

Draft document a breakthrough

Sowetan 22/7/93

Sowetan Correspondent

■ WAY FORWARD 61-page report

to be discussed on Monday:

THE FIRST draft of the interim constitution has been tabled in the negotiating council and is scheduled to be finalised from August 9.

The 61-page report has, however, been strictly embargoed until it is discussed in the council on Monday.

The embargo has been placed on the draft document to give negotiating groups a chance to study its contents and to allow the negotiations technical committee, which drafted it, a chance to explain it to the council on Monday.

In an accompanying note to the "combined report of the technical committee on constitutional issues", the media is told that the council has decided "to implore and appeal to all participating organisations not to discuss in public or comment publicly on

(304A)
the report, including comments to the media, before it is tabled and presented by the technical committee in the negotiating council on Monday.

"The negotiating council is of the opinion that it is in the interest of the negotiating process that this very important document should first be discussed in the negotiating council before being reported and commented on in the media and in public," the note said.

It pointed out that the status of the report is that it has been distributed but not yet tabled.

In an appeal to the Press, the note said:

"In view of the sensitivity and vital importance of this report to the negotiating process, if this embargo is broken by a member of the media, the negotiating council will, unfortunately, have no alternative but to consider disciplinary measures akin to those usually applied in Parliament."

Journalists who break an embargo in Parliament are barred for a minimum of three weeks.

ANC general secretary Mr Cyril Ramaphosa said yesterday: "We really believe that the media people are disciplined and are appreciative of the sensitivity that surrounds this report and will not seek to break the embargo."

ing of 5 — sentence today

NP organisers 'intimidated'

Sowetan 22/7/93

By Themba Molefe
Political Correspondent

THE National Party has expressed concern over what it says is increasing intimidation of its organisers in Soweto.

NP spokesman for Greater Johannesburg and Soweto Mr Daryl Swanepoel said yesterday that four organisers had in the past two weeks received threatening calls, with one of them finding a dead cat on his doorstep.

Swanepoel said the matter had been reported to the police and National Peace Accord structures (304A).

"The NP takes the word of opposition parties in good faith that political tolerance should be promoted and calls on their followers to abstain from intimidation. The NP would call on these parties to condemn this sort of action in no uncertain terms and to take disciplinary action against members who do not up-

hold these values," he said.

Swanepoel claimed the NP had thousands of members in Soweto.

Referring to the threats to organisers, he said: "One of the callers demanded that the organiser resign from the NP."

Serious light

"The call is seen in an extremely serious light because of its detailed content — the callers knew his address, position within the party and reminded him of the fact that he had just become father to a son whose safety he should carefully consider."

"Later, the same callers telephoned the NP offices in central Johannesburg. They referred to certain attacks on the East Rand and insinuated at the planting of a bomb at the offices."

IFP 'shifting posts' for resuming talks

By Esther Waugh
Political Correspondent

The Inkatha Freedom Party seemed to be shifting the goalposts for its return to the negotiating table, Deputy Constitutional Development Minister Fanus Schoeman said yesterday.

Schoeman was reacting to an IFP memorandum, distributed yesterday in the Negotiating Council, which spelt out the party's reasons for having walked out.

The IFP said it would "not attend any further meetings of the Negotiating Council or its structures until there is a satisfactory solution to the problem of calling sufficient consensus decisions in the face of considerable opposition".

A report proposing guidelines for the application of sufficient consensus rulings

will be discussed in the council on Monday.

In the memorandum the IFP argued that there was no sufficient consensus when the council decided on the April 27 election date and instructed a negotiations technical committee to draft an interim constitution.

Schoeman accused the IFP of "hiding behind procedural issues to avoid dealing with substantive issues such as federalism".

Initially the IFP's concern was that a new dispensation should be based on federal principles. Reports submitted to the council had since indicated that a new South Africa would be based on federalism, Schoeman said.

The IFP was "prejudging the draft interim constitution before having seen one word of it".

DP wants televised^{304A} meeting

CT 82/13
Staff Reporter

THE Democratic Party wants a public debate with the ANC in Elsies River to be televised so that the public could judge the matter "fairly".

It also rejected ANC claims that Elsies River, where ANC supporters jeered at DP speakers during a DP meeting this week, was known to be a strong ANC area.

But the ANC said last night that "the challenge was in fact issued by the Secretary of the ANC Elsies River Branch to his counterpart in the DP in Elsies River".

"The branch is still waiting for the address of the DP Elsies River branch so that they can deliver the challenge personally," the ANC said in a statement.

Constitution blueprint — but it's a big secret

Political Staff

(304A) ARG 22/7/93

THE eagerly awaited first draft of an interim constitution for the new South Africa has been distributed in the Negotiating Council sitting at Kempton Park's World Trade Centre — but negotiators want to keep its contents from the public until Monday.

The 61-page report has been strictly embargoed until it is discussed in the council on Monday afternoon.

At this stage all that the media may say about the vital report, according to Sapa, is:

- It deals in detail with constitution-making, the legislature and regions.

- According to a source close to the team of specialists who drew up the draft it is detailed enough for everyone to know what kind of constitution South Africa could end up with.

Negotiators say the embargo has been placed to give negotiating groups an opportunity to study the draft, formulated by the negotiations technical committee.

In an accompanying note to the "combined report of the technical committee on constitutional issues", the media is told that the council has decided "to implore and appeal to all participating organisations not to discuss in public or comment publicly on the Combined Report" before it is presented on Monday.

Media breaking the embargo could be evicted from the talks for a period, probably a minimum of three weeks.

ANC secretary-general Cyril Ramaphosa said: "We really believe that the media people are disciplined and are appreciative of the sensitivity that surrounds this report and will not seek to break the embargo."

Afrikaner Volksunie leader Andries Beyers said today he hoped that newspaper editors would observe the embargo. "It is sensitive and can influence parties outside the talks."

It is not known if the Inkatha Freedom Party and its Cosag partners who have walked out of the talks will take part in Monday's meeting.

focus on federalism

Southern 22/7/93

ALTHOUGH not usually couched in such terms, the Cold War was a contest between two political federations. With the end of this geopolitical world order one federation has survived, the United States of America, and the other, the Union of Soviet Socialist Republics, has precipitously disintegrated.

I mention these most visible examples of federation success and failure because they illustrate the fact that federalism as a form of state organisation has become strangely apolitical in our times.

Whereas previous generations of political theorists would argue interminably about the political principles incorporated in the federal idea, today federations are widely accepted simply as a practical feature of modern politics.

So much so that one leading contemporary authority on the subject has argued that the twentieth century is an "age of federalism". Even after the demise of the USSR, federations exist throughout political cultures and as states of numerous political persuasions.

What are we to make of this global popularity?

Certainly it is difficult to understand what is happening in terms of the old constitutional choice between federalism and state centralisation. Surely no one doubts that our century has seen a great deal of political centralisation seemingly occurring in parallel with the rise of federalism.

Does this make sense?

Possibly not in strict constitutional terms; one interpretation would be that nearly all these federations are fakes — centralised states in federal clothing. But this begs the question, why should so many state elites go to the trouble of framing federal constitutions whatever their political efficiency?

The sheer global popularity of federalism suggests much more than multiple faking, however cynical we may be about the political processes involved. Rather we need to see the two levels of government in federal states as political solutions to problems of governance that abound in our times: we live in an age of political problems in which federalism has been seen as a solution.

The formulation just may lead us to consider the context of federalism's popularity, the world-system and the states that continue its formal politics. In the world of uneven economic development we can distinguish three broad zones — core, semi-periphery and periphery. The economic processes producing and reproducing this world-economy interact with political processes enmeshed in a territorial mosaic of some 170 sovereign states.

Although inheriting many features from the

In this article on federalism **Professor Peter J Taylor**, who is the holder of the Chair of Political Geography at the University of Newcastle, England, and editor of the *Journal of Political Geography*, looks at some of the pitfalls of world politics:



Any future union by consent will have to express the cultural diversity of the country

early modern period when states were primarily "war-machines", in this century they have taken on more and more of the features of "development-machines". That is to say states have become more responsible for economic strategies to develop their territory within the world economy.

Although such economic policy, as it is called in core countries, and development planning, as it is called beyond the core, is commonly seen as an autonomous political process operating state by state, in reality it reflects a global competition that is becoming as severe as any previous political and military conflict.

It is all a matter of state trajectories within an ever-changing world economy as core countries try and improve their relative position and the core and non-core countries attempt, largely without success, to move up the global economic hierarchy. This is the context within which federalism has become relatively popular.

The case of South African constitutional reform in the 1990s is no exception, quite the contrary it points towards a crucial need to see inwards and outwards simultaneously in designing new state structures.

Looking outwards first we see a stagnant-at-best economic trajectory of South Africa in the world economy not unlike much of the rest of the semi-periphery in today's conditions. But the world downturn will not last forever and we

can expect a major sustained global upturn in economic growth within the next decade.

To take advantage of this opportunity South Africa will need to create an enabling state that can aid in creating an integrated region of capital accumulation in Southern Africa. A Southern African region based upon the South African state is probably the only location on the whole continent that can be economically strong enough to sustain capital accumulation that stays within the region.

As in the past this economic space upon which South Africa depends is larger than its political space but now the situation is different. South Africa will sink with its neighbours. It has to develop a symbiotic relationship so it has the advantage of existing in an upwardly mobile region.

Looking inwards there would seem to be no alternative to some federal arrangement once the current coercive state is dismantled. Any future union by consent will have to express the cultural diversity of the country. The problem is that, as we have seen, once you begin down the path of ethnic-cultural federal representation there seems no end.

Beware the Russian dolls, the goal of acceptable cultural geography boundaries for all is a chimera that can only end in disaster — ethnic cleansing is the current word for it.

Getting one face of the Janus state right will not be enough. Ultimately the state and region will be judged in terms of relative performance in the world economy. This means that negotiations with the "frontline states" are just as crucial and urgent as now the various parties jostle for position within internal federal negotiations.

Whatever new South African political instruments are created, they will have to reflect the economic needs of a semi-peripheral country that is relatively isolated in the world economy. The world-system does not forgive those who neglect it!

This article from the Urban Foundation publication Development and Democracy has been edited.

Chiluba shows pragmatic colours

PRESIDENT de Klerk's visit to Lusaka next week has special significance in that it will be the first by a South African head of state to the Zambian capital. But there is more to it than that.

When he met President Clinton in Washington earlier this month, De Klerk is understood to have told him that one of Pretoria's highest priorities was the boosting of economic development in all southern Africa. That point will be emphasised by De Klerk's opening of a trade fair in Lusaka which will be dominated by South African exhibitors.

At the same time, he will be underscoring the related point that while South Africa is the region's economic engine it is hampered in promoting regional development if its own economy is weakened by sanctions and the discouragement of foreign investment.

Ostensibly, the opening of the fair is the main purpose of the visit and it is therefore being viewed officially in Lusaka as a working visit. But the government of President Frederick Chiluba is attaching more importance to it than that and is treating it almost as a state visit.

It is understood that De Klerk will be given a more elaborate welcome than he would receive on a working visit. In addition, he will have talks with Chiluba and will be the guest of honour at a function hosted by the Zambian president in the evening.

The initiative for the De Klerk visit came from Zambia, according to sources in Lusaka, initially from the chairman of the Agricultural and Commercial Show Society, George Bender, a prominent Zambian farmer who once lived in South Africa. His proposal that De Klerk be invited to open the show was readily taken up by Foreign Minister Vernon Mwaanga and endorsed by Chiluba.

This reflects the essentially pragmatic stance taken by the Chiluba government towards Pretoria, in contrast to the politically correct posture of the previous government of Kenneth Kaunda.

Kaunda received De Klerk in Zambia in August 1989, but they met in Livingstonia, not Lusaka, and the main purpose of the meeting was to find ways to mend the crumbling peace in Angola.

After ending the one-party rule of Kaunda's Uinip, Chiluba's MMD lost

GERALD L'ANGE, Star Africa Service Editor, finds more in President de Klerk's visit to Zambia than being the first by a South African head of state.

no time establishing diplomatic relations with Pretoria.

Like several other African leaders, Chiluba feels that reform is sufficiently far advanced in South Africa for his government to deal openly with Pretoria now.

Chiluba is pressing ahead with exploiting trade and development opportunities that other Frontline leaders do not want to grasp until they get the all-clear from the ANC.

He is prepared to recognise De Klerk as the present head of state of South Africa and to deal with him rather than wait for Nelson Mandela to fill the post.

While the ANC leadership was still in exile it made its headquarters in Lusaka and was strongly supported by Kaunda, who formed close ties that continued after his defeat, as was shown by his prominent part in Mandela's birthday party last week-end.

During the election that brought Chiluba to power his party was angered by the open support given by the ANC to Kaunda and Uinip. This has not made it any more difficult for the MMD government to have open dealings with Pretoria.

In a sense, De Klerk's visit to Lusaka emphasises the gap that has developed between Zambia and the other Frontline states.

Leadership of the group has passed to Mugabe of Zimbabwe, who, according to Rusky Evans, South Africa's Director-General of Foreign Affairs, has put his own stamp on it.

Evans sees De Klerk's Lusaka visit as, in a sense, leapfrogging Zimbabwe, which does considerably more trade with South Africa but places stronger political strictures on its dealings with the Republic.

South Africa's trade with Zambia is at present seriously lopsided, with northbound exports far exceeding southbound imports.

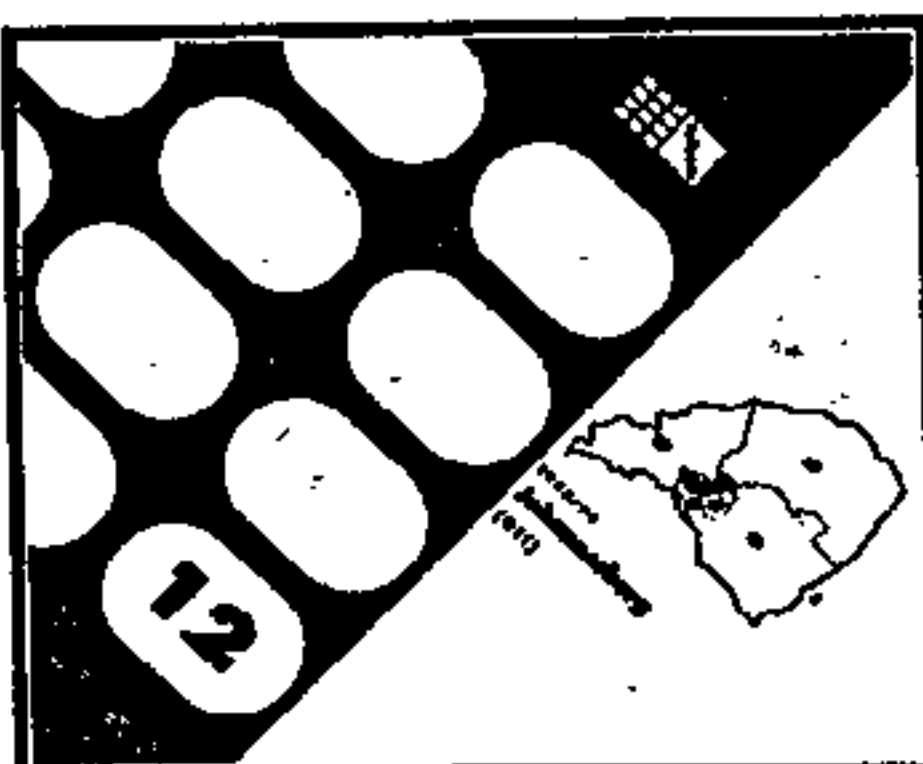
Zambia nevertheless has considerable potential for prosperity and the Chiluba government appears intent on not letting political correctness get in the way of exploiting it. □



Chiluba . . . to entertain De Klerk formally and lavishly.



De Klerk . . . can expect a warm welcome.



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Buthelezi denies seeking talks veto

WINDHOEK — Inkatha Freedom Party president Mangosuthu Buthelezi denied yesterday that he sought a veto at multi-party talks by rejecting decisions taken by "sufficient consensus" (118) (204A)

He told a news conference that Inkatha's withdrawal from talks was not permanent, but it wanted the meaning of sufficient consensus to be defined.

Sufficient consensus had not been achieved when just 16 of 24 negotiating teams voted for an April 27 election date, he said. This would not be an acceptable way to draft a constitution.

Bilateral ties to other major negotiators had not been cut, and Inkatha teams had been instructed to talk to government, the

ANC, PAC and CP.

Asked about the viability of the alternative negotiation forum he mentioned recently, Buthelezi said this was an option with no defined structures yet.

He said principles of federalism and pluralism were inviolable and should be thrashed out at the multiparty forum. It was legitimate for a region to express its federal demands, as unitary central government could not be imposed on a community and region that did not want that government as their own.

A new constitution should be drawn up before elections, with clear provision for full representation in a future government for all elements of society. — Sapa.

Buthelezi: Withdrawal from talks not permanent

WINDHOEK. — IFP president Chief Mangosuthu Buthelezi yesterday denied suggestions that he sought a veto at multi-party talks by rejecting decisions taken by "sufficient consensus".

He told a news conference here the IFP's withdrawal from talks was not permanent, but it wanted the meaning of sufficient consensus to be defined.

Sufficient consensus had not been achieved when just 16 of the 24 negotiating teams at the Kempton Park talks voted for an April 27 election date, he said. This would not be an acceptable way to draft a constitution.

Bilateral ties to other major negotiators had not been cut, however.

Chief Buthelezi was invited to Namibia by President Sam Nujoma for talks on forthcoming elections and ways to manage a peaceful transition.

Foreign Affairs sources said the visit was part of Namibia's growing role as "honest broker".

The news briefing was held in the room where Namibia's constitution was drafted and where the spirit of national reconciliation was born, Foreign Affairs Minister Mr Theo-Ben Gurirab said. He expressed the hope that some of that spirit would accompany Chief Buthelezi on his return

home. — Sapa

ANC wants area debate with DP

By BARRY STREEK

THE ANC said yesterday it wanted a regional debate with the Democratic Party as well as one in Elsie's River, but that it was still waiting for the DP's address in Elsie's River to deliver its original challenge.

The DP said the question of an Elsie's River debate could be resolved by the local ANC and DP branches.

It added that the key issue was the ongoing disruption of its meetings that in two cases was organised by the ANC itself or in which ANC members played a prominent role.

In a statement yesterday, ANC Western Cape leader Dr Allan Boesak rejected the DP's claim that the ANC did not want the DP to organise public meetings in Elsie's River because it feared the party enjoyed more support than the ANC.

Dr Boesak said a public meeting would allow the community in Elsie's River to demonstrate their support for the organisation of their choice and for this reason should be open, without restrictions, to Elsie's River residents only.

Only after these conditions had been met, he said, would the ANC discuss plans for a debate between himself and DP Western Cape representative Mr Jasper Walsh.

Times

Stone-throwers hit two cars on N2

By EUNICE RIDER

TWO more motorists — one a pensioner — have fallen victim to stone-throwers on the N2 in the past two days, despite a lull of more than a month. Police yesterday warned motorists to stay alert for stone-throwers.

Mr J D Venter's car was pelted with stones near the R300 offramp near Khayelitsha about 4.50pm on Wednesday while he was travelling home to

Somerset West, and Somerset West pensioner Mr C Lucas's car was hit while passing the Guguletu offramp with his wife at 11am yesterday.

A police spokesman said no one was injured. Damage to Mr Venter's car amounted to about R50 and damage to Mr Lucas's was estimated at about R250.

Police and army presence had not been decreased in recent weeks, he said.

Sergeant Ron-
leport Page 3

icture: BENNY GOOL

Viljoen: Afrikaners 'entitled' to defence

Own Correspondent

PRETORIA. — The Afrikaner Volksfront was committed to a negotiated settlement but Afrikaners were entitled to defend themselves, Volksfront directorate chairman General Constand Viljoen said yesterday.

Speaking at a press conference, he said it was clear there would not be enough policemen to defend the whole of SA in the event of war and it would be up to Afrikaners themselves to "draw a blanket of self defence across the country".

The Volksfront was committed to a peaceful, negotiated settlement, but if

the current uneven negotiations led to an unjust solution, he said, the Volksfront would revert to armed action.

The ANC could not criticise Volksfront calls for self-defence because they started the revolution, while government had allowed the security situation to deteriorate.

He warned if the defence force was called upon to defend the unfair negotiating process, "people in the defence force would have to make a very serious decision".

The Concerned South Africans Group would first make a decision among themselves before committing themselves to continued negotiations.

FM 23/7/93

NEGOTIATIONS

Buthelezi's bridge too far

There is a growing perception that Inkatha leader Mangosuthu Buthelezi is overstepping the mark in his quest to become, or remain, cock of the walk in KwaZulu/Natal.

He hints as usual at civil war if he does not get exactly what he wants — and people are getting tired of him. Between his main rival, the ANC and his one-time ally, government, a great deal has been conceded in the spirit of negotiation to meet the chief's concerns.

Thus the new constitution — to be built on sound principles accepted by Inkatha just before it again walked out on July 2 — has basically already been drafted, as Inkatha demanded, by the multilateral negotiating process. This includes a technical committee of constitutional experts chosen by the parties. Yet Inkatha bleats on.

Similarly, the ANC long ago moved from its original stance on a unitary State to accepting strong regional or federal government that is not out of kilter with systems generally accepted as federal. The list of regional and central government powers already agreed to demonstrates this.

There is tentative agreement also on the demand that regional constitutions be in operation at the same time as the national one and on full acceptance of a constitutional court and special majorities for changing what will be entrenched principles.

The latest cry from Inkatha (and others) concerns the meaning of "sufficient consensus" and Inkatha's attempt to secure for itself a veto right on decisions. Don't be surprised if Inkatha turns the draft constitution into another battleground when it returns to the talks next week.

At this stage, no party in the negotiating council is prepared to say whether the transition process will proceed without Buthelezi if he decides to pull out altogether. It will be a political decision should the time come, says a government spokesman, adding that no party of consequence has decided what its strategy would be. If any has one, it is unlikely to divulge it now.

"The point is that there is no alternative to the negotiations," says the government spokesman. "Over the next two or three weeks, all parties, including the ANC, will do everything possible to get the IFP back."

Belief is that the best moral weapon will be the draft constitution, expected to be presented by the technical committee on Monday and which Inkatha and KwaZulu (and

the CP) have said they will return to examine before finally deciding whether to stay in the process.

Government is convinced that the draft constitution will be as accommodating as possible and if groups like the IFP still aren't satisfied, then "Buthelezi will be seen to be completely out of line."

Some in government believe that the process has to go on to the point of an election, which will be the true test of the IFP's power. But Buthelezi knows the limits of his support and that "this is the very best deal that he will get," avers the government source.

Chief Buthelezi insists that violence must be ended before an election, while government and others maintain that the result of an election will largely assist in controlling it. Would government ultimately consider cutting off funds to KwaZulu if Buthelezi refused to fall into line? No, because that would fuel the fire of a civil war.

While the IFP and CP cannot really be compared, if the two got together it would cause more problems. But, it is asked, what kind of support will Buthelezi get in his own constituency — black and white — for hatching a revolution with the far Right?

And if they were somehow to win such a war, would they divide the country in two, creating an Afrikaner State and a Zulu State, or what?

The perception is that Buthelezi is engaged in brinkmanship and is worried. While it is believed that he can be beaten, it is difficult to say whether he can be controlled.

"We'll have to cross those bridges when and if we come to them," is the view from opposing negotiators.

Inkatha/KwaZulu met government twice last week in an attempt to build bridges. Interestingly, the team was led by Walter Felgate and Ben Ngubane, with

their foreign adviser Mario Ambrosini (who deeply irritates government) in tow. It seems the IFP's Joe Mathews and Frank Mdlalose, who are regarded as relatively moderate, will now concentrate on talking to the ANC and Cosag respectively.

At last Saturday's bilateral meeting, the IFP spelled out its demands. It wants full federalism along the lines contained in the draft KwaZulu/Natal constitution; acknowledgment of the special role and unique

status of KwaZulu/Natal with its Zulu kingdom; more clarity on a possible administrative hiatus between now and the election; and the fact that the Transitional Executive Council (TEC) and repeal of the status of self-governing states, would take power out of the hands of KwaZulu and hand it over to a lesser body such as the old provincial council.

They refused to accept anything which looked as though a grain of power would have to be given to the TEC or its sub-councils.

Without properly discussing the controversial decision-making mechanism of "sufficient consensus," the IFP demanded a veto in the process — saying that if it did not get veto power it would not return to the table. However, the IFP indicated that if the draft constitution were acceptable, then the veto would assume less importance.

When it was pointed out that the new draft constitution is likely to emerge in chapters over a couple of weeks (as it gets referred back from council to technical committee for improvement), the IFP members said they would not take part in that either.

But how, Inkatha were asked, could they not be part of the process and at the very end decide whether or not they liked what it had produced? They replied that they'd go back to their principal in Ulundi.

Though the IFP maintains it is not in favour of a confederation (which the CP wants) or secession, government sees their cherished Natal/KwaZulu constitution as confederal in the extreme. A senior Cosag member agrees that it contains confederal elements. It is believed that when newly appointed Unisa rector Marinus Wiechers (a member of the technical committee) terminated his contract as an Inkatha adviser, he informed Buthelezi that he could not associate himself with the proposed KwaZulu/Natal constitution.

With the prospect of fundamental change within months and backed as he is by dubious advisers, Buthelezi appears to be walking on a knife-edge, weighing his options between civil war and being part of the process. He will pursue brinkmanship as far as he can in order to secure maximum gains before the election. Having built his support on a system of patronage derived from the homelands set-up, his power-base is beginning to erode.

Another problem for him is that his Cosag allies do not seem to be going with him all the way. Bophuthatswana, Ciskei and the Afrikaner Volksunie returned to their seats in the negotiating council last Monday, leaving out Inkatha (and KwaZulu) and the CP, whose position is totally inflexible. ■



'Afrikaners will defend SA'

PRETORIA — The Afrikaner Volksfront was committed to a negotiated settlement, but Afrikaners were entitled to defend themselves, Volksfront directorate chairman Gen Constand Viljoen said yesterday. He told a news conference that it was clear there would not be enough policemen to defend SA in the event of war and it would be up to Afrikaners to "draw a blanket of self-defence across the country".

The Volksfront was committed to a peaceful, negotiated settlement, but if the current uneven negotiations led to an unjust solution, the Volksfront would revert to armed action, Viljoen said.

"I will do my best to prevent it, but we are not beaten, we are not defeated and we will stand up."

DIRK VAN EEDEN

The ANC could not criticise Volksfront calls for self-defence because they started the revolution, while government allowed the security situation to deteriorate and allowed uneven negotiations to take place.

When government ended its armed opposition to the ANC in 1990 it was supported in the hope the move would lead to a peaceful settlement, but since then more than 9 000 people had been killed.

The Afrikaner's reaction to violence and the way negotiations were going was "dangerous, sometimes furious" and it became difficult to keep them calm.

He warned if the Defence Force was called on to defend the unfair negotiating

□ To Page 2

Afrikaners

process, "people in the force would have to make a very serious decision".

Asked whether Cosag would support the Volksfront should war break out, Viljoen said he had "no doubt Cosag would stand together".

Ties had been strengthened at the negotiations and an alliance had been formed.

The Volksfront had been asking for the negotiations to be slowed down and for the security problems to be solved before an election, yet government and the ANC persisted in rushing it, he said.

This was done for economic reasons and because of the polarisation of the political spectrum, which was draining the NP and ANC of support. This was political dishonesty. Also, a rushed settlement would bring only "bribe money" and no serious

investments which needed a politically secure environment.

He said he would hold Constitutional Development Minister Roelf Meyer to his word on promoting the cause of the Afrikaner in the negotiations. Cosag members would first make a decision among themselves before committing themselves to continued negotiations.

Viljoen pointed out he had been calling on Afrikaners to prepare to defend themselves for several months, adding that the SABC's coverage of his "war-talk" address in Pietersburg this week had been a propaganda ploy.

Viljoen said he did not "back off one yard" from what he had told his supporters, namely that they should defend themselves, Sapa reported.

□ From Page 1

ment

edly supported by the government's proposed that the IEC should consist of

The technical committee will now

also set down the basic conditions for the SABC and any other public broadcasters, like Bop-TV.

South Africa's negotiators this week

approved the establishment of the IBA. If everything goes according to plan, it should be in place by mid-September, when the Transitional Executive Councils are set up. This is also when parliament will pass the Bill into law.

The Democratic Party's Peter Soal was elated this week after the draft Bill was accepted by the country's negotiators with only some minor changes.

"This is one of the most important developments in the negotiations," Soal said. "The IBA will finally break the virtual monopoly of the SABC. We can now expect a multiplicity of radio stations, regionally as well as nationally."

The Bill also allows for more TV stations, but although TV is more glamorous, it is also expensive, limiting the establishment of many more television stations.

Negotiators — probably with the recent SABC Board fiasco in mind — were careful not to allow a future minister too much say in appointing IBA members.

The technical committee was accordingly instructed to word the Bill in such a way that the autonomy of the IBA was protected in law.

The IBA also has the power to set ethical standards, ensure a minimum level of local content for TV stations and prevent monopoly control over media.

Wit and wisecracks among the walkouts

By CHRIS LOUW

If the press is to be believed, it is a site of bitter struggle, of continuous deadlocks, breakthroughs, walkouts and assorted crises. But the mood in the negotiating chamber at the World Trade Centre was jovial this week — even frivolous.

This was despite the serious concern expressed by some of the negotiators about the absence of the Inkatha Freedom Party, the KwaZulu government and the Conservative Party.

On Monday the National Party's Dawie de Villiers was in the chair, directing proceedings firmly but with a light touch. However, it was the African National Congress' Cyril Ramaphosa who stole the show.

During the debate on the establishment of the Independent Broadcasting Authority — to ensure fair coverage of political events leading to the country's first democratic elections — Ramaphosa raised concerns about the financial implications of party political broadcasts.

"I am worried," he said with nice irony, "that maybe only some parties — like the South African Communist Party — will be able to afford to broadcast. What then about others, like the poor National Party?"

Elections, he continued, "should not be won or lost because of a lack of money for broadcasting".

The SACP's Joe Slovo immediately

joined the action, claiming he was speaking on behalf of a "party that has both the glamour and the money..."

When the laughter had subsided, Slovo asked in more serious vein that money be made available on an equitable basis for political advertisements of between a minute and a minute and a half. "It will be odd if elections take place in this modern day and age without party political broadcasting."

With the communist's sense of equality, Slovo was quick to add that the SACP, "which is disadvantaged financially", should not get preferential treatment over the NP.

The NP's Danie Schutte had problems with the technical committee's description of the goals of public broadcasting. The committee had proposed that language and culture needed to be taken into account; that regional and local communities be allowed to develop their own identity and character; and that allowance be made for educational programming.

Schutte asked: "What about religion?" Slovo then introduced a novel idea which must have set Calvinist hair standing on end: "While most of us here are believers, some of us are not. We therefore shouldn't give authority to promote what in fact is an ideology — even if it is a majority ideology."

The CP's Lorette Jacobus in turn took the committee to task for its "lack of gender sensitivity" because of con-

sistent use of "he" where "persons" were meant. "They keep on referring to 'he'; it seems there will be no 'hers'," she complained.

After lunch on Monday there were more familiar faces when those members of the Concerned South Africans Group (Cosag) who preferred not to boycott the proceedings returned after a meeting with their more obstinate fellows.

Ciskei's portly Mick Webb entered the room with a cup of coffee in his hand, reminding journalists of a different obstacle he faced at the last forum meeting two weeks previously.

Webb had then been asked by the presiding chairman, Bophuthatswana's Rowan Crouge, to sit closer to the microphone so everyone could hear what he was saying. "I have a serious obstacle between myself and the table," Webb complained, resting a hand on his substantial stomach.

Representing a dictatorship like Oupa Gqozo's Ciskei, a sense of humour isn't essential, but it helps.

The Pan Africanist Congress' Barney Desai had other obstacles in his way. The emphasis was on legal experts in the broadcasting authority, he complained. "What about academics and workers?"

De Villiers prodded participants to "move forward". The talkative Amic-hand Rajbansi, who makes a habit of being the first to raise issues each

morning when the negotiating council starts its work, interjected: "Mr Chairman, you have to pass the ball back in rugby."

De Villiers: "Yes, but you must go forward at the same time!"

Unfortunately Springbok coach Ian McIntosh wasn't there to listen.

On Tuesday, when the independent electoral commission (IEC) was discussed, it was Crouge's turn to take the chair. One of the delegates complained that the exclusion of people with a political profile from the IEC could lead to discrimination of opponents of apartheid. "What if you had been underground?"

Crouge: "Well, you'll have to come up first!"

Crouge, it has turned out, is one of the more efficient chairmen, quick off the mark, not overly sensitive about criticism, and with a sense of humour.

Since the invasion of the World Trade Centre by the Afrikaner Weerstandsbeweging, some of the microphones (ironically including those of the CP and the Afrikaner Volksunie) give continuous problems.

When Chief Maponyane of the traditional leaders delegation blew on his mike to test it, Crouge's reaction was: "Now you have blown it out!"

If the bonhomie is anything to go by, the negotiations themselves are still alive and well — despite certain absences!

30 Oct

u.m 23-24/6/93

New body to monitor (future) elections

(3041A) WM 23-29 17 92

The World Trade Centre negotiators agreed this week to ensure the independence and permanence of the commission created to oversee the country's first election.

By **CHRIS LOUW**

ONCE constituted, the Independent Electoral Commission (IEC) which will ensure elections in the country are free and fair will become a permanent feature in South Africa.

All future elections will be monitored by the commission. And to ensure that it will be completely independent, its members will be elected on the same strict conditions applying to the changing of the country's constitution.

The negotiating council this week in Kempton Park accepted recommendations by a technical committee that the reconstitution of the IEC will have to be passed by the same majority as is necessary to effect an amendment to the constitution.

If the motion is not supported by the required majority in parliament, terms for the appointment of members of the commission will be set by a full bench of the Appellate Division, including the chief justice.

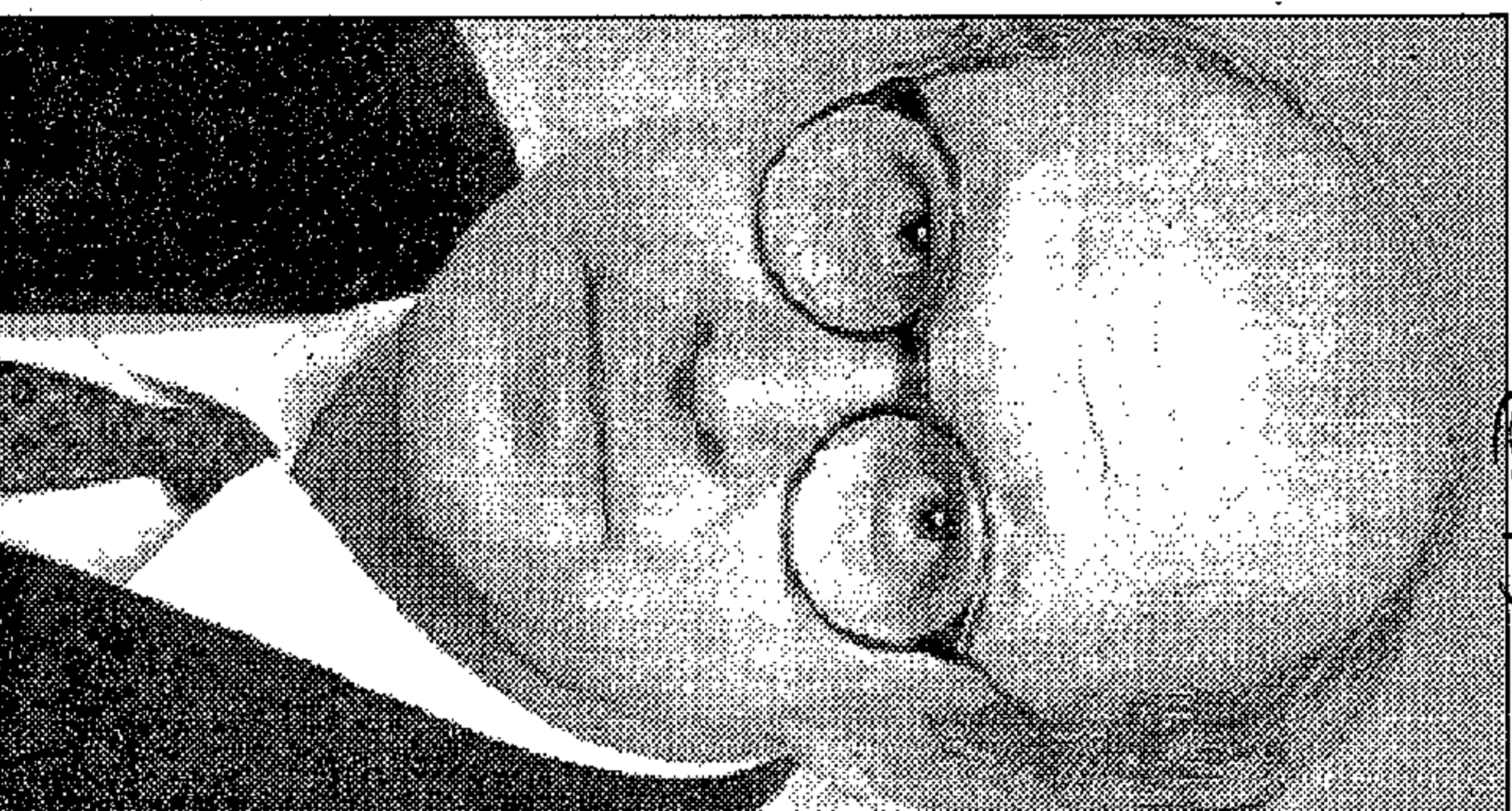
The report on the IEC provided extensive debates in the council on Tuesday. In terms of the council's instructions to the technical committee, the IEC will be responsible for the conduct, supervision, monitoring and adjudication of elections for the nation-



Benny Alexander ... Back in the talks

The role of the judiciary was one of the most contentious issues, as far as the ANC and the Pan Africanist Congress — represented by Benny Alexander, who returned to the talks on Monday — were concerned.

Maduna expressed strong reservations about the commission's



Danie Schutte ... Surprise backing

Danie Schutte, minister of home affairs, but for very different reasons.

Schutte argued that the body that determined the role of the commission — the negotiating council and, when it is established, the Transitional Executive Council — should appoint mem-



Joe Slovo ... No vote for foreigners

between seven and 11 members, with an additional five "persons drawn from the international community". These five would have the same rights as other members — except that they would not have the vote.

On this issue the ANC and the South

take back the council's amendments and suggestions and redraft the Independent Electoral Commission Act for a third time.

●The air may be abuzz with the sound of new radio stations by the end of the year — all of them independent

Inkatha prises open cracks in NP

3049 443 6311 23-29/8/93

TENSIONS within the ruling National Party are slowly reaching breaking-point — a fact that is being actively exploited by kwaZulu's Chief Minister Mangosuthu Buthelezi.

With this week's resignation of a senior Nat member of the Natal Executive Council, Peter Miller, to join the Inkatha Freedom Party, concern is growing in NP circles about the possibility of an exodus to the IFP before the first democratic elections.

This week even a cabinet member — Home Affairs Minister Danie Schutte — took a pro-Inkatha stance, which runs contrary to the position taken by his negotiating colleagues, Roelf Meyer and Leon Wessels.

The faultlines in the NP run along two different approaches towards Inkatha by NP caucus members. Most Nats are instinctively sympathetic towards the IFP. They feel strongly that the Zulu-based organisation is sold down the drain by their own negotiators, under the leadership of Constitutional Affairs Minister Meyer.

Inkatha's present boycott of the negotiations in Kempton Park is creating serious frustrations among the government's negotiators. While they are considering seeing the process through, even if it means that the IFP is completely sidelined, fears are growing that such a step may be the final straw convincing senior NP MPs — and even some cabinet members — to break ranks and throw their weight in behind Buthelezi.

In an amazing development this week, Schutte came out openly in support of the notion

The Inkatha Freedom Party's walk-out

From the negotiating forum has

deepened faultlines within the National

Party — with hardliners coming out

in support of an own constitution for

kwaZulu. CHRIS LOUW reports

of an own constitution for kwaZulu/Natal. This is in direct defiance of the stance taken by his negotiating colleagues.

Regional constitutions are an extremely contentious issue, and are at the centre of the deadlock between negotiators — including Schutte's colleagues — and the IFP.

Schutte, in fact, went further. At an NP congress on local government held in Pietermaritzburg, he said Inkatha's constitutional proposals did not go far enough. They only made provision for the recognition of traditional and cultural structures, he said.

"That is not good enough. The Zulu king and monarchy are so important that they must receive specific recognition in the constitution of kwaZulu."

Realising the NP's vulnerability, Buthelezi in the past two weeks went on what can only be described as an election campaign, addressing predominantly white audiences in an effort to woo whites away from the NP. The main theme of his speeches was that the NP was selling out to the ANC and its communist ally.

Schutte attended the negotiations this week

and took part in the debates on the establishment of an Independent Broadcasting Authority as well as an Independent Electoral Commission.

To observers it was clear that his cabinet colleague, Dawie de Villiers, who was in the chair on Monday, could sometimes hardly contain his irritation with Schutte's critical and highly technical interventions during the debate.

Sources close to the NP say that the "hardliners" are making life very difficult for negotiators Meyer and Wessels.

Meyer finds himself in the unenviable position of first having to negotiate issues within the multi-party conference, only to negotiate again within his own caucus to get decisions accepted which have been agreed on in Kempton Park.

The "hardliners" know they cannot stop the negotiations, but they are determined to make life as difficult as possible for Meyer because of a perception that he is not "tough" enough, especially with the ANC.

Schutte was recently appointed to a full cabinet post. He immediately joined the "hawks", led by Hennis Kriel and including Tertius Delpoit and Kobie Coetsee (popularly known as "Koois Skepioen").

Schutte, observers say, does not seem to realise that his term of office will not last more than nine months, until the first democratic elections. He is adamant about establishing his authority and trying to show the ANC that he

still has political clout.

The resistance from within the NP notwithstanding, it is clear that the majority of the negotiating partners want the process to go ahead — if needs be, without Inkatha. The mood in the negotiating council is that if the IFP should refuse to rejoin the talks, decisions will be taken without them and they will just be confronted with the final constitution.

Neither the government nor the ANC is prepared to compromise further. They insist that the correct procedures have been followed up to now. What they will do in their bilateral is to explain their position to the IFP negotiators and try to convince them that their fears are unfounded.

In the two days preceding the meeting of the negotiating forum from which Inkatha walked out, government negotiators had regular discussions with Inkatha, both bilateral and as part of the debates in the meeting.

They were under the impression that an understanding was reached — which at the forum transpired not to have been the case.

The situation at the moment is that the 26 parties at the negotiating council negotiate on issues, come to decisions — and then find that the decisions agreed upon have to be negotiated once more with Ullundi. Buthelezi in effect acts as a one-man council on equal level with the World Trade Centre negotiators.



Mangosuthu Buthelezi

304A

Fm 23/7/93.

DEMOCRATIC PARTY

Meeting dual needs

With the scheduled elections now barely nine months away, the DP's interim constitutional proposals focus attention on the urgent need to formulate an acceptable framework to govern SA while the elected assembly thrashes out a final constitution.

The interim constitution must provide not only for a credible, legitimate multiparty Cabinet, but also measures to curb abuse of power and uphold the rule of law. And it must set ground rules within which the assembly will draw up the final constitution.

The dual role of the assembly — devising a constitution while also functioning as a parliament — will complicate the situation. The DP's Tony Leon says the party has always opposed this dual function, but government and the ANC insist on it, so proposals have been formulated accordingly.

The need to ensure that the assembly sticks to constitutional principles agreed at the World Trade Centre is paramount. Leon says these principles must be "inviolable."

A 400-member proportionally elected assembly is proposed. All parties that win at least 1% of the vote will be represented. Regional lists will provide 300 members and a national list 100.

Voters will use two ballot papers. One will be counted twice to select candidates from the national and regional lists, the second used to select regional legislatures.

An upper house will be elected by regional electoral colleges, which will each choose between two and nine members.

Clauses of the new constitution — other than inviolable principles agreed by the multiparty negotiators — will need the support of 70% of assembly members.

Changes to the powers, duties, functions and boundaries of regions will need the support of 70% of both houses and 75% in the regional legislatures. Amendments to the interim Bill of Rights will need 75% support in the two houses and regional assemblies.

The DP opposes using a majority vote in a referendum to break constitution-making logjams. Leon says this would be "divisive and dangerous."

The party proposes a four-year lifespan for the assembly after which, in the improbable event of no finality being reached, new elections must be held and the assembly must continue its task.

It's proposed that the president will be elected by a simple majority in the new assembly and be allowed to appoint a PM. A 20-member Cabinet will be based on proportional representation, with parties that win at least 5% of the vote entitled to places.

Cabinet decisions will be made by consensus or on two-thirds majorities. Cabinet members must be elected members of the assembly. The president must dismiss a Minister if the assembly passes a vote of no confidence in him or her.

Leon says the DP plan is based on the belief that the best chance of ensuring an efficient and workable government requires measures to curb potential abuses and hold the new administration as accountable as possible to the electorate. ■

~~304A~~ (304A)

government uses the special session in September to announce an April 1994 election."

Inkatha, however, has set its sights on October 1994 elections under a constitution agreed by September.

He added that Inkatha must decide whether to take part in the election of a constituent assembly. "We need a mandate to remain outside the formal negotiation process while we take crucial constitutional issues to the people for their judgment."

The mandate was given in resolutions adopted by the conference, which decided:

- ☐ To stay out of negotiations unless government clearly declares its position on the continuing deployment of MK and MK arms caches in SA and the TBVC states;
- ☐ To establish an election fund known as the Chief Buthelezi fund;
- ☐ To reject the constituent assembly election as the constitution-making body for SA, along with the right of government and the ANC/SACP alliance to make decisions on a sufficient consensus basis; and
- ☐ To consider the feasibility of an alternative negotiating forum or national multi-party constitutional convention if the impasse at the World Trade Centre isn't resolved.

Buthelezi, nevertheless, expressed profound optimism for the future because the negotiating process is so entrenched that there can be no other way forward. "Failed revolution seems to be behind us, though failed attempts to establish a dictatorship of revolutionary structures do not."

He said the Inkatha team at Kempton Park is negotiating in enormously difficult circumstances. "They have to achieve results and bring home democratic victories for all South Africans to remain credible and justify what they are doing to people facing AK47s at home."

INKATHA

FM 23/7/93

Filibustering away

Though Inkatha stormed out of the negotiating forum over the April 27 election date, leader Mangosuthu Buthelezi, amid a stand-off with government and the ANC, has given the strongest hint yet that if push comes to shove his party may contest it.

That doesn't mean he's backing down on demands (largely met) for an entrenched constitution and federalism before the election. On the contrary, the walkout, along with the CP, to force a showdown shows that he's as determined as ever. The terms for Inkatha rejoining the talks that emerged in a leaked confidential document this week have no face-saving devices.

And Buthelezi warned the Inkatha National Council at the beginning of Inkatha's annual general conference in Ulundi, attended by 5 000 delegates, that failure to heed him could split SA. He even mooted an alternative negotiating forum but conceded that this could sow the seeds for civil war — a war, he stressed, not of Inkatha's making.

Theme of the conference was "The Hard Road to Liberation after Democracy".

Buthelezi said that Inkatha must begin fund-raising and establishing itself on an election footing, which includes selecting between 1 000-2 000 candidates for a national parliament and nine regional legislatures.

"We need to announce a count-down timetable and if current legislation holds good, technically we could find ourselves (unable) to raise funds abroad after November 28 if

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Buthelezi argued that the ANC wants a free hand to write a constitution after elections, rather than take the route of many African countries during decolonisation, where constitutions were negotiated by consensus before elections. He did not, however, touch on how many of these constitutions have since been unceremoniously scrapped or ignored.

He again accused the ANC of trying to destroy KwaZulu and absorb it in Natal through an interim authority and by calls for the scrapping of the Black Authorities Act, under which KwaZulu was established.

KwaZulu, he claimed, has a sovereign right to self-determination. It was conquered by the British, annexed to the colony of Natal and later dragged into the Union through the barrel of a gun. The people's consent was never sought.

"We will not be dragged into the New SA without having a say," he warned.

But he has every opportunity for having a say — as opposed to having his way — and that statement implies that he has not put himself irrevocably outside the process. ■

Constitution draft ready

(3047) CT 237FB

Own Correspondent

DURBAN. — South Africans will have a some idea by Monday what the face of the new South Africa will look like when the long-awaited draft of the interim constitution is presented to the multi-party talks.

The draft document was presented to negotiators at the World Trade Centre yesterday with a strict media embargo for Monday at 2pm.

Media organisations would get booted out of talks for three weeks if they broke the embargo, the negotiating council warned.

The only detail which can be made known at this stage is that the 30-page document is not complete. It deals in detail with the legislature.

The negotiating council said in a statement that it was in the interest of the negotiating process the document should be discussed by the parties before being reported and commented on in the media.

23713
**Youth groups
want vote at 16.**

JOHANNESBURG (304)
The ANC Youth League and the Azanian National Youth Unity, the youth wing of the Pan-Africanist Congress, want the voting age to be reduced to 16, they said at a press conference here yesterday. (AP)

An ANCYL spokesman said, however, the league was bound by an ANC decision that the voting age should be 18.

FW likened to Gorbachev

LONDON — Reform in South Africa is unravelling under the pressure of violence, and the prospects of a successful outcome to the current constitutional negotiations look increasingly unlikely.

In a grim warning to its readers yesterday, the influential right-wing Spectator news magazine openly discusses the possibility of civil war in South Africa and likens the position of President de Klerk to that of Mikhail Gorbachev as the Soviet Union crumbled.

In a major editorial, the Spectator writes: "The strength and variety of the opposition bodes ill for the draft constitution South Africa's leaders presented this week. They also bode ill for President de Klerk, who is playing the same role in South Africa as Mikhail Gorbachev in the Soviet Union.

"Having initiated reform, he is now watching it unravel under the

ALAN ROBINSON
Foreign News Service

pressure of violence. More than 10 000 people have died in political fighting in South Africa over the past three years.

"It is time to lower dramatically our expectations for De Klerk's future. And, although we should continue to support his negotiating process — it is, for the moment, the only negotiating process — Western support for him is unlikely to be any more useful than was Western support for Gorbachev, or indeed Western support for the Bosnian Muslims."

More weapons

"If South Africa divides, and a civil war begins, it will be far more complicated than the Soviet Union, and far bloodier. Although their ethnic identity is less clear,

South Africans have more weapons, and have more practice using them, than Soviets or even Yugoslavs ever had.

The Spectator says the effects of apartheid are indistinguishable from the effects of ethnic cleansing: many of South Africa's tribes now hate one another too much to live together.

"It is ... hard to feel sympathy for any of the groups.

"For many years, the ANC made itself an unacceptable negotiating partner by aligning itself to the Soviet Union and adopting Soviet economic and political doctrine. Meanwhile, the National Party employed torture and terror in order to defend 'civilisation'.

"Chief Buthelezi has never had anyone's interests but his own at heart, and Afrikaners who believe that Afrikaners ought to live in an all-white state have only themselves to blame."

De Klerk visit fuels Zambian anger

PRESIDENT de Klerk today pays an important visit to the Zambian capital Lusaka. He will officially open an agricultural show and hold talks with his Zambian counterpart President Frederick Chiluba.

The visit, which comes at the invitation of the Lusaka Agriculture and Commercial Show Society, has sparked a major dispute in Zam-

KAIZER NYATSUMBA
Political Correspondent

bia; with some politicians and the local trade union federation voicing opposition to it.

However, Chiluba, who was due to meet De Klerk and his party at Lusaka International Airport at 9 am today, has come out in full sup-

port of the visit.

Zambia, the home of many South African exiles before the unbanning of political organisations in 1990, was one of the fiercest critics of Pretoria's apartheid policies during Dr Kenneth Kaunda's presidency.

Unlike Kaunda, Chiluba has taken a more conciliatory stand towards Pretoria, but has also alienated the ANC be-

cause of his government's treatment of Kaunda, who had good relations with the ANC.

De Klerk is scheduled to open the Lusaka Agricultural and Commercial Show at 2.45 pm. He and Chiluba are to hold talks at 6 pm.

De Klerk, accompanied by his wife Marike and senior Cabinet ministers, returns home tomorrow afternoon.

Star 24-7-93
304A

'Govt sacrificing ties with IFP'

BLOEMFONTEIN — The Government was bent on sacrificing its working relationship with the Inkatha Freedom Party to appease the African National Congress, at the cost of peace, IFP president Mangosuthu Buthelezi charged yesterday.

Addressing a public meeting of about 500 mostly white people in Bloemfontein, Buthelezi warned that there could never be peace while the ANC and the Government were colluding behind closed doors.

Instead of forging a constitution which would safeguard the future, government negotiator Roelf Meyer and his colleagues had agreed to a two-phase transitional process which would allow the ANC to dominate the future government of the country.

"In so doing they have struck at the IFP's hope of achieving a constitution capable of protecting freedom, democracy and plural-

ADRIENNE CARLISLE

ism for all the citizens of South Africa."

Buthelezi also accused the Government of selling out its own constituency when it agreed with the ANC on the election of a constitution-making body.

High-handed

He said the proposed two-phased transition deal merely ensured that certain key government officials would be able to retain their senior position in the government of transition.

"In their typical high-handed unilateral manner, the Government has sold out its constituency in order to look after its own narrow party political interests," said Buthelezi.

The IFP would insist on a single-phase process where a draft constitution would be negotiated

and agreed to by all representative parties at the multiparty negotiating forum.

Earlier, Buthelezi told University of Orange Free State academics that the two-phase approach to the transition was a recipe for civil war.

He said the setting of an election date before the future form of state had been determined was incomprehensible.

The IFP and the KwaZulu government walked out of negotiations two weeks ago because they objected to the ratification of April 27 next year as the date for South Africa's first democratic elections.

Despite his objections to the setting of an election date before the form of state had been agreed to, Buthelezi has embarked on an aggressive recruiting campaign in white areas in the Eastern Cape and now the Orange Free State. — Sapa.

Star 24-7-93

Subpoena of journalist deplored

THE Press Council of South Africa and the Conference of Editors yesterday expressed concern over the subpoena of Beeld newspaper journalist Andries Cornelissen under section 205 of the Criminal Procedure Act.

"The two bodies de-

plore the use of section 205 to gain information from journalists under the threat of penalty or a prison sentence," the two organisations said in a statement.

The action was also in breach of a written in-

struction by the Commissioner of Police on July 16 1991 that no such action would be taken in terms of section 205 without the editor of the publication concerned being informed in advance, the organisations said. — Sapa.

Ad has wrong phone number

THE telephone number in an advert entitled "Own Your Own Home" on Page 108 of the Property Guide is incorrect. The correct number of the Eugenic Foundation is (011) 886-0969.

It all hangs on 'consensus'

FRANS ESTERHUYSE
Political Correspondent

NEGOTIATIONS for a new South Africa are balanced on a knife-edge this weekend as crucial make-or-break decisions await the main players next week.

The decisions, which could either speed up the peace process or result in hopeless deadlock and a slide towards anarchy, will be about pivotal issues like the shape of an interim government and how to arrive at a "sufficient consensus" that is really sufficient.

The crunch comes on Monday when the negotiating council, sitting at Kempton Park's World Trade Centre is to begin discussion on the first draft of an interim constitution for a new South Africa.

Until then, the proposed plan is being kept under wraps, with a strict embargo imposed on the grounds that it will give the negotiating groups a chance to study the draft.

Also due for consideration by the negotiators on Monday is the report of an ad hoc committee appointed to study the controversial issue of "sufficient consensus" which threatens to plunge the negotiation process into divisive deadlocks, tension and potential breakdown.

Inkatha have called for clarity about "sufficient consensus" and sources close to the negotiations told Weekend Argus that much would depend on how the players resolved the controversy about the phrase. On that

■ When is "sufficient consensus" really sufficient? The answer to this question is among crucial decisions awaiting South Africa's negotiating council when it discusses the first draft of an interim constitution for a new South Africa next week.

would depend the future credibility of the negotiating council and the legitimacy of its decisions in the eyes of substantial sections of the country's population.

Some analysts warn that this issue is far too serious to be brushed aside. Negotiators and even political leaders should take another look at the objections raised by the Inkatha Freedom Party, the KwaZulu government and rightwing groupings to the whole concept of "sufficient consensus" as applied by the negotiating council.

Questions that need to be answered with brutal frankness and honesty include:

■ Has the "sufficient consensus" in all decisions taken so far on important issues really been sufficient?

■ When is the measure of consensus not sufficient? and

■ Is the depth of dissent assessed and taken into account when decisions are taken on controversial issues affecting all South Africans?

A leading constitutional lawyer close to the negotiations says the concept of "sufficient consensus" is a good one, but must be applied with flexibility and with great insight and sensitivity. Every decision taken will have its own consensus requirements before the measure of agreement can be regarded

as "sufficient".

In some technical matters, for example, a relatively small measure of consensus among

say, some of the main players will be "sufficient". On the other hand, the measure of agreement on other important issues affecting everybody can be "sufficient" only when almost everybody agrees.

Democratic Party negotiator Mr Ken Andrew told Weekend Argus the concept of sufficient consensus — although "messy and difficult" — could be successful if sensitively applied. Decisions had to be weighed carefully, and everything possible should be done to reach the largest measure of agree-

ment.

What should be taken into account was that some groupings might deliberately try to block or delay decisions on important issues. The Conservative Party, for example, has shown that it did not want democracy and others found the status quo more comfortable than a proposed new democratic dispensation.

"In the end, I believe that even without Inkatha and the Conservative Party, decisions taken in the negotiating council will be taken by negotiators representing at least 80 per cent of the people of South Africa," said Mr Andrew. He added that South Africa

could not afford to let the negotiation process "grind to a halt". The country's economy could not take such a further delay.

Speaking in Windhoek, Inkatha Freedom Party president Chief Mangosuthu Buthe denied suggestions that he sought a veto right at the multiparty talks.

He said the IFP's withdrawal from the talks was not permanent and that one of his objections was that sufficient consensus had not been achieved when just 16 of 24 negotiating teams at the Kempton Park talks voted for an April 27 election date. This would not be an acceptable way to draft a constitution, he said.



□NEGOTIATOR: The Democratic Party's Mr Ken Andrew.

Divisions don't have to be on ethnic lines

By Jeff McCarthy

THE regional diversity of South Africa is now recognised to be such that few now argue for either a political or developmental framework based exclusively upon centralised control.

Indeed, regionalism has now become the political buzzword within almost all South African political parties (but with the notable exception of the Pan Africanist Congress).

What is striking about present political shifts on the regional level is just how rapid the shifts have been, and quite how closely aligned the different parties' visions have become.

This rapidly derived consensus, in turn, appears to have been linked to the perceived political need to urgently reincorporate the homelands into South Africa.

The nine development regions have also played an important role in shaping political debate about the boundaries of a future regional tier of government for the country.

One of the primary problem areas associated with recent regional political debates in South Africa has been the conflation of regional issues with development issues, and issues of ethnicity.

The association between race, region and inequality is, however, by no means self-evident from a geographic point of view. The ethnic complexity of South Africa has now been so thoroughly scrambled by the urbanisation process that it is hard to find an empirical link between ethnicity, race and regional income inequality.

In terms of estimated political allegiances, there are only three regions which could potentially fall outside ANC control on the basis of either the NP or ANC regional breakdowns. These are the Western Cape, the Northern Cape and Natal.

South 247-2817193

Carefully constructed regional economic growth strategies, on the part of possibly more conservative regional regimes in Natal and the Western Cape in particular, could provide important forms of economic competition.

It is most likely that high levels of devolution and original powers for the regions could threaten ANC political and economic dominance, and its associated programmes of nation-building. Yet it also seems probable that devolution would lead to enhanced regional competition.

No party that strongly subscribes to a nation-building or a nationalist vision can easily contemplate regional federalism or strong regional devolution of powers and responsibilities within the national domain. Unless, of course, it is likely to lose the political centre. (304A)

The NP's recent conversion to regionalism comes, ironically but predictably, in the twilight years of its national political abilities and ambitions, and during a period when it now seeks to constrain the central powers of its main competitor: the ANC.

That the ANC should be wary of regionalism and high levels of regional devolution under such circumstances is understandable.

The ANC's resistance becomes even more understandable in the context of an historical legacy of grand apartheid, and the consequent perception that strong regional government can be coincidental with ethnic balkanisation, and political coalition-building strategy based upon maximising ethnic divisions.

However, given the extent to which regional economic inequalities and urbanisation processes have recently become disentangled from race and ethnicity, it seems unlikely that such problems could recur.

That would be particularly so if regional boundaries are drawn in deliberate ignorance of those created during the apartheid era.

Inter-regional or, more likely central-regional money transfers will be necessary to offset regional economic inequalities however the boundaries may be drawn.

Moreover, and importantly, it will be necessary to decide how significant macro-regional divisions really are to the construction of the regional tier in comparison with pressing issues of the construction of metropolitan government and rural equivalents.

The latter are the more salient scales at which developmental and regional institutions should operate in the future.

For this to occur, however, the debate on the regional tier will have to move out of its current phase of linkages with political coalition building, and servicing of constituencies. It must move into a new phase informed by the practical developmental challenges of urban and rural reconstruction.

Jeff McCarthy is professor and head of geography at the University of Natal. He is the author of numerous research articles and books on urban and regional development in South Africa.

CROSSTALK debates are presented in association with the Institute for Multi-Party Democracy, a non-partisan organisation not affiliated to any institute or political party. Its mission is to promote multi-party democracy, political tolerance and national reconciliation in South Africa. For more information, telephone (021) 25 1120/54/55.

SOUTH readers are encouraged to respond to any of the viewpoints presented on this page.

Voting age call

'cheap ploy' 304A

Political Staff

THE call by the ANC and PAC youth leagues for the voting age to be lowered to 16 was dismissed yesterday by the DP Youth as a cheap political ploy. CT 24/7/93
"This ploy threatens, rather than promotes, the rights of those under 18," it said.

Talks with IFP on hold

HOPES that the IFP and its Cosag allies would be drawn back into constitutional talks have been put on hold until next week to allow the parties time to study the draft constitutional proposals.

Last night IFP negotiator Dr. Frank Mdlalose said a range of bilateral talks with the government and the Cosag partners this past week had been "helpful" but disagreements over certain issues still had to be ironed out.

The IFP confirmed that a range of bilateral talks with the Conservative Party, the government and the ANC would be held next week.

Last night ANC spokesman Mr. Carl Niehaus said the ANC would "make a very strong pitch" to draw IFP back into the talks fold at a bilateral meeting "sometime next week".

Draft a 'recipe for war'

BLOEMFONTEIN. — IFP leader Chief Mangosuthu Buthelezi yesterday rejected a two-phase approach to the drafting of a final constitution, warning it was a recipe for civil war.

Speaking at the University of the Orange Free State, he said the setting of an election date before a decision on the future form of state was incomprehensible.

The IFP and the KwaZulu government walked out of negotiations two weeks ago because the April 27 date for elections was ratified by the nego-

tiating council in spite of the IFP's opposition. **2047**

Chief Buthelezi said he objected to a constitution being written by the party or parties at the helm of a constituent assembly. **CT 24/7/93**

A two-phase transition process could only subject South Africans to needless suffering and hardship. It would also totally exclude the federal option, and the IFP regarded the principles of federalism and pluralism as inviolable, he said. — Sapa

Falling into step at the double!

2047
24/7/93

FRANS ESTERHUYSE

Weekend Argus Political Correspondent

ESTABLISHMENT of at least another 26 foreign missions by South Africa is in the pipeline as this country's return to the world community continues.

A Foreign Affairs Department spokesman told Weekend Argus the setting-up of these missions — in addition to existing missions in 82 countries — was possible.

The proposed new missions will step up South Africa's representation abroad in such regions as Africa, the Middle East, South America and Asia.

The further expansion envisaged in diplomatic and trade relations comes in the wake of much activity by South Africa in recent years to forge new links with countries in eastern Europe, the Russian Federation, Africa and other parts of the world.

The countries on the department's list of possible missions to be established include: Bahrain, Cyprus, Egypt, Ethiopia, Ghana, India, Indonesia, Iran, Ireland, Jordan, Malaysia, Mexico, New Zealand, Nigeria, Oman, Pakistan, Philippines, Qatar, Saudi Arabia, Sri Lanka, Syria, Tanzania, Tunisia, United Arab Emirates, Uganda, and Venezuela.

The spokesman said South Africa now had embassies in 55 countries, of which 12 were non-resident missions. In 10 of these countries there were also 17 consulates-general. South Africa has established diplo-

■ South Africa's return to the world is gathering momentum, with doors opening in many countries.

matic relations with many of the countries of the former Soviet Union, including Azerbaijan, the Russian Federation (an embassy in Moscow and a consulate-general in St Petersburg), Armenia, Georgia, Kirghizstan, Kazakhstan, Tajikistan, Turkmenistan, and others. In most of these, however, missions have not yet been opened.

The director-general of foreign affairs, Mr Rusty Evans, says the department's first priority is Africa — and in particular South Africa's regional relationships with a dozen or more countries in Southern Africa. South Africa already has representation in most of these countries and recently established missions in others, such as Botswana and Zambia.

Ultimately, Mr Evans says, the department would like to see a much closer association between these states, in the economic sphere as well as in other areas of activity.

Mr Evans spelled out South Africa's foreign policy priorities in a recent paper written for the Institute for Strategic Studies at the University of Pretoria. The priorities remain unchanged, according to a spokesman of the department.

The priorities listed by Mr Evans also include:

■ The need to consolidate South Africa's position elsewhere, in the world. During the past three years, new frontiers have been explored in the Far East, South East Asia and the Middle East. Missions were

opened in countries such as Thailand, Turkey, South Korea, China, Singapore and Eastern Europe, while channels of dialogue were established with Malaysia, Indonesia, India, Pakistan, Mexico, Venezuela and countries in the Middle East.

■ The development of a significant role for South Africa in United Nations agencies and in inter-governmental multilateral organisations. In this respect, it is thought that South Africa, as the major economic power on the African continent, should be playing a role in organisations such as the UN Food and Agriculture Organisation, the World Health Organisation and other technical agencies.

On the question of violence and South Africa's image abroad, Mr Evans warned that the "devastatingly negative impact" of images of plunder, burning and atrocities should not be underestimated.

"Indeed, the perpetrators of mayhem cause us to pay an inordinately high price: they gamble with the future of South Africa," he said.

Violence was depleting both local and international confidence in the ability of the forces of moderation to triumph.

On South Africa's new role in Southern Africa, the foreign affairs department spokesman said yesterday changing political circumstances had brought new opportunities for co-operation and stabilisation of the region. Opportunities were also increasingly opening up to promote tri-

lateral co-operation programmes.

The International Monetary Fund (IMF) and the World Bank were assisting a number of countries in the region with economic rehabilitation programmes. Although South Africa supported these initiatives, it could not as yet become directly involved, but would shortly be in a position to do so.

"Regional stabilisation is an absolute priority," the spokesman said.

Certain preparations were being made for South Africa's future role in the UN and its agencies.

Although future policy positions on important local and global issues would have to await the installation of a new government in South Africa, the continuing normalisation of this country's relations with the world community was gradually opening the way to more open interaction with the UN.

"This, in turn, is also enabling us progressively to align ourselves with international thinking and norms in respect of important world issues."

The spokesman said South Africa ceased paying its dues to the UN when its participation in General Assembly proceedings was terminated in 1974. Sufficient provision for the annual contribution expected from South Africa to the UN's general budget and its peacekeeping operations would have to be made.

Other government departments had also been alerted about provisions for South Africa's participation in the UN's technical agencies.

Star 24 Feb 1993

Case against ET builds up

THE Attorney-General of the Transvaal has received a dossier on the possible prosecution of Afrikaner Weerstandsbeweging leader Eugene Terre-Blanche. A case against TerreBlanche is pending after his refusal to testify before the Goldstone Commission inquiry into the invasion of the World Trade Centre. The A-G's office said it was possible more statements would be received. — Sapa

(25)
(304A)

Rightwing threat is for real

CIR 2517193

By SIPHO KHUMALO

HAVE you ever wondered what the twin brother of Afrikaner Volksfront leader Gen Constand Viljoen thinks about his brother's politics?

Prof Braam Viljoen, the liberal twin brother of former SADF idol Constand, believes his brother's organisation is a dangerous outfit which could derail multiparty talks.

He says the future of this country will depend on an understanding between the Afrikaner rightwing and the ANC.

Braam Viljoen, who is a manager of the Northern Transvaal Dispute Resolution Committee, was addressing the Institute for a Democratic Alternative for South Africa (Idasa) in Durban on the threat posed by the rightwing to the transformation process.

He warned that the rightwing's

steady growth had eroded the support base of President FW de Klerk.

"There is just no hope of the NP regaining the ground they have lost to the rightwing. They (rightwing) may, in fact, end up representing the majority of whites in the country," said Viljoen. (304A)

He said the rightwing had in the past been a loose arrangement of groups. (344)

These groups were at times sworn enemies with no common view on the future of the Afrikaner nation.

"But the emergence of the Committee of Generals provided all these groups with a central planning institution. Now we see some rallying of ideas," he said.

He said he saw "alarming aspects working and masterminding behind the scenes". The rightwing

had also forged strong international links with anti-communist movements.

Viljoen said that after the CP was defeated in the last referendum they developed "backs against the wall" syndrome which meant anything could be expected from them.

"They do not see anything coming for them from Kempton Park and they are hoping that bilaterals with the ANC could produce something for them," he said.

He warned that if the CP did not gain recognition of some kind they could go for irrational violence.

However, he did not see any viable homeland option for Afrikaners.

"Personally, I would like to see top Afrikaner leadership and the ANC meeting to define their concepts of freedom."

Apla to snipe at TEC?

By MOSES MAMAILA

THE Azanian People's Liberation Army (Apla) will continue with its armed activities even after the installation of the much-talked-about Transitional Executive Council.

In fact, Apla would attack the TEC.

This was told to City Press this week by Apla commander Sabelo Phama.

Speaking from Dar-es-Salaam, Phama said Apla would engage the TEC in combat, saying the TEC would merely serve as an advisory council to an "illegitimate regime".

"The TEC is to be an advisory body which will take us nowhere," he said, adding that the armed struggle would continue even after the "reactionary" body had been established.

Would this mean Apla would defy the PAC which is participating in multiparty negotiations aimed at creating the TEC?

Phama said: "As far as I know the PAC is opposed to the concept of the TEC."

He added Apla wanted the establishment of a transitional authority that would control all armed formations in SA.

He said his army would "abandon the bullet after securing the ballot".

Phama said his cadres on the ground were equipped with RPG's (Rocket Propelled Grenades), among other

weapons.

However, he would neither confirm nor deny the claims made by an anonymous caller to a Johannesburg newspaper.

The caller claimed Apla operatives had attacked a police vehicle in the East Rand last week.

A policeman was killed and a journalist wounded in the attack.

The caller also claimed that a missile which hit Thokozani Hostel was aimed at the police.

Phama said: "What I can tell you is that we have instructed our soldiers not to make claims of responsibility to the police stations and the media.

"Rightwing elements and common criminals exploited the situation to give wrong information."

Phama said the agreement between the progressive police union, Popercu, and Apla "still stands".

He said that according to the agreement only Popercu members would not be targeted by Apla. The deal did not cover all black policemen.

"Those black cops who are not members of Popercu are not covered in terms of the agreement," he said. However, he insisted that Apla did not distinguish its targets along racial lines.

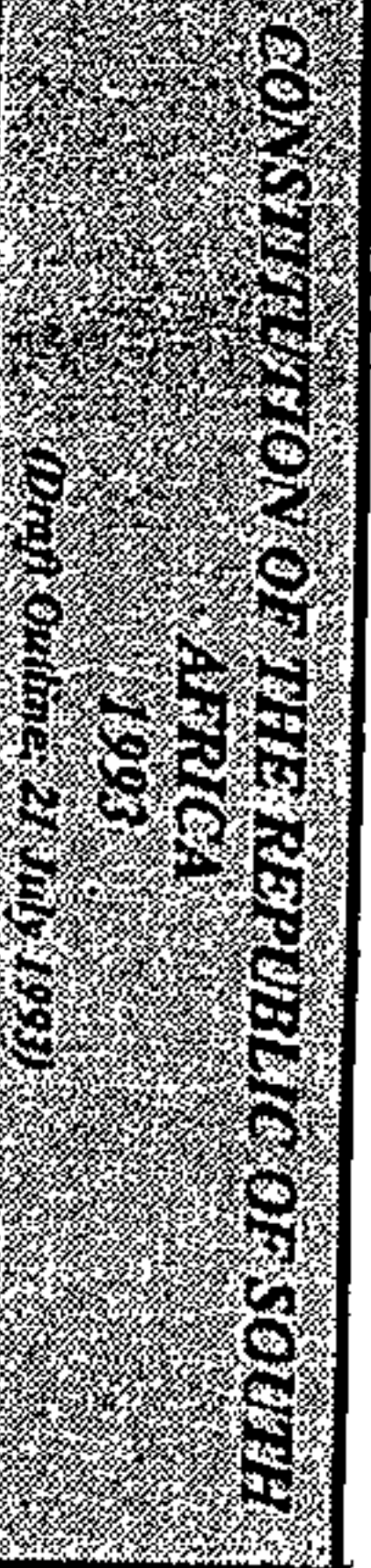
He was unable to explain how Apla gunmen would be able to tell Popercu members apart from the rest.

He lashed out at some "elements" in the media who wanted to reduce the "legitimate" struggle by Apla to a racist confrontation between black and white.

CIPRESS 25/7/93

Negotiators prepare to debate draft constitution

SA's WEEK OF RECKONING



● CRUCIAL DOCUMENT ... the cover of SA's draft constitution

STWED 25/7/93

TOP AUTHOR'S DAUGHTER TELLS HOW SHE WAS REJECTED BY HER FATHER



Uproar as Nazi film is 'banned' in SA

By JOCELYN MAKER
A VICIOUSLY anti-Semitic film made by the Nazis 53 years ago has been withdrawn from a film festival due to pressure from the Jewish Board of Deputies. *Jud Süss*, the story of a rapacious Jewish tax man in 18th century Germany, may be shown only under special conditions imposed by the custodians, the FW Murnau Foundation. The film was due to be screened in Johannesburg on Thursday night at a festival organised by the Weekly Mail and the Anti-Censorship Action Group. But this week the foundation



THE main outlines of a new South African democracy will emerge this week in a series of documents to be tabled at the World Trade Centre.

The timetable of the country's week of reckoning is:
On **MONDAY**, shortly after midday, a draft of the country's first democratic constitution will be tabled.
On **WEDNESDAY**, the focus shifts to ways to eliminate violence before, during and after elections.
On **THURSDAY**, a crucial debate opens on the first stage of joint rule, and negotiators will receive a report outlining the shape of the new South Africa.
On **FRIDAY**, delegates will be asked to adopt a bill of human rights for all citizens.
Delegates have less than three weeks to secure agreement on outstanding matters if they are to allow time for legislation to be drafted for submission to Parliament on September 13.

The feverish rush to meet this deadline could be seen yesterday when the commission charged with drawing the new regional map of South Africa closed itself in the negotiating council chamber for more than 12 hours in an attempt to finalise its first report.
The commission expects to complete this tonight after again working throughout the day without a break.

By EDYTH BULBRING,
CLAIRE ROBERTSON
and NORMAN WEST

The TEC's sub-council on law and order will be empowered to monitor all police activity, while another sub-council on finance will have input in next year's budget.

Impasse
Discussions on the powers of a sub-council on

SA's big week of reckoning

From Page 1

ments — will be established.

The French government has indicated it would be eager to assist in the training of a peacekeeping force once a TEC is in place.

There is also agreement that the state will provide pensions for members of the liberation armies.

The committee of experts dealing with violence has been instructed to draw up structures for a peace corps as one of the ways of eliminating violence. (30/4/93)

The committee dealing with the demarcation of regions is likely to propose between seven and nine regions. Each will have its own legislature.

Concern was expressed at a two-day government *bosberaad* this week that the draft constitution might not go far enough to address the IFP's demands for strong regional government, or those of the Conservative Party, which has also walked out of talks.

Unhappiness was also expressed with the lack of definition on the question of power-sharing in a government of national unity.

The ANC's national working committee meeting on Thursday also raised certain problems with the draft constitution. Its concerns centred on the issues of regional constitutions and the structuring of the constitution-making body.

One negotiator said yesterday: "All political parties are going to have problems with certain aspects of the constitution, but we all need to consider what is in the best interests of the country — not a particular political party."

On Thursday, a crucial debate opens on the first stage of joint rule, and negotiators will receive a report outlining the shape of the new South Africa.

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The commission expects to complete this tonight after again working throughout the day without a break.

Impasse

But while talks steam ahead, major problems loom with Inkatha, which has refused to be present for the historic tabling of the draft constitution tomorrow because its concerns about the manner in which decisions are taken by negotiators have been ignored.

"If we are pooh-poohed on matters of fundamental importance because we are not in the majority, there is no point in being there," said IFP chairman Frank Mdlalose. "Unless we shift from head-counting, we can't go back."

He added, however, that Inkatha would continue to hold bilateral talks with the various parties in an attempt to breach the impasse.

The draft constitution will occupy the lion's share of debating time this week. Copies of the document have been circulated, but the press has been forbidden from writing about it.

The key issues which the interim constitution will have to address are power-sharing, the separation of powers between national and regional governments and Inkatha's demand that regions be allowed to draw up their own constitutions.

As yet, little clarity has emerged on how power-sharing — agreed to in principle by the main parties — will work in practice, although parties will have representation in the cabinet in proportion to the number of votes they receive in elections.

President FW de Klerk has proposed that the leaders of the main parties serve on an "inner-cabinet".

Decisions

The ANC wants the leader of the largest party to serve as president, the leader of the second largest party as president of the Senate and the leader of the third largest party as vice-president.

There are also proposals that the Cabinet of National Unity should only make decisions with a two-thirds majority on certain important issues, and a simple majority on others.

More clarity exists on the proposed Transitional Executive Council — a body made up of all the participating parties at Codesa — which is set to come into being in September.

It will be empowered to

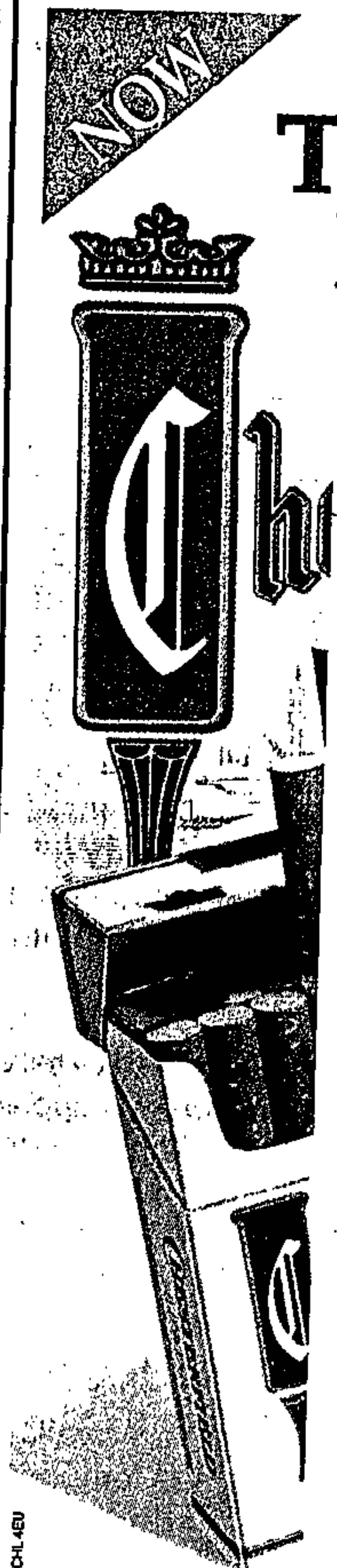
By EDYTH BULBRING,
CLAIRE ROBERTSON
and NORMAN WEST

prevent the government and any homeland administration from acting in a manner that prejudices other parties in the run-up to the elections.

The TEC's sub-council on law and order will be empowered to monitor all police activity, while another sub-council on finance will have input in next year's budget.

Discussions on the powers of a sub-council on defence are continuing, but the SADF and ANC have agreed that a 10 000-strong peacekeeping force — comprising soldiers from the SADF, homeland armies and liberation move-

To Page 2



CUL 4EU

Made in South Africa by the successors

Glimpse of new SA as draft is unwrapped

SITimes (Cimetro) 25/7/93

SOUTH AFRICA will take a giant constitutional step forward tomorrow with the unwrapping of the country's draft constitution.

The document will pave the way for a bicameral parliament to replace the tricameral system in place since 1983. (304A)

Though the details of the draft constitution, prepared by the Technical Committee on Constitutional Issues, are under strict embargo until tomorrow afternoon, constitutional principles have been previously agreed to.

These provide for the establishment of one sovereign state; democratic principles and common South African citizenship.

Senate

The controversial ethnic-based tricameral parliament, which excluded the majority of African citizens, will now finally be done away with.

It will be replaced by a two-chamber parliament consisting of 400 members elected according to the system of proportional representation on national and regional party lists and a senate composed of ten members from each regional state.

There is concern in government circles that the draft constitution may not go far enough to address the demands for strong regional government of KwaZulu Chief Minister and leader of the IFP, Dr Mangosuthu Buthelezi.

It is also unlikely that the Conservative Party, which seeks to establish a sovereign and independent "Volkstaat" with citizenship granted only to Afrikaners, will endorse the draft constitution.

By NORMAN WEST
Political Reporter

A Volkstaat would clash with constitutional principles already agreed to and could lead to "confederalism" which contradicts the concept of federalism fa-

voured by the majority of participants in the negotiating council.

The further argument against the Volkstaat is that those Afrikaners and non-Afrikaners not actually living within its boundaries would be "aliens" and disenfranchised, say sources.

ST. Louis
**De Klerk's vote
of confidence**
25/7/93

AGREEMENTS being finalised at multi-party talks would lead to the establishment of strong regional governments with original powers that would ensure the decentralisation of political power, President FW de Klerk said yesterday.

In an address at the official handing over of the colour to the Vaalrivier Regiment in Ver-eeniging yesterday, Mr de Klerk said a bill of rights and a constitutional court would be established, and a government of national unity, composed of "all parties with significant support", would rule South Africa for five years. *(204A)*

STimes (Cimetro)
25-1-93
**PAC 'definitely'
set to fight election**

By **NORMAN WEST**, Political Reporter

THE Pan Africanist Congress will "definitely" contest the coming elections, irrespective of what is revealed tomorrow when the new draft constitution for the country is unwrapped, says publicity secretary Mr. Barney Desai. (4A) (304A)

The PAC has been on a collision course with the government ever since the controversial arrests of senior PAC officials and the confiscation of certain important PAC documents in May.

Since then the PAC has restated its demand for a "neutral venue and a neutral chairman" to discuss final details of a new constitutional deal. This cast doubt on whether the PAC would participate in the coming elections.

Mr Desai has now for the first time confirmed that the PAC will contest the elections.

"Otherwise, we would be misleading the people and acting contrary to their aspirations," he said.

Mr Desai, one of PAC's chief negotiators and strategists, said contrary to published results of "jaundiced" polls the PAC was experiencing "phenomenal" growth.

Next Saturday, the organisation's national president, Mr Clarence Makwetu, will launch the PAC's election campaign at a rally at the Athlone Stadium.

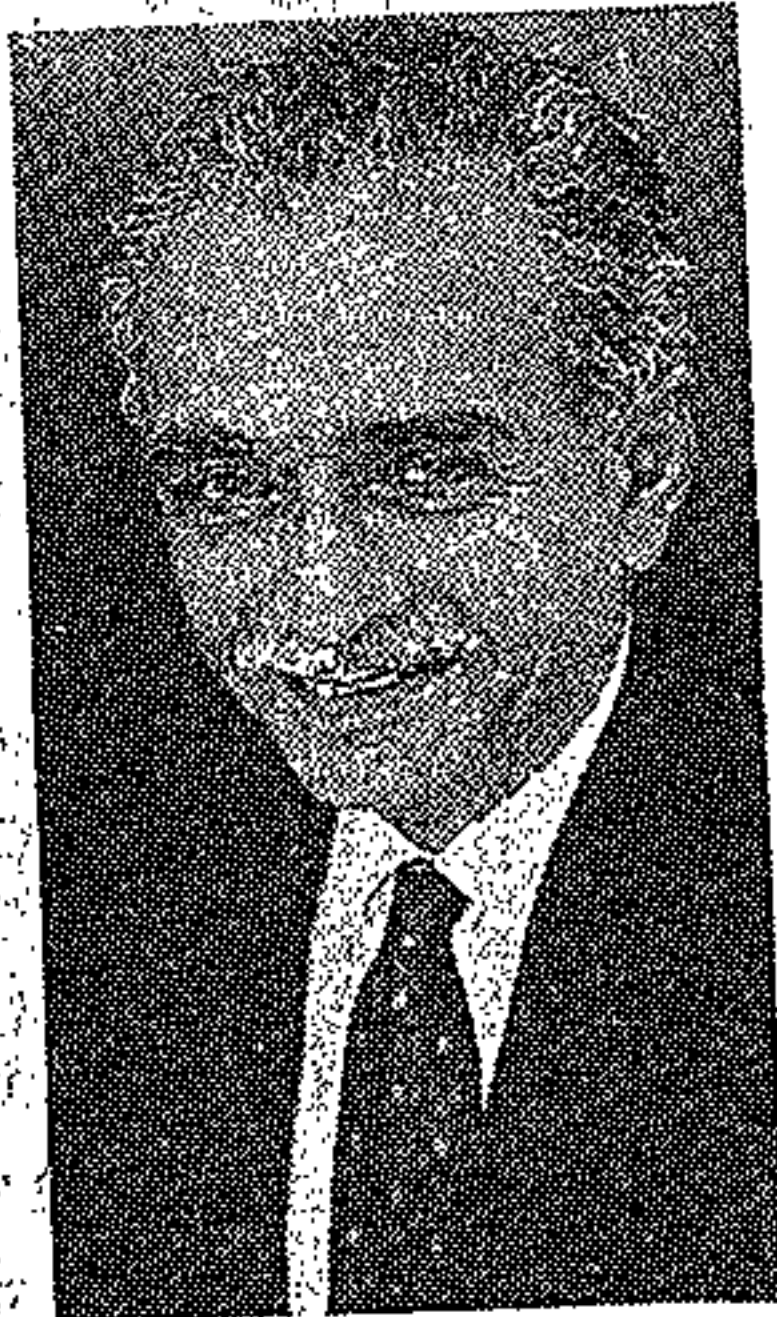
Township rallies would follow this.

He said the PAC did not aim to share power in any form of coalition "because powersharing inhibits reconstruction by vested interests".

He said it was a known fact that the economy of South Africa was controlled by a minority of the population and that blacks possessed only two per cent of the wealth of the country and whites the rest.

He said it was not the PAC's policy to confront the private sector "in an antagonistic way".

But the PAC could not just leave socio-economic solutions to market forces.



BARNEY DESAI

PAC will accept result if poll is 'free and fair'

ARC 26/7/93

3049

The Argus Political Correspondent MICHAEL MORRIS asks the Pan Africanist Congress about its prospects for the April election.

THE Pan Africanist Congress (PAC) would accept the result of "genuine" free and fair elections, but had no faith in a ballot overseen by the present State establishment, according to national organiser Mr Maxwell Nemadzivhanani.

The PAC would be unlikely to take part in next year's elections if it meant "betraying the demand of the masses for a constituent assembly".

Mr Nemadzivhanani is in Cape Town to help arrange the movement's July 31 rally at the Athlone stadium at which a national campaign to oppose the transitional executive council and elections for an interim government will be launched.

He acknowledged that while the PAC was taking part in the talks process at Kempton Park, it was constantly reviewing its role to ensure this was in accord with "the interests of the African people".

The movement was concentrating its efforts on developing a national campaign to demand internationally supervised elections for a constituent assembly.



Mr Maxwell Nemadzivhanani ... PAC attracting defectors from other parties.

Admitting that he was "biased", Mr Nemadzivhanani said he was confident the PAC would "not come second to any party" in free and fair elections supervised by the international community.

But if it did not win under these circumstances, it would abide by the result.

He said the PAC had no

confidence in elections in which the SADF and SAP remained the law and order instruments of the State "because they will make sure we do not win".

PAC president Mr Clarence Makwetu would launch a national campaign at the Athlone stadium on Saturday to mobilise support for the demand for internationally supervised elections for a constituent assembly, and for the rejection of the TEC and elections for interim government.

There would be further rallies next month in Umtata, Port Elizabeth and East London.

Mr Nemadzivhanani said he had encountered growing support in the Western Cape for the call for a constituent assembly.

PAC recruitment — particularly of defectors from other parties — was also high in this region, and in the Border and Transkei.

"We don't release figures of our membership for strategic reasons, but I can tell you there has been an upsurge in membership, nationally."

Draft constitution unveiled today

Sowetan 26/7/93
304A

By Ismail Lagardien
Political Correspondent

AN interim new constitution for South Africa will be tabled in the Negotiating Council today and the Inkatha Freedom Party and Conservative Party will not be there.

The interim constitution, which, it is hoped, will lure the IFP and CP back to negotiations, was handed out to parties for scrutiny last Thursday. It will be made public today.

The IFP's Mr Walter Fellgate refused to comment on the constitution.

The IFP has said that if it was satisfied with the interim constitution

it would return to talks.

This was one of three conditions put forward by the IFP. Another was that it should be given veto powers over any decisions made (through sufficient consensus) in negotiations.

The CP would also make its position known today.

The ANC and Government would not be drawn on their views. Both seemed satisfied with progress in talks as symbolised by the constitution.

The Democratic Party's Mr Ken Andrew was encouraged by the document and said while it "needed tightening up" it should inspire political parties to work on perfecting it.

BOOKINGS NOW OPEN

Sowetan
Strong regions 26/7/93

STRONG regional governments with original powers to ensure the decentralisation of power is one of the agreements being finalised at multiparty talks, State President FW de Klerk said on Saturday.

Addressing the Vaalrivier Regiment at Vereeniging, where he presented their unit colours, De Klerk gave the assurance that the Government would not allow unrest to spill over into anarchy. (3049)

Deadline for own affairs now March

(304A) CT 26/7/93

Political Staff

JOHANNESBURG. — Another deadline for the phasing out of own affairs departments has slipped by and a new one set — for just a month before elections are due, government sources have confirmed.

The failure to merge the remaining own affairs departments into their general affairs counterparts contradicts the deadlines set by President F W de Klerk in his opening of parliament speech this year.

Mr De Klerk set an April 1 deadline for the merger of three own affairs departments — agriculture, health and local government — which was met.

However, the much bigger departments of welfare, housing and education, which it was hoped would be merged or partially merged by July 1, will now only be merged by the end of March, a Commission for Administration spokesman has confirmed.

According to government sources, the difficulties involved in merging these large departments were more substantial than was anticipated.

Delays in the negotiations process also contributed to the need for more

time, they said.

The main problem encountered was that merging the departments would require the standardisation of services.

For example, some housing benefits of the House of Representatives are more generous than those of general affairs.

The mergers have also been strongly opposed by public servants' organisations, press reports say.

Democratic Party leader Dr Zach de Beer said the delays could hamper a new government.

The own affairs dispensation was the "baggage of apartheid" which ought to have been scrapped by the time the new government took over, he said.

The delays in the mergers process mirrored the larger problem of how to reincorporate the TBVC states, which was also not receiving sufficient attention by enough government attention.

There was no evidence that civil servants themselves were dragging their feet, said Dr De Beer.

"It seems the politicians have retarded the process because they are scared of treading on the toes of the civil servants."

High noon as draft constitution set to be unveiled

3044

Aug 26/73

JOHANNESBURG — The first draft of South Africa's new constitution, drawn up for the transition phase, will be unveiled at democracy talks at Kempton Park today.

However, South Africa faces a political showdown as the Concerned South Africans Group (Cosag), led by the Inkatha Freedom Party, is expected to reject the draft constitution.

IFP leaders are meeting this morning to prepare an official response to the document but there

were clear indications at the weekend they would reject it.

Cosag is said to be considering holding a summit of its leaders, possibly within the next seven to ten days, when the formation of a "breakaway constitutional convention" could be announced.

IFP leaders received a mandate at Inkatha's national conference last weekend to start a breakaway convention as a last political option.

Three Cosag members, the IFP, the KwaZulu Government and the

Conservative Party, have already suspended their participation at the Kempton Park talks.

The remaining Cosag members at the talks, Ciskei, Bophuthatswana and the Afrikaner Volksunie, have refused to discuss constitutional issues until the issue of decision-making is revised.

Cosag's political opponents in the 26-party negotiating council accuse them of seeking a veto right, a charge which has been denied.

What is happening at the negoti-

ating table does not augur well for peace and reconciliation in this country," IFP president Mangosuthu Buthelezi told an estimated 50 000 Zulus summoned to an "imbizo", or national gathering of Zulus, called by Zulu King Goodwill Zwelithini near Soweto yesterday.

Both the Zulu king and Chief Buthelezi, who spoke in his capacity as KwaZulu chief minister, delivered militant speeches. — Sapa.

● Details of the draft constitution in today's late final edition.

NEWS FEATURE *Breakthrough registered in multiparty talks at Kempton Park last week*

New SA gradually takes shape

Sowetan 26/7/93

By Ismail Lagardien
Political Correspondent

■ FINER POINTS Negotiators busy

knocking the loose ends together (204A)

THE BOLTS AND NUTS are falling into place at the World Trade Centre and in chambers elsewhere in the country where negotiations are being conducted.

These, however, have unfortunately been overshadowed in the media by the political games that are being played by South Africa's politicians.

Various successes, big and small, were registered on many levels of negotiation last week.

Among these were:

● A taxi crisis in Bethal was resolved by local white businessmen;

● A new draft interim constitution for the country was distributed among political parties and will be made public today;

● Draft legislation for an independent broadcasting authority was tabled and debated in the Negotiating Council;

● A draft charter of fundamental rights during the transition was tabled and debated;

● Draft legislation for the independent electoral commission was tabled and debated;

● It was revealed that the mechanisms were in place for the

law and protection of the law;

● The right to life, respect for and protection of dignity;

● Freedom and security of the person (no person can be detained without trial);

● Protection from forced labour;

● The right to privacy, freedom of conscience, religion, thought, belief and opinion;

● Freedom of expression, association, movement; and

● The right to assemble and demonstrate with others peacefully and unarmed; residence; and fair access to courts.

Relevant factors

The Democratic Party opposed, quite persistently, a clause which states that

"no person shall be removed from his or her home, except by order of a court of law after taking account of all relevant factors including the availability of alternative accommodation and the lawfulness of the occupation".

The DP believes this clause would destroy property rights.

"The eviction clause provides, correctly, that no person shall be re-

moved from his or her home except by order of a court of law.

"This we wholeheartedly support.

The clause goes on to say that the court must take into account all relevant factors, including the availability of appropriate alternative accommodation and the lawfulness of the occupation."

This, the DP feels, is "not sensible" as it would harm the very people it is meant to help.

Accommodation shortage

"We all know that there is a desperate shortage of accommodation.

"If the courts were to decide that in the absence of 'appropriate' alternative accommodation, no tenant could be evicted for non-payment of rent, no squatter could be removed from private (or public) property, or that people who fail to pay their bonds need not move, who would let property to tenants, who would build new flats and who would lend money to potential buyers?"

The debate on the IEC was also important in that it could become a permanent feature of South Africa,

beyond the transition and signals the first actual shedding of power by the National Party.

All future elections will, once the Act is passed, be monitored by the commission.

In terms of recommendations by the Council (to the relevant technical committee) the IEC should be responsible for the "conduct, supervision, monitoring and adjudications of elections for the national parliament and/or a constituent assembly".

The Council made various other recom-

mendations, on matters such as the role of the police and of international monitors in the election, to the technical committee. The technical committee will now redraft the IEC Act for a third time after which it is expected to go to Parliament in September to be legislated.

Debates and the various reports tabled at the Negotiating Council by appointed technical committees are the bolts and nuts of restructuring South Africa.

Fundamental rights

The contents (rights and freedoms) in the chapter on fundamental rights and freedoms will be enforceable and the provisions thereof will, when passed by Parliament in September, bind all the branches of government as well as all statutory bodies and functions.

South Africa will, from that point on, have a new constitution in terms of which the country will be governed by the proposed Interim Government of National Unity and Reconstruction.

South Africa will for the first time, too, have a Bill of Rights. This Bill of Rights will, among others, entrench:

● Equality before the

integration of all armed formations in the country, including the South African Defence Force and military wings of the ANC, PAC, the TBVC states and AWB; and

● The South African Police announced the opening to civilian scrutiny of police station cells.

These matters are of such importance that they could significantly influence the lives of all South Africans in the run-up to next year's historic election as well as during the proposed five-year phase of "Interim Government of National Unity and Reconstruction" after the poll.

Of particular importance was the sixth progress report of the technical committee on fundamental rights during the transition.

In terms of the current debate, these rights will be contained in a chapter of the new interim constitution.

NP — 'a new party for all moderates'

(304A)

ARG 26/7/93

TOS WENTZEL of The Argus Political Staff monitors phase one of the National Party's election campaign.

THE National Party has launched the first phase of its election campaign with the aim of presenting itself to the electorate as a new party for all moderates, irrespective of ethnicity.

At a time of great political uncertainty and with its ratings among the voters having gone down sharply the party will also try to counter what it regards as harmful and negative perceptions.

As some of its top organisers see it at present the party is facing the daunting task of getting across to its traditional supporters the fact that the country is moving into "a totally new political ball game".

This is against the background of deep concern among these supporters that the party is no longer in full control and that the government is "soft" on the ANC.

The message the party will be trying to get across will be that what is taking place is an inevitable move away from white political domination to negotiations and a sharing of power among all the race groups.

It will point out that this is not all that new.

The first move away



Mr Olaus van Zyl ... first prize would be winning a majority or at least 45%.

from the long period of white political domination to a form of power sharing started with the inclusion of coloured people and Indians in the tricameral parliament from 1983. In 1990 the move towards power sharing among all race groups in a new democratic system started.

The appeal to potential supporters will be to enable the National Party to play

as meaningful a role as possible.

As Mr Olaus van Zyl MP, the party's executive director of its election campaign, has put it first prize for the party would be to draw a majority of the overall vote or at least 45 percent.

Second prize would be to get at least a third of the vote which would mean that it would be able to prevent drastic changes in a new constitution.

Third prize would be at least 25 percent which would still enable it to play a meaningful role in an interim government of national unity.

According to the first election strategy document of the Cape National Party the initial aims, apart from presenting the party as moderate, will be to present it as one that cares and that has turned its back on apartheid.

It will also present itself as the party that has the ability and leaders to govern South Africa and one that is worried about people who suffer due to violence.

It will market itself as the party that is seriously addressing these problems and the only alternative to ethnic domination.

It will also come out strongly in favour of a federal system.

Dr Dawie de Villiers, Cape leader of the party, is chairman of its federal election committee. Mr Melt Hamman, MP for Ceres, heads the party's Cape strategy committee.

Mr Hamman said the Cape party would base its organisation largely on its traditional structures especially in white constituencies which had for long been involved in elections.

The party's staff would be increased with the appointment of temporary organisers who would train canvassers.

He was confident that the party would do well in the Cape and that it could even win a majority in the province, although the ANC and PAC had substantial support in the Eastern Cape and Kei areas.

The party was confident of substantial support among coloured people and Indians but there would have to be a special effort to gain black support. Details of this were being kept under wraps at present.

There would be several phases in the campaign.

It's a basis for further negotiations, say Govt and ANC

Two cheers for first draft

By Esther Waugh
Political Correspondent

The Government and the African National Congress have cautiously welcomed the first draft of the Interim Constitution as a basis for further negotiations, while the Inkatha Freedom Party and Conservative Party have rejected it out of hand.

The first draft of a constitutional blueprint for a new South Africa was tabled yesterday at the World Trade Centre in Kempton Park.

Debate on the draft Interim Constitution has been postponed until tomorrow at 1 pm after the Negotiating Council yesterday unanimously resolved to request the IFP, KwaZulu government and CP to return to "participate fully in the debates".

Supporting the resolution, ANC secretary-general Cyril Ramaphosa said it went "a long way in walking the extra mile with the CP and IFP".

Despite the absence of the CP, IFP and KwaZulu government, the Negotiating Council continues today with discussion on a draft Bill for a transitional executive council.

The CP yesterday rejected the draft Interim Constitution as a "recipe for civil war". The document made it impossible for the CP to continue in the negotiations process, party leader Dr Ferdi Hartzenberg said.

Rejecting the draft Interim Constitution, IFP negotiator Walter Feigake indicated that it was highly unlikely his party would return to the Negotiating Council tomorrow.

A debate on the application of sufficient consensus was yesterday postponed until Thursday to allow the

Violence could skew election, says survey
— Page 3

Blueprint for a new SA
— Page 17

IFP to be present. Feigake said the IFP would resort to the Supreme Court for a ruling on the application of sufficient consensus. The IFP would return to the negotiating table only once the issue of sufficient consensus was satisfactorily addressed, he said.

Although his organisation had some concerns about elements of the document, the ANC's Cyril Ramaphosa said the first draft of the Interim Constitution formed a basis "on which negotiations to bring about democracy can now take place in a much more focused way".

"The document can provide the solutions and compromises necessary to reach a political settlement."

The ANC national working committee had met early yesterday morning and would continue discussions in the next two days, after which a thorough response would be issued, he said.

In a joint statement, Constitutional Development Minister Roelf Meyer and National Party chief negotiator Dr Dawie de Villiers said more certainty about the federal aspects of a future constitution should have been included in the draft.

"The proposals in respect of a new regional dispensation, however, do not meet all the requirements of the Government. Accordingly, the Government will make recommendations during the debate for proposals to strengthen these clauses," the statement said.

Democratic Party chairman Ken Andrew said the draft provided a framework to develop a liberal, demo-



cratic and federal system of government.

The DP had two problems with it. Firstly, the deadlock breaking mechanism for the adoption of the constitution provided no incentive for a majority group to compromise. Secondly, the powers and functions of regional governments were inadequate, he said.

The PAC voiced its principal

opposition to an interim Government and Interim Constitution but welcomed a clause providing for the total revision of the Interim Constitution which would leave the constitution-making body "unfettered".

Arthur Heister, Volksunie leader, said the document was not catered for strongly enough in the document. His party

would stay in the negotiations process to influence it in a direction of federalism. The South African Chamber of Business yesterday reacted cautiously to the draft, saying it "has some of the features" would be welcomed by businessmen, who would also want to see deliberations successfully concluded as soon as possible.

Drafting committee... the legal minds who produced the first draft of the Interim Constitution are: (back) Professor George Devenish (University of Natal), Bernard Ngoepe (Pretoria Bar), Dr Francois Venter (Potchefstroom University), and (front) Dikgang Moseneke, SC (Pretoria Bar), Michelle Oliver (legal adviser, Foreign Affairs), Arthur Chaskalson, SC (Legal Resources Centre), and Professor Marinus Wicchers (Unisa).

Picture: Ken Oosterbroek

Star 25/11/93

Violence could skew election, says survey

(304A)

ibod 204
Endemic killing could distort elections in SA and spark a violent backlash, says a survey published yesterday by the Human Sciences Research Council.

Smaller parties, especially the IFP, could suffer most from the violence, said survey director Professor Chris de Kock.

Researchers polled 8 366 black South Africans from March to May.

The results showed the most difficult obstacle for prospective voters was the level of violence.

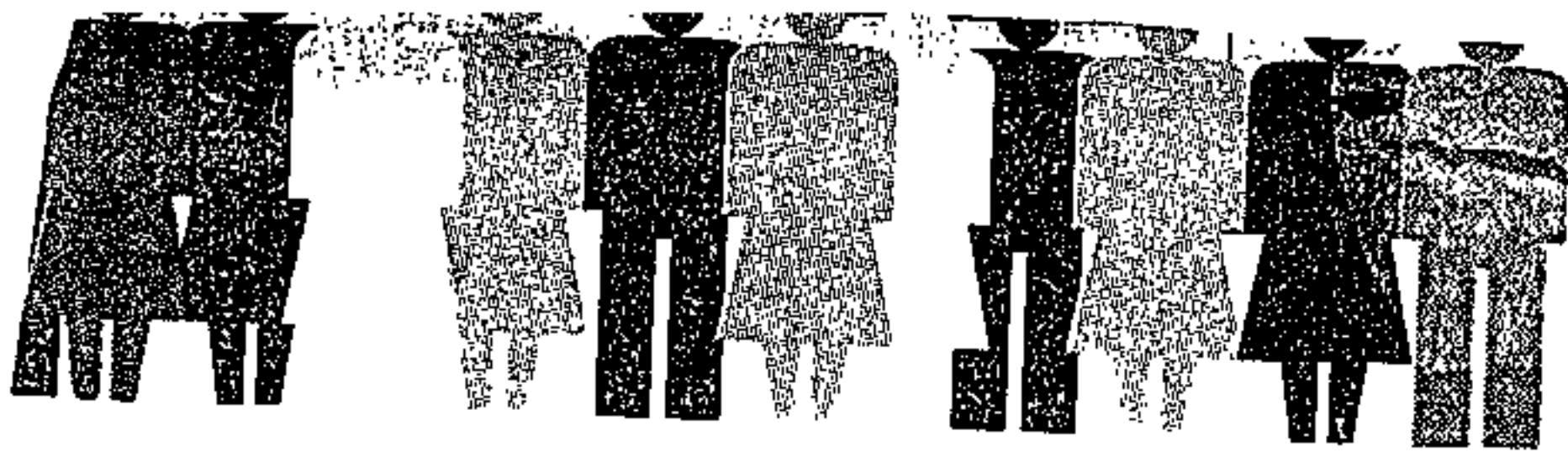
"Supporters of smaller parties will be too scared to vote, or they will vote for the anticipated winning party to obviate the possibility of future dis-

crimination."

For supporters of larger parties, violence would increase the motivation to vote, to secure peace through victory, the survey concluded.

When it came to apportioning blame for the violence, 48 percent named the IFP, compared to 10 percent who blamed the ANC.

● Outraged Cape Town residents yesterday telephoned the police offering rewards for the arrest and conviction of those involved in Sunday's brutal church attack. Public contributions would be added to the R250 000 reward announced by Law and Order Minister Hérnus Kriel. — Sapa-AFP.



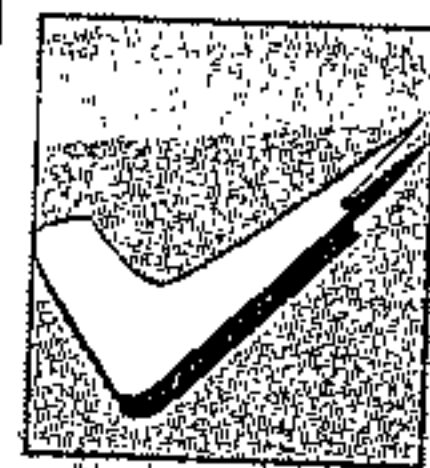
Welfare services.

recommendations on the final number and boundaries of SPRs.

ND ELECTIONS

After adoption of final constitution

NEW REPRESENTATIVE GOVERNMENT



What still has to be decided

- National symbols.
- Official languages.
- Seat of Parliament.
- Boundaries of States/Provinces/Regions.
- Powers and functions of an Executive (Cabinet) comprising all political parties with a specified percentage of seats in the National Assembly.
- Powers, functions and structures of local government.
- Whether reincorporation of the homelands should take place and, if it does, when and on what terms.
- A name for the Constitution-making Body.
- Details of a Transitional Executive Council.



How new Constitution will be adopted

- The final Constitution will be adopted within two years of the first session of Parliament.
- It will be adopted by two-thirds of the Constitution-making Body (CMB).
 1. If this fails, but the constitution is supported by the majority of CMB members, the draft constitution will be referred to a panel of experts, which will give its advice within 30 days.
 2. In the event of the panel not giving its advice within a month or if the draft is not supported by a two-thirds majority in the CMB, a constitution may be accepted by a majority in that body.
 3. Should this happen, a national referendum will be held after the Constitutional Court has certified that the draft is in line with constitutional principles adopted by the multiparty negotiating process.
 4. The referendum question will be acceptance or rejection of the draft constitution.
 5. If it is accepted by 60 percent of the electorate, the draft will become the Constitution of South Africa.
 6. If it is not accepted, Parliament dissolves and a general election is held.
 7. The CMB - comprising the new Parliament and Senate - will then pass the final Constitution within one year by an ordinary majority.



Checks and balances in the Interim Constitution

The draft Interim Constitution is based on submissions made by the 26 groups taking part in the negotiations process. The seven-member Technical Committee on Constitutional Matters formulated constitutional principles based on these submissions.

The principles will also be binding on the elected Constitution-making Body (CMB) drafting the final Constitution.

Several checks and balances are built into the draft constitution, including:

- A Constitutional Court which will certify that the final constitution does not conflict with the constitu-

tional principles.

- The final Constitution will be adopted within two years of the first session of Parliament.

■ Amendments to the constitution have to be passed by a two-thirds majority of the National Assembly and Senate in a joint sitting.

■ Legislation affecting the powers and functions of a particular State/Province/Region has to be approved by a majority of senators of that SPR.

■ If it is not passed by the CMB, a referendum is held. Should 60 percent of the voters oppose the constitution, Parliament will be dissolved and a general election held.



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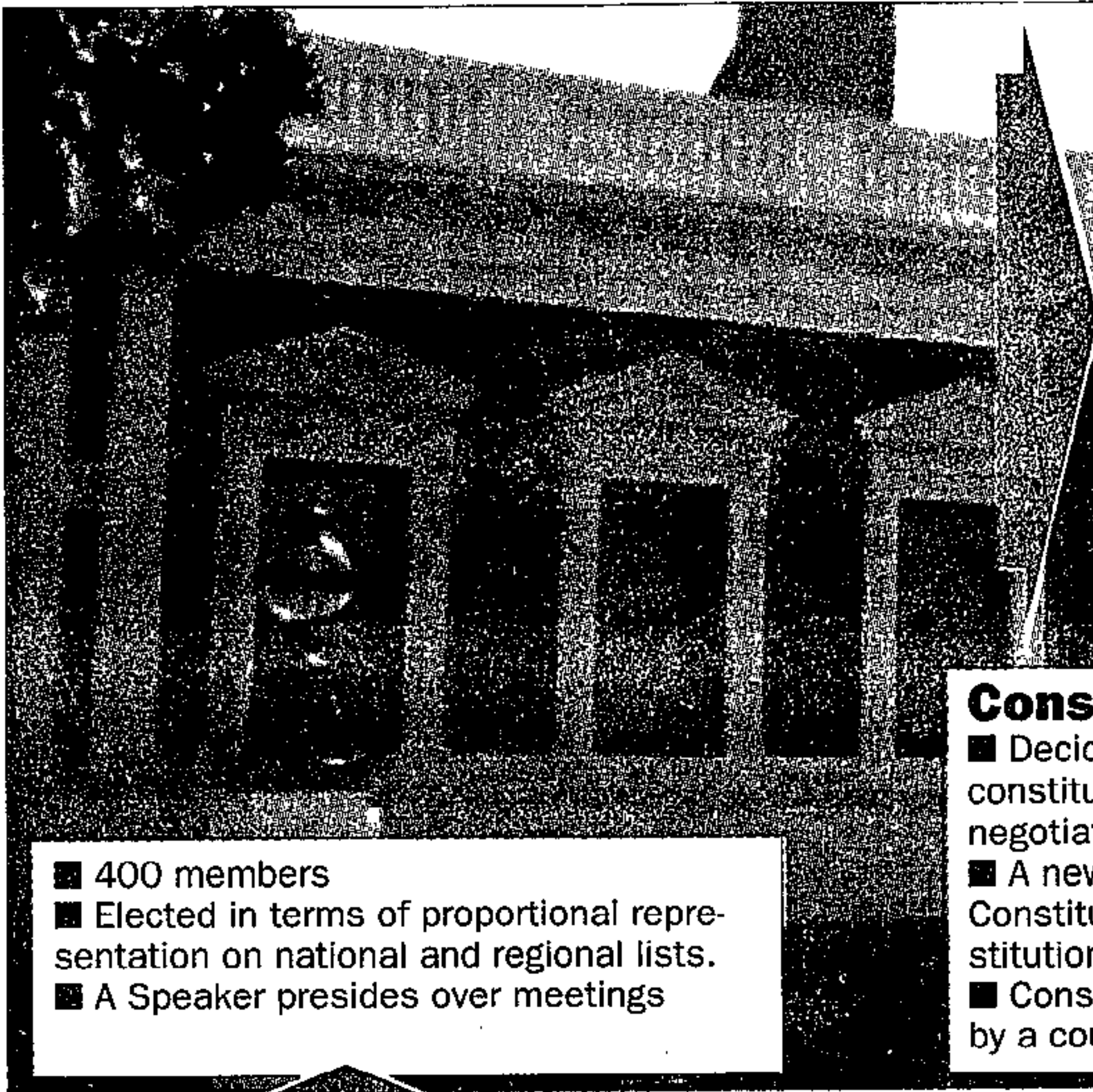
304A

Blueprint for ne

Parliament continues until new Constitution is in force

NATIONAL ASSEMBLY

Constitution-making Body



- Comprises National Assembly and Senate.
- Presided over by President of Senate or by Speaker of NA.
- Shall adopt new Constitution.
- One-third of CMB may petition President of the Senate to refer a constitutional proposal to the Constitutional Court.
- Two-thirds of CMB appoint an independent panel of five constitutional experts to advise it.

- 400 members
- Elected in terms of proportional representation on national and regional lists.
- A Speaker presides over meetings

Constitutional Court

- Decides whether proposal is in conflict with constitutional principles adopted by the multiparty negotiating process.
- A new Constitution will not be in force until Constitutional Court certifies that it is in line with constitutional principles.
- Constitutional Court decisions cannot be overturned by a court of law.

STATES/PROVINCES/REGIONS

- Members are elected in terms of a proportional representation system.
- Number of seats will be determined by dividing the number of votes cast by 50 000.
- The executive will be elected by the SPR government.
- The executive will elect a premier.

Commission on SPR Government

- 10 members
- Advises national and SPR governments.
- Make recommendations on the finalisation of the number and boundaries of SPRs.

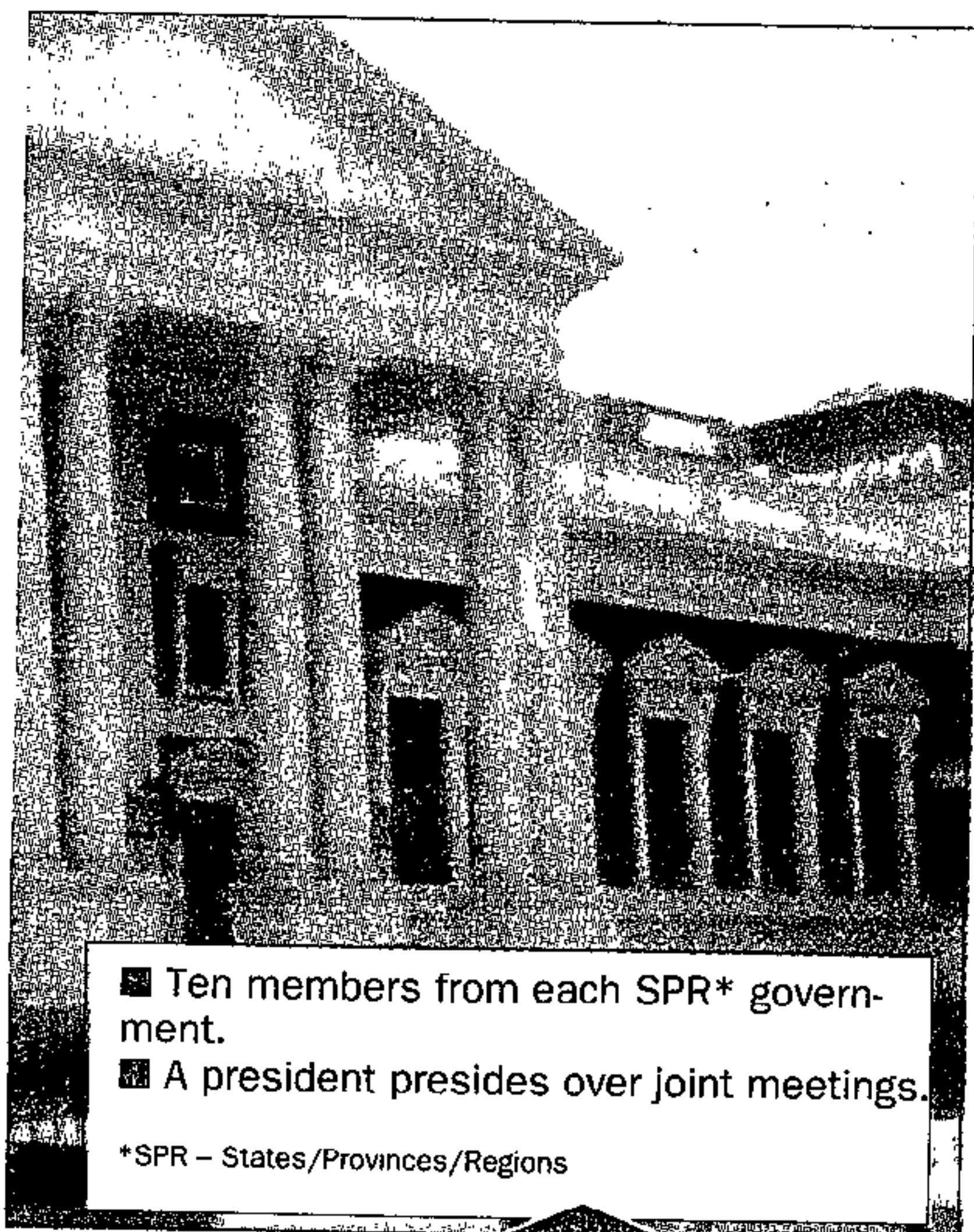
1st democratic elections on April 27 '94 determine national and SPR interim

star 21/7/93

W South Africa

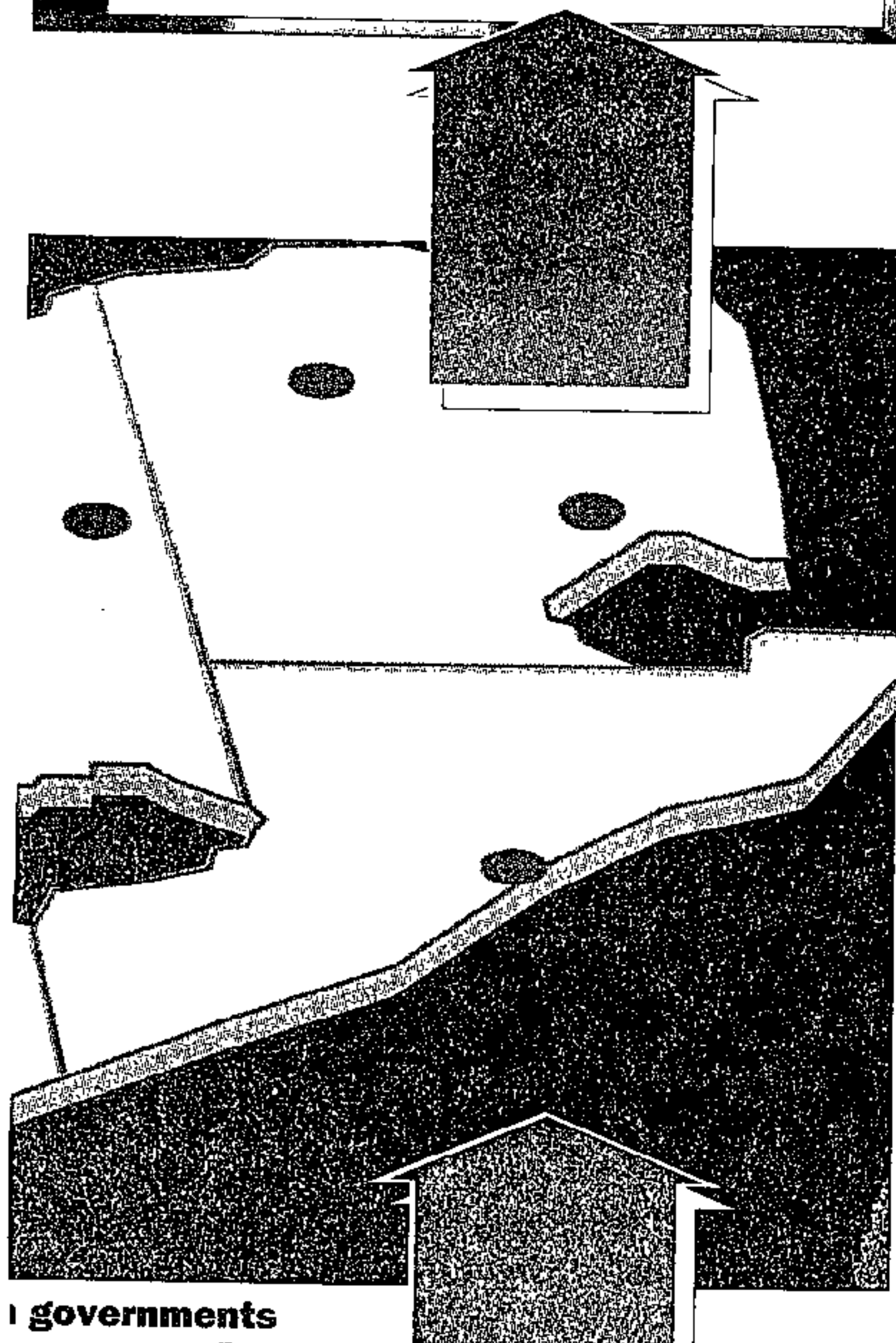
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ENATE



- Ten members from each SPR* government.
- A president presides over joint meetings.

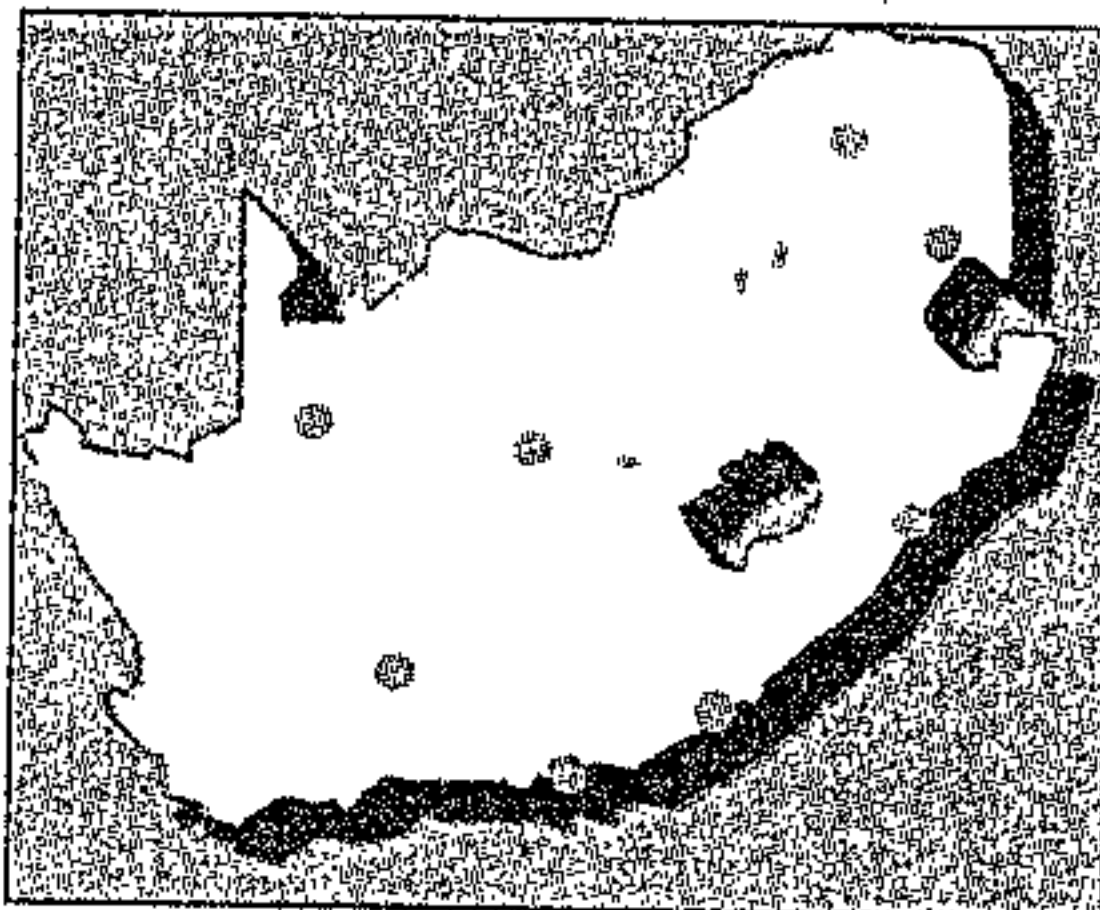
*SPR – States/Provinces/Regions



1 governments

Political Correspondent **ESTHER WAUGH** and Art Director **GAIL IRWIN** explain the nuts and bolts of the draft Interim Constitution which was tabled yesterday in the Negotiating Council.

The Interim Constitution will be enacted after the September session of Parliament. Parts of the Interim Constitution are expected to become operative through proclamation – to pave the way for the first democratic elections. The rest will take effect after the April 27 elections.



How State/Provincial/Regional (SPR) governments will work

■ Members are elected on the basis of proportional representation.

■ The number of seats will be determined by dividing the number of votes cast by 50 000.

■ The executive will be elected by the SPR government and will consist of 10 members.

■ The executive will elect a premier.

■ The legislative and executive powers of each SPR government will be determined by the National Executive after consultations with each SPR executive and after receiving recommendations from the Commission on SPR Government.

■ The SPR's powers will then be approved by the Constitution-making Body (CMB).

■ An SPR government will be allocated powers and functions in the following areas:

- Taxation within the SPR to raise taxes for its purposes.
- Allocation of revenue for financing SPR government and services.
- Local government.
- Town planning.
- Markets and pounds.
- Traffic control.
- Protection services.
- Local policing and law enforcement.

● Housing.

● Education.

● Cultural affairs.

● Traditional authorities and indigenous law.

● Agriculture.

● Fish and game preservation.

● Environmental affairs.

● Tourism.

● Public media.

● Public works.

● Roads.

● Transport.

● Casinos, racing and gambling.

● Language policy and language(s) for official use in the SPR.

■ A Financial and Fiscal Commission will make recommendations to the Assembly about "equitable fiscal and financial allocations" to the SPRs from revenue collected nationally. Economic disparities between SPRs and developmental needs will be taken into account.

■ Laws passed by SPR governments may not conflict with those passed by Parliament.

■ An SPR government may adopt an SPR constitution passed by a two-thirds majority. It may not conflict with the constitutional principles adopted by the multiparty negotiations process.

■ However, an SPR constitution adopted before a final constitution has been adopted by the CMB shall be approved by a majority of two-thirds of CMB members.

■ A 10-member Commission on SPR Government will be appointed to advise national and SPR governments.

■ The commission will make recom-



Step by step to a democratic South Africa

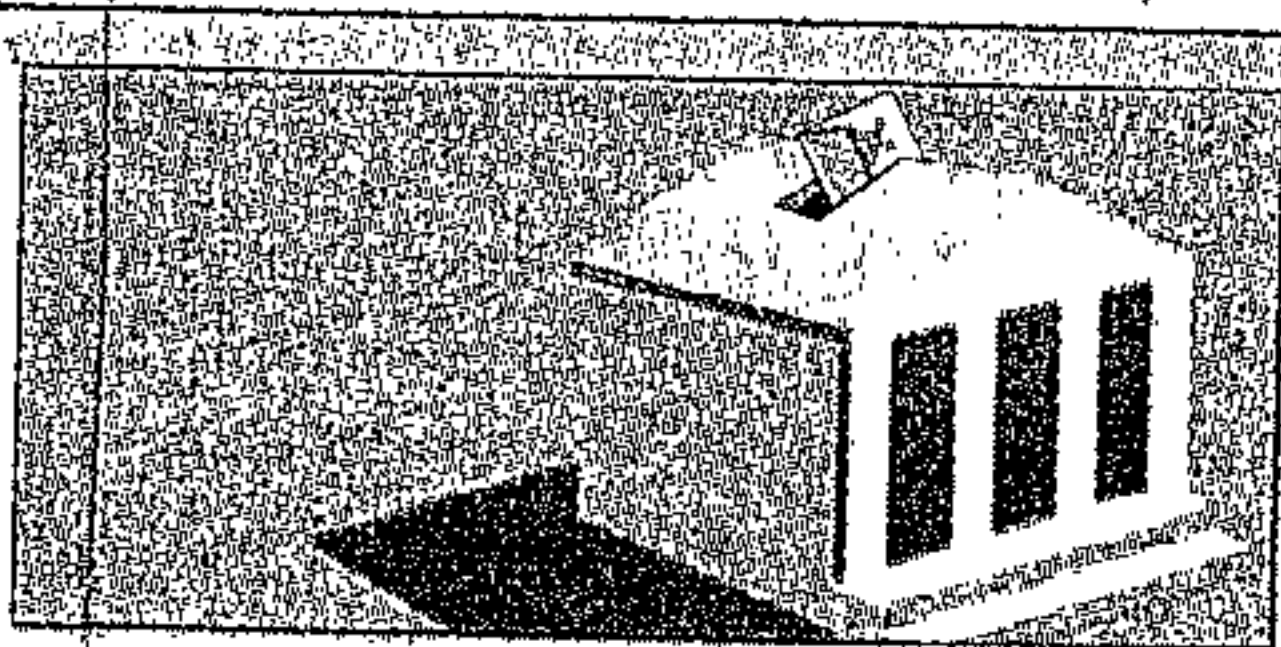
± September '93 to April 27 '94

Transitional Executive Council with various sub-councils ensuring equality for all parties in the run-up to the first democratic elections.

April 27
ELECTIONS

Maximum 2 years to adopt final Constitution

Interim Government of National Unity
Parliament: (National Assembly and Senate) drafts final Constitution
Regional governments



How laws are passed



Ordinary legislation

- Passed by majority of total number of members of National Assembly and Senate.
- Exceptions: Those relating to finance, specified SPR matters and constitutional amendments.
- 1 A Bill passed by one house but rejected by the second is referred to a joint committee comprising members of all parliamentary parties.
- 2 Joint committee reports on proposed amendments to the Bill.
- 3 Bill referred to a joint sitting of NA and Senate.
- 4 Decision taken by majority of NA and Senate.



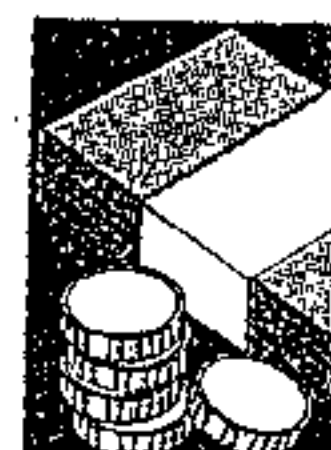
Bills on SPR matters

- Legislation on the exercise of power and functions of regional governments will be approved by NA and Senate.
- Legislation affecting a specific region will be approved by the majority of the Senate of the region.



Amendments to Constitution

- Shall be passed by a two-thirds majority of NA and Senate in a joint sitting.
- No amendment may detract from the constitutional principles adopted by the multiparty negotiating process.

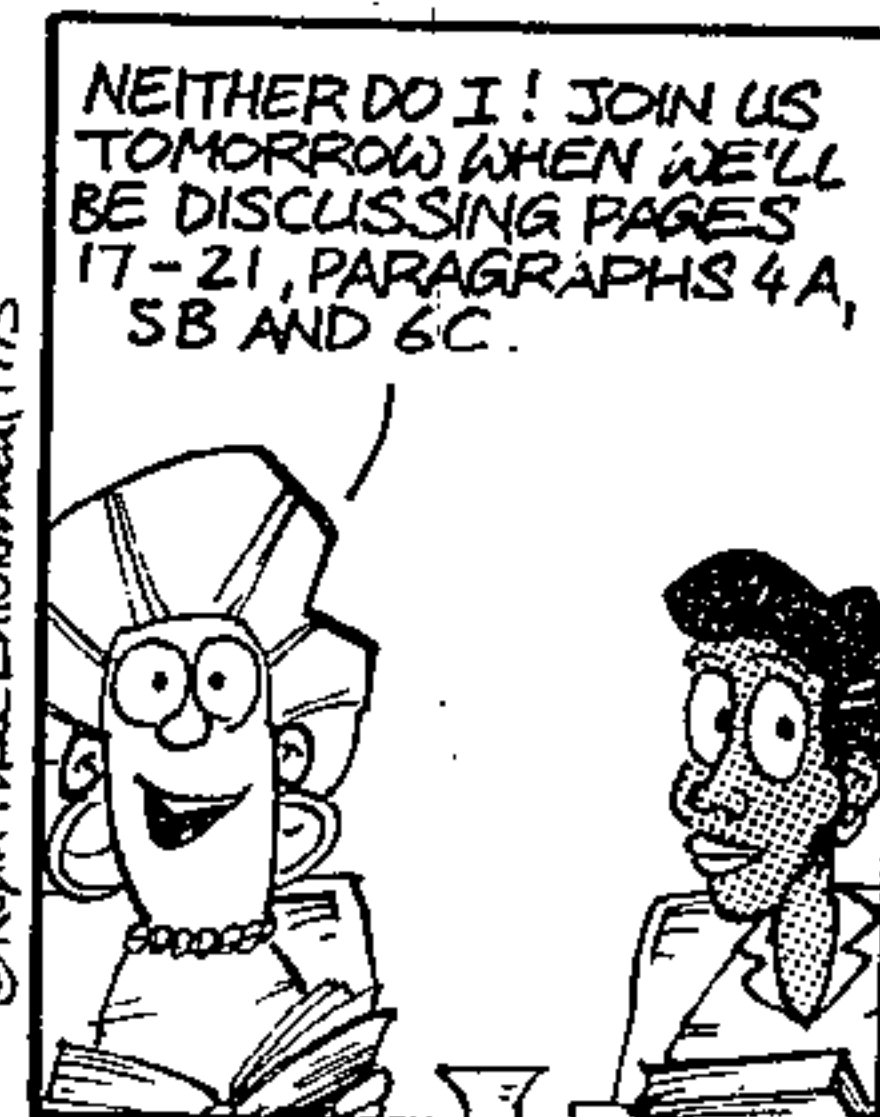
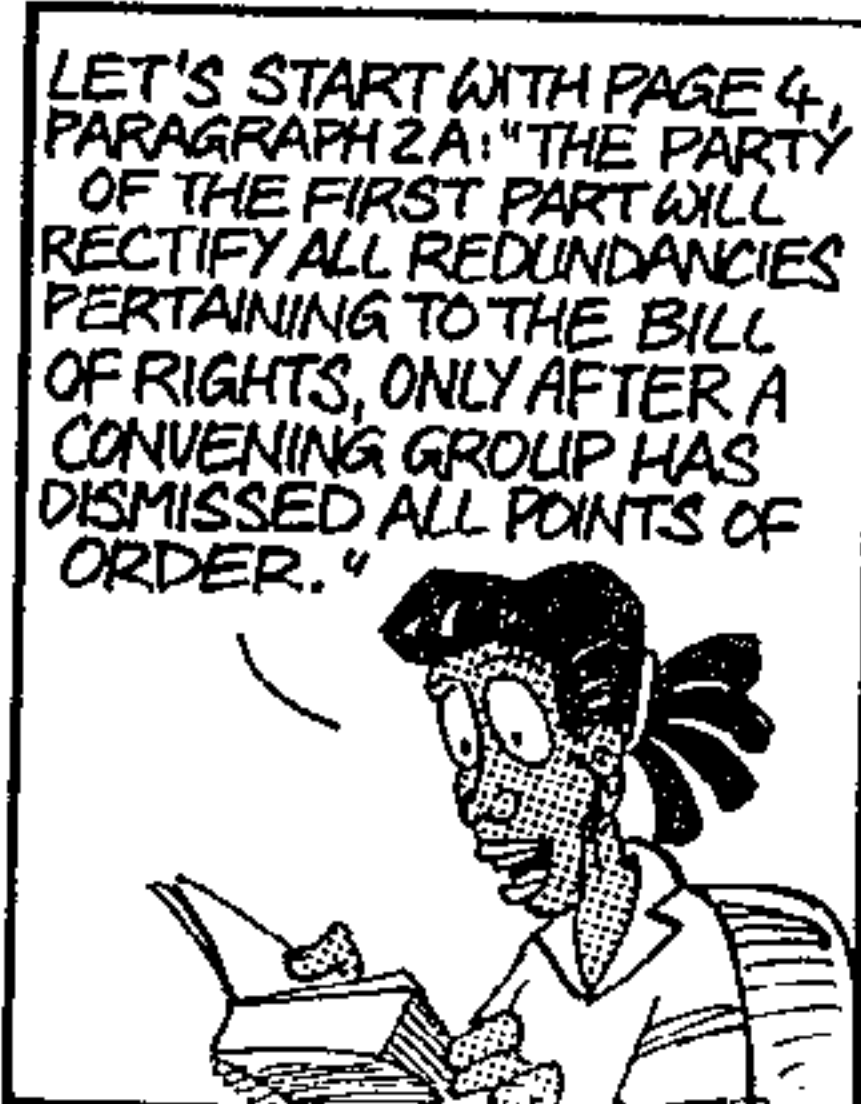
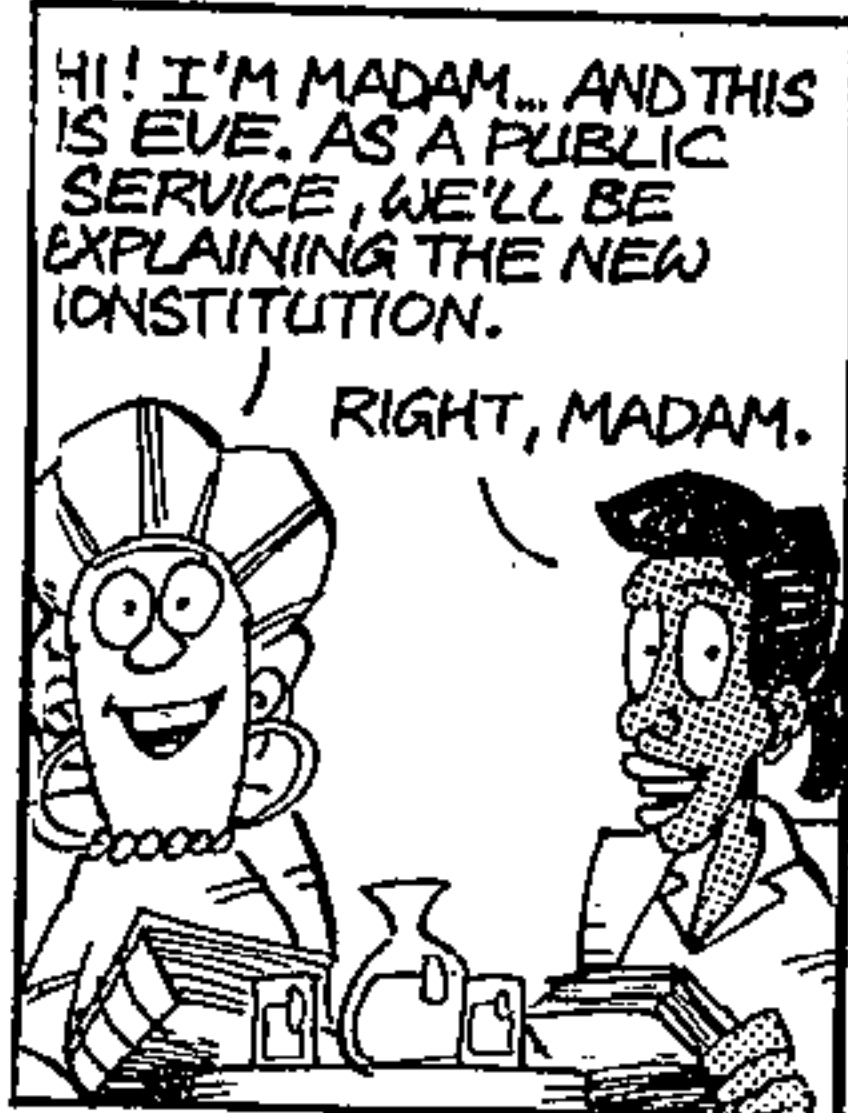


Finance Bills

- These will be introduced in the National Assembly after they have been considered by a joint committee of the Assembly and the Senate. The Senate may not amend any Bills which impose taxation or appropriate revenue.
- If the Assembly passes such a Bill but the Senate fails to do so within 30 days, the Bill will be reconsidered by the Assembly and may then be presented to the State President for his or her assent.

MADAM & EVE

By S Francis, H Dugmore & Rico



27/7/93

304A

Bid to woo IFP and CP back to talks

Sowetan 27/7/93

By Ismail Lagardien
Political Correspondent

THE negotiations process at the World Trade Centre in Kempton Park, Johannesburg, was halted yesterday in a bid to bring the Inkatha Freedom Party and Conservative Party back into the talks.

The IFP and CP refused to accept the draft interim constitution tabled yesterday while other political parties hailed the document as a solid foundation upon which to continue building. (304A)

The IFP and CP are expected to explain their grievances regarding the negotiations process at a meeting with the negotiating council at noon tomorrow.

The IFP's Mr Walter Felgate last night said, however, that it was unlikely his organisation would return to the World Trade Centre tomorrow.

He said the IFP rejected the interim

constitution. It said it would seek a Supreme Court ruling on the method of sufficient consensus as a means of taking decisions in the negotiations process.

The CP said the draft constitution "destroyed all hope of a peaceful settlement" in South Africa while the IFP found it "totally unacceptable".

There was a feeling of accomplishment in the African National Congress and Government camps.

The Democratic Party felt that the interim constitution provided a good basis for further negotiation.

The PAC voiced its principled opposition to an interim government of national unity and an interim constitution, but said it was encouraged by a clause which stated that the document could be revised totally.

See Pages 8 and 9

focus on constitution

Sowetan 27/7/93

THE NEWLY ELECTED STATE PRESIDENT will establish a commission on regional government within 30 days of the life of the interim constitution tabled in negotiations yesterday.

The objects and functions regarding the establishment of state, provincial and regional government will in terms of the draft constitution:

- Advise the national government and SPR governments on the establishment and consolidation of administrative institutions and structures in the SPRs; and

- Make recommendations to the government regarding the extent of the legislative and executive competence of SPRs during the period of operation of the (interim) constitution. The Commission on SPR Government will consist of not less than 10 members.

At least one member of the Commission will be appointed from each SPR. None of these members should hold office in any political party or organisation. "Members shall not perform or commit themselves to perform remunerative work outside their duties," the draft constitution explains. The Commission will be allowed to establish committees from among its members, which may co-opt anyone to serve on the committee. The Commissions' role in the

The Negotiating Forum yesterday focused on the objectives and functions of the planned constitution for South Africa.

Ismail Lagardien explains the duties of provincial and regional governments within the context of the changes:



constitution-making process will be to submit recommendations to the CMB (constitution making body) such as:

- The finalisation of the number and the boundaries of the constituent SPRs of SA;

- The constitutional dispensations of such SPRs, including the constitutional structures within SPRs as well as their method of election and their authority, functions and procedures;

- Measures, including transitional measures, that provide for the phasing in of new SPR constitutional dispensations;

- The rationalisation of statutory enactments and public sector resources directed at facilitating the introduction and maintenance of a system of SPR government;

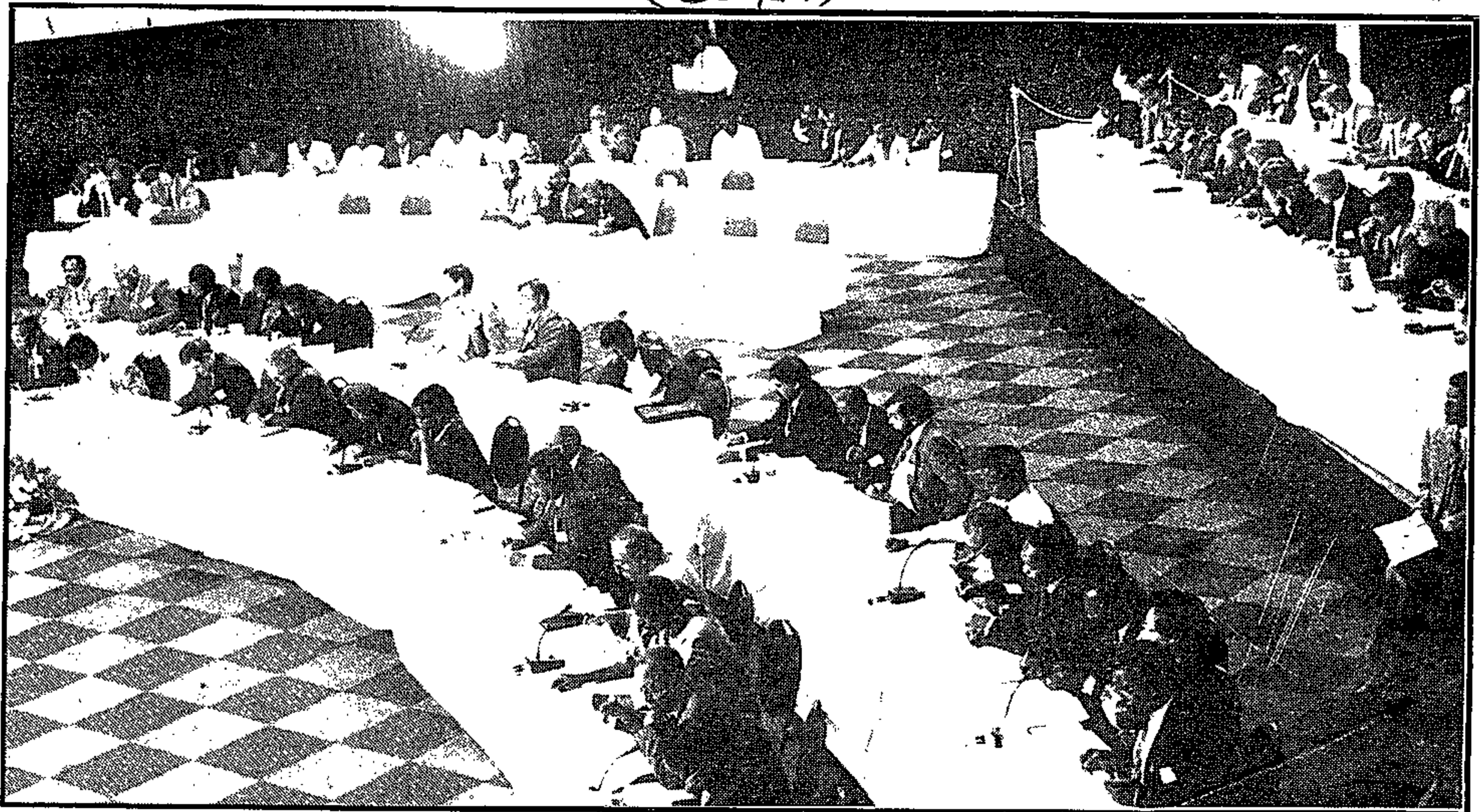
- The final delimitation of powers and functions between national and SPR institutions;

- Fiscal arrangements between the institutions of government and those of SPR government;

- The powers and functions of local governments; and any matter which the Commission considers relevant.

The Commission will be expected to work within the constitutional principles agreed upon; historical boundaries; former provincial boundaries; magisterial, district boundaries and infrastructures; the need to rationalise existing structures; demographic considerations; economic viability; developmental potential; and cultural and language realities.

(304A)



Delegates convene at the World Trade Centre

NEWS FEATURE *The interim constitution is tabled at the Negotiating Council*

Two-chamber Parliament

Swetun 21/7/93

By Ismail Lagardien
Political Correspondent

■ OWN SPECIAL POWERS *The new*

Senate will have a wide range of duties.

(304A)

THE INTERIM CONSTITUTION THAT was tabled at the Negotiating Council yesterday proposes a two-chamber Parliament with a National Assembly and a Senate. The National Assembly will consist of 400 members elected on the basis of proportional representation on national and regional party lists.

The Senate will be composed of 10 members from each state, province or region (known as SPRs because no agreement on the matter has been reached).

The various SPRs will elect their own members to the Senate. It is envisaged that each SPR would have its own legislature but finality or greater detail will be known perhaps later this week.

For the day to day running of the country, the National Assembly and Senate will pass laws, by two thirds majority of the total number of the members of both chambers — also known as Houses.

Joint Committee

A Bill passed by one House and rejected by another shall be referred to a joint committee that is made up of members of all parties represented in Parliament for proposed amendments, after which the Bill shall be referred to a joint sitting of both Houses by a decision by a majority of all the members of Parliament.

"All laws, except laws relating to finance, specified SPR matters, and amendment to the constitution, shall be considered to be ordinary legislation."

Finance Bills, those dealing with matters such as taxation, shall be introduced only in the National Assembly after a joint committee from both Houses and, if necessary, in terms of the constitution by the Financial and Fiscal Commission.

Clause 4 of this section gives more clarity: "If the National Assembly in any session (of Parliament) passes a Bill imposing taxation only or dealing with the appropriation of revenue or moneys and the Senate in the same session rejects or fails to pass it within thirty days after it had been passed by the National Assembly and may thereafter be presented to the State President for his or her

● A sixty percent majority in the national referendum will decide the new constitution of South Africa.

● If all else fails, and the CMB has, within one year, not passed a new constitution, the State President will dissolve Parliament and call a general election.

A Cabinet will be drawn from the National Assembly and will be representative of the composition of this House.

A Constitutional Court will be established and the existing courts will continue to operate. There will also be the establishment of an independent Ombudsman and Human Rights Commission.

Chapter 9 of the interim constitution deals with the States Provinces or Regions. This sec-

assent and shall as soon as it has been assented to by the State President become an Act of Parliament."

Laws that affect the powers and functions of the SPRs will have to be approved by the National Assembly and Senate and in the event that a particular SPR is affected a majority of the Senators of that SPR would have to pass such a law.

This interim constitution can only be amended by a two-thirds majority of the members of both Houses in a joint session. Changes to the constitution are, however, guided by the set of Constitutional Principles that have been agreed upon and that are being used as a yardstick for constitutional development.

The interim Parliament will also, as agreed to, serve as a constitution-making body or constituent assembly. Both Houses, sitting in joint session, will serve as a CMB.

The CMB will be responsible for the drafting of a totally new and final constitution for South Africa which will come into effect, presumably at the end of the tenure of the interim government of national unity.

tion is vast and deals extensively with the powers, duties and functions of the SPRs as well as its composition — even though no boundaries have been decided on.

There will, nevertheless, be a legislature for each SPR consisting of members elected through proportional representation. The number of the seats in these legislature will be determined by the number of votes cast in the SPR election by 50 000 the nearest approxima-

Each SPR will, on the basis of proportional representation, elect its own executive (Cabinet) from which a premier should be elected and establish an administration for the SPR.

While each SPR will have its own powers, functions and obligations the extent of these

will, after consultation, be determined by the National Executive and promulgated by the State President in the *Government Gazette*.

Where the National Executive (Central or Federal Government) retains responsibility, the administration of the SPR will expedite this and manage the relevant area.

Final constitution

The Constitutional Principles will serve as the guidelines for the final constitution. If a dispute arises in the interpretation of the constitutional principles the matter can be referred to the Constitutional Court which, in this instance will have the final say.

The most important task of the interim legislature will be the adoption of a new constitution, this is detailed as follows:

● A new constitution shall be adopted within two years of the start of the first interim parliament.

● A new constitution shall be approved by two thirds of all the members of Parliament — both Houses.

● If a new constitution is not adopted by a two-thirds majority, but a draft thereof is supported by a majority of its members, this draft will be referred to a panel of accepted independent constitutional experts that do not hold office in a political party and which is to be established by the CMB as advisors to the constitution-making process.

● If the panel fails to resubmit the draft to the CMB within 30 days and if the CMB fails to reach agreement by the agreed majority a simple majority will pass the constitution.

● In this event, the State President will, after the panel and constitutional court has passed the new constitution, refer the new constitution to a national referendum for final decision.

"The question put before the electorate in the referendum shall be acceptance or rejection of such draft constitutional text," the document explains.

‘ A constitutional court will be established and the existing courts will continue to operate. There will also be the establishment of an independent Ombudsman and Human Rights Commission

News briefs

Apologies to Azapo

IN A front-page report in *Sowetan* yesterday on the Cape Town church killings it was incorrectly stated that the Azanian People's Organisation is the armed wing of the Pan-Africanist Congress.

It should have read the Azanian People's Liberation Army, the armed wing of the PAC. *Sowetan* regrets any inconvenience that might have been caused.

Perspective is back

DO YOU remember *Perspective*? That hard-hitting and popular column by Joe Thlooe. It will be back this Friday, focussing on all the exciting events happening in the country.

Not only that. Inside your Friday edition of *Sowetan* will be *InScene*, the paper for the youth. *InScene* will be sussing out the heavy, often abusive lingo found in American rap songs. *InScene* also finds that a new,

more mature wave is emerging. *Sowetan* 28/7/93

A TOTAL of 17 000 pupils at schools in Mangung, Bloemfontein, boycotted classes yesterday demanding the release of detained colleagues.

Searching for killers

THE ANC will deploy its security-trained cadres and call on its township-based members to find the killers who massacred 11 worshippers at the St James' Church in Kenilworth, Cape Town, on Sunday. *Sowetan* 28/7/93

This was announced by ANC Western Cape region chairman Dr Allan Boesak at a media conference yesterday. He also announced that the ANC would arrange several activities over the next few days to express its sympathy with victims and their families. — *Sowetan Reporters and Staff*

Our telephone number: (011) 474-0128

Political comment in this issue by Aggrey Klaaste and Joe Thlooe. News, sub-editing and headlines by Mike Tlase and Sy Makaranga. All of 61 Commando Road, Industria West, Johannesburg. The reproduction or broadcast without permission of articles published in this newspaper on any current economic, political or religious topic, is forbidden and expressly reserved to Angus Newspapers Limited under Section 12 (7) of the Copyright Act 1978.

New TEC plan to pilot the nation

Sowetan 28/7/93

By Ismail Lagardien
Political Correspondent

KEY OBJECTIVES To implement a

democratic order in South Africa:

(304A)

RAIL LEGISLATION for the Transitional Executive Council was tabled in the Negotiating Council at World Trade Centre in Kempton Park yesterday.

The Transitional Executive Council Bill provides for the establishment of the six TEC sub-councils, one each on: regional and local government; law and order, stability and security; defence; finance; foreign affairs; the status of women.

Under the Bill, which is still being debated and could therefore still change, the TEC will consist of one person from each of the political parties in the Negotiating Council.

In broad terms

The TEC will remain in power until the appointment of the first Cabinet under a transitional constitution and will, in broad terms, prepare the country for

elections.

The TEC's objectives will be to facilitate, together with all statutory bodies at all levels, "the transition to and preparation for the implementation of a democratic order in South Africa" by creating and promoting a climate for free political participation, and by endeavouring to:

- Eliminate any impediments to legitimate political activities;
- Eliminate any form of intimidation;
- Ensure that all political parties are free to canvass support, to organise and hold meetings and to have access to all voters; and
- Ensure that no government or administration (in the self-governing territories and TBVC states) exercises any of its powers in such a way so as not to advantage or prejudice any political party.

The TECs will have access to all information and records required to achieve its objectives.

The biggest concern raised by various political parties has been the mechanism for decision-making within the TEC and the possibility of one or more parties stalling progress.

This fear is allayed to a great extent by the fact that all decisions in the TEC will be made by members of the council alone and shall, as far as possible, be made on a basis of consensus.

The Bill holds that in the event of there not being total consensus on any issue, a decision which has the support of at least 80 percent of the members of the council shall be carried.

The Bill will be debated and afterwards returned to the TEC's technical committee.

Campaign for free SA elections launched

(304A)
CT 28/7/93

From CHRIS BATEMAN

LONDON — The launch in the House of Commons yesterday of an international campaign for free and fair elections in South Africa received strong backing from British MPs, the United Nations and the Commonwealth.

Over a third of British MPs signed a motion welcoming an election date, supporting international efforts to ensure voting was free and fair, and urging a "sizeable presence" of election monitors.

Needs

The launch of the campaign — brainchild of the soon-to-be-renamed Anti-Apartheid Movement (AAM) — heard from Tory MP, Mr Peter Temple-Morris, that the newly-formed Westminster/South Africa Liaison Committee would visit SA in October.

The committee would assess pre-election needs, he said.

AAM president Archbishop Trevor Huddleston, said the 100 international observers currently in South Africa was "pathetically inadequate". Some 123,000 would be needed, he said.

Interim body gets veto rights

CT 28/7/93
304A

JOHANNESBURG. — The draft bill establishing the first phase of an interim multi-party government gives the Transitional Executive Council (TEC) veto rights over cabinet decisions in specified areas.

Negotiators yesterday made substantial progress in agreeing to the content of the bill drafted by the technical committee, but sent it back for amendments.

The bill also raised the issue of the TBVC states' reincorporation and caused a minor hiccup when the Bophuthatswana and Ciskei governments rejected a definition that implied the TEC would have power over their administrations.

The matter was deferred to the planning committee.

The bill calls for the TEC to remain in place until the appointment of the first cabinet in terms of the new interim constitution.

The TEC will comprise representatives of all the negotiating parties and will establish six sub-councils, each with six members,

FW optimistic about IFP's return

PRETORIA. — President F W de Klerk yesterday sounded optimistic about drawing the Inkatha Freedom Party back into multi-party negotiations, saying "with good negotiations the necessary bridges can be built to get them back in the negotiating process".

"I believe the negotiating process should be as inclusive as possible and that the attendance and involvement of bigger parties, such as the IFP, is of key importance. Therefore, we will

use all our energy to ensure their participation in the negotiation process."

Mr De Klerk said he believed the foundations had been laid on issues that the IFP felt were the most important and some that were equally important to the government, such as strong regional government.

The government was engaged in a bilateral meeting with the IFP last night. — Sapa

to ensure the political playing fields are levelled and no party is unfairly prejudiced by the actions of various departments.

The departments affected will be regional and local government; law and order and stability; defence; finance; foreign affairs, and a department to look at the status of women.

The TEC and its sub-councils have been given vast powers with rights to all information from governments within its objectives and the power to act on this to the extent that it can prohibit any legislation, proclamations, ordinances or regulations.

Any disputes can be referred to

the Independent Electoral Commission, which shall be the final arbiter.

At this stage the powers and functions of the sub-council on defence have not yet been drafted, as negotiations are still taking place.

In effect, the government continues to run the country but has a big brother watching over its shoulder with the power to prevent it from acting.

Meanwhile, from Pretoria, it is reported that the Conservative Party will return to the Negotiating Council only if the self-determination of Afrikaners is "unequivocally accepted". — Own Correspondent, Sapa

NEWS Chamber of Mines hopes for settlement before intended action by NUM

By Ike Motsapi

The National Union of Mine-workers said yesterday it was forced to ballot for strike action next week after a refusal by the Chamber of Mines to settle the wage dispute through mediation.

NUM said it could not understand why the Chamber of Mines was not offering a better wage deal when its members were making profit of about 30 percent more than they did two years ago.

Rallies are to be held throughout the country at the weekend where the 230 000 members were expected to mandate the union to go ahead with the

Mine strike looms

MEDIATION FAILS Ballot after

mines refuse to settle by mediation:

balloting for a national strike.

The union believes that an increase above 10 percent is affordable.

The chamber is offering between six and eight percent on coal mines and between five and nine percent on gold mines.

Mr Marcel Golding, assistant general

secretary of NUM, said: "We are aware that management thinks our members on the ground will not support our intended action. I want to warn them that the workers are angry."

A spokesman for the Chamber of Mines said he hoped a settlement could still be reached in time to avoid the

intended action by NUM.

Golding told a Press briefing in Johannesburg that the union had no option but to resort to a strike ballot. He said: "This follows 13 meetings with the Chamber of Mines, four of which took place in a Conciliation Board, and the failure of the mining industry to table credible wage offers."

The dispute with the Chamber also includes demands for an agency shop whereby non-union members who benefit from collective bargaining contribute to a collective bargaining fund.

Calls lead to tensions

THE increasing number of threats of aggression from the rightwing and Pan Africanist Congress contributed as much to heightened tensions and polarisation of society as cold-blooded assassinations did, Democratic Party spokesman on law and order Peter Gastrow said yesterday (20419).

"These calls lead to an ongoing and dangerous situation of outbidding with threats of aggression and suggestions of racial conflict," he said in a statement.

These threats should be condemned by all political leaders. — Sapa.

Cosatu ^(MSE) launches ^(304A) voter ^{ARC 29/7/93} drive

SHARON SOROUR
Labour Reporter

COSATU launched a huge voter education drive in the Western Cape — part of a national campaign to ensure workers take part in the democratic election next April — with a workshop attended by more than 800 union shop stewards.

Several key tripartite alliance leaders, including Cosatu assistant general secretary Mr Sam Shilowa, addressed unionists at yesterday's University of the Western Cape workshop.

The workshop signalled the start of Cosatu's huge "non-partisan" voter education campaign to ensure workers take part fully in the country's first democratic election in April.

The 1,1 million strong federation also confirmed it would put its "full weight" behind a "decisive ANC election victory" because it believed the movement was the only organisation capable of implementing a programme of reconstruction.

A regional Cosatu spokesman said paid time off was negotiated with employers to allow shop stewards to attend the workshop.

In a statement this week Cosatu said it hoped to extend a programme of non-partisan voter education to all workers, not only its members.

"This is particularly important for workers who have been isolated and denied basic worker rights, including farm-workers, domestic workers and workers in the homelands."

FW holds talks with Buthelezi

Political Staff
FRT 29/7/93 (304A)

PRESIDENT De Klerk flew to Durban today to meet Inkatha Freedom Party leader Chief Mangosuthu Buthelezi at King's House — at the same time as the Kwazulu government filed an action in the Transvaal Supreme Court to halt the April 27 election.

President De Klerk was accompanied by Natal leader of the National Party George Bartlett and senior officials.

At the top of the agenda was the IFP's stayaway from the multiparty talks at the World Trade Centre and the notion of "sufficient consensus".

In a statement today, Chief Buthelezi said the negotiation process had avoided federalism. It had subtly and high-handedly entrenched the notion of a unitary state with possible provincial or regional characteristics and a process of transition centred on the empowerment of a constituent assembly.

On June 15, Kwazulu's request to table a federal model was rejected and the negotiating council proceeded to set an election date before any agreement was reached on the form of state and on the purpose and finality of such an election. The Kwazulu government objected, its objection was ignored, so Kwazulu was forced to walk out.

On June 30, the negotiating council instructed the technical committee on constitutional matters to draft a constitution which excluded federalism and empowered a constituent assembly. The Kwazulu government's objections were again totally disregarded, Chief Buthelezi said.

focus on voting

Sowetan 29/7/93

THIS WEEK, EXACTLY NINE months before next year's election, Cosatu launched a campaign of worker-voter education, to ensure that the baby of democracy is born healthy and timeously.

The question some people ask is why are the trade unions so concerned about the introduction of democratic government? Aren't all governments inherently untrustworthy, wasteful and ineffective in improving peoples lives, particularly of working people and the poor?

Cosatu believes that the whole of society, particularly during this critical period of our country's history, must actively ensure that government is accountable to the people, and vice versa. This culture of democracy has been systematically destroyed by successive National Party governments.

But the seeds of a new democracy have been planted in many mass-based organisations, such as trade unions, which have tried to cultivate a culture of mandates and accountability to ensure that ordinary people are able to play a meaningful role in shaping their own destiny.

The introduction of democratic government can enormously enhance this capacity. It will unleash expectations and creative energies in millions of people. These energies will be a positive factor if they are harnessed and developed.

This will be effectively achieved if popular involvement in government is ensured both through representative democracy (mandating parliamentary representatives), and direct involvement of organs of civil society (non-governmental bodies) in the democratic process.

If our proposal for a national programme of reconstruction and development is to succeed, we have to put ordinary people at the centre of the process. Millions of South Africans will directly involve themselves in the programmes to build houses, create jobs, restructure our industries, develop the land, and so on.

The most dangerous thing that can happen will be for people to sit back after elections and say, "Now we have elected our government, it will deliver all our needs to us". If this mindset takes hold of our country, the new democracy will fail.

Disaster

Equally, a democratically elected government which is unable to govern would be a disaster. This really exists in two forms. Firstly, if the new government is crippled by minority vetoes and unable to rule from the centre, because the country has been carved up into federal fiefdoms. This double-pronged "lame-duck" solution, which the NP is promoting in an attempt to protect existing interests, would be an economic and political disaster for our country, which would disintegrate into a Lebanon-type

Trade unions can contribute to a culture of mandates and accountability to ensure that ordinary people are able to play a meaningful role in shaping their own destiny, says Cosatu secretary-general **Jay Naidoo** in the first of two articles: **(304A)**

scenario.

The other threat to democracy would be the entrenchment of existing apartheid institutions and the bureaucracy which serves them. It is clear that apartheid institutions which have been designed to oppress the majority, to operate in secrecy without public control, and to service a minority section of the community, will be totally incapable of implementing a programme of reconstruction and development.

Agreements which prevented a new government from restructuring state institutions, or replacing personnel, would render that government incapable of effecting any meaningful change.

This is why a key element of the reconstruction programme proposed by Cosatu is a democratic political solution, which allows for effective government and the democratisation of state institutions geared towards serving peoples needs, not the needs of a bureaucracy.

Democratic elections to a sovereign constituent assembly is the first important step to the creation of effective, democratic and accountable government. There are a number of other mechanisms and processes which we believe are necessary to empower a new government, and the society as a whole, to realign state resources in a way which brings about meaningful change in peoples lives.

From now until the end of the century a three-phase programme of restructuring and democratising the apartheid state needs to be put in place, unfolding in the TEC phase, the constituent assembly phase, and the Government of National Unity and Reconstruction phase.

10-point plan

This should include the following 10-point plan:

- Stop unilateral restructuring by the apartheid state aimed at undermining the democracy process;

- Rationalise the apartheid civil service, including the bantustans;

- Undertake studies to determine the personnel needs and structures required for a democratic state to be able to function effectively, eliminate wastage, and implement programmes of reconstruction and development;



- Introduce a programme of training, retraining, and recruitment, in a single integrated training system, to reorientate the public service to effectively address peoples needs, and to progressively address the skewed (white male) bias which currently exists;

- An enforceable code of conduct to ensure that public servants know what is expected of them, to deal with those undermining the restructuring process;

- Introduce bargaining forums and legislation to give the public sector worker full trade union rights, and involve them in the restructuring process. This should aim to enable workers to protect and advance their rights. Further their contribution to restructuring should be harnessed, by enabling them to monitor and mobilise against corruption, wastage, and mismanagement in the public sector;

- Introduce mechanisms to ensure public accountability and transparency. These could include an ombudsman's office, an independent audit commission to monitor state expenditure, a commission into corruption to identify and bring to book the culprits, and legislation to ensure wide-ranging access to information;

- The budgeting process should be open, developed through a process of public and transparent debate, and strongly guided by agreements reached at multiparty negotiation forums;

- Labour, civics and other constituencies in civil society must be involved in formulating and implementing public policy. Multilateral negotiating bodies such as NEF, and the National Housing Forum will need to be strengthened, and resources made available to enhance their capacity; and

- In relation to security forces, a single police force needs to be established, together with a vastly reduced defence force, under the supreme authority of parliament, to change these forces from agents of repression to effective servants of the community.

These are some ideas I am putting forward as a contribution to this critical debate. The next article in this series will focus on the importance of collective bargaining and industrial restructuring for socio-economic reconstruction.

NEWS Alexander backs ANC's motion at talks ● Application against NCCCR dismissed

PAC, ANC find each other

Sowetan 29/7/93

3047

By Ismail Lagardien
Political Correspondent

THE African National Congress and Pan Africanist Congress yesterday joined forces in the Negotiating Council to support a clause which provides for an unfettered constitution-making body after next year's election.

ANC general secretary Mr Cyril Ramaphosa said a democratically elected constitution-making body had to write a new constitution for South Africa and not simply amend the interim document.

Ramaphosa's counterpart in the PAC, Mr Benny Alexander, seconded the motion "because the ANC can not second itself".

Both spoke in defence of a clause in the draft interim constitution that was

tabled in the Negotiating Council on Tuesday. The draft interim constitution provides for the "total revision" of the transitional document.

The debate on the draft interim constitution was resumed with vigour and candour yesterday despite the absence of the Inkatha Freedom Party and Conservative Party.

The CP and IFP had until noon yesterday to return to the Negotiating Council after they were given four days to study the interim constitution. Both parties rejected the document.

The role of traditional leaders — a recurrent and contentious issue in the negotiation process — was also raised yesterday, especially in the constitution-making body.

Traditional leaders from the various provinces raised the matter and the PAC

and ANC supported their inclusion in the constitution-making process.

Ramaphosa said it was unacceptable that the draft interim constitution failed to deal with the role of traditional leaders in the country's first Parliament.

"It is inconceivable that we proceed on these matters without giving attention to traditional leaders," Ramaphosa said.

Dr Kaliphele Sizane of the PAC said: "It is strange that traditional leaders were not considered."

Sizane also raised the issue of two voting lists — regional and national — saying that the high level of illiteracy would complicate the voting procedure for ordinary rural folk who will be expected to vote twice.

He said it was difficult enough to vote once — for the first time.

Pair lose bid to take over NCCCR assets

Sowetan 29/7/93

3048

Sowetan Correspondent

TWO members of the National Returnees Forum yesterday lost a bid in the Rand Supreme Court to take over the finances of the now disbanded National Co-ordinating Committee for the Repatriation of South African Exiles.

Mr Justice WP Schutz ruled that returned exiles Mr Manase Sefathe and Mr Jan Mahuleka did not have the *locus standi* to bring the urgent application as they were not members of the NCCCR.

The pair said allegations of fraud had been levelled at the NCCCR. They asked the court to declare the NRF the owner of the NCCCR's assets and funds and to interdict the NCCCR from disposing of its assets and funds.

The judge said there had been no obligation on the NCCCR to provide funds to returning exiles. The most the returnees could hope for was to have benefited from the NCCCR's largesse.

The returnees had embarked on their own course of action without going through the NCCCR's member organisations. These were the South African Council of Churches, Catholic Bishops Conference, World Conference on Religion and Peace, ANC, PAC and Azapo. SACC general secretary the Reverend Frank Chikane, who is also a member of the NCCCR's dissolution committee, said the funds outstanding after an audit had been done would be returned to the donors. The application was dismissed with costs.

YOU CAN'T STOP YOUR DAUGHTER SEEING HER BOYFRIEND INDEFINITELY... RATHER DOE PART HER LIFE



'Volk seek own Israel'

29/7/93

Afrikaners wanted a volksstaat — their own Israel — for a cooling-off period of 25 years before deciding whether to move closer to "a future South Africa," said Afrikaner Volksfront leader General Constand Viljoen yesterday. (304A)

Addressing the Pretoria Press Club, he said the interim period would show if communism had vanished.

He also said it was not in the interests of Afrikaners to do away with the National Party, as it had an important role.

While the NP had rejected the Afrikaner, there were many Christians and anti-communists of other population groups who needed a leader. "I and the leader of that group could form an alliance," he said.

He reiterated his call for a summit of political leaders to thrash out constitutional principles, notably on the form of state and self-determination.

"We refuse to further negotiate or to talk about an election while the country is in a state of anarchy," said Viljoen.

The multiparty talks were steering towards a head-on collision, and violence.

The negotiations were slanted because the ANC-SACP alliance was negotiating at the same time as it was executing a revolution, he claimed.

He suspected the ANC's Umkhonto we Sizwe or the Pan Africanist Congress's Azanian People's Liberation Army could have been involved in the St James Church massacre.

"I'm not saying MK or Apla did it, but the training of their cadres should never be underestimated," he said. — Sapa.

Why must Buthelezi wait to find out what Natal's powers will be?

Star 29/1/93

Facing up to Inkatha's concerns

IT WOULD be tragic if the very process designed to bring peace and democracy to South Africa exacerbated rather than healed tension. Yet it is increasingly apparent that the constitutional talks at Johannesburg's World Trade Centre are fudging some of the most important issues in a way that could undermine their achievements to date.

If the ANC and National Party are intent on an outcome that serves their de facto alliance but fails to address the legitimate concerns of other parties, notably Chief Mangosuthu Buthelezi's Inkatha Freedom Party, the constitution that emerges will be seriously flawed.

Things have not reached such a pass yet. The pace has been tortuous, but South Africa has come a long way since Nelson Mandela's release more than three years ago. The draft outline published this week shows how far racial discrimination is banned, human rights entrenched, and all citizens will be entitled to vote for a 400-member National Assembly, with a senate elected by regional legislatures, which together will draw

up a final post-apartheid constitution on principles previously agreed.

Fundamental issues have yet to be properly addressed: how the executive of a new government is constituted, how it exercises its powers and precisely what powers the provincial assemblies will have. The outline constitution leaves South Africans little the wiser.

The executive will comprise representatives of political parties occupying a specified percentage of the seats in the national assembly. But how will this executive take decisions by consensus, as De Klerk demands, or by majority, as Mandela insists?

An equally serious flaw is the failure of the draft to define the powers of regional governments — the key concern of Chief Buthelezi, who has a strong regional base among the Zulus of Natal province. The draft fudges the issue of regional powers. The buck is passed to a commission to be set up only after the first elections.

It will have regional representatives but the final say will rest

with the Cabinet and the constituent assembly, which are likely to be dominated by the ANC and NP.

The experts who drew up the draft argue that the constituent assembly will be bound by constitutional principles agreed already, calling for significant devolution of power to regions. And they list an impressive array of areas where regions will have at least some power: health, education, housing, local taxation, local policing. But they refuse to say how these powers will be shared with the centre, while the constitutional principles are vague and open to interpretation.

Moreover, asking Inkatha to rely on them misses the point. Inkatha is being asked to give up powers it now exercises as a self-governing black homeland in exchange for an uncertain status in the future. It is hard to see Chief Buthelezi waiting until after an election to find out what Natal's powers will be in the new South Africa.

Until this issue is resolved, one can scarcely be sanguine about the prospects for elections next April. The trouble is, by boycot-

ting the talks with his customary belligerent rhetoric, Buthelezi is merely making it more likely that he will be dissatisfied with the outcome and creating the risk of a further descent into violence in the coming months.

He needs to understand that no resolution can come about until he returns to the negotiating table.

Equally, the ANC and the National Party need to look beyond short-term party objectives and consider the type of political structure that a regionally diverse as well as multiracial South Africa really needs. For all the statist, centralising instincts of the two main parties, it is not a country that can be ruled from the centre alone, its regional inequalities are too great and the regional rivalries too powerful.

An attempt to impose a constitution that does not allow for sufficient regional autonomy will merely prompt demands for secession, both from Buthelezi's followers or from the white flight. If South Africa is to have a hope of a period of stability before elections, these issues need to be settled. — Financial Times News Service □

Parties to debate consensus today

By Esther Waugh
Political Correspondent

Differences between the 26 negotiating groups at Kempton Park emerged yesterday over aspects of the first draft of the Interim Constitution.

Discussion on the draft document went ahead without the Conservative Party, Inkatha Freedom Party and KwaZulu government — all three having rejected the document.

But debates on sufficient consensus and a confederal option were postponed until today, allowing time for these parties to return to the negotiating table.

In a letter to the 10-member planning committee, IFP chairman Dr. Frank Mdlalose requested that debate on sufficient consensus be postponed until after the party's central committee has met.

However, negotiators said last night the discussion on sufficient consensus would continue today as scheduled.

Although the Negotiating Council has agreed to a series of constitutional principles which will be the framework for the Interim and final Constitutions, sharp differences exist between the negotiators. The main points of conflict

which emerged yesterday in the council's four-hour session were: the powers and functions of regions during the transition; the role of the constitutional court; citizenship; the implementation of the Interim Constitution; a time-frame for writing the final Constitution; the status of the final Constitution; and the name of a constitution-making body.

Disagreement arose over whether the powers and functions of regions should be entrenched before or after the first elections for an interim government.

Bophuthatswana government

negotiator Rowan Cronje argued that no provision had been made for the exclusive powers of regions in the draft document. But the technical committee on constitutional matters said regions would have more powers during the transition than provinces had enjoyed previously.

ANC secretary-general Cyril Ramaphosa, supported by the South African Communist Party and PAC, objected to a constitutional court determining whether the final Constitution adheres to the constitutional principles accepted by the Negotiating Council.

General agreement on regional powers

ET 29/7/93 2049

Own Correspondent

JOHANNESBURG. — The ANC, SACP and the government held out an olive branch to the Concerned South Africans Group and the DP yesterday, saying the draft constitution should include more regional powers.

This is also seen as an attempt to woo Inkatha back to the talks. Inkatha, the KwaZulu government and the CP did not attend yesterday's debate.

Beginning the debate on the draft constitution, negotiating council chairman Mr Pravin Gordhan said the main aim was to identify differences and common ground between parties.

Insufficient powers

The ANC, DP, the government and Cosag agreed there were insufficient powers entrenched in the interim constitution.

ANC secretary-general Mr Cyril Ramaphosa said the ANC would be happy with more regional representatives in the national assembly. The ANC had

no problem with the second chamber consisting solely of regional representatives.

Bophuthatswana chief negotiator Mr Rowan Cronje agreed.

Mr Cronje said the negotiating forum had agreed on many principles which defined the position of regions as well as their relationship to the central government. These agreements were not reflected in the draft.

All the regions' powers depended on the central government's goodwill. "This is not what we negotiated."

Technical committee member Prof Marinus Wiechers said the committee was aware of the feelings expressed, but had had difficulty co-ordinating the rationalising of powers within regions.

While there was almost unanimous agreement on regions, a clash is looming over the powers of a constitutional court to certify the final constitution after it has been drafted by the elected constituent assembly.

Mr Ramaphosa said the elected body was sovereign and "we reject any notion that after it has

completed its task its sovereignty should be subjected to a constitutional court. If anyone has a problem they can challenge the constitution and the constitutional court can look at it".

Constitutional Development Minister Mr Roelf Meyer objected, saying it was a matter of principle and that the constitutional court certify the constitution.

The chairman ruled that this was an area of difference that would have to be addressed.

Deadlock mechanism

Another area of serious dispute was the deadlock breaking mechanism.

Mr Eglin argued that if the elected body had not reached agreement on a constitution within the specified time, the majority party who had more than 50% support could drag its heels knowing a simple majority would be sufficient at the end.

This was totally unacceptable, he said. The chairman ruled that this would also be a major point of difference.

POLITICS

Negotiators get down to details

□ Bartering starts on constitution

Political Staff

JOHANNESBURG. — Differences over aspects of the first draft of the interim constitution emerged yesterday between the 26 negotiating groups at Kempton Park.

Discussion on the draft document went ahead without the Conservative Party, Inkatha Freedom Party and Kwazulu government — all three having rejected the document.

But important debates on sufficient consensus and a confederal option were postponed until today, allowing time for these parties to return to the negotiating table.

The Negotiating Council unanimously resolved on Monday to urge the three parties to return to the World Trade Centre. In a letter to the 10-member planning committee, IFP chairman Dr Frank Mdlalose asked that the debate on sufficient consensus be postponed until after the party's central committee has met.

However, negotiators said last night that the discussion on sufficient consensus — the decision-making mechanism in the negotiations process — would continue today as scheduled.

Although the Negotiating Council has agreed to a series of constitutional principles which will be the framework for the interim and final constitutions, sharp differences exist between the negotiators.

The main points of conflict that emerged yesterday in the council's

four-hour session, were: powers and functions of regions during the transition, the role of the constitutional court, citizenship, implementation of the interim constitution, the "time-frame" for writing the final constitution, the status of the final constitution and the name of a constitution-making body (CMB).

Disagreement arose in the council over whether the final powers and functions of regions should be entrenched before or after the first elections for an interim government of national unity.

Bophuthatswana government negotiator Rowan Cronje argued that no provision had been made for the exclusive powers of regions in the draft document. But the technical committee on constitutional matters — which compiled the draft — said regions would have more powers during the transition than provinces previously enjoyed.

ANC secretary-general Cyril Ramaphosa, supported by the SA Communist Party and PAC, objected to a constitutional court determining whether the final constitution would adhere to the constitutional principles accepted by the Negotiating Council.

On the issue of citizenship, the Afrikaner Volksunie expressed support for residents of regions to have exclusive regional citizenship.

But the view of most parties was that there would be only South African citizenship.

Debate on the document will continue today and a further draft will then be submitted to the Negotiating Council.

White fears concern ANC, says Mandela

By Kaizer Nyatumba
Political Correspondent

ANC president Nelson Mandela yesterday reached out to white South Africans and appealed for their co-operation in the reconstruction of the country.

Addressing students of the Rand Afrikaans University, Mandela said that although top priority was the improvement of blacks' standard of living, the ANC remained concerned about the fears of whites.

The ANC would try its best to address these. "We don't consider any group — especially the Afrikaner — as our enemy."

Mandela said he had held numerous meetings with various Afrikaner leaders — including top generals in the SAP — since the beginning

of this year. Mandela referred to his two meetings with Afrikaner Volksunie (AVU) leader Andries Beyers, whom he had advised against placing demands for a Boerestaat on the negotiating table, but rather to give him a map of the part of the country where the AVU wanted its people to constitute a majority in a regional dispensation.

"I am still waiting for him to come back. I am prepared to recommend to my organisation that we try to accommodate these demands," said the ANC leader.

Mandela said police officers who wanted to serve and protect all South Africans equally would have a vital role to play in a new police force.

He denounced the Cape Town church massacre as "barbarism of gruesome proportions".

Cosatu will be the election 'midwife'

WIM 30/7-5/893

WIM 30/7-5/893

Trade union leaders are likely to appear on the ANC's list of candidates for next year's elections, reports **Ferial Haffajee**

THE Congress of South African Trade Unions will finalise its election list early in August.

Although the trade union federation will not contest elections, it will put forward between 20 and 30 names for consideration by the African National Congress at next month's central executive committee meeting.

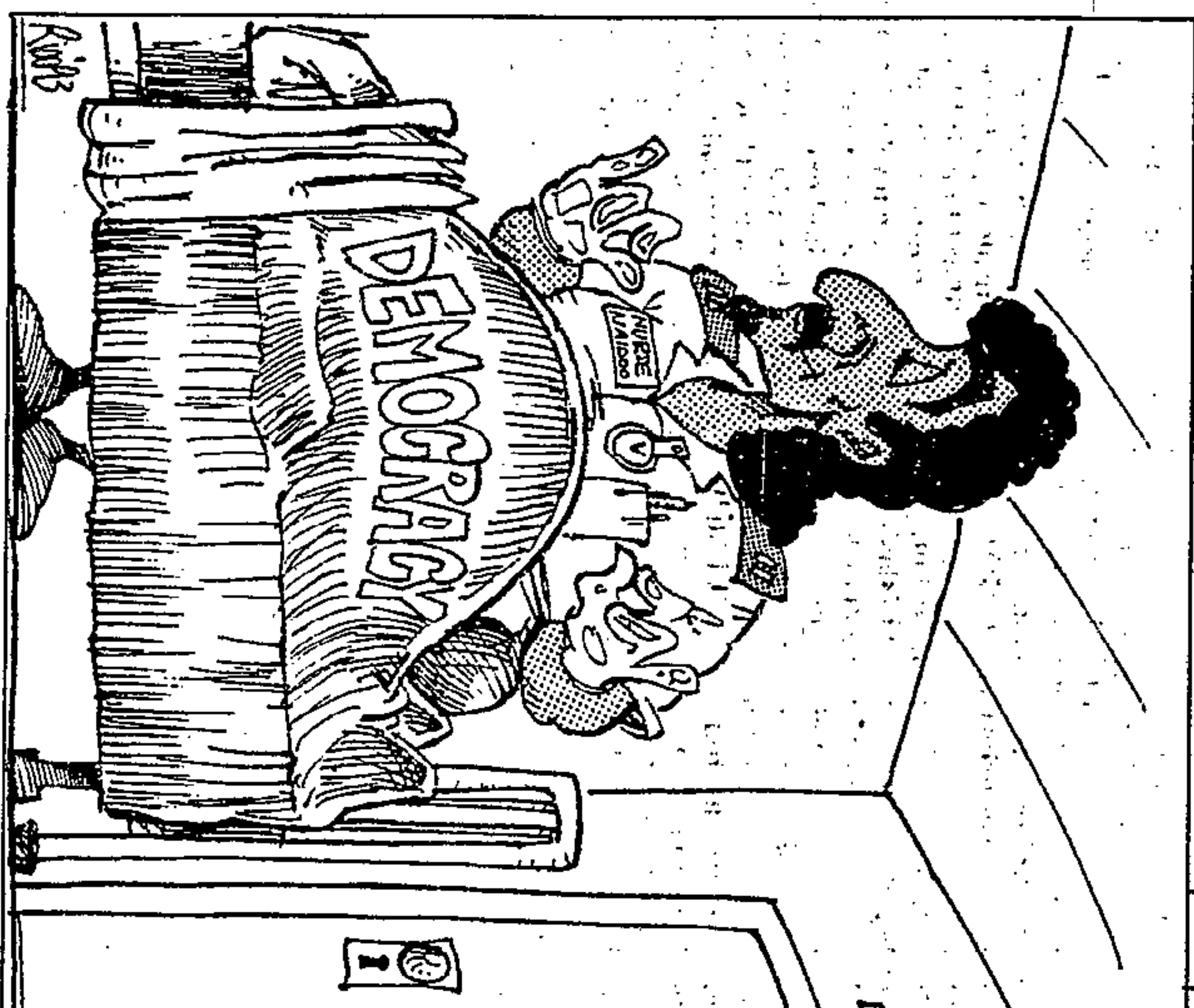
At the same meeting, affiliate unions will indicate whether they are able to pay a once-off levy to Cosatu's election campaign and voter education programmes as well as reveal the names of those officials who will be seconded to these projects.

The federation's elections co-ordinator, Jesse Maluleke, has, for example, already been seconded from the National Union of Mineworkers.

And both the NUM and the Southern African Clothing and Textile Workers' Union have pledged financial and human resources in the month's running up to elections.

Cosatu this week launched its workplace voter education programmes.

In a rare moment of poetry, the fed-



eration's scribes said: "Exactly nine months before the April 27 elections, Cosatu is launching a campaign ...

healthy and timeously."

Cosatu assistant general secretary Sam Shilowa drew a distinction between its election campaign — where it will support a vote for the ANC — and voter education programmes where it will lobby for non-partisan workplace voter education. Meetings have taken place between Cosatu and various employer organisations to decide on the form of such programmes and it is likely that one of the mushrooming voter education organisations will be charged with this task.

The commitment of big business to democracy will be tested by its willingness to fund, give workers time off to attend and provide the facilities for such programmes, said Cosatu's first vice-president Chris Dlamini.

Cosatu is also planning "internal voter education" for its 30 000 shop-stewards.

This will not clash with its stated commitment to non-partisan voter education, believes Shilowa.

"The election campaign and voter education programme are not mutually exclusive," he said this week.

The giant labour federation has no specific plans to include unemployed workers in voter education programmes, but hopes that an "Each one, Reach one" campaign will encourage organised workers to take the message into their homes and communities.



A piece of paper

THE future certainly isn't was it used to be. Back in the 1980s, when the regime were "boers" and the African National Congress "terrorists", liberation was simple: overthrow the white minority and bring in democracy.

The presentation this week at the World Trade Centre of the draft proposals for an interim constitution — which will apply in the transition period before real democracy is achieved — put paid to illusions of a simple democratic revolution. The revolution has become entangled in red tape.

The draft constitution was the product of a tortuous process during which proposals were bounced back to the drafting committee no fewer than eight times. It will also have to be redrafted to accommodate further instructions by the negotiators.

The problems facing the technical committee on constitutional issues were largely created by apartheid — just as those who most vociferously objected to the draft constitution, members of the Concerned South Africans Group (Cosag), are apartheid creations.

What, for instance, is to be done with the homeland administrations? By now it is common cause that South Africa will be a federal state by another name. But the homeland administrations are there; they exist. The yet-to-be-created new federal regions will lack the civil services, the administrations, the courts — all the institutions that order society.

Getting rid of the hated bantustans, as the ANC has promised in all its policy documents since the early 1970s, is easier said than done. Even the ANC is now forced to use the system to reform it.

The homeland administrations, ironically, will play a vital part in the transition to democracy.

This week, committee member Arthur Chaskalson was at pains to explain why the homeland and provincial administrations would have to "assume responsibility for all the administrative and executive institutions" within the newly created regions. It will just not be possible, at the flick of a finger, to have the necessary new administrations in place.

Not that this made Cosag any happier: the Inkatha Freedom Party and the Conservative Party still refuse to rejoin the talks.

They are not the only ones with reservations, however. Both the government and the ANC were less than overjoyed by aspects of the draft. In a divided country like South Africa, it would have been impossible to draw up a constitution that would satisfy everyone.

With the aim of luring the IFP and CP back to the talks, the constitu-



304A

WM
30/7-5/8/93

Chris Louw

reports on the hearts-and-minds campaign set in motion at this week's presentation of the draft constitution

tional committee had the added drawback of drafting its proposals with the emphasis on regions — while the boundaries of the regions have yet to be decided. This is the domain of a demarcation commission, whose report still has to be finalised.

In the end, the committee was forced to base its draft on a range of assumptions, and to dismiss crucial issues — including the executive and judicial powers of the regions and the central state, as well as the human rights Bill — in single sentences.

The IFP immediately used the unfinished nature of the proposals as a handy excuse for rejecting everything, with Ben Ngubane explaining that his party could not rejoin the talks on the basis of an incomplete draft constitution.

However, the IFP did not reject the proposals only on the grounds of what was left out. Like the government/National Party delegations, it was obviously unhappy about the way the powers, functions and boundaries of the regions will be decided.

The crucial issue of the powers and functions of the regions will, according to the draft constitution, ultimately reside with the national executive, which will "determine the extent of the legislative and executive competence" of each region after consulting the regional executive and considering recommendations on the legislative and executive competence of the relevant region by a commission on "SPR" government. ("SPR" is Codesa-speak for "states/provinces/regions" — a concept that had to be introduced so as not to antagonise confederalists, separatists, federalists or unitarists among the negotiators.)

In the end, the only part of the present negotiations that will be written in "political stone", to quote the ANC's Cyril Ramaphosa, will be the constitutional principles agreed to some weeks ago. Apart from the principles, every single decision agreed upon by the present process will be open to change by the constitution-making body that will come into existence after the elec-

By
**PHILLIP VAN
NIEKERK**



The police force's inertia reflects the government's abdication of its responsibility to govern

Our legacy? Rule by emergency

W/M 30/7-5/8/93 3049

AFTER the St James' church shootings, Law and Order Minister Hernus Kriel layed a wreath of red roses in the blood, muttered a mournful regret and announced new funds for policing measures that sounded very much like measures he had announced before.

There was a time when an attack like this would have provoked the harshest kind of response from a National Party government. A gang of blacks invading a church service in sedate Kenilworth with hand-grenades and AK-47s unlocks the deepest fears in the white psyche.

A few hours before the massacre, Inkatha Freedom Party president Mangosuthu Buthelezi told a rally at Soccer City that the government would never tolerate the violence if it was turned against whites. "The government would mobilise South Africa's entire Defence Force in revenge," he claimed.

And yet — in spite of the callous failure of Johny Majosi, of the Azanian People's Liberation Army, to understand "why there is such a hullabaloo every time whites are killed in this fashion" — the government could hardly be accused of being galvanised into action.

The only really significant new law enforcement measure was the African National Congress' offer to chip in and help track down the killers.

The fact of the matter is that a lame duck government in Sebokeng is a lame duck government in the southern suburbs of Cape Town. The rot started a long time ago. It was already visible at the outset of the civilian war in the Natal Midlands when police were so lax about murder cases that eyewitnesses had to launch civil suits to restrain the murderers from coming for them, too.

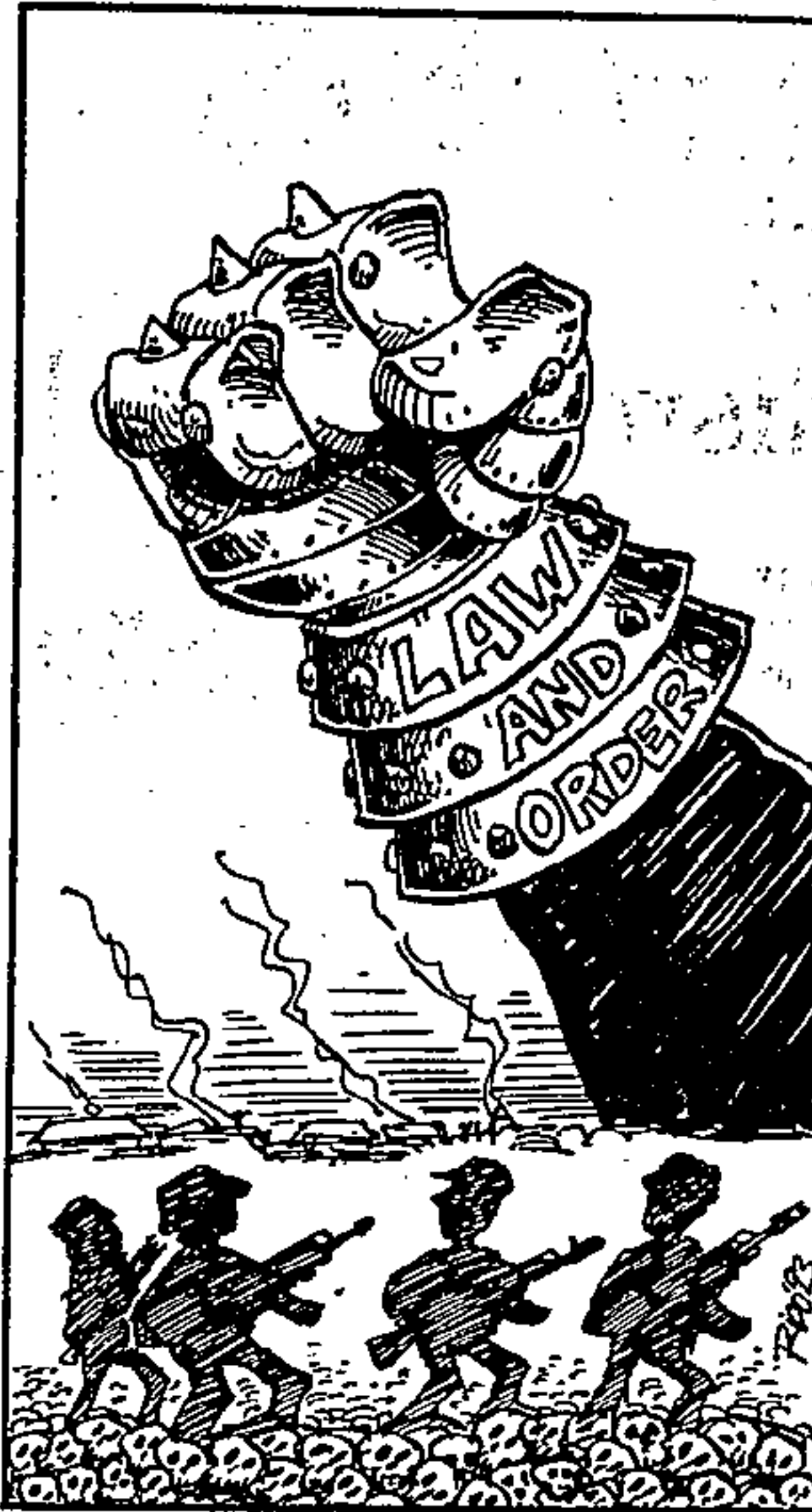
Whatever their excuses this week, the police have abdicated their role of effectively policing the violence. It was never clearer than last month when rightwing thugs invaded the World Trade Centre.

Witnessing that event and some of the marches that followed the assassination of Chris Hani, one could sense the police folding their arms and almost relishing their inactivity, as if to say: "You condemned us for behaving tough. Now, look what happens when we do nothing."

No one should underestimate the dangers of the job, and the high toll in lives that police have suffered this year alone. But the fact is that while the police have achieved some successes, their overall record since political violence first reached crisis levels in 1987 is abysmal.

After the weekend carnage, President FW De Klerk called for a meeting of the signatories to the peace accord. That is all very well, but it cannot substitute for the detective work required to hunt down armed assassins.

The dilemma is that while there is desperate need for improved policing — adequate will do — the very agencies charged with that task remain cloaked in controversy, accused



of stoking the violence or malicious negligence of black communities.

Traditionally defensive and hostile to criticism, the South African Police have been slow to learn that firm policing and the rule of law do not have to mean the sjambok or the jackboot, or that being held accountable for their behaviour is not an attack on the very necessary institution of a police force.

But in standing by while violence rages, the police have reflected a deeper inertia in the country. It is the government which is shirking its duty to govern.

The abdication of responsibility is all the more disturbing because of its insidiousness. Cases that should be the preserve of law enforcement agencies or that involve tough political decisions have been parcelled out to the Goldstone Commission, a body that was set up precisely because opposition groups complained the security forces had no credibility.

One of the reasons De Klerk's government is so immune from the normal yardsticks of responsible government is that its pre-ordained role in the transition is to be the keeper of the keys to hand over after an election.

The way the transition has been set in stone, the gang at the multiparty talks needs the NP to remain the government, even if they have to carry them over the line.

De Klerk argues that his hands are tied by

negotiations. It amounts to a handy way of evading responsibility. Both the NP and the ANC are using the prerogative of the harlot — a habit which the press is usually accused of — of exercising power without responsibility.

After decades of authoritarian rule, it is chilling to discover how dangerous a power vacuum can be.

Yet the government does not have to be so lame. It could send the army in a series of major raids to seize illegal weapons, inviting the international monitors and the television cameras to observe, and seeking the endorsement of its negotiating partners.

It could start at the top by charging political leaders for common cause involvement in violence or incitement. Until they move against blatant violators such as Eugene Terre-Blanche, they are not in a moral position to prosecute anyone.

Just as there is a need to disarm lowly criminals, so there is an equal need to silence demagogues who play with fire while the country burns.

Peace Accord secretary Antonie Gildenhuys has argued for a press gag to silence the utterances of politicians, a proposal that once again removes responsibility from shoulders of the politicians onto the press.

Such a move would further bolster the already thriving politicians' mutual forgiveness society while the rest of us have to pay our parking fines and hope that we are not caught in the next hall of gunfire from a gang of madmen.

The failure of the NP to govern is an appalling inheritance to bequeath a new government. The breakdown of law and order in many townships, and the establishment of self-defence units and private armies, emerged out of the failure of the police to protect black communities.

After the slaughter at St James, the Afrikaner Weerstandsbeweging will probably be inundated with requests to stand guard at weddings, at rugby matches, at school meetings and at church services.

While the transition stumbles on, the country slumps further into lawlessness. When the time comes for a legitimate, democratically-elected government to reimpose its authority on a land, it may well meet extraordinary resistance.

It may have to resort to unpalatable measures just to be able to rule. Perhaps those measures will be easier to stomach once politicians realise that the banner of law and order is one of the few issues that could unite the majority of blacks and whites in the country.

Hopefully, that will not mean bending to the temptation to reimpose massive repression which, one suspects, is still the South African reflex.

Having battled so long to produce a Bill of Rights for South Africa, wouldn't it be a pity if the election campaign were so bloody that the first act of a post-apartheid government would be to lay it aside by declaring a state of emergency.

negotiation inevitably lead to a document that pleases no-one fully ...

the politicians. A joy for the lawyers

This week's draft proposal is a dream come true for the law business, says constitutional expert

Dennis Davis



with democracy. Institutions' status and the role of traditional leadership according to indigenous law shall be recognised and protected in the constitution.

These rather vague principles will play a key role in that they will be the legal yardstick against which a draft constitution will be tested judicially. The drafters have certainly been alive to this problem. At least one third of the CMB has to agree before the constitutional court can be approached for an order.

Another component of the draft constitution is the division of powers between the national assembly and senate and the so-called SPRs (states, provinces and regions). Each SPR shall be entitled to an allocation of legislative and executive competence in a range of areas specified in the draft, including education, cultural affairs, traditional authorities and indigenous law, health services and public media.

Any Bill passed by the national assembly which affects the exercise of SPR powers and functions shall be approved by both the national assembly and the senate. The senate shall be composed of 10 members, from each SPR, elected by the SPR legislatures on the principle of proportional representation. Whether a Bill concerns the exercise of pow-

ers and functions of SPR governments will doubtless be decided by the constitutional court. For example, the national government passes a Budget in which certain tax incentives are given with regard to the construction of certain forms of housing. An SPR could argue that this provision has to be approved by the national assembly and the senate, given that it affects the powers of the SPR.

The legislative process could be delayed until the constitutional court decides the matter. Alternatively, the senate, comprised entirely of members elected through the SPRs, can trump the wishes of the democratically elected national assembly.

A Bill which affects the exercise of powers of a particular SPR must be approved by a majority of the senators of that particular SPR. In

short, a range of legislation could be held to ransom at the whim of a particular region.

One has considerable sympathy with the drafters of this document. The political compromise of pact politics which has dominated the World Trade Centre necessitates complex legislation.

There seems no reason why the Concerned South Africans Group should not be enthusiastic about the document, which provides for strong regional powers, a relatively weak centre, entrenched regional constitutions and extensive indirect influence through the senate. Is the only federal option which will be acceptable to all parties one which allows for secession and guarantees entrenched majorities in various regions? This document is surely a basis for a compromise.

Professor Dennis Davis is director of the Centre for Applied Legal Studies in Johannesburg.

It's not easy to eradicate apartheid

Chris Louw

(3049) ~~28~~

W/M 20/7-5/8/93

THE technical committee commissioned by South Africa's negotiators to look at the repeal of discriminatory legislation has accepted defeat: apartheid is so pervasive that it cannot be eradicated before the country's first democratic elections.

Instead, the committee has now proposed that a "higher electoral code" be introduced that will override all discriminatory laws impeding election campaigns.

"The ultimate goal should be to get the election results accepted by all participating parties," committee member Professor Gerhard Erasmus said in an interview this week.

The real problem, he said, was that an interim constitution and a bill of fundamental human rights might

not be in place before the election campaigns started.

The "higher electoral code" — to be made law by parliament if accepted by the negotiating council — will ensure fairness in the run-up to the elections. It will outweigh any discriminatory legislation that may still be in place.

According to Erasmus, it proved an impossible task to identify all discriminatory laws. "Even if most of them are repealed, there is no guarantee that they are all caught in the net."

The problem is complicated by the fact that apartheid was not only entrenched in laws accepted by parliament. It extended to municipal regulations and bylaws which might be misused to discriminate against certain parties.

NEWS De Klerk meets Chief Buthelezi • Norwood Rapist' awaits mitigation argument

'No voting without IFP'

Sowetan 30/7/93

SOUTH Africa should not contemplate adopting a new constitution or contesting elections without the Inkatha Freedom Party, State President FW de Klerk said in Durban yesterday.

The meeting with Inkatha leaders came as the KwaZulu government filed an action before the Pretoria Supreme Court seeking to invalidate the setting of an election date and challenging the notion of sufficient consensus.

This was an attempt to find out what sufficient consensus meant, said Chief Mangosuthu Buthelezi without elaborating on the court action.

The IFP president met De Klerk for four hours to discuss the State President's "deep concern" at the IFP's withdrawal from negotiations.

De Klerk, meanwhile, said there could be no way forward without Inkatha's participation in negotiations. "I believe we shouldn't even contemplate going ahead without the IFP."

De Klerk said he didn't interpret Inkatha's pull-out from negotiations as a "total withdrawal".

"They've made it clear they've done it not because they won't return... We can't afford to go it alone while some role-players stay out."

Violence had been high up on their discussions and De Klerk said he had been talking to other political leaders as well and "we may take an initiative in future". He declined to expand. — Sapa.

Cop guilty on all counts

Sowetan 30/7/93

By Mzimasi Ngudle

NORWOOD serial rapist Jacobus Geldenhuis was convicted of all murder and rape charges by the Rand Supreme Court yesterday.

Geldenhuis (26), a former policeman whom the media dubbed the "Norwood rapist", stood motionlessly as Mr Justice TD Cloete convicted him of five counts of murder, five of rape, one of attempted rape, five of theft and one of robbery.

Geldenhuis, dressed in a white shirt, striped grey trousers and brown and black jersey, listened attentively as the judge related the evidence of his rape victims.

Geldenhuis had pleaded guilty to all the counts and also made confessions on how he attacked, robbed, raped and killed some of his victims.

The court adjourned until September 20 after his pro deo counsel Mr Paul Johnstone asked for time to secure the testimony of two forensic criminologists to assist in mitigation of sentence.

cue A MARRIED LADY

Join forces, Nats
and ANC urged

LONDON — *The Times* newspaper said yesterday South Africa did not have the luxury of time to produce a settlement.

"Three years after President (FW) de Klerk took the momentous decision to negotiate a future with his government's sworn enemies, South Africa is close to social disintegration," the newspaper said in an editorial.

"As political and criminal violence has spilled over from the black townships into white suburbia and white farms, support has drained from the government.

Secure order

"Today, its ability to administer the country, secure order, even to protect the negotiating process itself, is seriously in question."

"The only answer is for the government and African National Congress to join as soon as possible in the transitional executive, sharing responsibility for the maintenance of peace and order in a country in which the social contract has lost all meaning." — *Sapa*.

World in brief

3044

Negotiators shocked over Kwazulu's legal action

The Argus Correspondent

The application names

sions of the NC.

Mr Mahangu and Mr Gordhan

the representatives of the parties and organisations represented in the multiparty talks.

JOHANNESBURG. — Negotiators at the World Trade Centre have reacted with shock and anger to the Kwazulu government's filing of an application before the Pretoria Supreme Court yesterday to have certain decisions of the multiparty Negotiating Council (NC) invalidated.

Indo Yesizwe, as well as party chief negotiator N J Mahangu and Natal-Transvaal Indian Congress chief negotiator Pravin Gordhan — two of six rotating chairmen in the NC — as co-defendants.

In it, the Kwazulu government gives notice that it intends bringing an action before the Transvaal division of the Supreme Court on August 24 or soon afterwards, asking for the invalidation of certain decisions of the NC.

Mr Mahangu and Mr Gordhan were probably chairmen on the day those decisions were taken.

before the Pretoria Supreme Court yesterday to have certain decisions of the multiparty Negotiating Council (NC) invalidated.

Pravin Gordhan — two of six rotating chairmen in the NC — as co-defendants.

Bophuthatswana minister of state and chief negotiator Rowan Cronje told the NC soon after it started its deliberations yesterday that the Kwazulu government had decided on litigation because of its dissatisfaction with rulings of sufficient consensus on issues with which it disagreed, and that

Although negotiators generally refrained from commenting directly on the court application, they suggested that the application would be vigorously opposed. A 30/7/93

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□ IFP set on going to court to clarify 'sufficient consensus'

De Klerk fails to persuade Buthelezi to return to talks

DURBAN. — President F W de Klerk has failed to woo Chief Mangosuthu Buthelezi's Inkatha movement back to constitutional talks after four hours of talks in Durban.

The meeting followed a Supreme Court bid by the KwaZulu government to invalidate the April 27 election date and to challenge the notion of sufficient consensus.

Mr De Klerk told reporters after the meeting with the Inkatha Freedom Party chief at Kings House in Durban that a new constitution could not be adopted without the IFP and KwaZulu government's participation.

He was, however, optimistic they would return to negotiations.

This was reaffirmed by Chief Buthelezi who said his party's withdrawal was not permanent.

"The fact that we're not there now doesn't mean I'll destroy negotiations," the KwaZulu Chief Minister said.

But it was futile to return now, he added, chiding the African National Congress for saying the negotiation process could continue without the IFP.

Mr De Klerk's meeting with Chief Buthelezi caught most political observers by surprise and came after an earlier series of government/IFP talks which failed to draw Inkatha and KwaZulu back to the World Trade Centre.

Observers said Mr De Klerk's intervention highlighted the seriousness with which the government viewed the

IFP's non-participation in constitutional negotiations.

While both leaders skirted the issue of the Supreme Court application against the election date, Chief Buthelezi did say he hoped this would clarify the issue of sufficient consensus.

Expanding on the KwaZulu government's legal intervention, IFP executive member and delegate to yesterday's meeting, Ziba Jiyane, said it was a civil suit that would run parallel to negotiations.

"It doesn't preclude negotiations," he said.

He explained that the IFP and KwaZulu were attempting in the Pretoria Supreme Court to have decisions about an election date set aside "until the vague concept of sufficient consensus is defined".

"When we're satisfied this has been cleared we can participate."

He also sounded an optimistic note: "The IFP and KwaZulu government are considering serious talks to iron out our differences and hopefully return to negotiations satisfied that the issue of sufficient consensus has been seriously addressed."

He said Mr De Klerk had been "very sympathetic".

Mr De Klerk said: "South Africa shouldn't contemplate adopting a new constitution (without the IFP) and we're giving all our energy to prevent that situation from developing."

He stressed there could be no way forward without the participation of these parties.
— Sapa.

1 scheme ● Telecommunications discussed

Sowetan 20/7/93 **Cosatu money**

THE finance committee of the Congress of South African Trade Unions meets in Johannesburg today.

Sowetan 20/7/93 **NUM strike meetings**

THE National Union of Mineworkers will hold a series of meetings and rallies at various mines from today until Sunday to get a mandate regarding the balloting for strike action next week.

Sowetan 20/7/93 **Cosatu campaign**

COSATU will also be holding a series of rallies and meetings throughout the country as part of its worker voter education campaign.

Sowetan 20/7/93 **A regulator is what South Africa needs**

By Mzwandile Jacks

THE need for a regulator — to take a closer look at the relationship between the people and service — and the promotion of fair competition are necessary for South African telecommunication services to play a leading role in the international market.

This was said by speakers at a telecommunications symposium in Sandton. Mr Derek Hyde, of the United Kingdom's office of Telecommunications, said the regulator should not be under

severe control of the government and there should be a promotion of fair competition between the regulator and the State.

Mr Mike van den Berg, chairman of the South African Value Added Network Services, said access to telecommunication services was vital for the South African economy.

Mr Isaac Chaza, representative of the University of Zimbabwe Distance Education Board of Management, gave an account of the economic situation in Zimbabwe from pre to post-independence.

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Kwazulu in court bid to halt elections

Own Correspondent
JOHANNESBURG. — The Kwazulu government has gone to the Supreme Court in a bid to invalidate the April 27 election date, shocking participants in the negotiations process.

The move came as President F W de Klerk spent three hours with Chief Mangosuthu Buthelezi — attempting "to dissuade

the Chief Minister from taking the court action", government spokesman Mr David Steward said yesterday.

Mr De Klerk told Chief Buthelezi the correct action was to address the issue through negotiations.

After the meeting, Mr De Klerk said he was not even contemplating the situation where Inkatha was not part of the process

as he had always believed that no workable solution was possible without all the major players.

The Kwazulu government filed the action yesterday and a summons was issued to negotiating council chairmen Mr Prawn Gordon and Mr M J Mahlangu, who had ruled that there was sufficient consensus to set the election date at the forum's July 2 meeting.

The application also calls on the court to set aside a decision of the negotiation council to reject a Kwazulu government resolution calling for a one-stage federalist approach with bottom-up negotiations.

ANC chief negotiator Mr Cyril Ramaphosa said he thought the application would be "laughed out of court" as there was no legal basis for it.

It is understood that the Pretoria

Discussions between the government and Inkatha delegations will continue today.

30 JUL 1993

Mandela view pleases Nationalists

(3047) CT 30/7/92
THE National Party has welcomed recent remarks by Mr Nelson Mandela on the need to protect Afrikaner culture. An NP spokesman said this approach could make Mr Mandela an effective unifying force.

MANGOSUTHU BUTHELEZI

FM 30/7/93

Tragedy beckons

It is an alliance that nobody predicted: the former Marxist revolutionaries of the African National Congress and the former white supremacists of the National Party. Yet here they are, the ANC and the Nats, striving to keep the transition to democracy on schedule.

Another paradox for bewildered South Africans is that greater progress has meant greater instability. This is because politics is not so much about ideological belief as the securing and protection of interests. As that shrewdest of political animals, Napoleon Bonaparte, noted: "A man will fight harder for his interests than for his rights." And progress always threatens someone's interests.

It is in the interest of both the Nats and the ANC to push through an interim constitution based on the draft published this week. The ANC has some wise leaders who know very well the costs of delay: they do not want to rule a wasteland.

As for the Nats, they know that their time began running out in 1948. Having enjoyed power for longer than they deserved, they experienced a sudden moral conversion and are now resigned to bargaining for the best possible settlement they can get. Believing, quite rightly, that they have just about got that settlement, the Nats want to put it in place. They might differ ideologically from the ANC — but the interests of the two major national players coincide.

This cosy agreement is threatened from two important sources: Afrikaner nationalism and Zulu nationalism. Or, if you wish to be less noble, white reactionaries and black secessionists. Both groups threaten the fledgling constitution — but the most powerful spoiler at present is undoubtedly the Inkatha Freedom Party under Mangosuthu Buthelezi.

Buthelezi has the potential to become the tragic figure of South African politics. In the Sixties and Seventies, there was something Churchillian in his refusal to be seduced by Pretoria into accepting the fake independence so readily lapped up by Transkei, Bophuthatswana, Venda and Ciskei.

As long as Buthelezi, the leader of the most populous black nation, held out, the policy remained discredited. It was a stance much appreciated at the time by the ANC in exile.

In the Eighties came the increasing divergence between, on the one hand, Buthelezi and his rural conservative power base; and on the other, the ANC and its internal surrogates in the SA Council of Churches and the United Democratic Front. Buthelezi disagreed with the UDF on making the townships ungovernable; he disagreed with clergymen like Desmond Tutu on the need for economic sanctions. He lent his weight to sensible projects like the KwaNatal Indaba.

But in Natal and on the Witwatersrand, territories were marked out. Fighting increased as a result of tribalism, uneven access to resources, unfair patronage, the breakdown of families, the spiral of vengeance. However complicated it all was, the analysis became self-fulfilling: Inkatha versus the ANC in a battle for power. Now the violence is endemic.

It is not clear to outsiders where exactly Buthelezi's own interests coincide with those of the Zulu people, but he perceives them to be severely threatened. Perhaps he does not want to lose his historical domain; perhaps Zulu does not wish to be ruled by Xhosa; perhaps it would have been better to let KwaZulu and Natal go it alone. But politicians cannot be wistful; they must deal in realities.

Buthelezi's arguments and political aims are generally consistent; it is his tactics in pursuing them that are open to question. The question is not whether he is wrong in demanding so much devolved power, but how much he will risk.

It must surely be clear to him that his party's rigid federalist option will simply not be tolerated by the other major players, and that the time is fast approaching when they must move on without him.

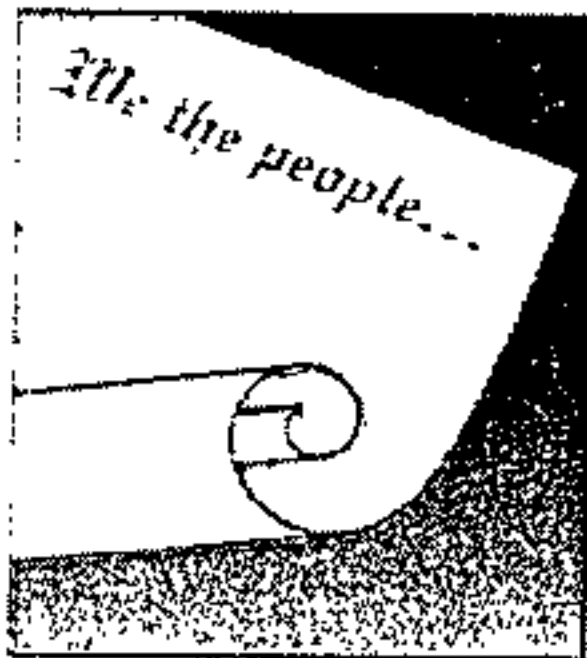
If that happens, he might pull us all down with him — which is the measure of the risk that he must calculate as he considers his own interests.

THE DRAFT INTERIM CONSTITUTION

The end of the beginning

FM 30/7/93

Not a bad start — but further progress depends on leaders, not lawyers



At last we have something to show for nearly three years of multiparty democracy talks — but undermined by economic decay, punctuated by mass action, and constantly threatened by violence.

The draft interim constitution tabled at the negotiating council on Monday brings us closer to a point of no return, which is why it has drawn some emotional responses. It represents a remarkable compromise between two former bitter enemies, the African National Congress and the National Party. Yet it also appears to have driven some parties — notably the Conservative Party and the Inkatha Freedom Party — further away from the two major players. Thus it prompts both hope and despair.

But we must bear in mind that the draft is just that — a draft — and we must be quite clear about the intended role of the final version.

This document is not the proposed ultimate constitution for the country; it is merely the first draft of an interim constitution. It will take force after the general election in April 1994 and will be used to govern the country while the elected constituent assembly formulates a final constitution. That process is expected to last as long as two years from mid-1994. (Before the April 1994 election, the country will be governed by an

appointed multiparty Transitional Executive Council, which is expected to be set up by the present parliament in September.)

But there is little time. A feeling of desperation grows in the country, with many wondering whether to emigrate because of rising crime and violence — such as the barbaric church massacre in Cape Town last Sunday. First draft it may be, but there will not be an opportunity for many more — which is why careful criticism and responsive statesmanship is vital.

Within the negotiating council itself there is, paradoxically, a pall of gloom brought on by the absence of Mangosuthu Buthelezi's IFP and his CP allies. Though decisions can be taken without them, these decisions may have to be revisited should the recalcitrants decide to return — or should they work to subvert the transition and next year's general election. Government, the ANC and others want the process and solution to be as inclusive as possible — but the time may soon come when the risks of moving ahead without the CP and IFP will have to be faced.

All constitutions have a lot of mom-and-apple-pie stuff on which everyone can agree and this one is no different. It is often general or vague and it leaves out entire sections pending formulation by other technical committees.

But it is an important step, symbolically and practically. It sets out broad and democratic constitutional principles. It also constructs a transitional political framework. According to a leading US expert on transi-

tions to democracy, the Hoover Institute's Larry Diamond, the draft "allows for proportionality, power-sharing and the devolution of power — both in the governance of SA during the period following the election of a bicameral interim parliament, and in the drafting of a permanent constitutional system for after the interim period."



Diamond

The most ominous objections to the draft come from the IFP, which is "gravely concerned about much of the content." Inkatha spokesman Walter Felgate says it is "not even a starting point." While the IFP takes no exception to the work of the committee, which "correctly fulfilled its brief and

instructions" from the Negotiating Forum on July 2, the problem, says the IFP, is in those instructions.

"The IFP," says Felgate, "walked out of the negotiations precisely because it felt that the instructions would lead to a constitution which excludes federalism and leaves the shaping of SA's destiny to a constituent assembly. This is precisely what has happened." So Inkatha will rejoin the negotiations "only once a model for the establishment of a federal system in a one-stage process is at least put on the table." This is a familiar refrain: increasingly, the IFP seems to view the talks as a means simply of getting its way.

The IFP alleges deep political dishonesty and misrepresentation by government and the ANC, which "totally ignored IFP objections" to the technical committee's brief. It says the draft is not fully comprehensible, with important sections (such as that on the constitutional court) not yet written. It claims that the document "has no purpose other than to empower a constituent assembly."

This assembly, the IFP continues, will be charged with completely re-drafting the constitution — which could be adopted by a 51% majority after the deadlock-breaking mechanisms have run their course. The requirement for a 60% majority in a referendum, says Inkatha with considerable justification, is meaningless if the ultimate deadlock breaker is a simple majority.

Inkatha is on shakier ground when it maintains that the regional powers in the draft are limited and that they will not in any case vest in the regions. But it argues that this decision, including the extent of those powers and whether they will be exclusive or

THE DRAFT IN A NUTSHELL

Proposals to build on ...

- ☐ A multiparty executive;
- ☐ Entrenched independence of judiciary;
- ☐ A national assembly elected by proportional representation, based on party lists;
- ☐ Direct election of regional assemblies at the same time as the national body;
- ☐ Regions to have own constitutions;
- ☐ A directly elected senate with real power to protect regional functions;
- ☐ Asymmetry among regions an option;
- ☐ Abolition of TBVC/homeland administrations;
- ☐ Adequate room for more bargaining on regional powers;
- ☐ Establishment of an expert financial and fiscal commission, to ensure fair allocation of national revenue;
- ☐ The separation of powers between the

legislature, executive and judiciary; and

- ☐ Acceptance of a common market and a common currency.

Crucial problem areas ...

- ☐ No specific protection of property and economic activity rights offered beyond April 1994;
- ☐ Deadlock-breaking mechanism for adopting a new constitution heavily favours the ANC;
- ☐ Lack of clarity over intended powers for regions;
- ☐ Possible over-representation of regions through own assemblies, central assembly and central senate;
- ☐ Likely financial burden of too many elected representatives and a bureaucracy to service them; and
- ☐ Important aspects, such as a constitutional court, are not yet addressed.

Valli adds that the draft makes extensive provision for the establishment of regional powers, functions and structures — 17 of its 30 pages are devoted to regional government. While this is an attempt to meet the concerns of the IFP and other Cosag members, "the irony is that the IFP will not be there to discuss these issues."

The chief negotiator of Bophuthatswana, Rowan Cronje, says he is disappointed. "It is an indication of the difficulties caused by following a two-phase process: you have a transitional constitution, but in terms of regions you can't make any decisions because eventually they may be reversed. The implementation of a new regional dispensation, as has been indicated, is going to be a very complex and long process. And unless one is very clear from the beginning what your ultimate objective is, it is very difficult to do it."

"The lack of regional powers, the fact that any Bills will have to be referred to the central government, that any proposed constitutions have to be referred to central government — these provisions really undermine the fundamental decisions which we've taken on constitutional principles. If those are accommodated and we work towards them, it will lead to a far more structured, more sensible and comforting way of dealing with it."

"The draft gives no security. It puts everything into limbo for another two years. The



Botha

restructuring process should be on far more solid ground than is being provided for."

In direct contradiction of Marinus Wiechers, Cronje thinks that the powers allocated to regions in the draft constitution "give them less powers and put them in a weaker position than the provinces right now. They have no original powers. Everything is dependent and to be decided by central government."

The arguments and counter-arguments can become bewildering. Many of the players are superb at finding good legalistic arguments to back the case which suits their own interests. (117) (118) (304A)

This is why the Hoover Institute's Larry Diamond offers a valuable perspective. Diamond argues that the draft and the constitutional principles together represent an obviously necessary compromise between incompatible negotiating positions.

"If this draft is embraced by the ANC in more or less its current form, outside observers will no doubt be struck by the very great distance that party has come from its original preference for unitary, centralised government."

However, Diamond adds, "even if all of

the remaining questions and gaps are filled in to the satisfaction of the most vigorously doubting sceptics, this draft constitution will fall well short of the demands of the IFP for full federalism that is rigidly embedded into the constitution at the outset of the transitional government. One can only hope and pray that there remains room for negotiation in the IFP's position."

Looking at the experience of other transitions, says Diamond, it is crucially important to the success of the transitional constitution that Inkatha is represented on the Transitional Executive Council.

There comes a point, of course, where all the structures and fine words can mean nothing. The success of a constitution — transitional or final — must depend on the will and good faith of important political leaders, as well as on peaceful conditions. Otherwise it is not worth the paper it is written on — as the citizens of many African and Soviet bloc countries will testify; they have suffered oppression under wonderful constitutions.

Of course, we still have to adopt an interim constitution. Assuming that our politicians are listening — those from Inkatha in particular — let Diamond have the last word: "Democratic transitions often reach the point of deadlock that can only be broken by the personal statesmanship and diplomacy of political leaders . . . such leadership may well make the difference in the days and weeks ahead."

Sexwale invites Viljoen to talks

PRETORIA. — ANC PWV leader Mr Tokyo Sexwale yesterday invited the Afrikaner Volksfront's General Constand Viljoen to discussions on a "boerestaat".

He was speaking at a meeting to launch an ANC branch at the University of Pretoria.

Mr Sexwale said "we should not run away from chatting and form small quarters of resistance".

He said the ANC wanted an undivided South Africa, not a state based on ethnicity.

His message to the ultra-right was that they were not the true leaders of the Afrikaner.

He said: "Come, let's talk," in a message to Gen Viljoen, who he said was seen as their leader by some "misguided people".

No-one should overlook white fears and black anger, he said, adding that elections next April were "the only thing standing between us and disaster". — Sapa-AFP

A time for good tactics

"Extending a hand of friendship and accommodation" to Inkatha, KwaZulu and the Conservative Party to rejoin the talks, the other 23 parties present in the negotiating council on Monday resolved to delay debate on the first draft of the interim constitution and the issues of confederalism and sufficient consensus, until (last) Wednesday. A week's grace was considered too much.

"The absence of the IFP and the CP is of great concern to us," says ANC secretary-general Cyril Ramaphosa, adding that the resolution "walks that extra mile" in an attempt to get them back to where their concerns could be properly addressed. The NP's Dawie de Villiers urged the two parties to stop making threats of violence and to put the interests of the country first.

Signs of their return were hard to detect as the *FM* went to press. On the contrary, Inkatha suggested that it would bring Supreme Court action against the council over the controversial issue of decision-making by sufficient consensus, which is how the April 27 election date was decided at the Negotiating Forum on July 2 (*Current Affairs* July 23) (114) (115) (304A)

The other hurdle Inkatha has erected is the draft interim constitution, which it rejects completely because, it claims, the draft fails to meet its demand for federalism. Not only that — Inkatha demands that federalism must be implemented in one phase and be immune to an elected constitution-making body. Until something like this is "at least put on the table," say Inkatha, it will not return. (114) (115) (304A)

Behind-the-scenes attempts are being made by government and the ANC to prevail on the boycotting parties to get back to negotiations.

The CP might just return for the debate on confederalism, but its initial reaction to the draft blueprint was utterly negative and it ruled out any chance of rejoining the talks. The idea of an alternative negotiating forum has been mooted by the CP and IFP.

Other parties in the Inkatha-led Cosag alliance — Bophuthatswana, Ciskei and the Afrikaner Volksunie have stayed on board so far.

A rumour at the talks suggested that Afrikaner Volksfront co-ordinator Gen Constand

FM 20/7/93

Viljoen could again put in an appearance at the World Trade Centre — this time to take part in the debate on confederalism, as part of Andries Beyers's Volksunie team (114) (115) (304A)

It seems there's something of an internal battle going on between the CP and the generals over who controls the Volksfront. Viljoen is said to have been "discovered" politically by the Volksunie, not the CP, and the hope is that he will join this more moderate rightwing group instead (114) (115) (304A)

According to the Afrikaner Stigting's Carel Boshoff jnr, his group sees an opening for the pursuit of a largely Afrikaner-dominated region, thanks to government's proposal to the regional boundary commission of two regions in the western Cape (*Current Affairs* July 16). (114) (115) (304A)

CROSSTALK

This week's Crosstalk looks at the various proposals for an Afrikaner federal state. **Andries Beyers** of the Afrikaner-Volksunie (AVU) spells out his party's proposals, which contrast with the ideas of the Afrikaner Volksfront (AVF)

Afrikaner state provides for SA's diversity

MY PARTY, the Afrikaner-Volksunie (AVU), represents a portion of the Afrikaner people who desperately desire their self-determination in a federal state in a new dispensation.

We are leading freedom-loving Afrikaners to the irrefutable reality that our self-determination can only be realised if it is formulated and structured so as to be in no way to the unjust detriment of other South Africans.

Modern Afrikaner Nationalists like us have come to terms with all internationally accepted political norms and standards. We have renounced all forms of racism and statutory race discrimination. (30/4/93)

Being strong supporters of regionalism, we favour more or less homogeneous regions with the highest possible degree of self-determination. We regard a regional constitutional structure with strong regional governments as a prerequisite for lasting order and stability.

For that reason we support the viewpoint that it is of the utmost importance that the powers, functions and borders of regions must be agreed upon during the all-party talks, and entrenched in the first constitution.

In the all-party talks we will prove that our proposal for a federal state in which there will be a concentration of Afrikaners — which is not meant to be an exclusive Afrikaans region — represents a viable and fair deal which deserves the sympathy of all peace-loving South Africans.

In our region everyone will be equal before the law, will enjoy equal citizenship and voting rights, and will inter alia be protected by a negotiated Act of Fundamental Rights that will be accepted by negotiation.

The relation between multi-ethnicity and ethnicity in South Africa should be and can be complementary.

The most important historical controversy among disparate nations and parties can be solved by the acceptance of this dual reality.

By acknowledging this dual reality, the last stumbling block on our way to real reconciliation can be removed.

The question remains: What are the proposals of the AVU in practical terms?

All major parties propose that South Africa should be divided in regions with their own constitutions and governments. They differ on the powers and the borders of the regions.

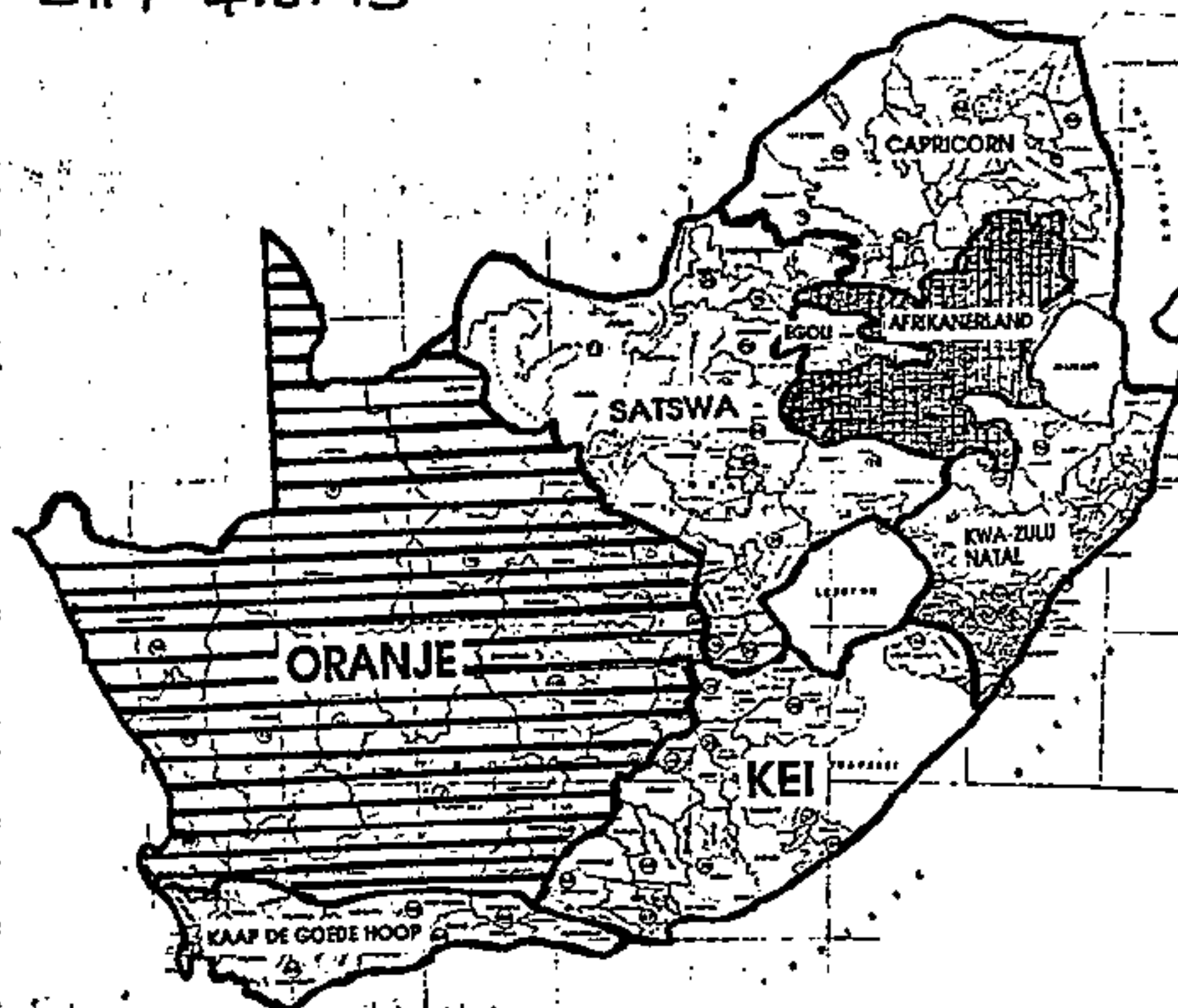
The AVU proposes that a small region in the north of the country, with Pretoria as its centre, be demarcated in such a way as to provide for majority occupation of our people in that region.

Research shows that a region can be demarcated with a population of 879 000 Afrikaners, 293 000 English-speaking whites and 658 000 other South Africans. Such a region can serve as a home base for Afrikaners and people who will be attracted by a western civilised culture, but will not be regarded and governed as being a region exclusively for Afrikaners.

There will be no forced removals of people and every citizen will have the same rights.

Because of our majority in such a region, we will be able to get political rule of the region. This political power would make it in turn possible to develop the region into a region with maximum self-determination.

Dealing with a second proposition, a region in the Cape Province can be demarcated and function as a component state of the South African federation. We propose two regions (on the map called Oranje and Cape of Good Hope) in which, according to the latest available language map, the population will consist of 67 percent Afrikaans speakers, 18 percent English speakers and 15 percent Xhosa speakers. These two regions can alternatively



AFRIKANERLAND: The AVU proposes an Afrikaner region called Afrikanerland, with its capital in Pretoria. It also suggests a mostly Afrikaner region, Oranje in the Cape Province, which could possibly be combined with the Cape of Good Hope region in the South Western Cape

be merged into one region.

This region will have a more or less homogeneous character. In this region a federal state can be brought about in which western civilised norms and standards will predominate because of the population living there.

I want to stress that our country's problems can be resolved by a federal political rearrangement in which the cultural and ethnic interests of all cultural identities, including freedom-loving Afrikaners, are addressed.

We urge all parties to accommodate the reasonable aspirations and ideals of modern Afrikaner nationalists as an amendment to their political programmes. This will ensure Afrikaner nationalists become the defenders of a new dispensation.

The possible misunderstanding of our reasonable cause will result in Afrikaners being chased into the arms of militant groups and boycotting organisations. That will not be in the interests of peace in our land.

We know that our ideals can only be realised if they are formulated in such a way to take place in harmony with the inevitable process of democratisation that is presently taking place in this country.

We hope that the Heavenly Father will grant us the opportunity to enter the new dispensation as proud and grateful Afrikaners whose reasonable striving is accommodated. We are ready and prepared to reconcile ourselves with all peace-loving South Africans.

The time has come for strong leadership and statesmanlike behaviour that will resound throughout the future centuries.

Cape towns don't want to be in OFS

By Claire Keeton 31/7-4/8/93

COMMUNITY organisations in north-east Cape towns have rejected reports that residents would like to be part of the Orange Free State when the country's borders are redrawn.

They claimed communities were not informed about the recommendations submitted to the demarcation commission in Port Elizabeth.

The Drakensberg Regional Services Council (DRSC), which consists of 36 local authorities, earlier this month submitted a proposal for eight Cape towns to be included in the Orange Free State (OFS).

DRSC chief executive officer Mr Earl Loxton said the council had consulted with white, coloured and black residents.

But the Border region of the South African National Civic Organisation (Sanco), under which many of the civics fall, said residents from the towns had complained that they were not consulted.

Sanco publicity secretary, Mr Sakumzi Scatsha said the civics and ANC completely opposed the current recommendations.

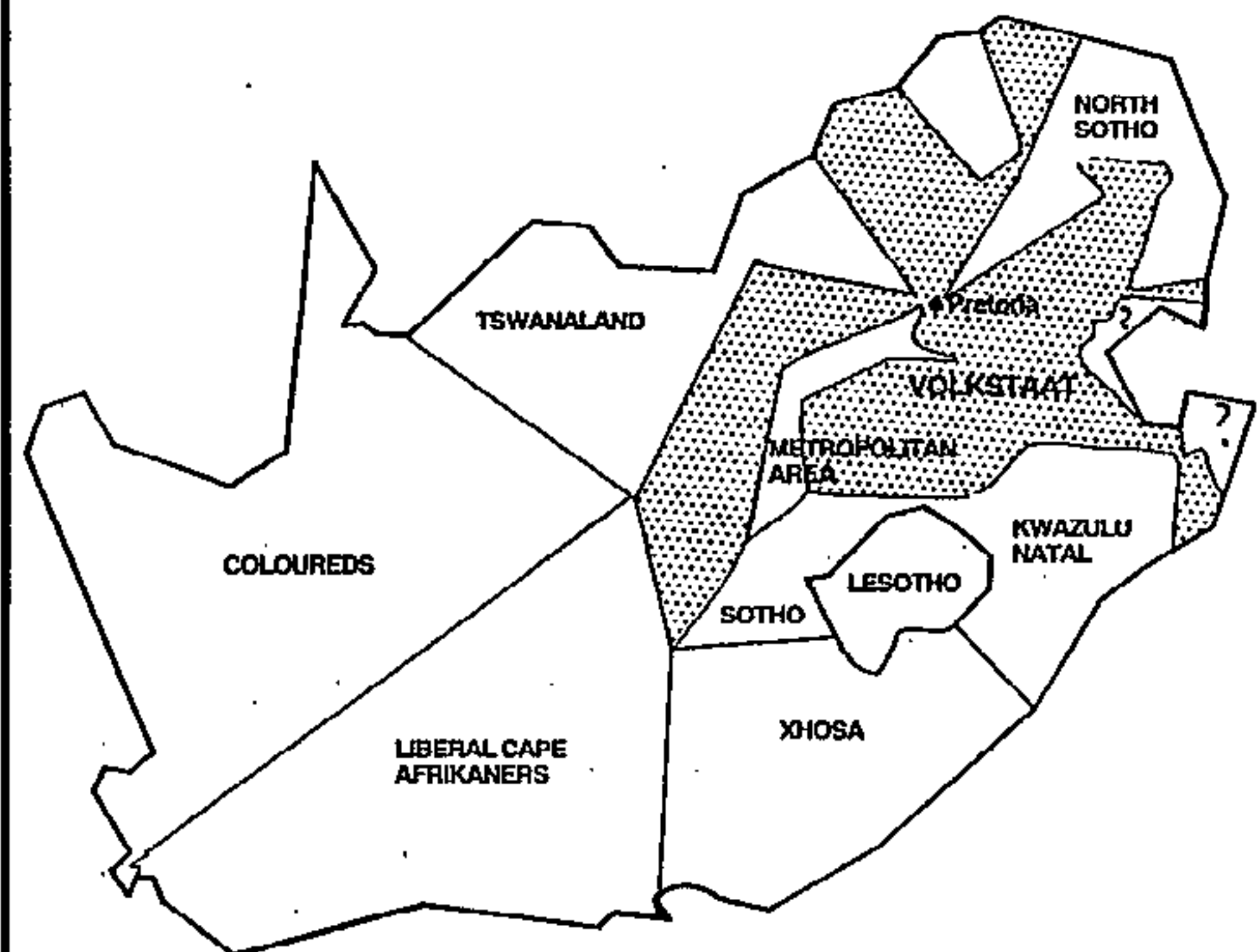
Burgersdorp ANC chairperson Mr Toto Wonga said he did not know of the proposal to be part of the OFS.

"They should have consulted organisations on the ground before they took a decision."

In Aliwal North, the ANC publicity secretary Mr Sam Smith interpreted the leaning towards the OFS as an attempt "to force an Afrikaner regime on the region".

Sanco will hold a meeting on July 31 so that people from these areas could present their positions and his organisations could take decisions. — ELNEWS.

Volksfront's Volksstaat



THE Conservative Party was unable to submit an article for Crosstalk, as its final decision on regionalism will only be reached within the next six weeks.

However, this map shows the regional divisions submitted to the Commis-

sion on Regionalism by the Afrikaner Volksfront (AVF), of which the CP is a member. The map divides South Africa into 10 regions instead of the nine proposed by the NP and ANC — but the Volksstaat is larger than the one proposed by the Afrikaner Volksunie.

CROSSTALK debates are presented in association with the Institute for Multi-Party Democracy, a non-partisan organisation not affiliated to any institute or political party. Its mission is to promote multi-party democracy, political tolerance and national reconciliation in South Africa. For more information, telephone (021) 25 1120/54/55.

SOUTH readers are encouraged to respond to any of the viewpoints presented on this page.

Viljoen willing to meet ANC

JOHANNESBURG. —
Afrikaner Volksfront
leader General Con-
stand Viljoen said yes-
terday he was willing to
meet ANC PWV regional
chairman Mr Tokyo Sex-
wale for talks.

He added, however, he
wondered whether there
was any point in accept-
ing the invitation in the
light of Mr Sexwale's
earlier statement that
there was "no such thing
as a Boerestaat (Boer
state)". — Sapa

Monday, July 31 1993 ★

NOT RECORDED
YSA/ST/12/1993

Plan for regional constitutions

JOHANNESBURG. — Multi-party negotiators yesterday decided to establish a special sub-committee to investigate the manner in which regions could draw up and phase in their own constitutions.

The decision came after a long and impassioned debate which the SACP's Mr Joe Slovo called the most important discussion held by the multi-party negotiating council.

The ANC-SACP alliance has made a

180-degree turnabout on the regional issue to meet the aspirations of other parties, who appear not to be ready to make any fundamental concession.

Two main lines of thinking have emerged from the debate.

The first, which includes the ANC grouping, believes that only elected representatives of regions can write regional constitutions which must be subordinate to the central constitution. The

elected representatives cannot be bound in any way by a directive from a body such as the Negotiating Council or its replication at regional level.

The second group, formed mainly around Concerned South Africans Group (Cosag) and government thinking, believes some preparatory drafting is needed to ensure the new regional structures do not enter a constitutional void.

— Sapa (304A) DT 31/7/93

Azapo stands firm on the Constituent Assembly

SOUTH 2117 - 418193

By Christelle Terreblanche

AZAPO has reiterated it would continue the liberation struggle if negotiations do not bring into being a Constituent Assembly (CA) in the way the movement understands it.

In the week that has seen three of the 26 partners at the World Trade Centre withdraw from the talks, Azapo's regional publicity secretary in the Western Cape, Mr Jimmy Yekiso, told SOUTH the movement has no plans to join the talks.

The Conservative Party has confirmed its permanent withdrawal, while the Inkatha Freedom Party and KwaZulu government is weighing up its position — all in protest at the draft constitutional principles unveiled on Monday. ~~(SOUTH)~~

"We do not want to take part, because the talks are undemocratic in that the parties there were not



JIMMY YEKISO

(SOUTH) ~~(SOUTH)~~ elected to decide on the country's future," Yekiso said. "Parties taking part should do so on an equal basis, and not have a situation where the NP is still in government. If we join

the talks we will be giving them legitimacy.

"At the same time we do acknowledge that the negotiations can deliver a CA. If this assembly's sole purpose is to draft a democratic constitution, we will participate in the elections and the transitional authority structures."

Yekiso was adamant that Azapo was against a CA that drafted the constitution and governed at the same time.

"We are in favour of government by a transitional authority, comprising neutral bodies like the United Nations, the Organisation for African Unity and the Commonwealth," he says.

If this did not happen, he foresaw the movement protesting against the "fraudulent government" after the elections.

Negotiators squabble on regional powers

By Christelle Terreblanche

NEGOTIATING partners at the World Trade Centre are still squabbling about regional powers and functions, despite widespread and cautious acceptance of proposals for the interim constitution-making process, the draft bill of rights and the draft agreement on a transitional executive authority.

The Conservative Party, Inkatha and the KwaZulu government walked out in protest against the lack of provision for federalism in the draft constitution. Other parties have also indicated they would ask for more regional powers to be entrenched in an interim constitution to be tabled in about two months during the short session of parliament.

Among those asking for more federal and regional powers are the

National Party, the Democratic Party, Ciskei and Bophuthatswana.

Yet, as it stands, the draft constitution makes provision for a long list of wide powers and functions that could be claimed by a "state/province/region". These are dubbed SPR's in the document drawn up by the seven member technical committee on constitutional issues. (30449)

Each SPR government (the number and boundaries of SPR's are still to be decided) will send 10 members to the senate which, along with a national assembly of 400 members, will make up the constitution-making body.

That means each region or SPR would have 10 members directly participating in the drafting of South Africa's constitution in the two years after the election.

Members of each SPR, for instance in the Cape region, will be elected on the basis of proportional

representation at the same time as the election for the national assembly.

The SPR's executive of 10 members will be elected by the entire SPR. This executive will elect a premier for the region, while the Senate will elect a president.

The national executive or cabinet will consult with SPR's and a commission on SPR government, consisting of 10 members, will be appointed by the State President to decide the executive and legislative powers of each SPR.

It is this lack of finality on powers that has led to most dissatisfaction among the political parties.

The combined constitution-making body will then approve these regional powers.

Powers and functions the SPR's could choose from include:

- Taxation within the region to raise taxes for its own purposes;
- Local policing and law enforcement;

ment;

- Housing;
- Education;
- Health and welfare services;
- Environmental affairs;
- Roads;
- Transport; and
- Language policy.

But laws passed by the SPR governments may not be in conflict with those passed by parliament.

A two-thirds majority will be needed by the SPR government to pass a constitution of its own.

The national constitution will be adopted by the constitution-making body — also by a two-thirds majority. One third of members may petition the president of the senate to refer a constitutional proposal to the constitutional court, while two thirds will be necessary to appoint an independent panel of five constitutional experts to advise on problems.

Decisions taken by the constitutional court cannot be overturned by a court of law.

Some of the checks and balances in the interim constitution provide for legislation affecting the powers and functions of a particular SPR government to be approved by a majority of senators of that SPR.

If not passed by them, a referendum would be held.



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Negotiators plan defence

304A 105 113 CT 31/7/73

JOHANNESBURG. — Multi-party negotiators at Kempton Park have appointed a special sub-committee to take legal advice on defending two of its chairmen against KwaZulu government legal action instituted on Thursday.

The planning committee reported to the Negotiating Council yesterday morning that the

legal action was directed at two members of the council, who had acted as officers of the multi-party negotiating council in taking decisions in terms of the disputed concept, "sufficient consensus".

Yesterday President FW de Klerk said he still believed elections would be held at the end of April next year because "there

is still ample time to adhere to that time-frame".

He was addressing the media after a meeting with the ecumenical eminent persons group, comprising foreign delegates.

Negotiators were "near to a breakthrough" and were moving closer to a compromise based on "really sufficient consensus", he added. — Sapa

Too much depends on central government, say delegates

Clearing way for debates

(3047) Star 31-1/93

JOHN PERLMAN
Chief Reporter

THE Negotiating Council at the World Trade Centre yesterday continued to try to clear the ground for the tough debates ahead on the draft constitution and a Bill of Rights for the transition — with mixed success.

Debate on the council floor produced some clarity in the complex wranglings over what powers regional governments should have, but consideration of the technical committee's report on the Bill of Rights saw traditional leaders insisting that customary law was not being accorded its due place.

Opposed

Delegates — excluding those from the Inkatha Freedom Party, the KwaZulu government and the Conservative Party — heard debate about how constitutions for the state, provincial and regional governments would be drawn up.

The Afrikaner Volksunie (AVU) and Bophuthatswana government again opposed the idea that the elected legislature of the government — as opposed to appointed regional representatives — should draw up a constitution or even decide it did not need a constitution.

They argued that regional powers still de-



TO THE POINT: Bophuthatswana's chief negotiator at the World Trade Centre, Rowan Goniwe, gets his views across to a fellow delegate.

pended too much on central government for their granting.

"Regions in this constitution remain a big if," said Corlia Kruger of the AVU. Everything, she said, "hangs on the balance" of the central government.

Joe Slovo of the SACP said the ANC and its allies had already made concessions, "a 180-degree turn", on regions.

"One aspect from which we cannot depart is that whatever texts are prepared it is still the elected representatives of the people in the region that must decide. We can't bind them in this forum," he said.

Moolman Mentez of the AVU said the constitution of a region should be drawn up by "a body like this one". Bophuthatswana's chief negotiator, Rowan Goniwe, said that while regions were "provided for", they were "dependent on and controlled by central government without a little bit of autonomy to think and do for themselves".

That, he said, was "our central problem". The council was not looking to make any decisions. This week's discussion was intended to

on "fundamental rights during the transition" — the seventh report of this committee — included several changes made after debate on July 21.

Among them was a detailed description of what constituted discrimination, which would not be allowed from the grounds of race, gender, ethnic origin, colour, sexual orientation,

and above our culture". Traditional leaders' submissions about this had been ignored. The question of "culture and custom to the people of this country is fundamental", he said.

Professor L. M. du Plessis, convener of the technical committee which drafted the document, said traditional leaders' objections had been addressed by a clause which stated that rights recognised and conferred by indigenous law remained in full force. However, these could not limit any rights entrenched in the document. Nonkoyana said this was contradictory, reflected "an urban bias" and made customary law subordinate to Roman-Dutch law.

Challenged

The DP's Tony Leon argued that the Bill of Rights should not just have "vertical application" — where citizens could challenge the State — but also "horizontal", where citizens could challenge each other as well as non-governmental institutions.

The DP also challenged the proposed "interpretation" of the Bill which would seek to promote "the values which underlie a free, open and democratic society based on a principle of equality". Leon said liberty should be included as a principle of equal standing with equality.

"The courts should evaluate where liberty should prevail and where equality should prevail," he said. "I regard this Bill as more important than the constitution."