S. A. GOVT. POLITICS

1993 AUG.

Place to hi

■ While the Afrikaner Volksfront argues for a homeland in Transvaal's richest areas, it's quietly becoming a reality in the tiny northern Cape town of Orania.

MONICA OOSTERBROEK
Weekend Argus Correspondent

WHEN rightwing leader and mentor Professor Carel Boshoff led a group of Afrikaners into the desert to form the nucleus of the Afrikaner Volkstaat, many people laughed.

At best, the first pioneers who moved to the rundown and isolated township on the banks of the Orange River in April 1991 were written off as a tiny group of fanatics who would quickly come running back to civilisation.

Built two decades before by Water Affairs for construction workers, the town was completely overgrown and the prefabricated houses were falling down. The first families watched tumbleweed blowing over the veld while doors swung off their hinges and the wind whistled through the broken windows.

And there was nothing — no work, no industries, no crops; just weeds and dust.

Now, nearly 800 Afrikaners living there are thriving in a rapidly growing community. Most of the original houses have been renovated and the gardens are beginning to flourish.

The friendly mayor, Mr Gerrie Pelser, and elegant wife Anneke took Weekend Argus on a tour around the town, pointing out how hard the community had worked and what work still needed to be done.

As Mr Pelser explained, incoming families would now have to build houses on the vacant lots available.

Dozens of businesses and light industries have been established and are getting off the ground, with products being sold locally, in the rest of South Africa and even overseas.

A busy furniture factory and kitchen cupboard manufacturers supply products to the entire country. The hardware shop, stationary shop and local cafe do a fair trade from people in Orania and surrounding towns, as does the local mechanic and owner of the Auto Spare shop.

Three strapping men originally from the East Rand have a brick-making factory, supplying 3 000 concrete bricks a day to Karoo residents and farmers.

The country guest house, run by former Johannesburg resident Ms Desiree Adendorf, enjoys brisk business with tourists ranging from local and international politicians, media people and potential residents, to friends and families visiting residents.

Mothers spend their days sewing clothes, baby growers and other necessary items for sale while their children play together within eye-sight. A group of women recently set up an industry making chamois leather covers for sponges which they export to Germany.

There is the growing agriculture, which is said to be making the residents self-sufficient.

Thabazimbi importer Tienie "Hout" van Wyk keeps the community sweet with his preservatives and extraordinary jams. The Brak family from Holland run a dairy farm to produce milk and cheese, households are encouraged to keep vegetable gardens and men living in Orania have sheep and cattle on their nearby farms.

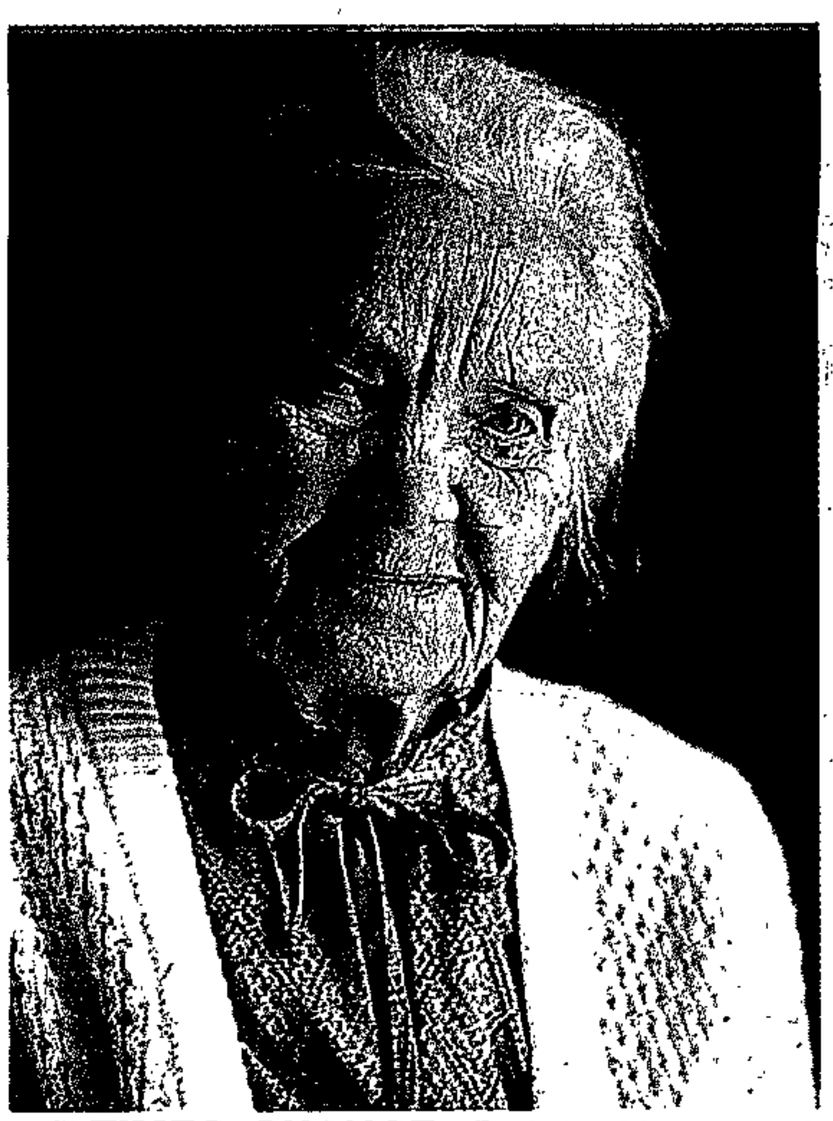
A variety of fruit trees thrive and, with water cheap and easily available, irrigation has turned Orania into a green oasis in the barren territory.

Although they get no money from the government, funds are starting to flow in from rightwing sympathisers, especially groups in Germany. Retired people with private incomes and pensions are valued as they also bring money to the area.

New arrivals wanting to start businesses must apply in writing to the elected six-man town's committee. The committee does not encourage duplication and permission is only granted for businesses which will promote growth.

This has been a contentious issue as some residents believe there should be complete freedom in trade and that competition should be encouraged.

Labour, Mr Pelser said, was still a problem and



□ **TIMES CHANGE:** Betsie Verwoerd admits that Afrikaners are not entitled to have the whole country.

especially at present experts in the building trade were badly needed. But residents believe that increasing unemployment, due to black affirmative action, and increasing violence and crime will force many Afrikaner tradesmen into Orania to make a living.

Even now, there is a wide cross-section of people from all walks of life and classes.

A number of young educated Afrikaners and their families have moved from the cities to Orania to be part of the Volkstaat ideal.

One of them is a 28-year-old jeweller from Johannesburg, Mr Nico van den Berg, who is learning to lay bricks and tiles so he can be useful in his new life.

Another is 25-year old Mr Wikus Venter who took a course in farming and came from the Free State.

The down-and-outers imported in the early days to do the manual labour have all been asked to leave. Drunks, drug addicts and the violent are soon evicted. And the outspoken rightwinger, Mr Johan Moolman, who made news when he beat up a white labourer and threatened coloureds passing Orania, was asked to move on.

Residents said he did not fit into Orania with his militant views.

At a meeting in Orania last weekend, Mr Carel Boshoff stressed that they did not want to discriminate against other races. They merely wanted a place they could call home.

This was confirmed by some residents who conceded that the time had come for South Africa to be handed over to the black majority. But they added that they were scared the Afrikaner culture and values, particularly their Calvinist ethics, would be swamped and would disappear.

Mrs Verwoerd, widow of former Prime Minister Hendrick Verwoerd, who moved to Orania as the logical extension of the separate development policy of her late husband, said: "We can't have the whole country as in the old days because times change — but we need a little space of our own."

The community will not be satisfied with just Orania, which they see as the capital of an entire state.

Last weekend Mr Boshoff outlined plans to buy up nearby farms and other dying Karoo towns, slowly building up the Afrikaner Volkstaat and creeping through Beauford West towards the coast.

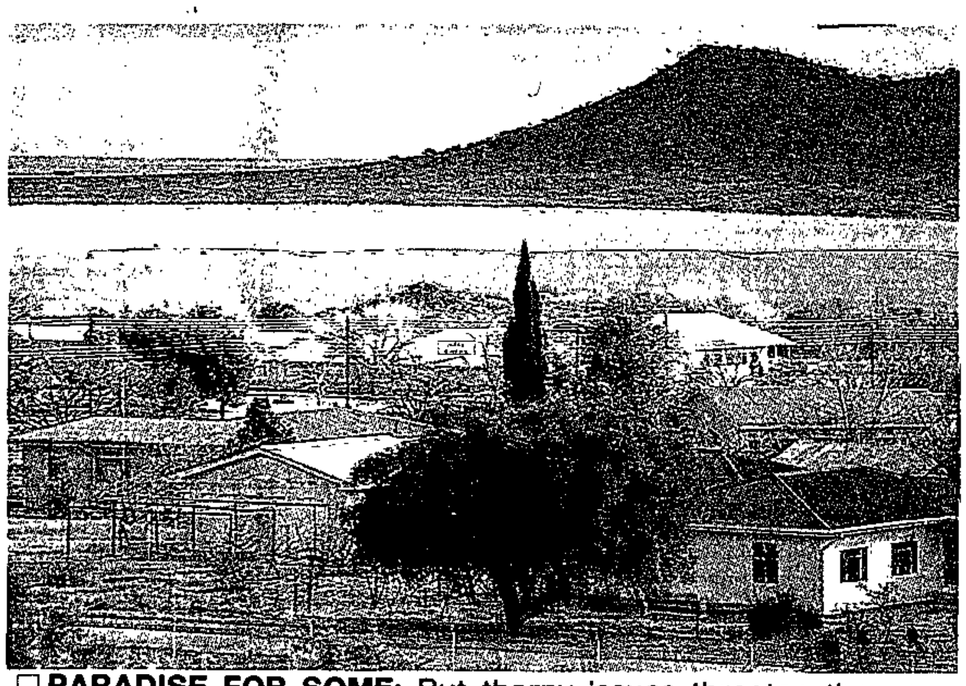
Mr Boshoff said that while they supported other Afrikaner groups in the quest for a homeland, it would be impractical and unrealistic to demand land in the densely populated and rich Transvaal area. Some attending the meeting felt it arrogant of the Volksfront to demand such a powerful area when Afrikaners were such a small minority in

de for the Volk

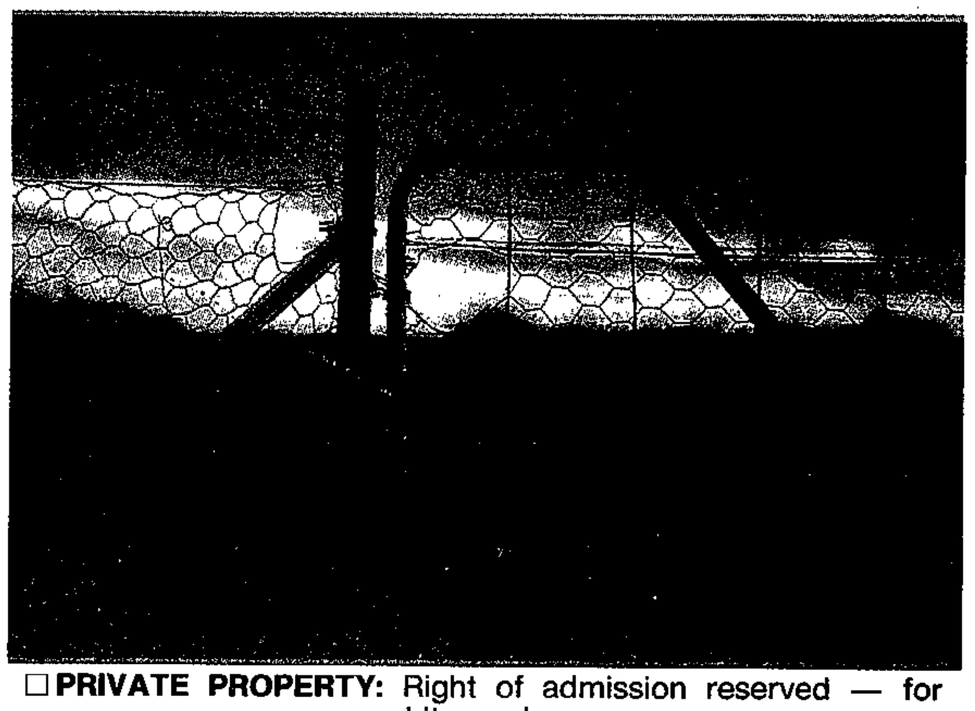
(30A) ARG 1/8/93



□ **VOLKSTAAT FAMILY:** Strolling through the streets of Orania on a quiet Sunday afternoon.



□ **PARADISE FOR SOME:** But thorny issues threaten the apparent tranquility of Orania.



□ **PRIVATE PROPERTY:** Right of admission reserved — for whites only.

South Africa.

Mr Boshoff pointed out that the northern Cape was an area with a small coloured and black community. Mr Boshoff and his supporters said they did not approve of displacing others so when the complete Volkstaat was established, other communities living there would be allowed to remain. They would also be allowed to vote, as long as Afrikaners were in the vast majority.

There was talk at the meeting of a small army being established for security against enemies. However, most people agreed there was no need for any show of aggression unless they were attacked or threatened.

In such a closely knit community, petty squabbling is fairly rife and strong Calvinist attitudes have led to some hostility among the less "religious".

Excessive drinking, aggression, drug abuse, extra-marital sex and contravention of other Christian morals lead to the offenders' expulsion. Many felt the rules of the town were too strict and the committee should not be allowed to get involved in people's private lives.

One couple were asked to leave the village because it was discovered they were not officially married but were living together.

However, many personal problems of the early days have been ironed out and, overall, there is a spirit of comraderie among residents.

While politicians sit in the Transvaal debating the possiblity of an Afrikaner Volkstaat, it is quietly taking shape in the northern Cape.

Zulu court bid may be staved off

ARCT 1/8/93

Pledge to withdraw action if talks solve problems

Political Staff

PRETORIA. — The timing of the Kwazulu government's challenge to multiparty negotiations does not exclude a resolution of the problems before the action goes to court on August 24 — and, in the interim, bilaterals will continue.

This was the view of Kwazulu sources who said the court challenge was "not designed to damage the process of negotiations", and if problems were solved before August 24 the application would be withdrawn.

The thick wad of papers and supporting affidavits from, among others Kwazulu Chief Minister and Inkatha Freedom Party leader Mangosuthu Buthelezi, has been filed with the Supreme Court in Pretoria, but the application is set for almost a month from now.

It will seek to invalidate the setting of the April 27 1994 election date by the multiparty Negotiation Council and will challenge the application of the mechanism of sufficient consensus in respect of some decisions taken by the council.

The respondents are named as two of the panel of six revolving chairmen, Mr M J Mahlangu and Mr Previn Gordhan, who were in the chair on the days the contested resolutions were adopted.

Government sources noted last night that the application did not seek to challenge or invalidate negotiations, and also did not challenge sufficient consensus as a decision-making mechanism outside its application to specific resolutions already carried.

Meanwhile, Kwazulu negotiator Dr Ben Ngubane confirmed today that he would be travelling to Pretoria for a further bilateral meeting with government negotiator Roelf Meyer this afternoon.

He said the court challenge had not interrupted the process of trying to find solutions for Kwazulu and IFP's "very genuine concerns".

Given the delayed timing of the court application and the fact that bilateral negotiations are continuing, it seems fair to characterise the court bid as more of a bid to apply pressure than a flinging down of the gauntlet by the IFP-Kwazulu negotiators.

Yesterday, however, their colleagues in the multiparty forum took a less generous view, and were puzzled as to why the IFP had taken this route after asking the council just the day before to delay its debate on sufficient consenus until the IFP central committee had studied the matter.

Most negotiators felt this request was a measure of the seriousness of the IFP in trying to find a solution. They felt the court application flew in the face of that.

Mr Meyer confirmed that bilateral meetings with the IFP and Kwazulu would continue. He expected today's encounter to focus on the problem of sufficient consensus and "the self-determination of the Zulu people".

Democratic Party delegation leader Colin Eglin said his party was "shocked at the political implications of the legal action".

"Clearly when mutual trust breaks down to the point that participants resort to legal action, the process of negotiating in good faith becomes impossible," Mr Eglin said.

However, the spirit at the negotiating table yesterday remained one of "let's get on with business" and this is expected to continue today when the 23 remaining parties continue discussing the draft constitution and study another report from a technical committee on the Bill of Rights for the transition period.

Drafting the future

■ The likely face of the new South Africa is about to be unveiled, but tough bargaining about the powers of regions — and of the national government — lies ahead.

FRANS ESTERHUYSE
Weekend Argus
Political Correspondent

504A
ARGT 1/8/93

SHAPING of new boundaries for a greater Western Cape is under way.

The new boundary is set to include a large part of the central and Eastern Cape — but the crucial question of regional powers and autonomy remains uncertain.

The new look of the Western Cape and other regions of the new South Africa will become clearer next week when the map showing the proposed regional boundaries is expected to be tabled for the negotiating council in Kempton Park.

In addition, a major step forward was taken this week with the tabling of the draft interim constitution.

The document drew heavy flak, with serious reservations expressed about the powers allocated to regional government as well as those given to central government to decide on the powers to be enjoyed by regions.

At the World Trade Centre, a number of delegations — including the government, the National Party, the Democratic Party, Bophuthatswana, Ciskei and the Afrikaner-Volksunie — wanted regional governments' exclusive powers spelt out in the interim constitution.

The African National Congress, the South African Communist Party and the Pan-Africanist Congress objected, but the negotiating council left the matter to be discussed by the technical committee on constitutional issues. Professor Willie Breytenbach, of the University of Stellenbosch's political science department, said the draft tabled this week had the makings of "a liberal democratic constitution in the best traditions of the western world."

However, it is not known whether or not the Western Cape would have a regional fiscus with adequate powers of taxation. Federalists argue that under a federal system autonomous regions, such as the one envisaged for the Western Cape, would have to have their own taxation. On the tax issue, sources told Weekend Argus the proposed fiscal commission would determine matters such as redistribution of taxes and certain powers of regions.

Documents tabled at the negotiations also laid down principles for regional powers, to be entrenched in the interim and final constitutions.

Each level of government is to have "appropriate and adequate" legislative and executive powers and functions.

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

The proposed principles also state:

■ A framework for local government powers, duties, functions and structures shall be set out in the constitution. The comprehensive powers, duties, functions and other features of local government shall be set out in parliamentary statutes and/or state/provincial/regional (SPR) legislation;

■ Fiscal powers and functions of the national and SPR governments will be defined in the constitution; and

■ Each level of government shall have a constitutional right to an equitable share of revenue collected nationally so as to ensure that SPRs and local governments are able to provide basic services and execute the functions allocated to them in the constitution.

Fears that a strong central government would dominate regional governments and even overrule their decisions, seemed to be allayed — at least to some extent — by some of the principles laid down for the allocation of powers.

Significantly, one of these principles said the national government "shall not exercise its powers (exclusive or concurrent) so as to encroach upon the geographical, functional or institutional integrity of the SPR."

However, it was proposed that the national government be empowered to intervene in SPR affairs in certain circumstances, by way of legislation or through other steps — to be defined in the constitution.

Irony as CP and Zulus embrace

ARGT 1/8/93 (304A)

Inkatha and the Conservative Party make strange bed-fellows. **DANIEL SILKE**, Research Assistant at the Institute for the Study of Public Policy at the University of Cape Town, looks at this alliance and shows that the IFP has more to gain by restoring relations with the National Party .

POLITICAL alliance between the Inkatha Freedom Party (IFP) and the Conservative Party (CP) comes as a surprise.

While Chief Mangosuthu Buthelezi's refusal to accept independence for his Kwazulu homeland always irked the National Party, he nevertheless enjoyed a very cordial relationship with the P W Botha government over a number of years.

This resulted in Chief Buthelezi becoming a regular figure on nightly television newscasts mouthing sentiments that were largely in line with NP thinking. These included his condemnation of violence as a means to liberation and his vehement anti-sanctions stance.

Chief Buthelezi therefore came to endear himself to the white electorate. He was perceived as a black leader whom they could trust to ensure their privileged way of life. Chief Buthelezi propounded an overtly free-market economic philosophy that reassured jittery whites who feared a socialist or even communist bogey.

Chief Buthelezi's playing of the P W Botha government for his own ends came to an abrupt halt with the unbanning of the ANC and release of Nelson Mandela in 1990. He not only lost his elevated position within legitimate black political ranks but found himself competing against a hero of the liberation, a man who had been incarcerated for his political beliefs for over 25 years.

This problem was further exacerbated by a strategic shift in NP thinking. While Chief Buthelezi was always seen as a natural ally by the old NP, the De Klerk administration clearly elected to follow a closer relationship with the newly unbanned ANC.

That choice indicated the belief of the NP that electoral success was more likely with the ANC than with the IFP, and the results of opinion polls constantly reinforced this.

With an increasingly close relationship developing between the ANC and NP leadership, the IFP began to feel rejected. Bilateral talks excluded them resulting in mounting frustration and anger. The Inkathagate scandal only served to pour salt on an open wound that was now almost beyond healing.

Given these events, the IFP turned to the right. There they found the Conservative Party, eagerly awaiting legitimacy from a major black political force for their continued policy of apartheid. The CP embraced the Zulus with open arms which certainly must serve as one of the more ironic political developments in what is surely a remarkable political landscape.

Since the emergence of the CP/IFP alliance under the umbrella of Cosag (with the Bophuthatswana and Ciskei governments), the relationship has been marked by both tensions and cordiality. In the run-up to the first democratic elections this relationship is likely to be sorely tested as both political groupings find increasing incompatibilities.

The IFP is certainly more important for the CP than the reverse. How wonderful it may seem for the leader of a white extremist party to claim considerable black support for separatist policies. Even in the heady days of Bishop Muzorewa in Rhodesia, the existing privileged and conservative black groupings hardly lent support to parties that would disenfranchise them.

The IFP's courting of the CP can only be justified in the light of their common enemy, the National Party. Although both groupings are conservative and will plead for a high degree of federalism so that Chief Buthelezi can retain control over Kwazulu/Natal and the CP can have its Afrikaner homeland, the enemy is the binding force. This may be a perfect example of the old adage, "My enemy's enemy is my friend".

Electorally the IFP can hope for very little from the CP. With only six percent support nationwide, the CP will cease to become a major national player after the next election. Even the extent of IFP support is limited and may just exceed that of its white comrades.

What then is the potential for this alliance? The role of the NP will determine its continued existence.

It is possible that an increasing number of senior NP office-bearers will start realising that it was a mistake to ditch the IFP in favour of an elite agreement with the ANC. The recent defections to the IFP from the ranks of NP MPs may be a forerunner of greater internal discontent.

As the election date nears, the ANC may well distance itself from the NP. The quest for the radical vote from the township's young may make any hint of collusion between the past enemies untenable in the eyes of the ANC. While the NP may sustain the hope of riding in on ANC coat-tails, this will become increasingly difficult as policy incompatibilities and public utterances are bound to conflict, thus alienating the support bases of both parties.

The NP itself is not to be under-estimated. With a successful election campaign and efficient scare tactics, it may well be able to secure more than one-fifth of the total vote.

Can anyone stop ANC juggernaut?

HIF AFKG 1/6/93 304A

■ As next year's non-racial election looms, Nelson Mandela's African National Congress increasingly looks like an irresistible giant and its opponents like midgets, writes PATRICK LAURENCE of the Weekend Argus political staff.

RECENT investigation by the Human Science Research Council confirms the ANC's position as the preponderant force in the pending election. The findings are particularly important because they probe the thinking of a large, but hitherto unexplored, section of the electorate.

The investigation, carried out for the Department of Constitutional Development, focuses on blacks normally not included in standard opinion polls:

■ Rural folk, within and beyond the tribal homelands;

■ Inhabitants of the burgeoning squatter camps on the edges of cities and townships;

■ And occupants of hostels from Pretoria to Maritzburg.

These people are in broad terms poorer, more likely to be illiterate or semi-literate, and less sophisticated politically than their compatriots in the cities and townships.

But, according to Chris de Kock, one of the investigation supervisors, their allegiances will be of critical importance in the result: they account for 79 percent of the potential black electorate or 57 percent of the total electorate (including the nominally independent TBVC states). Three salient findings emerge:

■ Political violence is a disincentive to vote;

■ ANC (and SA Communist Party and Pan Africanist Congress) supporters are less inhibited by the violence than their Inkatha Freedom Party counter-parts and therefore more likely to vote.

■ The ANC is the overwhelming favourite.

To deal specifically with the last of these findings: 56 percent of these potential black voters favour the ANC, against — in diminishing order of popularity — nine percent for the IFP, two percent for the PAC and one percent for the National Party.

There is, however, a fairly large category of potential voters — 30 percent — who are undecided. Assuming these divide on the basis of existing loyalties, then, the HSRC calculates, the result will be: ANC 81 percent; IFP 14 percent; PAC two percent and NP — one percent.

Another important factor works in favour of the ANC: a greater determination on the part of its supporters to vote, even if it means risking violence en route to or from, or at, the polling booth. A whopping 90 percent of those who identify themselves as ANC loyalists intend to vote, against 72 percent of those who claim to be IFP supporters.

If, the HSRC states, levels of violence increase in the run-up to the election, the determination to vote will increase among ANC supporters. Believing that violence is being orchestrated to prevent an ANC victory, ANC voters will be even keener to assure an ANC win by voting. "Victory, they believe, will bring peace," the council concludes.

These findings must be viewed with those of Markinor's recent poll of 1 000 blacks in metropolitan areas. Markinor's research identifies the ANC as first choice of 68 percent of metropolitan blacks, against five percent for the PAC, and three percent each for the IFP and the NP.

The black population comprises 74 percent of the population and 68,5 percent of the electorate. Its political allegiances are thus vital to the election result. Parties without significant black support cannot hope to win.

With the scheduled election less than nine months away, the question arises of whether any political force — or coalition of forces — is strong enough to stop the ANC juggernaut.

Probably not — not for next year's election at any rate. But closer examination of the evidence suggests that the ANC may be vulnerable to challenge in the election after that, scheduled to be held between 1995 and 1999, after the dissolution of the envisaged transitional government of national unity.

The NP's dream of leading a grand coalition — the Christian Democratic Alliance — to victory against the ANC has crumbled. In what may turn out to be a major error of judgment, the party has quarrelled with its potential coalition partners and has been been outsmarted by the ANC.

Instead of forming an alliance with the Labour Party, the NP has chosen to declare political war against Alan Hendrickse's LP by wooing its members into its own ranks. By incurring the enmity of the surviving LP members and by taking "opportunists" aboard, it may have lost more than it gained.

Just as important, the NP — or sections of it — has turned its back on the IFP, preferring to strike a deal with the ANC on a transitional government of national unity in confidential bi-lateral discussions.

Mangosuthu Buthelezi, once the NP's preferred ally, is now its deadly foe. Believing that he has been betrayed, he has turned on the NP, actively seeking to woo De Klerk's supporters into the IFP by presenting the IFP as a more effective bulwark against the ANC.

On the electoral front, Buthelezi's IFP appears to more of a potential threat to the NP than the ANC, except, perhaps, in Natal, where it might be able to defeat the ANC in regional elections.

The HSRC puts the IFP's national support at between eight and 11 percent — not enough to emerge as a serious challenger to the ANC juggernaut on its own. Even an IFP-NP election alliance — which, for the moment, seems unlikely — will, at best, win 39 percent of the vote, not enough to deny the ANC victory.

These figures do not, however, mean that the IFP is a spent force. It remains the biggest single party in Natal, with between 34 and 38 percent support against 17 to 22 percent for the ANC and 14 to 22 percent for the NP.

Chief Buthelezi is now playing his trump card: a call to Zulus to fight for their right to self-determination and to resist the projected threat to their kingdom and their king by the ANC and its SACP ally. The call, a call to blood and history, is being issued by the Zulu King, Goodwill Zwelithini. For that reason it should not be dismissed lightly.

But, from the ANC's perspective, the most dangerous threat — latent but potentially menacing — comes from the PAC. The HSRC investigation into the attitude of rural blacks and those in the squatter camps and hostels discloses that although support for the PAC is but a tiny two percent when they are asked which party they support, it grows spectacularly to 16 percent when they are asked which parties they feel close to or identify with.

The same process is noticeable in relation to the Azanian People's Organisation. Its support rises from a subliminal whisper to an audible nine percent.

The PAC and Azapo share two major ideological points: they attach overwhelming significance to black leadership and they have made return of the land to indigenous black people a priority.

The HSRC study findings show that there is substantial sympathy for the PAC-Azapo perspective among the ANC's deprived black followers, the people whom the veteran community leader, Nthato Motlana, once described as the "black blacks".

The sympathy co-exists uneasily with the disproportionate presence of whites and Indians in ANC's leadership ranks.

If an ANC-led government disappoints its black supporters, if it is seen to be too sensitive to the concerns of non-black minorities, it may well find itself confronted with massive defections to, and a major challenge from, the PAC and the Azapo five or six years down the line.

As ANC elections commission chief Popo Molefe has pointed out: "The PAC is a potential problem. If the process (of liberation) drags on too long, some of our not-so-strong supporters might begin to see the PAC as a second option."

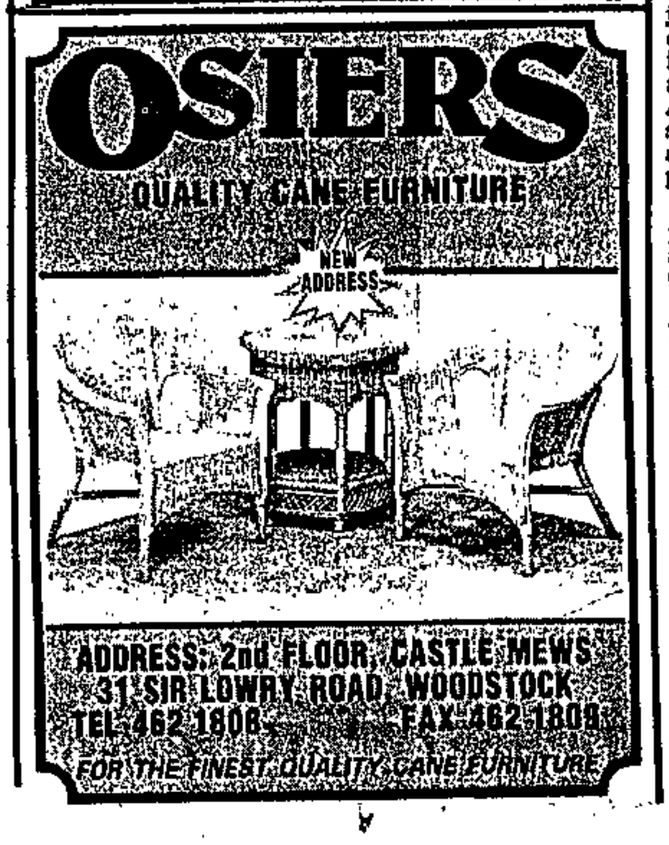
R100 million voter education plan underway

ST Times [CC Metro]
11/8/93
(B04A)









By MICHEL MULLER

VOTER education groups have sprung up like the proverbial mushrooms in a bid to inform the estimated 22 million South African voters of the procedures and tenets of democracy before the April election.

The Rural Foundation (RF) is the latest non-government organisation (NGO) to join the campaign which will cost in excess of R100-million and ultimately involve tens of thousands of trainers and facilitators.

It joins the Independent Forum for Electoral Equeation (IFEE) — a growing alliance of more than 40 organisations — in targeting mainly the 17-million to 20-million South Africans who have never voted.

"It's important to have voter education that is not party political or biased towards the urban areas," the RF's chief executive officer, Mr Ockie Bosman, said in an interview in Stellenbosch.

Mr Bosman stressed that because only 14 percent of the population had access to television and millions were illiterate, "we have to devise a completely different approach to get them informed as well as possible in the shortest time".

Resources

Asked if the proliferation of voter educators would not confuse the estimated 70 to 80 percent of voters who are functionally illiterate, Ms Sheena Duncan, a representative of the Black Sash — one of the organisations on the IFEE — said: "The IFEE was formed precisely to avoid confusion.

"We share resources and meet quarterly to identify constituencies, but there is always the chance of a community getting bombarded," she said.

"When the political parties do their own thing, we can expect contradictions to emerge."

Some of the anticipated problems, Ms Duncan said, were that the majority of voters were illiterate and were situated in far-flung rural areas and that the Trespass Act could also be an obstacle if farmers did not allow access to their properties.

Describing the campaign as "quite a big and ambitious plan", Mr Gilder said it would also include posters, stickers, billboard advertising and fully-equipped mobile units to service the hinterland.

While the IFEE was unable to estimate the number of people it would reach through the myriad of networks developed by its members, Mr Bosman said the RF had access to between 150 000 and 180 000 farmworkers nationwide.

Mr Gilder said the campaign would also teach voters political tolerance and to accept the verdict of democracy.

... Inkatha draft raises questions ...

DRAFT-DODGER?

C1 Press 11/8/93

By SEKOLA SELLO

THE rejection by Inkatha of the new draft interim constitution puts a serious question mark on the party's often stated claims that they are committed to federalism.

Since the document was unveiled this week, most commentators have stated that – in spite of its shortcomings – it is a document which strives to satisfy as broad a spectrum of the South African political landscape as possible.

Much as the document has a number of aspects about it which could be regarded as pure centralist administration, it is not – as Inkatha has implied – a unitarist constitution dressed up in drag.

In fact, a large body of opinion among political scientists and commentators acknowledges that vague as the the document is, it could well appeal to most federalists – and a party like Inkatha.

Democratic Party chairman Ken Andrew encapsulated this thinking when he said the draft provided a framework to develop a liberal, democratic and federal system of government – precisely what Inkatha claims it wants for South Africa.

New converts to federalism – the National Party and government – have also accepted the draft. However, in a joint statement Constitutional Development Minister Roel Meyer and NP chief negotiator Dawie de Villiers said more certainty about the federal aspects of a final constitution should have been included in the draft. They would make recommendations in future.



NOT FOR US ... Inkatha leader Mangosuthu Buthelezi rejected draft.

Observers believe that while the document contains important aspects of federalism, it is also prudently drafted not to grant regions powers that could make it easy for them to secede in the future.

If Inkatha accepted the draft in its present form, Mangosuthu Buthelezi could well end up no more than a regional governor in a future SA.

This, of course, would depend on Inkatha being a dominant party in Kwa-Zulu/Natal, a prospect which seems unlikely if the latest surveys are anything to go by. Chief Buthelezi's support in this region – his power base – is reported to be declining.

Walk out

It is probably this fear by someone who has always seen himself as a national leader which explains why he is insisting on forms of state being defined beforehand.

If there was a party to walk out of the talks as a result of the draft, it would surely be the PAC. They are more hardline on issues of unitarism than any other party.

In terms of the draft proposals, a new constitution for SA must be drawn up by a joint meeting of a proposed National Assembly and Senate. The Constituent Assembly will completely review the transitional constitution and draft a new constitutional text within two years.

Inkatha is also opposed to this two-phased approach to drawing the final constitution, while government argues that the two-year period is too short. The draft of the new constitution must be approved by a two-thirds majority of all members of the Constituent Assembly.

Some of the propopsals in the draft are:

- After the draft of the new constitution has been accepted, it must be subjected to a referendum.
- Should 60 percent of the voters vote in favour of the draft constitution, it will become the Constitution of SA.
- Should the draft be rejected in a referendum, the State President must suspend parliament and call a general election.
- The President of the senate will be the chairman of the Constituent Assembly.

In drafting a new constitution, the Constituent Assembly must adhere to the constitutional principles – most of which have already been approved during the negotiation process – and execute it.

Should a third of the members of the constituent body demand it, the presiding officer can refer the constitutional proposal to a Constituent Court.

The aim of this would be to obtain an opinion of the court on whether the the draft would be in accordance with the constitutional principles.

The new constitution, or any part of it, shall not come into effect before the Constitutional Court is happy that all the stipulations of the draft are in accord with the constitutional principles.

A decision by the Constitutional Court will be final and binding.

No Supreme Court will be empowered to investigate the legality of such a certification and to give a verdict on it.

According to the draft transitional constitution, the Constituent Assembly will have the power to appoint its own commissions, technical and parliamentary committees and other advisory bodies to assist it in its duties.

An independent group of five acknowledged experts must also be appointed with the approval of two thirds of the members of the Constituent Assembly.

Experts

Should the Constituent Assembly not succeed in having the new text approved by a two-thirds majority while an ordinary majority is in favour of it, the chairman will refer the text to a group of experts for advice.

The group must submit the advice within 30 days.

Should the group not react within 30 days, the ordinary majority within the Constituent Assembly would be enough to ensure the constitution is accepted.

The same will apply when the group makes a unanimous proposal, while a two-thirds majority has not yet been aquired.

According to the draft transitional constitution, no amendments to the stipulations about the Constituent Assembly will be allowed but they must relate to the constitutional principles.

Also, the requirement that the Constitutional Court must certify that the text of the constitution is in line with the principles, may not be amended.

One of the main aspects on regions dealt with the number of regions.

The draft constitution determines that the regions of SA will be mentioned by name.

Due to the fact that regions could not yet be determined, the draft constitution does not refer to specific names.

Other aspects were:

- Legislative authority for regions: Every region must have a legislative body whos members must be elected on the same day as the members of the central government. They must be elected proportionally.
- The number of representatives of whom every region's legislative body must consist, must be calculated according to the following formula: The total number of votes cast in the regions must be divided by 50 000.
- The executive authority in regions: The executive authority in each region will consist of 10 members who will be elected by the members of the legislative assembly.

Federalists won't settle for fig leaves



LEFT: The constitutional issues technical committee prepares to lead the negotiating council through the draft constitution. They are, from left, Unisa rector Professor Marinus Wiechers; Pretoria advocate Dikgang Moseneke, SC; Foreign Affairs legal adviser Michelle Olivier; Dr Francois Venter of Potchefstroom University; Pretoria advocate Bernard Ngoepe; and Arthur Chaskalson, SC, of the Legal Resources Centre

CLAIRE ROBERTSON reports on the swaying battle at the multi-party talks over regional powers

IN 1909, Prime Minister of Natal FR Moor returned victorious from the National Convention, where he had gone to fight the good fight for federalism in the proposed Union of South Africa.

He assured the Natal colonial legislature that he had secured federalism — in the form of provincial councils:

"Our central Parliament would not dare to interfere with these provincial rights unless it was the will of the people that that should come about."

But when the National Party closed its iron grip on the country in the 50s, it treated the provinces as nothing more than handmaidens charged with carrying out the will of the central government — and in 1983 Parliament abolished them entirely.

Engaged in the second redefinition of this country since Union, negotiators at the World Trade Centre this week debated the core of a system of government that will make the constitution, and not Parliament, the supreme authority.

Important players — the National Party, the Democratic Party and the Concerned South Africans Group, which includes Inkatha — want to lock a federal structure, and regional powers, into that document.

The first step — and the most important — is to guarantee these powers in the interim constitution, building in a constitutional DNA which will affect the form of the constitution to be adopted after the elections.

This week Rowan Cronje, chief negotiator for Bophuthatswana and regarded as the reasonable foil to Cosag stablemate Inkatha's hubris at the talks, asked again and again: "Where are the guarantees?"

Regional powers could not be specified in the draft constitution because of a "practical problem", rector of Unisa Professor Marinus Wiechers said in his capacity as a member of the technical committee charged with drafting the council's wishes into concrete clauses.

"The regions will include bits and pieces of the present (provincial, homeland and regional) structures. In reconstructing the regional dispensation for the country, the technical committee suggested this way of combining functions by a process of consultation."

He was referring to a proposed regional commission whose task it will be to advise the regionally composed Senate, and the National Assembly, on the final division of powers between the regions and the national government — after the election.

Not for the last time during the debate, fellow committee member Arthur Chaskalson hastened to reassure the federalists in the negotiating council that even if regional powers were not spelled out in the interim constitution, they were guaranteed in the constitution to be adopted after the elections.

"The constitutional principles guarantee the end product. Our draft ensures that the regions will have autonomy."

Mr Chaskalson referred to sections of the constitution to back this up:

"The National Executive shall ... determine the extent of the legislative and executive competence of each region ...

"The competence of a region shall be determined ... after due consideration of the region's financial, administrative and infrastructural capability ... and such determination shall have regard to the (constitutional principles) ..."

And the constitutional principles that "guarantee autonomy"?

One crucial principle states that regions shall have "either" exclusive or concurrent powers.

Not good enough, say the federalists. This does not guarantee exclusive regional powers, leaving regions open to being mere "conveyor belt" mechanisms for carrying out central government policy.

The DP will propose beefing up the constitutional principles to specify that the regions shall have substantial exclusive powers in such vital fields as housing, health, police, welfare and education, among others.

And the powers must be spelled out now, say the federalists. If this is only addressed after the election, Mr Cronje said this week, regional governments would be dependent "on the goodwill of the central government".

Professor David Welsh of Cape Town University's political studies department concurs: "Now is the time to stake federal claims. The evolution of a federal system (after the election) depends crucially on the political outcome, not only on the letter of the constitution.

"It could be that the most vociferous protagonists of federalism are knocked off their perches in the election."

But is that not democracy, that the will of the people can change the system?

Not if the ANC has committed itself to strong regional government, as it has, either from conviction or for the sake of an easier passage to power.

ANC chief negotiator Cyril Ramaphosa went out of his way this week to partly allay these fears by stressing the need for regional representation at central government level.

SA Communist Party chief negotiator Joe Slovo pointed out that increasing regional representation at central government level would "go a long way to ensuring that regions feel they are part of the power structures. This will help to cement South Africa rather than fragment it".

But the federalists want that fragmentation, seeking not so much effective representation at the centre as autonomy for the regions, and mere assurances that the ANC alliance stands for strong regional government are not enough.

NOR are these assurances strengthened by the realisation that another provision in the draft constitution, the deadlock-breaking mechanism, actually encourages the dominant political party to remain unbending about its own constitutional proposals because, if all else fails, it will be able to adopt them by a simple majority.

Shivers went down federalist spines again when the ANC insisted this week that it did not want a constitutional court to certify or approve the constitution to be adopted by the constituent assembly.

As it stands in the draft, the task of the court will be to test whether the constitution adheres to the constitutional principles adopted by the negotiators last month.

Here the technical committee was firm.

The constitution-making body should be allowed to develop a new constitution but those "political passions must be checked by the blind justice of the constitutional court", said committee member Dr Francois Venter.

The ANC will not let go of this one, finding unacceptable the implication that there is a higher body than the constituent assembly, one which could overturn its constitution.

Inkatha lies on the extreme fringe of the federalist debate, seeking to emasculate the central government by grudging it only those powers necessary to act on behalf of regions as a group when dealing with other nations.

And Inkatha insists that its curious definition of federalism be the one that shapes the future dispensation — or it will not attend talks.

An exasperated politician remarked recently: "If they want confederalism, why don't they just say so?"

Inkatha often refers to its proposed constitution for Kwazulu/Natal — reworked for the talks into the "Constitution of the Federal Republic of South Africa" — as echoing that of the United States.

Stephen Ellmann, associate professor of law at New York Law School, does not agree:

"For an American (it is) most striking not for its embodiment but for its rejection of much of what Americans have learned about constitutional structure over our two centuries of independence," he wrote recently.

"If this constitution were to be enacted into law, it would debilitate the central government of a future South Africa."

NO one is particularly happy with the draft constitution. Neither the SA government nor the Cosag parties believe they have in hand a document that takes their views fully into account.

And independent observers like Professor Welsh echo these fears: "I don't see (the constitutional principle dealing with regional powers) carried out in the draft constitution with any degree of faithfulness.

"Some principles apparently create federalism and in the next breath undercut it, or so they could be construed."

"The tone and direction of the draft constitution are acceptable," says DP talks delegate Ken Andrew. "But there are loopholes in critical places that could render the whole thing ineffective in the face of a determined central government."

These are being seized upon as federalists, mindful of 1909, fight hard not to repeat being "gulled into accepting a few federal fig leaves", as Professor Welsh put it.

War of words over DP bribery claim

ST Times 11/8/93

By RAY HARTLEY: Political Reporter

A DP official and the NP MP he has accused of trying to bribe him came face to face this week in a bitter confrontation aimed at establishing the facts of the matter.

This week the Sunday Times brought together DP Eastern Transvaal vice-chairman William Mnisi and NP MP for Benoni Johan Lemmer in an attempt to discover the truth.

Sitting in Mr Lemmer's modestly furnished lounge, Mr Mnisi repeated the allegations.

"Mr Lemmer said to me: 'You can become a full-time organiser for the NP, with a salary of R3 500 a month and you will get a vehicle to do your work and you might even get money to pay off your bond,' " Mr Mnisi said.

Mr Lemmer shook his head in disbelief. "I can't believe what I'm hearing. As a matter of fact, I have never offered to any black man or coloured man or Indian man a position in the NP as an organiser, because I simply haven't got the authority to do that."

Replying to allegations he had telephoned Mr Mnisi on May 31 to find out if the offer had been accepted, Mr Lemmer said: "There's something behind this. I swear to God, I'll bring my Bible. I did not phone you on May 31."

Responded Mr Mnisi: "I'm a Christian and I have no reason to lie." (3049)

After two hours, the politicians sank back in their olive green armchairs and stared at each other in mutual disbelief. Both agreed no purpose would be served by continuing the debate.

But on Friday Mr Lemmer said there had been a misunderstanding.

He had been under the impression he was accused of offering to pay for Mr Mnisi's perks from his personal finances. This was what had angered him.

He may have asked William to join the NP, he said, but he definitely did not offer him money or a position in the NP. In any case, there was nothing wrong with the NP or any other party making job offers to potential organisers, he added.

Regional constitution debate

ANC to adjust stance

3044
ARG 1/8/93

JOHANNESBURG. — Multiparty negotiators decided yesterday to establish a special sub-committee to investigate the manner in which regions could draw up, and phase in, their own separate constitutions.

The decision came after a lengthy and empassioned debate which the South African Communist Party's Joe Slovo called the most important discussion held by the Multiparty Negotiating Council.

"It goes to the root of the problems of this county and the negotiation process," he commented.

The African National Congress-SACP alliance will make 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.

The differences emerging from the debate indicate two main lines of thinking.

The first, which includes the ANC grouping, believes that

■ Because greater autonomy is to be granted to regions by SA's central constitution, each region must carefully consider its own ground-rules.

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 must be done to ensure the new regional structures do not enter into a constitutional void. The preferred mechanism for drafting such constitutions must be regional clones of the multiparty negotiations process.

Rowan Cronjé, Bophuthatswana's chief delegate, said the ANC alliance was not the only one which had made 180-degree turns on the issue.

"The issue is not who made what concessions, but in finding a political compromise."

The underlying motivation was that he did not believe that Pretoria could address the needs of the people better than an authority which was much closer to them on the ground.

Moolman Mentz of the Afrikaner Volksunie pointed out that each region would require specifics to address issues peculiar to its circumstances. Constitutions would therefore differ from region to region.

Dawie de Villiers, leading the government delegation, suggested that the technical committee on the constitution draft a pro-forma regional constitution which could act as a basic guide for all regions in drafting their particular constitutions. — Sapa.

ANC objects to state ballot paper printing

ARG 1/8/93 (304A)

JOHANNESBURG. — The African National Congress has objected to an announcement by the Department of Home Affairs that it is to start printing ballot papers for the general election on April 27 next year, and has demanded that "unilateral preparations" be stopped.

However, Home Affairs spokesman Neil du Bois said this week the department had not made any announcement about the printing of ballot papers.

The ANC said in a statement the department was planning to print 30 million ballot papers and had already ordered "huge amounts" of stationery in preparation for the elections.

The ANC said all preparations for the forthcoming election were to be handled by an independent election commission, and this included determining the shape and size and content of the ballot form.

"How can the Department of Home Affairs be preparing to print forms when the participants have not even been decided?" the ANC questioned.

"Any such attempt by the NP government to take unilateral action for the elections should be opposed by all who wish to see free and fair elections."

It said the expenditure the government was now incurring could be "totally wasted".

Mr Du Bois said in reaction it was "common knowledge" the format of the ballot paper was still to be finalised.

"However, the election is less than nine months away and the department has started to obtain logistical support mechanisms needed for any election," said Mr Du Bois. — Sapa.

Focus on boundaries, fundamental rights

Sowetan 21/8/93

21-2 2044

Sowetan Correspondent

WRANGLING over the draft interim constitution unveiled last week and fundamental rights during the transition is expected to continue when the multiparty Negotiating Council meets at the World Trade Centre today.

The meeting - which will again continue without the Inkatha Freedom Party, the KwaZulu government and the Conservative Party - will re-visit the 12-chapter interim constitution and deliberate on fundamental rights during the transition.

The three parties have so far suspended their participation in the talks, with the IFP taking the negotiators to court so that some of the NC's decisions taken through "sufficient consensus" could be invalidated.

Negotiators have vowed to defend the court action.

The long-awaited report of the commission on states, provinces and regions - asked to make recommendations on new regional boundaries for the country - is also to be tabled today.

Debate on the interim constitution has so far centred on the document's failure to clearly spell out regional governments' exclusive powers, and a number of parties and organisations said these would have to be agreed upon now.

Although the interim constitution spells out at least 20 functional areas - including education, policing and health services - on which regional governments will be entitled to some legislative and executive powers, it leaves the final decision on the extent of these powers to the central government.

Debate on fundamental rights during the transition was also bogged down on Friday by traditional leaders who objected to their subordination to a proposed Bill of Rights. The proposed Bill, traditional leaders argued, had "a pro-urban bias" and ignored traditional leaders' submissions to the relevant technical committee.

Our telephone number: (011) 474-0128

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FW bids to woo SADC

Sowetan 2/8/93

DIPLOMATIC OFFENSIVE Hostile stance against SA beginning to ease:

By Themba Molefe
Political Correspondent

3044

LUSAKA - President FW De Klerk returned from Zambia yesterday where he successfully launched a diplomatic offensive against economic isolation championed over the decades by South Africa's neighbouring states.

And Zambian President Frederick Chiluba also admitted that the Southern African Development Community had failed to loosen South Africa's economic stranglehold on the region.

First official visit

De Klerk - the first National Party Head of State to officially visit Zambia - said last night that South Africa was looking forward to becoming part of the SADC as it was abandoning its hostile stance against Pretoria but pursued economic development and reconstruction.

"Socialism, with all its enticing promises has been a dismal failure wherever it was tried. The reality is that the economy does not grow from political slogans.

"The challenge which history is throwing down to us - the leaders and peoples of Southern Africa - is to join hands to realise that enormous potential.

Shrinking world economy

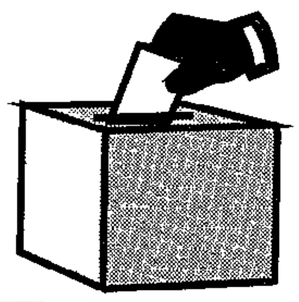
"We live in a shrinking and competitive world where countries on all continents are forming economic blocs and associations to improve their chances of economic survival and prosperity," said De Klerk.

He pointed out that 110 million people lived on the African sub-continent.

A guest at the 67th Zambia Agricultural and Commercial Annual Show, De Klerk was received with stately honour. He also inspected the guard of honour at Lusaka international airport to the accompaniment of music by the Zambian Army band.

Chiluba said trade between Zambia and South Africa had been in existence for years and that his country would accept investment "from whatever quarter" to develop Zambia.

VOTER EDUCATION Possible electoral mechanisms ● Checks and balances in government



This is the second in a series of pages aimed at preparing readers for the 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. Closer to elections it will explain how to vote

The glue that binds the nation

Sowetan 2/8/93

■ ARDUOUS TASK The country's constitution must be drafted by erudite, learned minds:

304A

WHAT IS A CONSTITUTION?

The first thing a constitution does is to outline what kind of government structures are to exist, and how they are to be established. The type of government structures that can be created in future will be pre-determined by specific provision within whatever constitution is eventually adopted.

For example, whether the state is structured along federal or unitary lines depends on the type of constitution adopted.

Secondly, the constitution also allocates power to these structures. It provides for the exercise of these powers in certain ways, usually through three central organs of government. They are the legislature (Parliament) the executive (Cabinet) and judiciary (Supreme Court).

Lastly, the constitution outlines checks and balances on the exercise of power. Ways of preventing unilateral exercise of power are written into the constitution and serve to safeguard against despotic levels of power which might lead to abuses.

By simply existing, these checks and balances provide people with protection and a recourse to certain courses of action should abuses of power ever come to light.

There are many mechanisms which may be adopted to control the government's use of power.

These vary, depending on the specific needs a particular country has and are normally referred to as "checks and balances".

Some examples of these are: requiring special majorities in parliament to deal with specific issues; a Bill of Rights; the independence of the legal system; the provision of accountability to the electorate through set periods for elections; universal suffrage for all adult citizens; preventing any single government organ from exercising power unilaterally by separation of powers between different organs and levels of government.

It should be clear now why negotiators at the World Trade Centre, thinking ahead to a future government,are concerned about what type of constitution is adopted.

The constitution, once adopted, will determine the type of government in terms of structures, degrees of power at different levels and in various organs, the relationship between central, regional or local government and so on.

Certain procedures

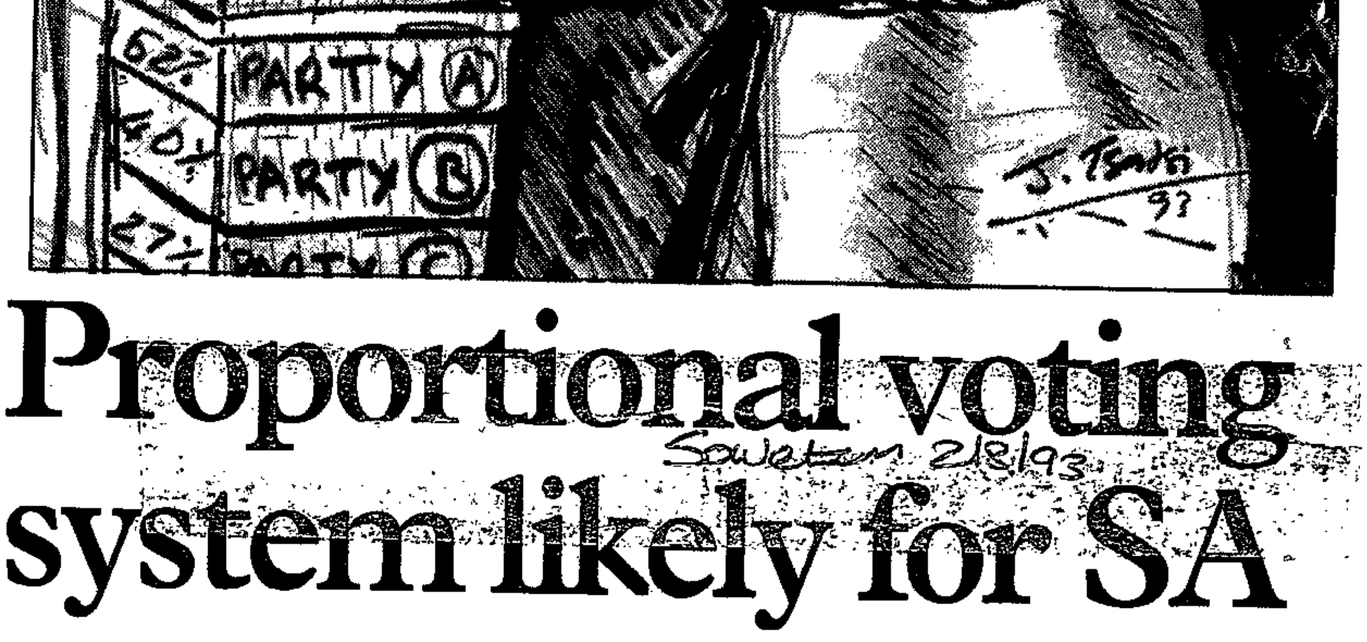
And once that constitution has been adopted even the government itself cannot unilaterally change it without following certain procedures written into the constitution itself.

A very important aspect of a constitution is that, to result in a stable government, the constitution must have legitimacy that is approved and adopted with the support of the majority of citizens in order to be seen as legally binding by them.

At the moment, citizens are not involved in the constitutional debate being waged at the multiparty talks forum.

Their major opportunity to influence the constitution making process will be in choosing the people who must draft the future constitution when we all vote for a Constituent Assembly in April next year.

It is that Constituent Assembly which will take the broad guidelines laid down by the negotiations forum and draft a constitution for the entire country.



Proportional voting system likely for SA

Sowetan 2/8/93

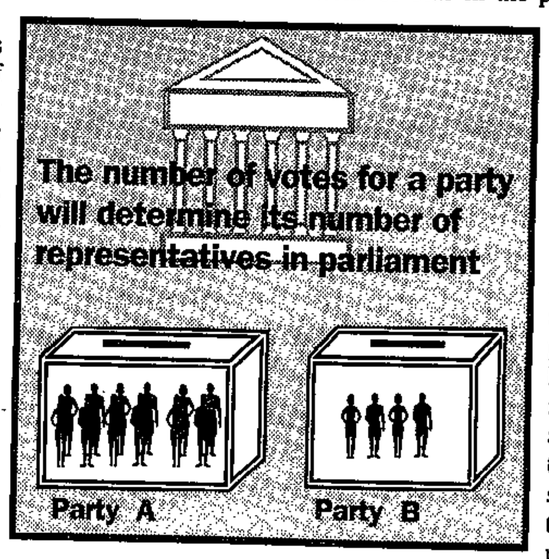
By Mzimasi Ngudle

IT is nine months before elections and rapprochement on proportional representation(PR) as a viable electoral system is fast gaining ground.

However, consensus is still to be reached on national thresholds that would qualify parties or candidates for proportional representation.

This vindicates what the authors of *Choosing an Electoral System for the New South Africa*, Andrew Reynolds and Bernard Grofman, say in their brief overview on possible electoral mechanisms to be followed during elections.

"One of the problems of constitutional design is that the authors of the proposals have strong incentives to try to load the institutional rules in their own favour," the authors said.



Self-interest

Throughout the world, electoral system design has been largely motivated by perceived party self-interest.

One would expect that each party would propose a system that would maximise its voting strength within the Constituent Assembly.

The Democratic Party has succeeded in designing a PR system which will most advantage its candidates.

The 3 percent national threshold in the DP's plan is perfectly placed for a party which is likely to win 3 percent of the national vote but is not likely to clear the 5 percent barrier proposed by the ANC.

Observers argued that PR encouraged participation by groups which have significant followings. This was more satisfactory than forcing political or subversive activity outside Parliament.

Fringe parties would be excluded by imposing a threshold of five percent of the vote.

304A

Observers said PR would lead to a more exact political reflection of the popularity of the parties.

It also avoids the time, expense and accusations of bias in the process of delimiting constituencies.

It said plurality disproportionately represented parties in Parliament relative to their share of the popular vote such that large parties can be dramatically over-represented and minor parties under-represented.

Observers perceived under-representation as being particularly dangerous in a "fragmented society where minorities might never be represented and the perceived threat to their integrity or viability would be accentuated".

Moreover, wasted votes under a plurality system were said to be a disincentive to political participation.

Also, constituency boundaries are less of an issue in PR systems and gerrymandering more difficult.

They list five detailed electoral system proposals — three come from the African National Congress, the Democratic Party and the National Party and the other two are works of academics.

The authors said a number of elements of basic electoral law were quickly agreed upon by the major actors at the multiparty talks.

They note that Inkatha Freedom Party, which initially advocated proportional representation, has since March this year shifted to support the plurality or first past the post system.

While the ANC, DP and NP government proposals differ in many respects, they share an agreement on some type of proportional representation as the basic electoral mechanism.

The President's Council also singled out proportional representation as the only viable choice, stating that under PR, there "is a just relationship between the votes cast for a party and the number of seats obtained by that party."

The PC said PR was a representative system in which the individual vote was not easily distorted by facts such as geographic distribution, race or class.

As low as possible

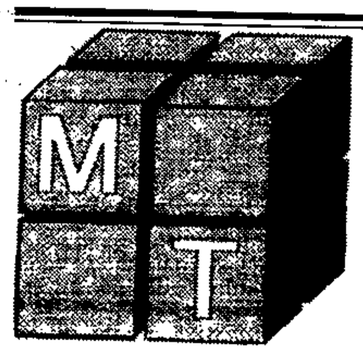
The Democratic Party has historically supported proportional representation. It argues that an electoral system "must produce a result that ensures that the opinions and various interests of the electorate are fairly represented and must not be capable of being manipulated at the expense of the minorities".

Mr Andrew Reynolds, of the University of California, argues that South Africa "as a country divided by race, class and history does not contain the homogeneous basis which is needed for a plurality system to thrive".

He argues that PR would facilitate the desire for a truly multi-party system and avoid the arguments surrounding the delimitation of constituency boundaries and guard against the anomaly of a government coming to power on a minority of the vote or even with less votes than their chief opponents.

Reynolds said if the threshold was as high as 5 percent, as in Germany, a political party representing more than 1 million people could be totally excluded from Parliament.

He concurs with the proposal by the President's Council that the national threshold should be as low as possible.



This voter education series is a joint project of Sowetan and Matla Trust

Star 2/8/93

Even rivals agree that ANC would win

304A

THE ANC would leave other parties a long way behind it on the Witwatersrand if an election were held tomorrow, a poll commissioned by The Star and Radio 702 suggests.

While the ANC would command 54 percent of the vote in the region — a figure consistent with its showing in other national polls — the National Party would lag behind with 16 percent, followed by the IFP with nine percent.

On election day, according to the survey, at least three out of every four Reef voters could be expected to make their way to the polling stations. A further 8 percent are still weighing up whether it is worth the journey, while 17 percent have already decided that they will not vote.

And the Indian community, it seems, would figure more strongly than most among the stayaway voters. Overall, 35 percent of Indian respondents said they would not vote, with the figure rising to four out of 10 among Indian women.

Race is far from a reliable predictor of how Reef people intend to vote, the poll suggested. Reef IFP supporters, in particular, bucked the old image of Inkatha as a purely Zulu party. The poll showed that the IFP claims the allegiance of no more than two percent of black voters in the region, but it commands 27 percent of the Reef's white voters. Its coloured and Indian support is negligible.

The ANC attracts the support of 78 percent of black respondents. It also draws 29 percent of Indian support, 15 percent of coloured and four percent of whites.

The NP has three percent of black voters but for the rest has a racially mixed Reef constituency. Results suggest it would command four out of 10 white Reef voters, and five out of every 10 coloured and Indian voters.

Close to two out of every three coloured women headed to the polls would have the NP's sunny new logo in mind when considering where to make their crosses.

Overall, seven out of 10 respondents — irrespective of their own sympathies — feel that the ANC will emerge as the strongest party in the first democratic election.

The 702/Star Poll was conducted by Media and Marketing Research in the third week of July. The sample was made up of 817 eligible voters on the Witwatersrand. 72 percent were randomly selected and interviewed by phone, and the remainder were questioned in street interviews conducted in areas without telephones. JO-ANNE COLLINGE summarises the findings.

Predictably, the ANC's own supporters hold this view. But 52 percent of NP voters and 45 percent of IFP voters share the perception.

Marketing and Media Research observes: "The better the level of education, the more likely the person is to believe that the ANC will be the strongest party in the government after April's election."

The popularity of party leaders corresponds to support for the party itself. Asked which of these leaders they would vote for as president, 50 percent of respondents notched their vote against the name of Nelson Mandela, 16 percent against that of F W de Klerk, 11 percent for the PAC's Clarence Makwetu and three percent for the DP's Zach de Beer.

The proportion of Reef voters who would like De Klerk to continue in office is higher in the coloured community (58 percent) than in the white constituency (36 percent).

Among whites, De Klerk runs neck and neck with Mangosuthu Buthelezi in the popularity stakes, with the latter pulling in 32 percent of support.

When it comes to the next generation of party leadership, the power of the national multiparty negotiations appears to be a powerful factor in shaping perceptions.

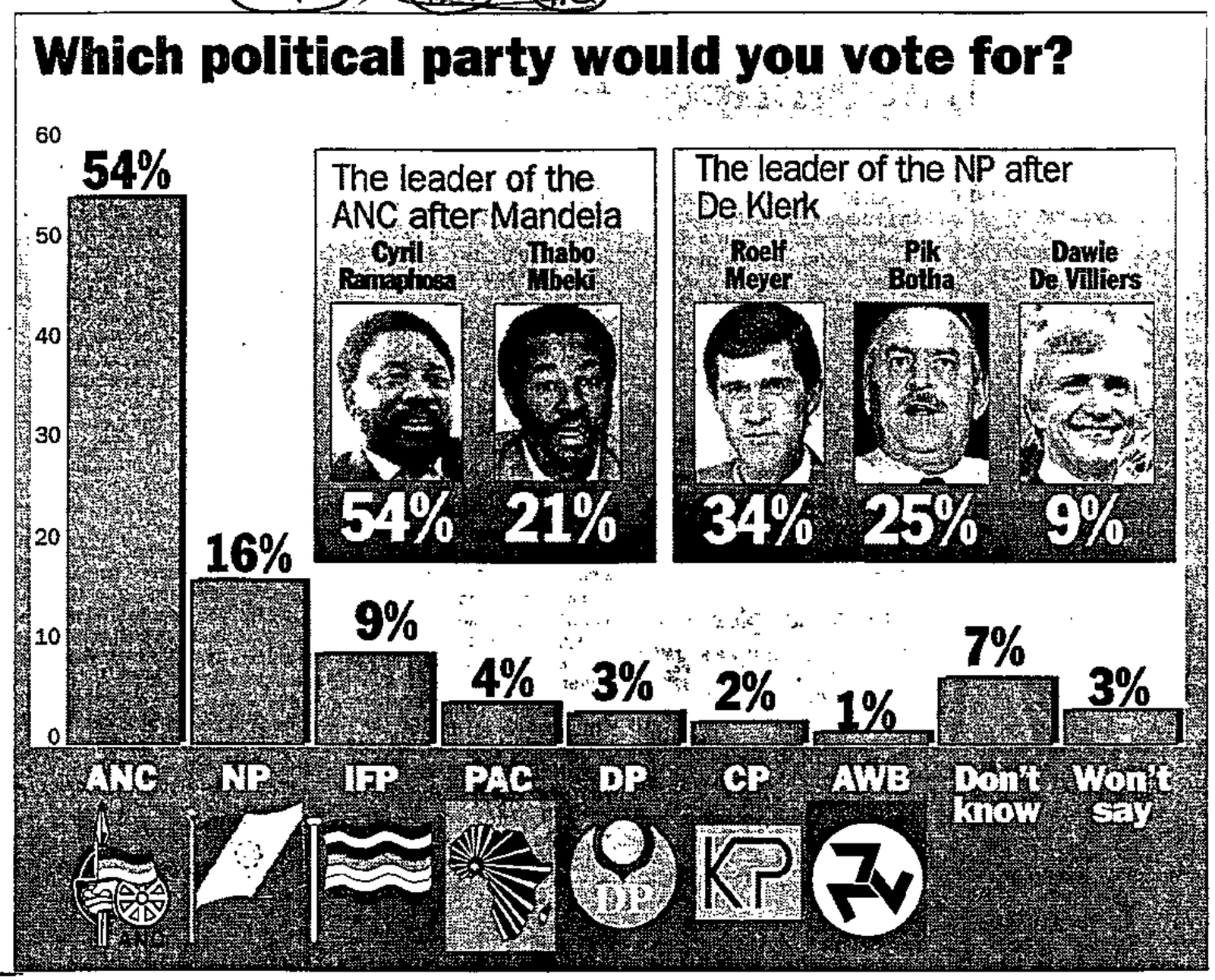
The ANC and the NP's chief negotiators, Cyril Ramaphosa and Roelf Meyer, are clearly lined up as heirs apparent.

Ramaphosa was the likely successor to Mandela by 54 percent of all respondents, irrespective of party allegiances.

And among ANC supporters his support rose to 63 percent — as against 27 percent for Thabo Mbeki, who recently received a vote of confidence from the ANC Youth League.

When it came to assuming the NP mantle, Meyer got the support of 34 percent of all respondents, while Pik Botha won 25 percent of votes. If opinion were restricted to NP voters, Botha and Meyer would be running neck and neck.

Marketing and Media Research's observation is that Pik Botha's support comes from English and Afrikaans-speaking whites alike, while he is very unpopular among blacks, compared to Roelf Meyer. □



ANC, Govt lead poll

Star 21/8/93

The two major negotiating parties at the World Trade Centre — the ANC and the Government — command the support of 70 percent of voters on the Witwatersrand, a new poll by The Star and Radio 702 shows.

Of this, the ANC can claim the lion's share of 54 percent, the survey conducted last month by Marketing and Media Research shows.

The IFP on the Reef registers just seven percentage points less than the NP, at 9 percent. More than eight out of 10 respondents who declared they would vote for the IFP were white and overwhelmingly English-speaking (304A) (HA)

In another shrugging-off of old race-bound allegiances, President de Klerk had substantially higher support among the coloured community of the Witwatersrand than among whites. (HB)

● Full results — Page 9

Coup for FW in friendly Zambia

Star 2/8/93

By Kaizer Nyatsumba
Political Correspondent

LUSAKA — President de Klerk scored a major political coup at the weekend when he was publicly embraced by the Zambian government and local citizens, and hailed as a leader who had chosen negotiations and peace for South Africa. 2/8/93

Zambia rolled out the red carpet with all the attendant pomp and ceremony usually reserved for heads of state.

De Klerk, clearly revelling in his new status as a regional statesman, laughed, joked and shook hands with the Zambians.

He called for greater economic co-operation among countries in southern Africa, and joined Zambian president Frederick Chiluba in a harsh denunciation of socialism as an economic system (350)

"We look forward to the day when South Africa, freed from the albatross of the past around its neck, will participate fully in a developing southern African region," De Klerk said (304)

Chiluba — whose country is facing serious economic hardships — invited foreign investment to Zambia "from wherever", and told a press conference his country had become very investor-friendly since he came to power 18 months ago.

He added that his country would never nationalise anyone's properties.

In a speech punctuated by applause and shown live on Zambian TV, De Klerk expressed confidence the South African economy would begin to grow as soon as the country had solved what he called its constitutional problems.

De Klerk also fully briefed Chiluba about political and constitutional developments in South Africa.



Patrick Laurence argues that President de Klerk is losing both white support and black sympathy

Violence wounds FW most

THE July death toll in political violence spiralled to the 550-mark — the highest total since the bloodletting of August 1990 — to cast a pall of gloom over the negotiating table.

There is little consolation that the July total is well below the August 1990 tally, when more than 700 people died. The overall trend in the past few months has been upward and campaigning for the pending election is certain to generate more heat than light.

It requires no great perspicacity to realise that political violence is a serious threat to the quest for a negotiated settlement; resolution of political differences by bullets and bombs is manifestly inimical to free and fair elections.

As Robin Carlisle of the Democratic Party observed after anonymous gunmen fired on worshippers at St James's Church, Cape Town, people will not feel safe going to the polls if they are liable to be murdered while at prayer.

The attack on the suburban church represents a new dimension in South Africa; the public, having had to endure the spectacle of innocent civilians being butchered by faceless assailants, now has to ponder a crime that combines mass murder with desecration.

The attack came less than a week after another brutal episode: the selection, from the passengers of an ambushed minibus, of seven members of the Inkatha Freedom Party (IFP) for execution.

The random slaughter of churchgoers on the southern tip of South Africa, and the calculated execution of IFP members on the East Rand, more than 1 000 km away, share a common trait: both were provocative acts seemingly calibrated to provoke intense anger and a desire for revenge.

For that reason several at the negotiating table, notably Nelson Mandela's African National Congress and F W de Klerk's National Party, suspected a plan to sabotage the negotiations.

They knew that if the attacks provoked indiscriminate retaliation, South Africa's political violence would soon lead to civil war on a scale far greater than the conflict of the 1980s which the negotiations were designed to end.

As the violence intensifies it becomes more difficult for the political leaders to control their followers. As feelings harden on the ground, the risk of spontaneous retaliation increases. In that atmosphere, the appeals for peace and tolerance risk dismissals as effete and worthless piety.

So far, mercifully, the attack on St James's Church has not led to a senseless revenge attack on worshippers in a black township, although white racists opened fire on black women at a Johannesburg taxi-rank, killing one, and stabbed a black man to death.

Unfortunately, however, the execution of the IFP men near Wadeville in Germiston increased tensions in the already volatile East Rand and apparently triggered a marked upsurge in the killing ratio.

According to figures compiled by the Human Rights Commission, 284 people were killed in East Rand townships between July 1 and July 31: of these, 142 were killed on or after July 19, the date the executions took place.

It is hard to imagine how a free and fair election can be held in the East Rand townships, where the IFP, outnumbered and besieged, has survived by retreating into migrant worker hostels and turning them into fortresses.

A recent RPG rocket attack by anti-IFP militants on Kwesine Hostel in Katlehong — one of the troubled East Rand townships — seems to have been an attempt to turn a fortress into a death trap. The impact was to raise the political temperature even higher.

The main political casualty of the continuing violence appears to be De Klerk's NP. De Klerk, rightly or wrongly, is blamed for the violence. It is associated with the reform process which he started on February 2 1990.

The white right wing accuses him of being too weak to take decisive action to end the violence. His perceived weakness is manifest — in the eyes of the political foes in the Afrikaner Volksfront and the Conservative Party — in his refusal to outlaw Umkhonto we Sizwe, the ANC's underground army, and the Azanian People's Liberation Army (Apla).

Apla is the prime corporate suspect in the white community for the series of attacks on white civilians, starting with a murderous assault in King William's Town late last year and ending with the July 25 attack on the church.

An equally vehement black left wing accuses De Klerk of hypocrisy, of publicly expressing unctuous disgust at the violence while privately conniving with — or, at the best, turning a blind eye to — the machinations of State security agents bent on destabilising the ANC and on demoralising the black community.

The decline of Klerk's NP is reflected in the sharp drop in its support in the white community — according to one recent poll, it is down to 25 percent — and in the fall in De Klerk's personal appeal to black people as the brave reforming president.

"Comrade de Klerk" has been metamorphosed by the popular black perceptions of the genesis of violence into "Tricky Frikkie".

The erosion of NP support has serious implications for hopes of a durable settlement; a strong NP in the proposed transitional government of national unity would help to bolster white morale and forestall a reaction of flight or fight, mass emigration or armed rebellion.

Defections from the NP strengthen Constand Viljoen's Afrikaner Volksfront or Mangosuthu Buthelezi's IFP, both of which have withdrawn from the negotiations and are preparing for possible resistance to an ANC-led government.

The ANC has been vociferous in accusing De Klerk of fomenting violence to disrupt its plans to mobilise its supporters for the election. Ironically, however, the ANC may be the main beneficiary of the violence if an election is held, as scheduled, next year.

Investigation by Chris de Kock, of the Human Science Research Council, into the political attitudes of black people in the hostels, squatter camps and the rural areas shows that ANC members are the less intimidated by violence. They are, consequently, likely to vote even if there is a risk of violence at or en route to the polls.

His findings show that 56 percent of these mainly poor people — who he says account for nearly 80 percent of the black population — will vote for the ANC, against a mere 9 percent for the IFP and 2 percent for the Pan Africanist Congress. □

Negotiators square up for debates

Star 2/8/93

By Kaizer Nyatsumba
Political Correspondent

Wrangling over the draft Interim Constitution unveiled last week and fundamental rights during the transition is expected to continue when the multiparty Negotiating Council meets at the World Trade Centre today.

Failure

The meeting — which will again continue without the Inkatha Freedom Party, the KwaZulu government and Conservative Party — will revisit the 12-chapter Interim Constitution and deliberate on fundamental rights during the transition.

The three have suspended their participation in the talks, with the IFP taking the negotiators to court so that some of the NC's decisions taken through sufficient consensus could be invalidated.

Negotiators have vowed to defend the court action.

The long-awaited report of the commission on states, provinces and regions — asked to make recommendations on new regional boundaries for the country — is also to be tabled before the Negotiating Council today.

Debate on the Interim Constitution has so far centred on the document's failure to clearly spell out regional governments' exclusive — as opposed to concurrent — powers, and a number of parties and organisations have said these would have to be agreed upon.

Although the Interim Constitution spells out at least 20 functional areas — including education, policing and health services — on which regional governments will be entitled to some legislative and executive powers, it leaves the final decision on the extent of these powers to the central government (304A)(HB)

Debate on fundamental rights during the transition was also bogged down on Friday by traditional leaders who objected to their subordination to a proposed Bill of Rights.

The proposed Bill, traditional leaders argued, had "a pro-urban bias" and ignored traditional leaders' submissions to the relevant technical committee.

Others, such as the ANC and the Pan Africanist Congress, expressed extreme unhappiness about the proposed Bill's lack of "horizontality" and about the fact that its interpretation would be left to "white-dominated courts".

Harmonise

The ad hoc committee on fundamental rights during the transition — made up of political representatives — was asked to harmonise the various parties' positions on whether a Bill of Rights or parts thereof should be horizontally applicable as well.

In an attempt to conclude agreements which could be passed into legislation when Parliament reconvenes for a short session next month, the NC will meet four days — except on Fridays — a week for the next few weeks.

Efforts to bring the IFP and KwaZulu back into the talks are also continuing.

16 too young to vote — Rogers

(3044) CT 3/8/73

A VOTING age of 16 was still below that accepted by most countries, DP MP for Walmer Gen Bob Rogers said yesterday.

Referring to a call by Major-General Bantu Holomisa for the age to be lowered from 18 to 16, he appealed to leaders not to "encourage gestures for short-term political gain" but to support that which was best for the long-term future of the country. — Sapa

Cloud over 'new SA' map

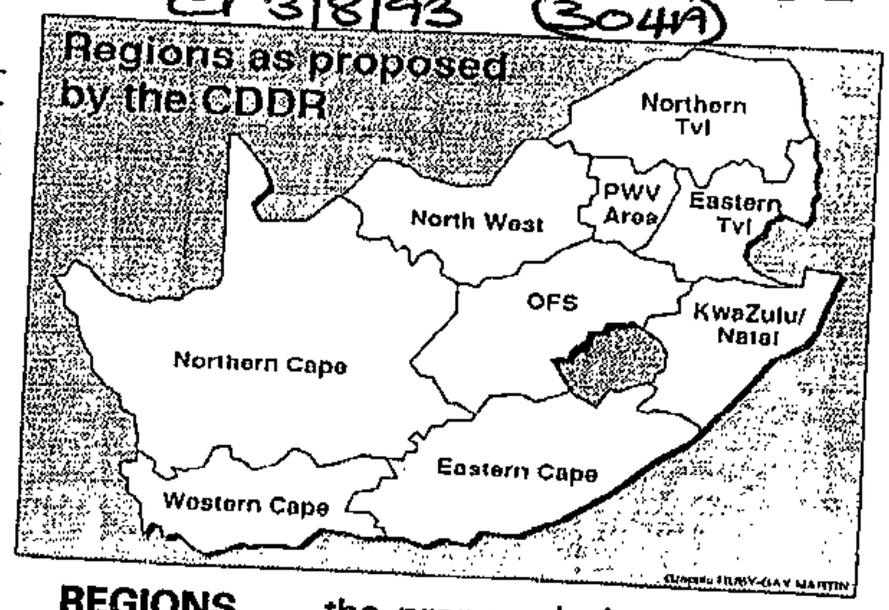
CT 3/8/93 (3041A)

Political Staff

JOHANNESBURG. — The commission redrawing the map of South Africa tabled its report to negotiators yesterday showing nine regions in what is apparently a compromise between the ANC and government.

The nine regions roughly approach the developmental regions of the Development Bank of SA with the exception of the boundary for a new region — the North West which takes in bits of the Northern Cape and the Western Transvaal.

However, the report was immediately clouded with controversy as two of the commission's members issued minority reports. One of them, the Urban Foundation's Ms Ann Bernstein, strongly objected to the recommendations, saying the map was being imposed on South Africa without sufficient consultation.



REGIONS ... the proposed nine regions

The other minority report was produced by commissioner Mr Koos Reyneke who rejected it because the possibility of a future Volkstaat for Afrikaners had been precluded by the recommendations.

It also submitted to the ANC's proposal over the government's with regard to the Eastern Cape, incorporating Ciskei and Transkei and Border. This has met with the disapproval of the DP which has called for a regional referendum on the matter.

The Western Cape stretches on the West Coast from the boundary between Clanwilliam and Piketberg to incorporate Knysna on the east coast.

The Eastern Cape stretches from Humansdorp up the coast nearly to Port St Johns

'Slim hope' for democracy

CT 3/8/93
(3049)

By ANTHONY JOHNSON
Political Correspondent

LEADING Western Cape academics believe the short-term prospects for a successful transition to democracy are negligible and that continuing violence and even civil war are real possibilities.

They were taking part in a seminar organised by the US Information Service and Idasa on "The role of a civil society in an emerging democracy".

Keynote speaker Dr Larry Diamond of the Hoover Institution at Stanford University said South Africa represented "the single most complicated democratic transition that has ever been attempted".

Professor Sampie Terreblanche of the University of Stellenbosch's economics department said massive inequalities and two decades of "creeping poverty" rendered the chances of democracy "slim".

Dr Neville Alexander, director of UCT's Project for the Study of Alternative Education, said declining political tolerance meant democracy could "go for a loop" in the new order.

Professor Andre du Toit of UCT's political science department said even if negotiations succeeded, the most likely outcomes included a non-racial oligarchy replacing the current racial oligarchy, a "tendency" towards a one-party state or the open esclation of political violence leading to civil war.

IFP not to boycott session

CT 3/8/93

304A

Political Staff

DURBAN. — The Inkatha Freedom Party would not boycott the forthcoming session of Parliament even if it lost the court action to invalidate the date of the country's first non-racial general election, nominated MP Mr Farouk Cassim said last night.

The party would, nevertheless, fight the draft constitution vigorously when Parliament met in September formally to turn the draft constitution into law.

When one considered that the April election would cost the political parties in the region of R1 billion in campaign money it would be "a daft plan" to hold another election after two years in terms of a final constitution, Mr Cassim said.

In addition to this the country could also face the financial burden of a referendum if a two-thirds majority of the constituent assembly was not mustered in support of the final constitution.

Experts propose nine SA regions

Political Staff

JOHANNESBURG. — The 15-member delimitation commission on regions has recommended that South Africa be divided into nine regions, says a report tabled before the negotiating council at the World Trade Centre.

The commission, led by academics Bax Nomvete and Flip Smit, said it had used as a point of departure the nine existing development regions.

The commission took its decisions by majority vote. Two commissioners, Koos Reyneke and Ann Bernstein, refused to sign the report.

The nine regions are:

- The Northern Transvaal, including the three homelands of Gazankulu, Lebowa and Venda (one dissenter).
- The Pretoria-Witwatersrand-Vereeniging area (two dissenters). The commission said that because this was the most economically developed region it could play "a crucial role" in generating economic growth for the country.
- The Eastern Transvaal, including Kangwane (one dissenter).
- Kwazulu-Natal (no dissenters).
- The Free State (one dissenter).
- The Northwest, including the Western Transvaal and Bophuthatswana (one dissenter).
- The Northern Cape — a decision taken by a majority of eight to seven votes.
- The Western Cape — a decision also taken by a majority of eight to seven votes.
- The Eastern Cape/Kei, including Transkei and Ciskei (one dissenter).

Presenting the report to the negotiating council, which will debate it today, Dr Nomvete commended his co-chairman, Professor Smit, and the other commissioners.

Professor Smit said the commission had "succeeded in separating hard facts and reality from emotion".

Ms Bernstein also expressed unhappiness with several factors, particularly the haste with which the commission had produced its recommendations and map.

The commission said it had received proposals "for some form of volkstaat" but the parties favouring such an idea did not agree among themselves.

The government welcomed the commission's report, but the Democratic Party said some aspects needed "fine-tuning".

- Sapa reports Namibia has protested that the National Party and government submission to the commission ignored the November 1992 agreement for joint administration of Walvis Bay.

Regions spark controversy

Star 3/8/93
(304A)

By Chris Whitfield
Political Correspondent

Today's Negotiating Council debate on proposed regional boundaries is shaping up to be lively, with several aspects likely to be controversial.

Prominent among these is the inclusion of Johannesburg and Pretoria in the PWV region.

Last night the Government welcomed the report by the Commission on the Demarcation/Delimitation of Regions (CDDR) as making it "possible to accommodate reasonable demands across the broad spectrum of political expectations".

But two minority reports from commissioners pointed to controversial areas: no clearly defined "volkstaat" and the process followed for arriving at the proposed nine regions. And the Democratic Party named three aspects which needed "fine-tuning".

DP negotiations co-ordinator Ken Andrew said in a statement that:

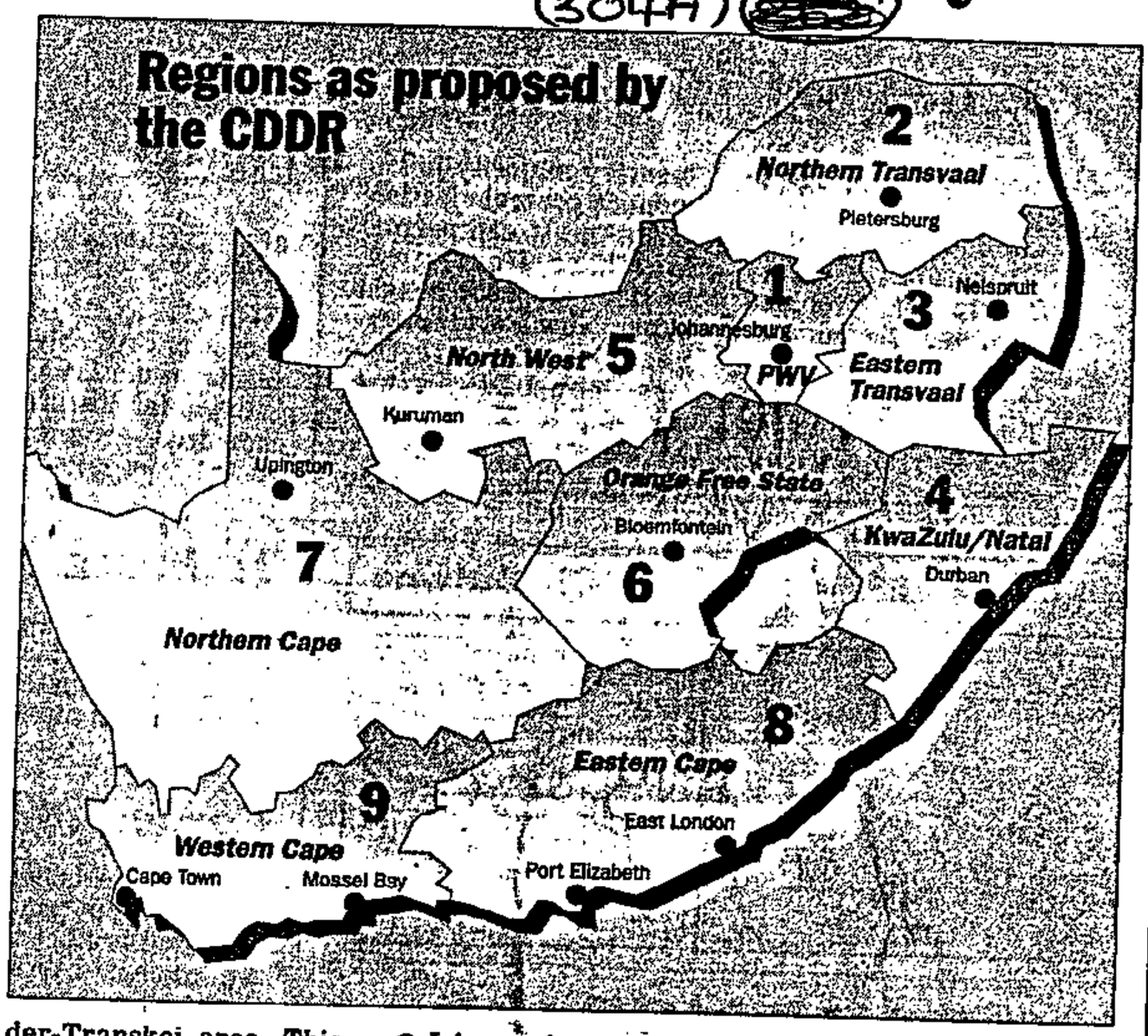
● The Eastern Cape should be a separate region from the Ciskei-Border-Transkei area. This has also been backed by the ANC in the Eastern Cape.

● The border between the Western Cape and Northern Cape "needs to be reviewed" with some of the Northern Cape region included in the Western Cape.

● Johannesburg and Pretoria should not be included in one region. In terms of the proposal the PWV region would embrace both these two cities and Sasolburg.

Another contentious proposal is the inclusion of East Griqualand — including the towns of Matatiele, Kokstad and Cedarville — into the Eastern Cape.

Residents in the East Griqualand area have called for their region to be included in Natal. About a million potential voters live in East Griqualand.



Plan to divide country into nine regions

Star 3/8/93

(304A)

By Kaizer Nyatsumba
Political Correspondent

The delimitation commission on regions has recommended that South Africa be divided into nine regions, according to a report tabled before the Negotiating Council at the World Trade Centre yesterday.

The commission, jointly chaired by academics Dr Bax Nomvete and Professor Flip Smit, said it had used as a point of departure the nine development regions in the country in order to develop a framework for analysis.

The commission — whose recommendations make no provision for an Afrikaner volkstaat as demanded by right-wing parties — took its decisions by a majority vote.

Two commissioners, Koos Reyneke and Ann Bernstein, have refused to sign the report.

The nine regions proposed by the commission are:

- Northern Transvaal (one dissension), including the three homelands of Gazankulu, Lebowa and Venda.
- The Pretoria-Witwatersrand-Vereeniging area (two dissensions). The commission said that since this was the most economically developed region, it could play a crucial role in generating economic growth for the country and in providing assistance and support to less developed regions.
- The Eastern Transvaal (one dissension), including Ka-Ngwane.
- KwaZulu-Natal (no dissension).
- The Free State (one dissension).
- The North-West (one dissension) including the western Transvaal and Bophuthatswana.
- The Northern Cape — decision taken by a majority of eight to seven votes — with Kimberley, Upington, Gordonia, Prieska and De Aar as the main functional nodal points.
- .The Western Cape (decision also taken by a majority of eight to seven votes).
- The Eastern Cape/Kei (one dissension), including Transkei and Ciskei.

Presenting the report to the Negotiating Council, Nomvete said the commission regarded its report as "a facilitating document".

Smit said the commission — which had received 308 written submissions and 84 oral ones — had "succeeded in separating hard facts and reality from emotion".

The commission said it had received proposals "for some form of volkstaat". However, the parties favouring such a volkstaat did not even agree among themselves.

Members of the commission were Nomvete, Smit, Reyneke, Bernstein, Professor D A Basson, P G Daphne, A S du Plessis, N N Gwagwa, D Govinden, Dr B M Malefo, Professor Y Muthien, Professor Wiseman Nkuhlu, Professor I Rautenbach and Professor A F Steyn.

CP calls for State restraint

THE Conservative Party yesterday called on Government and public undertakings not to act against white or black workers refusing to work in areas of unrest.

This follows a weekend warning by train drivers that they would refuse to drive in unsettled townships on the Witwatersrand unless Spoornet took drastic steps to ensure their safety. (3049)

Four black clerics join Nats

FOUR black priests have joined the National Party and made themselves available as its local organisers in the Orange Free State, the NP confirmed yesterday. Sowetan 31/8/93

Political consultant of the NP, Dr Dawie Max, said the priests joined the NP because churches had now turned away from the African National Congress and the Pan Africanist Congress. (304A)

The four ministers are JK Modisenyane, of the Evangelian Church in Bothaville; John Mongana of the United Congregational Church in Thaba Nchu, David M'flatela of the Methodist Church in Wepenaar and William Mbele of the Ethiopian Church in Tweeling.

□ SA has never been nearer to civil war — General Groenewald

Leaders of Volksfront launch campaign against violence

(304A)
ARG 3/8/93

TOS WENTZEL
Political Staff

LEADERS of the Afrikaner Volksfront, the umbrella body of rightwing political movements, have launched a campaign against violence and talk of violence.

They are deeply worried that emotions among some of their followers are running high.

This was confirmed last night by one of the AVF leaders, General Tienie Groenewald, after he had addressed about 500 people at an enthusiastic meeting in the Somerset West town hall.

"This country has never been nearer to a civil war than at present. The danger of violence is very great, but this must be avoided.

"We as generals know what war is — and that it is not something one tries unless one is sure of winning.

"Violence is the very last option and this is not something we are considering at present. But We are concerned about the potential for violence in the country."

It was important that leaders of other movements should also not make remarks that could be construed as calls for violence.

Calls by AVF leaders such as General Constand Viljoen to people to arm themselves for self-defence and to join the commandos and police reservists had been misconstrued.

At the meeting General Groenewald repeated this call but said the movement was in favour of peaceful resistance if its demands for a "volkstaat" were not met.



Picture: DOUG PITHEY, The Argus.

HOLDING FORTH: General Tienie Groenewald speaking in Somerset West last night.

People had the right to protect themselves if the government was no longer willing to accept this responsibility.

He said the AFV could muster "tremendous power" which could paralyse the country. The movement was planning a "thorough strategy".

In the present constitutional negotiations the AVF's demands for a volkstaat were not being given proper consideration. The AFV and its constituent parties wanted a volkstaat as part of a loose confederal political system.

"Only this can guarantee our freedom. The Afrikaners will never allow themselves to be subjected to domination by another nation. They are also not prepared to fall under a communist government.

"The only way peace can be ensured is to grant Afrikaners the right to self-determination, which is recognised in the present constitution."

General Groenewald said there was growing interest in the movement throughout the country, also among English-speakers. English-speaking people could be part of a volkstaat idea.

At this stage there could not be clear indications of where a volkstaat could be.

'Volkstaat to deny rights'

304A
CT 4/8/93

JOHANNESBURG. — The ANC has again come out against an Afrikaner volkstaat, charging it would displace other racial and ethnic groups.

"Afrikaner self-determination would deny other people their own right to self-determination," ANC spokesman Mr Thozamile Botha said in a debate on TV1's Agenda last night.

But, the CP's Mr Corné Mulder said if South Africa wanted a peaceful solution, it should recognise self-determination.

The CP rejected the commission's proposals as a volkstaat was not included.

The DP's Mr Tony Leon supported the ANC.

"Once you say the Afrikaner volkstaat is okay, then what about other ethnic groups in South Africa ... this county would (then) be fragmented into a Yugoslavian-type situation," he said.

Dr Mulder countered by saying if creating nation states meant a peaceful solution in South Africa, it should be done.

Bophuthatswana's chief negotiator Mr Rowan Cronje noted self-determination was an internationally accepted principle.

"We (Bophuthatswana) have no problems with a volkstaat."

But he conceded that displacing people would create difficulties. He proposed the nine regions be reduced to six or seven to be economically viable.

All party spokesmen agreed that consultation with people on the ground was necessary before a final decision on future regions was taken. — Sapa

Non-combatant corps envisaged

FW joins call for multiparty peace force

B/Day 4/8/93

(304A)

PRESIDENT F W de Klerk yesterday joined a wide spectrum of political leaders in endorsing the call for a multiparty peace force, but cautioned that it could not replace the security forces.

De Klerk's comments at a news conference after an all-day NP caucus meeting in Johannesburg followed this week's discussions at multiparty negotiations on ANC secretary-general Cyril Ramaphosa's call for such a force to be established in a month.

Ramaphosa's call came after a week of violence in which the toll in East Rand townships since the weekend mounted to almost 100. Joining a chorus of condemnation for the continuing violence, De Klerk said: "It cannot go on like this. The East Rand must now come to order."

Although the concept of a multiparty peace force gained wide support, it was criticised by right-wing parties who said they feared the force would legitimise the armed wings of the ANC and the PAC.

Various parties pointed out that the concept had been discussed for some time, but it was described by negotiators yesterday as "an idea whose time has come".

Inkatha negotiator Walter Felgate said although Inkatha had not discussed the idea in detail, he considered the concept an

LLOYD COUTTS
and TIM COHEN

"excellent idea". However, much would depend on its composition and its command structure. If the force was "just another way of making provision for the mobilisation of Umkhonto we Sizwe" then Inkatha would be against it.

De Klerk said the Cabinet would discuss the violence today and further action, including sending in more troops, could be expected if the situation required it.

He qualified his endorsement of a multiparty peace force, saying that such a force would act as an auxiliary to existing forces. It would be useful in controlling crowds and engaging in other peacekeeping activities, but it would not have a combatant role and would be armed only for self-defence purposes.

Ultimate political responsibility for the force would rest with government, but its immediate interaction would be with the proposed transitional executive council's subcouncil on security forces.

The ANC reiterated its demands for a national peacekeeping force and multiparty control of the security forces, but also demanded that the SAP be retrained and restructured.

CP defence spokesman Willie Snyman

□ To Page 2

Peace force

B/Day 4/8/93

□ From Page 1

said a peace force would legitimise government's support for the proposal — which originated from a bilateral agreement concluded between government and the ANC a long time ago — and indicated its inability to maintain law and order.

Anglican Archbishop Desmond Tutu's call on Monday for international intervention was supported by Azapo, whose publicity secretary Gomolemo Mokae said yesterday only a neutral, international force would have the impartiality, clout and will to stem violence.

De Klerk opposed the suggestion, saying he could not envisage such a force making a significant contribution.

(304A)

The Transvaal and Free State agricultural unions said a joint peace force was an attempt by the ANC and the PAC "to get a foot in the door for joint control of the security forces", reports Sapa.

The Boere Weerstandsbeweging rejected the proposal and threatened to take up arms "to restore the country to its people".

In its statement, the ANC also demanded the immediate dismissal of Law and Order Minister Hernus Kriel.

"Minister Kriel must take the responsibility for the police's inaction, and the many lives that have been lost as a result. He must be dismissed forthwith."

Meanwhile, the SAP said yesterday its members had come under attack in East Rand townships on at least 20 occasions on Monday and yesterday. A municipal policeman had been stabbed in the neck in one incident. Several buses were attacked and set alight by youths in Tembisa yesterday but no additional deaths were reported.

● Comment: Page 8

☐ Party in talks with ANC on possible compromise over consensus issue

IFP may go back to negotiations

ARG 4/8/93 (1) 30A

The Argus Correspondent

JOHANNESBURG. —The African National Congress and Inkatha Freedom Party were locked in a meeting today after indications that the IFP might return to negotiations.

The meeting came amid a flurry of IFP-government meetings designed to bring the organisation back to the talks table.

Sources said a possible compromise on the thorny issue of how decisions should be taken in negotiations was being discussed.

The controversial question of "sufficient consensus" — the subject of a Kwazulu government challenge in the Supreme Court — was to be debated in the negotiating council at the World Trade Centre later today.

There has been progress in bilateral meetings between the government and IFP in an effort to open the way for the Kwazulu government and IFP to return to negotiations.

A senior government source said yesterday a "very reasonable" proposal had been put to the IFP during bilateral talks on Monday. He was confident it would meet the IFP's concerns, but if it was rejected "I don't know what will get them back".

Also on the agenda for today's negotiating council session is a report from the planning committee on yesterday's closed-door meeting of the committee at which violence and the proposed peace corps were discussed.

The negotiation council will also hear a report from the Commission on the Demarcation/Delimitation of Regions.

The first "substantive" issue to be discussed later today will be a planning committee report on the sufficient consensus required to adopt negotiations decisions.

This comes after the bilateral meetings between the government and IFP dealing chiefly with this issue.

Home Affairs Minister Danie Schutte said talks with the IFP were taking place on a "continuous basis" and "strong suggestions" had been made to the IFP on sufficient consensus, but he declined to elaborate.

Meanwhile, the Cabinet will look at ways to curb violence on the East Rand today after President De Klerk responded positively to fresh calls for the formation of a joint peacekeeping force.

ANC president Nelson Mandela telephoned Mr De Klerk from Malaysia yesterday to discuss the latest wave of killings.

At a Press conference in Kempton Park after a day-long National Party caucus meeting, Mr De Klerk said he would be given a detailed briefing by police on the situation in East Rand townships and the Cabinet would today be "looking at ways of restoring law and order".

Proposals for election security

ARG 4/8/93

MICHAEL MORRIS
Political Correspondent

FAR-REACHING proposals on curbing violence and intimidation during the election campaign will be unveiled at a special hearing of the Goldstone Commission in Cape Town today.

The proposals have been drawn up by an international panel appointed some months ago under the chairmanship of American attorney Charles Ruff, one of the lawyers in the Watergate investigation.

The panel's report will be presented to Mr Justice Goldstone today.

It will cover:

- Rules of conduct and procedure to curb violence and intimidation during the election campaign and on election day.
- Where polling stations should be established and how they could be protected.
- Procedures for counting votes.
- Any special measures for the period immediately after the election.

The report is also expected to sketch the role of government departments, the police and the international community during the election.

Public hearings on these recommendations will begin today at the Arthur's Seat Hotel, Sea Point.

Regions blueprint stirs controversy

Star 4/8/93

By Kaizer Nyatsumba
Political Correspondent

The blueprint for South Africa's new regional dispensation — tabled in the Negotiating Council on Monday — has fuelled controversy in certain quarters, with some parties expressing unhappiness about the demarcation of certain regions.

Yesterday, President de Klerk indicated that the National Party had certain reservations on some proposals, and felt the public — and not just political parties — should be given an opportunity to make inputs to the delimitation commission. (3044)

Its problem areas included the breaking up of a region it had proposed which would have embraced the Free State, the western Transvaal and a part of Bophuthatswana.

It felt the proposed Eastern Cape region should be divided into two regions — a smaller eastern Cape region and the Kei/Border region.

"In both cases we strongly prefer our own proposals," he told a press conference.

The President added that he did not envisage referendums being held, but the public should have an opportunity to make recommendations.

Several parties have taken issue with the recommendations of the delimitation commission.

Key among these is the Democratic Party, which called for the separation of the eastern Cape from the Ciskei-Border-Transkei area.

The DP also called for a review of the borders between the western and northern Cape as well as the separation of Pretoria from Johannesburg.

DP southern Transvaal leader Peter Soal said the party would protest vigorously against the proposal to include Johannesburg and Pretoria in the same PWV region.

Leading the charge against the incorporation of the eastern Cape into a single region with Ciskei and Transkei were DP director Bobby Stevenson and DP Albany MP Errol Moorcroft. They said the decision smacked of a trade-off between the NP and the ANC and flew in the face of "old historical boundaries".

Also in dispute is the boundary between KwaZulu-Natal and the new Eastern Cape region, about which the Inkatha Freedom Party and the NP are unhappy. Members of the two parties have vowed to fight tooth and nail against the inclusion of east Griqualand — including towns like Matatiele, Kokstad and Cedarville — in the proposed Eastern Cape region.

The harshest criticism against this recommendation has come from former NP Natal MEC Peter Miller — now an IFP member — who accused the commission of being "totally bereft of any sense whatsoever" and of being "in (Transkei military ruler General) Bantu Holomisa's pocket".

The Afrikaner Vryheidstigting and Afrikaner Volksunie have welcomed the isolation of the northern Cape as a separate region which could serve as the basis for negotiations for an Afrikaner state.

'It cannot go on like this' – FW

Joint peace force likely

Star 4/8/93

By Chris Whitfield and Esther Waugh

The Cabinet will today look at ways of curbing violence on the East Rand, after President de Klerk's positive reaction last night to fresh calls for the formation of a joint peacekeeping force.

ANC president Nelson Mandela telephoned De Klerk from Malaysia yesterday to discuss the latest wave of killings.

Mandela said he had told the President he believed the security forces were "deeply involved" in the violence.

Trauma of violence - Page 3

At a press conference in Malaysia before his return to South Africa last night, Mandela said responsible ANC officials and press reports he had read indicated security force involvement.

Mandela had asked the President to brief him on the East Rand violence. "According to his information, this violence was sparked off by criminal gangs with no political affiliations," Mandela said.

Referring to the violence, De Klerk said last night: "It cannot go on like this. The East Rand must now come to order."

At a media conference he defended police efforts under what he said were extremely difficult circumstances, but said the Government "will not hesitate" to send in more manpower.

Asked about renewed calls for the creation of a joint peacekeeping force, he said the Government had "come forward with an initiative a long time ago" and that talks with various paramilitary forces had already given rise to a convergence of opinion.

He said such a force would never replace the security forces but could go a long way in an "auxiliary role", assisting in situations such as crowd control.

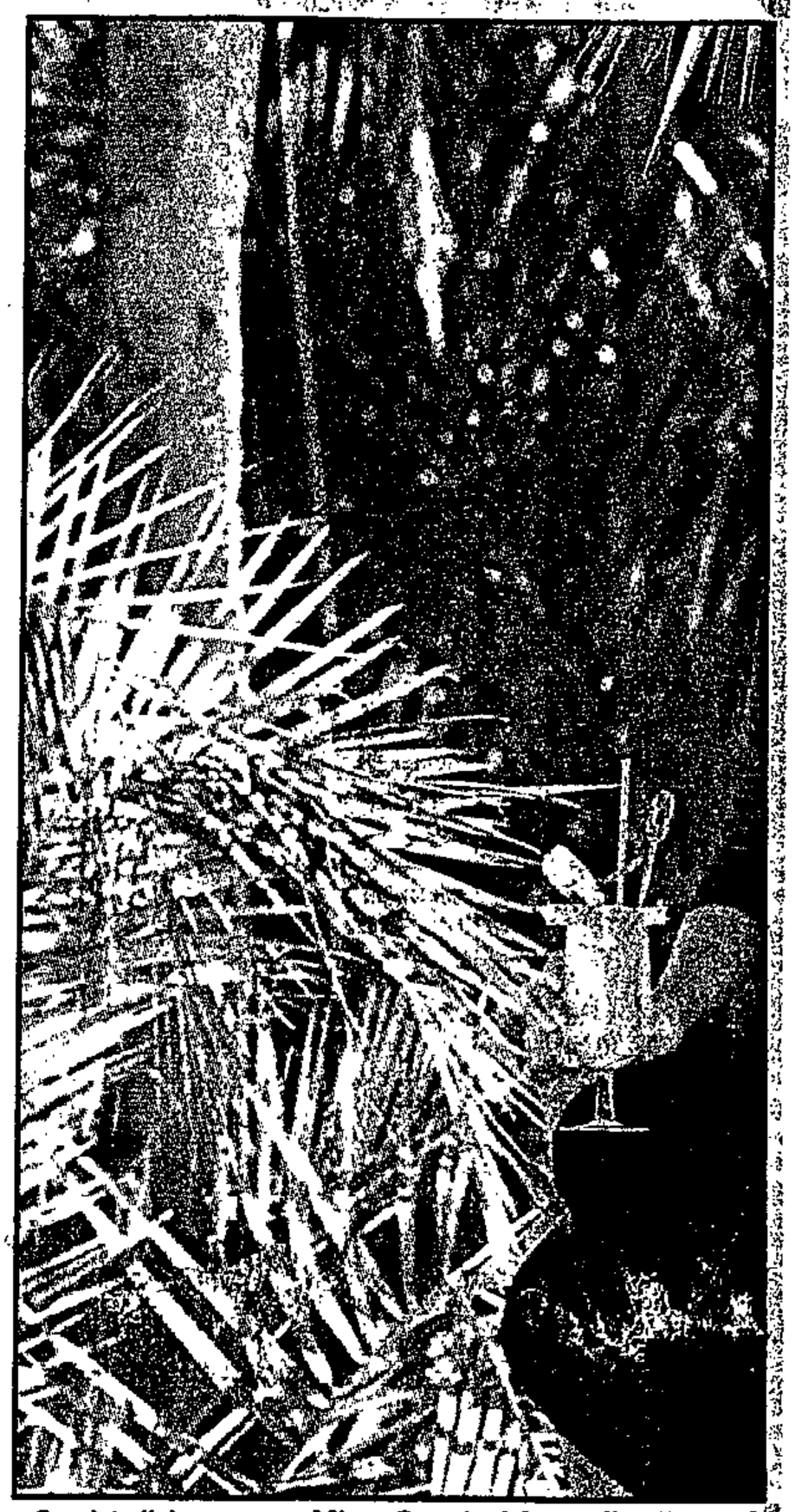
He expected it would fall under the political control of the proposed transitional executive council.

De Klerk also said:

- The NP was not about to ditch the Inkatha Freedom Party, refusing even to speculate on whether a time could arrive when the Government contemplated pressing on towards a new order without the IFP.
- The Government had misgivings about some of the delimitation commission's proposed borders and wanted "the people" to have input (See Page 3).
- The Cabinet and caucus were not divided.
- Before he flew out of Malaysia, Mandela held discussions with Malaysian Prime Minister Dr Mahathir Mohammad, whom he described as "one of our strongest supporters".

Mandela said Mohammad had responded "very positively and very constructively to all the problems raised and requests we made".

- The ANC raised more than $10 million (R33 million) for its election campaign from the Taiwanese government, ANC sources said.



Cocktail hour . . . Miss South Africa finalists M[illegible] rehearsals for Saturday night's event at Sun Cit[illegible]

Map in just six weeks 'unrealistic'

Star 4/8/93

By Kaizer Nyatsumba
Political Correspondent

The delimitation commission on regions did not consider the electoral implications of regional boundaries, according to fellow-commissioner Ann Bernstein of the Urban Foundation.

The commission's report was tabled in the Negotiating Council on Monday.

Bernstein refused to sign the report.

In one of two minority reports tabled with the main report, Bernstein explained how she differed from the other commissioners in interpreting the brief by the Negotiating Council.

She urged negotiators "not to impose an undemocratic map on the country".

She was aware of the time constraints to forge a new South Africa, and was merely arguing for a "more humble, more democratic and consultative approach".

The other commissioners had interpreted their responsibility as producing "a hastily conceived, single map".

To try to produce a regional map within six weeks given to the commission was "unrealistic and dangerous".

The issues on which Bernstein said she was not clear included:

- What would be best for the Border/Kei area and the country if the eastern Cape were made one region.
- Whether or not Pretoria should be separated from the Witwatersrand.
- The implications for the mainly coloured northern Cape of having that area forming a separate region.

MEC's defection hailed

Own Correspondent (#B3)

MARITZBURG. — Former Natal MEC Mr Peter Miller's move to the IFP was a major coup for the party and a graphic demonstration that it was "attracting the cream of leadership talent", KwaZulu Deputy Minister of Works Mr Velaphi Ndlovu said here yesterday. (304A) CT 4/8/93

Speaking here to "formally introduce the IFP's newest high-profile recruit", Mr Ndlovu said Mr Miller's defection from the National Party marked a turning point in regional politics.

He claimed Mr Miller's move to the IFP had already triggered an exodus of white voters from NP and Democratic Party ranks.

Addressing his first press conference in his new role, Mr Miller said his sympathies lay with the region and the need to forge a good working relationship with the IFP.

Offer to lure Inkatha back

304A

CT 4/8/93

Own Correspondent

JOHANNESBURG. — Constitutional negotiators said yesterday Inkatha had been made an offer "so reasonable they cannot refuse it" which they hoped would lure the party back to the talks soon.

They were optimistic it would be accepted.

It is understood the government put the offer, which accommodates most of Inkatha's concerns, to it on Monday during regular behind-the-scenes talks.

The offer has the support of the ANC and other major parties at the negotiations.

It is hoped Inkatha will respond to the offer at a meeting between it and the government today.

President F W de Klerk yesterday again expressed confidence that Inkatha would return to negotiations.

'Negotiations'

Saying that bilateral meetings were continuing, he warned of "serious consequences" if a party with the third strongest voter support was excluded.

Commenting yesterday, IFP negotiator Mr Walter Felgate said: "I am being deliberately ambiguous because we are in the middle of negotiations."

However, he said Inkatha was "very conscious of the urgency of the process and the need for decisions to be made soon so that the government can process legislation for the short session of Parliament in September".

Legislation would have to be ready by about August 20.

Details of the offer are sketchy.

'People should decide regions'

304A 25

CT 4/8/93

JOHANNESBURG. — People, not parties, should decide on regions, President F W de Klerk said yesterday, adding that the National Party wanted procedures established for further public consultation before regional boundaries were finally drawn.

Mr De Klerk was speaking after the NP caucus meeting that discussed the regional boundaries proposed by a technical committee of the Negotiating Council.

The proposals, with two exceptions, came close to the NP's own submissions, Mr De Klerk said.

The NP wanted the Free State, Western Transvaal and Northern Cape/Bophuthatswana areas combined and also wanted the Eastern Cape divorced from the Kei/Border region.

The proposals should not be seen as final, he said.

FW calls for consultation with public

His statement came as the Democratic Party demanded a referendum to overturn the controversial decision by the Delimitation Commission to lump the Eastern Cape into a single region with Ciskei and Transkei.

The DP said the decision would end in "disaster" because it flew in the face of popular opinion, historical boundaries and economic common sense.

Vowing to fight the move "with everthing we have," DP Eastern Cape director Mr Bobby Stevenson said yesterday the proposed combined region "smacks of a trade-off between the NP and the ANC".

"Instead their Minister of Regional and Land Affairs (Mr André Fourie) is saying it would not give them sleepless nights if this was a combined region."

DP MP for Albany Mr Errol Moorcroft said he believed the ANC and the NP had "bulldozed" this recommendation through the Delimitation Commission for political reasons.

And in its reaction to the boundary proposals, the IFP has rejected as "totally unacceptable" the proposed incorporation of East Griqualand into a new Eastern Cape region.

It plans to "mobilise overwhelming support" to reject the proposal. — Political Staff, Sapa

Cosag elects six-man NEC

Sowetan 48/93

THE 10 parties comprising the Concerned South Africans Group elected a six-man national executive committee at a meeting at Verwoerdburg near Pretoria on Monday night.

Bophuthatswana's Mr Rowan Cronjé was elected chairman of the committee, which comprises Mr Walter Felgate of the Inkatha Freedom Party, Mr Tom Langley of the Conservative Party, Dr Frank Mdlalose of the Inkatha Freedom Party, Mr Moolman Mentz of the Akrikaner Volksunie and Mr Eddie Webb of Ciskei (3044)

Cosag said in a statement yesterday its members had agreed on issues such as violence, the interim constitutional proposals, the problem of sufficient consensus and the report of the boundaries commission. — *Sapa.*

L x B = 4,9 x 3,60m Lounge

2,95 x 1,95 Passage

SARB: Quarterly Bulletin, March 993

No. 187

news in brief

BWB rejects offer

THE Boere Weerstandsbeweging said yesterday nobody could blame them if they took up arms to "restore the country to our people".

It was reacting from Rustenburg to proposals by the negotiating council to establish a peacekeeping force to deal with the continuing violence. BWB leader Mr Andrew Ford said his organisation wanted no part in the proposed peace force and would not work with "communists and the bedfellows of the National Party".

Sowetan 4/8/93
(2044)

Cosag elects national group

JOHANNESBURG — The 10 parties and governments comprising the Concerned South Africans Group (Cosag) elected a six-man national executive committee at a meeting in Verwoerdburg earlier this week (3049)

Bophuthatswana's Mr Rowan Cronje was elected chairman. CT 4/8/93

The other members are the IFP's Mr Walter Felgate, Mr Tom Langley of the CP, Dr Frank Mdlalose of the IFP, Mr Moolman Mentz of the Afrikaner Volksunie and Mr Eddie Webb of Ciskei.

Cosag said yesterday agreement was reached on violence and the interim constitutional proposals.

The Free Cape Movement has been admitted as a Cosag member. — Sapa.

Unhappiness over blueprint for regional dispensation

2044

ARG 4/8/93

Political Staff

JOHANNESBURG. — The blueprint for South Africa's new regional dispensation — tabled in the Negotiating Council — has fuelled controversy in certain quarters, with some parties expressing unhappiness about the demarcation of certain regions.

President De Klerk indicated yesterday that the National Party had certain reservations on some proposals and felt the public — and not just political parties — should be given an opportunity to make inputs to the delimitation commission.

Its problem areas included the breaking up of a region it had proposed, which would have embraced the Free State, Western Transvaal and a large chunk of Bophuthatswana.

It also felt the Eastern Cape region proposed by the commission should be divided into two regions — a smaller Eastern Cape region and the Kei-Border region.

"In both cases we strongly prefer our own proposals," said Mr De Klerk.

The president added that he did not envisage a referendum being held, but ways should be sought to give the public an opportunity to make recommendations.

Although not many parties have taken issue with the recommendation of the delimitation commission on regions that South Africa be sliced into nine regions, some have grave reservations about the exclusion — or inclusion — of some towns and cities from some regions.

Key among these is the Democratic Party, which called for the separation of the Eastern Cape from the Ciskei-Border-Transkei area.

The DP also called for a review of the borders between the Western and Northern Cape as well as the separation of Pretoria and Johannesburg from the same region.

DP Southern Transvaal leader Peter Soal, among others, is up in arms about the inclusion of the country's financial and administrative capitals — Johannesburg and Pretoria — in the same PWV region.

Mr Soal called on industry and commerce in the area to protest against the commission's proposal.

Also in dispute is the boundary between Kwazulu-Natal and the new Eastern Cape region, about which the Inkatha Freedom Party and the NP are unhappy.

Election experts flock to SA

Star 4/8/93

By Kaizer Nyatsumba
Political Correspondent

As South Africa slowly edges towards next year's April 27 nonracial election, a number of foreign election experts have visited the country, The Star has found. (304A)

Although the election is not due for another eight months, people knowledgeable about elections have been arriving in South Africa for the past few months. They are keen to help in a context where the majority of the electorate has never cast a vote.

Sources within the ANC and the Ministry of Home Affairs yesterday confirmed there had recently been an influx of foreign-based experts.

Their priority has been voter education, offered in co-operation with a number of local organisations. These include the Independent Forum for Electoral Education, Matla Trust, the Independent Mediation Service of South Africa (Imssa), the Institute for Multiparty Democracy and the Institute for a Democratic Alternative for South Africa.

Imssa held an international conference on "The national election: the challenge ahead" in Johannesburg at the weekend, and speakers included experts from a number of countries with histories not dissimilar to South Africa's.

These included Brazil's Mr Justice Francisco Rezek, El Salvador's Dr Francesco Manca, Bulgaria's Miroslav Sevlievski, Angola's Dr Onofre dos Santos and Panama's Mr Justice Eduardo Valdes.

Joint peace-keeping service

ARCT 5/8/93 (3049) 251

PUBLIC order policing during the election campaign should be done by a multiparty Peace-Keeping Service (PKS).

This would not simply be transferring the functions of the existing Internal Stability Unit (ISU) to new organisation.

The new PKS should be responsible for dealing with marches, rallies, and demonstrations and in responding to incidents of violence wherever they occur.

The SAP should continue to be responsible for its normal crime-related activities.

The new Peace-Keeping Service should be created by, and report to, the Transitional Executive Council (TEC).

It should be led by a multiparty, civilian command structure and its operating arm would consist of selected senior and mid-level police staff with both operational and community relations experience, all existing ISU personnel and specially recruited members of "party-affiliated forces" ... such as liberation armies MK and Apla.

It should be introduced in two phases: in the first phase, the TEC should establish and appoint the command structure, give them authority to develop policies and procedures and assume control over the operations of the PKS, and the ISU and SAP personnel who would then be transferred to it.

In the second phase, the command of the PKS would recruit and train new members and integrate them into the force.

This is bound to take months.

"If there is any hope of pursuing the creation of this new policing organisation, the foundations must be laid today."

Under the direction of the Transitional Executive Authority, the PKS should create a national Joint Planning Committee chaired by the senior officer of the Service and consisting of senior officials of the Independent Election Commission, the SAP and SADF.

National Peace Accord representatives and those from non-government and international observer organisations should be invited to participate.

This committee structure should be replicated in each region.

The JPCs will assess situations — and plans for events such as rallies and demonstrations — to determine the best response and who should be responsible.

On election day, the PKS, assisted by the SAP and SADF "as necessary" will be responsible for the security at voting areas, the ballot boxes — including their transportation — and at the counting stations.

Also, units of "Independent Election Commission marshals" — recruited from the public — should be trained to assist the PKS on election day.

All prosecutions for violations of the election law and for any other non-violent offences arising out of rallies, demonstrations and similar campaign or election activities should be approved by the Attorney-General for the area involved. The Attorney-Generals should also issue guidelines for handling such cases.

Training of the PKS is vital if it is be effective, legitimate and credible.

"This training mission ... can only be accomplished by drawing on resources outside South Africa and that call for assistance must go out now."

Task of educating the voter is a high priority

THE Independent Election Commission (IEC) must make voter education its highest priority.

Voters must be constantly reassured about the secrecy of the poll, constantly reminded that democracy means there will be winners and losers — and future elections — and that they must accept the result, and there must be regular exhortations against violence and intimidation.

Voters should be told as clearly as possible about the function of ID documents and the need for eligibility, the nature and purpose of the campaign — including canvassing, opinion polls and political rhetoric — the structure of the ballot, technical aspects of voting — including the selection of the voting station, roles by those who will be present, and the marking and depositing of the ballot — and how the votes will be counted and the results announced.

ANC and IFP bid to heal negotiations rift

Political Staff

JOHANNESBURG. — The Inkatha Freedom Party and the ANC have agreed to set up sub-committees on constitutional issues and on violence in an effort to bridge their differences and pave the way for the IFP's return to multiparty negotiations.

After talks yesterday at a hotel near the World Trade Centre yesterday, the ANC and the IFP said much progress had been made.

IFP executive officer and chief negotiator Joe Matthews hinted that the party might return to the multiparty talks soon.

"We are having such wonderful bilaterals that so much progress is being made, and we might be able — sooner or later — to return to negotiations," he said.

However, he would not give any indication of how soon the IFP might return.

He said that party was "mindful of deadlines (in the negotiations) and it is hoped the next session of parliament will make movement in a certain direction".

He was referring to next month's special session of parliament, which is expected to pass legislation on agreements reached at the World Trade Centre.

The IFP walked out of the July 2 negotiating forum meeting, which formally adopted April 27 next year as the date for South Africa's first non-racial election.

The ANC and the IFP discussed a wide range of issues yesterday and agreed on the formation of the sub-committees.

Mr Matthews and ANC secretary-general Cyril Ramaphosa said violence and constitutional issues featured prominently in the talks.

Also discussed were "federal features" in the draft interim constitution and the proposed Bill of Rights.

Commitment by all parties to peace

ARG 5/8/93

ALL parties entering the election fray should be required to register with the Independent Election Commission (IEC), bind itself to non-violence and accept the authority of the IEC in judging breaches and imposing tough penalties.

Even parties choosing not to register should declare publicly that they reject violence and intimidation.

There should be a deadline for registration.

The IEC should impose "fair but meaningful sanctions" for violations of the election law.

Depending on the seriousness, these could range from private or public admonishment to fines of increasing severity, to loss of access to the media or the right to participate in multiparty debates ... and even, in severe cases, an order barring a party from the ballot in one or more areas or nationally.

Once the IEC is seen to be "reluctant to act, it will find it difficult to recover its credibility".

There is a risk that severe penalties could drive offending parties into "outlaw status", but "the greater evil would be for the IEC not to respond with sufficient severity.

The more dramatic sanctions should not be imposed "unless there is a pattern of serious violations and the offending party must be given a full and fair hearing".

A bar order should not be placed without the concurrence of a super-majority — 75 percent — vote in the IEC and other severe sanctions should require a two thirds vote.

Breaches by non-participants and individuals should be punished by fines. The report says work should begin immediately on setting up a credible Independent Election Commission, even before MPs return to parliament to approve the necessary legislation next month.

It should be made up of South Africans of "stature who will not bow to political pressure".

It should employ seconded Home Affairs officials experienced in running elections, but should "come rapidly to reflect a broad cross-section of the South African community".

The IEC must be "effective and insulated from suspicion".

Among its chief tasks will be resolving disputes between parties quickly and fairly, investigating and ruling on claims of misconduct and intimidation, enforcing election law and imposing penalties where necessary, and mediate and assist wherever possible to avoid conflict and violations of the law.

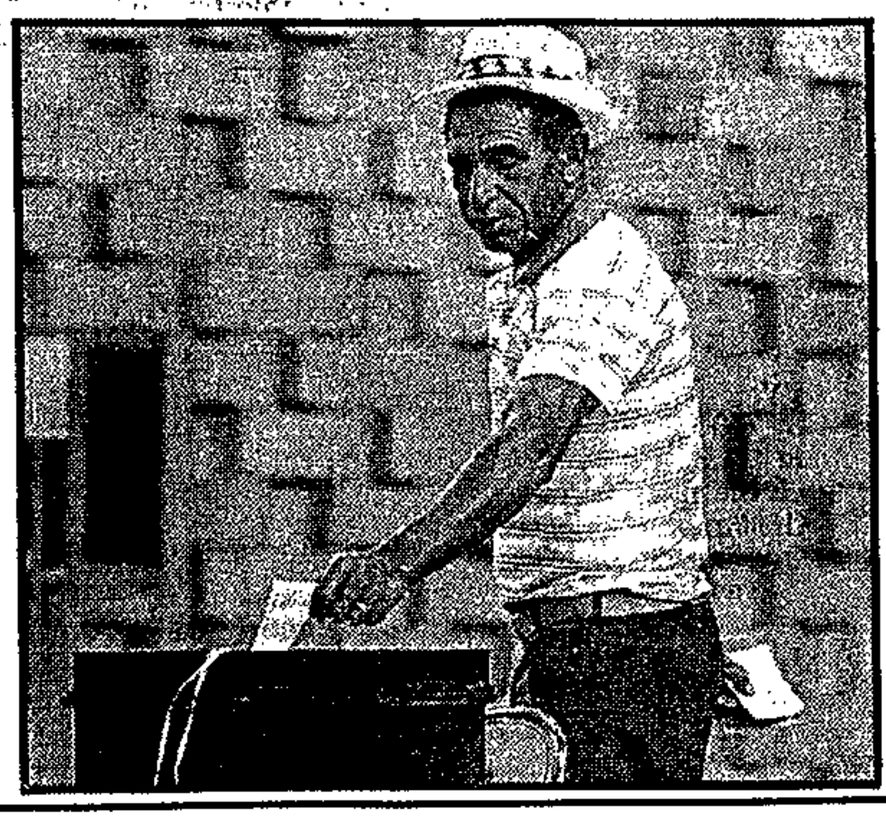
One of its most important functions will be to serve as a "rumour control centre".

"Nothing is more dangerous in the heat of an election than to have already highly emotional and often fearful citiens exposed to unconfirmed rumours of violence, intimidation or fraud".

The IEC should set up an information gathering unit — which should be open 24 hours a day nearer the election — to investigate rumours and report as quickly as possible.



KEEPING THE PEACE: Security during the election campaign and at the polls is a pressing issue. The panel recommends the formation of a multi-party Peace-Keeping Service to curb violence and intimidation. Below: Voting must take place free of interference to ensure the result is accepted.



and ● Sufficient consensus revisited

IFP set to return to the multiparty negotiations soon

Sowetan 5/8/93

By Themba Molefe
Political Correspondent

THE Inkatha Freedom Party may return to the negotiating table sooner than expected.

IFP chief negotiator Mr Joe Matthews yesterday told journalists in Kempton Park that his party could resume its seat after two or three meetings".

This was after he and his African National Congress counterpart Mr Cyril Ramaphosa had held talks aimed at resolving the problems which led to the IFP's walkout two weeks ago.

Ramaphosa said he was hopeful the problems would be sorted out in follow-up meetings. A sub-committee to deal with the obstacles had also been set up, Ramaphosa said.

The IFP will meet the Government today in a follow-up to a meeting held between State President Mr FW de Klerk and Chief Mangosuthu Buthelezi last week.

The multiparty negotiating council also reached an agreement on a set of guidelines which would redress the sufficient consensus rule, an issue which sparked the IFP's walkout.

The guidelines adopted yesterday provide that the chairman of the day's proceedings would ensure that disagreeing parties be given an opportunity to voice their objection and time to consult with their principals with the ultimate goal of guaranteeing maximum consensus on substantive issues.

If the guidelines are acceptable to the IFP, the party might withdraw its lawsuit challenging the sufficient consensus rule.

Not a moment to waste – experts

Star 5/8/93

304A

By Michael Morris
Political Correspondent

Banning liquor sales — and political activity — on election day, imposing tough penalities on political intolerance and plans for a multiparty peacekeeping service are among far-reaching proposals made to the Goldstone Commission yesterday by an expert panel.

The panel's 70-page report covers the role of the Independent Electoral Commission, how and when people will vote, the counting of votes and verification of results, managing campaign rallies, marches and demonstrations, and the role of police, monitors and observers.

The focus of the report is on curbing violence and intimidation during the campaign ... and the thrust is that South Africa cannot afford to waste any more time setting the electoral structures and rules.

The 11-person panel — comprising leading foreign and South African election experts — was appointed by Mr Justice Richard Goldstone in March this year and headed by former Watergate prosecutor and leading US attorney Charles Ruff.

The panel warned yesterday: "Time is the enemy."

There was not a moment to waste if the election was to be held on April 27.

Decisions on the election process "cannot await the convening of Parliament (in September)" and the process had to begin immediately. South Africa had also to be unreserved in asking for money, expertise and manpower from abroad.

Most importantly, all political, religious and community leaders had to make it clear they rejected violence by "announcing from every podium and pulpit at every opportunity that violence undermines the rights and endangers the future of all South Africans".

Mr Justice Goldstone yesterday invited the public to contribute to debate on the proposals at hearings at the Arthur's Seat hotel in Sea Point today and from Wednesday next week. Appointments may also be made for private discussions with the panel on Friday, Monday and Tuesday.

Once this has been completed, the commission will assess the report and make its own recommendations "in the near future" to President De Klerk, the Independent Electoral Commission and political parties.

Mr Justice Goldstone said that the international community had a vital "monitoring and verification" role to play in the campaign.

In some respects, however, South Africa was unique and the commission felt "we could not simply replicate solutions or adopt procedures which may have been successful in other countries".

Report passed by 'general consensus'

Star 5/8/93

By Chris Whitfield
Political Correspondent

Negotiating parties yesterday unanimously accepted a report showing how decisions should be taken. (304A)

The parties who walked out on July 2 were conspicuous by their absence for a Negotiating Council debate on the ad hoc committee's report on sufficient consensus — meaning enough support to accept a decision.

The IFP and KwaZulu government — which took the issue to the Supreme Court — have yet to return to the forum.

In their absence, the most significant response to the report was the approval given to it by the IFP's Concerned South Africans Group partners who had not joined the walkout.

The Bophuthatswana and Ciskei governments and the Afrikaner Volksunie were among those who approved the report, allowing chairman Luwellyn Landers to rule that it had been accepted by "general consensus" — unanimous approval.

The debate had begun with SACP negotiator Joe Slovo offering an olive branch to those who had rejected the way the principle of sufficient consensus had been applied. (11B2)

He said no single party should be allowed to "immobilise" the process, adding that "no party, however powerful, should act in a way which rides roughshod over the views of participants". (Ref)

Besides procedures already provided for in the standing rules, the report suggested that ad hoc committees could be created to look at ways of bridging differences.



Pattern of Politics
By HERMANN GILIOMEE



MR MANGOPE: Powerful alliance with white farmers.



DR BUTHELEZI: Growing claims to political autonomy.

Federal system the best antidote to secession

THE proposal that post-apartheid South Africa should comprise nine regions signals as much a return to history as a different future. Although the commission based its recommendations mainly on technocratic criteria, the heavy hand of our history is all too visible in the demarcation.

Our future will be shaped more by this burden of history than the smart constitutional tricks contemplated by the negotiating parties. One of the most provocative contributions to the post-Cold War intellectual debate was Francis Fukuyama's 1989 essay *The End of History* and the follow-up book *The End of History and the Last Man'* (Free Press, 1992).

Fukuyama boldly proclaimed that history has ended. Since the demise of fascism and communism, there is no ideology with-universal pretensions that could even remotely challenge the ascendancy of liberal democracy resting as it does on democratisation and economic liberalisation.

Another state

In South Africa, too, there is a pervasive sense among both whites and blacks that history has finally ended. The chapter of white rule is irrevocably closed and the land is becoming African in the full sense of the word.

Liberal optimists still cling to the vision of political democratisation and economic liberalisation; pessimists (they would call themselves realists) see us becoming just another African state, bogged down in stagnation and corruption with very little new history happening.

But Fukuyama's thesis, as applied both to the world at large and South Africa, may be incorrect. Ideological rivalry has ended and, even in South Africa, leaders will continue to pay at least lip service to liberal democracy as the only respectable ideology. But history is not ending; indeed, we see all over the world a lot of history returning.

In a widely discussed Foreign Affairs article, Samuel Huntington argues that the post-Cold War would revert to the clash of civilisations, particularly between Christianity and Islam, which originated many centuries ago but which was long suppressed by Western imperialism and the Cold War. (It is now generally accepted that Turkey will never be a member of the EC. The main reason? It is not a Christian country.)

History has also been returning in another way. Next to democratisation and economic liberalisation, the main universal trend of recent times is the political disintegration of multinational states.

Under its impact 15 new states appeared in the old Soviet Union, two in Czechoslovakia and four in Yugoslavia.

Explosive forces

There is a link between the processes of democratisation and political disintegration — nationalism. Despite our fondest hopes, democracy does not really rest on the rational foundation of individual rights and a constitution but on the notion of *national* self-determination.

The very basis of democracy is in fact the claim *we the people*: in essence a collective claim based on race, culture or some other communal identity. In South Africa are contained the same explosive forces that in other multi-ethnic countries led to disintegration.

It is true that all the main contending parties support the idea of building a non-racial nation. Such a commitment, however, is confronted with powerful contenders — dressed in a nationalist garb. They maintain that because of past entrepreneurial performance or historic discrimination the nation as defined by them has the right to determine the future. Herein lies the road to secession.

White parties

That South Africa could break up is not a far-fetched idea. South Africa as a political entity has existed for only 80 years. Union in 1910 only became possible because the imperial power had the vision of a single white-dominated state and could hold the ring until a settlement was achieved.

Subsequently it was held together by the Witwatersrand hub which produces more than half the national output and by white parties united behind the idea of maintaining centralised control.

But the ballgame might soon change fundamentally. If the National Party and Inkatha feel themselves squeezed out at the centre or if the centre becomes paralysed they could pursue a quite different notion of national self-determination in the regions where they have strongest support.

Of course an ANC-led government will try to stop this but its military, financial, and ideological resources will fall far short of those which enabled whites to control the centralised state for so long.

Unless a government of national unity smoothly eases us into a new state, South Africa will return to the 19th century era when across the sub-continent a stalemate existed between whites and blacks, one that was only ended in white favour by the power and might of the British empire.

Depending on developments over the short to medium term, our whole conception of history might change. The Great Trek might come to be seen as an overextension of Afrikaner resources only made possible by a temporary set-back in African fortunes as a result of the Difiqane.

The "imperial" control by Afrikaners of the land across the Orange River will be seen as having lasted only 160 years — slightly longer than the French lasted in Algeria.

In the present Cape Province, history will in fact return to 1811 when the Xhosa effectively occupied the land up to the Sundays River. In that year a British-led army pushed the Xhosa back over the Fish River.

The heartland of the descendants of Khoi-san peoples and white burghers will become the present western and north-western regions — as it was before 1830. (The fact that property prices in Cape Town are higher than that in the richest city, Johannesburg, surely tells a story, as RW Johnson observed at a recent conference).

The area north of the Orange will of course increasingly become under de facto and de jure African control, as was the case before 1830, but a crucial factor will, as in the second half of the last century, be the strategic alliances that segments of the Zulu and Tswana peoples can forge with white farmers, entrepreneurs and officials.

Alliances

Such alliances with white farmers already appear to bolster the position of leaders such as Dr Buthelezi and Mr Mangope. Should these alliances become real power bases, one can see a disaffected Western Transvaal and Natal region developing growing claims to political autonomy. As in the 19th century, this could lead to partition.

Against such a secessionist scenario there will be those who will argue that the regions will remain locked in because they are all vitally dependent on the wealth generated on the Witwatersrand.

This may be true but it should be remembered that imports and exports amount to about two-thirds of South Africa's GDP and that the parties which control Durban and Cape Town hold powerful bargaining chips against the centre.

As in the late 19th century, control over the ports could become a main issue in our politics.

All such speculations are, of course, frightfully politically incorrect. There is nothing inevitable about the return of history. But for the centralisers at the World Trade Centre it would be good to remember that a well-functioning federal system is the best antidote to secession.

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□ *Professor Giliomee teaches in the Department of Political Studies at UCT.*



ight have to go home with a broken toe."

Election pacts 'not for DP'

Political Staff 3024A

DURBAN. — The Democratic Party had considered making alliances with other political groups, but had decided to remain a party of principle, not of power, DP leader Dr Zach de Beer said yesterday.

He told the press club here the system of proportional representation agreed at multi-party talks meant it made no sense for the DP to "sacrifice its identity" by allying with another party.

He said the DP would stand on its human rights record to fight a national campaign on four issues: Democracy, peace, jobs and clean government.

While the ANC and NP were "closer to democracy" than formerly, he asked whether they could be entrusted with "the precious values of democracy".

The NP's current leaders had been responsible for detentions without trial, forced removals and legislated apartheid, while "legitimate actions ... to achieve democracy were criminalised and brutally punished", he said. CT 5/8/93

The ANC was still allied with the Communist Party, which had an "openly-confessed" agenda of achieving a "dictatorship of the proletariat".

Election plan

CT 5/8/93 (2TG) (304A)

Peacekeeping force 'central'

By ANTHONY JOHNSON
Political Correspondent

A MULTI-PARTY Peacekeeping Service forms the centrepiece of a comprehensive election plan to curb violence and intimidation presented to the Goldstone Commission yesterday.

The sweeping proposals on how to run South Africa's first non-racial poll were unveiled by an 11-person panel of local and international experts following a five-month investigation.

Presenting the 70-page report to a special sitting of the Goldstone Commission in Cape Town, panel chairman and Watergate attorney Mr Charles Ruff emphasised that "there is literally not a moment to waste" in implementing many of the proposals if the April 27 target date was to stick.

If accepted by the multi-party negotiations, the proposals will provide an effective handbook for the running of major aspects of next year's poll.

Key recommendations include:

● The creation by the Transitional Executive Council of a special Peacekeeping Service (PKS) — including members of both the SAP's internal stability unit and liberation armies — to co-ordinate and manage the police role in election activity and election-day security, including police response to election-related violence.

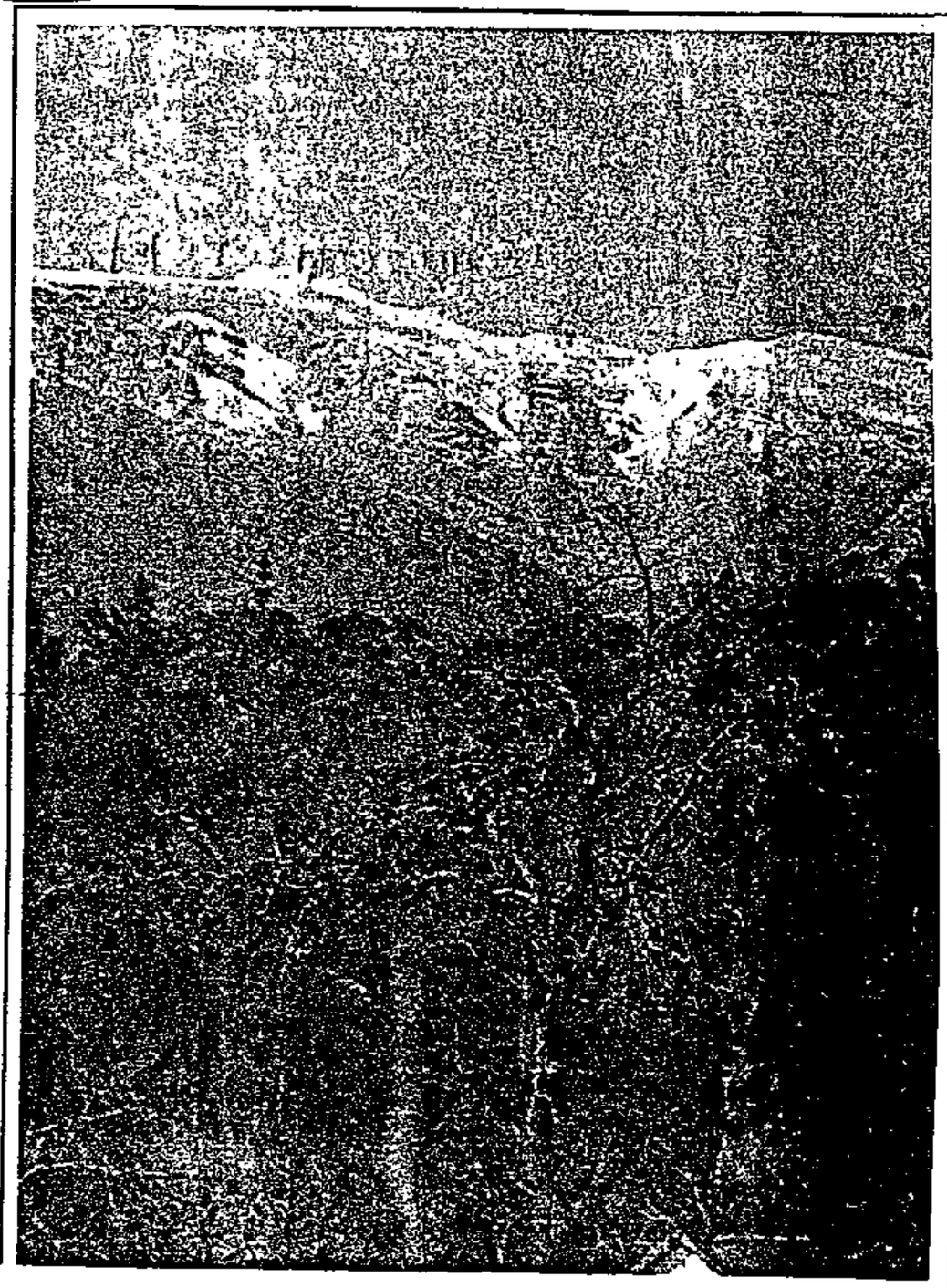
● The holding of the election over a single day from 6am to 9pm — instead of two or three days — to minimise the risk of escalating violence and suspicions of cheating and vote-tampering.

● No restrictions on the sources or amounts of campaign contributions, but that this information be made public so voters know what interest groups and individuals, foreign and domestic, are supporting particular parties. But no South African government funds or property may be used for political purposes.

● The Independent Election Commission (IEC) must be able to impose sanctions — ranging from admonishment to the banning of participants from aspects of the election process — if the code of conduct for the elections is violated.

● The Goldstone Commission should be expanded to allow it to assist the IEC in investigating serious cases of violence and intimidation.

To page 2



From page 1

● Representatives of the numerous local and international monitoring agencies should select a committee in the next week to provide better overall co-ordination of their activities. Monitors and observers should remain in South Africa for a "substantial period" after the election to help curb violence. (304A) (2TG) CT 5/8/93

● A ban for up to a week before polling day on rallies, marches, demonstrations, as well of TV and radio campaigning or commercials, in a bid to reduce violent confrontations "during the period of greatest political fervour".

● The Independent Media Commission should ensure all parties have at least minimum access to TV and radio by requiring that the broadcast media allocate a fixed amount of free air time to all registered parties.

● A massive voter education drive on the nuts and bolts of the election process, as well as to convince voters that their ballots are secret and to encourage them to accept the outcome of the election.

During a summary of the report's main recommedations yesterday, Mr Ruff warned that decisions about details of the election process and the reshaping of policing functions could not await the convening of Parliament.

"Time is the enemy," he said.

The panel's report, which takes into account submissions from 24 parties and organisations at home and abroad, will be debated by interested parties for the next week before the Goldstone Commission hears final submissions.

The most difficult element of the report, according to Mr Ruff, dealt with the proposal for the PKS.

The report said the PKS would not take over the day-to-day policing responsibilities of the SAP, but would assume responsibility for many of the functions performed by the SAP and all those performed by the ISU in dealing with marches, rallies and demonstrations and in responding to violence.

On election day the PKS, assisted by the SAP and the SADF, would be responsible for security of the voting areas, ballot boxes and counting stations.



Pattern of Politics
By HERMANN GILIOMEE



MR MANGOPE: Powerful alliance with white farmers.



DR BUTHELEZI: Growing claims to political autonomy.

Federal system the best antidote to secession

THE proposal that post-apartheid South Africa should comprise nine regions signals as much a return to history as a different future. Although the commission based its recommendations mainly on technocratic criteria, the heavy hand of our history is all too visible in the demarcation.

Our future will be shaped more by this burden of history than the smart constitutional tricks contemplated by the negotiating parties. One of the most provocative contributions to the post-Cold War intellectual debate was Francis Fukuyama's 1989 essay *The End of History* and the follow-up book *The End of History and the Last Man'* (Free Press, 1992).

Fukuyama boldly proclaimed that history has ended. Since the demise of fascism and communism, there is no ideology with universal pretensions that could even remotely challenge the ascendancy of liberal democracy resting as it does on democratisation and economic liberalisation.

Another state

In South Africa too, there is a pervasive sense among both whites and blacks that history has finally ended. The chapter of white rule is irrevocably closed and the land is becoming African in the full sense of the word.

Liberal optimists still cling to the vision of political democratisation and economic liberalisation; pessimists (they would call themselves realists) see us becoming just another African state, bogged down in stagnation and corruption with very little new history happening.

But Fukuyama's thesis, as applied both to the world at large and South Africa, may be incorrect. Ideological rivalry has ended and, even in South Africa, leaders will continue to pay at least lip service to liberal democracy as the only respectable ideology.

But history is not ending; indeed, we see all over the world a lot of history returning.

In a widely discussed Foreign Affairs article, Samuel Huntington argues that the post-Cold War would revert to the clash of civilisations, particularly between Christianity and Islam, which originated many centuries ago but which was long suppressed by Western imperialism and the Cold War. (It is now generally accepted that Turkey will never be a member of the EC. The main reason? It is not a Christian country.)

History has also been returning in another way. Next to democratisation and economic liberalisation, the main universal trend of recent times is the political disintegration of multinational states.

Under its impact 15 new states appeared in the old Soviet Union, two in Czechoslovakia and four in Yugoslavia.

Explosive forces

There is a link between the processes of democratisation and political disintegration — nationalism. Despite our fondest hopes, democracy does not really rest on the rational foundation of individual rights and a constitution but on the notion of *national* self-determination.

The very basis of democracy is in fact the claim *we the people*: in essence a collective claim based on race, culture or some other communal identity. In South Africa are contained the same explosive forces that in other multi-ethnic countries led to disintegration.

It is true that all the main contending parties support the idea of building a non-racial nation. Such a commitment, however, is confronted with powerful contenders — dressed in a nationalist garb. They maintain that because of past entrepreneurial performance or historic discrimination the nation as defined by them has the right to determine the future. Herein lies the road to secession.

White parties

That South Africa could break up is not a far-fetched idea. South Africa as a political entity has existed for only 80 years. Union in 1910 only became possible because the imperial power had the vision of a single white-dominated state and could hold the ring until a settlement was achieved.

Subsequently it was held together by the Witwatersrand hub which produces more than half the national output and by white parties united behind the idea of maintaining centralised control.

But the ballgame might soon change fundamentally. If the National Party and Inkatha feel themselves squeezed out at the centre or if the centre becomes paralysed they could pursue a quite different notion of national self-determination in the regions where they have strongest support.

Of course an ANC-led government will try to stop this but its military, financial, and ideological resources will fall far short of those which enabled whites to control the centralised state for so long.

Unless a government of national unity smoothly eases us into a new state, South Africa will return to the 19th century era when across the sub-continent a stalemate existed between whites and blacks, one that was only ended in white favour by the power and might of the British empire.

Depending on developments over the short to medium term, our whole conception of history might change. The Great Trek might come to be seen as an overextension of Afrikaner resources only made possible by a temporary set-back in African fortunes as a result of the Difiqane.

The "imperial" control by Afrikaners of the land across the Orange River will be seen as having lasted only 160 years — slightly longer than the French lasted in Algeria.

In the present Cape Province, history will in fact return to 1811 when the Xhosa effectively occupied the land up to the Sundays River. In that year a British-led army pushed the Xhosa back over the Fish River.

The heartland of the descendants of Khoi-san peoples and white burghers will become the present western and north-western regions — as it was before 1830. (The fact that property prices in Cape Town are higher than that in the richest city, Johannesburg, surely tells a story, as RW Johnson observed at a recent conference).

The area north of the Orange will of course increasingly become under de facto and de jure African control, as was the case before 1830, but a crucial factor will, as in the second half of the last century, be the strategic alliances that segments of the Zulu and Tswana peoples can forge with white farmers, entrepreneurs and officials.

Alliances

Such alliances with white farmers already appear to bolster the position of leaders such as Dr Buthelezi and Mr Mangope. Should these alliances become real power bases, one can see a disaffected Western Transvaal and Natal region developing growing claims to political autonomy. As in the 19th century, this could lead to partition.

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Inkatha to rejoin talks within two weeks

Own Correspondent

JOHANNESBURG. — The IFP will rejoin talks within two weeks following a series of behind-the-scenes meetings with the government, the ANC and the Concerned South Africans Group (Cosag).

At a news conference after yesterday's day-long meeting with the ANC, Inkatha chief executive officer Mr Joe Matthews said "after a few more bilaterals we will be back" at the negotiating table.

Inkatha is to meet the government today.

ANC secretary-general Mr Cyril Ramaphosa said yesterday's meeting had been "very fruitful". The parties had clarified their positions on constitutional matters and identified each other's concerns.

"We formed a three-a-side subcommittee on constitutional issues that will start meeting in a day or two," he said.

The two parties also set up a committee on violence to look at establishing a peacekeeping force.

The delegations discussed regional powers but neither party was prepared to comment. Sufficient consensus was not discussed as Inkatha maintained the matter was sub judice.

However, it appears that Inkatha might be happy with the newly defined terms of sufficient consensus adopted unanimously by the negotiating council yesterday.

On Tuesday Cosag, which includes Inkatha and the KwaZulu government, said it was in agreement on the issue of sufficient consensus. All the Cosag parties had agreed on a committee report which pointed the way forward.

The report states that differences have to be identified clearly. If alternative formulations of issues were not satisfactory, mechanisms to bridge the differences had to be used to achieve consensus or sufficient consensus.

ELECTION PROPOSALS

(304A) ARGT 5/8/93

Guideline to free and fair election

WATERGATE prosecutor and leading US attorney Charles Ruff and a panel of experts yesterday presented to the Goldstone Commission wide-ranging proposals for ways to ensure a free and fair election next year. Political Correspondent **MICHAEL MORRIS** outlines the main points of the panel's 70-page report.

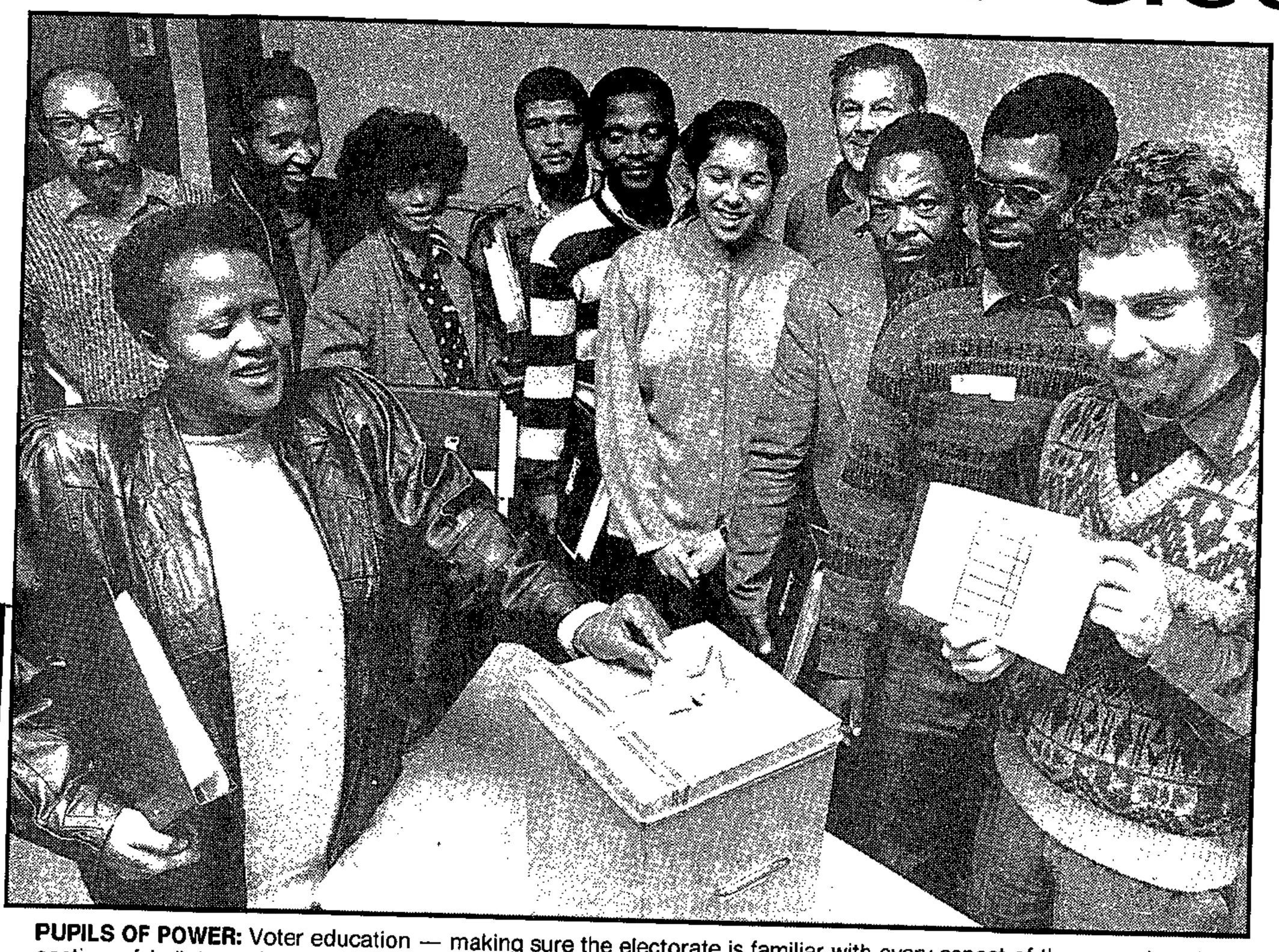
Mr Ruff's recommendation is to get an Independent Election Commission in place without delay and get cracking with practical arrangements for the looming April ballot.

This is the over-riding message to South Africa from the panel appointed by Mr Justice Richard Goldstone.

Beyond this broad exhortation, however, the panel has outlined in detail a range of specific recommendations it believes will curb violence and intimidation and go a long to making South Africa's first democratic election a success.

The report deals with the process in three sections - the campaign, up to April 27, election day itself, and the period immediately following the ballot.

The accompanying reports — all by Political Correspondent MICHAEL MORRIS — spell out the details.



PUPILS OF POWER: Voter education — making sure the electorate is familiar with every aspect of the campaign, the casting of ballots and the counting of votes — will be critical to the success of South Africa's first democratic election.

24 HOURS NEWS WATCH

Eliminating doubt over legitimacy of election

A PARALLEL count of votes should be undertaken by independent people or organisations, in addition to the official count by election personnel.

This is strongly recommended "as an additional means for eliminating doubt about the legitimacy of the election."

However, exit polling by the media, parties or others should be banned because of the risk that voters "will believe that secrecy has been violated or will feel intimidated ... as well as the risk posed by premature or inaccurate reporting of voting t[illegible]

stations rather than at polling places. The boxes must be transported under strict security and must be accompanied in the same vehicle by selected party representatives, observers and monitors.

There should be no "gap" in secure custody between the transporting authority and the receiving authority that permit accusations of tampering.

Results should be announced at each central station as soon as counting has been completed.

Final certification of the results would not be possible until the Independent Election Commission "has resolved any complaints about the voting or counting process".

The IEC would have to assess and rule on any challenges as quickly as possible.

The panel noted: "We presume that the South African election, as is true of elections in any country, will not be perfect — that there will be incidents of violence, intimidation and fraud and violations of electoral law."

It would be up to the IEC to assess whether the people had expressed themselves in a way that legitimised the new government structure.

Its decision would be "enhanced" of a super-majority of the IEC's members was required to certify the results.

Election should be held on one day

304A ARG 5/8/93

THE election should be held on one day — which should be declared a public holiday — from 6 am to 9 pm.

The sale of liquor on election day — and the day before — should be banned.

There should be an absolute ban on electioneering within 100 metres of the voting area — including handing out leaflets, using loudspeakers, placing posters and also the wearing and carrying of party symbols.

No weapons, modern or traditional, should be allowed in the voting area.

Public transport could be made free of charge on certain routes.

There should be a ban on party identification — or singing and flag-waving - on vehicles carrying voters to the polls.

Soldiers and police should not be allowed to vote in uniform or carry their weapons in the voting area.

Barracks and police stations could be serviced by mobile voting units, but there was no "feasible or desirable" reason to confine the SADF to barracks on election day.

Mobile voting units could also be used at major hostel sites and mines.

Voting stations should be clearly marked off and preferably fenced or otherwise protected and the entrance and exit should be as far apart as possible to prevent conflict and intimidation.

A special effort had to be made to ensure there were enough voting places in the rural areas.

Rural voters must be told of their rights and "employers will have to understand that they must give their employees time off to vote".

Ballots must be designed voters can vote in secrecy without assistance.

Ballots should be marked only to enable auditors to determine which were cast at a particular voting place in case there is a need for a recount, but efforts must be made in voter education programmes to assure voters these markings have nothing to do with the individual voter.

There should be a "tendered ballots" procedure for dealing with ballots cast by voters whose right to vote is challenged or who, for example, may have lost or failed to bring their ID with them. The ballot and necessary identifying information are placed in double-sealed envelopes for later verification.

Measures should be in place to help voters who cannot cast their ballots by themselves.

An ID document or birth certificate or naturalisation papers could be used for eligibility purposes at the polls — or having another person vouch for a voter's eligibility.

Ink visible only under ultra-violet light — despite the expense and technical problems — should be used to prevent multiple voting.

● Holding the election over several days would would create problems: storing ballot boxes overnight — they would be "inviting targets" — creating suspicions that the votes were being tampered with, and preliminary assessments of the victors would encourage opponents to intimidate people.

Regions plan sets scene for anxious, bitter debate

Star 5/8/93

By Chris Whitfield
Political Correspondent

The opening exchanges in what is shaping up to be a bitter debate on the country's nine new regions were fired in the Negotiating Council yesterday.

Chairman Pravin Ghordan had to repeatedly remind negotiators that "political questions" could be raised in a debate on the commission's report scheduled for Monday.

Parties, mostly putting questions reflecting regional interests, raised queries on the boundaries of every one of the nine regions.

These included:

- Why Pretoria, Sasolburg, part of Bophuthatswana and KwaNdebele were to be included in the PWV region.
- Why the Kruger National Park was divided between the Eastern Transvaal and Northern Transvaal, and what authority would administer it.
- Why the East Griqualand area was included in the Eastern Cape region and not in KwaZulu/Natal (3044)
- Why an area proposed by the Government encompassing the present Orange Free State, part of the Western Transvaal and Bophuthatswana had been divided into two regions
- Why the Eastern Cape area recommended by the commission was not divided into Eastern Cape and Border/Kei regions.
- Why the west coast part of the massive but sparsely populated Northern Cape region had not been included in the Western Cape, and
- Several questions from the Afrikaner Volksunie directed at establishing whether cultural considerations had been taken into account when setting the boundaries.

Commission members responded to questions and fleshed out their reasoning, but it was evident that Monday's debate will be far-reaching.

AVU leader 'set to resign'

PRETORIA — The resignation of the Afrikaner Volksunie's chief negotiator Mr Chris de Jager is imminent, his former colleague Mr Rosier de Ville said yesterday evening. (6048)

Mr De Ville resigned from the party earlier yesterday.

He said Mr De Jager had said he "could announce" his resignation last night. 16/8/93

Earlier Mr De Ville said he would support General Constand Viljoen and the Afrikaner Volksfront, which was the "only vehicle for unity among Afrikaners". — Sapa

Business asked to aid voters

ADRIAN HADLAND

PRETORIA — Home Affairs director-general Piet Colyn yesterday called on business to help with the education of voters in preparation for SA's first democratic election. BIDay 6/8/93

Colyn said he was "very concerned" about the level of voter education, particularly as registration of competing parties, possible alliances and format of ballot papers would be decided by the electoral commission only shortly before the election campaign.

Business could help by making sure employees and their families had identity documents. Workers could also be informed of the electoral process.

Colyn stressed the resources and personnel of the Home Affairs Department would be at the disposal of the electoral commission. (304A)

NP to present report on ANC intimidation

THE NP plans to present the ANC's international sponsors with a report detailing alleged ANC intimidation of its election opponents. BIDay 6/8/93

The report is being drawn up by senior party officials and will be made public by Transvaal NP leader Pik Botha on Monday, a senior source said. (304A)

NP federal information service chief director Piet Coetzer told the Pretoria-based publication Barometer on Negotiation that the NP was "looking at ways of protecting its own members who are being subjected

PATRICK BULGER

to violence and dictation".

"We will also bring out entirely independent reports and use all possible peaceful means to bring pressure to bear on parties who overstep the mark. We are also in the process of preparing a report on acts of intimidation by members of the ANC. This is going to be submitted to the international sponsors of the ANC."

He said the NP felt there were "no hopeful signs that organisations were disciplining members and trying to establish a stable environment in which elections can take place". The NP "will not allow (an election) to go ahead if it is impossible for all parties to canvass freely and fairly".

Interviewed in the same edition, ANC spokesman Carl Niehaus agreed that a climate had to be created in which it was possible to disagree. Meetings he had addressed had been disrupted, but an election should not be held ransom to parties that continued to provoke violence.

(304A)

'Curb partisan govt officials'

CT 6/8/93

Political Staff

THE Independent Election Commission should have the authority to suspend any government official who used his position to promote any party or candidate, the president of Panama's Electoral Court, Mr Justice Eduardo Valdes, said yesterday.

Judge Valdes was part of a team of international experts at a seminar organised by the Independent Mediation Service of South Africa.

He also said that in many South American countries the election commission had become a fourth branch of government, separate from parliament, the executive and the judiciary.

In some countries, the commissions had even taken over the registration of births and deaths.

Survey highlights black voters' fears

Star 6/8/93

CAPE TOWN — About 14 percent of black South Africans surveyed recently said they would probably not vote in the April elections for fear of violence, the Goldstone Commission heard yesterday.

Addressing a hearing on ways to prevent violence and intimidation during the elections, Professor Laurie Schlemmer of the Human Sciences Research Council also said 2 percent of the respondents claimed they were committed to violence during and after the election period.

This translated to an "awfully large" percentage of the total electorate who had a destabilising, revolutionary attitude, said Schlemmer.

The survey of 8 400 respondents was carried out recently in areas not normally polled, such as squatter camps, resettlement areas, deep rural areas and the self-governing states.

Three out of every 10 people saw the prospect of violence as the most severe problem surrounding an election.

A third of those surveyed approved of breaking up meetings of opposing parties in areas where these parties were not popular, which indicated a "fairly tough, cynical attitude" to the rights of parties to mobilise support, he added.

Only 54 percent were sure that their vote would be secret — a figure which made this survey group only a little less paranoid than their urban counterparts, who were also surveyed by the HSRC recently.

About 97 percent of ANC supporters expected the movement to win an election, which was fairly realistic in the circumstances, Schlemmer said.

● The Star's Political Correspondent **Chris Whitfield** reports that the weekend is shaping up as critical to hopes of an imminent return by the Inkatha Freedom Party and KwaZulu government to negotiations.

However, the IFP's Dr Ben Ngubane — who led a delegation which met with the Government for discussions on the issue yesterday — last night cautioned against suggesting that the party would return to the talks at the World Trade Centre within days.

"There has been some progress (in talks with the Government and ANC) but everyone expects a rush now. The issues we are discussing are so fundamental they cannot be resolved overnight," Ngubane said in Durban. — Sapa.

Dispute over bid to lay off 200

Star 6/8/93

By Abdul Milazi
Labour Reporter

When Eric Magwaza (46) was promoted to stores manager at the Epic Oil Mills Johannesburg factory a year ago, he knew he could give his family a better life and a better education on an increased monthly salary of R4 000.

Now Magwaza is one of the Epic Oils workers who face losing their jobs, after the company this week announced its intention to retrench some 200 people today.

About 300 workers at the factory downed tools on Wednesday after management allegedly refused to negotiate the retrenchments with their union.

However, Epic Oils managing director Trevor Wilkinson said his company had negotiated with the Food and Allied Workers' Union (Fawu), which represents the majority of the workers, but the two parties could not reach an agreement on how the retrenchments should be implemented.

Wilkinson said the company had decided to go ahead with its decision "to get some reaction from the union", which he said had failed to come up with alternative proposals after nine months of negotiations.

Fawu regional organiser Ernest Buthelezi has disputed this and said the company was unilaterally implementing the retrenchments. He said that when the union came up with alternative proposals, management issued counter-proposals, making it impossible for the parties to reach an agreement.

The workers have vowed not to return to work until management agrees to negotiate with the union "in good faith".

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ANC plans tour with Buthelezi

Mandela, FW in talks to curb violence

BDay 6/8/93

ANC president Nelson Mandela yesterday rushed from a tour of the strife-torn East Rand townships to an urgent meeting with President F W de Klerk in Pretoria to discuss ways of curbing the latest tide of violence.

In a statement after the four-hour meeting last night De Klerk's office said: "A fundamental discussion of the problems of violence on the East Rand took place and both sides expressed their serious concerns about the critical situation that exists. The President emphasised government's responsibility to ensure the maintenance of law and order. (HB)(3049)

"The necessity of the involvement of political leaders in the defusing of the violence in the affected areas was emphasised by the President. It was agreed that ways and means of ensuring this will be pursued in further dicussions."

De Klerk was accompanied by Ministers Kobie Coetsee, Hernus Kriel and Roelf Meyer. Mandela was accompanied by ANC secretary-general Cyril Ramaphosa.

After a rally in Kathlehong earlier, Mandela said a joint tour of the East Rand was being set up with Inkatha Freedom Party president Mangosuthu Buthelezi.

Last night Inkatha spokesman Suzanne Vos said although the details of the proposed rallies had to be arranged, the peace programme would "most certainly" include embattled Natal and KwaZulu townships, our political staff reports.

She said the two leaders would discuss the details of the trips.

LLOYD COUTTS and JOHANNES NGCOBO report that Mandela conveyed a strong message of peace, tolerance and reconciliation to supporters in Katlehong yesterday, but also accused police of complicity in the violence that has killed nearly 130 people since last Friday.

He said the ANC understood the anger and frustration of people mourning the deaths of relatives, but called for discipline and a spirit of reconciliation. ANC supporters who participated in the murder of innocent people did not belong in the organisation.

Fighting on the East Rand was not a feud between Zulus and other ethnic groups. "The ANC has more Zulu supporters than Inkatha on the East Rand."

Mandela said a major problem for the ANC was the unwillingness of government and the security forces to protect people in the townships.

"We don't want anybody to be killed, but when five whites were killed earlier this year, the whole eastern Cape was turned into a battlefield. They mobilised every policeman in that area to defend whites.

"By then no less than 15 000 blacks had been killed in this violence. To the police and the SADF, the lives of black people are cheap. Whether one dies, or 10 die, it makes no difference to whites," he said.

Mandela said he had asked De Klerk to use the army and police to surround the hostels to prevent residents launching attacks. "He said he believed this was already taking place. I returned and the first thing I asked was: 'What happened last night? Were the army and the police around the hostels? I was told: 'No'."

Police were also insisting on unilaterally declaring unrest areas, even if this had disastrous consequences. Joint operations centres were rendered ineffective because

□ To Page 2

Violence

BDay 6/8/93

□ From Page 1

of the deployment of junior police officers, and police were refusing to co-operate with ANC and other peace monitors.

Mandela said security forces were seen in large numbers during the day, but at night "they simply disappear".

But he said the responsibility for ending the violence lay not only with government and security forces, but also with black leaders.

Katlehong and Thokoza appeared tense yesterday, and police reinforcements were highly visible. More than 2 000 extra policemen were deployed in the townships yesterday. (HB)(3049)

SA Army headquarters said army reinforcements would be moved into the Witwatersrand "in the coming hours and days" to help police stabilise the area.

Regional police commissioner Lt-Gen Koos Calitz said police used heavy construction vehicles to clear barricades and cover ambush trenches yesterday, while trains were heavily guarded.

Nyala armoured vehicles — some fitted with mounted light machine guns — appeared throughout Katlehong and Thokoza in large numbers.

Peace monitors said only one death was recorded in Katlehong yesterday, but Natalspruit Hospital sources said five people had been shot and injured.

Meanwhile, Law and Order Minister Hernus Kriel said some of the 14 suspects arrested in connection with Wednesday's shootout in Katlehong were ANC and ANC Youth League members. He said preliminary investigations had shown that the weapons — two hand grenades and three firearms — seized by police during the incident were to be used against police.

● Comment: Page 10

Peace accord signatories to acquire 'more teeth'

BDay 6/8/93

DURBAN — The national peace accord was planning to acquire more "teeth" to act against political parties and individuals who breached it, peace secretariat chairman Antonie Gildenhuys said yesterday.

At a conference on peace and human rights he conceded the peace accord had its shortcomings. However, its structures were effective in many instances. The Wits/Vaal peace committee had prevented the current conflict on the East Rand spreading to Soweto and other areas.

Gildenhuys said a subcommittee appointed to look into ways to give the accord more legal strength would report back to the national peace committee next week. It was proposed that the code of conduct be "criminalised" so that those who

Political Staff

breached it could be prosecuted.

Since the national peace accord was signed in November 1991, 11 regional peace committees and 120 local structures had been established.

Gildenhuys said leaders of warring factions and the police had agreed to return to their constituencies to "preach peace", Sapa reports.

Daily meetings would be held at the East Rand joint operations centre to assess ways to prevent further bloodletting.

"Communities must be prepared to use the accord, but not for political points. They must not hijack the accord for political purposes."

Community co-operation with security forces was as important as the SAP's obligation to consult and work with residents and leaders in areas affected by violence, he said.

Speaking at the conference, Transkei military leader Gen Bantu Holomisa warned that SA could get a new government before April 1994 as a split in the NP caucus loomed.

The rise to prominence of Afrikaner Volksfront leader Gen Constand Viljoen could be calculated to prepare for a separation in the government. A contingency plan should be established to prepare for this.

Peace facilitator Prince Madlala told delegates Natal communities affected by violence were calling for international observers to return home because they were not helping end political warfare. The UN should empower observers to do more than just observe, he said.

Election violence feared

BDay 6/8/93

CAPE TOWN — About 14% of black South Africans surveyed recently said they would probably not vote in the April elections for fear of violence, the Goldstone commission heard yesterday.

Addressing a hearing on ways of preventing violence and intimidation in the elections, Prof Laurie Schlemmer of the Human Sciences Research Council also said 2% of respondents claimed they were committed to violence during and after the election period.

Schlemmer said this translated to a large percentage of the total electorate.

The survey of 8 400 respondents was carried out recently in areas not normally polled such as squatter camps, resettlement areas, deep rural areas and the self-governing states.

It appeared there was a definite correlation between people's fear of violence during the election campaign and polling process, and their disinclination to vote.

Three out of every 10 people saw the prospect of violence as the most severe problem surrounding an election.

Only about 35% believed the security forces were either willing or able to protect people during the election process.

A third approved of breaking up meetings of opposing parties in areas where those parties were not popular.

Schlemmer said the survey asked people who they would like to see at the polling booths. Surprisingly, he said, the SA Police rated on a par with other organisations such as the SA Defence Force, a joint peacekeeping force, Home Affairs officials and UN observers.

Only 54% were sure their vote would be secret while a minority showed uncertainty about what voting was.

About 97% of ANC supporters expected the movement to win an election.

Less realistic were the eight out of 10 Inkatha supporters who expected their party to win, and the four out of 10 PAC supporters who were convinced of victory, Schlemmer said.

One could assume there would be some rude shocks and possibly severe reaction after the election results were announced.

Schlemmer said only about 12% indicated they wanted polling to take place over one day. They thought five-and-a-half days were required. — Sapa.

Unionist to join board

BDay 6/8/93

THEO RAWANA

NATIONAL Sorghum Breweries said yesterday it would take a trade union member on to its board of directors.

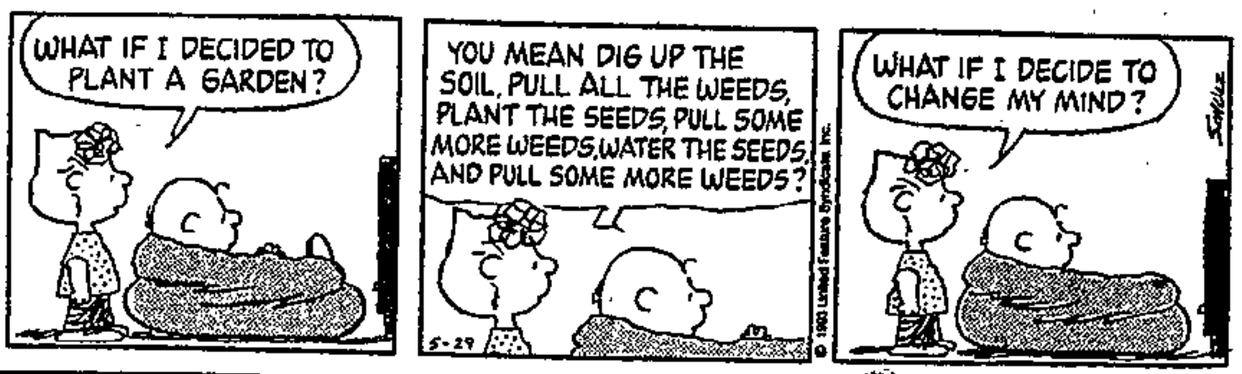
In a move designed to reinforce a forum the company had established with the Food and Allied Workers' Union (Fawu) following a wage agreement, Fawu and the Food Berverage Workers' Union would elect a member to serve on the company's board.

The agreement followed a strike by about 2 000 Fawu members to back wage demands.

Breweries CE Mohale Mahanyele said the brewer had allocated R5m for bursaries for training and development. It would not go through with retrenchments that would have affected 800 workers and closed some breweries.

Fawu assistant general secretary Ernest Buthelezi said the board appointment would be seen as "window-dressing" if people were simply catapulted from the floor to the directorate. The company should first involve workers in managing plants.

PEANUTS By Charles Schulz



Volksunie crisis as chief negotiator quits talks team

(3049) WM 6 - 12/8/93

Jan Taljaard

TENSIONS inside the Afrikaner Volksunie have prompted its chief negotiator, advocate Chris de Jager, to resign from the party's negotiating team.

This has touched off speculation that the AVU, formed after a dramatic breakaway from the Conservative Party in August last year, may be on its last legs.

De Jager's move follows a stormy session of the AVU executive last week during which he, backed by fellow MPs Moolman Mentz and Rozier de Ville, expressed a wish to pull out of the multiparty negotiations.

Asked to comment this week, De Jager said that he still supported the principles and policy of the AVU and would be available for the remaining sessions of parliament as the AVU MP for Bethal. "It makes no sense to appoint someone else at this stage," he said.

De Jager said it served no purpose to stay on at the World Trade Centre, alleging that the National Party and the African National Congress were riding roughshod over other parties according to a preplanned programme.

"They are busy playing a game with the other parties while Roelf Meyer and Cyril Ramaphosa have already decided on what is going to happen.

"To me the bottom line is still one of self-determination for the Afrikaner and an own *volkstaat*. This will not be achieved at the World Trade Centre," he said.

This week at the negotiations the most vocal AVU delegate was Corlea Kruger, in her early twenties and previously involved in rightwing politics at the University of Pretoria. Her debating style is still reminiscent of student politics.

Asked for his comment, AVU leader Andries Beyers acknowledged that members differed on the issue of negotiations.

The executive decided however to carry on with negotiations as "more can be achieved this way than by pulling out".

"We do however respect the standpoint of people like advocate De Jager and are keeping our options open," he added.

Beyers was also adamant that De Jager's decision was in no way indicative of the impending demise of the AVU.

After its formation, the AVU failed to really get off the ground. For one, it did not succeed in capitalising on a potentially large groundswell of support that existed then.

Increasing political polarisation, the emergence of general Constand Viljoen, and above all, immaculate timing eventually led to this support being usurped by the Afrikaner Volksfront.

Admitting that the AVF has largely become the vehicle for rightwingers in search of their own fatherland, Beyers was quick to point out that the AVU was still a member of the AVF and that it had a definite role to play within the organisation.

THE WEEKLY MAIL & GUARDIAN
August 6 to 12, 1993

Little to show for Inkatha boycott

Inkatha's attempts to disrupt negotiations seem to have come to naught as the other parties called Mangosuthu Buthelezi's bluff, writes Chris Louw

THE Inkatha Freedom Party will have little to show for its bid to scuttle constitutional negotiations when it returns to the table within the next fortnight. The indications are that no major concessions have been made by government and African National Congress negotiators.

Inkatha's Joe Matthews told a news conference on Wednesday that the party would end its month-long boycott and return to negotiations "after a few more bilaterals". ANC and government sources believe this will happen within two weeks.

Their optimism is based on bilateral discussions with senior IFP leaders over the past 10 days. Meetings also took place between the IFP's constitutional adviser, Dr Mario Ambrosini, and senior members of government negotiator Roelf Meyer's Department of Constitutional Development, arranged to clear up misconceptions about the concept of "federalism".

The IFP's imminent return is partly due to its failure to convince its partners in the Concerned South Africans Group (Cosag) to join its boycott of the talks. Other negotiators have little doubt that the IFP was trying to emulate the ANC in bringing the process to a standstill. In the event, the 23 remaining negotiating parties showed they could go ahead with the process without the IFP.

Inkatha insisted in its bilateral meetings with the government and the ANC that clarity be reached on the issue of sufficient consensus and that it "be given a chance to be heard" at the negotiating council. Indications are that it will be met on these issues to enable it to save face.

In effect, the IFP will be allowed to make an input on all the issues that were discussed while it boycotted the proceedings after walking out at a negotiating forum meeting on July 2. It missed the crucial debate on the draft constitution, as well as debates on an independent broadcasting authority and on the proposed division of South Africa into nine regions.

NP sources were adamant, however, that none of these questions had been finalised, saying that there would still be time for Inkatha to contribute once it returned.

The first signs of Inkatha's impending about-face came when its key negotiator Walter Felgate, accompanied by central committee member Suzanne Vos, unobtrusively turned up at the World Trade Centre on Tuesday this week. It was the first time IFP representatives had been seen at the venue of the talks since their walk-out.

Felgate arrived at the building at about noon, leaving some time after 4pm. He was seen at the press table collecting the latests reports from technical committees.

Asked the reason for their unexpected presence, Vos insisted that they had only come in to "make some telephone calls". It is known, however, that Felgate had a long meeting with Internal Affairs Minister Danie Schutte, known for his IFP sympathies.

Schutte, a nominated MP who hails from Natal, was given the task by the National Party of talking to Inkatha with the aim of trying to lure it back to the table. This was done in order to ward off serious conflict within the NP caucus, with negotiators Meyer, Dawie de Villiers and Leon Wessels (all three cabinet members) quite prepared to see the talks through without the IFP, if necessary.

Fears of a serious conflict within the NP in the end made the return of the IFP imperative. Opposing the negotiators — called "softies" by their adversaries — were their cabinet colleagues Tertius Delport, Hernus Kriel, Kobie Coetsee and George Bartlett. Among other things, they are unhappy with the draft constitution presented to the negotiating council last month, believing that the powers and functions of the regions are not sufficiently catered for.

It is no coincidence that these ministers strongly sympathise with Inkatha. Two of them — Schutte and Bartlett — are from Natal and face the problem that many members of their constituency management teams are threatening to cross to the IFP.

Kriel, Coetsee and Delport have for more than a year regularly raised objections to aspects of the negotiations. They feel their negotiating colleagues should take a much stronger stance against the ANC. Delport — until recently one of the NP's key negotiators — has shifted so far to the right that he now identifies with most of the demands for an Afrikaner "homeland".

Sources in the Afrikaner Volksunie say they have the "active support" of Delport in their endeavours to establish a cultural base for Afrikaners.

The conflicting approaches were very evident at an NP caucus meeting in Pretoria on Tuesday. According to sources the "objectors" complained they had not been kept informed on the direction of the negotiations and had been left in the dark on agreements. In the end, it is said, only President FW de Klerk's leadership averted serious conflict.

THE WEEKLY MAIL & GUARDIAN
August 6 to 12, 1993

Beijing's eager to get close to Pretoria

Red China wants to widen its influence in South Africa but traditional ties with Taiwan are a stumbling block, reports **Iden Wetherell**

COMMUNIST China is pressing the government for full diplomatic recognition but, out of deference to Taiwan, Pretoria is playing hard to get.

South African trade sources in regular contact with Beijing said China had recently been putting out feelers to Pretoria. "China would be prepared to send an ambassador tomorrow if it could," one source said.

He added, however, that Taiwan's role as the single largest investor in South Africa and fifth-largest trade partner weighed heavily in the balance.

The disclosure coincides with the visit to South Africa of a top-level fact-finding mission from the People's Republic of China and Nelson Mandela's ground-breaking trip to Taiwan which, according to the African National Congress, raised R33-million for election campaign purposes.

Trade between China and South Africa, valued at US$250-million in 1992 and set to double this year — but unofficially thought to be worth US$1,3-billion — has become an important item in Chinese foreign policy calculations.

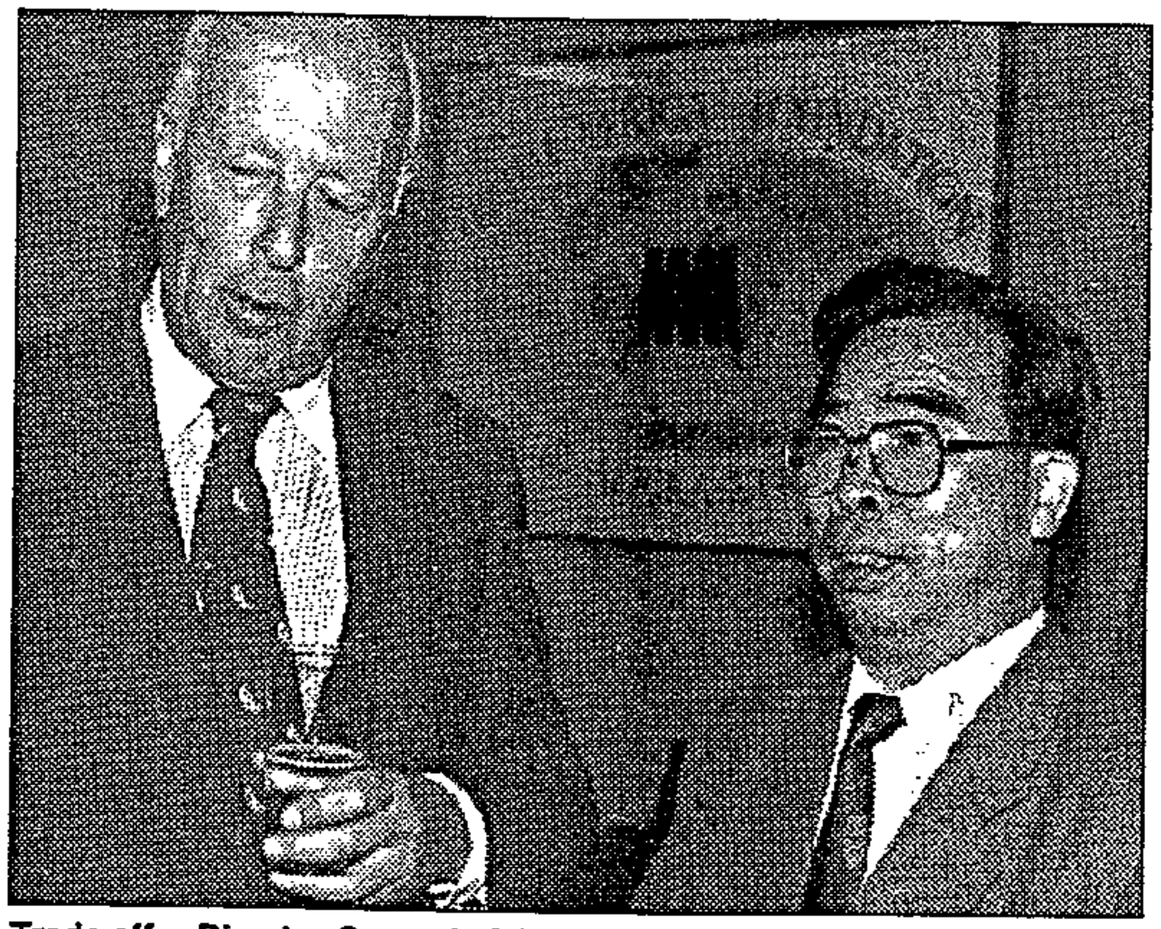
At one level, diplomatic relations with the Far Eastern giant already exist. Pretoria has a senior diplomat, Les Labuschagne, heading a team of officials in Beijing which includes representatives of the Department of Trade and Industry. Their mission is cryptically called the South African Centre for Chinese Studies.

China also has a shadow embassy in Pretoria, similarly dubbed the China Centre for South African Studies. Both centres carry diplomatic status and issue visas.

Mandela's Taiwan visit has raised Beijing's anxiety level about future diplomatic relations. While it had been confidently predicted an ANC government would quickly move to recognise Beijing, Chinese officials now worry that recognition could be delayed or complicated by the ANC's new intimacy with Taiwan. But Mandela is believed to have told his Taiwanese hosts that diplomatic recognition of Beijing was inevitable.

Taiwan has historically cut all ties with any country recognising its arch-rival on the mainland. But South Africa's importance as a regional giant and a new flexibility in Taipei indicate some accommodation might be reached.

When South Korea recognised mainland China recently, Taiwan maintained its powerful presence in Seoul. This could be a precedent for Taiwan's relations with South Africa, reckons Dr Chris Alden of the Department of International Relations at the University of the Witwatersrand.



Trade off ... Director-General of the SA Foundation Kurt von Schirnding with Zhao Xueli, leader of the visiting Chinese delegation

"Taiwan will lose the diplomatic recognition it so covets in return for guarantees of some sort of unofficial representation that will satisfy its requirements," Alden said. Mandela is reported as having already offered the Taiwanese guarantees on their investments in South Africa.

China's overtures to Pretoria are undoubtedly designed to cement burgeoning trade relations. If business through intermediaries is included, trade with China is estimated to be worth US$1,3-billion a year, placing China in sixth place behind Taiwan among South Africa's trade partners.

Chinese companies are already represented in South Africa by the Great Wall Group, sponsored by the Chinese Ministry of Foreign Trade and Economic Co-ordination (Moftec), with offices in Bedfordview. The group is believed to have made investments in South Africa worth R11-million.

Moftec officials visited South Africa to launch the Great Wall Group earlier this year and will return in October for an exhibition of Chinese products in Johannesburg at the Standard Bank Arena. Some 250 South African companies are exhibiting in Beijing in March 1994.

In November 1992 Chinese provinces were instructed by the central government to increase purchases from South Africa, a China business source said. Twice a month a container ship owned by the Chinese state company Cosco leaves Port Elizabeth fully laden with South African-made Volkswagen Golfs. Even when import restrictions were imposed recently to cool China's over-heating economy, South African VWs were specifically exempted, the businessman said.

In addition to formal trade with China, South African exports to third countries such as Taiwan, Singapore and Hong Kong find their way into China. Of South Africa's US$1-billion trade with Hong Kong, 75 percent is known to end up in China.

Despite South Africa's growing ties with Beijing, the Taiwan government is confident that relations with a future dispensation here have now been placed on a sure footing.

Jerry Chen, spokesman at Taiwan's embassy in Pretoria, said Mandela's visit would "lay solid foundations for future relations". Mandela's visit had provided the ANC president with new insights into Taiwan's capacity to provide technical expertise and training and his government was hoping to maintain diplomatic ties in the future, Chen said.

The visiting Chinese delegation met officials of the Department of Foreign affairs yesterday.

'Spoilers' need a face-saver

ARGUS 7/8/93 304A

■ The Kwazulu delegation needs an honourable face-saver before it can return to the multiparty talks, but it will win no real concessions. A report by **JOHN MacLENNAN** of the Weekend Argus Political Staff.

THERE is speculation, denied by one Inkatha Freedom Party source, that the party would join negotiations in another two weeks after what is regarded as an abortive attempt to scuttle the talks — as the African National Congress did at Codesa. But most other Cosag members did not join a walk-out and the boycott has cost the IFP dearly.

The protest has reinforced some perceptions that they are spoilers and the party has sidelined itself while crucial issues are being discussed.

Sources close to the talks earlier expressed fears that Chief Minister Mangosuthu Buthelezi would attempt to-go-it-alone if his demands were not met. These include agreement on a federal set-up and the completion of a "final" constitution before the elections.

But the party's critics maintain it will have no gains to show for what they describe as a failed power play. They maintain that most of what the IFP and Kwazulu government delegations were demanding had already been settled in the talks.

Broad agreement has already been reached by the other parties on the following issues:

■ Strong regional government.

■ the need for an interim constitution before elections.

■ Agreement on constitutional principles which will bind parties in completing the final constitution.

IFP sources hold, however, that the principles are far too vague to guarantee their not being turned inside out by the new government which will have the task of completing the constitution.

The ANC and the NP are both attempting to convince the Kwazulu delegations that the process can deliver what the IFP want.

The immediate pressure, however, is being felt by the Kwazulu delegations because its stayaway has not achieved any purpose — the talks are continuing. Critics also say it makes no sense to walk out over demands for a federal system when the concept of strong powers for regions has already been approved.

Sources say the formula which will allow the Kwazulu delegations to return to the talks will include agreement by other parties that the problem issues will be "revisited" so they can make their observations. But they will not be given a veto — which is what the walk-out sought to secure.

Govt South preparing for the election?

7/8 — 11/8/93

THE African National Congress has registered its "strongest objections" to an alleged announcement by the Department of Home Affairs that it is to start printing ballot papers for the general election on April 27 next year

The ANC demanded that "unilateral preparations" be stopped. (3044)

However, Home Affairs spokesperson Mr Neil du Bois said the department had not made any announcement about the printing of ballot papers.

The ANC said in a statement the department was planning to print 30 million ballot papers and had already ordered "huge amounts" of stationery in preparation for the elections.

The ANC said all preparations for the forthcoming election were to be handled by an independent election commission, and this included determining the shape, size and content of the ballot form.

"How can the Department of Home Affairs be preparing to print forms when the participants have not even been decided?" the ANC asked.

"Any such attempt by the National Party government to take unilateral action as far as preparations for the elections are concerned, should be opposed by all who wish to see free and fair elections."

It said the expenditure the government was now incurring could be "totally wasted".

Du Bois said in reaction it was "common knowledge" the format of the ballot paper as well as other election-related structures were still to be finalised at the multiparty forum.

"It is also common knowledge that an independent election commission will most probably run the election," he said.

"However, the election is less than nine months away and the department has started to obtain purely logistical support mechanisms needed for any election." — **SAPA**

South 7/8 – 11/8/93

Cosatu's tough task: mass voter education

THE 1,2 million strong Congress of South African Trade Unions has set itself a daunting task.

In just under nine months, Cosatu plans to run mass voter education programmes for its members as well as millions of other workers.

Cosatu activists will be called upon to initiate voter education programmes in tens of thousands of workplaces, some of them situated in the most remote parts of South Africa.

The voter education programme is part of Cosatu's strategy to ensure 'a decisive ANC victory' at the polls.

The union federation has, however, stressed that the programme should empower workers to participate in democracy and make informed choices, 'regardless of who they ultimately vote for'.

Cosatu aims to ensure a programme of non-partisan voter education is extended to all workers, not only Cosatu members.

The union federation said in a statement last week: "Voter education is particularly important for workers who have been isolated and denied basic worker rights, including farm workers, domestic workers and workers in the bantustans.

"Failure to extend voter education to these workers and their families will mean over half the electorate will go to the polls unprepared and uninformed — if they go at all."

An important element in Cosatu's voter education programme is the co-operation of employers.

Cosatu has met the Central Business Movement and Saccola. These two bodies have generally responded positively to the voter education guidelines issued by Cosatu.

Cosatu in the Western Cape launched its campaign on July 28 when 500 shopstewards attended the first of four voter education workshops planned for the region.

Participants came from, among others, the clothing, food, metal, commercial, retail, municipal, transport and construction sectors.

Regional secretary Mr Jonathan Arendse said training workshops for shopstewards were being planned for the southern Cape, Namaqualand and the Boland.

The workshops will all include presentations on the rights, rules and processes of voting, workplace canvassing and the campaign for identities. Mock balloting is also a feature of all training workshops.

"This process is part of the election campaign. After this there will not be a single Cosatu organised workplace where there is not at least one shopsteward capable of imparting voter education," Arendse said.

Cosatu has to reach out to several thousand shopstewards initially and about 170 000 members before the end of the year.

Cosatu affiliates will be asked to second office-bearers, organisers and shopstewards for the campaign.

Gun goes off in E Cape election race

By Beverly Garson

THE BATTLE for votes in the election is already underway in the Eastern Cape.

The region is seen as historically an ANC stronghold, but other parties are far from abandoning the fight. The coloured community, particularly, is seen as still largely undecided, and campaigning is likely to be intense in these areas.

And the PAC is a wild card which could eat severely into the ANC's support.

The National Party's Eastern Cape spokesperson, Mr Johan Miller, concedes the region is an ANC stronghold and the "unfriendliest" for his party. But he is hopeful the NP will get at least 10 percent of the black vote.

Miller also hopes the PAC will divide the black vote in the region, and reckons that if the NP takes the important "coloured" vote, this could deliver a majority in the region to his party.

Political analyst Mr Eugene Nyati believes this is a "real possibility".

He says there is sufficient PAC support in the region to split the black vote with the ANC.

But the PAC's regional chairperson, Mr Knox Tsotsobe, and the ANC regional organiser, Mr Nceba Faku, are both optimistic that their parties will take the majority of black votes in the region.

With very little to show with respect to election campaigns and strategies, Tsotsobe says: "The PAC is doing well in the Eastern Cape" but does not want to "make a noise" yet.

Faku explains that his region has already set up a regional elections task team — parallel to the regional structure of the ANC. He is adamant his party will take 80 percent of the votes in the region, with the PAC only getting six percent.

Democratic Party spokesperson for the region, Bobby Stevenson, is not too optimistic about his party gaining a large percentage of the black vote, but has some hopes pinned on the "coloured" electorate.

Nyati predicts that all parties will "seek to use 'coloureds' for their own interests".

He describes the "coloured" vote as "fluid" since there is no political party which it gravitates towards. As a result, he predicts a hard fight between the NP and the ANC.

However, his prediction is that the "coloured" vote will swing in favour of the NP.

The DP's Stevenson believes the "coloured" vote will be fairly evenly divided between the parties with the DP getting more votes than both the NP and the ANC.

He says people in the community "are more literate and are well informed about the DP". He also says people are attracted to the DP because it is a "party of the moderate political centre".

The NP's Muller says the party has majority support among the "coloureds".

Tsotsobe of the PAC says his party already has great support in the "coloured" areas but still has lots of work to do there.

"People are coming to us (from coloured areas), but we want to follow a silent campaign," he says.

Faku from the ANC says his organisation's support is concentrated in the townships, but that they are confident of getting at least 40 percent of the "coloured" vote.

He stresses that the "coloured" vote is very important to the ANC in the Eastern Cape as they do not want to confirm the misconception that the elections are for the "African peoples".

"The majority of coloureds in the Eastern Cape are in Port Elizabeth, so in line with our deployment of resources the Northern areas is uppermost in our attentions," says Faku.

Nyati says the Eastern Cape is a politically active region and has a "political significance" which is out of proportion to its economic strength, and this is why he believes the region will be strongly contested by the parties.

Because the region is "extremely poor" and "economically vulnerable", he believes all the parties will be playing the economy up in their campaigns and make many promises to win votes.

This will be the strategy of both the ANC and the NP, and that closer to the elections the latter will implement regional development and shower the region with aid.

"All governments will do that," says Nyati.

The relative "good record" of stability in the Eastern Cape, compared to the violence on the Reef and Natal, could be spoiled as the election draws nearer.

He says if the stability continues throughout the pre-election phase it could mean this region would be one of the few where there will be a truly "free and fair" election.

However, he also cautions that on a national level there are still many unanswered questions. These include voter education and the reincorporation of the homelands, and he fears these could lead to an election result being contested for years to come after April 27.— PEN

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Multi-party peace force proposed

A NEW peace keeping force which would include members of all political parties to control violence at election rallies has been proposed by a panel of international experts to the Goldstone Commission.

According to Sapa, the 70-page report opens up the process of policing to participation by party-related forces and would lend an element of credibility and legitimacy to what is now a highly suspect process.

The report made public at a sitting in Cape Town on Wednesday said the South African Police could not hope to gain the confidence of those who saw it only as the enforcer of apartheid — a reality recognised by the police themselves.

Panel Chairman Mr Charles Ruff said it was envisaged the new force would assume control at election rallies or demonstrations where there was a risk of violence.

The creation of the force would also lay the foundation for a new policing organisation in a post-election period.

He warned that decisions about details of the election process and the reshaping of policing functions could not await the convening of parliament.

"There is literally not a moment to waste if the election is to be held on April 27, 1994. The process must begin immediately."

It appeared that the extraordinary commitment of time, money and energy necessary to bring about any significant change in the policing structure in the short term should be focused on those parts of the system that posed the greatest concern during the election period, the report stated.

Mr Justice Richard Goldstone said it was hoped the commission's own report, based on the panel's document and the further submissions, would be ready before the end of the month. The report would be debated by interested parties this week and early next week before the commission hears final submissions.

Teaching the people the ABC of making an X

ST Times 8/8/93

WHEN a group of township activists cast their first vote in a South African national election booth last weekend, two of them backed the Conservative Party.

By JAMES BRITTAIN

Awkward laughter filled the yellow-painted classroom as the mock-poll results were announced.

On a warm winter Saturday afternoon in Dobsonville, Soweto, 19 members of the ANC and Azapo youth leagues and a woman with her two-year-old child returned one spoilt paper, two for the CP, one for the PAC and the rest for the ANC.

"You must mark only the box next to your preferred party with a cross. Don't put your signature here or make any drawings," advised Mrs Sophie Masite, a voter-education trainer.

She and her partner, Dingaan Selebalo, displayed the spoilt paper to the voters-in-training — "young lions" from the township mostly aged between 18 and 25 — to show them why the vote did not count.

Someone had written "ANC" in blue capitals on the reverse side of the ballot sheet.

"You must not do this," Mrs Masite said.

This mock poll, authentically played out with a grey metal ballot box, cardboard voting booth and polling personnel, was the culmination of a five-hour election workshop organised by the Matla Trust.

The training session had painstakingly run through all aspects of voting procedures to an audience of 30 who had never seen a national ballot paper before.

There are about 18-million people in South Africa like them.



PUPIL POWER: Wesley Ndlovu, 18, a Dobsonville student, casts his vote while election officer Josias Khechane looks on

Picture: ABDUL SHARIFF

One of the Dobsonville class of 93 raised his hand to ask a question.

"What age are you allowed to vote?" Mrs Masite said it would probably be 18. This seemed acceptable to the group.

Other questions followed.

Where would voting take place? Could a person vote twice, and what would happen if a voter was blind? Was it possible to fake an ID and what if you did not have an identity book?

Sophie and Dingaan answered each in turn.

Co-ordinated from nine offices countrywide with 320 trainers, the Matla Trust has been running similar programmes since June last year.

The trust is non-aligned and one of the best established voter-education outfits in a field of at least 30.

Other groups include the Institute for Multi-Party Democracy, the SA Council of Churches and Lawyers for Human Rights.

Most programmes are under the auspices of an umbrella body, the Independent Forum For Electoral Education, which aims to help unify and co-ordinate them through funding and strategies.

The Matla Trust's national education co-ordinator, Mr Mpho Keagile, said his organisation was reaching about 250 people each week from all political affiliations and had spent more than R1,5-million on workshops since the project started.

Training sessions started in community halls but are now running in shopping malls, and there are plans to extend them to churches and railway platforms.

"Our trainers are finding many problems in their work. Illiteracy is a big one, especially in rural areas," Mr Keagile said.

"If an old man cannot read or write, we need to ensure he puts his cross in the place he wants. The pen in his shaking hand must not slip into another party's box."

Another difficulty was fear of voting. Many people were not sure their vote would be secret and they worried about intimidation.

"We have to explain the proposed security measures to assure them that everything will be done to prevent that," Mr Keagile said.

He hoped South Africa would not repeat Angola's election example last September — the touch-paper for renewed civil war — where it was estimated that more than 40 percent of the electorate returned spoilt papers.

"Many things are still undecided here. Some organisations are not yet registered as political parties, there is uncertainty as to the way groups will align and many are still to decide their logos. We have many people to reach. There are many without IDs. We have much to do before next April," Mr Keagile said.

According to the Department of Home Affairs, fewer than three million South Africans are still without ID books.

Mr Keagile believes the number is far greater.

"We will need to allow a variety of other forms of positive identification like school reports, driving licences and birth certificates."

A Home Affairs spokesman said 9 000 new identity books were being issued daily.



BEN NGUBANE, leader of the Kwazulu government delegation at the multi-party talks, tells why he walked out a month ago

Overruled, ignored and often snubbed

ST Times 8/8/93

THE Kwazulu government was forced to leave the negotiating table after it had exhausted all other available options and remedies to ensure the cause of federalism and constitutional guarantees triumph over authoritarian and centralistic hidden agendas.

With all the means available within the process, we tried to change the course taken by negotiations. However, on every occasion we were overruled, ignored and even cut short. Our entire vision for the establishment of a federation prior to elections was not even put on the table.

In fact, on June 15 1993 we walked out for the first time precisely because the ANC/-SACP alliance and the South African government/-National Party delegation refused to instruct the technical committee to give full consideration to our proposal for a final federal constitution by the end of 1994 as an alternative to their proposal for a two-stage transition process centred on the empowerment of a constituent assembly and a substantially unitary state.

On that occasion propaganda attempted to describe our walkout as a reaction to the setting of a date for a democratic election, while our opposition to the election date was based on the fact that the ANC/SACP alliance and the government/NP were steamrolling the process into elections for a constituent assembly and avoiding the issue of federalism.

Our second walkout was at the meeting of the negotiation forum on July 2, and was caused by the decision to instruct the technical committee to draft a constitution to empower a constituent assembly and to establish a unitary state with some provincial or regional characteristics, rather than a true federation of states, such as the United States, Germany or Australia.

The decisions to instruct the technical committee and ratify the election date were taken over our most fundamental objections, which proved the point that our presence at the World Trade Centre is required only to rubberstamp what the ANC/-SACP alliance and the government/NP have already decided.

If the process allows these two organisations to make decisions over our most fundamental objections, our continuing presence in the process is not required.

The hard fact of the matter is that we were right, for the draft constitution submitted by the technical committee conclusively proved our contentions and confirmed our and South Africa's worst fears.

Under the draft an extremely limited range of powers are considered for the regions, which are far less than those presently exercised by the self-governing territories. However, no power whatever will vest in the regions until and unless a decision in this sense is made by the new government and by two-thirds of the constituent assembly.

This process will decide how much power will be exercised by the regions and whether such power will be exercised as exclusive or concurrent power under the control of the national government's overriding powers.

Therefore, a one-third minority lobby in the constituent assembly would have effective power to prevent the vesting of any functions in the regions.

Similarly, the regions have no power to truly organise themselves in autonomy to participate effectively in the decision-making of the national legislature due to the limitations set forth on the adoption and contents of regional constitutions, and by the fact that the senate will have no say on any matter which has financial implications.

However, and most importantly, whatever is written in this draft constitution is totally volatile because the draft empowers a constituent assembly and charges it with a specific constitutional duty to tear apart the interim constitution and replace it with a "total revision".

Because of treacherous deadlock-breaking mechanisms, a 51-percent majority will have the effective power to adopt the final constitution and the full discretion to decide on its contents.

Even if the draft provides for a 60-percent majority to ratify the final constitution at a referendum, this requirement is defeated by another provision in the draft which makes it political suicide for any party to oppose the ratification at the referendum of the constitution adopted by a 51-percent majority of the constituent assembly.

In fact, if a 51-percent majority of the constituent assembly is defeated at a referendum it will be entitled to an absolute blank cheque to do whatever it pleases the next time round.

Ostensibly, the draft attempts to circumscribe the discretion of a future constituent assembly, but we strongly believe that the techniques used for such a purpose are totally ineffective and tantamount to a token of faith and good intentions.

We are fighting for the establishment of a federation with residual powers to the member states and with devolution to the federal government of only those powers which cannot be adequately or properly exercised at state level. We are also demanding the recognition of the constitution of the state of Kwazulu/Natal as one of the founding blocks of the new federation.

The draft constitution presented by the technical committee excludes the very notion of federalism and gives a 51-percent majority of the constituent assembly a final say over what our destiny is going to be. To us, this is a formula for sure disaster, irrespective of whoever controls the constituent assembly.

The Kwazulu government believes its constitutional goals should be achieved through negotiations. However, it sees no point in returning to negotiations until the rules of decision-making have been either clarified or amended to ensure that its participation in negotiations is not circumscribed to the role of a mere rubber stamp.

To have true negotiations, the rules of the game need to force the participants into real give and take. It appears clear that, irrespective of the many promises and high-sounding declarations, there have been no real concessions coming from the ANC/SACP alliance for the cause of federalism and pluralism in our country.

'Control violence before elections'

By KEVIN DAVIE
Victoria Falls

ELECTIONS in a climate of violence could bring South Africa to the brink of war, Professor Lawrence Schlemmer, vice-president of the HSRC told an investment conference in Zimbabwe yesterday.

Professor Schlemmer said elections should only proceed only if violence could be controlled beforehand.

He called for the urgent establishment of a transitional governing council and an upgraded transitional governing executive council with all major leaders on board.

"We are fighting for survival. Anyone who can mess up the process should be on the council."

Professor Schlemmer said research showed a disturbing new trend where those questioned were increasingly seeing the violence in ethnic terms.

Mr Justice Richard Goldstone said that delaying an election would amount to giving the people who caused violence a veto.

"They must know the election will go ahead."

The ANC's Tito Mboweni said postponing elections would cause more problems. The IFP's Frank Mdlalose said there were no doubts an election would be held, but this required time for proper planning.

Let merit follow its course

ST Times 8/8/93

DENE SMUTS warns against the sort of gender tokenism practised at the World Trade Centre talks

(3044) (3[illegible])

TWENTY-TWO years ago, I was vice-chair of the SRC at Stellenbosch University when the opportunity arose to send a few students to England on an Abe Bailey Travel Bursary.

I was one of those elected by my fellow SRC members. When the names were sent in, we were advised that females were not eligible.

So someone else went. I didn't like it.

This year, I have experienced exactly the opposite, and I don't like that either.

A decision was taken — by sufficient consensus — by the planning committee of the Multi-party Negotiation Council that every negotiating party would have two delegates, one of whom had to be a woman.

One of the Afrikaans newspapers featured a cartoon on the first morning of this programme of affirmative action, showing a very muscular person, with hairy legs and dressed in women's clothing, mincing up to the World Trade Centre. One security staff member mutters to another: "Should we check for steroids?"

We have reached the point where the matter must be discussed openly, since there are lessons to be learnt. My party was not a part of the sufficient consensus.

The decision was largely driven by Inkatha, which proceeds from an Ulundi decision that seats should be reserved for women in all future public bodies, including parliament. This is, in my view, retrogressive, since it perpetuates the marginalisation of women.

Of all the parliaments in the world, only four reserve seats for women: Bangladesh, Nepal, Pakistan and Tanzania. But it does not work, according to a Bangladeshi delegate who addressed a recent conference of our National Women's Coalition.

Clearly, the non-interventionist approach does not work either — only the Scandinavian countries have 30 percent-plus female representation in parliament. Until very recently, the old democracies — the US, Britain and France — have all had only six percent female MPs.

The position is improving, but slowly. One of the problems is structural rather than the product of prejudice: few women with young children can decamp to the legislative capital for part of the year.

The same applies at the World Trade Centre. I am able to be an MP because I live in Cape Town. But I can't decamp to Johannesburg full-time, so I share our women's seat with one of the DP's most senior elected female officers, Martheanne Finnemore, party leader in the Eastern Cape.

Since few parties or organisations have senior female office bearers, there was a problem to start with.

You run the risk with this sort of arrangement of placing people at a disadvantage, and in the full glare of public scrutiny, instead of the other way around. You run the further risk of inviting unfair questions about their competence and of creating the impression that they are passengers — sidecar riders on a machine driven by men.

It is important to put senior party women in the hot seats because they have been elected to speak for their parties and because they are then already part of the process of policy formation.

It is expecting the impossible of a woman from outside those structures to slot in — especially part-time or now and then.

Discrimination is often simply a pattern of behaviour that can be broken. But we have to be careful not to disadvantage people all over again by tokenism.

Our policy approach is influenced by Linda Human: bring people into the system and up to the point of selection (or election), but let that take place on merit.

In the case of the World Trade Centre, we proposed a technical committee of women on women, an upgrading of the gender advisory committee which the DP was the first to propose; and once the sufficient consensus started going against us, we pleaded for compulsory inclusion on the full teams, but not reserve delegates' seats.

In that way, you are genuinely serving the interests of the group in need of affirmative action. Beware of empty measures which can backfire!

□ *Dene Smuts is DP MP for Groote Schuur. This is extracted from an address to a recent conference on affirmative action at the University of Stellenbosch*

FOUR weeks ago a daily newspaper took regional maps drawn up by the main political parties and fed them into its graphics computer.

What emerged was a compromise map for regions in South Africa.

The exercise in educated guessing by Beeld could have saved the democracy talks at Kempton Park a lot of time, because the map tabled by the Commission on the Delimitation of Regions this week is almost identical.

There is no suggestion that the commission copied the map, but the coincidence fuels fears that the body acted as little more than a computer program itself, rigidly interpreting its brief and never questioning vested interests when it simply married the maps of the larger parties.

The eagerly awaited regional map of South Africa was tabled this week, but the haste of its drafting may prove to be its undoing, reports CLAIRE ROBERTSON

Back to the drawing-board?

The commission did what it was asked to do — but was doomed from the start by the instructions it received from the negotiating council, and its unwillingness or inability to question these, say detractors of its report.

The worst of it is that problems identified weeks ago — the PWV and the Natal/-eastern Cape border, whether the eastern Cape should be one region or two, whether the northern Cape should be separate from the Western Cape — have not been solved by neutral experts and are now back in the hands of the politicians.

The plea from Miss Ann Bernstein, Urban Foundation director and commission black sheep for having dared to submit a minority report, is that the commission be sent back to the drawing-board.

The commission — and the negotiating council — needed to know several things before it could pronounce upon regions, Miss Bernstein argued — not least of all what real people living in real cities and villages wanted for their future.

Deeper questions, if answered earlier, could have prevented some of the glaring inconsistencies and holes in the report. Are local or national interests paramount in deciding regions? Should economic and developmental criteria not take precedence over — or at least equal — political issues? Should criteria be applied uniformly?

Her temerity was pounced upon by the highly defensive commission and ignored, but for one slighting reference, by the negotiating council's planning committee.

But, in introducing his report, the co-chairman, economist Dr Bax Nomvete, spent 10 minutes making excuses for it.

Indeed, the commission was given only six weeks to prepare its report. And it met only seven times.

But on Friday delegates were openly asking to see the submissions which had helped the commission arrive at its decisions — with the clear implication that these were open to other interpretations.

Delegates asked whether the much-criticised criteria it had set the commission for delimiting each region had been adequate.

THIS question did not need to be answered, as it was covered in the report, said the chairman of the debate, Mr Pravin Gordhan of the Natal and Transvaal Indian Congresses.

Dr Nomvete, answered anyway, saying that the criteria were those used in other countries and were "adequate".

The brief exchange masked a heated debate in the commission itself.

Then, as in the council this week, Big Brother had stepped in to squash uncomfortable questions.

Papers tabled at the commission show that Miss Bernstein asked right at the start that the commission receive three things to help it interpret its brief: A briefing from politicians, a workshop on why boundaries mattered and what the commission could realistically achieve in the available time.

A sub-committee of the talks' planning committee — three men known by the nickname "the facilitators" because of their efficiency at carrying out the will of their bosses — rejected the first request. The commission agreed to the second — but it never actually happened — and ignored the third.

Another commission nod to thoroughness failed to materialise. Early on it agreed to appoint a "senior team of specialists" to read the final report.

The men named are among the country's pre-eminent economists: Wits University professor of economics Charles Simkins; Cape Town University professor of economics Philip Black; Stellenbosch University professor of economics Colin McCarthy, and Natal University's Economic Research Unit director Professor Gavin Maasdorp.

They never saw the report.

"I suspect they ran out of time at the end. The commission was given terms of reference that were unsatisfactory, and was put under immense pressure," Professor Maasdorp said this week.

THE commissioners are proud of the fact that they received more than 300 submissions from around the country.

But a head count shows these to have been overwhelmingly from the white establishment — and even then, some urgent and apparently very reasonable pleas were not heeded, such as Namaqualand's request that it fit into the western Cape region.

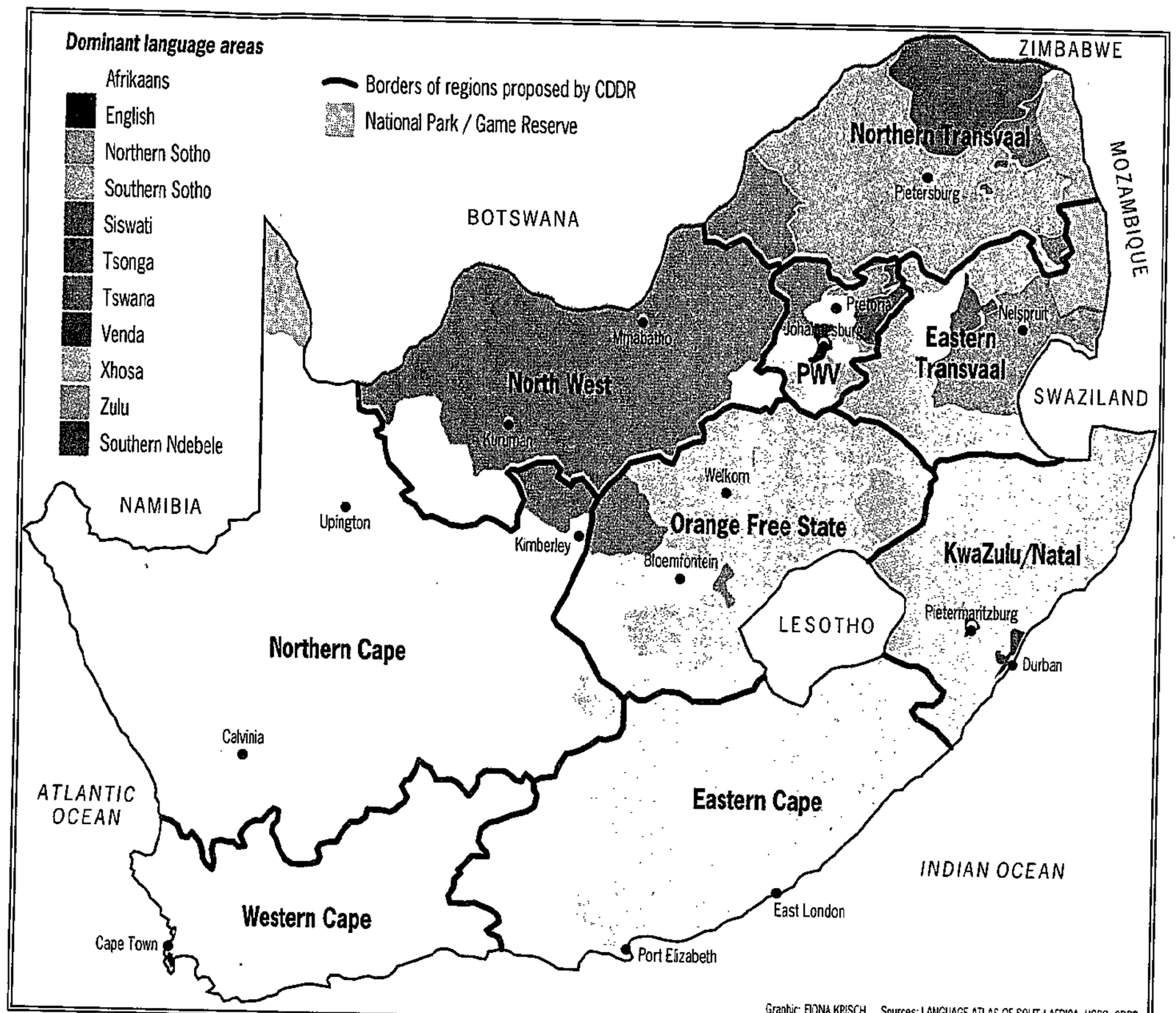
Noticeable by their absence were "many communities and identifiable interest groups," Miss Bernstein says in her report.

These included non-homeland groupings in the western Transvaal and black communities in the northern Transvaal and the PWV.

The commission was established in the first place to "widen the negotiating process beyond the political parties".

But tomorrow, faced with a report that leaves too many philosophical issues — and even many ground-level, practical questions — unanswered, the map will be back in the hands of the politicians.

The commission continually emphasises that some local disputes may have to be revisited. The politicians will have to decide this week whether they return at least some of the report to the drawing-board — or simply take the decisions themselves without further consultation.



SA's complex ethnic quilt

THE language map of South Africa, shown here with the proposed regional boundaries superimposed, highlights the strong ethnic nature of the division of the country. The language map was given "its due weight" by the Commission on Demarcation and the Delimitation of Regions, the negotiating council was told this week — but geographic coherence also played a role, resulting in some borders following ethnic lines while others enclose patchworks of different groups.

Farmers vow to bite the bullet

EASTERN CAPE

By DAWN BARKHUIZEN

EMBATTLED Border corridor farmers this week vowed to "bite the bullet" amid heated controversy over Eastern Cape regional boundaries.

Unable to sell their farms, farmers in the thin "white" corridor dividing the Transkei and Ciskei have resigned themselves to incorporation, but fear that existing animosity between the homelands might give rise to violence if the two are forced to co-exist.

Queenstown Farmers' Union chairman Theo Kemp said: "The Transkei and Ciskei do not get on and it could all blow up. We would like to be incorporated into the Eastern Province, together with the Ciskei."

Ciskei leader Brigadier Oupa Gqozo favours the Ciskei forming part of an eastern Cape region, saying the homeland should not be "lumped together" with the Transkei, while Transkei leader Major-General Bantu Holomisa wants the Transkei linked to the proposed Border-Kei region, with Umtata as the capital.

The ANC, which feels the Transkei will not survive on its own, is alone in favouring the Demarcation Commission's proposals of a big merger.

NP MP Ray Radue supports separate regions. A combined Eastern Cape and Border-Kei region would never work because it was too big, the King William's

Calls at conference for govt to 'get out'

OFFICIALS from several political groups yesterday called on the government to "go" and for the international community to become involved in ensuring a smooth transition and ending violence.

This emerged in Durban at the end of a three-day conference on peace and human rights, arranged by the National Association of Democratic Lawyers.

A provisional declaration yesterday called for:

- The government to resign;
- Greater international involvement in South Africa's transition;
- The UN to consider adopting mechanisms to ensure the move to democracy is not scuppered or unilaterally dictated by the government;
- A speedy route to a democratically elected constitutent assembly;
- The immediate establishment of a joint peacekeeping force. — Sapa

ST Times
CC Metro 818193
(Sapa)

Health minister under fire from NP

By NORMAN WEST
Political Reporter

NATIONAL Health and Welfare Minister Rina Venter was accused by members of the NP caucus this week of allowing ANC-aligned civic bodies to hijack the government's relief aid programme. ST Times

Leading the attack on Dr Venter was the MP for Mossel Bay, Dr Helgard van Rensburg, but he and other MPs stoppped short of accusing her of bungling her portfolio, an NP source said. 8/8/93

Several caucus members said she had allowed civic bodies and community committees, established to help administer the multi-million rand relief aid programme, "to claim all the credit for what was essentially a NP/government scheme".

"It would not be an exaggeration to say Dr Venter's position as minister is now probably on the line," said one NP source. (304A)

He claimed a shaken Dr Venter had tried vainly to "defend and explain" herself, but this was met "by a pronounced murmur of general disapproval" from caucus members who supported Dr van Rensburg's criticism of Dr Venter.

A spokesman for Dr Venter said yesterday she could not be contacted for comment. In any case, she did not, as a matter of general policy, react to issues raised in caucus.

Before Tuesday's extended caucus meeting, sources said they expected President FW de Klerk to be on the carpet himself "for pandering to the ANC and alienating IFP president Mangosuthu Buthelezi".

But he pre-empted criticism by having one-on-one discussions with a number of key caucus members before the meeting.



RINA VENTER ... scathing criticism from NP caucus members

Theatre for democracy pulls in the crowds

C1 Rea 8/8/94

304A

By AMY WALDMAN

IT is election day, and supporters of the Inqawe Party confidently predict victory. But when the results come in they are surprised to learn they have lost, in part because of spoiled papers cast by Inqawe supporters.

No, you have not fallen asleep and woken up on April 27 1994. This is voter election theatre, an attempt by the Matla Trust to prevent the imaginary problems presented from becoming a reality when SA goes to the polls next year.

Peter Ngwenya, one of the play's writers, estimates that it has been seen by over 80 000 people in 100 performances. "Drama is much more effective in reaching an audience," he says.

The theme of spoiled papers comes up repeatedly, and sometimes comically, as one drunken women tries to cross out all of the parties she doesn't like.

Violence and intimidation are also addressed. A Boer farmer tries to buy his farmworkers' votes with whiskey, to laughs from the audience.

The actors alternate beween English, Zulu and Xhosa, and are trying to incorporate other languages such as Sotho as well.

The play, which makes extensive use of music and dance, was written, composed and choreographed by Doreen Mazibuko, Willie Tshaka and Ngwenya, who is a former Standard Bank Young Artist award winner.



X MARKS THE SPOT . . . A scene from the Matla Trust's election theatre. ■ Pic: AMY WALDMAN

Seeking a vote of trust

C1 Press 8/18/93

(304A)

By ZB MOLEFE

NON-PARTISAN is a word Billy Modise finds uncomfortable as he goes about his work.

"The terrible thing in SA is when you say you are non-partisan. To some people it means you are anti-ANC," says the soft-spoken Modise.

Modise's big challenge at the moment is educating the masses of predominantly black South Africans about the historic elections for a post-apartheid era which, hopefully, will dawn sometime in mid-April.

Modise is the executive director of the Matla Trust, an initiative started by ANC president Nelson Mandela in 1990 when "he became aware of the need for a body that could attend to the needs of disadvantaged South Africans across the political spectrum".

The Bloemfontein-born father of two daughters cuts a dashing and trim figure.

Modise says Mandela realised after his release that many South Africans looked up to him to solve their legion of problems.

Modise is adamant that each political party or organisation has a duty to educate voters.

"We are not campaigning for any party. Matla alone can't deliver votes on election day. On the other hand, SA cannot afford to miss this chance. We must make sure that we have a fair and free election. If we have 22-million voters, the more people we get to the polls the more difficult it will be for the spoilers."

He says: "Of the 22-million potential voters, 17-million have never voted. The voting process is intimidating. The other problem is that our people are poor, illiterate or semi-literate. Others are in squatter areas and peri-urban areas. Many are captive employees."

Matla's Community and Citizen Education Programme (CCEP) has eight offices nationwide.

Modise talks about Matla's mission and it is hard not to be touched by his zeal. Yet, he is self-effacing too: Instead of talking about himself he talks about how Matla came to be. After consulting with a wide-range of South Africans, it was decided that people whose community development work was widely-known in SA and people with a record of fighting apartheid would be employed to form Matla.



VOTE MAN ... Matla Trust's Billy Modise. ■ PIC: TLADI KHUELE

The funds used to found Matla were raised by Mandela from overseas.

Since then, funds have been donated to Matla from inside SA – from government and non-governmental organisations and businesses – and from concerned individuals worldwide.

Prior to his appointment Modise lectured in sociology at Sweden's Lund University. Then he served at the Swedish International Development Authority's training centre as deputy director. He was a consultant to the UN's Habitat Conference and the assistant director of its Institute for Namibia.

The Matla Trust was officially born on April 15 1991 as an educational and charitable trust under the chairmanship of Johannesburg lawyer Ismail Ayob. A 14-person board of trustees comprising prominent personalities was formed to control it.

"The Board of Trustees then decided to do something concrete. After all, most of our people – black and white – have never experienced democracy. The new government will have a difficulty here. Now that we have a chance, we at Matla can play a role and try to inform about democracy and democratic practices," says Modise.

He joined the trust in August 1991 – the year in which thousands of exiles returned, posing a huge challenge.

Problems abounded. "It was thought Matla could help though, really, it was not our field," says Modise.

Yet, he said Matla's helping hand had managed to see many exiles being offered vocational training and children of exiles being helped to adjust to their new homeland.

Row after DP meeting breakup

(304F) ARG 9/8/93

A WAR of words has broken out between the Democratic Party and the ANC over the breaking up of a DP meeting near Johannesburg.

An ANC spokesman said the DP brought the violence on themselves by distributing an "inflammatory" pamphlet.

DP leader Dr Zac de Beer today said the pamphlet accused ANC members of necklacings. — Political Staff.

focus on politics

Sowetan 9/8/93



A seminar organised for opinion-makers at the weekend was told that the road to democracy in South Africa was made more difficult by the division forced upon the majority of people by apartheid. Joe Mdhlela reports:

"The more bitter the election campaign, the more reckless the newspapers will become"

— Professor Willem de Klerk

"WERE THERE a people of gods, their government would be democratic. So perfect a government is not for men."

In constructing his argument for political tolerence, that is how Professor Lawrence Schlemmer of Wits University kicked off, drawing from the philosophical work of Jean Jacques Rousseau.

Schlemmer's address was on political tolerance in South Africa, a subject on which a number of opinion-makers deliberated at a symposium, convened by the United Nations, the Institute for a Democratic Alternative for South Africa and the Institute for Multi-Party Democracy, near Cape Town at the weekend.

Angling on Rousseau's quote, Schlemmer added: "The conditions for a fully-fledged democracy have never been categorically identified and probably never will be. Perhaps the only thing that can be said with utter certainty is that world society at large has produced more failures than successes in this regard, and that the dynamics underpinning democracy are extremely complex."

In simpler terms, he was saying that even the best democracies have flaws.

Schlemmer then went through an intellectual journey, postulating along the way that the creation of "substantial independent middle class" was necessary to sustain a democracy.

Schlemmer suggested that because of their assertiveness, people drawn from this group were more suited to "articulate informed political inputs and outputs".

He said people with adequate education were more inclined to be "policy-orientated, as opposed to sentimentally orientated, in their political support patterns".

This, he suggested, meant that they were inclined to question politicians on their policies, and would not simply swallow everything political leaders sold to them.

On the other hand, the poor societies were often ill-educated. He suggested that this group tended to be gullible and was prepared to accept promises less critically. Poor societies also tended to have their own"heroic ideologies".

The politics of salvation, he said, had the tendency to weaken critical debate on political tolerance on which effective democracy should be based.

However, Schlemmer recognised the fact that "most self-sufficient and independent middle class institutions tend to be dominated by people who are seen to be minorities or exceptionally privileged".

That in itself, he argued, would pose a credibilty question around these people's intention to help foster a democratic dispensation.

As a result of this, less crediblity would be placed on business, professional and occupational lobbies, to make any meaningful contribution to a debate on democracy.

Professor Willem de Klerk of the Randse Afrikaanse Universiteit suggested that the media had a role to play in preparing the population for democracy.

He proposed that the media should act as a "training college" for democratic values, especially in view of the April 27 1994 elections.

Failure to do so, he stressed, would mean that "the media are disloyal to South Africa and its people".

De Klerk, however, pointed out that the media, especially the newspapers, were not neutral.

He suggested that the media often chose sides, thereby getting "dragged"into the election rhetoric.

"The more bitter the election campaign, the more reckless the newspapers will become," he said.

If the media continued to take sides, it would injure their credibility and would therefore be unsuited to be the "training college" for democratic values.

De Klerk, who is the elder brother of State President FW, said South Africa lacked a democratic culture.

Given these flaws, it would be difficult for the media to assume the role of a training college for democracy.

He advised that all sections of the media — magazines, television, newspapers and radio — should hold meetings in order to reach consensus on a joint code of conduct for handling "explosive news" during the election.

He proposed, among other things, that less emphasis be placed on violence and sensational reporting so that positive views and pronouncement be given prominence.

The media should place emphasis on aspects that have helped to dislocate apartheid, refrain from fuelling enmity between political groups and preach tolerance, said De Klerk.

Dr Oscar Dhlomo of the Institute for Multi-Party Democracy, in his paper blamed apartheid for being partly responsible for political intolerence because it created a socio-political system which taught people they could not live together.

"Apartheid ruthlessly crushed any opposition to it and thus discouraged ideological and political diversity," Dhlomo said.

Structures of civil societies were crushed and free anti-apartheid activity was made impossible following the banning and silencing of political organisations in 1960.

"Even blacks themselves were compartmentalised into ethnic entities and consigned to ethnic homelands away from the Greater South Africa."

Dhlomo said the history of separation was making it difficult to foster an inclination towards political tolerance.

"We are starting from a position where we have nothing in common except our humanity.

"We do not share national symbols such as an anthem, a flag, political values and even public holidays," he said.

He urged that the media had an important role to play to strengthen a culture of political tolerance.

Although most speakers at the symposium recognised the role the media could play in promoting tolerance, there was general agreement that the present Government had damaged such a prospect with its past policies.

To undo the structrural problems created by the Government, it will take conscious efforts by all South Africans to foster a spirit of tolerence.

South Africa will have to take counsel of Rousseau's words that "perfect government is not for men," and that democracy in itself is not a panacea for the country's problems.

The people themselves must have the will and determination to usher and make democracy work. Otherwise it will continue to be an elusive dream.



SA enters crucial week

Sowetan 9/8/93

By Themba Molefe
Political Correspondent

THE country enters a crucial week today as politicians meet to finalise the draft interim constitution and tackle the burning issue of violence.

The issue on violence will be discussed as an addendum and will only be tabled when the multiparty planning committee is ready with recommendations for the negotiations council. (BOPA)

Negotiators agreed last week that a joint peacekeeping force should be established but how this force should be constituted remains a matter for intense debate as the Government and liberation movements — the African National Congress and Pan Africanist Congress — disagree on the issue.

On constitutional matters, the negotiating council is to focus mainly on regions and the delimitation of borders. A commission on boundaries has recommended nine regions for South Africa.

The council is also expected to consider a second draft of the draft interim constitution and start debating on it tomorrow.

SEMINAR: COMMITTEES THAT WORK

Star 9/8/93

IFP talks stayaway goes on

(#B)(304A)

■ BY CHRIS WHITFIELD
POLITICAL STAFF

The Inkatha Freedom Party is almost certain to stay away from the talks table this week.

This follows intense speculation that the party was poised to return and take part in tomorrow's debate on the second draft of the Interim Constitution, couriered to negotiating parties at the weekend.

IFP negotiator and central committee member Walter Felgate was unequivocal yesterday when asked whether the party would be returning to talks: "There is no question of it whatsoever." The matter would be decided at a central committee meeting on Saturday, he said.

KwaZulu government delegation leader Dr Ben Ngubane also poured cold water on the speculation, saying meetings on constitutional issues with the ANC and Government would continue this week.

Meanwhile, negotiators face a period of "pressure cooker" tension as they begin a race today to ensure that the process does not fall behind its targets. Already, hopes that key pieces of draft legislation would be finalised at the World Trade Centre by Friday are being dampened.

However, draft Bills providing for the transitional executive council, independent broadcasting authority, independent media commission and independent electoral commission will have to be approved by the Negotiating Council before August 20 if the process is not to be disrupted.

This would allow just enough time for them to be squeezed through the parliamentary standing committees and ready for the short session of Parliament scheduled to begin on September 13.

There are fears that if the legislation cannot go through Parliament during the session, the April 27 election date could be jeopardised. Sources believe the Interim Constitution and the Bill of Rights will have to be approved at another short session later in the year.

THE TALKS AND YOU



This week at the World Trade Centre

Interim Constitution: The second draft of the controversial Interim Constitution, now being studied by participating parties, is due to be debated in the Negotiating Council tomorrow. Its proposals on federalism and a deadlock-breaking mechanism for the writing of a final constitution will be closely watched. The return to the talks of the Inkatha Freedom Party and the KwaZulu Government could hinge on this.

Time frames: Negotiators face a deadline. Hopes that key transitional legislation would be finalised by the Negotiating Council this week are being played down. The new target is the end of next week – allowing just enough time for the legislation to go through Parliamentary standing committees before the short session of Parliament which starts on September 13. One of the draft Bills provides for the Transitional Executive Council (TEC), effectively the first step towards interim government.

Regions: The hotly debated nine-region map is up for discussion again today, and fireworks are expected.

CHRIS WHITFIELD

Education forum launched

KATHRYN STRACHAN

PLAYERS across the spectrum took a major step towards resolving the education crisis when they launched the national education and training forum at the weekend. B/Day

Forum spokesman Alan Tonkin said there were high expectations among all the signatories at Saturday's launch that the forum could be the answer to education's problems.

More than 120 people representing all the major stakeholders in education, including the ANC and government, attended the launch outside Johannesburg. The forum secured government's promise that all restructuring in education issues would be referred to it. 9/8/93

Although the forum would be responsible for creating a single non-racial education system, the most immediate issues facing it were rationalisation, the proposed strike by coloured teachers, black matric exam fees and classroom disruptions.

Tonkin said forum working groups had already gone a long way to defusing some of the burning issues.

However, the issue of teachers' salaries which could result in a national strike on August 16, would remain outside the ambit of the forum as it was the subject of negotiations between the Commission for Administration and public sector unions.

National Education Minister Piet Marais said the forum's characteristics would include that:

- ☐ It operated on the basis of inclusiveness and consensus;
- ☐ It acquired its authority through developing widely accepted implementable and effective policies;
- ☐ It accepted that responsibility for managing education remained with the government of the day; and
- ☐ Matters be dealt with by working groups to guard against ideological contamination of education.

No handover, town councils vow

MORE than 100 city and town councils decided at a special congress of the Transvaal Municipal Association in Boksburg on Saturday to reject the proposed model for new authorities.

Ten councils from the Cape, Free State and Natal were represented at the congress. B/Day

Spokesman Koos le Roux warned government that the councils would not under any circumstances hand over their control of cities and towns. The congress demanded that government hold white municipal elections before legislation was promulgated to change the present status of local authorities.

Afrikaner Volksfront co-leader Gen Constand Viljoen told the congress the Afrikaner had been ignored at multiparty talks and his call for an area of self-determination in a new SA had been put on hold.

The former SADF chief said, however, talks between the Volksfront and government on Friday had been positive. 9/8/93

Viljoen said government had become weak and had created the perception there was only one political winner in the country, namely the ANC-SACP alliance.

He said a high potential for conflict existed. There were three groups which had great potential for violence — the ANC-SACP alliance, the Zulu nation and the Afrikaner — but war was not the answer.

Viljoen urged multiparty negotiators to accept the basic realities of the country and warned there would not be peace until the national aspirations of all had been addressed in the new SA. — Sapa. (262)

Inkatha and NP gear up for polls

B/Day 9/8/93

TIM COHEN and LLOYD COUTTS

THE Inkatha Freedom Party effectively kicked off its election campaign with full-page advertisements in Sunday newspapers yesterday, and the NP will fire up its election machine within the next few days, armed with a range of new slogans.

In its advertisement, Inkatha said it was ready to govern SA, but warned that a final constitution would have to be agreed on before it would welcome the setting of an election date. (418)(304A)

Inkatha said it was already SA's most representative party.

With constitutional agreements taking shape and polls showing slipping support, the NP is likely to dust off its reputedly fearsome election machine during the forthcoming provincial congresses.

Party insiders said at the weekend it would drop the "velvet gloves" approach adopted during constitutional negotiations.

"We have deliberately adopted a low-key stance because securing agreement on constitutional issues had to come first," said NP federal council information director Jaco Maree.

But the NP now needed to counter electioneering by the ANC and Inkatha, he said.

More and more, President F W de Klerk could be expected to show his political colours.

Maree discounted political polls which reportedly indicated a decline in NP support, saying analysts of the polls did not "bear scrutiny".

Maree estimated the NP's support among blacks to be between 25% and 30% of the total black electorate.

VOTER EDUCATION Federal and unitary systems explored to help you choose

Sowetan 9/8/93

Which system is best for us?

BOLA

■ HIGH DEGREE

The lure of the federal and unitary states:

DESPITE ATTEMPTS to merge elements of the federal and unitary state forms, debate still rages on which system has been more favoured in the new draft constitution.

Current constitution-making, which has strong federal inclinations, did not please the proponents of federalism. They walked out of multi-party talks.

In this article we discuss the general characteristics of both systems.



What is federalism?

A federal constitution confers a high degree of autonomous power on regional governments, even though they do still fall under the central or national government.

The separation of powers under federalism is that central government exercises ultimate power over issues of common national concern, while the regional governments have independent authority on issues specific to the regions.

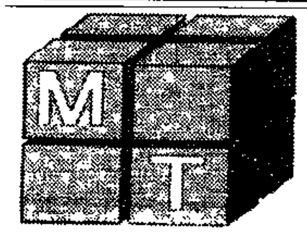
This separation of powers between the national and regional governments is written into the constitution. This means it cannot be changed through normal legislative channels. Certain special procedures which are also written into the constitution have to be followed before any changes can be made.

Matters that normally fall within the powers of central government include the national educational and health policy, armed forces, relations with foreign governments, tax collection, levying of import and export duties and decisions on peace or war with other countries.

There are 20 federations existing internationally. Some examples are the United States of America, Australia, Canada, Germany, India, Nigeria and the Comores.

Advocates of the federal system see it as being ideal for countries with a variety of ethnic and cultural differences.

They reason that it would be difficult to reach national consensus on certain issues in a multi-ethnic society.



This voter education series is a joint project of Sowetan and Matla Trust

What is a unitary system?

The best known unitary model is the British form of state. This has resulted in the unitary model often being referred to as the Westminster model.

Under a unitary constitution, central government wields ultimate power. Whatever degree of power and autonomy is conferred on regional governments is completely at the discretion of central government.

In the same way that central government may confer powers on its subordinate governments it also has the right in terms of the unitary constitution to modify those rights at its own discretion.

In other words, regional governments are not protected by the constitution from intervention by central government.

This does not mean that unitary systems automatically exclude regional autonomy.

Devolution of central government power often exists under the unitary system.

Devolution of power is when the central government delegates significant amounts of power to its regional governments.

The difference between devolution and constitutionally in-built regional autonomy is that those devolved powers are not independent of central government, but derive directly from it.

Degree of power

On the one hand is the unitary system where regional governments are dependent on central government regarding the degree of power they are granted.

On the other hand is the federal system where the degree of power allocated to regional governments is stipulated in the constitution and is not easy for central government to change.

In actual practice, both the federal and the unitary systems exist in very varied forms wherever they have been implemented.

Most students of federalism agree that in the United States, Canada, Australia, Switzerland and Germany there has been considerable expansion of the power of central government, from what was originally intended -- usually through judicial interpretation favouring the national government.

The growth of central power has been in response to such developments as national concern over wars and foreign affairs, nationalisation of economies, national economic problems and the increasing importance of national rather than purely regional patriotism which has grown partly through technological improvements in communications and transportation.

Show great variations

Existing unitary states show great variations in the degree of control that central governments choose to exercise.

Great Britain and its dominions, for example, generally treasure their long-standing traditions of vigorous local self-government and their central governments allow a considerable degree of freedoms, even if under the supervision of various national ministries.

This kind of local freedom is also characteristic of Scandinavian nations (especially Denmark) and the Netherlands. France prefers greater central control and exercises what is formally known as central tutelage of local governments.

Unitary Mode

Advantages:

- In practice the unitary system is less complex. The less decentralised the state, the simpler intergovernmental relations.
- Lower levels of government cannot formulate any ordinances which conflict with the legislation of central government.
- Allows greater flexibility and autonomy at the local level.
- Administrative costs are cheaper.
- Policy co-ordinated easily.
- Central government has power to intervene if local governments do not function effectively.

Disadvantages:

- Local government may be dampened and bureaucratic tendencies can occur.
- May not be suitable for ethnically heterogeneous populations.

Federal Mode

Advantages:

- Strengthens existing traditions of local patriotism, which might be unwilling to relinquish.
- Provides one way of accommodating ethnic pluralism in heterogeneous societies.
- Provides protection against excessive government power in general.
- Assists in inculcating political tolerance.
- Where the country is very extensive, it might be a practical arrangement for better administration.

Disadvantages:

- Conflict resolution between central and regional interests is not necessarily neutral -- it favours central interests.
- The division of powers between the central authority and its component units results in co-ordination problems. The dual government structures inevitably have overlapping areas both administratively and politically.
- Duplication of functions and staffing is greater, with resultant increase in expenditure.

Govt denies huge foreign loan scam

MARIANNE MERTEN

GOVERNMENT last night denied that it was implicated in an alleged multibillion-rand scam involving an offshore loan.

The Sunday Nation newspaper reported that a $1,6bn foreign loan, raised by government to build a township, was never brought into the country. Financial consultants who allegedly helped obtain the loan claimed that the money was misappropriated by senior officials.

Documents given to the newspaper by Transkei leader Maj-Gen Bantu Holomisa described how $1,6bn had been raised from Swiss and Arab financiers in June 1990 after talks with President F W de Klerk and approval from the Reserve Bank.

Holomisa called on the negotiating council to investigate all foreign loans. And ANC international affairs director Thabo Mbeki was quoted saying that a new government would not pay back illegal loans.

A lawyer, Gordon Leith, who said he had acted as a go-between in securing the loan, said he had informed De Klerk that the loan was for a Supra Tech Holdings township development northwest of Pretoria.

Supra Tech director Alwyn Lombard — brother of former Reserve Bank Deputy Governor Jan Lombard — was found guilty of fraud last year and sentenced to 12 years' imprisonment. He has appealed.

Last night government spokesman Dave Steward said Lombard had made similar claims during his trial, but the court had found that government was not involved.

DP condemns rampage

Star 9/8/93

■ BY CHRIS WHITFIELD

The Democratic Party has lashed out at the ANC, accusing it of double standards and insisting it discipline members for breaking up a DP meeting at Orange Farm, south of Johannesburg, at the weekend.

The incident placed a question mark over the possibility of a peaceful election in April next year, said DP Johannesburg North MP Peter Soal.

According to reports, ANC and PAC youths in the area went on the rampage soon after DP members arrived at the stadium on Saturday afternoon to hold a meeting. Members of the organisation were manhandled, cars badly damaged and DP T-shirts burnt.

Yesterday an angry Soal said officials had narrowly escaped being brutally attacked. One of its women members had been struck on the shoulder by a stone, and councillor Jack Bloom's vehicle had its windows smashed and bodywork badly damaged. A DP bakkie was stoned as it left the area. (304A)

The ANC department of information and publicity's Carl Niehaus said the ANC was unequivocal in its rejection of intimidation and support for free political activity. He questioned whether ANC members had actually been involved.

Meet revolution with revolution, says Viljoen

Right vows to fight changes

Star 9/8/93
(304A)

■ BY JO-ANNE COLLINGE

Rightwingers from more than 100 local authorities vowed at the weekend to resist by "hard" and "soft" means any attempt to replace existing segregated town councils with nonracial appointed bodies.

Afrikaner Volksfront chairman General Constand Viljoen urged delegates to a special congress of the Transvaal Municipal Association (TMA) to view the proposed nonracial councils as a revolutionary strategy by the ANC/SACP alliance to take over third-tier government.

"It is part of a revolution and you are entitled to a counter-revolution," he told the 400-plus councillors, who welcomed him and saw him on his way with standing ovations.

The TMA meeting, in Boksburg City Hall, was a response to the Local Government Negotiating Forum (LGNF) decision to prepare legislation for the September sitting of Parliament to replace existing apartheid local government with appointed nonracial councils.

These councils, comprising equal numbers of members chosen by "statutory" and "non-statutory" groups, would hold power during the "pre-interim" phase; that is, until elections for interim government at local level could be organised.

TMA chairman Koos le Roux commented that, under the new scheme, councillors "must comprise at least 50 percent of those people who have, for more than 10 years, more or less destroyed everything in black towns with their boycott actions and their destruction and burning of millions of rands of infrastructure".

All 63 TMA-affiliated councils, supported by about 40 observer groups from inside the Transvaal and beyond, resolved:

■ To reject totally the idea of nonracial appointed councils and to warn of their intention to resist the institution of such bodies.

■ To demand that the Government hold elections for white local authorities before instituting any reform measures.

■ To mandate the TMA executive committee to take measures to counteract the institution of the transitional plan.

Delegates had spoken of campaigns to withhold rates and service payments; digging in and remaining in office in defiance of any transitional law; and holding their own elections.

Some were disappointed that no course of radical action had been agreed. Le Roux assured them that "hard protest action" had not been ruled out; the executive merely wanted to be sure that it was implementable.

FW to visit South America

(204A) ET 10/8/93.

Political Staff

PRESIDENT F W de Klerk is to visit South America this month, his office confirmed last night.

Although it has been reported that he will travel to four South American countries, his office did not confirm this.

Mr De Klerk is to be accompanied on the week-long trip by a top-level business delegation, which is to concentrate on banking, trade and tourism links between the countries and South Africa.

It is understood that seven companies are involved in the business delegation and that mining and investment are among the areas to be covered.

Students vandalise DP stand

By BARRY STREEK
Political Staff

A DEMOCRATIC PARTY information table was overturned at the University of the Western Cape yesterday, DP pamphlets burned and banners ripped down by people identifying themselves as ANC representatives, the DP Youth said last night.

It said in a statement by the DP Youth regional chairman Mr Ryan Coetzee that it was outraged at the violent disruption of its table.

It said the perpetrators had identified themselves as ANC representatives.

After 45 minutes the DP Youth were forced to call off the event.

This follows the break-up of DP rallies by ANC supporters in the Vaal Triangle on Saturday and in Elsie's River last month.

Mr Coetzee said last night: "We don't think there is a possibility of a free and fair election in these circumstances."

ANC Western Cape assistant secretary Mr Willie Hofmeyr said last night: "We do believe strongly in the rights of all parties to organise. However, we have chatted to a number of people in the university administration and with ANC members and from the information we have gleaned it was a bit of a storm in a teacup."

B/Day 10/8/93

Pik attacks ANC, donors

FOREIGN Minister Pik Botha started electioneering in earnest yesterday, with broadsides to the ANC and Scandinavians, while eulogising the new NP.

Outlining the Transvaal NP's election strategy at a news briefing, he said the NP would draw significant support from black voters but it would "be an uphill struggle for a single party to gain 50% of the vote".

Botha said the NP was not looking to form an alliance with any party, nor was the party receiving any funds from overseas. "Ten cents raised internally means more to us than a $1 000 ... it comes from the heart." (304A)

He said the ANC was playing "naive, almost childish games" by not registering as a political party.

"Of course they are a political party ... (but) they are holding out to receive funds from Scandinavian countries" where it was illegal to fund foreign political parties but not movements, he said.

The Scandinavians were "bleak and overfed Northerlings where even citizens' funerals are paid for by the governments". — Sapa.

Political 'thugs' must be curbed

304A

CT 10/8/93

By BARRY STREEK
Political Staff

AN urgent call for joint multi-party monitoring at political rallies and for political parties to act against "totalitarian thugs" who were hell-bent on disrupting democracy was made yesterday by the Democratic Party.

It was also urgently necessary that the Peace Accord structures, the Goldstone Commission and political parties ensured there was no repetition of Orange Farm, the party said in a statement issued by Mr Tony Leon.

It followed a DP meeting at Orange Farm in the Vaal Triangle which was disrupted by ANC-supporting youths on Saturday.

Mr Leon said the ANC and others should note that the youths who threw rocks at DP supporters had cast a huge boulder on the road to the new South Africa.

The ANC had to take full blame.

The actions of the ANC Youth League at Orange Farm were typical of its radical methods, the National Party Youth said yesterday.

Instead of playing a responsible role and developing young leaders for the future, the ANC Youth League was guilty of intimidation and other excesses, the NP said in a statement, issued by federal organiser Mr Max van der Wath.

● Students vandalise DP stand — Page 2
● Don't just talk — do something — Page 6

Star 10/8/93

EAST RAND VIOLENCE: Police say there has been a marked decrease in violence on the East Rand since reinforcements were sent in. But at least 44 people have been killed in Katlehong, Tokoza, Vosloorus (2-13) Daveyton and Tembisa since Friday. In Natal, the weekend toll was eight.

Star 10/8/93

ELECTION MODE: The Government's biggest mistake had been to exclude traditional leaders from central government, Foreign Affairs Minister Pik Botha said (30-4A) yesterday. Getting into election mode, Botha said the NP was the only party which would constitutionally guarantee a role for them.

'Klein Koos' bid rejected

Star 10/8/93

■ BY HAYLEY SCHONBORN

Boksburg Conservative Party town councillor Jacobus "Klein Koos" van der Merwe, who had applied for political indemnity, was yesterday told by a Johannesburg magistrate his alleged offences fell outside the dates for which indemnity was valid.

Van der Merwe (41) then pleaded guilty to starting a fire at the office of the Receiver of Revenue in Boksburg on January 3; damaging 150 Boksburg stop signs; being in possession of teargas; and receiving a forged R50 note.

He pleaded not guilty to planting a bomb at the Rand Show on April 4 1992; and to possessing explosives and undesirable publications.

However, he admitted telephoning the SABC after the blast, claiming the Wit Wolwe were responsible.

The trial continues today.

Comment to be sought on borders

Negotiators set to put map to public

Star 10/8/93

(304A) Sec 2

LEADERS in the Negotiating Council also differ in opinion on the proposed nine-region map.

■ **BY CHRIS WHITFIELD**
POLITICAL CORRESPONDENT

The nine-region map proposed for a new South Africa — immersed in controversy since being unveiled a week ago — is set to be put to the public for comment.

In terms of a resolution which the Negotiating Council is expected to adopt today, people in "sensitive" areas will be given a chance to have their say.

This follows debate in the Negotiating Council yesterday which revcaled yawning gaps between parties and considerable dissatisfaction from some quarters.

The resolution, calling for "people and communities who would be directly affected by the boundaries (to) have a further opportunity to contribute to the process", was tabled last night.

Followed

It followed overwhelming support in the council for grassroots consultation on the proposed borders. Negotiators said it was certain to be adopted today.

In terms of the resolution the co-chairmen of the commission would receive submissions and oral evidence from people in "sensitive areas".

The failure of negotiating parties to find much consensus on the boundaries has heightened frustration with recent progress in talks and led to fears that target dates may prove to be overly optimistic.

THE TALKS AND YOU



Yesterday at the World Trade Centre

Regions: Debate on the proposed nine-region map provided evidence of widely divergent views on the issue. Argument continued to rage on the inclusion of Pretoria in the PWV region. However, both the ANC and the Government came out in favour of Johannesburg and Pretoria being embraced in one area. It was also generally agreed that the "people" on the ground should be consulted more in problem areas.

Women: The Negotiating Council marked International Women's Day by appointing a woman — The Transvaal Traditional Leaders' Faith Kekana — as assistant chairman for the day. It also agreed that the Planning Committee should investigate the fact that it has no women in its ranks.

Interim constitution: The critical second draft of the interim constitution has been distributed to the various parties. The question on everybody's lips was: "Is there enough in it to get the IFP back?" It will be debated today.

CHRIS WHITFIELD

Adding to this is the fact that the Inkatha Freedom Party and KwaZulu government will not be back at the talks table this week.

IFP negotiator Walter Felgate said the party's position would be reviewed at a central committee meeting on Saturday.

He said bilateral meetings with the Government and ANC — continuing this week — had made progress but not yet resolved the IFP's concerns.

Some negotiators believe mixed signals coming from the IFP on its return to talks might indicate divisions, but senior party members denied this last night.

Yesterday's debate on the regions was marked by sharp differences on various boundaries. Chief among these was the position of Pretoria, included in the PWV region with Johannesburg. The ANC's Thozamile Botha yesterday supported the proposal, saying: "I don't think it would be in the interests of the (economy of the) country to break the PWV to pieces."

Regional and Land Affairs Minister Andre Fourie congratulated the commission for "maintaining the economic nucleus of South Africa intact".

But the Afrikaner Volksunie said the region should be included in the Eastern Transvaal.

"To us this is a bottom line," warned delegate Moolman Mentz. "Our case for the self-determination of the Afrikaner people has not been considered at all by the delimitation commission," he charged.

The Democratic Party's Colin Eglin also submitted that Pretoria should be outside the PWV region, saying the party "doubts whether it is right to condense economic and governmental power".

Star 10/8/93

DP denies ANC claim

■ BY PATRICK LAURENCE and STAFF REPORTER

The DP's "inflammatory pamphlets", cited by ANC spokesman Ronnie Mamoepa as the reason for the disruption of a DP meeting at Orange Farm, were never distributed at Orange Farm or anywhere else, according to Jack Bloom of the DP.

DP pamphleteering at Orange Farm, in the Vaal Triangle, involved the distribution of a "peace pamphlet" promising that DP speakers would tell people how peace and democracy could be attained, Bloom told The Star. (304A)

He stressed that the DP did not retract the "inflammatory pamphlet" — it was freely available at the DP Johannesburg office — but had decided to distribute a positive pamphlet, stressing what the DP stood for rather than one which attacked its opponents.

■ Angry youths in Orange Farm stoned the offices of the local civic association yesterday, damaging property.

The attack followed rumours that the association had been involved in irregularities in the building of a school.

Star 10/8/93

Mamelodi council 'now penniless'

■ BY NORMAN CHANDLER
PRETORIA BUREAU

Mamelodi City Council, which administers the giant township adjoining Pretoria, is penniless, town clerk J P Nel said yesterday.

Mamelodi is owed R89,8 million by residents for unpaid service accounts, and owes R42 million to Pretoria City Council as well as millions more to other creditors. It is to cut back on electricity supplies, essential services and salaries of staff to prevent the "total collapse of municipal services", said Nel.

"It cannot make ends meet because of a flat rate of R50 per household for services which has been imposed by the local civic association.

"Although some residents pay their accounts in full, many others pay only the R50 flat rate while some do not pay for municipal services at all."

From tomorrow, electricity is to be supplied only during certain periods — from midnight to midday and from 5 pm to 7 pm.

The council was also considering a scaling down of the street refuse removal service.

"We are also compelled to consider further drastic measures to cut back expenses.

■ The Mamelodi Civic Association said it had wanted a writing-off of arrears, a commission of inquiry into alleged corruption and misappropriation, as well as the dismissal of Mamelodi city councillors.

"We will never cut the salaries of workers and will take unprecedented mass action. We will strangle Pretoria with a consumer boycott," the association said in a statement.

"Once corruption is investigated, the Mamelodi community is prepared to pay more than R50."

'I will not allow the whole country to disintegrate into anarchy'

Tough talk from FW

Star 10/8/93

BY KAIZER NYATSUMBA

WITH violence in the townships apparently unstoppable, the President warns of a state of emergency.

As the death toll continued to rise in the killing fields of the East Rand since the massive deployment of troops into the area on Friday, President de Klerk has warned that he might have to declare a state of emergency "with very strict limits" in an effort to contain the carnage.

In an interview with the German newspaper Welt published today, De Klerk — who has often said his Government would consider the declaration of a state of emergency only as a last resort if the country continued to slip towards anarchy — said that was now increasingly becoming a possibility.

"We can declare a state of emergency with very strict limits. I still recoil from that at the moment, but I will not allow the whole country to disintegrate into anarchy," he said.

Remote

Sapa reports he told the interviewer the possibility of a military coup in South Africa was remote because the Government had always enjoyed "an open and trusting relationship" with both the police and the military. Neither did South Africa have a history "of military putsches".

But as De Klerk was interviewed by the German paper, the death toll in Katlehong, Tokoza and Vosloorus continued to rise, with at least 10 more people killed last night.

And while police yesterday reported a marked decrease in violence in these townships since reinforcements were sent in on Friday, peacekeepers have alleged security force "strong-arm tactics" were contributing to the bloodshed.

According to police figures issued yesterday, 44 people have been killed in Katlehong, Tokoza, Vosloorus, Daveyton and Tembisa since the 2 000 extra troops were deployed on Friday, compared with 186 killed between July 31 and August 7. The latest deaths bring the death toll in the area since July 2 to more than 450.

But, a non-government group monitoring the unrest said in Johannesburg earlier that a total of 581 people died in political violence in South Africa in July — the highest monthly toll since August 1990.

Police said 33 bodies were recovered on Sunday alone.

The ANC and the Police Prisons Civil Rights Union (Popcru) yesterday said the security force personnel deployed in the strife-torn townships did not enjoy the credibility of residents to be effective in their work.

"They do not have the trust of the people, so there is no way they can find the people behind the violence," said ANC spokesman Carl Niehaus.

Popcru Transvaal regional chairman Monwabisi Motto said the violence could be better contained if black officers — who had a better understanding of the townships and their residents — were put in charge of township forces.

However, Inkatha Freedom Party Transvaal leader Themba Khoza said he was optimistic the increased deployment of troops would enable people to return to the area more quickly and allow the leaders of organisations to move around more easily.



Ag shame ... Springboks Heinrich Fuls and Chester Williams take time off to cuddle a koala bear at the Lone Pine Sanctuary in Brisbane. ▶ Wallabies get chance to redeem themselves. — Back Page

PICTURE: ANDREW INGRAM

CP vows to resist joint councils

GAVIN DU VENAGE

THE CP yesterday vowed to physically resist the proposed replacement of elected local councils with appointed nonracial administrations in October.

It said violence would have to be used to remove councillors from office in CP-controlled councils. BIDay 10/8/93

CP local government spokesman Pikkie Coetzee said at least two thirds of white town councils had indicated they would resist joint authority with blacks (304A)

"Government will have to use force, or kill us, to get us out," he said. "It will be Ventersdorp all over again, except this time it will be across the country."

Coetzee said a decision to resist the change was reached "unanimously" on Saturday at a special meeting in Boksburg of the CP-run Transvaal Municipal Association, which represents 100 councils.

He said many NP municipalities had attended the meeting and had joined CP councillors in rejecting joint control.

The DP also expressed disquiet over the proposals. DP local government spokesman Jaspar Walsh said that although DP-controlled councils accepted the need for democratic local authorities, he did not think all were going to accept the type of administration planned by the Local Government Negotiating Forum. (252)

Non-right-wingers who advocated democracy were unhappy with the plan for undemocratically appointed administra-

To Page 2

Councils BIDay 10/8/93

From Page 1

tors, who could be in power for as long as 18 months before new local elections, he said. (304A) (252)

ANC local government spokesman Mathole Motshekga said although the organisation did not want confrontation, government would have to maintain law and order during the transition. However, every effort should be made to include right-wingers in the transition process.

Local Government Minister Tertius Delport said government did not favour dismissing serving council members, but wanted their membership expanded to include appointees. Government was against an illegitimate process that simply replaced serving councillors, and the CP had "jumped to conclusions" over the issue.

FW talks of 'emergency'

BONN. — President F W de Klerk said in an interview yesterday he might declare a state of emergency but this would have to be with strict limits. 3049 234

"I still recoil from that at the moment. But I will not allow the whole country to disintegrate into anarchy," the Welt newspaper quoted him as saying. — Sapa-Reuter CT 10|8|93

Call for new report on regions

Own Correspondent

JOHANNESBURG. — Negotiators struggled to agree yesterday on future regions for South Africa, requesting that the report be redrafted and further oral evidence heard.

After a full day's debate, political parties disagreed widely on the nature of the boundaries and a wide variety of problem areas arose.

Many of the parties criticised the draft committee's report for not being specific enough and not taking into account local issues.

At the conclusion of the debate, a draft resolution was tabled calling for further submissions from "people and organisations in sensitive areas identified in the debate".

FW to go abroad 18/8/93

PRESIDENT FW de Klerk is to pay an official visit to four South American countries later this month.

According to Government sources, De Klerk will be accompanied on the week-long trip by a "high-powered" business delegation which will focus on banking, trade and tourism links between the countries and South Africa. 2014A

Volksfront withdraws broadcast threat

DIRK VAN EEDEN

THE Afrikaner Volksfront yesterday withdrew its threat to open an illegal radio station after Home Affairs Minister Danie Schutte explained the procedure for the granting of broadcasting licences. B1 Dow

Volksfront directorate chairman Gen Constand Viljoen said last night Schutte had explained the procedure to him and members of the Afrikaner Kultuurbond, the Volksfront member organisation which planned to open the radio station. 10/8/93

They were satisfied that no licences could be granted until Parliament promulgated new broadcasting legislation.

Earlier yesterday, Volksfront director Gen Tienie Groenewald said the organisation already had the necessary equipment and was considering illegal broadcasts should government not grant it a licence.

"Radio Freedom is still broadcasting illegally and we don't see why we cannot do the same." He said with the new SABC board the ANC had a "massive propaganda machine" while the Volksfront had no access to the electronic media. (304A)

Viljoen emphasised that the radio station would promote Afrikaner culture and would not be a Volksfront propaganda machine. (230)

Star 10/8/93

NP in top gear for election – Pik

(304A)

BY KAIZER NYATSUMBA
POLITICAL CORRESPONDENT

The National Party in the Transvaal has moved into top gear in preparation for next year's first all-inclusive election, according to Foreign Affairs Minister and NP Transvaal leader Pik Botha.

Addressing a press briefing in Johannesburg yesterday, Botha said he was confident that his party would emerge from the watershed election as a strong contender for power.

Botha echoed Deputy Finance Minister Dr Theo Alant's views that the NP was the "only truly national party" appealing to all South Africans across the racial divide in the country.

The ANC was only "an African party".

Botha said that since South Africa would be sliced into at least seven regions, the NP faced the challenge of transforming itself from a provincial to a regional party.

"There will be different approaches from Soweto to Mamelodi, from Venda to Gazankulu. We will survive, he said.

"How on earth can an immigrant from an eastern European country (an apparent reference to SACP chairman Joe Slovo) understand a chief from Venda? We do," he said.

Botha also:

- Criticised the ANC, which he said had "lived on apartheid" and had no viable policies. He also said it must act against its members who intimidated NP members in the townships.
- Said the NP would be the party best worth being supported by donors interested in the improvement of "the overwhelming majority" of South Africans.

W Cape borders 'aren't logical'

(304A)

By BARRY STREEK
Political Staff

11/8/93

CALLS for the Western Cape's borders to remain basically unaltered have been endorsed by the ANC in the region.

The proposed boundaries were illogical and made no economic or political sense, the ANC's regional chairman, Dr Allan Boesak, said.

The boundaries should be drawn up in consultation with the communities and drafted by an elected constituent assembly.

The ANC's regional general council appealed at the weekend to the technical committee and ANC representatives at the multi-party negotiations.

Objections

Karoo and Namaqualand delegates in particular voiced opposition to the proposed borders. The ANC regional council endorsed their views.

ANC opposition follows similar objections by the constitutional work committee of the Regional Development Advisory Committee for Region A.

Dr Boesak said the borders drafted by the delimitation commission would lead to further impoverishment of the Namaqualand and Karoo regions.

"There is a suspicion that these boundaries were put forward by the National Party to improve its election chances."

The ANC's assistant secretary in the region, Mr Willie Hofmeyr, said: "The people in rural areas are almost being used as sacrificial lambs."

Constitution: New draft welcomed

3054F

CT 11/8/93

Own Correspondent

JOHANNESBURG. — The three major power blocs at multiparty talks — the government/NP, the ANC/SACP alliance and the Concerned South Africans Group — have welcomed the second draft of the constitution as a major step towards a final agreement. The report was tabled yesterday at the World Trade Centre.

The draft produced by the constitutional technical committee spelt out the areas over which regional legislatures would have exclusive powers:

- The appropriation of regional revenue and money for financing the government and services of the region;
- Regional planning and development, town planning;
- Firefighting, ambulance services and other civil protection services;
- Language policy and official languages in the regions;
- Regional cultural affairs, traditional authorities and indigenous law;
- Markets;
- Road traffic;
- Delivery of water, electricity and other essential services;
- Regional tourism and recreation;
- Regional public media;
- Regional roads;
- Public transport;
- Casinos, racing and gambling.

Any region may resolve to decline accepting any exclusive powers if it is unable to exercise such competence by reason of lack of administrative, infrastructural or related capacities, but may at any time thereafter call on Parliament to transfer this back.

Parliament may not legislate on matters within the functional areas of regions unless:

- It is necessary for the setting of minimum standards or effective control over delivery of services;
- It is necessary for the maintenance of national standards or to ensure any region does not act prejudicial to another;
- For national economic polices and inter-region commerce and protection of the common market.

Regional governments will have full legislative competence for regional purposes and the national Parliament will have concurrent powers in the following areas:

- Subject to qualifications, taxation for regional purposes;
- Local government;
- Housing;
- Education;
- Health services;
- Welfare services;
- Agriculture;
- Fish and game preservation;
- The environment;
- Public works;
- Regional and local policing and regional correctional services.

Regional powers may not be amended or diminished without the consent of such regional legislatures. Parliament is also constrained in the constitution from exercising its powers "so as to encroach upon the geographical, functional or institutional integrity of a region or in a manner which would deprive a regional government substantially of any of its competences".

BOUNDARY PROPOSALS

Shape of the Cape

The first of a two-part series by TOS WENTZEL of The Argus Political Staff on boundary proposals for the Western Cape region.

ARG 11/8/93
304A

THE Western Cape region which has been demarcated as one of the semi-autonomous areas in proposals for a new constitution, is compact, relatively prosperous and homogeneous, and according to one economist it is, from a purely selfish point of view, "nearly too good to be true".

Compared with most of the other proposed regions, it appears to have one of the best prospects for economic development and stability. But whether it should, or could, be viewed in isolation from other regions is another matter.

It is about this issue that controversy has arisen. In the end the opinions of the inhabitants in various regions could be tested in some way. In discussions in the negotiating council there have been demands for this.

Commercial opinion in the Western Cape, and some economic experts, indicate support for the proposed new Western Cape area but regional development bodies and some politicians have misgivings.

There are especially misgivings about the West Coast area and Namqualand, traditionally associated with the Western Cape, being included in a new Northern Cape region.

Among the criteria which had to be taken into account by the commission which was charged with drawing up the regions, were historical boundaries including provincial, magisterial and [illegible]

The bulk of the Western Cape's population is aged between 15 and 64 with a slight preponderance of males to females (51,1 percent to 48,9 percent).

The percentage growth in urbanisation is 2,5 per cent a year, lower than all but three of the other eight regions.

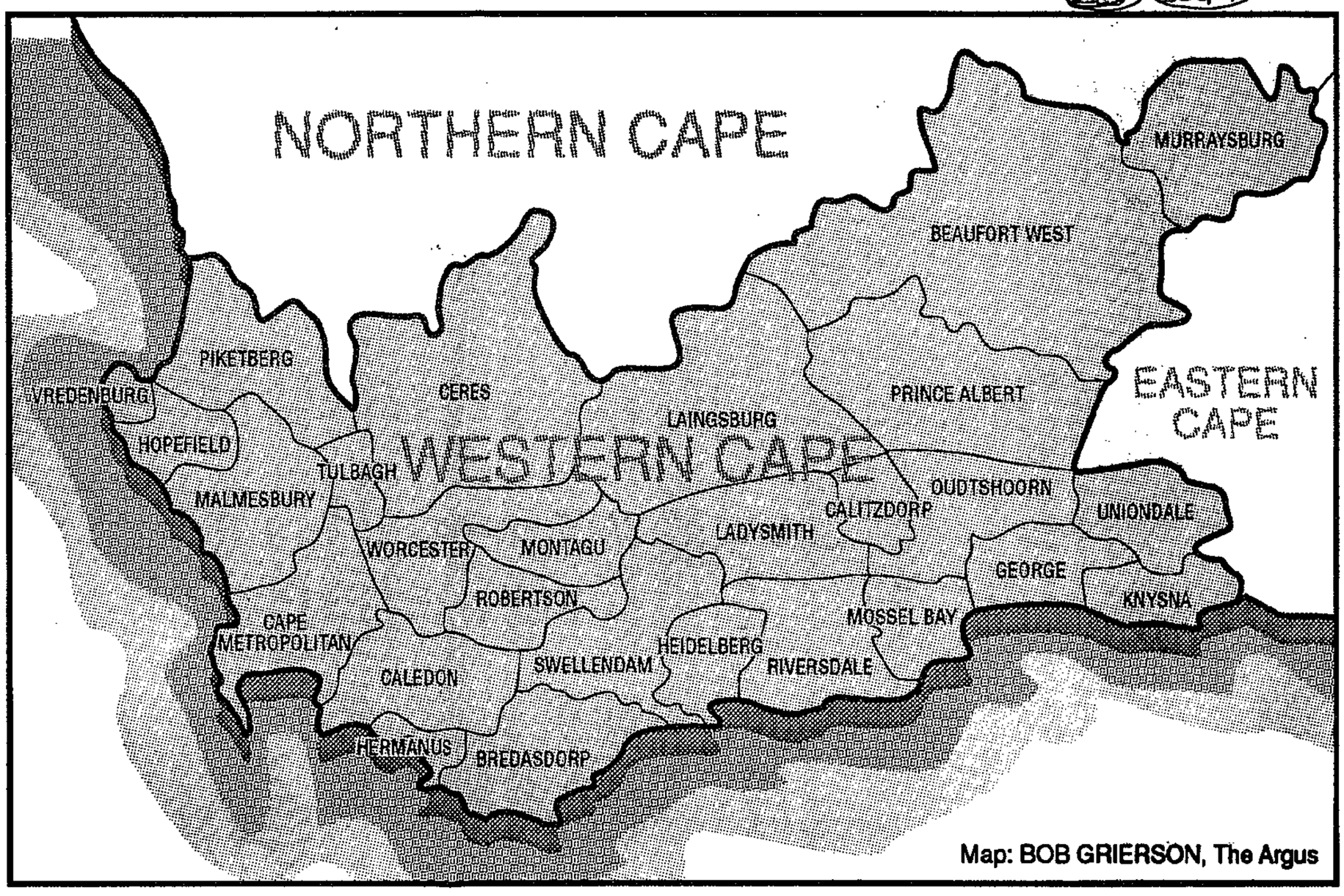
One of the region's biggest assets, however, is that is has by far the country's lowest illiteracy rate — only 8,5 percent of the economically active population compared with 12,5 percent in the PWV area which has the second lowest rate of illiteracy.

The region also has the country's highest population absorption capacity, and the country's second lowest official unemployment rate (9,6 percent).

At R15-billion the Western Cape has the country's third highest gross geographic product.

Except for the PWV area which has a per capita income of R4 575 the Western Cape leads all other regions with a per capita income of R4 373, but the region lags behind in the average annual growth of its gross product — 1,8 percent to 1,9 in Kwazulu-Natal, 3,3 percent in the Eastern Transvaal and 4,3 in the Northern Transvaal.

The largest component of the region's economy is manufacturing, being responsible for almost a quarter of the gross product and the lowest component is mining which constitutes 0,2 percent of GGP. Agriculture provides 8,5 percent of the GGP, almost half as much as commerce



The proposed Western Cape region: "nearly too good to be true".

ations including the availability or non-availability of infrastructures and nodal points for services;

- The need or otherwise to rationalise existing structures;
- The necessity of limiting financial and other costs as much as reasonably possible;
- The need to minimise inconvenience to people;
- The need to minimise the dislocation of services;
- Demographic considerations;
- Economic viability;
- Development potential;
- Cultural and language realities.

The demarcation commission says the Western Cape region is economically functional, with the core being the highly industrialised Cape Town metropolitan centre.

"It is an economically viable region because of its well-developed and diversified industrial base and its successful commercial agricultural production.

"The region as an entity will be able to generate a sufficient income base to meet the needs of its population.

"With the national legislative capital and the Cape provincial administration capital, the Western Cape has sufficient institutional and administrative capacity to manage the development of the area and to undertake the necessary planning, policy and administrative functions associated with effective governance.

"There are also adequate tertiary and other training institutions to facilitate capacity building in areas where it is currently deficient," according to the commission's report.

"The Western Cape is a heterogeneous region comprising primarily Afrikaans, Xhosa and English-speaking people.

"It forms a geographically compact region with an urban base."

Even those opposed to tne new demarcation agree with the commission's description but they remain unhappy about the exclusion of the North-West Cape and Namaqualand.

In the present development region A these areas form one unit.

The development information group of the Development Bank of Southern Africa has worked out many salient points of the proposed new regions.

The proposed Western Cape will have an area of 108 600 square kilometres, only a third as big as the Northern Cape region and smaller than the Free State, the Eastern Cape and the Northern Transvaal.

It has a population of 3 392 000 with an urbanisation level of 86,1 percent.

The coloured population is the largest at more than 59 percent, followed by the whites at 22,1 percent. The black population is under 18 percent and the Asian population about 0,7 percent.

The Western Cape would have the second highest percentage of whites after the PWV region where whites comprise 24,6 percent of the population and it has the lowest percentage of blacks in the country.

The largest employers in the Western Cape are financial institutions which provide 17,9 percent of jobs followed by construction (17,7 percent) manufacturing (15,8 percent) and commerce (14,4 percent).

Agriculture employs 12;9 percent of the workforce and services (other than financial services) 11,9 percent.

At 67,2 percent the Western Cape is exceeded only by the PWV area (70,9 percent) in the ratio of economically active workers to those who are potentially economically active.

With 1,3 people supported by each economically active person the region is also better positioned than seven of the other eight regions.

In the growing debate over the proposed boundaries of the new regions in South Africa, one of those who agrees most strongly with the plan for the Western Cape is Mr Wolfgang Thomas, a specialist in regional economics.

He said that that, viewed from inside, the newly-demarcated Western Cape region suggested "we would seem to have much cause for satisfaction".

It was clear that some compromises had had to be found .

The exclusion of the vast northern areas and the inclusion of George, Knysna and Oudtshoorn had strengthened the binodal character of the region.

This in itself may help to develop the coastal as well as the Breede River-Calitzdorp areas of the Southern Cape which were important economic areas with considerable potential to absorb more black immigrants into the region.

Including Saldanha, Ceres, Worcester and Beaufort West also made a lot of sense in terms of the Cape Town-Saldanha metropolitan axis as well as the further economic and settlement expansions in the Boland and the development support for the thinly populated towns along the northern road and rail routes.

From a macro-economic perspective the Western Cape had the potential to be South Africa's economically most balanced and even most dynamic growth region. The spread between agriculture, tourism, industry, educational services, retirement settlements and a strong public sector almost guaranteed future rapid development.

Mr Thomas said that "in the light of our relatively better resources in this area we may be treated less generously when it comes to central government development subsidies.

"Let us not forget that our goal is regionalism as an instrument of more peaceful and effective political and economic 'rule' in a united South Africa.

"In the absence of watertight confederate boundaries and with, hopefully, the prevention of oppressive regional 'beggar-thy-neighbours' nationalism our economy should still be based on the rational interaction of the competitive advantages of each region, sub-region and metropolitan area."

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ARG 11/8/93 304A

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Among the criteria which had to be taken into account by the commission which was charged with drawing up the regions, were historical boundaries including provincial, magisterial and district boundaries, and infrastructure.

Others were:

- Administrative considerations including the availability or non-availability of infrastructures and nodal points for services;
- The need or otherwise to rationalise existing structures;
- The necessity of limiting financial and other costs as much as reasonably possible;

The bulk of the Western Cape's population is aged between 15 and 64 with a slight preponderance of males to females (51,1 percent to 48,9 percent).

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One of the region's biggest assets, however, is that is has by far the country's lowest illiteracy rate — only 8,5 percent of the economically active population compared with 12.5 percent in the PWV area which has the second lowest rate of illiteracy.

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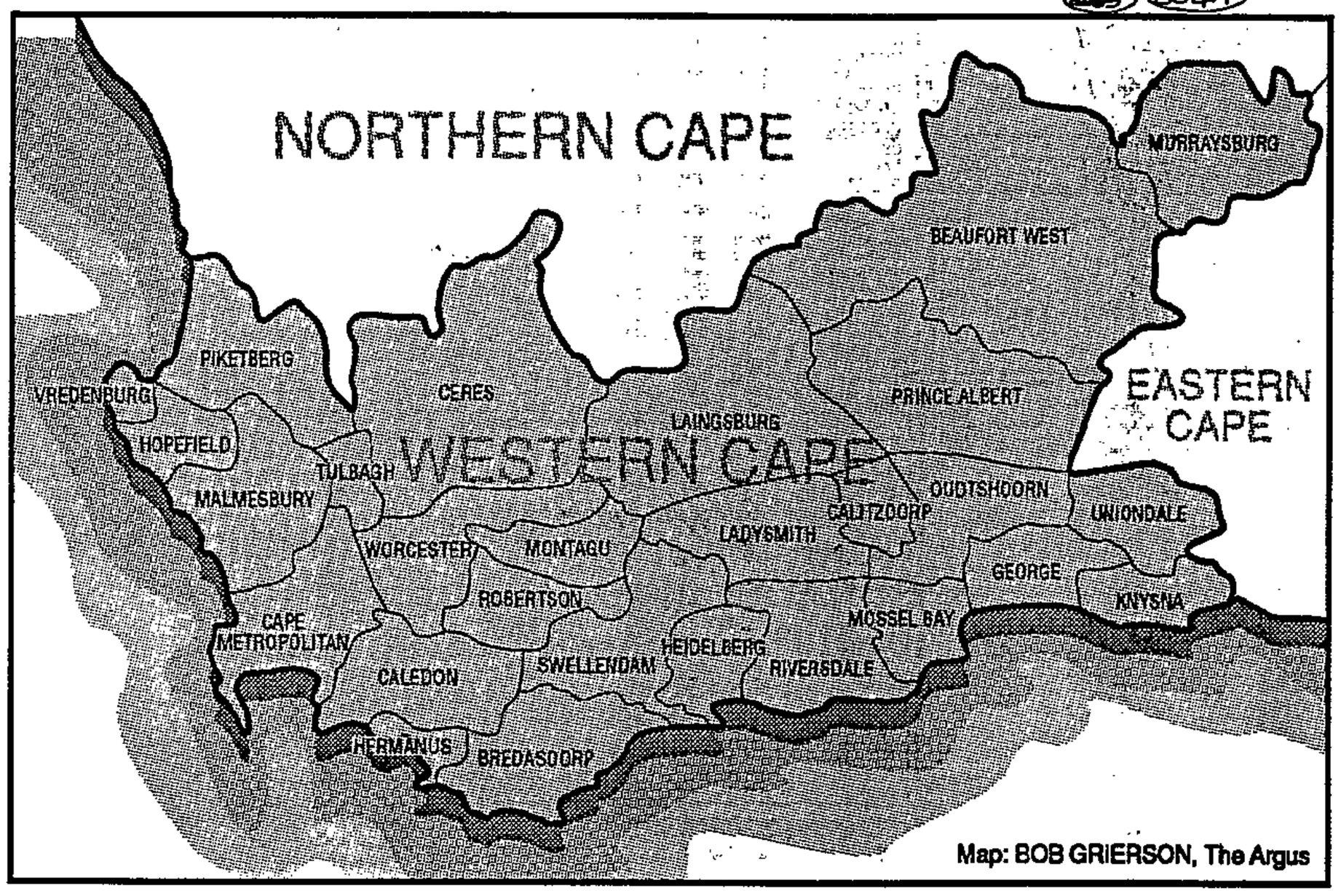
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11/8/93

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Picture: HANNES THIART, The Argus.

NO PROMO: DP Youth members at the University of the Western Cape pack away pamphlets yesterday after being told they needed permission for a promotion on campus.

304A ARG 11/8/93

Row after UWC halts DP promotion

STEFAANS BRÜMMER
Staff Reporter

THE Democratic Party is to ask for talks with University of Western Cape authorities after a DP Youth promotion on the campus was disrupted twice — by students, then on a "technicality".

Yesterday DP Youth members returned to set up a table with pamphlets in the student union, but university rector Jakes Gerwel asked them not to do so pending written permission from the campus coordinator.

DP Youth members acknowledged they had not sought permission.

On Monday the table was barricaded, a banner was torn and pamphlets were set alight by students who, according to DP Youth, identified themselves as ANC members.

A university statement deplored the "disruption of free and democratic political activity" and promised an investigation but said the perpetrators "according to our information do not belong to a specific political grouping".

DP Youth regional chairman Ryan Coetzee said the DP regional executive would ask for a meeting with university authorities, and that the national executive of DP Youth had contacted the ANC Youth League national executive to discuss freedom of political activity.

Mr Coetzee criticised Professor Gerwel's insistence that permission for the table was necessary, but said it would be sought and that the promotion would continue.

He said he was aware permission was necessary, but that not getting it had been a "minor oversight".

"I'm from UCT and it would never have occurred to me to get permission just for a simple table and pamphlets. To exercise your freedom of speech is not a controversial matter, it is a simple right."

New constitutional deal not enough for the IFP

ARG 11/8/93 304A

Political Staff

THE second draft of the Interim Constitution in the Negotiating Council has increased powers for regions — but appears not enough to satisfy the Inkatha Freedom Party.

Negotiators at the World Trade Centre were generally encouraged by the draft and said the inclusion of "exclusive" powers for the first time significantly strengthened the federal character of a constitution for the new South Africa.

Last night the Kwazulu cabinet was still meeting on the issue and a top negotiator said a formal response to the second draft would be made during the week.

But he said that while there had been "some tokenism to meet some of our objections", the second draft remained substantially the same as the first, tabled two weeks ago.

"It retains the worst elements — the two-phased process, the deadlock-breaking mechanism and no mechanism to ensure that the regions will have constitutions before elections. It also allows the Constituent Assembly to finalise the regions," he said.

Although the second draft does not appear to contain enough to lure the IFP back to the talks table immediately, its meetings with the government and ANC are progressing.

The report said an SPR (states/provinces/regions) government "shall have exclusive legislative competences, including all necessary ancillary powers" in a variety of areas, including:

- The "appropriation of SPR revenue and moneys for financing the government and services of the SPR".
- SPR planning and development as well as town planning.
- Firefighting, ambulance services and other civil protection services.
- Language policy and languages for official use in the SPR.
- SPR cultural affairs,traditional authorities and indigenous law.
- Delivery of water, electricity and other essential services.
- SPR tourism, recreation, media, roads and public transport.
- Casinos, racing and gambling.

The report directs that parliament will not legislate on these matters except when necessary for the setting of minimum standards, the maintenance of national standards or security, the promotion of inter-SPR commerce and to prevent "unreasonable action" by one SPR against another.

Visit to troubled areas postponed

Sowetan 11/8/93

(3044)

By Themba Molefe
Political Correspondent

■ **LAST MINUTE** Politicians warned their lives could be at risk:

A PLANNED VISIT TODAY to the strife-torn East Rand townships by the 23-party negotiating council was postponed at the last minute yesterday because of a mass funcral and stayaway in Tembisa.

The question of security for the politicians had also not been adequately addressed, according to current multiparty planning committee chairman Mr Pravin Gordhan, who made the announcement late yesterday.

This is the second postponement in two weeks by the negotiators, who were last week warned by the police and residents that their lives could be at risk.

The politicians were to leave the World Trade Centre in two buses.

Yesterday's talks at the World Trade Centre centred on the draft of the interim constitution.

The council decided to refer decisions on the demarcation of boundaries and regions "back to the people", especially in "sensitive" areas.

The commission on boundaries, which earlier recommended nine regions for South Africa, has been charged with gathering oral evidence from people at grassroots level.

It will further analyse submissions from participants in the constitutional talks and make recommendations.

The Pan Africanist Congress reserved its position on this resolution saying it was "against the cutting up of the country".

PAC negotiator Mrs Patricia de Lille said the organisation maintained that an elected constituent assembly was the only qualified body to decide on regions and not the present forum.

The Afrikaner Volksunie put up a strong case for its demand for an Afrikaner state and the right to self-determination. On the other hand, the Government and African National Congress said constitutional principles already agreed upon provided for the self-determination of any group which had a majority in a particular region.

In an attempt to reassure obviously angry AVU negotiators Mr Moolman Mentz and Mrs C Kruger, ANC chief negotiator Mr Cyril Ramaphosa said self-determination was still a matter for debate and would continue to be tabled. Minister of Constitutional Affairs Mr Roelf Meyer said the Government was not opposed to the concept of self-determination provided it was exercised within the confines of the constitution.

Powers for new regions boosted

■ BY ESTHER WAUGH and CHRIS WHITFIELD

The second draft of the Interim Constitution tabled yesterday in the Negotiating Council has increased powers for regions — but appears not to go far enough to satisfy the Inkatha Freedom Party.

Negotiators at the World Trade Centre were generally encouraged by the draft and said the inclusion of "exclusive" regional powers for the first time significantly strengthened the federal character of a constitution for the new South Africa.

Last night the KwaZulu Cabinet met on the issue and a top negotiator said a formal response to the second draft would be made this week.

Tokenism

But he said that while there had been "some tokenism to meet some of our objections", the second draft remained substantially the same as the first, tabled two weeks ago.

"It retains the worst elements: the two-phased process, the deadlock-breaking mechanism, and no mechanism to ensure that the regions will have constitutions before elections. It also allows the constituent assembly to finalise the regions," he said.

Although the second draft does not appear to contain enough to lure the IFP back to the talks table immediately, its meetings with the Government and the ANC are continuing. These talks are understood to be progressing well.

In its report, the technical committee on constitutional

▶ To Page 3

Star 11/8/93

Powers for regions boosted

◀ From Page 1

matters said: "Put simply, original powers vested in SPRs (states/provinces/regions) that are derived from the constitution cannot be withdrawn by the national government, nor can they be changed without amending the constitution itself."

It said an SPR government "shall have exclusive legislative competences, including all necessary ancillary powers" in a variety of areas, including:

- The "appropriation of SPR revenue and money for financing the government and services of the SPR".
- SPR planning and development as well as town planning.
- Firefighting, ambulance and other civil protection services.
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It directs that Parliament will not legislate on these matters except when necessary for the setting of minimum standards, the maintenance of national standards or security, the promotion of inter-SPR commerce and the prevention of "unreasonable action" by one SPR against another.

Parliament would have "concurrent legislative competence" for housing, education, health services, welfare services, agriculture, fish and game preservation, the environment, public works, SPR and local policing.

The powers of an SPR government in these areas would be constrained only to the extent that the legislation passed by the central government "expressly or by necessary implication limits the legislative competence of SPR government".

Constitutional Development Minister Roelf Meyer said the draft addressed the Government's concerns on exclusive powers to regions, but several areas still had to be negotiated.

ANC secretary-general Cyril Ramaphosa said the document was "something to build on".

SA Communist Party delegate Sam Shilowa described it as "a lot better" than the first one.

THE TALKS AND YOU



Yesterday at the World Trade Centre

REGIONS: The Negotiating Council yesterday resolved to establish a sub-committee to hear further submissions from residents and organisations in 'sensitive areas'.
The Afrikaner Volksunie asked that the right to Afrikaner's right to self-determination be included in the sub-committee's brief. The party claimed that its submissions to the Commission on Regions had not been taken into account.
The Pan Africanist Congress reserved its position on the resolution while the AVU opposed it.
INTERIM CONSTITUTION: The second draft of the Interim Constitution, tabled yesterday, gives for the first time exclusive powers to the regions. Negotiators said the provision strengthened the federal character of the Interim Constitution.
SYMBOLS: The Negotiating Council accepted a proposal by the planning committee that a commission be established to make recommendations on national symbols for the transition.

CHRIS WHITFIELD

PERISCOPE

Sipho and the DP meeting



Ransacked . . . Themba Mazibuko, an official of the Orange Farm Civic Association, inspects the damage caused by youths. PICTURE: JOHNNY ONVERWACHT

Star 1/8/93

■ BY HAPPY NKHOMA

Sipho Zwane (not his real name) is an angry young man.

He told The Star yesterday that he took part in an attack on a Democratic Party meeting in Orange Farm on Saturday, and said he was prepared to do it again. (HH)

Sipho, who refused to give his identity, is about 19, unemployed and not very hopeful about the future. He shares a home with his large family, none of whom works.

Sipho is very hostile to white political organisations and does not believe blacks and whites share common political beliefs. (304A)

He said he saw no reason why whites who had "enjoyed the luxury of apartheid should see themselves as compatriots of the suffering blacks". The DP members had enjoyed voting rights for years, but now that "their rule" was ending they wanted the support of their victims, he argued.

Unwilling to be "used by op-

▶ To Page 3

Star 1/8/93

'I helped disrupt rally'

◀ From Page 1

portunists", the youths had disrupted the DP rally at the local stadium on Saturday, Sipho said.

The anger the youths demonstrated towards the DP at the weekend has now shifted to the Orange Farm Civic Association.

Yesterday militant youths gathered outside the office of the civic association, accusing it of allowing the DP to canvass in the area. (HH)

The offices of the association were stoned and vandalised by the youths on Monday. (304A)

The activists found DP membership cards in the offices and concluded that the association was recruiting for the DP.

They gathered outside the offices yesterday to take "care of the traitors", some of the youths said.

Sipho said the association was under fire from the community and the youths because it was perceived as collaborating with the Transvaal Provincial Administration and whites.

In a heated meeting at a school yesterday, the local ANC, PAC, Azapo and other youths called for the disbanding of the civic association, saying it was not elected by the community.

Goodman Godongwane, co-ordinator of the civic association, denied that his organisation supported the DP.

He said the membership cards were given to the association by Orange Farm residents who had complained about DP canvassing in the area.

"From the minute I heard that the DP was organising in this area, I knew there would be fire," Godongwane said.

Pik 'unhelpful' on ANC

Friday 11/6/93

IAN HOBBS

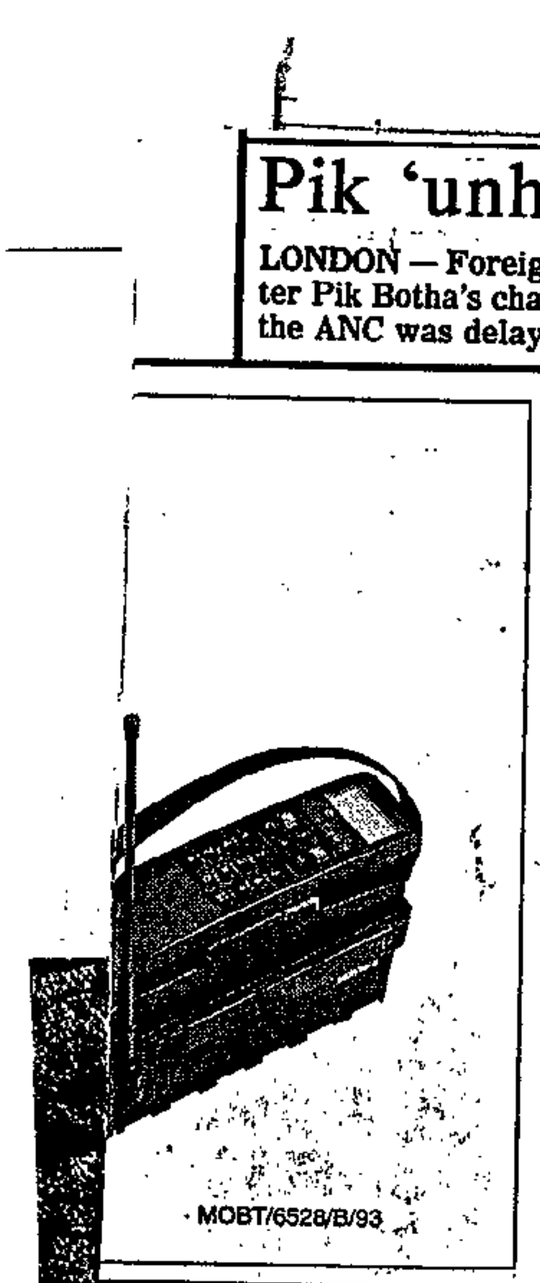
LONDON — Foreign Minister Pik Botha's charge that the ANC was delaying registering as a political party to receive more aid from Scandinavia was dismissed in Stockholm last night as "deliberately unhelpful".

A senior Swedish government official said Botha had to be aware that funds proposed for the ANC in the 1993/94 fiscal year had been frozen while Nordic bloc legal experts reviewed its status ahead of the April 27 elections. (3044)

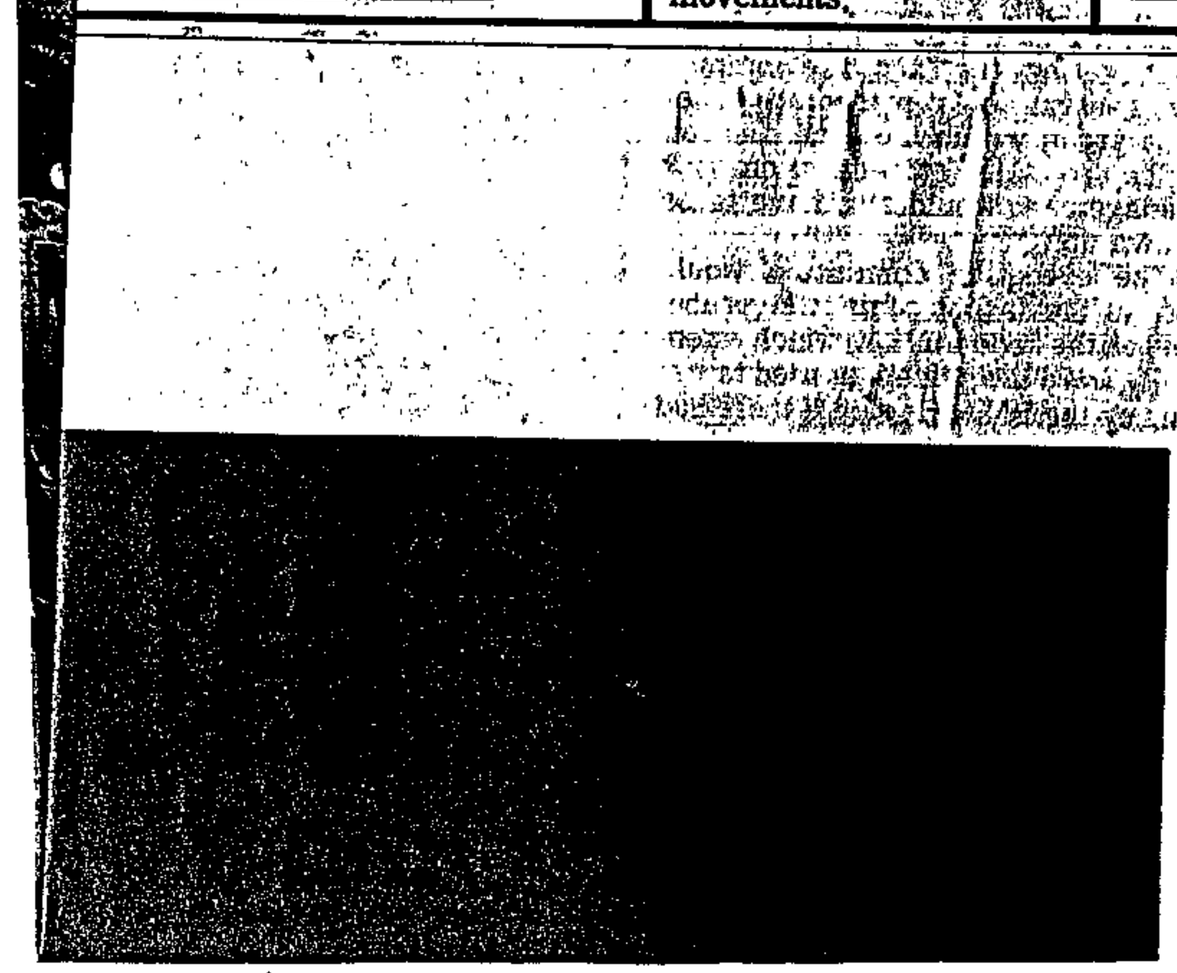
Under Nordic bloc common law it is illegal to provide funds to foreign political parties, although "repressed movements" may receive assistance.

A development assistance department spokesman said a decision would be made in September.

The bloc was considering proposing a central fund to assist previously oppressed movements.



MOBT/6528/B/93





Change of tack on TBVC issue

Bl Bay 11/8/93

CONSTITUTIONAL drafters have made an about-face, urging the continuation of homeland and TBVC administrations past elections and ditching an earlier suggestion that regions be quickly consolidated.

The changes were apparently designed to accommodate the fears of homeland governments that their administrations would be dismantled abruptly and had raised hopes that some of the fears of parties outside the negotiations would be assuaged.

The new constitutional draft tabled at negotiations yesterday made provision for the reincorporation of the TBVC states and the homelands.

However, instead of recommending the establishment of "a single consolidated SPR (state, province, region) as expeditiously as possible", the new draft said administrative structures "shall continue to perform the functions which they previously performed".

The draft recommended that the national and SPR governments would have to co-operate in rationalising the administrations, but urgency was not mentioned.

It said that the national and SPR governments would establish administrative structures and institutions and employ the personnel needed for the performance of functions undertaken by them.

The new draft placates civil servants by guaranteeing them not only job security but also salaries. It states that the personnel "shall be deemed to be in the employ of, and shall be entitled to be remunerated on the same basis as they were previously remunerated".

TIM COHEN

For the first time, the draft included a mechanism to cope with possible disagreements that could arrise in the rationalising of administrations and institutions, referring difficulties to the proposed commission on regions.

The draft, like the old draft, made provision for the continuing applicability of laws passed by governments incorporated into a particular region. (402B)

The draft foresaw the quick consolidation of legislation, saying "parliament and the legislatures of the SPRs will undertake the consolidation and unification of the laws as expeditiously as possible".

Section 119 of the proposed interim constitution stated that the administrative institutions and structures of provisional self-governing territories and the TBVC states would continue to perform the functions they performed before the proposed constitution came into operation.

"The personnel shall continue in the posts they occupied immediately before the coming into operation of this (interim) constitution and shall continue to perform the functions which they previously performed," the section said.

Likewise, the national government would continue to be responsible for the functions which formed part of a government department of the existing government, the draft said.

It was envisaged that this structure would form the basis for an eventual consolidation.

The section is likely to be discussed by negotiators today.

Oral evidence called for on 'sensitive' areas

Bl Bay : COHEN 11/8/93

TWO new investigations were initiated by negotiators yesterday — the first to hear more evidence on regional boundaries and the second to recommend new national symbols, including at least four optional flags.

After lengthy and often fractious debate on regional boundaries on Monday, negotiators at the World Trade Centre resolved that local communities and organisations should be given another chance to argue their cases.

Negotiators resolved to ask the co-chairmen, assisted by other members of the drafting commission, to receive oral evidence on "sensitive areas". The commission would then prepare a technical report evaluating the information and indicating the application of criteria and reasons for and against establishing different regions.

The resolution emphasised that "the people and communities who would be directly affected by the boundaries ... should have a further opportunity to contribute to the process of regional demarcation".

Negotiators also passed a resolution calling for a commission of between 10 and 15 people to be set up before August 17 to recommend at least four flags and coats of arms, a seal and an anthem for the transitional period. As this was an "extremely emotional issue" it would have to be dealt with with the utmost sensitivity. The commission, which would make its recommendations before November, would be asked to take into account the diversity of the population but concentrate on the unifying functions the symbols would serve.

A debate on Walvis Bay was postponed despite the Namibian foreign affairs ministry's call for its return.

The postponement came after the submission of a PAC resolution, supported by several other parties including the ANC, calling on government to be mandated to promulgate legislation to transfer Walvis Bay to Namibia "as a matter of urgency" (302)

In a news release circulated at the talks, Namibia's foreign affairs ministry said government had claimed it could not take a unilateral decision. (304A)

The draft resolution had given SA's government an opportunity for a decision taken jointly by leaders representing all political viewpoints.

Namibia's cabinet welcomed the "timely and farsighted initiative by the overwhelming majority of participants at the World Trade Centre".



PACKING UP . . . Democratic Party members pack up yesterday after UWC authorities ordered them to close down an information table. They are (from left) Ms Carol Johnson, Mr Ryan Coetzee, the DP Youth's regional chairman, Mr Steve Ntswane, a member of the Youth's regional executive, Mr Denzil Coulson, also a regional executive member, Mr Ashley Basson, a DP member at UWC, and Mr Colin Habanie, a regional executive member. — Picture: BARRY STREEK

CT 11/8/93. (6D) 3D(A)

UWC orders DP to pack up

By BARRY STREEK
Political Staff

THE Democratic Party Youth returned to the University of the Western Cape yesterday, but 15 minutes later the university's administration ordered it to remove an information table, said regional chairman Mr Ryan Coetzee.

Mr Coetzee said there were no other disruptions and in the short time they had been able to operate they had signed up eight new members.

The DP Youth had operated information tables at the University of Cape Town and Stellenbosch University without any restrictions and would return to UWC again today.

"The DP Youth are determined to go back to UWC every day until we are able to hold a peaceful information table there. We do not accept that there can be any reason why we cannot hand out pamphlets and talk to students about the DP," Mr Coetzee said.

On Monday, a DP information table was overturned at UWC, pamphlets burned and banners pulled down by people the DP Youth claimed were ANC representatives.

The ANC condemned these actions and said it could not be held responsible for everyone claiming to be its supporter.

The DP's regional chairman, Mr Jasper Walsh, said in a separate statement that the DP believed these actions formed part of a deliberate ANC policy to stifle political opposition. "ANC leadership, despite claiming a belief in democracy, has demonstrated a total lack of control over the violent, intimidatory actions of its members."

Regions revamp

CT 11/8/93 304A

Own Correspondent

JOHANNESBURG. — Local communities and organisations are to be given a second chance to argue for regional boundaries, negotiators at the constitutional talks at the World Trade Centre in Kempton Park decided yesterday.

The agreement came after lengthy and fractious debate on regional boundaries.

It was resolved to ask the co-chairmen, assisted by members of the drafting commission, to receive oral evidence on "sensitive areas".

The commission would then prepare a report evaluating the information and indicating the application of the criteria and reasons for and against establishing different regions.

The resolution emphasised that "the people and communities who would be directly affected by the boundaries ... should have a further opportunity to contribute to the process of regional demarcation".

Yesterday Constitutional Development Minister Mr Roelf Meyer said: "It is a more comprehensive document and more representative of how the final constitution will look. The shortcomings of the first draft have been effectively addressed."

However, he said, there were still problems with the constitution-making body's deadlock-breaking mechanism, and further clarification was required on the nature of the concurrent powers shared between regions and the central government.

Mr Meyer said he was still confident of meeting the end-August deadline for finalising legislation that has to go before Parliament in September.

ANC secretary-general Mr Cyril Ramaphosa said it was a good document that provided a solid base from which to negotiate a final settlement.

In their reaction, the Democratic Party claimed credit for getting the border issue referred to the people.

However, Conservative Party MP Mr Willem Botha said the CP demanded "self-determination for our people and seeks the same for other nations in a confederate system".

Negotiators also passed a resolution calling for a commission of between 10 and 15 people to be set up before August 17 to recommend at least four flags and coats of arms, a seal and an anthem for the transitional period.

The commission, which must make its recommendations before end-October, was asked to concentrate on the unifying functions that the national symbols must serve.

The second draft is still not a complete constitution but besides the proposed changes to regions it contains more technical details. — Own Correspondent and Sapa

● Second draft welcomed — Page 2



MURDER SCENE ... Mortuary workers remove the body of nine-year-old Lorenzo Naidoo from where he was found murdered in Ui sig, Elsie's River. Horrified children and curious adults look on. **INSET:** Lorenzo Naidoo. Picture: ALAN TAYLOR

Support for enforceable political code of conduct

ET 11/8/93 (B04A)

Political Staff

MOST major political organisations yesterday backed the drafting of an enforceable code of conduct for political groups and sanctions against those whose supporters contravened it.

This follows recent disruption of Democratic Party activities by alleged ANC supporters in the Transvaal and University of the Western Cape.

DP leader Dr Zach de Beer called for a meeting of political leaders and the Goldstone Commission to draft a binding code of conduct for all political groups. The ANC, IFP and NP added support.

Flag and anthem to be debated

(SOWA) ARGT 11/8/93

JOHANNESBURG. — Democracy negotiators have agreed to appoint a commission to make recommendations on the national symbols for South Africa's constitution for the transitional period.

The proposal was accepted without debate at the World Trade Centre at Kempton Park.

Delegates said privately they expected the debate to begin once the 10-member planning committee made its recommendations on the composition of the commission.

The "commission on national symbols" will comprise at least 10 but not more than 15 members.

Those taking part in talks were asked to lodge nominations for the commission on or before Tuesday, August 17.

The planning committee, in turn, has to make its recommendations on the composition of the commission to the council on or before August 19.

It added that the commission on national symbols would have to make its recommendations to the Negotiating Council, or to any body that might at that time have replaced the council, "on a national flag, a coat of arms, a seal and an anthem". — Sapa.

Star 11/8/93

Pre-election peace call

Democratic Party leader Dr Zach de Beer yesterday called on all political leaders in the country to join him in a drive to reduce violence in the lead-up to next year's election. (304A)

Speaking at a Liberty Life conference in Transkei, De Beer said tolerance of others' views was an essential part of a multiparty democracy. It was imperative all political leaders came together "to minimise violence in the period up to and following the election". — Political Correspondent.

Economists and politicians clash on new W Cape region

☐ Another chance for communities to argue case on boundaries

The second and final part of a series by TOS WENTZEL of The Argus Political Staff on boundary proposals for the Western Cape.

ECONOMISTS and political parties differ sharply on the boundaries of the proposed Western Cape region and because of the furious debate, communities and organisations are to get another chance to argue where the borders should be drawn.

Philip Black of the school of economics at UCT said he supported the idea of separating the Western Cape from a Northern Cape region which included the north-west Cape.

The socio-economic problems of the Northern Cape were different from those of the Western Cape and it made economic sense to have such separate regions. Their needs and infrastructure differed, said Professor Black.

In the case of the Western Cape the need would be more for the development of low-cost housing and urban infrastructure. In the case of the Northern Cape the emphasis would be more on the development of transport and the the agricultural sector.

He believed in economic interdependence but a Northern Cape region was linked not only to the Western Cape but to other parts of the country. The aim of the exercise was to create a region-based federal system.

Regions would have to be defined in terms of fiscal functions or powers. Ideally a region would be defined in terms of the average cost of providing regional services, Professor Black said.

There would be a need for redistribution from the central government to the regions in terms of agreed efficiency and equity criteria.

Apart from the obvious economic ones, there were also other important criteria such as historical association, language and ethnic association.

Professor Colin McCarthy, professor of economics as the University of Stellenbosch, opposed the idea of cutting off the north-western Cape and Namaqualand from the Western Cape.

He said the inclusion of these areas in a Western Cape region would not affect the viability of the Western Cape as one unit. It would not significantly affect the make-up of the region.

Referring to arguments that the inclusion of a less prosperous area with the Western Cape would cause an undue drain on its fiscal resources, Profesor McCarthy said there would always be regional disparities in all systems of decentralised government.

There would have to be provision for fiscal transfers from the central government to regions to make up for this.

He said there was a good case for a Kimberley area to be included not with the north-west Cape but with the Free State.

Mr Albert Schuitmaker, assistant director of the Cape Town Chamber of Commerce, said that, from a business point of view, the chamber could live with the new concept. It was a reasonable and viable mixture of historical, cultural, political and economic considerations.

If there were strong feelings in the north-western Cape in favour of being included in the Western Cape instead of in a Northern Cape region, these also should be taken into consideration.

But, he pointed out, there were indications of some groups in the north-western Cape being in favour of inclusion in a new Northern Cape region. The delimitation commission received representations to this effect from the Vredendal area.

The chamber had proposed a much bigger region including the north-western Cape and stretching to the border with Namibia, Mr Schuitmaker said.

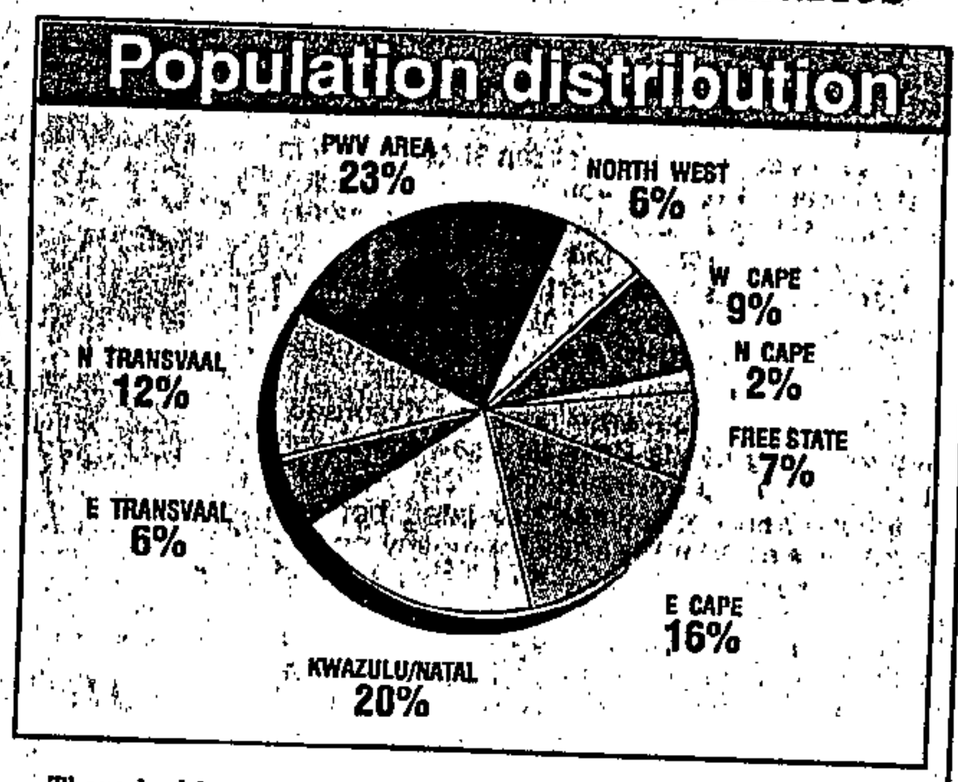
Minister of Regional and Land Affairs André Fourie, who led the government side when the negotiating council considered the proposals for regions, said the borders proposed for the Western Cape agreed with the proposals submitted by the government.

The proposals were not final and would have to be considered further.

Deputy Minister of Constitutionnal Development Fanus Schoeman, who put the National Party's case at the negotating council, said the committee's proposal for a Western Cape region largely agreed with those of the party.

Referring to criticism about certain areas having been left out, he pointed out that the proposed borders were not those of independent states as the new South Africa would have a federal system. These were "soft" borders.

They were not absolutely final and people in various regions would be given the opportunity to make further representations.



There had been no strong natural boundaries to take into consideration in the case of the demarcation of a Western Cape region.

The interests of other regions also had to be considered such as the economic viability of a Northern Cape region without the West Coast area and Namaqualand.

The ANC and the Democratic Party were at one in their opposition to a plan which cut off the north-western Cape and Namaqualand from the Western Cape.

Mr Colin Eglin, MP, one of the chief negotiators of the Democratic Party, said the Western Cape coastal belt and Namaqualand were an integral part of the Western Cape.

While he agreed that the new proposed Western Cape was homogeneous and one of the most prosperous regions in the country, it could not be seen in isolation from other areas. The development of the country as a whole had to be considered.

The interests of the area from Saldanha through Vredenburg, which had always been linked to those of Cape Town and its surroundings, had to be taken into account. These areas should be kept intact as one region. If this was not done, the coastal area and Namaqualand would be left without an administrative and development base.

There were no real links, not even physical ones such as proper roads, linking these areas with the Kimberley area as was proposed in the commission's report.

The commission's report appeared to be an attempt to placate rightwing elements in the Transvaal by creating an area in the Cape Province where there could possibly be a white volkstaat, a "little Israel" for conservative Afrikaners.

The DP could not support a plan which appeared to pander to conservative views in the Transvaal at the expense of development and administrative efficiency in an area which consisted mainly of coloured people.

The DP instead proposed a much larger Western Cape with the Kimberley area having the choice of going in with the Free State.

Mr Thozamile Botha, one of the ANC's chief spokesmen on local government affairs, said that, from a purely parochial point of view, it could be said that the proposed Western Cape region would be strong economically. It was, however, necessary to think of the country as a whole and to have a proper balance of all the regions.

The proposed Northern Cape would be a poor region with fewer than a million people and with no institutional base. It would be necessary to create a new regional centre for it.

It was doubtful whether people in Namaqualand had any socio-economic or ethnic ties with the Kimberley region. The north-western Cape had always had stronger ties with the Western Cape.

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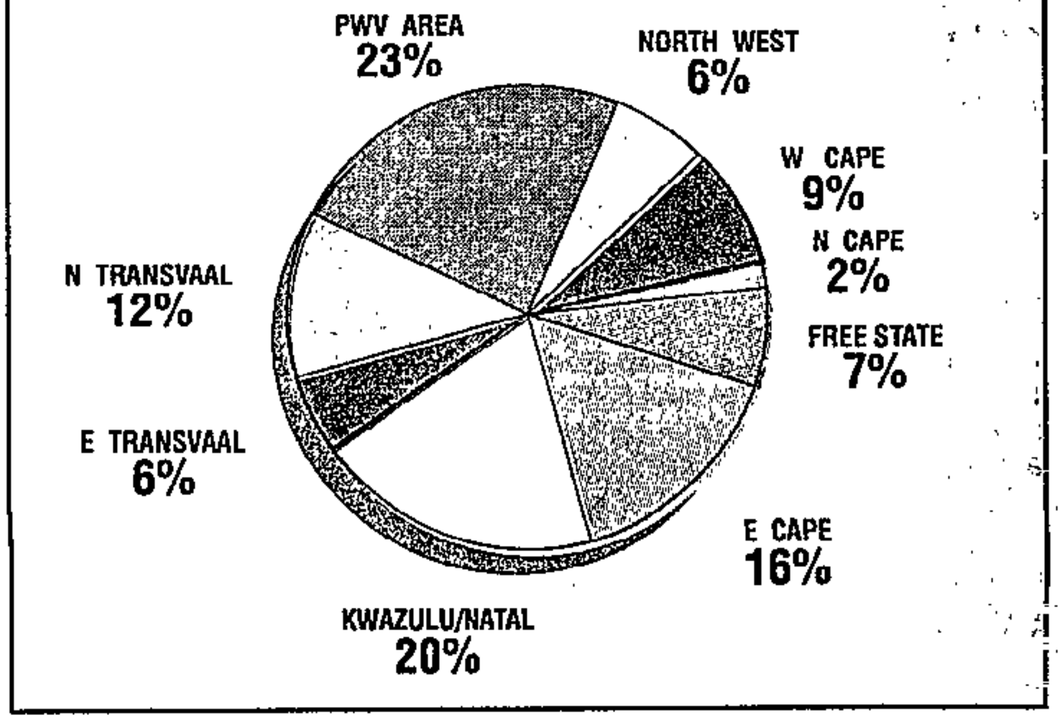
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Population distribution



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I'll leave in 3 years, says Tutu

Political Staff

ARCHBISHOP Desmond Tutu is to hang up his cassock and mitre in three years' time.

The Nobel peace laureate told the 57th session of the Diocesan Synod in Belhar last night: "I give notice that this will almost certainly be my last synod.

"I intend, God willing, to retire in 1996 when I turn 65," he said.

"Thank you for what you have meant to Leah (Mrs Tutu) and me. You have helped me to be an archbishop."

Archbishop Tutu was enthroned as Archbishop of Cape Town and head of the Anglican Church in Southern Africa in September 1986 and turns 65 on October 7, 1996.



GIVES NOTICE: Archbishop Desmond Tutu, who says he expects to retire from his present post in 1996.

Pray for AWB, Anglicans urged

□ Right 'can only win by sharing'

304A
ARG 12/8/93

DENNIS CRUYWAGEN
Political Staff

ARCHBISHOP Tutu has urged Anglicans to pray for the conversion of Eugene Terre'Blanche and his Afrikaner Weerstandsbeweging friends.

Praying for Mr Terre'blanche would show "we say Our Father and not My Father and that therefore he and I are brothers because we belong in one family, God's family, which is a result of our baptism".

Addressing the Diocesan Synod in Belhar last night Archbishop Tutu said Mr Terre'Blanche, the AWB and other rightwingers would not win.

"The only way they can win is to be ready to share in one South Africa for all South Africans, black and white."

The AWB who were Christians were more dangerous, more life-threatening to him than members of the SACP.

"Let us pray that God will touch their hearts so that they will know they are indeed God's children. We want to see our land healed. It has bled enough."

It was easy to become despondent because of the violence.

But September 1989 had shown how awful apartheid could be: 20 people died in Cape Town while protesting peacefully against a racist election and police were ready to use live ammunition against people for walking on God's beaches.

"We must not forget that. Then we will appreciate the miracle of what has taken place after Mr De Klerk's very bold initiatives of February 2, 1990."

Although the violence had many causes, including the rivalry between the ANC and Inkatha Freedom Party, he had always contended that most of it was fomented and orchestrated by a third force.

"We were often pooh poohed for saying so, but now Judge Goldstone admits that there are agents provocateur."

Massacres, such as the St James Church killings, could not be attibuted to the ANC-IFP rivalry because those who killed on trains did not ask for the political or ethic affiliations of their victims.



Mr Eugene Terre'Blanche

"And it is bizarre for the Minister of Law and Order to say that it is a matter between the IFP and ANC. The police are responsible for maintaining law and order and arresting anyone committing a crime."

But the blacks also had to point fingers at themselves.

"What has happened to our ubuntu when we can allow ourselves to be manipulated by evil men and what has happened to us when we can still necklace people and shoot babies?"

He said the economy was in a bad state and needed a kick-start, as he had told President Clinton in their recent meeting.

"One of the conditions I set — a date for democratic elections — has already been met. I hope the second, the installation of a transitional authority with multi-party control over the security forces, will very soon be met as well."

ARG 12/8/93

Disruption of meeting defended

(304A)

Political Staff

JOHANNESBURG. — The South African National Civic Organisation (Sanco) has stoutly defended the disruption of the Democratic Party's meeting at Orange Farm outside Johannesburg at the weekend — and has threatened to continue disrupting DP and National Party meetings in the townships.

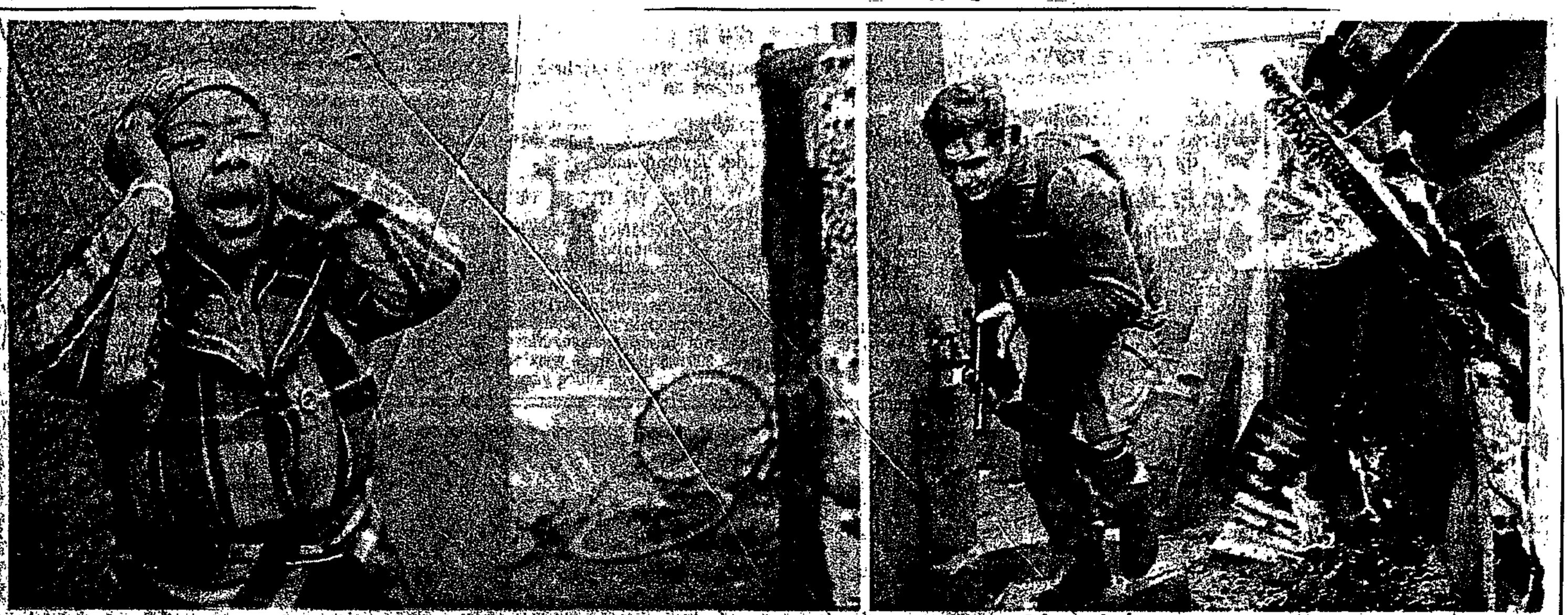
Sanco Southern Transvaal president Kgabisi Mosunkutu said the DP had been repeatedly warned "to stay out of the townships (since) their interference (there) will be regarded as an invasion".

Mr Mosunkutu slated the DP's campaigning in the townships as "attempts to weaken and undermine the verdict of the oppressed nation at the coming election on April 27 next year". These efforts, he said, would be "resisted at all times".

He said the political playing field had not yet been levelled since the NP "and the DP" controlled the security forces.

He also accused DP and NP councillors in Johannesburg of having blocked the establishment of Metro and Local Transitional Executive Councils (TEC) which would signal the levelling of the playing field.

Both Sanco and the ANC-led tripartite alliance have complained about political intolerance and the lack of free political activity in certain areas, chiefly the homelands Kwazulu, Bophuthatswana and Ciskei.



ARG 12/8/93

'Intolerance a threat to elections'

The Argus Correspondent

JOHANNESBURG. — The United Nations Observer Mission (Unomsa) said the unacceptably high levels of violence and political intolerance in South Africa posed a threat to free and fair elections.

Speaking in Johannesburg last night, mission chief Angela King said Unomsa was generally optimistic about negotiations, but felt that violence constituted a serious threat to its progress and to democratic rule.

"Unless these issues are resolved with a spirit of tolerance and understanding it will be difficult to see how free and fair elections can be held."

Unomsa identified the causes of violence as political rivalry between parties, allegations of security force involvement in violence, poor police-community relations and appalling socio-economic living conditions.

Ms King said poor police-community relations were the result of inadequate communication between the two, the inability of the police to change their working habits, the absence of independent investigations of police misconduct and the failure, at times, of security forces and political organisations to abide by the National Peace Accord.

The need to give this accord "teeth" to enable the control of non-compliant parties was seen as urgent, she said.

Ms King emphasised the need for a "speedy reincorporation" of the homelands into South Africa, believing that, without this, it would be difficult to hold fair elections.

The future role of the Press, Ms King said, would lie in voter education — in simplifying and explaining democratic concepts.

"It's necessary that we look at people on the other side of the political divide not as enemies but as fellow human beings with different ideas."

In Maritzburg, deputy-head of Unomsa in South Africa Ismat Steiner said the UN was financially "overstretched" and would not be in a position to meet requests for a large peacekeeping force.

He said the UN was cash-strapped as many major countries had not met their financial commitments to the organisation.

But the UN was still likely to respond positively to an appeal for more limited help.

● President De Klerk last night warned that an election would not be held unless the levels of violence were drastically reduced.

Speaking to about 1 200 people at a rally in the Durban City Hall, he vowed to strengthen the hand of security forces in violence-racked areas.

Mr De Klerk also came out in favour of a regional constitution for Kwazulu/Natal for the first time — a demand of the Inkatha Freedom Party.

But he hit out at the IFP's "semantics about federalism, its walkouts and its filibustering (at negotiations)". ● See page 5

VAAL HORROR: While Inkatha Freedom Party president Chief Mangosuthu Buthulezi spoke at a rally in Tokoza yesterday, mayhem and violence continued there and in Katlehong. The woman on the left screams as she sees her home going up in flames, and in Kwesini hostel a soldier bursts through a burning room.
Pictures: KEN OOSTERBROOK
The Argus Group Picture Service.

Exclusive powers for regions agreed by all

3044A 250 ANC 12/8/93

Political Staff

JOHANNESBURG. — The Negotiating Council has unanimously agreed that regions should have exclusive powers free from central government interference.

The concession by the ANC and its allies has laid a basis for consensus on strong regional government.

Negotiators yesterday discussed their differences on the issues of regional government, among which were those of regional citizenship and the ability of regions to raise revenue.

The parties agreed on 11 exclusive powers for the regions, and indicated several groups wanted to transform concurrent powers, listed in the second draft of the Interim Constitution, to executive powers.

The executive powers over which there was disagreement were referred to the 10-member planning committee.

The executive powers agreed to are the appropriation of revenue for financing regional government and it's services, regional planning and development, town planning, fire-fighting and ambulance services and other civil protection services, official languages in the region, cultural affairs, traditional authorities and indigenous law, markets and pounds, delivery of water, electricity and other essential services, tourism and recreation, and casinos, racing and gambling.

Bophuthatswana and Ciskei argued that provision should be made for regions to raise revenue without central government restrictions.

Chief Bophuthatswana negotiator Rowan Cronje said: "He who holds the purse strings controls the country."

Ciskei government negotiator Mickey Webb submitted that the delivery of services would be delegated to the regions, making neccessary the raising of revenue on a regional basis.

It was also pointed out that residents of the regions would have to be clearly identified for the purposes of voting, taxation and the access to essential services such as health and welfare.

The Afrikaaner Volksunie, Ciskei and Bophuthatswana argued in favour of regional citizenship for these reasons.

● See page 14

ARGUS 12/8/93

Pray for communist friends, ET tells Tutu

MICHAEL MORRIS
Political Correspondent

AFRIKANER Weerstandsbeweging leader Eugene Terre'Blanche has gruffly dismissed Archbishop Tutu's call for prayers for his and his friends' "conversion".

Speaking from the AWB's Ventersdorp headquarters, he said: "I *really* don't need his prayers. I believe in God and I'm a Christian.

"I say he should rather pray for the ungodly communists with whom he works so closely. These are the people whose task it is to depose God, so he should rather pray for them."

● See page 7

Report on polls sent to FW

Sowetan 12/8/93

THE Goldstone Commission is to submit a report by international specialists directly to State President FW de Klerk and the Negotiating Council.

The report was drawn up by an 11-member panel appointed by the commission and was chaired by Watergate attorney Chuck Ruff.

It recommends the creation of a multiparty peacekeeping service and warns that preparations for the elections must get underway immediately.

Judge Richard Goldstone said last week that interested parties would be given the chance to discuss the report with the panel over the next few days, then make submissions to the commission, which would draw up its own findings.

When the commission resumed yesterday afternoon, however, Judge Goldstone said the commission had decided it would make no findings of its own on the panel's report.

"Consideration has ... been given to the fact that the technical committee on elections at the multiparty negotiations at the World Trade Centre is presently considering its report on various aspects of the elections, including the appointment of the Independent Election Commission," he said.

"A number of the parties represented here are participating in the negotiations at the World Trade Centre."

Ruff said yesterday that the report had been revised in the light of the discussions but no substantive changes had been made. — *Sapa.*

Talks take big step forward

Themba Molefe
Political Correspondent

CONSTITUTIONAL negotiations at the World Trade Centre took another step forward yesterday when the parties agreed that regions should have some exclusive powers during transition.

Deliberations on the draft outline of the interim constitution were completed and will resume after recommendations have been made to the multiparty planning committee.

During the debate, some of the nominally independent TBVC states and the Afrikaner Volksunie felt that some concurrent powers should remain exclusive to the regions without being influenced by the central government.

However, there was a lengthy debate on the right of regions to have their own tax bases.

The Concerned South Africans Group, representeed in the debate by Bophuthatswana, Ciskei and the AVU, argued that this would enable regions to render adequate services to their communities.

The African National Congress/ South African Communist Party alliance argued that services should be made available to all South Africans regardless of their origin.

Another form of apartheid

SACP negotiator Mr Essop Pahad said: "We cannot allow regions to become another form of apartheid by letting legislation stop our people from moving anywhere where services are available in the country."

Proposals that regional governments should have exclusive powers to functional areas, such as education, health services, welfare, housing and local government, were referred to the multiparty planning committee for recommendation.

Delegates were requested to make submissions to this committee on additional exclusive and concurrent powers.

Discussion on fundamental human rights and violence continues today.

Sowetan 12/8/93

Cosag plans strategy

LEADERS of the Concerned South Africans Group met in Pretoria yesterday to discuss a common future approach to an election strategy and the multiparty constitutional negotiations. — *Sapa.*

Stand up for your rights, voters told

JOHANNESBURG. — Economist and scenario planner Eugene Nyati has delivered some hard-hitting criticism of South African leaders and has called on voters to stand up and be counted.

Mr Nyati said: "The only way to keep leaders on the straight and narrow is to continue to needle them from below."(304A) ARG12/8/93

Addressing the Financial Mail Election Countdown conference outside Johannesburg, he said voters had to understand that complacency would get them only more of what had been delivered during 40 years of National Party apartheid rule.

"If they are complacent they will lay themselves open to worse than they had under the National Party.

"Don't sell your loyalty to leaders. Rent it out to them so you can reserve the right to switch when they start taking you for granted."

Director of the Centre for Africa Studies and a partner in strategic consultancies in Luxembourg and Washington, Mr Nyati said South Africa was one of the few places in the world where a poltician could make more than a good businessman.

He said the African National Congress was guilty of high-level economic illiteracy and that the movement would have to prove itself if it took power.

"It is important that the ANC realises that they are no longer running a liberation movement. When you are in exile you don't have any record to hide. It is easy to come out of prison as a demigod.

"If you worship leaders they begin to think they're God — and why should God be accountable?"

Attacking the government's history of corruption, he said it was refreshing to hear criticism of this. But opposition parties were perhaps also guilty of criticising that corruption simply because they were not benefitting from it.

Mr Nyati nevertheless suggested that a "concocted" government of national unity might not work as well as government by the single stron-

Sapa

Parliament to remain sitting in Cape Town

ARGUS 12/8/93 (3041)

☐ Decision seen as 'political and economic sense'

TOS WENTZEL
Political Staff

PARLIAMENT is to remain in Cape Town.

The negotiating council meeting in Kempton Park has accepted this suggestion in a draft interim constitution.

Political and civic leaders today welcomed the move, saying it made political and economic sense.

Speaking from Johannesburg, Colin Eglin MP, one of the Democratic Party's chief negotiatiors, said the suggestion itself had been accepted by the negotiating council without comment.

The interim constitution laid down that the proposed new two-chamber parliament should sit in Cape Town but had the provision that the Speaker could decide that it could sit elsewhere if this was in the public interest or that of security or convenience on a specific occasion.

Mr Eglin said he had suggested it be made clear that the Speaker act in terms of the standing rules of parliament.

The fact that parliament would sit in Cape Town was therefore no longer an issue.

Mayor of Cape Town Frank van der Velde said the council had for some time lobbied political parties to ensure that parliament stayed in Cape Town, where it had been since 1910.

It would have meant a considerable loss of revenue to the city if parliament was moved. It would make economic sense for the administrative capital to be moved here as well to avoid the annual trek to Cape Town for parliamentary sessions. The same applied to the diplomatic corps.

"The city has always been the centre for progressive thinking and opposition to apartheid."

Allan Boesak, Western Cape leader of the ANC, said the decision was "the only way to go".

"It is dictated by history and it makes eminent political sense.

"A while ago there was the barbaric suggestion that Pretoria should become the legislative capital as well.

"I am happy that commonsense is prevailing.

"It would be disastrous for an ANC-led government to be referred to as 'the second Pretoria regime'."

Dr Boesak said there was no serious debate within the ANC about the shifting of parliament.

There were also economic issues to be considered — and whether the double-capital system was justified.

Alex van Breda, chief whip of parliament, said he had expected the decision.

Albert Schuitmaker, deputy director of the Cape Town Chamber of Commerce, said the chamber felt strongly that Cape Town should remain the seat of parliament.

De Klerk starts his election campaign with broadside at the ANC

DURBAN — President F W de Klerk formally kicked off the NP's election campaign yesterday by launching a broadside at the ANC and issuing a stern warning on violence.

Opening the NP's Natal congress at the Durban City Hall, De Klerk said: "The levels of violence and intimidation will have to be drastically reduced before any general election takes place."

He said South Africans were dealing with a new and dangerous threat of dictatorship with people and organisations which wished to seize power, which would not shy away from oppression and would brook no opposition.

Party insiders said De Klerk's comments should not be regarded as a prediction that the April 27 election date would be delayed, but rather that government intended taking a firm stand on violence.

De Klerk told a crowd of about 1 000 that in the recent past the NP had been "relatively silent", while other parties had "overwhelmed the public with propaganda". "The time for silence is now past," he said, indicating that from now on his party would be electioneering in earnest.

Hitting at the ANC, he said the organisation was "bad news for ordinary hardworking South Africans".

"The ANC does not display the courage or the guts to distance itself from communism. The ANC continues to rob South Africans of jobs through its support of sanctions and through often ill-conceived mass action, stayaways and strikes.

"The fact is the ANC remains a dangerous and untrustworthy party. It must be cut down to size in the coming fully democratic election. The voters of SA will have the power to do so."

De Klerk offered an olive branch to the DP and Inkatha, although he proffered guarded criticism of the latter, saying its criticism of the NP was often misplaced.

He said while his party disagreed with Inkatha on several issues, the greatest problem lay in Inkatha's attitude to the NP. "We are continuously confronted by an unjustified wall of suspicion and mistrust because the IFP apparently suspects us of conniving with the ANC behind its back. That is simply not true."

He said there should be strong regional government together with "a whole list of checks and balances", measures to help rule out abuse of power, protect minorities and ensure stability.

"While most of the other parties continue to break down, the NP will continue to build."

De Klerk said the new NP was born in 1986 in Durban, but failed to mention that the following year the disastrous Rubicon speech was delivered by then President P W Botha in the hall in which De Klerk spoke last night.

TIM COHEN

21/2/93

(BOLD)

THE TALKS AND YOU



Yesterday at the World Trade Centre

PROTESTS: The Negotiating Council accepted 10 requirements which parties should adhere to when staging mass action or protests. They range from rather abstract guidelines to practical measures. The "Ten Commandments" of acceptable protest include: promoting peace; taking cognisance of the prevailing political climate; avoiding deliberate provocation; informing National Peace Accord structures; negotiating with all parties concerned; treating agreements as binding; having at least one trained and identifiable marshal for every 50 demonstrators; and ensuring that no weapons are carried.

VIOLENCE: The technical committee on violence said the lack of information emanating from negotiations to the grassroots was itself a cause of violence. The matter has been referred to the 10-member planning committee.

PEACE CORPS: The technical committee on a TEC yesterday tabled its eighth working draft on the TEC Bill which includes proposals for a national peacekeeping force.

HUMAN RIGHTS: Mechanisms were discussed for ensuring human rights during the transition – including an ombudsman and a permanent human rights commission.

TODAY: The Negotiating Council will not sit today. On Monday negotiators will discuss the crucial matter of draft legislation for the Transitional Executive Council, which most parties want in place before the year end.

ESTHER WAUGH

Pre-poll peace force proposed

Star 13/8/93

(204A)

■ **BY ESTHER WAUGH**
POLITICAL STAFF

Far-reaching proposals for a multiparty national peacekeeping force (NPF) to be deployed until the April 27 election have been tabled in the Negotiating Council.

The NPF will comprise all armed formations under the control of the transitional executive council (TEC).

The TEC with six sub-councils will rule the country in conjunction with the tricameral Parliament until an interim government of national unity is elected in April.

The proposals are included in a draft Bill on the TEC, tabled yesterday in the council.

An NPF command centre comprising representatives of all armed forces will be established.

The sub-council on defence, in consultation with the NPF command centre, will:

■ Oversee the training of a unit of NPF instructors.

■ Formulate its philosophy, doctrine, syllabuses and training policy.

■ Establish criteria for the recruitment, training and selection of NPF members.

■ Establish the NPF command structure as well as appoint or dismiss the commander and other senior officers.

■ Prescribe the jurisdiction of and the circumstances for its deployment.

■ Find a binding disciplinary code, including a code of conduct.

■ Establish standard operational procedures.

The SADF will supply the agreed upon uniforms, transport, accommodation, equipment and other logistical support. The NPF will have its own distinctive uniform, vehicles and other insignia.

The draft legislation on a TEC will be debated in the Negotiating Council on Monday afternoon.

NEWS

No breakthrough - Meyer

IFP won't return to talks soon

Star 13/8/93

INKATHA and Kwazulu's aim for self-determination is attainable, says hopeful Meyer.

■ BY KAIZER NYATSUMBA and CHRIS WHITFIELD

After a series of bilateral meetings with the Government and the ANC, Chief Mangosuthu Buthelezi's Inkatha Freedom Party was still nowhere near returning to multiparty negotiations soon, according to IFP negotiator and central committee member Walter Felgate.

Speaking from his Empangeni, Natal, home hours after another round of talks between the IFP and the Government in Durban yesterday, Felgate — who has the ear of the IFP leader and KwaZulu chief minister — said his party had not yet reached the stage where it could return to the Negotiating Council at the World Trade Centre.

But Constitutional Development Minister and Government chief negotiator Roelf Meyer told the NP congress in Durban that yesterday's meeting might pave the way for the IFP's return to negotiations. Felgate — who is known in IFP circles as a hardliner — said this was unlikely.

Meyer said there had been no breakthrough yet in getting the IFP back to talks. Progress now hinged on an IFP central committee meeting tomorrow, at which its negotiators would seek fresh guidance on a number of proposals put to them by the Government.

Meyer said it appeared that the IFP and KwaZulu government were striving for the self-determination of the Zulu people, and "we believe that is attainable". To this end a variety of proposals had been put to the IFP. They were:

- That there would be a constitution at national level embracing a federal system "allowing regions to determine their own future".
- That the constitution would provide for specific powers to go to the regions.
- That regional constitutions would be agreed upon at the regional level "within the framework of the central constitution".
- "That we provide for the developing of a constitution for the region of KwaZulu/Natal".

Govt tables proposals to woo Inkatha back to talks

BDay 13/8/93

TIM COHEN

AMANZIMTOTI — Negotiation to draft regional constitutions could begin soon, says Constitutional Development Minister Roelf Meyer.

After government discussions with Inkatha yesterday, Meyer said he was convinced that Zulu self-determination now topped Inkatha's agenda.

Addressing the NP's Natal congress, he said that during the three-hour discussions, government had proposed a set of specific proposals for consideration at Inkatha's weekend central committee meeting.

"It seems to us that one of the most important things (Inkatha leaders want) is to ensure self-determination of the Zulu people. We believe that is attainable."

Government negotiators had, therefore, proposed a "particular route" for consideration by the Inkatha central committee which, if accepted, would result in its return to negotiations.

The proposal consisted of four elements. First, at the national level, a federal system should be provided for "allowing regions to determine their own future".

Second, the constitution should make provision for specific powers that could be exclusively exercised by regions. Provision had already been made for certain, though insufficient, exclusive powers in the proposed interim constitution.

Third, the national constitution should provide, as it did already, for regional constitutions.

And, lastly, provision should be made for the development of a regional constitution for KwaZulu/Natal.

"We should engage ourselves now, not only at the central level, but also at the regional level, in drawing up the constitution that could be adopted in the future," he said.

Both Meyer and President F W de Klerk emphasised the urgency of the situation, saying the negotiations process had only 21 days to reach agreement to permit the April 27 elections to go ahead on schedule.

De Klerk said the election would be a "make or break" moment in the country's history, and its result would lay the foundation for the next 50 or 100 years.

NP moots

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to talks

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Parties 'not controlling members'

TIM COHEN

AMANZIMTOTI — Law and Order Minister Hernus Kriel criticised political parties yesterday for not exercising control over their members.

He said more than a third of SA's police force was now occupied with peacekeeping functions. B/Day

Speaking at the NP's Natal congress, Kriel criticised the cost of "mass action" and the extent to which it engaged the time and resources of the police.

The cost of ensuring all went well at the recent ceremonies in Schweizer-Reneke, in which the freedom of the town was granted to AWB leader Eugene Terreblanche and Umkhonto we Sizwe commander Joe Modise, had been R3m, the Minister said. 13/8/93

The resources consumed in policing mass action had provided latitude for ordinary criminals.

The main cause of violence was the "political battle" between the Inkatha Freedom Party and the ANC.

The police were not implicated, as the ANC claimed.

The ANC was "looking for excuses all the time."

It had to face up to the fact that Umkhonto was involved in violence, as was the PAC and Inkatha.

The SAP had to handle the symptoms of violence, not its root causes.

The root of violence was the "political fight" between the IFP and the ANC, he said.

Political parties were too lenient towards offenders. The ANC, for example, was too spineless to take action against its midlands chairman, Harry Gwala.

Kriel called on all citizens, not only whites, to join neighbourhood watches to combat crime.

He said nothing restricted crime more than scaring criminals into not committing crimes in the first place.

As had been announced before, money would be made available for radios for farmers, but recipients would have to keep up their end and contribute to the battle against crime by joining farm watches.

NP moots early local polls

TIM COHEN

AMANZIMTOTI — Local Government Minister Tertius Delport has proposed local government elections even before the national election in April, as a way of resolving the complex task of establishing local governments on the agreed 50/50 basis.

Delport proposed the idea at the NP's Natal congress, warning that local government could become an "explosive situation". B/Day

He said the Local Government Negotiating Forum had approved the idea of a so-called 50/50 dispensation through appointments to town councils by "statutory" and "non-statutory" groupings. The reason for the 50/50 principle derived from the urgent need to give representation to those who had been unrepresented in local government on a transitional basis and in a pragmatic way.

However, government proposed that elections should be held as soon possible, he said.

Government would prefer a local settlement, because in many cases local negotiations were well established in forums and the new focus should be on the question of how the joint local council could be composed in such a way that would instil public confidence in it. 13/8/93

Government was not "dismissing" serving council members and would regard expansion, even on a 50/50 basis, as a better option.

Delport said phases suggested by the Local Government Negotiating Forum were: (252)

- A pre-interim phase of a period between the time new legislation was promulgated and until authorities were ready to hold elections; and
- An interim phase comprising the period after a first election until a final phase was reached in tandem with a new constitution.

Asked when these elections could take place, Delport said the polls could take place even before the proposed first election in April.

He acknowleged that he had not discussed the idea with other local government negotiators, but said this was the most practical solution.

Mentz resigns but Volksunie to stay

THE Afrikaner Volksunie would remain in multiparty negotiations in spite of the blow of three senior resignations, Volksunie leader Andries Beyers said yesterday after news of the latest resignation, that of Volksunie chief negotiator and MP Moolman Mentz. B/Day

Mentz resigned earlier yesterday, claiming he had been kicked out of the party's negotiating team on Wednesday night. 13/8/93

At the World Trade Centre yesterday, a clearly upset Mentz said the Volksunie had softened its position on self-determination. "I have been sidelined," he said (304A)

Beyers claimed Mentz and the two others who recently resigned, MPs Chris de Jager and Rosier de Ville, wanted the Volksunie to join the CP in walking out of multiparty talks in protest against the unresolved issue of Afrikaner self-determination.

However, the Volksunie believed it could achieve more for Afrikaners by remaining in the process. — Sapa.

DEMOCRACY
Fm 13/8/93

Dying of the light

(304A)

In June, just before the proposed election date of April 27 1994 was announced, we noted how much still had to be done in the short 10 months available (*Leaders* June 11).

Two months down the line, the administrative mechanics — registration of voters, construction of polling booths and ballot boxes, printing of voting slips — appear to be going reasonably well. But the necessary political stability, and a culture of tolerance, seem further off than ever as we approach the big day.

In June we warned that if the violence were not resolved, the election "could be severely disrupted and rendered meaningless." Now we must be more gloomy; we must wonder if the election can take place next April as planned. And if it does not take place, the frustration that would result could conceivably make an election impossible — next year or ever.

There are two main problems: the anarchic violence that has turned certain black townships into killing zones; and the culture of intolerance and intimidation. Of the two, the second is the most serious — though it might not seem so at the moment, as we try to avert our eyes from the daily body-counts from Thokoza and Katlehong.

Awful as the East Rand violence is, it can be contained. What is required is that the security forces must be placed under multiparty control as a matter of emergency. Only when the police and the army are also Mandela's forces, and not just De Klerk's, will they regain the legitimacy and the confidence to do the job. At the moment, the police and SADF, for all their armoured menace and heavy reinforcements, might as well be patrolling blindfolded with their hands tied behind their backs. Not only are they perceived as illegitimate — a perception constantly encouraged by ANC leaders — but they themselves are resigned to rejection.

It has been said often and it must be said again: security must cease to be an election issue. If this nettle can be grasped by the negotiators, much else will fall into place. And it can be grasped.

What is not clear, however, is whether a culture of tolerance can be established in time. Without tolerance, an election will be both dangerous and meaningless.

The ANC's attitude in this respect is astounding, to the point where we must ask whether it has any understanding of democratic practice, and therefore whether it is ready for democracy in any sense beyond empty slogans. Elements in the ANC have openly prevented election campaigning.

Senior ANC members have said on several occasions that the DP and NP will not be allowed to campaign in the townships. Last Saturday, at Orange Farm in the Vaal Triangle, a Democratic Party rally was cancelled on the advice of police, after a party official was injured and vehicles were stoned. A senior ANC official, Ronnie Mamoepa, defended this intimidation by claiming that a DP leaflet was inflammatory because it criticised the ANC. Just what kind of election campaign does Mamoepa have in mind? Never mind educating the voters, the leaders could do with some basic instruction.

On Monday a DP information table set up at the University of the Western Cape was resented by ANC members, who proceeded to burn DP pamphlets, tear down banners and block access to the table. The DP demanded that UWC authorities take steps to ensure free political activity on campus — and the response will be interesting indeed. We recall what UWC rector Jakes Gerwel said in February this year, when asked how he would react if President F W de Klerk were to be shouted down on his campus. Said Gerwel: "I would say that the Nationalists are not democrats, they are still withholding the vote — so I would not be sympathetic. Once an interim government is in place, however, I will defend to the death the right of any Nationalist to speak on this campus."

Strong words — but the question, of course, is whether an interim government can be put in place, and then be expected to govern and prepare the way for an election, in an atmosphere of such rabid intolerance.



As DP leader Zach de Beer has said, "a free and fair election demands that there cannot be any 'no-go' areas for any party or movement. All parties must have the right to hold public meetings wherever they choose and voters must have the democratic right to listen to a variety of views."

There is little sign that this will happen. Though SA has not had democracy since 1990 it has had remarkable freedom of speech and assembly — the cornerstones of democracy, along with the protection of private property. Yet the ANC appears either too cynical or too cowardly to build on these freedoms, if it values them at all.

Who will stand up and set an example? The ANC is smug, and the SA Council of Churches is the ANC at prayer; the Nat government is impotent; the DP is being brave but its voice is small. Perhaps one or two of our traditionally liberal universities will keep the flame alive — though in that area the signs have not been encouraging for some time. Perhaps there are powerful businessmen who will try to knock some sense into the politicians.

One thing's for sure: if there is no agreement on security and the need for tolerance, the election — if it takes place at all — will be worthless. ■

Parliament planning begins

(3044A) CT 13/8/93

NOW that it had been decided that Parliament will remain in Cape Town, it was full-steam ahead for the planning of the legislative building for use after the April 27 election, the Secretary to Parliament, Mr Robin Douglas, said yesterday.

"I am very happy. It's great news for all of us. I am particularly looking forward to making the new people feel as comfortable as possible," he said.

The decision means that the 322 permanent staff members of Parliament and about 210 temporary workers when it is in session will retain their jobs in Cape Town.

● It was with a "sense of relief" Chamber of Commerce assistant director Mr Albert Schuitmaker heard of the decision that Parliament would remain in the city yesterday.

He said the economic benefits of Parliament affected every sphere of the city's economy.

Mayor Mr Frank van der Velde agreed "wholeheartedly" with the decision to keep Parliament in the "Mother City and the gateway of South Africa". — Political Staff, Staff Reporter

Council members 'can be appointed'

CT 13/8/93 (266)

MUNICIPALITIES can hold elections as soon as they are ready but if this can't be done then town and city councils should be expanded through appointments, Local Government Minister Dr Tertius Delport said yesterday.

Speaking at the National Party's Natal congress in Amanzimtoti, he said the government advocated elections for local government bodies but realised that time was needed to prepare for such polls.

However, he said it was not in favour of dismissing current council members.

"In many cases local negotiations are well established in forums and one should now focus on the question as to how a local joint council can be composed through nomination in such a way that it will instill confidence in the community," Dr Delport said.

"The government's point of view is that the interim phase (after new local government bodies are elected) should be based on the principle ... of a 'government of local unity' for a period of five years giving effect to a system of participatory democracy," Dr Delport said.

'NP will be restructured'

(3044) AMANZIMTOTI. — The National Party would have to hold a special federal congress soon to restructure the party, President F W de Klerk announced yesterday.

He told delegates at the NP Natal congress here that the NP had been a confederal party up to now but would have to convert into a federal party in line with the regions in a new dispensation. CT 13/8/93

Once negotiations had finalised the new regions, a federal congress would be called to reorganise the party.

Nats warn of power through gun barrel

By ANTHONY JOHNSON and BARRY STREEK

AMANZIMTOTI. — Top Nationalists warned yesterday that it would be impractical to hold an election while political opponents were "slaughtering each other like flies".

President F W de Klerk told about 400 delegates at the NP's Natal congress here that the level of intimidation and violence would have to be "dramatically" reduced if an election was to take place.

Free and fair elections would simply not be possible in areas like the East Rand and parts of Natal if current levels of violence continued.

However, he did not want to speculate on a possible postponement of the poll.

"We can never give an absolute veto to radicals who can prevent an election forever — we must strike a balance," he said.

Natal NP leader Mr George Bartlett said it would be impossible to ensure that elections were free and fair if they were conducted in circumstances where violence and intimidation were rife.

It was clear some parties were determinied to grab power "through the barrel of the gun".

'No absolute veto for the radicals'

The NP "and other truly democratic parties" would not be able to remain immune from the totalitarian tactics of the ANC, SACP, Apla and others.

Law and Order Minister Mr Hernus Kriel warned that many people mistakenly believed that the elections would act like a magic wand and bring peace.

If South Africans did not want to be overwhelmed by violence in the run-up to the election, the levels of violence would have to be brought down now.

The major cause of violence was the political fight between the ANC and the IFP.

The NP would have to start telling voters that the reason there were so many orphans and widows in South Africa was the failure of the leaders of these organisations to curb this feud.

● The ANC said yesterday that Mr De Klerk's threat "plays into the hands of the third force" whose object was "to use violence and intimidation to perpetually postpone the attainment of democracy".

Democratic Party leader Dr Zach de Beer said elections were an essential prerequisite for restoring calm and long-term business confidence.

"In any event, Mr De Klerk does not have the authority to delay the poll unilaterally, and mere talk of this creates unnecessary tensions," he said.

It was his responsibility, together with other leaders, to create a climate where free and fair elections were possible.

The ANC said in its statement: "We categorically reject the suggestion that the National Party has the monopoly to determine conditions under which the first non-racial elections will be held.

"This remains the jurisdiction of the Independent Elections Commission."

The ANC had repeatedly committed itself to the principles of political tolerance and co-existence of organisations.

● See editorial — Page 6

Powers come under spotlight

Sowetan 13/8/92

By Themba Molefe
Political Correspondent

POWERS and the constitution of the Transitional Executive Council Bill, which is expected to become law by the end of the year, came under close scrutiny at the multiparty negotiations at the World Trade Centre yesterday.

A special session of Parliament is to sit next month to legislate agreements reached at the talks.

The negotiating council agreed that the clauses on the constitution and general powers of the TEC should be referred back to the technical committee of experts who tabled it for consideration.

Debate also focused on the powers and duties of regional and local government, law and order and whether the TEC should have powers to declare a state of emergency.

Debate on the Bill continues on Monday. Discussing a report on fundamental human rights during transition, the council agreed that a Human Rights Commission be constituted to initiate educational programmes and information projects aimed at protecting and promoting human rights and democratic values. (3044A)

A proposal for the appointment of an ombudsman was also accepted.

The technical committee on violence was allowed to continue investigating mechanisms of the formation of a national peacekeeping force to stem the violence in townships. Negotiators are to consider the establishment of a publicity desk for the negotiating process to maximise publicity of the talks. They objected to what they described as excessive violence on SABC TV.

AVU man resigns (304A) in protest

JOHANNESBURG. — Afrikaner Volksunie negotiator Mr Moolman Mentz resigned in protest from the AVU yesterday after he claimed he was kicked out of the party's negotiating team on Wednesday night.

"I have been sidelined," Mr Mentz said.

At an impromptu press conference in the corridors of the World Trade Centre at Kempton Park yesterday a clearly upset Mr Mentz charged that the AVU had dropped its claim for a separate region in the north of South Africa. CT13/8/93

Mr Mentz said there was no one left now in the talks who stood for genuine Afrikaner self-determination.

AVU leader Mr Andries Beyers, in a statement yesterday, said that in the light of Mr Mentz's "uncertainty" over his position in the AVU the party's executive had decided advocate Mr Cehill Pienaar, MP, should replace Mr Mentz. — Sapa

Time rapidly running out for talks

By ANTHONY JOHNSON
Political Correspondent

ANKARA (3rd lead) 3/8/93

The government that only 20 days ago promised to reach agreements with multi-party talks at the end of this month is now struggling to produce a compromise that will enable the IRP to end its boycott of the Constitutional Development Commission and the Supreme Court to proceed.

Later today meetings between the Prime Minister, Mr Tansu Ciller, and the leaders of the four parties represented in the Grand National Assembly are expected to begin.

Mr Ciller's decision to call the meetings was taken after a weekend of intensive consultations with her colleagues in the True Path Party.

Mr Ciller is expected to tell the party leaders that she is willing to make concessions on the composition of the Supreme Court and the Constitutional Court, but that she will not budge on the 10 per cent national threshold for parliamentary representation.

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See PAGE 2

DIRECT YOUR BULLETS AT KLERK — MOKABA

'NP will be restructured'

(3044)

AMANZIMTOTI. — The National Party would have to hold a special federal congress soon to restructure the party, President F W de Klerk announced yesterday.

He told delegates at the NP Natal congress here that the NP had been a confederal party up to now but would have to convert into a federal party in line with the regions in a new dispensation. CT 13/8/93

Once negotiations had finalised the new regions, a federal congress would be called to reorganise the party.

ARG 13/8/93 (804A)

Government must be accountable

This is the second article on reconstruction by Cosatu general secretary JAY NAIDOO.

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 people's 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 people, and not 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 have to 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.

Equally, a democratically-elected government which is unable to govern would be a disaster. This real danger 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 scenario.

The other threat to democracy would be the entrenchment of existing apartheid institutions and the bureaucracy which serves them.

From now until the end o 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. 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 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 public sector workers 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 multipartite negotiations 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;
- In relation to security forces, a single police force needs to be established, 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.

ANC landslide win 'a disaster'

SHARON SOROUR
Labour Reporter

A LANDSLIDE election victory for the African National Congress would be a disaster for South Africa, says UCT political scientist Robert Schrire. ARG 13/8/93

The ANC leadership would then not be able to co-operate with other political parties, Professor Schrire told a labour conference organised by Andrew Levy and Associates.

"However, it will be a bigger disaster if the ANC gets less than 45 percent of the vote because they would argue they had been robbed and would encourage extreme opposition."

Another disaster would be if the National Party alliance won less than 20 percent of the vote, which would constitute a huge defeat.

"The best solution is an ANC victory which is comfortable but not decisive, gaining between 50 and 60 percent of the vote," he said.

Projected election results would see the ANC alliance winning 52-60 percent of the vote, the National Party alliance 22-27 percent, the Inkatha Freedom Party 7-10 percent, the Pan Africanist Congress 3-5 percent and others 10-15 percent. (30499)

Deadline dilemma for talks negotiators

304A
4424/13/8/93

Political Staff

NEGOTIATORS at Kempton Park have just 21 days to meet the deadlines they have set themselves to reach political agreements, says Minister of Constitutional Development Roelf Meyer.

He was briefing the National Party's Natal congress.

Parties had set the end of the month as their target date to complete negotiations and reach agreement "that will enable us to come to the point of an election in time".

Delegates were working at an exceptional pace to reach these targets.

They had to reach agreement on the constitution for the transitional period, an Independent Election Commission, an Independent Media Commission, an Independent Broadcasting Authority and agreement on the transitional executive council.

"These matters are being dealt with simultaneously."

If there was agreement by the end of this month legislation could be passed through parliament next month.

Mr Meyer said it was impossible to have the constitution for the period after the first election ready for the September session.

Sounding a warning on the time frame, Mr Meyer said "it may be totally too late" from a constitutional point of view if the Kwazulu government waited for the outcome of its Supreme Court application on sufficient consensus before it returned to the table.

De Klerk and Mandela keep SA on course

3041 CT 13/8/93

By COLIN LEGUM

IT WAS always predictable and, indeed, was predicted that the closer the constitutional negotiators for a new democratic constitution for South Africa come to success, the greater would be the resistance from those wishing to shipwreck any agreement.

This has proved to be the case as has been shown by the assassination of Chris Hani and the aborted assassination attempts on other key figures; the attack by the Afrikaner Weerstandsbeweging (AWB) on the venue of the negotiating talks; the vicious attack on church worshippers in Cape Town; the emotional talk by Chief Buthelezi of a civil war; and the threat to take up arms by the right-wing Conservative Party.

What is again predictable is that there is worse to come once an interim government — agreed by the NP government, the ANC and the majority of those engaged in the negotiations — is installed.

It would come as no surprise if the wreckers were to try to set South Africa alight by carefully calculated violence — especially through deliberately provocative attacks such as that on church worshippers — to inflame public opinion against the State President, Mr De Klerk, and the ANC.

Critical chapter

The obvious answer to this gathering threat is to get an interim government in place as soon as possible, thus establishing a more legitimate and more widely-supported central authority.

Those who believe in creating the basis for a democratic South Africa will need to brace themselves for possibly the most critical chapter in the country's history.

However, there is no justification for the kind of pessimism being spread by many of the media.

One of the most serious errors of the media is their growing tendency to join in the right wing's attempts to discredit Mr De Klerk.

Ever since his visit to Washington with Mr Nelson Mandela last month, he has regularly been referred to as "a lame-duck president". If this were true, there would indeed be cause for pessimism because Mr De Klerk and Mr Mandela are the only two political leaders capable of seeing South Africa through the dangerous period ahead.



BUTHELEZI: Talk of a civil war.



DE KLERK: No lame duck president.



MANDELA: Needed as an anchorman.

To say that Mr De Klerk is a "lame duck" because his government has failed to stem the violence is damagingly misleading. He might have been guilty at an earlier stage in the negotiations of covering up for a third force engaged in undermining the ANC and giving support to Chief Buthelezi's Inkatha; but that belongs to the past.

Central authority

There is nothing to suggest that he is not as concerned as anybody else to curb the political violence; but curbing it is no easy matter.

The need is for a strong new central authority, and this can be achieved only if Mr De Klerk and Mr Mandela are there as anchormen.

There is no present alternative to the leadership of either man. Both Mr De Klerk and Mr Mandela have lost support in their respective constituencies because of the compromises they have been forced to make to achieve agreement.

This is not a sign of weakness but of strong leadership.

It is a mistake for those who do not support right-wing extremists to contribute to the chipping away of Mr De Klerk's authority. They make themselves the unwilling allies of the AWB, the Conservative Party and, in his present mood, Chief Buthelezi.

It is similarly mischievous to report negatively on every aspect of the ANC and its leadership.

FW takes flak over election warning

Star 13/8/93 (304A)

■ BY KAIZER NYATSUMBA
POLITICAL CORRESPONDENT

President de Klerk has come under a barrage of criticism following his statement in Durban that next year's April 27 election would not take place until the present levels of violence were drastically reduced.

The ANC, the Pan Africanist Congress, the Democratic Party and other parties yesterday strongly condemned De Klerk's statement. The ANC said De Klerk's scathing criticism of it in his speech confirmed his inability to rise "above petty and narrow party-politics and (of being) unfit to hold such high office".

The ANC said he had to realise that his Government remained illegitimate. It did not have the respect of the majority of the country's citizens. No amount of Red-scare tac-



F W de Klerk . . . in hot water over threat.

tics would convince the majority of the bona fides of the NP, whose record testified to "its corruption, incapacity and deliberate policy of destabilisation".

PAC political affairs secretary Jaki Seroke echoed the ANC's views and accused De Klerk of "playing a very dangerous game". He said it was "now common knowledge" that "third force" members included people from the security forces.

"This means that unless he (De Klerk) controls his people, then we will not have an election. He wants to hold us to ransom and that is unacceptable."

DP leader Dr Zach de Beer also warned that postponing the election because of violence would be to "put a weapon in the hands of the killers, and we can't allow that".

Esther Waugh reports that negotiators at the World Trade Centre yesterday also sharply attacked De Klerk over his statement.

Their attack followed a warning in the Negotiating Council by Deputy Constitutional Development Minister Fanus Schoeman that after an Interim Constitution had been agreed to, the level of violence could be too high to have an election.

FW mum on poll delay

■ BY CHRIS WHITFIELD
POLITICAL CORRESPONDENT

Amanzimtoti — President de Klerk yesterday refused to speculate on whether South Africa's April 27 election date could be postponed because of violence.

On Monday, opening the Natal National Party congress, he said an election would not take place unless the present levels of violence were drastically reduced.

In a keynote address to the congress in Amanzimtoti yesterday, De Klerk said: "When violence and intimidation run riot you cannot have elections.

"We need to dramaticaly reduce the levels of intimidation and violence before we can have an election. But I would not like to speculate on a postponement."

A motley squadron of single-props

Jan Taljaard

THE man with the peaked cap and the Ray Bans was adamant. "No pictures!" he insisted. Behind him, the pride of the Afrikaner Weerstandsbeweging, its newly established air wing, glistened in the Western Transvaal sun.

It was Saturday morning, August 7, and the air wing was about to be introduced to the public as part of a programme celebrating the freedom of Schweizer-Reneke being granted to the AWB's Wenkommando.

In a veritable avalanche of prepublicity, the AWB boasted that 21 aircraft were to fly in tight formation depicting the three "7s" of the AWB in the skies above Schweizer-Reneke.

Alas, gathered on the dusty air strip on Saturday was but a motley squadron of single-prop flying machines. And the rather unmagnificent men who were to fly them as part of the programme for the day did not want any photographs taken.

No, said "commandant" Snyman, explaining that the pilots did not want to be identified by way of the mandatory civil aircraft registration markings on the planes. In fact, it soon became clear that some of the owners had even gone to the trouble of disguising their markings by masking them with tape or deforming the letters.

But, though the much vaunted initiative of journalists is usually vastly overrated, this time Snyman only succeeded in arousing the investigative zeal of the media.

So it happened that the numbers were taken down surreptitiously. The next step was to buy the official Civil Aircraft Register from the Department of Transport (R60 on the third floor of the Forum Building in Pretoria) and here they are:

●ZS-MJC: Aerocon CC, Millfordlaan, Glendower; Piper PA-18-150

●ZS-CEO: IA Botha, Bovenwaterval, Steynsrus; Piper PA-22-150

●ZS-EGY: Dr NPJ Gordon and partners (Bloemfontein); Cessna 150 F

●ZS-ECU: MGF Castelyn and partners, Posbus 134, Ladanna; Cessna 18 2H

●ZS-MJG: Kosmos Aviation Partnership, The Link 4, Lynnwood Pretoria; Piper PA-32-300.

●ZS-MTS: RM Quesnel, Bassonlaan 11, Bassonia, Johannesburg; Mooney M20C

●ZS-DOU: HG Goslett & GRB Knoll of Randfontein; Cessna 182 F.

●ZS-WEZ: CL du Plessis of Riamarpark, Bronkhorstspruit; Basic 4000

●ZS-FHF: JC Labuschagne from Fochville; Piper PA-28-140

●ZS-ZGO: Aztec Aircraft Services of Klerksdorp; Piper PA-23-250

●ZS-CTJ: CTJ Flying Club, Posbus 17 Boskop; Piper PA-22-108

But, then again, the above may not be an accurate list. Some registration numbers may even have been false. One of the numbers (not among those here), for instance, corresponded to a privately owned helicopter. And the only helicopter in sight (according to the Register) belonged to the commissioner of police.

A plague on your municipalities

A REFUSAL to hand over the keys to municipal offices, the forcible occupation of these offices and the declaration of "independent" municipal republics, will form part of the rightwing's "second plague".

At a congress of the Transvaal Municipal Association (TMA) held last Saturday, representatives from 106 municipal authorities decided in favour of a comprehensive campaign of resistance to protest against the proposed dissolution of current municipal authorities.

The campaign has started with an "information phase", during which rightwingers are being told about the state of affairs. The next stage is one of "soft protest action" to begin on Monday August 16.

From this date until the end of the month, protest meetings will be held by either one of the member organisations of the Afrikaner Volksfront or by the local Volksfront Mobilisation Committee.

Starting on August 23 and lasting until September 6, opinion polls will be conducted. If a member organisation of the AVF has control in a municipal council, these polls will be organised by the mayor. If the AVF is not in control it should be done by way of a public meeting.

Also starting on August 23 will be a campaign to influence National Party members in the House of Assembly. Right-wingers were called upon to bombard these MP's with telephone calls, letters, petitions and the poll results.

If "soft protest" fails to halt the proposed legislation before October, the rightwing will embark on (wait for it) "hard protest actions". These may include the formation of "alternative municipal councils", a refusal to pay municipal taxes and the occupation of offices. In the case of an AVF-affiliated organisation being in control of the council, it is suggested that they refuse to hand over the keys to their offices.

As a last measure, independent Republics may be called out in areas where rightwingers are in control.

A WOMAN'S PLACE IS IN THE WORLD (TRADE CENTRE)

(Both) WM 13-19/8/93

THE *Weekly Mail & Guardian* has had a flood of — mostly angry — response to its article a fortnight go about the role of women's delegates at the World Trade Centre Talks.

"Lost laundry in the boys' locker oom", by Elsabé Wessels, criticised he failure of the negotiators to make rogress on gender issues beyond orcing delegations to include at least me women in their number.

BALEKA KGOSITSILE, of the African lational Congress Women's League, esponded: The title "Lost laundry ..." vas unfortunate and insulting. It displayed something I have come across vith people from a particular background: an impatience which is both healthy and potentially destructive.

It reminds one of the negative press coverage after the first session attended by women delegates when every paper was quick to say that none of them had said a word. So many men spend years in committees without saying a word, and nobody notices. Why can't women be allowed one day to familiarise themselves with what's going on before being attacked?

Most of the political parties have been forced to see the women in their ranks. Whether or not their voices are heard in the council chamber, the women do contribute in strategising meetings before going to the council.

The argument against "tokenism" is valid only in cases where a woman with no experience, competence or potential to learn is chosen.

Some women delegates have not furthered the interests of their kind. We have also been faced by the "unavailability" of women. If women had "wives", things would be different.

The decision to leave the Multi-Party Negotiating Process Women's Lobby as a loose arrangement was not a wise one. It has left us weak on strategising as women.

It would be a mistake to expect that the MPNP can address every situation of women. By the time women joined the talks, it was too late to change the agenda of the transition.

All is not lost, though. The framework for the constitutional drafters to be alert to non-sexism is laid in the very first two constitutional principles. But we must have no illusions. It will take for more than the best constitution to remove deeply rooted sexist attitudes and practices.

The agreement to have a sub-council on the status of women in the transitional executive council (TEC) is a positive development. The reconstruction phase will be crucial as it is only then that well thought-out strategies will be implemented. This needs a carefully measured mixture of patience and impatience.

●**DENE SMUTS**, Democratic Party MP, responded: The DP was opposed to the recommendation that seats be reserved for women at the Kempton Park multi-party negotiations.

We proposed a technical committee of women on women, an upgrading of the Gender Advisory Committee — a scrutiny mechanism — which the DP was the first to propose when it became clear that the transition-focused format of the talks did not accommodate what Elsabé Wessels called "comprehensive approach to the legal and social status of women".

That approach will, for the first time, be possible in the TEC sub-council on the status of women, although I think it will be engaged fully in electoral scrutiny until voting is over. Meanwhile, we make it our business to ensure that the appropriate foundations are laid for the future correction of women's status.

The problems (of female representation) were predictable, and exacerbated by parties which rotate female delegates to a degree where meaningful participation is impossible.

Perhaps the lasting benefit will be derived from the lessons learnt, and since they can only be learnt through analysis and discussion, we applaud the publication of Wessels' article.

●**MARTHEANNE FINNEMORE**, DP delegate, responded: There have many positive outcomes of the initiative (to make each party at the Kempton Park talks appoint one women delegate). Unfortunately, these were overlooked in Elsabé Wessels' article.

We stand with the following achievements: the constitutional principles agreed upon as the fundamental building blocks of the new constitution defines equality between men and women as a paramount goal; the Bill of Fundamental Human Rights protects women from discrimination and allows for affirmative action for women; no law (such as the status of traditional leaders and indigenous law) may be in contradication with the Bill of Rights; the inclusion of women's structures during the transition.

Miracles cannot be achieved overnight and, while the affirmative action promoting women delegates has obviously had several problems, overall the achievements will have a fundamental impact on the future of women's rights in this country.

We are doing our best to ensure that women's rights are protected and promoted.

One can hardly say the same for the media. Give us a break!

We don't want white heads on black bodies

I'D LIKE to thank Mondli Makhanya for his thought-provoking article ("The walls are crumbling, but not the whitewash", *WM* July 23 to 29 1993), which is already being discussed extensively among black folk.

The general feeling I get is that Makhanya was courageous enough to bring to the surface what has been brewing in the black community for the past one and a half years.

When Makhanya said the African National Congress, Inkatha Freedom Party, trade unions and non-governmental organisations' policies are drawn largely by whites, I blacks are content to do the spadc work and leave strategic thinking to whites.

I think the very few blacks who attempt to make intellectual input are not supported by some of these whites and Indians because they are seen as a threat to their upward mobility. — **Dr Olive Shisana, Claremont, Cape Town**

■IT was predictable: the foaming at the mouth and calling of ugly names of Mondli Makhanya by so-called white progressives who see any emphasis on blacks being objects and subjects of their own liberation as pulling the rug from



Mondli Makhanya ... Mischevious

for the intellectual thrust of their organisations. — **Sizwe Khumalo, Atteridgeville**

■IN his article, Mondli Makhanya advocated apartheid-[illegible] will win the first elections. But they need good opposition. With good opposition, the ANC will make a good government."

A crowd of about 50 was gathered at the only gate to the stadium. "There is only one exit if we want to get out," one person remarked.

Angry shouts went up as we entered. Ten minutes after us a convoy of peace monitors arrived. The white flags, red crosses, blue badges showed who they represented: the Organisation of African Unity, Empsa, Wits Vaal Peace Secretariat, United Nations, Church Monitors for Peace ...

It was almost 2.30pm. The meeting was scheduled for 3pm.

A cream-coloured bakkie with a loudhailer went past us, turning round the hill into the stadium. Clouds of dust whirled over the grounds from where a group of about 40 youths were toyi-toying, the red South African Communist Party flag held high.

We followed the bakkie into the stadium. A young man on the back was addressing a crowd of about 200 people in Xhosa. "The Democratic Party," he said through the loudhailer, "is only here to promise you food because they know you are hungry. They are a white party. They don't belong here."

The crowd listened attentively, showing no emotion. They consisted mostly of older people, many of them women with blankets draped around their bodies.

The first of the DP convoy arrived, officials standing around unsure of what to do.

Mzaidume, his strong arms folded over his chest, was leaning against a DP bakkie. "There is going to be fun today," he said again. His face didn't look as if he was savouring the prospect.

A small group of Pan Africanist Congress supporters, their green and black flag held aloft, gathered at the gate.

Far outside the grounds, two yellow police vans stopped, watching from a distance.

The man with the megaphone said: "The DP says Helen Suzman has helped you. But what has she brought you? Not two cents. Blacks working for the DP are nothing but sell-outs."

A woman took the loudhailer and started shouting slogans: "Viva ANC viva! Viva local government viva! Viva MK viva!"

The crowd warmed to the speakers. Some of them were now toyi-toying, almost all repeated the shouted slogans. "They have hijacked our meeting," said Mzaidume drily, still leaning against the bakkie.

The toyi-toying ANC group on the other side of the mound had grown to over 50 people. They were singing freedom songs.

Mnisi was arguing with Bloom. "We cannot go ahead. The atmosphere is just not conducive."

Bloom wasn't prepared to listen. "We'll just have our meeting a little away from theirs," he said. DP officials started unloading chairs, a temporary table, posters, T-shirts and pamphlets from the bakkie.

Then the toyi-toying youths entered the stadium at a trot, chanting first "One setler, one bullet," followed by a rumbling "We can run and shoot at the same time". In the distance the air turned dark with thousands of DP pamphlets like confetti, high into the wind.

Posters displaying "Peace Now" were torn to pieces. Peace monitors were abused and chased away as they tried to intervene.

The chanting youths stormed past us, rushed the bakkie, grabbing chairs, T-shirts, a power-generator, scattering them over the field. A photographer was fighting against four, five youths, trying to retrieve his cameras. T-shirts and posters were thrown on a heap and lit. As the fire started, excited cries went up in the crowd.

The DP minibus sped off, followed by the blue bakkie — Mzaidume was clinging to the tailgate for dear life. Then the stones started flying. There were faint thumps as they hit the minibus. First one window went, then another. Stones the size of bricks rained on the bakkie. Mzaidume fell, in the red dust. A roar went up from the crowd. The minibus slipped through the gate, followed by the bakkie.

Then the crowd turned on the peace monitors' cars. Windscreens went "pop" and disintegrated. The crowd ran past us, stones flying over our heads. Bloom sped off to the gate in his white sedan, realised that he was not going to make it and made a U-turn, stopping behind a row of cars, the window next to him shattered.

"For fuck's sakes, where are the police?" a peace monitor shouted angrily.

Then a yellow bakkie, followed by an armoured vehicle, appeared at the gate. The crowd stormed pass them, still throwing stones as they ran off to a safe distance.

Mnisi was arguing with a young man claiming to be an ANC official. "The police must go, they are provoking our people," the man insisted. "But who must protect our property?" Mnisi retorted.

> "I do not plan beforehand how to cross a river, I only decide when I get there. If I am afraid of what might happen, I will never be able to address any meeting"

Three policemen got out of the yellow bakkie, looking relaxed, guns in hand, barrels pointing to the ground. "We were told to stay out of sight," one said. He looked about 20. "Just wait. Things will calm down. We will take you out in convoy."

The peace monitors were assessing the damage to their cars. "Is this the first time yo have been stoned?" I asked a UN woman. "Yes, she answered. "I have only been shot at before.

A group of ANC youths started singing rhythmically, kicking up dust. It sounded like a victory song. The police were standing next to their vehicles, watching expressionless, not moving.

The peace monitors started rounding up people. We fell in behind the armoured vehicle watched by a crowd in the distance. It was 3.30pm, about an hour after our arrival.

Three people were injured: the minibus driver was hit in the mouth by a stone; a DP official had petrol poured over him, but escaped; another suffered concussion when a stone hit his head.

As we pass Lenasia, we meet a convoy of army vehicles. It stretches on and on, maybe two kilometres long, all the way to the M2 towards the East Rand: Thokoza, Kathlehong, the scene of 160 violent deaths in less than a week.

In a strangely calm central Johannesburg newspaper posters claim: "Wide support for East Rand security clampdown".

The clouds have become denser, more threatening. Later the Highveld thunderstorm will break loose, blue flashes of lightning striking like heavy arms over the city.

Take the instruments off the ship - and sink

WE read with great interest the contribution by Jeremy Cronin (*WM*, July 23 to 29 1993) on the usefulness or otherwise of a workers' party in the present period of political transition.

While Cronin is entitled to his opinion, we would like to submit that as a leading member of the central committee of the South African Communist Party, he is too hasty in rejecting the idea out of hand.

His views on the future of socialists and socialism in this country represent only one end of the spectrum. The Numsa view (which Cronin was reacting to without mentioning it specifically) is perhaps another corner in the many-sided debate on the independent political organisation of the working class.



Jeremy Cronin ... Too hasty

Cronin was right that if socialists walk away from the ANC, we would be failing to meet the challenge of our time and would be handing over

real and dynamic way.

The resolution is really about a process to take forward the organisation and unification of left and

Civil servants told to destroy secret files

(3049)

The State Security Council has instructed government departments to destroy classified documents, reports Gaye Davis WM 13/8/93

GOVERNMENT departments are engaged in the wholesale destruction of classified documents — especially those relating to the National Security Management System — on the instructions of the State Security Council.

This week an archives officer in the Department of Trade and Industry, asked by the *Mail and Guardian* about the order, said: "We have finished destroying. Everything has already been burnt. There is nothing left over." A certificate confirming this would be sent to National Intelligence Service (NIS), she said.

Asked whether documents relating to the National Security Management System — instrument of the "total onslaught" of the PW Botha administration — had also all been destroyed, the official said she had dealt only with classified information and named another official, a Mr Wolmarans, as responsible for destroying security-system related material. Wolmarans refused to comment.

A top-ranking NIS official claimed the purge involved only copies of documents and said government departments had asked permission to destroy them as they no longer had any purpose and were taking up too much space.

Denying there was a "cover-up" or anything sinister in the move, he claimed the original documents were all in the possession of the Security Secretariat and kept "under strict control". The Security Secretariat, executive arm of the State Security Council, is administered by the NIS. Its political head is the state president, FW de Klerk.

In terms of the Archives Act, no record can be destroyed without the authorisation of the Director of State Archives. But the NIS has obtained legal opinion — untested in court — declaring classified information exempt from the Act.

The move is cause for extreme concern, as it involves the general destruction by civil servants of documents chronicling the operation of the security establishment without the involvement of the State Archives Service, which is equipped to survey and appraise material and make informed decisions as to its value. Among the government arms who have received the instruction is the SADF.

A source in the civil service this week told the *Mail and Guardian* he had seen the order — itself a classified document — and that it instructed government departments to go through classified information and destroy everything that did not have immediate value for administrative purposes.

He said this meant all confidential, secret and top-secret information (the three categories comprising classified information) had to be weeded out and destroyed.

The order also asked that special attention be paid to material relating to the national security management system — the instrument of "total strategy" deployed under PW Botha.

The disclosure comes in the wake of revelations during the re-opened Goniwe inquest that tens of thousands of top-secret police files were destroyed, without the authorisation of State Archives, soon after the unbanning of the African National Congress. Police insist information in the files — on detainees who died in custody, informants and sensitive investigations — became "totally irrelevant" after the unbanning of organisations in 1990.

The NIS official said the instruction to destroy classified material was sent in response to requests from government departments for permission to get rid of "stacks of documents lying around" for which they no longer had any use. It was the first time government departments had made such a request, he said.

In terms of the Archives Act, no records of offices falling under its jurisdiction may be destroyed without prior authorisation of the director of State Archives — but in practice destruction does take place, according to Graham Dominy, who is collating a history of the anti-apartheid struggle for the Natal Museum.

Asked whether this authorisation had been obtained, the NIS official said it had not been necessary as he had obtained legal opinion to the effect that classified information fell outside the ambit of the Act.

"The Archives Act has no bearing on any classified documents," he said. "Director-generals (of government departments) have authority (to destroy material) without going through archives."

This legal opinion has never been tested in court. Nor has that obtained by NIS in 1991, in the wake of the furore which erupted over NIS's destruction of a recording of the conversation between PW Botha and Nelson Mandela.

The opinion given then by state legal services was that NIS was exempt from the Act. This means NIS has complete autonomy over what it does with its records.

19/8/93

As it is, a provision of the Archives Act gives the SADF control over its own archives. Access is granted only with permission of the minister of national education in consultation with the minister of defence. In practice, archives management is entirely in the hands of the military. Taken with the legal opinion that the NIS is exempted from the Act's provisions, this means records relating to the security establishment lie entirely within the hands of the security establishment itself.

The Archives Act itself has been criticised as toothless: conviction of unauthorised destruction of records carries a sentence of six months or a R250 fine.

■ See box below

Archives 'powerless'

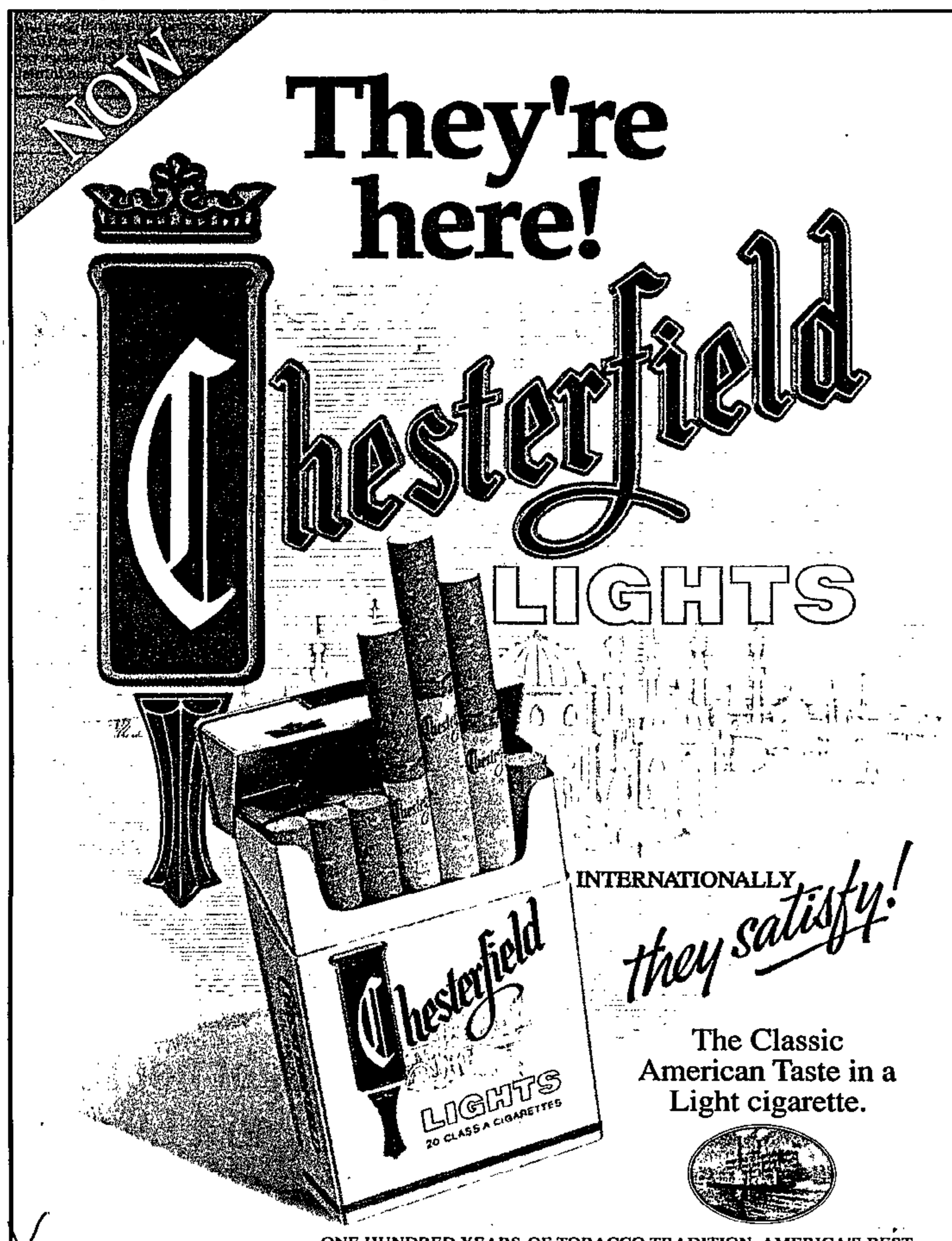
STATE Archives director Frank Nel said this week he had "no power" over classified material: "Classified documents are the sole prerogative of the various departments. Departmental heads have 100 percent control over classified information."

He agreed this was not desirable: "We would like State Archives to have full control over classified material," Nel said.

Asked whether he regarded the order as a routine procedure, Nel said: "Normally the offices approach us (about getting rid of material)". Records were then surveyed and appraised according to established criteria and decisions taken over what should be kept and what destroyed.

He said he had "been told" the originals were being kept and only copies destroyed, but confirmed he had no means of ensuring this was in fact the case because the material was classified. "That's my predicament," he said.

Historians and archivists have repeatedly expressed concern over the management of records and documents: the supreme court archives, for example, no longer contain a complete record of the Rivonia trial — one of the most significant in South African history. Inquest records are also routinely destroyed.



Drawing boundaries at the trade centre

(3049) 13-19/8/93

The proposed regions and the interim constitution elicited heated debate at the World Trade Centre, reports Chris Louw

SOUTH AFRICA'S negotiators this week focused on probably the two most contentious issues of the talks: the boundaries for South Africa's new regions and the interim constitution.

As expected, the boundaries for the nine regions proposed by the demarcation commission drew criticism from almost all parties gathered at the World Trade Centre in Kempton Park.

Strong calls were made for the incorporation of Pretoria in the Eastern Transvaal, rather than as part of the PWV region. The viability of the proposed Northen Cape region — seen by some rightwingers as a possible Afrikaner "cultural homeland" — was also seriously questioned.

In the end the African National Congress proposed that the boundaries not be fixed for 12 to 24 months in order to allow time to establish how functional they really were.

The ANC's Thozamile Botha cautioned that the issue of regions could not be resolved in the limited time available before the elections. As soon as the number of regions was decided, he argued, the commission should be allowed time to decide where the boundaries should be.

Government negotiator Andre Fourie, on the other hand, insisted that clarity on boundaries be established as soon as possible. A mechanism, he said, should be established to test the feelings of communities.

In the end it was decided that the issue of the regions should be taken back to the people and communities.

●The ninth report of the committee dealing with constitutional affairs elicited equally heated debates, in spite of the positive reception by some delegates. The fact that exclusive and concurrent powers were, for the first time, identified, was welcomed by participants from divergent parties.

Many of the problems raised after the tabling of the constitutional report last week were addressed in the redrafted version tabled on Tuesday.

One issue not addressed was that of how a new constitution should be adopted by the to-be-elected constitution-making body. The issue of a deadlock-breaking mechanism for the drawing-up of the final constitution led to tough debates.

One of the most contentious proposals was that, once all mechanisms have been exhausted, parliament be dissolved and an election be held, allowing for a new constitution to be approved and passed by an ordinary majority of the newly constituted parliament. The Democratic Party's Colin Eglin expressed concern about this clause, and government negotiator Roelf Meyer also strongly opposed it.

When the negotiators reached the chapter titled "Areas of competence of SPR governments", progress in the discussions slowed down.



DP's Colin Eglin

The powers and functions of the regions are still controversial.

Members of the Concerned South Africans Group were equally critical of aspects of the committee's report. Bophuthatswana's Rowan Cronje insisted that SPRs should have "exclusive legislative competence" regarding taxation. "SPRs should be allowed to initiate as much funds as possible," he argued, adding: "He who holds the purse-strings, controls." The council referred the issue back to the planning committee.

Dr Francois Venter, of the technical committee, said it was the council's task to make recommendations about the identification of citizens in specific regions. It was decided that aspects of the draft constitution needed further refinement, specifically the issue of regional powers so that it will be possible to determine where competences of regional and national government begin and end.

Plan to cut away East Griqualand rejected as ANC 'sop to Holomisa'

(304A) (ARGT 14/8/93

PRESSURE from Umtata, a sop to Brigadier Bantu Holomisa — that is the reason why the African National Congress wants to deliver East Griqualand to Transkei.

This is the view of politicians, civic leaders, businessmen and residents on the proposal to cut East Griqualand away from Natal and join it with a new Eastern Cape region, which would also include Transkei and Ciskei.

"It's quite clear the proposal aims to satisfy Holomisa's territorial ambitions. Somebody is pandering to pressure from Umtata," said IFP member, Peter Miller.

The former Natal MEC has every reason to feel sore about the proposal by the commission on the demarcation/delimitation of SPRs (states/provinces/regions) to excise East Griqualand from Natal.

For him, any change in the region's status as a part of Natal would mean years of hard work down the drain.

A thoroughbred East Griqualander who still has property and other interests in the region, Mr Miller was largely instrumental in prising it loose from the Cape and having it incorporated into Natal in 1978.

"I will not rest until all plans to take East Griqualand away from Natal are scrapped.

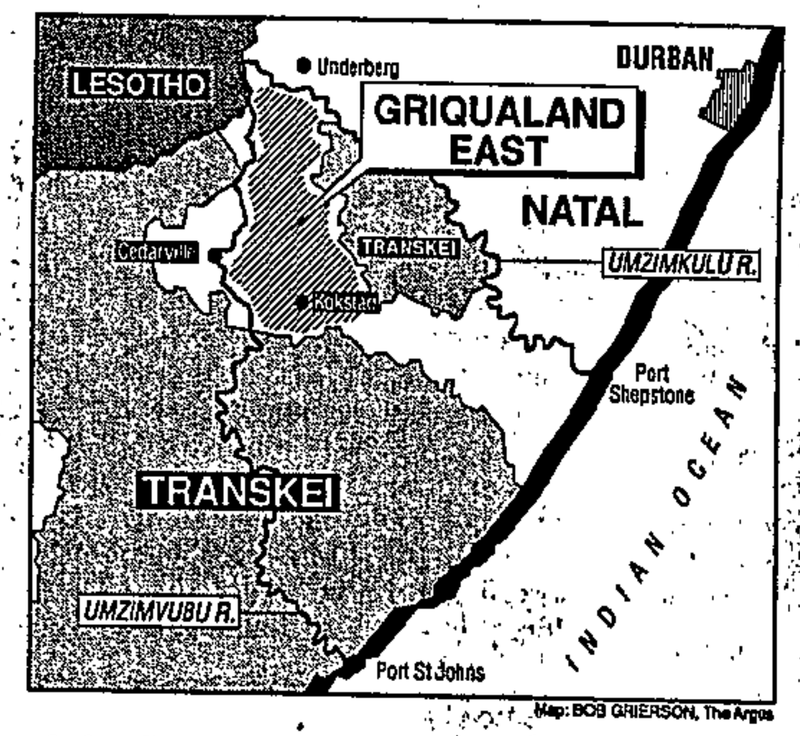
"It's very likely the ANC wants to keep Holomisa happy," said Mr Miller, adding that he had begun mobilising community, development and political bodies to oppose the commission's proposal.

East Griqualand is probably the most disputed piece of land in Southern Africa, with Major General Holomisa, Transkei's military ruler, the latest in a long line to stake a claim on the land between the Umzimkulu and Umzimvubu rivers.

The 120-year long controversy over the area which came to be known as "No Man's Land" appeared to have been finally settled when, on April 1, 1978, East Griqualand was transferred from the Cape to Natal.

However, Anthony Peck, town clerk of the region's biggest town, Kokstad, fears the area could again become "No Man's Land" if it is joined with the Eastern Cape.

"During all the time East Griqualand was part of the Cape, there was little or no development because it was difficult to administer the region from so far away in Cape Town.



Map: BOB GRIERSON, The Argus

"No sooner was it incorporated into Natal, than the boom began and all the towns experienced considerable growth.

"But I'm afraid everything could again come to a standstill if the area is not allowed to remain with Natal and is administered from East London," he warned.

Clive Ferguson, chairman of the East Griqualand Regional Development Association, is battling to come to terms with the commission's proposal.

His body submitted a lengthy memorandum to the commission and he gave verbal evidence on several occasions.

"Every organisation that appeared before the commission said East Griqualand must remain part of Natal.

"Despite this, it's been recommended that the territory be joined with the Eastern Cape.

"The commission appears to have gone against every one its own criteria which were to have been considered in drawing up regional boundaries, such as economic viability and the need to minimise dislocation of services and inconvenience to people."



☐ **OBJECTING:** Kokstad town clerk Anthony Peck fears the region could again become No Man's Land.

He said it was clear there was a plan to satisfy the wish of the ANC for a so-called Xhosa region which would incorporate the Umzimkulu district of the Transkei into the rest of Transkei.

"East Griqualand must not be used as a political football."

He said transitory factors which were currently deemed important in the demarcation of regions such as the political aspirations of political parties, the views of traditional leaders and of the national states, would either cease to exist or would change because of the evolution which continuously takes place in politics.

However, economic laws were of a long-term nature and could not be adjusted artificially.

Libby Sorour, mayor of Matatiele, said economics, more than anything else, should determine East Griqualand's boundaries.

The chairman of the Matatiele ANC zone, Mandla Galo, said the people wanted to remain under Natal.

"We are going to meet with local chiefs and do more consultations about the issue. It is problematic if leaders sit at the World Trade Centre and make decisions without hearing the feelings of the people."

DP youth asserts right to put its case

FRANS ESTERHUYSE
Weekend Argus
Political Correspondent

NEW moves to assert the right to free political activity are being launched by the DP's youth movement in the wake of the violent disruption of the party's activities — allegedly by ANC members — at Orange Farm in the Transvaal and at the University of the Western Cape (UWC) this week.

DP Youth national chairman Mr Colin Douglas told Weekend Argus his movement had requested urgent meetings with the ANC Youth League to discuss the issue.

Yesterday ANC spokesman Mr Carl Niehaus said that in principle the ANC was opposed to any intimidation or violence and believed any political organisation should have the fullest right to political participation.

Mr Douglas said the first of the inter-youth talks — in the PWV region — might be held as soon as this weekend, with national vice-chairperson Patricia Zwane leading the DP Youth delegation.

This was to be followed by a similar meeting in the Western Cape, possibly next week, and a further discussion between delegations.

Although ANC spokespersons have repeatedly claimed it is not ANC policy to disrupt meetings of other organisations, the DP has objected to accompanying ANC statements to the effect that the DP itself was to blame for the intolerance.

Mr Douglas said the DP Youth would demand at the planned bilateral meetings that the youth league "unequivocally recognise the DP Youth's right to campaign in every part of South Africa."

"We will insist that disciplinary action be taken against youth league members who have intimidated DP Youth members in townships. If the youth league fails to make a total commitment to free political activity, the DP Youth warns that it will campaign unrelentingly against ANCYL.

"If needs be, we will conduct marches, pickets and sit-ins at youth league offices. We will campaign for harsh action to be taken against the youth league by peace structures and by the independent electoral commission. And we will petition the ANCYL's local and foreign funders to withdraw their support."

After an attack on a DP Youth information table at the University of the Western Cape earlier this week, the movement conducted a four-day campaign on the UWC campus to secure the right to free political activity there.

Outlining the events, the movement said the attack occurred in the students' centre on Monday. A large group of about 70 people who identified themselves as ANC members surrounded the DP information table, preventing other students from approaching it.

The DP pamphlets were thrown off the table and some were then burnt. A DP banner was also ripped from the table. After about 45 minutes, DP activists gave up trying to persuade the ANC group to let them continue, and packed up.

In Cape Town the DP Youth said since it became a largely black organisation it had faced "a consistent campaign of harassment mainly by members and supporters of the ANC.

'Relief fund is an election gimmick'

South 14/8 – 18/8/93

304A

By Rehana Rossouw

A SOCIAL Relief fund aimed at victims of the recession and administered by the House of Representatives (HoR) is nothing more than an election fund, critics claim.

The fund of R17 million, established in March, has already assisted 16 000 coloured families and is expected to reach more than 64 000 families this year.

But well-placed sources in the Department of Health Services and Welfare believe the fund has no long-term benefit for the community and is merely an electioneering exercise for the National Party.

At least two NP cabinet members, Minister of Sport and Welfare Mr Abe Williams and Minister of Education Mr Pieter Saaiman, have publicised the fund as an NP scheme in their constituencies.

The fund was launched at the much-publicised visit in March of Mrs Marieke de Klerk to Atlantis, one of the most economically-depressed areas in the Cape.

But relief to Atlantis residents has been suspended because of abuse.

The R17 million was drawn from the Department of Sport and Welfare's budget, but officials in the Department say there is no statutory basis for the establishment of the fund.

"A lot of applicants who obviously don't qualify for the fund are sent to our regional offices by MPs in their constituencies who promise that they will be assisted," complained an official.

"We have even had cases where we have turned down applications but our decisions are reversed when the applicants complain to officials higher up in the department."

According to guidelines sent by the department to its officials, the fund was established to assist unemployed people and to provide for the most urgent material needs of their families.

The relief, averaging R1 288 a month for a family comprising two adults and four children, is available for three months and then reviewed.

Interim assistance in the form of food coupons is available while applications are being processed, at R504 a month for a family of six.

A controversial regulation of the fund is the clause stating that breadwinners awaiting assistance from a permanent scheme such as a pension or disability grant could qualify for assistance.

"As the applicant receives assistance from this scheme up to the date when the pension or grant is approved, arrear pensions or grants will not be paid," the guidelines for the fund read.

Ministry of Sport and Welfare spokesperson Ms Sonja Blignaut denied it was electioneering. She said the relief was available to anyone who could submit proof of unemployment as a result of the economic recession.

Govt 'ready to talk' on Walvis

Star 14/8/93

304A

JONATHAN REES

THE South African Government was not opposed in principle to the incorporation of Walvis Bay into Namibia, Foreign Affairs Minister Pik Botha said in a statement here yesterday.

However, because territorial boundaries were an important matter, a transitional government of national unity would be best equipped to deal with the issue, he said.

Interests

Botha said there were a number of vested interests and rights which needed to be cleaned up for incorporation to be orderly and successful, adding that his government was ready to talk on the matter.

Namibian Foreign Affairs Minister Theo-Ben Gurirab said Botha's principled support for incorporation was a step in the right direction that was negated by its qualifying conditions.

If the South African Government really supported integration, it should make this known to the negotiating council in Kempton Park, he said. He ruled out further talks on the issue.

Walvis Bay has been the focus of intense lobbying at the multiparty talks this week, with debate on the matter in the negotiating council finally postponed until next Monday at the Government's request.

All major parties at the talks, with the exception of the National Party and the Government, are understood to support rapid incorporation of the port into Namibia.

This would be in line with repeated demands by the United Nations, the Organistion of African Unity and the international community. The UN has long recognised Walvis Bay as an integral part of Namibia, whose constitution includes the port and its offshore islands.

Unthinkable

The Pan Africanist Congress, which sparked the debate in the negotiation council this week with the introduction of a draft resolution on Walvis Bay, rejected Botha's statement, saying the PAC would enter talks next week with a push for the immediate incorporation of the enclave.

PAC secretary general Benny Alexander said it was "unthinkable" for the liberation movements to have to rule over Walvis Bay in a future dispensation.

Botha said the fact that a successful joint administration had been installed in the port last year clearly indicated South Africa's willingness to resolve the Walvis Bay issue.

'Peace army' ur

under fire Star 14/8/

IFP and CP fight shy of election-monitoring force

THE multiparty peacekeeping force has not yet been formed — but its credibility is already in doubt. PHIL MILLAN reports.

HOPES for a multiparty peacekeeping force to police elections next year may already have run into trouble, with the Conservative Party joining the Inkatha Freedom Party in its opposition to the proposed force.

CP deputy leader Willie Snyman warned yesterday that his party viewed the institution of such a force as illegal, while Zulu leader Mangosuthu Buthelezi, on a tour of strife-torn Tembisa on Wednesday, said he was "bitterly opposed" to the inclusion of Umkhonto we Sizwe in such a joint force.

"Nowhere in the world has an ill-trained, underdeveloped and wrongly motivated liberation army ever been able to act as an honourable peacekeeping force," he said.

Snyman added in his statement that the Government's support for the plan would be tantamount to a motion of no-confidence in the legal security structures.

Control

The establishment of a multiparty peacekeeping force — treated with circumspection in some quarters because of the cost and statutory complexities it would entail — would fall under the control of the sub-council of law and order under the control of the Transitional Executive Council (TEC), which may be operational as soon as next month.

Most parties in the Negotiating Forum agree that a third organisation outside the military and police with independent control should be established before elections, less than nine months away.

However, the credibility of such a force without the participation of the IFP, which originally agreed to the idea — and less so the CP, Afrikaner Weerstandsbeweging and Azanian People's Liberation Army — is doubtful.

"We can't not have a peacekeeping force because the IFP doesn't want to be involved," said Lawyers for Human Rights spokesman Brian Curren last night.

More in dispute, however, is how this politically neutral force be constituted and who its political paymasters should be.

The TEC proposal states that the SADF will be responsible for supplying the force with uniforms, transport, accommodation, equipment and "other logistical support".

The proposal, based on months of bilateral discussions between the SADF, SAP and MK, stipulates that the desired force should be fully integrated and independent of Government control. President de Klerk insists, however, that the Government retain ultimate control, even though it would "interact with the TEC".

The ANC would obviously rather see the peacekeeping force — which should total around 20 000 members — acting as a primary force rather than be an auxiliary to the existing SAP.

How to constitute it is a matter of contention as well. The focus is on the role and the future of the Internal Stability Division (ISD), the revamped version of the SAP's old Riot Unit, blamed by many in the townships and particularly the ANC for much of the violence in black areas.

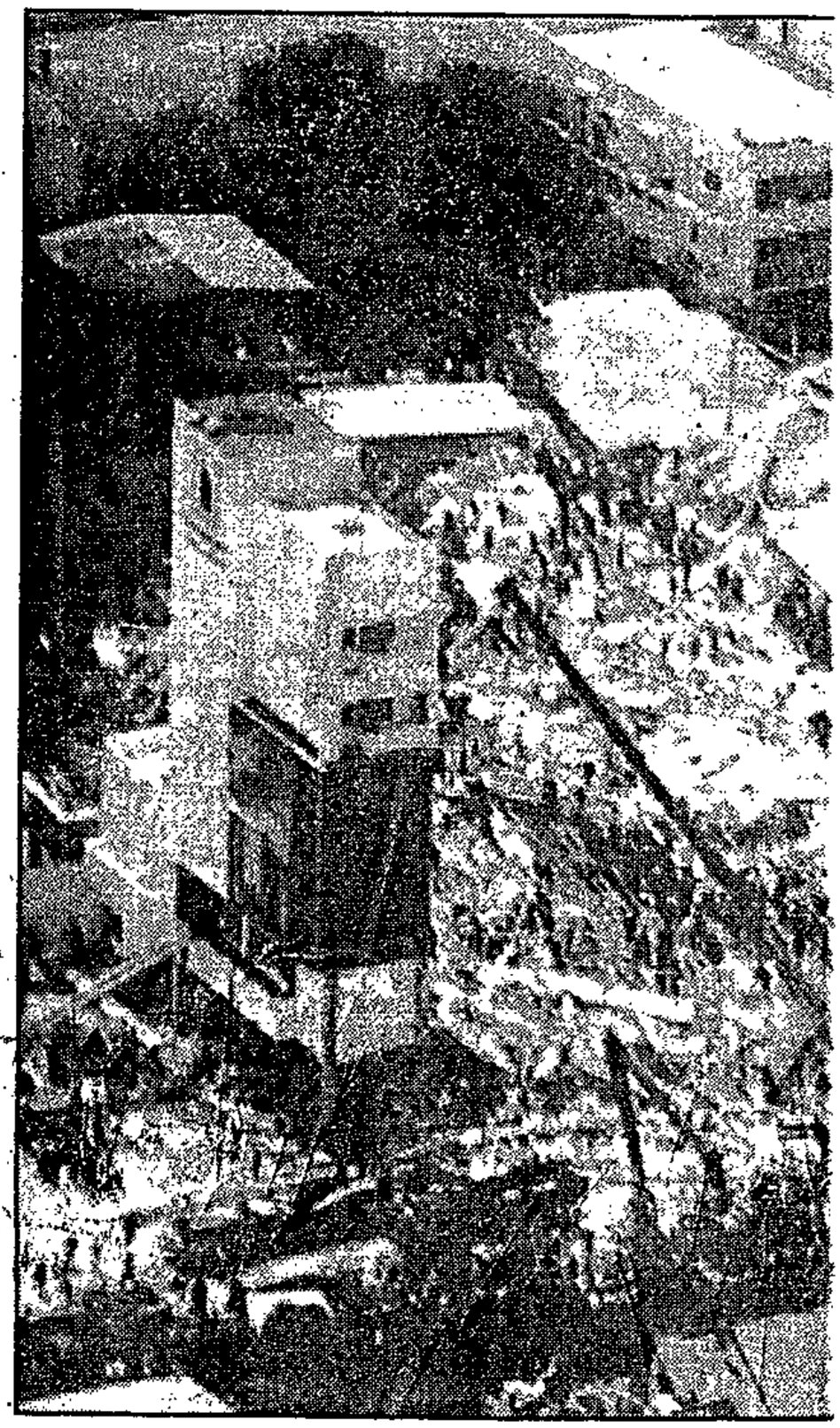
Proposals by the likes of Lawyers for Human Rights and the Goldstone Commission view the ISD as a natural repository for the new peacekeeping force.

"Using a stringent basis of selection, one would be able to draw candidates from all the existing forces, private or otherwise, and alter the central command structure while keeping the existing infrastructure in place," he said.

After an intensive period of retraining and "refocusing" a viable force should be up and running within four months, contends Curren.

However, in order to be effective, the new peacekeeping force must have powers of arrest. This would require an Act to be passed by Parliament or whatever legislative body is in control at the time. Its rules of engagement and where these powers begin and end must ultimately invite conflict with the SAP, unless a formula is reached which is acceptable to all.

Whether the present security forces, the TBVC states or the KwaZulu Police will yield to the authority of such a force also remains to be seen.



DEVASTATION: A view of the ruins of the Royal Pla guests and workers under tons of concrete and steel.

Score dea hotel

BANGKOK — About 100 people were feared dead and more than 300 were injured yesterday after a hotel in north-eastern Thailand collapsed, burying guests and workers under tons of concrete and steel.

By nightfall, 17 bodies had been retrieved, as hundreds of rescue workers clawed their way through the ruins of the Royal Plaza Hotel in Nakhon Ratchasima, eight hours after the disaster happened.

Many of the injured were in serious condition, and emergency appeals for blood donors were broadcast on radio and television.

"We heard a loud bang, everything started shaking and suddenly the walls and floor just split," said a teacher who had been attending a seminar on the second floor of the hotel

pai flew to Nakhon Ratch to inspect the site and vi injured in various hospi the city.

There was still hope th vivors were trapped in th ble and would be saved, or ministry officials in N Ratchasima, said.

But police said the ope was being slowed by fear heavy equipment could

When you stay away to get your way . . .

Star 14/8/93

TRANSITION TALK

ESTER WAUGH at the World Trade Centre

THE shadow of the absent Inkatha Freedom Party fell heavily over the talks table at the World Trade Centre this week. Chief Buthelezi's negotiators weren't there, but practically everything was done with an eye on Ulundi.

The IFP has decided, for the moment, that the best way of getting its way is to stay away. Time will tell whether the chief's men are right.

Andries Guibeb, by contrast, doesn't believe this approach. A permanent secretary in Namibia's Ministry of Foreign Affairs, Guibeb had travelled to Kempton Park to keep the closest possible eye on the political football that most concerns his government: Walvis Bay. The issue of the territory's reincorporation into independent Namibia was tabled on Monday afternoon.

Dressed in a brown suit, this newcomer could be seen talking to Natal Indian Congress negotiator Pravin Gordhan in the corridor outside the Negotiating Council chamber. Guibeb spent his time lobbying anyone and everyone he could, all in the cause of getting them on his side.

One couldn't help noticing the difference in approach. The IFP walked out of the talks on July 2, leaving the issues dearest to its heart to be debated by everyone else. This has led to evident frustration, not least from Constitutional Development Minister Roelf Meyer, who was moved to remark: "It doesn't help to stand outside while the debate on the contents of the draft Interim Constitution is at the negotiating table."

In fact, discussion in the Negotiating Council during the past five days could not have been more germane from the IFP's point of view, especially as far as regions and the draft Interim Constitution are concerned.

Observers have noted substantial concessions on these matters by the ANC and its allies in the council: with each development, the unspoken question uppermost in negotiators' minds was: "Will *this* be enough to bring the IFP back?"

The verdict, as the week's session drew to a close on Thursday, was negative. The IFP chairs remain empty. It is a confusing situation, though, because although Buthelezi's team has vacated the field, it is still involved in the game.

While the party is — in its own words — exercising its democratic right in demonstrating its protest against the sufficient consensus procedure, it is simultaneously discussing the contents of the draft constitution in bilateral meetings. And there is an argument which says that it is precisely this playing-hard-to-get ploy which has seen the party winning major concessions.

At the start of Codesa negotiations, the ANC would not agree to the powers and functions of regions being determined before elections for a constituent assembly — the body which will draft the final constitution.

Now the ANC has not only moved to the point where these powers are agreed to in a set of constitutional principles binding on a constituent assembly, but it further consented to wide-ranging "exclusive powers" for the regions.

Given the nature of these regional powers, it is now obvious that the constituent assembly eventually elected will be a diluted version of what the ANC proposed at the start of Codesa — a major victory for the IFP.

So the IFP has been very much part of what went on at the World Trade Centre this week, in spirit if not in body. But, in the Alice in Wonderland nature of negotiations, the party's name was never mentioned — not once. Should all of this be food for thought for Andries Guibeb?

A 'substantially free' poll possible

(304ft)

By ANTHONY JOHNSON
Political Correspondent CT 14/8/93

ANZIMTOTI. — South Africa could have a "substantially" free and fair election next year, Home Affairs Minister Mr Danie Schutte said yesterday.

However, at least four conditions would have to be met for this to happen, the minister told delegates at the National Party's Natal congress here.

These were:

● The "rules of the game" governing the election would have to be acceptable to at least 85-90% of eligible voters.

● Political leaders should display tolerance and take strong disciplinary action against their supporters responsible for incitement and intimidation.

● The installation of an effective multi-party peace force to curb violence and intimidation in the run-up to elections.

● The reasonable expectation by voters that their reasonable aspirations and hopes will be met after the election.

"I do not believe that we can have a completely intimidation-free election in this country," Mr Schutte said.

Although South Africa did not have a long democratic tradition like certain Western countries, "we will do our utmost to ensure that we have a substantially free and fair election".

CP repeats no election call

3049 CT 14/8/93

Political Staff

VRYHEID. — The CP has repeated that it will do everything in its power to prevent next year's general election, it was reported yesterday.

Opening the Natal congress of the CP at Vryheid, CP leader Dr Ferdi Hartzenberg appealed to President F W de Klerk to take a stand for his own people and to call off the election.

Dr Hartzenberg said it was clear that President de Klerk could not control the violence in South Africa.

The only way to rescue South Africa from a communist dictatorship was to strengthen the hand of the security forces and call off the election, he said.

Dr Hartzenberg, also leader of the Afrikaner Volksfront, warned that the communists were waiting in the wings "to rule over the whole of South Africa".

He said the only way to achieve peace was to provide for the self-determination of races in confederal states.

Natal CP leader Mr Carl Werth lashed out at the press for failing to warn the public of the consequences of next year's election.

Vote call raises chuckle

AMANZIMTOTI. — Home Affairs Minister Mr Danie Schutte stunned delegates at the National Party's Natal congress here yesterday when he came out in support of Mr Nelson Mandela's call for 14-year-olds to be given the vote. (304A)

Clearly alarmed delegates shifted in their seats and murmured under their breaths when the minister began delivering an enthusiastic endorsement of pimple power.

"I must agree with Mr Mandela," Mr Schutte began, "I feel that 14-year-olds should be allowed to vote."

He went on to explain that his son, aged 14, "not only has all the questions, but all the answers", adding: "My 11-year-old daughter is far more stable so maybe we should also allow 11-year-olds to vote." CT 14/8/93

Delegates heaved a clearly audible sigh of relief when they realised the minister was having them on.

Ethnic electoral grouping is breaking up at last but violence threatens elections

SA's shifting political patterns welcomed

(304A) ARG 14/8/93

GARNER THOMSON
Weekend Argus Bureau

THE shifting patterns of South Africa's electorate have been welcomed by The Economist as "good news for those who do not want politics split along ethnic grounds".

But it continues to echo warnings that spiralling violence may make it impossible to hold free and fair elections next year.

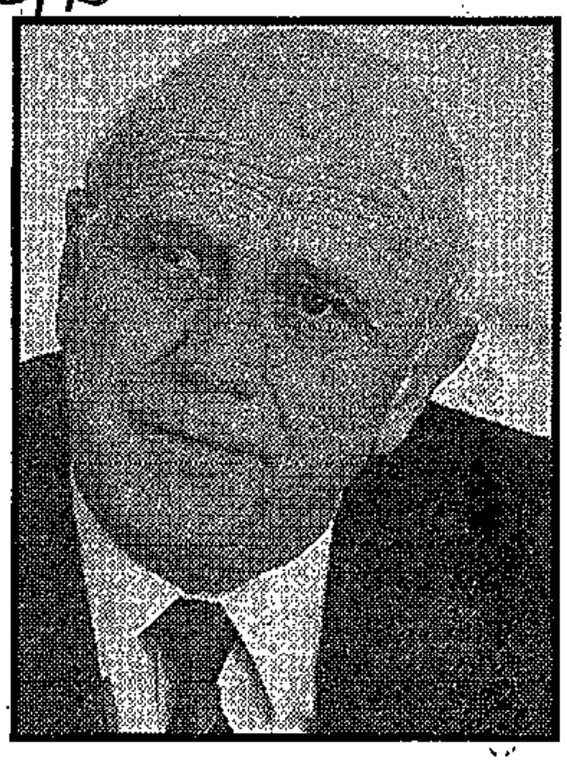
In a report on "the browning of the Nats and the whitening of Inkatha", The Economist reports "radical changes" in the ethnic hue of South Africa's political parties.

It predicts that the National Party will field "a good number of brown candidates, and some black ones too" to demonstrate its conversion to non-racialism.

"In the new South Africa, given things get that far, this could emerge as a party in which whites are in a minority," it adds.

And President De Klerk's loss is Chief Minister Mangosuthu Buthelezi's gain, with many whites — convinced that the National Party has been colluding with the ANC — deserting for the IFP.

However, although these developments reflect a welcome change in the ethnic make-up of the country's traditional parties, Africa Analysis points to the rising death toll in political attacks, quoting peace committee director Peter Harris as asking: "How will people vote if they are too scared to go to the shop to buy a loaf of bread?"



■ **DE KLERK:** His loss is Buthelezi's gain

The journal concludes: "The disruption by ANC zealots of a DP meeting in a black area near Johannesburg on August 7 has reinforced these fears.

"If black militants cannot tolerate its puny presence in the townships, the outlook is bleak if the National Party, which has so far kept out, tries to campaign there."

'We can have a substantially fair poll'

AMANZIMTOTI — The government will do its utmost to ensure a substantially intimidation-free and fair election. (3048 ARG 14/8/93

Home Affairs Minister Danie Schutte said this yesterday at the Natal National Party congress.

"I do not believe we can have an intimidation-free election because I do not believe we have the necessary long tradition of democracy. We can however have a substantially free and fair election on four conditions:

■ The rules of the game — the constitution — should be accepted by 85 to 90 percent of the population;

■ South African leaders should display tolerance and a commitment to a free and fair election;

■ The paramilitary forces and unruly elements should be accommodated in a peace force;

■ We have a reasonable expectation of our aspirations and hopes being met.

Mr Schutte said plans for the establishment of a peace force were far advanced.

An international panel of the Goldstone Commission had recently issued a preliminary report containing important recommendations on violence and intimidation. Most of these recommendations were supported by the government. — Sapa.

Figures that really count

AMANZIMTOTI — An estimated 135 000 staff will be needed for the coming general election, Home Affairs Minister Danie Schutte said at the Natal National Party congress.

Mr Schutte yesterday gave the following statistics in comparing the 1989 general election with next year's requirements (1989 figures in brackets):

■ 7 400 polling stations (2 190);
■ 2 200 polling booths (600);
■ 15 000 ballot boxes (6 300); and
■ 135 000 staff (6 300).

"It is going to be a massive exercise," he said. — Sapa.

Star 14/8/93

FW douses smouldering IFP issue

(304A) (FB)

CHRIS WHITFIELD

AMANZIMTOTI — President de Klerk this week successfully negotiated a political tightrope that had threatened to damage the National Party as it launched its 37-week election campaign.

Faced with divisions from grassroots up to his Cabinet on the thorny issue of how to deal with the Inkatha Freedom Party, De Klerk defused tensions by telling the party faithful in a Durban City Hall rally that he was extending the hand of friendship anew.

On the eve of the NP's Natal congress — where it was thought the issue could come to a head — he said: "I shall continue to try to remove obstacles in the way of better co-operation between the National Party and the IFP.

"In Natal/KwaZulu especially, the National Party and the IFP owe it to voters to maintain a sound and constructive relationship," said De Klerk.

At the same time he did reflect the feeling of those in the party who have grown frustrated at the IFP's talks boycott. The province would get its own regional constitution, but through the NP's bargaining and "not as a result of Inkatha's semantics about federalism, its walkouts or its filibustering".

He was critical of the IFP's style of negotiating and its "skewed propaganda" about the NP.

De Klerk also tried to address fears among some supporters that the NP was getting too close to the ANC.

It was, he said, a "dangerous and untrustworthy party" which did not have "the courage ... to distance itself from communism".

Natal NP leader George Bartlett moved to woo the IFP, calling for the "great Zulu tradition" and monarchy to be respected and for a regional constitution to be drawn up through negotiations in the province. De Klerk's words appeared to have a soothing effect on congress delegates, with little sign of dissension on the Inkatha issue.

The other main theme of the two-day congress was violence. De Klerk's warning that "the levels of violence will have to be drastically reduced before any general election takes place" was echoed by other speakers.

Bartlett said: "It will be totally impractical to hold an election under the present circumstances, because it will be impossible to ensure that the election will be free and fair."

In an apparent reference to the ANC, Bartlett said political opponents claimed they were "ready to govern", yet "in reality, on the ground, in the townships in our metropolitan areas, and the villages and kraals around the country, they are slaughtering each other like flies".

ANC Youth leader

● TO PAGE 2.

Star 14/8/93

De Klerk

● FROM PAGE 1.

Peter Mokaba's reported statement that bullets should be saved for De Klerk and the security forces driven out of the townships came under blistering attack at the conference.

A resolution adopted unanimously by the delegates described the comments as "reprehensible and totally irresponsible". (304A)

It warned that "if there is any bloodshed, it will be on Peter Mokaba's head". (FB)

It called on ANC president Nelson Mandela to give a "clear and unequivocal response" to the comments and called on its representatives at the negotiations in Kempton Park to urgently "demand a debate on this very serious matter".

Disruptions outrage DP youth

Squaring up on right to campaign

Star 14/8/93

(304A)

YOUTH leaders of the Democratic Party are in the forefront of the party's growing battle against political thuggery. FRANS ESTERHUYSE reports.

CAPE TOWN — Moves to assert the right to free political activity are being launched by the DP's youth movement in the wake of violent disruption of the party's activities — allegedly by ANC members — at Orange Farm in the Vaal Triangle and at the University of the Western Cape this week.

DP Youth national chairman Colin Douglas said his movement had requested urgent meetings with the ANC Youth League at national level and in the western Cape to discuss the issue.

Yesterday ANC spokesman Carl Niehaus said that in principle the ANC was opposed to any intimidation or violence and believed any political organisation should have the right to political participation.

Earlier this week a teenager who attacked DP organisers in Orange Farm said he saw no reason why DP members, who had "enjoyed the luxury of apartheid", should be able to canvass for the support of its victims.

Douglas said the first of the inter-youth talks in the PWV region might be held this weekend, with national vice-chairman Patricia Zwane leading the DP Youth delegation.

A similar meeting in the western Cape, possibly next week, would be followed by further discussion between national executive delegations.

Although ANC spokesmen have repeatedly said it is not ANC policy to disrupt other organisations' meetings, the DP has objected to the ANC's blaming the DP for the intolerance.

Douglas said the DP Youth would demand that the league "unequivocally recognise the DP Youth's right to campaign in every part of South Africa.

"We will insist that disciplinary action be taken against league members who have intimidated DP Youth members in townships. If the league fails to make a total commitment to free political activity, the DP Youth warns that it will campaign unrelentingly against the league.

Petition

"If needs be, we will conduct marches, pickets and sit-ins at league offices. We will campaign for harsh action to be taken against the league by peace structures and by the independent electoral commission, and we will petition the league's local and foreign funders to withdraw their support."

After an incident at a DP Youth information table at the University of the Western Cape this week, the movement conducted a four-day campaign on the campus to secure the right to free political activity there.

A DP Youth spokesman said that on Monday, about 70 people, identifying themselves as ANC members, surrounded a DP information table in the students' centre. Other students were barred from coming near.

Party pamphlets were thrown off the table and burnt, and a DP banner was ripped from the table. After about 45 minutes, the DP campaigners staffing the table gave up trying to persuade the ANC group to let them continue, and packed up.

The campaigners promised to return to the campus every day until they were able to conduct their activities freely. This they did, winning university authorities' approval for setting up a table and signing up 10 new members.

At Orange Farm last weekend, youths poured petrol over a DP supporter at an abortive DP meeting. The victim fled after marshals intervened to help him.

DP and United Nations cars were stoned as ANC and PAC youths, some carrying petrol bombs, went on the rampage. Loudhailers and boxes of DP posters and pamphlets were tossed to the ground and burnt.

In Cape Town, the DP Youth said that since it had become a largely black organisation in 1991, the movement had faced "a consistent campaign of harassment, mainly by members and supporters of the ANC, but also by PAC and Azapo members".

Because the youth movement was in the forefront of the DP's township expansion programme, it faced some of the worst intimidation, exacerbated by the fact that many young ANC members had resigned to join the DP Youth.

Against the background of failed elections in Angola and Nigeria and the current conflicts within South Africa, **PROFESSOR LAWRENCE SCHLEMMER,** general manager, Group Social Dynamics at the Human Sciences Research Council, questions the wisdom of rushing into a high-stakes general election next year. He asks if a more gradual, "softly-softly" electoral process would not be more effective.



Weekend Argus 14/15/8/93

'Softly- softly' elections in '94?

SUBSTANTIAL progress has been made in negotiations at the World Trade Centre.

There is at least basic agreement on matters like proportional representation, a bill of rights, a two-tier system of central and regional government, an initial period of agreed coalition government or power sharing and a Transitional Executive Authority to level the political playing field for elections.

These achievements, however, have taken time, time in which all kinds of factions below the level of the negotiating leadership have had time to mobilise.

To reach the agreements mentioned, the negotiating parties have all had to make major concessions, creating uncertainty and disunity within the parties and, all along, the negotiating parties have had one eye on the negotiations and another on the expected elections.

In other words the transition process has become a bewildering maze of agendas at different levels, of double agendas and contradictions.

Taking stock of the situation in mid-1993 is a very disturbing exercise. Success in the further transition depends on the unity and coherence of the major parties, because only they can ensure that major mobilised political interests will accept the outcome of negotiations. Yet this unity and coherence is far from guaranteed:

■ One recent opinion poll (Research Surveys) suggests that the National Party has lost support quite dramatically to the right wing, and now many have less than one-third of white support. The particular poll may have exaggerated the problem, but the trend is valid. The NP is also losing support to the IFP, particularly in Natal. Its ratings are probably at an all-time low in the public service, at least seven out of ten of whom, according to Human Sciences Research Council (HSRC) research, are at highly troubled elections in South Africa, are hardly reassuring.

Two major factors are reassuring, however.

■ First, there is the relative sophistication of the facilitating and monitoring agencies in South Africa — the Goldstone Commission, the Peace Accord structures, the international monitoring industry which is growing daily.

■ Second, there is the realisation within the two major parties, the ANC and the NP, that they have done their best to destroy each other in the past and have failed. For them, compromise is the only alternative left.

This realisation, however, is not shared by the smaller parties, all of whom are bound to feel that the money and other resources of the two biggest parties, have stacked the odds against them. We also have to note that each one of the smaller parties has substantial support among various types of security forces, in central government or in the homelands.

A comprehensive pact between top leaders of all the parties with the capacity to destabilise the outcome was an opportunity missed in 1990 that will not return. South Africa is therefore committed to attempting what many experienced political scientists would regard as impossible — simultaneously introducing a competitive democracy, restructuring a weakened economy and ending endemic political violence.

It may not be too late to build stabilisers into the immediate transition and into the political system after the first election. One is reluctant to make suggestions from the margin of politics, however, the following questions are raised merely as a basis for discussion:

■ **Is it wise to base the shift to multiparty rule on a single, high-stakes and violently competitive event in the form of a general election (the 1994 election will** best uncertain about the implications of a negotiated future for themselves;

■ The ANC is experiencing problems in maintaining its own coherence. The ANC Youth League appears unwilling or at least reluctant to accept the ANC's prohibition of a particular chant ("Kill the boer, kill the farmer") which has clearly affected stability in the country. A recent nationwide teachers' strike organised by the South African Democratic Teachers' Union (Sadtu) which is broadly aligned to the ANC, was organised in spite of ANC unhappiness at the development. ANC-aligned "Self Defence Units" in some townships, by promoting instability, have embarrassed the organisation. Some leaders in the Civic movement have taken positions clearly at odds with the ANC. Opinion polls show substantial support of almost 20 percent for the PAC among 16 to 24-year-old blacks.

These are simply some of the difficulties being experienced within two of the major negotiating organisations. The process is even more problematic on either side of these two parties.

The nature of the political and constitutional deal likely to emerge between the National Party and the ANC cannot conceivably satisfy the demands and expectations of the PAC, the IFP, the CP and AWB and of conservative political interests in some of the homelands.

The strains will deepen as the parties begin preparing for elections and start stating their commitments to followers.

Above all, however, there is ongoing political violence and intimidation which, although not necessarily increasing in its scope, is deepening in intensity and loss of life.

Against a background of failed elections in Angola, Nigeria and, to some degree, Kenya, the serious national fragmentation which has occurred in parts of Eastern Europe and the former Soviet Union, the prospects of a generally acceptable outcome of negotiations, and of what will probably be **undoubtedly be the greatest moment of risk in the transition)?**

■ **Should the first step to shared rule not be a governing council, established for a finite period, which includes leaders of, or people credible within, the political factions which could destabilise the outcome of power-sharing (this council could be based on the Transitional Executive Council which will shortly be established)?**

■ **Should electoral competition not be defused by, for example, first holding municipal elections on a staggered time scale?**

■ **Accepting that a "senate", elected on a different basis than a legislative assembly, has much to commend it as a stabilising constitutionl device, should elections for such senate not be held in regions before a general election, to offer smaller parties their best chance of achieving some electoral successes before the torrid test of a general election?**

These questions might very well fall on deaf ears in the enthusiasm for a "milepost" general election among the larger parties. The international community is likewise promoting a high-key, single test of electoral strength with a vigour which must surely contradict its own experience of democracy in the Third World.

The point is, however, that the party which wins the eventual election must enjoy its right to govern. The signs of unravelling and resistance in this pre-election phase must cast significant doubt on that right.

Is this not the time for careful strategies to make sure that we do not follow in the footsteps of Angola and Nigeria?

■ Extracts of an article which appeared in the most recent issue of the journal, South Africa Foundation Review.

Reaching 20 million people — the challenge of democracy

South 14/8 - 18/8/93

(304A)

PLANNING to get material to 20 million voters before April 27, 1994 began recently when voter education organisations held a distribution workshop in Johannesburg.

The workshop was organised by Matla Trust, under the auspices of the Independent Forum for Election Education (IFEE).

Mr Barry Gilder of Matla Trust gave an overview of the wide range of voter education materials in production. Booklets, comics, a 13-episode television series, videos, theatre, radio programmes, buttons, stickers, T-shirts, posters and other literature are all being prepared to educate voters.

The material would, however, be wasted if it did not reach people who required it.

Distribution in non-government organisations (NGOs) meant simply sending material to offices and then writing a report on how many items had been distributed.

No feedback system existed for establishing whether the material reached the target audience.

The purpose of the workshop was to devise a plan that would ensure voter education material reached the intended audience.

Some of the organisations represented included the Video Suitcase Project, Film and Allied Workers Union, Umanyano Publications, Rural Television, Congress of South African Trade Unions and the Storyteller Group.

Most were either directly involved in producing voter education material, or interested in doing voter education within their constituencies or involved in the distribution of such material.

Distribution on this scale — to 20 million people — has never been attempted and the question of how free and fair an election will be relates to how informed the electorate is.

If the majority of next year's voters go to the polls without knowing their vote is secret, they will be susceptible to intimidation. If they do not know what constitutes a spoilt paper, they may invalidate their vote.

If voters do not know what their alternatives are, they may not be able to make a free choice.

If they do not know that they need some form of identification at the polls, they may lose their opportunity to vote.

Information about all these issues needs to be distributed on as wide a scale as possible if election results are to accurately represent the wishes of the people.

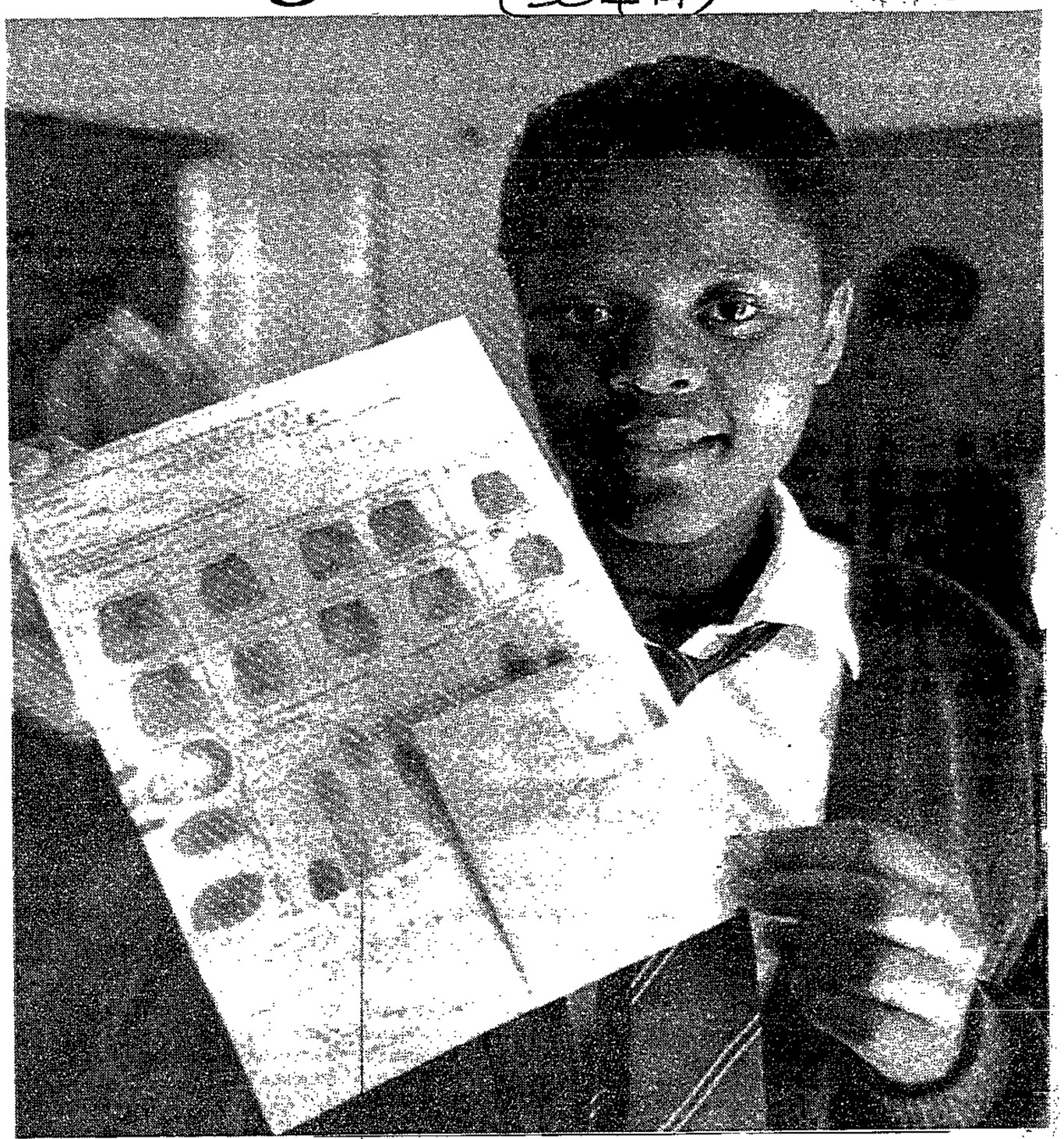
The only way to do this ... to ensure that voter education reaches every corner of the country with materials which cater for all sections of the population, including those in remote rural areas and the illiterate.

Reaching the rural population and the illiterate will present the greatest difficulty. But this may in fact be the section of the electorate which most urgently needs to know how to participate in a process which might eventually improve their lives.

The communications infrastructure of South Africa is highly developed only in urban and peri-urban areas.

A start could be made by using churches, unions, civics, business and other structures already existing as vehicles in the distribution process.

The IFEE will be asked to oversee the national distribution of voter education material.



READY FOR DEMOCRACY: Dora Tshantshane shows off her identity document

Photo: Yunus Mohamed

Political 'hijackers' under fire in Atlantis

SI Times CC Metro

Political Reporter

A TELEVISION programme in which the Democratic Party's chairman for Atlantis, Mr Jeff Leonard, takes up the cudgels for the township's unemployed, has been slammed as "a cheap political stunt".

Mr Danny Oliphant, a Cosatu office-bearer and vice-chairman of the unaligned Atlantis Community Forum (ACF), claimed political parties were trying to claim credit for the "victories" the forum had won for the township.

He said a moratorium on action over service payment arrears had been agreed on at a meeting between the Western Cape Regional Services Council's chief director of finance, Mr P Schenk, and representatives of Atlantis community at the beginning of the week. 15/8/93

The moratorium was a "great victory". It would be in force until January 31. (3049)

"For the first time in a long time, Atlantis residents can feel relaxed," Mr Oliphant said. Our aim is to have all debts written off and let Atlantis start afresh."

In terms of the agreement, the WCRSC has undertaken:

- Not to disconnect electricity and water;
- Not to evict tenants;
- Withdraw all summonses; and
- Freeze arrears until January. (45)

"The political parties make empty promises. The Atlantis Community Forum is apolitical and is not interested in empty promises or in our people surviving on food vouchers alone. We want employment to be created to enable our people to regain their dignity," Mr Oliphant said.

Mr Leonard and Mr Schenk could not be reached for comment yesterday.

Hospital staff plan go-slow

SI Times CC Metro

By JESSICA BEZUIDENHOUT

MORE than 300 hospital workers and nurses who are members of the Public Service League in Worcester intend to embark on an indefinite go-slow, says PSL spokesman for the area Reggie Farao.

The decision had been reached by "unhappy" members, who were disappointed with the government's offer of a five-percent salary increase, Mr Farao said. 16/8/93

Staff would work only two hours a day and, if a crisis arose, would refuse to help, even if this meant hospitals would not run smoothly, he said.

This would also apply to emergency services.

A spokesman for National Education and Health Workers' Union, Pedro George, said Nehawu members would not take part in the strike.

Rationalisation

Mr Farao said PSL members were aware of the serious implications of the strike for services, but had no alternative. (45) (48)

"Our people refuse to accept the government's plans for rationalisation," he said.

Both hospitals in the town were under-staffed and the government was continuing to freeze posts.

Meanwhile, the PSL's general manager, Mr Bernard Wentzel, said the strike was not a national action.

Its branches were autonomous and each could decide according to the needs of its members.

Although the go-slow would contradict the PSL's policy of exploiting other measures to resolve the problem, the organisation would support the Worcester branch, Mr Wentzel said.

Negotiations between the PSL and the government's Commission for Administration would continue this week.

Killing: Identikit ready

By CHIARA CARTER

POLICE are to release an identikit of a man wanted for questioning in connection with the murder of nine-year-old Lorenzo Naidoo of Uitsig, Elsies River.

Lorenzo's body was found at a refuse dump on the corner of 35th Avenue and Modderdam Road on Tuesday.

His shirt was over his head and he had been bludgeoned on the chest. He had not been sexually molested.

Two witnesses told police they had seen a "light-skinned" coloured man in a red tracksuit grab the boy about a kilometre from where his body was found.

Linked

Lorenzo's family last saw him about 6pm on Monday evening when he left on an errand.

A spokesman for the police said an identikit would be released tomorrow.

He said it was too early to comment on speculation that the killing might be linked to the Station Strangler.

However, police were investigating "all possibilities".

In October, 10-year-old Jacobus Louw was found sodomised and strangled at Mnandi Beach, leading to speculation that the Station Strangler was back.

DP hits at ANC's 'tyranny'

ST Times 15/8/93

THE ANC was responsible for a new tyranny which did not allow free thinking, Democratic Party member on the Johannesburg city council Jack Bloom said yesterday.

Speaking at the opening of the DP's Krugersdorp/Kagiso/Munsieville branch on the West Rand, he said the new tyranny was exemplified by the failure of the ANC to unequivocally condemn the disruption of DP meetings. (12-1) (30 4A)

The SA National Civic Organisation, by coming to the defence of the "thugs" which broke up a DP meeting at Orange Farm last weekend, showed Sanco was "racist and flagrantly undemocratic".

"I urge all of you to set a living example of reasoned debate and tolerance for the views of others," he said.

DP Eastern Transvaal vice-chairman William Mnisi said it was racist of opponents to say the DP was a white party when it had always been non-racial. — *Sapa*

Air your views on boundaries

By CLAIRE ROBERTSON

SOUTH Africans are to be given a second chance to have their views heard on proposed regional boundaries for the country. ST Times 16/8/93

Delegates at the World Trade Centre this week asked the co-chairmen of its commission on the demarcation of regions to receive further evidence from interested parties in the "sensitive areas" identified.

A deadline for these submissions, and a mechanism for receiving them, is to be decided upon tomorrow.

The commission received more than 300 submissions during previous sittings before presenting its report last week. That report was criticised as having suffered from time constraints imposed by the Negotiating Council. (202)

"Any fear that there might be an imposition of an 'undemocratic map' are unfounded and misplaced," said planning committee member Pravin Gordhan of the Transvaal and Natal Indian Congress delegation at the talks.

Mr Gordhan said many criticisms of the report were inaccurate and resulted in an "unfair berating of the report".

"The commission in its report clearly emphasised the need for further consultation," he said.

"It also expressed concern over the lack of representation from local communities and the fact that the majority of submissions came from white-establishment interest groups."

The issue of regional boundaries would create tensions in coming weeks between the need to have boundaries of regions written into the interim constitution for the purposes of elections and creation of regions, and the need to allow sufficient time for democratic consultation with the communities concerned, Mr Gordhan said. (204A)

"The public needs to be aware of this. A climate must be created by all concerned which will facilitate constructive and critical discussion and debate on all aspects of regions.

"Differing groups need to hear each other, appreciate their respective concerns and search for common ground on the precise location of boundaries.

"The process of establishing regions is likely to be a long process commencing after agreements have been reached in the Negotiating Council and extending beyond the election."

The key disputes identified included those centred on the PWV, eastern Cape, northern Cape, and the Natal/Cape boundaries.

"There has been intensive emphasis on 'regionalism' in the course of the negotiations," Mr Gordhan said.

"This entails the delimitation of boundaries of regions, defining the political institutions in regions; the powers and functions of regional governments; and agreeing on processes and mechanisms for the immediate co-ordination of old apartheid administrative structures in the new regions and the eventual rationalisation and restructuring of these structures to create a single administration for the new regions."

Unrest may affect poll date — Lekota

JOHANNESBURG. — A top African National Congress official has said the April 27 date set for the first non-racial elections could be changed if the violence does not subside.

Mr Patrick Lekota, on the ANC's election campaign, told the Weekly Mail that although the ANC stood firm on the date, "certain eventualities" might affect it.

"There are two issues that could affect the date," he said. "We are looking at how to combat effectively the levels of violence and on how to get the necessary structures, including the independent electoral commission, in place on time ... we would not refuse to review the situation if necessary."

However, ANC media officer Mr Carl Niehaus said yesterday that the ANC was firm about the elections being held on April 27.

The organisation was not considering the possibility of changing the date, he said.

"We are not going to budge from that particular date."

Mr Niehaus dismissed the report as speculative.

"We believe it is crucial to hold elections as soon as possible on an agreed date, to build confidence and consolidate the gains of democratisation," he said.

President F W de Klerk warned last week that the violence would have to subside before the elections.

The statement was condemned by the ANC, which said it was not up to the minority government unilaterally to determine conditions under which elections could be held.

— Sapa, Own Correspondent

IFP mobilises on local govt

C.T.
Aug. 1993

MARITZBURG. — The Inkatha Freedom Party plans to launch a special caucus to determine local government issues in Natal.

Former MEC for local government Mr Peter Miller, who will help set up the forum, said yesterday there was "enormous grassroots support" in formal local government structures in Natal for the IFP and its stand on federal regional government, but this support was not properly organised.

He added that the IFP rejected solutions imposed upon it by structures such as the Local Government Negoiating Forum in Johannesburg and would become a powerful lobby.

Toll in toil for polls

ST Times CC Metro
15/8/93

ABOUT 135 000 election workers — more than four times the number in 1989 — and about 7 400 polling stations will be required for next year's elections (304A)

Between 18 million and 22 million people are to vote, compared with 5,5 million in the last polls, according to Minister of Home Affairs Mr Danie Schutte.

Mr Schutte said there would be as many polling points as possible to give voters a choice.

Star 16/8/93

Pik Botha warns of intimidation

■ BY KAIZER NYATSUMBA

The National Party will seek to ensure that the question of widespread intimidation of its members in the townships will become a top issue at multiparty negotiations, according to NP Transvaal leader and Foreign Affairs Minister Pik Botha. (204A)

Addressing about 1 000 NP supporters — mostly black, coloured and Indian — at the NP's Greater Johannesburg and Soweto regional convention on Saturday, Botha tore into the ANC, saying it had survived on apartheid over the years and was now frustrated because "nothing can bring apartheid back".

VOTER EDUCATION Various electoral systems ● Party blocs to emerge before election

A to Z of a voter system

Sowetan 16/9/93



This is the fourth in a series of pages aimed at preparing readers for the 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. Closer to elections we will explain how to vote



On the day of the elections, different parties will march under the same banner.

Election pacts on the cards

Sowetan 16/9/93

(304A)

By Mzimasi Ngudle

TWENTY-six parties now taking part in multiparty talks are not likely to contest elections severally.

It appears that some parties will put their weight behind major players and form election pacts.

For example Transkei and Venda governments, KwaNdebele's Intando YeSizwe, Labour Party, Gazankulu's Xinoko Progressive Party, KaNgwane's Inyandza National Movement, Natal/Transvaal Indian Congress, Cape, Transvaal and Orange Free State traditional leaders are some of the parties that can safely be expected to drape ANC colours in the forthcoming elections.

On the other hand the rightwing collision could comprise the Conservative Party, Afrikaner Volksunie, Bophuthatswana and Ciskei governments, Inkatha Freedom Party and KwaZulu Government.

Between the extremes of black and white, some parties fill a penumbra of grey area, which would probably shade off into white and black as the election date draws closer.

Such parties include the incumbents of the former President PW Botha's tricameral parliament like the Solidarity Party and the National People's Party.

Qwaqwa's Dikwankwetla Party, and Lebowa's United Peoples' Front probably fall in the same fold.

There is no indication yet that some parties would embrace the traditionally liberal Democratic Party — a successor to the erstwhile Progressive Federal Party.

Neither is there any likelihood that the National Party government would be able to woo any participants to its platform.

Both the NP and the DP are busy lobbying for black votes, a task made more cumbersome by their history of exclusive participation in the government of the country.

The Pan Africanist Congress is likely to stick to its Africanist orientation, shunning any alliance that might entail "selling out".

The South African Communist Party has indicated that it will urge its supporters to vote ANC.

One significant political formation which is not taking part in the multiparty talks, but may nonetheless vote, is the Azanian Peoples' Organisation.

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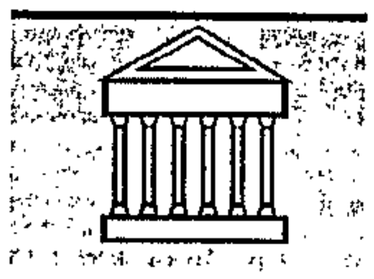
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Candidates eliminated

The exhaustive ballot was used in Eastern Europe. After elections the candidate with the lowest poll is eliminated and another vote held. This continues until a candidate wins at least half the votes.

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PR therefore tends to encourage a proliferation of parties from big to small. For this reason it is usually necessary to agree on a cut off point that is a set number of votes to be gained in order to get one seat. If for example there are 400 seats available and ten parties contest the election it does not mean that even a party that gains 1 000 out of 20 million votes must get a seat.

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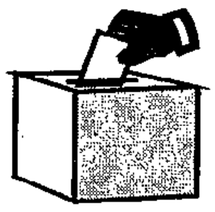
South Africa's proposed Constituent Assembly is likely to have 400 seats. Of these seats, 200 will be filled on the basis of the regional lists.

VOTER EDUCATION Various electoral systems ● Party blocs to emerge before election

A to Z of a voter system

Sowetan 16/8/93

(304A)



This is the fourth in a series of pages aimed at preparing readers for the 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. Closer to elections we will explain how to vote



On the day of the elections, different parties will march under the same banner.

Election pacts on the cards

Sowetan 16/8/93

(304A)

By Mzimasi Ngudle

TWENTY-six parties now taking part in multiparty talks are not likely to contest elections severally.

It appears that some parties will put their weight behind major players and form election pacts.

For example Transkei and Venda governments, KwaNdebele's Intando YeSizwe, Labour Party, Gazankulu's Ximoko Progressive Party, KaNgwane's Inyandza National Movement, Natal/Transvaal Indian Congress, Cape, Transvaal and Orange Free State traditional leaders are some of the parties that can safely be expected to drape ANC colours in the forthcoming elections.

On the other hand the rightwing collision could comprise the Conservative Party, Afrikaner Volksunie, Bophuthatswana and Ciskei governments, Inkatha Freedom Party and KwaZulu Government.

Between the extremes of black and white, some parties fill a penumbra of grey area, which would probably shade off into white and black as the election date draws closer.

Such parties include the incumbents of the former President PW Botha's tricameral parliament like the Solidarity Party and the National People's Party.

Qwaqwa's Dikwankwetla Party, and Lebowa's United Peoples' Front probably fall in the same fold.

There is no indication yet that some parties would embrace the traditionally liberal Democratic Party — a successor to the erstwhile Progressive Federal Party.

Neither is there any likelihood that the National Party government would be able to woo any participants to its platform.

Both the NP and the DP are busy lobbying for black votes, a task made more cumbersome by their history of exclusive participation in the government of the country.

The Pan Africanist Congress is likely to stick to its Africanist orientation, shunning any alliance that might entail "selling out".

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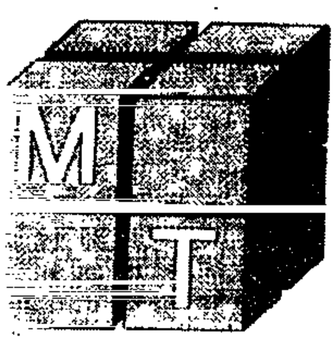
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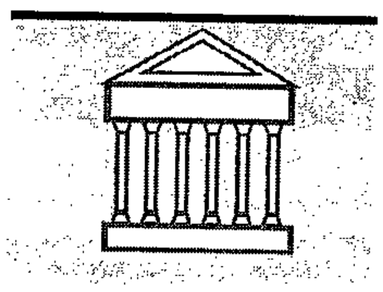
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THE GENEVA CONVENTION *Respect them and ensure that they are respected*

Restoring compassion

By Mathatha Tsedu
Investigations Editor

LOFTY GOALS *Protocols are primarily aimed at banishing man's inhumanity to man:*

THE NEWS ITEM read "Three people were necklaced and eight slain in renewed train attacks in the past two days, as a new wave of violence gripped the Reef and Natal".

Another read "Three gunmen burst into a mortuary and went away with the body..."

These are snippets from South Africa's war zones as violence sweeps the country, leading to abuses of people and the dead.

But it is not happening only here.

Consider these: "Then the firing ceased, but not the massacre. The soldiers rushed into the nearby houses; they smashed, struck down and stole. Then the dead, the dying and the survivors were all loaded on to the same lorries.

"On the way to the hospital and in a pool of blood, the soldiers continued their savagery, using their bayonets to finish off those who were still moving."

Or this: "An International Committee of the Red Cross (ICRC) truck carrying 45 passengers to the airport was diverted in front of the airport in the presence of the authorities and ICRC delegates. Eleven men subsequently disappeared and are presumed to have been executed".

Neurological problems

Or: "Certain prisoners are beaten with iron bars, sticks or cables until they are bleeding; others are suspended from trees with handcuffs, leading in some cases to neurological problems in their hands. Kicking and beating are common currency, as are blows to the genitals."

The last three instances are from across the globe, where wars are being waged with unrelenting ferocity. It could be Bosnia, the Middle East, Africa or South America.

Manmade wars that have turned civilians and opponents into targets of abuse, murder and ill-treatment.

In our own backyards, the violence tearing communities apart has spawned waves of abuse of people, including rape, the wanton murder of women and children, burning people and abducting corpses.

Is this an inevitable by-product of war? Is it not possible for wars and conflicts such as we have in South Africa to be conducted without resorting to the abuse of innocent children?

The truth is it does not have to be so, for humanity has drawn up laws for the conduct of war and the treatment of its victims.

It is what is also known as the law of war.

The laws, now known as international humanitarian law, have their origins in the establishment of the ICRC following a war in Europe, after one shocked man, Henry Dunant, organised relief for wounded victims.

The laws, ratified by 181 states throughout the world, are today known as the Geneva Convention Protocols.

In essence the protocols lay down that even enemies must be treated with respect in times of war. The protocols are founded on the idea of respect for the individual and his/her dignity.

Persons not directly taking part in hostilities and those put out of action through sickness, injury, captivity or any cause must be respected and protected against the effects of war; those who suffer must be aided and cared for without discrimination.

The agreements further prohibit parties in conflict and combatants from attacking the civilian population and civilian targets.

The following are specifically prohibited at all times: murder, torture, corporal punishment, mutilation, outrages upon personal dignity, hostage-taking, collective punishment, execution without regular trial and all cruel and degrading treatment.

Medical services

Medical personnel and medical services are specifically protected and immediate and unhindered passage should be given to them to evacuate injured people.

These are the laws that governments throughout the world have signed and pledged to abide by.

The same governments today rule this world that is beset with atrocities of unbelievable magnitude.

The protocols bind states in conflict, so that the violence in South Africa would not necessarily fall into these categories.

The laws are protecting human lives and dignity, and should apply in all conflicts, said ICRC local chief Mr Vincent Nicod this week.

Only last week ICRC vehicles were caught in cross-fire on the East Rand, with a bullet fired by police missing the driver of the marked vehicle by millimetres.

Five bullets hit the vehicle, and both ICRC and local Red Cross paramedics were twice forced to retreat from assisting the wounded.

Also last week, a building housing the ICRC in Huambo, Angola, was hit by bombs and completely destroyed. The building was marked with the red cross emblem.

In April, two vans belonging to the local and international committees were stolen on the East Rand and in the Vaal, hampering the relief work for which they were used.

In Bosnia, shells from a mortar bomb struck a Red Cross vehicle last year, killing a staffer. Atrocities in the former Yugoslavia have prompted the United Nations Security Council to institute a war crimes tribunal, the first since World War 2 ended in 1945.

As humanity leaps into the technological era, their behaviour is correspondingly declining, leading to this increase in the violations of humanitarian laws.

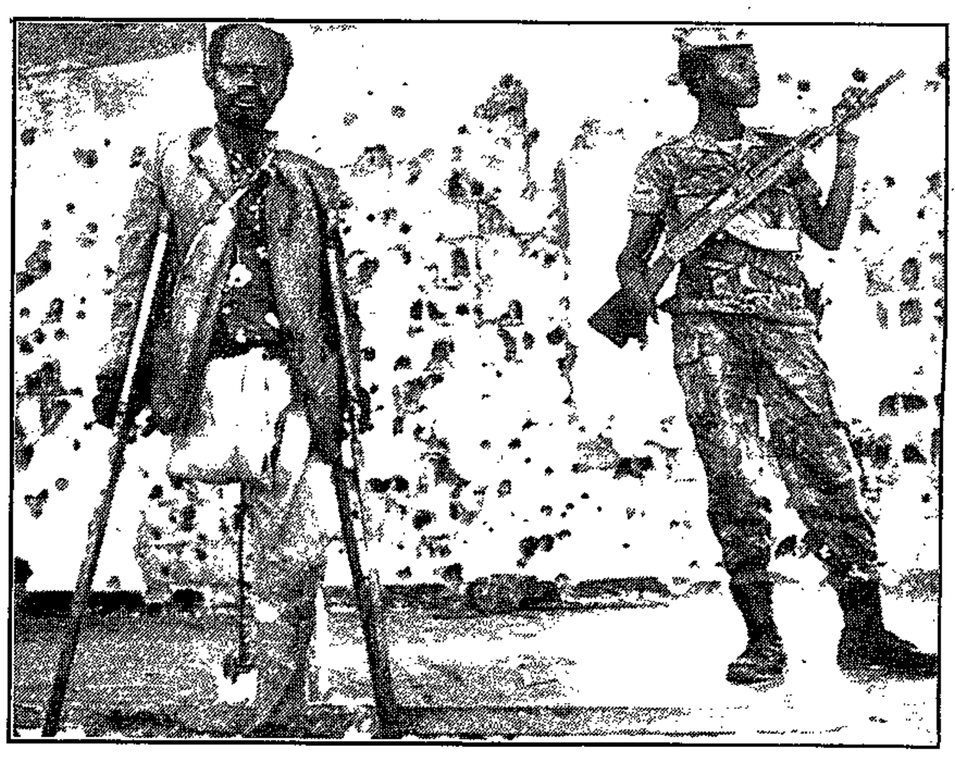
The ICRC, together with the Swiss government, have called the world's leaders together to look at these violations and what can be done.

The conference starts on August 30 and ends two days later. South Africa, which is a signatory to the conventions, has so far not indicated whether it will attend. It recently refused to attend a human rights conference called by the UN.

The conference, to be held in Geneva, Switzerland, cannot pass new laws because those laws that are there now are sufficient to protect humanity.

"What needs to be done is to get governments to abide by the conventions that they themselves drew up and agreed to," said local Red Cross spokesman Mr Derrick Thema this week.

The conference's theme is: "Geneva Conventions -- respect them and ensure that they are respected".



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N1219 M//J/.PTM/93

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THE STAR / WEDNESDAY AUGUST 18 1993

Rethink on walkout threat

Cosag 3 to stay in talks

Star 18/8/93

■ BY CHRIS WHITFIELD and ESTHER WAUGH

South Africa's negotiating processwas last night spared more walkouts. (304A)

A marathon meeting of the three remaining Concerned South Africans Group (Cosag) members at the talks — the Ciskei and Bophuthatswana governments and the Afrikaner Volksunie — in Mmabatho, Bophuthatswana, agreed to stay in "for now".

Also present at the meeting was Conservative Party leader Dr Ferdi Hartzenberg and the Afrikaner Volksfront's General Constand Viljoen. (4B)

Yesterday Ciskei sources had indicated that its negotiators could be out of the talks by Friday. A spokesman in Bisho confirmed that Ciskei ruler Brigadier Oupa Gqozo was in Mmabatho last night for the meeting. (1C5F)

The other Cosag members — the IFP, the KwaZulu government and the CP — walked out of talks on July 2.

President De Klerk said in Cape Town yesterday the Government could not accept that "major parties like the IFP" continued to stay out.

ANC secretary-general Cyril Ramaphosa said the withdrawal of Cosag parties would not put the negotiating process under pressure.

He denied that the process was running behind schedule. The only delay might be caused by the Interim Constitution. Draft legislation would clearly not be ready for the September session of Parliament but would be ready for a later special session this year.



As April gets closer, the President flexes his muscles, reports Political Correspondent Chris Whitfield

FW straining at the leash

Star 16/8/93

Has President de Klerk changed gear? And is he giving vent to long-suppressed kragdadigheid?

Signals in the past few days are that he has grown tired of straining against a leash imposed by the need to consult the country's other major player during what has been a sensitive and extremely delicate phase of the transition.

Certainly what he sees as the battle-lines for the projected April 27 election next year are becoming clearer, and they contain interesting implications — not least being an acknowledgement that it is with the IFP that the National Party once again feels it should form some sort of election partnership.

When De Klerk and Nelson Mandela came face-to-face in Pretoria two weeks ago, the exchanges were, according to insiders from both the ANC and Government, particularly tough. The issue at hand during the meeting in the Presidency was almost exclusively the violence on the East Rand. The four-hour talks were held against the backdrop of a Cabinet decision to pour troops and heavily armoured vehicles into the troubled townships.

In what one senior politician described as their most bitter exchanges yet, Mandela argued that the decision had been taken without sufficient consultation. De Klerk countered that the crisis was of such a nature that the time for talking had passed.

Returned

Given the pressures from their constituencies, the clash was probably inevitable. Mandela had just returned from addressing a crowd at Katlehong's Huntersfield Stadium. Scrawled on a school desk in front of him as he spoke was a blunt message from an anonymous supporter: "No peace. Don't talk about peace. We have heard enough of peace. Please, Mr Mandela, no peace. Give us weapons."

With the threat of haemorrhaging support to those who have no reservations about talking through the barrel of a gun — not to mention concern about his supporters' safety — Mandela's sensitivity on the issue of violence grows. (HFE)

De Klerk, on the other hand, has his own problems. He has been highly prickly of late to charges that his is a "lame duck" government. In a country which likes its leaders to be tough, the perception of ineffectuality has damaged his standing both among existing supporters and among black, Indian and coloured communities who may have been tempted to back him in an election.

Fresh indications (304A)

Until last week he had resisted the temptation to answer those perceptions by indulging in anything that smacked of overtly strong-arm activity. The nature of the East Rand crisis provided an opportunity to act decisively and, the Government believes, justifiably.

Speaking in Durban last Wednesday night, De Klerk, on the eve of the Natal NP congress, gave fresh indications of his thinking. He effectively acknowledged grassroots grumbles when he admitted: the National Party has been relatively silent over a long period. However, the "time for silence" had passed, and he indicated that his speech amounted to the first shots in the NP's election campaign.

Obviously such a campaign is by nature aggressive. Clearly conscious of the row over sending more troops to the East Rand, he also announced that "where necessary" the Government would continue to strengthen the hand of the security forces. But perhaps most revealing in a blunt speech was his characterisation of his political opponents.

Cut down

The ANC was a "dangerous and untrustworthy party" that needed to be cut down to size in elections. It lacked the guts or courage to eliminate the communist beast in its midst. "In the coming election the ANC will be the National Party's main opponent," he told suporters.

In sharp contrast, the Inkatha Freedom Party was a natural partner against a natural opponent, the ANC. "On my part, I shall continue to try to remove obstacles in the way of better co-operation between the National Party and the IFP. On behalf of the National Party, therefore, I extend the hand of friendship anew tonight." In doing so he also made what may prove to be a significant concession to the IFP's position on negotiations, telling the people of KwaZulu/Natal that they would get their "regional constitution". Criticism directed against the IFP was about "procedures" and not policies or principles.

The days and weeks ahead will no doubt prove illuminating, but the signs are that De Klerk now feels negotiations have reached a stage where he can ignore the ANC's sensibilities and settle back into what his political past suggests is a more natural role. In other words, the reformist President feels he no longer needs to shepherd the process to the extent that he has in the past.

The dangers inherent in mistiming a shift back to political in-fighting are huge, but the current equation suggests he may be positioned to get away with it.

Zim talks: New hope for SA

CT 16/8/93 (304A)

VICTORIA FALLS, Zimbabwe. — An audience of South African business leaders liked what they heard when an African businessman called for trust and an end to discord.

Hashim Ismail from Tanzania told an investment conference South Africa was the "most valuable real estate in the world" and urged the 120 delegates to keep it that way.

Hashim's message of hope captured the mood of the recent conference in this northern Zimbabwean resort city to examine South Africa's economic and political future.

"I want to see a torch, a bright light symbolising a new era of trust where before there was discord and mistrust — a light that signifies progress and hope where before there was despondency," he told top businessmen and a sprinkling of rival politicians.

To loud applause, the Dar es Salaam-based Hashim declared: "My only piece of advice to you is that you must resist all attempts at nationalisation. It should be a banned word from your dictionaries. I speak with some experience, coming as I do from Tanzania, where we tried this for 30 years.

"Nationalisation brings about shortages of all commodities, breeds evil and corruption. It's a policy which only takes you back 50 years."

The investment conference, sponsored by Frankel Pollak Vinderine, ended in an upbeat mood, with speakers calling on the country to forge ahead with democratic elections despite political violence.

A resolution of South Africa's political problems, they said, would help curb the high level of violence which, according to one delegate, Lawrence Schlemmer, made the country the "most murderous" in the world. — Sapa-Reuter



Lydia van Rensburg has joined the team at Rent-A-Rig and will be contact person in Cape Town.

'Black govt no disaster'

CT 16/8/93

Staff Reporter

SOUTH AFRICAN Jews "do not regard a black majority government as a disaster or catastrophe" said the National Chairman of the S A Jewish Board of Deputies, Mr Mervyn Smith.

Mr Smith responded yesterday to a statement by the vice-president of Israel's Jewish Agency, Mr Ben Yehuda, that SA Jews were "on the brink of a catastrophe" and would leave because they feared "violence and restrictions on their property" under a black government.

Mr Smith said there was no indication that the ANC was "in any way anti-Semitic".

IFP vows to stay out of the talks

By ANTHONY JOHNSON
Political Correspondent

INKATHA painted itself further into a corner at the weekend by vowing not to return to multi-party negotiations until plans for a constituent assembly (CA) were scrapped.

The Azanian People's Organisation also said it would no longer attend talks or take part in the elections.

The demand places Inkatha on a collision course with most parties at the negotiations — including the ANC, the government and the PAC — as an elected CA, or constitution-writing body, lies at the heart of agreements reached at the World Trade Centre.

The government will meet an Inkatha delegation this morning in a bid to end the deadlock.

A government spokesman said last night the meeting would also be used "to get clarification" on a series of hardline resolutions adopted by the central committee of Inkatha Freedom Party at the weekend.

The resolutions, which rejected multi-party negotiations "as they are presently conceived and conducted", said the current process was "rushing the country to a constitutional and political disaster".

Senior IFP negotiator Mr Walter Felgate emphasised that his party would not return to the negotiating table if the CA was allowed to write the final constitution.

Inkatha wants an election to be held only after the 26 parties have agreed on a final constitution.

However, the government and the ANC said yesterday there could be no climbdown on the CA issue.

Government sources said there was no question of postponing next month's session of Parliament, which will pass legislation for a multi-party Transitional Executive Council (TEC).

Transfer

Inkatha sources said the party was not in a hurry and would continue pressing other parties, particularly the government, for further concessions on federalism and the right of the KwaZulu/Natal region to decide its own future.

Meanwhile, Azapo announced in Durban at the weekend that it would take part only in democratic elections aimed at the transfer of power from "a white minority to a black majority".

Azapo also ruled out participation in the current constitutional talks at the World Trade Centre because "the talks lacked political purpose".

Sowetan 16/9/93

Pik: NP has know-how

THE National Party was the only major political player that could satisfy the democratic principles set by the international community for economic stability and investment in South Africa.

Courage

This was said in Johannesburg on Saturday by Foreign Affairs Minister Mr Pik Botha in an address to about 100 delegates at a meeting of the NP's Johannesburg/Greater Soweto region.

"We are the only major political party that goes into the election with courage, a cause and a case. Only the NP can be trusted with the security of this country. (304A)

"I say categorically: investors will not invest in South Africa unless the National Party obtains a substantial number of votes. But we must not stop there, we must become the majority party to bring about economic stability here."

De Klerk may still carve name in history

(BOTHA) CT 16/8/93



DE KLERK: Has always resisted analogy



GORBACHEV: Socialism was his downfall.



BOTHA: Toppled by neo-apartheid.



HENDRICKSE: Lost the trust of his people.



Pattern of Politics
By HERMANN GILIOMEE

With successive polls showing National Party support down to a dismal 14%-16%, a comparison between the State President, Mr De Klerk, and Mikhail Gorbachev has become the order of the day.

The time is right to investigate this comparison critically.

Understandably, De Klerk has always resisted the analogy, saying frequently: "I have not tried to reform apartheid but to replace it."

On the latter score he is correct. The figure to compare with Gorbachev is in fact P W Botha. It was Gorbachev's socialism and Botha's neo-apartheid that ultimately brought these two leaders crashing down from their respective pinnacles of power.

De Klerk, by contrast, rejected the central tenets of apartheid, and put in their place freedom of association.

Over the last year he has added a new note: the new constitution must be drawn up in such a way that it does not "frustrate the majority" while still safeguarding the values and interests of minorities. Moreover, it is unlikely that De Klerk's formal power base, the NP, will disintegrate like Gorbachev's Communist Party.

Divided

This does not mean that De Klerk's own political future is secure. In his party's circles the rumblings of discontent are becoming louder. A new comparison has surfaced — the rather unflattering one with Mr Allan Hendrickse of the Labour Party.

In this perspective De Klerk, like Mr Hendrickse in the early 1980s, leads a strongly divided communal group. Mr Hendrickse lost the trust of a large section of the coloured community when he did not take the constitution of 1983 back to his constituency by way of referendum. Instead, he stage-managed acceptance by manipulating his party's Federal Congress.

It was this step that made possible the implementation of a constitution that nearly tore our society apart. Like the NP of the early 1980s, the ANC of the 1990s envisages a rather limited role for De Klerk and the NP as coalition partner.

As an ANC spokesman remarked: The movement wants De Klerk in the first post-apartheid government in a position where he has "much prestige but very little actual power".

In 1984 President Botha had exactly the same job description in mind for Mr Hendrickse.

Ability

But the NP influence in strategic sectors of society far outweighs that of the Labour Party. In my view, if the NP manages to get its act together in the run-up to an election many conservatives, along with present DP sympathisers, will throw in their weight behind it for the simple reason that they will fear wasting their vote on a party that may not reach the threshold which will be required in the proportional representation system.

The question has been raised whether De Klerk has lost the ability he showed in 1990 and 1991 of generating enthusiasm for leadership across colour lines.

In my view, that enthusiasm was misinterpreted. Blacks rightly saw De Klerk as helping to throw off the yoke of apartheid but this did not mean that they would actually vote for the NP.

We have ample advance evidence that the ANC can count on a huge wave of black enthusiasm. A new Human Sciences Research Council study reveals that as things now stand the overwhelming majority of blacks will go out and enthusiastically vote for the ANC. They see it as a vote for "liberation and peace".

Author Donald Horowitz calls such liberation elections an ethnic census which registers not choice between different policies but birth affiliation.

With polls indicating that only 1% of blacks support the NP and less than 5% of whites the ANC such an ethnic census is on the cards in the next election.

Divergent

Needless to say, in an ethnic census type of election no politican in De Klerk's position can make much of a dent — even if he had the charisma of a Kennedy, the grand vision of a De Gaulle, and the steadfastness of a Thatcher.

De Klerk and the NP's first priority now should be to consolidate its existing base in order to fight another day, when it becomes clear that the ANC cannot hope to satisfy all the divergent interests of the different parts of its contituency.

To do so, De Klerk will have to make some very tough decisions, otherwise his party will continue to lose support to the IFP.

The first of these is the obligation to restore stability by means that are acceptable in the international community. De Klerk has mooted the possibility of another state of emergency, subject to strict safeguards.

Coupled to this is the question whether the election date should be put off. De Klerk's qualities as a strong man have not been much in evidence, because he believes so strongly in the capacity of people to use reason to arrive at an effective compromise. Yet order has unravelled so ominously in South Africa that the first obligation of the State is now to prevent a descent into anarchy.

Referendum

De Klerk should also very carefully consider the obligations to his own constituency. He is still bound to his promise to hold a referendum if the constitution ultimately accepted deviates substantially from the NP's proposals.

The option of a whites-only referendum in the face of black opposition seems foreclosed but there is still the possibility of a referendum among the entire population which De Klerk mooted in a speech in January 1992.

Above all, De Klerk should play open cards with his own party members. Any attempt to use a carefully manipulated NP Federal Congress to rubberstamp major deviations from the party's constitutional proposals will be considered as reneging on his promises. Moreover, he will in fact start looking very much like Allan Hendrickse.

The best scenario, however, is for De Klerk to secure all his major constitutional objectives in the Kempton Park negotiations. The fact that the NP has managed to move the ANC so far away from its original "democratic centralism" is a vindication of De Klerk's belief that a middle ground can indeed be built in South Africa.

If the middle ground holds in a government of national unity De Klerk may still carve his name in history alongside those other informers who managed to keep [illegible] effective bases.

'Use bodies to stop overthow'

GT 16/8/93

(3049)

Political Staff

VRYHEID. — Afrikaners should use the "Yeltsin option" to protect the local governments they control — by using their bodies to prevent their overthrow by "communist elements".

This was the prevailing theme of the Conservative Party's annual Natal congress here at the weekend.

The congress also backed the incorporation of parts of Natal into an Afrikaner "volkstaat".

CP leader and Afrikanervolksfront (AVF) chairman Dr Ferdi Hartzenberg called for a campaign of resistance against the "unitary" constitutional blueprint.

The congress agreed to demand referendums in municipal areas to oppose the government's planned amalgamation of municipalities with nominated members of the ANC-aligned civic organisations and other non-statutory bodies.

● Inkatha came under fire by some delegates at the conference for seeking the whole of Natal for Zulu self-determination.

Star 16/8/93

'Officials burnt IDs to sabotage poll'

(304A)

■ STAFF REPORTER

Fears that the Home Affairs Department is trying to "sabotage" next year's election will be raised by ANC secretary-general Cyril Ramaphosa at the World Trade Centre today.

This follows claims that thousands of identity documents for black people have been burnt by Home Affairs officials near Barberton in the eastern Transvaal.

The Sunday Nation newspaper yesterday said it had discovered hundreds of such partially destroyed documents after being tipped off by residents from Emjindini township.

Most of the identity documents were for black youths.

Ramaphosa called on the Home Affairs Department to immediately stop issuing identity documents and to have nothing to do with the election. He said a full investigation into the matter was needed.

The ANC's eastern Transvaal region was trying to establish a structure similar to one in the PWV area, where ANC and Home Affairs officials liaised to ensure the efficient issuing of documents, he added.

■ Home Affairs Minister Danie Schutte said last night he knew nothing about the claims, but promised to investigate them "first thing" today.

Government agrees to give up Walvis Bay

Sowetan 17/8/93

By Themba Molefe
Political Correspondent

THE South African Government has agreed to give up its hold on Walvis Bay and is to formulate legislation to finally effect its incorporation to Namibia before April next year.

Effectively, Walvis Bay will be part of Namibia before South Africa's first democratic elections on April 27 next year.

This decision was taken in the negotiating chambers of the World Trade Centre. It was welcomed by Namibian Foreign Ministry spokesman Mr Andreas Goebeb who was at the talks yesterday.

Emotive argument

Agreement was reached after a heated and emotive argument started by Foreign Affairs Minister Pik Botha.

Botha came under fire from African National Congress general secretary Mr Cyril Ramaphosa for using "strong and insulting" langnage during the debate.

Botha, who took offence at a statement that the Government was delaying on giving up Walvis Bay, said that was "nonsense", immediately evoking rebuke from the ANC.

Insulting insinuation

He withdrew the statement, but not before saying he felt insulted himself by the insinuation. The Government had inherited Walvis Bay from British colonialists who annexed it over a century ago, he said.

Yesterday's resolution said the South African and Namibian governments should meet urgently to finalise outstanding matters for the incorporation of Walvis Bay and the Off-shore Islands at the earliest opportunity.

According to the resolution, Pretoria is to give a continuous progress report to the multiparty negotiating council and/or the Transitional Executive Council.

Uproar over burnt IDs

Star 17/8/93

With only seven months to go to the country's first democratic elections, the destruction of identity documents constituted "the greatest sabotage of elections", says ANC secretary-general Cyril Ramaphosa. (238)

Last night he showed the Negotiating Council at Kempton Park a plastic bag filled with mutilated identity documents found near Barberton. (3044)

This follows a report which said the Department of Home Affairs had burnt thousands of IDs for blacks in an attempt to sabotage the April 27 election.

Yesterday Home Affairs director-general Piet Colyn vigorously denied the allegations.

He said the Barberton office of his department was burgled during February and about 1 800 IDs were stolen. Of those, 514 were found by the police in a veld nearby.

Last night Ramaphosa proposed that:

- The Department of Home Affairs be joined by members of the Negotiating Council in issuing identity documents.
- The international community immediately begin the process of preparing the country for the election to ensure it is fair and transparent.
- The Negotiating Council "engage" Home Affairs in the matter.
- An independent investigation immediately be launched into the burning of the documents. — Political Staff.

Church killings suspect in court

CAPE TOWN — A 17-year-old Khayelitsha youth detained in connection with the St James' Church killings in Kenilworth, Cape Town, was denied bail when he appeared briefly in the Wynberg Magistrate's Court yesterday.

The youth, a Standard 8 pupil, was not asked to plead. He wore leg irons and there was a heavy police presence.

Eleven people died and more than 50 were injured when four gunmen sprayed the church congregation with automatic fire on the night of July 25.

The prosecutor told the court he had applied to the attorney-general for an order prohibiting bail.

He asked that the matter be postponed to August 30, which would give the attorney-general the 14 days allowed him to reach a decision on bail.

Magistrate J G van Zyl granted the requested postponement.

The youth's lawyer said his client was being held under Section 50 of the Criminal Procedure Act.

Police said the youth was not — as had been reported by international news agencies — a member of the PAC's student wing.

Our Cape Town correspondent reports PAC Khayelitsha Site B branch chairman Gybon Mkula has been released from police custody after he was detained for questioning in connection with the killings.

Mkula was detained on August 7 and released on Sunday, SAP spokesman Capt John Sterrenberg said.

Sterrenberg declined to give further details of Mkula's detention or release. — Sapa.

Inkatha slams Roelf as talks stalemate

B/Day 17/8/93

A MEETING between government and the Inkatha Freedom Party failed to make any headway yesterday in getting Inkatha back to the talks.

After the meeting Inkatha negotiator Walter Felgate attacked Constitutional Development Minister Roelf Meyer.

"He has no understanding of Inkatha and its politics, nor does he have an understanding of ANC politics. In short he and government do not understand black politics and therefore they keep getting everything wrong," he said.

He was adamant his party would reject returning to negotiations if a two-phased approach, in which a constitutional assembly would be elected, was still on track.

If the process continued without Inkatha the chances of a "bloodbath" would increase dramatically. "However, we are trying everything to avoid this bloodbath."

However, Inkatha has collapsed its three different negotiating teams into one "super team" to continue separate bilateral meetings with the ANC and government. Felgate said his party rejected any joint meetings with the ANC and government.

However, a senior planning committee member said yesterday the committee had begun addressing outstanding matters, such as the controversial resolution giving the go-ahead for the two-phase process.

He said they were trying to find a way "to build bridges and give comfort to those parties who had a problem with this". But the committee had not yet got round to working out mechanisms to address this.

"I think there is a very real probability of us resolving the deadlock and overcoming the strong objections of Inkatha," he said.

BILLY PADDOCK

Felgate said the only way Inkatha would rejoin the process was if the resolution was altered to allow a so-called single phase process to be explored alongside the two-phase. This would mean that a constitution be finalised in this negotiating council and not by an elected body. "But then the issue of sufficient consensus also has to be changed to suit our interpretation of it."

However, Inkatha could not return before the court case, challenging the sufficient consensus decisions of the negotiating council, was concluded.

It is understood Inkatha believes draft legislation being prepared by the negotiating council has reached an advanced stage and there are too few working days left before the month-end for it to substantially influence this legislation.

The implication of Inkatha's position is that it will not participate in interim structures, including the transitional executive council, making it difficult to implement legislation designed to level the playing fields prior to the election.

Felgate said: "The problem is that they are going ahead and trying to implement legislation which we reject. . . ."

However, he said it was a measure of how far negotiations had progressed that the difficult issues, which normally got left to the end, were confronted. "This is where there is a greater possibility of achieving a breakthrough," he said.

Council changes on track — Delport

B/Day 17/8/93

PLANS to install multiracial councils before the end of the year were going ahead, Local Government Minister Tertius Delport said yesterday.

He also denied weekend reports that government was backing down on the issue following right-wing pressure.

The reports had created a "completely incorrect perception" that government wanted to scrap the plan. Although legislation to enact the plan into law would be delayed, it did not mean government was retreating.

He said agreement was reached at last week's meeting of the local government negotiating forum management committee — at which all parties on the forum were present — on several reasons for delaying the plan.

Negotiators hoped to have legislation tabled in October to integrate black and white councils.

Civic Association of Johannesburg general secretary Cas Coovadia said

GAVIN DU VENAGE

yesterday delays to legislation demonstrated government's unwillingness to relinquish power, Sapa reports.

Delport was allowing democracy to be sacrificed at the altar of groupings that would refuse to give up power.

SA National Civic Organisation general secretary Dan Mofokeng said government and the Transvaal Municipal Association's attempts to "derail and stall" local government changes showed their commitment to white minority rule and repression.

On Sunday the PWV region said it would insist that interim joint black and white local authorities be in place by November.

ANC PWV local government head Mathole Motshekga said: "We cannot allow ourselves to be blackmailed by the racist position of some of the rural conservative town councils who are refusing to sit together with black people in one council."

The Afrikaner Volksfront warned yesterday its mobilisation would continue until government declared that joint non-racial local authorities would not be considered during September's parliamentary session. Volksfront secretary-general Koos Bischoff said such a move would immediately give the ANC control over all local authorities.

The organisation also began a house-to-house distribution of 35 000 pamphlets in Durban yesterday to oppose the planned reform of local government in the city, spokesman Duncan du Bois confirmed.

DP spokesman Jasper Walsh yesterday blamed right-wing elements and the local government negotiating forum for the slow pace of local government talks.

● Comment: Page 6

Govt team backs down

Beaten by 'sufficient consensus'

By ANTHONY JOHNSON

THE government has been defeated by the principle of "sufficient consensus" for the first time and has backed down over international representation on the Independent Electoral Commission (IEC).

After a heated debate in which a number of parties ganged up against the government/NP negotiators yesterday, the government backed down when the chairman, Mr L Landers, ruled that a sufficient number of parties had agreed to carry the motion in favour of international representation.

D-DAY FOR PEACE FORCE
— PAGE 2

Up to five extra members, from the international community, may be added to the commission.

A senior government source said last night that there would "be hell to pay if Inkatha hears about this" because the IFP had staged a walkout from multi-party talks on July 2 because it had been denied a veto right under the sufficient consensus ruling.

During the showdown the government argued that even expert international panels advising the Goldstone Commission had proposed that the IEC not contain any international representatives, as this would be seen as interference in the Republic's internal affairs.

The ruling means that the government has been hoisted with its own petard, but the Minister of Home Affairs, Mr Danie Schutte, said last night that the showdown with the ANC/SACP alliance had been unnecessary as the differences that had emerged could have been resolved by other means.

During the debate Mr Schutte had appealed to delegates "not to be prescriptive but flexible" on the issue of international involvement in the IEC, but he was overruled.

CT 18/8/93 (30uA)



CARNIVAL LOVELIES . . . Annabel Biggar, 17, of Portlands, and Venus Arendse, 17, of Westridge, are two of the entrants in the Miss Carnival '93 contest at Portlands High School in Mitchells Plain.

Picture: ANNE LAING

Pupils teach pupils

CT 18/8/93 (21) (30c)

Staff Reporter

PUPILS in township schools countrywide are teaching each other in "Each One Teach One" campaigns while their teachers are out on strike.

Teachers at many schools have prepared work schedules for their pupils to ensure that learning continues while they are on strike, according to the National Education Co-



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FW on poll date

PRESIDENT FW de Klerk yesterday reaffirmed the Government's commitment to the April 27 election date, saying it was bound by the time frames of the multiparty negotiating process. Sowetan

"We have announced the time frames and we regard ourselves as bound to them," De Klerk said in Pretoria where he received the credentials of the ambassadors of Korea and Gabon. 17/8/93

"We will establish a representative government of national unity after the elections and this will bring in an era of order and stability for our country," he said. 3014

(3014A) 2692 ARG 17/8/93

Regionalism vital after poll — expert

☐ Format worked for Germany, why not in SA?

TOS WENTZEL
Political Staff

THE recognition of regionalism has been one of the major breakthroughs at the constitutional negotiations, says Marinus Wiechers, professor of constitutional and international law at the University of South Africa.

He said that, in spite of uncertainty about the borders of regions, planning on this issue should go ahead so it could be implemented after an election.

Professor Wiechers was speaking in Cape Town at a conference on the distribution of powers and functions in a future South Africa, sponsored by the Konrad Adenauer Foundation.

Hartmut Perschau, Minister of the Interior of the German federal state of Sachsen Anhalt, agreed with Professor Wiechers.

He said a final decision of regions should be taken soon, but warned that historical developments should be taken into account in the demarcation of regions.

A region whose inhabitants were closely related should not be divided into different states or united with another state where they could be outvoted.

He encouraged South Africans to move towards federation.

This system had been a motivating force for the process of democratisation in Germany, said Mr Perschau.

Without participation of people at a local govermment level there could not be true democracy.

Professor Wiechers said the next six months would be crucial for South Africa.

The country had moved from a pre-revolutionary situation and although the situation was volatile there was hope because realities were being faced.

The acceptance of federalism and the need to divide powers between central and regional governments were some of the most important developments.

While there was uncertainty about the demarcation of regions there could in some cases be provisional or "soft" borders.

Remaining problems included "pockets of power" created in independent Bantustans and the self-governing homelands.

De Beer rules out pact with NP

(3044) ARG 17/8/93

Political Correspondent

DEMOCRATIC Party leader Zach de Beer has ruled out the possibility of an election pact with the National Party.

Speaking in Port Alfred today, Dr De Beer said the DP would seek a "civilised relationship" with the NP.

"But we do not think it would be in South Africa's best interest for us to submerge our independence or our identity in a deal with the NP."

However, the DP would "serve conscientiously" in a government of national unity, "working with the Nats whenever we share common aims".

Dr De Beer predicted that, well before election day, the DP would cease to be regarded as a white party "and will have a centrist position".

'Solve issue on regions before poll'

CT 17/8/93

Staff Reporter

3049

THE demarcation of regional boundaries would have to be resolved during multi-party talks before the election next year, as there was great uncertainty about the issue, Unisa rector Professor Marinus Wiechers said yesterday.

Addressing a two-day conference at a city hotel on the Division of Powers and Functions in a Future South Africa, organised by the Democracy Development Programme, he said although the concept of regionalism had gained momentum, there was no clarity about boundaries.

Political stability, greater economic certainty and the effective management of metropolitan areas was needed for future economic growth, said the UWC's Mr Philip van Ryneveld.

He said power would have to be decentralised to achieve unity and it was likely regional parties would hold the balance of power in the future.

German Interior Minister Mr Hartmut Perschau said federalism can only develop fully when important principles were in place like the protection of fundamental rights, protection of ethnic minorities, separation of powers and an independent judiciary.

Destroyed ID books 'stolen in February'

PRETORIA. — Incinerated identity documents that were found in Barberton had been stolen from the Department of Home Affairs in February, director-general Mr Piet Colyn said yesterday.

B0449 CT 17/8/93

The Sunday Nation newspaper said it had discovered the partially destroyed documents after a tip-off from Emjindini township residents.

Mr Colyn dismissed the newspaper's allegation that the department was destroying ID books to stop people voting. — Sapa

Talks face more walkout threats

SOUTH Africa's negotiation process, already under pressure to meet important target dates, is facing more walkouts.

Last night the three remaining Concerned South Africans Group members at the talks — the Ciskei and Bophuthatswana governments and the Afrikaner Volksunie — met in Mmabatho, Bophuthatswana, to discuss their continued participation.

Also present with the organisations' respective leaders was the Conservative Party's Dr Ferdi Hartzenberg.

Ciskei sources have indicated that they could be out of the talks by Friday. A spokesman in Bisho confirmed that Ciskei ruler Brigadier Oupa Gqozo was in Mmabatho last night for the meeting.

Bophuthatswana negotiator Mr Ephraim Keikelame said he was unaware of any plans to walk out.

Afrikaner Volksunie leader Mr Andries Beyers said the organisation was waiting for the issue of self-determination to be debated later this week before deciding on its position.

President FW de Klerk said in Cape Town yesterday that the Government "will not and cannot accept that major parties like the IFP" continued to stay out of talks.

ANC general secretary Mr Cyril Ramaphosa said the withdrawal of Cosag parties would not put the negotiating process under pressure.

Viljoen appeals for an 'Afrikaner Israel'

DIRK VAN EEDEN

BLOEMFONTEIN — The Afrikaner would use his military and political might to create a balance of power and defend farmers' property rights, Afrikaner Volksfront director Gen Constand Viljoen said yesterday.

Opening the Free State Agricultural Union's congress, he said stability could be reached only through a balance of political and military powers. B/Day

"If all the military power is concentrated in the hands of one dominating political party, the consequences will be dire."

Plans made at the multiparty negotiations would leave the Afrikaner dominated in all the regions. 18/8/93

The biggest threat to security and peace in a future SA was the possibility that the ANC/SACP alliance would abuse their political strength by taking away Afrikaners' land, Viljoen said. (3044)

"The Boer Afrikaner's entire existence centres around his land. Do not touch it."

Farmers provided stability in times of crisis and to defend land, one had to live on it and cultivate it.

The outlook on land differed between black and white people. "Black people do not believe land can be owned privately."

The Volksfront therefore called for an "Afrikaner Israel". Here the Afrikaner could promote Western values and his own culture and it would be a spiritual home even for Afrikaners not living in the region.

Also, the region would, by drawing on Afrikaner expertise in agriculture, be able to provide food for the rest of SA.

However, the Afrikaner would never submit himself to the new SA with the current leaders in power.

In his presidential address to the congress, union leader Piet Gous said political decisions made this year would have a greater impact on agriculture than drought or financial crises.

In the African context, the protection of ownership in a constitution had never been a guarantee for the continued exercising of ownership rights, he said. "For us ownership is something precious, we will not discard it easily and peacefully."

Agriculture could not escape the consequences of the proposed constitutional dispensation, Gous said.

Farm security would remain a nightmare and farmers would be declared targets in a racial war as long as black people were told their land had been stolen from them and they would govern the whole of SA after the elections.

Farmers now had to decide whether they were going to accept an ANC/SACP government which had a declared policy of nationalisation. This was the primary question on which to base a decision about continuing farming.

If they refused to submit to such policy, farmers had to unite in a bid to stem ANC/SACP dominance.

Kriel warns farmers about loans

DIRK VAN EEDEN

BLOEMFONTEIN — Agriculture Minister Kraai van Niekerk warned farmers yesterday it was becoming increasingly difficult for government to bail them out of financial problems. B/Day 18/8/93

Addressing the Free State Agricultural Union's congress, Van Niekerk said farmers had to realise government would not be able to help them if they could not earn the interest on their loans through farming.

Farmers had to sharpen their managerial skills and realise success did not depend on the size of their crops, but on what they sold and at what price. They also had to adapt their living standards to the economic output of their farms.

However, he assured them government intended to protect their property rights. "We are standing firm on property rights. If it is not part of the negotiated settlement, we are not part of it either."

The weather, economy and politics were all against farmers and no policy could provide a quick fix.

It was essential for black and white agricultural unions to come together in one power bloc to negotiate with goverment.

Earlier yesterday Van Niekerk issued a statement in Pretoria expressing concern about reports claiming red meat imports were causing problems for producers.

Sapa reports he said imports constituted only about 3% of local consumption and were used for essential manufacturing purposes, such as meat canning.

Import tariffs provided adequate protection for the industry and beef imports had dropped considerably, he said.

Cosag decides to stay in talks

BILLY PADDOCK

BOPHUTHATSWANA, Ciskei and the Afrikaner Volksunie decided at an urgent meeting in Mmabatho last night to remain in multiparty talks.

The Concerned South Africans Group (Cosag) members have been caught in a tug-of-war between the Inkatha Freedom Party and the negotiating forum. Their leaders, excluding Inkatha president Mangosuthu Buthelezi who is in Zambia, decided it was worth staying in talks while their views were being taken into account.

However, Bophuthatswana chief negotiator Rowan Cronje said after the meeting that key issues had to be resolved to bridge the differences over the role of an elected constituent assembly. The constitution had to be comprehensive and the constitutional principles needed to be "fleshed out and made a lot clearer", and a constitutional court needed to be more clearly defined.

The deadlock-breaking mechanism was unacceptable especially if the interim constitution was in force for only a few months. (30(4A)(b)(ii)(bb))

Cosag would not be able to remain in talks if the constituent assembly was able to rewrite the constitution, Cronje said.

Earlier yesterday there were indications that Ciskei would bow to pressure from Inkatha and walk out of talks today.

On Monday Ciskei chief negotiator Micky Webb asked the planning committee to suspend negotiations while parties met in an attempt to resolve differences over regional powers and functions in the draft constitution. This was refused but the committee decided that parallel discussions should take place. B/Day

It is understood that Constitutional Development Minister Roelf Meyer made a last-ditch effort yesterday to persuade Ciskei military leader Oupa Gqozo not to pull out. According to a source, Meyer put forward a proposal which, if accepted, would mean that Gqozo could not withdraw this week. It was speculated that Meyer had asked Gqozo to wait for the third draft constitution, scheduled to be sent to parties on Friday. 18/8/93

Last night Cronje said he was confident that the negotiators would find a way of addressing the problems and "giving comfort to those parties that want to leave the process and those that had already left".

☐ To Page 2

Cosag B/Day

☐ From Page 1

But it is understood that he has come under pressure from Buthelezi not to break ranks so as to give Cosag more leverage.

Cronje and Webb are represented on key committees and argue that Cosag can fight in the council, while Inkatha tries to force concessions from outside. 18/8/93

Meanwhile, negotiators indicated yesterday that if the TBVC states did not reincorporate and join the transitional executive council (TEC), they could face severe fiscal pressure. (11B)

During the debate on the TEC, the ANC alliance, government and the NP made it clear that all fiscal transfers and customs union agreements would come under review and renegotiation. (11B)(30(4A))

The committee drafting the legislation has not made proposals in this regard yet. It was instructed to finalise proposals under the finance subcouncil.

Bophuthatswana gets 55% of its revenue from fiscal transfers, customs union agreements and exemptions from excise duties. Transkei 71%, Ciskei 76% and Venda 77%.

Bophuthatswana argued that the fiscal transfers, which represented 23% of its revenue, were aid and not necessarily taxpayers' money. It also argued that more than 25% of its revenue was tied up in customs union agreements.

However, Public Enterprises Minister Dawie de Villiers said there was a need for transparency. All state expenditure had to come under the TEC's scrutiny.

The debate was postponed to next week.

● See Page 8

DP 'NO' to NP pact

Sowetan 18/8/93

DEMOCRATIC Party leader Mr Zach de Beer has ruled out the possibly of an election pact with the National Party.

Speaking in Port Alfred yesterday, De Beer said the DP would seek a "civilised relationship" with the NP.

"But we do not think it would be in South Africa's best interest for us to submerge our independence or our identity in a deal with the National Party." (304A)

He said there was a false perception that the DP was a white party. In view of this, a deal with the Nats could create the impression of whites "ganging up to protect as much of their privilege as possible". — *Sowetan Correspondent.*

Blacks and boere may clash

Sowetan 18/8/93

THE marked difference in the viewpoints of South African farmers and blacks could lead to clashes.

This was said by Afrikaner Volksfront leader General Constand Viljoen when he opened the Free State Agricultural Union annual congress in Bloemfontein yesterday.

Viljoen said a farmer considered his land holy and every farmer looked forward to his heirs continuing to work that land (304A)

The Pan Africanist Congress' land policy stated that market forces could not operate in the redistribution of land, and land would have to be expropriated. This would create a problem for farmers, said Viljoen.

He referred to an "Israel for Afrikaners" where they would have self-determination and not be rejected in their own country.

This "Israel" had to be in food-producing parts of South Africa.

Afrikaners would have to fight for their survival, he said.

Viljoen said the dangers to success were the lack of a plan, division among Afrikaners and the "old Afrikaner habit of so many people, so many plans".

Another danger was Afrikaner laxness. If they did not express their views and exercise pressure, politicians would not listen to them. — *Sapa*.

Boost for new SA investment

High-powered delegation of US politicians flies in tomorrow

ARG 18/8/93 3(4A)

PETER FABRICIUS, The Argus Foreign Service

WASHINGTON. — A delegation of American legislators is due to arrive in South Africa tomorrow on a fact-finding mission aimed at preparing for the lifting of state sanctions and the start of new investment.

The legislators are members of the Eastern Regional Conference of the Council of State Governments (ERC-CSG) which represents state legislatures of eastern states.

They are guests of the Southern African Forum — an organisation of businessmen which brings foreign visitors to South Africa and whose chairman is supermarket chief Mr Raymond Ackerman — and will meet a wide range of leaders over the next two weeks.

The group, mostly Democrats, includes Speaker of the New York Assembly Saul Weprin, New York State Assemblyman Robert Wertz, Massachusetts senator W Paul White, chairman of the Senate Banks and Banking Committee, Massachusetts representative Stephen J Karol and Connecticut representative Barbara Ireland.

Sanctions are still on the statute books of 166 American states, counties and cities but the process of repealing them is expected to begin as soon as a Transitional Executive Council is in place in South Africa.

Earlier predictions were that this would happen in September, although ANC secretary for foreign affairs Thabo Mbeki seems to believe it might only happen in October.

In a recent letter to the Los Angeles City Council, urging it to grant an exemption to its sanctions legislation for a company with South African links, Mr Mbeki said the ANC would officially call for the lifting of remaining sanctions when a TEC was established in "September/October."

Sanctions monitors caution that it could take a while for sanctions to be removed from the statute books once the go-ahead is given.

Some state legislatures only meet every two years. Many legislatures with sanctions have begun to investigate lifting them but the process does not seem to be far advanced.

Mr Alan Sokolow, director of the ERC-CSG, who is leading the delegation, said that for South Africa to become a successful society, it would need an economic boom and that would require the involvement of America and other industrial countries.

Mr Sokolow said in an interview here that the delegation would be meeting leaders in politics, government, business and religion in all the main centres to try to get a sense of how the process of democratisation was going and what America could do to help it.

If the delegation liked what it found it would return to the US to use its influence to persuade state legislatures to speed up the repeal of sanctions.

Some members of the delegation might also have enough influence to persuade investors to go into South Africa, Mr Sokolow said.

Cosag set to stay in talks 'for now'

Political Staff

JOHANNESBURG. — South Africa's negotiating process, already under pressure to meet important target dates, has been spared more walkouts.

A marathon meeting of the three remaining Concerned South Africans Group (Cosag) members at the talks — the Ciskei and Bophuthatswana governments and the Afrikaner Volksunie — in Mmabatho in Bophuthatswana to discuss continued participation, ended in agreement that they would stay in "for now".

Also present at the meeting between the organisations' respective leaders was Conservative Party leader Ferdi Hartzenberg and the Afrikaner Volksfront's Constand Viljoen.

Yesterday Ciskei sources indicated its negotiators could be out of the talks by Friday..

The Bophuthatswana and Afrikaner Volksunie delegations indicated they would be reconsidering their positions.

But a source indicated last night that the meeting had patched up differences of approach between various Cosag members and the organisations would remain in the talks.

Sapa reported that a source indicated that Ciskei leader Oupa Gqozo would be putting forward initiatives arising out of last night's meeting to a Cosag meeting in Pretoria on Thursday next week.

It said Bophuthatswana's Rowan Cronje said his delegation would stay in the talks as long as others listened to its views and were prepared to negotiate.

Reliable negotiations sources have indicated that Cosag approached Bophuthatswana president Lucas Mangope directly with a request to join an alternative "federalist" forum.

Afrikaner Volksunie leader Andries Beyers said earlier yesterday his organisation was waiting for the issue of self determination to be debated this week before deciding on its position.

The struggle for true federalism has only just begun

DAVID WELSH

B/Day 18/8/93

AS THE debate on regional powers proceeds, the parallels with the debates surrounding federalism before the adoption of the Union constitution in 1909 become increasingly striking.

The context then was quite different, apart from the fundamental fact that only white delegates participated in the National Convention. The federalist banner was carried by the Natal delegates and a handful of Cape liberals. The conservative Natal contingent feared domination by the Dutch; the Cape liberals feared a northern onslaught on the Cape's cautiously liberal system, notably its qualified nonracial franchise.

As the record shows, the unitarist proposals of Smuts and Merriman (and their shameless misrepresentation of how contemporary federations actually worked) steamrolled the puny federalist opposition into accepting what was a unitary constitution. With the notable exception of the great Cape federalist W P Schreiner (whose legal commitments prevented him from attending the National Convention) the federalists accepted the pseudo-federal fig-leaves in the constitution as the real thing.

Provincial government, from the start, provided little resistance to the hegemonic aspirations of a central government that, especially after 1948, increasingly viewed provincial and local government as a mere conveyor belt for executing the policy of apartheid. Central government became a ruthless Leviathan. The assurances offered to gullible federalists in 1909 were shown to be valueless.

Whether the adoption of federalism in 1909 would have prevented, or at least inhibited, the degeneration of SA into the mess of apartheid is a question that even the exact science of hindsight cannot answer. It is doubtful that it would have, but this is no argument for the futility of constitutional efforts to erect safeguards against a future overbearingly centralist government.

The most important argument for federalism remains as relevant today as it was in 1909 when Olive Schreiner wrote: "The walls of each self-governing state (or SPRs in MPNF-speak) are so many barricades, each one of which must be broken down before any oppressive overdomination can absolutely succeed; and behind any one of which a successful resistance may take place when others have fallen. In short, it makes for freedom."

Federalism is no guarantee of democratic freedom. In the old American South, the doctrine of states' rights and an 1896 Supreme Court decision that legalised segregation helped to preserve racism. But, more commonly, federalism has served as a counter to hegemonic tendencies and as a means of underpinning the pluralism of society. If parties that lose out at the centre can gain footholds at the regional level, the quest for political stability can be assisted.

So far much of the public debate has been rather arid because of a tendency to see issues in strictly legalistic terms — no doubt attributable to the dominance of lawyers in the process. The actual terms of a constitution and thus, the role of constitutional lawyers, are of critical importance, but the flesh and blood of a constitution is determined by the politicians and parties who operate it. (3044)

Federation is a type of government that requires a high degree of "rule consciousness" for its successful working; but it is no less true that how parties and people mobilise will shape the way in which a constitution will evolve. Pressure from Quebec has made Canada a far more decentralised federalism than it was 20 years ago; mobilisation around linguistic-regional interests has pushed unitary Belgium into federalism; Spain is far advanced towards federalism for similar reasons; and Italy will probably decentralise under pressure from increasingly regionalist influence from the north.

Another tendency in our debates has been the attempt to indulge in "creative fudging" of issues. It is seen clearly in the efforts to blur the distinction between formally federal and formally unitary states by creating large "concurrent" powers (shared between the central and regional governments) in the hope that somehow the future political process will sort out these issues.

This strategy could work in a society that is largely consensual and "feels federal" — where there is widespread consensus that a federal system is desirable. Unhappily for SA, the levels of mistrust are so high, and the tussle for the precise specification of powers so intense, that the constitution will have to be very detailed if there is to be any hope of substantial consensus.

By specifying 16 powers as exclusive regional legislative competences, and providing for mechanisms that prevent central government encroachment, the second draft outline of the interim constitution enters the terrain of federalism proper. Critics will argue that the powers are not very significant ones and that, in any case, some (like town planning and ambulance services) encroach on functions that should be the preserve of local authorities. Very important functions like education, health and local policing are specified as concurrent.

The draft, however, makes a concession to federalists by vesting language policy in the regional governments and also giving regions the power to draft their own constitutions, which will obviously have to be democratic and subject to the national scope of the Bill of Rights.

Overall, the draft provides for a kind of federalism that veers towards the centralist end of the federalist continuum, but with the potential for becoming more decentralised if the dynamic of federal systems pushes it in that direction. The degree of regional mobilisation will be the crucial variable.

As it stands, the draft will be unacceptable to the Inkatha Freedom Party, and much of the right wing. It is hard to see how the latter are going to get any better offer than a northwest Cape region in which brown Afrikaners will outnumber white Afrikaners by four to one. Constand Viljoen described this option to me as "fourth prize", but it is better than the wooden spoon.

The KwaZulu Legislative Assembly's constitution adopted in December 1992 provides for so decentralised a form of government that the centre would be toothless. Even to a devout federalist like me, that is unacceptable. SA will need a coherent and effective central government, not a weak body that verges on being confederal council (like the US before 1787).

There is no easy way out of the deadlock. If Inkatha is indulging in brinkmanship it is a very dangerous game. Buthelezi played more of a role in stopping apartheid in its tracks than his detractors acknowledge. He will not want to go down in history as the man who plunged SA into civil war. The same goes for Constand Viljoen.

It is a little ironic that Inkatha, after a long record of opposing boycotts, sanctions and the like, now boycotts the constitutional talks. They should get back in and press their demands. Their capacity to steer SA in a more federal direction will depend on their electoral strength. That is a challenge they cannot duck.

☐ Welsh is professor of Southern Africa Studies at UCT.

Election fraud 'not a factor'

ADRIAN HADLAND

PRETORIA — Attempted electoral fraud was unlikely to be a significant factor in the coming election, Home Affairs director-general Piet Colyn said yesterday.

The department estimated that 4 000 people in SA had illegal or forged identity documents, only a small fraction of the country's 22-million potential voters.

The small number of fake documents, together with measures which would have to be agreed on and implemented by the independent electoral commission, would minimise dangers which had caused problems in other countries. B/Day

Proper logistical planning — sufficient ballot papers, booths, equipment and transportation schedules — would prevent a repetition of problems experienced during Angola's elections last year when booths opened hours before ballot papers had arrived. 19/8/93

Angola had also suffered from an insufficient number of international observers.

Colyn said a prominent presence of observers was needed to ensure SA's 7 400 polling booths were monitored.

But a decision on how many observers would participate in monitoring the election would have to be determined by international agencies and organisations themselves.

Mobile polling stations and regional communication centres would prevent any voter from having to travel more than 10km, Colyn said.

Ultraviolet lights, used successfully during the referendum last year, and secret stamps on the back of official ballot papers would also contribute to a free and fair election.

The procedure from when a voter entered a polling station to when he left would be controlled in a way which would allow little chance of fraud, Colyn said. (304A)

'Squatters to get vote' call

By PETER DENNEHY

EVERY permanent resident older than 18, including squatters and lodgers, should have the municipal vote, the Cape Town City Council decided yesterday.

This is a major departure from the province's property-based franchise where only those who own or lease property and their spouses may vote for local councillors. Other adults may not vote.

However, the council voted 15-12 in favour of retaining the voting rights of "fictitious persons" such as companies, provided that these have only one vote for each office they own or lease within the municipality..

Also yesterday, the council agreed that a metropolitan council should be greater Cape Town's main local taxing authority "with responsibility to pool and redistribute finances".

● White councils get warning — Page 5

CT 18/8/93 (304A)

Call to hold local elections

PRETORIA. — Instead of disbanding elected local councils to appoint interim councils, municipal elections should be held, political analyst Prof Willem Kleynhans said yesterday. (252)

He said municipal elections would not only serve to educate voters but would also be the best dress-rehearsal for next year's general elections. (304A)

He condemned the plan to dismiss properly elected officials and to replace them with nominated office-bearers. — Sapa CT 18/8/93

Envoys Sowetan are put right 19/8/93

By Themba Molefe

WOMEN delegates at the World Trade Centre yesterday sent a clear message to the Press: we are politicians, take us seriously because we are not here as men's appendages but as equals. (3044)

Calling itself the Women's Caucus, the group represents the 23-party negotiating council. The caucus has launched research into perceptions of women's participation at the talks. A questionnaire is to be distributed among both men and women delegates in the process.

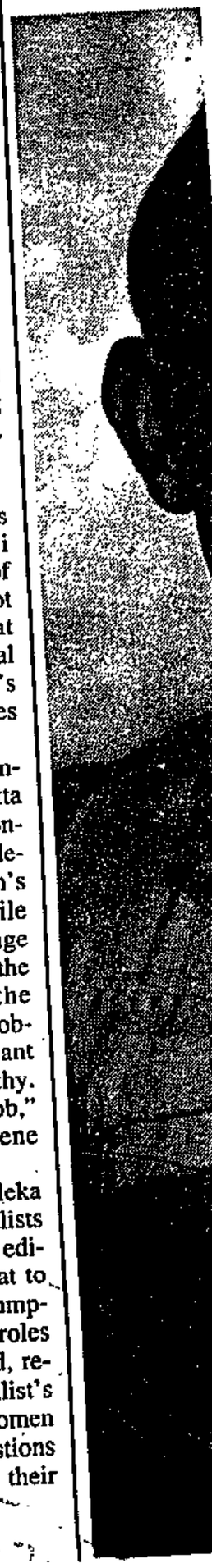
The women objected to what it termed "derogatory" remarks, either in the media or in the WTC corridors, referring to them either as the male delegates' "escorts" or "laundry". At a news conference specifically called to voice their objections to the lack or little coverage of the women's input in the talks, the caucus said the media ignored the gains women have made in contributing to the constitutional debate.

Criticism

African National Congress delegate .Ms Mavivi Manzini said criticism of women participants was not positive. "The fact that women are here as political parties and not as women's organisations underscores gains in our struggle."

The South African Communist Party's Mrs Loretta Jacobus said: "Women contribute to the political debate here and not women's issues." However, while accepting as a challenge that women had seats at the negotiating table, the Democratic Party said objective journalism meant criticism and not empathy. "Let the Press do its job," said DP MP Mrs Dene Smuts.

The ANC's Mrs Baleka Kgositsile said journalists should question their editors' decisions on what to publish or omit. "Assumptions about women's roles should stop," she said, responding to a journalist's question why some women delegates evaded questions by referring them to their male colleagues.



Star 19/8/93

IFP not vital at table – FW

■ BY CHRIS WHITFIELD
POLITICAL CORRESPONDENT

President de Klerk last night suggested for the first time that constitutional negotiations could be completed without the Inkatha Freedom Party rejoining the talks table.

But he insisted he was not contemplating a "go-it-alone" option. All major players "must support the final result and the first new constitution".

He appears to be contemplating a process in which negotiations continue at Kempton Park's World Trade Centre while simultaneous and intensive bilateral discussions with the IFP are held.

The President also:

■ Indicated there was "no possibility" the Government would accede to the salary demands of the SA Democratic Teachers' Union.

■ Rejected suggestions that Afrikaans would not be an official language.

■ Called on the ANC to take action against those — such as ANC Youth League leader Peter Mokaba — who used inflammatory language.

On the possibility that negotiations could be successfully concluded without the IFP at the table, De Klerk said: "I think that one of the options can be that agreements can be negotiated in a process which is not necessarily concentrated around specifically one table."

All agreements made were being studied in bilateral talks with the IFP "to ensure that agreements have the support of all the major players".

On speculation that Afrikaans could be dropped as an official language, he said its status was "non-negotiable".

He would be "looking for foreign investment" on his eight-day visit to Uruguay, Chile, Paraguay and Argentina.

▶ **FW dashes teachers' pleas — Page 3**

Star 19/8/93

FW dashes teachers' pleas

■ BY PHIL MOLEFE

President de Klerk dashed hopes of a new Government offer on teachers' salaries when he said yesterday there was no possibility to consider the high demands of the South African Democratic Teachers' Union.

De Klerk said Sadtu demands fell "far outside" the limited amount set aside by the Government for civil servants.

"These claims would result in a marked tax increase and this is not possible. If we want a sound economy and the inflation rate to stay down, we must adhere to our Budget and strong budgetary control," he said.

De Klerk said the best interests of the country's children demanded a sound economy. "What the children needed now is the teachers."

Meanwhile, talks between the Government, education officials and teachers' representatives are expected to continue in Cape Town today in a bid to halt the three-day-old strike.

The meeting, hosted by the Department of National Education, will be attended by officials of various education departments as well as Sadtu representatives.

Sadtu said the meeting could have a pivotal effect on the duration of the strike.

Black schools countrywide have ground to a virtual halt as the teachers' strike continues with no end in sight.

The 70 000-strong union is demanding a 20 percent across-the-board salary increase and the Government is offering 6,7 percent.

In Soweto, Sadtu's local branch arranged a series of sports matches at the Elkah stadium to keep the protesters busy.

CT 19/8/93 (304A) (2854)

Progress on army control

By BARRY STREEK

SIGNIFICANT progress has been made in tricky negotiations between the government and the ANC on the control of the security forces, including their intelligence wings.

It has now been agreed that sub-councils on law and order, stability and security, defence and intelligence will be established under the Transitional Executive Council.

The ANC released a bulletin yesterday containing the agreements on the police and defence, an interview with the head of the ANC's security department, Mr Joe Nhlanhla, and interviews with people involved in the negotiations. It has been freely acknowledged by all parties that secret negotiations have been taking place and considerable progress has been made.

The bulletin said the sub-council on defence, as provided in the draft bill to be submitted to Parliament, would be "kept informed by each military force regarding the planning, preparation and execution of any action."

It would also investigate through an independent body any breach of a code of conduct.

Mr Nhanhla said in an article, published yesterday by Die Suid-Afrikaan, that the continued existence of Military Intelligence and the Special Forces was not at issue, but they had to be legitimate and accountable. "At present, MI is a bloated, bureaucratic structure."

He also said preparations should be made to integrate the TBVC armies, MK and Apla into a future defence force.

● Cosag negotiators Mr Rowan Cronje and Mr Micky Webb yesterday said member parties were being drawn closer together.

Victory for women at talks

JOHANNESBURG. — Women negotiators won a small but important victory at the negotiations yesterday with the appointment of two women to the previously all-male planning committee.

Two women were also appointed to join the six men who take turns in chairing proceedings in the negotiating council.

Ms Corlia Kruger of the Afrikaner Volksunie and Ms Stella Sigcau from the Transkei will join the planning committee, and Ms Baleka Kgositsile of the ANC and Ms Marthe-Ann Finnemore of the DP will assist in chairing proceedings. — Sapa

De Klerk considers two-tier talks

☐IFP and other leaders warned negotiations could be completed without them

Political Staff

CITY/NATIONAL

PRETORIA. — President De Klerk last night suggested for the first time that constitutional negotiations could be completed without the Inkatha Freedom Party and others at the talks table.

But he insisted he was not contemplating a "go-it-alone" option and that the IFP and all major players "must support the final result and the first new constitution".

What Mr De Klerk appeared to be contemplating was a process in which negotiations continued at Kempton Park's World Trade Centre while simultaneous and intensive bilateral discussions with the IFP were held to include their input.

In a wide-ranging Press conference the President also:

- Bluntly indicated there was "no possibility" the government would give in to the South African Democratic Teachers' Union's salary demands;
- Rejected suggestions Afrikaans would not be among the country's official languages in a new dispensation; and,
- Called on the African National Congress to discipline those such as Youth League leader Peter Mokaba who used inflammatory language.

Asked if it was possible the negotiation process could be successfully concluded without the IFP, Mr De Klerk said: "I think one of the options can be that agreements can be negotiated in a process that is not necessarily concentrated around specifically one table.

"It is one option, yes, but there are other options. And we are looking at all options."

He added that all agreements being reached were being studied in bilateral talks with the IFP "to ensure that agreements have the support of all the major players."

He had earlier indicated it was not the process that was important, but the final result.

He said that during the most recent meeting between the government and the IFP, the IFP had raised the possibility of intensifying discussions, with which he agreed.

"Therefore we are doing our level best in intensified bilateral talks to find ways to remove the stumbling blocks," he said.

Mr De Klerk said of speculation that Afrikaans could be dropped as an official language that the government's position was that vested rights should not be narrowed, but broadened, in this case to include other languages.

"I want to make it clear that the National Party and government have a very, very strong view on the status of Afrikaans," he said, adding that this was a "non-negotiable".

He also denied government had shifted its position on Walvis Bay by agreeing to its incorporation into Namibia, saying the possibility had been "foreseen".

But he said the final decision on the incorporation of the enclave and the nearby islands could be taken only once the government was satisfied the vested interests of South African citizens were safeguarded.

He revealed that a meeting between Foreign Minister Pik Botha and his Namibian counterpart Theo-Ben Guribab to discuss "outstanding matters" had already been arranged.

Asked about ANC Youth leader Peter Mokaba's recent remarks — including a call to save bullets for him — Mr De Klerk said the ANC was "moving in the right direction" by distancing itself from the remarks, but it should go further and take disciplinary action against those indulging in inflammatory rhetoric.

Inkatha 'will not be excluded'

FW confident that talks will stay on track

B'Day 19/8/93

304A

ADRIAN HADLAND

PRETORIA — Despite the Inkatha Freedom Party's absence from the negotiating forum, President F W de Klerk said yesterday he was confident ways could be found to include it in the decision-making process.

He told a news conference that while a proposed constitution needed the support of all major parties, the option did exist for agreements to be reached outside of the World Trade Centre. "One option can be that agreements are negotiated in a process that is not necessarily concentrated around one table."

Far from excluding or sidelining Inkatha, government had agreed to "continuing and intensified" talks to seek ways of removing stumbling blocks. Inkatha had proposed specific agendas for further meetings and government was "prepared and anxious" to accept these proposals.

Government and the ANC have been holding behind-the-scenes meetings with Inkatha in an attempt to find ways of accommodating its demands. This week's decision by other members of the Concerned South Africans Group (Cosag) to remain in talks has broadened their focus.

BILLY PADDOCK reports that the planning committee is to meet today to examine ways of dealing with the parties' differences on the process to be followed in the run-up to the elections. High on the agenda will be Cosag's concerns about the comprehensiveness of the interim constitution and to what extent it can be rewritten by the elected constituent assembly.

Cosag negotiators Rowan Cronje and Micky Webb said the group's loose alliance was growing stronger and Cosag now spoke with a single voice. They indicated that the "pro-federalists" were considering a forum to devise strategy and enter into talks with other parties.

Cronje said the interim constitution could be in force for only three months before a final constitution was drafted. This raised many problems, including the fact that regions would not have organised and negotiated their own constitutions, and a credible constitutional court would not have been established.

He said Cosag wanted to find ways of bridging the gap between those parties wanting a final constitution to be drafted in the negotiating forum, with parliament being entitled only to amend it, and those demanding that the final product be drafted by the elected body.

A more difficult problem was the deadlock-breaking mechanism, which has been raised by Cosag and the DP.

The negotiating council adjourned last night after wrapping up debate on the independent electoral commission and the in-

☐ To Page 2

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dependent media commission. The electoral commission committee has redrafting to do, while the debate on the media commission was essentially finalised.

In his wide-ranging news conference yesterday, De Klerk tried to allay fears that the violence would delay next April's elections. "We are not making progress as quickly as was earlier anticipated, but progress is being made."

(304A)

He touched on the issues of the status of Afrikaans as an official language, the statements by ANC Youth League leader Peter Mokaba, the handover of Walvis Bay, and his visit to South America.

☐ Afrikaans had a long history as one of SA's official languages and it would be a backward step "if we were even to consider the possibility" of taking away its official status, De Klerk said. The country should be thinking about broadening language rights, rather than narrowing them.

☐ He called on the ANC to implement disciplinary measures against any members who made inflammatory speeches. "We are prepared to do exactly that with NP members."

☐ Until proper safeguards were in place to guarantee the rights of SA citizens, Walvis Bay would not be ceded to Namibia. Foreign Minister Pik Botha would meet his Namibian counterpart Ben Gurirab to discuss outstanding matters concerning the transfer, De Klerk said.

☐ There was considerable scope for expanding trade links with Uruguay, Paraguay, Chile and Argentina and he would encourage these countries to invest in SA.

Meanwhile, the negotiating council yesterday disclosed that its legal team to fight the KwaZulu court action on sufficient consensus and the election date would be headed by London-based lawyer Sydney Kentridge. The case will be prepared by SA advocates Wim Trengove, Gilbert Marcus and Pius Langa. Instructing attorneys are Cheadle, Thomsom and Haysom. Halton Cheadle and Fink Haysom are involved in the negotiating council — Haysom serves on the technical committee drafting legislation to establish a transitional executive council and Cheadle represents the SACP as a negotiator on fundamental human rights.

Postponing poll could provoke more violence

(304A) CT 19/8/93

By JACK SPENCE

TO THE visitor, South Africa presents some bewildering contrasts: the economy — we are told — is beginning its steep climb out of recession; July — according to the chilling statistics of the South Africa Institute of Race Relations, was the second worst month for political violence since September 1984.

The multi-party talks at the World Trade Centre grind on; despite Chief Buthelezi's brinkmanship, the centre — the De Klerk-Mandela axis — contrives to hold as both leaders, conscious of the need to placate divided constituencies, display a creative ambivalence, attacking each other in public but nonetheless still committed to collaboration on constitutional progress in the short term and power-sharing thereafter.

But concentrating the minds of all the protagonists (and the public at large) is the prospect of elections just nine months away.

This event constitutes a defining moment in South Africa's tortured history, an attempt to transform state and society via an electoral process within existing frontiers and avoid the fragmentation produced by the collapse of authoritarian rule elsewhere. Yet, as the Goldstone Commission's report on elections and violence rightly stresses, "time is the enemy": so much to be done in so short a time, not least the establishment of an Independent Electoral Commission sufficiently credible to make the many decisions involved in supervising a novel and complex electoral process.



DECISIONS: Government negotiators help to hammer out a blueprint for a New South Africa at the World Trade Centre talks attended by more than 20 parties.

Postponement

Not surprisingly, there is talk of postponement if the level of violence does not decline to an "acceptable level" — the bleak jargon one associates with the "troubles" in Ulster. But to the outsider this seems a gospel of despair. It is not clear that postponement will help matters; if anything it could provoke more violence from those with disappointed expectations and all too ready to believe in Machiavellian conspiracy on the part of the state.

As for the Buthelezi factor, it is difficult to see how deliberate self-exclusion from the electoral process can work to his ultimate political advantage. His opponents in the multiparty negotiating forum have conceded the principle of regionalism, although its substance remains a subject of fierce debate. Moreover, Western governments will maintain polite but firm pressure on the IFP to desist from spoiling tactics and accept membership of the Transitional Executive Council. And once locked in to the business of day-to-day government, it will be difficult to withdraw without damaging Chief Buthelezi's reputation, perhaps beyond repair.

Voter education will be crucial if the election is to be deemed "free and fair" in however rough and ready a manner. The ordinary voter, especially in those areas where intimidation threatens, will have to be convinced that his or her vote is secret.

Restraint

Party activists will have to recognise the need for restraint in the conduct of their campaigns. And to deter those disinclined to observe rules of electoral behaviour, the IEC will require a range of graduated sanctions (from fines in the first instance to the ultimate sanction of exclusion from the electoral process). This was the clear thrust of the Goldstone report together with the emphasis placed on the need for a "peace-keeping service" — a "multi-party structure" under civilian control, designed to manage the security dimension of the process.

All this may seem hopelessly unrealistic to the sceptic. Yet — as the course of the multi-party negotiations have demonstrated — South Africans have a capacity to improvise, to find compromises in the teeth of what seem to be immutable obstacles and fixed positions. Neither should the role of the international community be ignored in this context. Certainly "peace-keeping", let alone "peace-making", cannot be expected, not simply because of sensitivity about South Africa's sovereignty but because neither the will nor the resources required to sustain such intervention are available to the UN and other international organisations. And even if they were, the mandate governing the operations of such a course would be impossible to define satisfactorily as the debate about Bosnia has shown.

Western policy

In short, Western policy towards South Africa will follow Walter Bagehot's classic prescription: "To advise, to warn, to be consulted". This is not to be despised as the presence of monitors and observers in substantial numbers co-operating with their local counterparts will be invaluable in strenghthening the role of the IEC, adding a vital increment of deterrence against bad behaviour as well as transparency to the electoral process.

Finally, the consequences of failure in this the supreme test of South Africa's political maturity are "too ghastly to contemplate". The outside world wishes this country well, but if "chaos does come again", interest will return to indifference as leader writers speculate on the parallels with the Lebanon and the Latin experience of poverty, corrupt government and urban decay.

□ *Professor Spence is Director of Studies at the Royal Institute of International Affairs, London. He has been acting as an expert witness to the Goldstone Commission's inquiry into the curbing of violence and intimidation before, during, and after the forthcoming South African election.*

'Govt is still in charge'

(Govt) CT 19/8/93

PRETORIA. — The perception that the government was taking orders from Kempton Park was totally wrong, State President F W de Klerk said yesterday.

"The government remains the executive authority in South Africa until a legally elected new government of national unity takes over," he said at a news conference here.

The government was a negotiating party and bound itself to agreements entered into.

Mr De Klerk said good continuous government could not come to a standstill because of the negotiations.

"We are not making progress as quickly as was earlier anticipated but progress is being made." The timetable for the envisaged election, however, could be adhered to, he added.

He emphasised that all the major roleplayers would have to support a new constitution before it was implemented, adding he was confident this would happen.

It would be "extremely unwise to go it alone," he said.

Bilateral meetings had also been held in recent weeks with parties representing the right-wing, Mr De Klerk said. — Own Correspondent, Sapa

Viljoen's picture of volkstaat

Star 20/8/93

BY JACQUELINE MYBURGH

The regional map of South Africa as proposed by the ANC and the Government was intended to divide and destroy the Afrikaner piece by piece, Afrikaner Volksfront leader General Constand Viljoen told an enthusiastic crowd of supporters last night (2453)

The Afrikaner would not accept having apartheid replaced by a "New South Africa domination", he told the about 2 000-strong crowd at the Portuguese Hall in Turffontein, Johannesburg.

Explaining the Volksfront submissions on the creation of a volkstaat, Viljoen said such a region would be loosely connected with the rest of the country, "because we are not trusting the new partners in this game".

He said the volkstaat would be the main food producing area in SA and an important example of peace and stability to the rest of the country.

(3044)

Sexwale calls for audit of govt

JOHANNESBURG. — The National Party should be audited so that the ANC could see what it would be taking over, ANC PWV regional chairman Mr Tokyo Sexwale told an American Chamber of Commerce luncheon here yesterday. (304A)

"Before you buy a company you investigate its (accounting) books. We want to do the same with this government. We want to see if the family silver has been stolen."

He said the new constitution needed safeguards such as an auditor-general and an independent judiciary. CT2/8/93

Mr Sexwale said he could not understand what the opposition in negotiations to such safeguards were when they would act as a watchdog on a government of ANC president Mr Nelson Mandela and not of President F W de Klerk.

"The government has to be accountable," he said.

He said South Africa had to have a new constitution in place when it emerged from the transitional mechanism. If not, "the lights will go out in the country".

Mr Sexwale said it was critical for the people, especially the youth, to understand the new South Africa was about ploughing and not harvesting so they did not expect too much.

"To save the youth of this country we must create jobs in the formal sector." — Sapa

'IFP says no to 'two-tables'

ET 20/8/93

JOHANNESBURG. — The Inkatha Freedom Party yesterday rejected a "two-table" approach to negotiations suggested by President F W de Klerk as a way to resolve an impasse in multi-party talks.

Mr De Klerk for the first time on Wednesday said democracy talks could be completed without Inkatha.

He hinted at a process in which talks would continue at the World Trade Centre without Inkatha, which walked out on July 2, while intensive bilateral discussions be held with the party so as to include its input.

"One option can be that agreements are negotiated in a process that is not necessarily concentrated around one table," he said.

But Inkatha negotiator Mr Walter Felgate dismissed the option in a radio interview yesterday, saying that Inkatha "is not going to help implement decisions we did not agree with and from which we are excluded".

Mr Felgate said bilaterals should be used to explore ways to make it possible for Inkatha to return to the talks, rather than how to keep it away.

Inkatha withdrew from the World Trade Centre after negotiators, through the process of sufficient consensus, set next April 27 as the date for South Africa's first non-racial elections.

Inkatha wants federalism embodied in a new constitution before elections are held. — Sapa-AFP

FREE SPEECH FM 20/8/93

Long way to go (304A)

On the wider canvas of political violence the disruption of DP activities on the Witwatersrand and in Cape Town last week may seem

Fm 20/8/93 (304A)

insignificant. At Orange Farm, south of Johannesburg, rocks were thrown at DP officials; they were abused and prevented from speaking; and their cars and other property were damaged. At the University of the Western Cape a DP information table was overturned, banners torn down and party pamphlets burnt. (Later in the week DP organisers returned to UWC and completed their activities without disruption.)

In both cases damage was minor compared to the aftermath of ongoing clashes between political rivals in other parts of the country, and no-one was injured. But the implications of a party with credentials as impeccable as the DP's being unable to campaign freely where it pleases are grave.

At both Orange Farm and UWC supporters of the ANC were blamed for the disruption. Though ANC leaders have condemned the actions and recommitted themselves to the principle of freedom of access for rival parties, far more needs to be done to ensure a reasonably fair general election campaign.

The lack of a democratic culture makes the intolerance understandable, but does not justify it.

Rather than vilify the DP, as ANC spokesman Ronnie Mamoepa did by implication while seeking excuses for the Orange Farm incident, the organisation should be holding the party up as an example of the sort of commitment to democratic values for which its own supporters should strive.

By accusing the DP of publishing an "inflammatory" pamphlet, Mamoepa apparently fails to appreciate the essence of democratic opposition: the right to criticise openly and attack the policies of rival parties without the fear of violent reprisal.

The DP is no threat to the ANC. Even its own optimistic assessment gives it no more than 15% of the vote next year. If anything, the ANC should regard the DP as a potential ally in the event of a hung parliament.

DP leader Zach de Beer's concern at the way in which the situation is deteriorating has been expressed in a personal message to other party leaders calling for urgent action at the highest level. He wants an effective code of conduct drawn up to which all parties will be bound.

But judging from the lack of ANC response to DP appeals earlier this year to discuss threats by the organisation's supporters not to allow the DP to campaign in the townships, De Beer's hopes should not be too high.

DP MP Tony Leon, prevented from speaking at Orange Farm, says the stone throwers fulfilled the worst expectations of those who argue that SA will never have a democracy because, like the rest of Africa, intimidation is the norm of the country's politics and the concept of a loyal opposition barely exists.

Equally worrying is the attitude of the police towards the Orange Farm incident. Leon says DP members were advised by policemen at the scene that Orange Farm was "an ANC area" (the DP claims 2 000 signed-up members there) and that the safety of DP representatives there could not be guaranteed.

Leon says the SAP attitude has frightening implications for the election campaign. He believes multiparty monitoring of political rallies is a possible solution to Orange Farm-type incidents, but parties would also need to commit themselves to tough action against "those totalitarian thugs who are hell-bent on disrupting democracy."

As with the need to end political violence in general, unless something concrete is done soon to ensure civilised campaigning across the country, free elections next year will not be possible.

And those voices on the Left who repeatedly point out that the Nationalists perfected the art of political violence during three decades of breaking up meetings of the United Party and the Herstigte Nasionale Party should be aware of the implication of their statements.

The Nats will be judged by their past at next year's election. For the ANC to operate at the same level leaves the organisation wide open to the charge that an ANC victory at the polls will simply mean replacing one tyranny with another. ■

Roll up the sleeves

FM 20/8/93 (304A)

The odds that SA will achieve stability and survive as a democracy are probably about 50-50. Even assuming that the dice will fall positively, the April 27 election is likely to produce a period of uncertainty.

But that should not be interpreted as a signal to pack for Perth — rather, to roll up the sleeves, become involved in the transition process and be an integral part of what could become an immensely stimulating political and economic environment.

This was the crisp message of the two-day *FM* Election Countdown conference at the Kempton Park World Trade Centre last week. The theme of the conference, which was followed by a day-long workshop, was the role of business in the run-up to the general election.

The analysis of likely trends before and after the election was overshadowed, as promised, by direct advice to businessmen. The organisers did have to apologise to delegates after Suzanne Vos, of the Inkatha Freedom Party central committee and a member of the National Peace Accord, "hijacked the platform" for a party political broadcast on federalism, instead of her scheduled address on violence.

Interwoven in the forum were guidelines for adopting a proactive approach from the likes of Pick 'n Pay's Raymond Ackerman and advocate and tax consultant Pierre du Toit. This was also tackled in specific detail in the workshops.

In the election run-up, Ackerman advocated corporate involvement in voter education by providing time and resources — but abstaining from actually providing the programmes, or, for that matter, allowing trade unions to do so. He stressed that voter education is best provided by neutral specialists. He also cautioned against allowing company premises being used for party political electioneering.

Du Toit took it a step further. He said business must help and advise the country's new leaders on how best to create a new wealth base, rather than fly into a frenzy when, for example, the ANC economics department suggests a one-off reconstruction levy. "Such responses suggest we are missing the signs and the reality of our land. We aren't tuning in to the new hum of democracy. Whether we like it or not, that democracy dictates that there shall be reconstruction and the taxpayer will at least contribute to its funding. Our prerogative is not whether, but only, to some extent, how."

He argued that the agreement on a government of national unity gives SA the chance to catch its breath and have an "orderly passing of the baton from a bloody past to a hopeful future." The real crisis around the elections, he maintained, is that of timing — and the violence which threatens the rule of law and, therefore, hope of democracy.

Du Toit's cautious political optimism was also reflected by others. Among the concerns before, during and after the election are:

- ☐ Overcoming SA's deeply ingrained culture of intolerance;
- ☐ Eradicating violence and intimidation;
- ☐ The short time available to prepare for the election;
- ☐ Ensuring the local and international acceptance of the result as free and fair;
- ☐ Redressing the balance between the haves and have-nots in an ailing economy; and
- ☐ As economist and scenario planner Eugene Nyati put it, ensuring the creation of effective checks and balances for transparency and accountability in the government of national unity.

Nyati also worried that proportionally representative voting could return a ruling party with an insufficient majority to provide decisive government for reconstruction: "We cannot afford paralysis. My other concern is that both the Nats and ANC are more concerned about power than democracy."

Political analyst Harald Pakendorf's breakdown of probable and possible election results partially underscored Nyati's fears. While he conceded a likely ANC victory, he doubted that the organisation will sweep the board. Based on his calculations, the ANC needs a minimum of 80% of the black vote to take 60% of the overall vote.

However, an ANC target of 60% is a tall order, taking into account imponderables such as the IFP, PAC and other parties' share of the cake, plus factors such as spoiled votes and people who don't vote because they can't get to the polls, don't want to vote and those who fail to produce proof of identity or age. Pakendorf says these factors could mean the ANC being returned as the largest party — but without an overall majority.

On the positive side, he emphasised the safeguards for future democracy contained in the constitutional framework now being negotiated at Kempton Park. These include: the removal of sovereignty from parliament to a constitutional court, which means the constitution and the Bill of Rights cannot be tinkered with by the government of the day once they have been written; the ANC's concessions on federalism, which will mean considerable devolution of power; and proportional representation, which virtually ensures a strong opposition and prevents a minority party taking absolute power as can happen in the current first-past-the-post system. (When the NP took power in 1948, it had only 42% of the vote.)

Perhaps the biggest boost for the future comes from two people who have experienced the new wave of African democracy first-hand: veteran Namibian politician Dirk Mudge (see *Current Affairs*) and Zambian Foreign Minister Vernon Mwaanga, who said special measures have been taken in his country to ensure that even political groupings which aren't represented in parliament have a forum for expressing their views.

The biggest post-election threat will be the new government's inability to fulfil heightened expectations.

Govt has lost right to rule, says general

THE constitution did not give government the power to delegate its responsibility of keeping law and order to the Goldstone commission or any other organisation, former Military Intelligence chief Gen Tienie Groenewald said last night.

"Only government has this responsibility and if it delegates this, it not only loses its authority but its right to rule. Our government has lost the right to rule," he said to applause at an Afrikaner Volksfront meeting in Johannesburg.

Everyone had great expectations after President F W de Klerk made his proposals to negotiate with the ANC in 1990, but instead of the promised prosperity, SA was in the midst of a civil war, he said.

Government had reacted by restricting the police and defence force so that little or no action could be taken to stop the violence. Senior defence force officers had been falsely accused and publicly humiliated.

Salaries of blacks had increased while their producitvity had slowed and white salaries had dropped, he said.

Vital issues which would determine the future of the country had not yet been resolved at the World Trade Centre. These included the "so-called" Transitional Executive Councils, the interim constitution, boundaries of regions and self determination.

The Volksfront demanded that political power should reside in separate states which would decide which powers should "be pushed upwards to the central authority".

"You can expect the Afrikaner Volksfront to lead from the front, not to expect you to do anything the leaders are not prepared to do, to act with integrity and not lie to you and not to act irresponsibly."

He said two of the Volksfront's main tasks were to prevent local authorities becoming joint authorities and being handed over to the ANC, and to take action against the SABC by not paying television licences. — Sapa.

Right-wing 'a danger'

JOHANNESBURG. — South Africa faces a danger of the right-wing opposing a democratic government, ANC president Mr Nelson Mandela said here yesterday.

Speaking at the Transport and General Workers' Union's national congress, he said the real problem was not the threat of black surrogate organisations, but the right-wing.

The ANC was going to speak to the right-wing to get them to join negotiations. "It is the duty of the ANC to speak to everyone and bring them into the negotiation process."

The mistake countries such as Angola and Mozambique had made after the transition from colonialism was not negotiating with the opposition but fighting instead.

However, the day of the liberation of South Africa's people would happen with or without the right-wing.

Mr Mandela said the ANC had to find ways of addressing the fears and concerns of South Africa's white minority. They should not fear a "tit for tat" policy when the ANC came to power. CT 20/8/93

He dismissed calls to dismantle the ANC/SACP/Cosatu alliance, saying those who made the calls had not been part of the struggle. They had sided with the oppressor and had never suffered hunger or been in jail or exile. — Sapa

HNP lays charge against student

[redacted] PRETORIA. — The Herstigte Nasionale Party has laid a charge of crimen injuria against a student it alleges slandered party leader Mr Jaap Marais on Wednesday night's Agenda television programme.

HNP chief secretary Mr Louis van der Schyff said yesterday he had laid the charge against Mr Chris Landberg, who told Mr Marais and AWB leader Mr Eugene Terre'Blanche their supporters "commit just as many murders".

A police spokesman confirmed yesterday that the charge had been lodged. — Sapa

CT 20/8/93

(304A)

ANC, government 'flexible' on elections

The ANC and the government now agree that the election date could change — but only if the violence has not subsided, writes **Chris Louw**

SOUTH AFRICA'S continuing violence could ultimately have an impact on the election date, agree both President FW de Klerk's government and the African National Congress.

Last week De Klerk came under fire at the negotiations for his assertion during a National Party congress in Durban that the violence would have to subside before elections can take place. Some delegates at the World Trade Centre thought he meant that the elections, set for April 27, should be postponed.

This week a senior member of the ANC's elections campaign, Patrick "Terror" Lekota, conceded during an interview that the election date might be affected by "certain eventualities" — including the high level of violence.

Both Lekota and the ANC's media spokesman, Carl Niehaus, stated quite unambiguously that the organisation officially "stood firm" on April 27 next year as the date for the elections. But Lekota did allow for "specific circumstances" that might influence the date.

"There are two issues that could effect the date," he said. "We are looking at how to effectively combat the levels of violence, and on how to get the necessary structures — including the independent electoral commission — in place on time."



Patrick Lekota ... 'No ideal day'

Lekota added: "But we remain firm about the election date, although as in any political situation there are always eventualities that may arise. By their very nature, political decisions like these are relative."

He said there was "no ideal day" to hold elections. "It will not be possible to have a total absence of elements that may impose on the elections. At this stage our assessment is that we have a better chance to advance constitutionally if the elections are held sooner rather than later. However, we would not refuse to review the situation if necessary."

Lekota dismissed suggestions that the Inkatha Freedom Party's boycott of the negotiations have had an influence to other party's commitment to the election date. "We don't think any one party can hold the country to ransom. It is Inkatha's democratic right not to take part in the negotiations. In any event, they have not ruled out the possibility that they may rejoin the talks."

The ANC, Lekota said, was prepared for the elections. "Training for voter educators has been done and the branches and regions have developed their own programmes in line with our national strategy."

The ANC's major difficulty in this regard was raising funds and securing sufficient resources in time. "This is because of the ANC's very peculiar situation, with many of its members coming back from exile or having been released from jail."

However, only national issues would be allowed to affect the election date. "The ANC, like all other parties, must look after its own problems."

Star 20/8/96

Angry residents stop NP meeting

East London — Angry residents, some chanting ANC slogans, invaded the stage at a National Party meeting in East London last night.

Others shouted down NP speakers and toyi-toyied in the aisles.

Stinkbombs were thrown on the floor, chairs were overturned and small groups of people danced in front of the stage where the NP speakers were sitting.

A man with a knobkerrie was removed after he marched on to the stage and tussled with two ANC marshals.

Outside the hall there was a heavy police presence (3044)

Police said they had received information that the ANC planned to disrupt the meeting and had warned Gerald Morkel, Minister for Housing and the Budget in the House of Representatives.

Morkel, on a day's visit to the area, was prevented from delivering his address when sections of the audience shouted him down. Also present was the Cape MEC for hospitals, Piet Marais.

Later, Morkel said: "I (went) to the meeting with a message regarding affordable housing. It's my regret that the people who came were not given the opportunity to listen."

The Buffalo Flats ANC branch chairman Andrew Hendricks said: "To come to the victims of the apartheid system that ensured years of oppression and corruption and to ask them for their vote ... in our view is an action worthy of disruption and in effect an invitation to violence." — Sapa.

Local monitors needed for the election

South 20/8 - 24/8/93

THE MULTIPARTY negotiating forum will be asked to provide for domestic monitors in the new Electoral Act.

This emerged at a recent conference organised by the Independent Forum for Election Educators (IFEE).

Monitoring should pre-empt government abuse of state-controlled resources, especially in the run-up to the elections.

There should also be monitoring of election campaign expenditure by all parties if limits are imposed.

Election monitors need access to internal investigations of police for violations against the public.

International monitors at the conference indicated that they needed an "enabling environment". They needed official requests from South Africa before they could do election monitoring and observing. International groups in the country at present are merely monitoring violence.

They also needed to know what the needs of domestic monitors are so that they could lobby their own organisations and countries to try to fulfil those needs.

The international monitors sent a signal to the conference of the urgency with which a domestic monitoring structure needed to be established, if all needs were to be covered before the elections.

Discussion at the conference centred on:

- The structure of a domestic monitoring body;
- How monitors will be recruited; (304A)
- What kind of training they would receive;
- What lobbying and advocacy domestic monitors should focus on.

In all the discussions it emerged that a crucial aspect determining the functioning of a domestic monitoring structure would depend on the relationship between it and the independent electoral commission still to be created.

Some indication of the nature of that relationship was given by the keynote speaker at the conference, Mr Zam Titus, a member of the planning committee at the multiparty negotiations.

He said the IFEE could possibly provide a pool of skilled people from which the independent electoral commission might draw.

The conference decided the domestic monitoring structure should operate under the auspices of the IFEE, with a national secretariat and regional mechanisms.

A code of conduct should be drafted, with monitors based in their communities, speaking their languages and enjoying its confidence.

A national and regional training commission should be established for pre-and post-election training.

The conference decided there should be an urgent meeting with the technical committee at the World Trade Centre to ensure that the new Electoral Act created space for a domestic monitoring body.

Lobbying for accreditation and the appointment of recommended people to the independent electoral commission was also decided on.

Because the Goldstone Commission was also making recommendations on the tasks of a domestic monitoring body, it was decided to lobby this body as well.

South 20/8 - 24/8/93

The myth of the Afrikaner nation

(3044)

The rationale offered by some Afrikaners for a volkstaat is a myth and giving in to them would be setting a dangerous precedent for other groups with similar designs, argues **HUSSEIN SOLOMON,** Research Fellow of the Centre for African Studies at the University of the Western Cape:



HUSSEIN SOLOMON

'Nations are not static, exclusive objects, but living, dynamic products which grow and mutate over time'

THE DEMAND by certain right-wing parties for an independent Afrikaner homeland needs to be examined more deeply than it presently is.

Most examinations thus far reject the notion of an independent Afrikaner Volkstaat on the basis that it is not economically feasible.

Alternatively, it is argued that the Afrikaner Volksunie or the Conservative Party do not represent all or the majority of Afrikaners.

However, the underlying rationale that a single Afrikaner nation goes hand in hand with a single, independent state is not challenged. This is extremely dangerous since unchallenged rationale gets a degree of legitimacy or credibility.

This, in turn, could foster the spread of other secessionist movements under the banner of Zulu nationalism, Tswana nationalism, Indian nationalism and so forth.

The underlying presuppositions or assumptions of the thesis that a separate nation is equal to a separate state is that a nation is static, unchanging and historically exclusive. But such a view does not hold up to historical evidence.

For instance, the Zulu "nation" did not always exist in southern Africa but it developed organically with the coming together of 285 disparate tribes.

The American nation came into existence with the gelling of immigrants from the scattered corners of the globe.

Closer to home, Moshoeshoe forged a nation called the Basotho from different tribes.

Likewise, the Afrikaner nation developed historically through the fusion of Dutch, French and German citizens in the Cape of Good Hope.

What all this seems to prove is that nations are not static, exclusive objects, but living, dynamic products of these activities of Homo Sapiens which grow and mutate over time.

If French, German and Dutch nationalisms could merge into the Afrikaner nation, what is stopping the various strains of nationalism in South Africa — English, Zulu, Xhosa, Tswana, Sotho, Indian, Afrikaner, etc. —from forming one hybrid form of South African nationalism?

The obvious answer is: recalcitrant politicians with myopic visions, or worse, opportunistic politicians who see their non-existent role in the new South Africa and who would like to perpetuate their further employment in a piece of the country.

Similarly, cultures, from which national identities (and hence nationalism) spring are not static entities — they, too, are constantly mutating and historically inclusive.

On the global level, a tremendous level of cultural fusion and assimilation is taking place quite naturally and harmoniously. Rice, traditionally an eastern dish, is consumed by people of all cultures globally. Indian music and Indian musical instruments, such as the sitar, are finding their way into British pop music via Boy George and his band, "Jesus Loves You".

Similarly, Madonna and Michael Jackson are permeating the airwaves of Madras, Monte Video and Maputo. Saki is served in New York restaurants and Kentucky Fried Chicken in Tokyo. These examples illustrate that a mixing of cultures need not necessarily imply a recipe for socio-political catastrophe.

Those who argue that a mixing of cultures is a recipe for conflict frequently point to the existence of ethnic conflict in the former Yugoslavia between Bosnian Muslims, Serbs and Croats; in India between Hindus, Sikhs and Muslims; in Angola between the Ovimbundu and the Mbundu; in Tanzania between Tanganyikans and Zanzibaris; and in various parts of Europe, Asia and the Americas.

Does this disprove my earlier argument? I think not.

This conflict could be understood in the context of certain individuals engaging in ethnic mobilisation for economic or political gain.

Slobodan Milosevic's Serbian nationalist, Conservative Party springs to mind in this respect. Wherever there is a scarcity of resources one can expect competition for it.

In this context, mobilisation along religious, ideological, ethnic or cultural lines is not unique.

A lesson in power for Pik

(3049) WM 20-26/8/93

This week Pik Botha learned that power has shifted to the negotiators. Chris Louw reports on this and other developments at the World Trade Centre

YET another cabinet member this week learned to what degree power has shifted from parliament to the multi-party negotiations process — and that completely different rules prevail in Kempton Park.

Foreign Minister Pik Botha was quickly brought to order by the African National Congress' Cyril Ramaphosa on Monday when he accused other negotiating participants of talking "nonsense". Ramaphosa insisted that he withdraw the remark, saying it was not the way things were done at the talks.

Botha duly withdrew his "insult", born of parliamentary impetuosity.

Recently Law and Order Minister Hernus Kriel was also taught a lesson in negotiating manners when he was summoned to explain the midnight arrest of Pan Africanist Congress members.

Botha's unexpected appearance as government negotiator related to the issue of Walvis Bay. In his usual fiery debating style the foreign minister explained his government's position on the reincorporation of Walvis into Namibia. Afterwards the council unanimously decided that urgent talks be held between the governments of South Africa and Namibia to settle outstanding issues.

The government was instructed to report back to the council in a month's time.

●The powers of the proposed Transitional Executive Council and its sub-councils led to extended debates on Tuesday. Much of the debate focused on the issue of control of the armed forces.

The PAC's Barney Desai complained that the TEC and the sub-council on law and order would be toothless.

The Democratic Party's Ken Andrew, on the other hand, insisted that the powers of the TEC were underestimated. "Decisions taken by the TEC will be binding."

Government negotiator Roelf Meyer said more technical submissions would be made to facilitate the debate.

●Women once again featured prominently at the World Trade Centre. On Monday it was decided that two women would in future serve on the planning committee.

On Wednesday the names of the Afrikaner Volksunie's 23-year-old Corlia Kruger and the traditional leaders' Stella Sigcau were added to those of the 10 men presently serving on the committee.

The planning committee prepares the agenda for the negotiations and serves to "streamline" issues where the 52-member negotiating council is seen to be unwieldy. They try to broker compromises when differences arise which cannot be resolved immediately in the council.

On Wednesday women won another small victory when it was decided to appoint two women to join the six men who take turns in chairing proceedings in the negotiating council. They are the ANC's Baleka Kgositsile and the DP's Martheanne Finnemore.

●The third draft of an Independent Electoral Commission Act to ensure free and fair elections was tabled on Tuesday.

The objects of the commission will include the administering, organising, conducting and supervising of elections for a constitution-making body.

It will also appoint and co-ordinate the activities of monitors, and establish special electoral tribunals to adjudicate and determine claims, issues and disputes arising in the course of an election.

According to the proposals, the commission will also undertake and promote education of the voter public, and determine and certify the results of elections. The commission may accept or reject the result of the poll as a whole, or of a particular regional legislature, or geographic district or region.

The draft Act has been referred back to the technical committee for further refinement and will be discussed again next week.

●After extended debates on whether to allow party political broadcasts on television during the election campaigns, no agreement could be reached. Negotiators agreed to postpone a final decision until they had studied representations by the SABC-Net.

The technical committee responsible for the Independent Media Commission Bill on Wednesday submitted its 10th draft at Kempton Park. The committee proposed that party political broadcasts not be allowed because of the prohibitive costs involved.

It was proposed, however, to allow these broadcasts on radio. The proposal was accepted by the council.



Pik Botha ... Withdrew 'insult'



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Will the ANC deliver democracy?

South 20/8 – 24/8/93

Recently leadership from the ANC, SACP and Cosatu gathered to assess the broad direction of the "National Democratic Revolution" and suggest a strategic perspective for members to chew on. **QUENTIN WILSON** summarises the discussion paper that emerged:

WILL election day be the long-awaited moment of national liberation? For many years the struggle against apartheid has equated freedom with a switch of governments, but will an ANC-dominated government and a new constitution really deliver "people's power" on its own?

In a discussion paper published in the latest edition of the SACP's journal, "The African Communist", it is argued that this is a dangerous perception for activists to have and one that could jeopardise a democratic future.

The paper, entitled "Strategic objectives of the National Liberation Struggle", attaches huge importance to an ANC election victory. But at the same time it stresses the need for mass involvement to ensure the country's development and reconstruction.

"The simple fact is that, without mass involvement and mass organisation, a future democratically-elected state will be relatively weak and isolated in the present global and national balance of forces.

"Without a mass movement for national democratic transformation, there will be very little effective reconstruction," the article argues.

The paper urges a "deepening" of understanding around people's "conception of democracy", saying it is not enough for ANC supporters to simply vote for the ANC but to continue organising — especially to ward off threats posed by "counter-revolutionary" forces.

The paper states: "As in the past, the ongoing development of national democratic transition will also require direct democratic action of the people in support of their demands — for instance, to ensure the achievement of a basic human right, or in support of a reconstruction demand that might be government policy but which is being resisted by one or another formation.

"This latter example underlines a critical point about the National Democratic Revolution. Our attempts to deepen democracy in our country may not, unfortunately, follow a smooth path. We are not the sole actors on the terrain.

"We must certainly work to ensure that potential antagonists are won over to the process. But we cannot assume that this will happen. Our struggle for reconstruction may encounter serious destabilisation, even a concerted counter-revolutionary challenge.

"In such a situation, our alliance will certainly not condemn direct democratic action by the popular masses."

This point was illustrated by way of a scenario:

"In the face of, let us say, a food production boycott by reactionary farmers, land occupations, with or without prior governmental sanction, will be more than legitimate.

"Those who are tempted to undermine democratisation need to understand this very clearly.

"A reconstruction programme will best achieve its objectives in a climate of peace and stability. We shall work hard to ensure this. Major destabilisation will not be of our choosing.

"But if we have to pursue reconstruction in the teeth of serious anti-democratic projects, we shall do so, and we shall call, among other things, for direct mass action in support of our efforts."

Participatory

The call to maintain the "participatory" character of South Africa's democratic struggle comes with certain "organisational implications", according to the paper.

"As the ANC, and jointly from within the Tripartite Alliance, we need to build an ANC that remains essentially a broad national liberation movement.

"It must remain an ANC that is anchored among the oppressed majority. It must be an ANC that is able to lead people in struggle for development and against the thousands of injustices and oppressions they encounter in their daily lives.

"This approach must in no way, detract from the important tasks of winning elections on the ANC ticket and of governing. We believe that the ANC will discharge both tasks most effectively, in the concrete conditions of our country, precisely if it remains essentially a national liberation movement."

The paper also argued that it was vitally important for the alliance between the ANC, SACP and Cosatu to hold firm for an indefinite period after an election.

"We need to admit openly that, regardless of our intentions or traditions, the break-up of our Alliance would carry serious risks for each of the three components.

"An ANC cut loose from independent working class formations, would find itself more easily dislodged from its historical and strategic vocation. Regardless of good intentions and an heroic track record, it would become ever more susceptible to the pressures of governmental office, and from the influence of non-popular strata — inside its ranks and beyond.

"An ANC without the alliance would be an ANC in which the confusion and sense of betrayal among its own grassroots membership would be increased," the paper says.

It argues that if Cosatu breaks from the alliance and goes it alone, the trade union movement "runs the danger of declining into a narrow, economistic unionism".

An SACP without the alliance could become "a defensive grievance party, cut adrift from the mainstream of positive transformation", the paper predicts.

"In alliance, each of our formations has a powerful contribution to make, and each is able to carve out a more effective role for itself. As an alliance, we are more than the sum of our parts. Alone, each of us is diminished.

"It is no accident that our antagonists spend a great deal of energy attempting to undermine our unity," concludes the argument.

Wiet jy ...

PAC panic

Patients at Groote Schuur hospital were told by staff on Friday to keep inside the building and away from windows because the "Aplas are coming". The panic was caused by a demonstration outside the hospital during lunchtime. The "Aplas" the staff feared were merely their colleagues protesting against working conditions. Seems people want to blame the PAC for everything these days.

Plaatjes' victory

Mark Plaatjes, the South African born athlete who joined the chicken run a few years ago to compete in "normal sport", finally enjoyed victory at the world championships in Stuttgart this weekend. Unfortunately, it was as an American citizen. If he had just waited a bit longer, he could have joined his fellow South African athletes in Stuttgart.

Rumours of anti-Inkatha referendum

South 20/8 – 24/8/93

By Christelle Terreblanche

RUMOURS persist that the National Party (NP) government is seriously debating the possibility of a referendum on a package of constitutional principles to call the Inkatha Freedom Party's (IFP) bluff.

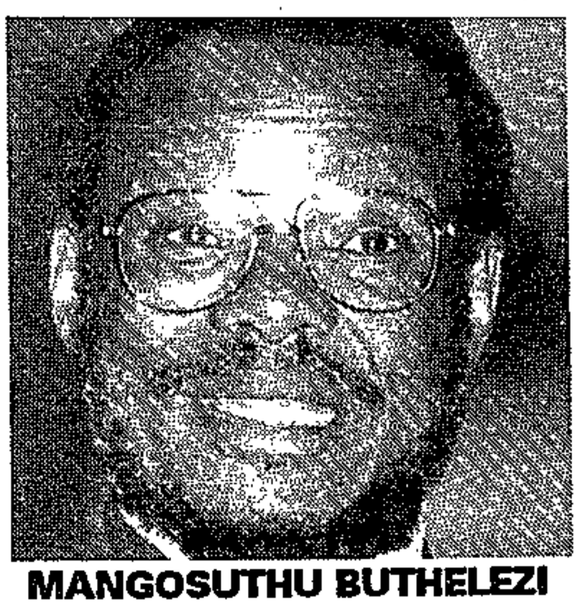
The debate is apparently continuing despite denials by the government's chief negotiators.

The possibility resurfaced this week after the IFP's central committee meeting this weekend, where it resolved not to return to the negotiating table at the World Trade Centre. It walked out in disagreement when the first draft interim constitution was tabled.

The IFP insists that it will only agree to strong powers for a federal state dispensation and an election on constitutional principles.

It has also instituted court action to get the agreement on the election date nullified.

An effort by the government on Monday to break the deadlock at a bilateral meeting with the IFP failed to lure the party and its hardline leader, chief minister Mangosuthu Buthelezi, back to the negotiating table. (304A)



MANGOSUTHU BUTHELEZI

Political commentators see the IFP's stand as part of a retreat from the polls because it fears a humiliating defeat.

"It is becoming evident that Buthelezi sees white rightwing support, especially in Natal, as his only hope to score at the polls and is now competing with the government for support," says University of Stellenbosch political analyst Professor Willie Esterhuyse.

"The big question now is, what is the government going to do. If it gives in to the pressure and compromise to get the IFP back to the drawing board, it will become the political hostage of the party."

Mr Keith Gottschalk, of the University of the Western Cape's political studies department, agrees: "There is an unspoken factor in negotiations that should also be taken in account.

"The more parties taking part in the talks, the more legitimate it is seen to be. If one or two parties withdraw, the less legitimate the talks become."

It is precisely this possible legitimacy crisis that has prompted the idea of a referendum on a package of principles. It is reasoned that if the principles negotiated thus far at the talks can be tested nationally, it will probably get a 60 to 70 "yes".

This would give the negotiators the legitimacy they might be losing in the face of the IFP's brinkmanship.

"This could pull the carpet out under the feet of both Ulundi and the generals," another political commentator observed.

SABC set for voter education

JOHANNESBURG. — The South African Broadcasting Corporation has decided to appoint a steering committee to advise the board on voter education.

The SABC board sub-committee on news and election coverage said in a statement yesterday that the steering committee would comprise 46 non-governmental organisations selected by the board sub-committee from a list of more than 140 applications.

It said the successful NGOs were deemed to be widely representative of civil society in South Africa and could make an unbiased and expert contribution to voter education and democracy-training.

The steering committee on voter education will meet on September 2 to consider criteria for voter education programmes to be broadcast by the SABC.

The committee also said the position of an SABC ombudsman would soon be advertised and it hoped an appointment would be made within weeks. The ombudsman would interact with viewers and listeners and report back to them on television and radio programmes.

The committee said the SABC would review its editorial code and publish it in the national interest.

It would consult SABC journalists and submissions would be invited from a wide variety of organisations including journalist and media unions, schools of journalism at universities and technikons and major media groups. — Sapa.

Every platteland cross counts

DP grabs pocketful of votes

Star 21/8/93

304A

THIS week the Democratic Party took the fight to Middelburg, bang in the middle of CP territory. Chief Reporter JOHN PERLMAN was there to report.

A DEMOCRATIC Party meeting in Middelburg may sound like a contradiction in terms, but Zach de Beer left a small community hall in this Transvaal town on Thursday night looking well pleased.

The DP has done the election thing in Middelburg before, in 1989 when it contested the parliamentary seat.

The 609 votes it polled didn't stack up very high against the 10 472 the Conservative Party raked in to flatten the Nats by nearly 4 000.

But as De Beer kept emphasising to the 117 people who gathered in the Indian suburb of Eastdene, ahead lies "a new kind of election in a new kind of South Africa".

With the election contested on the basis of proportional representation and not constituencies, he said: "Not one single vote in the country will be wasted. All the votes will count. If there are two votes to be had in Alldays in the northern Transvaal, we want those votes."

Brian Kane-Berman, a local farmer, was the 1989 candidate because nobody else would stand.

"I did it because I couldn't be fired, and things had to be done. Why not?"

After the election, though, Middelburg's DP branch had been "totally in a lull". Until now.

This election, Kane-Berman says, is something quite different. "Last time, it was to make a statement," he says. "This is a CP town through and through. But with everybody voting and proportional representation, we can do something. We have to have strong opposition in this country, otherwise we're sunk."

Evaporated

At 7.20 pm, 10 minutes before the meeting was about to start, it looked as if even Kane-Berman's 600 votes had evaporated. Not even De Beer and Tony Leon — who were still having dinner with 30 Eastdene businessmen — were there to make an empty hall look fuller.

"Mosque ends at quarter to eight and some others are still eating," said one of the organisers. And sure enough, Middelburg's *mense* started drifting in.

Just before eight, a minibus came rocking to a halt in front of the hall, and sharply dressed black youths spilt out.

"We thought you were the ANC," said a DP organiser, greeting them with a laugh. Party members from the Lydenburg township of Masasing, they loaded themselves up with DP literature before taking their seats.

Farouk Suliman, a local businessman and chairman of Eastdene's management committee, opened proceedings and then Leon took the stand. This was a middle-class audience, by and large, and Leon made sure they heard about what other parties would do in a country that is "already one of the most overtaxed" in the world.

"When you hear the ANC, hang on to your wallets because when they're finished there won't be anything in them," he said.

Most of the questions were challenging. How could Leon have served in the SADF? Why did the DP support cross-border raids? How could they appear on the platform with Suliman, a "puppet" of the old system?

Informal questioners at the end ensured the two DP men stayed another 20 minutes. "It was bigger than we expected, just the right composition of people and just enough opposition to make it interesting," De Beer said as he was leaving.

"This is how an election should be run."

New skills for SA's new leaders

304A
ARG 21/8/93

PETER FABRICIUS
Weekend Argus Bureau

WASHINGTON. — South African party officials, electoral commissioners and others involved with next year's elections will join their counterparts from 21 other African nations undergoing democratisation in a series of conferences to swop practical electoral skills and experience.

The initiative, to be called the African Democracy Network, will be launched at a general conference in Botswana early next year by the International Republican Institute (IRI).

The IRI is a non-profit organisation funded by the American government and private donations, associated with the American Republican Party — although not answerable to it — and dedicated to advancing the cause of democracy around the world.

The IRI is already involved in preparations for South African elections next year. It has begun a programme of teaching electoral skills to parties that intend taking part in the elections.

This is being done in conjunction with the International Democratic Institute — the IRI's American Democratic Party counterpart — and the Washington-based Joint Centre for Political and Economic Studies.

The IRI is also contributing $30 000 (R153 000) to the SA Institute of Race Relations (SAIRR) project to monitor political rights violations in the run-up to the elections and its planned post-election project to monitor the human rights record of the Government of National Unity.

A third area of IRI involvement in South Africa is the $64 000 (R190 000) it is devoting to the Wilgespruit Fellowship project to counter the political violence in Natal by bringing together opposing groups to stress common values.

The African Democracy Network project was announced at a Press conference here yesterday by Edward Stewart, IRI regional programme director for Africa, Asia and the Middle East.

He said the network project would bring together key political party officials, electoral commission members and representatives of NGO and church groups involved in elections from 22 eastern and southern African countries, including South Africa.

The aim was not to hold an academic conference but to swop experiences and skills in practical matters such as organising elections, bringing out the vote and developing political parties.

He noted that throughout Africa more than a dozen African nations had held presidential, legislative or local elections over the last year and during the next year at least a dozen more would be doing so.

The network project would start with a large general conference tentatively scheduled for January next year in Botswana. After that there would be smaller conferences around the continent, each devoted to a specific electoral problem.

Participating would be South Africa, Angola, Namibia, Botswana, Mozambique, Zimbabwe, Zambia, Burundi, Comoros, Djibouti, Eritrea, Ethiopia, Kenya, Lesotho, Madagascar, Malawi, Mauritius, Rwanda, Seychelles, Swaziland, Tanzania and Uganda.

Dr Stewart said the IRI 10-person African division would be concentrating most of its energies on South Africa.

Elaborating on the IRI's other project to teach SA parties electoral skills, he said that the ANC, IFP and PAC had already begun receiving assistance.

The IRI also planned to train homeland parties. Azapo had been offered help but was still considering whether to accept it.

The project was aimed at levelling the political playing field. The criteria for receiving aid were that a political organisation had to comprise, predominantly, members who were now disenfranchised (ie black); it had to renounce violence during the election campaign; and it could not have competed before in nationwide elections.

Asked if he was satisfied that the PAC passed the test of non-violence, he said the US embassy in Pretoria had given the IRI this assurance.

Mr Stewart said a four-person team of trainers was being put together for each South African political organisation being assisted.

Each team would consist of two people from the IRI and two from its Democrat counterpart, the IDI — to ensure bipartisan balance.

Each team would work exclusively with only one South African organisation. This was because it was necessary to build up trust as the political organisations and the teams would be sharing confidential information in the run-up to the elections.

To ensure equal treatment each South African organisation would receive five training trips up to mid-march next year and each trip would last seven to 10 days.

The ANC and the IFP had already had one trip each and a second ANC trip was about to start.

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DP in dramatic plan to pass power to regions

(ST Times CC Metro)
22/8/93

By NORMAN WEST, Political Reporter

THE Democratic Party is planning dramatic structural changes that will pass power down to its regions, enabling them to write their own "regional policies" and "regional constitutions".

This historic devolution of power — in anticipation of the proposed federal system and division of the country into nine regional governments — is to be discussed for the first time at a crucial DP Western Cape regional congress next Saturday, says Mr James Selfe, DP executive director.

The DP may also announce its candidates for the Western Cape region on Saturday.

If it does, it will become the first political party to do so in anticipation of next year's general election.

Mr Selfe said the DP believed that if it did not emerge as the dominant party in the Western Cape, "it will at least become the most significant" within the Western Cape's envisaged regional government structure.

Saturday's congress — to be held in the Lansdowne Civic Centre — is being held to design the foundations of a regional policy that would make the Western Cape "the powerhouse of the new South Africa and an example of racial harmony to the rest of the country".

One of the significant DP policy shifts that are to be discussed is the proposal that each region of the party be given the power to draw up its own "regional constitution" — provided this constitution did not clash with the aims and objectives of the DP's national policy, Mr Selfe explained.

In other words, said Mr Selfe, the Western Cape region of the DP may end up with a different policy at regional level to that of the DP's Natal KwaZulu region on (for example) matters of education or the use of language.

This dramatic departure from its structure meant the party would be well-prepared if the country was divided into nine regions.

To prepare for this change, proposed amendments to the DP's national constitution are to be discussed at the regional congress.

The DP's national congress, scheduled for October 2 and 3, is also to be held in Cape Town.

A first for negotiators, but a headache for government

SP Times 22/8/93

By EDYTH BULBRING
Political Correspondent

THIS week saw negotiators at the World Trade Centre go over the head of Foreign Minister Pik Botha and, for the first time, decide on foreign policy when they effectively gave Walvis Bay to Namibia.

It was the culmination of a sequence of events started inadvertently by Regional and Land Affairs Minister André Fourie, pushed relentlessly by the Labour Party's Luwellyn Landers, hijacked unsuccessfully for political gain by the PAC's Patricia de Lille and skilfully lobbied for by Namibia.

And it has resulted in a major headache for the Department of Foreign Affairs, which had hoped to leave the tricky question of Walvis Bay to a future government.

Besides glowering darkly at any mention of the name André Fourie, Foreign Affairs officials are now also holding their collective breath in the hope that Swaziland will not follow suit and appeal to negotiators to arbitrate on the reincorporation of Ingwavuma — a tract of land in Kwazulu to which Swaziland has long held claim.

Two weeks ago Mr Fourie — rejecting caution from government negotiators — confidently stated in a debate on regions that Walvis Bay should be part of the future Western Cape region.

Mr Landers, who was chairing the session, quickly drafted a resolution that demanded the immediate reincorporation of Walvis Bay into Namibia.

He asked his co-negotiator, Mr Desmond Lockey, to get the resolution typed for tabling. Mr Lockey announced that he would present a resolution after tea.

Mrs de Lille asked to see the resolution, and Mr Lockey showed it to her. She got it typed up and presented it as a PAC resolution to the forum. (2284)

The matter was held over until Monday this week, after Mr Roelf Meyer asked for more time to consult the government, and in particular Mr Botha. (3044)

At 6.20pm on Monday, after repeated behind-the-scenes pressure from Mr Landers, the debate began.

Confronted with a wishy-washy resolution from the planning committee, which allowed the government to maintain the status quo, Mr Landers put forward a hard-line amendment demanding the incorporation of Walvis Bay into Namibia by the end of next month.

He said that, since the government had maintained it could not decide unilaterally on the sovereignty of Walvis Bay because it was negotiating, it was now time for the participants to decide the matter.

It was then Mr Botha's turn to take the government's position to the floor. But Namibian observers at the talks had already successfully lobbied sympathetic parties, and he was assured of defeat before he had even started.

The debate was adjourned to allow a group, including Mr Meyer and Mr Landers, to work out a compromise.

They came back with a resolution, endorsed at the forum, saying that the government could not keep the issue of Walvis Bay on hold.

Now it has to start urgent negotiations with Namibia, prepare legislation and report back to the forum in a month.

DP plans to empower regions

ST Times 22/8/95

By NORMAN WEST: Political Reporter

THE Democratic Party is planning dramatic structural changes aimed at the devolution of power to its regions, empowering them to write their own regional policies and constitutions. (252)

The changes, in anticipation of the proposed new federal dispensation, will be discussed at a crucial DP Western Cape congress on Saturday, said DP executive director Mr James Selfe. (304A)

Mr Selfe said the DP believed "it will at least become the most significant party" in the envisaged regional-government structure of the Western Cape.

Heavies make way for their reserves

Cl Rep 22/8/93

By THEMBA KHUMALO

FATIGUE took its toll among some seasoned negotiators at the World Trade Centre this week.

Keeping quiet were chief government negotiator Roelf Meyer and his ANC counterpart Cyril Ramaphosa.

Ramaphosa, apparently exhausted by his heated verbal exchange on Monday with Foreign Affairs Minister Pik Botha during the debate on Walvis Bay, took a back seat to his colleague Pennuel Maduna (3044)

So persuasive was Maduna in his arguments that Ramaphosa could not help but smile with satisfaction from his seat behind him. (#9)

There was also the PAC's Barney Desai standing in for the garrulous Patricia de Lille. The staid professorial Desai represented his organisation impeccably.

FW off to S America

By EDYTH BULBRING: Political Correspondent

PRESIDENT FW de Klerk and his wife, Marike, accompanied by an entourage of businessmen, fly off today on an official seven-day visit to four South American countries.

Mr de Klerk said this week he was travelling to Chile, Argentina, Paraguay and Uruguay "to serve the interests of all South Africans". S/Times 22/2/93

In an attempt to justify the trip to countries not seen as particularly important to SA, the businessmen will meet South American counterparts and government officials responsible for trade and economic affairs. (304A)

Mr de Klerk will return on Sunday. In his absence Foreign Minister Pik Botha will be acting President.

NP not worried by IFP's threat

Sowetan

23/8/93

Sowetan Correspondent

THE Government is taking a dim view of Inkatha Freedom Party leader Chief Mangosuthu Buthelezi's weekend threat to boycott elections for a constituent assembly — but is not overly concerned.

IFP and KwaZulu government spokesmen, while differing somewhat in tone on the issue, have been careful to point out that there is no final decision as yet on the party's attitude.

Political observers, who noted Buthelezi's history of principled opposition to boycotts, yesterday took the view that while Buthelezi was "hanging tough" in the process leading up to elections, there was little he could do to avoid an election. To do so would cost him more black support than white.

A Government informant described Buthelezi's threat, made at the Itala Game Reserve on Saturday, as "cheap politicking".

"Talks about civil war or non-participation are ridiculous threats. There is no justification for this as long as the door of the negotiation process is standing wide open.

"The IFP can return to the talks tomorrow and they will be welcomed by all. There is no need to resort to such threats outside the negotiating council. The IFP has until now offered no valid reason for its self-exclusion from negotiations."

IFP spokesman Mr Walter Felgate reiterated the IFP's opposition to a two-stage transition that involved a constituent assembly being able to "rewrite completely" what the negotiators had decided.

It was on this basis that Buthelezi was rejecting an election.

"Anyway, non-participation is hypothetical because we don't believe the election will take place," Felgate said.

Democratic Party MP Mr Ken Andrew said Buthelezi's threat not to take part in elections was a publicity-seeking method of attempting to negotiate by way of threats and ultimatums.

He said the latest Inkatha ultimatum made no useful contribution to a give-and-take process of negotiation.

EWS Inkatha hawks, doves squabble ● TWGU throws its weight behind ANC

news in brief

Wife raped in robbery

THREE men took turns raping a woman in front of her husband before fleeing with R4 000 and other items at Thabong near Welkom in the Free State on Saturday.

Police spokesman Lieutenant-Colonel André van Deventer said the attackers, one armed with a firearm, broke into the couple's house while they were asleep around 2.30am. They also took a video recorder, a cassette player and two leather jackets.

7 on dagga charges

POLICE in Cape Town arrested seven people, including a woman, after dagga with a street value of R2.2 million was found at a house in Retreat on the Cape Peninsula on Friday night.

A police spokesman said the narcotics unit at Wynberg received a tip-off that bags were being loaded into a minibus at the house. When they arrived at the scene the minibus drove into the police van. Forty-seven bags of dagga were found in the minibus and a further 41 bags of dagga in the house.

Six men and a woman aged between 24 and 66 will appear in the Wynberg Magistrate's Court today.

Big business on tour

A HIGH-POWERED team of South African businessmen accompany President FW de Klerk on his week-long visit to four South American countries during which the emphasis will be placed on trade and investment possibilities. Sowetan

Among businessmen on the trip are Mr Willem de Kok, chief executive director of Premier Food Industries, Mr Leslie Boyd, deputy chairman of Anglo American Corporation, and Mr Gary Mordt, chairman of Gengold. 23/8/93 (304A)

Jiyane speaks for IFP

THE Inkatha Freedom Party has appointed a former Pan Africanist Congress official and head of Radio Freedom in Tanzania as its new national spokesman and communications director. Sowetan

Academic Dr Ziba Jiyane was officially introduced to the media at a weekend IFP leadership meeting with journalists at a Northern Natal game reserve. 23/8/93

Jiyane was a founder member of the IFP in the early '70s but left the country as a youth brigade leader and law student in 1978 following a security force crackdown on radical Inkatha youth, he said in an interview yesterday. (304A)

He fled to Botswana and later moved to Tanzania where he joined the PAC due to "policy differences" with Inkatha. He then became head of Radio Freedom, the "voice" of African liberation movements in exile in Dar es Salaam. —*Sapa*.

'IFP at loggerheads'

Sowetan 23/8/93

THE Inkatha Freedom Party is facing a political showdown in its ranks over whether or not it should contest the April 27 election.

So-called "doves", or moderates, claim they are in the majority and are determined to return to democracy talks soon and contest the country's first non-racial election.

They claim senior IFP negotiator Mr Walter Felgate, described as a "hawk" or hardliner who has the ear of IFP president Chief Mangosuthu Buthelezi, stands virtually alone in his "uncompromising" position on negotiations and steering Inkatha away from the April election.

Senior IFP sources said at the weekend at a "*bosberaad*" with the media at the Itala Game Reserve near Vryheid that it was "high time these matters were aired publicly".

"It is no mistake that Walter Felgate is not here," a source said. "He was not invited." (HIS)

The so-called moderates include the leader of the IFP team at the talks, Mr Joe Matthews, the head of the KwaZulu delegation, Dr Ben Ngubane, and IFP newcomers Mr Peter Miller, former Natal MEC, and Mr Mike Tarr MP, formerly of the Democratic Party.

The "doves" hope that Dr Ziba Jiyane, recently appointed as IFP national spokesman and director of communications, will eventually "replace" Felgate as a leading IFP spokesman.

The moderates claim warnings by the IFP that South Africa would degenerate into "civil war or worse" if the African National Congress and the Government implement their two-phase negotiations plan are penned by Felgate.

"The reality is that the IFP will never take up arms and go to the bush," a senior source said at the weekend, adding that the only option was to contest the April 27 election.

"History has shown that any party which does not participate in an election ends up sidelined." —*Sapa*.

Union to support ANC

Sowetan 23/8/93

By Ike Motsapi

THE Transport and General Workers' Union will mobilise its members for an African National Congress victory during next year's first elections for a democratic government. (HIS)

This resolution is one of the many taken at the end of a four-day fourth national congress of TWGU held at Crown Mines, Johannesburg, yesterday.

And the union has called for the strengthening of the tripartite alliance of the ANC, Congress of South African Trade Unions and the South African Communist Party.

The union has seconded Mr Stephen Mothingoa to Cosatu to learn more about its voter education programme.

Mr Nathie Nhleko has been nominated by TGWU as its representative to the ANC list of Cosatu people who will contest the elections.

The union also said it needed guarantees from the ANC that it would protect the rights of workers when it is in government. (HIS)

The new office bearers of TGWU are Mr June Dube (first vice-president); Mr Paulos Mahlaba (second vice-president; Mr Randall Howard (general secretary); Mr Julius Matroos (deputy general secretary) and treasurer Mr Monde Mthembu. Mr Alfred Ndlovu was re-elected president.



encouraged. ... die," the union said.

DP blasts electoral no-go areas

Bilbey 23/8/93

ELECTORAL no-go areas were being established and would make the holding of a free and fair election next year impossible, DP Johannesburg city councillor Jack Bloom said at the weekend.

He was speaking at a seminar on the New Liberals at the SA Institute of Race Relations in Johannesburg.

Bloom tried to hold a public meeting at Orange Farm two weeks ago but was prevented from doing so by ANC youths who stoned his car and threatened him. (3044)

He said if the DP could not hold a meeting at Orange Farm, which was a peaceful settlement, it would not be able to hold meetings in Sebokeng, Soweto and other townships.

"The real problem is the pervasive environment of fear and intimidation in these townships, so that even if the DP could be assured of the safe conduct of a meeting, very few residents would be brave enough to attend.

PATRICK BULGER

"In this light, I can state categorically that the elections next year cannot and will not be free and fair in the accepted sense in any of the established democracies.

"What we will certainly have is the formal mechanism of voting, and probably an accurate tally of votes, but this will serve less as a validation of the democratic process than as a means of providing legitimacy to the resulting government," he said.

At the same seminar, the DP's expansion co-ordinator in the western Cape, Stephen Ntsane, said political intolerance in townships was a legacy of apartheid divisions along ethnic and racial lines.

Ntsane said civil society had not been able to take root in townships but township dwellers wanted an extension of civil rights including the right to liberty and free speech.

Coetsee says judges face new role

PRETORIA — The role of judges would change with the introduction of a constitution and a bill of rights, Justice Minister Kobie Coetsee said at the weekend. B/Day

Speaking at the official opening of the new R43m Pretoria Supreme Court building, Coetsee said whereas judges currently played an interpretive role in applying the law, in future they would have to take part in law-making policy. (2522)

To fulfil this new role, it was essential that a "relationship of trust" be established between the judiciary and other branches of government.

Transvaal Judge President Judge

ADRIAN HADLAND

C F Eloff said the judiciary needed to be included in discussions on the creation of a constitutional court and the future role of judges. 23/8/93

The question of whether a constitutional court should be part of the Appellate Division, part of the Supreme Court, a combination of both or a separate body would need to be discussed by all concerned.

The new Supreme Court building has 29 courts and 52 judges' chambers. It is linked by an underground tunnel to the Palace of Justice.

join forces with the right wing in taking up ... government. "I don't

Federalism guards against hegemonic govt

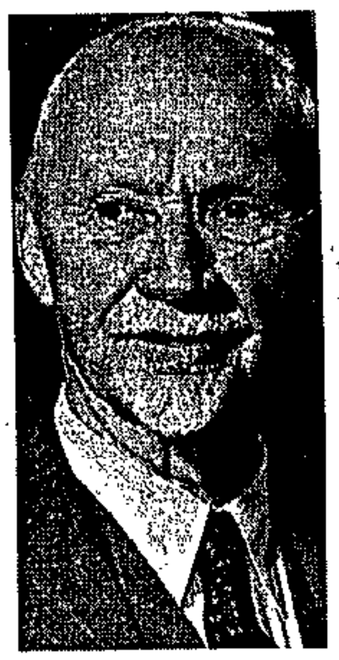
BY DAVID WELSH

AS THE debate on regional powers proceeds, the parallels with the debates surrounding federalism before the adoption of the Union constitution in 1909 become increasingly striking.

The context then was quite different, apart from the fundamental fact that only white delegates participated in the National Convention. The federalist banner was carried by the Natal delegates and a handful of Cape liberals. The conservative Natal contingent feared domination by the Dutch; the Cape liberals feared a northern onslaught on the Cape's cautiously liberal system, notably its qualified non-racial franchise.

As the record shows, the unitarist proposals of Smuts and Merriman (and their shameless misrepresentation of how contemporary federations actually worked) steamrolled the puny federalist opposition into accepting what was a unitary constitution. With the notable exception of the great Cape federalist W P Schreiner (whose legal commitments prevented him from attending the National Convention) the federalists accepted the pseudo-federal fig-leaves in the constitution as the real thing.

Provincial government, from the start, provided little resistance to the hegemonic aspirations of a central government that, especially after 1948, increasingly viewed provincial and local government as a mere conveyor belt for executing the policy of apartheid. Central government became a ruthless Leviathan. The assurances offered to gullible federalists in 1909 were shown to be valueless.



JAN SMUTS: Steamrolled the puny federalist opposition into accepting what was a unitary constitution.



OLIVE SCHREINER: "Self-governing states act as barricades to over domination . . . it makes for freedom."

Barricades

Whether the adoption of federalism in 1909 would have prevented, or at least inhibited, the degeneration of SA into the mess of apartheid is a question that even the exact science of historical hindsight cannot answer. It is doubtful that it would have, but this is no argument for the futility of constitutional efforts to erect safeguards against a future overbearingly centralist government.

The most important argument for federalism remains as relevant today as it was in 1909 when Olive Schreiner wrote: "The walls of each self-governing state (or SPRs in MPNF-speak) are so many barricades, each one of which must be broken down before any oppressive over-domination can absolutely succeed; and behind any one of which a successful resistance may take place when others have fallen. In short, it makes for freedom."

Federalism is no guarantee of democratic freedom. In the old American south, the doctrine of states' rights and an 1896 Supreme Court decision that legalised segregation helped to preserve racism. But, more commonly, federalism has served as a counter to hegemonic tendencies and as a means of underpinning the pluralism of society.

If parties that lose out at the centre can gain footholds at the regional level, the quest for political stability can be assisted.

So far much of the public debate has been rather arid because of a tendency to see issues in strictly legalistic terms — no doubt attributable to the dominance of lawyers in the process. The actual terms of a constitution and thus, the role of constitutional lawyers, are of critical importance, but the flesh and blood of a constitution is determined by the politicians and parties who operate it.

Fudging

Federation is a type of government that requires a high degree of "rule consciousness" for its successful working; but it is no less true that how parties and people mobilise will shape the way in which a constitution will evolve. Pressure from Quebec has made Canada a far more decentralised federalism than it was 20 years ago; mobilisation around linguistic-regional interests has pushed unitary Belgium into federalism; Spain is far advanced towards federalism for similar reasons; and Italy will probably decentralise under pressure from regionalist influence from the north.

Another tendency in our debates has been the attempt to indulge in "creative fudging" of issues. It is seen clearly in the efforts to blur the distinction between formally federal and formally unitary states by creating large "concurrent" powers (shared between the central and regional governments) in the hope that somehow the future political process will sort out these issues.

This strategy could work in a society that is largely consensual and "feels federal" — where there is widespread consensus that a federal system is desirable. Unhappily for SA, the levels of mistrust are so high, and the tussle for the precise specification of powers so intense, that the constitution will have to be very detailed if there is to be any hope of substantial consensus.

Concession

By specifying 16 powers as exclusive regional legislative competences, and providing for mechanisms that prevent central government encroachment, the second draft outline of the interim constitution enters the terrain of federalism proper. Critics will argue that the powers are not very significant ones and that, in any case, some (like town planning and ambulance services) encroach on functions that should be the preserve of local authorities. Very important functions like education, health and local policing are specified as concurrent.

The draft, however, makes a concession to federalists by vesting language policy in the regional governments and also giving regions the power to draft their own constitutions, which will obviously have to be democratic and subject to the national scope of the Bill of Rights.

Overall, the draft provides for a kind of federalism that veers towards the centralist end of the federalist continuum, but with the potential for becoming more decentralised if the dynamic of federal systems pushes it in that direction. The degree of regional mobilisation will be the crucial variable.

As it stands, the draft will be unacceptable to the Inkatha Freedom Party, and much of the right wing. It is hard to see how the latter are going to get any better an offer than a northwest Cape region in which brown Afrikaners will outnumber white Afrikaners by four to one. Constand Viljoen described this option to me as "fourth prize", but it is better than the wooden spoon.

Civil war

The kwaZulu Legislative Assembly's constitution adopted in December 1992 provides for so decentralised a form of government that the centre would be toothless. Even to a devout federalist like me, that is unacceptable. SA will need a coherent and effective central government, not a weak body that verges on being a confederal council (like the US before 1787).

There is no easy way out of the deadlock. If Inkatha is indulging in brinkmanship it is a dangerous game. Buthelezi played more of a role in stopping apartheid than his detractors acknowledge. He will not want to go down in history as the man who plunged SA into civil war. The same goes for Constand Viljoen.

It is a little ironic that Inkatha, after a long record of opposing boycotts, sanctions and the like, now boycotts the constitutional talks. They should get back in and press their demands. Their capacity to steer SA in a more federal direction will depend on their electoral strength. That is a challenge they cannot duck.

□ Professor Welsh holds the chair of Southern Africa Studies at UCT.

Box 11 CAPE TOWN 8000

t kids to unities

pposed the Nationalist nment and most of its poli- Like him too I would like to e construction of a safe and ne society, but we differ in icalities.

must take account of reali- nd must remember also that cs is the art of the possible. Mr Baigrie and his commit- e proposing is the impossi-

ould have more respect for ews and those of his commit- they took the street chil- into their own homes and nd clothed them and gave education and training — ially training, and took over nsibility for their activities. ney prepared to do that? Are prepared to transform the children into useful citi-

ot, let them instead support s to return the street chil- to their own community and ion all efforts to create a f ghetto for them here. That l be real humanitarianism.

Night shelter will just aid Rondebosch gang

From ROBERT DE VOS (Rosebank):

I READ with dismay and sadness that a security guard was knifed to death by a member of the gang of youths who have made the Fountain Centre and its environs their territory. I note that the issue of the night shelter is once again being raised.

As a resident of the area for about 10 years, may I be allowed to make some observations? The numbers of this group have been increasing steadily over the years, mainly because they know that they have an easy wicket in Rondebosch; food is available from the backs of the various restaurants and the liberal-minded transient students are always there for the odd handouts. As I see it, a night shelter will simply give them a secure base from which to operate.

May I enumerate some of the known crimes in which this group has been involved? My property has been burgled twice, my neighbour's once in the last two years. I have accosted them in the street wearing my clothes and assisted in the arrest, only to have my house stoned afterwards. Schoolgirls have been harrassed and young girls have been stabbed and mugged on Rosebank station. A girl was raped near a school sportsfield and her boyfriend stabbed. I witnessed an attempted mugging and a threatened stabbing outside my house.

In the past I was a frequent diner at the Main Road restaurants, but the sight of youths sniffing thinners (yes, they bought it with the money you gave them at the robots) has put me and my friends off the area after 6pm. I cannot believe that this does much good for the property values either.

I am sure I will be branded a racist, someone with no feeling for the poor underprivileged, etc, etc, however I am a regular contributor to Boys' Towns, Cape School Feeding, the Community Chest and a number of bergies who call for their weekly handouts.

This violent and dangerous group has no place in Rondebosch and needs to be dispersed as quickly as

he ress

From DIE BURGER

National Party woos black youth

Sowetan

■ GREATEST JOY Minister says only NP and DP are representative parties:

THE DAY BLACKS MADE up the majority of the National Party would be "my day of greatest joy", Transvaal NP leader and Minister of Foreign Affairs, Mr Pik Botha, said at the weekend.

He was speaking to about 700 mostly black youths who gave him and other NP heavyweights an enthusiastic welcome at a National Party Transvaal Youth congress held at Naboomspruit in the Northern Transvaal.

The change-of-face of the congress, in the past attended by white mostly Afrikaans-speaking youngsters, was marked by the dancing and chanting traditionally more common at liberation movement rallies.

NP flags bearing the word "Viva NP" and "I love the NP" stickers in the party's colourful new logo were distributed among the crowd, many hailing from the violence-torn East Rand townships, Soweto and Pretoria.

Fears of intimidation were expressed by most supporters, a problem Botha said would become the "single most important question" in the forthcoming elections. 23/8/93

"Many blacks in South Africa will blame these blacks who join the NP," he said. (304A)

Siding with oppressors

"The ANC's strategy is to refer back to apartheid and say how can you side with the oppressors."

Citing his own political history, Botha said the NP had always allowed dissent within its ranks to eventually convert into reform.

"You don't leave a church because the priests are doing wrong things. You try to rectify it. That's what happened in the reform process."

Today the NP subscribed to a human rights bill that was stronger than that of the ANC, he said.

"Today we are aware that this country can only have peace on the basis of one person, one vote."

Botha claimed the NP and Democratic Party were the only ones catering for all South Africans, irrespective of colour. Unless the NP continued to have a say in government no money would be invested in SA as its policy of private enterprise responded to the requirements of investors, Botha said. — *Sapa*.

The accurate polling system

Sowetan 23/8/93

(304A)

VOTING WAYS The fairest way to guage an election is the PR system:

PROPORTIONAL REPRESENTATION, or PR as it is known, is the system to be used during a future election here.

As mentioned last week, PR is one of three main types of electoral systems. The other two are the plurality and majority systems.

PR gives the most accurate ratio between the number of votes a party gets and the number of seats it wins - in our case, the number of seats it wins in the constituent or national assembly.

The minimum number of votes needed to gain one seat in the constituent assembly will have to be decided before the election. This minimum figure is usually called the threshold or cut-off point.

Because all votes can count towards a seat, no party's total vote gets lost provided that it satisfies the threshold.

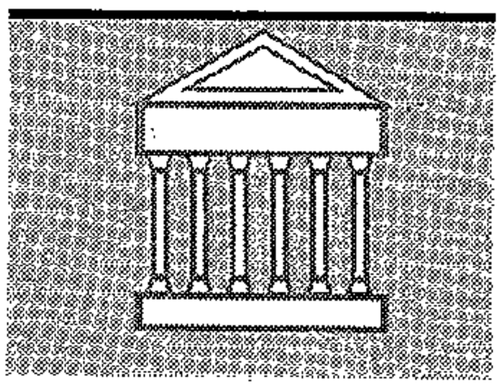
In other words, even if a party is fairly small it can still gain seats in a CA as long as it wins enough votes to meet the threshold.

For the above reasons, PR is seen by some as a system which works well in deeply divided societies.

It allows all parties with significant support to be represented in the CA and later in Parliament.

Every section of society has a voice in Parliament unless of course their support is so small that it cannot pass the agreed threshold.

Overall, its strongest feature is that the party that comes to power will also be the party that gains the most votes.



This is not like the first-past-the-post system, where the party which governs is not necessarily the party which won the most votes (as discussed last week).

It also means that the party which gains the most votes comes into power in the sense of having a major say in the running of government but not an exclusive say.

This means that, because all parties which gain seats are also represented in government, the voice of the majority can be heard without excluding the voice of the smaller parties.

For a true democracy this is a good thing. No one feels left out.

Proportional methods can be divided into two main types: Party list methods and the single transferable vote. We will deal with the party list method.

Party list methods: These are used by all West European countries with the exception of France and Britain.

There are four main types of list systems. The main difference between the various systems lies in whether the voter is given any say on the question of which candidates stand for a party, whether it appears on the party list or not.

Even if the voter is given a degree of choice, all list systems mean that the voter votes not only for an individual candidate but also for the party list itself.

This sounds obvious until one looks at the constituency based system. In this system voters vote for a candidate within a constituency.

If voters are convinced that the candidate will attend to their interests in Parliament and trust him, they may actually be more influenced by that fact than by which party he comes from.

This is possible because of the special relationship which exists between a candidate and his constituency. Once a candidate has been elected to power by his constituency, he owes allegiance to that constituency.

A drawback with PR is that this special relationship between a constituency and an individual member of parliament does not exist. They cannot refer directly to the candidate from their home constituency to attend to their problems.

Even where voters do have a choice in terms of which candidate they are voting for on a party list, it is in a limited sense.

If the candidate favoured by a particular voter gets insufficient votes to be elected or has got more votes than needed to be elected, the voter's personal choice can be used by the party to assist another candidate who is short of votes to get elected.

While the vote remains within the same party it does mean that a vote can be used by the party to help another candidate on the list whom the voter may not even support or approve of at all.

Most lists reflect only one party's candidates.

Of these, some allow the voter no choice regarding which candidate on the list gets his vote. Some allow the voter to indicate his choice of candidates in preferential sequence.

Some lists, however, contain the names of candidates from different parties. This means that a voter can still vote mainly for his own party but also vote for people from another party.

Another term which is frequently being used is party systems.

In two party systems such as the USA and Britain, two parties of equivalent size and with roughly equal prospects of winning, compete for power and usually one of them gains the outright victory in terms of executive authority in Parliament.

In multiparty systems, a number of parties contest elections and government is usually done through coalitions.

However, sometimes one of the competing parties wins sufficient votes to constitute a majority on its own.

Government in this case may alternate between single party and coalition government.

Political scientists have had difficulty with deciding where the cut-off ping between a two and multi-party system actually arises as in the case of Britain.

The reality is that more than two parties sit in parliament, however it is only two of those parties that have a decisive impact on national issues.

A political scientist has given the following guidelines:

A party only counts as relevant to the classification between two and multi-party if it:

- Wins parliamentary representation and,
- Wields enough influence to form a coalition itself or to drive its main opponent into forming a coalition. The British system, while not numerically a two-party system, is effectively one.

Uruguay rolls out red carpet for De Klerk

B1Day 23/8/93

ANTHONY JOHNSON

MONTEVIDEO — Uruguay pulled out all the stops yesterday for the first visit to the country by an SA President. It upgraded the visit from "official" to "state".

Despite sharp ANC criticism of the trip, F W de Klerk and his wife Marike were treated like royalty when they arrived. Uruguayan President Luis Lacalle and his wife Maria greeted the SA couple when their Falcon Jet touched down last night.

In an unusual move, which diplomats said reflected the warmth of the welcome, the Uruguayan presidential couple then drove in the same vehicle with the De Klerks to their hotel. The SA couple will also attend a state banquet in their honour at the Taranco Palace tonight.

Lacalle and De Klerk will hold a formal meeting this morning, followed by a joint communiqué and news conference.

The President's programme today includes a meeting with Montevideo's mayor, Tabare Vazquez, who will hand him the keys of the city. Vazquez, Uruguay's best-known communist, is expected to make a bid for the presidency next year.

The seven high-powered SA businesmen visiting South America as part of the official presidential entourage will hold a series of meetings with Uruguayan cabinet ministers and businessmen today to discuss trade and investment prospects. A meeting with Economy and Finance Minister Enrique Braga is expected to deal with the importance of the South American common market of Uruguay, Argentina, Paraguay and Brazil. (304A)

FW 'treated like royalty' in Uruguay

From ANTHONY JOHNSON

MONTEVIDEO. — Uruguay yesterday pulled out all the stops for the first visit by a South African president to the country by upgrading the visit from "official" to "state". GT 23/8/93

Despite sharp ANC criticism of the trip, President F W de Klerk and his wife Marike were treated like royalty early last night when they arrived at the Carrasco International Airport here.

Uruguayan President Luis Lacalle and his wife Maria greeted the South African couple and in an unusual move which diplomats said reflected the warmth of the welcome, the Uruguayan presidential couple then drove in the same vehicle as Mr and Mrs De Klerk to their hotel.

Presidents Lacalle and De Klerk will hold a formal meeting at Government House this morning. Mr De Klerk's programme today includes visits to the Parliament, the Supreme Court and the mayor.

Meanwhile, the seven high-powered South African businessmen visiting South America as part of the presidential entourage will hold a series of meetings with the Uruguayan cabinet ministers and businessmen today.

Mr De Klerk's visit has attracted wide interest and comment in Montevideo newspapers, much of it positive.

Star 22/8/93

Boost for Uruquay trade

BY CHRIS WHITFIELD
POLITICAL CORRESPONDENT

Montivideo (Uruguay) — Wide-ranging discussions between President de Klerk and Uruguayan President Luis Alberto Lacalle have paved the way for an increase in trade between the two countries. De Klerk also stressed his desire to ensure that the projected April 27 election goes ahead.

In terms of a joint communique issued this morning, negotiations on cultural, trade and investment agreements have begun and South Africa has agreed to immediately lift visa requirements for Uruguayans. A "drug enforcement agreement" is also on the cards.

Measures to increase "bilateral exchanges" in the trade and economic fields will also be supported. As things stand, trade between the two countries is far from significant. In 1992 South Africa imported R5,9 million worth of products from Uruguay while it exported R15 million worth of goods.

Demand for consumer goods here is fairly significant, with Ohlsson's Lager the country's favoured imported beer and several other South African products on the shelves. (304A)

Sapa reports that members of the business group accompanying De Klerk include Premier Food Industries chief executive director Willem de Kok, Anglo American deputy chairman Leslie Boyd and Gengold chairman Gary Mordt. The entourage will also visit Paraguay.

DP to challenge ANC Youth League

304A
ARG 24/8/93

MICHAEL MORRIS
Political Correspondent

THE Democratic Party Youth has launched a national campaign, Operation Hitback, in an attempt to overcome intolerance and violence in the townships and position itself as an alternative to the ANC's Youth League.

Adopting an aggressive position on the ANCYL, the DPY said it had failed to get an "adequate response" from the ANC's youth wing and it would now "campaign relentlessly against the ANC Youth League, starting with an approach to their donors to withdraw their support".

In a statement, the DPY executive said it believed "there is sufficient evidence of a systematic ANCYL campaign to silence the DP Youth, and we challenge the ANCYL to debate against us on this topic on television and on radio in every language of South Africa".

The statement said ANCYL members "have consistently harassed DPY members and other peace-loving citizens".

The DPY also hammered the SA Students' Congress and the SA Democratic Teachers' Union over their strike action and protest activities on university campuses.

Part of Operation Hitback would be "strong action against Sasco and in favour of academic freedom at the University of Witwatersrand and elsewhere".

The DPY would hold public meetings aimed at students and parents to "condemn" the Sadtu strike and affirm the principle of a negotiated solution to the education crisis.

The DPY's statement said the future of the youth's education was being "destroyed by Sasco and Sadtu".

"The only path offered by most youth organisations, particularly the ANCYL, is conflict and violence."

The objectives of Operation Hitback would be:

- To communicate the DPY's liberal message to young people, overcoming the obstacles of violence and intolerance.
- To step up the DPY recruitment campaign.

The DPY would go all out in holding township meetings, stressing its role as a "peace party".

negotiators determined

Negotiators determined to meet deadline for poll

ARG 24/8/93

Political Staff (304A)

JOHANNESBURG. — The Negotiating Council, which is running out of time to prepare legislation for the September session of parliament, has resolved to stick to April 27 as the target date for a general election.

Negotiators at the World Trade Centre today questioned whether there was enough time to prepare the legislation for the election.

Bophuthatswana negotiator Rowan Cronje and Ciskei delegate Mickey Webb both said the time frames set by the Negotiating Council were unattainable.

Parliament is scheduled to resume on September 13, and draft legislation has to be completed at the end of this week to satisfy parliamentary procedure.

Government negotiator Roelf Meyer today told the council that four Bills — the Independent Electoral Commission, the Independent Media Commission, the Independent Broadcasting Authority and possibly the Transitional Executive Council — could be ready for the September session.

But the Interim Constitution Bill, which is proving a tough nut to crack, will not be ready.

Another session of parliament — from the end of October to the beginning of November — will be called to pass the Interim Constitution. But the Bills will have to be completed by the Negotiating Council before the end of September, Mr Meyer said.

The Council resolved to stick to the agreed time frames and to work with greater urgency towards meeting them.

Democratic Party negotiator Colin Eglin said the April 27 target date was not impossible to meet.

"I believe that barring unforseen obstacles this date is still on track. But we have to be more disciplined and businesslike in our work."

ANC negotiator Cyril Ramaphosa said the setting of an election date was important for the creation of hope for the dismantling of apartheid and had to be adhered to.

"We can achieve our objective if we apply our minds and stop fili-bustering," said Mr Ramaphosa.

Defamation claim against M-Net fails

The Argus Correspondent

JOHANNESBURG. — An R85 000 defamation claim against M-Net by Johannesburg City Council official Martin Hennig has been dismissed with costs by the Rand Supreme Court.

Mr Hennig, who worked in the council's security department, claimed that the actuality programme *Carte Blanche* defamed him by deliberately conveying the view that he was an accomplice in or benefited from the murder of David Webster.

The programme, screened by M-Net on June 23 1991, contained allegations that Dr Webster's murder was contracted to members of the CCB by Renamo Branca, the Mozambican resistance movement based in South Africa.

Mr Justice J Spoelstra found that there was nothing in the programme that linked Mr Hennig with the allegations. His name was never mentioned orally and only appeared twice in a document shown briefly on the screen.

EC to boost new SA government

(304A)

MICHAEL MORRIS
Political Correspondent

A MAJOR European Community conference is to be held in South Africa next year to give the new democratic government a post-election political and economic boost. ARG 24/8/93

Plans for this high-profile gesture by one of South Africa's most important trading partners have been well received by the government and the ANC, according to diplomatic sources.

Finer details are being worked out.

Focusing on political and economic co-operation, aid and investment in Southern Africa, the conference is expected to give the new South Africa a critical injection of confidence and send a positive signal to potential international investors.

The conference will bring together representatives from all 12 EC countries, the governments of the frontline states and key figures in the new South African government and development agencies.

NEWS

Schwarz denies he made a 'blapsie'

Cabinet made visas decision

Star 24/8/93

■ BY PETER FABRICIUS
STAR BUREAU

SOUTH Africa's US ambassador was 'obeying orders' when he announced that SA would welcome US tourists without visas

Washington — US ambassador Harry Schwarz has rejected press criticism that he erred by announcing last week that South Africa was dropping visa requirements for US passport-holders visiting South Africa.

He said he had been criticised in Beeld and other Nasionale Pers newspapers for announcing the decision and thereby losing SA's leverage in trying to get the US to do the same for SA passport-holders.

Schwarz pointed out that the decision had been made by the Cabinet in the knowledge it was a unilateral action and he was merely carrying out orders.

His instructions from the Department of Foreign Affairs were to give immediate effect to the decision and he had decid- ed to communicate it to the US media and travel agents.

The South African media in Washington had been informed too, as a courtesy and because they had complained in the past about not getting statements issued to the US media.

"We assumed there would be a release in South Africa ..." Schwarz said. (There was not.)

"The embassy did not anticipate anyone nor was its action one-sided as alleged ... It is ridiculous to single out the Washington SA embassy as other missions acted in a way similar to ourselves."

Schwarz disputed the Beeld allegation that an anonymous person in Foreign Affairs had referred to the decision as a "blapsie" by "Harry".

It is understood there may have been a mistake in the issuing of the visa order in that the Department of Foreign Affairs did not inform the Department of Home Affairs beforehand to give it time to prepare for the changes. However, sources said if there was an error it had been committed by Foreign Affairs in issuing the visa order and not by the embassies who merely carried it out.

Schwarz pointed out the decision applied to many countries, not just the US, and that some of these — like Germany and France — also still required South Africans to obtain visas.

"There was no question of us holding back in the hope of a reciprocal decision."

DP Youth vows to hit back

Star 24/8/93

■ BY KAIZER NYATSUMBA
POLITICAL CORRESPONDENT

ANC Youth League be warned: We will not be intimidated. That is the message the Democratic Party Youth (DPY) gave the ANCYL yesterday.

In a national campaign called "Operation Hitback", the DPY vowed to campaign relentlessly against Peter Mokaba's organisation.

However, the DPY would avoid violence at all costs and subject the ANCYL to "pressure of every peaceful kind we can imagine".

"There is sufficient evidence of an ANCYL campaign to silence the DPY, and we challenge the ANCYL to debate against us on TV and radio," said the DPY in a statement. (3044)

The Operation Hitback campaign comes in the wake of the continued disruption of DP meetings in the townships.

DPY national chairman Colin Douglas told a press conference in Johannesburg that his party — consisting of 70 percent black members — was now the only viable alternative to the ANCYL.

He said the campaign's objectives included spreading the party's "liberal message", stepping up the DPY's recruitment programme and drawing attention to the disruptive actions of the SA Students' Congress at various tertiary institutions.

DPY spokesman Riaan Coetsee said his party would compile a list of people involved in the intimidation of DPY members and present it to the ANC.

At the time of going to press, the ANCYL could not be reached for comment.

New party discussed

B/Day 24/8/93

TIM COHEN

THE creation of a new broad-based party consisting of groups that supported federalism was under discussion, Afrikaner Volksunie secretary Schalk Burger said yesterday.

Burger predicted such a party would win a substantial number of seats — many more than the NP could. (3044)

"If the NP were to decide against being part of such a group, it could find itself crushed between the opposing forces," Burger said.

Two options for the new party were being considered, Burger said.

One option would be to create a new party out of the Concerned South Africans Group (Cosag) and possibly the CP, although it supported confederalism.

The second option would be to create a party out of the Afrikaaner Volksfront, under the leadership of the organisation's director Gen Constand Viljoen. This option was more likely to incorporate the CP.

Appeal for calm after hostel killings

B/Day 24/8/93

LAW and Order Deputy Minister Gert Myburgh said yesterday he feared retaliation after the killing of 12 people at a Germiston factory hostel on Sunday, and warned this could precipitate further violence.

After visiting the Scaw Metals hostel yesterday he appealed to residents to remain calm and not retaliate.

He also said police had offered a R250 000 reward for information leading to the arrest and conviction of the attackers.

Police spokesman Sgt Michelle Erasmus said another 14 bodies were found at the weekend — 13 in the Katlehong/Thokoza area — taking the East Rand death toll to 26 over this period. (220)

On Sunday a gunman fired at members of the Tsomo Burial Society outside the Scaw Metals hostel, killing 10 people.

The attackers then went through the complex, killing two more. Twenty people were also injured.

In a separate incident, four men died after a drive-by shooting near Jeppe hostel in Johannesburg on Sunday. Senior Transvaal Inkatha Freedom Party spokesman Humphrey Ndlovu said the victims were all Inkatha members.

Meanwhile, the NP has condemned ANC president Nelson Mandela's statement that government has neither the will nor the desire to end the country's violence.

Reacting to the hostel killings, Mandela said: "It is clear the government has either lost control of the security forces or elements in the security forces are doing what the government wants them to do."

NP spokesman Marthinus van Schalkwyk said Mandela should look truth in the eye and take up the role which the Goldstone commission said the ANC could exercise in stopping the violence.

In Natal at least 16 people were killed at the weekend, police and monitors said.

At least six people were killed in political clashes in Sundumbili township, near Mandini, since Saturday, according to the Human Rights Commission.

Two people were killed in Greytown, police said, while another was killed in the Tugela Ferry area.

Two people died when gunmen opened fire on a vehicle in Mobeni, Estcourt.

A man was shot dead in Umlazi's Zwelethu informal settlement on Sunday.

The body of a man was also found in KwaMashu's E Section on Friday night, police said. Another man was also shot dead in KwaMashu on Sunday. — Sapa-AP.

Inkatha dissenters oppose talks boycott

B/Day 24/8/93

BILLY PADDOCK

A TIGHTLY knit group in the Inkatha Freedom Party central committee is opposed to the formal strategy of boycotting talks and has singled out senior negotiator Walter Felgate as the person responsible.

It is understood that the group, which includes parliamentarians who recently joined Inkatha such as Mike Tarr and Peter Miller, claims Felgate has the ear of party leader Mangosuthu Buthelezi, and together the two are running the party along the lines of a feudal system. (MR)

The group has set up an Inkatha information centre to wrest control from Felgate over public statements.

In an interview yesterday, Felgate rejected claims that Inkatha was feudal or that he was the main proponent of boycotting the talks.

He said he espoused the party line as determined by central committee resolutions, and argued that if those who disagreed with the resolutions did not oppose them at the central committee meeting, they could blame only themselves.

He rejected out of hand the suggestion that people were afraid to openly oppose any position adopted by Buthelezi.

If he were mandated by the central committee to return to talks, he would abide by its ruling.

However, before Inkatha returned the issue of sufficient consensus had to be resolved adequately, and the decisions on setting an election date and giving the committee drafting the constitution the go-ahead to proceed in its present course had to be reviewed.

He was adamant that Inkatha would not accept an elected constituent assembly.

Delay in court action

BDay 21/8/93

PRETORIA — The KwaZulu government's court challenge to the "sufficient consensus" decision-making mechanism at the multiparty talks will not be heard for at least two weeks (10-) (20dA)

This was said yesterday by KwaZulu's attorney Gerhard Painter. KwaZulu is also challenging the April 27 1994 election date agreed to by sufficient consensus.

Painter said the case could be heard in two weeks' time, at the earliest, if the respondents filed answering affidavits before September 7, and if a special date was set down for the hearing.

Tefo Raditapole, attorney for respondents M J Mahlangu and Pravin Gordhan — the talks' rotating chairmen — said they would try to file their affidavits by Friday.

The KwaZulu government would then have 10 court days to file replying papers, he added. The matter will then be set down on the opposed motion roll and a date for the hearing will be allocated. — Sapa.

Court challenge to talks 'weeks away'

CT 24/8/93

PRETORIA. — The KwaZulu court challenge to the "sufficient consensus" decision-making mechanism at the multi-party talks will not be heard for at least two weeks.

This was said yesterday by Mr Gerhard Painter, instructing attorney for the KwaZulu authority, which is also challenging the election date of April 27, 1994, agreed on by way of sufficient consensus at the negotiating forum.

Mr Tefo Raditapole, attorney for the rotating chairmen of the multi-party talks, estimated the KwaZulu application could only be heard in three weeks' time.

Mr Raditapole said reports that the application would have been heard today were incorrect.

The KwaZulu government had filed an urgent application on July 28. It withdrew this application on August 6, and on the same day, filed a similar application.

The respondents at the multi-party Negotiating Council are required to file their affidavits by September 6, Mr Raditapole said.

Thereafter the KwaZulu government had 10 court days to file their replying papers. A date for the hearing would be set subject to the availability of judges and courts.

Top Inkatha negotiator Mr Walter Felgate declined to comment yesterday, saying the case was sub-judice.

However, an IFP source, a member of the central committee, said the postponement could be "in everyone's interest" as the sufficient consensus obstacle could still be overcome in bilateral talks. — Sapa, Own Correspondent

SOWETAN

Be ready — CP warns parents

THE Conservative Party has warned white parents to be prepared to protect their children and property with violence in the event of the National Education Co-ordinating Committee and the Congress of South African Students' occupation of white schools. 24/8/93

"The point of confrontation in South Africa has now become dangerously close as a result of a Government which does not have the will to maintain law and order," said a statement by CP education and culture spokesman Andrew Gerber. "Parents must not make the mistake of leaving the safety of their children in the hands of the Government." (304A)

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NEWS Tomorrow is chalkdown crur

Sowetan 24/8/93

Nats 'trick' youths

By Musa Zondi

A ROW is brewing after several black youths alleged they were tricked into attending a youth congress organised by the National Party at Naboomspruit in the Northern Transvaal at the weekend.

A parent — who asked not to be named — said yesterday the youths, who were from townships on the East Rand and Vaal Triangle, were told they were going to a church conference in Maritzburg, Natal.

They were told they would be picked up in Germiston. They became worried when, instead of travelling to Natal, they were taken towards the Northern Transvaal and ended up at Naboomspruit at about 9pm.

When they arrived NP officials handed them small party flags.

NP youth leader and MP Mr Dirk Bakker said yesterday that, as far as he knew, six or seven people had complained they had been tricked into attending the congress.

He said when he learnt about this, he immediately spoke to the organisers who assured him they knew nothing about it.

"I told the group that I was prepared to pay their transport back home immediately but the group chose to stay the whole weekend," Bakker said.

He said the group participated in the congress the whole weekend and also attended services on Saturday night and Sunday morning.

A parent of one of the youths said the group was afraid to leave the area at night. (304 A)

Ushered into hall

She also claimed they were ushered into the hall where a meeting was in progress. When they realised what they were in for, they asked to be taken home. The youths decided to start praying and stayed away from the meeting.

As they prayed NP officials allegedly told them to stop making a noise since the meeting was in progress.

The youths arrived back home on the East Rand on Sunday night.

This is the second time the NP has been accused of tricking black people into attending their meetings.

About two months ago the party was accused of tricking blacks into attending a meeting in the Northern Transvaal by promising people food.

Lekota: SA must press on with election without IFP

(304A) ARG 24/8/93

DENNIS CRUYWAGEN
Political Staff

SOUTH Africa should press on with the April 27 general election and not allow itself to be held to ransom by groups such as the Inkatha Freedom Party, said African National Congress deputy elections head Patrick "Terror" Lekota.

He said the country could not wait for a change of mood among parties opposed to elections.

"We must go ahead without them. I'm certain we'll have the majority of people and the international community behind us if we do."

The National Party with its powerful party machinery, resources and election knowhow would be the ANC's main opponents in South Africa's first non-racial elections.

The Democratic Party also had an advantage over the ANC.

"But we have something which the NP and DP don't have; we are experienced in mass struggles. We know about door-to-door campaigning and issues affecting people on the ground," Mr Lekota said.

The secret ballot was another plus factor.

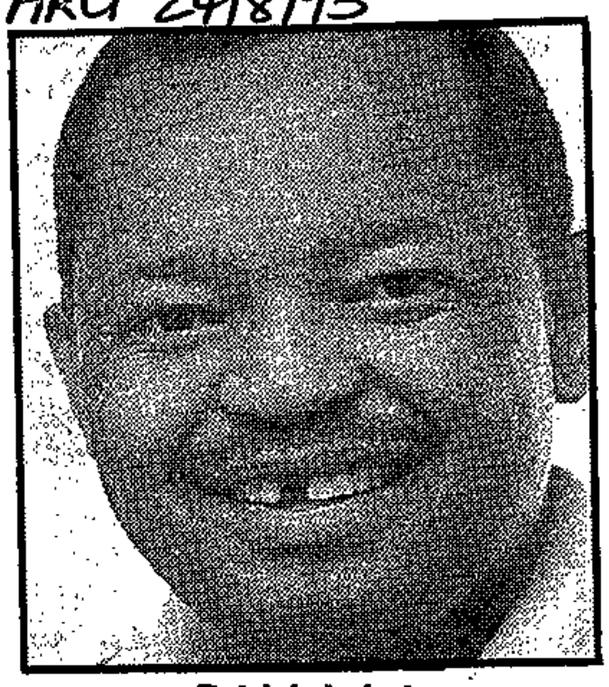
"Even if our people are intimidated into saying they'll vote for any party, we must make absolutely certain they understand their ballot would be their secret."

The ANC did not see the Democratic Party as a serious threat.

"They have never enjoyed significant white support. Today some of those whites who supported them have switched their support to the NP."

Mr Lekota said only the very young and politically immature would vote PAC.

"Stories that support for the PAC is increasing because of the chanting of slogans such as 'Kill a Boer, kill a Farmer' will prove to be just cheap talk at election time."



Patrick Lekota

The violent campaign against civilians, said to be carried out by the PAC's military wing the Azanian People's Liberation Army, "can't bring any lasting support".

He said the ANC was committed to political tolerance and recognised the right of opponents to hold political meetings.

"I have just had a discussion with our Western Cape leadership about this. The ANC does not need to disrupt political meetings to win the elections."

The ANC planned to mount a "clean" election campaign.

Conquering the "Don't Vote" psychosis, used devastatingly by the United Democratic Front, would be one of the major election challenges facing the ANC.

"Over the years we've asked people not to vote for apartheid structures. Our message now is that the elections have been called by the liberation movement and not the National Party."

☐ ANC said to support move to invite De Klerk to speak against violence

FW may address United Nations

(304A) ARG 24/8/93

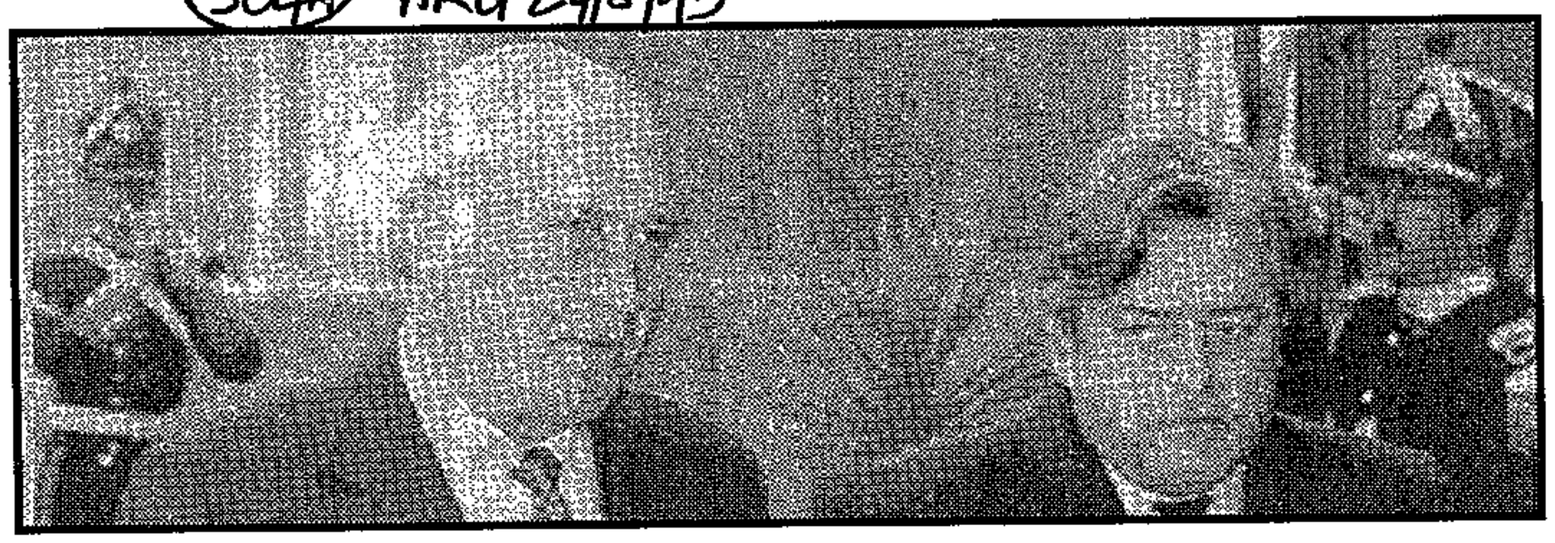
The Argus Foreign Service

NEW YORK. — President De Klerk could make a precedent-breaking appearance at the United Nations later this year if an initiative launched quietly by several members is successful.

According to diplomatic sources in New York, the ANC does not oppose the move and may even be offering discreet encouragement.

The incongruity that South Africa's delegation seats in the General Assembly hall might remain empty when Mr De Klerk addressed the world body was seen as no serious obstacle to his appearance.

South Africa has been barred from full participation in UN business for 19 years and appears unlikely to be able to reclaim its seat until a multiracial government is in place.



SIDE BY SIDE: Mr De Klerk and Mr Lacalle at Government House in Montevideo yesterday.

Behind the move to give Mr De Klerk a hearing is growing alarm in international circles over the surge of violence in South Africa and threats from the far right to his proposals for constitutional change.

The proponents believe that the UN platform would provide a unique opportunity for Mr De Klerk to lambast and discredit his white South African critics while rallying international support for his policies.

A visit to New York would be almost bound to coincide with a meeting with President Bill Clinton, who will be addressing the General Assembly on September 27. No date has been mentioned for Mr De Klerk's possible appearance.

Several European countries are said to have begun a canvass on the question, with support from some African members, notably the Ivory Coast and possibly also Nigeria.

If confirmed, Nigerian backing would be significant because it has long led the UN committee against apartheid and has been, until fairly recently, one of the more strident critics of Pretoria's policies.

Next stop Chile on eight-day sweep across South America

Political Staff

MONTEVIDEO (Uruguay). — President De Klerk flies out of here today for Chile, fast developing into an economic power in the region and an important stop on his eight-day sweep across Latin America.

Last night he closed his Uruguayan visit as guest of honour at a lavish state banquet.

President De Klerk was received with great warmth in Uruguay, with the country's leaders lauding him as a courageous reformer.

Yesterday he visited Uruguay's beautiful parliament buildings and held discussions with Vice-President Gonzalo Aguirre, the parliamentary international relations committee and MPs.

He visited the Supreme Court of Justice before being given the keys to the city of Montevideo by Mayor Tabare Vazquez.

President De Klerk is due to spend today and tomorrow in Santiago holding talks with Chilean President Patricia Aylwin and businessmen.

Chile has completed nine years of positive economic growth since embracing democracy and last year notched up a record 10,4 percent growth.

On Thursday President De Klerk flies to Paraguay, where he will be the first foreign head of state hosted by newly elected President Wasmosy and will address a combined sitting of the senate and congress.

On Friday night he flies to Buenos Aires, Argentina, where his crowded itinerary includes a meeting with President Carlos Menem.

He leaves for South Africa soon after midnight on Sunday.

DP Youth to 'hit back'

PATRICK BULGER

THE DP Youth was launching Operation Hitback to stop harassment at its meetings, the DP National Youth Executive said yesterday.

It said it wanted to be an alternative to the ANC Youth League and education organisations.

"The only path offered by most youth organisations, particularly the league, is conflict and violence."

Operation Hitback was intended to assert the DP Youth's "unique message of peace, trust and individual rights".

The DP Youth said it would step up recruitment and continue to hold meetings in townships. It would also identify people who broke up its meetings.

Federal party may be formed

(364A)

CT 24/8/93

Own Correspondent

JOHANNESBURG. — The creation of a new party comprising groups that support federalism is being discussed, Afrikaner Volksunie secretary Mr Schalk Burger said yesterday.

Mr Burger predicted that the party would win substantially more seats than the National Party in national elections.

"If the NP were to decide against being part of such a group, it could find itself crushed between the opposing forces," Mr Burger said.

General Viljoen

He said two strategies for the new party were being discussed.

The first was to create the party from the Concerned South Africans Group, with the Conservative Party's possible inclusion.

The NP and even the DP could join such a grouping, he said.

The second option was creating a new party from the Afrikaaner Volksfront under the leadership of General Constand Viljoen.

SA, Uruguay 'in negotiations'

(304A)

CT 24/8/93

From ANTHONY JOHNSON

MONTEVIDEO, Uruguay. — President F W de Klerk and his Uruguayan counterpart Dr Luis Lacalle announced yesterday that their governments were negotiating agreements aimed at the "dramatic intensification" of trade, investment and scientific co-operation.

At a press conference after an hour-long meeting between the two leaders said they hoped negotiations would result in an easing of trade and tariff barriers and government restrictions which were now acting as a brake on the free movement of people and goods.

A joint communique signed yesterday noted the imminent ending of visas for tourists and businessmen from both countries.

● President Lacalle has accepted an invitation to visit South Africa.

Uruguayan foreign ministry sources said Mr Nelson Mandela had been invited to visit Uruguay but no finality had been reached on this.

FW proposes twinning cities

From ANTHONY JOHNSON

MONTEVIDEO. — President F W de Klerk last night proposed that Cape Town and Montevideo become twin cities.

Speaking at a ceremony in which he was given the freedom of the city by the mayor Dr Tabare Vazquez, Mr De Klerk said that the two cities belong together for a host of reasons.

Both lay on the same line of latitude, both nestled next to the Atlantic ocean below a beautiful mountain and the two continents were once joined.

Mr De Klerk leaves for Chile today as part of his four-nation tour.

Ill winds set FW off to slow start in Uruguay

CT 24/8/93 304B

From ANTHONY JOHNSON

MONTEVIDEO, Uruguay. — Unfavourable winds came close to making President F W de Klerk abandon the first leg of his four-nations Latin American tour.

The presidential jet encountered such fierce head winds during its South Atlantic crossing on Sunday that the pilot was worried it would not have enough fuel to reach the planned fuelling stop in Rio and at one stage considered turning back.

● SA, Uruguay 'in negotiations' — Page 5

Star 24/8/93

DP Youth vows to hit back

■ BY KAIZER NYATSUMBA
POLITICAL CORRESPONDENT

ANC Youth League be warned: We will not be intimidated. That is the message the Democratic Party Youth (DPY) gave the ANCYL yesterday.

In a national campaign called "Operation Hitback", the DPY vowed to campaign relentlessly against Peter Mokaba's organisation.

However, the DPY would avoid violence at all costs and subject the ANCYL to "pressure of every peaceful kind we can imagine".

"There is sufficient evidence of an ANCYL campaign to silence the DPY, and we challenge the ANCYL to debate against us on TV and radio," said the DPY in a statement. (3044)

The Operation Hitback campaign comes in the wake of the continued disruption of DP meetings in the townships.

DPY national chairman Colin Douglas told a press conference in Johannesburg that his party — consisting of 70 percent black members — was now the only viable alternative to the ANCYL.

He said the campaign's objectives included spreading the party's "liberal message", stepping up the DPY's recruitment programme and drawing attention to the disruptive actions of the SA Students' Congress at various tertiary institutions.

DPY spokesman Riaan Coetsee said his party would compile a list of people involved in the intimidation of DPY members and present it to the ANC.

At the time of going to press, the ANCYL could not be reached for comment.

Violence must abate before election

FW hints at 'very, very firm steps'

Star 24/8/93

304A

DE KLERK is confident that agreements by negotiators will soon bring down levels of violence

■ **BY CHRIS WHITFIELD**
POLITICAL CORRESPONDENT

Montevideo — If the level of violence in South Africa was not brought down, leaders would have to take joint responsibility to support "very, very firm steps", says President de Klerk.

Speaking to the press after meeting Uruguayan President Luis Alberto Lacalle, he said South Africa could not hold free and fair elections unless political violence was reduced.

However, he was confident that agreements struck in negotiations during "the next month or two" would bring the country nearer to the "abatement of the much-too-high levels of political violence".

If this did not happen, "leaders will have to take joint responsibility for supporting very, very firm steps".

De Klerk may have been envisaging these steps being taken when the transitional executive council (TEC) — in effect the first step towards joint rule — was established.

He said that while the Government had to ensure that the security forces played their part, it was also the "task of political leaders to remove the many root causes of violence".

He said the country was close to establishing the TEC and added that agreements in negotiations on a variety of issues would make a major contribution to bringing down the levels of violence.

De Klerk leaves today for Chile, an important stop on his sweep across Latin America.

Estimated cost of election put at R155m

TIM COHEN

THE cost of holding the proposed April 27 election would be about R155m, Home Affairs director-general Piet Colyn estimated yesterday. B/Day

Colyn said it was essential that the election be free and fair and be recognised as such by participants, the electorate and the international community. 25/8/93

Home Affairs was trying to ensure that logistical requirements were satisfied and had proposed that identity documents should be required at polling stations.

About 87% of SA's population already had ID documents, and only about 2,6-million potential voters still needed to apply.

About 1,5-million TBVC residents had neither SA identity documents nor documents issued by their own governments.

Arrangements for a special registration procedure had to be made for the estimated 2-million potential voters who would probably still not have ID documents at the time of the election.

The department envisaged a two-stage registration process for political parties. The first would be required shortly after legislation on a new electoral law was passed. The second registration would take place 46 days before the election. (30 4A)

About 135 000 staff would be required to monitor the election, very few of whom would be departmental employees, he said.

NEWS Election pledge by tripartite group ● Third draft of interim constitution tabled

Sowetan
25/8/93

How president will be elected

SOUTH Africa's president for the transitional period has to be elected by an electoral college within 15 days of the scheduled April 27 election, experts responsible for the interim constitution have proposed.

The proposal is contained in the 11th report of the technical committee on constitutional issues which was tabled simultaneously with the third draft of the interim constitution at the World Trade Centre in Kempton Park yesterday. (304A)

Political playing fields

The proposal for the election of a president for the transitional period forms part of the so-called two-phase transition model, which is supported by most participants at the talks.

The first phase is expected to begin at the end of September or in October with the establishment of the transitional executive council and its six sub-councils "to level the political playing field" in time for the April 27 election.

According to this plan, President FW de Klerk will continue to be head of State as the first phase only concerns preparations for the election and not the actual running of the country.

The president during the second phase, according to the proposals of the technical committee, will head the country until at least the adoption of a final constitution "within two years from the commencement of the first session of parliament" after the April election.

Negotiators ran out of time yesterday and will now debate the 11th report tomorrow.

The report proposes that the electoral college to choose the president will be presided over by the Chief Justice or a Judge of Appeal designated by him. — *Sapa.*

Storm brewing over NP bussing of youth

Sowetan 25/8/93

By Themba Molefe
Political Correspondent

CONTROVERSY is mounting over the alleged bussing under false pretences of about 700 black youths from the PWV to a National Party youth conference in the Northern Transvaal at the weekend.

The meeting at Naboomspruit was addressed by Foreign Affairs Minister Pik Botha, Constitutional Affairs Minister Roelf Meyer, Manpower Minister Leon Wessels and NP media director Mr Marthinus van Schalkwyk.

Yesterday the incident was threatening to become a major political row with the African National Congress and Democratic Party entering the fray.

The ANC PWV region said it appeared Botha was at least aware that people were brought to the meeting under false pretences. (S04A)

"We warn the community to be vigilant," it said.

A statement from the DP youth wing said the NP had no youth structures in any township and challenged the NP youth to a public debate "on a topic of their choice in any township in South Africa".

The NP youth were to respond to the allegations last night but had not done so by the time of going to press.

Yesterday 30 youths aged between 13 and 25 years from Tokoza and Katlehong on the East Rand told a Press conference how they were allegedly tricked by their parish priest.

When they boarded the luxury bus on Friday night they believed they were going to a Christian convention in Maritzburg or KwaNdebele.

The Rev Tini Ngqeleni of the Ethiopian Church in Tokoza said yesterday he was also deceived by a Germiston NP town councillor whose full names he did not know. He denied being an NP member.

Draft may allow for NP deputy president

B/Day 25/8/93

A NATIONAL deputy president — conceivably F W de Klerk — who may not be a member of the president's party, would have effective veto powers over crucial areas of public power, according to a proposal in the third draft constitution tabled yesterday at the World Trade Centre.

This would appear to be a major part of a "power-sharing" deal reached behind closed doors by the ANC and NP. There has been speculation that if the ANC emerged as the largest post-election party, De Klerk would serve as Mandela's deputy (304A)

In terms of the proposal, if the cabinet agreed to any proposal on the national Budget, financial or national security mat-

BILLY PADDOCK

ters with only a simple majority instead of an unspecified special majority, the deputy president's assent would be required.

The constitutional technical committee presented a variety of other complex mechanisms designed to achieve a multi-party coalition cabinet and government for the transition and made a specific recommendation on one of these.

It proposed the president be elected within 15 days of an election by the national assembly's electoral college and the senate with the Chief Justice presiding. The president would be authorised to exercise certain executive powers and functions, as well as ceremonial duties.

The cabinet would consist of a deputy president, a prime minister and a number of ministers. Any party with 20 seats in the national assembly would be entitled to cabinet posts in proportion to its number of seats in the 400-seat national assembly.

When allocating portfolios, the president would have to consult party leaders who would designate people from elected members. The president would also be entitled to appoint deputy ministers after consulting the relevant ministers.

All ministers would be accountable indi-

To Page 2

Constitution

B/Day 25/8/93

From Page 1

vidually for their departments and collectively for the cabinet's work. If a minister failed to administer his department in terms of a specified policy, the president could require him to bring matters up to scratch or, after consulting his party leader, dismiss the minister. The president would be required to fire any minister who lost the confidence of Parliament. (304A)

Cabinet meetings would be chaired by the president or deputy president. Decisions would be taken by consensus where possible or by "specified majority".

"In the event of the specified majority not being achieved in the cabinet regarding the national Budget, financial matters and national security, an absolute majority of the total number of ministers shall be sufficient, provided that both the president and the deputy president are in favour of such a decision," the proposal reads.

The committee said a likely objection to the deputy president coming from a different party would be the assumption that he would succeed the president. It suggested that this be catered for by requiring a new electoral college vote for the presidency should the position become vacant.

The committee also produced a complex single ballot voting model for the first election. Each vote would determine the voter's choice for a national seat and a seat in the regional legislature.

This was opposed by federalists such as the DP and the Concerned South Africans Group, which stressed that throughout the world national decisions were different from regional ones. Voters should have two ballot papers. The electoral commission committee had been asked to devise a different model.

The constitutional committee said it was unable to proceed on a number of controversial issues until the negotiators had made certain political decisions.

These included the definition of a national territory; national symbols including a flag, anthem, coat of arms and seal; languages; a deadlock-breaking mechanism; regional constitutions; the power of the elected constitutional assembly to alter regional boundaries and powers of regions; and all matters relating to areas of competence for regions.

Weekend deadline for negotiators

BILLY PADDOCK

CONSTITUTIONAL Development Minister Roelf Meyer told negotiators yesterday that all legislation for the transitional period had to be completed this week.

He said the draft constitution had to be finalised and agreed to by end-September if the election was to be held by April 27.

"The first special session of Parliament that starts on September 13 will require us to have finalised all draft legislation, such as the independent media commission, electoral commission, broadcasting authority and the transitional executive council by the end of this week or at the very latest early next week," Meyer said.

Should this not occur, Parliament could not get the Bills through the short sessions and they could not become law by October, the period required before the election.

SA Communist Party negotiator Joe Slovo said the target was attainable.

Bophuthatswana negotiator Rowan Cronje said setting deadlines was putting the cart before the horse and negotiators were being put in a "pressure cooker".

Ciskei negotiator Micky Webb objected, saying that in terms of an earlier resolution the negotiators could not send Bills to Parliament in stages.

ANC secretary-general Cyril Ramaphosa said the ANC would argue that the Bills could go forward.

Delport 'fully supports talks'

25/8/93 (3024)

Political Staff

THE Minister of Local Government, Dr Tertius Delport, last night emphatically refuted speculation that he had become disillusioned with the negotiations process.

He admitted he was playing a much lower profile in the World Trade Centre negotiations than before but said this was because he was now heavily involved in local government negotiations.

"I am fully committed to the process and I am working around the clock to achieve what we wanted to achieve."

Dr Delport was more directly involved in the Kempton Park negotiations when he was Deputy Minister of Constitutional Development and when he was the government's spokesman at Codesa, and these positions gave him a higher public profile than his current portfolio.

He also pointed out that President F W de Klerk had said recently that five ministers were the government's policy group for reform. They were the Minister of Public Enterprises, Dr Dawie de Villiers, the Minister of Constitutional Development, Mr Roelf Meyer, the Minister of Manpower, Mr Leon Wessels, the Minister of Home Affairs, Mr Danie Schutte, and himself.

This group met regularly, but his heavy schedule meant he could not participate in the World Trade Centre negotiations.

Talks are now pressed for time

(304A)
CT 25/8/93

Own Correspondent

JOHANNESBURG. — Negotiators were put under pressure yesterday when Constitutional Development Minister Mr Roelf Meyer told them that all legislation for the transitional period had to be completed this week.

And the draft constitution had to be finalised and agreed to by the end of September if the election was to be held by April 27, he said.

"The first special session of Parliament that starts on September 13 will require us to have finalised all draft legislation, such as the independent media commission, electoral commission, broadcasting authority and the transitional executive council, by the end of this week or early next week," he said.

Otherwise, Parliament could not get the bills through the short sessions and they could not become law by October, in time to level the political playing field before the election.

'Power-sharing'

Meanwhile, it was suggested that a national deputy president, who may not be a member of the party of the president, should have effective veto powers over crucial areas of public power.

This is a proposal in the third draft constitution tabled at the World Trade Centre yesterday, and appears to be part of a "power-sharing" deal between the ANC and NP.

The constitutional technical committee proposed the president be elected within 15 days of an election by an electoral college of the national assembly and senate, the Chief Justice presiding.

The cabinet would be composed of a deputy president, a prime minister and a number of ministers.

Any party with 20 seats in the 400-seat national assembly would be entitled to be allocated cabinet posts in proportion to the number of seats it holds.

DP Youth to 'hit back'

THE Democratic Party Youth yesterday announced the launch of "Operation Hitback", particularly aimed at the ANC's Youth League which it said wanted to silence the DP. (304A)

In response, the ANC Youth League stressed its commitment to free political activity, but warned the DP Youth of retaliation if violence erupted as a result of DP campaigns. CT 25/8/93

Also yesterday, the DP Youth challenged the National Party Youth to a debate in any township. It slammed the group's recent announcement that a black NP soccer team would be launched in Soweto.

● A CP/Afrikaner Volksfront students' campaign to physically prevent disruptive action by ANC/SACP supporters on campuses may lead to violence, the CP's Youth Branch said.
— Political Staff, Sapa

FW wants closer SA, Chilean ties

From ANTHONY JOHNSON

SANTIAGO. — President F W de Klerk called yesterday for the strengthening of ties between South Africa and Chile across a broad front following an hour-long meeting with President Patricia Aylin here.

"I am convinced that there is room for much closer co-operation between our countries in trade, cultural matters and scientific research," he said, describing their meeting as "friendly and warm".

Meanwhile, Zimbabwean President Robert Mugabe said yesterday he would be willing to meet Mr De Klerk as soon as it became clear the dismantling of the system was final.

A hard-line Natal Nat looks fondly to Inkatha

304A WSM 20 - 26/8/93

Tough talk against the ANC and plenty of sops to Inkatha prevented further splits among Natal Nats at the weekend — but the party's provincial leaders want more, reports Farouk Chothia



George Bartlett ... fears tyranny

PRESIDENT FW DE KLERK may have averted further defections to Inkatha at the National Party's Natal congress at the weekend, but hardliners in the province are far from satisfied.

The NP in Natal meant to extract further concessions on behalf of the Inkatha Freedom Party, re-elected provincial leader George Bartlett said in an interview this week. He wanted Natal/kwaZulu to draft its own regional constitution, which would respect the boundaries of the kwaZulu homeland and allow Zulus to have their own "traditional government" at third-tier level.

Although the divisions in the NP did not burst into the open at the congress, they surfaced in the utterances of the leaders.

De Klerk criticised the IFP for boycotting multiparty negotiations; Bartlett sympathised with the IFP and urged the negotiators at the World Trade Centre to bow to its demands; De Klerk said the African National Congress no longer stood for a unitary state, while Bartlett said it did; De Klerk said the NP stood for "strong regional government", while Bartlett said he wanted federalism enshrined in the draft constitution — a key IFP demand.

In the interview, Bartlett effectively served as the IFP's mouthpiece, arguing its case on the key issue of federalism.

"The draft constitution says there will be a united sovereign state. If it said there would be a united sovereign federal state, the problem would be solved," he said.

Told that chief government negotiator Roelf Meyer did not speak of federalism, Bartlett replied: "Maybe he should. The ANC does not want to — that is the problem."

Conceding differences between himself and Meyer, Bartlett said these stemmed from the fact that Meyer was at the World Trade Centre, while he was not. "He's in the hot seat. He's got to negotiate and he does so very effectively; to make gains, he's got to make concessions."

He drew a parallell between himself and his arch-foe in the ANC, hardline Midlands chief Harry Gwala. "Cyril Ramaphosa has difficulties with Gwala; Ramaphosa is seen as soft. All the time, he's making compromises."

> "If the IFP took power, I'd be comfortable with being the loyal opposition. If the Communist Party comes in, they'll be my enemy"

Bartlett clearly longs for a close relationship his party once enjoyed with Inkatha.

Pandering to Bartlett before congress delegates, De Klerk lashed the ANC as "dangerous and untrustworthy" and called for a "sound and constructive relationship with the IFP in the run-up to elections".

Sources said his tough anti-ANC rhetoric and conciliatory approach to the IFP had prevented further defections to the Inkatha.

In the interview, Bartlett — clearly pleased with De Klerk's comments — said: "My party will be the political opponent of the IFP in elections, but I do not look upon them as the enemy. If the IFP took power, I'd be comfortable with being the loyal opposition. If the Communist Party comes in, they'll be my enemy."

Bartlett fears a "tyranny of the majority. Sixty percent can't ride rough-shod over 40 percent. In Bosnia, there is ethnic cleansing — there's potential for that disaster in South Africa. The Zulus are South Africa's biggest ethnic group and they're calling for the protection of minorities."

The NP's approach to the ANC and IFP would differ in the election campaign.

"With Inkatha, it will be according to Queensbury rules. With the ANC/SACP alliance, it will be kick-boxing."

Bartlett said he favoured a pre-election alliance with the IFP, but understood this was not possible: the ANC would have then argue that the IFP was a "puppet of the government — and erode its support".

The Nats would consider a pre-election alliance with the IFP in Natal/kwaZulu only if the ANC was on the verge of taking power in regional elections. "But I doubt very much the ANC in Natal will come anywhere near 50 percent," he predicted.

But Bartlett has a thorny problem: however much he may like Inkatha, objectively it is a threat to his party. Surveys show the IFP is subverting Nat support in Natal/kwaZulu, and is backed by 30 percent of white Natalians.

Bartlett insisted the NP still had majority white support in Natal/kwaZulu, and that white concerns would evaporate once the logjam at the World Trade Centre broke and a transitional constitution took effect.

Meanwhile, the Natal Nats intend to wage Inkatha's battle by pressing for what seems to be a Zulu state within the Natal/kwaZulu region.

In his speech at the congress, Bartlett said Natal/kwZulu should draft its own regional constitution which had to be "entrenched" in a national constitution and which would accommodate Zulu monarchists and republicans. "We need to respect the diversity of the province — the differences between the traditional kwaZulu homeland and the rest of Natal." To this end, he proposed that local government be divided into a structure for the kwaZulu homeland and another for the rest of Natal.

"We will work under one regional government, but would devolve certain authority to chiefs and tribal authorities in kwaZulu. Tribal government will be looked upon as local government.

"In other words, we'd have a central government in Pretoria, a regional government in Pietermaritzburg and a third tier based in Durban and Ulundi."

This was necessary to show respect for Zulu tradition and customs — at the World Trade Centre negotiators "lump everyone into a common mould.

"Zulus have their own system of government going back generations, and a new constitution has to recognise that."

Cape Town Book Week: Pull out — and keep — the full programme in the centre of this newspaper

Speculation over power-sharing

Draft suggests deputy president

Star 25/8/93

304A

THIRD draft of the Interim Constitution suggests a deputy president and a prime minister

■ BY ESTHER WAUGH
POLITICAL CORRESPONDENT

The third draft of the Interim Constitution — tabled yesterday in the Negotiating Council — proposes an executive president and a multiparty Cabinet for the interim government of national unity.

The draft calls for a deputy president and a prime minister, but does not specify duties.

Speculation that the draft would provide for ANC leader Nelson Mandela becoming president and F W de Klerk becoming vice-president was premature, said observers.

Negotiators were yesterday given a tight timetable to complete draft legislation before the scheduled April 27 election.

The technical committee on constitutional matters, which drafted the document based on submissions by the negotiating parties, said: "The question as to how the Cabinet should be composed and portfolios allocated is a political issue."

However, the committee has formulated four examples of possible Cabinet structures. Included is the possibility of a deputy president and a prime minister but, the committee said, these examples were provided to facilitate debate in the Negotiating Council.

The latest draft of the Interim Constitution has been fleshed out to include proposals for the executive arm of government and a system for electing members to the National Assembly and regional governments.

The document proposed that the president be indirectly elected by members of the National Assembly. After the president's election, he will vacate his seat in the National Assembly, which would be filled by the next person on the list of his party.

The draft provides for parties to be represented in the Cabinet on a proportional representation basis, calculated on the election results.

It states that a party holding at least 20 National Assembly seats will be entitled to Cabinet positions in proportion to the "the number of seats held by it in the National Assembly, relative to the number of seats held by the other parties represented in the Cabinet".

The president will consult with the leaders of parties qualified to hold Cabinet posts about the allocation of portfolios.

The leader of each of these parties will nominate people to be appointed as ministers.

Cabinet will reach decisions by consensus, but should this be unattainable, decisions will be taken by a majority to be specifiied.

In the event of the Cabinet not being able to reach the set majority on the national budget, financial matters and national security, an absolute majority will be sufficient.

Also included in the document are principles accepted by the council during discussion on the second and third drafts. These are an interim government of national unity acting as a legislature and a constitutional assembly and strong executive powers for the regions.

Star 25/8/93

Effusive welcome for FW

(304A)

■ BY CHRIS WHITFIELD
POLITICAL CORRESPONDENT

Santiago — President de Klerk was given his second effusive welcome of his Latin American tour when he arrived in Chile yesterday for a visit which, he hopes, will lead to closer trade links between that country and South Africa.

After an hour-long meeting with President Patricio Aylwin, De Klerk said: "I am convinced there is room for closer co-operation in trade and also in culture and scientific research."

The talks had touched on the "dynamic constitutional process" in South Africa and the country's economic prospects.

De Klerk was greeted by a 21-gun salute and a guard of honour at Arturo Merino Benitez Airport yesterday.

He laid a wreath at the monument to Bernardo O'Higgins, the founder of the Chilean nation. A military brass band played *Die Stem* and the Chilean national anthem during the ceremony.

Star
23/8/93

Accept black rule MP urges

■ PRETORIA CORRESPONDENT

Right-wing politician Koos Botha has called on his constituency to accept a black government.

Botha, Afrikaner Volksunie MP for Wonderboom, at a "crisis meeting" of residents from Klipfontein and Kruisfontein, about 30 km north of Pretoria, last night said that a black government would more than likely win an election and rightwingers simply had to accept it.

"Like it or not, there are things which we do not like which we are going to have to accept," he said. (304A)

Botha later told reporters: "Whether the election takes place on April 27 depends on the violence. But there will be an election at some stage and there will be a black government."

Klipfontein and Kruisfontein residents called the emergency meeting to find solutions to the problem of a squatter camp in their area.

Botha called on residents not to do anything "irresponsible" but to establish a forum to negotiate with leaders of the squatter camp.

PEOPLE'S LIVES *Special voter education programmes with a farming theme have been devised*

Voting teams focus on women

Sowetan 26/8/93

RURAL VOTE *72 percent of women are illiterate and cannot vote:* 30+A



Women voting in Namibian elections

"Our objective is to help women look at themselves as politicians so they can run for local and regional office"

By Sizakele Kooma

INSTITUTIONS AND ORGANISATIONS that offer voter education programmes are making sure that April 27 does not catch women napping.

A lot of emphasis is being placed on women, they say, because most of them have been left out of the political process and are deprived of education.. But another element could also be that women constitute 54 percent of the population and will carry a decisive vote in the elections.

A panel discussion of nine organisations that offer voter education revealed that most of the services for preparing people for elections have been geared to illiterate communities.

The motivation that "the rural vote is as important as the urban one" has seen an even higher concentration on the outer towns.

Associations like the Black Sash, Idasa, the Rural Foundation and Matla Trust have devised special programmes in the form of posters and stories for farm labourers and unemployed rural women. The programmes have also been adapted to vernacular languages.

"A woman is a teacher," Evelyn Moepi of the Career and Resource Development Strategy says.

"When you have taught one woman you have taught the whole family. Women spread the gospel quicker."

Marie Louise Storm of Idasa said her organisation uses a series of posters that lead the audience through the election process — applying the symbolism of a seed planted in secrecy, not bearing fruit immediately but growing through a period of time to yield a harvest later.

"We used images that rural women would understand to provoke discussion. The posters are geared at encouraging them to talk about and not be told about voting."

Ellen Kornegay of the Women's Development Foundation, whose trainers work through professional associations and resource centres, says their programme does not end with empowering women to make an informed choice. They are also taught women how to monitor and manage the election process.

FW woos Chilean investors

Star 26/8/93

■ **BY CHRIS WHITFIELD**
POLITICAL CORRESPONDENT

Santiago — President de Klerk yesterday moved firmly to woo potential investors from Chile, one of the economic success stories of Latin America.

In meetings with President Patricio Aylwin, other leaders and businessmen, he repeatedly emphasised steps being taken to ensure South Africa would be a stable and attractive venue for investors after the installation of a new government next year.

He also indicated that South Africa would ease trade and tariff restrictions once it had access to the International Monetary Fund and the World Bank. (304A)

Another step included the announcement that visa requirements for all Chileans visiting South Africa on business or holiday would be lifted.

Addressing businessmen at a breakfast yesterday, he said South Africa had in the past been struggling for survival and this had led to trade and tariff restrictions.

This situation would change with access to the IMF and World Bank and he hoped South Africa would be able to compete freely in the international market.

He said it was clear that when South Africa took the "next step" in its constitutional development, "the last internationally imposed financial restrictions would fall away" and access to the IMF would become available. (304B)

De Klerk suggested that the multiparty nature of the government of national unity would give rise to "an almost abnormal period of stability".

De Klerk and the seven South African businessmen travelling with him also met Chilean Minister of Economic Affairs Alejandro Foxley.

news in brief

Sowetan 26/2/93

Volksfront to be honoured

THE Western Transvaal town of Bloemhof has decided, in principle, to grant the Afrikaner Volksfront the freedom of the town — a move the local African National Congress office deems "extremely provocative". (3044)

ANC spokesman Mr Rankoa Molefe said yesterday the Bloemhof town council was following on the heels of its sister council Schweizer-Reneke and its decision could lead to racial confrontation in the town. "At face value it appears that there is a discernible conspiracy among Western Transvaal town councils to forestall any move towards integrated municipalities in South Africa," he said.

Sowetan
26/8/93

DP prepares to strike back

The Democratic Party Youth is preparing to "hit back" after being run out of black townships while on the election campaign and membership drive.

The national campaign is aimed at asserting the DP's message of "peace, trust and individual rights at rolling back the intolerance, violence and autocracy" to which parties like the DP have been subjected.

— *Sowetan Correspondent, Sowetan Reporter and Sapa.*

Botha rejects claim

Sowetan 26/8/93

TRANSVAAL National Party leader Mr Pik Botha yesterday rejected out of hand allegations that he was aware of alleged trickery to get black children to attend the party's recent youth conference at Naboomspruit. (3044)

A spokesman at his office, Mr Eddie Mienie, was reacting to an assertion by the PWV region of the African National Congress that Botha was at least aware that people had been brought to the meeting under false pretences.

Mienie said one of the people alleging that he had been lured to the meeting was a signed-up member of the NP.

This person had gone to the NP's Soweto office on Tuesday to inform MEC and NP member Mr David Chuenyane that the ANC had visited him on Monday night, searched his house for NP documents and warned him to be at a news conference the following day. "If he did not heed their warning they threatened that his home would be burnt down," Mienie claimed.

The ANC claimed a group of its young supporters from the East Rand were invited to attend a Christian conference but were taken instead to the NP's Naboomspruit congress.

They had wanted to leave but had no money or alternative transport, the ANC said. — *Sapa*.

Sowetan 26/8/93

Royal treat for FW in Santiago

Sowetan Correspondent

SANTIAGO — President FW de Klerk was yesterday given a taste — quite literally — of Latin American culture that has largely disappeared from the streets of this highly sophisticated city.

After receiving the keys to the city, his stroll through the foyer of the municipal headquarters was enhanced by children kitted out in symbolic costumes — some in woollen caps symbolising the chilly south, others in ponchos — cheering and waving small South African flags.

Three pairs of dancers then performed a *cueca* for the President. The dance, according to one local, symbolises "a man trying to conquer a woman". (3044)

Once this had been accomplished a group of *Huasos* — "people from the farms" — in sombreros and ponchos pressed a large, horn-shaped container on the President.

He and Government officials manfully sipped from it *chicha* — a liquor made from grapes — before leaving the building.



Picture: PETER ABRAHAMS.

DEFECTORS: Former DP organiser Edgar Louw, second from-right, is welcomed into the ANC fold by Manenberg ANC branch chairman Mario Wanza, left, regional chairman Allan Boesak and regional secretary Tony Yengeni, right.

DP-ANC furore over 'defector' flares again

(304A) ARG 26/8/93

MICHAEL MORRIS and ROGER FRIEDMAN
Staff Reporters

A FRESH dispute has arisen between the ANC and the Democratic Party over a former DP organiser who defected to the ANC and claims by a group of other defectors from Manenberg of irregular promises made by DP officials.

But the DP last night rejected the claims as baseless and disclosed that former organiser Edgar Louw had in fact been dismissed for unacceptable conduct after a full disciplinary hearing.

Mr Louw told a press conference last night, called by the ANC to announce his defection, that he had left the DP because it had become clear "it was not the party of the ordinary people".

Proof of this was that the DP-dominated city council "continues to burden people with high rates and taxes, rents and daily evictions", he said.

But DP regional director Stuart McLoughlin disclosed that after successfully working for a three-month probationary period earlier this year, and being employed full-time as an organiser, Mr Louw had failed to return from a week's leave and, when he eventually did return 21 days later, submitted himself to a disciplinary hearing.

"The disciplinary hearing found that Mr Louw had broken his contract with the party and he was then effectively dismissed."

Hennie Bester, DP MP for Green Point, responsible for expansion in the Western Cape, said there had been complaints "from our grassroots, in various branches" about Mr Louw.

Mr Louw, who was once an organiser for the UDF, said he joined the DP in 1990 after being "influenced by people like Van Zyl Slabbert, Hennie Bester and Robin Carlisle".

But disillusion with the party followed.

He was also said to have worked for the DP in the Southern Transvaal.

● Other Manenberg-based DP officials — vice-chairman Johnny Marthinus, secretary and youth leader Levona Mackay and former youth leader Charmaine Lewis — also announced their defection to the ANC.

POLITICS

Slabbert warns: Curb violence or forget free, fair elections

Political Correspondent
MICHAEL MORRIS

FREDERIK van Zyl Slabbert has warned that unless the major political players forge a common position on violence and weapons, dealing with intimidation and ensuring stability, South Africa can "forget" free and fair elections.

Elections in April were not "impossible", but a great effort would have to be made before then to thrash out a common position on the proliferation of armed forces and violence.

His comments appear in an interview with Towards Democracy, the journal of the Institute for a Multi-Party Democracy, in which he is described as South Africa's "most influential politician without a party".

He warned: "You may agree on all the rules of the game, on where the polling booths must be, the right of everyone to go and vote. But if you don't maintain stability, if you don't act against intimidation, if you don't have some force to reinforce what you've agreed, then forget it. It can't be done."

Nowhere in the world had there been a successful transition where the security situation remained unresolved during the transition period.

"I would say violence is *the* major obstacle to negotiations," he said.

Dr Van Zyl Slabbert said stability was the first and most important element of four key requirments for a successful transition ... stability, legitimacy, growth and redistribution.

"But you cannot redistribute if there is no growth, you cannot have growth if there is no legitimacy, and you cannot have legitimacy if there is no stability.

"On the level of stability, we have a rather weak Peace Accord and the Goldstone Commission. That is all."

"I cannot see how the ANC and the government can negotiate constitutional rules of transition if they haven't clarified their common position on violence and the instruments of violence — both private and public."

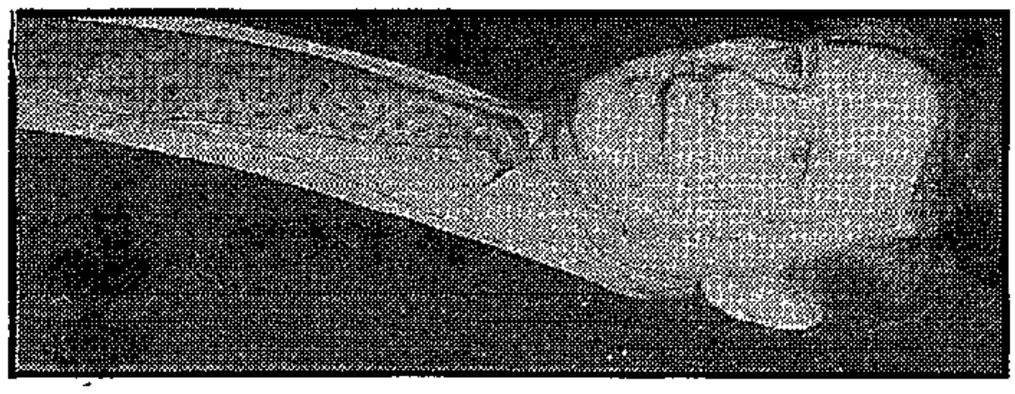
He suggested there be an urgent meeting of all key political and military leaders.

"Mandela, Buthelezi, De Klerk and whoever else is politically relevant should lock themselves up in a bosberaad with the generals of all the militia, whether private or official. Apla, Aquila, everyone must be invited.

"Those who exclude themselves must face the consequences of whatever consensus is reached."

If, as necessary, all forces were amalgamated, this single force "will have to clamp down on all the other private militia who do not want to cooperate ... for that is what they will have to do", he said.

DR SLABBERT: Nowhere in the world has there been a successful transition where the security situation remained unresolved during the transition period.



AKG 26/8/93

Some protection will go, says FW

B/Day 26/8/93

SANTIAGO — As soon as the last international financial restrictions were lifted on SA, the country would remove certain trade protection measures, President F W de Klerk said yesterday.

Addressing leading Chilean businessmen in Santiago, De Klerk said SA had taken steps to ensure its economic survival during its period of isolation.

"The minute the last international financial restrictions are lifted and we have access to the World Bank, we will remove some of the protective measures.

"We are already looking at our tariffs policy and at import surcharges because we realise that if we want to be internationally competitive, we must remove these restrictions."

He said since the appointment of two leading businessmen to the Cabinet, there had been "an improvement in financial decision-making".

He also said international businessmen could rely on a stable SA government in the future as well as balanced economic policies.

The ANC was historically strongly socialistic "in the hard sense of the word", but he was confident this was something of the past.

"Mr Nelson Mandela is going out of his way to assure the private sector that economic success can only be achieved in an investor-friendly environment. (304A)

"There is a realisation and a broad consensus that without further foreign investment, these ideals cannot be achieved."

He said after the elections for a government of national unity "one could expect an almost abnormal period of stability" as government would place emphasise reconstruction and economic growth to meet the high expectations of the people.

Job creation, he added, was needed at a breath-taking rate.

De Klerk also welcomed the fact that a high-powered Chilean business delegation would visit SA this year.

He praised Chile's government for achieving economic growth while restoring democracy and said other SA leaders would benefit from studying the Chilean system.

Before leaving, De Klerk was criticised by the ANC for travelling in SA's name.

But De Klerk dismissed the criticism, saying the trip was aimed at boosting trade and business. He would visit Paraguay and Argentina later this week. — Sapa-Reuter.

Negotiators defer contentious issues

B1Day 26/8/93

NEGOTIATORS yesterday deferred debate on contentious issues to Tuesday, creating a serious bottleneck in the rush to finalise legislation before the September sitting of Parliament (3044)

Debate on the independent media commission, the idependent broadcasting authority and the independent electoral commission was delayed. ( )

Constitutional Development Minister Roelf Meyer warned that if final agreements were not reached by Tuesday, the special session of Parliament could be called off. It was scheduled to deal with

BILLY PADDOCK

legislation from the negotiating council.

The Transitional Executive Council Bill, due to be tabled today, also needs to be finalised on Tuesday. However the three most contentious issues still being dealt with by the planning committee, including President F W de Klerk's powers in relation to the transitional executive council, will be included in the Bill only next week.

Government and ANC negotiators hope that meetings during the next four days

To Page 2

Negotiators

B1Day 26/8/93

From Page 1

will help resolve parties' differences.

To speed up the process and cut down the time required by Parliament to prepare the Bills, legal advisers from government departments have been added to the technical committees to assist in drafting the legislation in the correct form. (3044)

Meanwhile, the technical committee drafting electoral commission legislation has changed its Bill, which was tabled yesterday. It has done away with a full Appellate Division Bench to review the commission's decisions and replaced it with a special electoral court. This is to be chaired by an Appellate Division judge and will have four other members including two Supreme Court judges. The other two members, one with legal training, will be appointed by the transitional council.

The court will have the power to review the commission's decisions. It will not deal with appeals, but will be able to remove any commission member.

Bottleneck as talks near deadline

304A

CT 26/8/93

JOHANNESBURG. — Negotiators yesterday created a bottleneck for Tuesday's talks in their rush to finalise legislation in time for it to be promulgated through Parliament in September.

At the negotiating council, parties deliberately deferred all contentious issues on the independent media commission, the independent broadcasting authority and the independent electoral commission for debate on Tuesday — the final date for reaching agreement, according to the government's chief negotiator Mr Roelf Meyer.

Should they not reach agreement on the constitution by Tuesday, the special session of Parliament may be called off.

Added to Tuesday's load will be finalisation on the Transitional Executive Council Bill.

Meanwhile, the technical committee drafting legislation for the electoral commission has changed its bill, tabled yesterday.

The committee decided to do away with a full bench of the Appellate Division to review decisions of the commission and have it replaced with a Special Electoral Court.

It is to be chaired by a judge from the Appellate Division and have four other members, two of whom two shall be Supreme Court judges.

The court shall have the power to review any decision of the commission or to remove any member of the commission.

rsday, August 26 1993 ★

21 AUG 1993

Eglin warns on a 'weakening' govt

(304A)

By BARRY STREEK
Political Staff

AN effective transfer of power had taken place in South Africa although the old apartheid government structures were still in place, a key member of the World Trade Centre negotiations, Mr Colin Eglin, said yesterday.

"President F W de Klerk has all the instruments of power but he is finding it increasingly difficult to administer government," he said at a Cape Chamber of Industries breakfast.

Nothing illustrated this more than the decision one night at the World Trade Centre to transfer Walvis Bay to Namibia. Although the government had opposed such a move for decades, it suddenly agreed to the move after the decision.

"The de facto political power has changed, but nothing could be more dangerous in transition than a weakening government. It is vital to bring together a government that has de facto and de jure power at the same time," Mr Eglin said.

Mr Eglin, the Democratic Party MP for Sea Point and a member of the 12-person planning committee, said he was "very hopeful" that the deadlines would be met. CT 26/8/93

Mr Eglin also revealed in his speech that the PAC had been militant on some issues but on balance had played "a positive role" in the negotiations ands its overall style had been helpful to the process.

NEWS

Call for volk army in place of call-up

26/8/93

■ STAFF REPORTERS

A "volk" army controlled by the Afrikaner Volksfront was needed now that conscription was being phased out, the Conservative Party said yesterday.

It was reacting to Defence Minister Kobie Coetsee's announcement that the call-up system was to be replaced by a voluntary system from next year. (3044)

"If the Government goes ahead with implementing a new constitution in which the ANC and communists are partly or wholly in control, it leaves us with no choice but to call for a volk's army," a CP statement said.

Meanwhile, the End Conscription Campaign (ECC) has said it would oppose any further prosecutions under present call-up laws.

Defence Ministry spokesman Dr Das Herbst said yesterday that the position of people being prosecuted for failing to report for duty on previous call-ups — including Springbok scrumhalf Robert du Preez — would remain unchanged until the new legislation was passed.

Tatters

ECC chairman Chris de Villiers said this was a red herring — there had been de facto recognition by attorneys-general that prosecution under the call-up laws was fruitless.

De Villiers said the climate for the scrapping of the call-up had been created for some time and that it could hardly have been delayed any longer, with the entire call-up system in tatters.

It appeared the Government wanted to be seen making the announcement itself, rather than be seen bowing to the inevitable.

The Democratic Party welcomed the announcement as the first big step to making the defence force more representative and acceptable to all South Africans.

ANC spokesman Carl Niehaus also welcomed the decision, but added that any changes made to the defence force could not be done unilaterally.

Negotiators have only 2 days left for Bills

(3044)

Political Staff ARGT 27/8/93

TIME is running out with only two working days left for the Negotiating Council to finalise four draft Bills in time for next month's parliamentary session.

Negotiators failed this week to finalise draft legislation for a Transitional Executive Council (TEC), an Independent Media Commission, an Independent Broadcasting Authority and an Independent Electoral Commission.

The target date for their completion has now been shifted to Tuesday.

Constitutional Development Minister Roelf Meyer earlier this week warned the council that the session of parliament could not be postponed.

The tight time-table he spelt out was:

- The four draft bills have to be finalised by "the end of the week or early next week at the latest", and
- The Interim Constitution is to be completed by the end of next month for discussion in a second short parliamentary session in October.

Democratic Party chairman Colin Eglin also pointed out that for an election to take place in April, it has to be promulgated in November. The promulgation could, however, only take place after all the draft Bills, including the Interim Constitution, have been passed by Parliament.

Mr Meyer yesterday said "some extra hours" were needed to complete the work by Tuesday.

However, Ciskei negotiator Mickey Webb and Bophuthatswana negotiator Rowan Cronje believed that the Tuesday-deadline was unattainable. Webb said the target date was "physically impossible" and "under normal working conditions we need another 10 days". Mr Cronje said if Tuesday's deadline was missed "it is not necessarily the end of the world".

PAC won't 'collaborate' with TEC

Political Staff

PORT ELIZABETH. — The PAC was not prepared to be part of a transitional executive council, its secretary for political affairs, Mr Jaki Seroke, said yesterday.

Speaking at a press conference, Mr Seroke said the PAC believed that being part of the TEC would amount to "an act of collaboration" because President F W de Klerk's government would still hold power. CT 27/8/93

The PAC believed the transition should be controlled by the United Nations, OAU, Commonwealth and other international organisations.

Mr Seroke said that while the PAC did not recognise the concept of an interim constitution, it would, however, participate in the first election.

On the continuation of the armed struggle by the PAC's military wing, Apla, Mr Seroke said the PAC's standpoint remained that the armed struggle would end when a mutual cessation of hostilities was negotiated with the government.

Bilateral talks with the government were deadlocked because it maintained it was not involved in the violence.

Mr Seroke said the PAC had lauched a "Road to Victory" campaign and was mobilising its supporters across the spectrum in readiness for the election on April 27, although the PAC was not convinced this date could be met.

IFP lukewarm about election alliance

Sowetan 27/8/93

THE Inkatha Freedom Party is unenthusiastic about the formation of a national federal alliance being discussed by members of the Concerned South Africans Group with an eye to the April 27 elections.

"We're not particularly enamoured with the idea of an alliance," said IFP national chairman Dr Frank Mdlalose yesterday.

"We're doing our work in consultation with those who feel the same way (that is, who support federalism) but an alliance can only be formed when there's lots in common and when its obviously advantageous."

Ciskei chief negotiator Mr Mickey Webb said an alliance among those who supported a federal option had always been a possibility. "It's exciting and we will pursue it strongly," he said yesterday. "There has been amazing public support."

He said the proposed voting system in the third draft of the constitution, which has not attracted wide support at the multiparty table, virtually demanded an alliance.

The latest recommendations from the technical committee on constitutional issues is for a single voting system in which parties which do not contest the national elections may pledge their support for parties which do and the votes cast in favour of the smaller party may be counted in favour of the National Party which it supports.

Mr Rowan Cronjé, chief negotiator for the Bophuthatswana government, said discussions about an alliance were "very informal at this stage".

No return to talks by CP, IFP

ULUNDI. — The Conservative Party, Inkatha Freedom Party and KwaZulu government are unlikely to return to negotiations.

CP leader Dr Ferdi Hartzenberg said this yesterday after talks here with KwaZulu leader Chief Mangosuthu Buthelezi and the Afrikaner Volksfront.

He said multi-party negotiations were "headed for disaster".

'Revolution'

Co-leader of the Volksfront General Constand Viljoen said Afrikaners and Zulus were concerned about the direction in which the negotiations were heading.

The Volksfront has expressed support for the national peace initiative planned for next month. However, Gen Viljoen said it would be only moral support.

He blamed instability on an ANC and SACP "revolution", and said the peace initiative was only addressing the symptoms of the problem. — Sapa

NEGOTIATIONS — 1

Fm 27/8/93

TEC in sight

Negotiating council talks are expected to cross a threshold this week. If all goes according to plan, negotiators will finalise a quartet of draft Bills on the Transitional Executive Council (TEC) and its subcouncils on the Independent Elections Commission, Independent Media Commission and an Independent Broadcasting Authority.

The intention remains and things are on track to have these interim measures ready for enactment by parliament at its first short session on September 13, says a government spokesman — despite Inkatha's absence from the Kempton Park talks and its rejection of the arrangements. (304A)

Another sitting in October will do likewise regarding passage of the interim constitu-

Court

Fm 27/8/93

tion, the third draft of which was to be tabled at the negotiating council as the *FM* went to press.

Matters left over from the last discussion of the TEC Bill (in its eighth draft), and sent back to the technical committee for refinement, essentially concern issues of political control centred on defence, a national peacekeeping force and law & order. Arguably, these security issues are at the heart of the process and will determine whether the transition succeeds. (304A)

In addition, the relationship between the TEC and its subcouncils (including those on regional and local government, security, defence, finance, women, foreign affairs and others that might be created), as well as the link between the TEC and the regional governments, are to be more clearly defined.

The objects of the TEC are to promote, in conjunction with all levels of government, the preparation for and transition to a democractic order by ensuring free political activity. It will be made up of representatives from each of the participating groups in the negotiations and have legal sanction to carry out its work. The negotiating council asked the technical committee to spell out its powers more clearly.

Discussion of the (sixth) draft Bill on an Independent Broadcasting Authority (IBA), plus the Independent Media Commission, is expected to be completed this week.

The IBA, which will regulate all aspects of broadcasting under the new order, is to be set up by the TEC as a permanent body — unlike the commissions on the elections, media and the TEC which will fall away once a new constitution is adopted by an elected body.

The controversial issue of the IBA's regulation of "cross-media ownership," or concentration, which the technical committee and many parties are against, was on Monday referred to an ad hoc committee for tentative resolution. The matter obviously has implications for the large newspaper groups that dominate the industry.

Also sent back to the drawing board recently is the especially contentious (eighth) report of the committee on fundamental human rights during the transition. The matter forms part of the debate on constitutional issues and will be revisited in a week or so. Here the issue of property rights is uppermost, with the battle lines drawn between libertarians and egalitarians. ■

NP meeting abandoned

EAST LONDON. — A National Party meeting in Queenstown's Victoria Park township was abandoned last night after a large group of demonstrators, gathered outside the hall, caused a commotion when they were barred from entering.

Afterwards, an NP organiser, Mr Andre Smit, said the decision to scrap the meeting — which was by invitation only — had been taken in the interests of general safety of those present.

He sharply criticised the actions of toyi-toying protesters waving ANC banners who, he claimed, prevented "moderate" residents from entering the building. CT 27/8/93 (304A)

Voter education funds sought

TIM COHEN

SA CHURCHES have appealed to the private sector for millions of rands for a massive voter education campaign.

Launching the appeal yesterday, Institute for Contextual Theology general secretary Rev Smangaliso Mkhatshwa said his organisation would launch a massive education and democracy programme from a non-partisan platform. B1 Day

The campaign would complement several other campaigns and would be styled on the private sector's campaign for a "yes" vote in the referendum. 27/8/93

The institute has proposed a fund which would have as its patrons prominent church leaders, including himself, Anglican Archbishop Desmond Tutu and SACC secretary Frank Chikane. (304A)

The steering committee would include Idasa head Van Zyl Slabbert, former SACC secretary Beyers Naude and representatives from private sector organisations.

The voter programme would cover distribution of voter education training kits, extensive advertising in the media, and presentations on voter education to shop stewards, at schools and universities, and a toll-free voter information line.

The campaign would not be competetive and would liaise with the proposed independent electoral commission.

He said he did not believe voter education campaigns should be used to promote the private political beliefs of participants. His campaign would train potential voters in the principles of democracy, justice, unity, peace, reconciliation and human rights.

ANC hits at govt over ID documents

(3049)

By BARRY STREEK CT 27/8/93

A GOVERNMENT statement that two million voters may not have ID documents by April 27 elections was arrogant and another attempt to sabotage elections, the ANC said yesterday.

It issued a statement after a Department of Home Affairs statement said more than two million people might not have documents by the election date.

"At a time when the ANC has called for an independent investigation into the burning of IDs in the Eastern Transvaal, allegedly by officials of the department, this statement confirms that the department has a secret agenda to deny millions of our people the right to vote," the ANC said.

"All election issues belong within the jurisdiction of the independent elections commission, which must be established without delay," the ANC said.

The price of squabbling: R30-million and rising

WM 27/8/T 2/9[illegible]504A)

While South Africa's negotiators are spending their days squabbling at the World Trade Centre, tax payers have been forking out R1,5-million a month to keep the talks going, writes Chris Louw

THE constitutional negotiations have so far cost the country more than R30-million, while a further R41-million has been budgeted for the current financial year.

The talks at the World Trade Centre in Kempton Park cost R1,5-million a month and indications are that this expenditure may treble before the elections in April next year.

The R41-million includes almost R18-million for negotiations and a further R23-million for the transitional executive council (TEC) that will rule the country in conjunction with parliament.

The amount of R41-million is not inclusive. It only allows for the administrative support structure of the TEC, but excludes accommodation and other essential services, which will probably push up costs to close to R50-million.

When expenses for the National Peace Committe are added, taxpayers will probably be paying an amount of closer to R60-million for the transition to democracy in the current financial year.

Adding to the costs will be the current court case by the Inkatha Freedom Party against two chairmen of the Negotiating Forum, challenging the principle of "sufficient consensus" used to take decisions. The Multiparty Negotiating Process has accepted responsibility for the costs — which in effect means that the taxpayer will cover them.

Answering written questions submitted by the *Mail & Guardian*, Deon du Plooy, chief director administration and finances at Constitutional Development Service, supplied the following information:

●During 1991/92 tax payers had to fork out an amount of R11 548 297, which included the costs of the National Peace initiative, the run-up to Codesa I and Codesa I itself.

●In 1992/93 an amount of R18 760 061 was paid for the talks. This included the costs for the National Peace Committee, the working groups and Codesa II.

●For the current financial year (1993/94) an amount of R17 819 000 has been budgeted for the process of negotiation. This does not include costs of the National Peace Committee.

The negotiations are funded by parliament through the Constitutional Development Service.

A consolation is that negotiators from the various parties are not paid regular salaries or retainers for their work.

Those not paid by homeland administrations may, however, claim travelling expenses "for the most economical mode of transport".

This includes air travel in the economy class limited to one ticket for meetings taking place on consecutive days, and travelling expenses by car at fixed government rates over the shortest distance.

Hotel accommodation is also paid by the Constitutional Development Service, "at fixed rates negotiated by us on a corporate basis". This excludes room service charges, liquor and soft drinks, telephone calls, valet service, newspapers, dry cleaning and laundry.

An amount of about R3,3-million has been paid for services since the introduction of technical committees and the commission on regions earlier this year.

This includes meals and refreshments, offices space (also for parties), conference and media facilities, sound equipment, rental of furniture, cleaning services, accommodation and meals for security staff on the premises, electricity and electrical fittings.

The facilitators of the talks, Dr Theuns Eloff's Consultative Business Movement (CBM), are paid a monthly amount of R48 929,27, including VAT, for actual costs incurred, including salaries for staff seconded to the process.

The final budget for the TEC, which will be introduced in September "to level the political playing fields", will have to be drawn up by the TEC itself once it is established.

The budget for the Constitutional Development Service, as approved by parliament, includes an amount of R23 893 000 for the administrative support structure and full-time members of the TEC.

"Other departments budgeted for accommodation and other essential services," said Du Plooy.

Figures for expenses so far this year were not yet available. "Many claims of delegates and members of technical committees have not yet been processed," he said. "A large number of accounts from hotels for the period April to July are still outstanding."

Members of the technical committee's support staff are paid an hourly rate by the Constitutional Development Service.

IEC is vital for elections

South 27/8 - 31/8/93

PREPARATIONS for elections cannot properly begin until negotiators agree on the appointment and terms of reference for an Independent Electoral Commission (IEC) to oversee the process.

The duties of the IEC, its area of jurisdiction and membership of the body will all have to be legislated and could be tabled at the September sitting of parliament if the draft bill is completed in time.

The negotiators have just released the third draft of the Independent Electoral Commission Act.

The Act provides for the establishment of the IEC to assume responsibility for the administration, organisation, conduct, supervision, monitoring and adjudication of elections for the national assembly or constituent assembly.

The IEC will also oversee elections for states, provinces or regions and make special provisions for referenda.

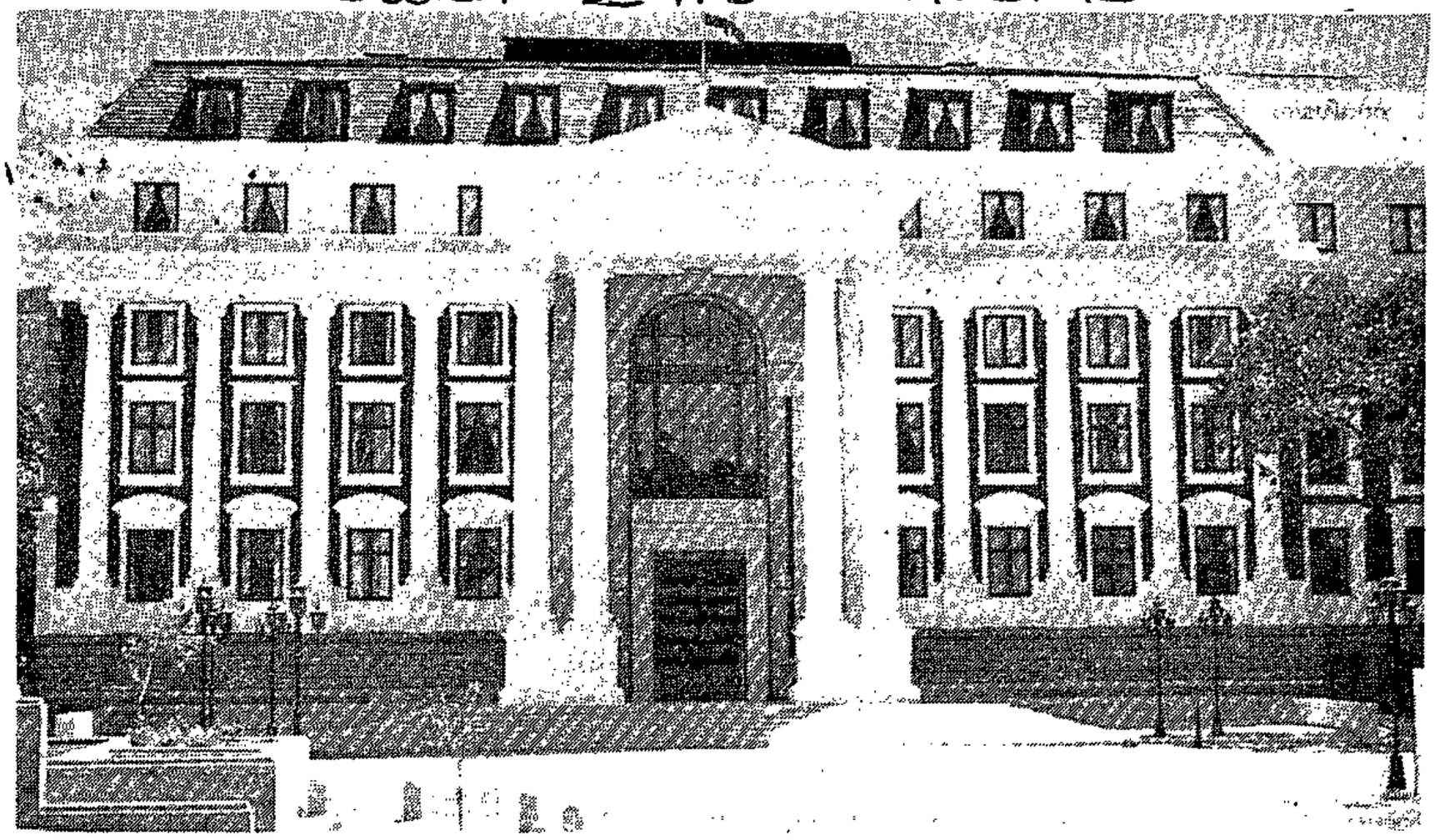
The Act will also provide guidelines for the powers, duties and functions of the commission, and for the establishment of sub-structures, including an election administration directorate and an election monitoring directorate.

It will provide for the establishment of special electoral tribunals and electoral appeal tribunals for the enforcement of an electoral code of conduct.

The role of the commission defined by the act will be:

- To administer, organise, conduct and supervise free and fair elections for the national assembly/ constitutional assembly and the SPR (state, province, regions) legislatures and referenda;
- To appoint monitors and coordinate their activities, register and regulate the activities of private observers and to facilitate and observe the role of international observers;
- To adjudicate any dispute as laid down in terms of the law;
- To establish special electoral tribunals and electoral appeal tribunals. These will adjudicate and determine claims, issues and disputes arising in the course of an election and to enforce compliance with the electoral code of conduct;
- To promote and perform voter education about democratic principles and values, understanding the electoral process and mechanisms, the right to free political canvassing and campaigning, the secrecy of voting, etc;
- To determine and certify the results of elections and declare to what extent they have been free and fair, and follow up these results.

Regarding the independence of the commission, the draft bill says it should function without political bias.



LAST STEP: Parliament has to approve a draft bill that will set up an independent electoral commission before election preparations can start

(30 LA)

It will be independent and separate from political parties and the negotiation forum, as well as from the self governing areas, central, TBVC and SPR governments.

It will also be independent from the transitional executive council and any of its structures. It may, however, choose to delegate certain specific functions.

All powers of the central, TBVC, self-governing area and SPR governments and any of their structures which relate to the administration, conduct and supervision of an election will derive from and be subordinate to the IEC.

The governments shall be accountable to the IEC for any acts or decisions which the IEC regards as influencing or affecting an election.

The IEC will submit periodic written reports on its acts and decisions and deliver these simultaneously to the negotiating forum its successors and the state president.

The IEC will consist of not less than seven and not more than 1 members. These will be appointed by the state president on the advice of the forum.

The members must be "impartial, respected and suitably qualified persons who are themselves eligible voters, and who represent broad cross-section of the population, including women".

The IEC may also include "additional members", people from the international community, not exceeding five. These may be appointed by the state president on the advice of the negotiating forum or its successors.

The international members will be able to attend, participate and speak at all meetings, but they will not have a vote in deliberations of the council.

August 27 to August 31 1993

Strict rules govern IEC conduct

THE DRAFT bill for the Independent Electoral Commission Act sets strict guidelines for the conduct of members of the Independent Electoral Commission.

They must be appointed as individuals and serve independently (despite any personal opinions, preference or party affiliation).

All voting and decision-making must be done in good faith and without fear, favour or bias.

They must serve full-time to the exclusion of any other employment, occupation or office.

During their term of office, they cannot accept appointment or nomination to any political or public office.

They must not directly or indirectly support or oppose any party, candidate or issue in the election.

No person may be appointed to the IEC who has held public or political office for less than 18 months prior to the proposed appointment.

No member must compromise his or her "perceived independence" or otherwise damage the credibility, impartiality, independence and integrity of the IEC through membership, association, statement and conduct relating to anything.

Throughout their term of office, members of the commission will be barred from:

- Making private use or profit from confidential information gained from their work in the IEC;
- Making any such information known to a third party, except in the course of their official duties and with the agreement of the IEC;
- Accepting any remuneration or benefit arising from other employment, occupation or office, unless specifically authorised to do so by the state president acting on the advice of the forum or its successors.
- Being directly or indirectly interested or concerned in any company, business or concern which has any interest, beneficial to itself in transactions undertaken by the IEC, unless specifically authorised to do so by the state president acting on the advice of the forum or its successors.

Within 30 days of appointment to the IEC, each member must submit to the forum a written statement of assets owned, all income received or accrued and all offices or appointments held in the 12 month period prior to appointment.

Factors which will disqualify people from serving as members of the IEC are:

- During the term of office in the IEC and for 18 months after the term of office has expired, no member of the IEC will be eligible for appointment to public office;
- During and for 18 months after expiry of any members' terms of office in the IEC, they cannot serve in the forum, the TEC, parliament or any SPR legislature;
- No member of the IEC will be able to serve as a member of parliament or SPR legislature for which the IEC conducted elections during the term of the parliament or SPR legislature.

Most will accept election result

South 27/8 - 31/8/93

THE OUTCOME of South Africa's first democratic elections will be accepted by the majority of South Africans on condition that the voting is perceived as having been free and fair.

But a recent survey conducted by the publication "Barometer on Negotiation" found warning signs — a number of people questioned said they either will not accept the results at all or that they will accept them only if certain preconditions have been met.

The majority of respondents, 73 percent, felt that South Africans would accept the results, while 27 percent thought many would not.

Of those in favour of accepting the results, more than 55 percent believed there were certain preconditions for accepting them.

The majority of respondents who said they would accept the results said they would do so because for the first time they would be permitted a say in the political course of their country.

Many of them said they were "thirsty" for a one-person-one-vote election, which is the only process that can result in a democratically-elected government.

Those who said they would accept the results only if certain conditions were met gave the following conditions:

- A climate conducive to free and fair elections should first be created;
- Acceptance depends entirely on trust and fairness and on those who will be monitoring the elections;
- Educating people in what party politics and elections are and informing them how to vote without spoiling the ballot papers;
- Violence must be curbed and the intimidation of voters must be minimised;(304A)
- All significant political parties should take part in the election.

"Although only 27 percent of the respondents felt that the results would not be accepted, the alarming fact was that 58 percent of whites who responded to the survey said they would reject the results," the Barometer article read.

The publication said so far little had been done by political parties and their leaders to ensure that the people of South Africa will accept the results of an election as representative of the will of the people and therefore as legitimate.

In its first non-racial election South Africa should learn from the experiences of Zimbabwe, Namibia, Zambia, Kenya and Angola in an effort to ensure free and fair elections.

"The negotiators have not set a good example. Their statements and actions have indicated intolerance of each other, while the ANC alliance and the IFP and rightwing have either suspended negotiations or walked out of the negotiations forum," Barometer said.

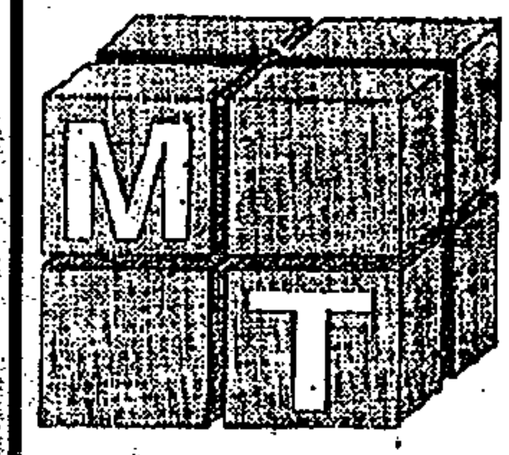
"Promises of breakthroughs and major advances coupled with statements of negotiations being 'delicately balanced' have invariably followed, leaving the voters confused and uncertain of their position.

"The results of this survey are therefore all the more important. Only 10 months before the election a significant number of people are already saying they will reject the outcome of the election.

"They feel that these preconditions for acceptance of the results will not be met. It is, on the contrary, fair to expect intolerance, intimidation and political rivalry to increase.

"The warning signs are there. Unless a compromise is sought in the negotiation process regarding the manner in which sufficient consensus is ruled, the April 27, 1994 election date could be in jeopardy."

This page is a joint project of MATLA TRUST and SOUTH



Residents claim they are forced to join the DP

By Quentin Wilson

THE DEMOCRATIC Party (DP) is using welfare food vouchers to get unemployed people in Atlantis to join the party, angry residents claim.

Residents who needed assistance in filling out forms for the House of Representatives unemployment benefit, used DP advice offices only to find out later that they had inadvertently joined the DP.

"They must stop using people like this," says Ms Jennifer Adams, a resident who says she was caught out in this way.

"I wanted help for my application for a voucher so I went to the DP's advice office. They asked me for my identity document - I knew they needed this information for the food voucher application so I gave them what they asked for.

"The next thing they told me I am now a member of the DP. I did not go to them to sign up for the DP, I just wanted advice. I think what they are doing really stinks."

Mr Jeff Leonard, DP chairperson for Atlantis, angrily dismissed the allegations as an ANC propaganda campaign to discredit the DP.



DUPED?: Atlantis residents waiting for food vouchers may be end up belonging to a political organisation

Photo: Yunus Mohamed

South 27/8-3/8/93

"From the depth of my heart, that is absolute bulldust. We are running a proper advice office here that is genuinely helping people to get food vouchers and a range of other problems they face," Leonard said. (304A)

"It is just sour grapes on the part of the ANC because they are not able to get an advice office going themselves."

But non-ANC residents also expressed outrage at the DP.

Mr Roy Nagan, a PAC member in Atlantis said this was not a battle between the ANC and the DP.

"Atlantis residents as a whole are sick of what the DP is doing here. I, for example, support the PAC but this is above party politics. The DP must stop their tricks here."

Mr Gert Witbooi, spokesperson for the ANC's Atlantis branch, said the ANC was "appalled and outraged" that the DP was "exploiting state projects".

"It is perfectly legitimate for the DP to campaign in Atlantis and try to win support for themselves but they can't mislead people and trick them into joining their party," Witbooi said.

'The next thing they told me I am now a member of the DP. I did not go to them to sign up'



SUSPICIOUS: Lennox Badela and Herman Gcobo refused to hand over their ID's to the mystery man Photo: Yunus Mohamed

Langa voters lose ID's in alleged scam

South 1 27/8 - 31/8/93

By Sabata Ngcai

A MYSTERY man, accused by Langa residents of being associated with the police, has disappeared with hundreds of identity documents in an elaborate scam.

The ANC has described the scam as a "ploy by the police" to decrease the number of voters in next year's election.

The mystery man apparently promised desperate, unemployed residents in Langa jobs if they gave him their identity documents. Residents in the area said they were convinced the alleged conman was a member of the SAP because he was driving in a police vehicle.

The police deny that the man is a policeman but admit he was using a police vehicle.

Langa Station Commander Lieutenant Johan Conradie said a man from Saldanha Bay came to the police station looking for people he said he wanted to employ.

"The man was taken around the township in a police van but he did not take identity documents from people," Conradie said (304A)

"The only mistake we made was to give him our van and now residents think it was the police who were recruiting people."

Residents firmly believe there was a sinister motive behind taking their ID books and it had nothing to do with getting jobs.

"Although I saw many people giving their ID's I refused to hand over mine," Mr Herman Gcobo said.

"The man said he needed the ID's because we would be taken to Saldanha by bus which would be driven by licensed drivers among us.

"When he said he and the people who would be bringing the two buses would be returning to Saldanha by taxi, leaving us alone in the buses, I thought this was a ploy to kill us."

Another resident, Mr Lennox Badela, said he also thought the man was untrustworthy and told him he did not have an ID.

"We went to see him because we are desperate to get work but we could sense that the man had sinister motives," Badela said.

Enraged Langa residents marched to the local police station last week to demand the return of their IDs.

"We will take refuse and dump it inside the police station if you fail to return the identity documents to the people within a week," said ANC regional secretary Tony Yengeni.

An ANC-SACP-Cosatu alliance statement labelled the scam as "a ploy by the police to confiscate peoples' IDs so as to decrease the number of voters next year".

Govt, IFP in talks today

DURBAN — The government and the IFP are to meet here today in another bilateral aimed at facilitating the IFP's return to constitutional negotiations.

A statement from Home Affairs Minister Mr Danie Schutte said he and his deputy Mr Lampie Fick will meet IFP negotiator Mr Walter Felgate and KwaZulu government official Mr Ben Ngubane this morning. CT 28/8/93

Draft bills on the Independent Broadcasting Authority, Independent Electoral Commission, and the Independent Media Commission will also be discussed, said Mr Schutte.

But Mr Felgate stressed the IFP would not discuss transitional issues in bilaterals: "What we will discuss is putting negotiations back on track and the way forward." — Sapa

Rebels with a cause

ARCT 28/8/93
(3044)

JOHN CARLIN meets two "new" South Africans: A former neo-Nazi who joined the ANC, and an ex-radical, once dedicated to apartheid's overthrow, who now advises President De Klerk.

"RACE traitor. Why don't you go and jump off a bridge? Are you on drugs or something?" Petra Burrill rather regretted her decision to participate in a phone-in radio programme recently, such was the abuse from white callers.

"I was shocked. I expected calls like that from the far right, but the people who called in were ordinary people, you know, the man and woman next door," said Ms Burrill, whose claim to notoriety is that she has transferred allegiance from the AWB to the ANC.

Ms Burrill joined the neo-Nazi AWB in 1987. A loyal placard-bearer ("ANC Anti-Christ" was one of her favourites), she would attend lectures by Mr David Irving and other like-minded visitors. She held meetings at her home.

Why did she join the AWB? "All of my school-kid indoctrination — I went to an Afrikaans primary school — all came to the surface after the ANC planted a big bomb in Pretoria in 1983.

"The bomb galvanised all my fears. And then I started going to hear Terre'Blanche speak. He's mesmerising. He grips you."

Then in January she joined the ANC. Why?

"It was a gradual process. I would sometimes come home from AWB meetings and ask myself whether some of this stuff wasn't perhaps a bit too crazy. Then one day my husband's job in aircraft maintenance at the airport got a bit shaky ... He got no help from the official union, so he went off to see Cosatu. He found that they were helpful and efficient. That they were human beings. It made us think.

"When De Klerk and Mandela came on the TV we started listening. Before, we just turned the TV off. We'd been brainwashed. Now we were being people again. Thinking for ourselves."

If you had told Mr David Chuenyane in 1960, when he was 18, that now, at the age of 50, he would be a high-flying member of the National Party, advising the white president of the day, he would have said you were insane.

That was the year he joined the PAC, went into exile in 1964 and joined the PAC army in Tanzania.

"Then the PAC started falling apart." So he went to Canada and the United States, did a BSc and a Master's, and got a job as an electrical engineer. He came home in July last year and a month later joined the NP.

Why did he leave the PAC? "I stayed in touch with them during my absence but, hey, I turned capitalist. Besides, they're fragmented and they have no resources. They're a shambles."

Well, why not join the ANC? "In the ANC it's who you are, it's where you've been, that determines whether you get into a leadership position. Plus, politically, there are still communists there. They try to camouflage it but they're there."

"In August last year I met Roelf Meyer, Constitutional Development Minister, Pik Botha, Foreign Minister, and the State President, all of them together.

"I told them: 'I don't want to be a token black face in the NP, I want to be in the decision-making structures.' And they agreed." He began his task in Soweto.

So why the NP? "It was the pragmatic choice. They have an infrastructure in place. They have financial resources, which you need to uplift my people.

"But, also, the NP and I knew they needed me ... Now I'm running not only Soweto, but I'm on the national management committee of the party, strategising for the election next year." — The Independent News Service.

Experts arrive in city for international conference on peace and aggression

'SA's problems are not unique'

304A ARG 28/8/93

■ At a time of escalating violence and shock killings in parts of South Africa, a team of world experts is meeting in Cape Town this weekend to discuss violence, aggression, war and peace.

FRANS ESTERHUYSE
Weekend Argus Political Correspondent

VIOLENCE and war do not solve problems and human beings are not violent by nature. The real problem comes from warlords and other perpetrators of violence — and they should be made to realise the futility of their ways.

This is a central message from discussions of the International Conference on Peace and Aggression (Cica) which is meeting at the University of Cape Town this weekend.

The main theme is *Violence and its Alternatives*. A major part of the talks — today and tomorrow — is to focus on the troubled South African situation and on ending violence.

Among those attending the conference are international experts in biology, medicine, psychology and the social sciences. A delegation of at least nine South African experts will speak on aspects of violence, conflict resolution and National Peace Accord initiatives in South Africa.

A key international specialist at the talks, Professor Martin Ramirez, told Weekend Argus he saw the troubled situation in South Africa as, to some extent, a reflection of larger world problems.

Professor Ramirez, European organiser and one of the founder members of the Cica, emphasised the viewpoint that violence and war were not a biological necessity for human beings, but a social invention.

His message to South Africans is: "Your problem is not unique — others have experienced similar problems and have learned how to cope. Mutual tolerance and respect don't happen spontaneously, but call for patience, hard work and dedication from all people, each in his or her own field of activity."

This was the viewpoint put across in a Unesco-supported document, the Seville Statement on Violence, endorsed by 40 organisations worldwide.

Quoting from the concluding statement in this famous peace document, Professor Ramirez said: "Just as 'wars begin in the minds of men', peace also begins in our minds. The same species who invented war is capable of inventing peace. The responsibility lies with each of us."

He was one of the signatories of the Seville Statement, written and signed in Spain in 1986 by a team of international specialists for the United Nations-sponsored International Year of Peace and its follow-up. The statement was based on the latest scientific evidence, and it has been endorsed by scientific and professional organisations around the world.



□ **IN FROM MADRID:** Spanish-born Professor Martin Ramirez of Madrid and his Cape Town-born wife Christine are among key delegates to the international conference on violence, being held in Cape Town this weekend. Mrs Ramirez is the daughter of a former Danish consul in Cape Town, the late Viggo Lindhardt.

The signatories and other like-minded scientists are challenging theories held by some people that violence and war are inherent parts of human nature.

When it comes to such issues, Professor Ramirez seems to know what he is talking about. As head of the department of psychobiology at the University of Complutense in Madrid, he has dealt with these issues in his studies and research.

He has much to say about violence and what he sees as its futility as a tool for solving problems.

"With violence you achieve nothing. Experience has shown this. What you have to do is to try to teach others — and yourselves — to accept one another, with differences, faults and all, and then to try to reach an accommodation by way of tolerance, dialogue, negotiation and a conciliatory approach," he said.

He and others attending the Cape Town talks this weekend will also visit the University of the Western Cape and the University of Stellenbosch next week.

A public meeting on issues such as violence, aggression and peace will be held at the University of Cape Town on Tuesday evening. This meeting has been convened by the Centre for Intergroup Studies at UCT, in conjunction with the Health for Africa organisation.

The delegates will also travel to Johannesburg, and possibly other centres, for talks with political leaders, academics and others. Their Johannesburg programme includes a visit to the Centre for the Study of Violence and Reconciliation at the University of the Witwatersrand.

Spanish-born Professor Ramirez is accompanied by his wife Christine, a former resident of Cape Town. Mrs Ramirez, who was born in Cape Town and lived here until the early 1980s, is the daughter of the late Viggo Lindhardt, a former Danish consul in Cape Town.

Of the Seville Statement on Violence, Professor Ramirez said it was essentially a scientific statement saying war was not a biological necessity for human beings.

Key points in the statement include:

■ Peace is possible and wars and violence can be ended;

■ The problem of war and violence has been studied scientifically.

His message to South Africans is: "Your problem is not unique — others have experienced similar problems and have learned how to cope. Mutual tolerance and respect don't happen spontaneously, but call for patience, hard work and dedication from all people, each in his or her own field of activity."

■ It is not true to say war and violence cannot be ended because they are part of our biology. People used to justify slavery as well as racial and sexist domination by claiming they were biological and inevitable.

■ It is scientifically incorrect to say war is caused by "instinct". Most scientists do not use the word "instinct" any more.

■ It is possible to end war and the suffering it causes. To do this will require everyone working together.

Another bid to woo IFP

DURBAN. — The government and the Inkatha Freedom Party are to meet in Durban today in another bilateral aimed at facilitating the IFP's return to constitutional negotiations.

A statement from Home Affairs Minister Dame Schutte said he and deputy Lampie Fick would meet IFP negotiator Walter Felgate and KwaZulu government official Ben Ngubane this morning.

"Discussions will be held regarding the IFP's return to the negotiation process and the structuring of bilateral talks between the government and the IFP," said Mr Schutte.

Draft Bills on the Independent Broadcasting Authority, Independent Electoral Commission, and the Independent Media Commission would also be discussed, he added.

However, Mr Felgate stressed in an interview that the IFP would not discuss transitional issues in bilaterals. "What we will discuss is putting negotiations back on track and the way forward".

The IFP and KwaZulu government pulled out of constitutional negotiations last month over the issue of "sufficient consensus". The IFP wants this decision-making process revised and has instituted Supreme Court action to apply for this.

Mr Felgate was adamant yesterday that bilaterals with the government "in no way are parallel discussions on what is taking place at the World Trade Centre".

"We're talking about putting the negotiation process back on track, not to iron out World Trade Centre problems," he said.

IFP president Mangosuthu Buthelezi last week also rejected a "two-tables" approach to negotiations, following a suggestion to this effect by State President F W de Klerk.

Asked if today's meeting could result in the IFP's return to talks, Mr Felgate said only Inkatha's central committee could authorise such a move.

It also comes as the IFP's Youth Brigade meets in Ulundi for its annual conference.

Mr Buthelezi will deliver an opening address this morning, while IFP leaders Frank Mdlalose and Joe Matthews will speak on the party's stance towards negotiations. — Sapa

Nats 'using' handicapped — CP

ARG 28/8/93 (304A)

PRETORIA. — The Conservative Party has expressed outrage at the National Party's "desperate attempts to gain votes".

CP general secretary Dr J A L Theron claimed in a statement that handicapped people from the Cullinan Care and Rehabilitation Centre were "plastered with FW stickers" on their arrival at the Pretoria Show and then "pushed around the showgrounds as advertising objects".

Dr Theron recalled the NP's 1992 "intimidation campaign" when voters where threatened with unemployment if they voted No in the referendum for a new political dispensation. — Sapa.

Rebels with a cause

ARCT 28/8/98
(304A)

JOHN CARLIN meets two "new" South Africans: A former neo-Nazi who joined the ANC, and an ex-radical, once dedicated to apartheid's overthrow, who now advises President De Klerk.

"RACE traitor. Why don't you go and jump off a bridge? Are you on drugs or something?" Petra Burrill rather regretted her decision to participate in a phone-in radio programme recently, such was the abuse from white callers.

"I was shocked. I expected calls like that from the far right, but the people who called in were ordinary people, you know, the man and woman next door," said Ms Burrill, whose claim to notoriety is that she has transferred allegiance from the AWB to the ANC.

Ms Burrill joined the neo-Nazi AWB in 1987. A loyal placard-bearer ("ANC Anti-Christ" was one of her favourites), she would attend lectures by Mr David Irving and other like-minded visitors. She held meetings at her home.

Why did she join the AWB? "All of my school-kid indoctrination — I went to an Afrikaans primary school — all came to the surface after the ANC planted a big bomb in Pretoria in 1983.

"The bomb galvanised all my fears. And then I started going to hear Terre'Blanche speak. He's mesmerising. He grips you."

Then in January she joined the ANC. Why?

"It was a gradual process. I would sometimes come home from AWB meetings and ask myself whether some of this stuff wasn't perhaps a bit too crazy. Then one day my husband's job in aircraft maintenance at the airport got a bit shaky ... He got no help from the official union, so he went off to see Cosatu. He found that they were helpful and efficient. That they were human beings. It made us think.

"When De Klerk and Mandela came on the TV we started listening. Before, we just turned the TV off. We'd been brainwashed. Now we were being people again. Thinking for ourselves."

If you had told Mr David Chuenyane in 1960, when he was 18, that now, at the age of 50, he would be a high-flying member of the National Party, advising the white president of the day, he would have said you were insane.

That was the year he joined the PAC went into exile in 1964 and joined the PAC army in Tanzania.

"Then the PAC started falling apart." So he went to Canada and the United States, did a BSc and a Master's, and got a job as an electrical engineer. He came home in July last year and a month later joined the NP.

Why did he leave the PAC? "I stayed in touch with them during my absence but, hey, I turned capitalist. Besides, they're fragmented and they have no resources. They're a shambles."

Well, why not join the ANC? "In the ANC it's who you are, it's where you've been, that determines whether you get into a leadership position. Plus, politically, there are still communists there. They try to camouflage it but they're there."

"In August last year I met Roelf Meyer, Constitutional Development Minister, Pik Botha, Foreign Minister, and the State President, all of them together.

"I told them: 'I don't want to be a token black face in the NP, I want to be in the decision-making structures.' And they agreed." He began his task in Soweto.

So why the NP? "It was the pragmatic choice. They have an infrastructure in place. They have financial resources, which you need to uplift my people.

"But, also, the NP and I knew they needed me ... Now I'm running not only Soweto, but I'm on the national management committee of the party, strategising for the election next year." — The Independent News Service.

Talks cost SA plenty

(3049) CT 28/8/93

Political Staff

DURBAN. — Constitutional talks at the World Trade Centre are costing the country an arm and a leg.

While the negotiators are squabbling, taxpayers are forking out R1,5 million a month, the Constitutional Development Service confirmed yesterday.

And the hard-pressed taxpayer has already paid out R30m in 1991 and 1992 for the costs of Codesa I and Codesa II. A further R42m is budgeted for this year's multi-party talks and the cost of setting up a transitional executive council (TEC).

The negotiations are funded by Parliament through the service.

The cost of the TEC, which is expected to be set up by October, will cost about R18m, and this year's constitutional talks will cost about another R18m.

In addition, the costs of the national peace committee will probably push up this year's transition-to-democracy bill to R60m.

FW meets Argentinian PM

From ANTHONY JOHNSON

BUENOS AIRES. — President F W de Klerk arrived in Argentina last night for the final — and probably most important — leg of his Latin American tour.

Mr Klerk will meet with Argentinian President Carlos Menem this morning.

The South African business delegation accompanying Mr De Klerk will hold a series of meetings with government ministers and local entrepreneurs today.

The SA government views Argentina as a key player in the Latin American economic community, Mercosur. Argentina, with only three-quarters of the population of South Africa, has double South Africa's gross national product.

South African trade with Argentina is significant and the South African business delegation believes that bilateral trade could swell dramatically.

Earlier yesterday, Mr De Klerk played a "fairly good" round of golf at Asuncion's Casino, Yacht and Golf Club Hotel course before attending a luncheon hosted by Paraguaian President Juan Carlos Wasmosy.

Mr De Klerk returns to South Africa tomorrow. CT 28/8/93

30419

FW jets into Argentina

Star 28/8/93

BUENOS AIRES — President De Klerk yesterday evening flew into Argentina for what could prove to be the most decisive leg of his four-nation Latin American tour. (304A)

Although the stopover in Buenos Aires only has the status of a working visit, Argentina could become a significant trading trading partner and will be a major force in the new Mercosur trading bloc of Latin American countries.

Last year South Africa imported goods worth R520 million from Argentina, while exporting only R220 million — an imbalance which the South African business group travelling with De Klerk will be anxious to correct.

De Klerk will meet President Carlos Menem today and have lunch with him. He flew out of Asuncion, Paraguay, yesterday afternoon after meetings with President Jaun Carlos Wasmosy, during which the two leaders agreed to increase trade and economic ties.

CHRIS WHITFIELD
Political Correspondent

De Klerk also managed a round of golf yesterday with local business leaders and South Africa's Deputy Foreign Minister, Renier Schoeman.

Marike de Klerk yesterday officially opened the Water Bird Sanctuary — sponsored by the South African Embassy — at the Asuncion Zoo.

IFP and Govt plan to meet again today

Star 28/8/93

DURBAN — The Government and the Inkatha Freedom Party are to meet in Durban today in another bilateral meeting aimed at facilitating the IFP's return to constitutional negotiations.

A statement from Home Affairs Minister Danie Schutte said he and his deputy Lampie Fick would meet IFP negotiator Walter Felgate and KwaZulu government official Ben Ngubane.

(304A) TEC

Structure

"Discussions will be held regarding the IFP's return to the negotiation process and the structuring of bilateral talks" between the Government and the IFP," said Schutte. Draft Bills on broadcasting and the media would also be discussed, he added.

Felgate, however, in an interview stressed the IFP would not discuss transitional issues in bilaterals: "What we will discuss is putting negotiations back on track, and the way forward." — Sapa.

Frantic push to clear April 27 poll hurdle

By RAY HARTLEY and EDYTH BULBRING

RADICAL new ways of ending the political log-jam threatening to delay the April 27 election were being examined as negotiators at the World Trade Centre battled against deadlines this week. ST Times

PAC negotiator Gora Ibrahim said he had discussed the idea of a five-party "super summit" of the ANC, PAC, CP, the government and Inkatha with Foreign Affairs Minister Pik Botha at a meeting in the Union Buildings on Thursday. 29/8/93

And in South America President de Klerk said a non-racial referendum to win popular approval for the new constitution was only one of several options being considered by the government. (BDG4A)

Mr Ibrahim said the summit would short-circuit talks at the World Trade Centre if they failed to meet deadlines and produce results which would draw Inkatha and the CP back into the process.

Mr Botha is believed to have canvassed the summit proposal with Inkatha leader Mangosuthu Buthelezi and CP leader Ferdi Hartzenburg.

Ransom

President de Klerk said he was not in favour of some of the key parties going it alone, but added that parties which did not qualify as major role players would not be allowed to "hold the whole country to ransom and stand in the way of what the overwhelming majority of South Africans want".

Mr Ibrahim said that parties would meanwhile step up efforts to reach consensus in bilateral meetings.

The Organisation of African Unity had agreed to help convene meetings, he said.

Concern mounted this week that four bills essential for the holding of elections on April 27 might not be completed by Tuesday — in time to be processed by parliamentary standing committees for the September 13 parliamentary session.

Government negotiators have said that if the bills establishing the transitional executive council, the independent electoral commission, the independent media commission and the independent broadcasting Authority are not completed by Tuesday, the April 27 election may have to be postponed.

es a nerve



to complete her PhD in America

Like Gorby, FW wins his acclaim far from home

SI Times 2918193

he had in common with former Soviet leader Mikhail Gorbachev was a hairstyle. But EDYTH BULBRING, who travelled to South America with him this week, says that, like Gorbachev, de Klerk, is a lot more popular abroad than he is at home

AS the sounds of *Die Stem*, played by a Uruguayan military band rang out in the square, a South African embassy official burst into tears. "I just don't know when I will hear that again — what with all the changes coming," she said.

It was an anthem heard, sometimes five times a day, in the capitals of Uruguay, Chile, Argentina and Paraguay during Mr De Klerk's seven day trip.

He went reluctantly on what became a repetitive, tedious visit to countries low on SA's foreign and trade policy agenda, to fulfil an obligation that would have become embarrassing by further delay.

"This is my job, this is what I was elected to do," Mr De Klerk said before leaving South Africa.

The trip was bolstered by a group of businessmen whose meetings with their counterparts and government ministers could bring small benefits to the country. (304-A)



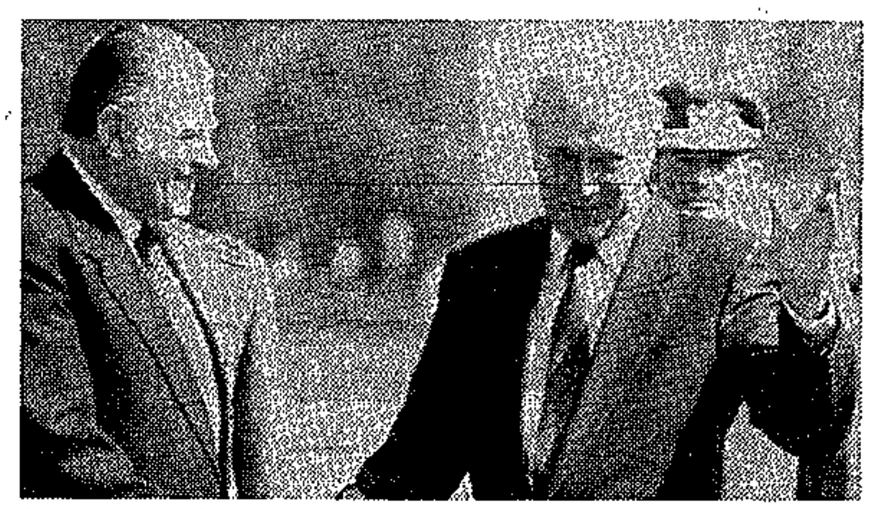
WELCOME ... FW de Klerk and his wife, Marike, are met by Paraguayan president Juan Carlos Wasmosy at Asuncion **Pictures: AP**

But while the gains of the trip are hard to define, Mr de Klerk's image was established, as it has been on most visits to more than 40 countries during his presidential term, as a statesman crucial to SA's democratic process.

He was received in all four countries with acclaim and sometimes shambolic enthusiasm. He laid wreaths at statues of national heroes and exchanged gifts and decorations in a style both gracious and warm.



SALUTE ... Die Stem rings out as FW meets Uruguayan president Luis Alberto Lacale



GREETINGS ... Chilean president Patricio Aylwin and FW in Santiago

Elections

He presented himself as the initiator of a process that would lead to democracy and as the champion of a free market economy. While careful to credit leaders of other parties, he created the impression that it was a solution designed by him which others had seen fit to endorse.

He assured South American presidents he would play the role of custodian of any future settlement to ensure stability, democracy and a sound economy after the elections.

But, like Gorbachev, while Mr de Klerk has won respect and popularity abroad, he faces a different situation at home.

For many South Africans, the thought of his laying a wreath in Sebokeng is laughable, and his status as a legitimate leader of a government, let alone the father of the democratisation process, has never been acknowledged.

Among his traditional constituencies, he faces a divided party and a white constituency that, judging from the latest opinion polls, has lost confidence in his leadership.

He has to answer accusations that he has sold out to a black majority, sacrificed the Afrikaner people and compromised his federal principles.

He returns home today for the last nine months before he relinquishes the mantle of head of state to ANC leader Nelson Mandela.

And it is during these next months that Mr De Klerk will have to come to terms with a new role that is being carved out for him at Kempton Park.

The South American trip is seen as Mr de Klerk's last major foray before the elections in April.

And after these, he will not be travelling abroad as head of government.

A question about his future as vice-president in a government of national unity was the only one of the trip which saw Mr de Klerk stung into the pose of the party politician, reluctant to acknowledge the logical outcome of the process — that he will play second fiddle to Mr Mandela.

It was a question which challenged the role that he had successfully played abroad for the last three years and which he has little chance of sustaining at home: first among equals.

Keegan to quit DP caucus

By NAZEEM HOWA

CAPE TOWN's incoming mayor Mr Clive Keegan is to resign his membership of the city council's Democratic Party caucus while in office.

Presently serving as deputy mayor, Mr Keegan was elected mayor on Thursday. The new deputy mayor is Mrs Patricia Sulcas-Kreiner.

Interviewed this week, Mr Keegan said a primary reason for his resignation from the caucus was a belief that the office of the mayor should not be seen to be party political.

However, Mr Keegan intends to retain his membership of the Democratic Party.

He said he believed the DP caucus had had a very beneficial affect on the council. "It means we have a body in control of the city which is unashamedly and quite publicly articulating the policies of a party that kept alive the values of liberalism throughout the apartheid era.

"It also means that we can impose greater discipline on ourselves and has also meant that debates in concil are now crisper.

● The reluctant mayor — Page 2

Frantic push to clear April 27 poll hurdle

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Boy, 14, nominated for DP post

WYNBERG Boys' High School pupil Andrew Thompson, 14, was nominated for the Democratic Party's Western Cape regional executive at a one-day congress in the Lansdowne Civic Centre yesterday.

However, the Std 6 pupil was not elected because the congress was warned not to "lower itself to the level of Mandela". The ANC leader has made several appeals to give 14-year-olds the vote.

DP MP for Green Point Hennie Bester was elected regional leader and former detainee and UDF activist, Joe Marks, his deputy. The positions are part of the DP's preparations to form a DP-dominated Western Cape regional government in the proposed federal dispensation. — *Sapa and Political Reporter*

Stalemate

Sunday Times 29/5/93

TALKS between the government and the Afrikaner Volksfront on self-determination for the Afrikaner have reached a stalemate (30 CA)

A spokesman for Constitutional Development Minister Roelf Meyer said the volksfront was insisting on an independent northern homeland, including Pretoria.

Reports by Sunday Times Reb

Bester, Marks elected to top local DP positions

(Sl Times & Cl Metro)

29/8/93

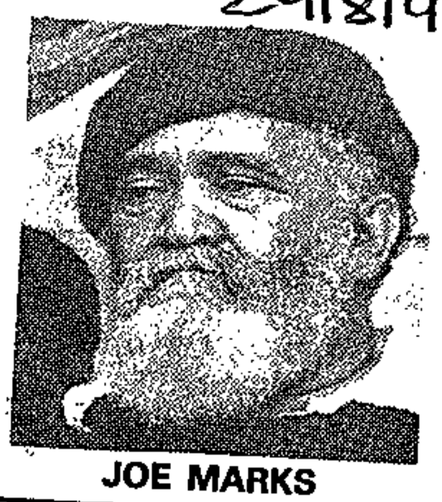
By NORMAN WEST
Political Reporter

THE Democratic Party yesterday chose Mr Hennie Bester as its first elected regional leader and former UDF activist and one-time political prisoner Mr Joe Marks, as his deputy.

Both are newly created positions and form part of the party's preparations to establish a strong DP-dominated regional government in a new federal dispensation after elections are held next year.

Mr Bester, MP for Green Point, was elected unopposed. Mr Marks, 57, who resigned from the ANC and the SACP in March, beat three other candidates.

The former chairman of the DP Western Cape region, Mr Jasper Walsh — who stepped down at yesterday's regional congress — was elected to the new position of Organising Chairperson for the Western Cape.



JOE MARKS

The "new-look" DP is now truly multi-racial, following the election of various people of colour as regional office bearers.

The new regional executive of six, elected yesterday, are Mr Roger Hulley, MP for Constantia; Ms Karen Hvidsten, chairperson of the DP's Groote Schuur branch; Mr Jeff Leonard, chairperson of the DP's Atlantis branch; Mr Stephen Ntsane, DP organiser in the black townships; Mr Isaac Samuels, chairperson of the DP's Manenberg branch and Professor Richard van der Ross, a member of the DP's Western Cape executive.

(304A)

Stirring

There were 27 candidates altogether.

In a stirring acceptance speech, Mr Bester said that "never before have the positions for regional executive been as hotly contested. It is a sure sign that the DP in the Western Cape has moved into power politics."

Mr Walsh said the DP had grown from 13 branches to 65 in the Western Cape.

C1 Press

NP official 'delays' talks

THE special sitting of Parliament starting on September 13 to deal with legislation for the transitional period appeared to be in jeopardy on Wednesday night when democracy negotiators failed to complete an important day's negotiating. 29/8/93

Government negotiator Danie Schutte, who also is Home Affairs Minister, was blamed directly and indirectly for the delay by a number of parties at the World Trade Centre at Kempton Park.

"Schutte has been conducting deliberate and calculated filibustering," ANC negotiator Penuel Maduna said after the day's proceedings (304A)

NP 'out of townships'

THE ANC Border region has accused the National Party of provocation by holding meetings in black and coloured townships. C1 Press

Regional vice president Andrew Hendricks said people were angry at the NP which was responsible for their plight. 29/8/93

Hendricks was reacting to this week's diruption of a NP meeting by ANC supporters in the coloured township of Victoria Park, in Queenstown (304A)

Buthelezi has less respect for De Klerk

Star 30/8/93

Durban — Relations between Inkatha Freedom Party leader Mangosuthu Buthelezi and President de Klerk hit rock bottom yesterday with Buthelezi telling more than 5 000 IFP supporters in Ulundi that his respect for the National Party leader had "diminished".

Buthelezi was responding to criticism by De Klerk in Buenos Aires, Argentina, that the IFP leader continued with threats about a civil war while he should be at the World Trade Centre.

De Klerk said continuing references by Buthelezi to civil war increased the possibility of its taking place.

"I am deeply concerned about the attitude reflected in the latest speeches by Chief Buthelezi," he told a press conference on Saturday before leaving for South Africa. "I know he is against it, but constant mentioning of it brings to the fore that possibility."

He acknowledged that there was a "worst-case scenario" and "things can go wrong". But the way to prevent such developments was to enter into agreements taking into account the fears and aspirations of all people and parties in South Africa. (4B)

In spite of De Klerk's hard line, he stressed: "I have held the view and still believe that the IFP should be party to agreements reached."

Addressing the closing session of the IFP Youth Brigade annual congress yesterday, Buthelezi said: "Mr de Klerk's attempt to placate the media which is demonising me as a spoiler has diminished my respect for him as a leader."

The IFP leader also said De Klerk's criticism was an indication of his lack of respect for black lives, especially of IFP members, lost in the ongoing violence.

"If Mr de Klerk was concerned about the lives of black people and if he held the lives of IFP members so sacred, he would not talk like that because the civil war I am talking about started nine years ago where our members are killed." (30/8/9)

Buthelezi said he was surprised that De Klerk had made such utterances because the President himself had earlier this year said that unless there was a political settlement in South Africa there would be a civil war.

The IFP leader said it was statements such as the one made by De Klerk that had probably created the "chasm" between the two leaders.

Buthelezi said his mistake — to deserve such treatment from the President — was probably because unlike other leaders, he had never forgotten De Klerk's role as the *de jure* head of State. Own Correspondent, Political Staff.

▶ IFP youth back boycott — Page 6

ANC discounts De Klerk idea for referendum to break talks logjam

NY negotiators have put a damper on esident F W de Klerk's suggestion that a erendum be held to break the logjam in ks and get the Inkatha Freedom Party accept the interim constitution.

Members of the ANC alliance on the nning committee yesterday rejected a ferendum and said the idea had never en discussed among negotiators.

De Klerk was reported as suggesting in gentina that a referendum could be held get popular support for the constitution.

A government negotiator also said this is the first he had heard of it but added: "Maybe there has been informal discussion on this at a higher level between the ANC and government." B/Day 30/8/93

ANC negotiating team sources said an election date had been set and this was the ultimate form of legitimising the constitution. "Anyway, the same conditions will have to be in place if one has to hold a referendum," one said. (11A) (304A)

He said a referendum might be something negotiators would look at as a last resort if all other attempts at getting agreement failed.

He said if one was held, certain provisos

BILLY PADDOCK

would have to be built in. These were that there should be a high level of agreement on the constitution within the negotiating process; that Bophuthatswana and Ciskei be part of the referendum; that Inkatha moderate its position; that all parties agree upfront to accept the result of the referendum; and that the climate in the country be conducive to conducting a free and fair poll with all parties able to put their positions across throughout SA.

"We will have to have a transitional executive council (TEC) to level the playing fields first and it will also have to happen soon, giving sufficient time for the election to take place on April 27," he said.

Inkatha leader Mangosuthu Buthelezi and senior negotiator Walter Felgate both said at the weekend they rejected out of hand the establishment of a TEC and hoped government would not try to force them to implement it. Buthelezi went further and said he would refuse to allow it to be implemented in KwaZulu.

But negotiators from both government and the ANC alliance said they were "very optimistic" the TEC would be approved by the negotiating council within the next two days and were going all-out to achieve this.

They said Inkatha and the KwaZulu government should be bound by the provisions of the TEC regardless of their participation or not in the multiparty talks.

Apart from three parties — the PAC, Ciskei and the Afrikaner Volksunie — negotiators were in agreement that all parties wanting to contest the elections had to be bound by terms of the TEC and failure to implement these would result in cen-

☐ To Page 2

Referendum B/Day 30/8/93

☐ From Page 1

sure, court action and possible police and military action. All governments and administrations would be automatically bound to implement the TEC.

☐ ANTHONY JOHNSON reports from Buenos Aires that De Klerk confirmed at the weekend he hoped to attend a summit soon with ANC president Nelson Mandela and Buthelezi. (11A) (304A)

De Klerk said such a summit was one of the options government was considering to break the deadlock.

He said he was gravely displeased at Buthelezi's repeated and "dangerous" references to civil war.

De klerk said he had always held the view that Inkatha should be party to agreements reached.



ELECTIONEERING . . . ANC official Mr Ronnie Kasrils (left) shows a sample election ballot to Ms Jennifer Ncube while campaigning in Soweto at the weekend.

Picture: AP

ANC starts Soweto voter education

CT 30/8/93

SOWETO. — ANC workers started the painstaking task at the weekend of teaching people in backyards and kitchens here how to vote.

While black and white leaders continue negotiating exactly who and what will be chosen in the nation's first multiracial election — planned for April 27 — the ANC launched its first door-to-door voter canvassing drive here after previous efforts in rural areas.

Hundreds of volunteers travelled on foot to make sure residents in Meadowlands, an ANC stronghold, knew about the election and if possible, to secure support in the balloting.

"What you're seeing here is history," said a beaming Mr Ronnie Kasrils, one of the ANC's leading white figures. "It has never happened before in Soweto. There's never been an election."

The ANC hopes to visit every house in Soweto and other black areas throughout the country three times in a bid to ensure a large black turnout in April.

Mr Kasrils estimated there were 16 million black voters — several times larger than any other racial group — and that the ANC needed an 80% black turnout to guarantee a decisive victory.

He said the main goals of the canvassing were to ensure people had proper identification documents to vote, knew how to vote and were willing to go out on election day despite predictions of widespread violence and intimidation.

At one cramped house where 13 eligible voters lived, he used a sample ballot to show two black women how to vote.

"You don't tell them who you're voting for. It's secret," he said. "You must make sure everyone here identifies the ANC symbol."

Before the volunteers hit the streets, ANC leaders lectured them on how to canvass properly. They were told to be sober and friendly, to keep the visits to six minutes each and avoid any kind of political argument.

They should work in pairs, and each group should have a man because "some men don't want to speak to women", said ANC NEC member Mr Popo Molefe.

Above all, he said, they should avoid any inference of a threat or trouble if someone supports another group. — Sapa-AP

Crisis summit

CT 30/8/93 (304A)

FW pins hope on meeting

Political Staff

PRESIDENT F W de Klerk yesterday held out hopes for a summit meeting of the "big three" political leaders to thrash out South Africa's road to elections as the ANC put a damper on his plan for a referendum on the problem.

The referendum was suggested in Argentina by Mr De Klerk to break the logjam in talks.

But members of the ANC alliance on the planning committee yesterday rejected the idea of a referendum and said it had never been discussed among negotiators.

ANC negotiating team sources said an election date had been set and this was the ultimate form of legitimising the constitution. "Anyway, the same conditions will have to be in place if one has to hold a referendum," one said.

He said a referendum might be something that negotiators would look at as a last resort if all other attempts at getting agreement failed.

Mr De Klerk said at the weekend that plans for a meeting with Mr Nelson Mandela and Chief Mangosuthu Buthelezi aimed at thrashing out differences between the major parties had not been shelved.

Such a summit was one of the options the government was considering to break the deadlock among the key political players which is currently bedevilling the consitutional negotiations process.

Earlier, Mr De Klerk said the government could call South Africa's first all-race referendum on an the soon-to-be-completed interim constitution to test the levels of support of parties like Inkatha and the Conservative Party which have been boycotting multi-party negotiations for the past two months.

Civil war

During a press conference in Buenos Aires Mr De Klerk said he was gravely displeased about what he described as Chief Buthelezi's repeated and "dangerous" references to civil war in South Africa.

He said he had always held that view that Inkatha should be party to agreements reached and that it was dangerous to preach civil war because constant references to war could bring this eventuality to the fore.

Mr De Klerk conceded that "things could go terribly wrong" under a worst-case scenario but added that he "knew" that Chief Buthelzi was personally against the civil war option.

Buthelezi says he may quit

INKATHA president Chief Mangosuthu Buthelezi said at the weekend he may quit if the IFP decided to participate in the coming election.

His said this after IFP chief executive officer Mr Joe Matthews announced at the weekend the party would hold a special conference soon to decide whether or not to contest the April 27 election.

While he would abide by the outcome, Chief Buthelezi said: "I will then seriously consider my position."

Both spoke at the IFP Youth Brigade's annual conference in Ulundi and after talks between the IFP and the KwaZulu and South African governments.

Mr Matthews told the Ulundi conference yesterday his party was in the throes of preparing for elections and was "ready to govern South Africa".

Both Chief Buthelezi and the youth brigade warned of an impending civil war should the current negotiation route be followed. President F W de Klerk criticised the IFP for repeatedly predicting civil war.

Both the government and Inkatha committed themselves to more talks. — Sapa



HOLDING HER HIGH . . . The people of Cape Town gathered in St Gabriels Church in Guguletu yesterday to celebrate the life of the murdered American Fullbright student, Miss Amy Biehl, who had many close friends and colleagues in the township.

Picture: BENNY GOOL

Hundreds give thanks for slain US student

CT 30/8/93

Staff Reporter

HUNDREDS gathered in a small Catholic church in Guguletu yesterday to attend a thanksgiving service for the life of American Fullbright student Miss Amy Biehl, who was brutally murdered in the township last week.

Over 700 crowded into St Gabriel's Church not to mourn the death of the American student but to celebrate her life, to the moving sounds of a choir.

Although an invitation was extended to the public to attend the service only a handful of whites could be seen, including former Cape Town mayor Mr Gordon Oliver and former Cape Times editor Mr Tony Heard.

Father Basil van Rensburg, who led the service, said the thanksgiving was "not only because she was an American, or because she was white, but because she was a human being".

He said her death was "senseless and tragic and it was time to put a stop to the dangerous words that incite people to stone and kill".

Messages for Miss Biehl's parents were read out by individuals from the township, thanking them for sending her "as she believed in us, saw us as human beings like herself, and not as blacks and she came to us in Guguletu knowing that she was risking her life".



Government plays down idea of a referendum

TOS WENTZEL
Political Staff

THE possibility of a referendum to resolve a deadlock in constitutional negotiations was played down today by government sources.

President De Klerk had mentioned this as one of the options if the talks ran into a crisis within the next two weeks.

The suggestion caused a stir in political circles and has been rejected by the ANC.

After using a referendum of white voters against the right wing last year President De Klerk now appears to be tempted to try an all-race one to break a deadlock in talks if Inkatha and other parties refuse to endorse agreements.

ANC spokesman Gill Marcus said a referendum was not an option the ANC would consider.

"There is a process under way. If a referendum can be held an election can be held.

"The issue is that the will of the people must be tested. They must be given an opportunity to elect a new government and not be asked if they want to elect a new government."

Ken Andrew, national chairman of the Democratic Party, said the government could consider a referendum to give added legitimacy and momentum to the negotiation process.

He thought, however that the idea was premature. In view of the negotiation momentum it should not be necessary.

Presidential spokesman Chris Fismer MP said the question of a referendum was not an issue at present.

No firm decision on this had been taken and at present it was not part of the general political dialogue.

He confirmed that a special cabinet meeting was being held in Pretoria today following Mr De Klerk's return from South America.

The continuing violence, the present state of the negotiations and the coming short session of parliament were be discussed.

VOTER EDUCATION How to wage an effective campa

Starting up the election machinery

NOW that an election date has been set, one comes across increasing references to election machinery. What does this actually involve?

The term election machinery covers the entire process of setting up an organisational structure and delineating tasks for the specific purpose of waging an effective election campaign in favour of a political party.

The more effective a party's election machinery is, the greater that party's chance of winning an election. This is because, no matter how much mass support a political party enjoys, unless that party actively works within its constituency to ensure that its supporters concretise their support in the form of a vote cast in the party's favour, on election day it might still lose an election.

The focal point of every election campaign is to win as many votes for the party as possible. The only way to do this is to convince the party's members that each and every vote cast in their party's favour can mean the difference between victory or defeat. It also involves winning over as many new members as possible from the large group of apathetic people who normally would not trouble themselves with deciding which party to vote for.

Election campaign committees

These are the implementing structures set up at local, regional and national level to co-ordinate a party's election campaign throughout the country. Heading each election campaign committee is an election campaign manager. This person is responsible for setting up the election campaign office. This involves both finding and equipping the office as well as recruiting personnel and placing and training them. This person supervises the overall progress of the election campaign within his or her area of jurisdiction.

This person must recruit capable people for the following tasks: branch convener and deputy, sector liaison, treasury, fund-raising, voter canvassing, organisation of public meetings, organising media publicity and posters, organising transport for meetings and for election day itself, public relations, coordinating of volunteer workers and training officers, administration and neighbourhood organisers.

Each election campaign committee needs to perform an analysis of all voters in its area. This should give a clear picture of all the communities in the area/s under their jurisdiction, pinpoint ing priorities and problems, setting specific targets and outlining a financial budget. All this is necessary if the party intends putting across a message designed to reach the voters in that area and thus beginning the process of winning as many votes in that area as possible.

Strategic action plan:

On the basis of the results of the community profile done above, the election campaign committee formulates a strategic action plan. This is a comprehensive strategy that aims to utilise all existing resources in the area, e.g. possible venues, contacting all influential people in the area for one form of assistance or another, summarising the main issues/ problems existing in the area. The election committee then makes a short-list of "winnable issues", that is those issues which the party can address thereby winning over support. It also involves knowing what opposition party activities are taking place in the area, knowing who the opposition leaders are and what their election strategy will be.

This is so that the party can undermine the credibility of its opposition party where possible and plan to counter their strategy to win votes for themselves.

It does not sound pleasant or fair at all. The sad fact is that election campaigns are not based on fair play, but rather on winning as many votes as possible by whatever possible means short of illegal activity.

Unfortunately it could happen that some party functionaries might be unscrupulous enough to resort to illegal means of defeating their opponents. There are always specific laws governing the conduct of election campaigns and one of the things any party's election campaign committees must be, is very clued up on what constitutes illegal electioneering activity and what does not.

There are a variety of methods by which parties try to get their message across to as many people, that is, potential voters, as possible. These include, mass rallies, public meetings, house meetings, voter canvassing, the use of radio, television and print media advertisements, the distribution of party literature, putting up posters, stickers, distributing badges, flags, T-shirts and caps all with the party symbol and colours. Also it involves intense publicity of the most popular party leaders, highlighting their good points, impressive track records and so on. In short the public is bombarded with a comprehensive degree of information about the party presented in a wide variety of forms.

Voter canvassing:

What is it? Canvassing is door to door visiting of all the households in the election campaign committee's area. It's aim is to establish the degree of party support, establish the number of "doubtful" voters, that is those who do not know which party they are going to vote for, obtain a commitment from party supporters to actually go out and record their vote on election day, and generally get a clear idea of what positive and negative perceptions exist about the party.

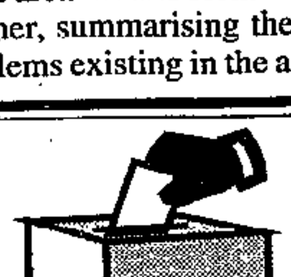
The results are all recorded by the canvassers who have actually gone out door to door and this forms a gold mine of information enabling the party to modify its strategy where necessary, underplay its weaknesses and highlight its strong points. It also enables party leaders to address very directly the concerns of people in that area.

Sowetan 30/8/93

This voter educatic series is a joint project of Sowetan and MatlaTrust

(304A)





This is the sixth in a series of pages aimed at preparing readers for the 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. Closer to elections we will explain how to vote.

NEWS FEATURE

De Klerk's visit to old friends

South American countries and SA synonymous with repression

By Ismail Lagardien
Political Correspondent

NOT NEW *Link with former dictatorships goes long way*

The National Party's human rights abuses are a carbon copy of those in places like Chile and Paraguay

THE RECEPTION PRESIDENT FW de Klerk received in South America last week was neither unusual nor an indication of a new kind of acceptability.

The link between the National Party and the former dictatorships of countries like Chile and Paraguay goes back a long way.

There was a time when the governments of Paraguay, Chile, Uruguay, Argentina and South Africa were synonymous with repression and brutality.

During those dark days, these countries shared tactics, strategies, pastimes and habits; from rugby to military technology and Nazism.

Paraguay is also a well known haven for fallen dictators and war criminals, while Chile's General Augusto Pinochet publicly mourned the death of Generalissmo Francisco Franco, the Spanish fascist leader.

When General Alfredo Stroessner came to power in Paraguay in 1954, he was accompanied on his official parade by General Juan Peron of Argentina, another man known for his repression.

The rightwing London *Daily Telegraph* wrote about the parade: "Barefooted Paraguayans watched fearful as two dictators drove through the streets with arms raised in Nazi-style salutes, their cars followed by goose-stepping troops and bands."

When Peron was deposed, he found refuge in Paraguay. Nicaragua's former dictator, Anastazio Somoza, sought refuge in Paraguay in 1978 and it was reported that African dictators Idi Amin and Jean-Bedel Bokassa were offered a home there. Stroessner, once described by an American official as "the last of the old dictators, a man motivated by greed and personal power", visited South Africa in 1974 amid great secrecy.During his reign Stroessner was implicated in everything from serious human rights violations to harbouring Nazi war criminals.

In February 1989, when Stroessner was ousted in a coup after 34 years of military dictatorship, South Africa was one of the countries that stood in line to offer him refuge. The National Party of old were also known sympathisers of the Nazis. The Ossewabrandwag, an Afrikaner cultural organisation, gave refuge to Nazi sympathisers in South Africa during the Second World War.

Among the more prominent of the National Party and Afrikaner Nazi sympathisers was former prime minister John Vorster, who visited Paraguay in 1985 and who loaned Stroessner R5 million.

(General Magnus Malan visited Paraguay in 1979 amid much pomp and ceremony.)

The National Party's human rights abuses are a carbon copy of those in places like Paraguay and Chile.

He responded in 1978, by telling the *New York Times*: "The theme of human rights is a Trojan Horse of international communism and deserves only one response from us."

Through co-operation from the ruling National Party in Pretoria, the Chilean company, Cordoen Industries, manufactured the self-propelled G6 long range howitzer and the G5, both of which were designed and originally built by Armscor.

The mayor of Asuncion, the capital of Paraguay, and his opposite number in Pretoria signed a "sister city agreement" in the mid-eighties which read: "Paraguay and the Republic of South Africa, being one in mind in the struggle to uphold justice and to maintain peace, have firmly established cordial relations between their peoples."

South Africa and Chile co-operated extensively in the manufacture of military hardware that ended up with Saddam Hussein in Iraq.

Besides sales and co-operation in the manufacture and technology development of military hardware between Chile and South Africa, the South African Defence Force enjoyed a close relationship with General Augusto Pinochet.

At the height of Chile's repression of internal opposition to government, Pinochet honoured the South African ambassador to that country by giving him the country's highest award named after its independence hero.

Pinochet's rule over Chile between 1973 and 1990 was regarded as a byword for bloody dictatorship and among his closest friends were the ruling National Party in Pretoria.

Argentina, who received De Klerk with open arms, is no exception.

Almost 10 000 people "disappeared" in Argentina during the seventies — while South Africa played rugby against that country with alarming frequency. In 1985 senior members of the Argentinian security forces were prosecuted for human rights abuses dating back to the seventies. South Africa's Further Indemnity Bill is often explained as necessary to facilitate the return of exiles but conveniently protects security establishment personnel for human rights abuses, torture and even murder.

This Act is a close enough facsimile of the *Ley de Caducidad de la Pretension Punitiva del Estado* — the Uruguayan law which prevented the prosecution of officials accused of responsibility for human rights abuses and violations.

FW trip 'most successful'

(504A)
CT30/8/93

Business sees Latin American ventures

PRETORIA. — The groundbreaking week-long Latin American tour by President F W de Klerk, which ended this weekend, appears to have been his most successful overseas visit yet.

It was a pioneering visit in the sense that Mr De Klerk was accompanied by a team of high-powered businessmen, who all described the trip as extremely worthwhile.

According to the deputy chairman of Anglo American, Mr Lesley Boyd, the businessmen went on the trip because they wanted to show their support for the irrevocable changes brought about by Mr De Klerk.

They had also wanted to familiarise themselves with the area and to assess business opportunities.

Summing up the countries visited, Mr Boyd said both Chile and Argentina had significant opportunities for investment in the mineral field where South African mining expertise could be used.

The one disadvantage of Chile was that "it is on the wrong side of South America and this adds to shipping costs".

As Mr Leon Luyckq, chairman of consulting engineering firm Stuart Scott, said: "I am perfectly satisfied with what I have seen and heard and with the contacts made".

He said the benefit of accompanying the president was that they had been able to get to the top businessmen in each of the four countries — Uruguay, Chile, Paraguay and Argentina.

He said the poorer countries of Uruguay and Paraguay should not be underestimated as they had access to international aid.

Dr Harold Serbero, executive director of Ventron, said there were huge opportunities in the communications, electronic, power industries and integrated service systems.

He said all four countries showed a great deal of interest in the company's systems.

The Chairman of Gengold, Mr Gary Maude, said that "you are able to obtain an incredible quality of information in a short time".

Mr Willem de Kok, chief executive director of Premier Foods, said the South African processing industry had a lot of technology to offer South America and much interest was shown.

Mr De Klerk completed an exhausting schedule of meetings and discussions with his counterparts in all four countries, addressed businessmen and held press conferences where he was questioned about South Africa.

His message to Latin America was that he was confident the constitutional situation would be resolved and that foreign investment would not be endangered once a government of national unity had been installed.

Agreement was reached that trade and co-operation between each country and South Africa should be increased.

Agreements are also being finalised to combat drug trafficking between South Africa and Uruguay, Paraguay and Chile.

Mr De Klerk invited all four presidents to visit South Africa.

Uruguayan President Patricio Lacalle immediately accepted and said he would probably visit before the elections. — Sapa



HEADS OF STATE MEET . . . President F W de Klerk (right) talks with Argentine President Carlos Menen at the weekend in Buenos Aires. President De Klerk's four-nation visit is the first by an SA head of state to South America.

Picture: AP

CT. 30/8/93

304A

'Porta may have to dust his boots'

From ANTHONY JOHNSON

BUENOS AIRES. — Argentina might have to recall its ambassador to South Africa, Mr Hugo Porta, when the Springbok rugby team tours South America later this year, President F W de Klerk said at the weekend.

He joked at an international media conference here that the legendary Puma flyhalf and former Argentinian rugby captain might have to dust off his boots for the October/November Springbok tour.

Mr Porta, who was in the audience, has in the past almost single-handedly been able to engineer the defeat of the mighty Springbok teams.

'Talent'

Mr De Klerk, who had just delivered a strong plea for closer economic co-operation between Southern Africa and the Latin American countries, noted that "money is not everyhing".

He predicted "a wonderful display of rugby talent" when the Springboks visited South American in October and November.

Bunfight over voter funding

B1Day 30/8/93

ORGANISATIONS both inside and outside the political process are involved in a scramble for funds for voter education ahead of next year's election.

An estimated R30m has already been poured into voter education by foreign donors and the private sector in an attempt to ensure that next year's election is free, fair and accepted by the losers. (304A)

A plethora of voter education efforts is being planned, resulting in organisations becoming locked in fierce competition for funds and contracts.

"It's a bunfight out there," Independent Mediation Service of SA director Drené Nupen said at the weekend.

TIM COHEN

But despite the large amounts being pledged, there is concern that campaigns will not reach many of the estimated 22-million potential voters, about 18-million of whom have never voted in national democratic elections before.

As a result, an organisation to co-ordinate the campaigns, the independent forum for electoral education, was formed.

Institute for a Democratic SA programme director Paul Graham said the main ideas his organisation were trying to impart were: "Your vote is important",

☐ To Page 2

Voter education

B1Day 30/8/93

☐ From Page 1

"You can vote", "Your vote is secret" and "You can accept the result".

Many of the other campaigns focused on the same ideas in an attempt to emphasise democratic values and what it meant to be a responsible citizen.

Nupen said her organisation's programmes were aimed at placing the responsibility on the subject in deciding who to vote for. (304A)

The EC has provided the largest single donation so far, allocating R20m to a number of organisations.

According to business sources, the private sector has also been receptive to employee demands for programmes, with some large projects in the pipeline.

However, Graham said that unless the business community made substantial amounts available, there was a good chance a large number of potential voters would not be reached.

By mutual consent, government has refrained from becoming involved. According to Home Affairs Director-General P J Colyn, the right time for this would be when the proposed independent electoral commission was in place and had had an opportunity to decide on the details.

Those involved in the field hoped it would co-ordinate efforts and identify areas of the country where little work has been done.

☐ Our Durban correspondent reports that constitutional talks at the World Trade Centre are costing taxpayers R1,5m a month, according to the Constitutional Development Service.

Taxpayers have already paid out R30m in 1991 and 1992 for the costs of Codesa 1 and Codesa 2. A further R42m is budgeted for this year's multiparty talks and the cost of setting up a transitional executive council.

In addition, the costs of the national peace committee will probably push up this year's transition-to-democracy bill to R60m.

Session likely to go ahead, says FW

PRETORIA — President F W de Klerk said yesterday a decision would be taken tomorrow on whether the coming session of Parliament should be postponed. B Day

However, "all forms of legislation" were ready and he expected the session would go ahead, he told a news conference after meeting German Economic Co-operation and Development Minister Carl-Dieter Spranger. 3/18/93

And Spranger yesterday proposed a joint EC and southern African economic conference after next year's elections. (304A)

Germany would assume the EC presidency in July and a German embassy spokesman said this would allow the country to throw its weight behind southern African co-operation.

De Klerk said he expected Inkatha Freedom Party leader Mangosuthu Buthelezi to be drawn back into the mainstream negotiation process.

He also said he had issued unspecified "mandates and instructions" at yesterday's Cabinet meeting regarding negotiations.

Negotiators race to finish work on Bills

BIDay 31/8/93

TIM COHEN

NEGOTIATORS opened up the throttle yesterday in a bid to beat their self-imposed deadline tomorrow for the completion of four major Bills, flying through two reports and stumbling only when it was suggested that funding of the TBVC states could be cut.

Discussing the proposed transitional executive council Bill, CP delegation leader Joe Slovo suggested that the TEC subcommittees should have the power to cut the funding of the TBVC states if they did not participate in elections.

The suggestion drew a critical response from Bophuthatswana delegation leader Rowan Cronje, who said such a clause was not compatible with negotiations.

Slovo's proposal was endorsed by ANC delegation leader Cyril Ramaphosa, who said the subcommittees might not use this power, but should be empowered to.

The provision should serve as an indication of what the council could do, because the positions adopted by some of the homeland governments were "quite alarming".

The potential voters in these areas were being "held hostage". This was totally unacceptable, Ramaphosa said. "What keeps them going is the money they get from SA ... We are not saying we are going to do it but it is something we could do."

The council decided that a formal proposal should be prepared and presented to the council today.

Major additions to two sections in the proposed legislation were discussed on a national peacekeeping force and the TEC's powers with regard to finance. The additions in the finance section include a provision that the TEC should be informed of transfers of public funds between governments and on domestic borrowing.

PAC delegation member Benny Alexander said most members of the proposed peacekeeping force should be foreigners. "The people you are asking to do the peackeeping are the people you are accusing of perpetrating the violence," he said.

This proposal was rejected as impractical, with Slovo suggesting the PAC was not likely to be affected anyway because it did not have a "force under its control" as the definition required. (804A)

Much of the proposed Bill was agreed upon, although some issues were held over for discussion today. Almost all sections of the other proposed legislation discussed yesterday, including the independent media commission Bill, were passed.

The negotiating council also gave notice yesterday that oral evidence would be heard between September 20 and October 1 on the demarcation of regions.

It said further submissions were needed on whether the eastern Transvaal should include Pretoria, and whether the Free State should be combined with the proposed northwest region.

It also invited comment on whether the eastern Cape, Transkei and Ciskei should consist of one or two regions, whether the western Cape should be combined with part of the northern Cape and several smaller disputes.

The commission said applications to submit evidence should be received by September 13.

It hoped to present a final report by mid-October after discussions with several local organisations, oral hearings and a study of the submissions.

Today is D-Day for negotiations

Sowetan 31/8/93

(304A)

By Ismail Lagardien
Political Correspondent

EXTRAORDINARY Negotiators must try and meet important deadline:

TODAY'S OUTCOME OF THE negotiations at the World Trade Centre could decide whether next month's extraordinary parliamentary session to pass legislation for the transitional period will go ahead as planned.

The Negotiations Council worked tirelessly yesterday in an attempt to meet today's self-imposed deadline and to have draft legislation for the Independent Media Commission, Independent Broadcast Authority, Independent Electoral Commission and the Transitional Executive Council ratified.

The four bills, the cynosure of progress in the negotiations process, are expected to go before Parliament later next month and if passed, will signify the first legal transfer of power in South Africa.

However, very little hope has emerged over the completion of the draft legislation in time for the short parliamentary session scheduled to start on September 13.

President FW de Klerk said yesterday a decision would be taken tomorrow as to whether the September session should be postponed. He said "all forms of legislation" were ready and he, in fact, expected the session to go ahead.

ELECTION '94

Mock elections emphasise the vote is secret

ARG 31/8/93

304A

In Part 2 of a two-part report on the voter education campaign, TOS WENTZEL and MICHAEL MORRIS of The Argus Political Staff review party political efforts.

ALL the major political parties have worked voter education into their election campaigns as part of a major effort to reach supporters beyond their traditional power bases in the run-up to the April ballot.

In fact, there is a significant incentive to having their own education programmes: foreign donors are reluctant to fund political campaigns, but are willing to help payroll voter education schemes.

And when a party runs a voter education programme, however impartially, it is advertising itself at the same time.

Most of the programmes run by parties and movements are essentially the same as those run by independent agencies.

They are intended to familiarise voters — particularly those who will be going to the polls for the first time — with the basic voting procedure, and the basic principles of a democratic election.

The ANC/SACP/Cosatu alliance has launched a task force to undertake voter education in cooperation w[illegible]

BALLOT PAPER

*(Make a cross next to the party of your choice) : Vote for **ONE** party only*

AFRICAN NATIONAL CONGRESS	ANC	ANC	
AFRIKANER-VOLKSUNIE	AVU	AVU	
AZANIAN PEOPLE'S ORGANISATION	AZAPO		
CONSERVATIVE PARTY	CP	KP	
DEMOCRATIC PARTY	DP	DP	
INKATHA FREEDOM PARTY	IFP		
NATIONAL PARTY	NP	NP National Party Nasionale Party	
PAN AFRICANIST CONGRESS	PAC		

"BALLOT" PAPER: Mock ballot paper shows how voters in next year's election will have to vote for [illegible]arties instead of individual candidates.



ELECTION POSTER: A poster being widely used in voter education programmes. Produced by the Voter Education and Elections Training Unit (VEETU) at UWC, it shows the six basic stages of the voting process. Entering the polling station voters have to show their ID books. Their hands are then checked to see if they have voted before. Then their hands are marked with invisible or indelible ink. They then get ballot papers, mark them in a private booth and place them in a ballot box.

Elections Training Unit (VEETU) and the Matla Trust which presents voting procedures in the form of a play.

Music is also used to project the message.

The rap group, Prophets of the City, has been educating thousands of young people in voting and democracy. This is done jointly with UWC's Centre for Development Studies.

According to ANC/SACP/Cosatu alliance task group coordinator Rashieda Abdullah, a top priority is allaying fears among voters.

Special attention was being given to elderly people and people with disabilities. They were being assured they would be assisted on polling day.

It was also crucial to explain to people that the vote was secret and that it did not matter how they voted as no-one would know.

She said the ANC was trying to give voter education to all South Africans regardless of their political affiliations.

Mock elections helped to convince people about the secrecy of the vote and were also a great help in explaining the voting procedure to illiterate people.

At branch level people were being trained to train others in voter education programmes.

The National Party has launched a nationwide voter education programme using a video and an illustrated pamphlet.

The women's organisations in the party are particularly involved in voter education through mock elections. People are encouraged and helped to get ID books.

Executive director of the party, Olaus van Zyl, said one of the top priorities was to assure people that the vote was secret. Many were apprehensive about this.

Once the Independent Elector- elections. This was an indication of doubts and fears about the secrecy of the vote and the feeling among many that they did not want to risk revealing the party of their choice at this stage.

On the other hand, the greatest advantage of these presentations was that they encouraged tolerance.

Peter Soal MP, coordinator of the Helen Suzman Foundation, said the foundation was being run as a non-partisan institution whose main purpose was to raise money overseas for voter education.

There had already been good responses from Britain and the

Apart from explaining the basics of democracy, it was also encouraging people to apply for ID books.

James Selfe, executive director of the DP, said that apart from educating people who had not voted before, it was also necessary to explain to people the implications of the proportional representation system.

They also had to be informed about the proposed new Bill of Rights when this had been formulated.

Special efforts were made to illustrate that the vote was secret.

Tony Leon, MP for Houghton, said that meetings on voting procedures for domestic workers on the Witwatersrand had been well attended.

Here, too, there was apprehension about the secrecy of the vote and a potential for intimidation. What was now needed al Commission had been established and there were more details of how the election would be run the NP would adapt its programme.

One of the issues that had to be cleared up was whether there would be special votes for people who were unable to go the the polls.

The Democratic Party is involved in various ways, as part of its usual voter canvassing programme and through the new Helen Suzman Foundation.

Wherever possible the party is trying to present a non-partisan programme.

One interesting programme being run in the Natal Midlands aims at involving people who are to vote for the first time next year in mock elections.

A similar programme, sometimes involving a short play, is being presented to domestic workers in Johannesburg and Durban.

The man behind the Midlands programme is Wessel Nel, DP MP for Mooi River.

At workshops lasting two to three hours, rural workers are introduced to the basic concepts of democracy, the right to vote and the secrecy of the vote.

Mock elections with polling booths, ballot boxes and the counting of votes are held.

These, like other workshops elsewhere in the country, reveal apprehension about the secrecy of the vote, and the fear of intimidation.

Significantly, Mr Nel said that up to 25 percent of the ballot papers were left blank in mock was to encourage political tolerance.



Rashieda Abdullah (ANC) . . . allaying fears among voters is a top priority.



James Selfe (DP) . . . necessary to explain proportional representation.



Olaus van Zyl (NP) . . . many apprehensive about secrecy of the vote.

Parliament postponed?

(T31/8/93) (304A)

Political Staff

DURBAN. — The September 13 parliamentary session may be postponed, President F W de Klerk said yesterday.

Speaking after the cabinet ministers' special marathon meeting yesterday Mr De Klerk said the cabinet would decide at its regular meeting tomorrow whether or not to postpone the session.

It is understood some cabinet members are seeking Inkatha's agreement on constitutional matters — including the establishment of a transitional executive council — before crucial legislation is passed.

The cabinet agreed that a further one-on-one discussion on ways to overcome the constitutional impasse should be held between Mr De Klerk and Inkatha leader Chief Mangosuthu Buthelezi "as soon as possible", a top NP source said last night.

There was apparently consensus in the cabinet that there could be no constitutional deal without Inkatha, but ministers had dwelt on the dilemma of how to reach a compromise between demands for a unitary state and for a federal state.

Chief Buthelezi could not be reached for comment last night as he had left for Germany.

Government sources last night said there was heated discussion on relations with Inkatha.

It is understood Natal ministers Mr George Bartlett and Mr Danie Schutte have been taking an increasingly conciliatory line towards Inkatha, which is demanding entrenched federal principles.

• Multi-party negotiators will, according to their latest revised work schedule, complete work tomorrow on four pieces of draft legislation for the interim period before the April 27 election.

Star 31/8/93

Be flexible on talks, says FW

304A

■ BY CHRIS WHITFIELD
POLITICAL CORRESPONDENT

President de Klerk, speaking after a special five-hour Cabinet meeting yesterday, said negotiations deadlines should not be rigidly adhered to if they stood in the way of "real and lasting solutions".

His comments come amid increasing tension over whether negotiators can achieve their "time-frames" for change.

However, in a step forward for the process, Government sources were confident the Inkatha Freedom Party would not oppose the passing by Parliament of three pieces of legislation for the interim period. The legislation is being processed at the World Trade Centre.

De Klerk's comments came yesterday after an extraordinary 7.30 am Cabinet meeting to brief the president on developments while he was in South America last week and to discuss the talks situation.

Yesterday he appeared confident that IFP president Chief Mangosuthu Buthelezi would be "part of agreements reached".

Asked what special initiatives could be taken to counter "stumbling blocks", De Klerk said the solution should be sought in bilateral and multilateral negotiations.

Asked how he viewed the looming negotiations deadlines, De Klerk said: "Deadlines should never be absolutely rigid if another day or another week can bring us to real and lasting solutions.

"In that sense of the word I do not regard myself or the situation as immobilised by any deadline."

THE TALKS AND YOU



At the World Trade Centre

DRAFT LEGISLATION: The Negotiating Council is expected to extend its deadline for completing draft legislation by 24 hours. Yesterday it virtually finalised the draft Independent Media Commission Bill. The technical committee on an IMC will finalise the wording of the Bill overnight.

The IMC will ensure that all parties contesting the April elections will receive equitable media treatment.

The Negotiating Council also discussed amendments to the Transitional Executive Council Bill.

TODAY: The council's schedule was amended last night to finalise the IMC and Independent Electoral Commission Bills today, and to continue discussion on the TEC. The council will tomorrow finalise the draft legislation for an independent broadcasting authority and TEC, and adopt the four draft Bills.

ESTHER WAUGH