

S.A. GOVT. & POLITICS - 1993

SEPTEMBER

*Vital draft Bills approved*

## Breakthrough by negotiators

Star 11/9/93

■ BY ESTHER WAUGH  
and CHRIS WHITFIELD

South Africa moved a step closer to the April 27 elections when the Negotiating Council agreed yesterday on important parts of the draft legislation package.

After months of debate at the World Trade Centre, the council by general consensus accepted drafts of legislation for an independent electoral commission and an independent media commission.

The drafts, to be submitted to Parliament, consist of proposed legislation to ensure that free and fair elections will take place and that all parties will have equitable access to State-controlled media.

At the National Party's Free State Congress in Bloemfontein yesterday,

**THE Negotiating Council is making progress with draft legislation leading up to elections in 1994**

(304A)  
Constitutional Development Minister Roelf Meyer said legislation making provision for a transitional executive council (TEC) — effectively the first step towards joint rule — could be finalised early next week at the World Trade Centre.

He said it was impossible to judge precisely how far negotiators had to go until completion of the Interim Constitution.

There has been strong resistance to the TEC from the Inkatha Freedom Party and other

Concerned South Africans Group members. However, if they do approve the Interim Constitution it was likely they would come on board the TEC.

Meyer said the legislation making provision for the TEC and other interim structures being shaped in the Negotiating Council would be put before Parliament as soon as possible — possibly at the scheduled September 13 sitting.

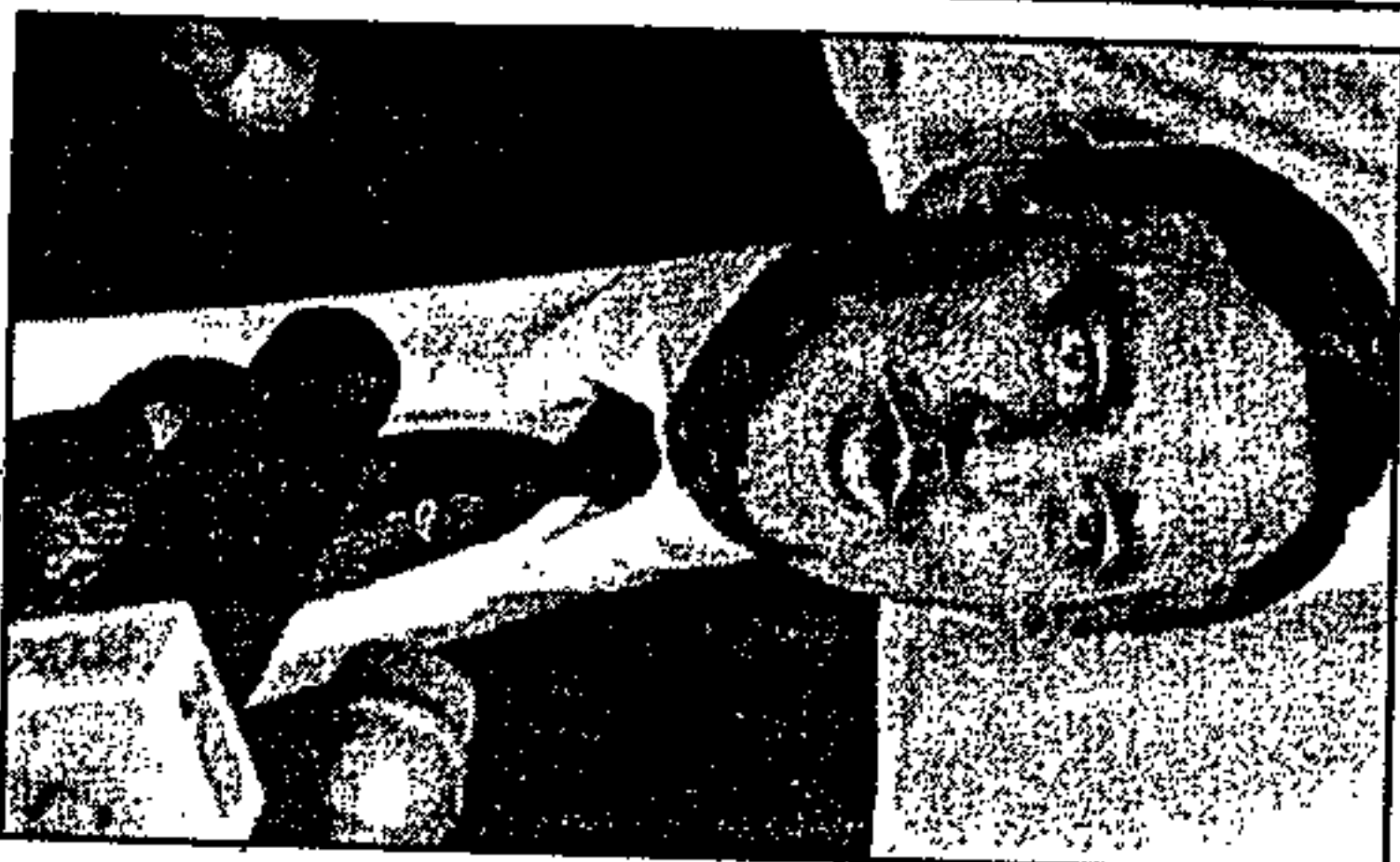
It would be pointless, he said, to go ahead with the other structures before agreement was reached on the Interim Constitution.

Negotiators at the World Trade Centre were scheduled today to finalise drafts of two other vital pieces of proposed legislation — for an independent broadcasting authority and the TEC.

**Since the announcement of next year's April 27 election, political parties' election machines have swung into action. Political Correspondent Kaizer Nyatumba looks at the NP's strategy**

Star 1/9/93

# The chiefs, puppets and the black vote



Pik Botha ... acquired African idioms to woo blacks to the NP.

The National Party has got its strategy for next year's general election worked out hammer the ANC repeatedly on its policies — or lack thereof — and convince the electorate that only a NP government can guarantee economic growth and win acceptance in many western capitals.

This is a message South Africa will hear over and over again in the run-up to the election, and Foreign Affairs Minister and Transvaal NP leader Pik Botha has made no secret of that.

The NP's election machine is well oiled and ready to switch to a higher gear, and the party is in a combative mood. As President de Klerk said in his capacity as NP leader in Durban recently, for the NP the ANC is the primary opponent in the April 27 "mother of all elections".

And all indications are that things are going to be ugly, and accusations and counter-accusations will fly. Despite massive intimidation in the townships the NP will go all out to woo black voters, and Botha will play no small part in this.

Now the longest serving Foreign Affairs Minister in the world, and De Klerk's most senior Cabinet colleague, Botha has as his advantage the fact that he has always been known to be one of the *verrigte* Ministers who have at times spoken out against the policy of apartheid.

Probably South Africa's most adept politician when it comes to dealing with the media, Botha, who as Foreign Minister had to parry questions from a hostile foreign press in the heydays of apartheid, has now appropriated some African idioms and the vocabulary of anti-apartheid activists.

He describes apartheid as "the biggest mistake" the Nats have made since coming to power in 1948, and apologises unreservedly for it.

He calls De Klerk "a strong chief" who will put up a brave fight for traditional leaders' rights, and he calls the governments of Kabinane and Labrova, which have close ties with the ANC and have been critical of Pretoria, "nothing but puppets which were creatures of apartheid".

He does not spare the ANC, either. He accuses it of a lack of vision and policies, and says it has lived off apartheid.

Botha says that while the NP has turned its back on apartheid, the ANC remains in an alliance with the South African Communist Party which still adheres to "failed economic policies".

And he puts his experience as Foreign Minister to good use, warning that representatives of many industrialised nations he has spoken to want the NP to be part of a new government.

"The ANC cannot supply this country with a policy, because it never had one (as) it

lived on apartheid. The animal apartheid was shot, and now the ticks are leaving."

Botha said recently.

The ANC, of course, will hit back and point at the levels of corruption which have been uncovered in the public service. It will remind blacks of the suffering and humiliation visited upon them by apartheid over the years, to which the NP will say it is now a new party.

Unraveling his party's strategy for the election in the Transvaal, Botha said there would be national policy statements emanated by De Klerk and various members of his Cabinet, and then the regions would diversify their campaigns to suit local conditions.

Significantly, heading these campaigns will be local people, such as David Chuenyane in Soweto.

And here lies the problem. With NP and Democratic Party leaders declared *personae non gratae* in the townships, recruiting in these areas will be a major headache for the two parties. But the NP knows that if it is to have a respectable showing in the election, it will have to make major inroads into the black constituency.

That is why the Natal NP congress — and Botha in Johannesburg a few days later — said the question of intimidation will have to be taken up at the multiparty negotiations at the World Trade Centre. Again, the blame for the widespread intimidation is laid at the ANC's door.

The DP, whose meetings have been disrupted by people claiming to be members of the liberation movements, has called on the ANC to guarantee that its members will not be intimidated.

But the southern Transvaal region of the South African National Civic Organisation (Sanco) and the Azanian People's Organisation (Azapo), which want the townships to be NP- and DP-free, have made it plain they have no such intentions.

Sanco southern Transvaal president Kgabid Mosumkhuthi has stoutly defended the recent disruption of a DP meeting at Orange Farm, south of Johannesburg, saying the party was repeatedly warned "to stay out of the townships" as its "interference will be regarded as an invasion".

And so the road ahead for the NP is strewn with all kinds of thorns, but the NP — and Botha in particular — is not about to "curl up and die".

With some of its traditional supporters leaving it in droves for the Right, the NP is aware its salvation might lie with yesterday's political lepers: blacks.

And that explains why Botha in particular happily welcomes the "gripping" of the NP.

He told about 700 youths attending a NP Transvaal youth congress at Naboomspruit at the weekend that the day the majority of NP members were black would be "my day of greatest joy".



David Chuenyane ... will head NP campaign in Soweto.



# De Klerk plans new bid to bring IFP back to talks

Star 1/9/93

■ BY CHRIS WHITFIELD  
POLITICAL CORRESPONDENT

Bloemfontein — President de Klerk and Chief Mangosuthu Buthelezi will sit down soon for a day of talks in an eleventh-hour effort to bridge their negotiations impasse.

De Klerk announced at a public meeting last night: "Chief Minister Buthelezi and I have agreed to have extended talks with each other soon."

The president also launched his most bitter attack yet on "barbaric" right-wing elements and dismissed the ANC's reaction to the Motsuenyane report as "weak" and "unconvincing".

De Klerk was addressing about 800 people — with a fairly substantial black presence — at the opening of the National Party's OFS congress in the Bloemfontein City Hall.

De Klerk strongly criticised elements of the right wing, say-

## THE TALKS AND YOU



### At the World Trade Centre

**DRAFT LEGISLATION:** The Negotiating Council accepted by general consensus two draft Bills on an independent electoral commission and an independent media commission yesterday.

The debate on the IEC took just more than an hour while the IMC was accepted in less than 60 minutes. The Afrikaner Volksunie reserved its position on the IEC.

**TODAY:** The council is expected to finalise the draft IBA and Transitional Executive Council Bills. It is also scheduled to adopt the four Bills by tonight.

ESTHER WAUGH

(30/4A)  
ing he was "ashamed by what is done in the name of Afrikaans by some Afrikaners". He referred to "barbarism" in the AWB-led attack on the World Trade Centre.

The president poured scorn

on the Afrikaner Volksfront's map for a white volkstaat, saying it was "so transparently artificial that it would be hilarious if it were not so tragic".

► Let culprits go, says Kobie — Page 7



# Outsiders must be heard Coetsee

BLOEMFONTEIN. — Political pressure groups outside the multi-party negotiations should be given a hearing if they have reasonable proposals, Defence and Justice Minister and National Party Free State leader Mr Kobie Coetsee said yesterday.

"If pressure groups are suspicious about the negotiations because they fear tyranny, and if they have a proposal that can be better put away from the table, then we must listen," he said, opening the NP congress here.

## Dependent

Referring to the election for a government of national unity, Mr Coetsee said cognisance had to be taken of hindrances — such as violence — which could retard progress.

Mr Coetsee stressed the need for providing for strong, autonomous regional states in the interim constitution.

But he warned: "Total self-determination is not possible in South Africa because we are too dependent on each other."

"We must recognise ethnic groups which belong together, and regional stages can do this because protection can be given to smaller political parties and issues such as protection of culture." — Sapa

Cassidy plans a power-

Science  
Scientists are attempting to  
100-100-100  
100-100-100

# DP 'victims' of ANC

By BARRY STREEK

THE ANC's concerted effort to address the violence could only be welcomed, the Democratic Party's Western Cape leader Mr Henrie Bester, said yesterday. (204A)

The DP was, however, seriously worried about the ANC's true commitment to peace. CT 11/9/93

The DP had been "the victims of ANC intimidation" too often to accept that more "meetings and talk" would

address the fundamental issues of intolerance and political intimidation, he said in a statement.

The statement said the ANC "would do well to ask why their supporters in Atlantis are presently conducting a campaign of violent intimidation on DP people."

Mr Bester invited all political parties to join the DP on September 2 in drawing up a code of conduct. The DP would release its draft code of conduct next week, he added.

## Unanimous agreement on draft Bills

BILLY PADDOCK 11/9/93

IN THE first tangible results of three years of negotiations, draft legislation was unanimously approved by all 23 parties at the World Trade Centre yesterday.

It is understood that the Inkatha Freedom Party gave its approval to the draft legislation in talks with government on Saturday. However, Inkatha negotiators Walter Felgate and Ben Ngubane were not available to comment last night.

ANC negotiator Penuel Maduna said: "We are pleased and excited by this because it is the first time the PAC, the ANC and the NP have agreed on something which is to go to Parliament."

With almost no discussion, the negotiators passed draft legislation to monitor and control broadcasting in the run-up to elections, and to establish the powerful independent electoral commission. This will be the final arbiter of whether elections are free and fair.

Maduna said all parties had had to compromise, and the process had sent out "a signal to our people that we are on the road to a democratic election".

DP negotiator Ken Andrew, who chaired the ad hoc committee on the independent electoral commission to facilitate political compromises, said acceptance of the Bill was the official start of the transition.

Government negotiator and Home Affairs Minister Danie Schutte said the committee had done a "great piece of work".

The Bills on the electoral commission and the media commission will be submitted to this month's special sitting of Parliament, to be enacted and promulgated by President F W de Klerk.

The electoral commission will promote conditions conducive to free and fair elections; determine and certify the results; conduct voter education; and make and enforce regulations to achieve these ends.

All objections to rulings by the transitional executive council (TEC), or other

□ To Page 2

## Draft Bills

B/DAY

11/9/93

□ From Page 1

transitional bodies, will be determined finally by the commission.

The commission will function without political or other bias or interference and will be independent from the TEC, any party, any government and its administration, or any other functionary body, "whether directly or indirectly representing the interests of any such entity", the Bill reads.

On the TEC's advice, the President will set up an international advisory committee to advise the commission on any matter regarding the performance of its functions. This committee will determine the procedures it will follow to assist the commission in ensuring that the election results are internationally accepted.

The Independent Media Commission Bill will ensure that the broadcasting services treat all political parties equitably during the national and regional elections. It will also ensure that state-financed publications and information services do not advance the interests of any political party.

Radio 702, Capital Radio and Radio Trinity are also covered by the Bill.

The commission will monitor all broadcasting services and enforce compliance with the Bill in terms of party broadcasts and advertising.

No party broadcast will be permitted during the last 48 hours before the election.

The commission can force broadcasters to give all parties equal opportunity to respond to political advertisements, as well as opponents' claims.

All publications will have to give the commission copies within 48 hours of printing, and no advertisement or "other material which is intended or calculated to support or advance the interests of any political party" will be allowed.

Contravention of the Act, or non-compliance with a commission order, can be punished with a fine of up to R100 000.

In exceptional cases the commission can suspend a broadcaster's licence.

DP broadcasting negotiator Peter Soal said it was a "most significant Bill as the population can now feel assured that state-controlled media would be monitored and checked carefully to eliminate all bias".



## Major parties pledge to abide by election results

CT 1/9/93

Political Staff

(3044)

**ALL** major South African political parties have stated that they will accept the result of next year's election, even if they lose, as long as they are free and fair.

All the parties, except the Conservative Party, also rejected any legal guarantees to ethnic groups.

This was revealed in the latest issue of the publication, Barometer on Negotiation, which interviewed party spokesmen on the elections.

Inkatha Freedom Party national chairman Dr Frank Mdlalose said: "If we lose the election we shall take our rightful place as an opposition party."

# Talks accord near deadline

CT1/9/93 (304A)

**JOHANNESBURG.** — Negotiators declared yesterday an historic day with the first tangible results to come from three years of talks — draft legislation being approved unanimously by the 23 parties.

The Independent Electoral Commission (IEC) draft Bill and Independent Media Commission (IMC) draft Bill were adopted by "general consensus" yesterday, with only the Afrikaner Volksunie reserving its position.

It is also understood that in bilateral talks between the government and the IFP on Saturday, Inkatha gave its approval to the draft legislation.

Inkatha negotiators Mr Walter Felgate and Mr Ben Ngubane were unavailable for comment last night.

However, the heavy burden hanging over the talks returned soon afterwards with news that senior negotiators are divided over whether the special session of Parliament starting on September 13 should be postponed.

Negotiators linked to the ANC and its allies said the adoption of the two draft bills was reason enough to go ahead with the session.

## Demand

Negotiators representing Bophuthatswana and Ciskei are, however, insisting that all draft legislation for the interim period be finalised before the special parliamentary session.

They are also demanding that a plenary session of all the political leaders of the participants at the talks, as stipulated in the standing rules, be held before the parliamentary session to ratify the "package" of draft legislation.

There were strong indications last night that the session would go ahead as planned, but a final decision will be made by the cabinet today.

Constitutional Development Minister Mr Roelf Meyer said last night while there was no sense in proceeding with any transitional process before there was broad satisfaction with the contents of the constitution, there had been agreement on two bills which would go to Parliament.

The IEC has to organise and adjudicate the April 27 election, and supervise any referendum conducted.

It is set up to promote conditions conducive to free and fair elections; determine and certify the results; conduct voter education; and make and enforce regulations to achieve the former objects.

ing services in South Africa and enforce compliance by licencees relating to party political broadcasts and political advertisements and equitable treatment of all parties.

The IMC has the authority to suspend the licence of any broadcaster for the duration of the commission.

"These two bills are the first fruit of the negotiations," the DP's Mr Peter Soal said after their adoption.

ANC negotiator Mr Penual Madun said: "We are pleased by this as it is the first time the PAC, the ANC and the NP have agreed on something which is to go to Parliament."

It was notable that the two draft bills as amended and adopted enjoyed the support of the IFP, which is boycotting talks, government negotiator Mr Danie Schutte said.

Negotiators are scheduled today to debate the 13th working draft of the Transitional Executive Council Bill, and the eighth draft of the Independent Broadcasting Authority Bill — Political Staff, Sapa

The IMC has in the period before the election to ensure "equitable treatment of political parties" by broadcasting services, and that state-financed publications and state information services do not advance the interests of any political party".  
The IMC will monitor all broadcast-



## Beuthin gets 25 years in jail

SUSAN RUSSELL

GARY Beuthin was a "danger and a menace to society" a Rand Supreme Court judge said when he sentenced the former bouncer to an effective 25 years' imprisonment in the Rand Supreme Court yesterday.

Beuthin, 29, was sentenced to a total of 35 years' imprisonment for attempted murder, kidnapping, assault with intent to do grievous bodily harm, robbery with aggravating circumstances and attempted extortion.

He was sentenced to a R1 000 fine or 150 days in prison on four counts of theft and one of bilking.

Beuthin viciously assaulted and kidnapped 33-year-old Jill Reeves from her Melrose flat on May 10 last year after she had left him stranded at a nightclub and driven home in his car without his consent.

Beuthin was also convicted of robbery with aggravating circumstances for assaulting one of Reeves' neighbours, James O'Riordan, and stealing his motor car.

He used O'Riordan's car to drive Reeves to Natal where he held her for 12 days before giving himself up to police on May 22 last year.

Judge M J Strydom accepted in Beuthin's favour that none of the crimes had been premeditated.

Beuthin indicated he wished to have a copy of the judgment and evidence in mitigation of sentence in order to prepare for his appeal.

## FW, Buthelezi to meet soon

B/D ay 11/9/93

BLOEMFONTEIN — President F W de Klerk announced yesterday that he and Inkatha Freedom Party leader Mangosuthu Buthelezi would meet for extended discussions soon to patch up their differences. (304A) (11/9)

De Klerk told about 800 NP supporters at the party's Free State congress that he knew there was concern about the relationship between the NP and Inkatha, saying the NP would continue to adopt a constructive approach.

"We would like to co-operate on matters on which we agree and wish to continue talking about those on which we differ. The NP recognises Inkatha as an important role player. It has to be party to agreements."

De Klerk said he and Buthelezi had agreed that both sides would be assisted by complete teams of senior advisers and negotiations.

The date of the meeting had still to be determined.

As De Klerk entered, NP members waved national peace accord flags in support of the national peace month, and some shouted "Viva F W".

De Klerk said the NP was the only party able to "counter the reality of the ANC effectively". He said the ANC remained a "dangerous and un-

TIM COHEN

reliable party".

There was an enormous gulf between the sometimes fine utterances of ANC leaders and actions of its members on the ground. "Talk of peace and justice covers up acts of violence and intimidation on the ground."

De Klerk also took swipes at the CP, which he said was "tottering". The party's leader Ferdi Hartzenberg did not inspire confidence and was fast losing support within his own party, he said.

Sapa reports that De Klerk said at the opening of the congress that the the unrest and violence of today was not the fruits of NP reform but the aftermath of the bitterness and strife of the past.

"They are the growing pains of the abuse of newly found freedom. We dare not allow ourselves to be brought off course by our irritations and frustrations with these abuses."

"The challenge facing us is to keep taking the lead in establishing and ensuring a truly democratic culture of tolerance."

The old SA was on an inevitable road to disaster and there was no alternative to the process of reform.

## Agreed legislation could be delayed — Meyer

BLOEMFONTEIN — Constitutional Development Minister Roelf Meyer said yesterday certain legislation agreed at the World Trade Centre would not necessarily come into effect until agreement was reached on the transitional constitution.

Meyer, addressing the congress, adopted a more guarded stance than in the past on the planned legislation on the independent electoral and media commissions, which was agreed at Kempton Park yesterday.

Agreement could be reached on the

interim broadcasting authority this week, and it was possible legislation could also be presented on the proposed transitional executive committee (TEC) during the short session of Parliament this month. (304A) (11/9)

Meyer said implementation of the proposed legislation could be postponed until agreement was reached on the constitution.

He told about 200 NP delegates government would not leave the

World Trade Centre negotiating council until agreement was reached on the new constitution, and it would not make sense for the proposed legislation to come into effect until the constitution was agreed.

Afterwards Meyer clarified his statement by saying the ultimate decision on when the legislation would come into effect would be taken by the negotiating council, although government would be arguing that implementation of some of the legislation should not be immediate.

S. V. I. T. W. A. S. S. V. R. W. A. C.



## Bills to be held in abeyance

BILLY PADDOCK

AFTER heated debate, the negotiating council at the World Trade Centre decided last night that the Bills it passed in the past two days would not be implemented until the final package, including the constitution, had been agreed to by all parties.

In a resolution put before it, the council noted that the Independent Media Commission Bill and the Independent Electoral Commission Bill had been adopted by general consensus. *Biday 2/19/93*

It said the steps to be followed in regard to these Bills as well as the Independent Broadcasting Act, the transitional executive council (TEC) and the constitution would be:

- Agreement in the negotiating council;
- Passage of Bills by Parliament;
- Promulgation in the gazette; and
- Putting the Act into operation.

The proviso was that all the Bills passed by Parliament "will not be put into operation until an explicit decision" to that effect has had been taken by the multiparty

negotiating process upon the approval of the total package of agreements".

The package comprises the media and electoral Bills, the Independent Broadcasting Authority, the TEC and the constitution for the transition.

The resolution said the Bills had to be tabled in Parliament as soon as possible to lift confidence in the negotiating process.

Bophuthatswana and Ciskei objected to the piecemeal promulgation of the Bills, arguing that the total package had first to be approved in a plenary session of all leaders of political parties.

Government, the ANC and the Afrikaner Volksunie had no objection to the steps.

Because of Bophuthatswana's objection, council chairman and Bophuthatswana chief negotiator Rowan Cronjé ruled that in terms of sufficient consensus guidelines, the parties should meet overnight so that the resolution could be adopted today.

## Electricity bills have doubled — residents

THEO RAWANA

JOHANNESBURG residents are puzzling over electricity bills they claim have almost doubled in the past two months. *Biday 2/19/93*

Although Johannesburg tariffs were increased by 12% in June, ratepayers complain that the bills have risen much higher.

Fairlands Residents Association chairman Danie Meyer said it was suspected the council was making

up for "some deficit".

He said members of the Fairlands organisation had expressed concern over high electricity bills.

Where residents were normally paying R600 a month, some electricity bills had gone up to R1 200 over the past two months — and "are averaging between R800 and R900."

Northern Areas Residents Association chairman Margaret Wolff said her personal monthly bill, formerly about R235, was now about R400.

Johannesburg City Council rates and services director Andy van Zyl said it would be difficult to give an explanation without getting a specific account. The City Hall would look into such complaints, he said.

Eskom

□ From Page 1

## **NEWS** Resolution of four vital Bills postponed ● Nehav

# Talks are still on track

**By Themba Molefe**  
Political Correspondent

THE country's time-table to transition remained on course yesterday but with politicians at the World Trade Centre postponing until today a resolution whether Parliament should pass four vital Bills.

Effectively, the special session of Parliament, beginning on September 13, should enact the Transitional Execu-

tive Council Bill (TEC), Independent Media Commission Bill (IMC), Independent Electoral Commission Bill (IEA) and Independent Broadcasting Authority Bill (IBA).

The resolution put to the negotiating council last night would empower the Government to introduce the Bills during the special session pending approval of the total package of agreements, including constitutional principles and fundamental rights during transition.

Debate centred around who should give these agreements power — the plenary, which comprises leaders of the 23 parties in the process, or the present Parliament. Agreement was reached on Tuesday on the IMC and IEA and finalisation on the IBA is to be reached today. The three laws are crucial in ensuring equitable access to State-controlled media in the run-up to and during next April 27 election. The TEC Bill is to be adopted by Monday.

Sowetan 2/9/93

# Session to go ahead as planned

2/9/93

TOS WENTZEL, Political Staff

THE cabinet has decided that the short session of parliament later this month will go ahead. Confirming this today, press MP referred to progress made at the World Trade Centre but said that apart from measures agreed upon there, there would be enough legislation for a short session.

Several financial and labour measures, including one on the rights of farmworkers, have stood over from this year's main session. There could be legislation dealing with the proposed incorporation of Walvis Bay into Namibia.

There are also two bills on independent electoral and media commissions, which have been agreed on at the talks, and there are likely to be bills on an independent broadcasting authority and a transitional executive council (TEC).

The session will run from September 13 to 24. Meanwhile President De Klerk has denied that transitional arrangements are taking away the government's powers.

Answering questions from concerned people on the television programme Agenda last night he said the proposed TEC would not be a "super cabinet" and the security forces would not be placed under joint control.

He emphasised that the government was not abdicating or surrendering its position of authority, and would not simply rubber stamp TEC decisions. The council would have specific functions aimed at ensuring a free election.

With regard to the security forces, President De Klerk said there would be consultation with and monitoring by other parties to ensure they were not misused.

The basic command structure remained the same and he remained the commander-in-chief of the Defence Force. President De Klerk rejected allegations that South Africa was in a revolutionary war. The violence was not taking place countrywide but was confined to certain areas.

The government was acting strongly against the violence as proved on the East Rand. He also rejected allegations by Chief Mangosuthu Buthelezi that the National Party and the ANC were in cahoots.

He said the ANC alliance was the NP's chief opponent. The principles of the NP were nearer to those of Inkatha and other parties.



Star 2/9/93

# 'Enough legislation' for planned short session

(304A)

## ■ POLITICAL STAFF

**Cape Town —** The Cabinet has decided that the short session of Parliament later this month will go ahead.

Confirming this today, presidential assistant Chris Fisser MP referred to progress made at the World Trade Centre but said that, apart from measures agreed upon there, there would be enough legislation for a short session (from September 13 to September 24).

Meanwhile, President de Klerk has denied that transitional arrangements are taking away the Government's powers.

Answering questions from concerned people on the TV *Agenda* programme last night, he said the proposed transitional executive council (TEC) would not be a "super Cabinet" and the security forces would not be placed under joint control.

He stressed that the

## THE TALKS AND YOU



### At the World Trade Centre

**DRAFT LEGISLATION:** The Negotiating Council discussed further amendments to the draft Transitional Executive

Council Bill yesterday.

It appears unlikely that the proposed TEC Bill, the final piece of the package of draft legislation underpinning the transition, will be finalised this week.

However, negotiators expressed confidence that the four draft Bills — on the independent electoral commission, the independent media commission, the independent broadcasting authority (IBA) and the TEC — will be finalised in time for the parliamentary session in two weeks' time.

**TODAY:** The council is expected to finalise the IBA draft Bill. If time allows, negotiators are expected to continue discussion on the TEC draft legislation.

ESTHER WAUGH

Government was not abdicating or surrendering its position of authority, and would not simply rubber stamp TEC decisions.

With regard to the security forces, De Klerk

said there would be consultation with and monitoring by other parties to ensure they were not misused.

He rejected allegations that South Africa was in a revolutionary war.

# Negotiators delay bills in heated debate

JOHANNESBURG. — After heated debate, the negotiating council at the World Trade Centre last night decided that the bills it passed in the past two days would not be implemented until the final package, including the constitution, had been agreed to by all parties.

In a resolution put before it last night, the council noted that the Independent Media Commission Bill and the Independent Electoral Commission Bill had been adopted.

It said the steps to be followed in regard to these bills as well as the Independent Broadcasting Act, the Transitional Executive Council and the constitution would be:

- Agreement to be reached in the negotiating council;
- Passage of bills through Parliament;
- Promulgation of the act in the gazette, and
- Putting the act into operation.

The proviso was that all the bills passed through Parliament will not be put into operation until multi-party negotiators had approved "the total package".

The resolution said the bills should be put before parliament as soon as possible.

Bophuthatswana and Ciskei objected to the piecemeal promulgation of the bills, arguing that the total package had first to be approved by in a plenary session of all leaders.

The government, the ANC and the AVU said there was no problem in passing the bills through Parliament and keeping their im-

plementation in abeyance until negotiators had finalised the package.

Council chairman and chief Bophuthatswana negotiator Mr Rowan Cronje ruled that in terms of sufficient consensus guidelines, the parties should get together overnight and try to resolve the differences so the resolution could be formally adopted today.

## Parliament: Session on

29/9/95  
Own Correspondent

DURBAN. — The cabinet yesterday decided to forge ahead with the planned September 13 mini-session of Parliament to pass legislation debated at the World Trade Centre government spokesman Mr. Dave Steward confirmed last night.

The cabinet's decision prepares the way for interim multi-party participation in state administration.

Constitutional development department spokesman Mr. Izak Retief said the Transitional Executive Council legislation would more than likely be ready for the mini-session.



## No disruptions at DP meeting

CT 3/9/93  
Staff Reporter

A POTENTIALLY explosive meeting of the Democratic Party Youth's "Operation Hit-back" at the University of the Western Cape went off peacefully yesterday after alleged ANC supporters disrupted a recruitment drive on the campus three weeks ago.

The DP public meeting during lunch was held at the same time as a UWC student peace meeting.

# The NP's plan to stay in power

WM 3-9/93

(3044)

Just how the National Party plans to survive democracy will soon be an open secret, writes **Chris Louw**

**T**HE National Party's carefully laid plans to survive democracy and maintain its sway in future governments took a step forward this week, with the negotiating council's acceptance of the first draft bills on the transition to majority rule.

There is one snag: Inkatha Freedom Party's refusal to play ball.

The exact nature of the NP's survival strategy has intrigued observers since constitutional talks started; few believed it would throw in the towel after 45 years in power. But NP strategists have gone out of their way to cover their tracks.

NP negotiators have complained for months that they cannot disclose their "considerable successes" at the talks because they do not want to alert their opponents to their underlying game plan.

The result has been confusion among the NP faithful. Opinion polls show that President FW de Klerk's popularity has reached a new low among whites. This will change once the transitional executive council (TEC) is in place, promise people like Constitutional Development Minister Roelf Meyer. Then the NP can be open with its constituency.

What has the NP achieved? The obvious answer is: entrenched federalism, or strong regional government, in the constitution. It has also persuaded the African National Congress that the present, unrepresentative body of negotiators should set in stone constitutional principles that will bind a constituent assembly or future government.

But the strategy is broader and more subtle than this. A glimpse of it was given last Sunday on the

Afrikaans actually programme *Kommentaar*, when political consultant Harald Pakendorf, who has close ties with NP politicians, explained the process. His arguments may hint at thinking in *verligte* NP circles.

Whites, Pakendorf suggested, had every reason to feel happy about negotiations. The government had no intention of relinquishing power.

Firstly, whites could find security in the system of proportional representation agreed to by the negotiators. This system "makes big parties smaller" and allows more parties representation in government.

The NP's strategy is based on the fact that 70 percent of the population is black and that the NP will win most of the white, Indian and coloured vote. To have a majority in parliament — enough to change the constitution — the ANC will have to garner at least 70 percent of the black vote.

Because there is no overwhelming, dominant black ethnic group in South Africa, the NP believes the ANC will not get 70 percent of the black vote. The biggest ethnic group, Pakendorf said, comprises Zulus — and they constitute only 22 percent of the population. Most Zulus are likely to support the IFP, he added.

He argued that in the five years after South Africa's first democratic elections — when a government of national unity will be in place — the NP and the ANC will grow closer.

The ANC, he added, has realised that power is tied up with the economy, the civil service and the armed forces — a realisation providing security for whites. He emphasised that the ANC would not govern alone in the first five years, but that "power will be shared".



FW de Klerk ... A subtle strategy

But what happens after five years of entrenched power-sharing?

"In the next elections the real opposition will come from those who are poor and who have nothing," said Pakendorf. While the black population is growing much faster than the white, Indian and coloured populations, in five years of joint government many blacks will "move across to the First World component" of society, favouring the establishment.

Pakendorf said that a government including the ANC will act ruthlessly to maintain law and order — and will have the legitimacy to do so, which the present government lacks.

If the NP's long-term strategy is to work, however, the party will have to find a way out of the unexpected impasse created by the IFP, which is

threatening to boycott elections. It is a vital piece in the federal jigsaw.

Another participant on *Kommentaar*, Beeld editor Willie Kuhn, said the IFP's membership of the Concerned South Africans Group amounts to a contradiction: Cosag has stated its intention to promote federalism, "but the Conservative Party does not stand for federalism; they are talking about something closer to confederalism".

The NP, Kuhn added, favours a federal option, making it Inkatha's natural ally. Senior government figures share Kuhn's sentiment, and are perplexed about the way they have been treated by the IFP.

For De Klerk, the option of isolating Inkatha and going it alone with the ANC and the other negotiators does not really exist. Too many members of his own cabinet — specifically those with Natal constituencies — will not allow it. Moreover, he needs Inkatha's support in Natal to build an anti-ANC alliance.

The next few weeks promise to be a battle of nerves as the different parties begin to make their final stand.

Of the four independent homelands, only Transkei and Venda are prepared to become part of the transitional arrangements. Bophuthatswana and Ciskei have already indicated they will fight shy of the TEC.

One way of forcing the hand of recalcitrant independent states, hinted at by De Klerk this week, would be a referendum asking for a popular mandate to implement transitional arrangements. The idea, to show that the boycotters lack support, is gaining ground in government circles.

Another would be the drastic step of cutting subsidies, as suggested this week by the South African Communist Party's Joe Slovo. Whether De Klerk has the political stomach for this is doubtful.



# How the ANC would handle foreign affairs

Shortly after his appointment as the ANC's new national chairman, **Thabo Mbeki** gave the first glimpse of its foreign policies this week. **Chris Louw** reports

Giving the basic outlines of the ANC's foreign policies at a working breakfast in Johannesburg this week, Mbeki promised a "complete revamping" of the Foreign Affairs Department as soon as the TEC is in place later this month.

The foreign affairs sub-council, he said, would be in a position to decide diplomatic appointments as part of its brief of "levelling the playing fields". As the ANC was seen as the government in waiting, he believed its representatives abroad would have "a better impact" than the ambassadors currently representing the De Klerk government.

Mbeki gave some important pointers on the ANC's foreign policies in the next few years:

● Normal diplomatic relations would be established with Cuba, Libya and mainland China.

● The ANC would retain its "close contact" with the Palestinian Liberation Organisation and would back negotiations with Israel on Palestinian rights.

● A "balanced regional economic policy" would be followed to ensure South Africa did not dominate its neighbours.

● South Africa's military capacity would be scaled down so that it posed no threat to its neighbours.

● The fate of South Africa's armaments industry would be decided in conjunction with neighbouring countries. It might be developed for the benefit of the region, or closed down.

● The structures of both the South African Development Co-ordination Conference and those of the Frontline states would be maintained after being "broadened" to include a democratic South Africa.

On diplomatic appointments by the TEC, Mbeki said criteria would first have to be decided — in particular, whether political appointments were acceptable and whether professional diplomats should be given ambassadorial posts.

The creation of a new foreign service would have to be addressed before next year's elections, with an eye on the long term. Although there was already a sprinkling of blacks in the diplomatic service, the department "needs complete revamping". Some existing diplomatic personnel might be put on pension, Mbeki said, but no one would be sacked.

Although a democratic South Africa had no wish to dominate the region, ANC president Nelson Mandela was already involved in efforts to influence regional politics, he added. He disclosed that Mandela had

signed a letter sent to both President Eduardo dos Santos and UNITA leader Jonas Savimbi in Angola, proposing a summit meeting to find a solution to that country's armed conflict. Other African countries involved in the peace mission were the Ivory Coast, Morocco and Gabon.

Mbeki insisted that South African mercenaries had to be stopped from involving themselves in the Angolan war.

He also disclosed that Nigeria's outgoing president, General Ibrahim Babangida, had had contact with Mandela, in a bid to involve South Africa as "a significant future role player" in making peace on the continent. Babangida was planning a consultancy, with the blessing of the Organisation of African Unity, which would "try to find mechanisms to resolve conflicts".

SOME of South Africa's ambassadors may be replaced before the country goes to the polls in April next year, the African National Congress' new national chairman, Thabo Mbeki, has disclosed.

Decisions about the appointment of new diplomatic personnel would be taken by the sub-council of the transitional executive council (TEC) dealing with foreign affairs, he said.





## focus on the NP

**A**N APPARENTLY rejuvenated and confident National Party this week delivered a strong political opiate to its loyalists in Bloemfontein. In the Appellate Capital for the NP's Orange Free State congress the leaders of the party were hailed by party loyalists and granted solid backing for continued negotiations and were lauded for reported successes in the process.

The Minister of Constitutional Development, Mr Roelf Meyer, was given a rousing reception and a standing ovation after his address.

Meyer told the congress that the NP had been very successful in negotiations to the extent that it had achieved more than it initially set out to.

"We can be naughty and say that on certain issues we achieved more than we set out to..." Meyer told the congress.

### Draft legislation

He said two pieces of draft legislation — for an independent media commission and independent electoral commission — were accepted by general consensus at the Negotiating Council (a third, the Independent Broadcast Authority Bill, was accepted yesterday).

He told the congress the draft Bill for the Transitional Executive Council could be finalised and accepted in the Negotiating Council next week.

Meyer was cautiously confident that the far-rightist coalition of the Inkatha Freedom Party and Conservative Party axis could be brought to accept the TEC.

He expected four vital pieces of legislation, the above two and those for the independent broadcast authority and TEC, to be passed by Parliament before the end of October, stressing that it would be fruitless to implement the provisions of the Bills before agreement is reached on an interim constitution.

### Remnant

The congress elected the remnant-of-the-old-regime Mr Kobie Coetsee, the Minister of Justice and of Defence, as leader of the NP in the Orange Free State.

Clearly inspired by the Motsuenyane report on human rights violations in ANC detention camps, Coetsee said that he was prepared to refuse the extradition of ANC members to neighbouring countries for possible abuses.

But he said, this would have to be a *quid pro quo* for amnesty for possible human rights abuses by the state security forces in pursuance of apartheid policies.

He equated the ANC's human rights abuses with those of the state security forces and said that, in terms of the present process, both sides had to be treated evenly.

He said state officials acted under the precept that they were combating "terrorists" and en-

Although the National Party Bloemfontein congress meets at a crucial time when apathy and violence dominate everybody's thinking, the party seems rejuvenated and more confident, reports Political Correspondent **Ismail Lagardien**.

*Sowetan 31/9/93*



FW de Klerk ... confident

*(304A)*

emies of the state and were, therefore, only doing what was expected of them.

It was also appropriate that their situation was looked at objectively.

"The time is ripe to look at our forces and officials," Coetsee said.

It was not plain sailing all the way for Coetsee though.

### Death penalty

And if there ever was an indication of the shift in power from the NP to the ANC and the Negotiating Council it was the question of the death penalty that was put to Coetsee.

When he was asked whether it had not become time to lift the moratorium on execution of people sentenced to death, Coetsee was unable to give a definitive answer.

The NP could, traditionally, at its provincial



**Chief Buthelezi and I have agreed to extended talks soon**

President FW de Klerk

congresses make important announcements unilaterally.

This time Coetsee could only give his personal view — that he was in favour of the lifting of the moratorium.

The moratorium will stay for the time being and only the next government will be able to make a decision either way.

While Meyer inspired confidence and Coetsee ensured continuity, it was the NP leader, President F W de Klerk, who gave overall confidence to the congress.

The uncertainty that the IFP represented was tentatively lifted and the blood-thirst and belligerence of his Afrikaner kin on the far right was criticised.

De Klerk said he was sure that he could sway the IFP leader, Chief Mangosuthu Buthelezi, towards rejoining the negotiations process.

De Klerk and Buthelezi will meet within days to an eye-to-eye discussion.

"Chief Minister Buthelezi and I have agreed to have extended talks with each other soon," De Klerk said.

Besides the traditional attack on the ANC — by now a habit with De Klerk — the President also criticised his Afrikaner kin for what he described as "barbarism".

Altogether, the NP seems rejuvenated and a lot more confident, as a party, than it has in months.

There was no clear indication of a significant increase in numeric strength or support, but the apparent confidence of the NP leaders seemed real enough.

The OFS congress in the Bloemfontein City Hall attracted no more than 1 000 people — many of whom were black — but this is not much smaller than usual.

The congress was remarkably free of electioneering speeches...





**PROMISED LAND:** Manenberg home-seekers in front of the Delft homes promised by the DP

# DP 'promise' angers homeless

By Quentin Wilson

South 3/9 - 7/9/93

ABOUT 60 Manenberg families who say they were promised houses by the Democratic Party (DP) if they joined, are fuming after the 'promise' was not fulfilled.

The families claim they were promised houses in Delft in May by Mr Isaac Samuels, chairperson of the DP's Manenberg branch.

Three months later, the families are still without homes and Samuels, who was elected onto the DP regional executive committee at the weekend, faces his first major political crisis.

Last week half his Manenberg executive committee resigned — citing his alleged false housing promises as the chief reason for leaving the DP.

An angry Mrs Nadeema Simons, a 25-year-old mother of four who is pregnant with her fifth child said she has nowhere to go after being disappointed by Samuels.

"I was really desperate for a house. We were told to move out from where we were staying, so I was prepared to do anything to get a house," Simons said.

"I approached Mr Samuels, who told me not to worry because there were houses available. (304A)

"He said it would be easier if I became a DP member and so I agreed to sign up. I also got my husband to join, believing it would help us get the house." (422A)

After seeing the houses and allegedly being promised by Samuels that the DP would pay the deposit as well as "all hidden costs", Simons and the other families believed they were settled.

"After a while, I heard nothing more about it," said Simons, "So I went to Mr Samuels to ask what was happening.

"He told me that I could get a house immediately. He said I could pack my bags and wait for him to

pick me up. He never came.

"Now I don't know what to do. I have to move out on September 16 and I won't have anywhere to go."

Samuels denied offering homes as part of the DP's recruitment drive.

"I really detest the accusation. I help whoever I can and while many of them decide to join the DP after being helped, it is only because they believe in the DP's policies and vision," Samuels said.

He said the houses were part of a project headed by the House of Representatives where each parliamentarian controls "nomination lists" and decides who gets new houses in Delft.

Samuels said he was asked by Mr David Currie, DP MP in the House of Representatives, to take responsibility for his list.

Disillusioned DP members in Manenberg are organising a march on Samuels' home on Saturday to demand their "promised houses".



# Boy, 14, runs for DP office

By Christelle Terreblanche



**ANDREW THOMSON**

*SOUTH* 3/9-7/9/93

THE WESTERN Cape Youth of the Democratic Party (DP) is sticking to its guns that 14-year-olds should be allowed to hold party political office — but is against them voting in a national election.

"If somebody is allowed to be a full member of the party, this person should be able to be elected to party office," says Mr Ryan Coetzee, regional Youth chairperson.

"We will not allow first- and second-class members or citizens."

The Western Cape DP's youngest candidate for regional office at their weekend congress in Lansdowne, was Andrew Smith, 14.

But he does not believe in giving the vote to 14-year-olds.

At the DP's weekend regional conference, when Mr Jeff Leonard, DP Atlantis branch chairperson, criticised the nomination of 14-year-old Wynberg branch committee member, Andrew Thomson, to the regional executive.

Leonard himself won a seat on the six-person executive.

Before delegates voted, he said the DP could not have a 14-year-

old executive member, because "we will be lowering ourselves to the level of Mandela".

He was referring to Mr Nelson Mandela's appeal for 14-year-olds to get the vote.

Leonard's objections were overruled but Thomson was not elected.

Thomson is a Standard Six pupil at Bergvliet High School, lives in Diep River and joined the DP a year ago. He was elected to the branch committee six weeks ago and is said to be very active. He is currently being co-opted in the regional DP Youth executive.

Thomson told *SOUTH*: "Personally and in all modesty I do not think people under 18 know enough about politics to vote."

"But holding office is a different matter. I can make a contribution towards what I believe in."

Coetzee told *SOUTH* there was nothing in the DP constitution that put an age limit on who should hold party office.



September 3 to September 7 1993

# Voter education 29

## A big step towards democracy

South 3/9 - 7/9/93

**T**HE Negotiations Forum is to take an important step towards a post-apartheid South Africa by instituting the Transitional Executive Council (TEC).

The TEC is likely to be in power by September and will function as a transitional authority until the elections in April 1994.

According to the draft bill legislating for the TEC, it will be established to attend to the "preparation for and transition to a democratic order in South Africa".

The council will operate alongside the existing government.

The main objective of the TEC is to promote a climate for free and fair political participation in the run-up to the elections.

Intimidation must stop and all political parties should be granted the right to canvass support from voters.

To achieve this, the TEC has the power to monitor government bodies so that no political party is disadvantaged or prejudiced.

### Representative

Every organisation or political party already participating in negotiations will have the right to send a representative to serve on the TEC.

Groups which commit themselves to negotiations may send a delegate as well.

Parties which withdrew from negotiations will be given an opportunity to rejoin.

sub-councils, each dealing with issues affecting the transition to democracy.

Up to six members will be appointed for each sub-council.

The sub-councils could be seen as ministerial departments for various portfolios. They are empowered to gather information, monitor developments and amend and repeal legislation.

A commission on regional and local government will discuss and prepare matters regarding new regional boundaries, their powers and future budgets of local and regional structures.

The strongest legal tool of this commission is to oversee and change legislation regarding governmental affairs.

It will also prepare for regional and

local elections and conduct voter education, working closely with other institutions like demarcation boards, the Independent Electoral Commission and the National Peace Secretariat.

**Traditional leaders.** Matters concerning traditional leaders will also be dealt with by this commission, canvassing political parties in traditional areas and revising traditional law.

A sub-council on law and order, stability and security will establish national monitoring and investigation mechanisms to control the police and prevent violence.

Anything relating to defence and the formation of a national peacekeeping force will be dealt with in the sub-

council on defence.

The finance committee will monitor the expenditure of the government, including all public funds. Parties involved will assist in preparing next year's budget.

The committee has to ensure funds are distributed in a way which favours all political parties.

It can also investigate cases of corruption and inefficiency and recommend disciplinary action.

Equally important will be the task of the foreign affairs sub-council. South Africa's foreign policy will be transparently and democratically debated and decided on.

A sub-council on the status of women will monitor discrimination, harassment or exclusion of women from political participation.

# DP in mood to win the Western Cape

ARG 3/9/93  
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It is a measure of the Democratic Party's determination to rule the roost in the Western Cape — and show voters it is ready to do so — that it is the first party to produce an optimistic economic blueprint for the region. Indeed, it was a spirit of optimism that pervaded the party's regional congress on Saturday. Political Correspondent MICHAEL MORRIS reports.

**T**URNING the Western Cape, with its natural desirability and economic potency, into the new South Africa's premier state is the simple core of the DP's Cape economic plan.

Political tolerance and stability, investment, growth, job creation, better services ... these are the ingredients of its formula.

But what has concentrated the mind of the DP in the Western Cape is the idea, refreshingly uncommon for the doughty opposition party, that power is actually within grasp here, that it is not far-fetched to "strategise" — as the terminology goes — a winning regional election campaign.

Congress delegates met for their annual gathering in Lansdowne on Saturday after a year in which the party had grown in the Western Cape from 13 to 65 branches.

The hue of the floor, the mix of English and Afrikaans, even the venue, all reflected the DP's rapid expansion into a broader community from its previous constituency, the white, English-speaking elite.

Sustaining the growth, and the commitment to liberalism, and garnering a winning tally in next April's ballot, is the task that now falls chiefly to the new regional leader, Green Point MP Hennie Bester and his deputy, Joe Marks, and organisational "chairperson" — the party has become gender correct — Jasper Walsh.

But it is not only they who believe the party has what national council chairman David Gant described as a "darn good chance" of winning the Western Cape regional election.

The mood and character of the party has changed.

Without forsaking political tolerance, it has cast off its "good guy" image and is en-



tering the fray in fighting mood.

Not for nothing is the central idea of the DP Western Cape's song that this is the party to "fight for your rights".

It's not a warlike song. It's a cheery jingle as party jingles usually are.

But the DP is determined to strike a new, more aggressive chord in the most important performance in its existence so far.

Fighting to win is its goal.

"We are not asking for support because we are the good guys," Mr Walsh told the congress.

"We are asking people to support us because they can't afford to do otherwise. We have to be voted into power to do what is necessary to rescue this region from the jaws of depression, to restore confidence to get the economy growing, to create a region where people can live in peace, have houses, jobs and incomes to feed and educate their children and, finally, to die in peace."

In a spirited acceptance speech, Hennie Bester said the DP would challenge and check forces of violence and destruction.

"We won't sit back. We will fight with every weapon at our disposal ... the most powerful weapons of peace and democracy."

The new spirit is perhaps particularly evident in the DP Youth which is going out

of its way to challenge the powerful and pervasive ANC Youth League.

In fact, there was something of an ironic frisson at the congress — a reflection, in part, of the nascent militance of the DP Youth — when it was discovered that one of the candidates for the regional executive was a 14-year-old Standard 6 pupil from Bergvliet High School.

Andrew Thomson wasn't called to explain himself (though in a brief interview with The Argus he was bold and articulate in expressing his desire to make a political contribution), but an objection by Atlantis branch chairman Jeff Leonard was swiftly rebutted by DP Youth leader Ryan Coetsee who pointed out that the party's constitution did not prevent a 14-year-old from standing for a leadership post and, anyway, "this is democracy".

Andrew Thomson wasn't one of the six successful candidates, but a point was made: there is a spirit of invigoration and dynamism in the ranks.

The 13-point economic plan hatched by Constantia MP Roger Hulley, to build on existing economic strengths in the Western Cape and target new goals, will seem premature, perhaps even idealistic, to opponents.

But it signals the party's preparedness for contest.

A vigorous tussle can be expected in the Western Cape.



# Bringing the Moments of freedom to life

WITH the approach of democratic elections in South Africa, many people find it hard to visualise the voting process because they have never seen a ballot box or paper.

The Matla Trust theatre group Ukukhanya's play, "Moments", brings this vision to life.

It captures the anxiety and emotions surrounding that historical day when all South Africans will be allowed to vote, simplifying the process and helping to make it feel as real as possible. (304A)

"Moments" was written and directed by Doreen Mazoibuko, Peter Ngwenya and Willie Tshaka.

It focuses on the importance of political tolerance, the mechanics of voting and the conditions for free and fair elections.

Last week, a special performance of "Moments" was staged at the Nico Malan Theatre to prominent personalities in Cape Town.

The Ukukhanya Theatre Group left Cape Town on Sunday after performing at numerous venues.



## Draft Bills clear way for elections

Chris Louw

**T**HE multi-party talks in Kempton Park delivered their first tangible results this week when two draft Bills were adopted to clear the way for the country's first democratic elections.

The Independent Electoral Commission draft Bill and the Independent Media Commission draft Bill were adopted by general consensus on Tuesday. Only the Afrikaner Volksunie reserved its position.

The draft Bills will now be referred to parliament to be promulgated into law. A special session of parliament will run from September 13 to September 24.

After this success, the talks had run into difficulties by Thursday when serious conflict arose about the way ahead.

The Pan Africanist Congress, Bophuthatswana and Ciskei insisted that a plenary session of leaders be held before the Bills were referred to parliament as this was the

procedure agreed by the negotiators.

The National Party's Dawie de Villiers said the plenary meeting could be held before the second session of parliament in October. This session will deal with constitutional legislation, including the interim constitution.

Negotiators were optimistic this week that the problems could be sorted out. Everyone realises the importance of getting the draft Bills ready as soon as possible to level the political playing fields before the elections.

The Independent Electoral Commission will organise and adjudicate the April 27 elections and supervise any referendum conducted. The Independent Media Commission will ensure "equitable treatment of political parties by broadcasting services, and that state-financed publications and state information services do not advance the interests of any political party".

The September session will also pass laws to end whites-only conscription and allow for a volunteer army.

# CP warns of war over TEC

CT 4/9/93

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304A

PRETORIA. — If a Transitional Executive Council (TEC) is installed later this year, the Conservative Party will regard it as a declaration of war.

CP leader Dr Ferdi Hartzenberg said here last night: "We've been peaceful up to now, but if the TEC comes into being, we can only regard it as a declaration of war and do nothing but accept that declaration. Then, we will become irresponsible."

Delivering the opening address at the party's Transvaal congress, he stressed the CP would not subject itself to the TEC, the interim administrative structure under debate at constitutional talks.

"We believe, from a Calvinist point of view, that we are entitled to resist."

"I say to (President) F W de Klerk that the NP has not crossed the Rubicon yet, but it will if the

'We are  
entitled  
to resist'

TEC bill is passed in Parliament.

"If he goes over this Rubicon, then there will be civil war on the other side."

If Mr De Klerk insisted in going ahead with the TEC, the right-wing would elect and consider the Afrikaner Volksfront its government, he said. "Even if we have to do so in exile, we will."

This proposed bill was the crossroads because the government would be abdicating power.

"The result of the bill will be

for Parliament to be totally ignored and nothing can be further from democracy. It will be the beginning of a revolutionary take-over.

"If this bill goes through it will be the worst one passed in the history of Parliament as it will be a constitutional revolution because it will be passing authority to non-elected people."

Dr Hartzenberg said the CP's plan of action against the bill would be announced next week.

He demanded that Mr De Klerk keep his promise about a referendum if the agreements reached at constitutional talks differed from what he promised in last March's referendum.

Dr Hartzenberg said the party would not hand over any CP-controlled town councils in new plans for local government. "We will refuse to hand over those towns. We will not be handed over to the communists." — Sapa

# FW is 'prime enemy' — HNP

PRETORIA. — Afrikaners should focus their struggle against their prime enemy, President F W de Klerk, Herenigde Nasionale Party leader Mr Jaap Marais said yesterday.

Addressing the HNP's annual congress here after being re-elected party leader, Mr Marais said this "first-rate, cheap traitor" led a government of "gut-side, the constitution".

He added: "Our motto is not peace. Our maxim is struggle." The mean age of the party faithful has climbed through the years, and a long list of members who died in the past year — many of them elderly people — "cruelly murdered" was read out to a hushed assembly of 150 delegates.

Mr Marais was undaunted by the HNP's failure to gain a foothold in Parliament during the 2½ decades of its existence. He said this pointed to the HNP's commitment to its principles. The HNP would not join the Afrikaner Volksfront because the HNP would not negotiate with a terrorist army — the ANC. — Sapa

4/9/93



# IFP, Natal voters fear intimidation, poll shows

## De Klerk the prime enemy, says Marais

JOHANNESBURG. — Inkatha Freedom Party supporters and residents of Natal in general are doubtful South Africa's first nonracial election will be free of intimidation, a new poll shows.

The finding emerged from a representative opinion poll of 2 000 adults in South Africa, excluding Transkei and Bophuthatswana, commissioned by the South African Institute of Race Relations and conducted by MarkData in May.

The institute said yesterday confidence about the election varied by regional, income, racial, language and political differences.

Wealthier people were more confident of a free and fair election than poor people and blue-collar workers.

When asked: "Are you worried that someone might try to stop you voting for your party?", 58 percent of respondents earning less than R599 a month said they were, whereas 85 percent of those earning more than R3 500 a month were not worried.

Respondents supporting African National Congress president Nelson Mandela or IFP leader Mangosuthu Buthelezi were more worried about the

prospects of coercion-free elections than supporters of President De Klerk.

Seventy-five percent of Mr De Klerk's supporters claimed to be "not worried", compared to 65 percent of Mr Mandela's and 62 percent of Mr Buthelezi's.

Natal people were far more concerned about voter intimidation than those in other regions.

Eighty-five percent of respondents living in the Pretoria/Witwatersrand/Vereeniging area, 83 percent in the rest of Transvaal, and 82 percent in the Cape believed they would not be forced to vote; but only 71 percent of Natal respondents were similarly confident.

Cape inhabitants identified the security forces, the African National Congress, private armies and self-defence units as likely to prevent a free vote, while those living in the greater PWV identified the IFP as a threat. **ARG 4/9/93**

Respondents in Natal mainly identified "comrades", the ANC, security forces, private armies and the Inkatha Freedom Party, while people in the Transvaal, outside the PWV, identified security forces and the ANC. — Sapa.

PRETORIA. — Afrikaners should focus their struggle against their prime enemy, President De Klerk, says Herstigte Nasionale Party leader Jaap Marais. **ARG 4/9/93**

Addressing the HNP's annual congress in Pretoria yesterday after being re-elected party leader, Mr Marais said this "first-rate cheap traitor" led a government of "gutless capitulators misrepresenting themselves as Afrikaners".

Mr Marais exhorted conservative whites to unite and hold demonstrations, such as picketing the Union Buildings for two days to force a white election.

If Mr De Klerk did not yield, the HNP would assume the right to act against him "outside the constitution".

He added: "Our motto is not peace. Our maxim is struggle."

A long list of party members who died the past year — many of them elderly people "cruelly murdered" — was read out to a hushed assembly of 150 delegates.

Mr Marais was undaunted by the HNP's failure to gain a foothold in parliament in the 2½ decades of its existence. He said this pointed to the HNP's commitment to its principles.

The HNP would not join the Afrikaner Volksfront because it would not negotiate with a terrorist army — the ANC. — Sapa.

# IFP, Natal voters fear intimidation, poll shows

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The institute said yesterday confidence about the election varied by regional, income, racial, language and political differences.

Wealthier people were more confident of a free and fair election than poor people and blue-collar workers.

When asked: "Are you worried that someone might try to stop you voting for your party?", 58 percent of respondents earning less than R599 a month said they were, whereas 85 percent of those earning more than R3 500 a month were not worried.

Respondents supporting African National Congress president Nelson Mandela or IFP leader Mangosuthu Buthelezi were more worried about the

prospects of coercion-free elections than supporters of President De Klerk.

Seventy-five percent of Mr De Klerk's supporters claimed to be "not worried", compared to 65 percent of Mr Mandela's and 62 percent of Mr Buthelezi's.

Natal people were far more concerned about voter intimidation than those in other regions.

Eighty-five percent of respondents living in the Pretoria/Witwatersrand/Vereeniging area, 83 percent in the rest of Transvaal, and 82 percent in the Cape believed they would not be forced to vote; but only 71 percent of Natal respondents were similarly confident.

Cape inhabitants identified the security forces, the African National Congress, private armies and self-defence units as likely to prevent a free vote, while those living in the greater PWV identified the IFP as a threat.

Respondents in Natal mainly identified "comrades", the ANC, security forces, private armies and the Inkatha Freedom Party, while people in the Transvaal, outside the PWV, identified security forces and the ANC. — Sapa.

# De Klerk the prime enemy, says Marais

PRETORIA. — Afrikaners should focus their struggle against their prime enemy, President De Klerk, says Herstigte Nasionale Party leader Jaap Marais.

Addressing the HNP's annual congress in Pretoria yesterday after being re-elected party leader, Mr Marais said this "first-rate cheap traitor" led a government of "gutless capitulators misrepresenting themselves as Afrikaners".

Mr Marais exhorted conservative whites to unite and hold demonstrations, such as picketing the Union Buildings for two days to force a white election.

If Mr De Klerk did not yield, the HNP would assume the right to act against him "outside the constitution".

He added: "Our motto is not peace. Our maxim is struggle."

A long list of party members who died the past year — many of them elderly people "cruelly murdered" — was read out to a hushed assembly of 150 delegates.

Mr Marais was undaunted by the HNP's failure to gain a foothold in parliament in the 2½ decades of its existence. He said this pointed to the HNP's commitment to its principles.

The HNP would not join the Afrikaner Volksfront because it would not negotiate with a terrorist army — the ANC. — Sapa.

# DP in the firing line — Carlisle

**MICHAEL MORRIS**

Weekend Argus Political Staff

NO bill of rights will offer any protection in South Africa "if there are powerful forces determined to subvert the democratic process by intimidation", Democratic Party MP Robin Carlisle has warned. (3047)

Addressing an audience of about 30 students at the DP's first public lunchtime meeting at the University of the Western Cape yesterday, Mr Carlisle said it had become "depressingly clear" to the DP that the intimidatory climate in which it had pursued its political objectives over 30 years

"is to be an ongoing feature for some time".

"Intimidation and harassment of DP members and activities is now occurring on a daily basis throughout South Africa."

He said the DP had been on the receiving-end of intimidation from the NP, the ANC, the IFP, the PAC and Azapo.

"The denial of rights to the DP threatens the rights of all South Africans. ARG 4/9/93

"Our own history, and world history, teaches us that the removal of rights is never confined to one party or group.

"Once your rights have been removed, the process will begin

with another party, and then another."

Under the National Party's "tyranny", rights were removed by laws. Today, rights were being removed at the very time a bill of rights was being drafted.

"The message is clear: no bill of rights can protect us if there are powerful forces determined to subvert the democratic process by intimidation."

Western Cape DP Youth leader Ryan Coetse said the DP Youth was to launch a National Liberal Students organisation "which will advocate and advance workable solutions to the problems of South Africa's students".



# De Klerk, Mugabe for talks?

DALE LAUTENBACH

Weekend Argus Political Staff

(304A) ARG 4/9/93

IN what many observers consider a long-overdue encounter, President De Klerk could meet his Zimbabwean counterpart, Robert Mugabe, in Swaziland on Monday.

The Southern African Development Conference Heads of State Summit takes place in Mbabane over the weekend and, hot on the heels of this gathering of regional heavyweights, King Mswati III of Swaziland is celebrating his 25th birthday on Monday.

Mr De Klerk will be attending the birthday function and government sources have confirmed that he could well meet Mr Mugabe "if the opportunity arises". It is understood that the initiative for this possible meeting comes from Mr Mugabe himself.

As a number of regional heads of state are expected to remain in Mbabane for the birthday celebrations, Mr De Klerk could well have the opportunity for bilateral meetings with a number of his Southern African colleagues.

Angolan government sources said yesterday Prime Minister Marcelino Moco would be attending the summit.

The background to a possible meeting between Mr De Klerk and Mr Mugabe is one of long-held hostility from the Zimbabwean side.

However, South Africa has maintained trade relations with Zimbabwe and in recent months there has been high-level ministerial contact.

It could be speculated that since Zambian President Frederick Chiluba received Mr De Klerk in a state visit about a month ago, Mr Mugabe might feel he should not be excluded from dialogue with SA.

Mr De Klerk will travel to Mbabane for the day only and, according to government sources, there is a "fairly packed programme" of arena events during the day and a banquet that night. There could well be an opportunity for a meeting with Mr Mugabe and other heads of state.

"If the opportunity arises, he will do it," said a government source.

As the initiative appears to come from the Zimbabwean side, the agenda for the possible meeting is not known in any detail by SA government sources.

However, they were assuming the two might talk about the process of change in SA and saw the initiative as a sign that "some form of rapprochement" is in the air.



Robert Mugabe.



FW de Klerk.



# Democracy gets a youthful boost

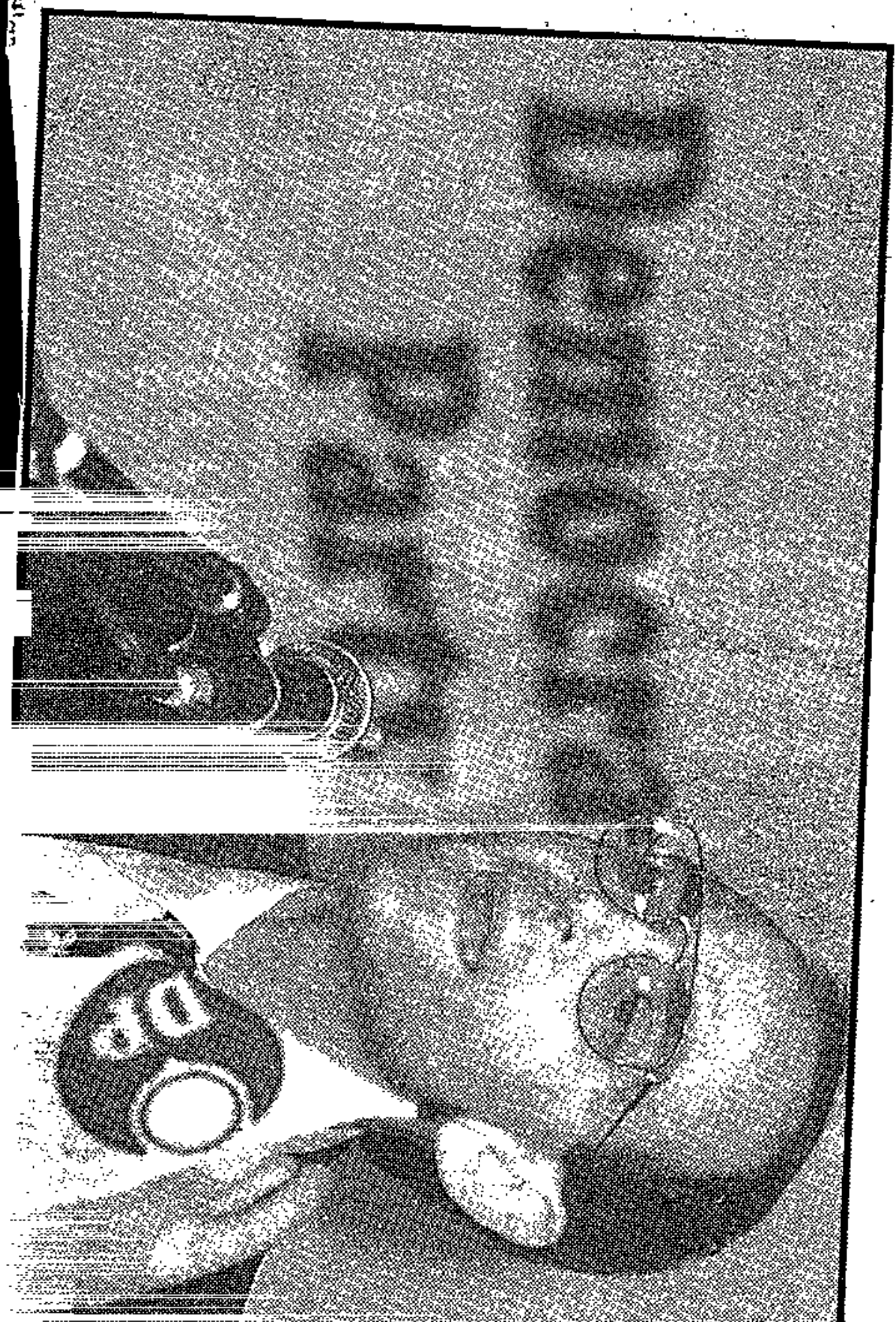
**H**ENNIE Bester has a vision of the Western Cape as a premier democracy where political tolerance prevails and politics is played according to agreed rules of the game.

All intimidation, violence, threats and political mudslinging will be OUT if he and his associates in the Democratic Party (DP) are to have their way.

As the newly-elected Western Cape regional leader of the DP, Mr Bester has wasted no time in setting the scene for the peaceful and dynamic non-racial democracy he envisages within a federal-style new South Africa.

One of the first tasks he has tackled from the outset is to push ahead with his call for the adoption of a code of conduct — for all political parties in the Western Cape — before the end of this month.

He disclosed to Weekend Argus this week what he regarded as the basic requirements for peace in a democratic political arena.



A dynamic, democratic and peaceful future for the Western Cape is envisaged by the new Western Cape leader of the Democratic Party — and he is pressing for an agreed code of conduct for all political parties, writes **FRANS ESTERHUYSE**, Weekend Argus Political Correspondent

code of conduct — to be ne



tween all parties — should include:

- Rules regarding political activities, including public meetings, door-to-door canvassing, voter education, mutual respect for each other's publicity material and posters, and other regular political campaign activities;
- Prohibition of incitement against political opponents and of the encouragement to commit acts of violence and intimidation;
- Prohibition of intimidation of political opponents in all areas;
- Multiparty mechanisms through which complaints about violations can be channelled as well as mechanisms to monitor the observance of the code; and
- A strict commitment by all parties to abide by the code of conduct.

Mr Bester confirmed that he had invited all political parties to join the DP in drawing up a code of conduct.

He said the DP's draft code would be released next week.

He said the necessity of such a code of conduct had been demonstrated amply by recent events such as the break-up of political meetings, threats against political activists, racial incitement by political leaders and political intolerance prevalent in townships especially.

"Sinister forces are at work to put the Western Cape in a vice of fear, to radicalise our people and communities," Mr Bester said.

In a statement earlier this week he also referred to his concern about violence, saying the ANC's concerted effort to address the violence could only be welcomed.

However, the DP remained worried about the ANC's commitment to peace. The DP had been "the victims of ANC intimidation," too often to accept that more meetings and talk would address the fundamental issues of intolerance and political intimidation.

The DP fully supported this month's peace initiative — "after all, we have been the party most consistently to staff and support peace structures," Mr Bester said.

"However, I have one overwhelming reservation about the activities of peace month — that the ideal of peace will be forgotten and trampled upon once we reach October 1.

"Therefore I have called, and will continue to call, for the adoption of a code of conduct for all political parties in our region before September 30."

Mr Bester, who has made his mark in Western Cape politics since his student days at the University of Stellenbosch in the mid-1980s, is regarded as eminently suited for the job of regional leader, to which he was elected last weekend at the DP's Western Cape regional congress in Lansdowne.

Before his election as MP for Green Point — to succeed the late Mr Tian van der Merwe — Mr Bester was deeply involved in the "transformation politics" since the "dark days" of the P W Botha era.

As a student leader at Stellenbosch, he was in the firing line of the Botha regime's wrath against all South Africans who sought contact with the ANC.

He was the leader of a student group which became known as the "Lusaka

Eight" when, in the mid-80s, they were prevented by the Botha regime from travelling to Lusaka for talks with the ANC.

Only 10 days before they were scheduled to fly to Lusaka, their passports were seized by government officials.

The dates and venue for their scheduled meeting with the ANC had already been finalised.

The arrangements had been made with the help of Professor H W van der Merwe, of the Centre for Intergroup Studies at the University of Cape Town, who had contact with Zambia's former President Kenneth Kaunda and, through him, with the ANC.

When Mr Bester eventually got his passport back from the government, the document had an endorsement permitting him to visit all countries except Zambia.

In the 1987 parliamentary election Mr Bester ran the student campaign for the then independent candidate, Dr Esther Lategan — who had left the National Party.

In 1989 Mr Bester stood as the DP candidate in Stellenbosch.

Although he was defeated by the NP he brought the NP's majority down to about 2 000 votes — the lowest it had been in 50 years.

In 1991 he was elected unopposed as Democratic Party MP for Green Point.

At the age of 28, he was then South Africa's youngest MP.

Mr Bester, a lawyer by training, is taking over the DP's Western Cape leadership from Mr Jasper Walsh, MP for Pinelands, at a time when the DP is showing spectacular growth in the Western Cape.

## HENNY BESTER: Wants to make the DP the majority party in the Western Cape

Mr Bester confirmed that during the last 12 months the number of the region's DP branches had increased from 13 to 65, and that the party was now recruiting more than 2 000 new members each month.

"Our branches stretch from Kubus on the Orange River to Ocean View in the Southern Peninsula, and to Bredasdorp and Napier in the Overberg.

"And, we have not even started our major expansion activities.

"The market out here is like a field of wheat, ripe for the picking. It is my job to ensure that we achieve dynamic and active growth."

Mr Bester said the DP was one of the "big three" political parties in the Western Cape, with a total non-racial support of about 15 percent.

The party believed it had a potential upper limit of 49 percent of the total vote in the Western Cape at this stage.

Mr Bester's said he aimed to make the DP the majority party in the Western Cape.

To achieve this the party would need at least 40 percent of the total votes cast in the first non-racial election on April 27 next year.

"We believe this is well and truly achievable," Mr Bester said.

He also aimed to make the Western Cape "the premier state of South Africa" and "to bring justice to our region and our land."

"Not only do we need political justice but without economic justice we cannot hope to restore peace to our country. Out justice there will never be," Bester said.

30/11/93

Aug 4 1993

news



By THEMBA KHUMALO

**V**IVA comrade De Klerk, viva! "Vi... va," was the hesitant response of the white audience in the Bloemfontein City Hall.

Such was the setting on Tuesday evening when State President FW De Klerk addressed the two-day NP annual congress.

The slogan symbolised the presence of hundreds of blacks who have joined the party in large numbers in the province. They ignored threats by their rivals and came from all corners of the province to attend the event.

They came in six busloads and several dozen taxis to hear De Klerk promising them a bright, stable future in a new SA.

Roughly 200 blacks attended while about 400 whites attended.

The shouting of the slogan by the young black delegate took his white fellow Nats completely by surprise. One could literally hear the gears in their heads grating: Wasn't this the slogan beloved of the devil-inspired communism and its associated demon of black militancy?

Indeed, the congress marked the start of the NP's infiltration of the Free State's black and coloured population — thanks to the efforts of the diligent Petrus Tsiane, the 35-year-old member of the NP's Free State Federal Council.

Also a provincial organiser for the party, Tsiane is a former public relations officer for the Department of Information in the '70s and later the Free State Provincial Administration.

At last week's congress he sat on the rostrum and rubbed shoulders with senior cabinet ministers and NP leaders in the Free State.

During the State President's address he stood beside him and interpreted

# VIVA WIE?

C/Press 5/9/93

(304A)

## Odd scenes as blacks flock to cheer De Klerk

ed in Sotho for the benefit of the non-English-speaking black supporters.

He said he joined the party in 1990 after he became disgruntled with the violence perpetrated by the ANC.

"I used to be a secret admirer of the ANC before they were unbanned, but they put me off with their violence and intimidation," he said.

He lives in constant fear for his life at his Mangaung house where he said he was harassed regularly by the local civic association who wanted him to quit the NP.

He said: "That's completely out for me. I won't be dictated to by the pro-ANC civic members. I would rather die for the truth. I represent the silent majority in the townships."

His story is not much different to that of

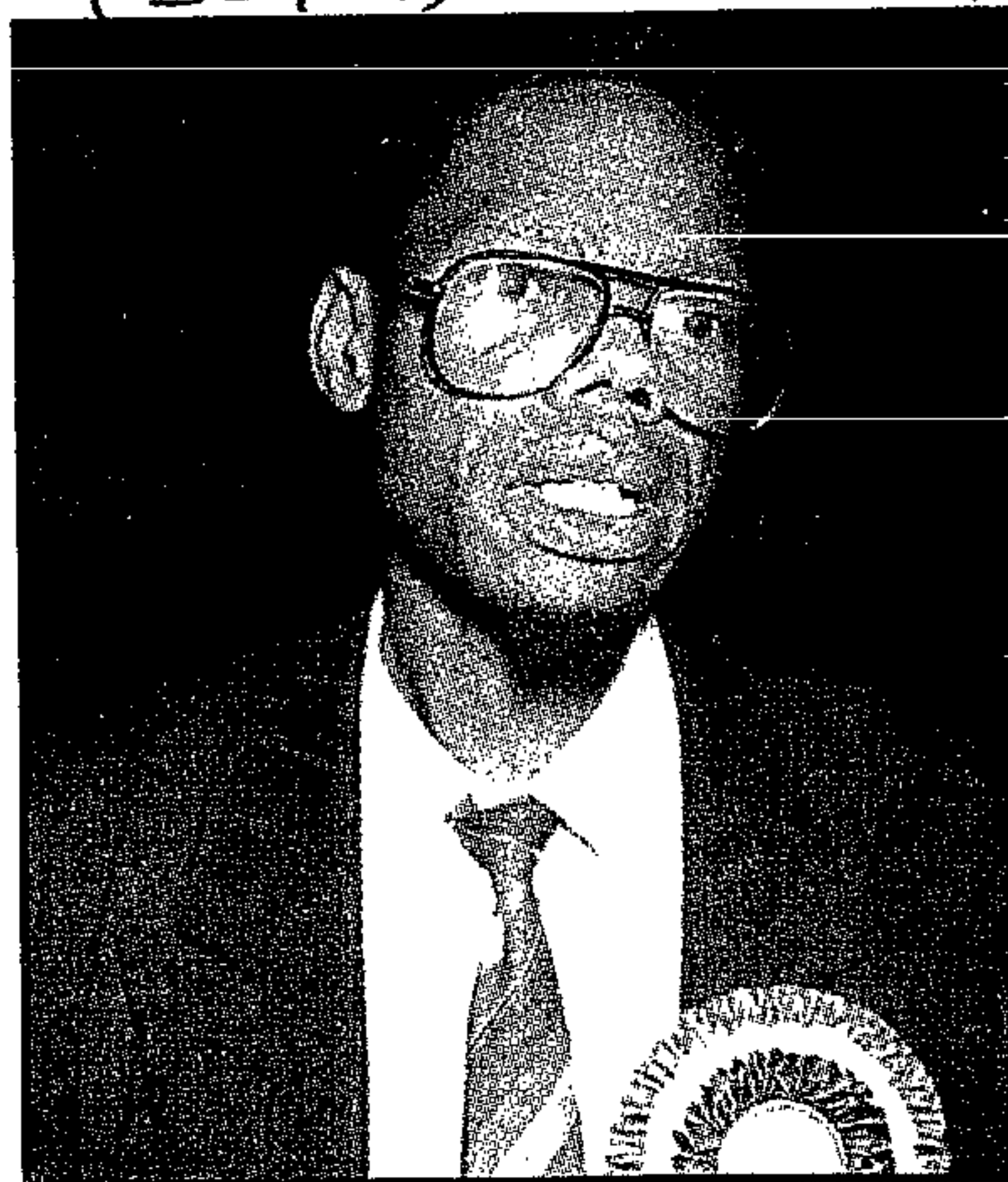
Teboho Vincent Phepeng, 20, of Qibing in Wepener, who is the former chairman of the ANC Youth League in his township.

Phepeng said he joined the NP in 1991 after he was allegedly held overnight and assaulted by his colleagues who accused him of being a police informer. He said the local ANC leadership saved him from certain death after they intervened and ordered the youths to let him go.

He said: "It's all because they saw me in the company of a local white girl I was proposing to and they thought I was giving her information on the league's activities," Phepeng said.

After speaking to the girl he said he realised how friendly the local NP members were. She had then told him more about the party.

His ANC assailants



**NAT HAT ... Free State NP high-up Petrus Tsiane was once an ANC fan.**

had since accepted his right to be an NP member and he now wears the party colours and its badge and moves around freely.

He attributes this to the higher level of political tolerance in the province. Under no circumstances would he do that in trouble-torn areas in the Transvaal or Natal.

"I would be roasted alive," he said.

White delegates at the congress held at the Bloemfontein NG Kerk, spoke the language Tsiane and his black colleagues wanted to hear the most: the availability of land for squatters, the creation of jobs and a stable SA.

A white woman delegate, who asked Agriculture Minister Kraai Van Niekerk to see to it that black squatters in the



CRESS

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province were given more land to farm, was cheered loudly by her black and white colleagues.

Black delegates did not raise issues that might have given the impression that there were differences between black and white delegates at the congress. The black Nats said they wanted to be seen as members of one family - the party.

They couldn't have felt more at home during De Klerk's city hall address.

They mingled freely not only with the white NP faithful, but with non-aligned whites who came to hear the State President's message.

After the address the black supporters jostled to shake hands with De Klerk who stood at the exit and wished them well.

Later, at the OFS Technikon a "biltongbraai", as it was termed, was held to meet De Klerk and his wife Marike, and they jumped at the first opportunity to dance with the sprightly boer girls and the amenable "tannies".

There was an amazing sense of camaraderie among the delegates.

A senior NP official remarked that some white delegates were to a certain extent baffled and restrained.

He said: "You must understand that this is our first congress of its nature and bearing in mind that our constituency here is largely a farming community and therefore conservative, it might take a while before they feel they can mix freely with other races."

At the city hall the audience shouted with one voice of "hoor, hoor" as De Klerk, in his two-hour speech, tore apart his rivals in the CP and ANC. His announcement that he had a date with Inkatha leader and KwaZulu Chief Minister Mangosuthu Buthelezi was welcomed with similar enthusiasm.

# It's war,

## Passing of TEC Bill the last straw, party chief tells FW

By SEKOLA SELLO and Sapa

(30/9/93)

MULTI-PARTY negotiators meet tomorrow to discuss a draft Bill which will set up a Transitional Executive Council (TEC) amid threats by the Conservative Party that such a move would be a declaration of war.

In one of his most bellicose statements CP leader Ferdi Hartzenberg warned of dire consequences if the TEC – the multi-party body to oversee the transition period – comes into being.

Speaking at the opening of the party's Transvaal congress in Pretoria, Hartzenberg said the CP would not subject itself to the authority of the TEC and that they are "entitled to resist it".

Hartzenberg said if President FW de Klerk insisted on going ahead with the TEC, the rightwing would elect its own government and consider the Afrikaner Volksfront its government.

This hardline attitude is undoubtedly the CP's strongest challenge to the government since negotiations started. It is most likely that Hartzenberg's threats are timed to put pressure on the negotiators tomorrow when they debate the TEC Bill.

### Threats

Rightwing threats also come in the wake of this week's major achievements at the talks when negotiators unanimously accepted three Bills which clear obstacles to the country's first non-racial elections next year.

The three Bills – which will, among other things, ensure that the political playing field is levelled before elections – are the Independent Electoral Commission, the Independent Media Commission and the Independent Broadcasting Authority Bills.

It is possibly the easy passage of these Bills they still need to be ratified by Parliament on September 13 – which has led to the war-talk from the rightwingers.

Most political analysts agree that the passage of the three Bills makes negotiations firmly irreversible. The three Bills were this week hailed as the most important achievement of the talks in several months.

The CP leader warned that the approval of the TEC Bill would be regarded as a "declaration of war", adding the CP "will do nothing but accept that declaration".

He also warned the State President: "I say to FW de Klerk that the National Party has not crossed the Rubicon yet, but it will if the TEC Bill is passed in Parliament."

"If he goes over this Rubicon, then there will be civil war on the other side."

According to Hartzenberg, if the TEC Bill is approved, De Klerk will no longer be in control of the country. "It will be as close to a dictatorship as you can get. It will also give MK and Apla official status," he said.

Worries CP

Clips

5/9/93



## TEC spells war — CP

THE Conservative Party will regard the installation of a transitional executive council as a declaration of war. CP leader Ferdi Hartzenberg said: "We've been peaceful up to now, but if the TEC comes into being, we can only regard it as a declaration of war and do nothing but accept that declaration. Then we will become irresponsible."

Delivering the opening address at the CP's Transvaal congress in Pretoria on Friday night, Dr Hartzenberg stressed that the CP would not subject itself to the TEC, the interim administrative structure under debate at multi-party negotiations at the World Trade Centre.

The right wing would elect its own government and consider the Afrikaner Volksfront its government, Dr Hartzenberg said.

"Even if we have to do so in exile, we will. We will establish our own government, parliament and security structures." — Sapa (3044)

# Top Nats push for pact to fight ANC

By EDYTH BULBRING, Political Correspondent

CONSERVATIVE cabinet ministers are campaigning for the NP to form an electoral pact with some homeland governments, Afrikaner movements and Inkatha — and the eventual formation of a new federal party. 5/9/93

As negotiators at the World Trade Centre this week agreed to send legislation to Parliament that would govern the conduct of the first non-racial elections, moves intensified towards a major realignment of political forces to take on the ANC. (304A)

In secret talks between President FW de Klerk and Afrikaner Volksunie leader Andries Beyers in Pretoria on Thursday, the formation of the new party was briefly discussed.

It is understood that Mr de Klerk was sceptical about Mr Beyers' proposal but did not rule out further discussion on closer co-operation.

Mr Beyers also held discussions with NP members and cabinet ministers, who oppose what they see as chief negotiator Roelf Meyer's compromise with the ANC on federalism and fear the NP will be thrashed by the ANC in the election.

Those sympathetic to the formation of a new party included Local Government Minister Tertius Delpoit, Law and Order Minister Hernus Kriel and Regional Affairs Deputy Minister Lampie Fick.

## Alliance

However, they were aware that the formation of a new party before the elections was unlikely to succeed, a fact Mr Beyers recognised.

Two other alternatives to a party merger being discussed were a formal alliance or an election pact involving the AVU, Bophuthatswana, Ciskei, Qwa Qwa, the Afrikaner Volksfront and Inkatha.

They would agree not to oppose one another in certain regions and co-operate on platforms to boost one another's image in other regions. They would be united by their commitment to federalism, the free market and the maintenance of law and order.

They foresaw the formation of a new party in the early years following successful co-operation in a government of national unity.

While a formal election pact with some of the parties would be opposed by cabinet ministers like Mr Meyer and Manpower Minister Leon Wessels, the hawks in the cabinet were optimistic they could bring Mr de Klerk round to their position.

## Harsh

The divisions within the NP on the way ahead were reflected in a cabinet meeting during Mr de Klerk's visit to South America. Ministers were unable to decide how to proceed without Inkatha and there were harsh words levelled at Mr Meyer for his performance in negotiations.

The debate continued during Monday's special cabinet meeting under the chairmanship of Mr de Klerk. Mr Meyer was again criticised by some of his colleagues.

Cabinet members were opposed to implementing legislation that would govern the elections without the sanction of Inkatha and elements within the right wing.

Mr de Klerk held talks with Afrikaner Volksfront leader General Constand Viljoen on Thursday in a bid to accommodate AVF demands for an Afrikaner homeland.

The government saw General Viljoen's co-operation as a powerful lever to control the fanatic

□ To Page 2

## Nats push for pact

□ From Page 1

ical right wing and ministers were optimistic they could persuade him to accept Afrikaner self-determination in a federal-type solution. Conservative ministers hoped he would throw his weight behind a pact against the ANC.

ANC president Nelson Mandela secretly met General Viljoen for the first time two weeks ago to try to persuade him to participate in a settlement. They planned to meet again. (304A)

Meanwhile, it was announced that Mr Mangosuthu Buthelezi and Mr de Klerk would meet on September 16.



## FW, IFP chief set date for bid to end impasse

CT 6/9/93 (18) (3047)  
JOHANNESBURG. — President F W de Klerk is to meet Inkatha president Chief Mangosuthu Buthelezi on Thursday, September 16, in an attempt to find a way around the impasse in talks.

It is understood that this is not a make-or-break meeting and others are expected to flow from it.

President De Klerk would like Inkatha to return to the talks but government negotiators have acknowledged it is unlikely to do so.

However, there is a strong belief that Chief Buthelezi can be accommodated through talks behind closed doors with his negotiators.

# Mandela warns CP it will be crushed

NELSPRUIT. — The Conservative Party would be crushed if it went ahead with its threat of civil war, ANC president Mr Nelson Mandela said yesterday.

The CP wanted more innocent people slaughtered if the transition went ahead, Mr Mandela charged at an election rally in KaNgwane attended by more than 10 000 people.

But he warned it would go ahead despite the CP's capacity to cause "trouble".

CP leader Dr Ferdi Hartzenberg said on Friday if the Transitional Executive Council (TEC) was established, it would amount to a declaration of war.

"He (Dr Hartzenberg) has no vision. He is insisting whites kill blacks," Mr Mandela claimed.

He said the ANC was prepared to talk to the CP and remove their fears of democracy". — Sapa

● CP talks about action for war — Page 5



# Sisulu: Accord on TEC in days

MBABANE. — ANC deputy president Mr Walter Sisulu said yesterday that a Transitional Executive Council would be agreed on in the next two or three days.

Mr Sisulu, representing the ANC at the annual summit of the Southern African Development Community (SADC) here, said remaining sanctions against South Africa would be lifted soon.

## No waiting

Parliament is due to meet next Monday to enact draft TEC legislation and draft bills setting up a media and an electoral commission, as well as an independent broadcasting authority.

The TEC, with wide powers to control government law-making and operate a joint peacekeeping force, is charged with creating conditions for a free and fair election on April 27 next year.

Mr Sisulu said sanctions could be lifted once agreement on these groups was reached — without waiting for legislation.

## Criticism

"We hope that even before this legislation is passed, these groups will be constituted."

"Given the agreement on an election date, once these groups are formed all remaining sanctions can be lifted — even without waiting for legislation," Mr Sisulu said.

Mr Sisulu sharply criticised the Concerned South Africans Group (Cosag), which links conservative black and white groups such as the IFP and the CP, saying it was trying to impede progress to democracy.

— Sapa-Reuters

# NP 'won't align with right wing'

PRETORIA. — The National Party was not prepared to forsake its principles and co-operate with radical right-wing groups just because they were opposed to the African National Congress, NP media director Mr Marthinus van Schalkwyk said yesterday.

He was reacting to a report in a Sunday newspaper that conservative Cabinet ministers were campaigning for the NP to form an electoral pact with Afrikaner movements, Inkatha and some homeland governments. CT 6/9/93

Mr Van Schalkwyk said the NP wanted to make it clear that the ANC/South African Communist Party alliance would be its main opponent in the elections.

"In this regard, co-operation with other parties and groups who support our broad principles is an important goal. It is not enough just to be against the ANC."

"The National Party is not prepared to forsake its principles and enter into a working arrangement with radical rightist groupings merely because they are against the ANC, while they continue to preach racism," he said.

He said the basis on which the NP sought co-operation was a basic human rights charter that assured equal rights for all South Africans, a constitution based on federal principles and a market-orientated economy. — Sapa



# De Klerk may meet Mugabe

PRESIDENT F W de Klerk may be able to meet informally a number of African leaders, including Zimbabwean President Robert Mugabe, at festivities marking Swaziland's 25th year of independence and King Mswati III's 25th birthday today.

However, no formal meetings were planned, a spokesman for Mr De Klerk said.

President Frederick Chiluba of

Zambia and President Joaquim Chissano of Mozambique are among the African leaders expected to be at the festivities today.

Guests include the secretary-general of the Organisation of African Unity Mr Salim Ahmed Salim as well as British royal family representative Prince Edward. (304A)

King Mswati spent most of the

weekend welcoming heads of state from the majority of the Southern African Development Community members, who held their annual summit yesterday outside the Swazi capital.

ANC deputy president Mr Walter Sisulu and Pan-Africanist president Mr Clarence Makwetu were present at yesterday's meeting. — Own Correspondent and Sapa

*Tough talks expected at Trade Centre*

# Negotiators face week of hurdles

Star 6/9/93

304A

■ BY CHRIS WHITFIELD  
POLITICAL CORRESPONDENT

South Africa faces an important week inside and outside the World Trade Centre negotiations.

A crucial issue will be the KwaZulu government's court application to have certain negotiations decisions — taken in terms of "sufficient consensus" — overturned. The hearing is set down in the Pretoria Supreme Court for Thursday.

The decisions include the April 27 election date, agreed to at the July 2 Negotiating Forum meeting, which sparked a walkout by the Inkatha Freedom Party, the KwaZulu government and the Conservative Party.

## Grappling

If the court rules for the KwaZulu government, it will immediately cast the election date into doubt.

We shall also see:

■ Negotiators trying to reach agreement on the draft Transitional Executive Council (TEC) Bill — and more grappling

with the Interim Constitution.

■ Preparations for the meeting between KwaZulu Chief Minister Mangosuthu Buthelezi and Presi-

dent de Klerk.

It is understood that Government-proposed dates for this week had been rejected by KwaZulu. A KwaZulu govern-

## THE TALKS AND YOU



### At the World Trade Centre

**TODAY:** Negotiators get to grips with draft legislation designed to make provision for the transitional executive council

(TEC), the multiparty forum designed to monitor the Government during the election campaign. It had been hoped that one day's work would be enough to finalise agreement, but the issue is a complex one and might take more than a day to complete. It is becoming increasingly doubtful whether the TEC legislation can be processed in time to be passed by the short session of Parliament starting on September 13.

**THIS WEEK:** Once agreement has been reached the negotiators will grapple with the Interim Constitution. It is hoped that this document — in terms of which South Africa will be governed after the elections and until a final constitution takes effect — will be ready in time to go through a session of Parliament in November. Negotiators will also have an eye on the Supreme Court, where the KwaZulu government's challenge on the use of "sufficient consensus" to take decisions is scheduled to be heard.

CHRIS WHITFIELD

ment source said the likely date now appeared to be Thursday next week.

In Kempton Park, negotiators will press ahead today to finalise agreement on the draft TEC Bill.

The concept of a TEC has sparked resistance from some groups, with Conservative Party leader Dr Ferdi Hartzenberg warning on Friday that its installation would amount to a "declaration of war".

## Radical

Buthelezi has said that KwaZulu would not co-operate with the TEC if it was not party to agreements.

■ One of the Cabinet Ministers said to be behind a campaign to form an anti-ANC election pact said yesterday there was no way it could materialise with organisations "who do not accept reforms or nonracialism".

The NP's Marthinus van Schalkwyk said yesterday that the NP would not co-operate with radical rightist groups simply because they were opposed to the ANC.



## Nats deny anti-ANC alliance with rightists

TOS WENTZEL, Political Staff (204A) 9211

THE National Party has denied it will try to have an election alliance with radical rightwing groups only because they are opposed to the African National Congress. ARCT 6/9/93

The party's media director, Marthinus van Schalkwyk, rejected weekend speculation on a campaign by conservative cabinet ministers for an electoral pact with some homeland governments, Afrikaner movements and Inkatha.

Mr Van Schalkwyk said the party wanted to make it clear that the ANC-SACP alliance was its main opponent in the coming election battle.

Co-operation with other parties and groups which shared the broad principles of the National Party was an important goal.

The NP could, therefore, not have co-operation with rightist movements merely because they were opposed to the ANC and while they continued to preach racism.

"The basis on which the NP seeks co-operation is a charter of basic human rights in which equal rights for all South Africans are assured — a constitution based on federal principles and a market-orientated economy."

According to other NP sources the idea of some alliance against the ANC was being canvassed in party circles. The party would try to get more moderate groupings into an anti-ANC front.

# SA faces critical hurdles this week

BOYA  
ANC 6/9/93

## □ Court ruling may put poll date in doubt

**CHRIS WHITFIELD**  
Political Staff

SOUTH Africa faces an important week both inside and outside the World Trade Centre negotiations as it confronts critical hurdles to a new order.

Central to these will be the Kwazulu government's Supreme Court application to have certain negotiations decisions — taken in terms of "sufficient consensus" — overturned.

These include the April 27 election date, agreed to at the July 2 Negotiating Forum meeting and which sparked an Inkatha Freedom Party, Kwazulu government and Conservative Party walkout.

If the court rules for the Kwazulu government it will immediately cast the election date into doubt.

This week will also see negotiators attempting to reach agreement on the draft Transitional Executive Council Bill — making provision for a multiparty body to act as a "watchdog" over the government during the elections — and continuing to grapple with the interim constitution.

Preparations for the last-

ditch meeting between Kwazulu chief minister Mangosuthu Buthelezi and President De Klerk, in which it is hoped the leaders can bridge their negotiations impasse, are also to go ahead.

A date has not been finalised, but government hopes that it would take place this week appear likely to be dashed.

Last night IFP chairman Frank Mdlalose said the court hearing would be going ahead on Thursday.

If the court found that certain decisions accepted in terms of "sufficient consensus" were not valid, then "they will have to be done again", said Dr Mdlalose.

Meanwhile, negotiators will press ahead today in an attempt to finalise agreement on the draft TEC bill.

Deputy Constitutional Development Minister Fanus Schoeman said yesterday that if the draft TEC Bill was passed today or tomorrow it could still go through parliament during its short session this month.

In terms of a resolution adopted by the Negotiating Council last week the draft legislation will only take effect once the entire "package" has

been approved by a multiparty negotiating process plenary session, attended by leaders.

However, the government is anxious to have the legislation passed as soon as possible, pointing out that delays could even effect the scheduled April 27 election date.

The concept of a TEC has met with fierce resistance from some quarters, with Conservative Party leader Ferdi Hartzenberg warning on Friday that its installation would amount to a "declaration of war".

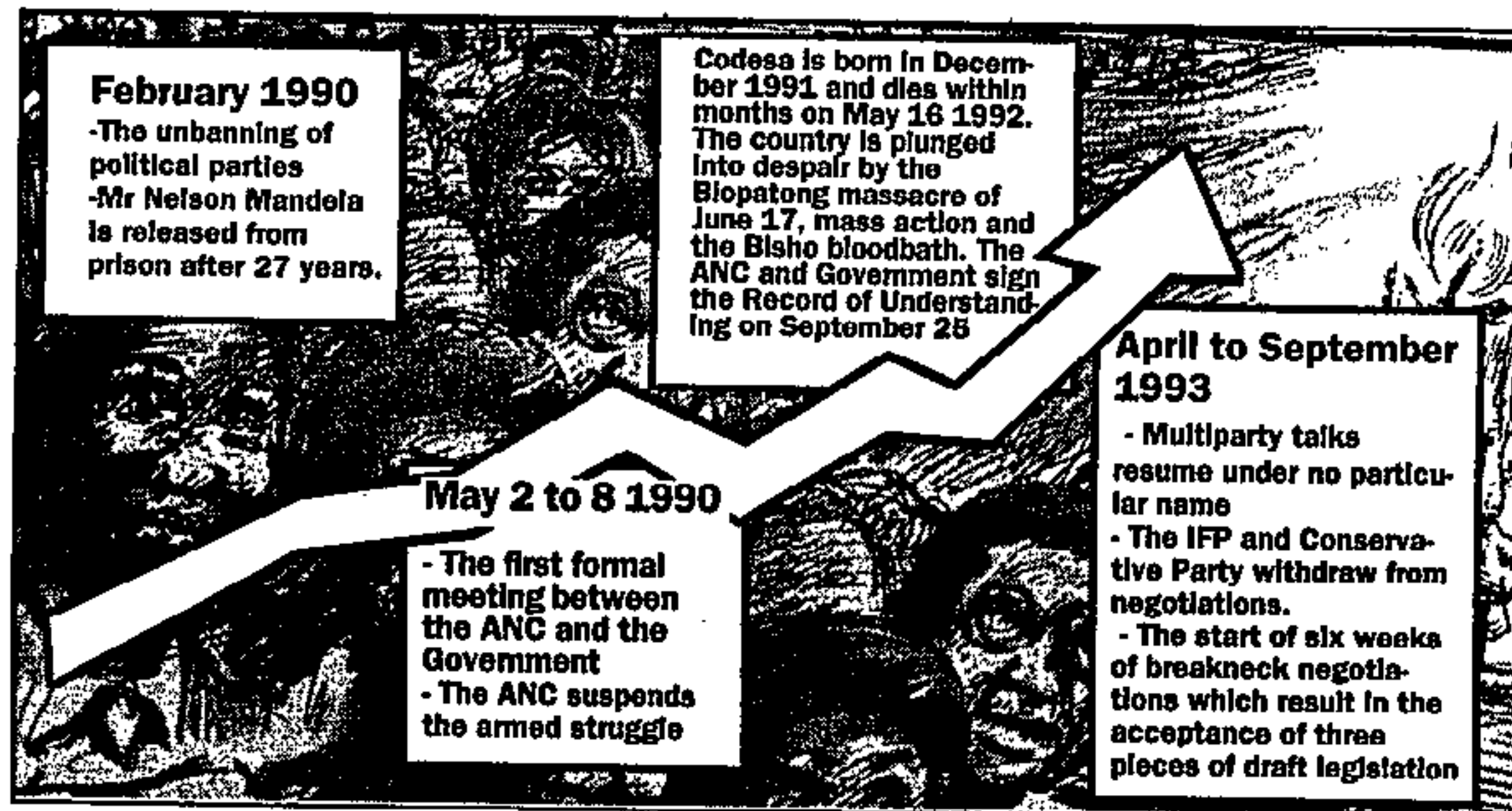
● One of the Cabinet ministers said to be behind a campaign to form an anti-ANC election pact said there was no way it could materialise with organisations "who do not accept reforms or non-racialism".

Although the idea of election pacts had been floated, there was no movement on this at the moment, he said.

NP media director Marthinus van Schalkwyk also issued a statement yesterday saying there was no way the party would co-operate with radical rightist groups just because they were opposed to the ANC.



## VOTER EDUCATION All political parties will get equal time in the media



# Fine tuning at the World Trade Centre

Sowetan 6/9/93

**N**EGOTIATIONS HAVE been underway for about three years now. By the time Codesa was dissolved, certain agreements had already been reached.

At the present multiparty forum, seven technical committees have been set up to review and modify these agreements where necessary.

They were as follows:  
The first nonracial democratic elections held will be to elect a constituent assembly. This body will have a dual responsibility.

It will draft a constitution and also serve as an interim government. It will consist of 400 seats.

Of this total, 200 seats will be filled from national lists and the other 200 from regional lists. How exactly will this work?

It has been agreed in principle to use a proportional representation electoral system. There will be both national and regional lists.

The finer details of the system are still to be worked out. The existence of two lists does not mean voting twice.

One vote a person will count both at the national and at the regional level in the following way:

The entire country will be divided into electoral regions. This is distinct from constituencies which are candidate-based. People will vote in their designated regions for parties, not candidates.

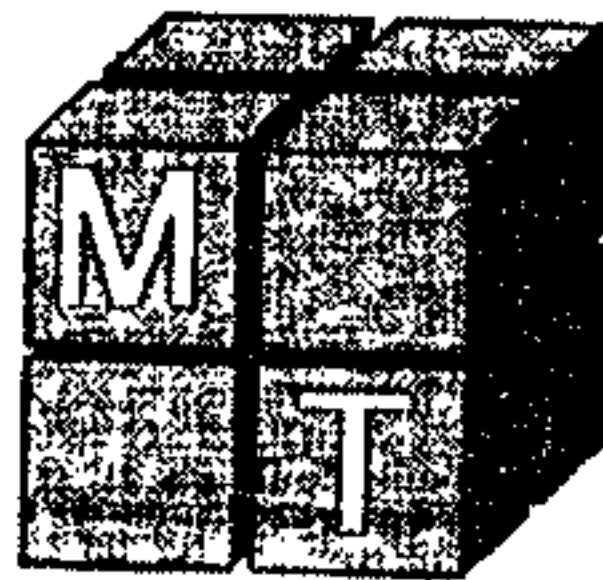
At regional level, votes will be counted and added up to make the national total of votes cast for specific parties.

From this national total, 200 seats will be divided up among the various parties in the constituent assembly in direct proportion to the number of votes they win on the national level.

The remaining 200 seats will be allocated on the basis of the results of regional lists.

This means that parties which have countrywide support will win a great number of votes from the national lists.

Parties whose support is regionally based rather than national would win great numbers of votes in the regions



**This voter education series is a joint project of Sowetan and MatlaTrust**

(304A)

where they dominate.

The existence of regional lists will give smaller parties a greater opportunity to win seats than they might have on the basis of only national lists.

In all proportional representation systems there has to be prior agreement on the number of votes a party must win in order to qualify for seats.

Care has to be taken that the threshold figure is neither too high nor too low. If it is too high, then the parties with substantial support may not gain seats.

On the other hand, if it is too low it can encourage the emergence of many small parties, which forces an emphasis on minority issues.

Considering that the actual negotiators of the above agreements might not all be among those elected to a constituent assembly, what guarantees are there that the constituent assembly will stick to negotiated agreements?

The multiparty forum will decide the broad and general principles or the framework within which the constitution is drafted and according to which elections are conducted.

This will ensure that the still-to-be-elected constituent assembly adheres to negotiated agreements, thus limiting future disputes over whatever constitution finally emerges.

Another concern centres on creating a body to supervise the process until a constituent assembly exists. This structure will be the transitional executive council.

This TEC's existence is necessary to prevent the present governing body from being both a player and a referee in

the run-up to an election.

The main task of the TEC would be to ensure a degree of levelling of the political playing fields before an election.

It would have a number of sub-councils which are to look into law and order, defence, finance, foreign affairs and regional and local government.

In addition to these sub-councils, agreement has been reached on the need for two independent commissions operating under its supervision.

These are the Independent Electoral Commission which will oversee all preparations for elections, and the Independent Media Commission to ensure parties contesting elections have equal access to state media.

The above is more or less what had already been covered by Codesa. However, it has since been replaced by the multiparty forum. This forum has agreed to set up seven technical committees to look into the establishment of:

- An independent media commission;
- An independent electoral commission;
- A TEC and its sub-structures;
- Constitutional principles and the form of state;
- A constitution-making body and procedures; and
- A sub-council on how to end violence.

Not all parties have been in agreement with the above procedures. However, negotiations is the name of the game and its purpose is precisely to achieve majority consensus in disputed areas.

## CP hopes for a white homeland

By Mzimasi Ngudle

NOT all verkrampies (conservative supporters of the NP) left the National Party when the Herstigte Nasionale Party was formed in 1969.

Many ultra-rightwing NP office-bearers and intellectuals remained in the party despite their close association with the ideals of the verkrampies.

It was this group which formed the Conservative Party under the leadership of the late Dr Andries Treurnicht on March 29 1982.

A fiery speaker, Treurnicht was dubbed "Dr No" by the media because of his consistent opposition to any political reforms.

The founding of the CP had a long build-up. By 1969 it was obvious that Treurnicht, then editor of the daily newspaper *Hoofstad* and later chairman of the Broederbond, sympathised with the Far Right.

Despite this, he was later elected NP MP for Waterberg and in 1978 leader of the NP in the Transvaal.

Since it was customary for provincial NP leaders to be members of the Cabinet, he was appointed a Minister in 1979.

In the late seventies the NP rightwing became increasingly dissatisfied with what it considered to be the leftist trends in the party. (304A)

This displeasure surfaced after the NP Cape leader, Mr P W Botha, defeated Transvaal leader Dr Connie Mulder in the leadership struggle following Prime Minister Mr John Vorster's resignation.

Even after Mulder was compelled to resign in the wake of his involvement in the Information Scandal, his supporters remained critical of Botha.

The first outburst of verkrampie dissatisfaction came in February 1980 when it was announced that coloured boys would be taking part in the Craven Rugby Week.

Treurnicht publicly stated his displeasure at this, but was repudiated by Botha.

Only the direct intervention of Mr FW de Klerk and Mr Hendrik Schoeman averted a rift in the party.

By 1981 it was clear that the interpretation NP leaders gave to the 1977 constitutional resolutions on tricameral parliament differed dramatically from the interpretation by the party's rightwing.

By this stage a core group of ultra rightwingers, siding with Treurnicht, had become clearly identifiable.

This group held secret meetings to consolidate its position in the party.

The event which led to the biggest split in the National Party in nearly half a century was an article in the February 1982 issue of one of the party mouthpieces, *Nat 80s*, saying that a State could have only one government.

Treurnicht attacked this notion by saying it implied a mixed government with coloured and Indian ministers.

Botha defended the article and elaborated on his notion of "power sharing" as a political solution - the first time that an NP politician had explained this concept in the context of the NP's constitutional policy.

At a parliamentary caucus meeting on February 24 1982 a motion was carried supporting Botha as leader and his interpretation of power sharing.

After the votes had been counted, it transpired that 22 members of the caucus - 20 from the Transvaal and two from the Cape - opposed the motion.

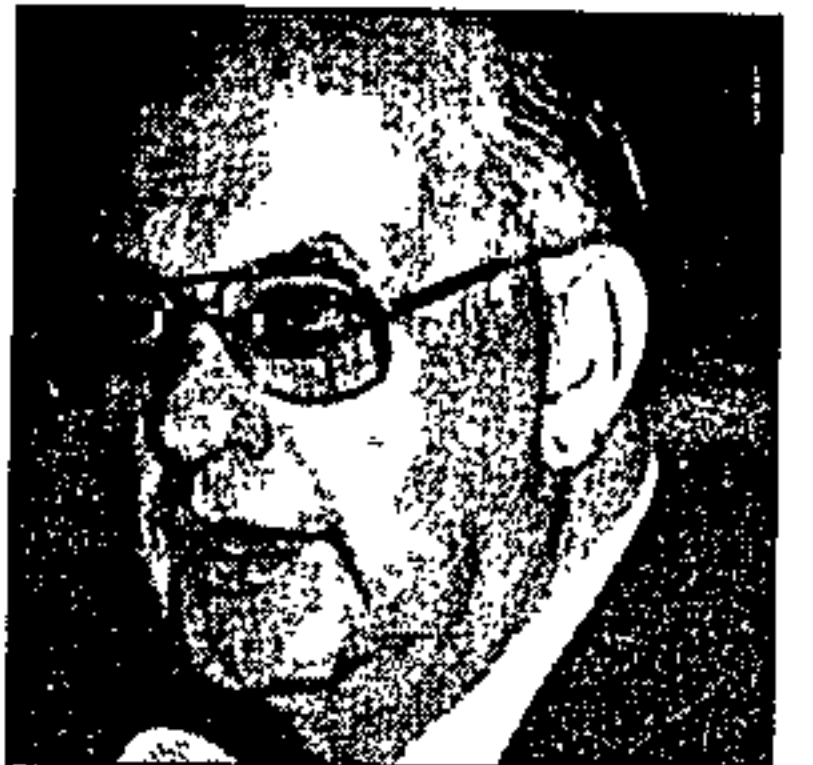
The position of the renegades subsequently became intolerable.

Treurnicht hoped he could retain the leadership of the NP in the Transvaal.

This would have been possible because the NP has a federal structure and



Dr Andries Treurnicht



P W Botha

each province functions independently.

But on February 27 1982 an emergency meeting of the Transvaal executive committee of the NP was held and Botha's stand was re-affirmed.

Treurnicht and his only supporter in the Cabinet, who now leads the CP, Dr Ferdi Hartzenberg, resigned their seats.

On March 6 1982 Treurnicht was replaced as provincial leader by De Klerk and on March 9 1982 he was suspended from the party.

When the Conservative Party was formed it had the support of 17 MPs.

The CP absorbed the National Conservative Party established by Dr Connie Mulder in 1979 and the Aksie Eie Toekoms formed by rightwing intellectuals before the 1981 elections.

Since its inception the CP has grown from strength to strength. Many of the NP branch organisations were taken over by the CP because the office-bearers had left the NP.

By not calling an election after the split in the NP, Botha gave the renegade Nationalists the opportunity to organise themselves into a strong political power group within the Afrikaans-speaking community.

The CP strongly opposed the 1983 constitutional resolutions of the NP.

In the November 1983 referendum 35 percent of the white electorate voted against the implementation of the new constitution.

The CP claimed that 80 percent of the votes against constitutional reform came from its members.

It was clear by that stage that the CP had the potential to become the official opposition.

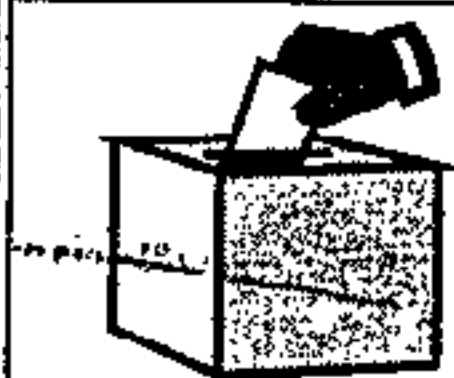
Opinion polls also indicated that support for the CP totally overshadowed support for the HNP. The CP has links with other ultra rightwing organisations, including the AWB.

The CP became the official opposition after the last white elections in 1989.

At present, the CP and other rightwing groups have formed the Concerned South Africans Group with Ciskei, the Inkatha Freedom Party and Bophuthatswana.

Despite utterances to the contrary, the CP is distinctly racist and harbours deep hatred for blacks.

In forming Cosag, the CP hoped to garner more support for a strong regional and local governments that would enhance prospects to preserve minority Afrikaner interests.



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



# We'll sort out Peter Mokaba - CP

## Sowetan Correspondent

DELEGATES at the Transvaal congress of the Conservative Party at the weekend threatened to "sort out" African National Congress Youth League leader Mr Peter Mokaba.

They also demanded the right to enter black townships and squatter camps to "punish murderers and criminals".

CP leader Dr Ferdi Hartzenberg's threats of war at the opening of the congress were reinforced by more sabre-rattling from delegates.

The congress warned that the "volk" would have no choice but to resort to

offensive self-defence through "punitive commandos" unless the Government acted against "terrorist movements".

**Sowetan 16/11/93**

"Attack in a specific set of circumstances is the best defence. If a terrorist attacks you and you retaliate, how can you be unjustified in retaliating," asked Mr Schalk Pienaar, MP for Potgietersrus and the CP's spokesman on law and order.

**(30/4/94)**

He said delegates must not talk about hit squads and then do nothing.

"We have structures available to use as instruments of our protection."

These were the commandos, the

South African Police reserve and organised agriculture, he added.

The belligerent tone at the congress on Saturday was set by Hartzenberg in his opening address on Friday, when he said the establishment of a Transitional Executive Council in October would be viewed by the CP as a "declaration of war".

The congress rejected the "integration" of the South African Defence Force and joint control over security forces, and demanded that discussions on the SADF's future include the CP and the Afrikaner Volksfront.

Delegates also resolved not to pay TV

licence fees in future and to ask the SABC to seal their sets in such a way that private video recorders could still be used.

The proposed new system of joint local government was rejected and CP city and town councillors were asked to refuse to serve on appointed multi-racial councils.

Congress delegates were invited to contribute money for the defence of Mr Clive Derby-Lewis and his wife Gaye, who have been charged with the murder of South African Communist Party leader Mr Chris Hani.

Mrs Derby-Lewis made a brief appearance at the congress on Saturday.



# De Klerk to meet Buthelezi next week

PRESIDENT F W de Klerk will meet Inkatha Freedom Party president Mangosuthu Buthelezi next Thursday, September 16, in an attempt to find ways around the impasse in constitutional talks.

It is understood this is not regarded as a make-or-break meeting and others are expected to flow from it.

De Klerk would like to see Inkatha back at the Kempton Park talks, but government negotiators agree this is unlikely to happen. However, there is a strong belief that Buthelezi can be accommodated through talks behind closed doors.

A senior government negotiator said last week it was believed De Klerk could

BILLY PADDOCK

find ways around Inkatha's boycott, so that they were party to negotiations although absent from the table. *B/Day*

He said the three draft Bills passed by negotiators last week had all been approved by Inkatha the previous weekend. Following that meeting, Home Affairs Minister Danie Schutte conveyed Inkatha's requirements to the ANC and its allies. These were then written into the Bills in an acceptable form. *6/9/93*

One of the mechanisms could be to provide "guarantees around the constitution that will make it acceptable and non-

threatening to Inkatha".

De Klerk wants to persuade Buthelezi he cannot afford to stay out of the April elections and will also take a strong position against Buthelezi's repeated warnings of a bloodbath and civil war. *(113)*

It is understood that the court action brought by KwaZulu against the negotiating council, challenging the setting of the election date by sufficient consensus, could come before court this week. *(304A)*

Today the negotiators will attempt to finalise the fourth draft Bill to go to Parliament next week for the first stage of the transition — the Transitional Executive

☐ To Page 2

## FW-Buthelezi

*B/Day 6/9/93*

☐ From Page 1

Council (TEC) Bill.

Debate is expected to be tough, and Bophuthatswana and Ciskei are expected to oppose it. *(304A)*

Concerned South African Group sources said yesterday they were against the TEC. "We will not participate or agree to it being implemented in our territories. Anyway, it is a big waste of money and re-

sources," said Bophuthatswana chief negotiator Rowan Cronje.

CP leader Ferdi Hartzenberg said at the weekend that the party would regard the installation of a TEC as a declaration of war.

Cronje denied a Sunday Times report that there would be an election pact between the NP and Bophuthatswana.

HT 000 TRADE

# CP men threaten to 'sort out' Mokaba

Star

6/9/93

## ■ POLITICAL STAFF

Conservative Party leader Dr Ferdi Hartzenberg's threats of war at the opening of the CP's Transvaal congress were reinforced by more sabre-rattling from delegates to the Pretoria congress at the weekend.

The congress warned that the "volk" would have no choice but to resort to "offensive self-defence" unless the Government acted against "terrorist movements".

Attack in a specific set of circumstances is the best defence. If a terrorist attacks you and you retaliate, how can you be unjustified in retaliating?" asked Schalk Pienaar, MP for Potgietersrus and the CP's law and order spokesman.

Delegates threatened to "sort out" ANC Youth League leader Peter Mokaba and demanded the right to go into townships and "squatter camps" to punish murderers and criminals.

The belligerent tone of the congress was set by Hartzenberg in his opening address on Friday, in which he said the establishment of a transitional executive council would be viewed by the CP as a "declaration of war".

(304A)  
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Delegates also resolved not to pay television licence fees and to ask the SABC to seal their sets in such a way that private video recorders could still be used.

Congress delegates were invited to contribute money towards the defence of Clive Derby-Lewis and his wife, Gaye, who have been charged with the murder of Chris Hani.

Gaye Derby-Lewis made a brief appearance at the congress on Saturday.



# Search begins for diplomats for the new SA

GOVERNMENT had begun informal talks with political groupings about their members' roles in a future foreign service, diplomatic sources indicated at the weekend. 8/25/93 6/9/93

Such talks would start in earnest once a subcouncil on foreign affairs had been established under a transitional executive council, the sources said. (3047)

A Foreign Affairs spokesman said discussions were being held with all major parties about the nature of a future SA foreign service.

Applicants could be nominated by any

PATRICK BULGER

party, but diplomats would be employed in their personal capacities and not as representatives of particular parties. The department could not allow politically-aligned cliques in the foreign service.

A well-placed diplomatic source said government had been investigating the suitability of ANC representatives serving abroad for future diplomatic posts. Inquiries were being made in the countries where ANC representatives were serving.

The source said the ANC representatives

in New York and Bonn had been identified as future SA diplomats.

The Foreign Affairs spokesman said the department was talking to all the parties at the negotiations and not just the ANC.

ANC international affairs head Thabo Mbeki said last week a future ANC government would introduce a thorough revamp of SA's foreign service.

He indicated the ANC was already deeply involved in SA's foreign affairs on a political and economic level. This was taking place with the tacit agreement of government, he said.

## Talks team to attend session

JOHANNESBURG. — A five-man team from the multiparty negotiations is to attend and monitor the special session of Parliament starting next week on Monday.

The decision was taken yesterday by the negotiating committee.

The five members of the ad-hoc committee are: Mr Zam Titus of Transkei, Mr Mickey Webb of Ciskei, the ANC's Mr Mac Maharaj, Mr Fanie van der Merwe for the government and Dr Theuns Eloff, the head of administration at the World Trade Centre at Kempton Park. — Sapa

(304A)



## CP may <sup>(304A)</sup>boycott <sup>CT 7/9/93</sup>Parliament

PRETORIA. — Conservative Party MPs are to decide on Saturday on a strategy, including a possible boycott, for the coming short session of Parliament.

Party spokesman Dr Pieter Mulder confirmed yesterday that certain members favoured a stayaway from a session aimed primarily at implementing transitional legislation to which the CP is totally opposed.

Meanwhile, CP leader Mr Ferdi Hartzenberg yesterday continued to raise tension between his party and the ANC, calling the organisation an opponent of peace and a killing machine.

In reaction the NP said: "The CP is underlining its inability to make any contribution to the political debate."

The Democratic Party called on the CP to disband. "It refuses to share power with people of colour. It therefore can play no part in the new SA." — Sapa

## India to resume ties with SA

Political Staff

(304A) ARG 7/9/93

DURBAN. — With a million people of Indian origin living in South Africa, the resumption of relations between India and South Africa was appropriate and essential, said chairman of the Ministers' Council in the House of Delegates Bhadra Ranchod.

Dr Ranchod was responding to a statement by Indian deputy foreign minister Salman Khursheed that India would establish diplomatic relations with South Africa soon after lifting economic sanctions later this month.

India lifted cultural sanctions, including visa and consular restrictions, against Pretoria in 1991.

Air India flights would begin operating between Bombay and Johannesburg from October 2, said Mr Khursheed.



# Court case clouds talks at trade centre

Political Staff

JOHANNESBURG. — The KwaZulu government's Rand Supreme Court application against the multi-party negotiations process hangs like a cloud above the World Trade Centre.

The hearing, in which KwaZulu seeks to have certain negotiating council decisions taken in terms of "sufficient consensus" overruled, has been set down for Thursday and Friday.

Although politicians in the talks publicly dismiss the case as having no legal power, some privately admit the case might have serious consequences for the progress already made towards democracy.

The KwaZulu government, the Inkatha Freedom Party and the Conservative Party walked out of the talks protesting against decisions taken on July 2, including setting next April 27 as an election date. Yesterday, most constitu-

tional issues affecting the future of homelands, especially the TBVC states and their powers, were referred to the negotiations planning committee for recommendation.

But most of these issues will be dealt with bilaterally between parties. Such agreements made outside the negotiating council chamber would keep all unhappy parties in the process as negotiations reach a critical stage this week. Discussions on the draft Transitional Executive Council

Bill, agreement to which is vital this week, was postponed until today to allow time for bilateral discussions outside the council.

The TEC Bill, Independent Electoral Commission Bill, Independent Broadcasting Authority Bill and Independent Media Commission Bill are expected to be tabled before a special session of parliament beginning on Monday. Their enactment would effectively seal the transitional process in the build-up to the elections.

# Differences on TEC Bill

304A

CT 7/9/93

Own Correspondent

JOHANNESBURG. — Strong differences between the government and the ANC on a number of issues in the proposed Transitional Executive Council (TEC) Bill prevented negotiators from even discussing the draft yesterday.

Despite regular meetings, the two parties are having difficulty in resolving their differences over key issues affecting the TEC's implementation. The parties were locked in talks last night to reach an agreement.

According to a source, the major differences are over the approval of 80% of TEC members to make a decision binding, the percentage needed in the TEC and a sub-council to procure information from the government and whether President F W de Klerk and any of his ministers must first get TEC approval to declare a state of emergency or an unrest area.

The ANC insists that the majority needed for decisions is too high and wants it reduced to two thirds. How-

ever, the government and several other parties, including the DP, prefer consensus and, if this cannot be achieved, then the approval of 80% of members present.

A source said the government was unhappy about Mr De Klerk's "hands being tied" in declaring a state of emergency. However, the ANC said if the TEC could not review or prevent the declaration of an emergency, then the council was rendered toothless.

The government and the ANC tried to clear the obsta-

Govt,  
ANC  
locked  
in talks

cles before the council meeting started but they failed. The agenda had to be altered after Constitutional Development Minister Mr Roelf Meyer asked for more time for bilateral meetings.

The position of the TBVC states in relation to the TEC must also be resolved. However, a source said this problem was closely linked to the position of regional autonomy and could be dealt with later.

Two homelands suggested to the planning committee that they be granted associate or observer status on the TEC. They also refused to have the TEC apply in their territories and would not have elections in April.

Instead, they wanted their legislatures/parliaments to nominate associate representatives to the new South African Parliament after the elections.

They wanted voting status in this Parliament on all constitutional matters and only once the final constitution was agreed and their representatives approved of it, would they reincorporate.

This was totally unacceptable to the other parties.



# F.W. Nujoma 'rub shoulders'

Argus Africa News Service

MBABANE. — President De Klerk enjoyed unusual informal contact with leaders of other African states during Swaziland's Silver Jubilee celebrations here.

An expected meeting between Mr De Klerk and Zimbabwean Prime Minister Robert Mugabe failed to come off as Mr Mugabe left for Harare early yesterday after receiving news of the death of his sister-in-law.

But during the celebration at the Somhlolo National Stadium, Mr De Klerk chatted continu-

ously to Namibian President Sam Nujoma, seated next to him. The two have not met since Namibian independence in 1991.

Mr De Klerk also spoke to Sultanate of Brunei Prime Minister Bolkeih, who was seated on his left.

The president said his discussions with Mr Nujoma had been "extremely amicable". He confirmed that the two had discussed the imminent handing over of Walvis Bay to Namibia, but would not disclose exactly what was said.

Mr De Klerk said it was dif-


ficult to set up more formal meetings between himself or Foreign Minister Pik Botha and other leaders yesterday because the celebrations had run several hours late.

But after the celebrations Mr De Klerk went to the Lozitha Palace for a meeting with King Mswati III.

ANC deputy president Walter Sisulu and PAC president Clarence Makwetu, who had also attended the SADC summit, shook hands warmly with Mr De Klerk as he arrived in the stadium's royal box.

ARG 7/9/93

## Buthelezi hopes meeting with FW will bring progress

JOHANNESBURG. — Inkatha leader Mangosuthu Buthelezi has confirmed that he will meet President De Klerk on Thursday next week, saying he hoped the meeting would take the negotiation process forward. **SOPA** 

"We could address the present difficulties in negotiations and discuss the process forward. We want an all-inclusive process," the Inkatha Freedom Party president said in Johannesburg on his return from a tour of European capitals.

On his party's absence from the constitutional talks, Chief Buthelezi said he would return to the table once the African National Congress's military wing Umkhonto we Sizwe was disbanded and violence ceased.

"Also, we want a full constitution, not in dribs and drabs, as well as dealing with this gimmick called sufficient consensus. The whole process is faulty."

The question of the disbanding of MK was necessary as a precursor to ending the violence. — Sapa



# Cloud hangs over Kempton talks

By Themba Molefe  
Political Correspondent

**T**HE KWAZULU GOVERNMENT'S RAND Supreme Court application against the multiparty negotiations process hung like a cloud above the World Trade Centre yesterday.

The hearing, in which KwaZulu seeks to have certain negotiating council decisions taken in terms of "sufficient consensus" overturned, has been set down for Thursday and Friday.

Although politicians in the talks publicly dismiss the case as having no legal power, some privately admit it might have serious consequences for the progress already made.

The KwaZulu government, Inkatha

**■ SOUR NOTE** Doubts about pending court case do nag at negotiators:

Freedom Party and the Conservative Party walked out of the talks protesting against decisions (including next April 27 as an election date) taken on July 2.

Yesterday, the bulk of constitutional issues affecting the future of homelands, especially the TBVC states and their powers, were postponed and referred to the negotiations planning committee for recommendation.

However, most of these issues will be dealt with bilaterally between parties in discord. Such bilateral agreements, which take place outside the negotiating council chamber, would keep all un-

happy parties in the process.

Discussions on the draft Transitional Executive Council Bill, agreement on which is vital this week, was held over until today to allow for bilateral discussions outside the council.

The TEC Bill, Independent Electoral Commission Bill, Independent Broadcasting Authority Bill and Independent Media Commission Bill are expected to be tabled before a special session of Parliament on Monday.

Their enactment would seal the transitional process in the build-up to the elections.

# ANC, govt differences halt debate on draft transitional council Bill

STRONG differences between government and the ANC on the proposed Transitional Executive Council Bill prevented negotiators from even discussing the draft Bill yesterday.

Despite regular meetings, including one at the last minute yesterday, the two parties are having difficulty resolving differences over key matters affecting the TEC's implementation. Last night they were locked in further discussions.

A source said there were three major points of contention:

- The ANC was concerned that 80% of

TEC members would be needed to make a decision binding.

□ Government felt that the 33% agreement required in the TEC and its subcommittees to procure information from government and administrations was too low, and

□ Government did not agree with the ANC's demand that President F W de Klerk and his Ministers needed the TEC's approval before declaring a state of emergency or an unrest area.

The ANC insists that the 80% majority for decisions is too high and wants it reduced to two-thirds. But government, and

BILL PADDOCK

other parties including the DP, prefers consensus or, if this cannot be achieved, approval by 80% of members present.

One source said government was unhappy about De Klerk's "hands being tied in declaring a state of emergency". But the ANC believed that the TEC would be toothless if it could not review or prevent the declaration of an emergency.

The position of the TBVC states in relation to the TEC must also be resolved. However, the source said this problem was

closely linked to the position of regional autonomy and could be dealt with later.

Ciskei and Bophuthatswana proposed to the planning committee that they get associate or observer status on the TEC. They refused to implement the TEC in their territories and would not have elections in April. Instead they wanted their own legislatures to nominate associate representatives to Parliament. They wanted voting status on all constitutional matters and only when the final constitution was agreed and approved by their representatives would they allow reincorporation.

This was totally unacceptable to the other parties and the ad hoc committee reported failure in resolving the issue.

Yesterday the council's agenda had to be changed after Constitutional Development Minister Roelf Meyer asked for time for further discussion. The proposal was seconded by ANC secretary-general Cyril Ramaphosa. Negotiators called in the constitutional matters committee instead and kept themselves busy with non-contentious issues. The disputed areas of regional powers and autonomy are still being negotiated by the planning committee.



# ANC slams Lewis, CP

THE appearance at the Conservative Party's Transvaal congress of Mrs Gaye Derby-Lewis, charged with the murder of Chris Hani, has been sharply criticised. *Sowetan 7/9/93*

The ANC has described her presence at the congress as "insensitive" and giving rise to serious concerns about the CP's commitment to peace. *(304A)*

Lawyers for Human Rights said it reinforced the perception that she had

been treated sympathetically by the courts.

Colonel Ivor Human, who heads the Hani murder case investigation, said she had not broken her bail conditions.

According to Warrant-Officer Mike Holmes, an investigating officer in the murder case, there was nothing in Derby-Lewis's bail conditions to prevent her from attending political functions.

# Free and fair election results 'will be accepted'

Blay 7/9/93

(304A) (117)

SA's political parties would accept the result of next year's election if they lost, but party spokesmen warned that unrealistic expectations could trigger post-election violence, the latest issue of Barometer on Negotiations said.

Barometer asked DP, Inkatha Freedom Party, SA Communist Party, ANC, NP, Afrikaner Volksunie (AVU), CP, PAC and Azapo spokesmen how they would react to losing the election.

All said that having agreed to take part, they would accept the result and assume the role of opposition parties. However, most predicated their accep-

PATRICK BULGER

tance on their perception that the elections were free and fair.

"The only thing we insist on is that elections are free and fair," said ANC spokesman Carl Niehaus.

He said the ANC was concerned at the prospect of counter-revolutionary actions after the poll and wanted to include as broad as possible a cross-section of SA society in a government of national unity.

He felt ethnicity had been overrated as a factor in the violence and that it would be rendered even less of a factor by the system of proportional representation rather than constituency delimitation.

NP spokesman Piet Coetzer said the NP would accept losing the election but a government of national unity was designed to accommodate losing parties. He said the ANC had overestimated its support, however, and would not win with an overall majority or even emerge as the strongest party.

"There is a danger that, if parties create too high expectations among their supporters, it could result in destabilisation after the election," Coetzer said.

PAC deputy president Johnson Mlambo was the only spokesman who said

he was convinced of victory for his party.

"In the unlikely event of the PAC losing, they would accept the verdict of the people as long as they were satisfied that the elections had been free and fair. It is true that a party that has overestimated its support can resort to violence on losing an election.

"One method of pre-empting this is to ensure that all armed formations are under joint political command during the transition," he said.

AVU leader Andries Beyers said it was highly unlikely a future government would be able to function successfully without the loyalty of KwaZulu/Natal and Afrikaner nationalists. "If the ideas of the Cosag group are going to be ignored, they will be compelled to act together as the enemies of the new dispensation."

Inkatha national chairman Frank Mdlalose said that if the party lost, it would take its place as an opposition party. DP spokesman James Selfe also identified unrealistic expectations as a stumbling block.

The SACP's Jeremy Cronin said the SACP would not contest the election in its own right, but it was committed to multiparty democracy.

## Bill to shake up law norms

KATHRYN STRACHAN

THE introduction of a Bill of Rights would shake and permeate the foundations of SA's legal system, Deputy Justice Minister Sheila Camerer said yesterday.

Speaking at the Wits University law students' council conference, Camerer said the Bill would also mean that lawyers would no longer be people who blindly executed the law, but would instead be the creative architects of new policies.

Under a new constitution, lawyers would be called on



# Criticism for Gaye at CP meeting

Star 7/9/93

■ BY CHRIS WHITFIELD  
POLITICAL CORRESPONDENT

Gaye Derby-Lewis's presence at the CP's Transvaal congress at the weekend has been sharply criticised. (304A)

Derby-Lewis has been charged with the murder of Chris Hani but was released on bail last month.

The ANC said her presence at the congress was "insensitive", while Lawyers for Human Rights said it reinforced the perception that the courts were treating her sympathetically.

However, Colonel Ivor Human, who heads the Hani murder investigation, said: "She has not broken her bail conditions."

ANC spokesman Carl Niehaus said the CP, in receiving Derby-Lewis, had shown "insensitivity to the death of Chris Hani". It also raised "very, very serious doubts about the CP's commitment to peace".

Derby-Lewis reportedly attended the congress on Friday morning when a session was held behind closed doors.

She was granted R30 000 bail by the Rand Supreme Court on August 10. Details of various aspects of the conditions — including the location of the "safe house" — were kept secret.

AY SEPTEMBER 7 1993

Star 7/9/93  
**Resist ANC  
with force  
— CP leader**

Conservative Party leader Dr Ferdi Hartzenberg fuelled the tension between his party and the ANC yesterday by calling the ANC an opponent of peace and a killing machine. (304A)

Hartzenberg also called on CP supporters to prepare to resist with all available force the threat by ANC leader Nelson Mandela that the CP would be crushed should it attempt to derail the implementation of a Transitional Executive Council.

DP leader Dr Zach de Beer yesterday called on the CP to disband. And the NP said the CP was becoming more irrelevant after its threat to boycott Parliament this month. — Sapa.



## De Beer's plea to CP

DEMOCRATIC Party leader Dr Zach de Beer yesterday called on the Conservative Party to disband, saying it could make no contribution to South Africa's future.

De Beer said the CP's announcement that it would not take part in the Transitional Executive Council should not cause surprise. It had stuck bloody-mindedly to the worst and narrowest kind of political apartheid.

(SOUTH AFRICA)

Sowetan 7/9/93

# PAC warns NP, DP of election dangers

Biday 7/9/93

PATRICK BULGER

THE NP and DP would need police escorts if they wanted to campaign in townships for next year's election, PAC publicity and information director Waters Toboti warned yesterday.

He was speaking against the backdrop of a growing controversy over the presence in townships of whites generally and white policemen in particular.

At the weekend, Delmas farmer Fanie Badenhorst was murdered at a squatter camp and police warned whites not to enter any townships unless escorted by security force members.

Last week PAC foreign secretary Gora Ebrahim sent a letter to US ambassador Princeton Lyman expressing regret for the murder of US student Amy Biehl in Cape Town's Guguletu township. Ebrahim referred in the letter to "special circumstances" prevailing in SA's townships.

The township controversy was fuelled at the weekend when ANC president Nelson Mandela called for white policemen to be withdrawn from townships.

Elaborating on Mandela's remarks, which drew criticism from Law and Order Minister Hernus Kriel and DP leader Zach de Beer, ANC spokesman Carl Niehaus said white policemen often displayed a racist attitude towards township dwellers.

Niehaus denied Kriel's claim that Mandela's call was an ANC attempt to prohibit whites from campaigning in townships for the election.

However, Toboti said it would be "very difficult" for whites to campaign in the townships. The DP and NP would not be able to go there without the police, but the

PAC could get into any township.

Toboti said township blacks were bitter about the deaths of people at the hands of unidentified killers and tended to see whites as supporting the killers.

Law and Order Minister Hernus Kriel said yesterday ANC demands for the withdrawal of the internal stability unit and white policemen from townships was a racist ploy, DIRK VAN EEDEN reports.

"These ANC demands are a thinly disguised ploy to establish no-go areas in which a political cleansing process against ANC opponents can take place," Kriel said.

The unit and a police presence, especially in East Rand townships, were the only reasons these areas had not been turned into a second Bosnia. (304A)

Sapa reports that De Beer yesterday called on on Mandela to explain his position on the removal of white policemen from the townships. Until now Mandela had been consistent on non-racism, but "here he is proposing a bizarre form of police apartheid".

Inkatha Freedom Party Transvaal organiser Themba Khoza also rejected Mandela's demand, saying a bloodbath would ensue if the stability unit and white policemen were removed.

More than 1 300 unrest-related incidents, of which 350 were attacks on policemen, occurred on the Witwatersrand in the four months from May to August this year, according to statistics released by police yesterday.

## CP may boycott Parliament

CAPE TOWN — CP MPs will decide on Saturday on a strategy, including a possible boycott, for the coming short session of Parliament. Biday

Party spokesman Pieter Mulder confirmed yesterday that certain members favoured boycotting the session aimed primarily at implementing transitional legislation which the CP opposed. 7/9/93

Mulder said Brakpan MP Frank le Roux had called Saturday's caucus meeting.

Insiders said there was a slim chance a boycott would be decided on. Such a meeting would hardly be called just to send MPs home again.

The NP said the consideration of a boycott by the CP showed the party was becoming more irrelevant every day. It was an example of the "escapism syndrome" gaining the upper hand in the CP.

"This is shown in the non-payment of TV licences, the sealing of their own TV sets,

and the possible boycott of the Parliamentary session," the NP said.

DP leader Zach de Beer called for the CP to disband, saying it could make no contribution to SA's future. (304A)

The CP's announcement that it would not participate in the transitional executive council (TEC) should not cause surprise, he said. It had stuck bloody-mindedly to the worst kind of political apartheid.

Meanwhile, CP leader Ferdi Hartzenberg exacerbated tension between his party and the ANC yesterday, calling the organisation an opponent of peace and a killing machine.

He called on CP supporters to prepare all available force to resist the threat by ANC president Nelson Mandela that the CP would be crushed should it try to derail the implementation of a TEC. — Sapa.

● Comment: Page 8

Accepted: 8/9/93



# Buthelezi: SA in civil war now

Own Correspondent

JOHANNESBURG. — South Africa was already engaged in a civil war that would intensify if tensions were raised, Inkatha Freedom Party leader Chief Mangosuthu Buthelezi said on his arrival at Jan Smuts Airport yesterday.

After meetings in Europe with the foreign ministers of

Denmark, Germany and Britain, Chief Buthelezi said although he had faced some pressure to lead Inkatha back to multi-party talks, he had merely stated his preconditions for a return.

Chief Buthelezi, who will meet President F W de Klerk next Thursday, said he was surprised that people still

spoke about a civil war as if it were hypothetical.

Only the disbandment of the ANC's uMkhonto weSizwe would prevent its escalation, he said. He named his preconditions for a return to the talks as an adjustment to the "sufficient consensus" principle and a full constitution written at the talks.

CT 8/9/93 (304)  
Chief Buthelezi said he hoped his meeting with Mr De Klerk would take the negotiations process forward.

"We want an all-inclusive process," he said.

The encounter between the two leaders may be given fresh impetus by a Supreme Court ruling tomorrow on the issue of "sufficient consensus".

## Indian link to SA welcomed

AF03

Political Staff

DURBAN. — The decision by India to establish diplomatic relations with South Africa as soon as economic sanctions are lifted later this month has been widely welcomed.

India's deputy foreign minister Mr Salman Khursheed announced the decision in New Delhi yesterday shortly after returning from a visit to South Africa.

Natal Indian Congress secretary-

general Dr Farook Meer said last night it was fitting that India, which had applied pressure on South Africa for many years, was now establishing diplomatic links.

Deputy foreign affairs minister Mr Renier Schoeman said from Tokyo last night the move was "historic", and the DP's Mr Mahmoud Rajab said it was "wonderful news".

The move paves the way for Air India flights between Bombay and Johannesburg from October 2.



CT 89/93  
**Leon DP regional leader**

JOHANNESBURG. — Democratic Party MP for Houghton Mr Tony Leon, 37, was elected DP southern Transvaal regional leader at the party's annual meeting on Monday night. (304)

## Closer ties to Japan likely

JOHANNESBURG. — Strengthened relations between Pretoria and Japan are on the cards in the wake of constitutional progress in South Africa (304A)

This is the view of deputy minister of foreign affairs Mr Renier Schoeman, who met the director-general of the Middle East and Africa bureau of Japan's foreign affairs ministry, Mr Takaya Suto, in Tokyo yesterday. (18/1/73)

The foreign ministry in Pretoria said Japan had expressed an interest in development aid projects via a trilateral arrangement with South Africa and Mozambique.

Bilateral relations and economic interaction were also discussed.

Mr Schoeman visits South Korea later this week to officially open South Africa's embassy in Seoul. — Sapa



*TEC draft Bill adopted and sanctions to go*

# Unilateral at talks

Star 8/9/93

(3044)

**ADOPTION of draft Bill means that sanctions may be lifted by the end of the month.**

■ BY ESTHER WAUGH  
AND CHRIS WHITFIELD

The end of all trade and financial sanctions against South Africa is less than a month away following a leap forward in negotiations yesterday.

ANC chairman Thabo Mbeki said he expected last night's acceptance of the draft Transitional Executive Council (TEC) Bill by the Negotiating Council would lead to the lifting of sanctions before the end of the month.

In the Negotiating Council itself, the approval of the Bill by "sufficient consensus" was greeted by sustained applause from delegates.

Constitutional Development Minister Roelf Meyer said that the TEC could be operating by the end of next month, after a negotiations plenary session. It will remain in operation until the scheduled April 27 elections.

In essence the TEC, consisting of one member from each of the negotiating parties, and its sub-councils will have powers to intervene when governments or political parties take actions which it determines are not "conducive to free and fair elections."

Meyer described the agreement as a "major achievement". It balanced the Government's position that the TEC should not be an "alter-



Meyer . . . TEC operating by end of October



Ramaphosa . . . sanctions lifted by end of month

## OBJECTS OF THE TEC

The objects of the TEC, as contained in Section 3 of the Draft Bill, are to promote, in conjunction with all legislative and executive structures of government, the preparation for the transition to a democratic order in South Africa. This is to be done by promoting a climate for free political participation by endeavouring to:

- Eliminate any impediments to legitimate political activity.
- Eliminate intimidation.
- Ensure that political parties are free to canvass support and to hold meetings.
- Ensure the full participation of women in the transitional and electoral structures and processes.
- Ensure that no government or administration exercises any of its powers in such a way as to advantage or prejudice any political party.

native government" and demands for a body to ensure free and fair elections.

ANC secretary-general Cyril Ramaphosa said the passing of the draft TEC Bill was a building block needed for the lifting of sanctions.

"We are confident sanctions will be lifted by the end of the month," he added.

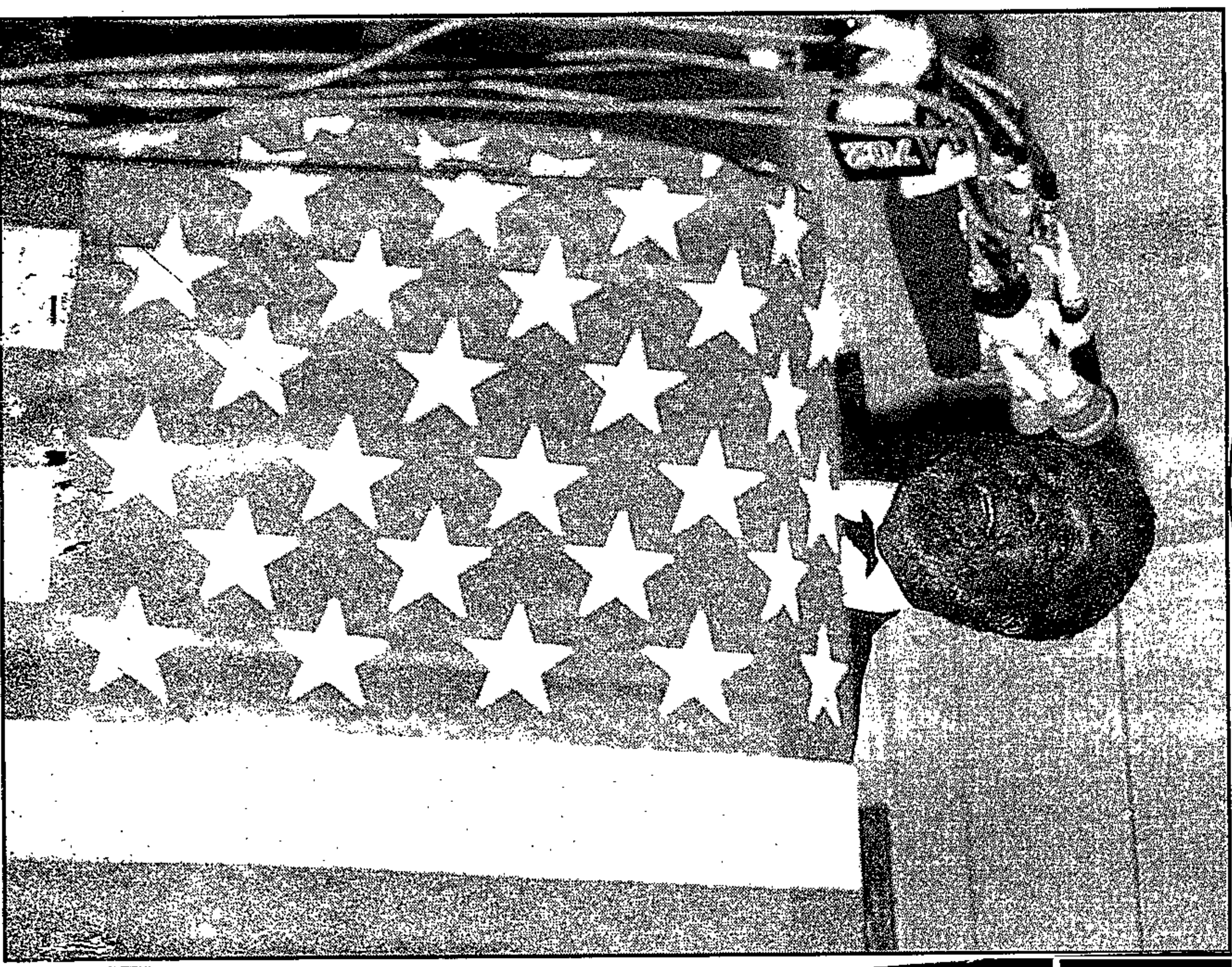
There appeared to be some confusion among ANC mem-

bers on what would trigger the lifting of the sanctions.

Mbeki, after making his announcement to the opening of the "Made in USA" trade fair in the World Trade Centre, said sanctions could go once the TEC was in place.

However, other ANC sources believed sanctions would be dropped once the Bill had

► To Page 3



Good news . . . Thabo Mbeki announces at the "Made in USA" trade fair last night that sanctions would go once the TEC Bill was in place. PICTURE: STEPHEN DAVIMES



Star 8/9/93

# Negotiations take huge leap forward

◀ From Page 1

been processed by Parliament.

The ANC national working committee meets today to consider the issue. Agreement in the Negotiating Council followed a long day of wrangling and debate.

ANC and Government negotiators met behind closed doors for six hours yesterday to thrash out some sharp differences. Two meetings on Monday — when the Negotiating Council postponed debate on the TEC legislation to allow for discussion — failed to resolve differences.

It is understood that President de Klerk and ANC leader Nelson Mandela also held a discussion by telephone.

The legislation will now go before Parliament, probably during the short session beginning on September 13.

However, it will not take effect until a negotiations plenary session, attended by leaders, has given the entire "package" of agreements — including the Interim Constitution — its approval.

The major dispute between the ANC and Government has revolved around the majorities needed to take decisions in the TEC and its seven sub-councils. (30/4A)

The technical committee on the TEC suggested 80 percent, and was backed by the Government. The ANC insisted on a two-thirds majority.

It was agreed late yesterday that decisions by the TEC would require a 75 percent majority.

Decisions in the sub-councils would be taken by a two-thirds majority, except in the sub-councils on defence, intelligence, and law and order where an 80 percent majority would be needed, the sources pointed out. These three sub-councils would also have eight members as opposed to the six in others.

It was also agreed that De Klerk could have the power to declare a state of emergency after consulting with the sub-council on defence.

The TEC could then review the decision and, if it wished, overturn the decision with an 80 percent majority.

## THE TALKS AND YOU



### At the World Trade Centre

#### TRANSITIONAL EXECUTIVE COUNCIL:

After hours of wrangling behind closed doors, this historic piece of legislation was finally approved late last night.

Bophuthatswana and Ciskei objected, while the PAC and Afrikaner Volksunie reserved their positions. The Government and ANC had met twice on Monday and were locked in meetings for another six hours yesterday to resolve obstacles.

**BISHO:** On the anniversary of the Bisho massacre, in which 29 people died, negotiators held a minute's silence.

**TODAY:** Meetings of the council for today, tomorrow and Monday have been cancelled.

Bill for an Interim

# British media welcomes TEC breakthrough

ALAN ROBINSON  
The Argus Foreign Service

LONDON. — The agreement paying the way for the establishment of the non-racial Transitional Executive Council (TEC) has been hailed here as a "big step to non-white rule".

The vital breakthrough was widely and prominently reported in the British national media, with the BBC making it the second item on all its early morning radio bulletins today.

The serious newspapers also

devoted considerable space to the news, with the *Daily Telegraph* headlining its report from Johannesburg: "South Africa in big step to non-white rule". It said the draft TEC bill was designed to "level the playing fields" in the countdown to the April 27 elections.

The *Times* led its foreign news page with a lengthy report which said the agreement opened the way for the total lifting of sanctions by the end of September.

But it also highlighted differences of interpretation, pointing out that the government negotiators insist the TEC will have no executive powers, while the ANC and its sympathisers are adamant that it is a mandate for power-sharing.

The *Times* quotes Communist Party negotiator Joe Slovo as saying: "It's not an advisory body. It has got enormous powers — the power to poke its nose into everything that has a bearing on a free and fair election. It is not a toothless tiger."



# 'Sanctions

CT 8/9/93

to go by

month end

JOHANNESBURG. — The green light for sanctions to be lifted before the end of the month was signalled last night by ANC chairman and head of foreign affairs Mr Thabo Mbeki.

And ANC secretary-general Mr Cyril Ramaphosa said yesterday the ANC expected to announce a final deadline for the lifting of sanctions today.

Last night multi-party negotiators agreed to a Transitional Executive Council.

"This means we have taken another step closer to the lifting of sanctions," Mr Mbeki said, addressing the opening of a "Made in the USA" trade exhibition at the World Trade Centre.

Sanctions would be lifted before the end of the month, he said.

Mr Mbeki said the US had played an important role in imposing sanctions against South Africa in the 1980s.

## Black empowerment

He urged American firms exhibiting at the trade fair to use the opportunity to establish ties with the country.

He said US firms could play an important role in achieving black economic empowerment.

"What will be very difficult here will be the rebuilding and reconstruction of this economy," he said. "We look forward to your help."

The ANC also announced it would give special tax advances to companies investing in South Africa after the elections, provided they helped uplift and train the local population.

Addressing a packed Livingstone Leamy corporate presentation at the Durban Country Club last night, ANC media liaison officer Mr Carl Niehaus said the organisation would also guarantee that investors would not be prevented from taking profits out of the country. He said South Africa needed a growing economy.

# Go-ahead

CT 8/9/93



SANCTIONS TO GO ...  
Thabo Mbeki

## Accord reached on interim govt

JOHANNESBURG. — Negotiators last night approved the Transitional Executive Council Bill, after dramatic last-minute meetings between the government and the ANC averted a breakdown in talks.

The adoption by sufficient consensus of the draft TEC Bill was greeted with a standing ovation by negotiators. The bill will now be sent to Parliament.

Asked later when he thought the TEC would be up and running, the government's senior negotiator, Mr Roelf Meyer, said "it is fair to say that by the middle of the end of October".

The government and the ANC reached a compromise after six hours of negotiations.

Earlier there was concern that negotiators might not achieve agreement. The talks were adjourned for several hours yesterday afternoon after the government and the ANC asked for time behind closed doors to try to resolve two outstanding issues between them.

Only two of the 23 delegations, Ciskei and Bophuthatswana, opposed the adoption. The Par-Africanist Congress and the Afrikaner Volksunie reserved their positions.

The chairman of the day's proceedings, National Party negotiator Dr Dawie de Villiers, described the adoption of the draft bill as "an important achievement for the negotiating council".

"We have sufficient consensus," he ruled.

The TEC and its seven sub-councils will oversee the run-up to the April 27 election.

The State President's powers to declare a state of emergency have been separated so that he can consult the law and order sub-council. The TEC can revise the decision and overturn it with 80% support.

In the required TEC majority, a 75% consensus, rather than the initial 80%, is needed for decisions.

A 75% consensus is also required in the law and order, and defence and intelligence sub-councils, if they are limited to eight members.

Other sub-councils with six members — finance, foreign affairs, regional and local

government, and the status of women — require a two-thirds majority.

Therefore it would require three sub-council members to prevent a decision, effectively making a 50% consensus in the smaller sub-councils.

The draft TEC Bill joins three other pieces of draft legislation for the interim period to be dealt with at a special sitting of Parliament next Monday.

These are the draft Independent Electoral Commission Bill, the draft Independent Media Commission Bill and the draft Independent Broadcasting Authority Bill.

Mr Meyer told a press conference after the consensus that the adoption of the draft TEC Bill "is a major achievement for this negotiating process".

He said that on the one side the government's clear objective was "to ensure that the TEC will not be an alternative government or replace the executive of the country, and from the perspective of other participants to create a mechanism that will ensure free and fair elections".

"We (the government) are satisfied that this bill does not provide for a substitute of the government in any way whatsoever, or joint control of the security forces," Mr Meyer said.

ANC secretary-general Mr Cyril Ramaphosa said: "It is a historic moment for those who have struggled against apartheid, because the adoption of the draft TEC Bill is one of the final steps in bringing down the apartheid edifice."

Senior negotiators envisage holding the plenary session of leaders after the September special session of Parliament, but before a second special session planned for the end of October. — Sapa

● Buthezi: SA in civil war now — Page 2

## More DP losses to ANC likely

Own Correspondent

JOHANNESBURG. —

Three Democratic Party  
Randburg town council-  
lors and three Sandton  
councillors are expected  
to announce their defec-  
tion to the ANC today.

According to well-  
placed sources they are  
Randburg mayor Mr Bri-  
an Crail, management  
committee chairman Mr  
Gary Cooney and coun-  
cillor Mr Andre Jacobs.

The names of promi-  
nent new members in  
the Western Cape are to  
be disclosed on Monday.

L(304A)(44)

## DP councillors defect to ANC

The Argus Correspondent

JOHANNESBURG: — The names of six Randburg and Sandton town councillors who have left the Democratic Party to join the African National Congress were announced today (30/4/93) ORG 9/9/93

They are Randburg Mayor Brian Crail, management committee chairman Gary Cooney and Councillor André Jacobs. The Sandton councillors are Willem Hefer, Mike Melunsky and Richard Cheary (HEFER).



**Inspectors to ANC urged to quit**  
JOHANNESBURG. The National Party has  
called for the resignation of three former Demo-  
cratic Party Randburg councillors who have de-  
fected to the African National Congress.  
The three are Mayor Brian Crail, management  
committee chairman Gary Cooney and councillor  
André Jacobs. (215) (114) (344)  
● The Argus Correspondents and Sapa.

## Top AVU man quits party

PRETORIA. — Afrikaner  
Volksunie's former chief  
negotiator, Mr Cehill Pie-  
naar, resigned from the  
AVU yesterday because  
he wanted to be "a mem-  
ber of a party and not an  
inmate." CT 19/9/73

"I had enough difficul-  
ties escaping from the  
concentration camp men-  
tality of the Conservative  
Party and did not want to  
get involved in a similar  
situation again," he said.

He would not comment  
on whether he would re-  
join the National Party.

— Sapa (3047)

# Clinton cheers FW and Mandela

APCT 9/9/93  
PETER FABRICIUS  
The Argus Foreign Service

WASHINGTON. — President Bill Clinton telephoned President de Klerk and ANC president Nelson Mandela to promise that America would remain a partner in building democracy and promoting economic development in South Africa.

President Clinton yesterday congratulated the two leaders on the "historic breakthrough" in achieving agreement on a transitional executive council, White House Press secretary Dee Dee Myers said.

He quoted Mr Clinton as saying the TEC agreement "paves the way for the transition to a multi-racial, democratic South Africa".

Mr Clinton indicated that the US looked forward to announcing a number of new initiatives to support smooth transition.

Administration sources said that these were the initiatives Mr Clinton mentioned after meeting Mr De Klerk and Mr Mandela at the White House in July.

They included the repeal of remaining federal sanctions — among them the Gramm amendment blocking SA access to IMF loans — encouraging state and local governments to abolish their sanctions, direct financial assistance to support the elections and co-operation with other G7 countries in re-integrating SA into the economic mainstream.

Earlier State Department spokesman Mike McCurry said he thought a plan for the US to help the transitional government had been discussed when the two South African leaders were in the US.

He believed it would be discussed further when they came to the US later this month "probably for sessions at the United Nations".

Both will be here this month to address investment conferences.

● See page 17



## Walvis Bay transfer date announced

ADRIAN HADLAND

PRETORIA — Walvis Bay would be transferred from SA to Namibia on February 28 next year once legislation had been passed by Parliament, it was announced yesterday. **B1919/3**

Delegations from the two countries met in Pretoria yesterday and agreed that February 28 1993 would be "a practical target date for the transfer of sovereignty". **21919/3**

The Namibian delegation, led by Foreign Affairs Minister Theo-Ben Gurirab, and the SA delegation, led by Foreign Minister P.W. Botha, reaffirmed their commitment to reincorporation of Walvis Bay and off-shore islands into

Namibia as soon as possible.

They added that the interests of Walvis Bay residents were paramount in the transfer.

"It was agreed that the position of government officials, vested rights and issues such as citizenship will be addressed in the proposed legislation and agreements between the two governments," a statement said.

Also agreed was that the joint administrative authority would be responsible for effecting the transfer of administrative responsibilities. **(221)**

## Pienaar quits 'negative' AVU

BILLY PADDOCK

AFRIKANER Volksunie chief negotiator Cehill Pienaar resigned from the party on Tuesday because he was "tired of the opportunistic and cynical viewpoint of the head committee". **(20477)**

He had left the CP to join the AVU last year because he wanted to be a member of a party and not an inmate of a concentration camp. He did not want to be involved in "concentration camp mentality" again.

Pienaar indicated at negotiations on Monday that he was prepared to go along with the Transitional Executive Council (TEC) Bill, contrary to the AVU's instructions. He said yesterday the AVU's desire to serve on TEC structures after having opposed its formation was "opportunistic and cynical".

The AVU had not been founded on "negative reactionary politics" and he could not accept orders to oppose everything.

Last week he accepted that Bills passed by negotiators would go to Parliament but would not be implemented until after the constitution had been finalised and the total package of agreements accepted at a plenary of the negotiating forum.

He is the fourth of five former CP MPs to have resigned from the AVU. AVU leader Andries Beyers is the only former CP member now in the party.

"I will now think of my political future and where it lies," Pienaar said.

AVU head committee chairman Gerdtus Kruger said the party regretted Pienaar's resignation but the AVU had gone out of its way to accommodate him.

Our Political Staff reports that DP leader Zach de Beer said he was willing to talk to Pienaar about his political future.

## Right-wingers warn TEC will trigger war

DIRK VAN EEDEN

PRETORIA — If the will of the Transitional Executive Council (TEC) was going to be forced on people striving for self-determination, they would consider it a declaration of war, Afrikaner Volksfront director Gen Tienie Groenewald said yesterday.

Right-wing organisations all rejected the TEC yesterday, most of them fearing it might lead to increased violence, further economic decline and general chaos. **(20477)**

Talk about unilateral secession by Boers and traditional blacks were rife, right-wing sources said.

Groenewald said if government and the ANC tried to implement the TEC Act, the Afrikaner Volksfront and other Cosag members would not accept the TEC's authority. They would embark on civil disobedience and mass action.

If government or the TEC decided to use force against them, they would consider it a declaration of war and were ready to defend themselves.

He warned those who would vote to pass the TEC Bill that their constituencies would hold them responsible for the anarchy that followed.

CP caucus member Jurg Prinsloo said his party would do all it could to prevent the Act being promulgated. However, it had not decided on a programme of action yet. "If government wants to throw democracy out of the window, it has to be prepared

to harvest the fruits of the action."

HNP leader Jaap Marais said the adoption of the Bill indicated how desperate the ANC and government were to give the impression of progress. Developments at the World Trade Centre were a farce.

There were no clear-cut divisions of authority between the TEC and government. This would lead to even more political chaos and whites would feel increasingly obliged to protect themselves and violence would escalate.

Boerestaat Party leader Robert van Tonder said acceptance of the Bill heralded a Boer struggle outside the polling booth.

Reuter reports AWB leader Eugene Terre'Blanche predicted unrest and chaos would follow the Bill's adoption. Multiparty negotiators had created a situation in which war was nearer than at any other time.

Sapa reports from Cape Town that Azapo spokesman Gomolemo Mofe said yesterday the agreement was a setback. The "boers" had no intention of relinquishing power and saw the TEC as a "survivalist mechanism".

See Page 8

# **Volksunie MP quits after protest**

Star 9/9/93

A leading Afrikaner Volksunie (AVU) parliamentarian resigned yesterday after protesting to party leaders about their "opportunistic and cynical" attitude to the Transitional Executive Council Bill. (304A)

Cehil Pienaar also said that the AVU was moving too far to the Right and that the Cosag alliance was not strong enough "for the new political situation".

Pienaar tendered his resignation after the AVU's head committee had decided this week to oppose Tuesday's TEC Bill.

Pienaar said: "I cannot abide by the viewpoint of the head committee. Negative reactionary politics was not the aim at the founding of the AVU."

Gerdus Kruger, chairman of the AVU head committee, said yesterday that Pienaar felt that the party was "too Right". Pienaar had said that only the senior negotiating partners — the National Party and the ANC — would be able to find a solution to help the Afrikaner people.

## FW, Buthelezi in major talks

PRESIDENT F W de Klerk and Inkatha Chief Mangosuthu Buthelezi will field their full negotiating teams today to try to forge an understanding they hope will take them out of the negotiations impasse.

Mr De Klerk's Tuynhuys staff confirmed yesterday that he had cleared his diary for a full day of talks that, if previous meetings are any guide, could run late into the night.

Their main objective is to clear the way for Inkatha's return to the World Trade Centre negotiations which it has boycotted since July 2 in objection to "sufficient consensus" decisions, particularly on the April 27 elections.

Tuynhuys sources said Mr De Klerk was being "very pragmatic" about the cabinet-to-cabinet meeting. — Sapa, Political Staff



## 'Shortcomings' in councils for whites

Political Staff

IN the dying days of the controversial own affairs policy, the House of Assembly administration established eight regional councils for cultural affairs for whites at a cost of R1,8 million a year.

The regional councils were established on March 1, 1991, and, as auditor-general Mr Henri Kruever reported yesterday, they soon ran into administrative problems.

He said in his report on the House of Assembly administration for 1991/2, which was tabled in Parliament, that investigations brought to light "certain shortcomings" in six of the eight cultural councils.

The most serious of these was that ministerial approval was not obtained for the investment of surplus money, various shortcomings existed in the division of duties and there was a failure to comply with approved instructions.

The most expensive of the regional councils was the Northern Transvaal.

# Inkatha threat to prevent election

(18) (304A)  
CT10/9/93

Own Correspondent

JOHANNESBURG. — The Inkatha Freedom Party yesterday threatened widespread mass action and disruption to ensure that the elections scheduled for April next year do not take place.

"We will stop it," Inkatha central committee member and senior negotiator Mr Walter Felgate said. "We will make it impossible for an election to take place by embarking on a campaign of mass action, street action and disruption."

Should the government and the ANC go ahead with the elections without Inkatha there would be civil war, he said.

The government and the ANC immediately warned that Mr Felgate's statement was "irresponsible and outrageous" and called for "Inkatha's lieutenants to keep out of the way and allow the leaders to discuss issues in a serious and constructive manner".

## 'Ability to mobilise'

A government source said the government would be wanting to hear firsthand from Inkatha leader Chief Mangosuthu Buthelezi on Thursday, when he meets President F W de Klerk, whether he endorsed Mr Felgate's statement. If he did, this would be dealt with by Mr De Klerk.

Mr Felgate said: "We have the ability to mobilise half the country's electorate to oppose the holding of the elections."

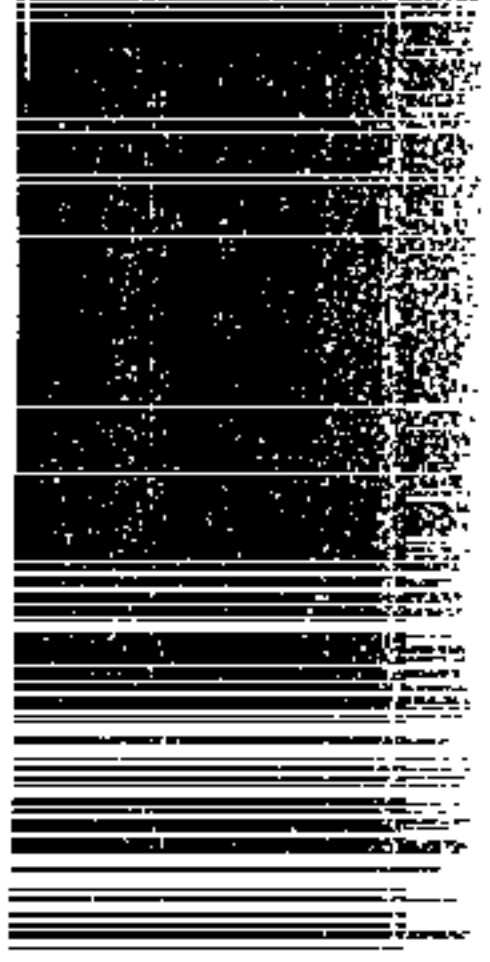
A spokesman for Mr De Klerk said he would seek to encourage Chief Buthelezi to return to talks and endorse the bills passed by the negotiators.

ANC spokesman Mr Carl Niehaus said Mr Felgate's statement was "absolutely outrageous".

The majority of South Africans would not allow Inkatha to disrupt the elections.

An ANC negotiator said the "full might of the TEC and the joint forces would ensure peace and prevent intimidation".

"We will have the full and legitimate power to crush any parties fomenting violence," he said.



ZAR black students rioted recently at Witwatersrand University in Johannesburg, causing large disproportionate to their numbers, a riot for official of the African National Congress to talk to them.

In the first part of his address he told the students they had every right to express their grievances, but should do so in an orderly fashion, avoiding violence. On the other hand — and here is the sting — if the university failed to come up with an adequate response, it lay with them to take whatever steps they considered appropriate. His calculated ambiguity illustrates the dilemma in which South Africa's black leaders now find themselves. Given the younger generation every incentive to be militant, the ANC is now caught in a tight rebellion it cannot control. Nor, with the first all-racial election barely eight months away, is it inclined to scold and so risk alienating its more ardent supporters.

Overwhelming black expectations remain South Africa's greatest challenge. Even if all sanctions are lifted, as Nelson Mandela urges, there is no way they can be met, writes W.F. DEEDS, former editor of the Daily Telegraph, following a recent visit to South Africa.

reach unanimity on the shape of the constitution, not even the ghastly cycle of violence in the townships, but the certainty that these expectations are bound to be disappointed. This will lead to disillusionment among many blacks, with incalculable consequences. An alarmingly high number of black South Africans see that the whites, Afrikaners and English-speaking, have combined their monopoly of political power with a comfortable house (often with a swimming pool) and a high standard of living. It must follow the reasoning goes, that when power shifts from the white minority to the black majority, these same benefits will be available to all.

In reality, South Africa has always had its poor whites, and today there are a surprisingly high number who are extremely poor. But they are not taken into account in these heady black calculations. Nor is it simply the ANC that has encouraged such dangerously high expectations. For years, the world has been assuring South African blacks that they were oppressed by an iniquitous system, the prime purpose of which was to deny them their rightful heritage. Both President F.W. de Klerk and Mr. Nelson Mandela are aware that the strength of South Africa's economy is a key to the future. This week, Mr. Mandela said the ANC would actively campaign throughout the world for the remaining sanctions to be lifted and for inflows of foreign investment to be lifted and for inflows of foreign investment capital. But in my judgment the world's response to such overtures will be exceedingly cautious.

South Africa, recently described as the most dangerous country, is no big deal for international companies with ample factories and suppliers elsewhere. Prosperity can come only from enterprises which can see their way clearly to doing well in South Africa itself. As it is, the violence of recent months has cast a pall of doubt over such prospects. It will be a long while, therefore, before South Africa's economy can hope to meet even some of the huge social demands — education, health care, housing — which will be made upon it. In reality it can never match those demands.

What then? Some think that if the ANC wins next year's election and fails to meet these aspirations, it will be pushed out of office. My scenario is a different one. If, after a year or two, black expectations are badly disappointed, the blame will fall not wholly on the politicians black or white, but also on those in charge of South Africa's economy. It will be observed that while political power has shifted decisively to the black majority, nearly all the commanding heights of the economy remain in white hands. They hold the substance of well-being; the politicians hold only the shadow.

It follows (so the argument will run) that there will be no real improvement in the black condition until blacks have more say in how business is to be run. So South Africa will then move into a programme of black advancement within the economy — something which occurred on a small scale in Zimbabwe soon after independence. It is open to doubt how far such a development will tempt the overseas investor to pitch his tent there.

The serious question is what kind of an attitude the outside world should take towards this forthcoming crisis of confidence. Will we, at this point, conveniently forget the past, forget the damage done by sanctions, and direct our overseas investment into safer channels? The fact is, of course, that we probably shall



## Talks on key leaders lost to politics

Labour Reporter

VIGOROUS debate is expected at Cosatu's special national congress at the weekend as the powerful labour federation grapples with the prospect of losing some of its key leaders to politics. **ARC 10/9/93**

Within months some of South Africa's most prominent unionists are expected to have places on the ANC alliance's national list of candidates for the April 27 election.

But there are reservations within the federation about the ability of unions, and the federation itself, to cope with the loss of key officials. This has prompted a rethink on Cosatu's delegation.

More than 1700 delegates and hundreds of observers are expected to attend the congress.

Lydia Nceke  
Road





The old-style liberals ... a dying breed? From left: Sheena Duncan, Wendy de Lorm, Eleanor Anderson at an anti-censorship demonstration in the 1970s  
PHOTOGRAPH: THE STAR



From left: Margaret Nash, Molly Blackburn, Ethel Walt and Joyce Harris at the Matthew Goniwe funeral in 1985  
PHOTOGRAPH GILL DE VUEG

## Whatever happened to the old-style liberals?

(304A) WM 10-16/9/93

IT'S a warm spring day, and 77-year-old Eleanor Anderson and her husband, 88-year-old Philip Willcox, are preparing to drive themselves from their Morningside home down to Pageview.

"We read in the papers that the Indian families are moving in again and starting building," says Anderson, "so we decided to go down and have a look. We met a man called Yunus, and today we're going again to take a little geranium in a pot to him, just to welcome him back."

She takes out her photo album, and shows me photographs from 14 years ago, of doughty white women sitting on furniture piled up outside houses. It was clearly no tea party. "We Black Sash women went to Pageview to protest the forced removals," she says. "We sat on the furniture and wouldn't move. The police were very courteous to us, but I did hear one *konstabel* say that 'these women are more difficult to remove than the *kaftirs*'."

Anderson relates this story with pride. She is on the board of the Alexandra Clinic, runs a church soup-kitchen in the township, and is fiercely unapologetic about her values which she defines as "justice and decency". Why did she become involved with the Black Sash?

A new South Africa is emerging and it's not a perfect place. **Mark Gevisser** asks the old-style liberals — the Black Sash women with sensible shoes and ideals — what has happened to the values they fought for

"How could I not? I'm very conscious of having had a cushy and protected life. But one had the wonderful rushes of longing to do something for someone ..."

Eleanor Anderson is an old-style white South African liberal. And she's a dying breed, caught between the sneering taunts of the liberation movements and the muscular aggression of the "new liberal" free marketeers. But in the 1970s the epitome of engaged and meaningful liberalism was that image of silent, witness-bearing women, black sashes across tweed blazers, sensible shoes planted firmly into the ground behind picket-signs bearing legends like "You Are Affected, Whether You Know It Or Not."

They are faded icons, these women, of liberal

times past. How do they deal with this tarnished new South Africa? What do they think has happened to the values they fought for? In an attempt to define liberalism in 1993, I found two photos documenting Black Sash actions, and went in search of the women who participated in them.

The first photograph shows a picket-line of white women, protesting against censorship in the early 1970s. The second shows a group of white women being welcomed to Matthew Goniwe's funeral in Cradock in July 1985, the day PW Botha's first State of Emergency was declared.

"Molly Blackburn took us down to that funeral," says Ethel Walt, a woman in her 60s who powered the Black Sash's rural action campaign.

"I was very impressed. It was my first experience of a mass event, and it was profoundly moving to be there with thousands of black people. They made us walk all around the field and we were cheered to the rafters."

Margaret Nash, who is now an active African National Congress member in Cape Town, was also at the Goniwe funeral, where she felt "completely safe" despite being in "as close a contact one could have with extreme militancy". She doesn't feel that security any more: "There's an anonymity now. You can't rely on being recognised as a friend of the people. I find myself on the very edge of the white community but not part of the black community. Nowadays very few people can cross that divide."

"That's the harsh reality of this fragmented life."

Despite feeling threatened by criminal violence, living alone in a house in Claremont, the recent phenomenon of anti-white race-hate only pushes her closer into the arms of the ANC. "What it stands for in terms of non-racism are the values I hold dear. I don't see the ANC as the perfect vehicle for liberal values, but it's the nearest thing to what I aspire to."

Others, however, have become more cynical and have insisted on liberal purity. In fact, Race Relations director of research Jill Wentzel — herself a Black Sash veteran — will be bringing out a book shortly describing what she calls the organisation's "liberal slideaway" — its failure to take a stand against the sometimes-violent methods of the United Democratic Front in the 1980s.

"I felt the whole liberal constituency was way off kilter," she says. "There was a desire to be liked on the left and be recognised after so many years of plod; there was the liberal guilt complex which meant that people felt they didn't have the right to criticise black leaders; there was the plain desire to be helpful rather than destructive."

"And all these added up to a lethal combination, where people didn't ask awkward questions about whether the ends do in fact shape the means."

Despite having "slid away" by attending the Goniwe funeral, Walt now agrees with Wentzel. The ANC, she says, is "pretty equivocal on a

number of issues." She doesn't feel it has taken a strong enough stand on the Quattrone abuses, and is also worried about its cultural policy, the lack of political tolerance of its members on the ground, and the fact that "part of the package is people like Peter Mokaba".

She finds the current situation "terribly depressing and very, very disheartening."

"I wasn't idealistic enough to believe that people were going to be noble and wonderful as soon as they got the vote, but I'm just appalled at the amount of savagery that's being unleashed, and how a lot of it has been fomented by leaders who should be more responsible."

In the mid-1980s, Wendy de Lorm "started feeling that one day the ANC would come to power and I would be rushing out to join them."

"But now I have certain reservations. My doubts started when I heard their plans for nationalisation."

Sheena Duncan, who has always been to the left of the Black Sash and who is a vice-president of the South African Council of Churches, acknowledges that "our work is not as simple as it was before, now that power has started to shift into other hands. Whoever is in power, they are going to abuse the powerless, so there's always a struggle."

Nash, despite her active ANC membership, agrees: "In the 1980s, we knew who the enemy was. Now the enemy is harder to find. The people one wants to support are confused and ambiguous. The economy is still being manipulated in favour of a minority, which now just happens to be technicolor."

Criticism thus comes from all sides: those old liberals on the left decry the ANC's move towards elitism; those on the right its flirting with nationalisation. Some see true liberalism as the espousal of a free market economy; others as the espousal of a welfare state ideology.

But on one score all the old guard of the Black Sash agree: there will be a need, in the new South Africa as there was in the old, for the principled stand against human rights abuse.

"I always thought," says Walt, "that one day the Black Sash would no longer be needed. But now I see I was wrong."

She pauses, and laughs. "I didn't expect to be saying that a couple of years ago. I thought the new powers that be would rectify all the wrongs we've been fighting against."

Joyce Harris was president of the Black Sash for years. She emigrated to Canada two years ago, "not for political reasons, but to be with my children". While she does appreciate certain new temperate freedoms, "like being able to go for a walk without taking off my jewellery or going shopping without the fear of being mugged", she is "very unhappy" about being away.

Looking at South Africa from a distance, she fears for the liberal values she fought so hard for.

"Liberals are always getting it in the neck for what others have done. In the end, liberals go down the drain ..."



UNIVERSITY OF NATAL  
(DURBAN)

**Assistant Director**

Assumption of Duty: 1 January 1994.

The Centre for the Advancement of Science and Mathematics Education (CASME) is a non-governmental organisation based at the University of Natal (Durban). As a result of expansion the Centre wishes to appoint an Assistant Director who will be responsible for key aspects of the Centre's activities.

*The mission of CASME is to contribute to the enhancement of science and mathematics education through the development of sustainable models for the professional development of teachers.*

#### DUTIES:

The Assistant Director will be responsible for the day to day management of CASME, which includes:

- Financial, administrative and personnel management
- Liaison with the University of Natal
- Liaison with funders of the Trust
- Assistance in fund raising

#### REQUIREMENTS:

This is a senior appointment within CASME and it is therefore essential that the incumbent has an extensive and proven track record in financial, administrative and personnel management in an educational environment as well as appropriate qualifications and a vision for educational development.

An added recommendation would be exposure to teacher education, particularly in the fields of science and mathematics.

#### REMUNERATION:

This post, on the establishment of the University, carries an attractive salary package which will be commensurate with experience and qualifications. Further details of the salary and benefits can be obtained through contacting the Director, telephone (031) 81-1390 or writing to The Director, CASME, P O Box 17112, CONGELLA, 4013. Application forms are available from the above address.

Closing date for applications: 30 September 1993.



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# KwaZulu loses court case

Own Correspondent

PRETORIA. — The Kwa-Zulu government's call on the Transvaal Supreme Court to set aside decisions made by sufficient consensus at multi-party negotiations was dismissed with costs yesterday.

"We are back to square one," said Kwa-Zulu negotiator Mr Ben Ngubane following the decision of a full bench of the Transvaal Supreme Court that it had no jurisdiction to review the decision-making process at Kempton Park.

Mr Ngubane said the ruling made a summit meeting of political leaders "an absolute necessity".

Delivering judgment, Transvaal Judge President Mr Justice C F Eloff said the court could only review decisions made by statutory bodies or contractual agreements.

The rules of procedure agreed upon by multi-party negotiators did not constitute a contract.

● IFP election threat —  
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Page 2

# 16 Voter education

## Strict rules for media during elections

**T** H E Transitional Executive Council, Independent Electoral Committee, and Independent Media Commission are seen as the legal cornerstones of the pre-election phase.

Media, due to modernisation and technical progress, has developed into an influential if not decisive factor in modern societies.

Politics and especially election campaigns, as the last presidential election in the United States once again proved, are lost and won through the screen, the printing press and radio.

Images, outfits and appearances gain more and more influence. Contents, party programmes or ideologies are steadily losing ground when motivations behind the voters' decisions are analysed.

Media campaigns are devised in detail and professional media advisers are employed by parties to spread messages and images.

In South Africa the state-dominated or indirectly-controlled media played an influential role in perpetuating apartheid by holding back and manipulating information.

As has happened in other countries, negotiating parties saw an urgent need for corrective action regarding control over media.

These considerations led to a draft of the Independent Media Commission Bill which was made public recently.

The objectives of the commission are to ensure equitable treatment of political parties by broadcasting ser-



**FAIR PLAY: TV election reporting must be balanced**

voices and the monitoring of state-financed publications and information services. (3044)

The general guideline behind the establishment was that the commission should operate independently from political party interference or dependence and should be separate from the state, the existing government and its administration. (3044)

Particularly as election day gets closer, when the election campaign is at its peak, a climate of free political participation and fair elections can only be maintained if media reporting is balanced and equal.

Headed by a judge, an attorney or an advocate, the Independent Media Commission is composed of six or fewer other people. At least two must have sufficient experience in broadcasting or print media.

All seven commissioners are appointed by the TEC. To prevent political bias, classes of impartial

South 10/9 - 14/9/93

and political advertisements.

The bill regulates political advertising by determining serving-time, duration, and scheduling available. It also imposes conditions of broadcasting. If necessary, provisions for discussions about conflicting views should be arranged.

In the case of one-sided reports, the broadcasting body will be obliged to give the disadvantaged party a chance to correct or respond to criticism.

If, say, "Carte Blanche" has a report which unfairly disadvantages the National Party, the NP will be able to raise objections and correct the reported images or incidents.

State-owned publications must submit publications and information relating to the publication to the Independent Media Commission.

They will be carefully monitored to ensure no party-political content is included in the publications.

If any media bodies infringe the regulations, they risk strong punishment. This could take the form of orders to schedule a counter version of a disputed programme or a fine can be imposed. Temporarily, a programme can be prohibited or the media body's licence revoked.

The bill also ensures that most of the processes of the Independent Media Commission will be public and transparent.

All complaints against the SEC, private stations and state publications will be heard publicly.

Hearings will examine cases in which broadcasting licensees allegedly contravened regulations.

### 'One voter, one bullet'

A PAMPHLET calling for "one voter, one bullet" a few months before Swaziland's elections has been circulated in the capital of Mbabane.

The People's United Democratic Movement (Pudemo), which is campaigning for a boycott of the elections later this year, immediately denied responsibility for the pamphlet.

Pudemo secretary-general Mr Domenic Mngomezulu said the pamphlet appeared to be an altered version of one issued by the organisation urging voters to boycott the election. South 10/9 - 14/9/93

Pudemo had never advocated violence against anyone participating in the coming elections, but urged people to use their discretion, he stressed.

Pudemo is an illegal political party in Swaziland. (3044)

### Prisoners

#### want to vote

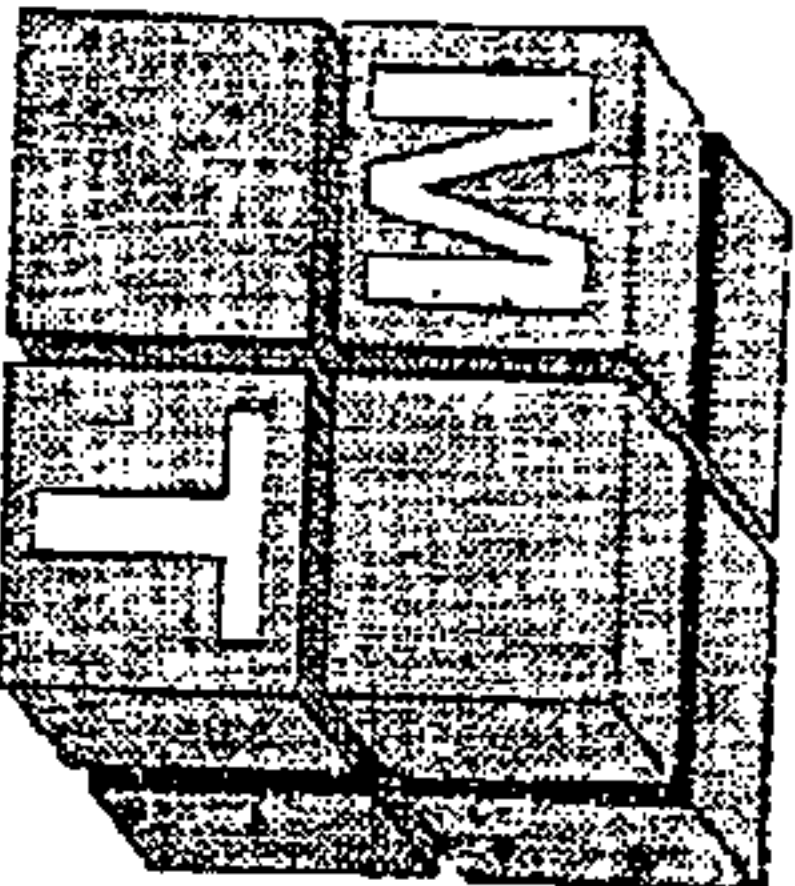
THE SOUTH AFRICAN Prisoners Organisation for Human Rights has called on the government to allow all sentenced prisoners and people in police custody to be allowed to vote in elections. South 10/9

Spokesperson Mr Golden Miles Bhudu said SAPOHR





This page is a joint project of MATLA TRUST and SOUTH



ALL IN A ROW: Home Affairs has a massive task to provide sufficient equipment for the elections

## Catering for election

South 10/9 - 14/9/93

THE 1989 whites-only election was the biggest the Department of Home Affairs ever organised in South Africa - just over five million voters were eligible to participate.

Compared with that election, preparing to get 22 million people to the polls next year is a massive task, the director general of Home Affairs, Mr Piet Olym said at a conference recently.

Next year's voters will be four

times as many as the 1989 elections and seven times more than last year's referendum. (3044)

More than 7 000 polling stations will be established and 135 000 Home Affairs staff members employed on election day.

"To hold an election of this size, detailed planning and organisation is required and should be done by staff experienced and qualified to do a professional and businesslike job," Olym said.

"For this reason, the Department of Home Affairs has already done the basic planning and arranged for the additional equipment required for the election."

The election will cost South Africa R155 million.

R30 million has already been allocated to Home Affairs for preparatory work and voter education.

Equipment like ballot boxes and voting booths can be used again, decreasing the costs to R5 a voter.

"The Department believes the election should be held on one single day only," Olym said.

"Although cost is not the only factor, cost should be taken into consideration and if the election takes place over two days the staffing costs are doubled."

The logistics of the elections are staggering.

The Department of Home Affairs is printing 26 million ballot papers, as well as other material, like procedures for staff at polling stations.

There will be 22 553 polling booths and 14 905 ballot boxes (which would be 5 962 metres high if they were stacked on top of each other).

The Department is ordering 22 200 ultraviolet lights and 17,8 million paper serviettes to use when voters' hands are marked with invisible ink.

About 75km of electrical wiring will be required at the polling stations and 175 000 batteries for the ultraviolet lights.

The stationery required amounts to 32 512 pencils, 36 900 paper clips, 3 700 reams of paper, 36 900 envelopes, 22 200 elastic bands and 3 725 pens.



# Parliament's most special session

Star 10/9/93

■ BY CHRIS WHITFIELD  
POLITICAL CORRESPONDENT

Parliament reconvenes on Monday for a special two-week session which will take the country to the threshold of fundamental change. (3044)

By the time it adjourns on September 24 the four chunks of legislation approved by the Negotiating Council and designed to prepare the country for its first democratic election should have been passed.

However, they will only take effect once a "plenary session" of the talks has given its approval to the "entire package", including the Interim Constitution. From that date — possibly late in October — the Transitional Executive Council is scheduled to start operating.

The legislation is still going through various Parliamentary standing committees.

Essentially Parliament will rubber stamp the World Trade Centre legislation — all parliamentary parties but the Conservative Party and Inkatha Freedom Party have given it their approval at talks.

The CP is yet to decide whether it will attend the session or extend its talks boycott to Parliament.

Other legislation, some of it significant, will also go before the sitting. This includes legislation designed to extend labour rights to domestic and agricultural workers.

Bills proposing the scrapping of conscription and making provision for equal women's rights will also be voted on.



# Informal sector has 'formidable clout'

BIDAY 10/9/93

THEO RAWANA

THE informal sector's enormous size made it a formidable interest group that no electioneering political party could afford to ignore, a Latin American free enterprise leader told hawkers in Johannesburg yesterday.

Addressing the African Council for Hawkers and Informal Business AGM, Centre for International Private Enterprise director Keith Miceli said SA hawkers were better off because they were more organised than their Latin American counterparts.

Miceli, who heads the centre's South American division, said the informal sector in Peru represented 31% of the voting population and was so strong that Peruvian President Alberto Fujimori won the 1990 election on a campaign promise to address its needs.

The dramatic resurgence of democratic government in Latin America in the 1980s and 1990s had meant free and fair elections in which political parties had to compete for voters among the electorate, Miceli said.

"The enormous size of the informal sector makes it an interest group that political parties and elected officials cannot ignore — or they will be voted out of office in the next elections," he said.

The same situation would apply in a democratic SA.

Miceli said the informal sector had proved to be the answer to governments' need to create jobs.

His organisation, seeking to increase public and government awareness of the informal sector, had financed the production of a videotape entitled The Message of the Informal Sector.

The centre also helped research and fund Peruvian Hernando de Soto's best-selling book The Other Path, which highlighted the informal sector's importance.

Miceli said the centre stood ready to help the SA informal sector, which was destined to play a constructive role in both the economic and political future of the country.

## Most believe poll will be free and fair

BIDAY 10/9/93

PATRICK BULGER

MOST people in SA believe next year's election will be free and fair, a survey conducted for the SA Institute of Race Relations (SAIRR) says.

The poll was conducted among 2 000 people. It found that whites appeared more confident than blacks that the election would be free and fair.

Three-quarters of people who said they would vote for President F W de Klerk claimed they were not worried that anyone would stop them from doing so, while 65% of supporters of ANC president Nelson Mandela and 62% of those who would vote for the Inkatha Freedom Party's Mangosuthu Buthelezi also said they were not concerned.

Poorer people were less confident of free and fair elections: 55% of respondents earning less than R599 a month said

they were not worried that they would be stopped from voting for the party of their choice, while 85% of respondents earning more than R3 500 were not worried.

Natal respondents were the most concerned with voter intimidation.

In the PWV area 85% believed they would not be forced to vote. In the rest of the Transvaal the figure was 83% and in the Cape 82%. In Natal 71% believed they would not be forced to vote.

Three-quarters of people earning R3 500 or more a month thought their ballot would be secret, while 73% of people earning between R600 and R1 199 and 68% earning less than R599 believed their ballot would be secret.

## NEGOTIATIONS FM 10/9/93 (304A) Taking the bell

The last of the quartet of draft Bills which will trigger the first phase of SA's transition to democracy was expected to be finalised by the negotiating council as the FM went to press — in spite of rejection by the Inkathala Cosag alliance. (304A)

Passage of the draft Bill on the Transitional Executive Council (TEC) — aimed at ensuring fair political activity in the election run-up — would mean that things are on track for parliament next week to start passing the Bill, over a fortnight, along with those on the Independent Broadcasting Authority, Independent Media Commission and the Independent Electoral Commission,

all subcouncils of the TEC.

But this assumes — as government and the ANC seem to — that this week's court case brought by the KwaZulu government against the negotiating council's interpretation of sufficient consensus and the setting of the April 27 election date, will be defeated. It also discounts CP (and IFP) warnings of a civil war should these arrangements be implemented.

Interestingly, it appears that the draft Bills on the three subcouncils, passed by negotiators last Friday, received indirect input and approval from Mangosuthu Buthelezi's Inkatha Freedom Party.

Debate on the TEC Bill (in its 17th version) was held up on Monday over more-or-less procedural issues. Hitch number one concerned the ability of the TEC and its subcouncils to procure information from government, with government arguing that agreement by more than a third of the TEC should be required. The second one centred on deadlock-breaking mechanisms and the percentage needed for the TEC to make decisions. Here, government harked back to its Codesa stance by arguing for 80% if consensus could not be reached; the ANC says it should be 67%.

Indications are that compromises are likely on both matters — as well as the more substantive question of whether prior approval by the TEC would be required for gov-

ernment to declare a national or local State of Emergency.

Meanwhile, negotiators were to resume their debate on the fourth draft of the interim constitution (to govern SA for about two years after the election, until a new constitutional text is adopted by the elected body) on Thursday. The intention is that the interim constitution will have been passed by the negotiators in time for the second short session of parliament on October 19.

What, then, of the threatening stance taken by Inkatha and the CP?

The plan is that before the five Bills are actually signed into law, a plenary meeting of political leaders will be held towards the end of October/early November, at which the whole "package" of the five Bills will be formally adopted. This, says a government source, is intended to give parties not at the talks the (last?) opportunity either to rejoin the process or put their seal of approval on the package of new legislation.

State President F W de Klerk's scheduled meeting with Buthelezi on September 16 will, it's hoped, produce a breakthrough — though nobody is saying so too loudly, given the fact that their earlier bilateral encounters hardly seem to have got very far.

Government does not expect Inkatha to return to the multiparty talks. The plenary is seen as something of a face-saver that would allow the IFP to be part of the decision to

## CURRENT AFFAIRS

FM 10/9/93 (304A)  
endorse and implement the package without having to rejoin the negotiating council. Government can't believe that Buthelezi will not participate in the election.

But what if Inkatha, Bophuthatswana, Ciskei and the CP refuse, as they have threatened, to abide by the TEC? "This will be faced politically when the crunch comes," says the government spokesman. He refuses to be drawn on what action government would take to ensure compliance with TEC provisions, explaining that such speculation could be self-fulfilling. But De Klerk has stated that no party will hold the process to ransom and has bent over backwards to accommodate Buthelezi, who, he has also said, must be part of any settlement.

Though government is aware that the process is on a tightrope, it is no use planning "seven moves ahead" and making known what it might do in the worst case, said the spokesman.

In any event, it's believed that the Cosag group, Bophuthatswana and Ciskei in particular, are essentially still manoeuvring and posturing for the best federal deal they can get. But "when the chips are down, they cannot stay out (of the process)" because none could afford to financially. Therefore, it is felt, nobody should get too uptight about violent action ensuing: "They'll push to the maximum to improve their bargaining power. Over-reaction will only push them

over the brink. For now, there's still a chance (of securing their acquiescence)."

If, in the end, the CP, whose war talk is "completely out of line", does not participate, they'd be ruling themselves out of any significance. Government believes most rightwing supporters will in the end decide to vote, as they did in the white referendum of 1991. When they come to examine their options, they'll go for the lesser of two evils: a strong NP or IFP on the one hand or a strong ANC on the other. A boycott would be irrelevant. ■



# Euphoria — then the hard work

(3014)

WM 10-16/9/93

Despite formidable obstacles, including boycotts and threats of civil war, South Africa's negotiators have taken the first, brave step towards a democratic future, reports **Chris Louw**

**W**HEN South Africa's negotiators got to their feet on Tuesday afternoon to applaud themselves after approving the draft Bill for the Transitional Executive Council, they had every reason to be happy.

The acceptance of the TEC to steer the country to the first one-person-one-vote elections sent a strong signal to parties outside negotiations that the major forces, the African National Congress and the National Party, mean business.

Serious obstacles still lie ahead before the elections, scheduled for April 27 next year, but almost nothing can stop the march to democracy now.

Once the TEC and its seven sub-

councils are in place, the negotiators will have powers to intervene on all actions by the government deemed not conducive to free and fair elections.

There is no doubt that the ANC will head a government of national unity, with the National Party probably the strongest of the junior partners. It also means the end of sanctions, as announced on Tuesday evening by the ANC's new national chairman, Thabo Mbeki.

Once the euphoria has died down, however, an arduous task awaits the TEC and its sub-councils in ensuring that the structures of the elections will be in place on time for polling day.

Other problems will also have to be dealt with — including the refusal of some "independents" to participate in the transitional arrangements.

Bophuthatswana and Ciskei first want to see what the final constitution, to be decided by the elected constituent assembly-cum-government, will look like before considering reincorporation into South Africa.

This disqualifies them from taking part in the TEC or its structures. Their absence poses serious problems for parties like the ANC, which

will not be allowed to campaign freely in these territories.

Sources this week predicted that swift action against Bophuthatswana and Ciskei could be expected once the TEC is in place. This could include the withholding of financial support and the blockage of entrance routes.

The Inkatha Freedom Party and the Conservative Party will also now be forced either to become part of the process, or be sidelined. It appears that efforts are underway to isolate Chief Mangosuthu Buthelezi and force him to accept the negotiating council's proposals. Senior IFP figures have apparently indicated that only a "small concession" from the negotiators was needed to help them save face and bring them back into the process.

A more serious stumbling-block is that the commission dealing with the boundaries for the regions has asked for new submissions after criticism of its earlier plans. "There is no way that they can come up with a new report before the end of October," a constitutional expert cautioned this week.

A possible solution would be that "soft boundaries" be drawn up, and

that further mutual negotiations about boundaries be left to neighbouring regions after the first elections.

But before the elections take place, there will be an uphill battle to ensure they are free and fair.

Observers caution that there may not be enough time to get all the structures in place for the elections — but the major parties insist that early elections presents the only realistic way of stopping the violence.

"The ultimate goal must be that the election results be accepted by all participants in order to avoid civil war," Goldstone Commission member Johan Olivier said this week. "Although it will not be possible to create the ideal circumstances, it is vital that as much credibility as possible be built into the process."

The TEC and the Independent Electoral Commission (IEC) will only be established by the end of October, leaving less than six months for election arrangements.

A daunting task lies ahead in these six months. Ballot papers still have to be prepared, structures for the elections established, decisions taken about the number and spreading of polling stations, independent monitors trained and their work coordinated, a code of conduct for policing agencies decided upon, a peacekeeping force established and trained, voters issued with identity documents or temporary documents printed.

But before all this can happen, three more Bills — dealing with the interim constitution, fundamental human rights and the repeal of discriminatory legislation — must be accepted by the negotiating council. Negotiators may hit snags on the interim constitution, mainly because of problems pertaining to regional and local government, where agreement is still eluding negotiators in the Local Government Forum.

The next problem will be to get the agreement implemented. The CP has frustrated the implementation of any agreement reached at the Local Government Forum.

Four pieces of draft legislation have been adopted by the negotiating council in the past two weeks. They are, apart from the TEC Bill, the Independent Electoral Bill, the Independent Media Commission Bill and the Independent Broadcasting Authority Bill.

These Bills now have to be promulgated into law by parliament, which holds a special session from next Monday. However, in terms of an earlier decision taken by the negotiators, the Bills cannot be put into operation before they are accepted by a plenary of the multiparty negotiating process.

The plenary will only take place in October, after a further special session of parliament which will deal with the interim constitution, fundamental human rights and the repeal of discriminatory legislation.

Asked on Tuesday when the TEC would be in place, Constitutional Development Minister and government chief negotiator Roelf Meyer said "a fair guess would be by the middle to the end of October".

A possible problem in the six months that the TEC will operate, is the agreement that all decisions by the TEC and its sub-councils must be taken with a 75 percent majority.

Another obstacle to be overcome before the elections is that the peacekeeping force of about 12 000 members, under the control of the TEC sub-council on defence, will have to monitor close to 8 000 polling stations. There will be less than two force members per polling station which means important decisions about the deployment of the peacekeeping force still have to be taken.

# De Klerk keeps emergency powers

Chris Louw

**P**ART of the trade-off of the behind-the-scenes negotiations this week between the government and the African National Congress that broke the deadlock on the Transitional Executive Council (TEC) draft Bill was that President FW de Klerk will retain the power to declare a state of emergency.

Tough negotiations between the government's Roelf Meyer and the ANC's Cyril Ramaphosa preceded the compromise on the percentages needed in the TEC to adopt decisions. One of the trade-offs was that the executive powers of the TEC in relation to the cabinet were watered down to avert a constitutional dilemma.

The state president will also be allowed more powers than spelled out in the 17th report of the TEC technical committee.

Meyer insisted in the bilaterals with Ramaphosa that De Klerk not be seen as a rubber-stamp. It was agreed that the president would have the authority to declare, for instance, a state of emergency "after" consultation with the sub-council, and not "in consultation" with it, as the present report reads.

During the horse-trading mutual understanding was also reached,

according to sources, that Pretoria would be removed from the present PWV region, as proposed by the commission on states/provinces/regions (SPRs), and be included in the Eastern Transvaal region.

The major stumbling-block on Tuesday was the percentage by which decisions could be taken by the TEC. The ANC insisted on a two-thirds majority, while the government wanted the technical committee's recommendation of an 80 percent majority implemented.

It still took more than six hours of bilaterals on Tuesday — mostly between the ANC and the government — to decide that a 75 percent majority would apply.

According to informed sources, much of the early discussion centred on the exact powers of the TEC and its sub-councils. There was strong resistance among conservatives in the cabinet to the TEC serving as a kind of "super-executive".

According to the present constitution, any changes in the structure of the executive need an absolute majority in all houses of parliament.

Government negotiators argued that if the TEC's powers did not have an impact on the powers of the present cabinet, the draft Bills could be treated as normal legislation, needing only a simple parliamentary

majority to be passed into law.

The ANC, accepting that the NP suffers debilitating internal tensions, agreed to the compromise.

●The NP has also embarked on a deliberate campaign of ANC-bashing in order to win back support lost to the Afrikaner Volksfront. Leading the attack on the ANC is Marthinus van Schalkwyk, the NP's media director and a known *verligte*.

This week the NP went as far as accusing the ANC of "sowing the seeds of racial tension" and "secur-ing the dominant position of Xhosa-speaking people (in the ANC)".

The ANC is aware of this strategy, but has also decided to go all-out for the NP in its own election campaigns. During his visit to the Eastern Transvaal this week, ANC leader Nelson Mandela accused the government of colluding with criminals and of having lost the right to govern.

The extent to which the NP is losing support is illustrated by the rejection by white councils of the local government agreements reached between the government and the South African National Civics Association.

*Verligte* NP MPs are now openly mocking the Local Government Minister Tertius Delpot for the "mess" he has made of negotiations on local government.



# NEWS FEATURE

*A day SA will never forget ● Blacks, whites to share power*

**By Themba Molefe**  
Political Correspondent

## Impossible is now possible

THE bottom line of what's happened at Kempton Park this week is that a power-sharing deal has been struck.

The draft Transitional Executive Council Bill, which was finalised and adopted by negotiators at the World Trade Centre, will come into effect next month.

So, until the first democratic elections next year at least, blacks and whites will run the country together.

The TEC Bill will be made law in a special sitting of Parliament next month

after its approval by a plenary session of the leaders of the political parties involved in multiparty negotiations later this month.

The TEC will remain in operation until the scheduled April 27 elections.

The objects of the TEC are to promote the preparation for the change-over to a democratic South Africa by promoting a climate for free political participation by trying to:

- Eliminate any obstacles to legitimate political activity.

- Eliminate intimidation.

- Ensure that political parties are free to canvass support and hold meetings.

- Ensure the full participation of women in the transitional and electoral processes.

- Ensure that no Government or administration exercises any of its powers in such a way as to advantage or prejudice any political party.

The TEC will have powers to intervene when government or political parties take action which it determines are

not conducive to free and fair elections.

The TEC will also establish seven sub-councils under its control and supervision. These are regional and local government and traditional authorities; law and order, stability and security; defence; foreign affairs; status of women and intelligence.

Significantly, the sub-council on law and order, stability and security may make recommendations to a police board on policing policy.

It will liaise with the Independent

Electoral Commission and other structures of the National Peace Accord and receive directives on the activities of a yet-to-be-established national peace-keeping force.

- State President FW de Klerk may declare a state of emergency after consulting the sub-council on defence and law and order.

- Decisions in the TEC will be taken by consensus, but in the event of a discord, by 75 percent majority.

In the sub-councils, decisions will be taken by a two-thirds majority except in the sub-councils on defence, intelligence, and law and order where an 80 percent majority is required.

# Black aspirations have meaning

Sowetan 10/9/93

304A

By Ismail Lagardien  
Political Correspondent

**T**HERE have been very few occasions, if any at all, in South Africa's history when a particular session of Parliament has meant as much to ordinary black people as the one that starts on Monday.

The session, during which the bulk of apartheid legislation was abolished (January to June 1991), was significant — but in an academic way.

For two weeks, starting Monday, some of the most important legislation, in terms of black aspirations, will pass through Parliament. They are the four draft Bills that have been passed by the Negotiating Council at Kempton Park.

The Bills for an Independent Media Commission, Independent Electoral Commission and Independent Broadcast Authority will probably be tabled by the Minister of Home Affairs, Mr

## ■ WHITE SUPREMACY *Beginning of the end of legislated discrimination:*

Danie Schutte, and the draft legislation for the creation of a Transitional Executive Council will be tabled by the Minister of Constitutional Development, Mr Roelf Meyer.

These pieces of draft legislation will in total be the first meaningful progress since the negotiations process started before Mr Nelson Mandela was released.

Mandela summed up the passage of the four Bills through Parliament as "the beginning of the end of (institutionalised) white supremacy".

The CP has been extremely critical of the negotiations process and is expected to fight.

The National Party has, it seems, accepted the inevitability of black majority rule but is clearly holding out for a slice of power.

For the rest of the members of parliament the future looks dismal. The tricameral Parliament will disappear soon after the second short session, planned for next month when the interim constitution is expected to go to the legislature.

The Labour Party is dead on its feet and will be of use (to the ANC) during the election only.

The motley bunch of parties in the (Indian) House of Delegates is likely to disappear into oblivion.

And the Afrikaner Volksunie could come apart as early as next week — some of its members could even join the National Party.

The Inkatha Freedom Party members of Parliament and the ANC-aligned Independents could find new friends.



# Most 'confident' about '94 poll

## Political Staff

MOST South Africans were confident that next year's non-racial elections would be free and fair, despite the violence and intimidation, a South African Institute of Race Relations opinion poll has found.

However, the belief in free and fair elections varied according to income, racial and political differences.

The institute said these findings emerged from a survey of 2 000 adults

nationwide, except Transkei and Bophuthatswana.

"Whites appear to be far more confident that elections will be free of intimidation than blacks."

Altogether 75% of respondents who chose Mr F W de Klerk as their leader claimed to be "not worried" about intimidation.

This declined to 65% of supporters for Mr Nelson Mandela and 62% for Chief

Mangosuthu Buthelezi's supporters.

The institute said respondents in Natal were far more concerned about intimidation than those in other major areas.

When asked if they believed their ballot would be secret, 76% of those earning R3 500 a month or more believed no one could find out whom they had voted for.

This declined to 73% of earners between R600 and R1 199 to 68% of those earning less than R599. (30447)

## Talks set stage for key IFP, govt summit

Political Staff (304A)

DURBAN. — A low-key bilateral meeting between the IFP and the government was held at a hotel here yesterday to prepare for next week's "deadlock-breaking" meeting between Chief Mangosuthu Buthelezi and President F W de Klerk.

The summit, to overcome obstacles preventing the IFP's participation in multi-party talks and next year's poll, will be held at Tuynhuys on Thursday.

● A senior Inkatha source said last night that there was pressure building in the party to participate in next year's election. CT 11/9/93



# Election will go ahead Mandela

JOHANNESBURG. — The April 27 election will take place as scheduled and political spoilers should return to the negotiations, ANC president Mr Nelson Mandela said yesterday.

Delivering the opening address at the Cosatu national congress near here, Mr Mandela said the installation of the TEC marked the beginning of the end of apartheid.

He said the ANC was certain of Cosatu's unqualified support in making sure of a decisive election victory for the ANC-led tripartite alliance.

"I fully believe that the ANC will never betray the cause of democracy and the cause of the workers.

"If an ANC government does not deliver the goods, you must do what you did to the apartheid regime," he said to applause from about 1 700 delegates representing 13 Cosatu affiliates.

"It is not President F.W. de Klerk who is going to liberate you. That is why we must prepare very efficiently and effectively for April 27 and make it in theory, and practice, the day of liberation."

Those who clung to the past and held up the prospect of ethnic strife were serving a lost cause, he said. — Sapa.

# 'The NP is a tiger, not a polecat,' De Klerk tells Mandela

JOHANNESBURG. — Recent statements by African National Congress president Nelson Mandela about the National Party and the government were objectionable and in poor taste, President De Klerk said yesterday.

"I reject the allegation that the government is co-operating with criminals as untrite and malicious. Some of Mr Justice Goldstone's findings confirm the untruth of this allegation," he said at a meeting to officially open the Transvaal National Party congress in Esselen Park.

"It is the ANC that is persisting with a policy aimed at marginalising the Inkatha Freedom Party. It is the ANC that is not exercising sufficient control over its followers, including MK."

"The tasteless reference to the NP as a polecat probably has to be attributed to the NP's history of apartheid."

He did not feel like a polecat when he was received with warmth, kindness and encouragement by more than 40 heads of governments, including various African leaders, said Mr De Klerk.

"The NP, which Mr Mandela will get to know better, is a tiger and not a polecat."

Referring to the Conservative Party, he said: "It threatens in the name of the Afrikaner people. Since when was it entitled to speak on behalf of Afrikaners? I know of nobody of any importance who would not concede that the two-thirds majority obtained

in the referendum did not include a majority of Afrikaner voters as well.

"About what does the CP wish to make war? For a policy that was convincingly rejected by the white voters in two elections and two referendums since its inception — or for a policy which cannot work?"

He said CP supporters should take note that Dr Ferdi Hartzenberg wanted to drag them into a war for a cause that already was lost and for a dream which great leaders like Dr Hendrik Verwoerd and John Vorster were unable to realise.

"Is Dr Hartzenberg going to mobilise his supporters against their own flesh and blood, against fellow Afrikaans speakers, members of the same church and blood relatives for

a struggle that will end as the 1914 rebellion did?"

Regarding the transitional executive council, Mr De Klerk said it would not "create joint political control over the security forces". He said the TEC was not an interim government and it did not render the NP government subservient to any other party or subject the police and Defence Force to multiparty control.

The facts were that the TEC would not be a super government or parliament, its powers were narrowly confined to levelling the political playing field for the elections. It would have no powers to make decisions. The government and parliament retained executive and legislative authority, said Mr De Klerk. — Sapa.



# Bill spells out work of election commission

ARG 11/9/93  
THE Independent Electoral Commission Bill, for the establishment of a commission to conduct and administer next year's first poll for a democratically elected National Assembly, was published yesterday.

It is one of four pieces of draft legislation for the interim period to be dealt with at a special sitting of parliament starting on Monday.

The others are the Transitional Executive Council Bill, the Independent Media Commission Bill and the Independent Broadcasting Authority Bill.

All have been approved by negotiators at the World Trade Centre in Kempton Park for submission to parliament and are aimed at levelling the playing fields for the epoch-making constitutional changes about to flood over the country.

A memorandum attached to the Bill published yesterday says the Independent Electoral Commission will also govern elections for all other legislatures, excluding the Senate, contemplated in the so-called Interim Constitution Bill, which is being negotiated.

The commission will consist of between seven and 11 members appointed by President De Klerk on the advice of the Transitional Executive

Council.

They are to be impartial, respected and suitably qualified men and women who do not have a high party political profile, are themselves voters, and represent a broad cross-section of the population.

The president shall, on the advice of the Transitional Council, appoint not more than five members from the international community as non-representative commission members.

The commission is to function without political or other bias or interference and shall, unless otherwise expressly provided in the Act, be independent of the Transitional Council.

The commission will also be independent of any party, government and its administration.

It may meet at any place in South Africa and will take measures it considers necessary to prevent intimidation of voters, candidates and parties.

The commission will be responsible for voter education regarding democratic principles and values, the electoral process and mechanisms, the right to free political canvassing and campaigning, secrecy of voting and any other relevant matters. — Sapa.

# Afrikaners have right to volkstaat — Viljoen

PRETORIA. — Afrikaner Volksfront leader Constand Viljoen yesterday emphasised the importance of a peaceful resolution of the Afrikaner nation's claim to self-determination.

General Viljoen claimed in a statement that AVF opinion polls had delivered illuminating results regarding the borders of a volkstaat.

"The AVF would like to negotiate about the final borders of a volkstaat with other nations recognising and respecting the right to self-determination of the Afrikaner nation."

But, he added, it remained the rightwing umbrella body's view that the Afrikaner nation itself had the right to decide about the borders.

"Borders drawn up in colonial-style in living rooms, do not bring peace."

An official request to the government to help in organising a countrywide opinion poll regarding the borders had been declined, he said.

This meant the AVF had had to test the opinion of the volk itself with the means at its dis-

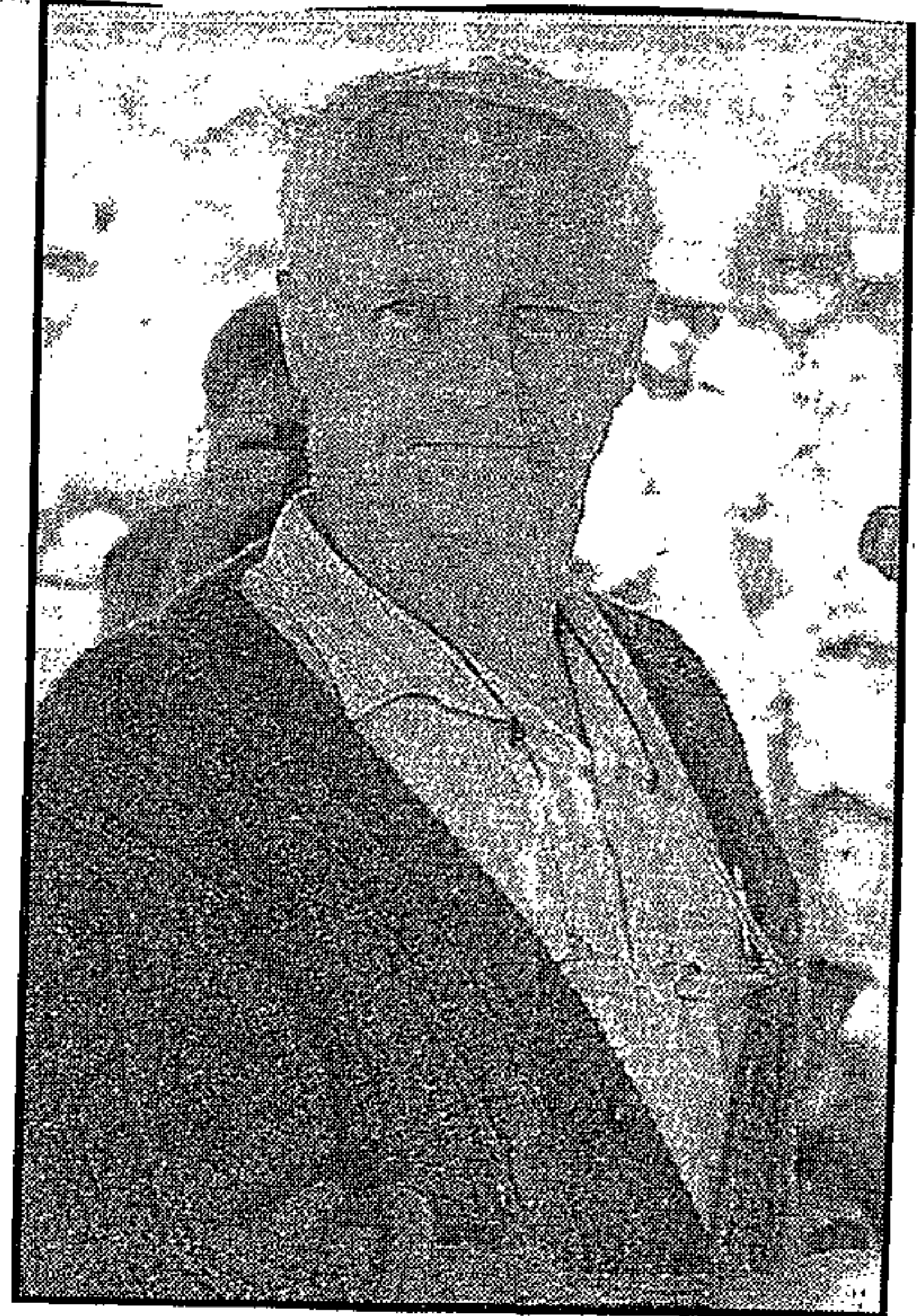
posal. "Various methods of testing had been launched among the agricultural community and in cities and towns, delivering illuminating results."

The former Defence Force chief said in his statement that the Afrikaner Boer nation had a historically undeniable right to land in South Africa.

The sovereignty of the former Boer republics had, for example, been recognised internationally in 1852 and 1854, before the regions were unlawfully colonised by Britain in 1902.

In addition, Afrikaners across South Africa had obtained property rights or other legal rights pertaining to ground over many years.

"In taking these valid claims as a starting point, and in considering other realities, the Afrikaner or Boer nation therefore is prepared to negotiate with other indigenous nations recognising its right to self-determination, about a new settlement regarding land." — Sapa.



□ **AVF LEADER:** General Constand Viljoen emphasises the importance of a peaceful resolution of the Afrikaner nation's claim to self-determination.



Right-winger Cehill Pienaar flees the laager into the a

# A politician in search of party

ARG 11/9/93 304A

**FRANS ESTERHUYSE**

Weekend Argus Political Correspondent

FOR Cehill Pienaar a whole new political world has opened after his resignation this week as chief negotiator for the right-wing Afrikaner-Volksunie (AVU).

On the surface it seemed Mr Pienaar had reached the end of the road in his political career, but early signs point to possibilities of an exciting new beginning for him.

He told Weekend Argus in an interview he was considering a variety of options for his political future — and approaches had been made to him from virtually all the main parties, except the Pan-Africanist Congress (PAC) and the Conservative Party (CP).

Significantly, the parties that have shown an interest in his political thinking range from the ANC to the Democratic Party and the National Party, but as far as his former political home, the CP, is concerned there appears to have been nothing but a deafening silence.

Mr Pienaar, who recently moved to Cape Town, served the CP as its Free State leader for 10 years and won the Heilbron parliamentary seat for the party in the 1989 general election.

It is understandable, however, that the CP in its present militant state of mind and with its "war talk", boycott threats, racist undertones and lack of direction, would not find Mr Pienaar's political thinking attractive.

He made it clear in the interview that he stood firmly against political violence — especially the kind of "war talk" and preparations for war to be found in some right-wing circles.

He is also firmly on the side of continued negotiations, a

■ A politician to watch is former Free State leader of the Conservative Party Cehill Pienaar who this week quit his relatively new political home, the Afrikaner-Volksunie. He is considering his political options — and his decision about the future could come as a surprise.

federal system of government that can accommodate Afrikaner interests, and a political dispensation in which there will be no racial discrimination.

Speaking in his office at Parliament, Mr Pienaar said the only right-wing leader with whom he had had talks so far was General Constand Viljoen, of the Afrikaner-Volksfront (AVF).

He said he had told General Viljoen he could only support a party that was willing to be part of a federal South Africa, a party with viable proposals and not just "pie in the sky" plans, a party that opposed racial discrimination and did not approve of any kind of political violence.

However, the AVF, as Mr Pienaar sees it, is "just another name for the CP".

He said he was alarmed by right-wing militance, war talk, and actual preparations for civil war.

He said had come across this in his own constituency of Heilbron and in many other constituencies the situation was much the same.

From what he had seen, he was convinced the threat of violence from the right was "very real". People were actually preparing for war — gathering medical supplies, food supplies, arms and ammunition.

"I don't want to be part of that," he said. "The only time I would consider becoming involved in a war would be if an undemocratic dictatorship were to emerge — another Idi Amin or another Joseph Stalin

— which needs to be overthrown."

What are his political options and how does he view them?

■ Democratic Party: "I would consider the DP as an option among others. I live in Cape Town and I see my future in the Western Cape region." He had already had talks with the DP.

■ African National Congress: After hesitating a few moments, Mr Pienaar said to him the ANC was a possible option depending on what it stood for. His knowledge of the ANC was limited to what he had seen and learnt through the media. However, he was having talks with the ANC — the first of these yesterday afternoon.

■ National Party: He spoke to the NP earlier this week. Mr Pienaar is from an NP background. In his office at parliament are pictures, posters and even a cartoon from the heyday of the NP and the all-powerful NP establishment. One poster was from the 1948 election campaign of former NP stalwart Mr Willie Maree.

However, Mr Pienaar has come a long way in Afrikaner politics. A time came when he rebelled against the NP establishment — as early as the 1977 general election he declined nomination as the NP candidate for Umlazi. He had come to question some of the NP policies and did not support Prime Minister John Vorster's 1977 attempts to accommodate Indian and coloured political aspirations.

In addition, Mr Pienaar became concerned about the relationship between the NP and

the Broederbond. He came to the conclusion that the party was a front for the Broederbond.

When the CP was founded in 1982 as a result of a right-wing split from the NP, Mr Pienaar joined the CP as a founder member and was appointed OFS chairman in 1983.

■ Inkatha Freedom Party: "I'm still going to speak to the IFP," Mr Pienaar said.

He was particularly interested in looking at "the agendas people will have after the April 27 election".

"The bottom line for my participation in any party would be what the position will be of the Afrikaans language and the Afrikaner people under that party and its policies."

Mr Pienaar does not seem to be attracted by the "volksstaat" concept, saying it means different things to different people.

He is strongly in favour of a federal system that can accommodate significant concentrations of Afrikaans-speaking people in one or more regions or states, such as the Northern Cape, for example.

Mr Pienaar is the fourth AVU MP to resign. Only two of the party's original six MPs who defected from the CP to form the new grouping, including leader Andries Beyers, remain. The first three who defected — Mr Chris de Jager, Mr Rosier de Ville and Mr Moolman Mentz — joined the Afrikaner-Volksfront.

Outlining events that led to his resignation this week, Mr Pienaar said he resigned after differences with members of the AVU's head committee who wanted to vote against the Transitional Executive Council (TEC) Bill. Committee members embarked on a course of "negative obstructionism reminiscent of CP stances of the past," Mr Pienaar said.



ms of — the DP? the IFP? the ANC?

ARL

11/9/93

(304A)



□ **LET'S TALK PEACE:** Cehill Pienaar, who quit the Afrikaner-Volksunie this week over its 'negative attitude' to negotiations, is sick of right-wing war-mongering and is looking for a party of peace.



# Nkosi Sikelel'i Afrika debuts at NP congress

Star 11/9/93

304A

THE strains of Nkosi Sikelel'i Afrika were heard for the first time at a National Party congress last night.

After President F W de Klerk had addressed more than 1 000 supporters at the party's Transvaal congress opening at Esselen Park last night, they were asked to join in the song.

An Afrikaans translation of the song — regarded as the country's anthem by millions of blacks — was beamed on to a screen placed above where De Klerk had been speaking.

The crowd included a sizeable number of black and coloured supporters.

In a wide-ranging address De Klerk also:

## CHRIS WHITFIELD and SAPA

- Bluntly rejected Conservative Party characterisations of the Transitional Executive Council (TEC), saying it would not be a "super-government or parliament". He also stressed that its powers did not amount to joint control of the security forces.

- Hinted at progress in accommodating the Afrikaner Volksfront, saying bilateral meetings with General Constand Viljoen had gone "reasonably well".

- Delivered a scathing attack on the CP's war talk, saying it did not represent Afrikaners.

- Hit out at African National Congress president Nelson Mandela's characterisation of the NP as a "polecat" and uncaring about violence.

De Klerk said the TEC was not an interim government and it did not render the NP Government subservient to any other party or subject the police and military to multiparty control.

"I as president, the various ministers, the Chief of the Defence Force and the Commissioner of Police remain in control of these forces.

"It (the TEC) does not mean a defeat or victory for anybody in the negotiations," he said. It was not an interim govern-

ment, a concept rejected by the Government from the beginning.

The facts were that the council would not be a super-government or parliament; its powers were narrowly confined to levelling the political playing field for the elections. It would have no powers to make decisions, and the Government and Parliament retained executive and legislative authority.

De Klerk added that he would be approaching Thursday's meeting with Chief Mangosuthu Buthelezi with the aim of removing stumbling blocks "so that an important party can become part of agreements and solutions".

PATRICK LEKOTA

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## AWB 'colonel' warns Mandela of retribution

By BEN MACLENNAN

IN an unprecedented meeting with an Afrikaner Weerstandsbeweging "colonel", African National Congress president Nelson Mandela has been warned that the AWB will "hit back hard" if a single hair of a white conservative is harmed.

The brief meeting, in a Beaufort West hotel room, was brokered by police after a tense standoff between 36 heavily armed AWB members and ANC supporters outside the hotel. *ST Times*

Mr Mandela flew to the town yesterday for a breakfast arranged by local "opinion-makers" as part of the ANC's Western Cape election drive.

The AWB members were led by "Colonel" Ferrus Munro, AWB deputy commander in the Cape.

After negotiations by Captain Johan van der Hoven of the SAP Community Relations Division, Mr Munro and an Ystergarde (Iron Guard) member, Jan Louw, were disarmed and taken up to a hotel room to see Mr Mandela. *CC Metro*

Mr Munro said neither he nor the ANC leader had offered to shake hands. *12/9/93*

"I wanted to put over to him... he must have no doubt that if a hair on the head of a conservative white is harmed we will fight back and we will hit hard." *(204A)*

He said Mr Mandela had replied with conviction and said the ANC was working hard for peace.

Speaking later at a rally, Mr Mandela said black people should show leadership, even with groups which had treated them badly in the past.

"If members of the AWB, Conservative Party and National Party want to talk to you, please talk to them and say to them 'Let's stop fighting one another. Let us sit down as children of God and address the problems.'" — Sapa



## Election Bill published

THE Independent Electoral Commission Bill to govern the establishment of a commission to conduct and administer next year's elections, was published on Friday. (304A)

It was one of four pieces of draft legislation for the interim period to be dealt with at a special sitting of Parliament which starts tomorrow.

The others are the Transitional Executive Council Bill, the Independent Media Commission Bill and the Independent Broadcasting Authority Bill.

All have been approved by negotiators at the World Trade Centre.

■ Reports by CP Reporters, Sapa.

# Leopards that change spots

CL Press 12/9/93

By THEMBA KHUMALO

UNEASY relations between the ANC and NP could reach a new low after State President FW De Klerk's latest attack on Nelson Mandela and the ANC for its links with the SACP.

Addressing the two-day Transvaal NP annual congress near Kempton Park on Friday evening, De Klerk accused Mandela and some of his

senior colleagues of being racist by referring to the NP as a "white party and a polecat that smells".

Amid shouts of "Viva De Klerk", the State President also took Mandela to task for alleging at an ANC rally in KaNgwane last weekend that he (De Klerk) and his government regarded black lives as cheap and expendable.

De Klerk said the government left no stone unturned in its efforts to

curb violence, but the same could not be said of the ANC. (304A)

He said the NP broke with apartheid from inner conviction seven years ago and they were now a new party. Unless Mandela came up with anything more original he predicted hard times ahead for the ANC leader.

He said to a loud applause that the ANC persists in marginalising Inkatha and not controlling its followers, including MK.

"They are keeping Harry Gwala and Peter Mokaba in key positions despite their regular breaches of the peace accord. It's the ANC to which numerous findings of the Goldstone Commission point," said De Klerk.

He also slammed CP

leader Ferdi Hartzenberg for clinging to unworkable old Verwoedian politics. The fact that most CP supporters were Afrikaners did not make that party a mouthpiece for Afrikaners.

He said the Transitional Executive Council would not take over government, and control of the police and defence force.

The congress was also addressed by National Peace Accord chairman John Hall, who said that contrary to popular belief, peace, despite some difficulties, was gaining momentum. The NP had no reason to hang its head in shame for past apartheid policies because its intentions had been good. Transvaal MEC for housing John Mavuso said on Friday.

Announcing his NP membership at the congress,

Mavuso said he was absolutely convinced the party had exercised a policy it thought would be in the best interests of all.

Foreign Affairs Minister Pik Botha read a motion by congress delegates which reaffirmed their confidence in De Klerk's leadership. The congress was also addressed by Law and Order Minister Hernus Kriel, and Constitutional Development Minister Roelf Meyer.

The congress, also attended by a large number of blacks and coloureds, ended yesterday with delegates promising to mobilise more voters to throw their weight behind the NP in the run-up to next year's elections.



# Guns on the left to fall silent

C/P Res 12/19/93

(304A)

By SEKOLA SELLO

**T**HE PAC's military campaign against Pretoria is likely to cease following the adoption of the Transitional Executive Council Bill at the multi-party talks this week.

This is one of the major spin-offs flowing from this Bill which was adopted by the controversial "sufficient consensus" formula. The other symbolic achievement is that the few sanctions that are still in place will also be lifted.

Although the PAC reserved its position on the Bill, it is believed that they are generally satisfied with its provisions and that it is "just a matter of a few weeks" before they declare a cessation of hostilities with Pretoria.

But amid this euphoria, there are now fears that while guns from the left could fall silent, the adoption of the TEC could well trigger far worse violence from the right and the faceless Third Force.

Sabre rattling by the Conservative Party leader Ferdi Hartzenberg a few days before the adoption of the Bill and the continued war talk by the entire right since then cannot be taken lightly.

It is not only the rightwingers who are threatening race war, but even Inkatha Freedom Party leader Mangosuthu Buthelezi has warned that the present low intensity civil war could escalate.

Buthelezi was still in an uncompromising mood this week on his arrival from Europe where he met with several foreign ministers who tried to persuade him to return to the talks. He said that, much as he respected European politicians, he was guided by "what my constituency wants" and not what foreign politi-



**BITTER END . . . Conservative Party leader Ferdi Hartzenberg has been talking war.**

cians want".

He also threw a damper on his coming meeting with State President FW De Klerk next Thursday saying it could be futile in the light of the latest developments at the talks.

The primary objective of the De Klerk-Buthelezi meeting is to try and woo the Inkatha leader back to the talks. Inkatha and the KwaZulu government walked out of the talks two months ago because of dissatisfaction with the formula of reaching decisions by sufficient consensus. They challenged the formula in the Pretoria Supreme Court and this week lost with costs.

Adding an ominous note in what appears to be the resurgence of third force killings were this week's East Rand taxi massacres in which 23 people were killed. The murders bore all the hallmarks of the Third Force - anonymous, motiveless, merciless and utterly random.

Police Minister Heñus Kriel was quick to react, saying the killings highlighted the need to keep

the police - especially the riot cops - operating in the war-torn East Rand townships.

Much of the violence which has taken place in Katlehong, Thokoza and Vosloorus in the past three months has been largely attributed to conflict between Inkatha and the ANC or between hostel inmates and township residents.

But, this week a menace which had been absent for some time surfaced again - faceless terrorists mowing down people in the streets.

Was this mere coincidence that the killings took place a day after the adoption of the Bill which many consider the most historic since the founding of the Union of South Africa in 1910? This seems unlikely.

There has been speculation for some time that the buildup to the country's first non-racial elections could see a rise in violence. The latest killings could well be pointers to this.

While the spectre of

rightwing terrorism is now haunting the country, PAC spokesman Barney Desai says although they did not win everything at the talks, they "by and large achieved what we wanted".

He said the organisation's highest decision-making body, the National Executive Committee, is to meet soon to discuss the entire TEC package and the question of the armed struggle.

Sounding an optimistic note, he said it would be "inconceivable" for the PAC not to take part in the coming elections now that they have got most of the things they wanted.

"We have always demanded a constituent assembly and no matter what others may call it, we have got it."

The TEC has been described as a win-win compromise. Little wonder that government chief negotiator Roelf Meyer could gloat that the Bill "does not provide for a substitute of the government in any way whatsoever or joint control of the security forces".

This is true, but it is equally true that some power has shifted away from parliament to the Negotiating Council. The three Bills which were adopted last week at the Council will have substantive powers.

While the government still has the de jure control of the security forces, the sub-councils on defence, law and order, stability and security have powers which are extensive enough to give the sub-councils de facto control.

The powers include:

- Formulating a code of conduct binding on all military forces in SA.
- Overseeing any planning, preparation and training for a future South African Defence Force.

# Dawn of new era for SA

By NORMAN WEST  
Political Reporter

THE short two-week session of Parliament, which starts tomorrow, will usher in a new political era when the four Bills approved at the multi-party negotiating council at Kempton Park become law.

The session will deal with important legislation that will put into place the Transitional Executive Council (TEC) which will oversee free, fair and unbiased preparations leading to the April 27 elections.

The four bills agreed to at the multi-party talks — including the TEC Bill — are expected to be passed, but with strong opposition from the Conservative Party.

By Friday, the Independent Electoral Commission Bill was the only one of the package of four bills approved by the negotiating council that had been published. (304A)

Thirteen other bills have been tabled for debate during this sitting of Parliament, including the Agricultural Labour Bill, which provides for basic conditions of service in the agricultural sector.

There are also labour bills relating to workers in education, the police and prisons, and the scrapping of conscription for whites.



# Volksfront to flex its muscle

SI Times 12/9/93

By JOCELYN MAKER  
and TENDAI DUMBUTSHENA

**THE right-wing Afrikaner Volksfront moves its "passive resistance" campaign against a unitary state into top gear this week.** (304A)

AVF director and former Military Intelligence chief Lieutenant-General Tienie Groenewald said yesterday plans included mass demonstrations outside parliament in Cape Town during debates on the Transitional Executive Council Bill, and lobbying of National Party MPs.

But the chairman of the ANC's elections commission, Mr Popo Molefe, said yesterday elections would go ahead in April despite boycotts by the IFP and CP, threats of civil war, rampant violence and a call for an Afrikaner volkstaat.

Mr Molefe told members of Young Christian Students in Johannesburg that parties which

intended to frustrate the transition to democracy could not muster more than 10 percent of the vote, according to independent polls.

General Groenewald said a number of politicians had already committed their support to the Volksfront, and were expected to "go public" shortly with their defections.

"We expect the party machinery in entire National Party constituencies to join the Volksfront in the next few weeks," he said.

"If Parliament puts its stamp of approval on the TEC, we will have reached the crossroads and any form of co-operation with the government, including bilateral negotiations, will cease."

The Volksfront will distribute more than a million pamphlets countrywide from tomorrow.

Mr Molefe dismissed as unacceptable demands — made principally by the IFP — for inviolate powers to be given to regions which a popularly elected central government could not

tamper with.

"Nowhere in the world does such a federal dispensation exist. We have already conceded the principle of strong local and regional structures but, at the end of the day, central government must have overriding powers."

On the Afrikaner volkstaat, Mr Molefe said its advocates had failed to produce a map with boundaries which contained a majority of Afrikaners.

"We have taken into account the views and concerns of Afrikaners — the protection of their culture, religion, language and property — and have undertaken to meet some of their fears."

## Documents

On the positive side, he said, the enactment of the independent electoral, broadcasting, and media commissions by September 24 and the installation of a Transitional Executive Council would create conditions for the holding of free and fair elections.

Mr Molefe expressed concern at the large number of people who would have no identity documents by April.

"There are about 4.5 million people without identity documents. We believe that the previous census underestimated the number of voters by three million."

"Documents are being issued at the rate of 60 000 a month which means 2.5 million people will get them by the end of April. This could leave 3.5 million voters without documents."

# Govt to push for greater regional powers

JOHANNESBURG. — National Party negotiators are to push for greater regional powers at multi-party talks.

Constitutional Development Minister Mr Roelf Meyer said in a statement at the weekend that the government would be tabling submissions for greater regional powers to the technical committee drafting the fourth draft constitu-

tion.

A constitutional court must be established to ensure that these powers can be protected and not circumvented by "a clever lawyer using interpretive arguments", he said.

Mr Meyer also said the deadlock-breaking mechanism being demanded by the ANC would also have to be tougher.

This should be no problem as the ANC has privately conceded that it has to be changed and it is understood that it is prepared to revert to a two-thirds majority with the explicit agreement from regions concerned on changing any issue materially affecting it.

The hope is that with the interim constitution being as complete and coherent as possible, the elected

constitutional assembly would not change much materially.

It is understood that President F W de Klerk will try to woo Inkatha back to talks by disclosing these latest submissions to Inkatha head, Chief Mangosuthu Buthelezi, when they meet on Thursday.

Mr De Klerk would also be raising the issue of Inkatha disrupting elections as stated by senior cen-

tral committee member Mr Walter Felgate last week.

Chief Buthelezi confirmed at the weekend that the KwaZulu government will not accept the authority of South Africa's new Transitional Executive Council when it is installed next month.

He said that negotiators had "wicked plans" to force Inkatha to give up its power.



## CP likely to stall on TEC bills

THE Conservative Party is expected to use every possible means to block transitional legislation in the special two-week session of Parliament which starts in the city this afternoon.

The CP, striving to build up white conservative resistance to the measures, is expected to try to delay matters as long as possible in the standing committees and to use parliamentary debate on the four bills for maximum publicity. CT 139192

The CP will be joined by Inkatha's two MPs in opposing the Transitional Executive Council.

The conservative wing of the National Party may also use the session to demand agreement on a transitional constitution before the bills are passed and legislation enacted to establish the TEC.

But the special session is expected to approve the four laws that will set South Africa on the road to its first non-racial elections next year. The draft bills have already been approved by the multi-party negotiations — Political Staff, Own Correspondent

# Electoral commission bill tabled

By BARRY STREEK  
Political Staff

(30447)

THE legislation for an Independent Electoral Commission to control and administer South Africa's first fully democratic poll was tabled in Parliament yesterday.

The bill, one of four approved by multi-party negotiators at the World Trade Centre, will be debated in the short session of Parliament which starts on Monday.

The other measures are the Transition-

al Executive Council Bill, the Independent Media Commission Bill and the Independent Broadcasting Authority Bill.

A memorandum attached to the bill says the commission will be responsible for the supervision of the election and take steps to prevent intimidation.

It will "be responsible for educating voters about democratic principles and the electoral process".

The bill lays down that the commission

"shall function without political or other bias" and except where provided to the contrary, will "be independent from the Transitional Council, any party, any government or any other functionary".

The commission will consist of between seven and 11 members appointed by the State President on the advice of the TEC. He may, on the advice of the TEC, appoint no more than five members from the international community as non-representative members.



**N**o armed formation must be able to hold Nelson Mandela declared recently. The TEC achieve that end. Patrick Laurence looks at

# TEC: riding herd o

13/9/93

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**T**he proposed multiparty Transitional Executive Council (TEC) faces the formidable task of monitoring and controlling a disparate collection of armies, militias and police forces.

One of TEC's central objectives as defined in its founding charter is to eliminate intimidation and promote free political activity. Fulfilment of that goal presupposes control of a miscellany of armed formations.

The challenge of controlling seven armies, regular and irregular, one militia — the AWB's armed units — and no less than 11 police forces is more than academic.

If the TEC does not succeed, the intensifying political violence may sweep it into history before it completes its task of preparing the way for the election of a transitional government of national unity next year.

The arduous nature of the assignment is apparent in events before and after acceptance of the TEC Bill.

A Human Rights Commission report showed that nearly 1 160 people were killed in July and August.

The day after the Bill's acceptance saw the massacre of 23 people on the troubled East Rand.

The TEC charter provides for the establishment of seven sub-councils. Each of them will function in tandem with a parallel ministry in the De Klerk administration. They cover a wide range of spheres in the governance of South Africa, including foreign affairs, finance, defence and policing.

The sub-councils on defence and policing are the most important as political violence is South Africa's gravest problem and the greatest threat to peaceful settlement.

The violence has many causes. One, undoubtedly, is the inability or unwillingness of the political leaders to control their armed formations. They hide their failure by pointing accusing fingers at one another's armies.

President de Klerk's administration blames the underground armies of the African National Congress and the Pan Africanist Congress — Umkhonto we Sizwe (MK) and the Azanian People's Liberation Army (Apla) respectively — for political killings.

Inkatha Freedom Party leader Mangosuthu Buthelezi charges that MK is implementing a brutal programme of "ethnic

cleansing" against Zulu members of his party.

Nelson Mandela and PAC president Clarence Makwetu indict De Klerk's security forces — the SADF, the SAP and their "surrogates" — charging them with killing black people and deliberately encouraging strife in the black community.

One of the purposes of the multiparty TEC is to enable the different parties to keep an eye on the armed forces of their opponents. The belief and hope is that it will eliminate underground operations and secret wars by all sides.

Thus the TEC Bill lays down that the different military forces must keep the defence sub-council informed of their activities and, as a corollary, empowers the defence sub-council to investigate, through an independent body, the conduct of any member or any unit of a military force.

The Bill makes similar provision for the control of police agencies, through:

- The appointment of a national inspectorate from the various police agencies to investigate and monitor all policing agencies.
- The establishment of a committee of experts, South African or foreign, to evaluate or monitor any police action.

As important — or perhaps more important — the Bill provides for the establishment of a national peacekeeping force, drawn in equal measure from the defence and police forces of all parties at the negotiating council.

The political heterogeneity of the TEC's envisaged peacekeeping force will help to ensure that it fulfils its peacekeeping function; the different components will watch one another just as their political counterparts on the TEC will be on the alert for any irregular action by their partners.

The daunting task facing the TEC comes sharply into focus when the nature and composition of the different and often rival military and police forces is considered.

The SADF can mobilise 550 000 men, the overwhelming majority of them white members of the Citizen Force and the network of commandos. The majority of its standing or permanent force is, however, black.

MK has about 15 000 guerrillas, 5 000 in South Africa and 10 000 in camps in Uganda and Tanzania. The majority have been recruited since February 1990. They are virtually all black. Apla has only about 300 black fighting men. Apla combatants, suspected of murdering white civilians, have a reputation for pitilessness.

Each of the four nominally independent black territories — Transkei, Bophuthatswana, Venda and Ciskei — has its own defence force. The 5 000-strong Transkei Defence Force is the biggest. The combined strength of the four armies is estimated at 13 000. (304A)

There are 11 police forces: the SAP and one each for the 10 black territories (four nominally independent and six partially self-governing). The SAP has a total strength of about 114 000, including special constables and civilian administrative staff. The number of trained policemen is 86 000.

Several factors combine to compound the difficulties which the TEC faces in trying to exercise control of these diverse forces.

One is that some of the delegations at the negotiating council are opposed to the proposed TEC. They include the KwaZulu, Bophuthatswana and Ciskei governments. KwaZulu has a 3 800-strong gendarmerie. Bophuthatswana and Ciskei have their own defence and police forces.

Another impeding factor is Constand Viljoen, leader of the right-wing Afrikaner Volksfront and a popular former Chief of the SADF. He is assiduously wooing the militarily trained members of the Citizen Force and the commandos.

At the same time he is urging supporters to join the commandos, get training from them, to steel themselves to shoot to kill if necessary, and to lobby for support of Afrikaner self-determination.

Mandela, too, has aggravated the situation by spearheading calls for the withdrawal of white policemen from the townships and conniving at, if not sanctioning, the recruitment of black policemen by the pro-ANC Police and Prison Officers Civil Rights Union.

These developments have introduced political and racial tensions in the SAP just when the TEC faces the difficult task of forming a politically neutral peacekeeping force.



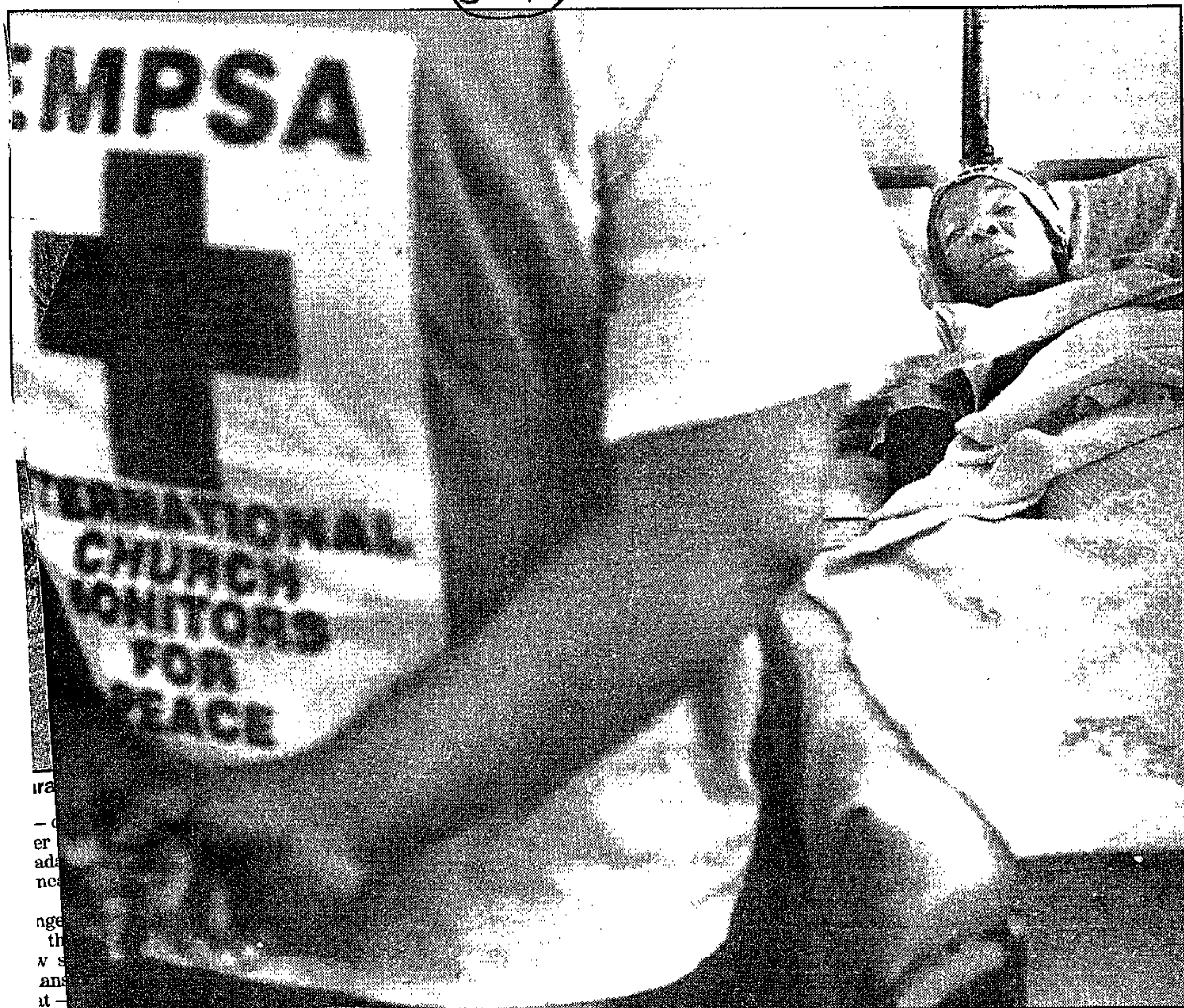
*the process of democratisation to ransom,  
has been forged as the instrument to  
the challenges facing it*

STAR

# *n disparate forces*

13/9/93

304A



m . . . one of the causes of violence is the inability or unwillingness of political leaders to control their armed  
ations. The TEC has the daunting task of bringing all the armed forces in the country to heel. PICTURE: JOAO SILVA



# Critical session begins

13/9/93

BY CHRIS WHITFIELD  
POLITICAL CORRESPONDENT

**Cape Town** — Today's opening of the special session of Parliament will begin a critical period for both the negotiations process and parties confronting fundamental change. This week will also see President F.W. de Klerk and Chief Mangosuthu Buthelezi meeting in an attempt to bridge the yawning gap between their organisations. The two most powerful parties in the present Parliament, the National Party and the Conservative Party, are both facing internal strains. However, reports that National Party MPs concerned at the direction of change could use the session to make their stand by voting against legislation agreed upon in talks may prove premature. National Party sources said the critical moment for this group would come with agreement on the Interim Constitution — expected in mid-October — and its contents would dictate their position.

## Divided

The Conservative Party will be attending the session, a senior party member confirmed yesterday. There had been suggestions that the CP might extend its World Trade Centre boycott to Parliament. The Conservative Party caucus is divided between those flirting with civil war and others strongly opposed to recent beligerence from, among others, party leader Dr Ferdi Hartzenberg. A critical moment for the Conservative Party could come at next Thursday's caucus meeting, which will probably follow approval of at least some of the transitional legislation. This week Parliament is likely to concentrate on a host of Bills, including legislation extending basic conditions of service to farmworkers and one scrapping conscription for whites. Meanwhile, Constitutional Development Minister Roelf Meyer told the National Party's Transvaal congress that the Government would be going all out to strengthen the powers and functions allocated to regions in the existing draft of the Interim Constitution, which at present "lacks in providing sufficient allocation".

# Move to woo IFP and AVF to talks

**MICHAEL MORRIS**  
Political Correspondent

THE government is to continue intensive discussions this week with the Afrikaner Volksfront and the Inkatha Freedom Party to draw them back into negotiations, Constitutional Minister Roelf Meyer said today.

The government was determined to ensure the process was as inclusive as possible to give it legitimacy, and to avoid the need to call a referendum.

Mr Meyer told a Foreign Correspondents' Association breakfast in Cape Town today: "Our approach is to try to ensure that the result we are looking for — agreement on the constitution — will have the broadest possible support among all South Africans. We are committed to that approach."

If this was not possible, a referendum would be one of several options to legitimise the constitution.

"It is premature to speculate. Our objective is to ensure that this constitution is accepted on such an inclusive basis that no further legitimising of the process will be necessary ... and that can be attained if we have the support of all the parties."

"If we cannot achieve this, we will have to sit down and consider all options."

The government's discussions with the AVF — which kicked off with two days of talks last week — were to continue this week.

The AVF's major concerns were:

- Self-determination;
- Differentiated citizen rights for regions;
- Regional boundaries for a state or region "they would regard as satisfying their needs"; and
- Specific powers and functions for that region.



here. bite can kill within minutes.

# Egypt due to renew formal links after TEC

CAIRO. — The Egyptian government will take immediate steps to re-establish formal relations with South Africa if parliament ratifies the creation of a transitional executive council, a government spokeswoman said here. Egyptian President Hosni Mubarak and Foreign Minister Amr Moussa sent messages to African

National Congress leader Nelson Mandela, Foreign Minister Pik Botha and ANC national president Thabo Mbeki congratulating them on the agreement reached in the multiparty negotiations. During the past year Egypt has been renewing links with South Africa in anticipation of such an

event, taking part in the mutual exchange of business delegations and hosting Mr Botha for a two-day visit in May. ● Mr. Mandela and Pan Africanist Congress leader Clarence Makwetu are expected to address the second annual meeting of the Arab League Council in Cairo on September 19. — Sapa.

(304) ARG BHB

# De Klerk feels wooing Buthelezi is 'crucial'

B/Day 13/9/93

BILLY PADDOCK

PRESIDENT FW de Klerk is viewing Thursday's meeting with Inkatha Freedom Party president Mangosuthu Buthelezi "as absolutely crucial" to wooing him back into the negotiations process from the "brink of secession", a senior government source said yesterday.

It is understood De Klerk, who will be assisted by top Ministers from Natal and the negotiators, will try to do this by disclosing submissions to the technical committee drafting the fourth draft constitution, where government joins Inkatha and the Concerned South Africans Group in demanding from the ANC more concessions on regionalism.

He referred to Constitutional Development Minister Roelf Meyer's statement at the Transvaal NP congress on Saturday that government would be tabling submissions for even greater regional powers, which must be binding on the elected constitutional assembly.

A constitutional court must be established to ensure that these powers are protected and not circumvented by "a clever lawyer using interpretive arguments".

Meyer also said the deadlock-breaking mechanism demanded by the ANC would have to be amended.

This should be no problem as the ANC has privately conceded that it has to be changed and it is understood it is prepared to revert to a two-thirds majority with the explicit agreement from regions concerned on changing any issue materially affecting them (304A).

The hope is that through the interim constitution being as complete and coherent as possible, the elected constitutional assembly would not change much materially.

This could go a long way to meeting Inkatha's demand that a non-elected body draft the constitution. Meyer said the interim constitution needed Inkatha's agreement to be successfully implemented.

The source said De Klerk could not regularly have "summit-level" meetings as they lose their effect.

De Klerk would also be raising the issue of Inkatha disrupting elections, as stated by senior central committee member Walter Felgate, last week. The source said despite the fact that national chairman Frank Mdlalose repudiated Felgate's statement as not reflecting the view of Inkatha's congress, Felgate had the ear of Buthelezi and was articulating the leader's views.

Buthelezi's rejection of the Transitional Executive Council Bill at the weekend directly challenged government "to dare to take him on".

Should the constitution be acceptable to Inkatha, it would also probably accept the TEC, possibly with amendments to it being made in the October Parliamentary session.

Meanwhile, Parliament convenes today for two weeks to pass the four draft Bills adopted by the negotiating council. These are the Independent Electoral Commission Bill, the Media Commission Bill, the Broadcasting Authority Bill and the TEC Bill.

The CP is expected to try to delay matters in the standing committees and also to use Parliamentary debate on the Bills for maximum political publicity gain. But they are not expected to be able to alter them or get Parliament to reject them. The CP and Inkatha's two MPs will oppose the TEC.

Negotiators last week decided to appoint a team of members to monitor the passage of the Bills through Parliament to ensure they were not tampered with or changed in any material way.

While Parliament is sitting, negotiators will be trying to iron out difficulties between parties on the draft constitution.



## Wives may get majority status

Political Staff

MARRIED women will no longer be minors within marriage—if legislation granting them economic independence is passed during this parliamentary session.

Yesterday only the Conservative Party declared its opposition to the General Law Fourth Amendment Bill, which removes the common law rule in terms of which a husband obtains the marital power over the property and person of his wife.

## National Party 'on the march'

Political Staff

THE NP in the Cape is on the march, President F W de Klerk said in the city last night.

"The NP in the Cape is working to knock the wind out of our opponents in the election," he said at the opening of the NP's new election office in Burg Street.

The NP's Cape leader, Dr Dawie de Villiers, said he was confident the NP would emerge as the strongest party in the Western Cape after the April poll.

# Riot officer indemnified

By PETER DENNEHY

FORMER Koevoet policeman Warrant Officer Dirk Calitz was indemnified for the second time yesterday and acquitted on assault charges.

WO Calitz—who served only 15 days of a 10-year sentence in Namibia in 1990—appeared in court yesterday in connection with an incident in Robertson in which 37 people were shot and nearly 70 hurt during police action, also in 1990.

Mr A J van Wyk, the Worcester Regional Court magistrate, said his court felt as if it were a pilot who had been building his own aircraft for two years, "and then has both his hands chopped off just before he flies".

The court was busy with final argument after a two-year trial when proceedings were stopped in terms of section 3 (2) of the

## Assault hearing stopped

Further Indemnity Act, and the court was told that WO Calitz had been granted indemnity by the Indemnity Board.

"This court has had its discretion taken away," the magistrate said, noting the trial had been a protracted one.

WO Calitz, now 34, was indemnified the first time by the then administrator-general of South West Africa, Mr Louis Pienaar, after he had been sentenced to 10 years' imprisonment by the Wind-

hoek Supreme Court in 1987 for beating a headman to death.

The headman had apparently argued about an armoured vehicle being driven over his fence.

WO Calitz served 15 days of his sentence and was then freed.

Yesterday he was again granted indemnity, this time under the controversial Further Indemnity Act, and acquitted both on the assault charge and an alternative charge of negligently injuring people with firearms.

Both charges had arisen from an incident in Robertson on April 11, 1990 where WO Calitz had been in charge of the riot police. He was said to have ordered his men to shoot rubber bullets and birdshot at a crowd of about 900 running in panic from a tear-smoked community hall.

The court had heard evidence that policemen had thrown two tear-smoke canisters into the hall, to flush the people out.

LP 'will' seek  
votes with ANC

GT 14/9/93 Political Staff 304A

THE Labour Party has reaffirmed it will fight elections under the ANC banner despite opposition from the Western Cape ANC. Some ANC members oppose campaigning with a party that joined the tri-cameral system.

(2/2/93)



## National Party 'on the march'

Political Staff

THE NP in the Cape is on the march, President F W de Klerk said in the city last night. (304A)

"The NP in the Cape is working to knock the wind out of our opponents in the election," he said at the opening of the NP's new election office in Burg Street.

The NP's Cape leader, Dr Dawie de Villiers, said he was confident the NP would emerge as the strongest party in the Western Cape after the April poll.

CT 14/9/93

# Sweden lifts SA trade sanctions

Staff Reporter

CT 14/1/93

SWEDEN has lifted its six-year-old trade embargo against South Africa — coinciding with Mr Nelson Mandela's announcement that the ANC would call for the lifting of the world's remaining sanctions as soon as Parliament passes the Transitional Executive Council Bill.

Sweden's other sanction, an investment ban, is linked to an interim government being established in South Africa.

Mr Mandela, speaking in Mitchell's Plain yesterday, said legislation to establish a TEC would enable the "democratic movement led by the ANC" to announce the lifting of sanctions. "We are very concerned about our economy and we want to see growth."

● Mandela wants feud to end — Page 2

# Meyer warns IFP of referendum option

Political Staff

3044

CT 14/1/93

A REFERENDUM could be held on an interim constitution if the Inkatha Freedom Party did not return to talks within six weeks, Constitutional Development Minister Mr Roelf Meyer suggested yesterday.

Addressing the Cape Town press club, Mr Meyer said the government was looking at "various options" to resolve the negotiations impasse caused by the IFP and CP's boycott of negotiations.

The government was considering a mechanism to "legitimise the process", he said. This is interpreted as a warning to IFP negotiators prior to

discussions between them and the government on Thursday.

IFP spokesman Mr Ziba Giyane rejected the suggestion of a referendum, saying it could never be a panacea to resolve a volatile political process.

A referendum should only be held after consensus was reached by all key players on a constitution, he said. "We are not making a constitution for the majority of the people, but for all the people. The fact that the majority supports a particular constitution would prove nothing," he said.

Mr Meyer said that it was still "technically possible" to ensure that the election takes place on April 27.

BUSINESS BRIEF

CT 14/1/93

CT 14/1/93



## Cosatu will check ANC's power — DP

Political Correspondent (3044)

THE trade union federation Cosatu will help to check the "rampant authoritarianism" of the African National Congress, parliament has been told.

Democratic Party manpower spokesman Robin Carlisle predicted in debate yesterday that Cosatu would soon be called upon to defend democracy and human rights in the new South Africa "in the same way as the DP is having to do now".

He said that while, economically, the "burgeoning power" of Cosatu was "bad news" — with many unions failing to work positively for economic growth — it had emerged politically as the most powerful player in the country and it would "help to check the rampant authoritarianism of the ANC".

ALG 14/9/93

## NATIONAL

# ANC urges Buthelezi to return

## □ Shudders over war talk

The Argus Correspondent

MARITZBURG. — The African National Congress Natal Midlands leader Harry Gwala has called on Kwazulu Chief Minister Mangosuthu Buthelezi to return to the multi-party negotiating table and "make his contribution to the building of a new South Africa".

Mr Gwala, who has often been called the organisation's "man of war", made a call for peace amid high tension between the ANC and the Inkatha Freedom Party in several Midlands areas, especially in Wembezi, Estcourt.

He said the "overwhelming majority" of IFP supporters, like those of the ANC, had nothing to gain from violence and further loss of life. "We believe that both the IFP and the ANC have more to gain in solving their disagreements in a peaceful manner, rather than through violent confrontation."

"The talk of civil war makes every responsible person in South Africa shudder to imagine what this all entails."

"We have seen Bosnia, Somalia and Angola, and we would not like a repeat of this in South Africa. Our land has suffered enough to yearn for peace and an amicable settlement to our problems."

He criticised the IFP's adviser Walter Felgate for his talk of civil war.

Mr Gwala's call for peace was made shortly before another statement was issued by the ANC claiming that its members in the Ixopo area were being "brutally murdered on a daily basis".

The statement said: "The attacks seem to be well planned and executed by well-trained assassins."

It said ANC members were again attacked at Ncalu at the weekend: "Three members of the Shabalala family were killed in a dawn raid by gunmen armed with G-3 rifles. Goats, cattle and sheep were killed, a house and a car were burned. Two houses belonging to ANC members were set alight in an earlier attack on Saturday."



**We are**  
 APR 14/1983 (344)  
**on the**

**march,**

**says FW**

**TOS WENTZEL**  
 Political Staff

SOUTH Africa is approaching the "mother of all elections" but the National Party's campaign will be positive, not destructive, says President De Klerk.

Speaking at the opening of the party's Cape election centre in Burg Street, Mr De Klerk said the election was just 31 weeks away.

"It is near, it is on us. The National Party has started its campaign throughout the country.

"We are still in a fairly low gear. We have learned from the past that it is important to peak at the right time, so what is happening at the moment must not be underestimated."

Mr De Klerk said he had been encouraged by three provincial party congresses.

"Something is happening at grassroots level which bodes well for the National Party and which is bad news for our opponents. Something is building up and we are on the march."

When the National Party marched it did so positively — not by damaging property, as had happened again at the University of Cape Town. The party also did not believe in mass action which infringed the rights of others.



**ELECTION CENTRE:** President De Klerk at the opening of the National Party's Cape election centre. On the left is Dr Dawie de Villiers, Cape leader of the party.

Picture: BRENTON GEACH - The Argus

The party was determined to mobilise people to work together to ensure that the country had a peaceful and prosperous future. This would be the role the party would play in the election.

"Our opponents will know that they have been in a fight but we will not play the man; we will play the ball all the time.

"We believe that our cause is a good one.

"Our principles and values are in step with the value systems which have succeeded in all successful democracies and economies in the world."

In that spirit the National Party was ready for the election.

Mr De Klerk said the party had in the past four years fulfilled all its promises, but a lot still had to be done.

In the negotiations it was still necessary to work on a formula that would reassure all regions in the country that democracy would come nearer to the people and that there would be a large degree of autonomy and federal principles.

There had to be enough checks and balances to ensure that power was distributed so that a struggle for power would not sink the country.

# Referendum in the pipeline

By Ismail Lagardien  
Political Correspondent

A REFERENDUM could be called to "legitimise the process" if all methods to bring the Inkatha Freedom Party and its Cosag allies back to multiparty negotiations fail.

Minister of Constitutional Development Mr Roelf Meyer said in Cape Town yesterday that this was, however, one of the options that were being considered.

He added that the option was nowhere near being the first choice. *Sowetan 14/9/93*

He said the Government wanted the process to be as inclusive as possible and that the results of negotiations had to be acceptable to parties and people across the entire spectrum of South African society. In this regard, he said, the Government was involved in high-level and "intensive discussions" with parties like the Afrikaner Volksfront — the umbrella body to which the Conservative Party subscribes. The Government was also preparing to meet Chief Mangosuthu Buthelezi of the Inkatha Freedom Party on Thursday to try and convince him to return to negotiations. He said the objective was to ensure that the IFP and the homeland administrations of Bophuthatswana and Ciskei were "part of the solution" in South Africa. *(30419)*

The Ciskei and Bophuthatswana governments as well as Conservative Party-controlled city councils have threatened to scuttle the election of April 27. *(102) (102)*

Asked whether the Government would consider a referendum to test the acceptability of the process, Meyer would not speculate but said: "It might be necessary at some stage to consider how we legitimise this process and then various options might come into the picture."



# Referendum possible - Meyer

BY CHRIS WHITFIELD  
POLITICAL CORRESPONDENT

South Africa could go to the polls for a referendum if the IFP and right-wing organisations do not accept the Interim Constitution that is being forged in negotiations.

The moment for a decision could be little more than a month away, with negotiators anxious to complete work on the Interim Constitution within four to six weeks.

Constitutional Development Minister Roelf Meyer said yesterday that steps to "legitimise the process" would be consid-

ered if major players were not on board once the Interim Constitution was agreed on.

Asked whether a referendum was possible, Meyer said: "It might be necessary at a stage to consider how we legitimise this process." (304A)

He stressed that the Government's objective was to make agreement on the Interim Constitution as inclusive as possible now, "so that no further legitimising is necessary".

Asked what the Government would do if the IFP and the Right did not come on board, Meyer said: "That is where the question of legitimising the process comes along."

Critical to the future role of the IFP will be a meeting between its leader, Chief Mangosuthu Buthelezi and President de Klerk in Cape Town on Thursday.

Meyer said the Government would be approaching the meeting with the hope of addressing the IFP's concerns so that it could be part of agreements. Intensive talks were also being held with the Afrikaner Volksfront, said Meyer.

Meyer also said he did not expect National Party MPs to defect from the party when the Transitional Executive Council Bill comes before Parliament next week.

# Parliament in limelight

BY ESTHER WAUGH  
POLITICAL CORRESPONDENT

The political focus is likely to shift to Parliament for the next two weeks, with only three meetings scheduled for the Negotiating Council. (304A)

The meeting today of the council will be the only one this week, with two meetings scheduled for Thursday and Friday

next week. The change in the meeting schedule at the World Trade Centre was brought about by the parliamentary schedule for the next fortnight.

Delegates to the Negotiating Council who are also members of Parliament will not be able to attend council meetings while four vital Bills are discussed in Parliament.

## THE TALKS AND YOU



### At the World Trade Centre

**DRAFT INTERIM CONSTITUTION:** With four pieces of draft legislation sent to Parliament, the Negotiating Council has still to agree on a draft Interim Constitution and an Electoral Act. The council needs to finalise these in time for the

October parliamentary sitting.

The package of draft legislation comprises the legal elements necessary for the pre-election period.

**TODAY:** It is expected that today's talks in the Negotiating Council will focus on the executive of the first democratically elected government.

### And in Parliament

The Independent Electoral Commission Bill has been tabled in Parliament and may be debated this week. The other three "Kempton Park Bills" — including legislation making provision for the Transitional Executive Council — will go before Parliament next week. Meanwhile, rumblings of dissent in the NR and CP caucuses over the way ahead continue to gather momentum.

ESTHER WAUGH AND CHRIS WHITFIELD



# Crossing the divide crucial for change

B/Day 14/9/93

PATRICK BULGER

THE ability of the major political parties to recruit support across SA's racial divide will have two implications for SA's transition to democracy.

On the one hand, an ANC victory based exclusively on black votes could exacerbate racial tensions if other groups are made to feel excluded.

By the same reasoning, an NP that is not able to attract significant black support will be in the unenviable position of speaking for whites alone when it puts its positions before an elected constitution-making body. The overall effect, then, would be to entrench racial opposition as the defining character of SA democracy.

Forty-three years ago the NP gave SA the Population Registration Act. At the weekend, this same party had its 79th transvaal congress opened by a black minister praying in Sotho. President F W de Klerk was welcomed to the congress by two praise singers who attempted to get the 1 000-strong crowd fired up with chants of Viva and Long Live the NP, Long Live the Klerk appeared to revel in the party's newly found non-racialism. In his speech he put his finger on what would be his party's greatest challenge in the election. He said ANC president Nelson Mandela had as a strategy the portrayal of De Klerk as the leader of whites alone.

This he did, De Klerk charged, by accusing him of not caring about the loss of black lives in township violence. "He (Mandela) and other leaders in the ANC still think in racist terms. . . . The ANC fears nothing more than the progress the NP is making in canvassing support among black South Africans. We already have a majority among the other population groups."

As many as one-third of the delegates were black. Primary concerns among the blacks who spoke appeared to be a frustration and anger with the tyranny of uneducated youth whose writ runs in the townships. They, whose age will disqualify them from voting next year, will exercise a bale-

ful and perhaps determining influence on the election.

This in turn could set up a pivotal generational divide among black South Africans and could open the way for substantial support for the NP from older blacks terrified of a Pol Pot-type scenario.

The silent majority whom De Klerk is enjoining to give him a historic election result may in fact do so. Yet NP organisers are well aware that elections are fought not so much on a reasonable comparison of competing policies, as on emotional issues verging on the atavistic.

"What we lack is an emotive cause. We need to try and capture voters' imaginations, we need a martyr," an NP organiser said. He conceded that the NP would not win the election. Its history aside, he said senior members felt they had been put in a bind by the party's agreement to the Record of Understanding signed a year ago.

This effectively committed the NP to a period of interim government with the ANC and was felt by the party to be the best deal it could get, given the ANC's refusal to parley if the deal was not signed. However, it effectively alienated the NP from support from conservative voters within the Inkatha fold. (304A)

For the record, the organiser said, the NP was looking for 3-million black votes which, together with 2-million white votes, 1.5-million coloured votes and 500 000 Indian votes would secure it 120 seats in a 400-member constitution-making body. Anything less than this would give the ANC alliance the two-thirds majority it needed to call the shots when debate began on amending or ratifying the constitution.

The party felt it could capture a peace vote and would be hammering the ANC on its past while promoting itself as the party of peace. More prosaically, the NP would produce a 400-strong list of candidates and with sufficient black support all of these would find their way onto national or regional governments and a senate.

# Referendum option mooted

Biday 14/9/93

TIM COHEN

CAPE TOWN — Constitutional Development Minister Roelf Meyer yesterday suggested a referendum be held on an interim constitution if the Inkatha Freedom Party did not return to talks within six weeks.

Addressing the Cape Town Press Club, Meyer said government was looking at options to resolve the negotiations impasse caused by Inkatha's and the CP's boycott.

Government was considering a mechanism to "legitimise the process", he said.

This was interpreted as a warning to Inkatha negotiators prior to Thursday's discussions between President F W de Klerk and Inkatha leader Mangosuthu Buthelezi.

Inkatha media spokesman Ziba Giyane rejected the suggestion of a referendum,

saying it could not be a panacea to resolving the volatile political process.

A referendum, which would isolate Inkatha in the face of the combined forces of the NP and the ANC, should be held only after consensus was reached by all key players on a new constitution, he said.

"We are not making a constitution for the majority of the people, but for all the people. The fact that the majority supports a particular constitution would prove nothing," he said. (304A)

Meyer said it was still "technically" possible to ensure that the election took place

□ To Page 2

## Referendum

Biday 14/9/93

□ From Page 1

on the target date of April 27. He ruled out any thought of postponing it, saying he believed this would lead to more violence.

However, the negotiations were entering a critical phase and renewed constitutional debate this week at the World Trade Centre would determine whether the transition stayed on track.

Meyer repeated previous statements that the proposed transitional executive council proposals would not be implemented until there was also agreement on a constitution.

"These Bills will not be put into operation until there is agreement on the total package and the total package includes the constitution." (304A)

He said there had been intensive discussions with the Afrikaner Volksunie last week and these would continue as government attempted to find a solution to its

concerns about Afrikaner self-determination, the boundaries of an Afrikaner state and its powers and functions.

Meyer said the negotiating council would debate the third draft of the interim constitution today. Key areas where there was still dispute included the powers and functions of the regions and how these would be protected in a future constitution.

Meanwhile, Sapa reports from Ulundi that the KwaZulu government said it would seek further legal opinion before deciding whether to appeal against last week's Transvaal Supreme Court dismissal of its court action against the negotiating council chairmen.

After a Cabinet meeting, it said it would not "acquiesce or submit to any decisions and actions taken in its absence. Any attempt to impose such decisions and actions by undemocratic means will be strenuously resisted by all legitimate means."



ers and employees more influence engage in arbitration before a strike ty supported the bill.

# Farmers told to prohibit canvassing of workers

DIRK VAN EEDEN **Biba**

PRETORIA — Farmers should under no circumstances allow canvassing among their workers, Transvaal Agricultural Union president Dries Bruwer said yesterday. ANC spokesman Carl Niehaus said his organisation had had serious problems in trying to reach farm workers. There were cases throughout SA of farmers intimidating workers not to allow ANC officials to speak to them and threatening them with dismissal if they did.

High unemployment made it difficult for farm workers to resist employer intimidation. **14/9/93**

He said the ANC would push for the right of access to farms to be written into the Election Act, but was not sure this would change farmers' attitudes. **Biba** NP spokesman Danie du Plessis said right-wing farmers barred NP party workers from their farms, but NP-supporting farmers often helped organise meetings between party workers and labourers.

Bruwer said farmers reported trespassing to the security forces and parties which trespassed to canvass would have to bear the consequences. "This so-called electioneering goes hand in hand with gross intimidation. This will destabilise the labour force and will be to the disadvantage of workers in the long run."

Free State Agricultural Union president Piet Gous said his union endorsed Bruwer's call. Unknown people canvassing on farms posed a threat to security and political differences among workers might lead to violence. The days when white politicians and so-called "open white political parties" could use blacks for petty political gains were gone for good, Gous told an Afrikaans Volksfront meeting in Theunissen at the weekend. Bruwer said his union was also "very upset" about actions launched by the ANC and its allies to make illegitimate land claims on the basis that ancestral graves were situated on farms.

# Taiwan did not pledge \$10m to ANC

TREVOR BISSEKER

TAIPEI — Reports that Taiwan had promised the ANC \$10m during ANC president Nelson Mandela's visit were incorrect, African Affairs director Du Ling said in an interview.

"They approached us for assistance with the problems of returning MK members, who are very poor, and we are seriously considering the request," he said.

On future relations, Du said: "We cherish our old friendship, but intend to develop a new relationship after April 27. We hope our relations will remain as good as they have always been."

ANC Youth League president Peter Mokaba had visited Taiwan as part of Taiwan's effort to make "new friends". He had visited mostly youth organisations. Several branches of the ANC, including the Women's

League, had been invited.

Du, who has twice served long stints in SA, said his impression was the ANC would be pragmatic in its approach to economic and political relationships. He was not specific but spoke of the "new chapter".

Taiwan was flexible in its attitude to countries which wanted to adopt a "Two China" policy.

On investment with the new SA, everything depended on the country's stability. "People are worried about peace in your country. If this is achieved, some of our major companies may invest. I believe some projects are in the pipeline."

On aid, Du said Taiwan was already helping with labour intensive rural projects. "We are famous for

our small farm systems, and feel we can help black farmers. Mandela was very keen on it. We have also promised to help establish a small business training centre in Soweto."

Taiwan has great opportunities to increase trade with Africa, which currently represented only 2% of its two-way trade. At the moment, however, the priority was to improve its political relationships with Africa.

Du said Taiwan was prepared for a long battle in its attempt to regain UN membership which it lost in 1971 to make way for Beijing. Taiwan was a major economic player and its exclusion was unfair while countries with relatively small populations were granted membership. Taiwan was confident it would soon be given membership of GATT and the IMF, said Du.

# De Klerk 'downplaying the reality of joint control'

PATRICK BULGER

Unknown to we Sizwe (MK) **(304A)**

De Klerk told the Transvaal NP congress the TEC would not create joint control of the SAP and SADF and that he, his Ministers, the SADF chief and the police commissioner would remain in control of the forces.

Williams said De Klerk was trying

to downplay the reality of joint control. He said the MRC's understanding of the TEC Bill was that government could not deploy troops or police unless a 75% majority was reached in the TEC's defence and law and order subcouncils. **14/9/93** He said normal line functions of the law and order and defence departments would remain under existing channels of control.

# MK gets ready for TEC rule

Own Correspondent

**JOHANNESBURG.** — The ANC's armed wing uMkhonto weSizwe (MK) yesterday gave its members seven days to register at regional commands to prepare for Transitional Executive Council (TEC) control of MK and the inclusion of its members in a peacekeeping force.

The call follows the suspension of the armed struggle three years ago, which will culminate in the dissolution of MK after next year's election, MK chief of staff Mr Sipiwe Nyanda said.

He said MK was taking steps to finalise its membership list.

In the draft TEC Bill, a consolidated staff list of members of armed formations has to be submitted to the TEC within 21 days of its promulgation. Failure to do so would disqualify soldiers from any financial help from the TEC.



# FW, Mandela named

OSLO. — President F W De Klerk and Mr Nelson Mandela have been nominated for the 1993 Nobel Peace prize.

The news surfaced yesterday when it became known that the nominations for the 1993 prize closed on February 1 — leaving peace-makers Mr Yassar Arafat and Mr Yitzhak Rabin outside the deadline. Other nominees include Czech President Mr Vaclav Havel, the Red Cross and the Salvation Army.

"I expect that we shall see the most recent events in the Middle East reflected in the nominations for the peace prize," said Mr Geir Lundestad, director of the Nobel Institute.

"But the deadline for nominations for the 1993 prize closed on February 1."

There were 120 nominations for this year's award, worth R2.89 million. The names of the recipients will be announced on October 15.

## Tourist shot dead in Miami

MONTICELLO, Florida. — A British tourist was shot dead and another wounded yesterday at an interstate highway rest stop in northern Florida — nearly a week after a German tourist was killed in Miami.

Police said a man was killed and a woman was wounded in their car by two young men who went up to the vehicle in an apparent robbery attempt.

The man died at the scene. The woman was airlifted to hospital, where she was in satisfactory condition.

The man was the ninth foreign visitor to Florida to be killed in the past year. — UPI

# Unita closes in as truce call is rejected

JOHANNESBURG. — Rebel forces closed in for the kill around the besieged Angolan city of Cuito yesterday as the government rejected a Unita ceasefire offer.

The government demanded international sanctions against Unita and said its truce call was a propaganda ploy before a United Nations Security Council debate on the renewed civil war.

The rebels poured artillery fire into Cuito and there was fighting on all defence lines, Angolan state radio said.

"A thick pall of smoke makes it difficult for the sun's rays to get through. The number of dead is incalculable. They must be several hundred," the report said.

# UIF call to farmers

BLOEMFONTEIN. — Free State farmers should not fulfil their obligations to the Unemployment Insurance Fund, said Dr Pieter Gous, president of the Free State Agricultural Union.

Contrary to previous information given to farmers, the fund had serious financial problems, he said yesterday.

As farmers were not responsible for this crisis, which could lead to big increases in premiums, they

could not be expected to make the fund liquid and healthy. Dr Gous said the South African Agricultural Union (SAAU) had already asked for registration to be postponed until 1994.

There were urgent negotiations under way with the Department of Manpower and to strengthen the hand of the SAAU farmers should wait for further developments.

Those who had already registered were advised not to pay the increase of 0.9% to 1%. — Sapa

# Call to punish rights violators

JOHANNESBURG. — Perpetrators of human rights violations during the apartheid era should be brought to book, three prominent political figures said on last night's Agenda.

The TV programme, featuring former Progressive Federal Party MP Mrs Helen Suzman, Nobel Peace Prize-winner Archbishop Desmond Tutu and the Azanian People's Organisation's Dr Aubrey Mokoape, centred on the ANC's recommendation that a Commission of Truth be established. A fourth guest, Pretoria bomb blast victim Mr Neville Clarence, said it would be more practical to simply wipe the slate clean.

Archbishop Tutu and Mrs Suzman said people who had committed atrocities on both sides should be brought to book. Mrs Suzman emphasised compensation for families, and Archbishop Tutu stressed the need to deal with the past to start with the future.

## Power cut 'caused by fault'

CT 15/9/93  
Staff Reporter

ELSIE'S RIVER ANC chairman Mr Andrew Madela, said last night he had received an anonymous call from a man who said he was an AWB member and claimed responsibility for the power failure in the area.

However, a spokesman for Eskom said power was interrupted by a 'normal technical fault'.

Power was interrupted from just after 4 pm in Elsie's River, Bishop Lavis and Ruiterswacht, and restored in all areas after 9 pm.

## Interim rule powers closer

PRETORIA. — The negotiating council came closer yesterday to defining the powers, functions and decision-making processes of an interim cabinet and president.

It was agreed that the president of an interim government would become the executive head of the state and would be elected indirectly by Parliament, rather than through a question on ballot papers.

● Progress on Interim rule — Page 2

PICK N PAY  
DISCOUNT PETROL



## SA, Poland ties 'to strengthen'

(2049)  
Political Correspondent

15/6/88  
THE "warm and positive" relations between South Africa and Poland would be strengthened further in coming months, President F W de Klerk said yesterday.

After a meeting with Polish Foreign Minister Mr Krzysztof Skubiszewski at Tuynhuys, Mr De Klerk said the visit would lead to "growing interaction" between the two countries. He praised Poland's stand that South Africa had a "crucial role" to play in Africa's development.

# FW rejects ANC claim of NP split

CTIS/9/53  
3047

ANTHONY JOHNSON  
Political Correspondent

PRESIDENT F W de Klerk yesterday sharply dismissed persistent claims of factional strife in the cabinet or the National Party's 167-member parliamentary caucus.

He said ANC leader Mr Nelson Mandela was succumbing to flights of "wishful thinking" in charging that there was right-wing opposition in the cabinet to constitutional reforms.

Mr Mandela had told journalists at a briefing earlier that while next year's April poll was not in question, threats from the right-wing faction in the cabinet and far right-wingers had to be taken seriously.

A clearly irritated Mr De Klerk hit back that his rival was dealing with "imaginary splits" and engaging in party politicking.

"I don't have a right-wing in my cabinet," he said in response to press questions after he met with Polish Foreign Minister Mr Krzysztof Skubiszewski in Tuynhuys.

Asked about divisions within his NP

caucus, Mr De Klerk said: "There is a good spirit and sound cohesion in the caucus and the cabinet — and that will manifest itself in the next election."

Unlike the ANC, "we do not have Gwalas and Mokabas," he added.

Mr De Klerk said it was his style to encourage open debate when the party was grappling with fundamental issues.

The spirit at Monday's caucus meeting in Cape Town had been "wonderful," he said.

Senior NP sources told the Cape Times that the so-called "anti" faction in the cabinet, which was vehemently opposed to the ANC, was not interested in leading a breakaway from the NP.

This group — of which Mr Hernus Kriel, Mr Kobie Coetsee and Dr Tertius Delpont have been cited in reports as leading members — had the backing of the overwhelming majority of ministers, one source said.

Ministers said to favour a closer working relationship with the ANC — including Mr Roelf Meyer, Mr Pik Botha and Mr Leon Wessels — "hardly constitute serious opposition," another source said.



# Kriel rejects 'verkramppte' charges

By BARRY STREEK  
Political Staff

OUTSPOKEN Law and Order Minister Mr. Herinus Kriel yesterday emphatically denied that he was involved in any conservative or verkramppte wing of the National Party or that he would challenge its Cape leader, Dr Dawie de Villiers, next month.

He said in a wide-ranging interview that the cabinet was united behind all its decisions, although there were differing views before some decisions were taken.

Mr Kriel also disclosed that he was the only member of the cabinet to have been kicked out of the NP for his "leftist" views.

"I have been a verligte all my life. To call me a verkramppte, I think is very unfair," Mr Kriel was expelled from the NP in 1961 when, as a student at Stellenbosch University, he called for coloured and Indian people to have a direct vote in Parliament and for increased spending of "white money" for the home lands. "And today they call me a verkramppte!"

Mr Kriel rejoined the NP two or three years later. One of those responsible for his expulsion from the NP was Mr Jannie Momborg, now ANC MP for Simon's Town, but then an executive member of the NP in Stellenbosch.

Mr Kriel said his position as Minister of Law and Order meant he had taken tough decisions and this explained the allegations made against him. He had no intention of causing any split in the National Party and said it was "absolute nonsense" to claim he favoured an alliance with the IFP.

30447

CF 15/9/73

# Progress on interim rule

CT 15/9/93 304A

Own Correspondent

PRETORIA. — The negotiating council came closer yesterday to defining the powers and functions and decision-making methods of an interim cabinet and president.

It was agreed the president of an interim government would become the executive head of state and would be elected indirectly by Parliament, rather than through an extra question on electoral ballot papers.

The technical committee on constitutional issues, which will include the agreed clauses into a proposed interim constitution, argued that the direct election of the president would complicate the poll.

The council also agreed the president would not remain a Member of Parliament but would be freed to take care of executive, ceremonial and conciliatory duties.

The cabinet of an interim government would be a

## Govt hoping to shift IFP

By ANTHONY JOHNSON  
Political Correspondent

THE government would leave "no stone unturned" in its efforts to end Inkatha's boycott of multi-party talks, President F W de Klerk said yesterday.

He said he was "looking forward" to meeting IFP leader Chief Mangosuthu Buthelezi tomorrow.

Mr De Klerk said he believed that some stumbling blocks in the way of Inkatha's return could be dealt with "in a constructive manner".

But senior government sources said they did not expect the meeting to produce a final solution to Inkatha's problems.

The government is expected to put a package of proposals to Chief Buthelezi to allay Inkatha's suspicions.

In return, Inkatha is expected to drop its opposition to the two-stage process of writing the constitution.

IFP national chairman Dr Frank Mdlalose said yesterday that tomorrow's talks had not been jeopardised by a Kwa-Zulu cabinet statement expressing opposition to a return to multi-party talks.

more investigation.

The composition of the cabinet and the extent of its accountability to Parliament had also not yet been decided.

Issues relating to decision-making and the appointment of cabinet members who were not MPs were also referred back to the committee.

The council also discussed yesterday the creation of a constitutional court.

multi-party group appointed proportionally according to parties' performance in the national election.

Parties would have to secure at least 5% of the poll to qualify for positions in the cabinet.

Questions regarding a deputy president, a prime minister and the procedure for appointing cabinet members were referred back to the technical committee for



# FW bid to get Buthelezi back on board

AKG 15/9/93

(3044) (10)

## Political Staff

RESIDENT De Klerk says he will leave "no stone unturned" in his efforts to get Inkatha Freedom Party leader Mangosuthu Buthelezi back to the negotiations process when the leaders hold their crucial meeting in Cape Town tomorrow.

The president said "stumbling blocks" had been identified and he believed they could be removed.

A government source said yesterday that Mr De Klerk would present "concrete and reasonable proposals" to Chief Buthelezi which, it was hoped, might tempt the KwaZulu chief to drop his boycott of the talks.

But the source denied widespread speculation that negotiations from the government and Inkatha had struck a deal in recent bilateral meetings which would be completed by the leaders.

It is understood the proposed meeting of leaders to thrash out problems in the process will be high on the agenda.

Mr De Klerk, speaking after meeting Polish Foreign Minister Krzysztof Skubiszewski, said he was looking forward to the meeting and would be approaching it in a "constructive manner".

But sources in both the government and IFP camps have been at pains not to build up expectations about the meeting.

They said it should be seen as the first step in a process which could normalise relations between the organisations.

The leaders will be accompanied by 10-man delegations. The meeting is scheduled to last most of tomorrow.

Mr De Klerk dismissed suggestions that his cabinet and the National Party caucus were divided over negotiations.

"I don't have a rightwinger in my cabinet," Mr De Klerk said in response to media questions yesterday. There was a "good spirit" in both the cabinet and the caucus.

"We don't have Gwalas and Mokabas in our party," he said — a reference to the African National Congress's Natal Midlands and Youth League leaders.

Mr De Klerk, talking at a photo session after meeting Mr Skubiszewski, said suggestions by ANC president Nelson Mandela that the "rightwing" in his cabinet was a threat to negotiations were "politicking and wishful thinking".

He said a National Party caucus meeting on Monday had been "wonderful".

His style on such occasions, where fundamental issues were now being discussed, was to be open and to "allow debate to go on".

"A good spirit and sound cohesion prevails in both the cabinet and the caucus, which will manifest themselves in elections," he said.



**T**he Democratic Party's survival in post-apartheid South Africa may be at risk. Patrick Laurence talks to Tony Leon, DP leader on the Witwatersrand

# Defending the liberal credo

Star 15/9/93  
304A

**T**he combative Tony Leon minces no words in his condemnation of the Randburg town councillors who have defected from the DP to the ANC.

They were trying to "prolong their shelf life", he says. Opportunism, not principle, prompted their decision, he insists.

Leon, who was recently chosen to lead the DP in the Witwatersrand, fires another salvo at the defectors: their action was not a move by prescient politicians anticipating the future but a betrayal of the voters who elected them under DP colours.

The idea of the DP renegades strengthening the liberal camp within the ANC makes Leon smile. The Randburg councillors, like the five DP MPs who joined the ANC last year, and men in the Johannesburg City Council who have declared for but not yet joined the ANC, have as much chance of being heard in the ANC as a "sneeze in a thunderstorm", Leon reckons.

He refers contemptuously to the former DP chief whip, David Dalling, one of the five MPs who defected in April last year. Dalling has disappeared without trace, except when it suits ANC leaders to parade him for their own ends, Leon remarks.

If the present ANC leadership is not prepared to take action against the men responsible for atrocities in ANC detention camps, the neophytes from the DP will have no chance of influencing the ANC in a more liberal direction, Leon reckons.

Leon, who succeeded Helen Suzman as MP for Houghton, does not have a high opinion of the ANC; he sees it as a "large black version" of the defunct United Party, an amorphous political organisation which attempts to satisfy different consti-



Tough-minded ... Tony Leon probably needs to be.

tuencies simultaneously.

The ANC does not indulge in "double-speak". That is too flattering a label. It uses "quadruple-speak" in its political discourse with the nation.

The reasonable pragmatism of Nelson Mandela and the sophistication of Cyril Ramaphosa have to be juxtaposed with the unrepentant Stalinism of Harry Gwala, the reckless demagoguery of Peter Maboka, and the dangerous zealotry of the ANC's confreres in the SA National Civil Organisation (Sanco).

The ANC's need to face several directions at the same time accounts for its failure effectively to discipline radicals in its ranks and its inability or unwillingness to realise that "words have consequences".

Leon, who fervently believes that the DP is the only political home for liberals, turns his critical gaze on the National Party, which, like the ANC, is trying to attract liberals to its ranks.

He prefaces his criticism with an acknowledgement of his delight that President de Klerk took the decisions that he did when he launched his brave re-

form policy on February 2 1990.

"But if the NP can abandon the political principles which won it 11 general elections, how much easier will it be for the NP to abandon principles which it doesn't believe in?"

The NP's proclaimed belief in democracy, nonracialism and individual rights are not the "principles of a lifetime". Thus the NP is not a trustworthy guardian of those principles, Leon says.

He recalls a recent statement by De Klerk that an ANC government would be bad news for the ordinary working South African.

But, Leon asserts, the De Klerk administration, like that of P W Botha before it, has itself been disastrous for working South Africans: it has taxed them to death, causing South Africa to have one of the highest marginal tax rates in the world; it has refused to deregulate the oil industry and forced taxpayers to subsidise Moss gas; it has remained a "profligate" spender of public funds.

Leon admits that a mammoth task lies ahead for the DP if it is to fulfil its traditional role as the custodian of liberal values in

South Africa after next year's election.

It is haemorrhaging badly, having shed support to the ANC and the NP, and is seen by many of its erstwhile and potential supporters as being "dead on its feet".

But Leon, who is credited with having helped to revive the Progressive Federal Party in Johannesburg in the late '80s, is determined to make the DP a force to be reckoned with in the months ahead.

His objective is to win 500 000 votes in the Witwatersrand or 12 percent of the votes and seats in the region. To that end, he plans to launch a massive campaign to raise public awareness of the DP as an invigorated defender of the liberal creed.

One facet of the campaign is a pamphleteering blitz aimed at conveying a few simple messages:

■ The DP has clean hands, that it has "never killed anyone" (an allusion to deaths in detention under NP administrations and torture in ANC detention camps).

■ It has not had to change its colours (a dig at NP's new emblem and colours).

■ The DP is in favour of "people power, not mob rule" (a reference to roughnecks in the ANC-aligned Sanco and the SA Students' Congress).

Leon recognises that a major challenge is to win black support. Every one percent of the black vote translates into 100 000 votes against a meagre 30 000 from an equivalent percentage of the white vote, he notes. The DP's problem is that its meetings in black areas have been broken up by ANC-aligned zealots. It is a challenge which the tough-minded Leon has no intention of ducking.



# Experts to propose SA's new symbols

Staff Reporter

THE Commission on National Symbols will meet at the World Trade Centre today to put forward proposals for a new flag, a national coat of arms and a national anthem — and a retired Newlands publisher and expert in heraldry will be there.

Dr Cornelis Pama, 77, the chairman of the Heraldry Society of South Africa, is a member of the commission.

"We have until the end of October to make a decision on them (the new symbols) and will meet regularly to discuss the changes to the old symbols," he said yesterday.

In 1961, when South Africa became a republic, Dr Pama designed the gold mace for Parliament, the black rod for the senate and the president's flag.

Dr Pama said he felt there was a need for new symbols in an emerging democratic South Africa, but he had no idea yet what the new symbols would look like.

All proposals would be examined, he said.

Dr Pama is the editor of the *Nederlandse Post*, a magazine for the Dutch community in South Africa, and is the author of a number of books.



**HERALDRY EXPERT . . .** Dr Cornelis Pama, chairman of the Heraldry Society of South Africa, holds a framed print of an Italian manuscript of the city of Sienna and a Welsh plate of arms.

Picture: ANNE LAING



# Buthelezi meeting with FW is still on

Sowetan 18/9/93

**Sowetan Correspondent**

**T**HE MEETING BETWEEN State President FW de Klerk and Inkatha Freedom Party leader Chief Mangosuthu Buthelezi tomorrow has not been imperilled by a KwaZulu Cabinet statement that there is no going back to multiparty talks.

But there is only a "tiny chink" still open in the door through which the IFP and KwaZulu must pass to return to this forum, IFP national chairman Dr Frank Mdlalose said yesterday.

## **Sufficient reason**

"There isn't sufficient reason for us to go back just now."

However, efforts to find a common path would continue and the talks boycotters would demand the right "to have our voices heard".

De Klerk said yesterday he looked forward to meeting Buthelezi as the IFP had to be part of a constitutional solution.

## **TINY CHINK** No going back to negotiations but door still open:

(3044) ~~478~~  
De Klerk said he intended approaching the talks in a constructive manner.

Stumbling blocks keeping the IFP out of multiparty negotiations could be removed through direct discussions with the IFP, as well as multilateral meetings.

De Klerk said he would leave no stone unturned to secure the IFP's involvement. "I regard it as important that the IFP is part of a solution."

The two leaders meet in Cape Town tomorrow morning with their respective delegations.

Mdlalose said KwaZulu had hoped to find "relief of a sort" through its legal challenge of the decision-making mechanism of sufficient consensus used in negotiations.

"This hasn't happened. The judges washed their hands of the matter like Pontius Pilate."

"Sufficient consensus" was not the only concern, however. Mdlalose said his party still wanted to see an alternative constitution put on the table for discussion and negotiation.

The IFP viewed the present draft as a constitution for a unitary state and wanted to see the federal alternative put forward for consideration.

## **Seeking ways**

"We're still seeking ways to solve the problem, but as time goes on the doorway (to a return) gets smaller and smaller," he said. "There is only a tiny chink left now."

He ruled out the possibility of a deal between the IFP and Government similar to the Record of Understanding between the Government and ANC last year in a process which marked the beginning of the alienation of the IFP.



# Bill may affect employers

EMPLOYERS could be forced to conduct voter education programmes and allow the canvassing of employees, once the Independent Electoral Commission Bill was passed by Parliament, Centre for Applied Legal Studies director Dennis Davis said yesterday. **Biday**

The commission's powers were omnipotent in its goal of overseeing free and fair elections, he told an Andrew Levy & Associates seminar. **15/9/93**

"It is envisaged that appropriate regulations will be promulgated to ensure that adequate and fair canvassing can take place, including on private property such as farms and mines," he said.

The commission's decisions could not be challenged in an ordinary court and employers might be approached by political parties wanting to canvass workers on the shop floor, citing the inaccessibility of

ERICA JANKOWITZ

many areas as their reason for not conducting door-to-door polls. Employers could argue that this infringed private property rights, but the commission was unlikely to be swayed by this.

Davis said the commission would have the power to enforce its orders through the courts and any contravention would be contempt of court. **(304A)**

As the commission would be the ultimate supervisor of the electoral process, it could force employers to conduct voter education programmes at workplaces. Davis suggested that time off and facilities be negotiated between management and employee representatives, and a non-partisan agency be used to conduct training.

He also highlighted provisions in Bill of

To Page 2

## Electoral Bill **Biday 15/9/93** From Page 1

Rights legislation which would have important implications for industrial relations. It would trump any other law, being the law used to test any other Act. **(304A)**

In terms of the Bill of Rights, the right to strike would be enshrined in law for the first time, as would the right to lock out. SA was the only country where this right was legislated, showing the degree of compromise reached in negotiations, Davis said.

He warned that the clause on the right to economic activity would change existing labour law substantially, as it could be interpreted as including scab labour.

The right to freedom of association could effectively end closed and agency shops, as well as the extension of industrial council agreements to cover those who were not parties to the council, he said.

However, the technical subcommittee responsible for drafting the Bill of Rights had included a proviso that existing labour legislation "which promotes orderly collective bargaining and peaceful industrial

relations shall not be attacked under these constitutional provisions".

Davis predicted that a host of cases would be brought to the constitutional court to sort out which provisions were in conflict with this requirement.

In his capacity as an ANC tax adviser, Davis said a wealth tax was not official ANC policy as far as he knew.

He suggested that, instead of the mooted reconstruction levy, the ANC was more likely to impose tougher regulations governing capital transfer tax — especially estate duty. These were much easier to administer than a wealth tax, and government's Tax Advisers' Commission was investigating a revamped estate duty to address financial difficulties.

Davis said management should engage in the debate on how to finance reconstruction, as recent rumblings about a redistribution levy were probably only a cry for help from the ANC on how to deliver tangible change to its constituents.

Picture: Page 3

DAY SEPTEMBER 15 1993

## Majority oppose new councils'

Star 15/9/93

### ■ METRO STAFF

The Conservative Party and Afrikaner Volksfront are claiming that 90 percent of town councils polled by them countrywide reject the proposed introduction of nonracial councils. (304A)

CP chief secretary Dr Lem Theron said yesterday that all CP-controlled councils were opposed to the new councils, which would include nominated councillors from statutory and non-statutory organisations. Some NP-controlled councils also opposed the councils, he claimed.

Theron said public opinion polls would be held in as many cities as possible. Elsewhere, meetings would be used to gauge public opinion.



# Form of interim govt begins to shape up

PRETORIA — The negotiating council came closer yesterday to defining the powers, functions and decision-making processes of an interim cabinet and president.

It was agreed the president of an interim government would become the executive head of state and would be elected indirectly by parliament, rather than through an additional question on electoral ballot papers.

The technical committee on constitutional issues, which will pull agreed clauses into a proposed interim constitution, argued that direct election of the president would complicate the poll.

The council also agreed the president would not remain an MP but would be freed to take care of executive, ceremonial and conciliatory duties.

The cabinet of an interim government would be a multiparty body appointed proportionally according to parties' performance in the national election, the council agreed. Parties would need to secure a minimum of 5% of the poll to qualify for

ADRIAN HADLAND

positions on the cabinet.

Questions regarding the existence of a deputy president, a prime minister and the procedure for appointing cabinet members were referred back to the technical committee for further investigation.

As the composition of the cabinet and the extent of its accountability to parliament had also not been decided upon, issues relating to decision-making and the appointment of cabinet members who were not MPs were also referred back to the committee.

Sapa reports that the idea that SA should have a president and deputy or vice-president when a government of national unity came into being after the April 27 election was not well received at the multiparty talks yesterday.

Only the ANC spoke in favour of the idea, which the PAC claimed recently was a "boshraad deal" between the ANC and government.

However, negotiators agreed to a request by ANC negotiator Mohammed Valli Moosa not to decide on the matter yet, but to allow for further discussions outside the negotiating chamber.

The claim of a deal was made by PAC general secretary Benny Alexander when the idea was first mooted in a recent constitutional report. Alexander claimed government and the ANC had struck a deal that ANC president Nelson Mandela would become president and State President F.W. de Klerk his deputy.

The report by a group of constitutional experts said a deputy or vice-president could come from a party "other than the president's party".

"A deputy president/vice-president could alleviate the heavy responsibilities of the president," the report said.

Labour Party negotiator Luwellyn Landers said yesterday a president and prime minister, also proposed in the latest constitutional report, were sufficient.

He said the prime minister, as the government's principal representative in ordinary parliamentary business, could then "deal with the hurly burly of parliament, and act as a sort of buffer to the president".

The Natal and Transvaal Indian Congresses also rejected the idea of a deputy or vice-president, and said the prime minister should come from the same party as the president.

The PAC's Patricia de Lille said there was no need for a deputy president.

Moosa said the idea was linked to the interim government of national unity. He said it was difficult to address any one matter in isolation and negotiators had to look at issues as a "package".

The period of a government of national unity was when reconciliation and unity had to be built, Moosa said.

DP negotiator Colin Eglin said his party would push for a directly elected president in the final constitution, to be drawn up during the period of the government of national unity. He agreed that the president in the first period had to be appointed as soon as possible to avoid uncertainty.

# Executive powers debated

Star 15/9/93

■ BY ESTHER WAUGH  
POLITICAL CORRESPONDENT

The first round of discussion on the executive for a new government and a constitutional court took place yesterday in the Negotiating Council.

However, no final agreements have been reached.

Negotiators agreed in principle that the State President should be the executive head of state and that he should be indirectly elected by the National Assembly.

It was also agreed that after his election the State President should vacate his seat as a member of Parliament.

But the possibility of a deputy president and a prime minister as well as the composition of and decision-making by the Cabinet were referred back to the technical committee on constitutional matters for further consideration.

National Party chief negotiator Dr Dawie de Villiers argued that the State President should not be an MP after his election and that "never again should there be so much power" vested in the State President.

Most parties, with the exception of the PAC, were in favour of all parties with at least 20 seats in Parliament being represented proportionally in the Cabinet.

Constitutional Development Minister Roelf Meyer argued that the composition of a new government should be written into the new constitution.

ANC negotiator Valli Moosa said this was linked to the func-

## THE TALKS AND YOU

304A



### At the World Trade Centre

**INTERIM CONSTITUTION:** The Negotiating Council yesterday debated the 11th report by the technical committee on constitutional matters, which is drafting draft legislation for the Interim Constitution.

The debate focused on the composition and powers of the State President and Cabinet of an interim government of national unity to be elected in April.

Most matters were referred back to the technical committee for consideration, but the council agreed that the State President should be the executive head of state and should be indirectly elected.

The next meeting of the council will be next Thursday.

### And in Parliament

The Transitional Executive Council Bill is scheduled to be debated over three days next week. The only World Trade Centre draft legislation to have been tabled by late yesterday was the Independent Electoral Commission Bill, which might be debated this week.

Meanwhile, President de Klerk sharply dismissed suggestions yesterday that his Cabinet or the NP caucus were divided.

ESTHER WAUGH AND CHRIS WHITFIELD

tioning of the interim government of national unity and should be discussed in bilateral meetings before the meeting of the council next Thursday.

Negotiators also agreed that an independent constitutional court should be the court of final instance on all constitutional matters.

Agreement in the council on the appointment of judges to both the constitutional court and Supreme Court will ensure that the judiciary is more representative.

■ Negotiators have agreed to a procedure for making technical amendments to draft Bills which were adopted in the Negotiating Council and are now before Parliament.

The move followed sharp criticism voiced yesterday in the council over amendments to draft legislation proposed by Home Affairs Minister Danie Schutte. These amendments were later withdrawn by Schutte. PAC negotiator Barney Desai labelled the amendments "an act of bad faith".



# Cabinet divided over Nats' future

IN the next few weeks the main political parties all have to bite their respective bullets if South Africa is to get a new constitution for the transition period of five years.

For the National Party, the outcome of the negotiations is more critical than for any other party. Its very future depends on it — whether it becomes a mere adjunct of a victorious African National Congress, or whether it remains one of the two dominant parties on the scene and well capable of checking any possible ANC excesses or abuses.

My discussions with ministers over the past few weeks have made it clear that serious differences exist in the Cabinet over the NP's future course of action.

In the view of their Cabinet adversaries, the relatively free hand of the men who are called the "Kempton Park Three" (Dr Dawie de Villiers, Minister of Public Enterprises, and Messrs Roelf Meyer, Minister of Constitutional Development, and Leon Wessels, Minister of Manpower), which they enjoyed with President de Klerk's backing, is over.

To describe this as a battle between *permanents* and *verligtes* or between reform and anti-reform is fatuous. Those opposing any further concessions to the ANC are rather conservatives in the mould of the great eighteenth century thinker Edmund Burke, as expressed in his *Reflections on the French Revolution*.

## Liberty

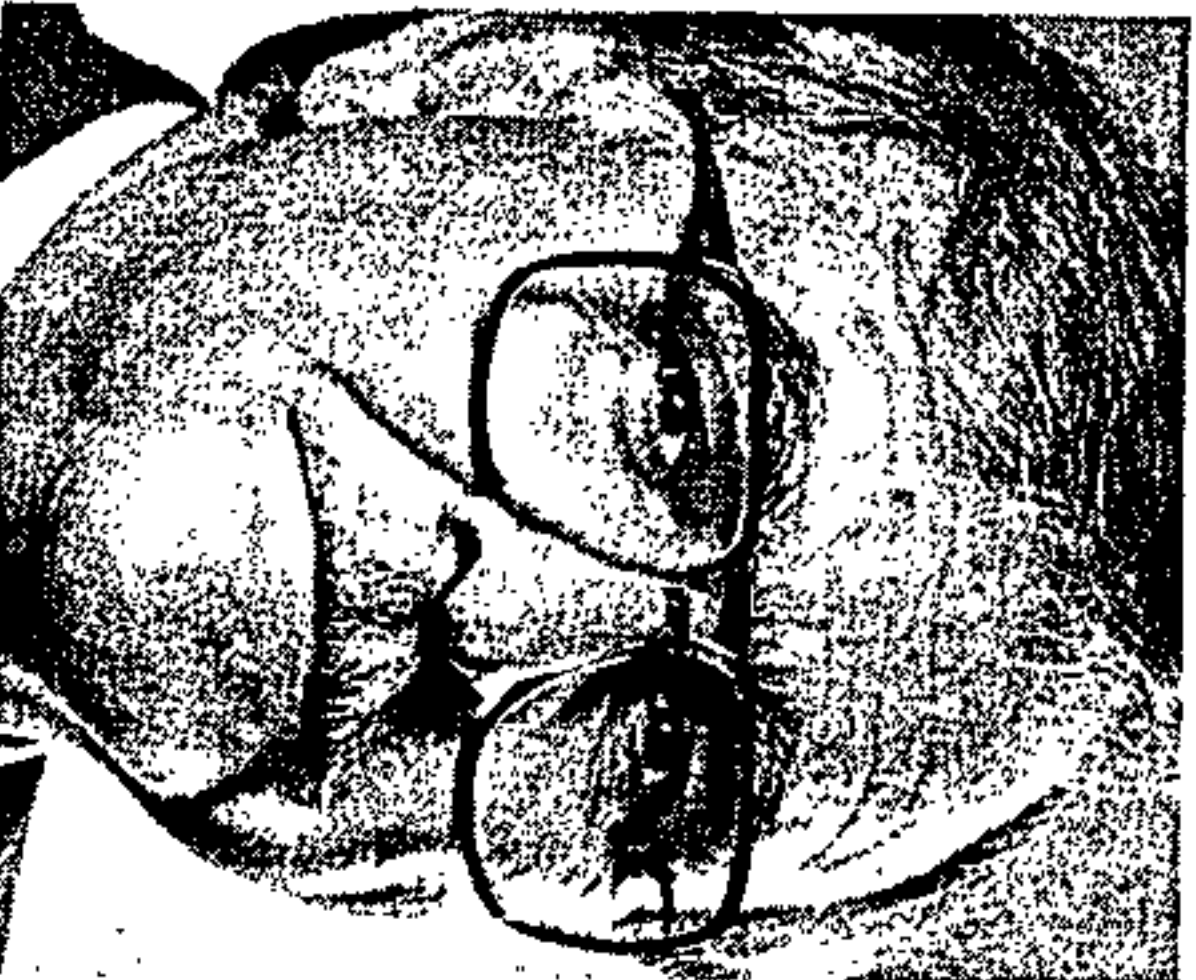
Burke wrote that he would suspend his congratulations on the liberty of France until he was informed "how well it had been combined with government, with public force; with the discipline and obedience of armies; with the collection of an effective and well-distributed revenue; with morality and religion; with the solidity of property; with peace and order: with civil and social manners".

Burke, who had championed the struggle of the American colonies to be free from Britain, made no attempt to disguise his deep concern over what was happening in revolutionary France. To the point that he was forsaking his principles, he replied: "Better to be despised for too anxious apprehensions, than ruined by too confident a security."

The conservatives fear that the NP negotiators have far too much confidence in the assurances about liberty and security the ANC has been offering. In a real sense the conservatives are trying to claw back some of the ground lost in the



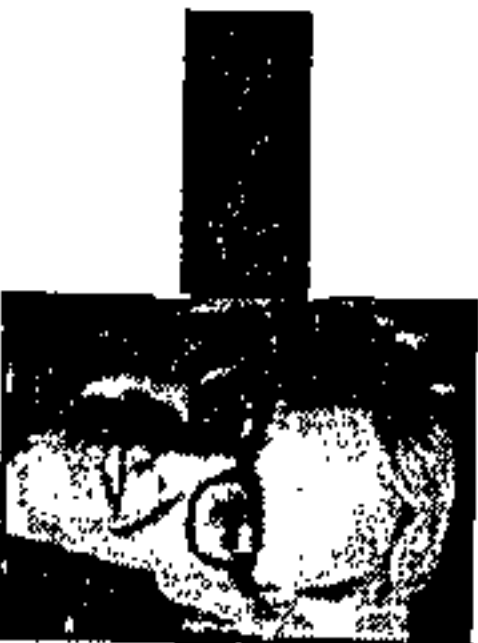
ROBERT MCBRIDE: Released in a major concession to ANC demands.



HENNIS KRIEL: Received strong endorsement in the Afrikaans Press.



ROELF MEYER: Enjoyed a relatively free hand with De Klerk's backing.



PATTERN OF POLITICS by Herman Gilimnee

middle of 1992, leading up to the Record of Understanding between the ANC and the NP of September 1992.

Three developments forced the NP leadership to abandon its original ideas about power-sharing for a prolonged period. They were the breakdown of Codesa, US State Department pressure on the NP to accept that federation was a far better safeguard for minorities than enforced power-sharing which frustrated the majority, and the ANC's mass mobilisation campaign, culminating in the tragic Bisho massacre.

It was at this time that, according to some informed sources, Mr de Klerk received the following advice from key government advisers (the names of Mr Fanie van der Merwe and Dr Neil Barnard have been mentioned often).

The State does not have the capability to prevail over the ANC in a battle for supremacy; the longer the negotiations drag on, the weaker the deal the NP will

get and the NP should avoid forming alliances in the negotiations because that leads only to polarisation and the breakdown of negotiations. In short, the advice was for the government to settle soon and for considerably less than its original demands.

In the Record of Understanding between the NP and the ANC of September 1992, the government made a major concession to ANC demands. It agreed to release 400 prisoners (among them Robert McBride), but, more importantly, without a prior consultation with the Inkatha Freedom Party, went along with the ANC's demand to fence in 24 hostels and prohibit the carrying of dangerous weapons on public occasions. Although the latter two measures were never carried out, this was a major symbolic blow to the IFP, leading to the parting of the ways between the IFP and the NP. The IFP's alienation is still the single most important stumbling block to a settlement.

In the subsequent negotiations, the NP persuaded the ANC to accept power-sharing, but only for a limited period of five years, and also to endorse regionalism. Here the next stumbling block to a settlement developed. If the NP wanted to persuade its followers that federalism was a proper substitute for the "overly complex power-sharing agreements" (the State Department's words) its proposed form of federalism had to have substance and it needed to be entrenched.

But the ANC, as was well-known, is averse to federalism. After the breakdown of Codesa, Mr Cyril Ramaphosa, ANC secretary-general, expressed himself in the following terms to trade unionists: "The enemy is using the clause 'entrench' to ensure regionalism and therefore federalism. The ANC want to revisit this so that we can insist that the central government can have overriding powers, then 'entrench' will not be

a problem. A central government won't want certain powers, eg. planting trees."

The current draft of the constitution still espouses only a weak form of federalism and this is increasing the tension between the Kempton Park Three and the rest of the Cabinet. This ties up with another cleavage, namely the one over whether the NP should immediately proceed to forming an alliance with other parties, particularly the IFP and hopefully also the Democratic Party and General Viljoen's support base. Such an alliance would strongly emphasise federalism as a key policy plank and would aim at reversing the NP's disastrous drop in support as measured in polls. (It is now barely over 12%.)

## Adversaries

The NP negotiators are opposed to it, but they are in an invidious position. Their Cabinet adversaries believe that the ANC has all but made up its mind about which members of the current government would get appointments in the first post-apartheid Cabinet. They are: Mr de Klerk (Vice-President), Mr Wessels (Law and Order), Mr Meyer (Constitutional Development), Dr de Villiers (Public Enterprises), Mr Derek Keys (Finance) and Mr Tobie Meyer (Agriculture).

Two of the NP negotiators happen to be only lukewarm about federalism but also about the forming of alliances. Their adversaries in Cabinet are increasingly posing the question: is their lukewarmness not due to the fact that their position in an ANC-dominated Cabinet is already assured and may be jeopardised by an NP-IFP alliance?

President de Klerk is now believed to be tilting away from the Kempton Park Three. He has committed himself to the position that the future constitution can be accepted only by sufficient consensus and that this means the support not only of the ANC and NP but the IFP as well.

Furthermore the strong endorsement Mr Hennis Kriel has received in the Afrikaans Press for his suggestion of an alliance based on Christian principles, strong federalism, anti-communism and protection of minorities means that President de Klerk can no longer prevaricate on the issue.

New alliances and shifts in the government's negotiating demands appear to be on the cards.

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

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CT 16/9/93



# Mandela, FW off to US

Political Staff

JOHANNESBURG. — ANC president Mr Nelson Mandela will speak at the United Nations in New York on Friday next week, when he is expected to call for remaining international sanctions to be lifted.

President FW de Klerk will also visit the United States next week, and will meet UN secretary-general Dr Boutros Boutros-Ghali.

He will also visit Europe, and is

expected to meet British Prime Minister Mr John Major.

Mr Mandela, whose US visit will last at least a week, will also address a Washington conference aimed at spurring institutional investment in a post-apartheid South Africa.

He will also address the Congress.

Mr De Klerk is to deliver a closing keynote address at the World Economic Development Congress in Washington on September 25.



# 'Give us an anthem'

16/9/93  
JOHANNESBURG. — Sportsmen need a national anthem to give them a moral boost at international sporting events, according to Springbok rugby star James Small.

The popular winger, who spoke at the Johannesburg Press Club yesterday, said the national team had been at a huge disadvantage in their recent internationals abroad because no anthem had been played before the tests.

Small said he did not want to prescribe, to politicians or other au-

thorities, but it was time South African teams got an anthem.

304A  
The Springboks had to stand and listen to "Advance Australia Fair" before the tests Down Under recently, and the same happened on the tour of France and England last year. "Standing there listening to 70 000 Poms singing God Save the Queen is a frightening experience."

"It was disappointing not to have our own anthem. If we get one, it would help us win, it acts as a psychological boost." — Sapa

# Rightwing AVU expected to be disbanded today

The Argus Correspondent

PRETORIA. — The Afrikaner Volksunie (AVU) — the lone rightwing voice in the Kempton Park negotiating process since the Conservative Party walkout — is expected to be disbanded today.

The party's management council meets in Pretoria tonight to discuss its own probable demise following the resignation of four of its five founder members in the past two months.

They are MPs Cehill Pienaar (Heilbron), Moolman Mentz (Ermelo), Chris de Jager (Bethal) and Rossier de Ville (Standerton), who left the CP with Potchefstroom MP Andries Beyers last year to form the AVU and join negotiations.

The AVU is now left with only two MPs — Mr Beyers and Koos Botha (Wonderboom), who joined the party after the split with the CP.

Mr Mentz, Mr De Jager and Mr De Ville, attending parliament as Independents, are expected to join General Constand Viljoen's Afrikaner Volksfront, while there is strong speculation that Mr Pienaar could seek his future

with the National Party. Mr Beyers's political future is uncertain.

The demise of the AVU would leave the multiparty negotiating process without a rightwing Afrikaner voice agitating for an Afrikaner state. The negotiating council recently rejected an application from another rightwing group, the Afrikaner Vryheidstigting (Avstig), to join the negotiations.

Avstig chairman Carel Boshoff said the council's decision, on the grounds that the organisation was not a political party, smacked of "bias and double standards".

He said other participants of the 23-member council, such as the ANC and the PAC, were not registered political parties, while some members, such as the Transvaal and Natal Indian Congresses, had no proven support.

Avstig had "kept itself informed of what was happening in the negotiating council and had made use of every possible opportunity to impart its point of view through discussions with other parties, committees and commissions".



4  
**NEWS** Shot while walking to employer • Sparks exp

## CP set to resist election Bill

**By Ismail Lagardien**  
Political Correspondent

A HEATED debate is expected in Parliament's joint chamber today where the first draft legislation in preparation for next year's election will be discussed.

The Independent Electoral Commission Bill will be debated. Strong resistance is expected from the Opposition benches where the Conservative Party is poised to lead the assault.

*Sowetan 16/9/93*  
The CP has threatened to resist the passage of legislation to pave the way for transition, especially which deals with the April 27 elections (304A)

The CP is expected to be supported by Inkatha Freedom Party MPs Mr Mike Tarr, Mr Hennie Bekker, Mr Jurie Mentz and Mr Farouk Cassim.

The Independent Electoral Commission Bill was tabled in Parliament last week while the Independent Media Commission Bill was tabled yesterday.

Both seem to have had smooth passages through Parliament's standing committee on Home Affairs. Legislation for the Transitional Executive Council Bill is still being debated.

The TEC Bill and that for the Independent Broadcasting Authority could be tabled within the next few days. Because of the composition of the Negotiation Council and the presence there of all the parties in Parliament except the CP and IFP, the legislation should sail through.

# FW in make-or-break bid to woo Buthelezi

**Sowetan Correspondent**

PRESIDENT FW de Klerk will today launch a make-or-break effort to convince Chief Mangosuthu Buthelezi to join the Government in its quest for a federal dispensation for South Africa. (304A)

Speaking during his parliamentary question time yesterday, De Klerk hinted at the Government's approach to the critical meeting when he said: "Those who believe in federalism must find ways of co-operating more closely in regard to our common goals."

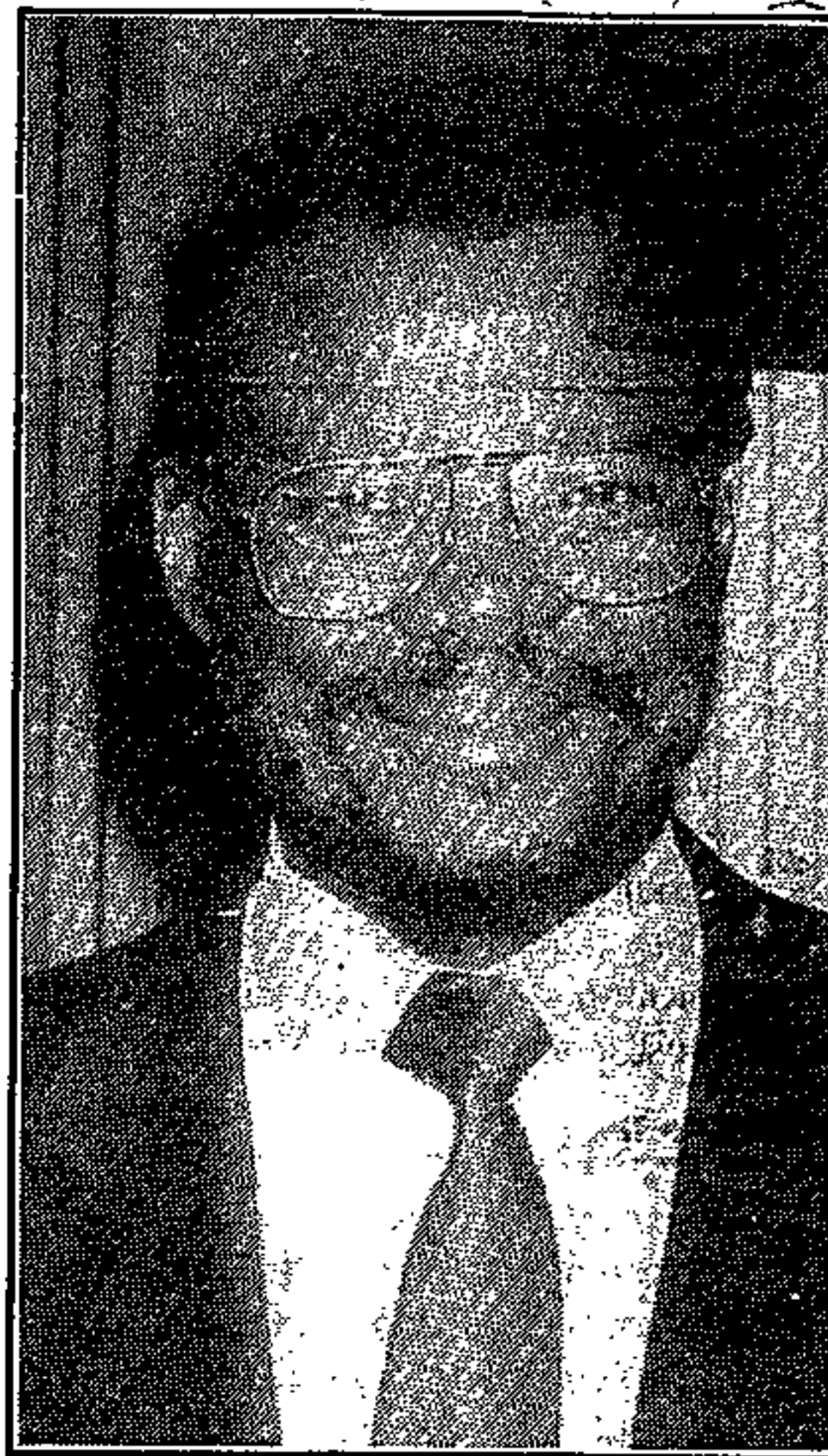
Government sources said De Klerk had cleared his diary for the whole of today to accommodate what will obviously be intensive discussions with Buthelezi and his nine-man delegation at Tuynhuys.

De Klerk will also be joined by a high-powered delegation of Ministers involved both directly and indirectly in the negotiation process.

The Inkatha Freedom Party is also regarding the meeting as highly important, with one of its members saying yesterday: "It is absolutely vital because of hardening attitudes in the IFP."

He said there was growing militancy among IFP members in both KwaZulu and on the Reef.

De Klerk said the Government had identified "what can be defined as the main obstacles which Chief Buthelezi sees from his side with regard to participation in the negotiation process".



**Chief Mangosuthu Buthelezi**

"We will be trying in a constructive spirit to see how we can remove those obstacles."

He pointed out that "in many instances" there was fundamental agreement between the Government and IFP on values and basic principles, including their approach to the economy and federalism.



# Govt, Inkatha bid to escape impasse

B1 Day 16/9/93

CAPE TOWN — President F W de Klerk and Inkatha Freedom Party president Mangosuthu Buthelezi will field their full negotiating teams today to try to forge an understanding they hope will take them out of the negotiations impasse.

De Klerk's Tuynhuys staff confirmed yesterday that he had cleared his diary for a full day of talks. Their main objective was to clear the way for Inkatha's return to the World Trade Centre negotiations which it has boycotted since July 2 in objection to "sufficient consensus" decisions, particularly on the April 27 elections.

The meeting is a cabinet-to-cabinet summit between the SA and KwaZulu governments. The SA delegation is expected to include the NP and government fulltime negotiators, Ministers Dawie de Villiers, Roelf Meyer and Leon Wessels.

Other Ministers expected to be in the team include Natal NP leader George Bartlett, Law and Order's Hernus Kriel and Justice's Kobie Coetsee. At least five KwaZulu Ministers, including chief Inkatha and KwaZulu negotiators Frank Mdlalose and Ben Ngubane, are expected at the talks, as is Inkatha's "stonewaller", Walter Felgate.

Tuynhuys sources said De Klerk was not approaching the meeting as being

a make-or-break issue. "If he cannot achieve what he wants, he feels they will just have to meet again, and again." Although there is some pessimism in both camps, several options are seen as keys which may unlock the problem.

The central problem, as Inkatha insiders see it, stems from last September's Record of Understanding between the ANC and government in which the ultimate writing of the constitution would be left in the hands of an elected constituent assembly/constitution-making body. Inkatha wanted the constitution agreed to and entrenched after bottom-up multiparty negotiations followed by elections. (30417) (40)

Inkatha wanted considerable powers for regions to secure the Natal/KwaZulu region's borders and political autonomy in strong federalist terms.

The one door still left open by Buthelezi is Inkatha's assurance that it is still prepared to consider the final product of negotiations, including a new constitution, as a package. One key is to tailor a final negotiated package through ongoing bilaterals with the absent parties in such a way as to ensure ultimate acceptance at a multiparty negotiating plenary.

Arranging such a meeting of leaders has already been mooted by ANC president Nelson Mandela. — Sapa.

# FW makes all-out bid to woo Buthelezi

Star 16/9/93

■ BY CHRIS WHITFIELD  
POLITICAL CORRESPONDENT

President de Klerk will today launch a make-or-break effort to convince Chief Mangosuthu Buthelezi to join the Government in its quest for a federal dispensation.

The leaders' critical meeting at Tuynhuys will have a significant impact on the direction of the negotiations process in the next few weeks.

Central to the Government strategy will be its desire to see the Inkatha Freedom Party back at talks, which it has boycotted since July 2, and at its side fighting for federalism.

Yesterday in Parliament, De Klerk hinted at the Government's approach to the meeting: "Those who believe in federalism must find ways of co-operating more closely in regard to our common goals."

Vital

304A

Government sources said the President had cleared his diary for the whole of today to accommodate the discussions with Buthelezi and his nine-man delegation.

De Klerk will be joined by a high-powered delegation of Ministers.

The IFP also regards the meeting as highly important, with one of its members saying yesterday: "It is absolutely vital because of hardening attitudes in the IFP." He said there was growing militancy among members in both Kwa-Zulu and the East Rand.

De Klerk also said yesterday that the Government had identified what can be defined as the main obstacles which (Buthelezi) sees from his side with regard to participation in the negotiations process. We will be trying in a constructive spirit to see how we can remove those obstacles.



*A triumph for SA, says Minister*

## Historic IEC bill gets nod

Star 16/9/93

304A

■ BY CHRIS WHITFIELD  
POLITICAL STAFF

**Cape Town** — The first piece of legislation approved by the majority of South African parties will go before Parliament today.

The Independent Electoral Commission (IEC) Bill — compiled at the Kempton Park talks — was yesterday given the nod by the Parliamentary Standing Committee on Home Affairs and will be debated in a joint sitting of Parliament. The Independent Media Commission (IMC) Bill has also been approved by

the committee.

Home Affairs Minister Danie Schutte said last night the three World Trade Centre bills had been approved by the IFP when they were discussed in bilateral meetings with the Government. However, the CP has fought the bills in the standing committee and will oppose them in Parliament.

Schutte said today would be the first time legislation from the negotiating process were debated in Parliament. He described it as a "triumph for South Africa". Schutte defended contro-

versial changes that he had attempted to introduce in the legislation after they had been approved in negotiations, saying: "If I can be accused of anything, it is impatience to have them (the bills) approved as soon as possible."

However, he had taken these changes back to the World Trade Centre, as he would do with all significant changes that the committee felt should be made. He said the standing committee had only changed a few "commas here and colons there" before approving the IEC and IMC bills.

# Back from the brink

De Klerk and Chief Buthelezi will keep on talking

By ANTHONY JOHNSON  
Political Correspondent

**A BRUISING** showdown between the government and Inkatha was averted last night, after a marathon bargaining session between President F W de Klerk and Chief Mangosuthu Buthelezi brought the teetering talks process back from the brink.

After the IFP leader opened the long-awaited meeting with a stinging rebuke of the government, the two leaders emerged from their eight-hour encounter with an agreement to set up two committees to continue discussions on constitutional obstacles and violence.

They are expected to start meetings within the next week aimed at further narrowing the gap between the two sides, whose relations have been marked by acrimony and distrust in recent months.

But Mr De Klerk's 11-member negotiating team failed in its goal of wooing Inkatha back to multi-party negotiations and did not extract a commitment from Inkatha to participate in elections planned for next April.

In addition, no agreement was reached on an Inkatha proposal to convene a constitutional convention of political leaders in South Africa "to review the negotiation mess we are in".

## Relief

Western diplomats attending a Tuynhuys press conference hosted by the two leaders expressed relief that a breakdown in relations between the two parties had been averted, but said they were concerned that the proposed April 27 election date could be placed in jeopardy by another drawn-out round of bilateral talks.

The effective suspension of hostilities between the two parties followed a threat by Chief Buthelezi in his opening remarks of a "full-scale civil war" if Inkatha was left out of the negotiation process.

"If the NP wishes to go it along with the ANC-SACP alliance... the NP alone will be responsible before the people of SA and in the judgment of history for the dramatic consequences," Chief Buthelezi said.

Despite the subsequent thaw in the mood between the South African and KwaZulu governments, senior Conservative Party sources said there was scant chance of the party returning to talks.

During the joint press conference Mr De Klerk and Chief Buthelezi agreed that their talks had been frank and blunt, but a subdued mood replaced the acrimony which marked the start of discussions.

Mr De Klerk put on a brave face after the lengthy discussions by submitting that there was "light at



**BREAKDOWN AVERTED** ... President F W de Klerk and Chief Mangosuthu Buthelezi address a press conference at Tuynhuys last night, after a bruising eight-hour bargaining session between the government and Inkatha.

Picture: ANNE LAING

the end of the tunnel" and added: "We stand at the beginning of a period of constructive co-operation between the SA government and KwaZulu."

However, Chief Buthelezi stated that there had been "no real progress" regarding a return of the IFP to the World Trade Centre or the party's threatened boycott of an election.

But the fact that the parties were committed to "finding a way forward" on stumbling blocks such as violence and constitutional disputes, constitut-

ed progress in itself, he said.

President de Klerk said the main focus at the talks had been on the constitution and the setting up of the multi-party Transitional Executive Council would be "delayed until there had been agreement".

A joint statement issued by the two delegations after the talks noted that they would "further pursue some of the gains already made in bilateral negotiations through further intensive consultation and discussion."

"In this way they would also determine the reasons for the present impasse in the negotiation process, which has led to a lack of inclusivity, as well as the need to address the necessity for full participation in finalising the constitution."

The statement concluded: "The two delegations further agreed to attempt to avoid, by means of timeous bilateral talks at the appropriate level, any possibilities of future divisive disagreements and misunderstandings."



## AVU to go on, Beyers resigns

Own Correspondent

JOHANNESBURG

The Afrikaner Volk-  
sunie decided against  
disbanding last night —  
contrary to the counsel  
of its leader Mr Andries  
Beyers, who resigned in  
response (304A)

At a meeting in Pre-  
toria where the future of  
the party was discussed,  
the party also lost its  
only other MP, Mr Koos  
Botha, which means that  
all five MPs who were  
founding members of the  
party have now with-  
drawn. The party has not  
yet decided on a new  
leader and will meet  
soon for this.

# Interim govt bill tabled in Parliament

By BARRY STREEK  
Political Staff

THE bill providing for transitional government was tabled in Parliament yesterday, paving the way for the lifting of sanctions.

The Transitional Executive Council Bill, approved at the multi-party negotiations at the World Trade Centre in Kempton Park, provides for an interim government before elections are held next year.

The ANC has said that once Parliament has approved the bill it will call for remaining sanctions, except those on military equipment and oil, to be lifted.

The bill is to be considered by the Joint Committee on Constitutional Affairs.

It is expected that it will be debated in Parliament next week.

The bill says the Transitional Executive Council's goals will include creating a climate of free political participation.

It also provides for the establishment of sub-councils on regional and local government and traditional authorities; law and order, stability and security; defence, finance; foreign affairs; the status of women, and intelligence.



# 'Restructure government finances'

Task group presents wide-ranging proposals to negotiators at World Trade Centre

BRUCE CAMERON  
Business Staff

WIDE-RANGING recommendations of a high-powered committee of the Consultative Business Movement for proper control of government finances were presented to all the major World Trade Centre negotiators this week.

The Consultative Business Movement — which is backed by the country's top mining, industrial and commercial interests — appointed a 21-member task group to undertake the study, drawing its membership from most political spectrums as well as government and overseas economists.

The report covers a wide field — from recommendations on how to reblend the government and fiscal institutions of the apartheid era into the structures proposed in the new constitution, to how taxing and spending powers should be split between central government and the proposed regions.

The committee sees a total restructuring of government taxing and spending, with regional au-

thorities being given limited responsibility.

They recommended that the proposed regions be given limited taxing powers and that the main source of taxing remain under the control of central government.

One of the reasons for the control to remain at the centre is because of the wide disparity between the regions in services and infrastructure.

The committee pointed out that there was "limited scope" for increasing the overall tax burden as a percentage of gross domestic product — with the exception of taxation for social security.

It warned that if regional taxes were increased markedly it would limit economic growth.

If regional income tax was considered, it should be limited to a percentage of between two and five percent of central government tax and be collected at the same time as central government tax.

The committee wants to see certain minimum standards laid down in social services, including education, for all the regions, with a percentage of funding

from the central government allocated specifically to achieve minimum levels of service.

However, the committee felt that some taxing powers should remain at regional level to ensure accountability to voters.

The committee saw an important role for a Financial and Fiscal Commission (FFC), which would advise parliament on broader policies for taxation and the allocation of funds.

The committee recommended both the Senate and the Chief Justice of the Constitutional Court have hands in appointing the members of the FFC.

It also favoured the use of bodies like the National Economic Forum and the National Housing Forum to form the basis of future bodies which would allow the private sector an input into government financial decisions and policy.

The committee said it was important that a number of "critical" issues received attention. These included continuity of government financing and accountability and financial discipline in the interim government period, as well as planning for the re-

structuring process.

The committee was concerned about how the civil service would be restructured when the TBVC countries and the self-governing homelands were reincorporated and warned that measures should be taken to prevent a growth in the interim period of the civil service, or that civil servants should enrich themselves through such measures as promotions.

It recommended a technical subcommittee to the Transitional Executive Council be formed on regional and personnel issues with the task of researching and monitoring personnel and financial developments.

A freezing of civil service posts — with a complete or partial moratoria on expenditure of human resources — should be considered as an interim measure.

The changing status of regional administrations had implications for continuity of financing.

It was necessary to "complete a picture of the assets and liabilities" of these administrations in anticipation of the new regional government structure. An example was the R14 billion total debt of the TBVC countries and the self-governing homelands.

Central government control of regional government finances should include:

- Decisions on how much money would be given in grants.
  - Decisions creating greater economic equality between regions.
  - The balance between central grants for the regions for general spending and grants earmarked for specific spending to ensure minimum levels of services between the regions.
  - Decisions on the level of regional borrowing.
  - Laying down the framework for budgeting and auditing and
  - Setting which taxes regions may levy and parameters within which the regions may vary the tax bases and rates under their control.
- Regional governments would be responsible for:
- Setting tax bases and rates.
  - Deciding on their own budgets.
  - Auditing, and
  - Deciding on borrowing, which should be limited to capital expenditure, within the limits set by the central government.





**LEARNING TO VOTE:** Research shows that six million South Africans don't know how to vote

## *South 17/9 - 21/9/93* 'Rural people understand voting' *(304A)*

**D**ESPITE conventional wisdom, people who live in rural areas require far less voter education than city dwellers.

This emerged at a workshop held by the Independent Forum for Electoral Education (IFEE) to examine the content of voter education materials.

Research Initiatives, a Wits-based research group commissioned to do research for Matla Trust about voter attitudes, found:

- Rural people have more experience of voting than urban people, irrespective of how illegitimate elections in which they participated might have been. This was because a large part of rural people live in bantustans where elections have been held.

Urban people had a stronger need for voter education because they had a stronger tradition of boycotting government institutions and events.

- Patterns of voter turnout would likely be as follows:

African voters: 82 percent are very sure that they will vote and 18 percent are not sure.

Coloured voters: 65 percent very sure, 31 percent not sure.

Indian voters: 41 percent very sure, 53 percent not sure.

White voters: 84 percent very sure, 16 percent not sure.

The gender breakdown was as follows:

African men, 87 percent very sure; African women, 77 percent very sure.

Coloured men, 74 percent very sure; coloured women, 65 percent very sure.

Indian men, 55 percent very sure; Indian women, 26 percent very sure.

White men, 87 percent very sure; white women, 81 percent very sure.

Among African voters, four major reasons for voting emerged. They were:

For material benefits — 26 percent.

For a new South Africa — 25 percent.

Rights and duties of citizens — 22 percent.

Changing the government — 20 percent.

The chief reasons why people are not sure they will vote are that they need voter education,

have fears about voting or fears related to party political issues. Some had personal reasons like illness or old age.

The greatest number of spoilt ballots were cast (as part of the survey) in Western Transvaal and the Eastern Cape.

The lowest number of spoilt ballots were cast in the Eastern Transvaal and the Western Cape.

The number of valid ballots cast was 79 percent and 21 percent was spoilt.

Reasons why ballots were spoilt were:

- The X was in the wrong place.

- There was a mark other than X.

- The ballot was wrongly marked.

- Some ballot papers were deliberately spoilt.

Other features of the workshop were:

- A strong recommendation was made by the Natal delegation for a regional focus in addressing voter education needs.

The region has a very high incidence of violence, very low tolerance and a low multi-party presence.

- Figures emerging from research findings indicated that voter educators needed to reach a target audience of three- to six million people. This figure was made up of potential voters in the "don't want to", "don't know", "afraid to" and "ignorant" categories.

- Rural people have more experience of voting than urban people, irrespective of how illegitimate elections in which they participated might have been. This was because a large part of rural people live in bantustans where elections have been held.

Urban people had a stronger need for voter education because they had a stronger tradition of boycotting government institutions and events.

- The IFEE workshop discussed non-partisanship in voter education. Mock ballot papers showing only a few fictitious parties were often not useful.

While some saw this as the only way to teach people to vote in a non-partisan manner, others were concerned that on election day people would look for the names and symbols of non-existent parties.

## Intrigue can affect election

**M**URDERS, secret plots and intrigue can affect the outcome of an election, a recent workshop on voter education heard.

A speaker from Canada, Ms Judy Thompson, gave an overview of her experiences as a voter educator in Cambodia.

Thompson found ordinary Cambodians associated secrecy with the police, secret murders, plots and other sinister acts.

To bridge this gap, educators emphasised the link between the secrecy of the ballot to voters' safety.

"The only way to deal with intimidation is by imparting knowledge, information and truth," Thompson said.

To most Cambodians opposition meant being shot or imprisoned, she said.

### Impartial

Thompson said it was important for educators to be perceived as impartial and non-partisan.

"To me, non-partisanship is simply courtesy. Treating everybody the same. It's just a matter of not having your political bias show."

Some of the points she made were:

- People remember where a party's name appears on the ballot rather than symbols/colours.

- Procedure is important. People remember the order in which they do things.

- Slogans are used a lot in English but can often give the wrong impression if translated.

- In choosing symbols, one has to check negative perceptions. In Cambodia there were negative attitude towards returnees because they were better educated.

- Radio is a very important medium for reaching the greatest number of people.

- It is a simplification that the more people know about the process, the less scared they are.

## *South 17/9 - 21/9/93* Voter education enters schools *(304A)*

VOTER education has become part of the learning process in high schools throughout the Western Cape.

Since May this year Matla Trust has been hosting one hour voter education workshops at high schools in an attempt to prepare pupils for the election next year.

According to Mr Mzwandile Petros, Matla's regional co-ordinator in the Western Cape, voter educators visit two schools a day to explain election procedure and answer pupils' questions.

"After we give an input a mock

election is held with polling stations, voting booths, ballots, and all the officials one would expect to find at the voting station," he says.

Petros says their work is sometimes hampered by the fact that they don't know what the official age of voters will be.

"We don't know whether it will be 14, 16, 18 or 21, so it is difficult to target students. For now we ask principals to select a group of pupils who will be turning 18 before April 27," he says.

"We also intend to train teachers to continue voter education at

schools, but this has been difficult as they have just finished a strike and have to catch up on work.

"Both teachers and students are also under a lot of pressure due to the coming exams, so it is difficult for them to concentrate on voter education now."

According to Petros, another problem facing voter educators at schools is that the hour they are given is not enough to explain voting procedure and answer questions put to them by pupils.

Despite these problems, Petros feels the programme has been suc-

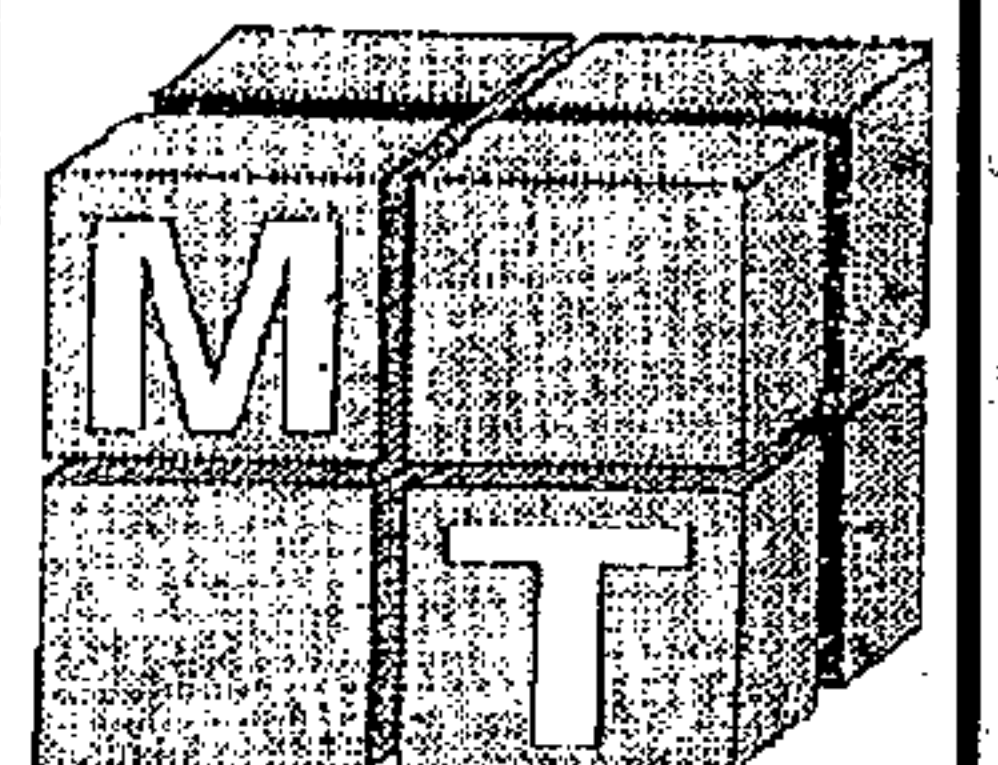
cessful.

"We have already covered all the high schools in Mitchells Plain and 18 schools in the townships, and it is going quite well," he says.

"We still have to visit schools in Athlone, and the northern and southern suburbs, which we hope to complete before the end of the year.

"The question most commonly asked at all the different schools is why the voting age is 18 and not 14. Pupils feel they have participated in the struggle as 14-year-olds, and want to know why they cannot vote now," says Petros.

This page is a joint project of MATLA TRUST and SOUTH





# CROSSTALK

Last week political parties debated whether parents and students should be involved in school management, devising curricula and labour law defining teachers' rights. This week CROSSTALK gives the responses of teacher organisations:

**SOUTH readers are encouraged to respond to any of the viewpoints presented on this page.**  
**PO Box 13094**  
**Sir Lowry Road**  
**7900**  
**Tel: 021 - 4622012**

## Parents cannot settle disputes

South 17/9 - 21/9/93

Parents are not neutral in conflict between teachers and employers, says **VIVIENNE CARELSE**, national vice-president of the South African Democratic Teachers' Union (Sadtu):

**W**E HAVE been fighting undemocratic processes in education for decades, and the only way to truly democratise schools is to involve all sectors — parents, teachers and students.

Schools are a place where parents invest in their children's future. The fact that some parents choose which school to send their children to shows they have expectations about it.

But they shouldn't just have expectations: they should participate in realising their expectations in a concrete way.

Parents have a right to determine how a school is run, the standards which apply, the discipline and its general ethos.

After a democratic government is elected, democratic structures such as Parent, Teacher, Student Associations (PTSAs) have to be in place to reconstruct education.

This does not necessarily mean these structures should become official organs: it is essential that they operate outside of party political interference and represent a cross-



**VIVIENNE CARELSE**

sector of parent opinion.

I differ strongly with an earlier view in this debate that these structures should have a statutory role in settling disputes between teachers and their employers.

Parents are not neutral enough to play that role. They have vested interests in one of the parties at the school — their children. If we give them statutory rights, what they decide would affect the other parties.

We need to examine the new labour legislation, and I suggest what is needed is neutral arbitration.

Parents have to realise they are not employers in the real sense of the word. Yes, they pay taxes which provides budgets to run schools, but teachers will always be employees

of education authorities.

I also disagree with the sentiment that we need strong national organisations representing parents.

If this happens the structure will risk influence by political tendencies or become bogged down in immediate crises on the ground, but will never become a cohesive grouping.

Already some PTSAs are operating as an island while others have become nothing more than control structures which are hardly different from apartheid structures.

I would caution idealists who think parents can be organised nationally. Parents are not a homogeneous grouping, schools are not homogeneous and communities will never be.

I also want to caution parents who are

swayed by the government's argument that parental control goes hand in hand with financial control of schools.

Sadtu is vehemently opposed to privatisation of education and believes it is the state's duty to provide education.

What will happen if this system is imposed is a stratification of education. Parents able to send children to schools where they pay high fees will have more of a say in education than those who cannot afford to pay.

And it does not follow that if people are forced to pay for something they are automatically given the right to develop their own set of rules.

Sadtu is opposed to privatisation because it allows too much room for the haves to dominate the have-nots.

Today, parents are being called upon to take more responsibility for their children's education.

We hope the parental participation we saw during the action against the crisis in education sparked off by the rationalisation programme will not wane.

In the past parents have been too passive, too satisfied with being spectators in their children's education.

They are highly motivated when there is a crisis, but as soon as it is defused, interest wanes.

Parents must ensure that the government takes greater responsibility for the financial burden of educating their children.

Redressing the legacy of apartheid education is not the responsibility of parents, it is the responsibility of the state.

Parents must begin to organise and demand democracy at every school, so that their children are ensured a bright future in the new South Africa.

## What the others say ...

### 'Scrap school committees'

**Mr Archie Vergotine, president, Cape Teachers Professional Association:**

The involvement of parents in the running of schools is a principle of the CTPA.

School structures must be developed to the extent that parents not only have an input as far as the performance of pupils is concerned, but are directly involved in running schools.

A school is one of the most important institutions in the lives of parents as it involves their children directly and affects their future.

PTSAs must be developed further so they can be a formal part of schools.

The school committee system is outdated and parents are no longer interested in them.

School committees are structures imposed on schools and have no teeth. They meet once a term and may only make recommendations; they have no executive powers.

I would like to see the abolition of school committees and their replacement with meaningful PTSAs, involved in every aspect of school life, like sport, culture, fundraising, discipline and the ethos of schools.

The formation and roles of PTSAs should be legislated so that parents feel committed and part of the institution.

PTSAs should be positive instruments in the hands of communities, which will ensure progress at schools.

Schools must be open to communities.

They must not be state buildings which are locked after school hours.

### 'Build parent structures'

**Ms Mavis Makeleni, Western Cape chairperson, National Education Co-ordinating Committee:**

Parents should have a say in education, but they are not in a position to do so now.

Parents should be empowered through training to participate to their fullest capacity.

Parents need structures to represent them. We have to ensure PTSAs are developed into even stronger organisations.

PTSAs can come together at community level which will ensure that a problem at a particular school becomes a community problem which everyone has to assist in solving.

Parents finance education in South Africa, but are still excluded from participating in directing education. To democratise education, all stakeholders must have a say.

Parents have to become engaged in drafting a new education policy and through those debates a clearer picture can emerge of their role and the mechanisms of involving them.

The immediate challenge is thus to build strong structures of parents, to channel their policy decisions through the National Education and Training Forum so that they can have impact nationally.

### 'Independent PTSAs'

**Mr Ivan Abrahams, chairperson of the Teachers' League of South Africa:**

We believe in education there is a "triad" — teachers, parents and students.

Parents send children to school to get an education but have certain ideas about what learning they should receive and the lives they should lead when they leave school.

Parents are products of the school system and have ideas about what they should have learned and how they should have been taught.

If parents have a right to question their children about their education at home, they should have that right at school as well.

Other countries have found that where parental influence in education is strong, the children perform well.

If there is broad acceptance that education should be democratised, then the concept should relate to parents as well.

I do not believe the formation and the functions of PTSAs should be legislated, although this will have to be debated between parents, teachers, students and the wider community.

There is the threat that PTSAs can become nothing more than a rubber-stamping body for government policies if they are legislated.

You could have the situation where a political party would attempt to get its members to

control the PTSAs as was the case with the National Party at white schools.

PTSAs should be independent and I believe that once parents realise they are being listened to and their advice is being implemented, the structures will flourish.

The new government should encourage parental involvement. PTSAs should be built into the education dispensation, otherwise parents might say they were used during the years of the struggle but are now cast aside when the new government is in power.

CROSSTALK debates are presented in association with the Institute for Multi-Party Democracy, a non-partisan organisation not affiliated to any institute or political party. Its mission is to promote multi-party democracy, political tolerance and national reconciliation in South Africa. For more information, telephone (021) 25 1120/54/55.





# Design for new flag

JOHANNESBURG (AP) — The Commission on National Symbols, P O Box 307, Isando 1600, has invited people to take part in designing a new flag, coat of arms and national anthem. The Commission will make final recommendations to the Negotiating Council in October, a commission spokesman said.



# AVU loses

more top

members

(304A)

ARG 17/9/93

PRETORIA. Senior members of the Afrikaner Volkseunie, including its leader, Andries Beyers, have resigned from the party but the remaining executive committee members have elected to keep the AVU going.

After an executive meeting in Pretoria yesterday, Mr Beyers said the party's power base had been eroded by the resignation of four of its founder members — MPs Chris de Jager, Rosier de Ville, Moolman Mentz and Cehill Pienaar.

His and MP Koos Botha's resignations leave the party without any MPs and the AVU's most prominent figure now is Corlia Kruger, its mandatory woman negotiator at the Kempton Park talks.

Mr Beyers said those who resigned would continue pursuing federal ideals. He and Mr Botha indicated that they would remain in parliament as independents. — Sapa.

# No early return to talks for Buthelezi

Star 17/9/93

◀ From Page 1

phased process" towards the writing of a new constitution, which the party has rejected.

The tone of the joint statement was, however, markedly different to a no-punches pulled statement delivered by Buthelezi at the opening of the meeting.

In it he said: "If I had not already undertaken to meet you today, I would see no point in seeing you as it seems to be a waste of time."

But he said that probably the only reason for his being at Tuynhuys was to reconsider what was happening at the negotiations.

"If we cannot pause to do so, and if the South African Government cannot even contemplate the putting off of the proposed election in April next year while we review things and find a way forward, then there is no need for me to be here." He hit out at De Klerk and

his negotiators for "leaving me out" and continuing with talks. De Klerk also met Afrikaans Volksfront leader General Constand Viljoen and Conservative Party leader Ferdie Hartzenberg yesterday morning. It is understood the meeting focused on the issue of self-determination.

These were: the constitutional state, the constitutional court, universal fundamental rights, comprehensive constitutional principles, and powers, functions and boundaries of the regions.

This may indicate some movement from the IFP, with some of these issues being inherently part of the "two-

▶ To Page 3

■ BY SHAUN JOHNSON AND CHRIS WHITFIELD

Cape Town — President de Klerk and Chief Mangosuthu Buthelezi yesterday struck an uneasy truce after a marathon meeting aimed at repairing fraught relations between their organisations.

They emerged with little of substance after more than eight hours of talking which began with a defiant and combative opening statement by the Inkatha president.

Both leaders appeared content to settle for a relative improvement in their public relationship, which has deteriorated sharply since the IFP walked out of talks on July 2.

De Klerk said after the meeting that there was light at the end of the tunnel.

"I am confident that we stand at the beginning of a new period of constructive co-operation between the South African Government and the KwaZulu government," he told a media conference at Tuynhuys.

Buthelezi made it clear that the improvement in relations between the IFP and the Government did not herald an early return by his organisation to the talks table.

## Elections

He said the meeting had focused on repairing relations between the two groups and there had been no real progress on a return to the World Trade Centre, participation in the Transitional Executive Council or the question of fighting elections.

Answering a question, Buthelezi said: "This was not even discussed. We did not discuss things that were decided (at the talks) in our absence".

However, he said it was "progress enough" that the two sides had begun to grapple with — rather than shirk — the issues that divided them.

The only agreements of substance that emerged were that two committees would be formed to probe constitutional issues and violence.

A cautiously worded joint statement issued last night added that the delegations had agreed "to attempt to avoid, by means of timeous bilateral talks at the appropriate level, any possibilities of future divisive disagreements and misunderstandings".

The two sides had agreed to "strive towards common objectives" in five areas of the interim constitution.

LEADERS agree to set up two committees to probe constitutional issues and violence

# No early return by IFP

Star 17/9/93

FW, Buthelezi declare uneasy truce after eight hours of talks



# Election date likely to change

WM 17-23/9/93

304A

**C**ONTRARY to what the negotiating parties say, it is highly unlikely that South Africans will go to the polls on April 27 next year. All indications are that the country's first democratic elections will take place not earlier than May and probably only in June.

But do not expect either the African National Congress or the National Party to admit to this right now. Both parties realise that it will be politically unwise to say that April 27 is not attainable, because it may create the impression that they have political motives, or that they are not ready to face the nation.

The two major negotiating parties are for the present deliberately focusing on the scheduled election date in order to maintain the sense of urgency which has so far sustained the

It will be impossible to get everything in place in time for the election date, reports **Chris Louw**

momentum of negotiations and contributed to their success.

A senior civil servant, whose job it is to monitor the negotiations, this week told the *Mail & Guardian* that it would be impossible to get everything in place on time for the planned election date.

"The Transitional Executive Council will probably not be in place before November," she said. "Very little of the arrangements for the elections can be made before the TEC is established. They will be left with less than six

months — including the December holidays when the country 'closes down' for a month — to implement decisions.

"It is almost impossible to set up the structures for democratic elections in such a short period, especially given the fact that the overwhelming majority of people have never voted before."

What can be expected, she suggested, was that the TEC — and not a political party — would announce early next year that the scheduled date was not achievable for technical reasons.

"This would take the decision for the postponement away from the political arena, with all parties represented in the TEC agreeing on a later date."

For similar elections in Cambodia, two years

were needed to put all structures in place.

Serious obstacles that will have to be overcome before the elections include:

●The 11 members of the TEC will have to be appointed; the TEC will then have to establish itself, decide on its own working procedures, appoint staff and set up offices.

It may be the beginning of December before the TEC can start functioning effectively — and probably only January, after the Christmas break.

●The precise election procedures will have to be decided before independent voter education, under supervision of the Independent Electoral Commission, can take place. Voters cannot be educated if the procedures to be followed are not known.

●The TEC will have to establish a Peacekeeping Force from members of security forces as diverse as the South African Police's Internal Stability Unit and the African National Congress' army, Umkhonto weSizwe.

These people are only trained to make war. They will have to be retrained to monitor elections and to accept a shared code of conduct.

●According to the TEC Bill, the Peacekeeping Force must have its own uniforms, transport, accommodation, equipment and other logistical support. It will take time to achieve this.

●The Peacekeeping Force, consisting of about 12 000 members under the direct control of the TEC's sub-council on defence, will have to monitor probably close to 8 000 polling stations.

According to military expert Dr Jakkie Cilliers, director of the Institute for Defence Policy, five people are needed to keep one soldier on the ground.

This means that there will be more polling stations than Peacekeeping Force members on the ground, which in turn means that important decisions about the deployment of the Peacekeeping Force still have to be taken.

It also means that the present Internal Stability Unit of the SAP, or similarly trained security forces, will have to be deployed. How this will be done has still to be decided.

●Little attention has been given to the costs involved in establishing a Peacekeeping Force. According to Cilliers, the budget for the Internal Stability Unit, with only 7 000 men, amounted to no less than R440-million during the current financial year.

●The kwaZulu government has refused to second members of its police to the Peacekeeping Force, creating serious problems of legitimacy, especially in Natal and on the East Rand where there are large concentrations of Zulu-speaking people.

●Peace monitors, both locally and from overseas, will have to be accredited, co-ordinated and subjected to a code of conduct which they approve.

●Various other structures — including a Joint Co-ordinating Intelligence Committee, a co-ordinating council on defence and a Special Electoral court — will have to be put in place.

●The exact powers of the Independent Electoral Commission in relation to the various parties have to be decided in order to ensure that the elections are free and fair. "The TEC will have to have sanctioning powers to act against parties who violate the rules," Goldstone Commission member Dr Johan Olivier warned.

●Political parties will have to register and abide by an electoral code of conduct, which still needs to be drawn up.

Decisions will also have to be taken on what sanctions will be applied against parties who do not abide by the election rules. These may include anything from penalties to being barred from participating.

According to Olivier three "critical steps" need to be taken in order to ensure free and fair elections: the IEC must be implemented as soon as possible; voter education must take place as a matter of urgency; and issues pertaining to the policing — including the monitoring — of the elections must be put in place.

Much thought will also have to be given to the different phases of the election process: the campaign period, the polling itself, and the implementation phase.

"There is not necessarily going to be peace after the announcement of the election results," said Olivier.

## MK women ready for gender battle

WM 17-23/9/93

What role will women have in the new, integrated army?

**Pamela Dube** spoke to women members of MK and the SADF

**T**HAT'S out. It's patronising. Women should not be made window-dressing in any field," snaps the chief communications officer of Umkhonto weSizwe, Jackie Molefe.

Tough and straight-talking, 50-year-old Molefe is the most senior woman in MK, having been a member for 29 years. Her tart comment was directed at the SADF, whose policy is not to use women in combat.

It underscores one of the hidden snags in the proposed integration of a guerrilla and a regular army. Although Molefe declines to give details, she took direct part in military operations when MK was on a war footing. She and other MK women will not allow themselves to be sidelined into "support musters" in a future SADF.

Typical of MK's battle-hardened female cadres is soft-spoken 55-year-old Elizabeth Nhlapo, who operated inside the country for 14 years. She was arrested in 1978 for recruiting for the ANC and on her release six years later continued training underground. "It was frustrating being in the country and not being able to communicate with my children. Fortunately they understood."

SADF policy states that women cannot be used "in the face of the enemy". Currently they are confined to traditional women's jobs such as catering, medical services, office work, telecommunications, personnel and public relations, as well as intelligence, radar operation, fire-fighting, logistics and the military police.

They make up 14.7 percent of the SADF's permanent force, says SADF media liaison officer Colonel Margaret Neethling. It took 57 years for the SADF to draft women in the army — the first intake was in 1970. Twenty-three years later there are 156 top-ranking women officers — 136 commandants, 14 colonels and two brigadiers.

Neethling stresses that SADF women have to undergo the same military training as men in similar positions. She experiences no discrimination, but adds: "Due to the operational requirements of the defence force, some practices may seem discriminatory."

The SADF's Lieutenant Talita Nothard is "comfortable" with the current policy: "I feel we are contributing enough as office workers to the army. I wouldn't want to be there in an explosive situation on the ground. In South Africa, traditionally women are not seen as fighters but peacemakers."

Nothard (24) was influenced by a soldier friend to sign up with the SADF in 1987. "But soon after joining, I realised there is nothing I enjoyed better than being a soldier."

The MK women concede that their equality



Jackie Molefe ... Chief communications officer of MK

PHOTOGRAPH: RUTH MOTAU

was hard-won: "At first it was difficult for some MK cadres to accept us as equal partners," said Molefe, who joined MK in 1964 at the age of 20, was trained in the Soviet Union and later moved to Tanzania, specialising in communications. "But when they realised that we're as capable as they are, attitudes changed and we fought alongside our male colleagues."

"It also goes back to the policy of the organisation you are working for. In the ANC, the gender equality question has long been addressed. Many MK women hold powerful positions."

MK's chief-of-staff, Siphiwe Nyanda, agrees that the army should not categorise military duties according to gender. "MK is an army of volunteers, we have no hiring system. Every one who feels capable of doing the military work was trained regardless of gender. We are not dealing with statistics here, only soldiers." He cites the case of Thandi Modise of the ANC Women's League, who was arrested in South Africa while carrying out an MK operation during the 1980s.

MK women had always taken part in ground operations, and this should continue, Nyanda said.

Both sets of women agree on one thing: they see a larger role for themselves in the integrated army of the future.

"I suppose it will be an extremely interesting exercise," Nothard says, "I'm aiming for a higher position."

Even though Molefe and Nhlapo do not see themselves taking combat roles in the future, because of their age, they are ready to work as advisers.

Molefe says women soldiers should be involved from the outset in drafting policy for the new army. "I would definitely like to see many women footsoldiers in the future."

For her the war for gender equality in her chosen profession is not over. "We have to start fighting for our participation at all levels. We've won the battle with our male colleagues in MK — now we have to fight the repressive regulations of the SADF where women are concerned."



# Young Turks' bid to oust De Beer

*30419 WIM 17-23/9/93*  
A group of Democratic Party MPs has attempted to replace party leader Zach de Beer with Tony Leon, reports **Chris Louw**

**D**EMOCRATIC PARTY leader Dr Zach de Beer last week survived a serious bid to oust him in favour of Young Turk Tony Leon, MP for Houghton.

The revolt was the latest in a series of setbacks suffered by the DP, including the crossing of the floor to the African National Congress by six Johannesburg city councillors.

The bid to oust De Beer was led by Lester Fuchs, MP for Hillbrow, who recently visited the DP leader at his home to inform him that members of his party were unhappy with his "lacklustre" performance.

Fuchs asked De Beer (64) to step down as leader in favour of Leon (37).

De Beer conceded that his recent performance had not quite been up to standard. He ascribed his seeming lack of interest to medication for high blood-pressure and which made him feel drowsy.

During what was described as a "frank discussion" in Cape Town last Sunday, Fuchs said the DP leader took the criticism "like a man".

Leon this week confirmed that he had been approached by a group of MPs to make himself available for the leadership of the party. He said the issue was discussed with De Beer. Leon said he had decided not to oppose De Beer.

It is understood that the pro-Leon group includes Fuchs, Douglas Gibson (Yeoville) and Geoff Engel (Bezuidenhouts Valley). They were strongly opposed by the old guard, including Colin Eglin (Sea Point), Peter Soal (Johannesburg North) and Ken Andrew (Gardens).

Fuchs and Leon became MPs after the elections of 1989, when they stood for the Progressive Federal Party.

De Beer was first elected to parliament in 1952, the youngest ever MP

at the age of 23. He was a member of the United Party, but joined the Progressive Party in 1959, before losing his seat in 1961. In 1988 he became leader of the PFP which was transformed into the Democratic Party in 1989 with Wynand Malan and Denis Worrall as co-leaders. In September 1990 he was elected sole leader of the DP.

Leon was elected leader of the DP's Southern Transvaal region on September 6 this year, replacing Soal. It is known that little love is lost between the two men.

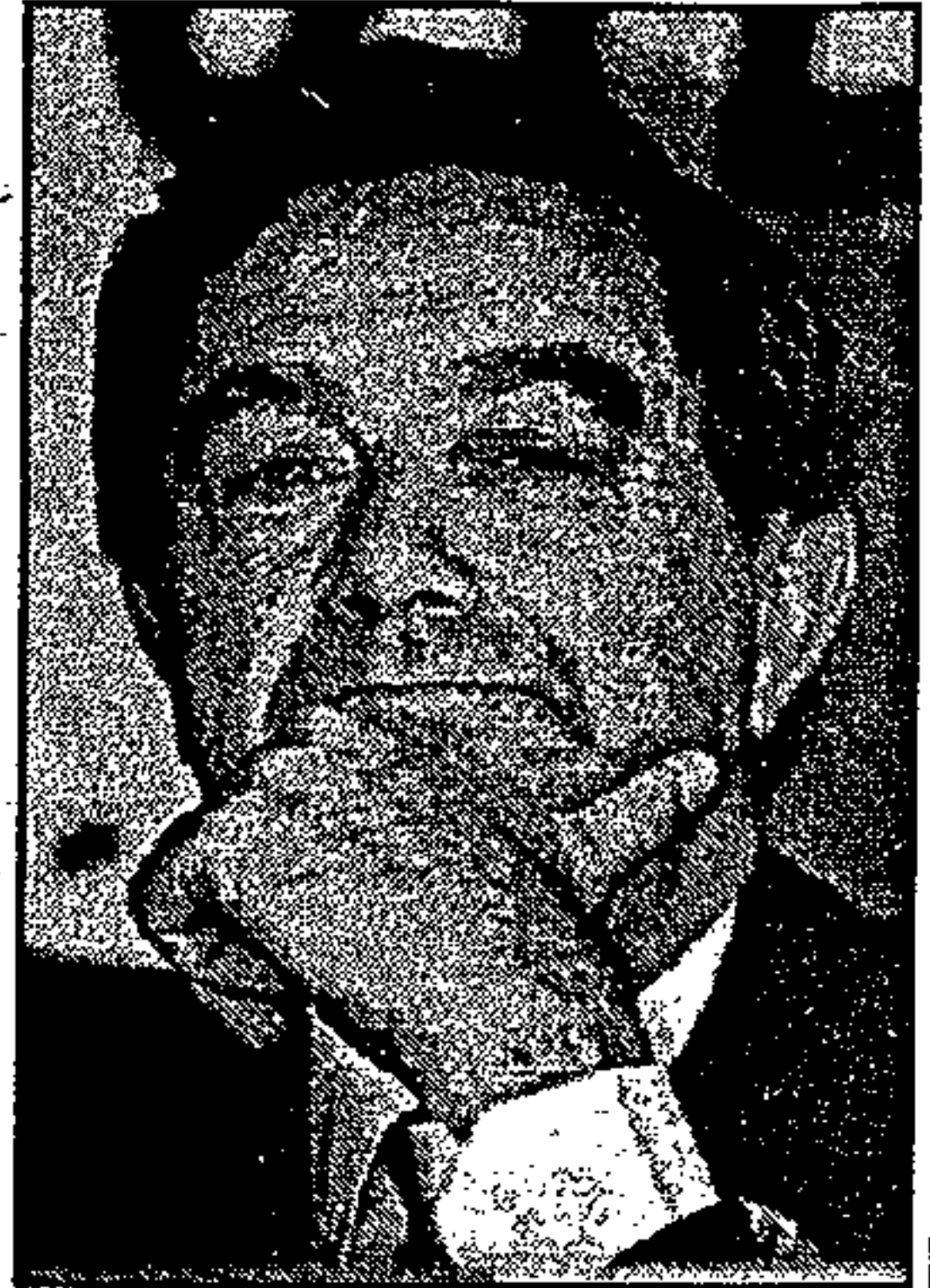
Two days later six DP members of the Johannesburg city council crossed the floor to the ANC. It is rumoured that Leon's "incompatible personality" was related to their decision to leave the DP — speculation Leon dismissed as "bullshit".

He said the resignation was planned well in advance and could not possibly have been agreed in the two days after his election.

Observers this week described the tensions in the DP as part of the "morbid symptoms of the Interregnum". As in the National Party, it is dawning on DP politicians that many of them are going to lose their positions in a new, non-racial parliament and in non-racial city councils.

Leon's bid for power, it is said, should be seen as a strategy to enhance his chances of being nominated high on the DP election list. Representatives to parliament will be elected on the basis of proportional representation, which means that only the top names will make it.

●The revolt against De Beer followed a serious strategic faux pas by the DP when it was decided to turn city councils into DP strongholds. In Cape Town, where the DP recently decided to openly associate itself with the running of the council, a huge



De Beer ... 'Lacklustre' performance  
PHOTO: STEVE HILTON-BARBER



Leon ... Bidding for power

jump in the general valuations on property has led to an angry outcry from home owners.

The DP is now blamed for the fiasco, and Robin Carlisle, MP for Wynberg, is widely blamed as its architect.

To add to the woes, the mayoress of Cape Town, Marilyn Keegan, recently resigned from the DP, after having held dual DP and ANC membership.

The loss of DP city councillors is partly due to a realisation that they stand a better chance of regaining their positions on an ANC ticket under the new local government arrangements, which provide for combined councils of "statutory" and "non-statutory" representatives.



# Bill the 'first real step to democracy'

Billay

TIM COHEN

CAPE TOWN — The Independent Electoral Commission Bill was supported by all parties in Parliament yesterday, except the Inkatha Freedom Party and the CP which described it as a blueprint for the destruction of the Afrikaner nation.

During a lengthy debate, Home Affairs Minister Danie Schutte said the legislation was the first real manifestation of a full democratic process.

In the next few days Parliament was going to witness the defeat of small radical groups trying to scupper a peaceful settlement, he said.

Despite Schutte's previous claim that Inkatha intended to support the Bill, Inkatha parliamentary leader Jurie Mentz said Inkatha would not allow a handover "of the country to the ANC and communists".

He also warned of the consequences of holding an election in the present climate of violence.

Mentz said Inkatha did not want blood to flow, but government should listen to the party's concerns about regional powers and the entrenchment of a federal framework.

The CP's Daan Van der Merwe said the Bill was a dangerous instrument for the destruction of the volk, and the Afrikaner would rather die for his freedom "than be a slave in the land".

He said the Bill — which provides for up to five international representatives on the electoral commission — would allow for foreign meddling in SA affairs.

In terms of the Bill, the commis-

sion will consist of at least seven and not more than 11 independent members appointed by President F W de Klerk, on the advice of the proposed transitional executive council, to "level the playing fields" for all parties participating in the election.

DP MP Dene Smuts said SA had arrived at the moment where the legitimacy of the negotiations process and the legality of Parliament had begun to merge. 17/1/93

It was "this marriage of legitimacy and legality" that would restore authority and order, bringing an end to the power vacuum in SA.

The DP believed that the Bill put a framework and a set of structures into place which would ensure SA held its first historic democratic election, laying the foundations for peace and progress. (304A)

Sapa reports Schutte said the magnitude of the commission's task could not be overemphasised. In the 1989 general election the potential voters had numbered just over 5-million, while in the forthcoming election between 18 and 22-million people would be able to vote.

Instead of being conducted on a constituency basis, the election would probably be based on a proportional representation system.

A special electoral court would be able to review the commission's decisions, or hear appeals against them.

The court would also be able to fire any commission member, Schutte said.

# 'Ballots can begin to take place of bullets'

**MICHAEL MORRIS**  
Political Correspondent

PARLIAMENT turns its attention today to another key product of the World Trade Centre negotiations after a historic but subdued debate yesterday on new far-reaching electoral legislation.

Debate on the Independent Media Commission Bill today follows yesterday's unexpectedly low-key exchanges in a joint sitting on the Independent Electoral Commission Bill, the first legislation negotiated by parties representing the majority of South Africans and the first of four Bills approved in negotiations to come before parliament.

The Transitional Executive Council Bill — the most contentious of the four — was tabled yesterday and is expected to be debated next week.

The Independent Electoral Commission Bill, according to which next year's election will be run, was introduced yesterday by Home Affairs Minister Danie Schutte as a "triumph

for South Africa" and a "defeat for those small radical groupings intent on disrupting a peaceful solution".

Rejected by the Conservative Party and the Inkatha Freedom Party, it was warmly backed by all other parties.

CP MP Daan van der Merwe warned that the Bill was a concerted attempt to destroy the freedom of the Afrikaner.

IFP MP Jurie Mentz declared that it was a recipe not for peace, but for civil war.

But describing the legislation as part of the merging of the "legitimacy of negotiations with the legality of parliament", Democratic Party MP Dene Smuts said: "It is this marriage of legitimacy and legality that will restore authority and order."

"Today heralds the start of the process that will bring peace. Ballots can begin to take the place of bullets."

The Bill provides for the establishment of an Independent Electoral Commission which will operate without government or party influence.

## Election presents tough task

**TOS WENTZEL**  
Political Staff

AN independent electoral commission — being established in terms of a Bill dealt with in parliament — faces an enormous task.

Introducing the Independent Electoral Commission Bill, Minister of Home Affairs Danie Schutte gave further details.

He said that in the 1989 general elections for the present houses of parliament for whites, coloureds and Indians there were just more than five million potential voters.

In next year's non-racial election there would be between 18 and 22 million voters.

While there were 2 191 polling stations in 1989, there would be 7 500 next year.

The number of polling booths would have to be increased from 6 053 to 22 500, ballot boxes from 6 305 to 14 900 and the personnel needed to run the election from 36 522 to 135 000.

While elections were up to now conducted on a constituency system, next year's would probably be on a proportional representation system.

Mr Schutte said special arrangements would have to be made to accredit and co-ordinate the large number of monitors and observers expected to be present during the election process.

Election disputes would have to be dealt with effectively and speedily.

Two directorates and a secretariat for the new electoral commission would be created.



By Christelle Terreblanche

**T**HE end of National Party and white rule in South Africa will be sealed when a World Trade Centre task-group visits parliament in Cape Town during the current two week session. It is expected that they will sit in on joint and standing committee meetings where draft transitional legislation will be discussed.

And included among them will be Transkei's Mr Zam Titus, who will be the first African to play a role in parliament, as well as senior ANC official Mr Mac Maharaj.

"We are trying to organise a group consisting of negotiators and planning committee members to attend the parliamentary session," Mr Theuns Eloff, head of the Consultative Business Movement (CBM) confirmed. The CBM runs the administration of the negotiation process.

The group will probably include Titus, also a member of the planning committee and the Transkei

# Task-group seals end of white rule

*South 17/9 - 21/9/93*  
(304A)



MAC MAHARAJ

Government's chief negotiator. With him will be Mr Mac Maharaj, the ANC's organiser at the World Trade Centre and prominent member of the South African Communist Party.

"If they sit in on committee meetings and are allowed to speak, this will effectively mean the end of parliament's sovereignty," says Mr Pierre Cronje, MP for Greytown and ANC member.

"The government has not signed

any documentation that carries over the sovereignty to the transitional structures, but this move would mean that parliament effectively becomes nothing more than the rubber stamp of decisions at the World Trade Centre."

He and other ANC MPs welcomed the move, saying that it could ensure that not only the letter of the transitional legislation, but also the spirit of the negotiations that led to it are instilled in the par-

liamentary process.

The task-group's visit also sets the seal on the major victory by ANC negotiators on Friday, which ensured that the NP and government have no outright veto on the Transitional Executive Council (TEC) and its sub-councils. They brought down the consensus percentage from 80 to 75 percent.

This victory has been analysed as effectively ending nearly three and a half centuries of white rule and 45 years of NP rule.

The TEC legislation is due to be tabled later this week or early next week and is expected to be implemented next month. The parliamentary debate promises "fireworks" with the Conservative Party and Inkatha Freedom Party trying to make amendments to the already signed, sealed and delivered package of draft legislation.

Maharaj told SOUTH it is still unclear when the task-group will visit parliament. According to Eloff it will depend on the situation at the negotiating council, where urgent matters will take preference above the trip to Cape Town.

The trip was scheduled for this week, but problems at the negotiating council made it impossible before Thursday.

Other members of the task-group are said to include Dr Fanie van der Merwe, member of the sub-council on planning and the South African government's chief negotiations adviser and Ciskei's Mr Mick Webb, a planning committee member.



# IFP is not going back

Sowetan 17/9/93

By Ismail Lagardien  
Political Correspondent

**T**HE INKATHA FREEDOM Party would not return to the multiparty talks, Chief Mangosuthu Buthelezi said after his high-level meeting with President FW de Klerk in Cape Town yesterday.

Addressing a Press conference afterwards, Buthelezi said the summit did not even discuss the matter.

"No real progress was made towards bringing the IFP back to the negotiations table, nor towards accepting the election date that has been set by the negotiating council," Buthelezi said.

Most of yesterday's discussion, Buthelezi said, centred on the "civil war and ethnic cleansing" going on in Johannesburg and on the East Rand.

"From the very word go the talks were blunt, very frank," Buthelezi said. He said no attempt was made "to skirt the issues".

A joint statement released after the meeting gave no further indication of the IFP's return to negotiations. It only mentioned that the two sides had "agreed that they would further pursue some of the gains" that had been made in the negotiations process.

The statement did, however, indicate a serious

attempt to revitalise the dormant alliance between the two parties.

De Klerk said yesterday's discussions were totally issue-driven.

"There has never been animosity, on a personal level, ever, in the relationship between myself and the Chief Minister and that in itself formed a sound foundation for today's discussions," he said.

De Klerk said the IFP's full participation in the negotiations process would be discussed in future bilateral meetings.

## Misunderstandings

"There is light at the end of the tunnel that somehow or another the inclusivity must be achieved (and this means) that Inkatha and the KwaZulu government should be part of agreements reached," De Klerk said.

The two parties have also agreed that "divisive disagreements and misunderstandings" should be avoided.

A joint committee to address the issue of violence has been established.

It was reported that the IFP was to present Government with a "death list" of Inkatha leaders that had allegedly been drawn up by the ANC.

back

From the very word go the talks were blunt, very frank





# IFP takes first step in trek back to talks

**MICHAEL MORRIS**  
Political Correspondent  
and Political Staff

HOPEs of drawing Inkatha back to the negotiation table hinge on discussions in two bilateral committees which President De Klerk and Mangosuthu Buthelezi agreed to establish during a marathon meeting.

The two leaders appeared to have patched up their differences after more than eight hours of "blunt" talks yesterday, but hammering out a deal to get the IFP back into the talks process will clearly depend on progress in the committees the two sides have agreed to convene.

Chief Buthelezi began the discussion with a forcefully worded statement in which he warned that "if the NP wishes to go it alone with the ANC/SACP alliance... it will be responsible for the dramatic consequences".

But when he and Mr De

Klerk issued a joint statement last night they undertook to embark on "further intensive consultation and discussion" and to "strive toward common objectives" on the constitutional state, the constitutional court, universal fundamental rights, comprehensive constitutional principles and powers and boundaries of regions.

While Chief Buthelezi made it clear the improvement in relations between the IFP and the government did not herald an early return by his organisation to the talks table, both leaders appeared content to settle for a relative easing of the strain between the two sides since the IFP walked out of the talks on July 2.

Mr De Klerk said there was "light at the end of the tunnel" and that he was "confident we stand at the beginning of a new period of constructive co-operation between the South African government and the Kwa-zulu government".

Chief Buthelezi said that

while there had been "no real progress" on a return to the World Trade Centre, taking part in the Transitional Executive Council or the question of fighting elections next year, he indicated it was "progress enough" that the two sides had begun to grapple with — rather than shirk — the issues that divided them.

They also said the delegations had agreed "to attempt to avoid, by means of timeous bilateral talks at the appropriate level, any possibility of future disagreements and misunderstandings".

Chief Buthelezi had earlier strongly attacked the government for "leaving me out" and for having seen fit "to sacrifice the Kwa-zulu government and the IFP at the altar of expediency".

He made a strong plea for a "National Constitutional Convention" of leaders "to review the negotiation mess we are in", but rejected a plenary session of leaders of parties at the World Trade Centre.



Picture: OBED ZILWA, The Argus.

**TUYNHUYs TALKS:** President De Klerk and Inkatha Freedom Party leader Mangosuthu Buthelezi and members of their delegations after talks on constitutional reform at Tuynhuys yesterday.

Buthelezi rejects TEC, elections

# Govt fails to woo Inkatha back to talks

B/Dew 17/9/93

CAPE TOWN — Government failed to woo the Inkatha Freedom Party back to talks yesterday during marathon, top-level discussions at Tuynhuys.

At a joint news conference President F.W. de Klerk tried to put on a brave face, expressing the hope that the eight-hour meeting would be the beginning of a new period of constructive co-operation between the parties.

But Inkatha leader Mangosuthu Buthelezi said his party had no plans to return to multiparty negotiations and its participation in the transitional executive council was not even on the agenda.

In a joint statement after the meeting, which included leading members of government and Inkatha, the parties said they would set up two committees to discuss violence and the "reasons for the current impasse in negotiations". The committees are expected to meet within a week.

But, said Buthelezi, "no progress" was made as far as Inkatha's return to talks was concerned. "We have not made any decision on going back. . . . It is not possible at present."

He also ruled out Inkatha's participation in the transitional executive council and the general election, saying decisions on these matters had been made in his absence. "We will not be bound by things decided in our absence."

Both sides agreed to strive towards common objectives on the constitution regarding a constitutional state, a constitutional court, universal fundamental rights, comprehensive constitutional principles and regions' powers, functions and boundaries.

"The two parties agreed that they would

further pursue some of the gains already made in bilateral negotiations through further intensive consultation and discussions.

"In this way they would also determine the reasons for the present impasse in the negotiation process which had led to a lack of inclusivity, as well as the need to address the necessity for full participation in finalising the constitution."

Sources said this statement indicated government's belief that Inkatha could not be drawn back into negotiations at this stage. But it intended laying the groundwork for its inclusion later.

However, this means Inkatha will not be party to important negotiations on an interim constitution.

Government and Inkatha agreed that they would attempt to avoid future disagreements and misunderstandings.

Buthelezi described the talks as "very blunt and frank". De Klerk said they had been "very good", and had been conducted in a positive and constructive spirit with no "shying away" from issues and "no cutting of corners".

He said the basis had been laid for finding solutions to some problems.

"There is light at the end of the tunnel."

The tone of the talks was set by Buthelezi's opening remarks, which he concluded by warning that if the NP went ahead with the ANC/SACP alliance and forced the results of their negotiations on Inkatha and the KwaZulu government, it alone "would be responsible before the people of SA and in the judgment of history for the drastic consequences which will be produced".

TIM COHEN



# First fruits of democracy

Sowetan 17/9/93

**By Ismail Lagardien**  
Political Correspondent

SOUTH Africa's negotiating process and transition to democracy started its road to legitimacy yesterday when the first piece of legislation from the World Trade Centre was tabled during a joint sitting of Parliament.

The tabling and debate of the Independent Electoral Commission Bill was hailed by the Minister of Home Affairs, Mr Danie Schutte, as historic.

"For the first time in the history of this Parliament a piece of draft legislation before it is the product of very, very broad negotiations.

"This regulation (IEC Bill) and the

others that will follow is the first manifestation of a truly democratic process," Schutte told Parliament.

Ms Dene Smuts of the Democratic Party moved in support of the Bill immediately after Schutte's introduction and lauded the arrival of "the fruits of negotiations".

## Revolutionary climate

The Conservative Party's Mr HDK van der Merwe said his party would not support the Bill because "it legitimises the revolutionary climate that has been unleashed in the country by the ANC and SACP.

"The Conservative Party will not accept a strange government. The

Afrikaner will rather die fighting for his freedom than be a slave in the country that has been its own for more than 300 years," Van der Merwe said.

Besides the political and historic significance of the election, its enormity, in terms of logistics and personnel is awesome. (304 A)

In the whites-only election of 1989 just over five million people voted, but next year between 18 and 22 million people will vote.

In 1989 there were 2 191 polling stations, 6 053 polling booths, 6 305 ballot boxes and 36 522 election personnel.

Next year these figures will increase to 7 500 stations, 22 500 booths, 14 900 boxes and 135 000 personnel.

# Democracy comes to Parliament

Star 17/9/93

■ BY CHRIS WHITFIELD  
POLITICAL CORRESPONDENT

Cape Town — Democracy made its belated appearance in Parliament yesterday, much to the chagrin of the CP. (304A)

The Independent Electoral Commission Bill — the first legislation approved in negotiations by the majority of political parties — was debated in a joint sitting in Parliament.

Home Affairs Minister Danie Schutte proclaimed the Bill a "triumph for South Africa". The Bill is the first of four approved in the World Trade Centre negotiations to go before Parliament.

The Transitional Executive Council Bill is expected to be debated early next week.

"It is a defeat for those radical groupings intent on disrupting a peaceful solution," said Schutte. His sentiments were not shared by the CP, nor by the IFP.

Nominated CP MP Daan van der Merwe warned that the legislation would mark the start of the biggest collapse of society South Africa had yet seen. IFP MP for Vryheid, Jurie Mentz, said the legislation was a recipe for civil war.

Schutte said the main thrust of the Bill was to establish a neutral body that would ensure "legitimacy" in the elections.

■ Despite its reservations about the negotiating process, Inkatha would not vote against the Independent Electoral Commission Bill, Hennie Bekker (IFP Jeppe) said yesterday. He said Inkatha did not want to be known as spoiler. — Sapa



## Beyers leaves AVU but party continues

Senior leaders of the Afrikaner Volksunie (AVU), including party chief Andries Beyers, resigned from the party last night, but the remaining executive committee members have elected to keep the AVU going. (304A)

Speaking after an executive meeting in Pretoria, Beyers said the party's power base had been eroded by the resignation of four of its founder members — members of Parliament Chris de Jager, Rosier de Ville, Moolman Mentz and Cehill Pienaar.

The resignation of Beyers and MP Koos Botha leaves the party

without any MPs and the AVU's most prominent figure now is Corlia Kruger, its female negotiator at the Kempton Park talks.

Beyers said he would have to reconsider his political future but had no intention of joining the Afrikaner Volksfront whose policies were unrealistic and impractical.

Those who resigned would continue pursuing federal ideals, he added.

Kruger said the AVU would seek closer links with the Volksfront and would remain the lone right-wing voice for Afrikaner self-determination at the negotiating table.

— Sapa.

# Transitional govt Bill tabled in Parliament

CAPE TOWN — The Bill providing for transitional government was tabled in Parliament yesterday, paving the way for an end to sanctions.

The Transitional Executive Council Bill, which was approved in the multiparty negotiations, provides for interim government before next year's elections. *BIDay*

The Bill will be considered by the joint committee on constitutional affairs. It is expected to be debated in Parliament next week.

The Bill also provides for the establishment of subcouncils on regional and local government, and traditional authorities; law and order, stability and security; defence;

## Political Staff

finance; foreign affairs; the status of women; and intelligence. *(304A)*

The Bill incorporates an agreement on the co-operation and control of all intelligence services, including those of government, the ANC and the PAC. *17/9/93*

The Bill provides for the establishment of a subcouncil on intelligence to "monitor and liaise with all services" to promote its objectives, which will include the adoption of basic principles on intelligence to serve "as a basis for the creation of a national intelligence capability in a new democratic dispensation".

The subcouncil will also be empow-

ered to acquaint itself with "the nature, objects and functioning of every intelligence service or structure in SA".

This means the intelligence wings of government, the ANC and PAC will co-operate, as long as they agree to join the interim government, and eventually merge if they are all part of the transitional government.

The Bill provides for a code of conduct "which will be binding on all members of all services during the period of transition".

The subcouncil will also be empowered to monitor compliance with the code and to order investigations arising from complaints.



CP to debate  
(3044) 05/18/93  
govt autocracy

THE Conservative Party had given notice of a motion in the House of Assembly to debate what it saw as authoritarian action by the government on the Transitional Executive Council Bill, CP chief Whip Mr Frank le Roux said yesterday.

The Joint Committee (on Home Affairs) had refused an urgent CP request to allow affected people and institutions to present evidence before it. — Sapa

# Zach survives coup attempt

(T18/9/93 304A)

By ANTHONY JOHNSON

DR Zach de Beer has brushed aside a bid to oust him as party leader and has confirmed he will be standing for re-election at the Democratic Party's annual congress next month.

It is understood that the 64-year-old DP leader could not contain his mirth when told recently by backbench Hillbrow MP Mr Lester Fuchs that he should make way for younger blood in the form of 37-year-old Houghton MP Mr Tony Leon.

Mr Fuchs and Mr Leon, who became MPs after the 1989 poll, form part of a group of younger MPs who have expressed unhappiness in recent times at the performance of Dr De Beer.

Dr De Beer was first elected to Parliament in 1952.

## Leon backs off in 'greenhorn putsch'

The dissident group have apparently been concerned by the lack of drive they see displayed by Dr De Beer in the run-up to the most crucial elections in the country's history.

The DP recently held a stormy caucus meeting at which the performance of its leader led to a heated debate.

Dr De Beer has reportedly been feeling drowsy of late because of medication he has been taking for high blood pressure.

The attempted "greenhorn putsch" has been strenuously resisted by the DP old guard, including Mr Colin Eglin, Mr Ken Andrew and Mr Peter Soal.

Dr De Beer said yesterday: "I will be standing for re-election as leader of the Democratic Party at the DP's annual congress on 2-3 October.

"To the best of my knowledge, I will not be opposed," he said.

He added immediately: "Anybody has the constitutional right, however, to stand against me."

Mr Leon has confirmed that he has decided not to contest the leadership.

His decision was made after talking to Dr De Beer.



# Time to get tough with meeting wreckers — DP

(304A) ARCT 18/9/93

**FRANS ESTERHUYSE**

Weekend Argus  
Political Correspondent

**TOUGH** action against wreckers of election meetings and other perpetrators of political violence will be called for at the Democratic Party's national congress in Cape Town next month.

The congress agenda reflects deep concern among DP members in all parts of South Africa about increasing violence during the run-up to the April 27 election.

A series of steps, ranging from a strictly-enforced code of conduct for political parties to drastic action against intimidators and wreckers of meetings, are to be proposed.

A key proposal from the DP's Hillbrow branch calls for the appointment of a special board by the Independent Electoral Commission to hear cases of incitement to violence, intimidation and the breaking-up of political meetings.

It is also proposed that persons found guilty of such incidents should forfeit their right to nomination as candidates on any party

list in the forthcoming elections.

The Hillbrow motion notes that various political parties have experienced incidents of political intolerance against their activities and personnel.

DP meetings in various townships have been broken up, and there has been "an unacceptable level of war talk".

A number of political organisations and spokespersons have either unequivocally declared, or tacitly upheld, the establishment of no-go areas in black townships.

"Unless voters are given the opportunity to receive information regarding political alternatives, and unless parties are permitted to address their members in certain areas, there can be no question of free and fair elections," the motion says.

The DP's Retreat branch here urges the party to call on other political parties to co-operate with it in working out a code of conduct for the 1994 election.

"The time has arrived for South Africans to stop this wholesale slaughter of citizens," says the preamble to the motion.

"This can only be achieved if we place the interest of all South

Africans first, before any party political interest. South Africans will have to extend the hand of friendship and peace to those who belong to different political parties and allow others their right to freedom of choice and political expression."

The Parktown and Soweto branches call for a series of steps to ensure a peaceful election. These include:

- A DP initiative to secure the presence in South Africa of objective and acceptable international peace monitors;

- A campaign for international assistance for the victims of violence, and the use of international experts to help in educating people in South Africa about the need for peace;

- Steps to ensure that existing structures such as the National Peace Accord and the Goldstone Commission function effectively; and

- Steps to ensure the speedy formation of a national peace-keeping force, drawn from all sectors of the community.

The congress is scheduled to be held at a beachfront hotel in Sea Point on October 2 and 3.

Deaths Deaths Deaths Deaths Deaths

# Referendum is an option

APR 19 1993

3041A

If rampant violence should make it impossible to hold a fair election on April 27 next year, the referendum option could turn out to be a blessing in disguise.

But political analysts warn that a postponement of the scheduled election could lead to more violence and mass actions because of high expectations raised by political leaders.

Any decision to change the agreed plan for an election must, therefore, be a joint decision by the main political players, they say.

With political violence continuing, the referendum option has been brought to the fore once more by top analyst and former political leader, Dr. Frederik van Zyl Slabbert, who

■ President F.W. de Klerk, Nelson Mandela and Dr. Z.A. de Beer will be on the same political platform in a referendum. Their opponents will be white and black radical groupings such as the AWB and the PAC.

**FRANS ESTERHUYSE**, Weekend Argus Political Correspondent

warned that South Africa should at all costs avoid elections under circumstances that could make the elections "a one-off disaster".

In an assessment published in *The Argus* yesterday, Dr. Slabbert wrote that the "first prize" for South Africa would be widely-acclaimed free and fair elections on April 27.

However, he added that the worst possible case would be to have elections on that day under circumstances where the

outcome is substantially questioned, both inside and outside the country.

If conditions should turn out to be impossible, the alternative would be to hold a referendum.

Other political specialists agree with Dr. Slabbert on this point, suggesting that a referendum could be much less hazardous than an election and could offer opportunities for paving the way to a government of national unity. In a

referendum campaign, it is pointed out, leaders such as Mr. Nelson Mandela, President F.W. de Klerk and Dr. Z.A. de Beer could appear on the same political platform.

Professor Willie Breytenbach, of Stellenbosch University's department of political science, said that in view of the high expectations raised on the part of the black majority, it was "almost unthinkable" that the election could now be postponed.

If this were to happen, the people among whom expectations had been raised would suspect "foul play". Such a decision could unleash a new wave of mass action and "all the destruction that accompanies it". Professor Breytenbach said that if it would, therefore, be preferable in the event of impossible conditions to hold a referendum on April 27 instead of an election.

It was essential to hold something next year — either an election or a referendum — and whatever was done to change existing plans would have to be approved by way of negotiation and joint decisions between the different political leaders. Such a decision simply could not be taken unilaterally by the government.

Dr. Slabbert's argument that a referendum would be less divisive than an election "undoubtedly carries great weight", Professor Breytenbach said.

In a referendum there would basically be two political camps — the "no" camp and the "yes" camp.

The referendum issue should be a simple question: either "yes" or "no" for the proposed transitional executive council (TEC) and interim constitution package.

The "yes" camp would consist of the ANC and its alliance partners, the National Party, the Democratic Party, most of the tricameral parties, and most of the homeland parties.

This would leave the black left and the white right in the "no" camp, Professor Breytenbach said.

The "no" camp would, therefore, include the PAC, Azapo, the Afrikaner-Weerstandsbeweging (AWB), the Afrikaner Volksfront (AVF), and the Herstigte Nasionale Party (HNP). They would all reject the TEC package in a referendum.

The positions of the Conservative Party (CP) and the Inkatha Freedom Party (IFP) were somewhat uncertain at this stage.

Professor Breytenbach said that if the election were simply to be postponed and no referendum was held in its place, the violence could increase.

Mr. De Klerk and Mr. Mandela, as the main players, would have to decide between them whether or not circumstances warranted an election on the scheduled date or a referendum.

Dr. Slabbert noted that the TEC Bill, now before parliament, specifically makes provision for the holding of a referendum.

"This may well be the way out," he said.



# The rural vote will hold sway!

CIPress 19/9/93

(3047)

STP

HS

By SEKOLA SELLO

**T**HE campaign for the hearts and minds of black voters in preparation for next year's elections has not yet started in earnest.

It is their votes, about 14,5-million in all, that will decide which political party dominates the often mooted government of national unity (GNU).

Although it is still early days, the National Party has already let it be known that it intends winning a substantial slice of this vote in order to become the majority party in the GNU.

Expectations of winning support among blacks run contrary to two conventional wisdoms. The first being that given its massive support in the black communities in particular, the ANC is seen as the obvious government in waiting.

In the second place and more importantly, it is argued that a party which introduced apartheid had no hope of winning any substantial black support.

NP leaders and functionaries dismiss the idea that the ANC will be the major party and also pooh-pooh claims that the NP are still stigmatised by apartheid.

They argue that most analysts agree they will perform better than the ANC in the coloured and Indian communities.

They also point out that while Mandela has attracted a large number of people at his recent rallies among coloured people in the Cape, these potential voters come largely from the main cities.

Comforting to the Nats are reports that in the Cape Flats apathy reigns as a large number of supporters of the former UDF are no longer politically active.

Such is the confidence of the Nats that at their recent provincial congresses in Natal, the Free State and Transvaal, the party was in an upbeat mood.

Observers say the party did not resemble an outgoing government at these congresses. Party leaders were always quick to point at the new black and coloured members as proof that they were being accepted outside the traditional white community.

The new Nats were also in high spirits and dismissed any claims that they were aboard a sinking ship. Their occasional shouts of "Viva de Klerk, Viva the National Party" added vibrancy to the pro-



**MAVUSO ... Remembered for his government links.**

ceedings.

While the party showed a brave face at these congresses, there are whispers that tensions are running deep between supporters of NP leader FW de Klerk and the hardliners led by Minister of Law and Order Hernus Kriel.

The fact that no defections have taken place so far amid widespread rumours that they were imminent, show the cohesion of the party. But for how long this unity will hold remains to be seen.

According to NP insiders, they hope to attract blacks by projecting an image of a party with sound economic policies and the ability to deliver much-needed jobs and social services like housing.

Put another way, they will try and project the ANC as a party that is going to drive away potential investors by implementing failed socialist policies, because of the ANC's alliance with the SACP.

Trying to win over blacks will be a gargantuan task. To achieve this, the NP would need, among other strategies, to recruit blacks with high standing in their communities in order to sell NP policies.

So far the "catches" that the party has made are largely unknown quantities. One of these "catches", former exile David Chuenyane, has seemingly politically correct credentials. Ex PAC man and guerilla. But no one knows much about him.

Another, John Mavuso, invoked his membership of the ANC before

it was banned. However, he is likely to be remembered for his links with the government on the Transvaal MEC for housing.

The party also has a baggage of people with controversial backgrounds like John Gogotya, the former president of the Federal Independent Democratic Association.

This phantom political party applied unsuccessfully to join the Multi-Party Negotiating Council.

For the Nats to provide a strong challenge to the ANC and PAC for black votes, people like Gogotya and Mavuso could prove costly.

Tricking people to attend NP rallies by offering them food, as happened in the northern Transvaal recently, will not do much to help the NP cause.

The rural communities are going to play a crucial role in the coming elections. Unlike their urban counterparts, they are not solidly behind the ANC, PAC or Azapo formations.

It is in the rural areas that parties such as Inkatha and other homeland-based parties are strongest. Though most surveys indicate Inkatha's declining popularity, none of these surveys have been conducted in rural KwaZulu.

Inkatha has a strong infrastructure in these areas and with most chiefs reportedly behind the party, they cannot be taken lightly. Most importantly, the fact that elections are only seven months away does not give parties like the ANC and PAC enough time to canvass in the rural areas.

By forging an alliance (formal or loose) with Inkatha and other homeland-based parties, the Nats will be provided with the only realistic way of making inroads into the black vote.

Inkatha's claims of a deal between the ANC and the government for joint rule might not be unfounded, but this is not likely to stand in the way of a possible alliance between Ulundi and Pretoria.

Inkatha and the NP have a lot in common. They are both supporters of strong federal government and both also advocate a free-market economy.

Verwoerd must be smiling at the prospects of his creations (the homelands) continuing to serve the Nats so well.

# Cabinet ministers to run for regions

CP Correspondent

LAW and Order Minister Hernus Kriel and Local Government Minister Tertius Delport have decided not to make themselves available in next year's general election.

However, they will be available as candidates of the NP for the regional parliaments for the western and eastern Cape respectively.

They are the first members of the present Cabinet who have announced that they will not be available for the NP's list of candidates for the envisaged National Assembly which will be elected next year on a proportional voting system.

Kriel, who is the deputy chairman of the NP in the Cape, said he believed the experience he had gained in local government and in provincial government as a Cape MEC could be applied in the envisaged western Cape region.

Delport said he would probably make himself available for the eastern Cape regional parliament only.

He wanted to make the experience that he had gained on national level of government available to the eastern Cape region.

■ The Rev Allan Hendrickse, leader of the Labour Party, also announced that he intended retiring at the party's congress in December, after 40 years in public politics.

He intends dedicating his life to his church. (304A)

"I also want to dedicate myself to persuading my people. I want to convince them that all black people are not bad people in as much as that I have convinced them that all Afrikaners are not bad people," he said.

He added that he accepted that his decision could mean the end of the Labour Party, but the congress had to take that decision.

He did not believe that the LP could make a contribution in future as a separate political party because the LP was already being associated with the ANC after it was decided to participate in the election under the ANC banner.



# De Beer may quit after April poll

STimes

19/9/93

30447

**DEMOCRATIC Party leader Zach de Beer will consider standing down after the first non-racial elections in April next year.**

Dr de Beer said this week that for personal reasons he would like to retire after the elections. He will be 65 years old next month. But his decision would be largely influenced by the circumstances at the time and after assessing whether he would do the job better than anyone else.

"I am quite well aware that if I hang on and hang on until I get gaga then there has to be some sort of crisis to remove me. That you will have to leave to me to judge," he said.

Dr de Beer's decision to make himself available again at the DP's October congress has come after several months of intense debate within the party over his leadership style.

DP sources said there had been growing concern that Dr de Beer lacked the political energy and dynamism to lead the party into an election and a fear that his lacklustre performance could damage the party's electoral chances.

Party disquiet came to a head after a caucus meeting at the end of the parliamentary session where Dr de Beer failed to

By EDYTH BULBRING  
Political Correspondent

provide coherent direction and fell asleep during the meeting.

The debate over the leadership split the party into three camps.

There were those, led by Hillbrow MP Lester Fuchs and including Yeoville MP Douglas Gibson, Benuidenhout MP Geoff Engel and Wynberg MP Robin Carlisle, who wanted to replace Dr de Beer with Houghton MP Tony Leon.

Opposing them were those, including Johannesburg North MP Peter Soal and Urthlanga MP Kobus Jordaan, who wanted Dr de Beer to remain as leader of the party. Their support for Dr de Beer was also influenced by antagonism towards Mr Leon.

Others, including Gardens MP Ken Andrew, Outeniqua MP Chris April and Albany MP Errol Moorcock, felt the DP leadership should be strengthened in some way.

The matter was debated heatedly at a special caucus meeting at Jan Smuts airport at the end of July.

The day before the meeting, Mr Fuchs visited Dr de Beer and told him he thought the par-

ty needed a more aggressive leader and that he should stand down.

Dr de Beer disagreed with Mr Fuchs and refused to retire.

At the meeting, Dr de Beer told the MPs he knew his performance had been unsatisfactory but he would improve.

In the debate that ensued, those that indicated that they wanted a change in leadership were Mr Fuchs, Mr Carlisle and Mr Gibson.

Mr Leon and Mr Andrew did not participate in the debate and the Natal MPs backed Dr de Beer.

At a meeting of his closest advisers last Tuesday, Mr Leon decided against directly challenging Dr de Beer.

Sources said the Leon faction felt Dr de Beer should be allowed to retire gracefully. They felt a direct challenge to his leadership could damage the party and they were not sure that Mr Leon would be able to succeed in a leadership challenge.

Mr Leon said yesterday that he had renounced all ideas for a national office in the DP at this stage despite approaches that had been made to him.

He said a leadership challenge would be divisive and he had decided against it for the good of the party.

# Tough line on regions aims to lure IFP to talks

By EDYTH BULBRING,  
RAY HARTLEY and  
MIKE ROBERTSON

GOVERNMENT negotiators will adopt a tough line at talks in the next four weeks aimed at securing a federal constitution that cannot be tampered with after elections.

They hope that, by securing extensive powers for the regions that cannot be changed by an elected constituent assembly, Inkatha will be persuaded to return to talks and take part in the elections. (304A)

But their position will draw them into direct conflict with the ANC, which feels it has already compromised greatly and can go little further.

Government chief negotiator Roelf Meyer said yesterday that five areas had been identified which needed to be addressed in order to satisfy the concerns of the government and other parties which supported federalism.

The first three areas concerned widening the scope of the constitutional principles, increasing the specific powers allocated to the regions and clarifying how concurrent powers should be exercised, and ensuring that the powers and functions of the regions could not be changed after the election without the consent of the regions.

This is generally in line with what proponents of federalism would like us to do in the constitution," he said.

## Options

The other two areas concerned the composition and functioning of the constitutional court and the deadlock-breaking mechanisms in writing a new constitution.

"We are not prepared to accept that a constitution can, in the final event, be adopted by an ordinary majority. There are various other options we are prepared to look at," Mr Meyer said.

The areas mentioned by Mr Meyer have been discussed in bilateral talks with a number of parties, and talks will continue this week before the negotiating council sits on Thursday and Friday.

Bophuthatswana and Ciskei negotiators had drawn up a list of constitutional principles which extend the powers and functions of the regional governments and prevent regional constitutions being changed by a constituent assembly.

While they are expecting some backing from the government for these principles, the ANC has indicated that it will be unable to justify to its constituency any drastic concessions.

ANC negotiators are accusing the government of attempting to ensure that the interim constitution remains in force indefinitely.

IFP negotiator Walter Felgate said yesterday that bilateral talks following the summit of President FW de Klerk and IFP leader Mangosuthu Buthelezi on Thursday would seek to find agreement on:

- Finalising a constitution for Kwazulu/Natal

□ To Page 2

# Tough line on regions

□ From Page 1

prior to the April 27 elections.

- "Assymetry" — allowing for regions to finalise their constitutions according to their own timetables and allowing for regional differences in the constitution.

- Eliminating the Constituent Assembly's power to make changes to regional constitutions.

- Protection and entrenchment of regional powers and boundaries in the constitution.

Sources at the summit said that following a hard-line introductory speech by Chief Buthelezi during which he had expressed opposition to the role of the

constituent assembly, Mr de Klerk had said the IFP and the NP had much in common regarding their objectives towards federalism and that Inkatha should not be concerned unduly by the existence of the Constituent Assembly if agreement was reached on adequate constitutional principles. (304A)

Mr Meyer said the government was prepared to discuss the writing of regional constitutions before the elections. But there were two problems — how to involve the various roleplayers in the drafting of regional constitutions and finding an acceptable manner in which such constitutions would be adopted.



# SA is now set to clear rapids

— FW

By ANTHONY JOHNSON  
Political Correspondent

SOUTH AFRICA was on the threshold of a political breakthrough which would take the country "out of the rapids" currently fuelling fear of the future, President F W de Klerk said last night.

Speaking on SATV on the fourth anniversary of his term as State President, Mr De Klerk sent out a strong message of hope for the prospects of the country once a political settlement was negotiated.

"I say we will get out of the rapids.

"This country has tremendous potential, it is a wonderful country. We are on the threshold... we are near a breakthrough."

Mr De Klerk said the message he had for the country was: "Hold on! We are going to make it".

A period of rapid de-

**'I WOULD  
DO IT  
ALL  
AGAIN'**

See PAGE 2

velopment and economic growth awaited the country, he predicted.

Mr De Klerk was philosophical about the prospect of losing the position of State President. He said politicians did not have much job security and that he had attained the pinnacle of his political career.

He said he was "not worried" about the election as he expected the NP to give a good account of itself.

Asked how he could expect to keep the voters happy while the government took controversial steps such as increasing the petrol price, Mr De Klerk said that his task as leader was not simply to try and make voters happy but to take decisions that were in the best longer-term interests of the country.

He said apartheid had not been "all bad". There had been significant improvements to the quality of life of all South Africans during the apartheid era in the fields of education, housing and health.

# 'No holding SA to ransom'

304A  
CT20/9/93

PORT ELIZABETH.

— The ANC would not allow the right-wing parties and IFP leader Chief Mangosuthu Buthelezi to hold the country to ransom, ANC secretary-general and chief negotiator Mr Cyril Ramaphosa said at the weekend.

He said any attempts to disrupt the April 27, 1994 election would not be tolerated by the ANC and nobody should have any illusions about this date, including the National Party.

Mr Ramaphosa was addressing more than 5 000 people at a rally at the Dan Qeque Stadium, Zwide, on Saturday. He spent the weekend in the Eastern Cape to boost the ANC's election campaign.

The right-wing had 15 generals who said they were prepared to

## ANC vows to fight petrol hike

PORT ELIZABETH. — ANC secretary-general Mr Cyril Ramaphosa vowed the ANC would fight the petrol price hike.

Addressing an ANC rally at Zwide township on Saturday, Mr Ramaphosa warned that taxi organisations and trade unions would prevent the implementation of petrol hikes. "We will not accept the government imposing such a decision on us without majority consent," he told the 5 000-strong crowd.

Mr Ramaphosa said the ANC would continue to fight the government's decision to issue cellular telephone licences to international businesses.

The ANC has expressed outrage at what it described as the government's "secret moves" to introduce legislation to deregulate public telecommunications and postal services during the present session of Parliament. — Sapa

assist the Afrikaner Volksfront, Mr Ramaphosa said.

"We must warn the generals that if they think they are going to hold the country to ransom they are making a big mistake. The same applies to the Inkatha Freedom Party and the Azanian People's Party."

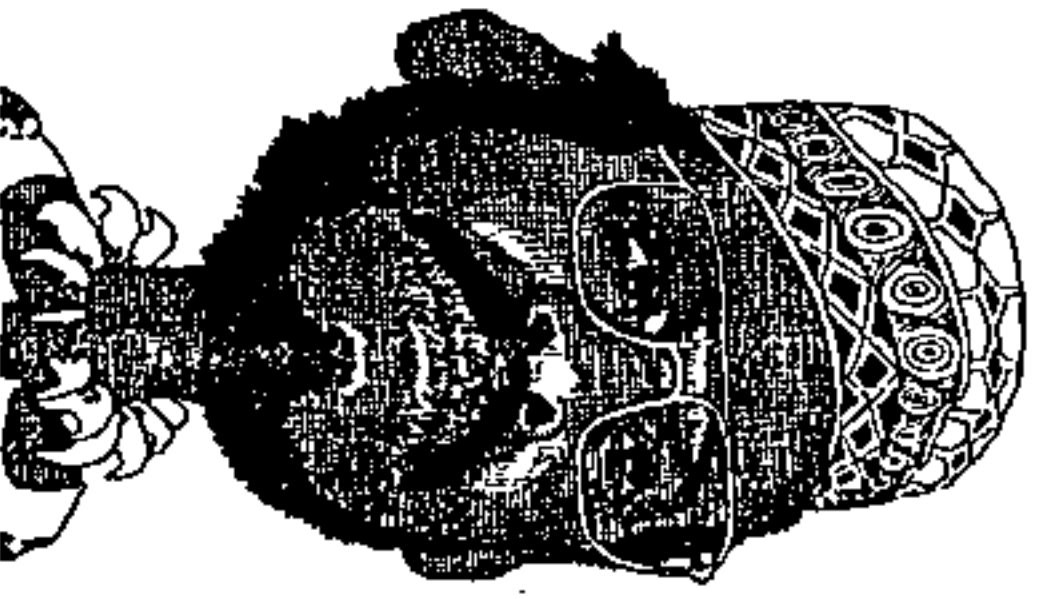
Mr Ramaphosa said Chief Buthelezi must return to the negotiating table "or be left howling outside".

Also, people who wanted to vote in kwaZulu, Bophuthatswana and Ciskei would do so despite the opposition of the homeland leaders, he said.

Mr Ramaphosa said the new government would "be under pressure with problems it cannot solve overnight".

A reconstruction programme was needed. "People have no houses. Many townships have no tarred roads and houses have no electricity."





BUTHELEZI

*There was no progress at last week's Government-KwaZulu summit, argues Political Correspondent Kaizer Nyatumba*

# FW in KwaZulu quandary

Star 20/9/93

3047

**I**f Chief Mangosuthu Buthelezi approached his crucial meeting with President de Klerk on Thursday with any hope that some of his demands might be met, then he must have left Cape Town a disappointed man.

For Buthelezi must have known — he had said at the beginning of the meeting he did not think there was much the two leaders could talk about — that chances of De Klerk giving in to his comprehensive demands were slim if not non-existent.

And not just because De Klerk is unwilling to make more concessions to the IFP leader whom he is now desperately trying to appease in an effort to woo him back into negotiations, but because he is simply unable to accommodate the KwaZulu Chief Minister more than he and the ANC have already done.

Buthelezi's 10-page "preliminary remarks" — which he makes at the beginning of every important meeting he holds — to De Klerk on Thursday were very revealing. More than anything else, they indicated clearly what Buthelezi sees as his bottom line, and showed yet again that nothing anybody does will satisfy him.

In what can only be described as a terrible dressing down to De Klerk,

Buthelezi demanded nothing less than the scrapping of the present multiparty negotiations and agreements reached in that process, notably the holding of South Africa's first all-inclusive elections on April 27.

By so doing, he put De Klerk in a tight corner: while he is eager to accommodate Buthelezi and in the process keep his own National Party together, the concessions the chief now asks for are simply not his to give.

## Vehicles

But back to the "preliminary remarks". Buthelezi sees these as vehicles for him to put his own concerns and priorities upfront, thereby ensuring the things he holds dear are discussed in the meetings.

His interlocutors, however, see them differently. ANC president Nelson Mandela, Archbishop Desmond Tutu, foreign leaders and ambassadors based here have often found themselves vehemently criticised and chided in Buthelezi's "preliminary remarks" before meetings with him.

Depending on the outcome of the meeting, such statements are sometimes not released to the press. And so the fact that Buthelezi found it necessary to release his preliminary statement on Thursday, only about

an hour before the end of the meeting, was the first signal that not all had gone well at Tuynhuys.

Clearly, Buthelezi is unhappy about what he sees as the Government's collusion with the ANC at the expense of his party, and he said so to De Klerk. He is upset that negotiations have gone on without the IFP and KwaZulu while they were halted following the ANC's withdrawal from Codesa 2 last year, and he said so.

He accused Government negotiators of not understanding "black politics", accused the Government of having moved away from policies it once shared with the IFP, accused Pretoria of not taking seriously what he says, said the agreed-upon transitional executive council could take actions which "could crash the financial operation and institutional autonomy of the KwaZulu government", and that his government would not implement agreements reached in the Negotiating Council.

He is also resentful about the international credit going to the Government and the ANC for progress in negotiations, and condemns "the smiling, the receiving of (awards) and boasting that the talks were still within the time-frames that were agreed upon between the Government and the ANC/SACP alliance". Then he dropped the bombshell:

negotiations must be halted and a national constitutional convention be called "to review the negotiations mess we are in".

He told De Klerk and members of his Cabinet: "We must now pause and reconsider what is happening in negotiations. That is probably the only reason for my being here today."

"If we cannot pause to do so, and if the South African Government cannot even contemplate the putting off of the proposed election in April next year while we review things and find a way forward, then there is no need for me to be here."

## Blackmail

Increasingly isolated here and abroad, Buthelezi then resorted to emotional blackmail and the kind of threats he has recently been making: he would resign as IFP leader if the party's general conference decided against his wish to return to negotiations, and Pretoria would be responsible for "the dramatic consequences" if it did not heed his calls.

But if Buthelezi is such a demoralised, why would he resign and not abide by the decision of the majority of IFP members if they voted in favour of co-operation with other parties and organisations? His threats are hardly necessary.

Political observers know, and some of his top Cabinet Ministers privately agree, that he is the driving force behind the IFP and that that party's general conference and the IFP's central committee often endorse whatever he wants. He need not fear that they might go against him.

Buthelezi has now dared public opinion here and in the international community to do their damndest.

"No amount of pressure from within or from the international community will have any effect on me. I cannot be pressurised into persuading the people of this region (Natal-KwaZulu) to commit suicide," he said.

From a man who used to be sensitive to gentle proddings from Washington DC, London and Bonn, this is very worrisome.

South Africans should not be fooled by De Klerk's smiles at the end of the summit, the joint committees agreed upon and the undertaking to meet again. No progress was registered at what sources described as an acrimonious meeting.

It is now important for De Klerk to consider the options open to him to give legitimacy to agreements reached in negotiations, and calling a national and all-inclusive referendum might be the answer.



*Realignments and power shifts under way across st*

# TEC Bill law

Star

20/9/93

306A

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■ BY CHRIS WHITFIELD  
POLITICAL CORRESPONDENT

The Transitional Executive Council Bill began its rough passage through Parliament today, taking South Africa a step closer to elections and clearing the way for the lifting of remaining sanctions.

The TEC debate comes as major parties enter a period of extreme flux prompted by the new impetus from the World Trade Centre. Realignments and internal power shifts are under way across the political spectrum.

Constitutional Development Minister Roelf Meyer will pilot the vital TEC Bill — providing for a multiparty watchdog mechanism during the election campaign — through two days of debate in the short parliamentary session.

## Majority

The TEC Bill is the third chunk of World Trade Centre-prepared legislation to be placed before tricameral MPs. It is expected to run into vociferous opposition, especially from the Conservative Party, but TEC supporters enjoy a clear majority.

Attention will also focus on the position of Inkatha Freedom Party MPs in the debate. The tone of their contributions will be a barometer of Government-IFP relations in the wake of talks between President de Klerk and Chief Buthelezi last week.

But parliamentary approval is only the first step.

It was agreed at the World Trade Centre that the legislation would be put on hold until a plenary session of negotiators has approved the entire "package", including the TEC Bill and the interim

**THE TEC Bill can expect vociferous opposition, but its supporters are in a solid majority**

constitution. If all goes according to schedule, that meeting of negotiating parties' leaders could take place towards the end of October.

Meanwhile significant decisions are facing a number of parties:

■ The IFP is expected to decide at its October 2 central committee meeting whether to soften its boycott of transitional arrangements.

■ The Pan Africanist Congress is already debating its own participation in the TEC and elections.

■ The Afrikaner Volksunie has lost its founding fathers and its future is uncertain.

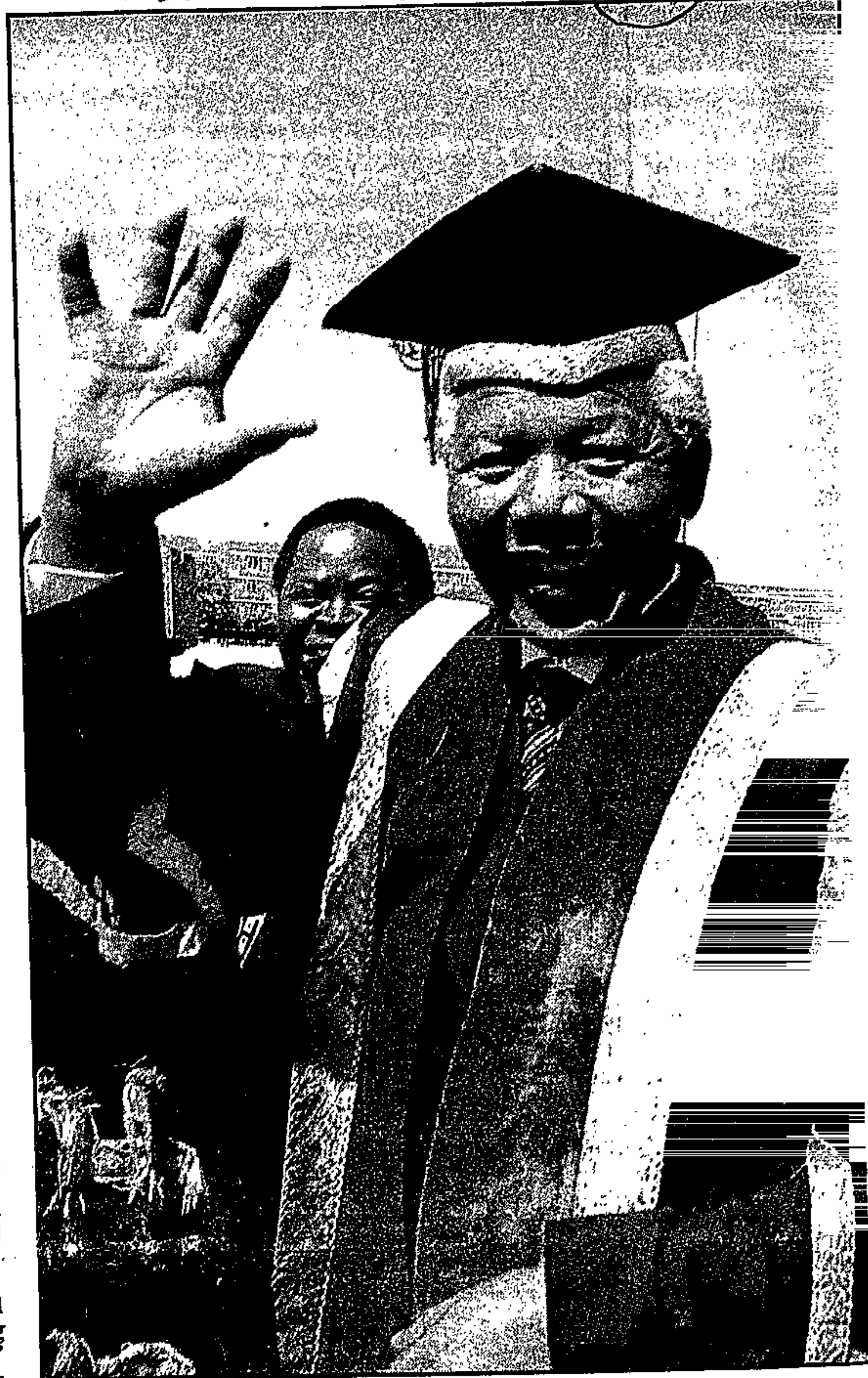
■ There are continuing tensions over leadership and rumours of defection in the Democratic Party.

■ The Labour Party is on its last legs following the announcement by Rev Allan Hendrickse that he will not seek to be re-elected to the leadership — and large-scale defections to the ANC are now expected.

■ Debates persist in the National Party over whether the NP's negotiating team has adopted a sufficiently tough approach.

Esther Waugh reports that the ANC is linking the proposed lifting of sanctions to a comprehensive international and local drive for development assistance.

The ANC wants potential investors to start preparing now for an immediate "push" once the political conditions have been fulfilled.





Spectrum

# atched

304A

STAR

20/4/93

304A



No rest for politicians . . . a busy weekend for President de Klerk and his wife Marike, who took young cancer sufferer Renier Beck on a flight to Cape Town — and for Nelson Mandela, at Turfloop university, where he is chancellor.

PICTURES: PETER MOGAKI AND ALF KUMALO



# Watershed week ahead for MPs in Parliament

SOUTH AFRICA faces one of its most significant weeks in Parliament which is expected to pass legislation to set up mechanisms that will herald a historic new phase. ET 20/9/93

The legislation will enable the setting up of the Transitional Executive Council.

With its promulgation ANC president Mr Nelson Mandela is expected to make the call for the lifting of sanctions at an IMF meeting in the United States.

The law will place severe pressure on the CP and IFP which have strenu-

ously opposed a TEC.

The PAC was yesterday locked in intensive discussions about whether to take its place in the TEC.

The NP's members are deciding whether to take part in national or regional elections. Law and Order Minister Mr Hernus Kriel and Local Government Minister Dr Tertius Delport have opted for participation in regional parliaments.

The DP is expecting more defections to the ANC of its members following an aborted leadership bid by Houghton MP Tony Leon.



# Court bid to protect documents

By ANTHONY JOHNSON  
Political Correspondent

A BID by the apartheid state to sweep the murky side of its history under the carpet will be challenged in the Pretoria Supreme Court next week.

A court application designed to save innumerable classified and historic state documents from the shredding machine and the furnace has been filed by the director of Lawyers for Human Rights, Mr Brian Currin.

He said yesterday that his personal crusade was not motivated by feelings of revenge but aimed at "preserving our history for our children and their children".

Mr Currin said he had embarked on his course of action when, to his surprise, no party or organisation seemed to be taking steps to block the wholesale destruction of important security-related documents by all government departments and the SA Defence Force.

Mr Currin said he had written to a number of prominent individuals voicing his concern about the issue.

Mr Currin's lawyers said the application was expected to be heard by the Pretoria Supreme Court next Tuesday. The application seeks a declaration from the court for all documents — classified and non-classified — to be saved in terms of the provisions of the Archives Act. **CT 20/9/93**



By COLIN LEGUM

LONDON. In spite of all the defeatism voiced about the chances of negotiating a non-racial democratic constitution for a post-apartheid South Africa, the stage has been set for Parliament to rush through legislation providing for an interim coalition government and for arrangements to stage the country's first democratic elections on the basis of a universal franchise.

The next test will be the success of free and fair elections to be held on April 27 next year.

Three obstacles stand in the way of achieving this result: violent opposition from the white right wing and militant black left wing; resistance from two of the homelands — kwazulu and Bophuthatswana; and a climate of intimidation that could cast doubt on the fairness of the result.

## Recalcitrant homelands

None of these threats is to be treated lightly. Together they could set back the democratic process once the election campaign gets under way.

Once the decision to hold the elections is seen to be irreversible, the chances are that the two recalcitrant homelands will either voluntarily drop their opposition, or that they will be compelled to do so by the government stopping the subsidies on which they depend for their economic survival.

Another immediate concern is how to educate the majority of the electorate who have no experience of democratic electoral practices, which includes abstaining from intimidation.

International support for programmes to promote free and fair elections is shown by some major initiatives.

The International Campaign to Promote Free and Fair Elections in SA has been launched in Britain by the All-Party Parliamentary Committee on Southern Africa (chaired by the Conservative MP, Peter Temple-Morris) and the Anti-Apartheid Movement whose president is Archbishop Trevor Huddleston.

Another initiative comes from the South Africa Free Elections Fund (SAFE), an American-based organisation formed by an influential group of concerned Americans committed to a peaceful transition to democratic rule.

SAFE is remarkable for the support it has already obtained from 26 influential Americans, including 20 leading businessmen. Its chairman is Dr

# International help for SA in preparing for free elections

Anthony J F O'Reilly, the president of Heinz International, who is himself an Irishman.

Its co-chairman is the distinguished black American judge, A Leon Higginbotham, and its counsel is Theodore G Sorensen, who was a prominent figure in the Kennedy administration.

Another major figure from the Kennedy era is G Wayne Fredericks, who has played a prominent part for almost half a century in promoting democracy in South Africa.

Among the other leading American figures are Robert McNamara, the former Defence Secretary and president of the World Bank and Andrew Young and Donald McHenry, both US representatives at the UN during the Carter administration.

The world of corporate business is represented by 20 leading executives.

SAFE has set itself a target of \$10-million (R34m), and has already raised \$1.2-million. The fund says it differs from other efforts to promote democracy by focusing exclusively on elections and the electoral process; it will not be involved in monitoring operations which will be conducted by a number of international groups. It will, instead, work through existing credible institutions and

individuals "with proven track records of using and accounting for foreign contributions at the grassroots level".

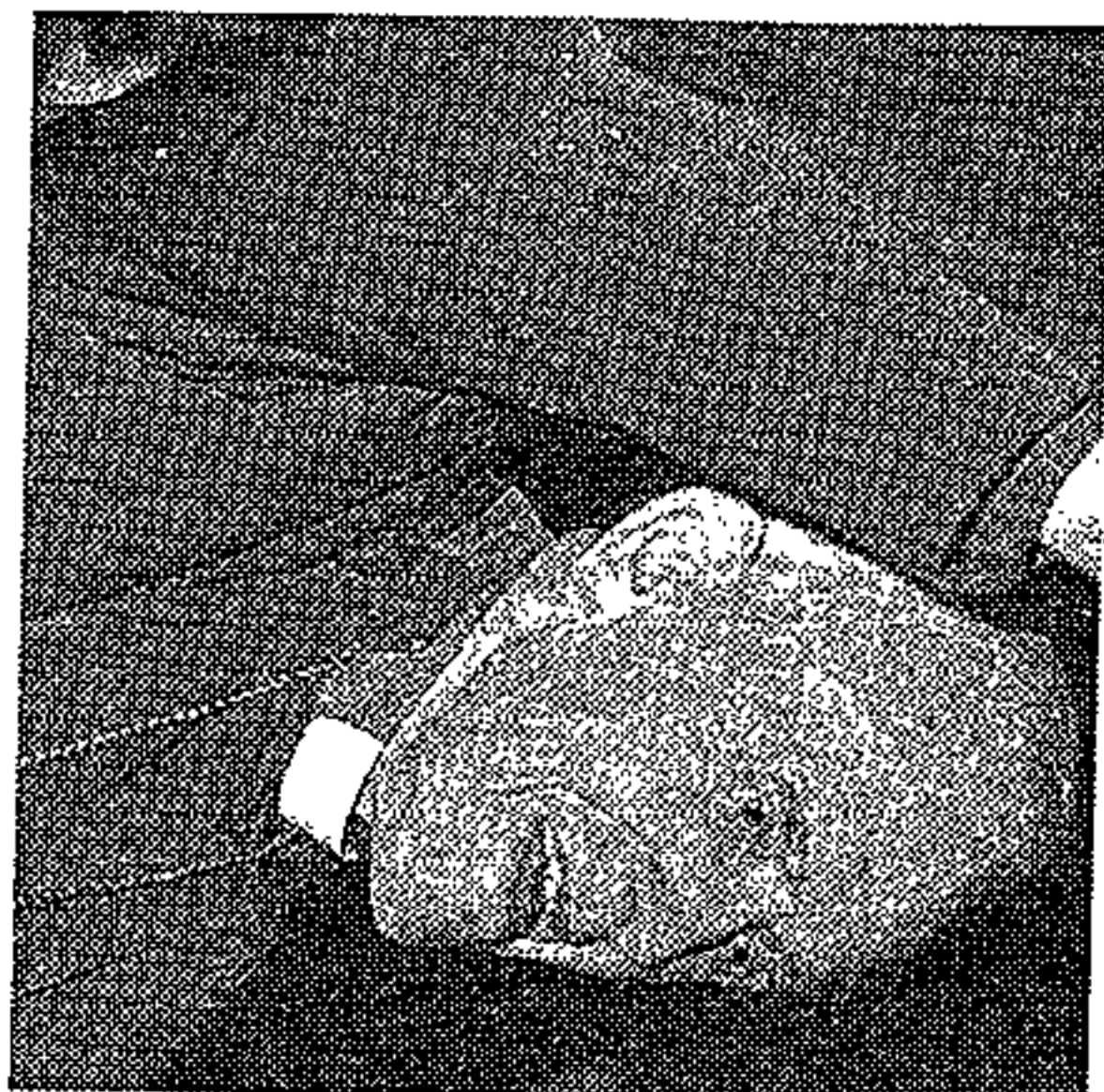
One of the principle means of distributing SAFE funds will be through national organisations such as the Christian Assistance Trust established by Dr Beyers Naude.

SAFE points out that scores of vibrant, non-governmental organisations have worked for years at local levels and have developed strong relationships with international foundations and other donors. Many of these organisations are engaged in voter registration and education.

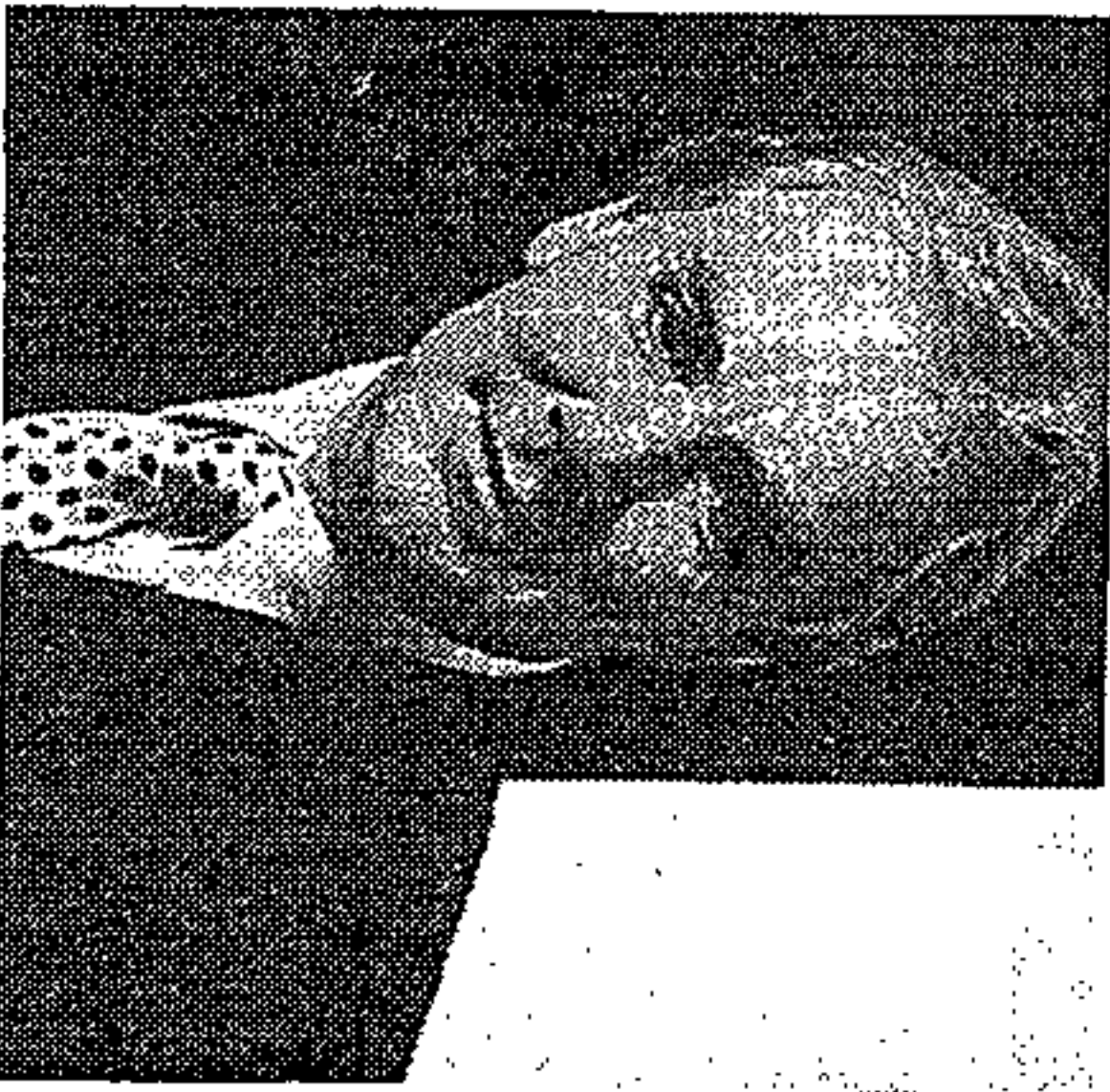
SAFE will screen proposals from these organisations to fund their activities. It will work locally through a committee of South Africans with long-standing pro-democracy credentials.

The funds will not be used to promote the interests of any individual politician or political organisation. Although Nelson Mandela has given his strong support to SAFE's goals, neither he nor the ANC will be involved in SAFE's operations.

SAFE, however, has not sought the approval of President De Klerk or members of the present



**TREVOR HUDDLESTON:** President of the Anti-Apartheid Movement which has helped launch in Britain the International Campaign to Promote Free and Fair Elections in SA.



**ANTHONY O'REILLY:** The Heinz International president who is chairman of the South Africa Free Elections Fund (SAFE), an American-based organisation.

government because it does not favour governmental involvement, but says it will work within the election laws and procedures agreed on at the negotiations.

## Historic moment

However, SAFE says that while negotiating the electoral process is a major challenge, ensuring free and fair elections is an even greater one since the vast majority have never voted in an election before and the obstacles to their full participation abound, from illiteracy to geographic isolation and lack of independent sources of information.

In its appeal to Americans, SAFE declares: "Rarely have true historic moments presented themselves in such a clear and urgent fashion. The end of apartheid is attributable, in large measure, to the actions of thousands of committed Americans.

"By ensuring a free and fair participatory election, Americans now have an opportunity to join in realising the emergence of democracy in South Africa. After so many years of struggle, this is a unique event for our generation and, indeed, for our own nation's democratic history."



□ 'Light at the end of tunnel' as economy starts to improve

# De Klerk presidency turns 4 today

TOS WENTZEL  
Political Staff

THE highlights of F W de Klerk's four years as president had been progress on the way to a new constitutional system and indications that the economy was poised to start improving, he said today.

It had been a privilege to lead the country in the past four years on the way to developing its vast potential.

He was speaking in a question session with SATV viewers to mark his four years as president.

Highlights had been his February 2 1990 speech which started the reform process and the about-turn of international attitudes to South Africa.

Inflation going down was an-

other highlight — along with the fact that the economy was poised to improve.

"Light at the end of the tunnel is now very near," he said.

One of the biggest disappointments was the fact that — in spite of the progress made in so many spheres and the fact that agreements in the negotiation process were so near — violence continued unabated.

The character of violence had changed. There was no longer spontaneous violence. There was now violence organised by radicals who wanted to stop agreements from being reached.

The moderate majority must not allow this to happen and must stand firm against these last-gasp efforts of the radicals.

Dealing with apprehension

about heavy taxation under a new government Mr De Klerk said South Africa was going to have a democratic government. Any future government which started overtaxing would not remain in power for very long.

"There would, in any case, for the first five years be a government of national unity with a view to stabilising the country. One way of doing this would be to ensure that there was economic growth.

Over-taxing, especially of the middle class, would be counter-productive to stimulating economic growth.

The prosperous minority in South Africa was already overtaxed.

It was necessary to create more wealth in order to help

the under-privileged.

The policy of a new government would be basically conservative and in line with the policies of other countries which had achieved successful economic growth.

"One of the first things to learn from these countries was not to overtax because this does not draw investment and we need investment."

With regard to the protection of vested rights he was sure that — in a Bill of Rights — there would be protection of private property and fundamental rights as well as cultural rights.

Referring to salaries of teachers and other state employees he said small increases had been given every year.

He did not feel that these in-

creases were sufficient, but there was also very high unemployment.

Referring to an election in which the vast majority of voters would be black, Mr De Klerk said there were indications of increasing support for the National Party from people of colour while it had retained its core of white support.

The NP would try to mobilise this support in order to remain a factor in a future system.

Referring to the "volksstaat" demands of rightwingers, Mr De Klerk said there was no area in the country where the Afrikaners were in the majority.

The future of the Afrikaners could not be built on injustice and discrimination against oth-

# FW: 'I would do it all again'

By ANTHONY JOHNSON  
Political Correspondent

"I WOULD do it all again," President F W de Klerk said at the weekend of his first four years in office — which changed the face of South Africa.

"It was the only alternative that could have succeeded for South Africa," he said of the momentous changes in political, social and economic thinking in government that he had

initiated since assuming office in September 1989.

Mr De Klerk told Rapport that the goals he had set in his inauguration speech were starting to succeed.

Most parties now supported reconciliation as a goal, the negotiation process was on course and the economy was being opened up.

But a number of problems and disappointments remained. Violence had not declined to acceptable levels

and there was still much understandable insecurity and unease in society.

However, he was convinced these problems would be addressed once a final agreement was reached at negotiations.

He said the most important perception needing to be destroyed was that "the ANC and all its wild elements will take over all power in the country and be able to make and break as they please". CT 20/9/93

No party winning the election would be able to do as it pleased, as South Africa was moving towards a system in which no central government or State President would be able to enjoy as many powers as at present.

Mr De Klerk said that despite the current "growth pains of the transitional phase", he envisaged a period after the election of "almost abnormal security".



# Stormy passage for Bill

Sowetan

20/9/93

(304A)

By Sowetan Correspondents

**T**HE TRANSITIONAL Executive Council (TEC) Bill begins what is bound to be a stormy passage through Parliament today.

The Bill - making provision for the multi-party body that will act as a watchdog over the Government and political parties during the election campaign - will be introduced by Constitutional Development Minister Roelf Meyer when the session begins this afternoon.

It will be the third chunk of World Trade Centre-prepared legislation to go before Parliament during the present short session and debate is scheduled to last two days.

The ANC has signalled that the creation of the TEC will be the trigger for the lifting of sanctions. However, the body will only get off the ground once a plenary session of the World

Trade Centre talks has given its approval to the entire "package" of legislation, including the TEC Bill and the interim constitution.

"The process is now winding up with the four crucial transitional Bills adopted now coming up for legislation before Parliament," said African National Congress spokesman Mr Carl Niehaus.

If all goes according to schedule, that meeting of negotiating parties' leaders could take place towards the end of October.

By sharp contrast, Conservative Party leader Ferdi Hartzenberg has warned that the creation of the TEC will be seen as a declaration of war.

There will be considerable interest in the position of Inkatha Freedom Party MPs in the debate.

Although they are bound to oppose the TEC legislation - Chief Mangosuthu Buthelezi has already come out strongly against it - their contribution will be seen as a barometer of Government-IFP relations in the wake of the Buthelezi-De Klerk meeting.

# TEC Bill begins stormy passage through parliament

304A  
ARLT 20/9/93

## □ Trigger for lifting sanctions — ANC

CHRIS WHITFIELD  
Political Staff

THE Transitional Executive Council (TEC) Bill today begins what is bound to be a stormy passage through parliament.

The Bill makes provision for the multiparty body that will act as a watchdog over the government and political parties during the election campaign.

It will be introduced by Constitutional Development Minister Roelf Meyer when the session begins this afternoon.

It will be the third chunk of legislation prepared at the World Trade Centre to go before parliament during the present short session. Debate is scheduled to last two days.

The ANC has signalled that the creation of the TEC will be the trigger for the lifting of sanctions. But the body will get off the ground only once a plenary session of the World Trade Centre talks has given its approval to the entire

"package" of legislation, including the TEC Bill and the interim constitution.

If all goes according to schedule that meeting of negotiating parties' leaders could take place towards the end of October.

By sharp contrast, Conservative Party leader Ferdi Hartzenberg has warned that the creation of the TEC will be seen as a declaration of war. His MPs are bound to use today's debate as a stage for attacks on President De Klerk and his government.

There will be considerable interest in the position of Inkatha Freedom Party MPs in the debate.

Although they are bound to oppose the TEC Bill — Chief Mangosuthu Buthelezi has already come out strongly against it — their contribution will be seen as a barometer of government-IFP relations in the wake of last week's Buthelezi-De Klerk meeting.

It is understood that while

the meeting did not achieve much of substance, participants were relieved that the first steps were taken towards an improved relationship.

Sources on both sides paid credit to Mr De Klerk for, as one put it, "keeping his cool" after Chief Buthelezi issued a combative opening statement in which he poured scorn on the government and said the meeting appeared pointless.

They said the president had diverted the exchanges towards issues dividing the organisations and sparked the "constructive debate" which followed.

IFP sources also believe the outcome has partly defused growing anger in senior ranks at the handling of negotiations.

Much of this had been directed at IFP negotiator Walter Felgate, with attempts being launched to unseat him as Chief Buthelezi's right hand man — but there had also been frustration at Chief Buthelezi's role.



# og on the block

ARG 20/9/93

304A

## TRANSITIONAL EXECUTIVE COUNCIL

from each participant in present Multiparty process is probably 21 given those parties opposition to implementation of TEC)

### COUNCILS

FINANCE  
(6 members)

FOREIGN  
AFFAIRS  
(6 members)

STATUS OF  
WOMEN  
(5 members)

LAW & ORDER  
STABILITY  
& SECURITY  
(8 members)

REGIONAL  
& LOCAL  
GOVERNMENT,  
TRADITIONAL  
AUTHORITIES  
(6 members)

Special  
Electoral  
Court

participation and to promote conditions for the holding of free and fair elections.

They include what amounts to vetoes over proposed legislation or any decision or proposed action by the govern-

ment, a political party or a homeland which at least 75 percent of the members of the TEC believe will have an adverse effect on the attainment of the objects of council.

The State President can de-

clare a State of Emergency after consulting the TEC's sub-council on law and order but after its declaration the TEC can review it and overturn the decision with an 80 percent majority.

The TEC will have six other sub-councils — on defence, intelligence, local and regional government and traditional authorities, finance, foreign affairs and the status of women. A special electoral court could adjudicate council decisions.

The objects of the council, as defined in the Bill are to promote, in conjunction with all legislative and executive structures at all levels of government the preparation for transition to a democratic order.

It will have to create and promote a climate for free political participation by endeavouring to:

- Eliminate any impediments to legitimate political activity;

- Eliminate any form of intimidation which has a bearing on this transition;

- Ensure that all political parties are free to canvass support from voters, to organise and hold meetings and to have access to all voters for this purpose;

- Ensure the full participation of women in the transitional and electoral structures and processes;

- Ensure that no government or administration exercises any of its powers in such a way as to advantage or prejudice any political party.

It will have to create and promote conditions conducive to the holding of free and fair elections.

It will also have to facilitate the transition to a demo-

cratic order by exercising powers and performing duties that may be assigned to it by the Bill or any other law.

Among its powers, the council can establish an inspectorate to investigate and monitor all policing agencies.

It can formulate a code of conduct for all military forces and a set of principles on intelligence matters.

It will have wide powers on finance, including the right to investigate allegations of corruption or inefficiency.

Although the day-to-day administration of the country will remain in the hands of the government, it is clear that the TEC will have wide watchdog duties over the actions of the executive which affect the transition to a democratic order.

It will consist of representatives of all parties at the multiparty talks on condition that they commit themselves and their armed forces to the objects of the council. The parties must give a written undertaking that they will be bound by the council's decisions and that they renounce violence as a means.

Homeland governments will not be part of the council unless they include the legislation creating it in their own laws.

Parties who have not taken part in the negotiations will be able to join the council if they make the written undertaking.

The TEC is expected to be implemented by November.

It will be part of a package which will include provision for an Independent Broadcasting Authority, an Independent Media Commission and an Independent Electoral Commission along with an interim constitution.





**SUMMIT:** A friendly handshake between President De Klerk and Chief Buthelezi but the discussion was heated.

ARG 20/9/93

304A



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20/4/93

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# New watchdog

TOS WENTZEL  
Political Staff

**T**HE Transitional Executive Council, the watchdog body that is to oversee a free and fair election campaign through to next April is being approved by parliament this week.

Agreement on a draft Bill providing for a body to "level the playing field" for the election was one of the most important breakthroughs at the multi-party talks. In terms of that agreement parliament cannot change any of the details.

There is some controversy about the TEC's role and how it affects the sovereignty of the present government.

The government is extremely sensitive about suggestions that it will rule along with the TEC and flatly rejects the suggestion that the TEC is an alternative government.

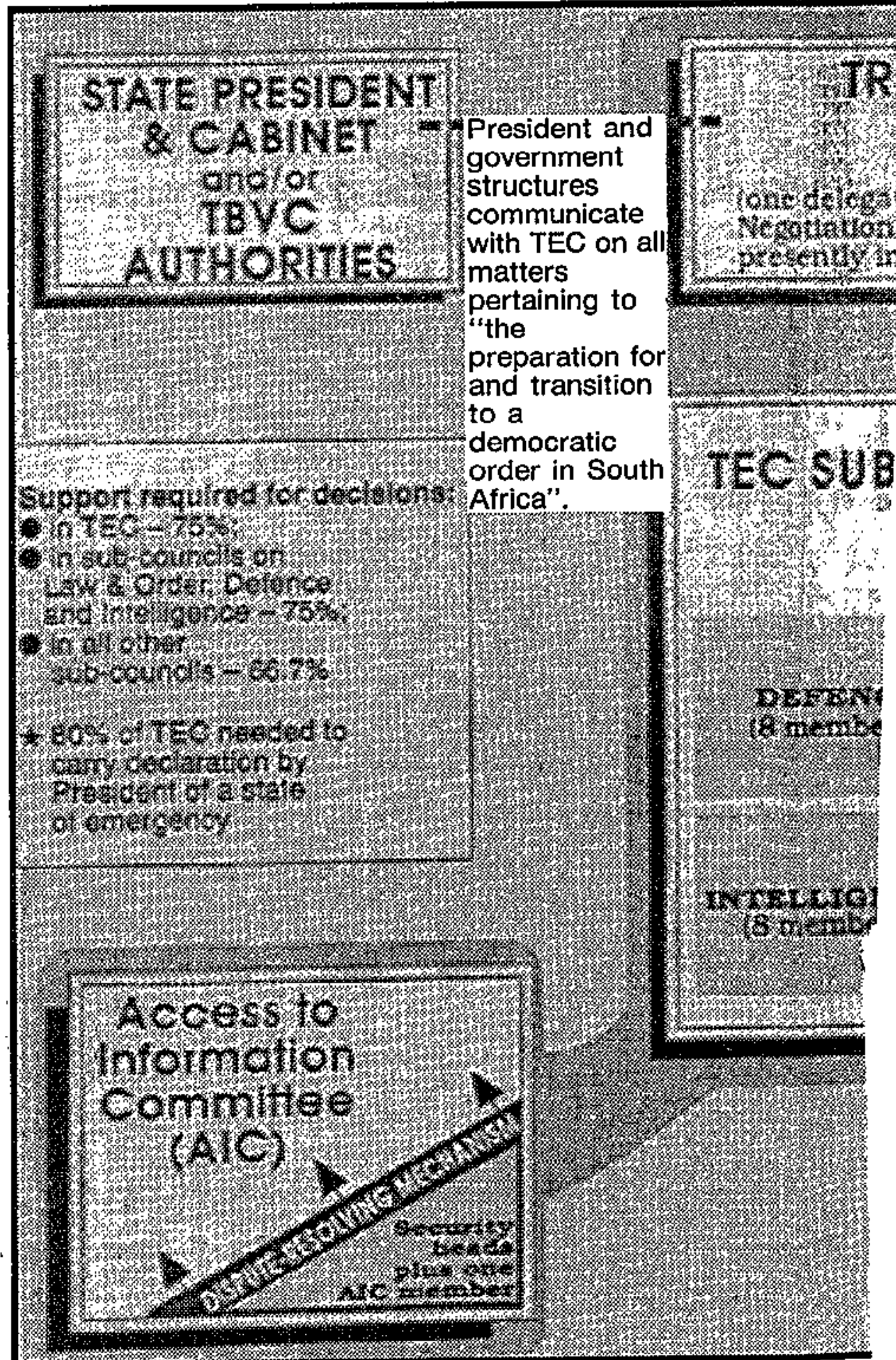
President De Klerk has gone out of his way to stress that the government will remain fully in charge in the transitional stage.

According to Minister of Constitutional Development Roelf Meyer there will however have to be political "interaction" between the government and the TEC.

Ministers would have to exercise power in consultation with the TEC and vice versa.

In some ANC circles much more is read into the TEC and its position in government.

It is seen as the first crack in National Party power in 45 years and the first time that blacks will start to have a say in government decisions.



On the rightwing, the Conservative Party dismisses the measure as the "handover of power".

Ciskei and Bophuthatswana, eyeing the future nervously and jealously guarding

their independence, have attacked aspects of the Bill which they maintain would impinge on their sovereignty.

The powers of the TEC are meant to enable it to create a climate for free political par-



# FW celebrates as TEC

South African 2019/93

## Bill tabled in Parliament

2047

Sowetan Correspondent

### ■ CRUCIAL REFORM De Klerk rule

characterised by sweeping changes:

**P**RESIDENT FW de Klerk today celebrates four years in the job - a period which has seen substantial progress away from apartheid and towards a new dispensation for South Africa.

After succeeding ailing State President PW Botha on September 20 1989, De Klerk launched a reform programme which led to the unbanning of political organisations, the release of political prisoners and the scrapping of repres-

sive legislation.

Constitutional negotiations then began between organisations that had once been bitter enemies.

During this time South Africa gradually emerged from its international isolation and was once again welcomed in overseas sporting arenas.

However, the period has also seen increasingly high levels of violence at

home and the economy under continuing strain. De Klerk's administration continues to be plagued by allegations of security force complicity in violence and of corruption.

White rightwing dissent has also grown as it became evident that black South Africans were inevitably going to have a powerful say in the new order. De Klerk's fourth "anniversary" of

assuming the top job coincides with the introduction in Parliament of the Transitional Executive Council Bill - a clear signpost of change consuming the country.

It is also anticipated that the interim constitution - in terms of which the country will be governed by a form of "power-sharing" until a final constitution is in place - will be finalised in negotiations in about one month.

Should elections take place on April 27 as anticipated, it is highly unlikely that De Klerk will see out a fifth year in office.



# Four years in hot seat for FW

Star 20/1/93

304A

## ■ BY POLITICAL STAFF

President de Klerk today celebrates four years in his job — a period which has seen substantial progress away from apartheid and towards a new dispensation for South Africa.

After succeeding P W Botha on September 20 1989, De Klerk launched a reform programme which led to the unbanning of political organisations, the release of political prisoners and the scrapping of repressive legislation. Negotiations then began.

The period has also, however, seen increasingly high levels of violence and the economy under continuing strain.

De Klerk's fourth anniversary of assuming the top job coincides with the introduction in Parliament of the Transitional Executive Council Bill — a clear signpost of change in the country.

If an election takes place on April 27 as expected, it is highly unlikely that De Klerk will see out a fifth year in office. He could, however, secure a top job in a new dispensation.

In an interview this morning to mark his fourth year in power, De Klerk said political violence was being planned by "relatively small groups in dark rooms" and that "violence is at a peak".

De Klerk said violence was being perpetrated by "radicals" wanting to prevent breakthroughs at the World Trade Centre.

He said the Government was doing all it could to prevent the violence and had voted a further R300 million last week to expand the police force.

# Destruction of old files: Govt to reply this week

Star 2d/9/93

## ■ STAFF REPORTER

The State's response to papers seeking to prevent the Government from destroying secret files dealing with national intelligence matters in ex-president P W Botha's time is expected this week.

The State is expected to respond to an application brought on Friday by Lawyers for Human Rights director Brian Currin, in his personal capacity, seeking to prevent the destruction of secret government files.

The instructions from intelligence chief Johan Mostert to directors-general of all departments called for the destruction of all files not emanating from their own departments.

Specially emphasised in the letter sent in July were those documents which dealt with security strategy and policy relevant to the era of "total onslaught" politics under Botha, Currin said. (304A)

The preliminary hearing has been scheduled for September 28 in the Pretoria Supreme Court.

Currin argues in his application that the legal opinion given to the State — that classified documents do not fall under the Archives Act, thereby preventing their destruction — is wrong and unlawful.

Currin calls for all documents, classified and non-classified, to be declared as falling under the provisions of the Archives Act.



Parliament set for historic week

# Parties at the crossroads as TEC looms

BIDAY 20/9/93

CAPE TOWN — SA faces one of its most significant weeks in Parliament as MPs prepare to pass laws that will herald a new phase in the country's history.

The most crucial legislation will set up the Transitional Executive Council (TEC), which will shift power over critical areas of government from the current executive to the parties involved in negotiations, to ensure free and fair elections. (30/49)

The legislation is expected to trigger the lifting of sanctions, which have been part of SA's economic life for decades.

The new laws will come into being as international financiers meet in Washington for the annual IMF and World Bank meetings, where the government's and ANC's leaders will press for investment and aid packages.

ANC president Nelson Mandela will address the UN next week and is expected to cite the establishment of the TEC as good cause for the organisation to abandon its stand on sanctions.

As the political landscape changes and the election nears, unprecedented manoeuvring is taking place within most of SA's political parties.

Among the affected parties are:

- The PAC, which was locked in discussions yesterday about whether to take its place in the TEC structures and whether to take part in elections. Central to these discussions is the question of the PAC's suspending its armed struggle;
- The NP, whose members are deciding whether to take part in national or regional elections. Already two Cabinet Minis-

TIM COHEN

ters, Law and Order Minister Hernus Kriel and Local Government Minister Tertius Delpert, have declared they will not stand for the national assembly, preferring to run for regional parliaments.

□ The DP, which is expecting more defections to the ANC by its city councillors. The party has also been rocked by bruising publicity about an abortive party leadership bid by Houghton MP Tony Leon, and the health of leader Zach de Beer.

□ The Labour Party, which is likely to disband to throw in its lot with the ANC. Leader Allan Hendrickse has decided not to stand for re-election at the party's December congress and at least half Labour's members are set to join the ANC.

The passing of the Bill will also place severe pressure on the CP and the Inkatha Freedom Party, which have expressed strenuous opposition to the TEC.

Labour members said yesterday that MPs Desmond Locket and Moza Theron had already joined the ANC and some of their colleagues, including Pieter Hendrickse, the party leader's son, were likely to follow.

Hendrickse said the ANC was the only party that had the capacity to save SA from the mess into which the NP had plunged it. "It is crucial that the oppressed stand united in this election," he said.

The PAC's discussions are likely to have far-reaching consequences for the organisation, and particularly its negotiators, who are understood to be pressing for participation in TEC structures and the election.

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## Volksfront gives NP MPs chance to revolt

DIRK VAN EEDEN

BiDay

PRETORIA — The Afrikaner Volksfront is confident many NP MPs will refuse to toe the party line and will vote against the Transitional Executive Council Bill due to be tabled in Parliament today. 20/9/93

Volksfront spokesman Stephan Maninger said the planned right-wing protest at the gates of Parliament this week had been suspended to give MPs a last chance to turn away from the route set at multiparty negotiation. (304A)

After a marathon meeting in Pretoria at the weekend, Volksfront leaders had decided to put their "10 plagues" protest campaign on hold.

However, details of Volksfront resistance to the direction of multiparty talks had been finalised at the meeting and was ready to be announced, "probably later this week".

Right-wing sources said yesterday the plans included strategic stayaways which would not endanger Volksfront supporters' jobs.

Meanwhile, an Afrikaner "cultural" radio station has been granted a temporary licence to broadcast in the Pretoria area.

Volksfront co-leader Gen Constand Viljoen said at the launch of Radio Pretoria on Saturday that the FM station would broadcast from Donkerhoek, east of the capital.

Although the licence was a temporary one, the station aimed eventually to transmit regularly from 6am to 9am and from 4pm to 6pm.

Home Affairs spokesman Niel du Bois confirmed that a temporary licence had been issued to the Afrikaner Kulturbond to broadcast from 6am to 4pm on condition that no political statements were broadcast.

He said Afrikaner Kulturbond chairman C L van der Bergh would be responsible for the programmes and their contents.

Many right-wing supporters arrived at Donkerhoek on Saturday to celebrate the launch.

Armed and uniformed "commando" members from the Pretoria area said they would not allow government to stop transmissions.



*TEC debate: sparks fly from PAC, CP over joint rule*

# 'Real change is here'

**THE most significant legislation before Parliament in the 83 years of its existence**

Star 21/9/93

BY CHRIS WHITFIELD  
POLITICAL CORRESPONDENT

Cape Town — Joint rule in South Africa moved a significant step closer yesterday, sparking increasing opposition from some of the country's major political players.

As the historic Transitional Executive Council Bill was debated in Parliament for the first time, the PAC announced it would not be part of the multiparty body designed to monitor the actions of Government and political parties during the election campaign.

In Parliament, Conservative Party leader Dr. Terdi Hartzenberg repeated warnings that the introduction of the TEC would be seen as a declaration of war.

Eskatha Freedom Party Vuyheid MP Jurie Mentz was scathing about the ANC's role in the TEC, saying: "To ask a dog that bites to muzzle its own mouth is to no avail."

Opposition from these and other parties in the talks might mean that six of the 26 negotiating parties will not take part in the TEC.

Constitutional Development Minister Roelf Meyer, introducing the debate, said the Bill heralded "the arrival of real transition".

► 'IFP leader is megalomaniac' — Page 9

"The TEC will provide visible proof of the fact that the process of constitutional reform has in fact become irreversible."

The Democratic Party's Colin Eglin characterised the Bill as "the most significant piece of legislation to be put to Parliament in the 83 years of its existence".

The message was clear: "The days of unilateral decision-making are over — and that the days for transforming our country into a true democracy have arrived."

Hartzenberg argued in a debate marked by interjections from the National Party and President de Klerk himself that the "revolutionary" Bill was the most draconian in South African history.

It meant the Government was abdicating power, and a statement by De Klerk that he would retain control was "simply not true".

"You are abdicating, the ANC is taking over power even before an election," said Hartzenberg. He said the area of greatest powers for the TEC would be in the "fist of government" — defence.

The TEC is designed to act as a watchdog over the Government, homeland governments and political parties during the election campaign.

Meyer appealed to those who said they would not take part to reconsider: "By not participating they will in fact be worsening their position."

■ The Afrikaner Volksfront will unveil its plans to counter the installation of the TEC once the debate in Parliament is completed. An AVF spokesman said a plan of action — including possible "passive resistance" — would be announced later this week.

# 'New era' in SA debate begins

CT 21/9/93

Political Staff

(304A)

Parliament yesterday began a marathon debate on legislation to set up a Transitional Executive Council, introduced by Constitutional Development Minister Mr Roelf Meyer as heralding the start of "the real transition".

Seen by many participants as the beginning of a new era in South African politics, the TEC Bill was rejected, however, by the PAC and labelled "a declaration of war" by the Conservative Party.

Mr Meyer said: "The new South Africa is about to become a reality. We are proud and delighted to be able to announce to the world that we have reached the beginning of the transition."

But IFP MPs said the bill was tantamount to a handover of power to the ANC.

CP leader Dr Ferdi Hartzenberg said acceptance of the bill would amount to a declaration of war against the majority of peace-loving South Africans who wanted to be free.



# Swedes watch SA progress closely

Sweden, where many believe in the gospel according to the ANC, is now asking questions about South Africa, writes Argus Correspondent KAIZER NYATSUMBA after a week-long visit to that country. (3044) ARC 2/1/92

As South African multi-party negotiators at the World Trade Centre continue to grapple with the country's interim Constitution, political and business leaders in Sweden have begun to look beyond this year and to make preparations for the future.

The ANC's biggest financial backers over the years, Swedes have taken a very keen interest in this country and has followed developments here very closely.

There are at least three reasons for this interest: that country's continuing massive financial support for the ANC, the Swedish business community's staunch opposition to sanctions against this country, and a pervasive belief that a politically stable and economically strong South Africa would serve as a motor for the entire southern African region.

Although Sweden lifted trade sanctions last week following negotiators' agreement on the Transitional Executive Council (TEC), investment sanctions are still in place until the TEC is up and running, as recommended to Stockholm by the ANC.

And this the Swedish business community — which believes itself disadvantaged compared to other countries — does not like.

"My organisation thinks it is hypocritical when an organisation asks more from Sweden than from another country, and then says 'hold on with sanctions'. My constituency is very annoyed," said International Council of Swedish Industry executive director Ake Magnusson.

And then there is the question of the continuing funding for the ANC by the Swedish government, which some parties within the ruling Moderate Party-led coalition now want terminated.

In a country which is consensus-driven and has a proud history of neutrality, many in the coalition government are concerned about being accused by some parties here of interfering in domestic politics, and in the process possibly influencing the outcome of next year's April 27 election by continuing to fund the ANC.

Since Swedish law forbids the funding of political parties in foreign countries — which largely explains the ANC's reluctance to become a political party before the election — many politicians agree the substantial financial backing given to the ANC will have to go.

There is also consensus that the money — which constitutes a third of the Swedish government's financial package for South Africa, distributed among South African non-governmental

organisations through the Swedish Internal Development Agency — should not be lost to South Africa.

Instead, it will be transformed to developmental aid to benefit all South Africans.

The view commonly held by many Swedes, including Foreign Affairs Ministry Under-Secretary of State Lars-Ake Nilsson, is that support for the ANC should be cut off a few months before the election.

But according to Mr Magnusson, many Swedish businessmen are not happy with the fact that the ANC continues to receive taxpayers' money.

However, he himself understood the need not to cut off aid to the ANC during the transition, arguing that it was important "to see to it that the ANC does not collapse as an organisation".

Social Democratic Party MP and former Under-Secretary of State Jan Karlsson said there were far more pressing issues about South Africa which needed Swedish law-makers' attention compared to the obsession with funding for the ANC.

"The majority feel that a solution to this issue should (cause) the least damage to the ANC. We are proud to have been one of the major donors. We are in no hurry (to review the situation)," said Mr Karlsson.

Although trade sanctions have now been lifted, many thought only those companies which had a presence here before the punitive measures against Pretoria were adopted would rush back in an attempt to recapture lost ground.

The majority of Swedish companies, they said, would adopt a wait-and-see attitude for the first few years. South Africa, Mr Nilsson predicted, could later become Sweden's "major economic partner and even competitor in some markets".

Mr Magnusson said South Africa had "one of the most sophisticated mining systems in the world", and it was therefore important for Swedish mining companies to have a presence here.

Said he: "The business community sees in some of your companies good business partners. You are regarded as an honest country and as one of the few countries in Africa where one can do business under fairly normal business practices. One does not need to bribe one's way through."

"You have a good infrastructure. There is a perception here that your country is potentially important if one wants to do business in the southern African sub-region."



# Bill spells end of white rule in South Africa

(304A) ARG 21/9/93  
☐ Attacks by CP and IFP

**MICHAEL MORRIS, Political Correspondent**

PARLIAMENT today takes its first step across the threshold of multiparty rule with the conclusion of debate on the watershed Transitional Executive Council Bill.

Hailed as the most significant legislation brought to parliament since Union in 1910, the draft law spells the end of white government.

It drew scathing attacks from Conservative Party and Inkatha Freedom Party detractors, but the chief government negotiator, Minister of Constitutional Development Roelf Meyer, said it brought the new South Africa within reach, providing "tangible proof of real progress towards a new dispensation."

But CP leader Ferdi Hartzenberg — repeating a warning that passage would be regarded as a declaration of war — described it as the most draconian and revolutionary legislation to come before parliament. It signalled NP abdication to the revolutionary forces of the ANC alliance.

He, like other CP MPs in the debate, appealed to Afrikaners to reject the Bill.

IFP MP Farouk Cassim said his party would reserve judgment on the TEC Bill until it had seen the whole package put together at the talks.

But a Democratic Party negotiator, Colin Eglin, said: "More than any other bill in the history of our parliament, this TEC Bill underscores the collective responsibility of all South Africans to ensure a worthwhile future for our country."



**GIFT CHAIR:** President De Klerk tries out the recliner chair which members of the National Party gave him to mark his four years as head of state. With him is Dawie de Villiers, Cape leader of the party.

Picture: WILLIE de KLERK, The Argus.



# Spanner in TEC

## works

Sowetan 2/9/93

By Themba Molefe and  
Ismail Lagardien, Political Staff

**T**HE PROPOSED TRANSITIONAL executive Council yesterday received the thumbs down from parties within and outside Parliament. (3049) (S)

The first blow came from the Pan Africanist Congress which announced it would not participate in the proposed council. The organisation also said it would not take part in next year's elections if the polls were to be for a government of national unity and not for a constituent assembly.

In Parliament, leader of the Conservative Party Dr Ferdie Hartzenberg said his party would not support the TEC or serve on it.

Speaking during the debate on the TEC Bill, Hartzenberg said the Bill was a realisation of the "revolutionary objectives of the South African Communist Party which controlled the African National Congress and which would, through the legislation, control the Government".

The tabling of the Bill was, however, hailed by all the other parties in Parliament as the dawning of a new era in South Africa.

The PAC's decision was taken at its national executive committee meeting at the weekend.

PAC president Mr Clarence Makwetu said the draft Bill prevented the Government from committing itself to a mutually negotiated cessation of hostilities — a condition the PAC had said was necessary for the ending of its armed struggle by its military, the Azanian People's Liberation Army.

He also criticised the passage of the draft Bill through Parliament before being presented to the negotiating plenary heads of the parties at the talks.

The TEC Bill is the most important of four Bills adopted by the majority of parties involved in the World Trade Centre talks.

These are crucial to ensuring multiparty power sharing in the build-up to elections. However, the PAC said it would remain in constitutional negotiations as it was committed to elections for an "unfettered" constituent assembly.



Mr Clarence Makwetu — rejects TEC

PAC negotiators have consistently maintained that the 26 parties in the negotiating process had no legitimacy to decide or draft any constitution except a democratically elected constituent assembly.

In his opening remarks after tabling the TEC Bill in Parliament yesterday, Constitutional Development Minister Roelf Meyer said: "The new South Africa is now about to become a reality."

"We are proud and delighted to be able to announce to the world that we have reached the beginning of the transition and we look forward in anticipation to the positive reaction which has been promised once the TEC is in place," said Meyer.

The Democratic Party's Mr Colin Eglin said the Bill was "the most significant piece of legislation to be put to Parliament in the 83 years of its existence".

He said the message of the Bill was clear. "It is that the days of unilateral decision making are over — and that the days for transforming our country into a true democracy have arrived," he said.



Six members of the Wit/Val Peace Secretariat arrived at Jan Smuts Airport last night after taking part in a 700km peace walk to Durban. They are Tebogo Loui, Victor Mphahleli, Desmond Khumalo, Prince Kgobetsane, Thabo Mooketse and Bonginkosi Dlamini.





# FW here to stay — NP

*Sowetan*  
24/9/93  
WITH his followers gathered around him, President FW de Klerk yesterday pledged he would lead the National Party into the next South Africa representing the majority (304A)

On the fourth anniversary of his induction as State President, De Klerk said the NP had purged itself of racism and would "play a decisive rôle" in the

next government of the country.

Lauding the President, the leader of the NP in the Cape, Dr Dawie de Villiers, said it was fallacious to say that De Klerk was "like (former Soviet President Mikhail) Gorbachev" who came and did what he had to and then disappeared.

"FW de Klerk is here to stay," De Villiers said.



*FW seeks cast-iron safeguards*

# Call to protect SA minorities

Star 21/9/93  
304A

Cape Town — One of the main objectives in the current complex constitutional negotiations was to establish cast-iron safeguards for cultural minorities and religious freedom, President de Klerk said last night.

Addressing a dinner celebrating the 60th anniversary of the Union of Orthodox Synagogues of South Africa, he said: "It is our purpose to establish a state in which power will no longer be monopolised by the government of the day, as is the case with the present Westminster model."

Instead, a system was being worked for in which:

- Power would be limited by strongly entrenched constitutional provisions and a charter of fundamental rights.
- Meaningful, original



**A FUTURE  
government must  
not monopolise  
power, says De  
Klerk (above)**

and inalienable powers would be devolved to strong regional states.

- Power would be divided between the executive,

the legislature and the judiciary.

■ The constitution and the law, not the government of the day, would be supreme — "where any law or action by any organ of government will be subject to the scrutiny of a powerful and neutral constitutional court".

De Klerk said ANC president Nelson Mandela had tried to convince a black audience of the necessity for a co-operative relationship with whites, implying that the country needed white skills, and the implication was, therefore, that they should be tolerated.

"I want to say in reply: We are not here as tolerated minorities. We are here because we are as much South Africans as any of the other ethnic groups in our country."

— Sapa.

## Debate on the TEC Bill begins

# Transitional govt rejected by PAC, CP

BIDAY 21 9/93

TIM COHEN

CAPE TOWN — Parliament yesterday began a marathon debate on legislation to set up a transitional executive council, introduced by Constitutional Development Minister Roelf Meyer as heralding the start of "the real transition".

Seen by many participants as the beginning of a new era in SA politics, the TEC Bill was, however, rejected by the PAC and labelled "a declaration of war" by the CP.

It also came under fierce attack from Inkatha Freedom Party parliamentarians, who complained that it was tantamount to a handover of power to the ANC.

Meyer said: "The new SA is about to become a reality. I am sure that I speak on behalf of the majority of peace-loving South Africans when I say that we are proud and delighted to be able to announce to the world that we have reached the beginning of the transition."

He said government had committed itself to a transition to a fully democratic constitutional dispensation, and it did not see the TEC as an impediment to achieving its "honest and legitimate political goals".

He urged all parties to participate in the TEC on the same basis, and asked those who opposed the Bill, and who had indicated that they would not participate, to reconsider their positions.

Earlier yesterday President FW de

Klerk took pains to assure his caucus that while the TEC was the beginning of a form of power-sharing, it should not be seen as a handover by government.

"If the TEC is to be misused to bring power-sharing before an election with regard to the total field of activity, we will (prevent) that... that is not what it is intended to be. (304A)

Following its weekend conference, the PAC said it would take part in the proposed April 27 elections, but if it won a majority it would not necessarily be bound by the constitutional guidelines being hammered out by negotiators at the World Trade Centre.

PAC publicity secretary Barney Desai said it would be "suicidal" for his organisation to take part in the TEC, which would only give "the regime" more power.

The PAC was not prepared to allow its liberation army to be reduced to mere auxiliaries of the SADF and the SAP. But his organisation was prepared to enter into a conditional cessation of hostilities agreement with government and its position on this had been forwarded to government.

Desai said the PAC did not necessarily disagree with the constitutional principles being negotiated at the World Trade Cen-

□ To Page 2

## TEC Bill

BIDAY 21 9/93

tre. But the organisation was prepared to support elections for an unfettered constituent assembly, that would draw up a new constitution. (304A)

CP leader Ferdi Hartzenberg said in Parliament that acceptance of the Bill would amount to a declaration of war against the majority of peace-loving South Africans who wanted to be free.

He said the legislation was revolutionary and also the most draconian in SA's parliamentary history. During the time it was being negotiated, SA had become the most violent country in the world.

The TEC was obtaining executive and legislative power, becoming a "super-Cabinet", Hartzenberg said. "You are abdicating... the ANC is taking over power even before the election."

Inkatha MP Jurie Mentz said the Bill would lead to a process in which power was handed over to the ANC. The ANC would use its control of the police and the Defence Force to act against its opponents. "To ask a dog that bites to muzzle its

own mouth is useless," he said. Calling on all federalists to stand together, Mentz said there were only two trains into the future — the Mandela train and the Buthelezi train.

PATRICK BULGER reports that the ANC said it was satisfied the Bill would sufficiently constrain government's ability to undermine the creation of a free and fair political climate during elections.

Reacting to the PAC's rejection of the Bill, the ANC said organisations opposing it were unwittingly encouraging government to retain its present powers. The ANC warned the PAC that it was delaying liberation.

"It will be unfortunate if the PAC, at this crucial hour, was to be seen to be on the side of those who wish to retain the status quo. The ANC will continue to urge the PAC leadership to reconsider its position." The ANC said opposition to the Bill was to be expected from defenders of apartheid in the white right wing and employees of the system in bantustans.

□ From Page 1



## NP has brought SA to new beginning'

CAPE TOWN — The past four years had been a period of preparation after the NP had brought SA to the threshold of a new beginning, President F W de Klerk said yesterday. **B1/Don**

At an NP parliamentary caucus function to celebrate his four years in office, he quoted Marcus Aurelius, who said he had got himself out of all his perplexities "or rather got the perplexities out of myself. They were not without but within — they lay in my outlook."

The problem with many South Africans now was that they were struggling with perplexities built in over many years. "It is wonderful that the NP has got itself out of its perplexities and got the perplexities out of itself. **21/9/93**

"When, in a year's time, we celebrate five years since taking over, the NP will not be absolute rulers of the country, but will be a driving force at the centre of power without which nothing can be done, because the party will represent such a section of the population that it will play a decisive role in the future.

"Our motivation is to represent the majority, and I think we can because what we believe in is what I believe the majority of South Africans want," De Klerk said.

"We will be entering the election phase in the spirit of taking hands and bringing together those who should be together. **(30/4/94)**

"As a party, we are meeting the election with faith because our value system is in step with the rest of the world."

Four years ago, when the caucus gathered to congratulate him on becoming State President, it was one-third its present size and represented only a white majority in the House of Assembly. Today the caucus represented the majority of all the voters who elected representatives to the tricameral Parliament and resembled the new SA which the NP set out to create.

"The black nationalists are not yet part of Parliament, but they will be after the next election. The NP has proved to itself that the animosities of the past can be overcome. We have achieved reconciliation in the most visible and tangible form in our caucus and this is a message to SA that we can build a nation supported by a Bill of Rights and a good constitution, without ignoring the importance of the country's complex diversity." — Sapa.

## Ex-PAC man leads NP drive for votes

THE NP made David Chuenyane a second-class citizen under apartheid. Now he risks his life for the party.

Chuenyane, a member of the PAC for 10 years and an anti-apartheid exile for 27 years, is heading the NP drive for black votes, undeterred by death threats and petrol bombs.

The party's Transvaal provincial congress this month had delegates from a branch in Soweto for the first time. Most were Chuenyane recruits.

"You have to contribute to building the country," said Chuenyane, explaining why he left the PAC.

He spent his years in exile in Africa and the US, where he studied divinity at a Mennonite seminary "which was very hard on peace, so that changed my mind. I began to look at the world differently. I could contribute instead of destroying," he said.

He married an American woman and had children. "Now, having been exposed

to democracy in the US, seeing people disagree without tearing each other apart, I started thinking, 'If we could build an SA like that, it would be great.'"

Chuenyane said that on his return to SA last year he had been disillusioned with both the PAC and ANC. His years in black Africa had shown him their economic policies would not work, he said.

"I started looking into the NP, which is something I didn't want to do... but I had to be pragmatic about it. They had the expertise, the experience."

Chuenyane declined to give membership figures for Soweto but estimated NP support in the township at 12% to 15%.

He said his life had been threatened and petrol bombs had been thrown at his Soweto home. Now he frequently changes address.

"My kids are at school in the States and my wife is there too. She's not sure it's safe to be in SA right now," he said. — Sapa-Reuter.

(304A)



# Van Eck: ANC has compromised

By BARRY STREEK  
Political Staff

THE ANC had done more than its bit in agreeing to compromises to make the Transitional Executive Council Bill possible, the ANC MP for Claremont, Mr Jan van Eck, said yesterday.

It had reached these compromises even though it would be the outright winner in a democratic election, he said during the debate on the bill in Parliament.

CT 22/9/93  
"The ANC has made compromises on its original demands and they have not been received with acclaim by sectors of its grassroots supporters."

These included its stand on federation: "Although the ANC wanted a more unitary state with regional com-

ponents, it has now agreed to a regional/federal constitution."

Mr Van Eck said the ANC wanted the new democratically elected constituent assembly to draw up the new constitution, but it now agreed to entrenched constitutional principles, specially enlarged majorities, an interim constitution and a constitutional court that all make inroads into the powers of the constituent assembly.

"The ANC has now accepted jointly governing South Africa with the National Party in a government of national unity (30/4/93)"

"Although the ANC wanted a new interim government to replace the present one in the transitional period, it has now agreed to an appointed transitional executive council that will not replace the present executive, but will at best run parallel to the presently exclusively NP cabinet."

# TEC bill: Heated debate

THE second day of debate on the establishment of the Transitional Executive Council took place in Parliament yesterday, with speakers stressing the limits of the council's power and lauding the financial benefits that would accrue to South Africa.

But CP and Inkatha speakers remained staunchly opposed to the bill, with CP deputy leader Mr Willie Snyman making a "fi-

nal plea" for NP back-benchers to vote against the bill.

Constitutional Affairs Minister Mr Roelf Meyer said CP leader Dr Ferdi Hartzenberg was "playing a dangerous game" by saying acceptance of the bill was tantamount to a declaration of war. (304A)

DP MP Mr Ken Andrew said the economic benefits that

would accrue to South Africa once a TEC was established should not be underestimated.

ANC MP for Claremont Mr Jan van Eck said that the bill effectively meant that the white minority represented by the NP accepted that black and white were a permanent part of South Africa and that they would from now on jointly govern.



# Keep Cape CP leader out, police told



Jan Hoon

## Political Staff

POLICE have been instructed to prevent Cape leader of the Conservative Party Jan Hoon from entering the precincts of parliament today.

This follows his dramatic refusal last night to leave the chamber after being ordered to do so by the chairman.

Meanwhile CP leaders were locked in discussion on their next move. Sources in the party indicated that Mr Hoon would probably not attempt to defy last night's ruling by the chairman, which effectively banishes him from parliament for five parliamentary working days.

Mr Hoon will be unable to attend the rest of the present session of parliament, due to end on Friday.

A last-ditch strategic battle over the Transitional Executive Council Bill, severely curbing the powers of the government, will resume today between the Conservative Party and the government after the debate was dramatically halted last night.

The Speaker, Eli Louw, is expected to give his ruling at the start of this afternoon's sitting on the unprecedented action of Mr Hoon, MP for Kuruman, who refused to leave the chamber after being "named", and ordered out three times.

Ferdinand Hartzenberg, leader of the Conservative Party, said today that the party would return to the debating chamber today.

He said Mr Hoon's outburst had been spontaneous and had not been an orchestrated move to disrupt or boycott the session. The party did not have plans to walk out of the session.

He pointed out that parliament still had to vote on the Transitional Executive Council Bill.

Dr Hartzenberg said clarity would have to be obtained about Mr Hoon's position. There could be contact with the Speaker.

He did not think Mr Hoon could go back but he was not sure about this.

Today Mr Hoon, who last night vowed to continue the protest, said he was waiting for clarification of his legal position and whether he would be allowed to return to parliament.

He would, in the interests of the discipline of parliament and of his party, not return to parliament regardless of the consequences.

He said his action had been a protest against the "contempt for parliament shown by the government for introducing legislation (the TEC Bill) that would give power to a body that has not been elected".

The bill amounted to "the greatest contempt of parliament ever".

Frank le Roux, chief whip of the CP, said there was no finality on the matter. The party caucus would meet this morning.

● See page 5



# Not for me, says Mac in parliament at last

ANC negotiator struck by 'unreality of the place'

DALE LAUTENBACH  
Political Staff

AFRICAN National Congress negotiator Mac Maharaj put his foot inside parliament for the first time this week and found he had no particular ambition to return.

Mr Maharaj and four colleagues from the multi-party negotiating process in Kempton Park form a task group charged with ensuring that the four pieces of legislation developed there go through parliament unchanged.

Conservative Party leader Dr Ferdi Hartzenberg dubbed the group "revolutionary watchdogs", referring to their presence in the public gallery during debate on the Transitional Executive Council yesterday.

The CP vehemently opposes the bill as an "abdication" of government's power, a handover to communism and a "declaration of war".

So with his background of many years in opposition to apartheid including bannings, Robben Island, exile and the more recent Operation Vula, Mr Maharaj's presence in parliament might have been salt in the wound for the CP.

But the "revolutionary" newcomer to parliament was not impressed and has no ambition to join the CP and others in the benches.

"I was struck by the unreality of the place," said the Kempton Park veteran. "They're debating for long hours, everyone is on the order paper to speak and the fact of the matter is that they can't change anything."

"That unreality is underlined by the level of debate," said Mr Maharaj.

He was disappointed that the debate consisted of parties in support of and in opposition to the TEC taunting each other but not addressing the substance of the legislation.

"At least there might be some debate; someone saying look this doesn't take is out of the mess, you might want to consider this."

But if you listen to Hartzenberg you find no sense that the country is in a mess, but rather that the TEC is introducing the mess."

The Kempton Park task group including Mr Mickey Webb (Ciskei), Mr Zain Tlhus (Transkei), Mr Fanie van der Merwe (government) and Dr Theuns Eloff of the administration have been fine-combing the TEC, the Independent Media and Elections Commissions bills and the Independent Broadcasting Authority Bill to make sure that any substantive changes are of a technical and not a substantive nature.

So far Mr Maharaj said only one change of any substance had been attempted and this was resolved and overruled in the Negotiation Council last week. The rest of the changes have been the crossings of 's' and dottings of 's'. **AKG 22/9/93**



**FIRST STEP:** ANC negotiator Mac Maharaj, who entered parliament for the first time this week. He was bemused by the apparent absence of reality.

Picture: LEON MÜLLER, The Argus.



## POLITICS

# Conservative secession hint in row on TEC Bill

☐ 'Most significant debate' in SA's history (304A)

MICHAEL MORRIS  
and CHRIS WHITFIELD  
Political Staff

POLITICAL sniping, calls for a federalist alliance and the strongest hints yet of plans by the Conservatives to secede brought the second day of debate on the far-reaching Transitional Executive Council Bill to a close.

Eighty-three speakers took part in the debate, described as the most significant in parliament's history, under the watchful eye of representatives of the multi-party forum.

The Bill is the key to the transition to democracy and preparations for free and fair elections next April.

In a sharp rejoinder to a warning by Conservative Party leader Ferdi Hartzenberg that the Bill amounted to a declaration of war, the Minister of Constitutional Development, Roelf Meyer, said: "He, his followers and cohorts, will be morally bound to accept responsibility for their actions if they resist the will of the country's sovereign parliament."

Dr Hartzenberg would also have to bear responsibility for "irresponsible acts" sparked by his loose talk, said Mr Meyer.

In the clearest hint yet of plans to secede, deputy CP leader Willie Snyman said the party would have no choice but to see the Afrikaner Volksfront executive as its transitional government if the TEC Bill was passed by parliament.

He said the Afrikaner had reached another Vegkop — the 1836 battle



Roelf Meyer



Ferdi Hartzenberg

where Boers fought off Zulu attackers.

If the TEC came into being it would be time to shut the laager "and those who are outside will be out and those who are inside will be in".

He added: "If you side with the enemy against your folk, the ultimate split will come ... yes, unfortunately, even a civil war as my leader warned."

The legislation would finally close the constitutional option for the CP and it would be forced to regard the AVF's general council as its parliament and its executive as its transitional government until the Afrikaner had elected his own government.

Mr Snyman said later his reference to the laager was symbolic but acknowledged that his comments could "translate into secession".

He added that the critical moment would come with the creation of the TEC, the multi-party body designed to monitor actions by governments and political parties during the election

campaign.

IFP MPs indicated that they would also vote against the Bill.

The party's MP for Jeppe, Hennie Bekker, floated the idea of a "loose association" of pro-federalist parties. It could go under the title of African Federal Association or Christian Democratic Federation, but federalism should be the binding force, he said.

Local Government Minister Tertius Delpont appeared to echo the same sentiments, saying: "The time has come for people with the same values and ideals to consolidate and to accept their responsibility towards the fate of our country and all its people."

Law and Order Minister Hernus Kriel said the TEC would present an opportunity to improve law and order and to seek joint responsibility for the activities of the police.

"We see no threat in the Transitional Executive Council but an opportunity to improve law and order. Instead of criticising, the ANC and others will have to accept joint responsibility for the conduct of the police."

Endorsing this, the Minister of Justice and Defence, Kobie Coetsee, said one of the central tenets of the Bill was that parties had to distance themselves from violence if they wanted to take part in the TEC.

Democratic Party leader Zach de Beer said that to support the Bill was not to say it was perfect, but it could provide a vehicle for restoring law and order.

ARG22/9/93

# Nats, ANC in joint strategy on TEC

30414

APR 22/9/93

## Political Correspondent

AFRICAN National Congress MPs and government negotiators devised a joint strategy in the crucial Transitional Executive Council Bill debate to deflect a Conservative Party attempt to woo disaffected Nats.

Sources in parliament confirmed that a speech by ANC MP Jan van Eck yesterday — directly addressed to Nationalist MPs “who are still unhappy about the deal they got at Kempton Park” — was a deliberate effort to neutralise unease in government ranks.

Both the ANC and the NP need the bill to succeed and be widely endorsed. Hailed as the most significant legislation ever debated by MPs, the bill in effect ends white rule.

NP and other sources have ruled out the prospect of any Nats opposing the far-reaching TEC Bill when it is put to the vote within the next few days.

Some believed that if there was a revolt, it would happen when the interim constitution was put before parliament.

But tension has been heightened in the TEC Bill debate by a deliberate CP campaign to tug at the Afrikaner cultural heart-strings of Nat MPs thought to be disaffected by the pace and nature of the arrangements for the transition to democracy.

CP speakers have urged their Nat peers to think carefully before voting and to reject the bill rather than “sell their birthright”.

Mr Van Eck's speech, conciliatory in tone, emphasised the degree to which the ANC had agreed to compromise at the expense of its original demands.

The ANC had made these compromises because “the times demanded” it, even though they “have not been received with acclaim by sectors of its grassroots”, Mr Van Eck said.

He added: “Anyone who says the ANC hijacked the negotiations process should first carefully look at the major compromises that the ANC has made at Kempton Park.”

“To those in the NP who are still unhappy about the deal they got at Kempton Park and those on the right who have as a result decided to withdraw from the process, one can only say that you as minorities cannot hope ever to get anything better.”



## Challenge to Zac

### 'Bruising exchange' clears air

ARG 22/9/93  
Political Correspondent

A BLUNT exchange in the Democratic Party caucus has cleared the air after the row over a leak to the Press of a failed challenge to Zac de Beer's leadership.

Sources indicated that yesterday's caucus was a bruising showdown over reports that some junior MPs had mounted a bid to oust Dr De Beer, claiming his performance had been "lacklustre", and to instal Houghton MP Tony Leon in his place.

Mr Leon has since declared his support for Dr De Beer, disclaiming any ambition at this stage for a national role in the party.

He said in a speech in parliament on Monday that he would personally propose Dr De Beer for another term as leader at the party's national congress next week.

Dr De Beer is not expected to be challenged at the congress.

But significantly, delegates will be asked to amend the party's constitution to create the post of deputy leader.

A deputy leader would be required to perform the duties and undertake the responsibilities of the leader "when the leader is absent from the country — or otherwise unavailable or incapacitated".

## NEWS TEC Bill to sail through Parliament today ● Mandela waves olive branch

# The end of white rule

Sowetan 22/9/93

By Ismail Lagardien  
Political Correspondent

THE final nail will be driven into the coffin of white domination in South Africa tomorrow when Parliament is expected to pass legislation for the Transitional Executive Council (TEC).

The TEC Bill and proposed laws for the creation of an Independent Media Commission and Electoral Commission will be voted on soon after 3pm and are expected to sail through Parliament.

The National Party majority in all three Houses, the Democratic Party, Labour Party and a smattering of Indian parties will vote for the Bill while the

Conservative Party and Inkatha Freedom Party Members of Parliament will oppose them.

The IFP has said it would support the Bills for the Electoral Commission and Media Commission as well as that for the Independent Broadcast Authority but that it would oppose the TEC legislation. (304A)

### Concession

It is understood that the IFP was holding out for a concession on "constitutional matters" as a quid pro quo before it gives its support for the TEC Bill.

The thinking in the IFP is that the other three Bills were "good Bills" and that they were necessary if an election

was to be held.

"An election will be held at some point anyway," an Inkatha source said yesterday.

The draft legislation for the Independent Broadcast Authority (IBA) was tabled in Parliament yesterday completing the quartet of laws agreed on in the Negotiating Council and nailed together by the relevant technical committee.

The IBA allows for the opening of new radio and television stations in opposition to the South African Broadcasting Corporation. It also provides for the monitoring of broadcasts and regulates political advertising and coverage aimed at ensuring equitable treatment for political parties.



## Mandela ready to visit Umundi

Sowetan 22/9/93

ANC president Nelson Mandela has reiterated his readiness to visit Inkatha Freedom Party leader Chief Mangosuthu Buthelezi in Umundi (115)

He also said he would welcome Buthelezi to the ANC's Johannesburg headquarters, according to the church leaders who arranged the June 23 meeting between the two leaders (115)

In a statement after their meeting with Mandela yesterday, Methodist Church Presiding Bishop Dr Stanley Mogoba and the Church of the Province of Southern Africa's Bishop Michael Nuttall said the ANC leader also "indicated his continued willingness to address joint rallies in violence-stricken areas with Buthelezi".



Friday, September 22 1993

# Benefits of TEC to SA stressed in debate

BIDAY 22/9/93  
TIM COHEN

CAPE TOWN — The second day of debate on the establishment of the transitional executive council took place in Parliament yesterday, with speakers stressing the limits of the council's power and the financial benefits that would accrue to SA.

But CP and Inkatha speakers remained opposed to the Bill, with CP deputy leader Willie Snyman making a "final plea" for NP backbenchers to vote against it.

Constitutional Affairs Minister Roelf Meyer said CP leader Ferdi Hartzenberg was "playing a dangerous game" by saying acceptance of the Bill was tantamount to a declaration of war.

Meyer said Hartzenberg was not aware of the implication of his threat and his followers would have to accept responsibility for their actions if they resisted the will of Parliament.

In addition, the CP would be responsible for irresponsible acts inspired by this "loose talk", Meyer said.

"Will you be able to look the infirm, the elderly, women and children in the eye, those who will suffer because of your follies, and explain that their suffering is justified because you were unable to get your way in Parliament?" Meyer asked.

Sapa reports that the CP earlier called for the President to declare a general state of emergency and call off today's vote on the Bill.

CP Public enterprises and transport spokesman Joseph Chirole said the country found itself in an advanced phase of a typical communist revolution.

There was clearly an escalating terrorist onslaught against commuters and 56 people had died violently since Friday.

Voting on the TEC Bill could not go ahead as the TEC drastically inhibited the powers of the President to declare a state of emergency. "The fact that the TEC will be dominated by communist sympathisers, who will be able to order the President to summarily lift an emergency, will realise the ANC/SACP's final phase of subversion — a takeover of the government."

Meyer said that a proper evaluation of the Bill indicated that it would not significantly detract from Cabinet's executive authority or Parliament's legislative capacity. The object of the Bill was to create conditions conducive to free and fair elections.

Every clause of the Bill which dealt with powers and duties of subcouncils qualified such powers by referring to the attainment of

the council's objectives. More significant power would almost invariably have to be exercised "in consultation" with the appropriate Ministers or the President.

DP MP Ken Andrew said the economic benefits that would accrue to SA once a TEC was established should not be underestimated. A major impediment to sustained economic growth was the low level of SA foreign reserves, at present less than half the desired level. (304A)

This had been caused primarily by large capital outflows.

The establishment of the TEC would give SA access to IMF and World Bank funds.

SA would become eligible for a loan of about \$850m from the IMF before the year-end.

Suitable renegotiation of the debt standstill agreement would be enhanced and sanctions would be lifted.

ANC supporting independent MP Jan van Eck said the Bill effectively meant that the white minority represented by the NP accepted that blacks and whites were a permanent part of SA and now jointly governed SA.

The Bill was a historic accord between the parties at Kempton Park which represented 80% of all the people of SA, he said.

● Comment: Page 8

# Turn back clock, De Klerk warned

AFRIKANERS last night made a dramatic torch-light appeal to President FW de Klerk to reverse the negotiations process. *Sowetan* 22/9/93

In the shadow of the Union Buildings in Pretoria, speakers representing every facet of Afrikanerdom passionately implored De Klerk and the Government to change course before the April 27 general election.

Led by the Afrikaner Volksfront, the umbrella right-wing movement, delegates handed notes of protest to Mr Jannie Dippenaar, who was representing De Klerk.

The organisations included the Conservative Party, the Pretoria Boerekommando, Oranjewerkers, Sabra, Transvaal Agricultural Union, Afrikaner Kultuurbond, Dietse Federasie, Herstigte Nasionale Party, Iron and Steel Federation, Afrikaner Weerstandsbeweging and the Verkenners. (304A)

The decision by the Government to introduce the Transitional Executive Council Bill in Parliament this week was described as the "death knell of Afrikaners and for their culture".



## Slovo 'takes seat' in House

ANC general secretary Mr Cyril Ramaphosa and Communist Party chairman Mr Joe Slovo took their seats in Parliament for the first time yesterday — but only in the public gallery.

They attended State President's question time with ANC negotiators Mr Mac Maharaj and Mr Thozamile Botha, and Department of Constitutional Development director of communications Dr Marius Kleynhans. (304A)

Mr Maharaj is one of a five-member task group from the multi-party negotiating forum that is tasked with monitoring the progress through Parliament of legislation drafted by the forum. — Sapa

3041 ~~3041~~ CT-23 9 93





# No meeting this week for negotiating body

(304A)

CT 28/9/93

JOHANNESBURG. — The multi-party negotiating council will not be sitting this week, said chief administrator Dr Theuns Eloff.

He said yesterday this would give parties time to assess the outcome of bilateral talks and the implementation of four bills under discussion in Parliament.

A meeting tomorrow of the Planning Committee would replace the scheduled end of the week council debates.

The Planning Committee would assess the progress of bilateral discussions between various parties and the implementation of the Transitional Executive Council, Independent Elec-

toral Commission, Independent Broadcasting Authority and Independent Media Commission.

The negotiating council was due to begin proceedings again on Tuesday next week.

A source close to the process said the delay should not be seen as negative. "It's a question of giving parties optimal time to come to consensus in 'bilaterals', which can then be brought to the negotiating council."

He said one of the most important bilateral discussions was due to take place on Sunday and Monday between the government and the IFP. — Sapa

## April tipped for top DP post

CT 23/9/93  
Political Staff

FORMER Minister of Welfare in the House of Representatives Mr Chris April is a front-runner for the deputy leadership of the Democratic Party. (30/4/93)

National chairman Mr Ken Andrew, MP for Gardens, is also a contender as preparations begin for the DP's national congress next week, at which it has been proposed a deputy leader be elected.



# Defiant CP MP convinced he took the right action

History will judge favourably — ousted Hoon

ARG 23/9/93

3044

**MICHAEL MORRIS**  
Political Correspondent

**OUSTED** Conservative MP Jan Hoon reclined on a bench in sun-dappled Government Avenue yesterday virtually within shouting distance of the House of Assembly chamber where Speaker Eli Louw had formally suspended him.

Shoppers, tourists and after-lunch strollers passed, oblivious of the MP's part in an emotive political sideshow in the drama of South Africa's transition to democracy.

His refusal on Tuesday night — first to withdraw his bitter remark that Minister of Constitutional Development Roelf Meyer was "a despicable traitor", and then to leave the chamber when ordered to do so — drew the highest censure from chairman Dr Helgard van Rensburg.

The Speaker confirmed the censure yesterday, formally suspending Mr Hoon and barring him from the precincts of parliament for five parliamentary working days.

The Cape leader of the CP appeared faintly ill at ease for having forsaken his green leather bench in the chamber for this hard beggar's bench in the Gardens.

But he remained defiant, convinced he had done the right thing.

"I have no regrets," he said.

Sitting within sight of police on duty at the side gate of parliament, Mr Hoon made no attempt to conceal his vehement opposition to the TEC legislation.

But while his suspension will prevent him from casting a dissenting ballot when the bill is put to the vote tonight or tomorrow morning, Mr Hoon insisted there was more to be done outside parliament than within.



**UNREPENTANT REBEL:** Conservative Party MP Jan Hoon relaxing on a bench in Government Avenue outside Parliament from which he has been barred for five days.

Picture: HANNES THIART, The Argus.

"We can do more outside parliament. We have lots of work ... we will continue with the struggle for our people's freedom. We will work on our organisation and our structures and get them right to continue the struggle," he said.

● After the Speaker's decision on Mr Hoon was announced, CP MPs raised 13 points of order relating to their caucus colleague's suspension and to a meeting of the joint committee on Constitutional Development at which a CP motion that the committee hear evidence on the TEC Bill was defeated.



# FW rejects CP call for poll of Afrikaners

304A  
ARG 23/9/93

TOS WENTZEL  
Political Staff

PRESIDENT De Klerk has rejected a Conservative Party call for a referendum for Afrikaners who want to rule themselves.

Speaking in his question session in parliament yesterday, Mr De Klerk said self-determination for groups in matters such as their cultural and religious traditions was recognised.

Answering questions put to him by Jurgens Prinsloo (CP Roodepoort), Mr De Klerk said a referendum could be considered only if an interim constitution did not guarantee these basic rights.

He said the CP was acting as if Afrikaners were the only group in South Africa.

The future of the Afrikaner could not be based on injustice towards others.

Daniel du Plessis (CP Roodeplaat) accused Mr De Klerk of creating a climate for civil war because the Afrikaner did not want to fall under an anti-Christian regime led by Nelson Mandela and Joe Slovo.

He wanted to know if Afrikaners would be "shot" if they did not agree to this.

Mr De Klerk said the government would not agree to an anti-Christian regime. Nobody would be shot but the laws of the country had to be applied.

The CP was presenting a distorted picture by claiming that it represented the majority of Afrikaners.

"I have more Afrikaners in my caucus than the CP."

"Afrikaners are a politically divided group and some of them are also members of the DP and the ANC."

Members of the CP had always had full political rights but did not want to accept the defeats they had suffered in two elections and two referendums.





**PARLIAMENT VISIT:**  
Jannie Momborg, left,  
who joined the African  
National Congress  
from the Democratic  
Party, takes SA  
Communist Party  
chairman Joe Slovo  
and ANC chief  
negotiator Cyril  
Ramaphosa around  
Parliament.

Picture: ADIL BRADLOW, Reuter.

## CP's protests a 'great victory'

TOS WENTZEL, Political Staff  
CONSERVATIVE Party, leader  
Ferdinand Hartzenberg said today the  
party's disruption of proceedings  
in parliament was meant to put  
the CP's point "clearly and un-  
equivocally". (304A)

By drawing attention to "far-  
reaching and revolutionary legis-  
lation such as the Transitional  
Executive Council Bill" the pro-  
tests had been a "great victory."

The party had also protested  
against "revolutionary steps" in  
local government which had now  
been delayed. ARG 23/9/93

Referring to last night's block-  
ade of Acacia Park, the parlia-  
mentary village near Goodwood,  
apparently by CP MPs, Dr Hart-  
zenberg said some of them may  
have been involved.

## New protest now expected from CP MPs

ARC 23/9/92 (30/11)  
Political Correspondent

CONSERVATIVE Party MPs are expected to be back at their benches today after plans collapsed for a strategic protest against the conclusion of debate yesterday on the crucial Transitional Executive Council Bill.

The furiously contested TEC Bill could be put to the vote today and some form of protest is expected from the CP.

Yesterday the CP tried to force Speaker Eli Louw to order the whole caucus to leave the joint chamber for their collective endorsement of ousted MP Jan Hoon's remark that Minister of Constitutional Development Roelf Meyer was a "despicable traitor".

But the plan went awry when the Speaker first delayed his ruling and then, once the debate on the TEC Bill was over, ordered offending MPs to leave ... and promptly adjourned the sitting.

Instead of creating the procedural hitch they are understood to have intended, they were left, almost dumbfounded, to endure the laughter of opponents throughout the chamber.

The incident followed the Speaker's ruling earlier in the day that Mr Hoon, the CP Cape leader and MP for Kuruman, be suspended for defying an order to leave the chamber for his remark about Mr Meyer in Tuesday's TEC Bill debate.

This had halted debate on the bill — leaving Mr Meyer no choice but to respond yesterday.

In a replay of Tuesday's events he was interrupted just as he began to speak, this time by CP leader Ferdi Hartzenberg.

In a firm voice he told the Speaker that the entire CP caucus endorsed Mr Hoon's remark that Mr Meyer was "a despicable traitor".



# Negotiators prepare to settle the constitution

MULTIPARTY negotiators would get down to the next and most crucial phase of discussions — finalising the constitution — on Tuesday, talks administrator Theuns Eloff announced yesterday.

In the meantime parties would hold more behind-the-scenes discussions.

Government and the Inkatha Freedom Party would meet on Sunday and Monday in their first meeting to follow up the summit last week between President F W de Klerk and Inkatha leader Mangosuthu Buthelezi. *B1 Day 23/9/93*

At that meeting it was decided to form two joint committees to try to resolve the constitutional impasse and to deal with continuing violence.

Government will again try to woo Inkatha back into negotiations at the weekend, although sources say government holds out little hope of this.

Instead it is hoping to get a commitment that if negotiators accept its submissions on regionalism, Inkatha will also accept them and Buthelezi will endorse the draft constitution at a meeting of leaders by the end of October.

Sapa reports it is understood that neither De Klerk nor Buthelezi will attend

BILLY PADDOCK

the weekend talks, but senior KwaZulu negotiator and Inkatha central committee member Ben Ngubane will return from Washington to lead the KwaZulu delegation. *(4B) (304A)*

An Inkatha spokesman said the talks would take place at a venue outside Pretoria.

The spokesman said KwaZulu central committee member and Inkatha hardliner Walter Felgate was also in Washington but would return with Ngubane in time for the meeting.

Government's submissions on regionalism are not yet finalised and will probably be submitted to a negotiations technical committee only next week.

The planning committee at the World Trade Centre will meet early next week to assess the progress of discussions between various parties.

It will also look into the implementation of the transitional executive council, the independent electoral commission, the independent broadcasting authority and the independent media commission.

# Six CP MPs sent out of Parliament

Sowetan 23/9/93  
(304A)

**S**IX CONSERVATIVE PARTY MPs, including party leader Dr Ferdi Hartzenberg and deputy leader Dr Willie Snyman, were asked to leave the Chamber yesterday after each had called Constitutional Development Minister Roelf Meyer "a despicable traitor to Parliament".

But The Speaker Mr Eli Louw suspended proceedings for the day immediately afterwards, leaving the entire CP caucus in their seats while other MPs filed out of the Chamber.

After discussions among themselves and with the sergeant-at-arms,

Mr Johan Loubser, the CP caucus left the Chamber about 10 minutes later.

The other CP MPs who had been ordered out were Mr Pieter Groenewald (Stilfontein), Mr Wynand van Wyk (Witbank), Mr Frank le Roux (Brakpan) and Mr Daan du Plessis (Roodeplaat).

Hartzenberg, who first made the remark at the end of the State President's Question Time, was given an opportunity by the Speaker to withdraw it, but refused to do so.

Both he and Le Roux told the Speaker that the entire CP caucus associated itself with the remark.

However, Louw ordered that only Members who had actually uttered the words should leave the Chamber.

Earlier yesterday, Louw suspended CP MP for Kuruman Mr Jan Hoon for five days after he had also called Meyer "a despicable traitor" during Tuesday night's debate on the Transitional Executive Council Bill.

Hoon had then refused to leave the Chamber after being ordered out by chairman Dr Helgaard van Rensburg.

Yesterday's action by the CP took place immediately after Meyer had replied briefly to the second reading debate on the TEC Bill. — Sapa.



# No documents to hide, says FW

BIDAY 23/9/93

CAPE TOWN — Government was not considering destroying sensitive official documents, nor had such an order been issued, President FW de Klerk said yesterday.

Replying to a question during State President's question time from Jacko Maree (NP Klip River), he said government had nothing to hide.

The matter was sub judice at the moment but he said he wanted to rectify an impression created by a recent ANC statement and other reports. At no stage had government taken any decision to destroy important documentation.

He said an administrative circular had laid down guidelines under which departments could destroy documents they had not generated themselves and that had nothing to do with their functions. This did not hold for the departments that had generated the documents.

Government strongly supported a proper system of archiving documents even if they were not classified as archive material by law.

Government had nothing to hide, and had proved this by making classified documentation available to recent judicial investigations.

It did not have any intention of

concealing any records of what it might have done in the past.

Replying to a question from Christian Leander (LP Daljosaphat) on when he discovered apartheid was wrong and whether he agreed that it was morally wrong and blasphemous, he said the NP and no one else had given apartheid the death blow.

De Klerk said that in its conception, political self-determination had been aimed at freedom for all South Africans. (304A)

Demographic and geographical realities had made it impossible, and this had resulted in discrimination and had a detrimental effect on the humanity of many South Africans.

For this reason the National Party, pursuing the road of inward self-examination, had come to realise it had to change its policy.

"It was a process. It was not a Damascus experience," he said.

At the 1986 federal congress the NP decided it wanted to change its policy because that policy had not succeeded and was resulting in injustices.

He said the NP would never agree to a new dispensation which was unchristian or communist.

Answering a question from Daan du Plessis (CP Roodeplaat) he said the party would not allow Christian values to be sacrificed. — Sapa.

## Talks: IFP not out forever

DURBAN. — The IFP has not permanently withdrawn from multi-party talks, its national spokesman Dr Ziba Jiyane said yesterday. (42) (304)

The IFP was engaged in bilateral talks with both the government and the ANC in a bid to unlock the impasse which had led to their withdrawal from talks, Dr Jiyane said. CT 24/9/93

The IFP had a clear standpoint, that the new constitution should be drawn up before elections, and that South Africa should be a federal state, he said. — Sapa



## Police deny involvement in 'bugging' CP caucus

CT 24/9/93

Political Staff

(22) (304A)

THE police last night rejected "any implication" that it was involved in the bugging of the Conservative Party's caucus room in Parliament.

The CP's chief whip, Mr Frank le Roux, said in a statement that his party had established "beyond all doubt" that its caucus room had been bugged.

He said the CP had decided yesterday to set a trap. They spoke of a protest and then accused the police of using the "information".

There was an increased police presence, but there had been rumours of a protest even before the CP met.

# Yes for new SA

CT24/9/93  
(304A)

By ANTHONY JOHNSON  
Political Correspondent

**PARLIAMENT** yesterday paved the way for the end of centuries of white rule by backing the formation of a multi-party executive to help run the country until South Africa's first non-racial poll in April.

The passing of the Transitional Executive Council (TEC) Bill meets the Commonwealth's condition for the lifting of trade and investment sanctions, and Canada and the Commonwealth have indicated they will lift sanctions against South Africa today.

The historic vote — by 211 to 36 — should see the establishment by late November of the TEC — charged with levelling the political playing fields in the run-up to the election.

The decisive break with the past — supported by all parties except the Conservative Party and Inkatha — clears the way for ANC leader Mr Nelson Mandela to call for the lifting of remaining sanctions, except the arms embargo, at the United Nations today.

The move also places pressure on negotiators at the World Trade Centre to finalise the interim constitution by the target date, set for the end of next month.

CP leader Dr Ferdi Hartzenberg said the government had finally abdicated in favour of a communist takeover of power — a step which could

## Massive majority passes TEC bill

spark an Afrikaner UDI and civil war. The CP would mobilise opposition to the TEC in a bid to block its implementation and would hold separate elections with a view to establishing alternative government structures.

But the government's chief negotiator Mr Roelf Meyer — who admitted that he felt "relief" at finally piloting the measure through Parliament in the face of fierce right-wing resistance — was confident that ongoing talks with the Afrikaner Volksfront and Inkatha would avert a civil war.

He said the passage of the bill represented "an irreversible moment" on South Africa's road to a genuine democracy and should serve as a trig-

ger for the lifting of remaining sanctions.

Mr Meyer acknowledged that the passage of the legislation marked an end of a long era in South African politics: "The net effect is that decisions cannot be taken any longer without consultations with other parties in specific areas," he said.

In a day of high drama and tension in Parliament, the expected mass protest action by the CP was restricted to a walkout by the party after it resoundingly lost the vote.

As reinforcements from the police's internal stability unit surrounded the precincts of Parliament to repulse an expected AWB protest which did not materialise, the CP failed to produce the expected fireworks inside.

After losing the vote, Dr Hartzenberg announced that his party would withdraw from Parliament for the rest of the session — it ends today — but said later that the CP would return when Parliament debated the interim constitution in November.

He said his party at this stage had "not planned any violent action", but added: "We have the right to fight for our freedom — and we reserve that right."

However, Mr Meyer said the parties still participating in negotiations were determined to produce an interim constitution which would satisfy parties like the CP and Inkatha which were currently boycotting the process.

He emphasized that the TEC would not be implemented until a "total package", which includes the final contents of the interim constitution, had been negotiated.



TRANSITIONAL EXECUTIVE COUNCIL

Fm 24/9/93

# Symbolic crossing of the Rubicon

(304A)

The passage through parliament this week of the Transitional Executive Council (TEC) Bill had far more to do with symbolism than substance.

Details of the historic measure were agreed by negotiators at the World Trade Centre nearly three weeks ago and simply sent to the legislature for formal approval. No amendments were possible without the consent of the negotiators and the chances of the Bill being voted down were minimal.

Nevertheless, the measure was, as described by Democratic Party negotiator and MP Colin Eglin, "the most significant piece of legislation to be put to parliament in the 83 years of its existence." While Eglin's view was implicitly backed by spokesmen of all other major parties in parliament, not all supported the Bill.

Conservative Party leader Ferdi Hartzenberg led a bitter fight against the measure, which he said amounted to a declaration of war. He said its approval was the real crossing of the Rubicon by the Nationalists.

Government chief negotiator Roelf Meyer and ANC-aligned MP David Dalling also regarded the Bill as the point of no return.

"The TEC will provide visible proof that the process of constitutional reform has become irreversible," said Meyer, while Dalling said the Bill "marks clearly the crossing of a point of no return."

Inkatha's Jurie Mentz said he could not support a measure that had been agreed after his party had been "driven out" of the negotiations at Kempton Park. He said Inkatha's views on the TEC would be spelt out this weekend at Shaka Day celebrations and by the party's central committee, which is due to meet on October 2.

In a related move in Johannesburg this week, the Pan Africanist Congress announced it would not participate in the TEC or in elections if they were aimed at establishing an interim government.

In essence, the Bill provides for the leveling of the political playing fields in the pre-election phase. This includes processes to help develop a democratic culture and reduce violence. More important, it removes absolute political power from white hands for the first time since 1910 and gives all participating parties and organisations joint responsibility for decision-making.

However, it does not constitute a *de jure* interim government, though in practice it is

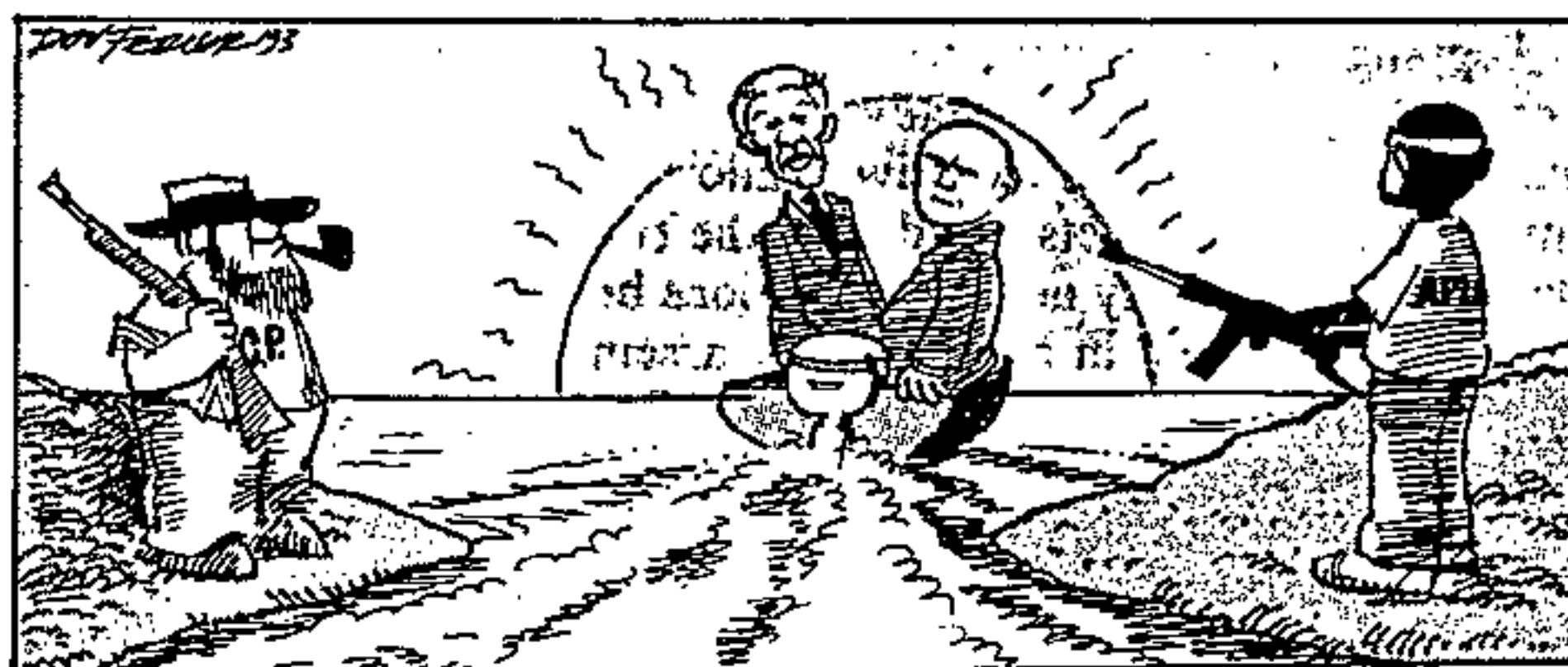
unlikely any major decision will be taken by the existing Cabinet without TEC approval.

Eglin, a key architect of the legislation, believes it will contribute significantly to reducing the threat of instability during the "danger-laden months" of election campaigning and the transition to a new constitutional order. He says the Bill is part of a fundamental and "very real" process unfolding in SA. "It is not window dressing. It is not a game played with mirrors in the corridors of power. It is a process that involves the very real transfer of political power from a privileged racial minority to the people of SA as a whole."

These implications were not lost on the CP, whose members argued bitterly against the measure, warning repeatedly that it meant a handover of power to the ANC/SACP/Cosatu alliance.

In rejecting CP claims, National Party chief negotiator and Minister of Public Enterprises Dawie de Villiers said the TEC was a compromise won by government in the face of initial demands for an interim administration to take power during the transition.

"The TEC does not constitute a government next to the existing government. The current government remains the legitimate and sovereign one of the country until such



time as an election takes place and a new government takes over."

However, according to De Villiers, the Bill meant government was willing to place limited restrictions on its power during the pre-election period to ensure a free and fair process. "Government accepts the reality that there are areas in which decisions should only be taken after appropriate consultation with the interested parties on the basis of co-responsibility."

INKATHA Fm 24/9/93

## Weighing the options

There's no telling how far Inkatha president Mangosuthu Buthelezi will go in pursuit of his goals. But he risks losing a great deal if

his tough attitude backfires.

Possibly the biggest risk is that Pretoria could, ultimately, simply cancel KwaZulu's self-governing status if the party remains intransigent. It's hard to believe that Buthelezi would then consider the military option (against the might of the SADF), though some of his lieutenants have warned that a civil war could be unleashed in the event of the April 27 general election going ahead. Mass action is another option that has been raised by Inkatha, which potentially could undermine an election being held in Natal if not elsewhere.

Reincorporating KwaZulu into SA would, observes Natal University political scientist Ian Phillips, be much simpler than in the case of the independent TBVC homelands because of bilateral treaties which established the latter.

Centre for African Studies director Eugene Nyati maintains that KwaZulu and all the homelands should already have been reincorporated. "President FW de Klerk hasn't lifted a finger against Inkatha, but that's not because he can't; it's because he simply doesn't have the political will. In fact, some people believe he has over-indulged Buthelezi and given Inkatha the courage to continue pushing its luck."

Another reason for government's inaction, says Nyati, is that there is division in the Cabinet over where the Nats' best interests lie. "There are still some Cabinet members who believe a grand alliance between the Nats, Inkatha and the homeland leaders could factor the ANC out of power."

However, the political implications of reincorporation would be harder to handle than the legal niceties, even if reincorporation is the last resort against Buthelezi.

For all that, reincorporation would appear to be a risk that Buthelezi doesn't want to take. For this reason it would seem likely that his movement will participate in the Transitional Executive Council (TEC), though Inkatha MPs gave mixed signals on this question on the first day of parliament's debate on the TEC.

Phillips believes one option Buthelezi might pursue would be to allow the KwaZulu government to return to the multiparty talks, but to keep Inkatha out. "In that way he will have a foot in the TEC while, as Inkatha leader, still be able to keep what he thinks is the moral high ground."

Another route, suggests Theo Venter of Potchefstroom's Institute for Future Studies, could be for Inkatha's interests to be conveyed to the TEC via bilateral meetings between the party and government.

The other big puzzle is whether Buthelezi will lead his party into the April 27 election.

P.T.O-7



Fm 24/9/93

DEMOCRATIC PARTY

# Don't rock Zach's boat

(304A)

**For its size,** the DP has more than enough leadership crises. With the first nonracial election less than seven months away, its latest is cause for serious concern among all those who regard neither the ANC nor the Nationalists as reliable guardians of the democratic values, equitable aspirations and free market principles essential to our wellbeing.

The DP is a pillar of moral rectitude, if nothing else. That is its inherent political strength. It is tainted neither by apartheid nor corruption, indiscriminate violence nor economic folly. It is a party of conscience and strong moral leadership that deserves to win sufficient support to become a watchdog and bulwark against excess in the new SA.

There are many who — while not taking credit away from what F W de Klerk has achieved in his four years as State President — will never be totally convinced of the NP's wholehearted conversion to (or even proper understanding of) the principles of liberalism and free markets that it spent over 40 years opposing; while, on the other hand, even if it may have abandoned the worst excesses of Marxism, the ANC shows repeatedly that it is still intrinsically authoritarian, intolerant of views that do not conform to its own.

Both essentially place the State above the individual. That is why, despite their superficial differences, their negotiators get on so well. The liberal values, based on the primacy of individual freedom and a minimal role for the State as protector rather than dictator, will come even more under threat than in the old SA, as the new SA struggles to meet the legitimate but unfulfillable expectations of the majority.

The Nats are trying to present themselves as the new Progs. Even ANC leaders use liberal values to woo white voters. But even though the dominant parties may have the best of motives, political strength and the chance of taking office can be beguiling. The temptation to place political expediency before principle is far less likely in a party that knows that it will never command a majority.

During the apartheid years the DP and its predecessors played that role admirably and made valuable contributions towards ending a wasteful and an evil system of social exploitation and racial greed. Its new leadership wrangle could jeopardise just such a vital position in the future.

The DP's ambition to win 15% of the vote next year seems increasingly unre-

alistic in spite of evidence that it is winning strong backing in some black, coloured and Indian communities. As the massive forces of its larger opponents mobilise for an unprecedented election campaign, there is a real danger that it will simply be swamped. Critical to avoiding that is strong and perceptive leadership.

Will the DP measure up? Zach de Beer was first intended to be a stop-gap leader. He had already given much of his life to public service when he re-entered politics to pull the Progs through their crisis in 1988. He is a man of substantial talent and commands respect throughout SA and the world. But some members of his own caucus believe he lacks enthusiasm and bold initiative and that the party has become too reactive under his leadership.

Even were De Beer to go — which is not his intention — a suitable successor will be difficult to find. The party is packed with talented individuals, but inspirational leadership requires charisma and judgment. Other candidates with that in abundance are not easily discernible.

Some of the DP caucus believe new southern Transvaal leader Tony Leon is capable of such leadership. While not always popular among caucus members, his forthright style defines a clear stand and supporters say it could provide a more decisive direction.

Leon says he will not challenge for leadership at the DP's national congress in Cape Town on October 2. He is wise not to. Not because he lacks potential or ability; he has both. But the party has had more than enough leaders with derring-do and not much substance, especially political judgment.

Nevertheless, he still has the potential to become the champion, alongside De Beer, of all those who cannot bring themselves to support either the ANC or the NP. Congress delegates should seriously consider giving him such a role. Politics in the months ahead will be tough and fast. For a minority party whose policies have been hijacked by its main rival, judgment and timing, as well as political and organisational dexterity, could be decisive in its survival, let alone enabling it to fulfil the role we have outlined.

De Beer has those qualities. They are far more important than media flash and, in any event, changing leaders in what will soon be midstream could be disastrous. ■





□ TEC measure is hailed with promise of extra help for Goldstone and peace accord

# US pledge to boost SA election process

PETER FABRICIUS  
The Argus Foreign Service

WASHINGTON. — President Clinton has welcomed legislation to establish the Transitional Executive Council in South Africa and has promised "new avenues of assistance" to help level the playing field for all parties in the coming election.

In a statement issued by White House press secretary Dee Dee Myers, Mr Clinton also said the administration would consider new efforts to mitigate violence in South Africa. This would be in the form of extra assistance to the Goldstone Commission and the National Peace Accord.

The administration would boost its help for the election

process through programmes of voter education and training for political parties.

The TEC legislation would also ease the launching of new initiatives to help restore economic growth to the country "and overcome the cruel legacy of apartheid".

The statement added: "Working with congress, we plan soon to move ahead on measures to

engage the resources of the American private sector and the international financial and donor community to assist South Africa."

It hailed the TEC legislation as an historic step and said that for the first time in its history, South Africa would create a non-racial body to oversee key government functions.

The White House statement came as President De Klerk

arrived at the United Nations in New York for a meeting with Secretary-General Boutros-Ghali.

Government spokesman Dave Steward said Mr De Klerk and Mr Boutros-Ghali would discuss normalisation of South Africa-United Nations relations and the lifting of remaining sanctions.

This is expected to be triggered by an announcement from African National Congress leader Nelson Mandela to the UN Special Committee Against Apartheid in the General Assembly chamber today.

South African officials believe the General Assembly will meet next Friday to pass a resolution to lift sanctions in accordance with the announcement Mr Mandela makes today.

(South) ARG 24/9/93

# TEC Bill:

## SA reaps

## benefits

WASHINGTON — South Africa started to reap the first international economic and political benefits within hours of the approval of the Transitional Executive Council Bill.

In Boston, Governor William Weld of Massachusetts — traditionally one of the most liberal states in the United States — signed a legal measure to lift economic sanctions against South Africa.

Effectively, it means that major American corporations will no longer be denied contracts with the state of Massachusetts because of trade or investment ties with South Africa.

Other states and local authorities are expected to follow the Boston lead, but it will take more time in most cases because their sanctions will have to be rescinded by majority votes in state and city assemblies and not, as in Boston, by executive action.

Governor Weld was as good as his word. He had promised the South African embassy in Washington he would lift sanctions imposed by former Governor Michael Dukakis as soon as the green light came from South Africa. — Sapa-Reuter.

● See page 3.



# In pursuit of diplomacy

Ferial Haffajee

WM 24-30/1/93

IT'S going to be a real test of diplomatic skills: aspirant diplomats from the African National Congress and Inkatha Freedom Party thrown together for a 10-week course in Europe.

Tomorrow 25 aspirant diplomats drawn from the ANC, the IFP, non-political organisations and universities will jet off to England and Europe where they will be trained in protocol, statesmanship and discretion. Most of the group are ANC members, while two or three are IFP members.

Their trip is being sponsored by the European Community and the British government and is being co-ordinated by the British Council in South Africa.

Their training will last 10 weeks, with eight weeks' study at Birmingham University's Department of Political Science and International Studies. They will spend the rest of the time in Belgium, Germany and France and will visit the North Atlantic Treaty Organisation, the Council of Europe and the European Community in Brussels.

According to the British Council, the course aims to "introduce the group to the practical skills required for the successful pursuit of diplomacy and brief them on major issues of contemporary international affairs".

Course members were nominated by their organisations, while the British Council did the final selection.

During the final selection, the diplomats-in-waiting traded ideas with representatives of the IFP, the Department of Foreign Affairs and various other international relations institutions.

## ANC man stabbed

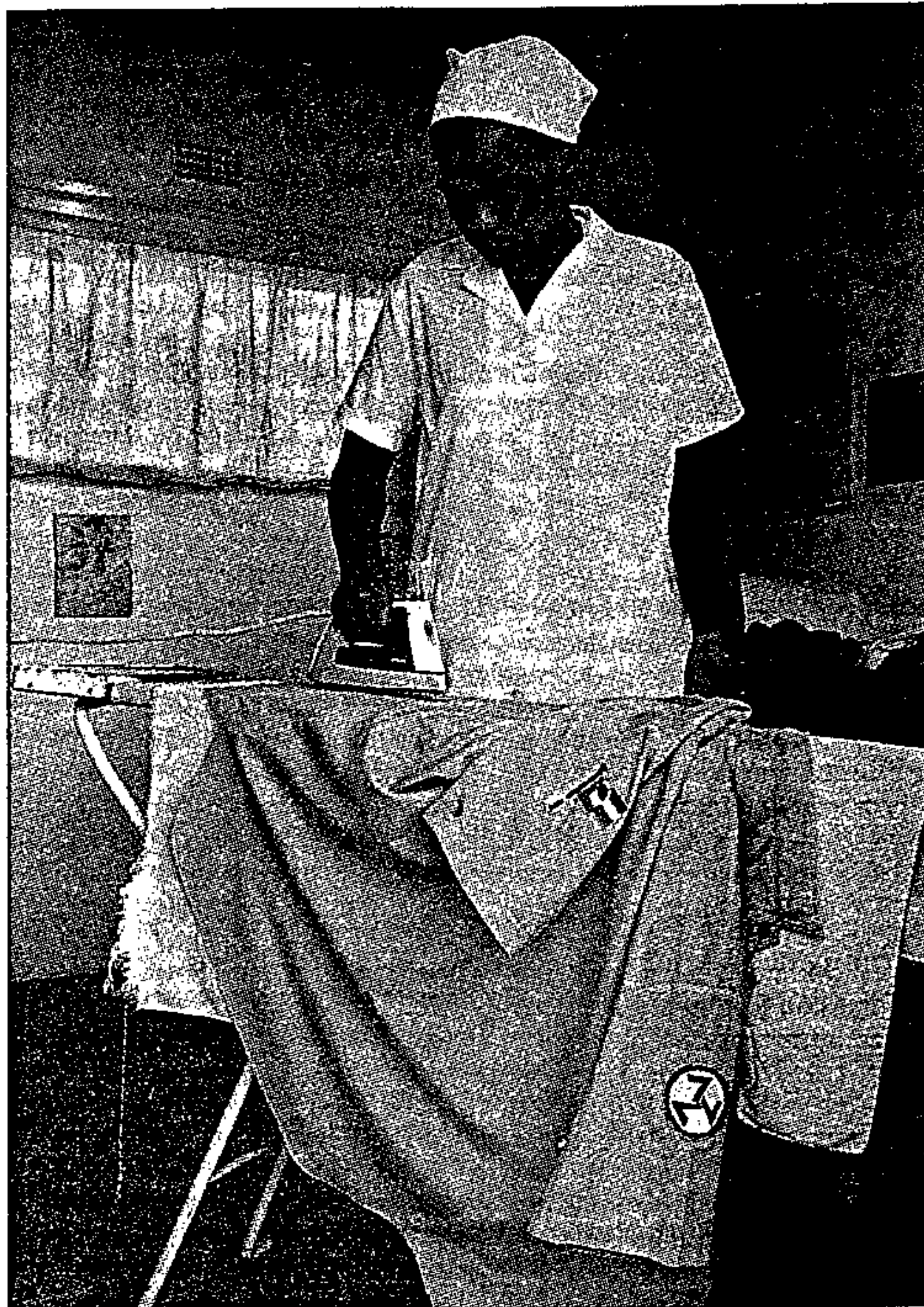
A NEWLY-ELECTED African National Congress local executive committee member has been murdered outside his home in Komga. WM 24-30/1/93

Liaison officer Lieutenant-Colonel Christo Louw said Mbulelo Archie Mbelekane was stabbed and stoned to death at about 4am on Sunday after answering a knock on his door.

Mbelekane was a member of the financial executive committee of the Komga ANC branch.

The Border police are also investigating an apparently motiveless killing on Saturday night near Kidd's Beach outside East London. Ncedise Snyman (26) and a 24-year-old companion were walking on the Kiwane-King William's Town road at about 9.30pm when they were attacked by three men. — Ecna





Land of contradictions ... A scene from a Welkom household, captured by Ad van Denderen and published in his book, *Welkom in Suid-Afrika*

## Skotaville not 'acquired'

Iden Wetherell

SKOTAVILLE Publishers has denied a report in the *Mail & Guardian* last week that Macmillan Boleswa and Thebe Investment Corporation are preparing to acquire the small Johannesburg publishing house. Managing director Mothobi Mutloatse described the report as "tendentious, misleading and blatantly false". But he did not deny that Skotaville is exploring a partnership deal with Macmillan and Thebe in the field of educational publishing.

Mutloatse said that as a Sec-

tion 21 company (not for gain), Skotaville did not have shareholders. It could not be taken over.

He would not deny, however, that a three-way partnership was under discussion. Publishing industry sources confirmed this week that talks had reached an advanced stage and Mutloatse promised "clarification would be forthcoming" soon.

Thebe has also denied a claim made in the same report that it has purchased Mathibe Printers. Thebe printing adviser Kwezi Kadalle refused to say what role, if any, Thebe would be playing in the printing field.

## Sharp words after Mail exposé

WM 24-30/9/93

By Chris Louw

THE Democratic Party caucus meeting on Tuesday degenerated into a "bruising showdown" following a *Mail & Guardian* report last week revealing an aborted challenge to Zach de Beer's leadership.

According to sources, sharp words were exchanged, with Lester Fuchs and Tony Leon in the firing line.

Fuchs recently took the lead in a bid to oust De Beer (64) in favour of Leon, the party's newly elected southern Transvaal leader. A group of junior MPs supported the attempt to install Leon as party leader.

The disclosure of the attempt to get rid of De Beer was described as "highly damaging" to the party in the run-up to the country's first democratic elections.

Fuchs, a backbencher who was only elected to parliament in 1989, earlier went to see De Beer and told him that he should stand down. The DP leader's "lacklustre" performance — due to medication for high blood pressure — was given as a reason.

Leon has since announced that he would not make himself available for the leadership position. In an obvious attempt to contain the damage, he announced in a speech in parliament on Monday that he would personally propose De Beer for another term as leader at the party's national congress next week.

However, the delegates will reportedly be asked to amend the party's constitution to allow for a deputy leader. This follows reports that some DP MPs, including Ken Andrew, Chris April and Errol Moorcroft, felt the DP leadership should be strengthened.

Serious doubts about De Beer's ability to provide strong direction were raised after the party leader fell asleep during a vital caucus meeting at the end of the last parliamentary session.

See page 17 for Tony Leon's response to last week's report



# All sound and fury on the right

Broedertuis erupted during the acrimonious debate on the Transitional Executive Council Bill in parliament. **Chris Louw** reports on the Conservative Party's battle on home turf

**T**HE first time Conservative Party leader Ferdinand Hartzenberg attended the negotiations in Kempton Park earlier this year, he looked somewhat lost. CP members, dwarfed by black, Indian and coloured representatives, huddled together and hardly opened their mouths.

This week Hartzenberg was on his home turf in parliament, where his party is still the official opposition. A changed man, he threatened war, accused Constitutional Development Minister Roelf Meyer of being a "despicable traitor", and promised alternative structures to government. The heated debates in the special session of

parliament have borne little resemblance to the courteous atmosphere at the World Trade Centre. Although all contributed to the debates on the draft legislation on the transition to democracy, it was in essence an Afrikaner *broedertuis*. Among the mainly white MPs, blustering CP members looked decidedly more threatening than at Kempton Park.

The *broedertuis* was most clearly illustrated when Kobus Beyers, CP MP for Virginia, accused his brother, Andries Beyers, former leader of the Afrikaner Volksunie and now an independent, of being a "hensopper (lackey)".

In a fiery speech Kobus said his brother, hardly a liberal, had betrayed the legacy of their grandfather, Boer general Christiaan Beyers.

The fury of the right culminated in one MP after the other accusing Meyer of being a "veragtelike verrader (despicable traitor)", and then refusing to withdraw their remarks despite warnings by the Speaker.

After barring CP Cape leader Jan Hoon from parliament for five days on Tuesday, Speaker Eli

Louw allowed the debates to continue on Wednesday when the same remarks were made, only ordering CP members to leave at the end of the day. This thwarted the CP's bid to delay the debates through disruption which, in the dignified precincts of parliament, almost resembled the rights invasion of the World Trade Centre.

It was the Transitional Executive Council Bill that aroused the CPs ire. Ironically, they lined up with the African National Congress, whose view of the TEC, said Hartzenberg, was more correct than that of the government.

"The truth is you cannot continue to govern without the approval of the Transitional Council,"

Describing the acceptance of the TEC as a "revolution", Hartzenberg said powers were taken away from a legally elected parliament and placed in the hands of an unelected body. The president had abdicated his right to legislate.

"If you implement this law, you are declaring war against all peace-loving people who want to be free." At the end of his speech the "organgs

raad (transitional council)" had become "oor-gaweraad (surrendering council)". This was echoed by Schalk Pienaar (Pofgetersrus), who claimed President F.W. de Klerk and his cabinet "have been co-opted by the revolution".

Hartzenberg and Pienaar found unexpected support from some Labour Party members, who insisted the TEC had "real teeth". NP parliamentarians, said C.J.G. Leander, Labour MP for Daljosephat, were deliberately kept in the dark about what was happening at Kempton Park.

Meyer and fellow negotiator Dawie de Villiers were in the odd position of playing down the TEC's powers, after having to convince their partners in Kempton Park of the contrary.

"The TEC," Meyer emphasised, "was never intended to be a fully fledged transitional executive authority." It and its subcommittees were limited to acting within the scope of the Bill.

It was left to the Democratic Party's Colin Eglin to provide a concise assessment of the Bill, describing it as "the most significant ... to be put to parliament in the 83 years of its existence".

DEMOCRATIC PARTY  
Fm 24/9/93  
**Strains at the helm**

The DP moved quickly this week to paper over serious cracks caused by a growing dispute over who should lead the party into the coming election campaign.

Yeoville MP and newly elected southern Transvaal leader Tony Leon — who has been punted by his supporters as a successor to Zach de Beer — told parliament that he is not a contender and plans to propose De Beer as leader at the DP's national congress in Cape Town next month. (304A)

He said he believes De Beer is best qualified to "lead the charge" for the principles for which the DP stands.

"It is those fundamental principles which bind and unite and which will lead us into the elections next April. I am quite prepared to

**CURRENT AFFAIRS**

Fm 24/9/93

serve and follow and give whatever help I can to the person and persons who can best articulate and advance those principles. This is to me an unanswerable challenge," he declared.

But the divisions are still clearly visible, with MPs taking firm stands for or against De Beer. (304A)

Opponents of his continued leadership, spearheaded by Hillbrow MP and Leon confidant Lester Fuchs, believe the party is losing direction and risks being wiped out in next year's election.

The pro-De Beer lobby, which includes old-style Progs such as Colin Eglin and Peter Soal, believe De Beer is the only man capable of appealing to a sufficiently wide cross-section of voters to ensure a relatively strong DP showing in the election.

A third group wants a compromise in which the leadership is strengthened, possibly by the inclusion of Leon and other regional leaders in higher-profile positions.

It is clear that some of the support for De Beer is based partly on dislike of Leon. Leon's backers, on the other hand, believe he is the only man capable of giving the DP the sort of profile it needs to draw significant support.

Part of the problem is that, while the DP appears to be making significant progress in winning support in some black, coloured and Indian areas — particularly in the western Cape — it is still generally perceived as having served its purpose now that apartheid is about to end. There is growing concern among MPs that the party is incapable of innovation and tends to spend most of its energy and resources reacting to initiatives of its opponents.

There is also concern that, if De Beer stands down before the election, the party could split on the leadership issue.

Though the national congress on October 2 is expected to re-focus attention on the election campaign and provide the party with new direction, there is a feeling that a significantly strengthened leadership group is essential for electoral success. ■



# News

## in brief

### 20 taxis blockade CBD

POLICE and traffic authorities removed more than 20 taxis which were blockading the central business district in the northern Orange Free State town of Kroonstad yesterday afternoon. *Sowetan 24/9/93*

SAP spokesman Colonel Andre van Deventer said no violence had been reported and negotiations were still taking place between police and the black taxi drivers, who were apparently protesting against the petrol price increase. *24/9/93*

Local African National Congress chairman Dennis Bloem said about 60 drivers had been arrested and the atmosphere was tense. *(322)*  
But Van Deventer said nobody had been arrested.

### CP MPs stage walkout

THE Conservative Party walked out of Parliament immediately after the 211-36 vote in favour of the Transitional Executive Council Bill yesterday afternoon. *Sowetan 24/9/93*

Just after the Speaker, Mr Eli Louw, had announced the result, CP leader Dr Ferdi Hartzenberg stood up to address him.

He said that with the acceptance of the Bill, the Government had finally put its foot on the path of abdication. *(304A)*

He requested that the CP be excused from the rest of the session's proceedings.

The Speaker said such action was entirely in Dr Hartzenberg's hands. CP MPs then walked out.

# ANC and rightwing make their peace

ARG 24/9/93  
(304A)

□ 'We share desire to work for reconciliation'

The Argus Correspondent

JOHANNESBURG. — In a move hailed as a boost for peace and stability, South Africa's two fiercest political opponents, the African National Congress and the Afrikaner Volksfront (AVF), have committed themselves to arresting the slide into civil war.

After a series of meetings over the past few weeks, the ANC and Constand Viljoen's AVF said in a joint statement today that lack of communication between them had contributed to "the process of serious polarisation".

They now shared "an overriding desire" to work for rec-

onciliation between their two organisations.

In the statement, General Viljoen and ANC chairman Thabo Mbeki said their discussions would be intensified "as a matter of urgency".

"All participants were sincere in their desire to prevent further polarisation and possible war, which would not be in the interest of anyone or the country as a whole."

The two leaders said their discussions followed statements by ANC president Nelson Mandela and General Viljoen that there was an obligation on all political leaders "to act in a responsible way by exhausting all means of peaceful engagement in the

present political process as a matter of urgency to prevent the proliferation of violence and anarchy".

They said the talks had so far promoted better understanding and the building of greater trust and confidence on both sides.

The two organisations had discussed issues relating to the political situation and the AVF's desire to have an area demarcated as a "volkstaat".

The two men said serious differences of opinion remained but there were also "elements of commonality", such as the shared sense of urgency on the importance of creating positive economic growth by ensuring that peace was restored.



is Bills • Threat to bring country to a standstill

# History made as Bills go through

Sowetan 24/9/93

By Ismail Lagardien  
Political Correspondent

■ **DECISION-MAKING** Bills aimed at

preparing SA for next year's elections:

**P**ARLIAMENT YESTERDAY PASSED three Bills that will give blacks access to central decision-making process for the first time in the country's history. (304A)

The three Bills, the result of high-level negotiations involving the leadership of the black liberation movement and which provide for the establishment of a Transitional Executive Council, an Independent Electoral Commission and an Independent Media Commission were passed by an overwhelming majority.

Despite dramatic last-minute protests by the Conservative Party and selective objections from Inkatha Freedom Party MPs, the Bills now await the signature of the State President before becoming law.

The last of a quartet of Bills which the Negotiating Council agreed to, that for the creation of an Independent Broadcast Authority, came before Parliament last night and is expected to be passed today.

The four Bills are aimed at preparing the country for elections and ensuring free and fair access to the media as well as certain areas of Government that would influence the April 27 election.

However, none of the four Bills will be implemented before agreement has been reached in the Negotiating Council on an interim constitution. This remains a crucial issue because of the demands of the IFP.

The IFP is opposed to the two-phased transition, which starts with the election and runs through the period of the writing of a new (final) constitution and ends in the period of interim government of national unity.

The Government will try, during bilateral negotiations, to convince the IFP that it would be in its interest to return to the talks. It will at the same time negotiate for the IFP, as it were, in the Negotiating Council.

Minister of Constitutional Develop-

ment Mr Roelf Meyer yesterday gave an insight into the positions the Government would push in negotiations on behalf of the IFP.

"We are now looking ahead to the completion of the negotiating process that seeks the conclusion of agreements preparing for the transition and providing for the transition itself.

Negotiations would now focus on the contents of the interim constitution. The coming weeks would be crucial and demand that the Negotiating Council reaches agreements with which to appease the IFP, the KwaZulu government and the Afrikaner Volksfront.

# Too close for ministers' comfort

Chris Louw 24-30 9.13

**F**RUSTRATION over their fellow-negotiators' closeness to the African National Congress was the reason two cabinet ministers announced their withdrawal from national politics.

Local Planning Minister Tertius Delpont and Law and Order Minister Hernus Kriel are known to lead a conservative faction in President FW de Klerk's cabinet. More similar announcements can be expected.

The two ministers have, for a long time, resisted the close relationship that has developed between Constitutional Development Minister Roelf Meyer, Manpower Minister Leon Wessels and Public Enterprises Minister Dawie de Villiers and the ANC's Cyril Ramaphosa.

Last week Kriel and Delpont confirmed they would not be available to serve in a government of national unity after the elections set for April next year. Instead, they will stand for the regional governments that will be formed — Delpont in the Eastern Cape and Kriel in the Western Cape.

Kriel's announcement follows a series of attacks on the ANC. At the NP Transvaal congress in Kempton Park two weeks ago he released a statement in which he said he was "proud" to be anti-ANC.

It is believed that Kriel will — assuming that the NP will win the regional elections — make himself available as prime minister for the Western Cape region.

The present Cape leader of the NP, De Villiers, will serve in a cabinet of national unity, which will consist of representatives from all the major parties proportionally to their numbers in the national assembly.

Delpont is widely blamed for the collapse of Codesa II — an accusation he denies, claiming instead that Ramaphosa should shoulder the blame. Delpont acted as chief negotiator for the government when Codesa II came to a halt on the issue of the majorities needed to accept a new constitution.

Remarkable progress has been made since Meyer took over the role as chief negotiator. Since the end of Codesa, Delpont has been involved in the Local Government Negotiating Forum. He is seen by many to be responsible for the "mess" that followed when agreements were rejected by white town councils.

Delpont is reported to oppose the "cosy" negotiating strategy of Meyer, preferring a tougher line. At one stage last year the two were not on speaking terms.

In a recent interview Delpont said Meyer's problems over the majorities necessary to change the constitution had made him "smile".



# 'A triumph for negotiations'

South

24/9 — 28/9/92

**H**ISTORY was made last week when three Bills negotiated by all major South African political parties were debated in parliament, the minister of Home Affairs, Mr Danie Schutte, said.

"The first two Bills resulting from the negotiation process were passed by the standing committee on Home Affairs. It is a triumph not only for South Africa but also for the negotiation process," he said.

Schutte said he hoped the Independent Broadcasting Authority Bill would be passed by the standing committee early this week.

He said some amendments were made — including ones suggested by the planning committee — but they were of a technical nature. "I introduced all three Bills to the

standing committee and advised them that they had been negotiated over six months and we were committed to them as they stand."

He had discussions with the Conservative Party and invited members to make suggestions to the Independent Election Commission. Bill particularly, so that it could have the party's support.

"I have been informed that they have made no suggestions at the standing committee and have indicated that they will be opposing the Bill."

"I find it sad because essentially the Bill is there to ensure that the election is held by an Independent Electoral Commission."

Parliament was not a rubber stamp and if further amendments could be made to accommodate parties like the Conservative Party,

they could go back to the negotiation process, Schutte said.

The independent Electoral Commission Bill was debated last Thursday during a joint meeting of all three Houses of parliament.

The debate was followed by the Independent Media Commission Bill. (20/4/92)

The Bills — if passed by parliament — will not be implemented until agreement is reached on the constitution at the multiparty negotiations.

"It all depends on the constitution when they come into operation. As soon as agreement is reached on the constitution, the TEC can be established and that could be before the end of October — and the TEC is the body constituting the Bills."

Schutte stressed there was an

urgency for voter education, which is dealt with in the IEC Bill, to start as soon as possible.

But Bills forming the package could only be implemented at an earlier date with full consensus of the multiparty negotiation council.

Mr Piet Colyn, director-general of the Department of Home Affairs, said the Department was as well prepared for the coming election as it was for any other election.

Much planning had already been done and additional equipment acquired.

"But it will depend on whether the IEC finds this planning acceptable to them," he said.

He said the election could still be held in April "if the IEC has a few months to complete its planning".

— SAPA

Only CP, Inkatha oppose TEC

# Bill clears the way for lifting of sanctions

B1 Day 24/9/93

304A

TIM COHEN

CAPE TOWN — Parliament yesterday passed three of the four Bills negotiated at the World Trade Centre, setting the stage for SA's first multi-racial government.

The Transitional Executive Council Bill was passed by 211 votes to 36, clearing the way for ANC president Nelson Mandela to call for the lifting of sanctions when he addresses the UN today.

The Commonwealth and Canada said last night they would issue statements today on the lifting of sanctions.

Only the CP and Inkatha opposed the Bill, which sets up measures to prepare for elections and allows negotiators to concentrate on crucial constitutional discussions.

The other two Bills passed were the Independent Electoral Commission Bill and the Independent Media Commission Bill, which were supported by Inkatha.

The CP registered its disgust by indicating that it would not take part in proceedings for the rest of the session and walking out. The session is due to end today.

CP leader Ferdi Hartzenberg said the CP would remain peaceful as long as possible, but it reserved the right to take up arms in its defence. The CP later claimed that its offices were bugged. It had faked plans to hold a protest outside Parliament and soon afterwards police vehicles were called in to reinforce security.

Hartzenberg said elections would be held among Afrikaners and a separate government established, but he did not specify when this would happen.

Constitutional Development Minister Roelf Meyer said he felt relieved the legislation had been passed and proud that the

negotiations process had succeeded in producing it. Government had felt for some time that remaining sanctions should be lifted. But if governments were looking for a significant moment which indicated the irreversibility of the process, this was it.

The Bills would not come into effect immediately. The structures would be set up after a negotiations forum plenary session endorsed an interim constitution.

Meyer said he was convinced that the CP would not return to talks, but their participation might become irrelevant if negotiations resulted in an agreement on a constitution acceptable to the party.

It was impossible to ignore threats of violence, but Meyer said he believed CP supporters could be convinced that the negotiations process was not likely to jeopardise Afrikaners' cultural identity.

DP MP Colin Eglin said the Bill reflected the reality that all South Africans shared a common destiny and future. "The time for trekking is over. The time for nation building has commenced."

The ANC said the Bill's approval was "a major victory for the forces of peace and democracy at the negotiations forum and a severe defeat for the spoilers".

"The approval of the Bill will effectively ensure that the NP government no longer acts as both player and referee in the process of transition to democracy."

The Afrikaner Volksfront said it was concerned about the security implications of the TEC and predicted further violence which could "easily lead to the start of full-scale civil war".



# Talks 'a must' even if war

STELLENBOSCH. — Even if there was a civil war now, South Africans would still have to sit down and negotiate at the end of it, acting State President and Cape leader of the National Party, Dr Dawie de Villiers, said yesterday.

Opening the Cape NP Youth Congress here, he asked where the people who talked of civil

war and of polishing their guns thought they were taking the country and its people.

"Because when the conflict is over and the flames have died down, we will sit again around the table — and this time there will be very little to share."

The NP had lost the will to govern, Minister of Sport Mr Abe Williams said at the congress. At the moment it was "brown Nats"

who were standing up for the party.

Several delegates were outspoken in their criticism of the government.

Delegate Mr Paul Stemmet that what made it difficult for youth workers to sell the NP on the ground was "the way things are done" by the government. — Sapa

# Secret

# 'deal'

304A  
CT 25/9/93

## 'Compromise on volkstaat'

### A SEMI-AUTONOMOUS "volkstaat" could be in the pipeline for the Afrikaner Volksfront (AVF).

In Christian Science Monitor and London Times reports yesterday, sources said a deal was struck between the ANC and the AVF that the right-wing group will contest the April 27 election in exchange for a semi-autonomous Afrikaner homeland.

The agreement reportedly follows a secret meeting six weeks ago between AVF leader General Constand Viljoen and ANC president Mr Nelson Mandela.

The reports were published as the ANC and AVF met for high-level talks between

General Viljoen and ANC chairman Mr Thabo Mbeki.

Mr Mandela said in New York yesterday: "We cannot accept their demand (for a Volkstaat) in the way that they have put it — but there is room for compromise.

"What we are not going to have is any ethnic solution. But a people can have a region in which to run their own affairs. It is the task of the ANC to address the fears of some members of South Africa's white minority," he told reporters.

A senior AVF official quoted by the Monitor said: "I can confirm that there has been a follow-up initiative to the initial meeting between Viljoen and Mandela and that a positive outcome is expected.

"It is a very sensitive matter and I am unable to say anything further," he said.

The Monitor said the AVF has proposed an area shaped like a three-pointed star that includes Pretoria and large tracts of the Free State.

The ANC and AVF issued a joint statement yesterday following the leaks about the talks. Signed by Gen Viljoen and Mr Mbeki, it said discussions had been held at leadership level in the past two weeks and more were planned.

The statement said that while no agreement was reached on a "volkstaat", both parties agreed positive economic growth should be encouraged by ensuring peace.

The talks were held to reduce polarisation and possible war "which would not be in the interest of anyone of or the country as a whole". — Political Staff, Sapa



## 'Volk are not given chance'

GEORGE. — The Afrikaner "volk" rejected the TEC by more than a two-thirds majority but President F W de Klerk would not give the Afrikaner people a chance to show it, Conservative Party leader Dr Ferdi Hartzenberg said last night when opening the Cape CP congress.

Referring to Cape CP leader Mr Jan Hoon's refusal to leave the Parliamentary Chamber when ordered out on Tuesday he said Mr Hoon had demonstrated how powerless the government had become.

He said the CP would hold a series of meetings countrywide next month "so the 'volk' can make its voice heard". — Sapa

## Belgium refuses

(304A)  
visas for AVF

PRETORIA, 25/9/93

A high-profile visit by the Afrikaner Volksfront to Europe has been placed in the balance by the Belgian government's refusal to grant visas to members of the delegation.

The Belgian Embassy here said an application by the AVF's Gen Tienie Groenewald had been rejected because he had not given the reason for his visit. — Sapa



# Mandela promise the Right their own Boerstan?

By THEMBA KHUMALO  
Political Reporter

*Ches 26/9/93*  
DID they or didn't they  
strike a deal?

This is the raging question being asked about the controversial secret pact between ANC president Nelson Mandela and right-wing Afrikaner Volksfront (AVF) co-leader General Constand Viljoen in which the ANC is alleged to have promised the rightwingers a semi-autonomous boere "Volkstaat" in exchange for their abstaining from violence in the run-up to the April 27 general elections.

According to the *Christian Science Monitor*, a widely read US-based newspaper, the ANC leader made this compromise to reduce the level of violence in the country and to call on rightwingers to participate in the elections next year. *(112)*

While a joint statement on Friday by the two organisations was evasive on the alleged deal, saying merely that they would intensify their bilateral talks, AVF spokesman Steven Maninger denied categorically that there was ever such a deal. *(304A)*

He said that although the two parties had met several bilaterals in the past weeks, he did not remember if Mandela and Viljoen had attended any of these.

## 'Arrangement'

Sapa quoted Mandela in New York on Friday as confirming the bilateral meetings between the two parties, but without saying if he had met Viljoen face-to-face.

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ANC leader made this compromise to reduce the level of violence in the country and to call on rightwingers to participate in the elections next year. (304A)

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### 'Arrangement'

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Although he did not specify the nature of a possible deal between the parties, he seemed to imply that the parties were discussing a semi-autonomous white homeland arrangement, Sapa said.

The joint ANC/AVF statement read: "The discussions at executive leadership level had been held in the wake of both sides' statements that political leaders should exhaust all means of peaceful engagement as a matter of urgency to prevent the proliferation of violence and anarchy.

"There had been a sense of realism about the serious difference of opinion which existed on crucial issues. Yet there were also elements of commonality, for example, a sense of urgency on the importance of creating positive economic growth in the country by ensuring peace."

The *Monitor* said the CP and AWB, who are also members of the AVF, were not part of the talks because they rejected any contact with the ANC.

An AWB spokesman refused to comment on the alleged deal.

HNP leader Jaap Marais described the talks between the ANC and AVF as proof that "AVF had a hidden agenda".



# No deal, but ANC and AVF keep on talking

SI Times 26/9/93

ANC and Afrikaner Volksfront (AVF) officials say they have made significant progress in secret talks towards accommodating Afrikaner self-determination.

But both parties have poured cold water on media speculation that a deal has been struck on an Afrikaner homeland and AVF participation in the elections next April.

AVF official Tienie Groenewald confirmed "common ground" had been found on the entrenchment of Afrikaner rights, possibly in the bill of rights and in the new constitution. (304A) (P)

But he added: "There is no deal. The

By RAY HARTLEY  
Political Reporter

Volksfront has always been open with the media. If there is a breakthrough, people will know about it."

In New York ANC leader Nelson Mandela confirmed the ANC has been holding discussions with the white right wing and the possibility of creating a political subdivision to give them a considerable degree of autonomy.

While ruling out "an ethnic solution", he said this did not mean rejecting the basic demand of a people who want a particular region in which to run their own affairs.

A statement released by ANC chairman Thabo Mbeki and AVF leader General Constand Viljoen said: "The desire by the Afrikaner Volksfront to have an area demarcated as a Volkstaat for Afrikaner people, where Afrikaners will be able to survive as a nation, was also tabled for frank and forthright discussions."

The Christian Science Monitor reported on Friday that the ANC had agreed to an Afrikaner homeland in exchange for the AVF's participation in the election and an undertaking not to use violence.

*Investors are sitting up and taking notice*

# FW, Mandela score in US

Star 27/9/93



■ BY PETER FABRICIUS  
and CLAIRE GEBHARDT

Washington — President de Klerk and ANC leader Nelson Mandela are both making a solid impact in the US capital with their hard-sell campaigns to attract South African investment.

Potential investors are sitting up and taking notice of South Africa as a destination for their money, according to a wide range of sources who have watched the two leaders in almost non-stop action over the last few days.

The two are conducting seemingly unco-ordinated but remarkably similar drives to reassure potential investors that the Republic is a safe place for their money.

► More reports —  
Pages 3 and 11

Mandela addressed hundreds of top political and corporate leaders at the World Economic Development Congress here at the weekend and promised foreign investors, security of investment, repatriation of profits and dividends, competitive rates of taxation and stable and predictable public policies.

De Klerk told the same gathering that consensus was rapidly emerging in South Africa on economic policy, citing the recent agreements on the final debt repayment to foreign bankers and the approach towards seeking IMF assistance.

South African officials be-

**LEADERS have  
launched a hard-sell  
campaign following  
the lifting of  
remaining sanctions**

lieve the two chose the perfect time to make their pitch, riding the wave of interest excited by the lifting of sanctions and exploiting a captive audience of influential political and financial leaders gathered for the annual IMF and World Bank meetings.

However, the situation regarding bank financing was not as clear last night, despite optimism expressed by top Government delegates.

Mandela and ANC economics chief Trevor Manuel cast a shadow of doubt over any financing which would carry stringent conditions.

Mandela told the World Economic Development Congress that any assistance from the IMF and World Bank would not be allowed to influence South Africa's economic sovereignty or its ability to address the needs of the majority of the population.

Conditions basically impose free-market parameters on borrower nations including fiscal discipline, preventing them from over-spending government funds.

However today the investment climate should be further improved. Finance Minister Derek Keys will boost our credit-worthiness by an-

► To Page 3

## FW and Mandela impress investors

Star 27/9/93



◀ From Page 1

nouncing the final deal for the repayment of foreign debt caught in the standstill net.

Sources in the development community believe this will boost investor confidence that SA is a good credit risk.

Meanwhile, an \$850 million (about R2 900 million) IMF drought-relief loan to South Africa is virtually assured.

Sources in the large contingent of South Africans attending the annual meetings report a high degree of interest in South Africa — and say De Klerk and Mandela are going down well.

This was apparent at

the World Economic Development Congress here at the weekend where both leaders were given standing ovations for their keynote speeches.

Coming on top of the adoption of TEC legislation and the lifting of remaining economic sanctions, they helped make South Africa the talking point of the congress.

Wall Street security firms and development bankers have expressed surprise at the level of interest in investing in South Africa.

Boe Marsh, president of Saicor Securities Inc — a firm devoted to South Africa — says 90 percent of firms on Wall Street want to know more about South Africa.



# Govt, IFP meet on constitution

Star

27/9/93

■ BY ESTHER WAUGH  
POLITICAL CORRESPONDENT

The Government and the Inkatha Freedom Party continue talks on constitutional issues today.

The two-day meeting in Pretoria is a continuation of discussions between President de Klerk and Chief Mangosuthu Buthelezi two weeks ago.

The teams will be led by Constitutional Development Minister Roelf Meyer and the IFP's Dr Ben Ngubane. Discussion is expected to focus on the draft interim constitution and its federal

character.

The talks form part of the Government's strategy to continue negotiations with the IFP parallel to those at the Negotiating Council.

The council will resume meeting tomorrow after a 14-day recess.

The focus in Kempton Park will be on the draft interim constitution and a new electoral Act.

Negotiators will have to complete these two pieces of draft legislation within a month to allow enough time for them to be passed in the November session of Parliament.

IMF buffer needed, says De Klerk

# ANC joins FW in call to kill finrand

B/Day 27/9/93

WASHINGTON — In what seemed to be a joint policy arrangement, government and the ANC called at the weekend for the finrand to be abolished.

The ANC said stability under a strong democratic government would enable SA to do away with the dual unit.

President F W De Klerk later told businessmen at the World Economic Development Congress that he was anxious to end exchange controls as soon as possible because it was "fundamentally important to open up our economy". (304A)

The ANC released a policy statement saying foreign investment through the finrand had no impact on foreign currency reserves and merely facilitated disinvestment. "The two-tier system must therefore be abolished at the earliest opportunity."

Questioned later, De Klerk said an IMF standby facility — in addition to the \$850m loan nearing finalisation — would be one of several prerequisites for such a step.

However, in asserting the need for further IMF finance, De Klerk appeared to put government on a collision course with ANC economics chief Trevor Manuel, who said the movement was unwilling to seek IMF assistance beyond the Commodity and Contingency Financing Facility that is under discussion.

A standby facility will entail conditions considerably more stringent than those likely to be attached to the contingency facility at a time when the ANC is emphasising it wants to avoid IMF and World Bank encroachment on its sovereignty.

De Klerk told the development congress that government and the ANC had reached broad agreement on specific economic

GRETA STEYN and  
SIMON BARBER

policies, including the need for the contingency facility and the terms of a final debt rescheduling to be announced today.

The ANC statement formalises a comment made earlier this year by Manuel, which caused a stir among academics linked to the ANC. Their view was that scrapping exchange controls was low on the list of priorities. (112)

The policy statement, called "Foreign Direct Investment Platform", said investments through the finrand would be valuable if they were directed at a list of approved investments and if the discount between SA's two currencies was reduced as a result.

The ANC listed 13 such types of investment. It promised to implement economic policies to encourage foreign and domestic investment in these categories, which would contribute to balanced economic growth and development.

The categories included investment in companies with a high level of social responsibility, in bonds for infrastructural development, and in small and medium-sized businesses. Apart from investments that had the direct effect of empowering disadvantaged people and creating jobs and infrastructure, those that helped companies expand exports of non-primary products would also be encouraged.

"Vehicles and instruments which fall into these categories will be actively developed and promoted. It is well understood ... that investors' requirements for

□ To Page 2

## Finrand

B/Day 27/9/93

market-related returns and risk exposure must be met. If these vehicles are to be successful," the ANC said. (205)

The "platform for investment" was drawn up after a workshop with SA business in July. It is understood that a committee including bankers, stockbrokers and a representative of Anglo American gave advice on the policy statement. (112)

It said investments falling within the

guidelines spelled out in the document would receive support and assistance.

National economic policy would be formulated to encourage such investments. Foreign portfolio investment outside the range would also be allowed where it did not break any laws or cause severe disruption of the securities and foreign exchange markets. Foreign investors would enjoy equal treatment to local investors. (103)

□ From Page 1



ed to boycott negotiations

Sowetan 27/9/93

## Oppose ANC — CP chief

THE only way to stop the April 27 election would be for Cosag not to return to the negotiations table, Conservative Party leader Dr Ferdi Hartzenberg said at the weekend. (30417)

Addressing the CP's Cape congress in George, Hartzenberg said the Concerned South Africans Group represented 40 to 50 percent of South Africans and the only way to show there was no consensus at negotiations was if it stayed away. "The election must not take place. Our first option is to see that we get our

own election for our freedom."

Referring to the series of "plagues" instituted by the party, he said the fourth plague had been its demonstration against the Transitional Executive Council. Planning was in progress for the fifth plague, details of which would be announced when ready. "We must do everything possible to prevent the 10th plague occurring. If the election comes then the folk must decide if it is going to surrender or fight, and I say we must stand up and fight the ANC." — Sapa.

negotiations

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able funeral expenses

and



NEWS Focus swings back to Kempton Park ● Another

# Talks race resumes

*Sowetan 27/9/93*

**By Themba Molefe**  
Political Correspondent

SOUTH Africa's political agenda is taken up again at the World Trade Centre tomorrow after two weeks when another race begins to finalise a draft transitional constitution for promulgation in November.

The multiparty negotiations process resumes after being held back for the 14-day special sitting of Parliament in Cape Town where four pieces of draft legislation, including the Transitional Executive Council Bill, were approved.

The Bills were adopted by sufficient consensus of the negotiating council earlier this month in preparation for elections next April 27.

On the other hand, the Pan Africanist Congress said it would "dig our heels

in" and continue to oppose the TEC and interim constitution at the talks.

Plans are that Parliament will sit again for three weeks from November 8 with a finished draft interim constitution high on its agenda, giving negotiators at least four weeks to reach agreement.

## Secret venue

Also, the week kicked off with a high-powered bilateral meeting at a secret Pretoria venue between the Inkatha Freedom Party and the Government which began yesterday. Discussions are expected to end about noon today.

The IFP is led by its chief executive officer, Mr Joe Matthews, and the Government by its chief negotiator, Mr Roelf Meyer. (304A)

The meeting is a sequel to a summit between State President FW de Klerk

and Chief Mangosuthu Buthelezi at Tuynhuys on September 16 aimed at getting the IFP back to the talks.

It is believed a compromise agreement with Pretoria might be struck with the IFP which would also benefit the restless Bophuthatswana and Ciskei governments at the talks, as well as the Afrikaner Volksfront on the outside.

To this group compromise means those regional powers which may so wish be allowed to draft their own constitutions prior to the April 27 elections. (112/2114)

PAC secretary for political affairs Mr Jaki Seroke said: "Our position is firmly against entrenched regions. We will continue to fight for a broadly mandated constituent assembly, unfettered by prior agreement. The parties involved in the talks have no such mandate".

I'M SO ASHAMED... SOMEBODY PLEASE

vt spending • IMF promises SA \$850 million

Sowetan 27/9/93

# Plea on economy

## INTERNATIONAL CONFERENCE

FW wants lasting growth in economy:

**S**TATE President F W de Klerk urged on Saturday a national consensus to ensure the country achieved rapid and sustainable economic growth.

Speaking in Washington at the World Economic Development Congress, De Klerk said South Africa's expected government of national unity would have to avoid policies which crippled the economy.

He told the gathering of more than 300 international business people that South Africa could not afford the pitfalls of excessive government spending, the redistribution of wealth, and bickering between companies and trade unions.

"If we are to avoid these pitfalls ... it will be essential for the newly elected leaders in the Transitional Government of National Unity to hammer out a na-

tional consensus on the basis of which South Africa will be governed for the next five years."

### Political players

He said he expected the 20 main political players to reach agreement on a transitional constitution and its future principles before the end of October.

He proposed three principles on which national consensus should be achieved by all the main political players:

● There would have to be a clear commitment to substantially improving the lives of all South Africans by addressing the backlogs in education,

housing, health care and social welfare.

● The country's various interest groups needed to agree on and pursue a common cause, particularly between business, organised labour and the government.

● Free market enterprise also needed to be entrenched in the country's economy, which would involve fiscal discipline, secure investment and property rights and a skilled and well-motivated workforce. De Klerk's closing address to the World Economic Development Congress followed on African National Congress president Nelson Mandela's keynote speech to the conference on Friday. — *Sapa*.



# NEWS

*We do not want handouts, says FW*

## Major pledges support for SA

Star 27/9/93

■ BY TONI YOUNGHUSBAND  
STAR BUREAU

London — The British government would do all it could to support South Africa's return to the international community and would encourage foreign investment, Prime Minister John Major said last night.

Speaking after informal discussions with President F W de Klerk at Downing Street, Major said he warmly welcomed the lifting of economic sanctions against South Africa — a country which offered huge potential to investors.

The world's financial assistance, he said, would be vital to South Africa during its transition to a full democracy.

Major said it was difficult to overestimate the importance of the Transitional Executive Council which had placed South Africa firmly on the road to full, nonracial democracy.

He said the progress made through the formation of the TEC had opened the way for South Africa to take its place in the international community.

**JOHN Major welcomes the lifting of economic sanctions and looks forward to South Africa's return to international bodies**

(304A)  
"I look forward to seeing South Africa playing a full part in all international bodies and in due course, the Commonwealth," Major said.

He was confident South Africa would be re-accepted into the Commonwealth.

However, he sincerely hoped the violence in South Africa would come to an end.

Major was full of praise for De Klerk's role in achieving democratic change.

De Klerk, who flew in from Washington yesterday morning, stressed that his country was not looking for handouts.

"We just want to qualify for the same contracts, the same aid, that is available to everyone in the world," he said.

De Klerk thanked Major for Britain's support over the past few years. He said South Africa's return to the international community could be regarded as a vindication of Britain's foreign policy.

"Your government accepted our reassurances in regard to change, you took a constructive approach which a lot of other countries did not," said De Klerk.

The president said he believed the levels of violence in South Africa would be greatly reduced once all final agreements on the country's transition to full democracy, were signed and sealed.

"Some of the violence is aimed at derailing or delaying constitutional negotiations. Once all agreements are signed, those who tried to interfere will realise they are no longer in a position to do so."

De Klerk said it was important to lay a foundation of security for all the various groups in South Africa and to offer a form of self-determination which was dear to any cultural group.

# We must avoid war - Viljoen

Star 27/9/93

BY PATRICK LAURENCE

Constand Laubscher Viljoen, convener of the Afrikaner Volksfront and a former chief of the SADF, has a clear message for South Africans as tensions rise and war drums sound. (304A)

"It is the responsibility of all of us to try to prevent war," Viljoen says. "I know war, that is why I try to prevent it."

Viljoen's message, contained in an in-depth interview with The Star, explains why he is involved in negotiations with Nelson Mandela's ANC and

why he is prepared to risk the wrath of Volksfront followers by "supping with the devil".

His determination to do his utmost to avoid war — which contrasts with imprudent

► Why AV wants its own place — Page 11

threats of "civil war" by politicians with little or no knowledge of war — should not be mistaken for weakness or lack of resolve. Viljoen's talks with top ANC leaders coincide

► To Page 3

# Prevent war, urges right-wing leader

Star 27/9/93  
From Page 1

with exhortations to the volk to prepare to defend themselves and to join their local SADF commandos to get military training. (304A)

His willingness to explore the possibility of agreement with the ANC, to see whether a modus vivendi can be reached on the Afrikaner Volksfront's demand for an autonomous volkstaat, has not stopped him from advising Afrikaner women to steel themselves psychologically to shoot to kill in defence of their lives and property if necessary.

As an Afrikaner, a farmer and a high-ranking soldier, Viljoen, who

turns 60 next month, is an archetypal Boer general.

He has emerged with surprising rapidity as an frontline Afrikaner leader since the idea of an Afrikaner Volksfront was mooted in May as a counter to the growing influence of the ANC.

His toughness lies etched in his personal history: he was chief of the SADF during some of the major battles in Angola and he oversaw bloody commando raids against ANC cadres in Mozambique, Lesotho and Botswana in the 1980s.

Viljoen's reputation is that of a soldier's general, an officer who leads from the front.



you • NP roots in ethnicity

# NP rose from divisions within Afrikaner ranks

Sowetan 27/9/93

By Mzimasi Ngudle

FOLLOWING the formation of the Union in 1910, white parties in South Africa were organised on a large scale for the first time.

Most political parties are strongly rooted in history and the foundation of the National Party by General JBM Hertzog in 1914 may be seen as the product of more than two centuries of Afrikaner political ideology.

After a special congress held in Bloemfontein it was decided to establish a party with a federal structure.

The party was then founded in January 1914. The founding of the National Party was an indication of the deep divisions within Afrikaner ranks rather than an expression of Afrikaner unity.

The birth of the NP was not only the result of a power struggle between English and Afrikaans-speaking communities, but also of an anti-imperialist attitude among Afrikaners.

The Afrikaners wanted to play a more significant political role in society and the Government, preferably in an independent South African republic.

They also had a clear policy aim: physically, socially and politically to separate South African whites, blacks, coloureds and Indians. (204A)

It was only in 1924, when the National Party and the (white) Labour Party under the leadership of Colonel FHP Créswell formed an election pact and challenged the South African Party (SAP), that Hertzog and Smuts decided to amalgamate their parties.

This meant that Afrikaner idealism took a back seat in favour of broader national and even international aims.

The Cape members of the NP were unhappy with this arrangement and did not join in the fusion of the parties.

In 1934 Dr DF Malan and his followers established the (purified) National Party, thus becoming the main opposition to the United Party under Hertzog.

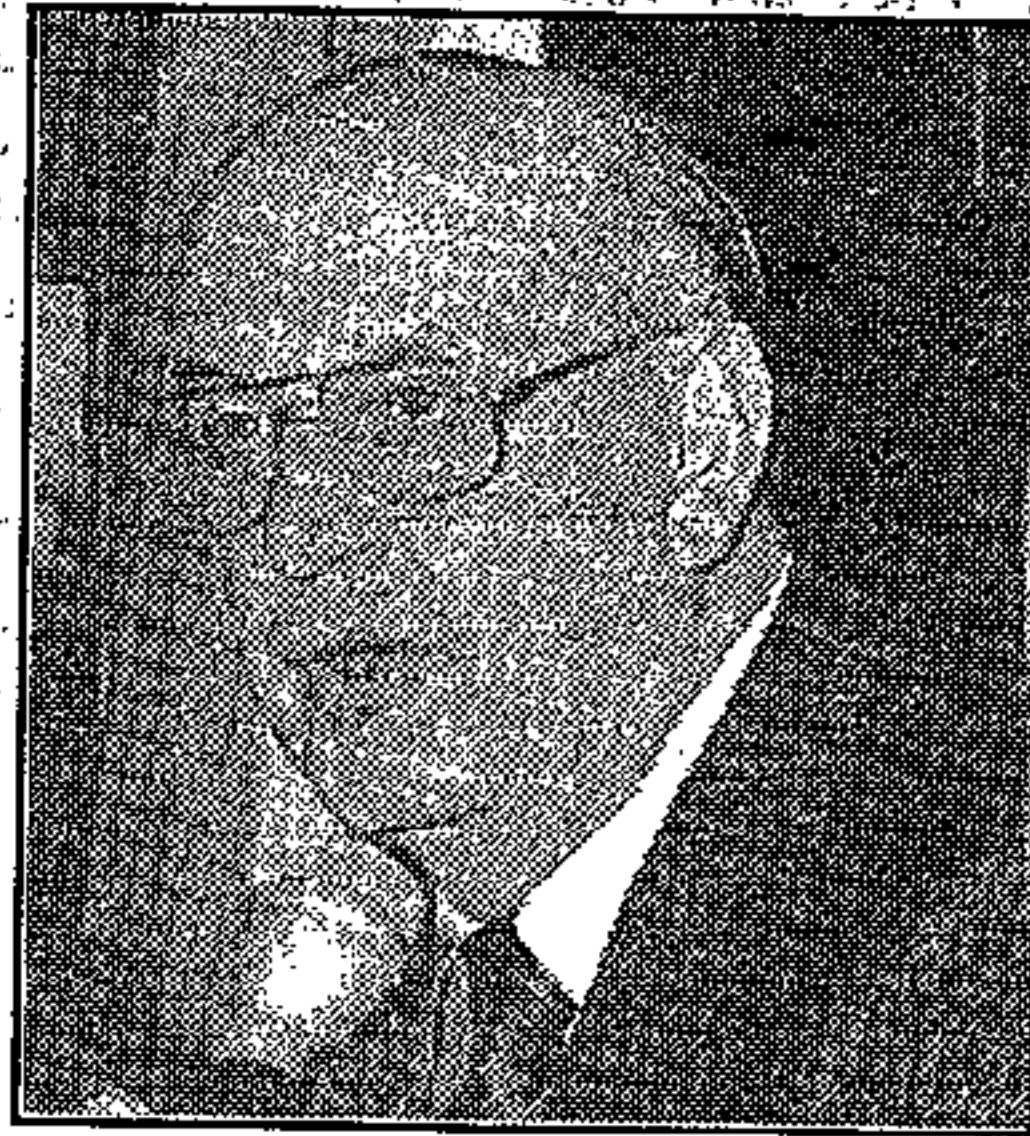
Indirectly, the amalgamation of Hertzog's NP and Smuts's SAP to form the United Party further stimulated Afrikaner nationalism.

The NP was complemented by cultural, social, economic and religious organisations created exclusively for Afrikaners.

Along with Nasionale Pers, the Afrikaner-Broederbond, Sanlam, Avbob, the Voortrekkers, FAK, Helpmekaar, KWV and Volkskas, the NP became a growing Afrikaner power group.

Afrikaner intellectuals who played a significant role in the mobilisation of Afrikaner nationalism include Drs NJ Diederichs (later NP Minister and State President), TE Donges (later NP Minister), DF Malan (later NP Prime Minister), and PJ Meyer (later chairman of the Broederbond and head of SABC), and Professor LJ du Plessis (professor at Potchefstroom University and chairman of the Broederbond in the thirties).

In 1948 the National Party gained a



PW Botha

majority in the election, and the party leaders quickly acted to establish and protect the party's position.

They were so successful in their attempts that the party maintained its monopoly of political power in the Government until today.

The evolution of NP policy in respect of political change in South Africa since the mid '70s can be traced as follows:

- A period during which power-sharing with the coloureds was the priority;
- The development of separate local governments to manage the administration of "own affairs"; and
- The final phase during which "power sharing" in respect of coloureds and Indians was broadened to include blacks.

By the time Mr PW Botha succeeded Mr John Vorster as Prime Minister in 1978, the entire apartheid system was well established.

In the first years after he came to power, senior officials close to PW Botha stressed the importance of a national security strategy.

The role of the State Security Council, created by Vorster in 1972, became the pivotal point on which the "total national strategy" centred.

The State diagnosed black resistance as part of the revolutionary onslaught and the machinery which had already been in place for some time to suppress this kind of resistance, the National Security Management System, was put into action.

The end of the Botha era and the end of the '80s were characterised by important changes, partly as a result of unintentional consequences of adaptations in NP policy which included:

- A constitutional dispensation which satisfied no political group, including the NP;
- The abolition of racial segregation;
- The broadening of the powers of black trade unions;
- The acceptance of blacks' right to South African citizenship;
- The international cultural and political isolation of South Africa;
- Economic stagnation due to sanctions, disinvestment and the high cost of maintaining the apartheid policy; and
- Independence for Namibia which increased the possibility of regional co-operation.

27/9/93  
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**AWB sends out 'call-ups'**

CAPE TOWN — The AWB has sent "call-ups" to western Cape people who it thinks may want to take part in training camps.

Those who cannot attend are asked to explain in writing. Those invited are asked to report with guns and uniforms. (3047)

AWB spokesman Nico Prinsloo emphasized that attendance was voluntary.

**Own Correspondent**

Another AWB member in Parow is reported to have said that commando members could use the firearms issued to them by the SADF. Prinsloo denied this.

SADF spokesman Cmdt Brian du Toit said any commando member using an SADF weapon at an AWB camp would be liable to prosecution.



# FW attempts to convince world leaders that his govt is still in control

WASHINGTON — President F. W. de Klerk spent this weekend to knock down the impression that his government was no longer in control and dismissed ANC president Nelson Mandela's claim that the ANC was responsible for the lifting of sanctions.

As the same time he saw talks between the ANC and Afrikaner Volksfront as helping to defuse the right-wing threat, and he was confident that Inkatha Freedom Party president Mangosuthu Buthe would be brought back into negotiations and elections.

Nothing that there might be a tendency to "overstate" the powers of the Transitional Executive Council, De Klerk stressed that "the real truth is the TEC is going to be an important body, but it does not replace government".

While the TEC would be "the beginning of power-sharing", government would hand over power only to an elected government of national unity after an election.

When the TEC came into being, round about end-October, it would have a defined field of authority focused on "levelling the playing field" for elections and establishing

## SIMON BARBER

ing a national peacekeeping force.

Speaking at a news conference after his well-received speech to the World Economic Development Council, De Klerk was trying to counter Mandela's plea at the UN on Friday that the white minority government not be granted "recognition" and that the international community should deal only with the TEC.

This plea appeared to have been ignored by Mozambique, whose Foreign Minister Pascal Mocumbi agreed at talks with

Foreign Minister P. K. Botha on Saturday to establish full diplomatic relations.

De Klerk also needed the ANC by conceding that the end of sanctions had been triggered not by ANC president Nelson Mandela's call at the UN of Friday, but by the passage of TEC legislation.

He was "extremely grateful", he said, that the ANC had "come on board".

Asked about Buthe's call for his followers to contribute money to create their own self-defence units, De Klerk said he did not have all the facts. But he remained confident that the "intensive bilaterals"

cheduled between Inkatha and government for early this week would bring Buthe back to the negotiating table.

He said he did not believe Buthe was against negotiations and that his constitutional demands could be accommodated. "I don't plan for failure," he stressed.

He was pleased by the talks between the ANC and the Afrikaner Volksfront, which he said would do both sides good, but he rejected the concept of a white homeland.

He said the discussions between ANC chairman Thabo Mbeki and Gen Constand

□ To Page 2

## FW

Viljoen would have a positive effect in defusing the right-wing threat and paving the way for "full participation by those who are outside the process".

Sapa-AP reports that De Klerk arrived in London yesterday for talks with British Prime Minister John Major and said he was looking for investment, not handouts.

"We don't ask for handouts," he told re-

□ From Page 1

porters at Heathrow Airport. "We obviously want not just sanctions to be lifted but we need to move into a different sort of mode, a mode of actual encouragement. We need jobs, and for that we need investment, and we need positive support with regard to creating a climate for investment."

● See Page 3

# 'ANC didn't do it alone' — De Klerk

From SIMON BARBER

WASHINGTON. — President F W De Klerk tried at the weekend to knock down the impression that his government was no longer in control and dismissed ANC leader Mr Nelson Mandela's claim that the ANC alone was responsible for the lifting of sanctions.

He also said he saw talks between the ANC and Afrikaner Volksfront as helping defuse the right-wing threat, and that he was confident Inkatha leader Chief Mangosuthu Buthelezi would be brought back into negotiations and elections.

Speaking at a press conference after his speech to the World Economic Development Council, Mr De Klerk tried to counter Mr Mandela's plea at the UN on Friday that the government not be granted "recognition" and that the international community deal only with the TEC.

Mr De Klerk also needled the ANC by contending that the end of sanctions had been triggered not by Mr Mandela's call at the UN but by Parliament's enactment of the TEC legislation.

He argued that President Bill Clinton's promise to mobilise bilateral and international support for the transition, including IMF and World Bank loans, had come before Mr Mandela's speech, as had similarly positive reactions from the EC, Canada, Australia and the Commonwealth.



# ANC agrees to back off on constitution

Own Correspondent

JOHANNESBURG. — The ANC and its allies have agreed to back off their demand that the deadlock-breaking mechanism in the new constitution be approved by a simple majority.

This would mean a breakthrough at negotiations as it would remove a key stumbling block towards the new constitution.

This is one of the gains made in the past week during a flurry of bilateral meetings between parties.

The ANC's original stance gave the

CT 27/9/93 EC4A  
Inkatha Freedom Party ammunition for boycotting talks and the IFP argued that it would allow the ANC to write a constitution all by itself.

Other parties and foreign diplomats have raised this issue as a major problem.

Yesterday ANC NEC member and SA Communist Party chairman Mr Joe Slovo said no firm agreements had been reached but negotiations were going on "and we have urgently to resolve the matter so we can finalise the constitution within the next five weeks".

# Cosag mustn't go back — Ferdi

Star 27/9/93

George — The only way to stop the April 27 election would be for the Concerned South Africans Group (Cosag) not to return to negotiations, Conservative Party leader Dr Ferdi Hartzenberg said on Saturday.

At the CP's Cape congress, Hartzenberg said Cosag represented 40 to 50 percent of South Africans. The only way to show there was no consensus at negotiations was if it stayed away.

Referring to the series of "plagues" instituted by the party, he said the fourth plague had been its demonstration against

the Transitional Executive Council. Planning was in progress for the fifth plague, details of which would be announced when ready. (304A)

"We must do everything possible to prevent the 10th plague occurring. If the election comes, then the volk must decide if it is going to surrender or fight."

The Government and the ANC wanted to give Afrikaners a form of self-determination that boiled down to minority rights. But the CP would not settle for anything less than full self-determination. — Sapa.



## CP boss warns of next 'plague'

GEORGE — The only way to stop the April 27 election was for the Concerned South Africans Group (Cosag) not to return to the negotiations table, CP leader Ferdi Hartzenberg said on Saturday.

Addressing the CP's Cape congress in George, Hartzenberg said Cosag represented 40% to 50% of South Africans and the only way to show there was no consensus at negotiations was for it to stay away.

"The election must not take place. Our first option is to see that we get our own election for our freedom."

Referring to the series of "plagues" instituted by the party, he said the fourth plague had been its demonstration against the Transitional Executive Council. Planning was in progress for the fifth plague, details of which would be announced when everything was ready.

"We must do everything possible to prevent the 10th plague occurring," Hartzenberg said. "If the election comes, then the volk must decide if it is going to surrender or fight, and I say we must stand up and fight the ANC."

He said government and the ANC were trying to give the Afrikaner a form of self-determination that boiled down to minority rights. "I want to say 'Don't think we will settle for anything less than full self-determination'."

Ladybrand MP Charl Herzog, speaking on agriculture, said farmers, as the biggest title-deed holders in SA, should be given the opportunity to say whether they wanted their own state or wished to become part of the ANC's enslavement, he said.

MP for Brits Andrew Gerber said education was being used to build a single nation in SA.

The only way to guarantee Christian national education was to have an own volkstaat. — Sapa.

# New law to be used on Lebowa

TIM COHEN

CAPE TOWN — Parliament has passed legislation that will allow government to rescind past decisions of homeland governments, which will be applied immediately against Lebowa.

Parliament on Friday passed the Self-governing Territories Constitution Amendment Bill which will allow the President to rescind decisions of homeland government taken after March 31.

The legislation provides that this can be done only if the governments concerned are on the brink of collapse or if the decision of the government was likely to result in unreasonable financial obligations.

The legislation was unanimously supported, and is going to be used against Lebowa immediately to rescind the homeland government's decision to backdate and increase public servant's salaries.

Regional and Land Affairs Minister Andre Fourie confirmed at the weekend that his department would make a renewed effort to gain access to computers which issued Lebowa's public sector salary cheques.

Last week, Chief Minister Nelson Ramodike refused to co-operate with officials sent to Lebowa to take over the territory's financial affairs and locked them out of rooms containing computers controlling government finance.

Lebowa had backdated promotions and promoted some officials beyond their stations which resulted in some salaries being more than doubled. Some of its 70 000 officials had also been given back payments of as much as R73 000, Fourie said.

In so doing, Lebowa had exceeded its R185m overdraft facility by about R70m.

Fourie confirmed that if control was gained over Lebowa's finances, government employees would be paid according to how much they

were getting in March this year, plus the 5% increase given to all civil servants, effectively nullifying the salary increases.

Action in terms of the new legislation was not planned against any of the other self-governing states, only one of which apart from Lebowa had an overdraft facility, Fourie said.

The passing of the Bill coincided with the auditor-general's reports being tabled in Parliament on five self-governing states, which levelled criticism at all of them for the laxity of their financial controls.

The reports, all of which reported on events that took place two or more years ago, disclosed that financial controls in the states were either shoddy or non-existent.

KwaNdebele's unauthorised expenditure amounted to R4,5m for the 1991/92 financial year.

The auditor-general found it was impossible to carry out a proper audit in Kangwane, where R13m in unauthorised expenditure was recorded in 1989/90.

The KwaZulu 1991/92 report revealed serious shortcomings in systems of internal checking, and 101 cases of theft involving firearms and ammunition worth R78 000 were disclosed.

DP MP Peter Soal said the reports confirmed SA's worst fears about the "decline into an abyss of corruption which could cost the SA taxpayer millions if not billions of rands".

He described the tabling of the reports after Parliament had adjourned as a "cynical act which will not escape public scrutiny".

Fourie said the picture painted of the self-governing states being hotbeds of corruption was "unfair". Many performed adequately under difficult circumstances, he said.

● Comment: Page 4

## AVF denies 'ANC deal'

PRETORIA. — The Afrikaner Volksfront was holding discussions with the ANC because no peaceful solution was possible in South Africa without the front's agreement, the AVF said yesterday. (304A)

It was commenting on reports that the AVF and ANC had reached an historic deal that would isolate the Conservative Party and other right-wingers from the front.

AVF media spokesman Mr S Maninger said no secret deal had been concluded with the ANC, the government or any other organisation.

"The reason why discussions are being held with the ANC is because the AVF has become an important power factor in South Africa and no peaceful solution is possible without AVF agreement," he said. — Sapa

CT 28/9/93



# Zulu arms plan draws fire

8/Day 28/9/93  
DIRK VAN EEDEN

PRETORIA — The ANC yesterday called on Zulus not to donate money for the formation of Zulu protection units, and the Law and Order Ministry called the idea "deplorable". (304A) (13)

NP spokesman Marthinus van Schalkwyk also warned that Zulu protection units would not protect Zulus, who were "often the targets of violence", but would instead lay the foundations for civil war.

Law and Order spokesman Craig Kotze said Inkatha's plan to set up "legal" defence units would contribute to violence in SA.

Inkatha leader Mangosuthu Buthelezi called on all Zulus at the weekend to donate R5 each towards the setting up of defence units to counter "an onslaught against Zulus".

Kotze said it was high time political leaders stopped attempting to treat the symptoms of violence and negotiated ways to resolve the causes of the violence.

Van Schalkwyk said Buthelezi's proposals might confirm the idea many people held that violence had to be countered by violence.

"In the long term the result would be nothing other than civil war. It is a pity Buthelezi turns to emotional politics instead of looking for permanent solutions," he said.

Our Political Staff reports from Cape Town that the DP said yesterday that

Buthelezi's call for Zulu armed units came at the very time when all South Africans should be redoubling their efforts to bring about peace and understanding.

DP defence spokesman Bob Rogers said such an army would only increase conflict in SA. "It would be more constructive if Chief Buthelezi agreed to contribute personnel to the formation of the national peacekeeping force in the short term."

Sapa reports from Durban that the ANC in Natal has urged Zulus not to heed Buthelezi's call to finance "Zulu protection units", claiming they are aimed at strengthening Inkatha's "reign of terror".

ANC Natal Midlands deputy chairman Blade Nzimande said Inkatha represented only a small minority of Zulus.

By making his call Buthelezi had exposed himself to be against the liberation of the African people, he said. The call on Zulus to arm themselves was irresponsible and reckless.

Nzimande also called on the regional dispute resolution committee and peace monitors to monitor and receive complaints about forced payment.

Inkatha Transvaal deputy chairman Humphrey Ndlovu said at the weekend that Zulus in the Transvaal welcomed the protection unit initiative and were keen to donate the money.

**SA 'Back in UN'**

APG 28/9/73

JOHANNESBURG — South Africa has resumed its place at the United Nations "from a practical point of view", Foreign Affairs Minister Pik Botha said on his return from the United States.

Mr Botha, the last South African representative to address the UN General Assembly in 1974, said only "technical details" remained to be worked out. (3049) (S)



# SA's transition a 'miracle' — Clinton

The Argus Foreign Service

NEW YORK. — United States President Bill Clinton, noting that in seven months South Africans of all races would go to the polls, cited the transition as one of the "miracles" of today's world. (304A) ARG 28/9/93

He used the word in an address to the United Nations general assembly and, again, in responding to a toast by UN secretary-general Boutros-Ghali at a lunch in honour of the visiting heads of delegations in New York for the UN session.

"The world is no longer divided into two armed and angry camps. Dozens of new democracies have been born," he said in his general assembly speech.

"It is a moment of miracles. We see Nelson Mandela stand side by side with President De Klerk, proclaiming a date for South Africa's first non-racial elections.

"We see Russia's first popularly-elected president, Boris Yeltsin, leading his nation on its bold democratic journey."

# FW has time off with Thatcher

CT 28/9/93

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From CHRIS BATEMAN

LONDON. — President FW de Klerk took a break from his hectic tour yesterday for a leisurely visit from an old political ally at an undisclosed "private residence" here.

Former British prime minister Baroness Margaret Thatcher travelled to the guest home for an "opened" meeting about which her office was instructed not to comment yesterday.

A spokesman for the South African embassy also had little comment except to say Mr De Klerk's local host was "a very close friend", little-known in South Africa and not a politician.

Mr De Klerk and his wife Marike flew home from Heathrow Airport last night.

In New York, ANC leader Mr Nelson Mandela breakfasts with the mayor, Mr David Dinkins, today.

Tomorrow he will host an international press conference after having lunch with South Africa's ambassador to the US, Mr Harry Schwarz.



# Clinton: SA election date 'a miracle'

UNITED NATIONS. — The fixing of South Africa's first non-racial election for April 27 was one of the "new world miracles", President Bill Clinton told the UN yesterday. **(SAPA)**

"The world is no longer divided into two armed and angry camps. Dozens of new democracies have been born. It is a moment of miracles."

Other "miracles" were Russian President Boris Yeltsin leading his nation to democracy, and the stunning Middle East peace initiative.

But, Mr Clinton added: "As we marvel at this era's promise of new peace, we must recognise the serious threats that remain. Bloody ethnic, religious and civil wars rage from Angola to the Caucasus to Kashmir."

He said the US, South Africa, Russia, Argentina and Hungary had together made "significant progress" toward thwarting nuclear weapons proliferation.

He ended by saying history had granted "this generation" a moment of even greater opportunity than at the birth of the UN 47 years ago.

"Let us ensure that the tide of freedom and democracy is not pushed back by the fierce winds of ethnic hatreds."

"I believe — I know — that together, we can extend this moment of miracles into an age of great works and new wonders." — Sapa

Addressing a packed General Assembly in his first speech to the UN he said: "We live at a turning point in human history. C T 28/4/95

uesday, September 28 1993 ★

# Many seek formal ties with SA

304A  
CT 28/9/93

By ANTHONY JOHNSON  
Political Correspondent

ABOUT 20 countries are queuing up to establish diplomatic relations with South Africa following Parliament's approval of the Transitional Executive Council Bill last week.

During his recent visit to the United Nations and Europe, Foreign Minister Mr Pik Botha was inundated with inquiries from foreign ministers anxious to cement formal ties with South Africa.

Some of the countries showing an interest include some of Pretoria's severest critics in the past: Mexico, Pakistan, India and Egypt.

Others wishing to establish ties include Tunisia, Jordan, Malaysia and Venezuela.

"The floodgates are opening," the foreign minister's spokesman, Mr

Awie Marais, said after returning to South Africa yesterday.

However, the latest surge in interest in establishing formal links with South Africa would not automatically translate into the opening of a new chain of embassies worldwide, he cautioned.

Funds available to the Department of Foreign Affairs were limited and a period of intensive bilateral discussions would follow with countries that had approached South Africa to establish what benefits might flow from a closer relationship.

High on the agenda would be the potential for increased trade as a result of formal diplomatic links.

Mr Marais said that relations with Mozambique had already been upgraded to embassy status and that a number of announcements could be expected with regard to other countries, starting later this week.





**SAFE TO SMILE:** Nelson Mandela jokes during his New York news conference yesterday.

## R6,8-m collected for SA elections

ARG 29/9/93  
The Argus Foreign Service

NEW YORK. — The South African Free Election Fund (Safe) has collected R6,8 million of its R34 million target for registration and education of voters for next April's elections. (304A)

Safe announced this after meeting African National Congress president Nelson Mandela in New York and also said it had appointed Beyers Naude, of the Ecumenical Assistance Trust, to allocate and monitor

the funds in South Africa.

Safe would begin channelling funds into South Africa early next month, said a statement at the Mandela meeting.

The organisation was established this year by high-powered American business and civic leaders.

Founding members include former Secretary of State Cyrus Vance, former World Bank President Robert McNamara and Leon Higginbotham, retired chief justice emeritus of

the United States court of appeals.

Safe aims to support non-partisan voter education and participation in elections, especially for those voting for the first time.

"Safe will ensure free, fair and fast elections in South Africa and a peaceful transition to democracy," the statement said.

Safe is supposed to be the sole conduit for private sector, non-partisan contributions to the elections.



# Looking for a home

## □ Why Afrikaner Volksfront wants its own place

Argus Correspondent PATRICK LAURENCE interviews General Constand Viljoen.

What are the key objectives of the Afrikaner Volksfront?

The most important objective is self-determination on a piece of South Africa demarcated for the purpose of enabling Afrikaners to survive as a nation. We would like the Afrikaner Volkstaat to be one of the demarcated states in South Africa. We would like it to be loosely politically connected to the new South Africa but to have strong economic ties.

Would the Afrikaner Volksfront accept a volkstaat within a federal system?

If you say within a federal system, then you will have to explain exactly what federal system you are talking about.

The United States, for example.

We are disillusioned by what has happened in the last three or four years. We are worried about communism, and about the second and third revolutions after the elections, the socialist and Marxist revolutions. We don't know what the role of the SA Communist Party will be in the development of ANC policy.

If you speak to the ANC, they say they will probably not go for further revolutions. But if you look at the decisions of the SACP at its 1991 congress, it is clear that it is still intent on making another communist experiment in South Africa. That is what we are scared of.

Therefore, we say: Before taking such a chance, before taking such a risk, let us rather have a loose political connection. We are prepared to live that for 25 years and then have a good look to see if we can move closer to the new South Africa.

Where will the Afrikaner volkstaat be located?

If you look at the area we have indicated for the Afrikaner volkstaat, it is clear that it cannot go for secession. The Afrikaner heartland lies right around the Witwatersrand area. In that area, 80 percent of the Afrikaners live. If you draw the lines correctly, you already have a 52 percent Afrikaner majority.

We have taken the old Boer republics and we have removed the rich areas from them, the Witwatersrand, the Vereeniging area, to the east as far as Secunda, to the south as far as the Welkom mines in the Free State.

We have excluded them specifically so that we cannot be accused of being greedy.

The heartland is the rest of the Boer republics. Some 25 percent we have given away already. Remember that in the old Boer republics there are certain areas which previous governments have allocated as tribal land. We have no intention of forcibly removing people from tribal land.

What will the position of black people be in the Afrikaner heartland?

I'll give you the limits ... on the one hand, we do not want to leave the people voteless, we would like them also to share in democratic rights.

On the other hand, it will serve no purpose if we go for a solution that will only last for five or 10 years time and then, because of squatters or because of natural population increase, we have to face another problem. So between these two limits we will have to find a solution. We are still negotiating ...

Who are you negotiating with?

Basically, we have three negotiating groups going at the moment. We are negotiating with Cosag, we are negotiating with the ANC and we are also negotiating with the government.

Are there any circumstances in which the Afrikaner Volksfront will compete in the scheduled election next year?

I am sure that the most vital period in the history of our country will be the next four to six weeks. If the Afrikaner Volksfront is accommodated as part of the new South Africa in our own volkstaat, then there will have to



GENERAL VILJOEN: I am a soldier still. I am proud of being a soldier.

be some participation in that election, then all the blacks living in our area will have to vote and we, too, will have to vote.

It depends what the voting powers will be, whether the volkstaat people will vote for the central administration or not. Whether Afrikaners living outside the volkstaat but intending to come to live in the volkstaat will be allowed to vote.

You do not exclude the possibility of Afrikaner Volksfront participation in the election?

We are reserving our position on the election to see what comes from the package. If the package deal is acceptable then we will have a good look at the election. If it is totally unacceptable, then there is no sense in us participating in the election.

Africa Confidential posts the idea of the Volksfront leading an alliance of conservative Afrikaners, including elements in the National Party and black movements critical of or hostile to the ANC?

One must be careful about using the words "hostile to the ANC". Our approach is that we are very uncertain. We are disillusioned over what has taken place in the past three or four years. We therefore would be very careful how we react. That is why we want the political connection with the new South Africa to be as loose as possible.

You would prefer to characterise your attitude to the ANC as cautious or prudent rather than hostile?

Let us wait and see how developments between us and the ANC turn out before we start saying who is going to be an enemy and who will not be an enemy. What is the object of negotiations? It is to find a solution without resorting to violence ... to remove hostility by means of negotiations. That is exactly what we are busy with at the moment.

To come back to your question about a conservative alliance: I think the biggest problem we have at the moment with politics in South Africa is the speed at which events are being forced to take place.

What the exact political alliance will be of the new South Africa is very difficult to say. I think that should the ANC-SACP embark on the line of communism then there will be a very strong need to oppose them through a counter alliance. Should they decide on another road it will be totally different. The exact future of politics is very unclear.

Do I understand you correctly to imply that there can be some sort of accommodation between the Volksfront and the indigenous African component of the ANC?

The danger of communism is certainly one of the main dangers for Afrikaners. Mr Mandela has said in public he cannot separate from the SACP at the moment, for very good reasons. He has said they have been together in the liberation war for 70 years and it would disloyal of him to now quit that alliance.

That I can understand. It is a good sign if people remain loyal.

But you must also understand the position of the Afrikaner. The road which we take now is a road

on which we cannot easily turn around. That is why we are so cautious. That is why we demand self-determination in our own area.

Conservative Party leader Ferdi Hartzenberg has said the establishment of the Transitional Executive Council would be regarded as a declaration of war against Afrikaners. Where do you stand?

The introduction of the TEC Bill is a very serious step ... South Africa has become ungovernable. The TEC Bill gives the same people who made South Africa ungovernable power without responsibility.

According to the system of government which we have, the government is answerable to the people and the government departments can be held accountable to parliament. Now they have introduced a system where sub-councils, where people from the outside, from the revolutionary movement, will now have an input in government. It will make South Africa even more ungovernable.

The government, through the TEC, has surrendered control over the security forces. You have a government which is not in power any more. It doesn't have the power to restore stability in the country. It is now dependent on the goodwill of people who have already made South Africa ungovernable.

If you sign away control of the security forces, it comes very close to a declaration of war.

Your talks with Mr De Klerk, how are they going?

Sometimes we talk to Mr De Klerk, sometime we talk to the Ministers in the team. We have been asked to regard those talks as confidential.

The government now realises that the Afrikaner Volksfront has become a force.

I understand that you need to unify Afrikaners. But there are elements in the Afrikaner Volksfront — the AWB — which project a fanatical image. Is that a problem?

We have the full spectrum of Afrikaners, from the Afrikaner Volksunie and some National Party members, to the far right, to the AWB. We are not a political organisation. We are an umbrella organisation, taking care of all the people. I can't reject the AWB.

The idea of the Afrikaner Volksfront is to unite the Afrikaner. So we try to unite the whole spectrum. We are making good progress.

But we never try to change individual organisations. I am not going to prescribe to the Conservative Party what their policies should be. Nor am I going to tell the AWB to change the insignia on their uniform. We leave it to each organisation to form their own character. We try to explore points of commonality rather than points of difference.

Do you have party political affiliations?

None. I am a soldier still. I am proud of being a soldier.

At what point could there be military resistance. At what point does the soldier replace the negotiator?

It is very difficult to say. We have seen such a lot of bloodshed in South Africa. It is a terrible situation. It is the responsibility of all of us to try to prevent a war. I know war, that is why I try to prevent it.

But you have also been quoted on television as advising Afrikaner women to take instruction in shooting and to steel themselves psychologically to shoot to kill.

There are reasons for that. If a woman on the farm is attacked and she has a weapon but fears to use it because of a psychological inhibition, then she will be killed first. I only warned them about the problem.

### Deal denied

PRETORIA — Afrikaner Volksfront media spokesman Mr S Maninger said no secret deal had been concluded with the ANC, the government or any other organisation.

He was commenting on reports that the AVF and ANC had reached an historic deal that would isolate the Conservative Party and other right-wingers from the front.

Any undertaking would have to be approved first by the AVF's general council. — Sapa.



# Search on for new SA symbols

TOS WENTZEL  
Political Staff

□ Commission seeks flag, anthem and coat of arms

THE search is on for new symbols for a new South Africa — a flag, an anthem and a coat of arms.

The multiparty talks have appointed a commission on national symbols to make recommendations before the end of next month.

The commission has invited members of the public and all interested parties to make submissions to it before October 13.

There is general agreement among political parties, except the rightwing, that the present symbols are tainted in the minds of many South Africans.

They are associated with an oppressive regime and a period when blacks had no political rights.

People of colour had no say in the political battle that raged from 1925 to 1927 over the present flag. The new flag was finally hoisted on May 31, 1928. It was a whites-only fight on whether it should be a flag "clean" of any British connection.

At the time of Union in 1910, a flag consisting of the Red Ensign, the British merchant marine flag, with the country's coat of arms imposed upon it was in official use. The Union Jack was flown along with this flag.

In 1927, a patchwork solution was found after three years of sometimes bitter wrangling.

The design was the old Van Riebeeck flag with its broad orange, blue and white stripes with, in the middle of the white stripe, the Union Jack and the flags of the old South African and Free State republics.

The Union Jack was flown along with it on some occasions. In 1957 it was decided to abolish it as an official flag.

The other controversial symbol, the anthem *Die Stem van Suid-Afrika* — a translation *The Call* has not found any acceptance — was first officially used along with *God Save the King* in 1938. In 1957 it became the only anthem.

The origin of the coat of arms with its motto *Ex Unitate Vires* (Unity is Strength) is obscure.

The designer is unknown and

## Legacy of apartheid



**DOOMED DESIGN:** The familiar South African flag, depicting 300 years of trials and tribulations. A flag that has waved proudly, famously and in recent years, infamously, around the world. Now its days are numbered, for in the new South Africa it will make way for something new.

the original grant of arms has disappeared.

It consists of a quartered shield divided horizontally by a wavy line dividing the Orange River. Symbols of the four provinces appear in the quarters and other elements are the lion, a gemsbok, a springbok and proteas.

Symbols commission chairwoman Elize Botha, head of the department of Afrikaans at Unisa, said a new system required new symbols.

These had to give form to a new South Africa at all levels and serve as a unifying factor.

Professor Botha said the commission was trying to "mobilise the creative powers of the people in the search for unifying national symbols although we are operating under daunting time constraints".

Invitations had been sent to a wide range of bodies and interested parties including cultural, youth, student, civic and women's organisations, political parties and specialist music and heraldic societies.

Democratic Party leader Zach de Beer said although his party did not get very emotional about symbols, they were important.

"The duty of the commission is to find symbols with which the largest number of South Africans can identify."

"We have to recognise that a great number of South Africans have probably identified the present symbols with an oppressive regime and it is therefore wise to seek new ones," Dr De Beer said.

Simon's Town MP Jannie Momborg, who represents the ANC, said there was no doubt the country should have a new flag and anthem.

Since 1948 all the oppressive legislation had been passed with the present flag over parliament; it had become associated with the suffering of the people.

People of colour had had no say in its design and there were only white symbols and nothing of Africa in it.

Similarly, the majority could not associate with the anthem as it had only white symbols.

Mr Momborg said it would not be possible to have a new flag and anthem immediately away.

He thought one way out could be to set the tune of *Nkosi Sikelel' iAfrika* to new words.

National Party executive director Olaus van Zyl said the party believed that decisions about a flag, an anthem and sports symbols that could play a unifying role should be taken only after exhaustive negotiations.

The party supported the appointment of a commission and the opportunity that was being created for organisations and individuals to make inputs.

Such national symbols could be very emotional and sensitive. Care had to be taken not to create more problems than what they were supposed to solve.

The ideal should be to develop nation-building and unifying symbols as soon as possible or to try interim measures such as the use of more than one anthem as had been done in the past or perhaps initially no symbols at all.

The commission has asked that the flag should be of a "unique" but simple design.

It must promote national unity. Full-colour designs should be submitted with a brief motivation if necessary.

In its invitation to the public it says the design of the coat of arms had to be unique and representative of the country and its people. A motto should be suggested and designs should be in full colour.

A national anthem should express and promote national unity.

The composition had to be original and submissions should be accompanied by lyrics in any of the languages of South Africa, by sheet music and a demonstration map.

The commission points out that this was not a competition but that all submissions would be carefully considered.

Submissions should be sent to: Commission of National Symbols, PO Box 307, Isando 1600. Fax: (011) 397 2211. Toll free (011) 397 2211.

# Call for DP name-change

Political Staff

**RESOLUTIONS** to be presented to the DP annual congress this weekend call for the party to change its name to the Africa Democratic Party and to create the position of deputy leader.

Other resolutions propose that the party should officially adopt liberalism as its political credo, and call for the imposition of a poll

tax at local level rather than the current local property tax.

If the party were to change its name to Africa Democratic Party it would be first on the ballot list, ousting the ANC from that position.

However, party members said yesterday that the new name was intended to reflect a change in party orientation and to win wide-ranging appeal.

CF 29/9/93 20117  
Substantial changes to the party's constitution are proposed so that it will reflect the new federal-like structure likely to emerge from negotiations.

These include the creation of posts for regional leaders and allowing regional structures to formulate party policy on regional affairs, in line with the powers granted by regional constitutions.



# DP may yet advance to the top of the heap

B/Day 29/9/93  
TIM COHEN

CAPE TOWN — The DP will decide at its congress this weekend whether to change its name to the Africa Democratic Party.

If the party were to become the ADP, it would oust the ANC as the first name on the ballot list in next year's elections.

Party members said yesterday the Mooi River branch's proposal also reflected a change in orientation of the party, necessary to gain wide-ranging appeal.

Other proposals to be presented at the annual congress include officially adopting liberalism as the party's political credo and creating a position of deputy leader.

Substantial changes to the party's constitution are proposed so that the party will reflect the new federal-like structure likely to emerge from negotiations. These include creation of regional leadership posts and allowing regional structures to formulate party policy on regional affairs.

Many resolutions concern economic matters, one of which castigates the NP's economic record and the ANC's "erratic and irresponsible rhetoric" which perpetuates economic uncertainty (304A)

Meanwhile, DP leader Zach de Beer yesterday called a summit of party representatives on the national peace accord structures to confront violence and formulate a DP plan to "make SA safe".

The focus of the summit would be the party's role in an "impartial and effective crackdown against the violence".

De Beer said there was a real danger violence and tension would be heightened if such action were not impartial and even-handed. The DP's security role was crucial, because other parties could not be trusted to secure people's safety.

# Draft law on election tabled

Political Staff

THE negotiating council today tabled the first draft of the Electoral Bill.

The draft law tackles the practicalities of the country's first democratic elections on April 27.

In terms of the Bill all South Africans over 18 with identity documents will be able to vote.

Voters' cards may be issued if the Independent Electoral Commission decides an insufficient number of people have been issued with identity documents.

In a departure from the present legal position, prisoners will be entitled to vote.

The date and number of days the elections will run will be determined by the state president "upon advice of the Transitional Executive Council".

Voters can cast a ballot for the national assembly and for a regional legislature.

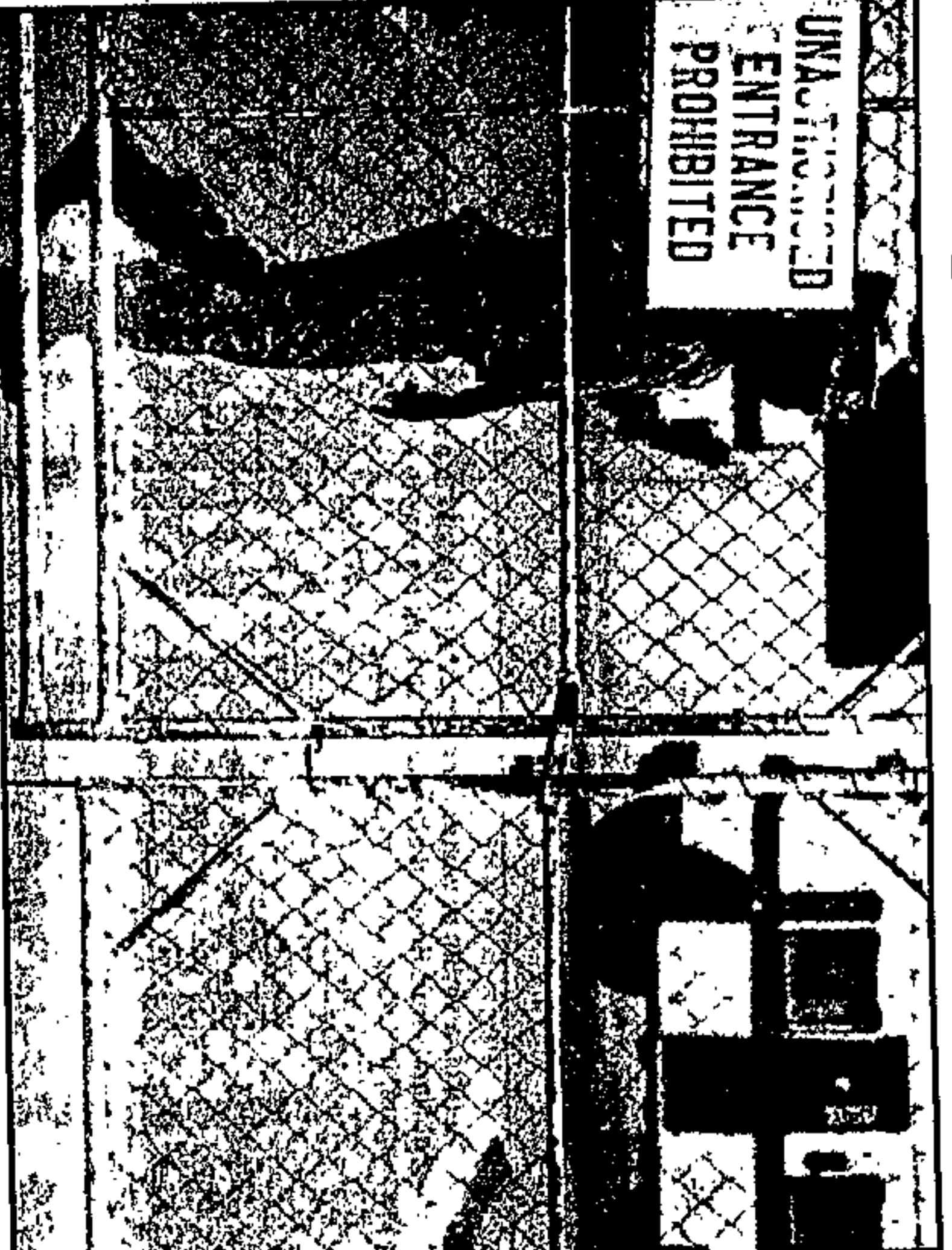
The first draft of the Bill proposes that ballot papers should contain the names, symbols and abbreviated names of the political parties, as well as a photograph of the leaders.



# Ramodike seeks

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UNAUTHORIZED  
ENTRANCE  
PROHIBITED



A member of the South African police stands guard at the computer centre in Lebowakgomo which the South African Government occupied forcibly on Sunday to take over the running of the finances of Lebowa.

## TEC lifeline

Southern 29/9/93

By Don Seokane and  
Mthatha Tsedu

LEBOWA CHIEF Minister Mr Nelson Ramodike yesterday lodged an urgent and desperate appeal to the multi-party negotiating council to take over the homeland's financial affairs through the Transitional Executive Council (TEC).

Ramodike's appeal, sent late yesterday, came in the wake of Land and Regional Affairs Minister Mr Andile Fourse's statement that six working groups had been appointed to administer personnel, security, personnel, administration, financial affairs and the tender board.



Mr Nelson Ramodike

The working groups will effectively replace Ramodike's Cabinet. In his appeal, seen as a measure to stave off the looming orders to vacate the office of the chief minister, Ramodike said the TEC's sub-council on finance should assume full responsibility and functions in the allocation, control or monitoring of funds in conjunction with the Minister of Finance and the Minister of State Expenditure.

Ramodike said Fourse's functions were unacceptable as his own department had been found to be corrupt. He called for the dismantling of Fourse's department.

Ramodike and his Cabinet spent the day yesterday huddled in a meeting with the working threat to interdict Pretoria no nearer to materialising.

Meanwhile, a regional consultative forum made up of Azapo, ANC, SACP, Sanco, Sadiu and the Lebowa Interdepartmental Co-ordinating Forum representing civil servants, met yesterday and condemned the SA Government's takeover and called for a "legitimate body" to control of Lebowa and other homelands.

The forum condemned corruption but said it supported the workers in their demands for full pay.

Fourse, who addressed a meeting in Pieterburg attended by businessmen and other interested parties, said Lebowa's financial affairs were in a shocking state and revealed that the banishment had exceeded its R185 million overdraft facility by R60 million.

He said salary increases, which were the primary reason why the SA Government took over Lebowa, had increased abnormally.

"In one case, 192 officials from the department of justice had their salaries increased from between R24 000 and R49 000 a year, backdated for five years ensuring that the officials received R73 000," Fourse said.

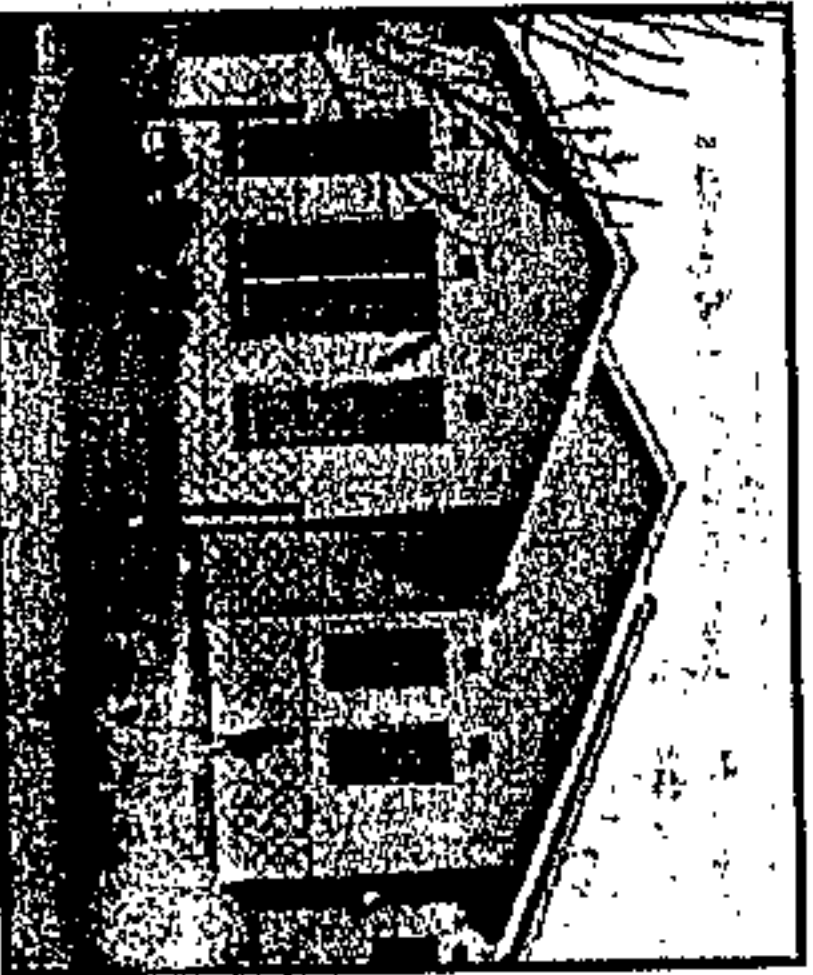
Fourse has, however, promised Lebowa's 60 000 civil servants that they would receive their readjusted salaries by the end of the week.

And as the wrangling went on yesterday, units of the SAP brought in on Sunday to assist in the takeover of the computer centre, remained in the area, preparing for a long stay.

Most computer operators employed by Lebowa were not on duty yesterday, police said. The exception were four who were rounded up from their homes on Sunday and who have not been allowed out.

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WORLD WATCHES SA

## 'The Club' to expand presence

NEW YORK. — The Commonwealth has agreed to expand its presence in South Africa in the run-up to the April 27 election.

The decision was taken at a meeting of mostly Commonwealth foreign ministers attending the 48th session of the United Nations.

The Commonwealth and other international agencies such as the UN are playing a leading role in monitoring the violence in South Africa ahead of the election.

"We agreed to reinforce the Commonwealth contribution and to expand the Commonwealth mission to South Africa," said the Secretary-General, Chief Emeka Anyaoku.

The Commonwealth also planned to provide election monitors closer to April 27 but would co-ordinate contributions with other world bodies. — Sapa.



# Local govt a third tier after poll

Star 29/9/93

## THE TALKS AND YOU



### At the World Trade Centre

#### INTERIM CONSTITUTION:

Chapter 10 of the Interim Constitution, dealing exclusively with local

government, was debated for the first time in the Negotiating Council yesterday.

The debate drifted in circles for most of the afternoon, after it was ascertained that existing local government structures would remain until after the elections as the Interim Constitution would become operational only on the day of the election.

Local Government Minister Dr Tertius Delpont argued that a mechanism should be found that would consider the process of transforming local government during the run-up to elections.

**TODAY:** The council is scheduled to discuss the first draft of the draft Electoral Bill.

ESTHER WAUGH

■ BY ESTHER WAUGH  
POLITICAL  
CORRESPONDENT

Negotiators have agreed to establish local government as a third tier of government.

But local government authorities will be restructured only after the April 27 election because new provisions for these authorities will be contained in the Interim Constitution, which will be enacted only on the day of the elections.

The Negotiating Council yesterday accepted a proposal by Local Government Minister Dr Tertius Delpont that a mechanism should be found to consider interim measures for local government in the run-up to the elections.

The 12-member plan-

ning committee is to consider such a mechanism and will report back to the council.

In terms of preliminary proposals on local government, these authorities will be consulted on their restructuring.

## (304A) Transgression

ANC negotiator Thozamile Botha argued that "the status quo might not change radically".

Technical committee member Professor Marinus Wiechers, however, pointed out that "apartheid local government authorities" would be unconstitutional and a transgression of the Bill of Rights.

The council has approximately four weeks to finalise the draft Interim Constitution.

Star 29/9/93

# AVU will stay in talks

304A

■ BY KAIZER NYATSUMBA

The Afrikaner Volksunie (AVU) will continue to negotiate for an Afrikaner volkstaat within a federal SA, but its position on the April 27 election will depend on whether it obtained anything from negotiations, according to acting leader Gerdus Kruger.

He took over from Andries Beyers, who resigned from the AVU two weeks ago.

Unlike the Afrikaner Volksfront (AVF), which believed in "Afrikaner resistance", the AVU be-

lieved in dialogue and wanted peace, said Kruger (32).

He said some of the organisation's MPs had wanted the AVU to distance itself from the AVF and the Concerned South Africans Group (Cosag). These MPs had since resigned from the AVU.

While the AVU continued to take part in multi-party talks, it would remain in alliance with Cosag and the AVF.

Kruger, who is AVU chief negotiator, Corlia Kruger's husband, said the AVU was not satisfied with developments

in negotiations.

It would be a pity if its concerns were not addressed as that would strengthen the hand of those who wanted to fight.

Kruger said he was not worried about the resignation of the MPs.

He said those who were MPs now would soon cease to be parliamentarians.

The AVU, he said, remained nonracist and had already supplied its proposals for an Afrikaner volkstaat to the relevant technical committee at the World Trade Centre.



Nats 'most  
(304A) favoured by  
CT 30/9/73  
coloureds'

JOHANNESBURG

The National Party is most favoured by coloured people and Asians, securing a 46% and 39% vote respectively, a Markinor research group has found from a Gallup poll.

The ANC came second, mustering 16% of the coloured vote and 17% from Asians.

In a similar survey whites gave the NP a 43% first-choice vote and blacks three percent, while the ANC got two percent of the white and 68% of the black vote.

President F.W. de Klerk as a leader scored 78% of the coloured vote, 73% from Asians, 70% from whites and 35% from blacks. Mr Nelson Mandela scored 70% of the black vote. — Sapa

## Keys urges investors to return

Own Correspondent

WASHINGTON. — Finance Minister Mr Derek Keys appealed here to the international financial community yesterday to return to South Africa with the same zeal that characterised its flight from the country during the sanctions years.

In his statement to the IMF, Mr Keys described foreign funding as "a crucial element" in any future South African economic strategy.

He also promised sound economic policies in a new South Africa and underlined the "co-operative spirit and sense of financial responsibility" that already existed in the country.

## Nats 'most favoured by coloureds'

JOHANNESBURG. — The National Party is most favoured by coloured people and Asians, securing a 46% and 39% vote respectively, a Markinor research group has found from a Gallup poll.

The ANC came second, mustering 16% of the coloured vote and 17% from Asians.

In a similar survey whites gave the NP a 43% first-choice vote and blacks three percent, while the ANC got two percent of the white and 68% of the black vote.

President F W de Klerk as a leader scored 78% of the coloured vote, 73% from Asians, 70% from whites and 35% from blacks. Mr Nelson Mandela scored 70% of the black vote. — Sapa

## 'Progress' in Zulu talks

PRETORIA. — Progress had been made in the bilateral talks between the government and a KwaZulu delegation which continued here yesterday, a government spokesman said.

The talks, intended to woo the KwaZulu government and Inkatha Freedom Party back to the multi-party negotiations, continue in Durban today.

Constitutional discussions were constructive and progress "had been made", he said. — Sapa



# TBVC people

## 'must get vote'

Own Correspondent

JOHANNESBURG. — The ANC yesterday made an impassioned plea for residents of the TBVC states to be given the right to vote in the forthcoming elections.

During the debate on the Electoral Bill at the World Trade Centre, ANC secretary-general Mr Cyril Ramaphosa, who had been absent, suddenly entered the chamber to say it was time to "stop sidestepping this vital issue".

He said that regardless of whether the TBVC states were reincorporated by the time of the election, their residents "cannot be deprived of their basic democratic right to exercise their vote".

He urged the Department of Home Affairs to start issuing these residents with identity documents.

The negotiating council did not decide on the matter but instructed the technical committee to draft sections into the bill to allow for further discussion.

Mr Ramaphosa's intervention was aimed at mobilising support within TBVC territories to push for this right, a senior ANC source disclosed later.

"It is an attempt to put further pressure on the administrations to not delay on the reincorpora-



VOTE PLEA ...  
Cyril Ramaphosa

tion question and, even if this cannot happen in time, at least people there can vote," the source said.

Mr Ramaphosa was opposed by the Ciskei and Bophuthatswana delegations, which said the bill would not be enforceable within their territories.

SA Communist Party chairman Mr Joe Slovo said the government could, within weeks, force acquiescence from these administrations by squeezing them financially.

Mr Ramaphosa said he could not believe the TBVC administra-

tions would want to deprive their residents of the vote.

"They have not stood up and said this. I call on them now to state if they refuse to allow their residents to vote. If they had said this then they are in the wrong forum because this forum is designed precisely to achieve that aim," he said.

It also became obvious in yesterday's discussions that negotiators felt prisoners should be given the right to vote for the first time in South African history.

Only the government, Democratic Party and Afrikaner Volksunie opposed the suggestion. The government said if prisoners could vote they could also sit in parliament.

DP negotiator Ms Dene Smuts noted consensus among negotiators that prisoners be given the vote on the basis that socio-economic crimes were committed because of apartheid. However, she called for prisoners to be categorised so that rapists and murderers could not vote as they had deprived others of their basic rights.

The ANC and SACP, supported by all the other parties, argued that "sick and criminal people should not be doubly punished", saying voting was a basic right. Mr Slovo said it might even contribute to rehabilitating them.

The debate will continue next week.

## AVU drops talks with govt, ANC

Own Correspondent

PRETORIA. — The Afrikaner Volksfront (AVU) called off talks with the government and ANC yesterday and said it would consider other methods to ensure freedom for the Afrikaner.

The government and the ANC have expressed surprise at the AVU's decision.

ANC secretary-general Mr Cyril Ramaphosa and Constitutional Minister Mr Roelf Meyer said they were making progress in bilateral talks with the AVU and the move could compromise a settlement on self-determination.

In a joint statement, AVU chairman Dr Ferdi Hartzenberg and directorate chairman General Constand Viljoen said overseas statements by President F W de Klerk and ANC leader Mr Nelson Mandela made it clear they did not recognise the Afrikaner's right to an independent volksstaat. HNP leader and veteran political observer Mr Jaap Marais said last night it was clear General Viljoen had folded under pressure from right-wing hardliners within the AVF.

## Charges against Sisulu bodyguards withdrawn

JOHANNESBURG. —

Charges of attempted murder have been withdrawn against the three bodyguards of ANC deputy president Mr Walter Sisulu who were involved in a shootout with police in July after Mr Nelson Mandela's birthday party.

The three guards — Mr

Jeremiah Radebe, Mr Jabulani Ntuli and Mr Reggie Makulu — and a colleague, Mr Ismael Molokoane, were escorting Mr Sisulu home when they became involved in a high-speed chase and shootout with a police patrol, resulting in the death of Mr Molokoane. — Sapa

# Volksfront pulls out of talks

B/Daw 30/9/93

PRETORIA — The Afrikaner Volksfront yesterday announced it had withdrawn from all further discussions with the ANC and government. (304A)

Volksfront chairman Ferdi Hartzenberg and directorate chairman Gen Constand Viljoen said statements abroad by President F W de Klerk and ANC leader Nelson Mandela had made it clear that they did not recognise the Afrikaner's right to an independent volkstaat.

"The Volksfront is now forced to give attention to other ways of ensuring the Afrikaner nation's freedom."

Government and the ANC expressed surprise at the decision. Constitutional Minister Roelf Meyer and ANC secretary-general Cyril Ramaphosa said they had been making progress in recent talks with

DIRK VAN EEDEN  
and BILLY PADDOCK

the organisation. They said the move could compromise accommodation on the issue of self-determination. Ramaphosa called it "a bolt from the blue".

Viljoen and Hartzenberg said the Volksfront had held "open and responsible" negotiations with government about the Afrikaner's right to self-determination in an independent state. The issue had also been discussed with the ANC after the ANC asked for a meeting.

However, government's and the ANC's recent conduct had made these discussions impossible. Mandela and De Klerk had made it clear that they did not recognise

□ To Page 2

## Volksfront

B/Daw 30/9/93

□ From Page 1

the Afrikaner's right to self-determination. Mandela had also tried to drive a wedge between the Volksfront and Inkatha president Mangosuthu Buthelezi.

Ramaphosa said the ANC would seek a detailed explanation for the decision as it had a responsibility to keep as many people in the process as possible.

Meyer appealed to the Volksfront to return to talks and find ways of accommodating self-determination issues. (304A)

Neither would comment on speculation that the decision was a result of possible divisions in the Volksfront. But NP spokesman Marthinus van Schalkwyk said the announcement was a desperate attempt by Viljoen to appease the more radical groups in the Volksfront, who had criticised him for talking to the ANC.

Right-wing sources said the statement was the most serious threat yet from the

Volksfront. "It's the beginning of the war."

Hartzenberg and other CP members have threatened that the adoption of the Transitional Executive Council Act would be considered a declaration of war.

Although Viljoen had rejected right-wing terrorism, sources indicated that this policy might have changed. HNP leader Jaap Marais said it was clear Viljoen had folded under pressure from hardliners.

Former Volksfront member, MP Andries Beyers, said it was "an incredibly tragic day" for the Afrikaner when its leaders said the time for talk was over.

"You cannot fight a moral war for an immoral cause. The Volksfront cannot negotiate its policy, because it is based on apartheid and discrimination."

He appealed to the leadership to reconsider its position on negotiations.



# AVF cuts off Govt, ANC

BY ESTHER WAUGH  
POLITICAL CORRESPONDENT

The Afrikaner Volksfront has broken off talks with the Government and the ANC with immediate effect.

Last night both the ANC and the Government urged the right-wing umbrella body to return to the negotiating table.

In a statement, signed by General Constand Viljoen and Conservative Party leader Dr Ferdi Hartzenberg, the AVF cited actions by the Government and the ANC in the "recent past" as the reason.

The movement singled out statements made in the US last week by President de Klerk and ANC leader Nelson Mandela. (30417)

Constitutional Development Minister Roelf Meyer said there was "no reason" for the AVF to have broken off talks.

The issue of self-determination was important to the Government and progress had been made in discussions with the AVF, he said.

ANC secretary-general Cyril Ramaphosa called the move "an unfortunate and drastic step".

The interest of the Afrikaner was best served by continuing talks, he said.

The ANC's Thabo Mbeki last night expressed surprise at the announcement and said the ANC would pursue all avenues to keep the talks going.

The AVF statement was read out during yesterday's meeting of the 12-member planning committee.

The AVF said De Klerk and Mandela had made it clear in their statements that they did not recognise the Afrikaner's right to self-determination.

# 'Double talk' ends volkstaat debate

□ AVF unhappy over 'broken promises'

## Political Staff

PRETORIA. — The government and the ANC had "promised" one thing in private in support of the creation of a volkstaat and delivered a different message in public denying recognition of ethnicity.

This was the explanation given today by leading Afrikaner Volksfront spokesman Tienie Groenewald for the surprise move by his organisation to call off all bilateral talks with the ANC and the government.

General Groenewald stressed that there had been nothing as concrete as a "private deal" reached behind the scenes.

"We were also encouraged by our talks but it appears what they say to us in private and what they say in public are two different things.

"The nail in the coffin was President De Klerk saying in London that there was no way the government could agree to a volkstaat and Mandela saying that the ANC could not recognise ethnicity."

General Groenewald said the AVF did not believe it had as yet made a breakthrough in its talks.

"In private the government said they would support a volkstaat and the ANC was intimately involved in talks about a volkstaat."

ANC national chairman Thabo Mbeki, who had been spearheading talks with the AVF, said he expected communication from the far right today to explain their position.

"In the end how are they going to get their issues addressed if they are not talking? But let's wait and see," he said, unwilling to comment on whether he was optimistic that dialogue could be salvaged.

Constitutional Development Minister Roelf Meyer said he was surprised at the AVF decision in view of the meaningful discussions which have been held.

Speculation that the Conservative Party-dominated executive council of the AVF had overruled talks brokered by AVF leader Constand Viljoen — and had effected this latest move to put a stop to dialogue — could not be confirmed today.

General Viljoen has been widely regarded as more reasonable than CP leader Ferdi Hartzenberg, chairman of the executive council.



*Non-partisan guide for first-time voters*

# Business tackles election education

Star 30/9/93

BY MICHAEL CHESTER

The SA Chamber of Business last night launched a special voter education programme intended to give simple guidelines to thousands of black workers who will be entering polling booths for the first time on general election day, April 27.

Among an audience at a preview of the programme — in a test of political neutrality — was ANC national chairman Thabo Mbeki.

The voter education package, called "Let's Vote", was unveiled at the Sacob annual banquet in Johannesburg, at which Mbeki joined business leaders as principal guest speaker.

In the form of a 12-minute video documentary plus pamphlets, the package will be circulated among a nationwide network of more than 40 000 companies.

"It will also be made available to everyone pledged to the genuine success of the first free

**A PACKAGE to explain to employees the importance of taking part in next year's poll has been launched by Sacob**

and fair nonracial election ever seen in South Africa," said Sacob deputy director-general Ron Haywood.

"The business world as a whole is anxious to take a neutral stance and leave it to employees at all levels to make their own choice of the political party they decide to support.

"But we decided it was a clear responsibility of employers, as part of their affirmative action initiatives, to provide non-partisan guidelines on how to understand the significance of the April 27 election."

Mbeki confirmed last night that the Organisation of African

Unity had joined the international move to lift sanctions against South Africa. (30/9/93)

Mbeki said that the next priority should be to plug the loopholes that were allowing the massive drain of millions of hands out of the country.

He appealed to businesses to co-operate in ensuring that loopholes in exchange controls were plugged and emphasised that it was vital that the lifting of political apartheid must be accompanied by an end to economic apartheid.

Haywood said the objective of the programme was not to tilt voting one way or another, but to show voters the simplicity of casting votes — in total confidentiality and protected from any sort of intimidation or outside influence.

The videos and pamphlets, he said, would be available in all five main languages — English, Afrikaans, Xhosa, Zulu and North Sotho. Distribution would start next week.

Star 30/9/93  
Coloureds,

Asians back  
NP - poll

The National Party is the favoured party among coloureds and Asians, securing a 46 percent and 39 percent vote respectively, a Markhor research group has found.

The African National Congress came in second strongest, mustering 16 percent of first votes by coloureds and 17 percent among Asians. (30/9/93)

The findings emanate from a Gallup poll on socio-political and economic trends conducted among 400 coloureds and 400 Asians in metropolitan areas in July this year.

In a similar survey of whites and blacks, whites gave the NP a 43 percent first choice vote, and blacks gave 3 percent.

The ANC received 2 percent of the whites' first vote and 68 percent of blacks' vote.

The Inkatha Freedom Party received a 1 percent vote among both coloureds and Asians.

The research showed President de Klerk to be more popular than his National Party among coloureds — 78 percent said he was a good leader.

ANC president Nelson Mandela scored 70 percent of black votes and 14 percent among coloureds and Asians. — Sapa.

KWAN SEE passed away on

sowetan 30/9/93

# No vote in homelands

## Sowetan Correspondent

RESIDENTS of the homelands will not be able to vote in next year's April 27 election unless the areas are reincorporated into South Africa by then. (304A)

The Technical Committee on Constitutional Matters — which is drafting the Interim Constitution — told the Negotiating Council that the legal position was that only South African citizens could vote in the next elections.

Replying to a question by African National Congress secretary-general Mr Cyril Ramaphosa, Dr Francois Venter of the Technical Committee said: "The legal situation is that citizens of the TBVC states cannot have the vote without having South African citizenship restored or obtaining it through naturalisation." ~~ISI~~

The matter will be debated in the Negotiating Council at the World Trade Centre in Kempton Park when the issue of citizenship comes up for discussion again.



talks table ● New owner fears eviction from flat

# AV urged to return to talks table

*Sowetan 30/9/93*  
*(30449)*

**T**HE AFRICAN National Congress and Government have moved quickly to urge the Afrikaner Volksfront to return to the negotiating table.

The AVF yesterday broke off talks with the Government and ANC with immediate effect.

In a statement, signed by General Constand Viljoen and Conservative Party leader Dr Ferdi Hartzenberg, the AVF cited actions by the Government and the ANC in the "recent past" as the reason.

The movement singled out statements by President FW de Klerk and ANC leader Mr Nelson Mandela, made last week in the United States.

"The AVF is now forced to give attention to other methods of guaranteeing the Afrikaner's freedom," the movement

## DRASTIC STEP

Ramaphosa says country's future hangs in balance:

said.

Constitutional Development Minister Roelf Meyer said there was "no reason" for the AVF to have broken off talks.

The issue of self-determination was important to the Government and "progress" had been made in discussions with the AVF, he said.

ANC secretary-general Mr Cyril Ramaphosa labelled the move as "an unfortunate and drastic step". The interest of the Afrikaner was best served by

continuing negotiations, he said.

Ramaphosa said progress was being made with the AVF in determining a "framework around which we can find a solution". "We are afraid they might be rolling back progress (we have made)," he said.

The ANC and Government urged the AVF to return to talks. Ramaphosa said the country's "future hangs in the balance" and the AVF's concerns could best be addressed in talks.

# Draft Franchise Bill Sowetan 30/9/93 tabled for first time

A DRAFT electoral Bill which would give the franchise to blacks for the first time was tabled in the negotiating council at the World Trade Centre yesterday. (304A)

The Bill spells out the basic arrangements of voting in preparation for South Africa's first election for a constituent assembly on April 27.

The draft legislation also proposes the inclusion of prisoners in the election, thus reversing present legislation which excludes them.

Although voters will need identification documents to cast their votes, the possibility of issuing voters' cards for certain categories of citizens is suggested.

The Transkei and Venda governments have indicated they would pass legislation for reincorporation to enable their citizens to vote for a united South Africa.

Tensions rose when Ciskei and Bophu-

thatswana governments hinted they would not participate in the election and opposed moves to include residents of "independent" homelands in the country's first "democratic" election.

This was after African National Congress chief negotiator Mr Cyril Ramaphosa suggested that a clause be added to the Bill to provide for the inclusion of the TBVC states in the election.

Bophuthatswana negotiator Mrs Ntsebo Mangope said her homeland would not be dictated to by the ANC and Government. Ciskei's Mr Mick Webb said the homeland would rather participate in regional elections.

South African Communist Party chairman Mr Joe Slovo said it was "unthinkable" that South Africans could go to the polls without the participation of people in the "independent" homelands.

The council is now in recess until Tuesday.



# NEWS

*Plans include homeland voters*

## Negotiators tackle poll nuts and bolts

**ALTHOUGH** South Africa may pass a law enabling homeland residents to vote in April, it is uncertain this can be enforced

■ **BY ESTHER WAUGH**  
POLITICAL CORRESPONDENT

The Negotiating Council yesterday began tackling the practicalities of the April 27 election with the tabling of the first draft of the Electoral Bill.

In terms of the draft legislation, all South Africans over the age of 18 with identity documents can vote. Voters' cards may be issued if the Independent Electoral Commission decides that an insufficient number of people have been issued with identity documents.

In a departure from the present position, prisoners will also be entitled to vote.

The date and number of days of the election will be determined by the State President "upon advice of the Transitional Executive Council".

Voters will be able to ballot for the National Assembly as well as a regional legislature.

The first draft of the Bill proposes that ballot papers should contain the names, symbols and abbreviated names of the political parties, as well as a photograph of the leaders.

Registered parties contesting the election should provide a deposit of R50 000 and R20 000 for contesting elections "in

### THE TALKS AND YOU



#### At the World Trade Centre

**DRAFT ELECTORAL BILL:** The tabling of the first draft of the Electoral Bill in the Negotiating Council was accompanied by a spirited debate on who will be entitled to vote.

The draft Interim Constitution provides for South Africans over the age of 18 to vote. The ANC and SA Communist Party asked that the franchise be extended to all South Africans, including those living in the homelands. This was opposed by Ciskei and Bophuthatswana. Home Affairs Minister Danie Schutte argued that the issue should be dealt with in the constitutional debate.

The next meeting of the Negotiating Council takes place on Tuesday, when the draft Interim Constitution will be discussed. A series of bilateral talks will take place over the next five days.

ESTHER WAUGH

each of any other legislature".

Meanwhile, the moment of truth is beginning to dawn in the multiparty negotiating process for Ciskei and Bophuthatswana.

The ANC yesterday launched a push in the Negotiating Council for the franchise to be extended to all South Africans, including those living in the homelands — a move opposed by Bophuthatswana and Ciskei.

Ciskei government negotiator Mickey Webb agreed with ANC secretary general Cyril Ramaphosa that the South African Parliament could make such a law, but added that its enforceability was not guaranteed.

The Bophuthatswana government said an Act extending the vote to citizens in the homelands could not be applied

"extra-territorial".

Webb said his government would favour the holding of regional elections before national elections. He told The Star that a referendum could be held in the homeland to determine whether its citizens wanted regional and national elections simultaneously.

SA Communist Party chairman Joe Slovo said: "It is utterly unthinkable that we can proceed to have an election which will exclude South African citizens within the boundaries of the TBVC states."

Replying to Webb's statement that such an Act would not be enforceable in the homelands, Slovo said it was "a joke" and had nothing to do with its enforceability but rather "the issue of political will".

ber 30 1993

# FW wins Asian and coloured support

BIDAY 30/9/93

THE NP, and in particular President F W de Klerk, enjoyed majority support among coloureds and Asians, according to a Markinor Gallup poll released yesterday.

The poll was conducted among 400 coloureds and 400 Asians in metropolitan areas during July 1993.

The ANC came in second strongest, mustering 16% of first votes by coloureds and 17% among Asians.

Markinor deputy MD Christine Woessner said the poll showed NP support among the two groups could grow to 50%. However, up to 30% of people interviewed would not answer the question: "If there were elections tomorrow, which organisation would you vote for?"

De Klerk, 31% of coloureds said, was leading the country "very well", while 47% felt he was leading the country fairly well.

Among Asians, 23% said De Klerk was leading the country very well and 50% felt he was leading the country fairly well. However, only 6% of blacks felt De Klerk was leading very well but 29% felt he was leading fairly well. Just less than a quarter of whites thought he was leading very well.

Asked: "Who should lead all South Afri-

PATRICK BULGER

cans?", 58% of coloureds and 46% of Asians and whites answered De Klerk.

Nelson Mandela scored badly with coloureds and Asians with only 14% of respondents saying they would like him to lead.

Among blacks, however, Mandela emerged as the undisputed leader with a 70% vote. Only 3% of whites favoured the ANC president.

DP leader Zach de Beer was one of the few other leaders who elicited a mention. Allan Hendrickse, Mangosuthu Buthelezi, Clarence Makwetu, J N Reddy and Joe Slovo did not feature at all among coloureds and Asians.

Asked to score the leaders on a scale of one to 10, Buthelezi received a score of 4.2, Mandela fared slightly better but De Klerk emerged as the clear winner among coloureds and Asians.

"Coloureds and Asians are thus largely positioned in the political centre with little inclination towards radical movements," Woessner said.

"The NP and De Klerk are in the clear lead with the ANC and Mandela second. The gap between the two parties at present is still substantial. It remains to be seen how the situation develops."

## Licensed liedjies back on the air

BIDAY 30/9/93

PRETORIA — Radio Pretoria went back on the air yesterday after Home Affairs Minister Danie Schutte granted it a temporary licence to broadcast during October.

Mossie van den Berg, chairman of the owner, the Afrikaner Kulturbond, said yesterday's broadcasts were "test transmissions" approved by Schutte.

The licence had been granted on the condition that the station, opened 11 days ago by Afrikaner Volksfront chairman Gen Constand Viljoen, promoted Afrikaner culture and did not broadcast political programmes.

Boerestaat Party leader Robert van Tonder said yesterday that government was guilty of the most severe form of bias

DIRK VAN EEDEN

by imposing the restriction.

"All existing transmitters daily broadcast left-wing propaganda, and the SABC's transmissions are filled with long speeches by government politicians and left-wing academics."

He said he hoped government would come to its senses so Radio Boerania (the Boerestaat Party's proposed radio station) could unashamedly fight for the Boer nation's cause.

Van den Berg said the Kulturbond would continue to apply for temporary licences until it was granted a permanent one.



S. A. GOVT. & POLITICS

1993

OCT.

# Outcome 'will be authentic'

By Themba Molefe  
Political Correspondent

(304A) ~~REF~~  
THE outcome of the present negotiations process would be authentic and ought to be accepted as a democratic resolution to South Africa's political conflict, at least the African National Congress and the

*Sowetan* 11/10/93  
Government concurred this week.

ANC negotiations strategist Mr Mohammed Valli Moosa and Minister of Constitutional Development Mr Roelf Meyer spoke to *Sowetan* in separate interviews.

Their comments were against a background of bilateral meetings between the Government and the Afrikaner Volksfront, on the one

hand, and the ANC and Inkatha Freedom Party on the other.

The IFP is boycotting the Kempton Park table and demands a federal settlement while the AVF is seeking a *volkstaat*. Meyer said present talks with the IFP had shifted from being confrontational to discussing constitutional issues and were bearing fruit.



# Zach may have to go in DP's drive for new beefed-up image

30/11/93

ARL 1/10/93

□ Adding 'African' could put it top of ballot paper

**MICHAEL MORRIS**  
Political Correspondent

DEMOCRATIC Party delegates meet for their annual congress in Cape Town this weekend to boost the party's election readiness and re-assert the DP's role as an independent liberal bloc capable of influencing future government policy.

Meeting in fighting spirit after a year in which it has expanded its support base considerably, defying predictions of its collapse as a political force, the DP will also be seeking to restructure itself as a federal party to match the shift in this direction in the constitutional negotiation process.

This underpins the party's commitment to federalism and constitutional policies to "bring government closer to the people".

More than anything else, however, the two-day congress will focus delegates' attention on strategies to win votes in the April election, recruit new members and hammer home the party's liberal message.

Elections for the national executive and national council — which, it is proposed, should be called the federal executive and federal council — are expected to reflect the DP's shift away from its traditional power base.

However, speculation a few weeks ago that Dr Zach de Beer's leadership was to be challenged has been dismissed by the party.

This was reinforced when one of the MPs rumoured to be a keen contender, Houghton MP Tony Leon, disclaimed in a speech in parliament any ambition to fill a national role in the party.

Nevertheless, the congress will be asked to consider creating a new post, that of deputy leader, to bolster the DP's leadership profile.

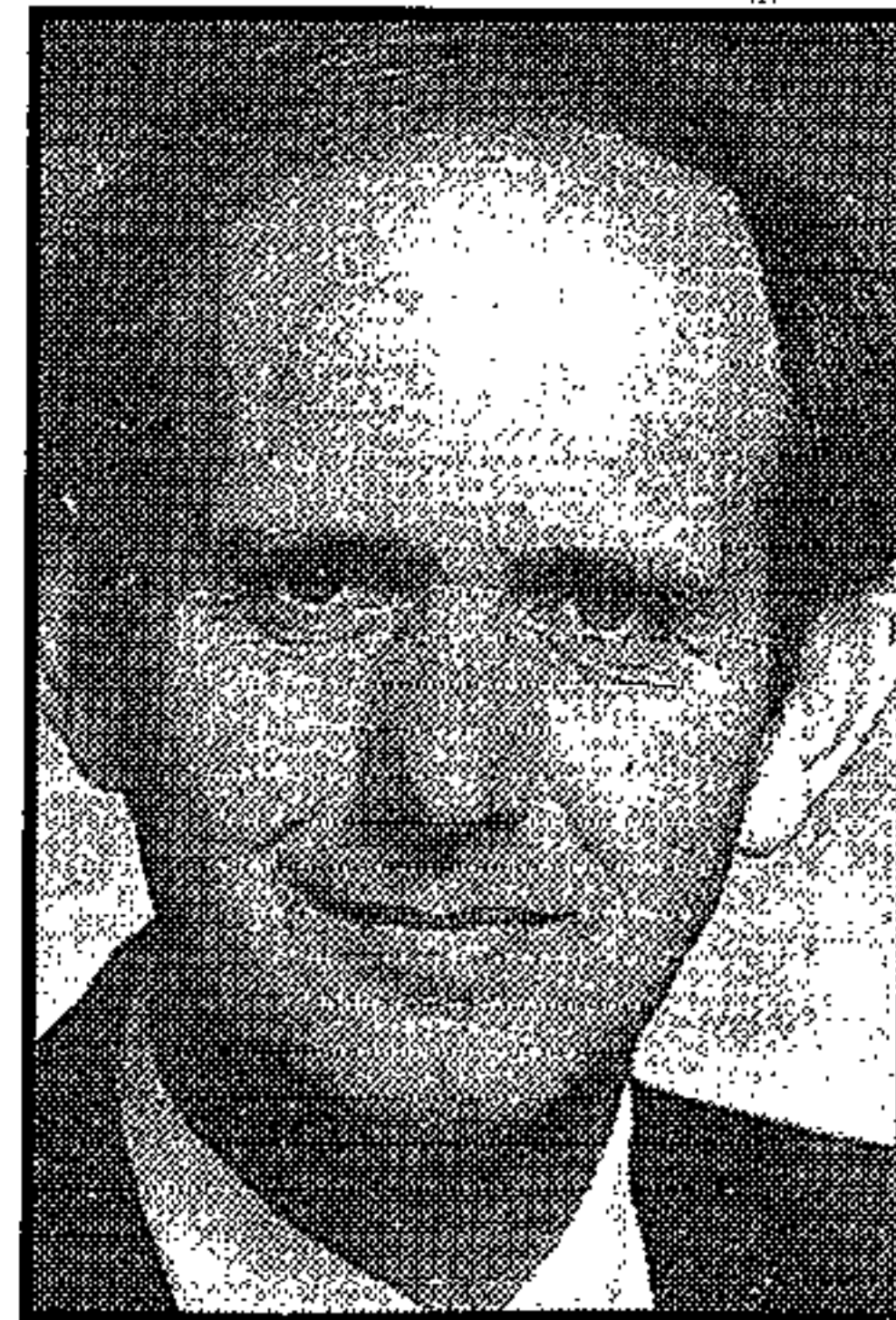
This idea has the support of some MPs who are known to feel Dr De Beer's style of leadership lacks the impact the party needs in the coming crucial election campaign.

National chairman Ken Andrew and former Labour Party Minister Chris April have been mentioned as possible candidates for the deputy leadership position ... if the congress agrees to it.

But there is unanimity in the



Mr Tony Leon



Mr Ken Andrew

ranks on the vital role the DP could play.

Congress resolutions emphasise the party's position as "the only liberal democratic grouping independent of all other power blocs" and its need to seek powerful representation in regional and local structures.

The Cape Town City Council rates debacle — a major headache for the DP in the Western Cape — could well be raised as an illustration of the pitfalls of having to assume responsibility for results of past policies.

However, several resolutions underscore the party's commitment to strong regional and local government, and a federal constitutional structure.

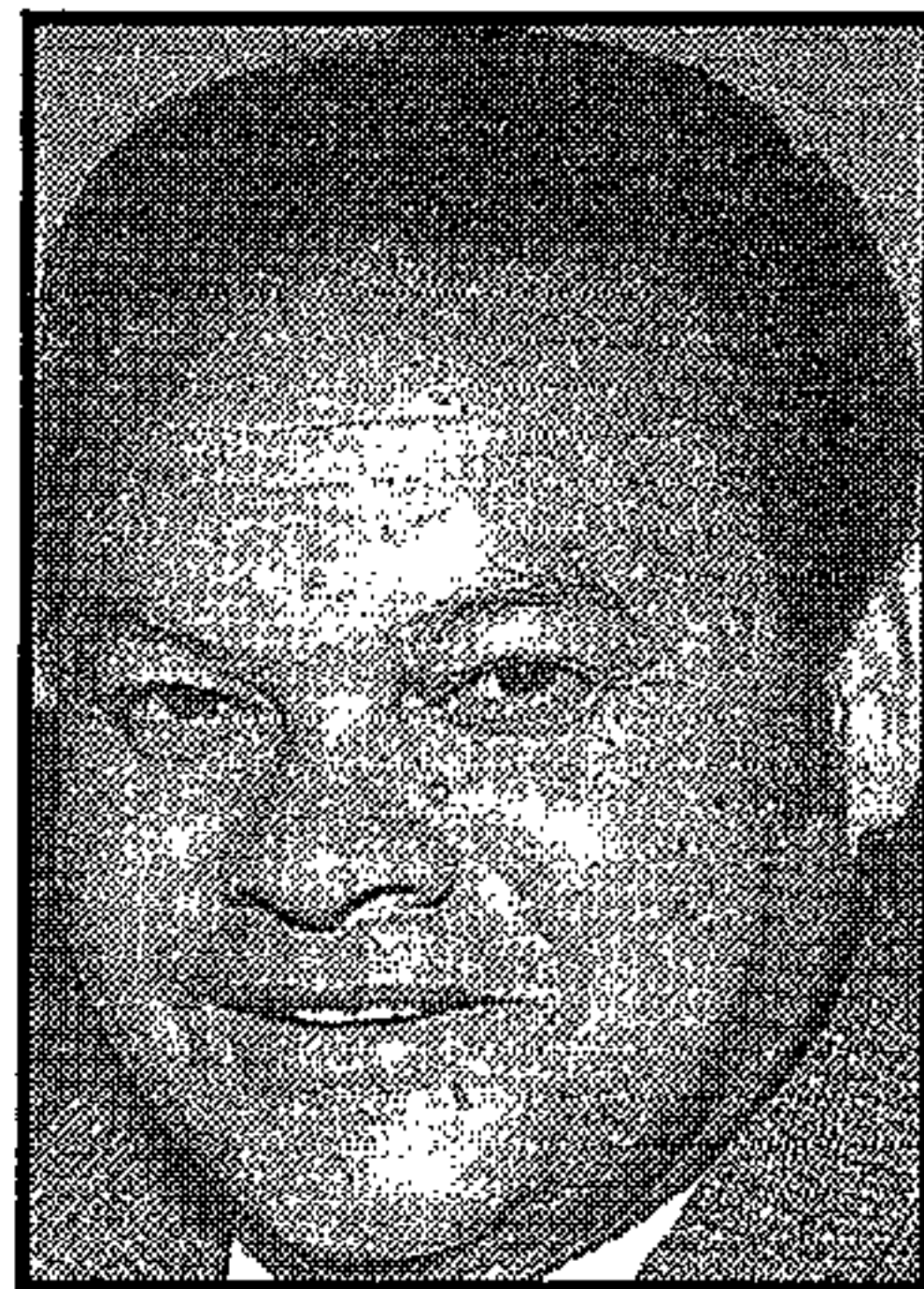
There is also a proposal — from the Mooi River branch — to change the party's name to "Africa Democratic Party" ... a move that would place the DP's block at the top of the ballot paper in the election and, its proponents believe, generate wider appeal among the masses of undecided black voters.

Other key themes in congress resolutions are that DP structures and members should:

- Actively promote peace and tolerance — including mounting their own initiatives — and promote a greater international role in monitoring the election;

- Focus attention on finding solutions to the practical problems of ordinary citizens; and

- Promote practicable strategies to meet South Africa's social and economic challenges.



Mr Chris April

## Police seek witness to bus driver killing

Staff Reporter

PENINSULA murder and robbery unit detectives are urgently seeking a man who saw the killing of a bus driver, Harry "Tubby" September, in Belhar on August 17.

He is Dino Daniels, who is asked to contact Detective Sergeant Mark Deppe in connection with the fatal shooting of Mr September in Roshini Street, Belhar.

Police are offering a reward of R10 000 for the arrest and conviction of the killers. Sergeant Deppe may be contacted at 951 6665.



## Broederbond may change its form

TOS WENTZEL  
Political Staff

THE Afrikaner Broederbond, the influential secret society in the National Party and the government, has taken a step towards changing its present form.

It has held an extraordinary meeting of its Bondsraad (congress) where in-depth discussions took place on its future and continued existence.

Confirming this today its chairman, Pieter de Lange, said it was not a question of summarily disbanding — but radical changes could be considered for the 75-year-old organisation.

He also said there had been a number of resignations but denied these had been at a rate of 500 a month.

The congress considered three alternatives: the disbanding of the AB, disbanding and joining up with other Afrikaner organisations, and the continued existence of the organisation but with radical changes.

The congress decided overwhelmingly that it should continue to exist but it was decided that another congress must be held to consider changes.

## New budget has to be drawn up in record time

Exco studies valuation order

CLIVE SAWYER  
Municipal Reporter

THE city council executive committee was to hold a special meeting today to probe the implications of the Supreme Court's interim order to overturn the 1990 valuation roll.

The council could find itself having to draw up a new budget in record time.

The roll will be scrapped next Friday unless an objector comes forward to show why this should not be done.

Exco will examine reports from various departments, including the city treasurer and city administrator.

It is understood these reports strongly advised against going ahead with the court application. They were tabled at an exco meeting earlier this week but were not discussed.

If the order is made final

the council will have to shape a new budget and set a new rate.

Planning of an alternative valuation system will be done at a series of exco meetings to which all councillors will be invited.

The exco probe is the result of a motion by Arthur Wienburg, amended by John Sonnenberg, so that the meetings will be open to public and Press.

A council spokesman said ratepayers had to pay the amounts on their rates accounts until the valuation roll was set aside by the Supreme Court.

It is expected, if the roll is overturned, that a special council meeting will be called to approve a new budget. This meeting would have to be held as soon as possible after the roll was scrapped.



## DEMOCRATIC PARTY

# Finding the focus

Fun 11/10/93

(304A)

Not all DP traditionalists will be happy with the way their party has changed. But the transformation evident at the national congress in Cape Town last weekend at least gives the DP a reasonable chance of making a meaningful impact in next year's general election.

The shift, from what was often perceived as an intellectual debating society for wealthy whites to a party able to understand and deal with grass-roots issues such as housing and jobs, was marked. Particularly heartening for organisers was the stronger identification with the party by black delegates. At previous congresses they tended to tell white delegates what the DP needed to do to win black support. This year it was noticeable that black delegates felt that they, too, "owned" the DP. Their attitude was more of what "we" must do to further the party's aims, rather than what "you" must do.

The transformation is in line with plans made more than three years ago, when DP strategists realised the party needed to reposition itself to cope with looming political realignment following President F W de Klerk's reforms. Simply hitching a few black coaches to the same old train was not the answer. The image and outlook of the DP had to change but without destroying all that had been achieved over the years by the party and its predecessors.

This year's congress seemed to show that the DP is gaining ground. Officials say black support is growing significantly in line with the transformation and white support, particularly backing from the business community, has not declined. Results of the latest fund-raising drive among large potential donors are understood to be as healthy as in the past. A new campaign to raise election funds will be handled by international fund-raising consultants, and an intensive media advertising campaign will soon start.

But while fund-raising and membership drives in black areas may have been fairly successful, DP leaders seem to have struggled up to now to project a new identity for the party. Its image as a bunch of honest liberal facilitators who are also good at bashing the Nats for apartheid misdemeanours became a secondary issue in the townships. To succeed in winning black support the DP needed to project a distinctly different image — particularly to that of the ANC. The

congress mood indicated that it perceived that this had been achieved.

Zach de Beer, unanimously re-elected leader, shook off recent criticism of his performance with a forceful account of where the party stands and what it hopes to achieve in next year's election.

The ANC is seen as the DP's main target and the mission is to prevent a two-thirds majority vote for the ANC, which will effectively allow it to write its own constitution. De Beer's clarity on this issue was regarded as important. There was an urgent need for him to identify unambiguously the ANC as the DP's main political opponent, particularly in the townships, and to differentiate between the two organisations. The DP's black supporters need this differentiation to cut through what would otherwise be a blur between their views on key issues and those of the ANC.

In his main speech to delegates De Beer said the election would be the most decisive in SA's history and that its impact on people's lives would depend heavily on the DP's performance. "The task of the democrats is to prevent any party achieving a two-thirds majority in the election and then being able to write its own constitution. Let's be frank: we must ensure that the ANC does not win with a two-thirds majority."

He said the final constitution needed to be a product of negotiation between the different parties. Its main aim would be to limit government power and protect citizens. It would therefore be unhealthy for any single party to write the constitution — not least the ANC which had already shown intolerance of other parties, was guilty of gross intimidation and which still embraced communists within its ranks.

A problem the DP and other parties face is that the ANC leads the "liberation" stakes and this will pay a significant dividend at the polls. The situation is exacerbated by evidence of rapidly shrinking support for the NP and the inability of Inkatha to make much impact because of its strong ethnic orientation. De Beer argues that this leaves a critical role for the DP.

"We must fight on our claim that we, not the others, own democracy. It is we who have upheld human rights, not the ANC stone-throwers of Orange Farm (where DP organisers were attacked recently), not the Nats

whose servants killed Steve Biko, Neil Aggett and all the others."

Though a move to create a deputy leader



in the DP was narrowly defeated, the potentially controversial issue of De Beer's leadership was well buried. It seems that those members of the parliamentary caucus who recently lobbied to have him replaced have reassessed the situation and agree that he is the best person to lead the party into the election.

But there will be higher profile roles for regional leaders who, says De Beer, will need to take on the major responsibility of organising the election campaigns in their regions.



## LOCAL GOVERNMENT

### Cape fears

Cape Town's embattled city council met behind closed doors this week for a special briefing by treasurer Eddie Landsberg on the implications of what is arguably the gravest financial crisis it has ever faced. The Cape Supreme Court is today expected to confirm its interim order last week overturning the city's new property valuation roll (Property October 1).

This will leave the city without a budget for the current financial year because it is underpinned by rates revenue raised on the basis of the valuation roll.

Deputy treasurer Peter Lever has already warned councillors to defer non-essential capital spending until the implications of the court action are clearer.

The court application — based on procedural irregularities — to overturn the roll was brought by DP regional chairman Henric Bester and subsequently supported by the

P.T.C. 7



THE STATE OF THE NATION  
Fri 1/10/93

# Two cheers for democracy

It is no function of the media to foster the feelgood factor. If the media have a specific duty, it is to report what's going on and analyse it, for better or for worse, and bearing in mind that absolute objectivity is impossible.

Nevertheless, despite the horrors still being perpetrated, this past week has claims to be the most positive since President F W de Klerk took the irrevocable commitment to reform by releasing ANC president Nelson Mandela on February 11 1990. Consider what has happened:

□ Passage of the Transitional Executive Council Bill has — whatever assurances to the contrary may have been given to mollify conservatives — brought the disenfranchised firmly into the machinery of government decision-making;

□ Mandela's appeal to the UN General Assembly for the ending of economic sanctions has had a quick response from both other countries and bodies like the IMF;

□ A final foreign debt rescheduling writes the final chapter to the debt standstill imposed in 1985 — which, in retrospect, may come to be seen as the final nail in the coffin of apartheid. Together with the renewed access to IMF funds, this may largely remove the balance of payments/foreign reserves constraint that has so bedevilled the management of the economy during the recession;

□ Even the number of local manufacturers with "positive" sentiment is growing, according to the latest Stellenbosch Bureau for Economic Research survey; and

□ Last but not least, though maybe the most unlikely development of all, Constand Viljoen's Afrikaner Volksfront has been talking to the ANC.

The extent of international goodwill that has suddenly welled up is frankly amazing, truly *'n riem onder die hart*. But make no mistake, there's a wide gap between goodwill and significant material help. Not much has changed on the ground back home, as the past week also brought yet another wave of politically motivated killings.

We are already seeing a revival of foreign interest in investing in SA, and even (like the Foodcorp-Pillsbury tie-up) a few deals. Development of a cellular phone network will bring in not only capital, but — arguably even more important — modern technology. Multinational corporations are falling over themselves to emphasise that they want to get into (or back into) SA both for its own attractions, and as an entrée to the southern African subcontinent of which we can now fulfil our natural role as economic powerhouse.

(304A)

But we will not reach our full potential while commuters are gunned down at random and the prospective future government, though slowly being weaned from its Marxist past, still seems incapable of enunciating a coherent economic policy.

We must not rest on our laurels now in a naive hope that all we have to do is wait for the April 27 general election, a peaceful handover and a restoration of economic growth to the 5%+ that prevailed in the Fifties and Sixties. In the first place, it won't happen, and in the second place, even if it would, we just can't wait another seven months frozen in a policy paralysis.

Establishment of the TEC confers not just power on the ANC, but also obligations.

The ANC, for example, will no longer be able to blame continuing violence on the police or a (mythical?) third force, because it will share the responsibility for controlling that police force. Maybe we should even ask the ANC to nominate a new Minister of Law & Order, who after all could hardly be less successful than Hernus Kriel.

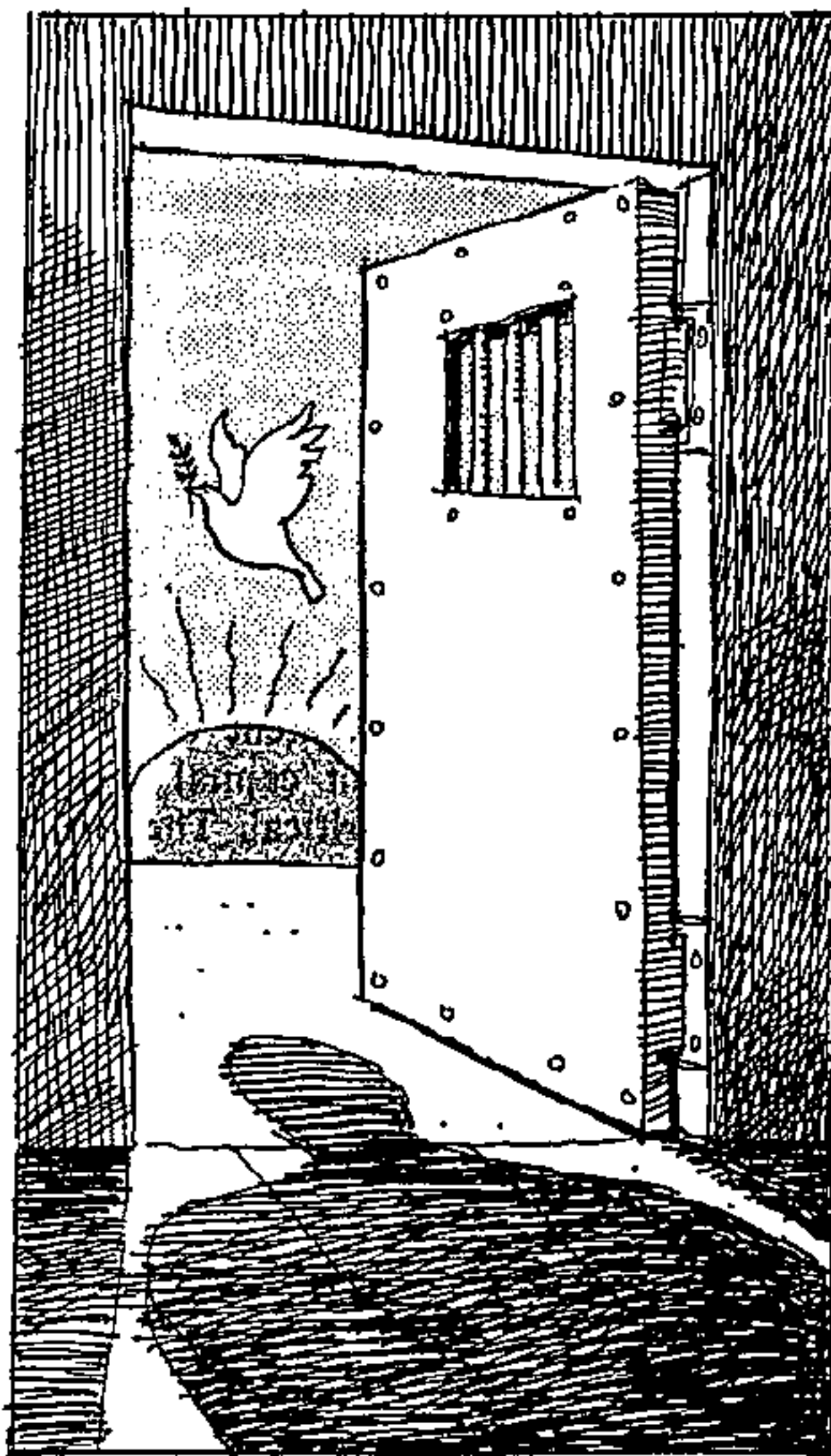
The ANC must also give up its posturing on matters like the cellular phone controversy, accept that government must govern and that that means taking decisions. At a time when the ANC is at last calling for a resumption of foreign

investment, it shouldn't be kicking in the teeth precisely those foreign firms that have made the biggest commitment to the new SA.

From government's side, too, it must be accepted that the TEC is no empty facade or rubber stamp. It must be seen as a first step in the transition rather than yet another way of preserving NP power while seeming to make concessions — a tactic of which the Nats have proved masters.

There are still plenty of pitfalls to avoid, both on the road to April 27 and subsequently. The pressures Zimbabwe President Robert Mugabe is experiencing over the land issue a full decade after his country's independence, when many whites had hoped it had faded away, should concentrate our own minds on the reality that the pressures on a new government to produce will be enormous, and will not lessen with time.

At least we are now firmly set on the right direction, and given what has already been achieved, the chances of ultimate success must have improved. The threat to genuine liberal values remains enormous, and continued change will be uncomfortable for many, but the alternative is too ghastly to contemplate. ■





# DP unveils rescue plan for economy

B1 Day 1/10/93

CAPE TOWN — The DP yesterday unveiled its five-point "economic rescue strategy" which includes tax cuts for middle-income earners, increased privatisation and a massive, labour-intensive housing and development programme.

The strategy calls for the urgent privatisation of Telkom and SAA and possible mothballing of Mossgas.

DP leader Zach de Beer said economic recovery would not be secured by the lifting of sanctions alone.

"A sound and courageous strategy is urgently needed to create growth and jobs."

A DP statement said the strategy should:

- Alleviate the tax burden on middle-income earners through greater efficiency in state expenditure, privatisation and by introducing a lottery to fund welfare expenditure;

- Initiate a massive labour-intensive housing and development programme in conjunction with the private sector;

- Establish export processing zones and redress tariff imbalances;

- Implement deregulation and rationalisation to improve state expenditure efficiency, for example by reviewing and, where necessary, mothballing white elephants such as Mossgas; and

TIM COHEN

- Privatising key state assets, starting with Telkom and SAA, to raise revenue, promote efficiency and roll back the deficit produced by years of NP misrule.

Arguing in favour of tax cuts for middle-income earners, De Beer said the priority was for those at the bottom of the pyramid, but the middle-income tax cut was necessary to develop the latent entrepreneurial potential of this segment of society.

DP finance spokesman Ken Andrew said that during the current recession the tax taken from middle-income earners had doubled. It had given rise to an enormous injustice. Steps had been taken to alleviate the plight of those at the bottom, but SA urgently needed to provide incentives which would grow the economy.

On whether SA could accommodate a significant middle-income tax cut, De Beer said it was to some extent true that the high tax rate on the middle income group was a function of the fact that the low-income group had literally no income at all, and could not be a source of income.

"It can't be impossible to bring it down because it must be possible to reduce government expenditure," he said, adding the "feather-bedding" of the civil service must end. Its productivity was unsatisfactory.

## Broederbond may change its form

TOS WENTZEL  
Political Staff

ARK 1/10/93  
THE Afrikaner Broederbond, the influential secret society in the National Party and the government, has taken a step towards changing its present form.

It has held an extraordinary meeting of its Bondsraad (congress) where in-depth discussions took place on its future and continued existence.

Confirming this today its chairman, Pieter de Lange, said it was not a question of summarily disbanding — but radical changes could be considered for the 75-year-old organisation.

He also said there had been a number of resignations but denied these had been at a rate of 500 a month.

The congress considered three alternatives: the disbanding of the AB, disbanding and joining up with other Afrikaner organisations, and the continued existence of the organisation but with radical changes.

The congress decided overwhelmingly that it should continue to exist but it was decided that another congress must be held to consider changes.



# Govt, KwaZulu talks continue

*Sowetan*  
A HIGH-LEVEL team of Government negotiators met KwaZulu leaders in Durban yesterday as part of a series of bilateral talks between the two parties aimed at facilitating the homeland's return to negotiations. (S) (S)

The South African Government was represented by its chief negotiator Constitutional Development Minister Roelf Meyer and included Ministers Leon Wessels, Dawie de Villiers and Reiner

11/10/93  
Schoeman. The KwaZulu delegation was led by Inkatha Freedom Party chief negotiator Dr Ben Ngubane. (304A)

A spokesman for Meyer, Mr Izak Retief, said it was unlikely either party would make any public statement.

"They're very tight-lipped because this is a series of meetings and they don't want to make statements that might jeopardise future negotiation," said Retief. — Sapa.



# focus on the vote

Sowetan 1/10/93

**T**HE PRESENT population of convicted prisoners stands at 112 000, the majority of whom are black. The first version of the draft Electoral Bill, which explains who will be entitled to vote, was tabled before the negotiating council at the World Trade Centre on Wednesday and sparked off a spirited debate in the chamber.

A clause in the first version of the draft Electoral Bill, entitling South Africa's prison population to vote, was overwhelmingly accepted by the negotiating council.

The draft legislation will replace the present Electoral Act of 1979 which bars convicted people from voting.

The technical committee on the Electoral Bill, backing its proposal for the inclusion of prisoners, said prisoners should only be denied the minimum of rights necessary for their incarceration.

"As voting is not so necessary, it has been decided to delete the bar to voting on the principle of criminality," says the technical committee.

The draft interim constitution provides for South Africans over the age of 18 to vote.

## ANC alliance

The suggestion to include prisoners was welcomed by the African National Congress alliance which strongly argued for the extension of the franchise to all South Africans, including those living in the "independent" homelands.

The ANC, which is enjoying a wave of popularity, stands to gain a lot if the Bill is adopted.

Only the Government, Democratic Party, Afrikaner Volksunie and Bophuthatswana rejected the idea of giving prisoners the vote.

SACP chairman Mr Joe Slovo said that not to grant prisoners the vote would be a "vengeful attitude".

This remark preceded the heated debate which literally put apartheid on trial and the age-old argument that it was the system which created the criminals.

## Deprivation

Those who supported the clause said it was indeed apartheid that had caused deprivation and had created reluctant criminals.

"Why should a man who holds up a bank with an AK-47 and kills four people be allowed to vote?" demanded Afrikaner Volksunie negotiator Mrs Corlia Kruger.

South Africa had the worst criminal figures in the world and thousands of prisoners had already been indemnified, said Kruger who argued that no Western democracy contained such a provision in its electoral laws.

DP negotiator Mrs Dene Smuts called at least for categories of criminals to be barred from

Prisoners might get the vote when South Africans of all races go to the polls for the first democratic elections on April 27.

Political Correspondent **Themba Molefe** reports on the debate surrounding this issue: ~~(233)~~ (304A)



A prison band in action.

voting.

"A rapist is a rapist and I don't think he should get the vote," she said.

Replying briefly to the debate, technical committee spokeswoman Frene Ginwala said there was in fact a trend led by some states in the US and Canada which supported prisoner voting rights.

Some even allowed prisoners to stand for office, Ginwala noted. "But the council can decide on that".

## Debate continues

When the debate continues next week, the prisoners clause will generate heated debates inside and outside the World Trade Centre walls.

Meanwhile, criminologists still have to speak their minds on the issue.

Brigadier Chris Olckers, spokesman of the

Department of Correctional Services, told *Sowetan* that the department would comply with the provisions of the law if it is passed.

The draft Bill also proposes that registered parties should provide a deposit of R50 000 or R20 000 for contesting elections.

● The negotiating council is scheduled to meet again on October 5 to discuss constitutional issues.

A series of bilaterals focusing on outstanding issues including the vital matter of regional powers will fill the intervening week.

Planning Committee chairman Mickey Webb said bilaterals on regions in particular had been given a week to reach completion.

The council has four more weeks to finalise the draft interim constitution to present for endorsement to Parliament when it begins its final 1993 sitting on November 8.



## CONSERVATIVE PARTY

### Which way now?

**The CP** probably did itself far more harm than good when it stomped out of parliament last week in protest at the passing of the Transitional Executive Council Bill. The gesture was symbolic but failed to impress either wing of the divided party which is now caught in a serious dilemma.

The TEC is going ahead regardless of CP opposition. The party will be marginalised unless it either finds some way of returning to negotiations or mounts a credible resistance campaign to stop what it regards as government's abdication in favour of an ANC/SACP alliance. (304A)

At this stage the party does not appear to have a credible plan to achieve either option. A media briefing by CP leader Ferdi Hartzenberg immediately after last week's parliamentary walkout reinforced views that the CP has become the party that cries wolf.

Hartzenberg again made veiled threats of armed resistance if the political process con-

## CURRENT AFFAIRS

tinued on its current course, but stopped short of giving details of what action was planned and gave ambiguous answers when pressed. (304A)

The CP now faces the real danger of losing its leading role on the Right to the more broadly based Afrikaner Volksfront, which is negotiating with government and the ANC to seek a compromise on the accommodation of rightwing political aspirations.

The chances of a further split in the CP cannot be ruled out. While some hardline MPs headed by Hartzenberg are apparently not prepared to compromise on full autonomy for a *volkstaat*, others realise that threats of widespread armed resistance if the CP does not get its way are hollow. Some of them are also talking to both government and the ANC on ways to bridge differences.

Immediately after leading the party out of parliament last week, Hartzenberg told journalists that the approval of the TEC Bill meant government "has put its foot on the road to abdication" and paved the way for an ANC/SACP takeover. The achievement of peace in SA will now be more difficult.

Hartzenberg says the CP will attend next month's parliamentary session to fight against the interim constitution and will continue urging its supporters to oppose the deals being agreed at the World Trade Centre talks. "We will do all we can to convince people in a peaceful way that it is undesirable to go ahead."

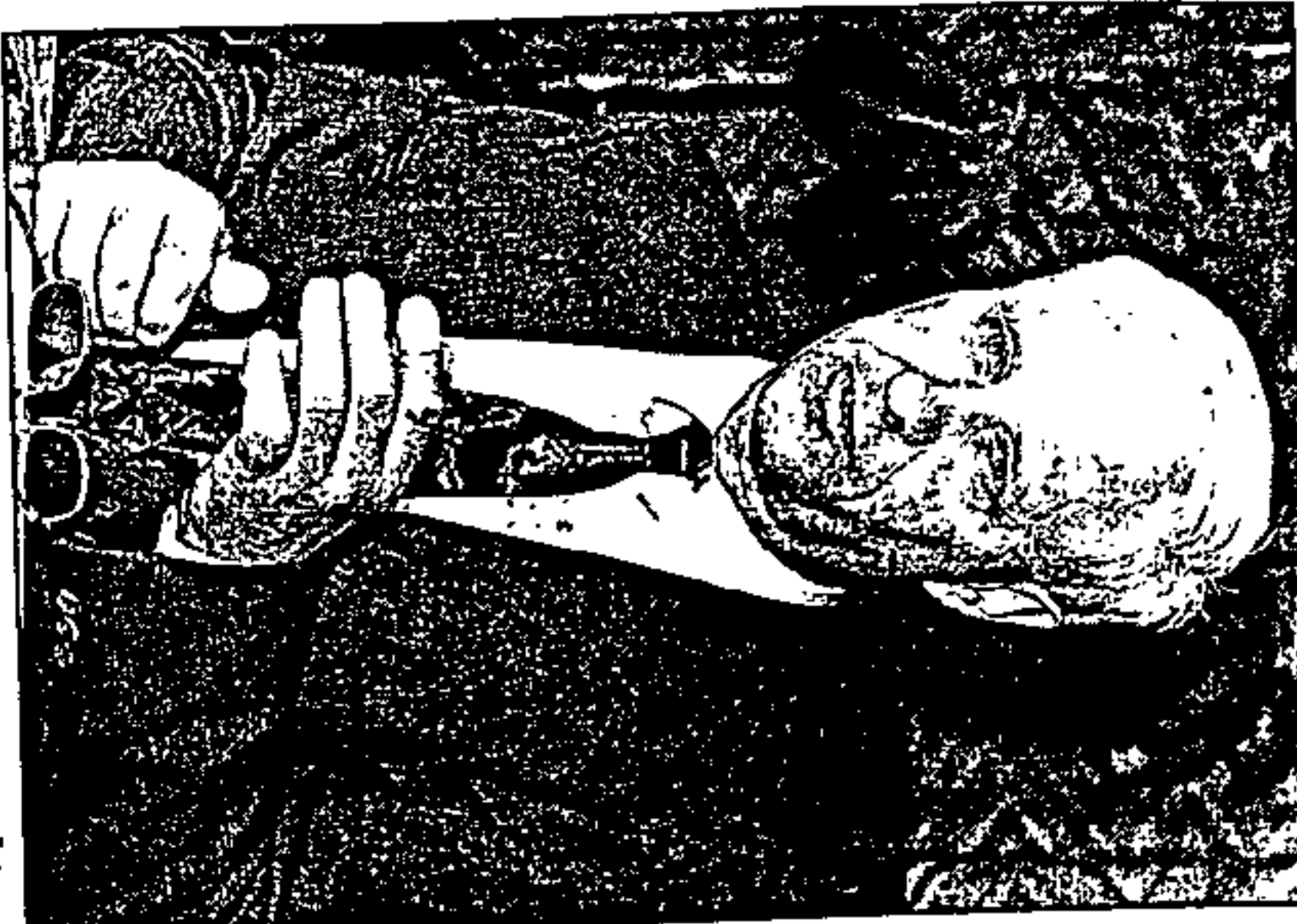
This will include seeking a mandate in selected areas to demonstrate opposition to the TEC and other measures. Representatives of "our nation" would be elected to plan future strategies. The timing of the CP action will depend on when the TEC is implemented.

When asked if the action could include a type of unilateral declaration of independence in a particular area, or armed resistance, Hartzenberg said this would depend on "how things developed" but he insists that the CP will not accept the TEC.

At the CP's Cape congress in George last week Hartzenberg said a series of public meetings will be held soon to debate "other methods" to stop the current political process. Again he gave no details.

In reaction last week to the CP's walkout, Constitutional Development Minister Roelf Meyer says consensus on the interim constitution is far more important than the return of the CP. He adds that he has given no thought to what action the CP could take either to delay or prevent implementation of the TEC. ■

Fm 110193



*Volkfront's Viljoen ... pursuing his dream with the ANC*

creation of such an entity might not be as far-fetched as they once were.

Success would bring with it the white Right's participation in the April 27 general election, adding legitimacy to the result. It would also go a long way towards allaying ANC fears of a violent post-election backlash that could simmer for years, as in the case of Angola's and Mozambique's rebel movements. The ANC clearly believes the white Right has the potential to sabotage the new State unless some of its demands are met.

Talks between the rightwing and the ANC became possible since the now-defunct Volksunie announced its willingness to talk to anyone "including communists." The more pragmatic rightwing leaders, including Viljoen, obviously realised that sooner or later they had to talk to the ANC as the probable election victor, if there was to be any hope of their aspirations being realised. The Volkfront was established to resolve

security problems, particularly in relation to attacks on farmers, and to press for self-determination for Afrikaners who want their own patch. (304A)

Both issues intimately concern the ANC, particularly since it is accused by the Right of being the main instigator of violence and insecurity and because it favours a unitary State — a notion that has been much watered-down in the negotiations process.

It was, therefore, almost inevitable, says Unisa senior lecturer in political science Dirk Kotze, that the Volkfront would sooner or later take up these issues with the ANC. Top-level talks between the two began in August.

Viljoen's preference for a *volksstaat* is an area around the Witwatersrand which embraces 80% of Afrikaners who constitute a 52% majority in it. But it excludes the "rich areas".

The timing of the negotiations is also probably no accident. The multi-party negotiation's technical committee on regionalism is busy finalising recommendations on regional demarcation. The negotiators are also nearing the completion of the interim constitution, which will identify the country's regions. Because of this, Kotze says it is now essential for the Volkfront to make its final bid for its own State.

Viljoen appears to recognise this, pointing out that the next four to six weeks are the most crucial to his organisation's cause.

Though it seems improbable the ANC will agree to a full-blown Afrikaner homeland, Kotze believes there are factors which could favour some area in which a high level of autonomy is given to whites.

"I'm not suggesting an independent State, but possibly some sort of federal dispensation." There is, of course, a danger that it could create a precedent where, for example, homelands might use any such agreement to seek similar status. It could also be a difficult concept to sell to the ANC rank and file, though, as Kotze points out, it would be sold on the basis that the ANC had to compromise.

# CURRENT AFFAIRS

Fm 110193

Kotze doubts that the country will be balkanised, but it could be divided into federal entities accommodating various sectoral interests. (304A) (110)

Clearly, bilateral talks aimed at neutralising or accommodating potential spoilers have become as important as the multi-lateral process at Kempton Park. On the one hand, there are bilateral talks between government and Inkatha, which is on the brink of getting its federal demands largely met; on the other, the ANC tries to bring the white Right on board.

Their ability to find pragmatic compromises could well be one of the issues on which peace in the new SA hinges. ■

## ETHNIC AUTONOMY Fm 110193 Bending over backwards

The revelation of talks between the ANC and Gen Constand Viljoen's Afrikaner Volksfront on establishing a semi-autonomous *boerestaat* may have come as a bolt from the blue, but contact was made some time ago. Moreover, it now seems that hopes for the



# AVF decision to halt talks

## 'unanimous'

Star 1/10/93

■ BY ESTHER WAUGH  
POLITICAL CORRESPONDENT

Conservative Party leader and Afrikaner Volksfront (AVF) co-chairman, Dr Ferdi Hartzenberg yesterday denied that talks with the Government and ANC were broken off because of pressure by his party on AVF co-chairman General Constand Viljoen.

He said the decision to end talks was an unanimous decision of the AVF executive, including Viljoen. (304A)

He denied that the CP majority on the executive had influenced the decision.

Hartzenberg further denied that negotiations were broken off because of discussions between Viljoen and the ANC. "These talks took place with our knowledge," he said.

The CP leader insisted that the move was the result of statements made by President de Klerk and Nelson Mandela.

They had unambiguously stated they did not recognise the need for an Afrikaner homeland, and that there was therefore no reason to continue with talks, he said.

Hartzenberg would not comment on the "other methods" the AVF would use to ensure freedom for the Afrikaner, saying it was "internal business".

# 'SA must honour pacts'

From SIMON BARBER

WASHINGTON. — The Clinton administration vowed yesterday to hold an elected South African government to agreements made at the negotiating table.

It also expressed strong support for a "federal" system in South Africa.

Assistant Secretary for State for Africa Mr Moose said both the US and the international community as a whole would in-

sist that all resultant agreements be adhered to.

"Our support for the new South Africa will be in that context," he said.

The hearing came as the House of Representatives prepared to follow the Senate in adopting a bill to remove most remaining economic restrictions on South Africa.

Several Congressmen are pressing to invalidate state and

local sanctions at a single stroke by having Congress declare them an unconstitutional usurpation of federal authority.

This was necessary, said Congressman Robert Torricelli, a New York Democrat, to avoid the "national embarrassment"

of maintaining sanctions after ANC president Mr Nelson Mandela had called for their removal.



# Volksfront warns of Afrikaner resistance

BIDAY 11/10/93  
(304A)

PRETORIA — The Afrikaner Volksfront had reached the point where it could no longer take responsibility for controlling right-wing anger, Volksfront director Gen Tienie Groenewald said last night.

He said resistance plans would be discussed with Cosag members and the Volksfront board.

Explaining the Volksfront's dramatic withdrawal on Wednesday from any further negotiations with either the ANC or the government, Groenewald said statements ANC leader Nelson Mandela and President F W de Klerk had made on their recent overseas tours contradicted perceptions they had created with the Volksfront in negotiations. Even agreements reached between the Volksfront and government had not been kept, he said.

Groenewald said neither the Volksfront, nor any other Cosag member, would recognise the TEC or accept any authority from it.

He said the Volksfront remained committed to peaceful change but all democratic means of protest had been taken away from the Afrikaner.

Yesterday De Klerk said government would explore ways to ensure negotiations with the Volksfront resumed, Sapa reports.

Addressing the media after talks with visiting British parliamentarians at the Union Building in Pretoria, De Klerk rejected the Volksfront's reasons for pulling out of the talks as a "smokescreen".

DIRK VAN EEDEN

He said he found the move astonishing and a pity as "some progress" had been made in talks.

On the practicality of a volkstaat, he had not said anything overseas which deviated from his stance in Parliament and even his stance before the talks commenced, he said.

De Klerk would not speculate about the true reason for the Volksfront's withdrawal from talks but speculation was rife that the CP, which forms part of the organisation, was behind the pull-out.

The hour-long talks with the British MPs focused on state affairs and the negotiation process.

British Conservative MP Peter Temple-Morris said the group had been awestruck by the speed of change in SA, while Labour Party MP Donald Anderson said Labour wanted to make a constructive contribution.

The delegation will look at assisting in voter education and political tolerance drives.

□ Meanwhile, the NP says it has laid a charge of intimidation against a Volksfront man who allegedly threatened an NP MP to force him to abstain from voting for the TEC Bill.

NP spokesman Kobus Bosman said yesterday Kobus Gous had been warned he would be watched during the voting. If he did not follow orders, Gous was told, he, his wife and his children would be brought before Nuremberg-type trials.

## Party warns of ANC landslide

TIM COHEN

CAPE TOWN — ANC popularity was approaching the point at which the organisation would be able to write any constitution it wanted, which would be a "supremely dangerous thing", DP leader Zach de Beer said yesterday. (BIDA)

"If we are to take some of the opinion polls seriously, we are getting near the point that the ANC might get a two-thirds majority and then it could write any constitution it wants," he said. 1/10/93

"One does not have to hate the ANC to believe that would be a supremely dangerous thing." (304A)

Outlining the priorities for the DP's congress, which begins tomorrow, De Beer said the party had to ensure that the proposed government of national unity was just that.

Another problem the DP would have to discuss would be the likelihood that the ANC, the NP, Inkatha Freedom Party and the DP would put forward nearly identical policies.

The NP had copied DP policy "with a precision that is, in a sense, very gratifying". The ANC had followed, though not quite so closely, and Inkatha and the DP had always had much the same policy, De Beer said.

Voters would therefore have to make up their minds whom they trusted and who were the real democrats.

The congress would have to discuss peace, jobs and clean government. "Our record speaks for itself," he said, adding that government would be on the defensive on all three topics while the ANC and Inkatha had been heavily involved in violence.



# DP to hold important talks for coming elections

FRANS ESTERHUYSE, Weekend Argus Political Correspondent

THE Democratic Party will enter next year's election with a considerably strengthened commitment to a truly federal system of government for South Africa if key proposals before its national congress this weekend are adopted.

High up on the congress agenda are motions seeking not only to reinforce the party's federal image, but also to change the DP's structure, organisation and constitution accordingly.

The congress, to be attended by about 550 delegates from all parts of South Africa, is to be opened officially by DP leader Dr Zac de Beer at a Sea Point hotel today. Discussions will continue all day and tomorrow.

Much of the discussion is expected to focus on the coming elections, the DP's campaign to win votes, and ways of reducing political violence to make free and fair elections possible.

Also high up on the agenda is a motion from Port Elizabeth asking the DP to appeal to the multiparty negotiating forum to identify regions "with great care and sensitivity", taking into account the interests of local communities.

This motion provides an opportunity for dealing with the controversial issue of boundaries which has unleashed storms of controversy in both the Eastern Cape and the Western Cape.

Another key motion — from Edenvale — calls on the DP to commit itself to

fighting for "a truly federal system of government in which as much power as possible is exercised at local government level."

The motion also seeks to ensure that ordinary South Africans are enabled as much as possible to take part in the negotiating process, particularly in regard to the boundaries and powers of local authorities and federal states/regions.

A series of amendments to the party's constitution is proposed in a motion designed to strengthen the party's federal character. According to an explanatory note, the DP has always promoted federalism in South Africa, and the party's organisation and structure should, therefore, reflect this commitment to federalism.

It is proposed, among other matters, that the party's federal council should establish a regional council for each region in South Africa. The party should also have a regional leader in each region, and this person could, for example, be the premier of a regional government in a region where the DP wins the election. The regional chairman would continue to perform administrative and managerial functions.

The national executive of the DP youth says in a motion that South Africa needs

a liberal democratic party independent of all other power blocs, and only the DP is capable of fulfilling that need. It calls on the party to do this by becoming the government.

Several motions seek action by the party to ensure peaceful election conditions.

The Gelvandale branch calls on the DP's national leadership to persuade all political parties to show tolerance in the run-up to the election and "to eradicate intimidation of any sort."

The party's Natal Midlands regional executive calls for the establishment of a united security force — to include all armed formations — during the run-up to next year's elections.

The Yeoville branch urges the DP to condemn those organisations and individuals responsible for breaking up recent DP meetings. The motion calls on all political parties and organisations to endorse and adhere to a code of conduct.

Hillbrow asks for the establishment of a special board or committee by the Independent Electoral Commission to hear cases of incitement to violence, intimidation and the breaking-up of political meetings. Persons found guilty of such incidents should forfeit their right to nomination as candidates on any party list in the coming elections.

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# DP plan accommodates AVF and IFP

By ANTHONY JOHNSON

THE Democratic Party's national council has backed a five-point constitutional plan which it says should accommodate the stated demands of both the Afrikaner Volksfront (AVF) and Inkatha. Both groupings are boycotting multi-party talks and the AVF announced this week

that it was also breaking off bilateral talks with the government and the ANC. However, the DP's national council — meeting ahead of the party's two-day national congress which begins in Cape Town today — identified "key elements" capable of drawing disgruntled parties back into negotiations.

The council said that in a deeply divided society like South Africa the interim constitution, bill of rights and constitutional principles should cater for the plural nature of the society and incorporate federal principles. In this regard, special attention should be given to:

- A federal form of consti-

tution for an undivided South Africa with specified minimum areas of regional competence written into and entrenched in the constitution;

- Each level of government having its own legislature and executive;
- Proper protection of the rights of individuals;
- A two-thirds majority as a

minimum requirement for the adoption of each clause of a new constitution, and

- A truly independent constitutional court.

"These key elements would seem to be able to accommodate the stated demands of both the AVF and the IFP," the DP national council said in a statement. CT2/10/93



# to stay as head of DP

*Sunday Times*  
Sunday Times Reporter

ZACH DE BEER was unanimously re-elected national leader of the Democratic Party yesterday. 3/10/93

At its two-day national congress in Cape Town, the DP turned down a proposal that a post of deputy leader be created. (304A)

In an opening address he labelled "the most important speech I shall ever make", Dr de Beer mapped out a clearly defined path for the DP.

The party was determined that the ANC should not be given a blank cheque to write SA's new constitution. Voters should remember that the National Party's record was tainted with the trampling of human rights and racism.

"For us, and many South Africans, the Nats are an unacceptable alternative to the ANC."

"The soul" of the DP was human dignity, he said.

The battle against apartheid had been won, but the danger to human dignity was "still with us".

Dr de Beer said the DP had appointed international consultants to help it raise the funding necessary for the "mother of all elections" next year.

"On their advice, I have taken the leadership of the fund-raising campaign on my own shoulders. I am determined to do it well but, believe me, there will be tasks for every one of you," he said.

At the start of the proceedings, delegates and observers stood in a minute's silence for the victims of SA's violence and for peace.

Congress accepted a resolution, put forward by former SA Air Force chief Lieutenant-General Bob Rogers, MP for Walmer, that a "Youth Service Corps" be set up to create jobs and raise the quality of life for all South Africans.

General Rogers said such a corps could help bring violence under control.



# Crisis after crisis wracks the DP

3049 WM 1-7/10/93

The Democratic Party has been seriously damaged by defections, internal divisions and allegations of false promises of houses for voters, reports **Chris Louw**

**D**EMOCRATIC PARTY delegates meet in Cape Town tomorrow for the party's annual national congress, knowing that the DP is in serious difficulty less than seven months before the country's first democratic elections.

The party has suffered debilitating setbacks in the past weeks, mostly in the Western Cape. And the beneficiary in many instances was the Inkatha Freedom Party, which is winning support in the Western Cape on the basis of its strong insistence on federalism.

The DP's public image was seriously dented by a series of events, including:

- A highly damaging bid by junior MPs to oust Zach de Beer.

- Vicious squabbles between the "old guard" and "young Turks" in the party caucus.

- Defections by recently acquired coloured members on the Cape Flats, and by white organisers, mostly to the IFP.

- Allegations in the Western Cape of false promises of housing for squatters in return for party membership.

- A row involving Cape Town's DP city council and the parliamentary caucus, with the acting DP Western Cape leader insisting on the resignation of the city's DP-supporting executive committee.

- Recent resignations from the DP by city councillors in Randburg and Cape Town to join the African National Congress.

As DP officials this week tried to downplay the internal conflicts, the entire branch executive of the coloured suburb of Blue Downs, except for the vice-chairman, resigned from the party. Citing "white paternalism" as the main reason, Blue Downs branch chairman Patrick Damons and 10 of his executive committee members crossed the floor to the IFP. They claim to have taken between 500 and 1 000 DP members with them.



Former DP regional organiser Edgar Louw

Damons claimed the DP did not represent the interests of the man in the street. "They are a party for the upper classes ... All they want from coloured people is their votes." He was particularly concerned that most senior posts in the Western Cape regional executive were filled by whites.

He said there was also resistance to the "priority treatment" given to Joe Marks, previously an ANC activist and now the DP's deputy leader in the Western Cape. Marks, according to Damons, was seen by whites in the DP as a "big fish". Consequently he was given concessions that did not apply to other coloured members in the DP, including invitations to high-level meetings before he was elected deputy leader.

"We saw this as a form of paternalism," Damons said. This "paternalism" was further confirmed when the DP head-office decided to open an office in the Tafelsig constituency without consulting the branch chairman in the area, Bertie Fisher. Marks and DP Western Cape chairman Jasper Walsh rejected the allegations.

Damons' resignation follows accusations by about 60 Manenberg families that they were promised houses by the DP if they joined — a pledge that was never fulfilled.

The families, many of them squatters, claim they were promised houses in Delft on the Cape Flats by Isaac Samuels, an organiser in the DP office and chairman of the Manenberg branch.

As a result, half of Samuels' executive committee, including his vice-chairman, resigned at the end of August. He, however, denies the claims, although Marks said "a certain amount of manipulation" was always possible while there was a housing crisis in the Western Cape.

What is not denied is that at least one high-ranking coloured DP parliamentarian was involved in a controversial scheme of allocating houses built with public funds at his own discretion. The scheme was agreed while the Labour Party was still in power in the House of Representatives, and was approved by former housing

minister David Curry, who has since joined the DP. The scheme allows each of the Western Cape House of Representative MPs 20 houses in Delft to "give to people in need".

Many of these houses, it is alleged, are allocated with party-political motives.

Walsh openly distanced the party from the scheme, adding that it only became aware of the problem after Curry had joined the party.

The dust has still not settled after DP Western Cape regional organiser Edgar Louw recently left the party to join the ANC. Accusing the DP of "inflating its membership", Louw claims to be personally responsible for the formation of 44 of the DP's 49 branches in coloured areas.

His claims were rejected by McLoughlin, who said Louw was sacked for "absconding" after failing to turn up for work for three weeks.

Damons, who joined the DP at the beginning of the year, predicted this week that at least five other branches in the coloured areas of greater Cape Town would resign shortly and cross the floor to the IFP, taking between 3 500 and 4 000

members with them.

Confirming that the IFP was making "significant inroads into the coloured community", IFP Western Cape organiser Malcolm Bagley this week claimed his party had between 10 000 and 11 000 members in the area. The IFP opened its Cape Town office in March of this year, but it already has 50 branches.

Among the new IFP members were some DP officials, including the former Goodwood branch chairman, Chris Boonzaier, and an ex-DP organiser, Pierre Wilkens.

The reason for the IFP's success, Bagley said, was its simple message: "Let the Capes rule the Cape." Damons said his constituency and the IFP believed strongly in federalism.

The DP's problems in the coloured community reflect the general state of the party, which recently led to a bid by a group of junior MPs, led by Lester Fuchs (Hillbrow), to have De Beer replaced as leader by Tony Leon, MP for Houghton. The bid was thwarted, but bad feelings are still simmering beneath the surface.

Last week the sparks flew at a DP caucus meeting in Cape Town, with Fuchs and Peter Soal (Johannesburg North) reportedly accusing each other of "leaking" information about the conflict to the media.

According to reports, it was decided at the caucus meeting to strengthen the DP's national leadership by changing the party's constitution to allow for a deputy leader. This is seen as an effort to accommodate pressure from the coloured community to be represented on national level, with indications that the post will go to House of Representative MP Chris April.

This week the party was immersed in another crisis after a damaging public row between the parliamentary caucus and the DP city council of Cape Town, following a highly controversial approval by the council to raise municipal rates.

The parliamentary caucus took the exceptional step of applying to the supreme court to have set aside the rates increases which were approved by its own members in the city council. The council has now followed suit.

## THE UNIVERSAL FAVOURITE





# Court action stops state shredders

304A

WM1-7/10/93

A halt has been called to the destruction of classified documents following this week's settlement of a supreme court application.

**Gaye Davis reports**

**N**EW instructions on sensitive state documents were sent to government departments by the Security Secretariat this week — this time asking that they be handled strictly in compliance with the Archives Act.

The new circular follows this week's out-of-court settlement of a supreme court application brought by Lawyers for Human Rights national director Brian Currin.

Currin brought the application after a report in the *Mail & Guardian* revealed that all government departments had been told to destroy classified documents not needed for immediate administrative purposes — especially those relating to the National Security Management System.

In terms of the Archives Act, no document may be destroyed without the authorisation of the director of state archives. But the National Intelligence Service (NIS), which administers the Security Secretariat, had obtained legal opinion declaring classified information exempt from the Act.

This legal opinion has now effectively been overturned as a result of Currin's court challenge.

His attorneys accepted on Monday a tender made by the state attorney on behalf of those called to respond to Currin's application: the state president, the minister of national education, the director of archives and the director general of the NIS.

In terms of the tender, the respondents recommitted themselves to

unconditional compliance with the Archives Act and accepted that classified or confidential documents were to be dealt with in terms of the Act — while denying that they had, in the past, acted in contravention of it.

The director general of NIS undertook not to order, advise, authorise or ask any person, department or head of an office to destroy any documents simply because they were classified or confidential, and to take steps to ensure documents held by NIS or at premises occupied by NIS were also not destroyed simply because they were classified.

The minister of national education and the director of state archives undertook to inform department heads to take steps to ensure no classified documents were destroyed simply because they were classed as such and that to do so would be a contravention of the Archives Act.

Currin said he was satisfied with the outcome of his application. "The original instruction has been withdrawn and a fresh one issued to all directors-general requesting strict compliance with the Act."

Security Secretariat head Johan Mostert's new circular, dated September 27, advises all directors-general: "to avoid creating problems and misunderstandings following my recommendation of July 16 1993, you are hereby requested to, as in the past, manage all state documents strictly in accordance with the Archives Act".

A Justice Department statement said it was "totally incorrect to draw any inference other than that the government has, as in the past, committed itself to deal with this issue strictly in accordance with the law of the country."

"This court case has in fact vindicated the government's past and present policy and course of action in this regard."

# Homelands pose election problem

WM 8-14/10/93 (101) (304A)

The participation of the homelands in next year's elections is one of the greatest problems facing negotiators, writes **Chris Louw**

**W**ITH negotiations coming to a head, the parties at Kempton Park will soon be forced to grasp the harshest nettle — reincorporating the so-called independent homelands into South Africa and making them part of the elections.

While there is little doubt homeland citizens will take part in the elections, the crucial question is how Bophuthatswana and Ciskei, particularly, will be persuaded to allow free political activity within their borders before April 27 next year.

One possibility is that homeland citizens will be allowed to vote whether their governments agree to it or not — even if it means setting up polling stations on the boundaries of the recalcitrant "states". This could see the downfall of leaders such as Bophuthatswana's Lucas Mangope and Ciskei's Oupa Gqozo, whose popularity is highly suspect.

But the problem is that neither the government nor the African National Congress wants to do anything that might cost them votes.

Transkei and Venda have already indicated their willingness to surrender their "sovereignty" and allow elections in their territories.

Bophuthatswana, however, says it first wants to see a final constitution before deciding whether or not to rejoin — and this could take more than two years. And Rowan Cronjé, the country's chief negotiator, wants to sit in on the Transitional Executive Council (TEC), effectively allowing his "independent" country to take part in the political activities of a neighbouring country. Ciskei is equally reluctant to accept reincorporation.

The ANC insists the government "closes the financial tap", to force the homelands back into the fold. "We are convinced they'll quickly return if the South African government shows the will to cut off their support," ANC spokesman Carl Niehaus said this week; the ANC would prefer "not to see a military solution".

According to the South African Institute of Race Relations, South Africa last year allocated 85 per cent (R4.93-billion) of the homelands' budgets. Bophuthatswana received more than R960-million, Ciskei more than one billion rand, Transkei almost R2.5-billion and Venda R743-million.

The problem is that FW de Klerk's government cannot afford to get tough: while economic sanctions would undoubtedly have the required effect, they would hurt the average homeland citizen in the pocket — and the National Party would be blamed.

The NP does not want the chagrin of the homelands' population before the first democratic elections in the country's history; it needs their votes.

Asked this week what the government's views on the reincorporation of the homelands were, Manpower Minister Leon Wessels left little doubt that the citizens of the TBVC states would be voting in the elections, whether or not their countries became part of a democratic South Africa.

"It is the present government's view that the TBVC states must become part of the constitutional future of South Africa," Wessels said, adding that they would be expected to participate in the transitional mechanisms which will be created. It was unthinkable, he said, that the citizens of the TBVC states not participate in the coming elections, and everything possible will be done to ensure their participation.

Political observers believe the government will slowly put the screws on Bophuthatswana and Ciskei, involving them in the process right to the end and then confronting them with a "final package" of agreements. These would include the four transitional Bills already passed by parliament, as well as the transitional constitution, the federal boundaries and the new electoral Bill presently being negotiated.

An issue provoking heated debate at Kempton Park — that of issuing identity documents — may in the end provide a solution to the problem.

The huge backlog in registering voters could see the negotiating council decide to accept homeland IDs, including passports from the "independent" homelands, for voting purposes.

**H**omeland citizens could then vote in a national election whether their governments agreed to it or not. Their votes would count for both regional government and the national assembly.

If, as seems likely, most Ciskei and Bophuthatswana citizens vote for parties other than those of Brigadier Oupa Gqozo and President Lucas Mangope, their ensuing legitimacy crisis could bring their governments crashing down.

The homelands' only answer would be not to allow polling stations in their countries. But this, say observers, could be overcome by erecting polling booths on the boundaries — allowing homeland citizens to vote with their feet.

Another tantalising intricacy involves the role of the Independent Electoral Commission, whose task will be to declare the elections free and fair: whether its powers will extend to the "independent" homelands is not yet clear. After elections, the IEC will have enough say with the newly elected government of national unity, which will then control the homeland purse-strings. Thoughts of being dependent on an unsympathetic central government should be enough to concentrate minds in Ciskei and Bophuthatswana.



# Sticking an old spoke in the liberal wheel

Debates at the Democratic Party's national congress reflected attempts to shift the DP from the old school to the new order, writes **Chris Louw**

**O**NE of the toughest debates at the Democratic Party's recent national congress dealt with how to address the chair — as "chairman", "chairperson" or simply "chair".

Issues such as gearing up for the country's first democratic elections, presenting a strong and forceful profile to potential voters, addressing the much-needed reconstruction of the economy and changing the DP's constitution to provide for a federal party reflecting the federal realities of a new South Africa, were forgotten for most of last Saturday afternoon in Cape Town's Arthur's Seat Hotel.

In the end, "chair" won the day — though not with the two-thirds majority needed to change the party's constitution. Changing the form of address in the constitution was not really an issue affecting the aims, principles or programmes of the party, it was decided.

Just how difficult some of the old guard found it to adjust to non-sexist language was apparent even when issues of real substance were discussed. "I am not addressing you as federal chair but as financial spoke," was how Gardens MP Ken Andrew introduced the economic debate.

Party leader Zach de Beer first addressed Andrew, the newly elected federal chair, as "Mr Chairman", before correcting himself and referring to him as "old spoke".

If De Beer's sense of humour reflected something of an old school mentality, it was not shared by almost a third of the 550 congress delegates. They represented the new, browner, less privileged face of a non-racial DP — and it wasn't smiling.

They also represented an enormous constituency of have-nots, putting pressure on congress to look beyond liberal language to harsh realities. Sniggers elicited by acting chair Chris April's demand on Sunday that delegates stop reading newspapers and start listening died away when he added: "The economic issue is very, very important. Remember, we will have to report back to the poor."

Jeff Leonard, representing the Atlantis constituency, told delegates 52 percent of people in the sprawling West Coast township were jobless. Only President FW de Klerk and African National Congress Nelson Mandela were seen on television ask-

ing for foreign support. "It is important that the DP be seen to negotiate for jobs," he said.

Sipho Moganedi of Tembisa, one of the few African faces present, urged congress to "openly start supporting housing projects — something that will change the face of this country".

It was difficult, he said, explaining to people in townships why they should support the DP if the party was not seen to deliver their needs. "The DP must come with a stabilising scheme for people who cannot repay the bonds on their houses. In this way the people in Tembisa will know the DP is doing something for them."

**B**y contrast, the Sandton branch expressed a completely different concern — that an "unfair" one-off reconstruction levy would apply to "people perceived to have accrued material possessions at the expense of others".

Just how far apart delegates' worlds are was illustrated on Saturday when it was announced that arrangements had been made for a boerewors stand to serve delegates outside the hotel. While many took to the road, the old establishment enjoyed their lunch in the hotel's luxurious lounge.

If the economic debate served to expose the duality of a DP trying to become a mass-based party after the destruction of apartheid, the issues of abortion and the death penalty

revealed equally serious divisions. "Although I regard myself as pro-choice on abortions, I am not prepared to split the party on the issue," was De Beer's pronouncement on the subject.

Accused shortly before the congress by junior members of his own caucus of failing to provide strong leadership, De Beer — whose re-election was unanimous — backed a resolution that the issues instead be referred to two committees of "suitably qualified and representative persons ... to investigate and recommend policy", thus cutting short an emotive and possibly divisive debate.

The resolution was accepted — rather reluctantly by women activists in favour of abortion.

The issue of strengthening DP leadership by giving De Beer a deputy had Cliff Nasson (MP, Bokkeveld) arguing the post would give the DP the chance of showing it was not a party for whites only. He was supported by one coloured speaker after another, most arguing it would be a way of "reaching grassroots". But in the end, the old school ties won the day and the motion was overwhelmingly rejected.

Another chance of showing a different face in the leadership structure was lost when Andrew was elected federal chair ahead of former University of the Western Cape rector Professor Richard van der Ross.

If not reflected in the national lead-

ership, the DP's new face was seen clearly in its youth choir which opened and closed proceedings with the DP song: "One nation, one future ... DP will take you to the new South Africa, will fight for your rights ..."

Adjusting to the new South Africa is, however, easier sung than done. In his opening remarks, Andrew paid tribute to diplomatic representatives from all over the world — including, as a reminder of the old South Africa, someone from the Republic of Venda.

There were also resonances of the National Party when DP Youth proposals were referred to the party's policy review committee and the next congress — an old NP trick to avert debates on "juvenile issues".

**K**obus Jordaan (MP, Umhlanga) also threatened to resign if the word "liberal" entered the preamble of the party's constitution, arguing that he was taught values in a nationalist, not liberal, house.

It was decided Afrikaans and English would be the DP's official languages. While Afrikaans-speaking delegates delighted in the decision, Jordaan's Zulu-speaking interpreter, while fluent translating from English, became completely ineffective when trying to translate the Afrikaans parts of Jordaan's speech. Such a decision may indicate the constituency the DP is trying to reach.

Translating came easier to Van der Ross, who turned De Beer's reference

to the "mother of all elections" to "hier kom 'n moerse verkiesing".

Afrikaans also gave Brian Cooney (Border/Kei) an escape-route from using sexist language: he began his speech with "Meneer die voorsitter", only to continue in English.

The extent to which debates on non-sexist terminology will have to make room for tough politicking on the ground was graphically illustrated by Kate Alexander (South Cape). Being elected to DP leadership in George was, she said, like being elected to the "kerkraad": "I soon found out that it was not the case, when the intimidation started."

William Mnisi (Southern Transvaal) warned delegates: "The ANC is sowing hatred in the black communities, telling people not to associate or mix with whites."

Attacking the NP and the ANC was the main theme of the congress. It started with De Beer, in "the most important speech of my life", stating that neither could be trusted to govern the country; continued with Tony Leon (MP Houghton) saying neither was "at home with freedom" and ended with Andrew claiming both would destroy the economy.

Graham Retief (Paarl) sounded a sober warning, saying the DP should spend less time criticising the Nats and the ANC. "We tend to be blocked into an oppositionist mode. I would ask that we be less liberal, less theoretical and much more practical."



The changing face of the DP ... Delegates at the Democratic Party's national congress

PHOTOGRAPH: BENNY GOOL



wm 8-14/10/93 (30471)

# Ruts in the road to democracy

A voter education team headed into the rural areas and discovers teaching people about democracy and voting is no easy task, writes **Carol Gales**

**F**LOYD NGWATO, who runs workshops for the Mobile Video Education Project, has a favourite spoiled ballot he uses to show people how not to vote.

"The man said he voted for the ANC and the PAC because he loves both parties equally," Ngwato explains. "But he hates the NP so he crossed it out."

That ballot was one of hundreds dropped into the Johannesburg-based project's mock ballot box during a recent nine-day training stint in the Pietersburg area.

After visiting 900 people in eight villages, three townships and at the University of the North, the four weary team-members felt their work had just begun.

And they realised it was far more difficult and time-consuming than they had expected.

"They know nothing," David Mulaudzi, a member of the team, said of the new voters.

At Kalkspruit in Lebowa, the last village on the tour, residents asked questions for 45 minutes after watching *The Road to Democracy*, a video about voting procedures.

"Are the churches going to be some of those organisations we're going to vote for?" one man asked, confused after seeing Archbishop Desmond Tutu in the video.

"Why aren't you telling us which organisation we should vote for?" another man asked.

The questions flowed. How do we register? Where? Will we be intimidated? Will policemen be allowed to vote? What's the voting age? Can people in jail vote? What about people in hospitals?

One man, concerned about the fact that people will have their fingers marked with ink after voting so they can't vote again, wondered what the government would do with the fingerprints.

Many of the questions could not be answered because rules governing the election still have to be drawn up. But this was just one of many obstacles facing the voter education team.

A few workshops were cancelled because proper con-

tacts hadn't been made in villages. In others where contact had been made, the team learned it was best to drive along dusty, washboard streets to announce the workshop through a generator-powered loud-speaker propped up next to an open window in the van.

When people showed up, half were small children who wouldn't see the inside of a voting booth for at least 10 years. Many people drifted in late, some after the workshop had ended. In Kalkspruit, the only village with electricity, the team had to hook up its generator after two power failures interrupted the film. And since the only voter-education videos available are in English, Ngwato had to summarise in Pedi after every screening.

Meanwhile, potential voters were so focused on learning to make a clear "X" in the proper box that there was little time to explain what they were voting for: an interim power-sharing government.

The team found that many people, especially the elderly, knew little about political parties.

"You must tell them openly that they must vote for ANC — that the ANC is the party of Mr Mandela," chieftainess Carnation Maraba told the voter education team in Kalkspruit. "They are excited because they want a new South Africa."

But while some people wanted to be told who to vote for, others had known for years how they would vote — once they had the opportunity.

"When we are doing the voting exercise we hear people say they want to vote for Mandela," Mulaudzi said. "They know only Mandela."

When it was time for the voting exercise in Kalkspruit, 21 adults stood solemnly in line in the local government office, ignoring the noisy children running in and out.

They had seen the video. They had asked their questions. They knew what to do. And from the elated smiles they wore as they slipped their folded ballots into the slit in the cardboard box, you'd think it was already April 27.<sup>9</sup>

"We have been waiting for this moment, so we are proud of this — we are very proud of doing this," Elizabeth Mokgata (60) said later. "When I first believed I would be able to vote was when Mandela was out of prison. Then I knew something was going to happen."

"I think the group I chose is going to win," said Simon Mashiane, another voter.

"I feel free and I'm happy," said African National Congress Youth League member Steven Mashita (21). "Now I feel I can teach others to vote."

It was another victory for the ANC, which won the election hands-down with 16 votes. The National Party and Pan-Africanist Congress won two votes each, while the Intando Yesizwe Party, the ruling party of kwaNdebele, earned one vote.

And each ballot was perfect, with one "X" neatly marked in just one box.



# Right plans to go it alone

(3049) Wm 8-14/10/93

The rightwing's opposition to transitional rule includes plans to build a 'government within a government' and storm more buildings.

**Jan Taljaard reports**

**T**HE Afrikaner Volksfront (AVF) is planning to establish alternative structures of authority once a Transitional Executive Council (TEC) comes into being.

This will be the beginning of an "alternative route" towards Afrikaner self-determination that may even see rightwingers trying to take over the buildings housing the Department of Justice, and police and South African Defence Force headquarters in Pretoria.

Regarding any powers wielded by a future TEC as "illegal, immoral, and illegitimate" it is proposed that an "Afrikaner-Boer Transitional Council" will become the rightwing's government within a government.

By the same token the existing Executive Council of the AVF will become its "transitional cabinet" on the way to what the rightwing envisages as an autonomous and independent *volkstaat*.

In what may yet become a major act of civil disobedience, Schalk Pienaar, Conservative Party hard-

liner and MP for Potgietersrus, this week for the first time publicly disclosed the AVF's strategies on alternative structures.

Speaking at a meeting in Pretoria, Pienaar said the formation of the TEC would mark a cut-off point as its authority would not be accepted by the Afrikaner.

The minimum requirement for Afrikaner self-determination was a sovereign, independent and ethnically based state. "If the government and the ANC denies the right to an ethnic state, surely there is nothing to talk about?" Pienaar said.

These disclosures by one of the CP's most senior MPs supports information gleaned from other reputable sources who say AVF strategists have decided on a strategy to "govern the Afrikaner into power in its own state" by disregarding negotiated structures and establishing their own structures from grassroots level upwards.

The campaign against jointly controlled municipal authorities, which has already started, and a scheme to transform existing SADF commando structures into the rightwing's own militia, allegedly all form part of these plans.

This week Pienaar also called concessions to limited regional autonomy a smokescreen (*verblindery*) as, he said, these regions would have no more power than regional services councils.

Stating that an independent

state is the ultimate goal, he said that it can be attained by either peaceful or forceful means.

Peaceful means included plans for communities who want to be part of a *volkstaat* to express themselves strongly in favour of the option. Once a demographic and regional breakdown was established, initial borders could be drawn.

The next step would be to refine the borders as a *volkstaat* would have to be in a consolidated area. Finally, negotiations about borders should be entered into with "groups" living alongside.

**W**hile favouring "peaceful means" as the most acceptable way to achieve the *volkstaat* ideal, Pienaar said if this option was denied, "land will be physically taken by those communities who have the ability to do so. The people of Pretoria must have the ability to support us in negotiations, but if this (negotiations) does not happen they must also have the ability to support other options."

He said this could include physically taking over buildings housing the Department of Justice and the respective headquarters of the police and SADF.

"We'll do what it takes," he concluded. "The next five to eight weeks will be decisive in determining if the time has not arrived to use other options."

# Bizarre solutions to volkstaat problems

30419 WM 15-21/10/93

If rightwingers are granted a *volkstaat*, how will they dominate the area if black people are in the majority? **Jan Taljaard** reports on some of their strange proposals

**T**HE white right is formulating elaborate and sometimes bizarre proposals to deal with their central dilemma: how to achieve Afrikaner dominance in a *volkstaat* inhabited by a majority of blacks.

These proposals include offering financial incentives to "volksvreemdes" (aliens, a euphemism for blacks) to move away; reserved white seats entrenched in the *volkstaat* constitution; and giving blacks votes in the homelands of their alliance partners, kwaZulu and Bophuthatswana.

The issue has been brought to a head by the formation of the Freedom Alliance. At the news conference where the Alliance was formally introduced this week, it was clear that this is the most crucial internal problem it has to contend with.

Fending off repeated questions on the issue

at the news conference, Conservative Party leader Ferdi Hartzenberg managed to stall a clear answer by saying that the problem was being discussed and resolved internally.

The right will not be able to stall forever. Its homeland partners have black skins, and the Alliance's founding manifesto formally "rejects racism, discrimination and sexism".

While favouring a regional or federal dispensation, Inkatha's Chief Mangosuthu Buthelezi was of the view that no special measures should apply to different ethnic groups within a kwaZulu-based region. "Living together in Natal a kind of communality has developed," he said.

Buthelezi also indicated that an "asymmetrical" dispensation — in which some regions might have different or greater powers than others — may be acceptable to him.

His acceptance of this principle may leave the way open for the *volksstaters* to try to achieve their bottom line: Afrikaner rule in a country where Afrikaners are in the majority.

In *volkstaat* think-tanks a debate on how to achieve these ends in a morally acceptable way has been raging for the last few months.

Proposals range from vague economic incentives for "volksvreemdes" to move from a *volk-*

*staat*, to more recent proposals of having a majority of Afrikaner parliamentary seats entrenched in a *volkstaat* constitution.

Acknowledging that the Afrikaner is still in the minority in the area earmarked for a *volkstaat*, strategists see a silver lining in their assessment that 78 percent of *volksvreemdes* in the area belong to the Alliance by virtue of being Tswana or Zulu.

Forgetting that these may not support the Alliance, the *volkstaat* proponents are willing to allow them full citizenship and voting rights in their respective "countries" — such as Bophuthatswana and kwaZulu, but not in the *volkstaat*.

In this way a barter deal can be effected with other regions in which Afrikaners living outside the *volkstaat* will be able to vote in *volkstaat* elections.

Alternatively *volksstaters* refer to the so-called "Blood Laws" in Germany where citizenship is only awarded to people able to prove that they have blood ties with the German nation stretching back to at least 1968.

Such a system will nevertheless only be instituted after the establishment of a *volkstaat*.

Also under serious consideration is a so-

called "sunset clause". This entails a transitional period of about 10 years in which citizenship issues will be regulated by law.

At the beginning of this period all people living inside the *volkstaat* area and associating themselves with the Afrikaner would be accorded full voting rights.

*Volksvreemdes* would get a tenth of the voting power, with another tenth added during each consecutive year that they elected to stay in the *volkstaat*.

In order to achieve an outright majority it is also proposed that barter deals, where human beings will apparently be exchanged like so many cattle, will be entered into with other regions.

It is for instance envisaged that these other regions will accommodate unemployed *volksvreemdes* in exchange for "expertise", Afrikaners wanting to move to the *volkstaat* and joint employment-providing projects.

Rightwing strategists even see affirmative action in an ANC-dominated South Africa as positive, as it will give *volksstaters* the opportunity to do the same in a *volkstaat* — but in reverse.

See Page 14



# Freedom Alliance under pressure

(304A) WM 15-21/10/93  
Chris Louw

PRESIDENT FW de Klerk's threat of a referendum is probably aimed at putting pressure on the Freedom Alliance. With less than seven months to go before the first democratic elections, it seems unlikely that a country-wide referendum will be squashed in.

The reference to a possible referendum to test the popular support for the process of negotiations was made on Monday at the Cape National Party congress in Stellenbosch.

Observers believe it is part of a strategy to pressure the members of the Freedom Alliance. Few of these parties

enjoy strong popular support. They will be vulnerable if a referendum exposes their lack of support.

It is believed that the Bophuthatswana government of President Lucas Mangope is supported by less than half the population of his homeland, with the African National Congress probably the strongest party in the area.

Polls indicate that Chief Mangosuthu Buthelezi will also not win an election in Natal/kwaZulu. Ciskei's Brigadier Oupa Gqozo, who has unofficially stepped down as he is up on a murder charge, is a military dictator who rules his country by decree.

Recent opinion polls, however, indi-

cate that the National Party and De Klerk enjoys considerably more support than General Constand Viljoen's Afrikaner Volksfront.

Threats that the citizens of homelands will be allowed to vote despite their governments' stance, are also meant to put pressure on the Freedom Alliance's homeland partners.

The government's strategy includes exploiting the ideological difference among them — from Buthelezi's non-racialism to the AVF's desire for a race-based confederal state.

It believes that with all the contradictions, the alliance will soon start to show cracks.

# How the new SA will see — and be seen by — the world

WM15-21/10/93 (304A)

At a meeting of interested parties from across the political spectrum, the basis of this country's future foreign policy was laid out.

**Chris Louw** was the only journalist present

**A** NEW foreign policy for South Africa to apply after the democratic elections next year is all but finalised — with the emphasis on the pursuit of human rights and the promotion of democracy worldwide.

The African National Congress' department of international affairs took the lead in formulating the new policy. Work has been going on for a year and a half.

Last weekend, interested parties from across the political spectrum met at the Eskom Conference Centre near Olifantsfontein to put the final touches to the sixth draft of the policy document. According to Professor Peter Vale, one of the drafters, it was the first time in South Africa's history that foreign policy was discussed in the open.

The country's future international relations will be marked by a dramatic shift away from the present government's preoccupation with the West.

The new policy has strong progressive undertones, with the emphasis on disarmament, environmental issues, and close identification with southern African nations. There will also be open solidarity with those countries which assisted in the struggle against apartheid, including Cuba and India.

The policy document expresses a strong commitment to worldwide arms control and states that a democratic South Africa will join the Geneva-based Conference on Disarmament.

Policy on environmental issues will include endorsement of the recommendations of the 1987 Brundtland Report issued by the United Nations World Commission on Environment and Development, and the prohibition of the dumping of First

World toxic waste in South Africa.

Closer identification with African and neighbouring countries includes a commitment to regional "peace-making and peace-keeping".

"(A democratic) South Africa will immediately become a fully-fledged and vital member of that section of the family of nations who hold human rights issues central to their foreign policy," the draft document states. Accordingly, the country will accede to all international treaties and conventions which protect human rights, "and seek to meet all obligations which derive from such accession".

Although there will be a clear shift to a "philosophical policy of non-alignment", a new government will "strive to ensure that increasing global interdependence does not further advantage the North to the expense of the South".

ANC national chairman Thabo Mbeki, who heads the organisation's international affairs department, emphasised at the meeting that the document did not represent the ANC's partisan position. "This is in fact what the rest of the world will see as South Africa's new international policy," he said.

That was also the reason why people representing divergent political views were invited to give an input. The meeting was characterised by lively debate, especially on the issues of a possible peace-keeping force for southern Africa and future relations with the United States and "pariah" countries like Taiwan. Exactly where and how South Africa fits into the new world order was also discussed in depth.

To criticism that the draft policy was written in "hope language", rather than as a positive statement of intent, Vale retorted that popular language was used because it was not an academic paper. "We applied the 'bikini principle' — to cover while keeping the interest at the same time," he said.

On a more serious note, Professor Kadar Asmal, the ANC's constitutional expert, said inequality between nations had been accentuated in the past decade

■ The Critical Consumer column does not appear this week as Pat Sidley is on leave

and that it is in South Africa's interest to ensure that the position of the southern countries is not prejudiced in the world economy.

The South African Communist Party's Essop Pahad took the argument a step further by insisting that "we be part of a broader struggle in Africa".

South Africa's identification with the rest of the continent will be confirmed by acceding to the 1981 African Charter on Human and People's Rights, known as the Banjul Charter. Immediately after elections, South Africa will also seek membership of the Organisation of African Unity.

The outcome of the debate on the country's possible involvement in a regional peace-keeping force was a decision to refer instead to "a common regional security system", a phrase which did not exclude the possibility of a force but also did not imply it. The reasoning was that such a force would not unilaterally be brought into being by South Africa, but would be the product of mutual agreements between neighbouring countries.

Sensitivity to the needs of other countries in the region clearly underlies the stated regional policy. "The construction of a new regional order should be a collective endeavour ... and should not be imposed either by extra-regional forces or any self-appointed 'regional power'," says the draft document.

Some delegates said the document was almost too apologetic, that it tended to state what South Africa would not do, instead of carrying a positive message. Vale pointed out, however, that in the aftermath of apartheid destabilisation, a new government would have to reassure the neighbouring countries that South Africa would not dominate them.

It was decided at the meeting that South Africa needs a professional foreign service which will be independent of the narrow confines of party politics. "As far as possible, the activities of the foreign service should be open to public scrutiny and public accountability," states the draft document.

The final version of the draft will be referred to the ANC's national executive committee for ratification.



By **THEMBA KHUMALO**  
Political Reporter

**I**NKATHA will never realise its dream of a federal state in Natal and KwaZulu no matter how hard they try, ANC leader Nelson Mandela allegedly told Chief Mangosuthu Buthelezi during their meeting at Kempton Park in July.

Addressing guests in Johannesburg during a debate on the role of the TEC, Inkatha spokesman Dr Ziba Jiyane said during their second man-to-man meeting to try and find a solution to the inter-party political violence among their supporters. Mandela told Buthelezi in no uncertain terms that Inkatha and the KwaZulu Government should forget about pursuing the idea of establishing an autonomous federal state.

Jiyane expressed little hope of Inkatha achieving its goals at multiparty talks at the World Trade Centre as "deals were pre-cooked at bilaterals and bosberade (secret bush talks) between the government and the ANC".

In a surprise disclosure, Jiyane said during their recent visit to Namibia, President Sam Nujoma told the Inkatha delegation that Pretoria and the ANC were making a serious mistake by sidelining them from the multiparty talks.

Said Jiyane: "Nujoma vindicated our stance with regard to the talks and said although his government consisted of a Constituent Assembly, it was ruled by consensus rather than through decisions being taken unilaterally by the ruling party."

Jiyane shared the platform with speakers from the PAC, NP and Azapo on the theme: "TEC - Sellout or Compromise", which was organised by the Dr Oscar Dlomo's Institute for Multi-Party Democracy.

However, despite their absence from the World Trade Centre, Inkatha continued to hold bilateral talks with both the ANC and Pretoria to put across its point on the type of federalism Inkatha and KwaZulu envisaged.

"We stand less chance of making our point inside the multiparty talks than outside. The government has spent more time striking deals with the ANC in secret talks and they expect us to hop along with those decisions."

Jiyane said in their current bilateral talks with the Pretoria, the government was trying to force Inkatha



**BUTHELEZI ... Sticks to his demand for a federal state.**



**MANDELA ... Allegedly told Buthelezi to drop demand.**



**NUJOMA ... Serious mistake to sideline Inkatha.**

# TEC: SELL OR COMPROMISE

3044

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and KwaZulu delegates to agree to "pre-arranged" decisions in a week, yet the government spent a longer period with the ANC in similar talks.

During their meeting last week, government chief negotiator and Constitutional Development Minister Roelf Meyer could not explain why Pretoria spent so much time with the ANC in their secret talks. All he was interested in was to sell the government's views on the draft constitution, Jiyane said.

Jiyane accused SACP national chairman Joe Slovo of "grandstanding" after he moved that April 27 be accepted as an election date. Subsequently, the agreement was en-

dorsed by a sufficient consensus, which caused Inkatha, KwaZulu and CP delegates to walk out.

Jiyane said Inkatha and KwaZulu stuck to by their demand for an autonomous federal system for their region, because it was the only form of regional majority government which was close to the people and thus able to exercise their will.

He added that a simple majority was not a guarantee to democratic rule here, because the ruling party in a Constituent Assembly might decide to do away with the transitional constitution "on the spur of the moment".

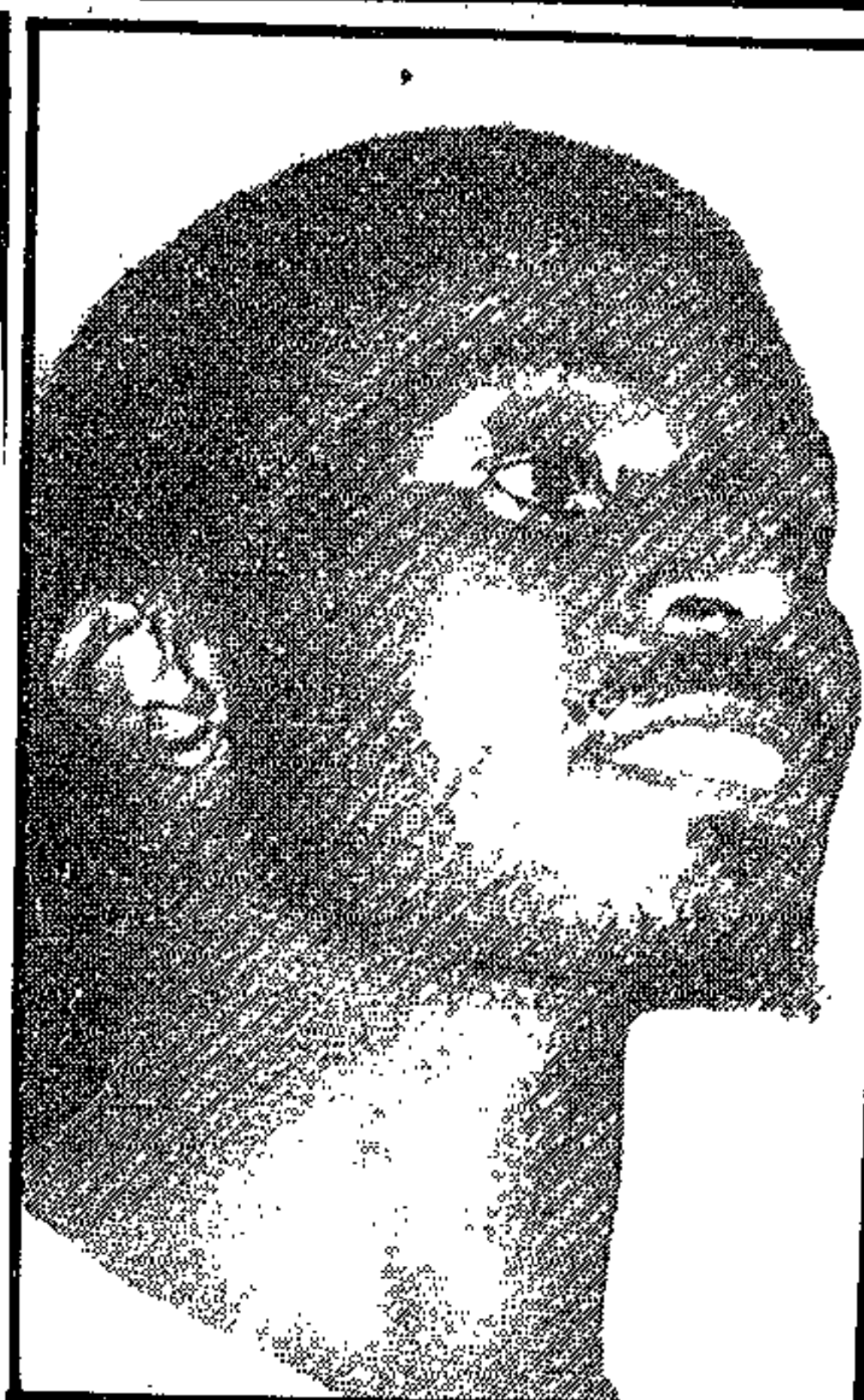
NP executive director Olaus Van

Zyl said any party that was interested in bringing about democracy in this country should be prepared to compromise. Contrary to popular belief, compromising was not a sign of weakness, but of strength, he said.

Most whites polled by the NP recently believed that the party had compromised a lot to the ANC, whereas the same number of blacks also contended that the ANC had gone overboard with its compromises to the government, Van Zyl said.

He disputed Jiyane's allegations that the government struck secret deals with the ANC and said Pretoria had held secret meetings with every party that wanted them. These





**NEMADZIVHANANI ... Rein in disbanded batallions.**



**NKADIMENG ... Azapo will push for blacks not to vote.**

# OUT OMISE?

304A

included Inkatha, the PAC and General Constand Viljoen of the Afrikaner Volksfront.

The NP has dropped its past racial principles and more blacks, Coloureds and Indians were joining it since the party opened its membership to all races two years ago. In the western Cape there were more Coloured NP members than whites, he said.

He said the NP's revamped constitution was based on three principles: The free market economy, a federal system and a Bill of Rights with an independent judiciary.

On the walkout by Inkatha and KwaZulu from the multiparty talks, Van Zyl said the government tried

unsuccessfully to convince them not to leave, but the delegates of the two parties said they had been instructed by their principals to quit.

"The doors of negotiations remain open to them and we believe they can make more contributions to the peace process inside the talks than outside," said Van Zyl.

PAC national organiser Maxwell Nemadzivhanani said his party rejected the TEC because it was a toothless structure, with only supervisory and not advisory powers in the run-up to the elections.

The TEC, he said, lacked the "wings and teeth to protect the interests of the black majority during the

transition".

The control of the security forces and lethal weapons (including guns and sophisticated armoury) was more important to the PAC than anything else because these determined the political scenario during any transition, he said.

He cited the civil war in Angola as a classical example of what normally happened if one party would not accept the outcome of democratic elections.

"Both the MPLA and Unita have dangerous weapons in their arsenals and it's these weapons that are determining the political scenario in that country."

Nemadzivhanani also said there was no guarantee that SADF soldiers would not attack and kill guerrillas at the proposed assembly points during the transition.

He said the concept of power-sharing during the transition undermined the efforts and sacrifices of the liberation movements to fight for the transfer of power from the hands of the white minority to those of the black majority.

Nemadzivhanani warned that as long as the members of the disbanded battalions (Koevoet, 31st and 32nd) were on the loose, they would always be suspected as the ones who were used by the government to kill blacks in massacres at taxi ranks and elsewhere. They must be confined to barracks with the aim of being repatriated back to their own countries.

Azapo general secretary Don Nkadimeng warned blacks against approving the proposed transitional constitution and said under its dispensation they would find themselves worse off than they were.

Nkadimeng, whose speech was largely dominated by sarcasm for those participating in the multiparty talks, referred to section 29 of the draft constitution, and said it addressed the question of the land in only one paragraph.

He said: "The gentlemen at the World Trade Centre have assured those who stole your land that the future government would not expropriate it from them. That's why we insist on the type of elections that will result in the transfer of power from the white minority."

"We'll encourage blacks not to vote on the election day, but I'm not sure if De Klerk will lose, because there are leaders who are fighting for parliamentary seats rather than total liberation of the oppressed."



# UN calls for recognition of minority rights

JOHANNESBURG. — Experience showed that the recognition of minority rights was the best route to political harmony, according to the United Nations World Campaign for Human Rights.

Minorities should be allowed to govern a wide range of matters "internal" to them and should be able to implement this control by levying taxes, it said.

The UN's views on the issue, an

emotive one for most South Africans, were carried in a campaign booklet distributed at an International Human Rights Law Conference at Wits University on Saturday.

Many minorities were subject to grave and persistent violations of their basic rights, it said.

"Long experience has shown that neither oppression — applied in

defiance of international law — nor neglect of minority problems provides a basis for relations between groups with different characteristics in the same country."

Assimilation had sometimes been attempted, but it had often failed. The drive to preserve identity was strong and it applied as much to minorities as to nation states. ~~(282) (3044)~~ "The experience of countries

where a majority of the population lives in harmony with one or more minorities shows that (positive) action takes the path of recognition of minority rights, and includes the means to ensure these rights are respected." ~~CT4/10/93~~

The issue raised some ire from the audience at the conference. One man said recognition of the Afrikaner's rights to self-determin-

nation were "eternally" at odds with the abolition of apartheid.

Another man, whose contribution was applauded, said he was an Afrikaner, but those demanding a volksstaat were a "lunatic fringe".

African National Congress academic Dr Kader Asmal said the recognition of language and culture were acceptable but demands for secession were not. — Sapa

# De Beer re-elected leader at buoyant DP congress

BIDAY 4/10/93

TIM COHEN

CAPE TOWN — The DP emerged from its two-day annual congress yesterday in buoyant mood, reaffirming its centrist position and adopting policies to boost its allegiance to liberalism, federalism and free-market economics.

The congress turned down a resolution calling for the creation of the post of deputy leader, averting a bruising struggle for the post.

DP leader Zach de Beer was re-elected leader unopposed, despite news reports placing a question mark over his health. Finance spokesman Ken Andrew was elected national chairman, beating off a challenge by Prof Richard van der Ross.

The congress elected 10 new members to the DP federal council, its top policy-making body apart from congress itself. These included six blacks. More than half the roughly 500 delegates at the congress were blacks, reflecting a fundamental change in the make-up of the party in the past year.

The congress did not provide consolidated estimates of the party's pop-

ularity, but party members estimated current support was between 4% and 8% of the total voting population, although regional organisations claimed their support was growing substantially and said the party's aim of 15% support was still possible. (304A)

De Beer, in his opening address, said the election would essentially be about ensuring the ANC did not get two-thirds of the popular vote as that would enable it to write the final constitution unchecked. "We are determined that the ANC must not be given a blank cheque to write the constitution". It was clear the NP was losing ground quickly and Inkatha could not prevent the ANC from getting two-thirds of the vote because of its ethnic orientation.

Although the NP was reliably anti-communist and anti-ANC, they were tainted with their record of trampling human rights, of racism, of denial of opportunity, of ruining the economy and of massive corruption.

"For us and for very many South

Africans, the Nats are an unacceptable alternative to the ANC," he said.

The DP, in its economic proposals, reiterated its call for a social market economy attempting to strike a balance between SA removing "economic inequality" and promoting free market economics.

Andrew, on economic affairs, took swipes at both the NP and ANC's economic policies and history, accusing both of being unable to ensure SA's economic prowess.

Addressing NP members, Andrew said: "Where were you when the stench of apartheid was destroying our economy? Where was President F W de Klerk? Where was (Foreign Minister) Pik Botha? Were they there handing in their resignations? No, they were choep-still.

"Why, after 45 years of NP economics, do they suddenly think they have the skills."

Andrew said ANC president Nelson Mandela's statement that SA could become an "economic wasteland" was "a bit late in the day".

Experts see no end to violence

Sri Lanka first



# ANC may <sup>(304A)</sup> grant region to Afrikaners

JOHANNESBURG. — The ANC is considering accommodating Afrikaners in a particular region in South Africa, ANC president Mr Nelson Mandela said at the weekend.

Speaking at the end of his US visit, he said the right-wing had given the ANC a map and it was being considered.

"I have said to the right-wing: Stop talking about Afrikaners — indicate to me what area is predominantly Afrikaans."

He said the ANC was prepared to accommodate the right-wing in one of the country's regions.

Mr Mandela said he opposed ethnicity as a basis for drafting a constitution, but the ANC was prepared to compromise to accommodate Afrikaners by allowing them to settle in one of the regions into which the country is to be divided under a new constitution.

## European trip

He said he was confident South Africa would attract foreign investment.

"The response has been far more than I expected," he said on Saturday before jetting out for the European leg of his trip, which starts today.

"It has been a successful visit," he added.

Mr Mandela's campaign to sell South Africa began with his call at the UN for the lifting of economic sanctions.

In New York and Washington, he addressed two conferences on South Africa, met senior officials and interest groups at the UN and held talks with top business and political leaders.

He revealed that the 170 or so pieces of US sanctions legislation at federal, state and city level would be repealed in the next three months, a record by US legislature standards. — UPI, Sapa

## AVF slams ANC's (304A) rejection of ethnicity

IF the ANC refuses to talk about the accommodation of Afrikaners on the basis of ethnicity, there is no talking. ARG 4/10/93

This was the sharp reaction from the Afrikaner Volksfront today following statements by ANC leader Nelson Mandela in Washington at the weekend that his organisation was studying a far-rightwing map.

"We (ANC) are studying that map now, and we are serious when we say we want to address the fears of all communities," Mr Mandela said, adding, however, that compromises could not be found on the basis of ethnicity or of differentiated citizenship.

"The very important reason why we broke off talks with the ANC was his (Mr Mandela's) comments that he can't consider ethnicity," said AVF general Tienie Groenewald today.

"Unless he does that there is no way he can accommodate our demands." — Political Staff.



# DP ready for challenge to ANC and NP

304A  
ARG 4/10/93

## □ Aim to influence parliament

**MICHAEL MORRIS**  
Political Correspondent

DEMOCRATIC Party delegates have emerged from their two-day annual congress determined to challenge the African National Congress and the National Party with an aggressive campaign to sell the party's distinctive liberal policies.

Displaying a greater unity of purpose than at any other time since President de Klerk's February 1990 speech, more than 500 delegates — representing all South Africa's population groups — endorsed key constitutional, economic and other policies with which the party hopes to attract significant support.

One of the DP's key objectives, spelled out several times at the congress, is to win enough votes to exercise real influence in the future cabinet and legislature.

Leader Zach de Beer — who was re-elected unopposed, earning "struggle"-like shouts of "Viva" and "Long live" — launched the congress with a call to delegates not to allow the ANC or any other party a "blank cheque" to write the constitution of the new South Africa.

He rounded off yesterday with a rallying call: "The election starts tomorrow morning. Don't relax for one second between now and April 27."

Both of the DP's bigger election rivals were sharply criticised at the congress as delegates made clear their determination to be counted as electoral contenders.

Banners and posters at the congress revealed that one of the party's main election themes will be that the DP are "people you can trust".

The closest delegates came to a dispute arose yesterday with an attempt to include the right to abortion in the DP's draft Bill of Rights. (see report below).

A similar fate befell a DP Youth initiative to get the party to nail its liberal colours more prominently to the mast by rehashing its preamble and objectives with a clear statement of the party's distinctive, liberal platform.

The resolution was referred to the party's policy review committee.

A controversial proposal for a deputy leader — endorsed by at least half the delegates and warmly favoured by some MPs — was rejected when it failed to garner the two-thirds support it needed.



**TOP SPEAKERS** . . . Speakers who were most enthusiastically received at the Democratic Party's national congress in the city this weekend were Ms Kate Alexander, southern Cape deputy leader, DP leader Dr Zach de Beer and Mr Joe Marks, Western Cape deputy leader. Picture: BENNY GOOL

## Party's growth faster in W Cape

CT 4/10/93

Political Correspondent

(30411)

THE Democratic Party would win the election in the Western Cape in April, DP Western Cape leader Mr Henrie Bester predicted yesterday.

In an interview at the DP's national congress in Sea Point, he said the party was growing faster in the Western Cape than any other region in the country.

"We are signing up over 1 500 new members in the Western Cape each month — and virtually all of this expansion is coming from new areas where the DP had a limited presence in the past," he said.

Mr Bester said the DP was being taken seriously as a "power player" in the Western Cape, adding: "I am confident that we will emerge as the majority party after the April poll."

Earlier, DP deputy leader in the Western Cape, Mr Joe Marks, told the congress that the number of branches in the region had grown from 16 at the beginning of the year to 65.

"There are going to be some red faces in this region after the election — we want to win 60% support in this region," he told cheering delegates.





# Throw off chains of apartheid

Sowetan 4/10/93

**F**OR MORE than 300 years we have been living under the rule of a Government we did not elect.

As black people we were not allowed to vote for the government of our choice and all forms of protest and resistance were met with brutal repression.

Our families were forcibly removed from land they had occupied for generations. We were not allowed in the towns and cities without a permit.

And we were thrown into jail if we failed to produce a *dompas* as white people when we went into shops, post offices and other public amenities.

We could not ride on the same train, bus or taxi as white people.

Our children were not allowed to attend white schools and were given an inferior form of education.

In short, the government determined where we could live; where we could worship; where we could go to school; whom we could marry and where we would be buried if we die.

They controlled our lives from the time we were born until the time of our death.

All these things were wrong and should never have happened.

We as adults, young men and women, can make sure that all our children and grandchildren do not go through this painful process of hate.

We can make this country a better place to live in for all — black and white.

Our vote is the only weapon that will

**■ NO VOTE** We have not been allowed to vote for a government of our choice:

ensure that we have a government that we want. (304A)

A government that will treat everybody equally.

A government that will improve our lives and that of our children.

We must elect a democratic government.

The essence of democracy is that government exists to serve the people.

This is very important because it is the people who put that government into power through the process of voting.

The ordinary people participate in the running of their country by selecting those whom they believe are worthy of running the country on their behalf.

## Select them

They select them through the vote.

Apartheid is an extreme of political intolerance and selfish disregard for the rights of others.

In order to build a real democracy in this country, South Africans are also going to have to re-discover respect for the law.

An important aspect of democracy is the continued right of citizens to express protest or dissatisfaction within the parameters of the law.

It does not mean that because people voted for the government in power, they

are disloyal if they express a difference of opinion with it.

The success of democracy depends on the people. Once people have chosen the government of their choice, they should check it and make sure that it carries out their will.

## Pillars of Democracy

- Government based upon the consent of the governed.
- Sovereignty of the people.
- Majority rule.
- Minority rights.
- guarantee of the basic human rights.
- Free and fair elections.
- Equality before the law.
- Due process of the law.
- Constitutional limits on government.
- Social, economic and political pluralism.
- Values of tolerance, pragmatism, co-operation and compromise.

*Party kicks off its election campaign*

## DP launches new 'muscular' image

BY CHRIS WHITFIELD  
POLITICAL  
CORRESPONDENT

Cape Town — The Democratic Party today launches its election campaign, intent on projecting a more muscular image.

Closing the party's national congress at a Sea Point hotel yesterday, party leader Dr Zach de Beer said: "The election starts tomorrow morning. Don't relax for one second between now and

April 27 (the scheduled election date)."

A theme of speeches throughout the congress was the need for the party to compete aggressively, particularly against intimidation.

De Beer's opening address had been marked by unusually sharp attacks on the party's opponents: "We must fight on our claim that we, not the others, own democracy. It is we who have upheld human rights — we, not the ANC stone-

throwers of Orange Farm; we, not the Nats whose servants killed (Steve) Biko and (Neil) Aggett..."

Perceptions that the party catered for the "well heeled and white" were also addressed.

Delegates yesterday elected a majority of "non-white" members to the 10-person DP national council. Of the 10 — three blacks, three coloureds and four whites — three are women and only two white males.

For the first time, nearly half the delegates were from outside the DP's traditional support base.

However, an attempt to force through a resolution making provision for a deputy leader — which delegates made clear should not be white — was defeated on Saturday.

De Beer was unanimously re-elected party leader. A proposal that the party should change its name to the Africa Democratic Party was roundly defeated.

De Beer said a major issue confronting the party in negotiations would be for "significant" federalism to be entrenched in the Interim Constitution.

De Beer had urged South Africans not to give the ANC or any other party a "blank cheque" to write the constitution.

Star 4/10/93

(304A)



# Cosag looks set to disband after talks

JOHANNESBURG. — The Concerned South Africans Group (Cosag) looks set to split following a series of discussions this week among some of its leaders.

And waiting to step into a new coordinating role to harness momentum for their own negotiating position are Inkatha and KwaZulu.

On Sunday Bophuthatswana president Mr Lucas Mangope, Inkatha leader Chief Mangosuthu Buthelezi, Ciskei leader Brig Oupa Gqozo, CP leader Dr Ferdi Hartzenberg and Afrikaner Volksfront leader Gen Constand Viljoen met "to take stock" of the political circumstances a year after its formation.

The organisation was set up at the instigation of Inkatha who rejected the decisions made by the government and the ANC in September last year at the record of understanding. Inkatha has tried to control the group, according to one source within Cosag.

In his address to the other leaders Chief Buthelezi expressed his anger at the lack of unity and said he was disappointed that Bophuthatswana, the Ciskei and the Afrikaner Volksunie had not joined his negotiators and the CP in walking out.

"We should accept that Cosag exists only in name. Maybe it has outlived its usefulness," he said. (75) (2047)

CT 5/10/93

# Cracks in Cosag threaten existence

BILLY PADDOCK

THE Concerned South Africans Group looks set to fragment and cease being a united force opposing government and the ANC at negotiations following discussions this week among some of its leaders.

And waiting to step into a new co-ordinating role to harness momentum for its own negotiating position is the Inkatha Freedom Party and KwaZulu. **BIDAN**

On Sunday Bophuthatswana's President Lucas Mangope, Inkatha president Mangosuthu Buthelezi, Ciskei leader Brig Oupa Gqozo, CP leader Ferdi Hartzenberg and Afrikaner Volksfront leader Gen Constand Viljoen met "to take stock" of the political circumstances a year after Cosag's formation. **5110193**

Inkatha had tried to control the group and use it mainly as a battering ram at the ANC and government. But as negotiations restarted and other members of Cosag realised how they were being used, Buthelezi and his chief negotiators "started getting increasingly disenchanted that we would not dance to their tune", a Cosag participant said. **(3044)**

The fact that other Cosag members were negotiating their own deals had resulted in Buthelezi wanting to scupper the group and form another type of forum where he could control the process, a source said.

Buthelezi was now trying to foist on the other members a proposal that KwaZulu broker three-sided meetings between government and Bophuthatswana, Ciskei, the CP and the AVF where it would always be present.

Inkatha "could be part of all, or some of these," Buthelezi said putting forward his proposal to the leaders on Sunday.

In his address to the other leaders, Buthelezi expressed anger at the lack of unity and said he was disappointed that Bophuthatswana, the Ciskei and the Afrikaner Volksunie had not joined his negotiators and the CP in walking out. He said they should accept that Cosag existed only in name.

"Maybe it has outlived its usefulness," he said.

The leaders had agreed at the meeting that only a brief two-line statement would be issued stating that the meeting had happened, further meetings would take place and announcements would follow later this week.

However, after the meeting Buthelezi broke the agreement and sent out his speech to the media, raising further strains within the group.

It is understood that later this week there would be another meeting of Cosag members where participation in the negotiations process will be discussed, possibly resulting in a rift before the weekend.

"As long as we see hope of achieving a good settlement we will remain in the process," a negotiator said.



# Prosperity a distant dream for most in SA

By GREG MYRE

JOHANNESBURG — On my first working day in South Africa in 1987, I went to a funeral for a slain black activist. On one of my last assignments I was in the dusty, black township of Tembisa trying to piece together the overnight massacre of more than 30 people.

In between, there were more days of bloodshed than I care to remember.

Violence is a constant, creating an atmosphere of perpetual crisis even as the country moves toward the planned 1994 election that will formally mark the end of apartheid.

Almost all blacks, and a solid majority of whites, support the election. But they approach it warily, unsure whether it will establish a multiracial democracy or unleash new spasms of bloodshed and racial hatred.

## Consumed by rage

The distrust created by apartheid cannot be summarily erased like segregation laws.

The late writer Alan Paton issued a warning against self-destruction in his classic novel on South Africa, *Cry The Beloved Country*, published in 1948, the year apartheid was formally introduced.

Near the end of the book, the black character Msimangu says: "I have one great fear in my heart, that one day when they (whites) turn to loving they will find we are turned to hating."

At times the country seems consumed by rage, though it is by no means limited to racial hatred. Black factions are implacable foes, and right-wing whites are furious with President F W de Klerk's plans to relinquish the white monopoly on power.

More than 10 000 blacks — and a few dozen whites — have died in political violence during my time here, and I find personal reminders of this in everyday life.

## Whites accused

Flipping through my address book, almost every page has the name of a person who has been murdered. By the time I reach 'N' the death count is into double figures. Prince Malimbi,



**VIOLENCE . . .** Most killings involve black attackers and black victims though both races see the other as the culprit.

Mike Mapongwane, Sam Ntuli . . .

A land of stunning, raw beauty, South Africa has enough gold mines, factories and rich farmland to make its 40 million people prosperous. It also has enough guns and hatred to lay itself to waste.

Most of the killing involves black attackers and black victims, though both races tend to see the other as the culprit.

Blacks accuse whites. The killings are the legacy of apartheid, provoked by police and manipulated by the government, they say.

## Changing

Whites blame blacks. It is a power struggle among black groups, fuelled by ethnic rivalries and criminal gangs run amok, they say.

Both arguments contain truth. As a result, South Africa is no longer a simple morality play. It gets harder to tell the good guys from the bad when all sides are linked to the fighting.

Whites used to watch scenes of carnage on television with an air of detachment, as if it were happening in a foreign land instead of their backyard. But crime and violence have seeped into the suburbs.

When 11 whites were

massacred at a church service in July, many whites began to understand what blacks have long known — there is no sanctuary from the violence.

Whites have gone to extraordinary lengths to build islands of safety. The latest trend in the wealthy enclaves of northern Johannesburg is to put electrified fences atop the high walls surrounding most homes. Homeowners hope that will work where locked gates, snarling dogs and armed patrols have failed.

If the violence is a fixture, much else in South Africa is changing. Six years ago most apartheid laws were still on the books, and Johannesburg was a mostly white city. Today it is overwhelmingly black.

## Recession

During the Saturday morning shopping crush, at least 95 of every 100 people on the streets are black. Much of the commerce takes place informally on the street, where hawkers sell blue jeans, watches and fruit.

Step inside the office buildings, and there is an ever increasing number of black businessmen in suits and ties.

For the emerging black middle class, doors are opening. Many have moved to the white suburbs and send their children to private, integrated schools.

McDonald Temane, a rising black executive, said he recently scanned the room at a cocktail party attended by black businessmen and realised he was the only one still living in a black township.

But for the vast majority of blacks, their lives have been getting worse and the trend is likely to continue during the messy transition.

Crime and violence hit them hardest. A four-year-old recession has dried up the job market.

Many schools are in chaos. Squatter camps grow by the day as desperate rural blacks move to the cities in search of opportunities that do not exist.

For the outside world, South Africa's day of liberation will come with an election and the installation of a black government. For the millions of black South Africans who look out at the world from the front door of their squatter shacks, prosperity remains a distant dream. — Sapa-AP

# AVF may talk to ANC

DIRK VAN EEDEN

PRETORIA — The Afrikaner Volksfront might return to negotiations with the ANC to iron out differences about ethnicity and self-determination. **BIDEN**

AVF director Gen Tienie Groenewald said the organisation would decide within days how to react to ANC leader Nelson Mandela's recent statement that the ANC would accommodate the right wing as long as it did not demand ethnic self-determination. **5/10/93**

Mandela said in Washington at the weekend the ANC was serious when it said it wanted to address the fears of all communities, but it could not make a compromise on the basis of ethnicity. **(304A)**

Groenewald said the ANC demanded full citizenship for everybody living in a possible volkstaat, as well as the right for people moving to such a volkstaat to acquire full citizenship. This was unacceptable to the AVF as Afrikaners would quickly lose their majority.

The AVF wanted enough "self-determination power" to prevent this.



## NATIONAL

# Return to talks, <sup>(HIS)</sup> <sup>(204A)</sup> DP urges Buthelezi

AR 5/10/93

DURBAN. — Democrat-ic Party leader Zac de Beer has urged Inkatha Freedom Party presi-dent Mangosuthu Buthe-lezi to return to negotia-tions or face handing South Africa to the Afri-can National Congress on a platter.

Dr De Beer described Chief Buthelezi's ad-dress to other leaders of the Concerned South Af-ricans Group at a meet-ing in Durban at the weekend as "alarming".

While he agreed with the IFP leader's state-ment that the National Party would "not have enough clout to keep the ANC reasonable, and keep it from snatching all power for itself ... surely this is the mo-moment for Chief Minister Buthelezi and the other Cosag leaders to come back to multi-party ne-gotiations" (at the World Trade Centre in Kemp-ton Park).

Chief Buthelezi sug-gested at the weekend Cosag should form a working group to consid-er steps needed to ter-minate the negotiations process before it reached the stage of a final plenary.

Dr De Beer said: "What is vital in the in-terests of South Africa as a whole is to prevent any single party from obtaining a two-thirds majority in next year's election.

"Surely Chief Minister Buthelezi will wish to join in this effort? I can-not believe he would wish, by default, to hand the country to the ANC on a platter." — Sapa.

# ANC squares up as talks resume

By Themba Molefe  
Political Correspondent

BATTLE-lines have been drawn between the African National Congress alliance and Ciskei/Bophuthatswana negotiators over the proposed extension of the franchise to the two homelands.

Negotiations at the World Trade Centre resume today and issues to be tackled this week include the Electoral Bill and the draft interim constitution.

The Bill, together with the four tran-

sitional Bills, which include the Transitional Executive Council Bill, will be enacted as a package after Parliament resumes on November 8 and after approval by plenary of the leaders of the negotiators. (304A) (10)

When the negotiating council went into recess last Wednesday, the two homelands had already indicated opposition to the proposal, contained in the draft Electoral Bill which explains who is entitled to vote on April 27.

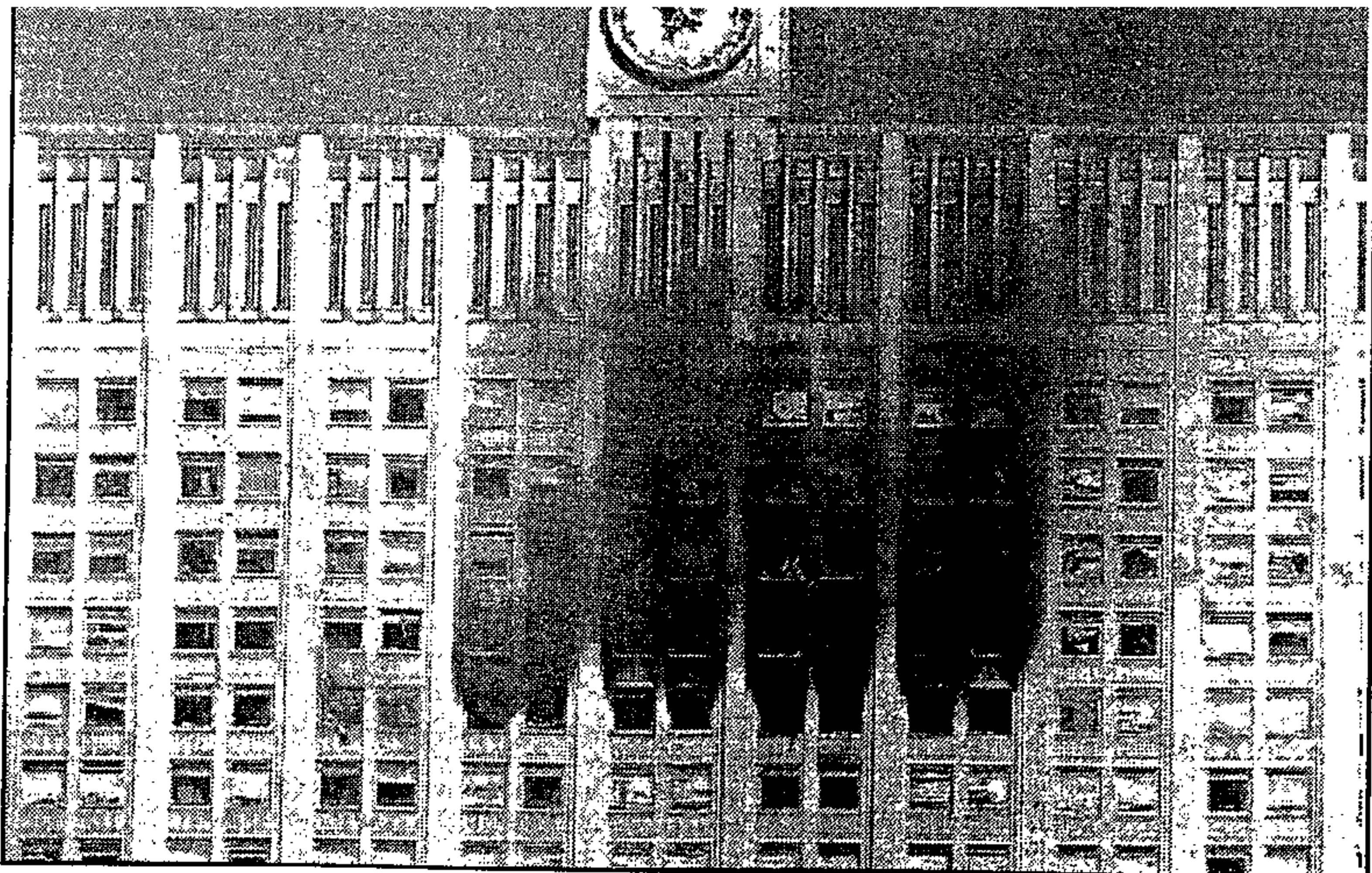
The ANC and South African Com-

munist Party had argued that the vote be extended to the "independent" homelands as they were part of South Africa.

Ciskei's Mr Mickey Webb said the proposed law would not be enforceable in the homeland. Bophuthatswana said the law could not be applied "extra-territorially".

Debate is expected to be as spirited as last week. However, issues arising from a series of bilateral meetings, notably between the Government and the Inkatha Freedom Party, could be tabled.





**CRISIS ...** The Russian parliament building burns after being hit by tank shells during an assault by troops loyal to Boris Yeltsin. See pages 3 and 7. PIC: AFP

# Government, Apla agree to hold talks

**By Themba Molefe**  
Political Correspondent

**A** HIGH-POWERED meeting between the Government and Azanian People's Liberation Army to discuss a "mutual cessation of hostilities" is to be held later this month, *Sowetan* has been exclusively told.

The Pan Africanist Congress and the Ministry of Law and Order confirmed the meeting would be held on October 28.

However, Ministry of Law and Order spokesman Captain Craig Kotze said that the date was "on the cards", saying Minister Hernus Kriel was "committed to discussing the ending of violence with anyone".

The PAC said the meeting's agenda would be the mutual ending of hostilities.

Sources within the Ministry said Kriel had initiated the meeting on condition that Apla chief commander and PAC defence secretary Sabelo Phama was present.

## MEETINGS AGENDA Mutual

ending of hostilities will be discussed:

(304A) ~~41~~

PAC political affairs secretary Mr Jaki Seroke said the meeting would seek a political solution to the conflict with the Government.

Four African states have been lined up as possible venues while a neutral chairman is being sought.

Information is that Libya has agreed to host the summit.

Phama yesterday flew from Dar es Salaam to Uganda on the PAC's orders to secure its use as a venue.

Other countries earmarked are Tanzania and Zimbabwe.

The latter is however the likely venue, it was said.

Previous meetings between the two parties held both inside and outside the country had yielded no results, primarily because of the Government's refusal to accede to the PAC's demand for what it called a mutual cessation of

hostilities.

The PAC argued that Apla was at war with South African security forces and could not agree to a unilateral ending of the armed struggle.

The Government's delegation would possibly be led by Kriel and include Commissioner of Police General Johan van der Merwe and Chief of the Army General Georg Meiring.

Apla would be led by Phama and include its chief of staff Mr Barney Mzolo and political commissar Mr Romero Daniels.

A series of bilateral meetings ordered by the negotiating council, following the raids on PAC offices, broke down.

Meanwhile, a follow-up meeting between Apla and the African National Congress's Umkhonto we Sizwe will be held in Harare next week.



# New-look DP campaigns for survival

Political Correspondent

A NEW-LOOK Democratic Party this weekend launched its campaign for the "mother of all elections" — and the very survival of the party in a new South Africa.

Closing the DP's two-day national congress last night in the city, party leader Dr Zach

de Beer told the 550 departing delegates: "The election has started — don't relax for a second between now and April 27."

CT4/10/93

Earlier, Dr De Beer was re-elected, unopposed as party leader and a proposal that the party should elect a deputy leader to assist him in the punishing months of cam-

paigning, which lies ahead, failed to gain the required two-thirds support of delegates.

(S444)

A resolution proposing that the DP would be able to project itself more effectively in the run-up to the election if it adopted the name the African Democratic Party was heavily defeated.

However, the changing pro-

file of the party was reflected in the delegates attending the congress — more than a third were not white and the emer-

gence of African, coloured and Indian members as a driving force of the party in many regions was evident.

The congress was marked by a series of lively debates on issues as diverse as abor-

tion, the death penalty, security, liberalism and federalism.

But the dominant theme of the congress was how the DP could best insure that it retained a voice in the new order by winning sufficient votes to earn positions in the cabinet of a government of national unity.

★





Picture: ANDREW INGRAM, The Argus.

**VOLKSFRONT MEETING:** Afrikaner Volksfront leader General Tienie Groenewald addresses an audience of 400 in the Stellenbosch Town Hall.

## Front plans mass protest against TEC, but violence not on agenda

**TOS WENTZEL**  
Political Staff

THE Afrikaner Volksfront will launch mass protest against the Transitional Executive Council, but it is not contemplating violence, says Tienie Groenewald, one of its top leaders.

Addressing a meeting attended by some 400 people in the Stellenbosch town hall yesterday, General Groenewald reiterated demands for self-determination for Afrikaners and other groups who wanted this.

He said the TEC was nothing but an alternative government.

The AVF had passed through a phase of bilateral discussions along with peaceful resistance.

It had realised that nothing could be achieved for the Afrikaner at the multiparty talks. It was the scaffold on which the Afrikaner nation was being sold, he said.

The bilateral talks included long meetings with the government and four with the ANC.

Reasonable results had already been achieved.

"Both the government and the ANC realise that there can be no peaceful solution in South Africa without the AVF.

"These talks have been just

as effective as our ability to demonstrate power.

"We can demonstrate power by peaceful or by active, violent resistance."

General Groenewald said the violence option was not being thought of or planned at present.

The mass actions of the AVF had been effective against issues such as racially-mixed local government.

The key to successful peaceful protest was the mobilisation of the masses of AVF supporters. The leadership of the movement undertook to act responsibly and with integrity.



## Government and Apla in talks soon

JOHANNESBURG. — The government and the Azanian People's Liberation Army will meet soon on the issue of violence.

The parties remain worlds apart and give contradictory versions of the agenda for the meeting.

Law and Order Ministry spokesman Craig Kotze said: "The purpose of the meeting is to end violence and the Pan-Africanist Congress's armed struggle. It has nothing to do with the so-called cessa-

tion of mutual hostilities."

PAC political affairs secretary Jaki Seroke said: "Minister Hernus Kriel asked for the meeting and the PAC agreed to such a meeting as long as the talks centre on ending mutual hostilities."

Mr Seroke said the meeting would be held on October 28, but the venue had not been decided. Captain Kotze said there was agreement on holding a meeting with Apla but no date or venue had been decided on. — Sapa.

ARG 5/10/93

2041A 2 (12)



Star 5/10/93

## Join our fight, NP urges DP

The NP has called on the DP to disband and join it in a fight against the ANC's "socialist policies". (304A)

The startling call was made in an NP statement issued yesterday.

The NP dismissed the DP's weekend national congress as "a brave performance in the knowledge that the DP is on its last legs".

If the DP was convinced of the need for a strong moderate party to fight the ANC, it should "do the obvious: disband and join the NP".

# DP, NP slam levy proposal

PRETORIA — The NP and DP slated the ANC yesterday for suggesting that charges should be levied against companies which did not apply legislated affirmative action. *B/Day*

ANC human resources programmes co-ordinator Papie Moloto said on Monday the organisation would consider levying the charges.

He also said the ANC wanted an ombudsman to oversee the implementation of affirmative action and an inspectorate to examine progress.

NP media director Marthinus van Schalkwyk said it was clear the ANC wanted to adopt some of the more radical affirmative action programmes applied in the US. However, the NP's version of affirmative action put the emphasis on training and the development of skills, he said.

"The ANC's emphasis that all institutions should reflect the demographic realities of the country is nothing but ANC-speak for enforceable

quotas," Van Schalkwyk said.

DP justice spokesman Tony Leon said the ANC's proposal was unacceptable. It indicated the dangers the ANC could pose to the economy.

The proposal appeared to be a punitive, uneconomic form of reverse discrimination which would "import into SA the worst elements of the failure of affirmative action abroad", Leon said. *6110193*

SA needed a structured, wellthought out and carefully targeted programme of upliftment, not the ANC's version of a "nanny" state intervening in every "nook and cranny" of the private sector. *(304A)*

The all-white Mineworkers' Union also condemned the levy proposal yesterday. *(125)*

The union's acting general secretary Flip Buys said this amounted to coercion and was the kind of government intervention SA could expect under an ANC government. — Sapa.

● Comment: Page 8



# Concern over backlog of unregistered voters

THERE was concern in the negotiating chamber yesterday at the current rate of voter registration when it became evident that 2,5-million potential voters would be unable to vote. **BIDAY**

PAC negotiator Barney Desai said 4-million votes still had to be registered.

"Home Affairs is only issuing these at the rate of 50 000 a week, which means that by April only 1,5-million of these will be registered," he said. **6/10/93**

Home Affairs Minister Danie Schutte said the real problem lay not with the department, as negotiators were suggesting, but with applications, which were slow in being submitted for registration.

It has been estimated that 150 000 registrations a week are required to meet the backlog. **(304A)**

Trying to resolve the issue, negotiators discussed special voters' cards, temporary identity documents and special votes but found problems with all of these.

A resolution — opposed by Bophuthatswana — was adopted that the planning committee should look into the matter.

It would also investigate what steps would be necessary to ensure that citizens of the TBVC states, "who may qualify to vote at the next election", were urgently issued with the appropriate documents.

Another contentious issue was the num-

**BILLY PADDOCK**

ber of days to be set aside for voting. Desai proposed that two days were necessary to allow for people in outlying areas and those being intimidated to get to polling stations.

He was supported by the DP, SACP, ANC, Labour Party and numerous smaller parties.

ANC negotiator Patrick Lekota said the Goldstone commission had warned of intimidation during elections and the fact that polling stations could be attacked at night. It had therefore recommended voting take place on a single day.

"But we are working on the basis that there will be 9 000 stations. This will require eight cubicles to be used continuously throughout the day, regardless of the other complications, and this is impractical. Therefore we suggest two days."

Government and the NP proposed one day only.

The matter was not resolved and the technical committee would investigate.

It would also look into limiting the number of parties contesting the election on a basis other than money.

The current suggested method is a R10 000 fee on registration and a further R50 000 for contesting the election.

**KATHRYN STRACHAN  
and MARIANNE MERTON**

The charges were dropped in the Johannesburg Magistrate's Court because of insufficient evidence. **BLD**ay

The charges of misconduct within the university had been instituted following

The Wits hearings against 20 students, to be heard by a retired judge and senior advocates, are due to start on Monday.

**"There is no point in the university con-**

**used with disciplinary proceedings.**

## FOREIGN Affairs welcomed yesterday's

ches to the 12 EC nations. B/1207

**defence and security contracts with SA.**

**although these could be lifted next month.**

**try would take their natural course.**

**ANC president Nelson Mandela — who**

## PRETORIA — The Afrikaner Volksfront

**· blessing of the organisation's head office.**

Hoon had proposed the resolution. **E/D**

**Volkfront** directorate this month. **Block**

**Africans Group (Cosag) would take part in**

**for an end to SA's economic isolation.**

to "normalise" trade with SA. **6/10/93**

ability at their next meeting. (~~Step 1~~)

credentials to President F W de Klerk.

**the elections.**

election . . . and will oppose it."

**Volkfront's proposed volkstaat.**



# Panic at slow vote registration

JOHANNESBURG. — Controversy and concern over voter registration arose in the negotiating chamber yesterday when it became evident that the present rate of registration would result in more than 2,5 million potential voters being unable to vote.

PAC negotiator Mr Barney Desai raised "serious concern at the fact that there are still four million potential voters that still need to be registered and Home Affairs is only issuing these at the rate of 50 000, which means that by April only 1,5m of these will be registered".

Home Affairs Minister Mr Danie Schutte said the real problem lay not

with the department, as negotiators were suggesting, but with applications, which were slow in being submitted for registration.

He said 87% of the potential 23m voters had been registered and "in July alone we received 200 000 applications and processed these at the rate of 50 000 a week".

It has been estimated that 150 000 registrations a week are required to meet the backlog.

Trying to resolve the issue, negotiators discussed special voters cards, temporary IDs and special votes but found problems with all of these.

# Coloureds 'more optimistic'

JOHANNESBURG. — Asians and coloureds are more optimistic about the future than their black and white counterparts, a Gallup poll commissioned by the Markinor research group reveals.

The question: "How confident are you in a happy future for all races in South Africa?" was posed to 400 Asians and 400 coloureds.

These results were then com-

pared to results for whites and blacks in Markinor surveys in April and May.

Thirty-five percent of Asians and 31% of coloureds were confident of an improved lifestyle in a year's time.

By contrast, only 24% of blacks and 14% of whites shared this view.

Nearly half of the coloureds

polled described race relations with whites as good or fairly good. (304A) CT6/10/93

A third of coloureds and about half the Asians believe race relations with blacks were improving, but a quarter in each race group think not.

Whites in particular complained their financial situation had deteriorated. — Sapa



# Talks stall over 'ombudsman'

(304A)

CT 7/10/93

## Political Staff

JOHANNESBURG. — Negotiators discussing a draft constitution for South Africa were stalled yesterday when they tried to resolve a dilemma over whether the word "ombudsman" was sexist, internationalist or simply incomprehensible.

Negotiators have about three weeks to agree on a draft interim constitution, to be presented for ratification at the last session of parliament at the beginning of November.

The technical committee researched the origin of the word and said its Swedish roots were free of a gender bias. However, this was not

accepted by negotiators who declared that it was too foreign a term for South Africa's purposes.

The terms public defender, ombudsperson and ombud were suggested. But the matter was eventually referred to the planning committee.

The rest of the provisions for an ombudsman and a human rights commission went relatively smoothly.

It was decided that there would

## 'Whites stay in control'

### Own Correspondent

DURBAN. — Whites will remain in effective control of South Africa for a long time after a political settlement, especially in the field of economic power.

This is the view of Mr Eugene Nyati, political analyst and director of the centre for African studies in Johannesburg, who spoke at a breakfast briefing organised by Diakonia here yesterday.

Mr Nyati said the current political settlement would be weighted against blacks and the effect of the settlement would be to extend to the black elite those advantages which had previously been reserved for whites.

If the new elite realised that this situation was far from perfect and acted to offer these advantages to the vast

black majority, that would stabilise the country in the long-term.

However, if the new elite concentrated on their interests and ignored the masses, those masses would rise up against their new black leaders, he said.

Mr Nyati said that if a political settlement failed, the more radical views espoused by ANC leaders such as Mrs Winnie Mandela, Mr Peter Mokaba, Mr Tony Yengeni and Mr Harry Gwala would become the mainstream views within the ANC.

He said that unless the government was bold and courageous, any weakening on its part, resulting in a power vacuum, could allow the right-wing to link up with right-wing elements in the government, in the SADF and SAP in particular. This could be an explosive mix.

be a national ombudsman with powers to probe maladministration or any other administrative abuses at any level of government.

The ombudsman would have a renewable seven-year term of office and only the president would be able to fire him.

The ombudsman would have to resolve disputes, bring matters to prosecution and make recom-

mendations regarding maladministration. He would have powers to search any building, demand any document and summon people to appear before him.

It was also decided to set up a human rights commission to promote fundamental rights. It would prepare reports on these rights and make recommendations to the government.

● Centrist or federal? — Page 8

*Federalism stalemate could be resolved*

Star 7/10/93

# Optimism over talks

■ BY CHRIS WHITFIELD  
POLITICAL CORRESPONDENT

Encouraging progress in behind-the-scenes talks between various parties has given rise to optimism among negotiators that the impasse over federalism could be resolved soon.

However, a senior source close to the negotiations cautioned last night that it would be premature to suggest that "we will make up tomorrow with a breakthrough". He said the "whole topic" of powers and functions of regions was being thrashed out in a series of bilateral meetings.

The ANC, the Govern-

## IFP and Bophuthatswana give hope, but little progress with Volksfront

ment and Cosag parties have been involved in the talks.

According to the source there were sharp differences in the attitude of Cosag parties to proposals being aired.

Asked to rate the changes of a breakthrough on a scale of 0 to 10, the source said "with some Cosag parties it is seven, but with others it is one".

It is understood that

the best progress has been made in talks between Government and ANC delegations with the IFP and Bophuthatswana.

But major question marks exist over the prospects of agreement being reached with the Afrikaner Volksfront and, in particular, the Conservative Party.

A Government source said yesterday: "If the CP sticks to its existing policies the chances for an agreement with them are slim."

Meanwhile, former CP general secretary and Afrikaner Volksunie leader Andries Beyers has blasted the Afrikaner

Volksfront, saying in a letter to General Constand Viljoen that he had sat and watched while radicals in the CP forbade the AVF from negotiating with the NP and ANC.

Beyers was responding to a letter from Viljoen telling the MP he was being expelled from the Afrikaner Volksfront for voting in Parliament in favour of the Transitional Executive Council Bill.

● The ANC was not prepared to make any further concessions on regionalism, particularly to the Inkatha Freedom Party, ANC president Nelson Mandela said in Lisbon yesterday.



## Black leadership in DP a problem

DURBAN. — The Democratic Party was conscious that it needed to blacken its face but approaches made to senior black people to take on leadership positions had not been successful, party leader Dr Zach de Beer said yesterday.

However, he said the forthcoming campaign would produce individuals, including black candidates, who would prove their worth in the cut and thrust of electioneering.

Rejecting suggestions that the DP should throw in its lot with the National Party, he said it was crucial that voters were given a choice of parties in opposition to the African National Congress on April 27 next year.

Dr De Beer said every vote should be garnered against the ANC so it did not achieve a 66,6% majority giving them "virtually a free hand" to write the final constitution. (304A) CT 7/10/93

## Beyers lashes Volksfront

DIRK VAN EEDEN

PRETORIA — The Afrikaner Volksfront could not fight a moral war for a volkstaat, former Volksfront member and Afrikaner Volksunie leader Andries Beyers said yesterday. *B/Bey*

In a sharply worded letter to Volksfront leader Gen. Constand Viljoen, Beyers said it was a relief to hear the Volksfront had severed all ties with him, as the organisation had frequently embarrassed him.

The Volksfront had asked government for "three months to get its house in order", but six months had passed and no real progress had been made. The borders of the proposed volkstaat in particular were still vague and confusion reigned about volkstaat policy. *7/10/93*

The Volksfront had no moral right to plunge its supporters into a war if it did not even know what it wanted. The Volksfront did not know where the volkstaat would be, who would live in it or who would be able to vote. *(304A)*

Beyers said he "did not even want to mention" the discrimination that would exist in such a volkstaat.

The Volksfront had also broken off negotiations without good reason.

The Volksfront could not fight a moral war for immoral purposes. Volksfront policy would remain unfair as long as the Volksfront hesitated to reject all forms of racism.



# Beyers: AVF has no right to fight

CT 7/10/93

(204A)

PRETORIA. — The Afrikaner Volksfront did not have a moral right to plunge its supporters into war if they did not know the reason for it, former Afrikaner Volksunie leader Mr Andries Beyers said yesterday.

In a sharply-worded letter to AVF leader General Constand Viljoen, Mr Beyers said: "You have not even determined where the land is

that you want to go to war for ..."

The AVF had no moral right to wage war when it had suspended negotiations with the ANC and the government without valid reasons.

It also had no right to encourage its followers to fight for a cause, which would remain unjustified, until racial discrimination in all its forms was rejected.

Mr Beyers's letter followed the AVF's termination of his membership last week.

Mr Beyers said he had never belonged to the front.

He singled out as most upsetting AVF leaders' setting of the scene for some kind of "holy war".

Gen Viljoen had allowed Conservative Party radicals to dictate the termination of negotiations with the ANC

and the government without valid reasons and, by doing so, had removed any moral basis for resistance.

"As I have warned you repeatedly, you have delivered yourself to radicals who are not interested in a justified dispensation of freedom and self-determination, but who are aspiring to revitalise apartheid."

## THE RIGHT Unlikely quest

Fm 8/10/93

A vast chasm exists between the Afrikaner Volksfront (AVF)'s definition of self-determination and that of the ANC. Yet the two sides seem to be edging cautiously back towards negotiating the issue.

It emerged recently that leaders of the two organisations had held discussions on the issue of an Afrikaner homeland but links were abruptly severed last week because, the AVF says, of remarks made by ANC leader Nelson Mandela and President FW de Klerk while in the US last week.

AVF chairman General Constand Viljoen says the decision to pull out came with the realisation that neither the ANC nor the NP recognised the right to an independent volkstaat. The front would instead look at "other ways" of ensuring Afrikaner freedom.

But a subsequent statement by Mandela in Washington at the weekend seems to have prompted the organisation to review its hard-line stance. (304A)

AVF director Tienie Groenewald says the body will soon formulate a response to Mandela's statement that the ANC would accommodate the right wing as long as it did not demand ethnic self-determination.

In the same speech Mandela said the ANC is serious when it says it wants to address the fears of all communities, but it could not compromise on issues of ethnicity.

ANC spokesman Carl Niehaus says it is becoming clear that some of the premises on which the front acted, based on what it understood Mandela to have said, were incorrect.

"On that basis, it is seriously reconsidering its decision to break off talks. We have urged the AVF to inform us, not only through the media but also through existing channels, of the reasons for breaking off negotiations so that we can try to address them. From our side, the door is still open."

He says the ANC has no hard-and-fast model on which to base accommodation of the Right. Its stance must be built on some "basic understandings" in negotiations.

Niehaus says Mandela's statement on a rightwing accommodation probably refers to the possibility of a certain region or sub-region having a predominantly Afrikaans culture and language.

In that context, it would provide a certain degree of self-determination for Afrikaners. "Mandela was not talking about an entirely independent state," says Niehaus. "It will still fall within the ambit of the national

## CURRENT AFFAIRS

constitution and a bill of rights will apply there." Fm 8/10/93

Still, AVF deputy general secretary Joseph Chirole says the organisation will return to negotiations only on condition the ANC acknowledges the Afrikaner right to full self-determination. (304A)

"We are not prepared to go into any talks if they don't accept our explicit precondition and departure point that we must have the right to full self-determination, independent self-government in a fully sovereign own territory."

"There is no question of even discussing any diluted form of self-determination, for example, in a federation or some sort of a region."



thousands left homeless

# Ciskei, Bop walk out of negotiations

*Sowetan 8/10/93*

■ **FREEDOM ALLIANCE** Cosag

members form 'political movement':

## Sowetan Correspondent

**B**OPHUTATSWANA AND CISKEI walked out of the World Trade Centre talks yesterday to join the new Freedom Alliance, a "political movement" forged out of Concerned South Africans Group members. *(304A)*

The alliance will now form a "single, united negotiating team at all future negotiations with other parties". Member organisations have also ended all bilateral discussions with the Government and the African National Congress. *(113)*

The alliance will be led by KwaZulu Chief Minister Mangosuthu Buthelezi, Bophuthatswana leader Chief Lucas Mangope, Ciskei ruler Brigadier Oupa Gqozo, Conservative Party leader Dr Ferdi Hartzenberg and Afrikaner Volksfront leader General Constand Viljoen.

The development may annul progress made in extensive bilateral discussions between the Government, ANC and various

Cosag parties in the past. The absence of Bophuthatswana and Ciskei from the talks will also add force to those on the rightwing who reject agreements struck in deliberations at the World Trade Centre.

There was, however, no indication last night as to whether the alliance would be forging a common policy or fighting an election together.

The Bophuthatswana government said last night: "The Freedom Alliance considers the present situation in South Africa so serious that only a summit of all major South African leaders can resolve the negotiating crisis. In this regard the Freedom Alliance leadership will be liaising with State President FW de Klerk as a matter of national urgency."

They indicated the alliance would fight for a powerful form of federation.

It hit out at ANC president Mr Nelson Mandela's comments in Lisbon this week, in which he reportedly said his organisation was not prepared to make any further concessions on regionalism.

# Negotiators approve wide range of fundamental rights

BID 8/10/93

DELEGATES at SA's multiparty talks yesterday approved a wide-ranging set of fundamental rights, including a strict limitation clause.

Presented with the 10th progress report by the technical committee on fundamental rights, the negotiating council at the World Trade Centre rapidly approved clauses ranging from freedom of expression to economic and environmental rights, Sapa reports.

A clause on children's rights was also passed, including a provision stipulating the right of the child to be treated "in a manner which takes account of his age" if detained. Technical committee chairman Prof Lourens du Plessis said this would directly affect children already detained.

A limitation clause — "one of the toughest in the world", according to another committee spokesman — was also approved by the council.

The clause says the rights approved can be limited only if "such limitation ... is reasonable ... justifiable in a free and democratic society based on freedom and equality ... and shall not negate the essential content of the right in question".

A suspension clause — which apparently worried only the PAC, which reserved its

position — was also passed.

The clause states that entrenched rights can be suspended if a state of emergency is declared but "only to the extent necessary to restore peace and order".

Such an emergency could be declared if state security was threatened by war, invasion or "general insurrection". It should last for 21 days unless a two-thirds majority of the national assembly decided to extend it "for consecutive periods of no longer than three months at a time".

The PAC said the clause was "very draconian". Our Political Staff reports from Cape Town that the Women's National Coalition yesterday slammed constitutional plans to exclude black women from the policy of equality for all women. (304A)

The coalition, which represents 80 women's organisations, including the NP's Women's Action and the ANC's Women's League, called on the negotiating council to ensure that the law recognised equality for all citizens.

"We reject completely the notion of the promise of immediate equality to white, coloured and Indian women to the exclusion of African women under customary law," the coalition said.

## Medical card allows credit, discounts

KATHRYN STRACHAN

A NEW healthcare payment card, which will allow patients to pay bills immediately and save up to 30% on certain prescription medicines, was launched in Johannesburg last night. BID 8/10/93

Changes to the Medical Schemes Act mean that from January patients will have to settle medical bills immediately, before claiming from medical aids.

The Prodoc medicard, which has the financial backing of Standard Bank, will allow consumers to pay doctors immediately and have medical aid claims submitted electronically to debit their bank accounts.

They will also receive up to 30% discount on prescription medicines from participating pharmacies and benefit from an interest-free period of up to 55 days.

Prodoc spokesman Chris Archer said the

new legislation, precipitated by widespread abuse of the system, would mean doctors were no longer guaranteed payment from medical aids. But Prodoc guaranteed payment immediately so patients could negotiate cash discounts. (304A)

Archer estimated that 25% of medical costs were misappropriated or fraudulently spent.

The new legislation would also see the maximum and minimum benefits system fall away, so medical aids would no longer need to guarantee payment of a minimum of 70% of costs and a maximum of 100%.

"With Prodoc we can show that our doctors are more cost-effective and we can therefore negotiate with medical aids to contract directly with our doctors to pay more realistic fees," he said.



# Volksfront geared up for nationwide protest

PRETORIA — The Afrikaner Volksfront is embarking on the first phase of its protest action, knowing it will not only be a show of power, but also a test of numbers.

Announcing the planned protest meetings all over SA on Saturday and in Pretoria on October 16, Volksfront deputy secretary general Joseph Chiolé said he was confident "quite a few thousand people" would show up for the meetings. (304A)

Parliament's acceptance last month of the Transitional Executive Council legislation would be central on the protest meetings' agendas. Establishment of the council was effectively the establishment of a communist interim government, Chiolé said.

The Volksfront had decided to hold protest meetings as the first phase of its campaign against "the despicable way government is handing over SA sovereignty to communists".

The mass protest meeting at Church Square, Pretoria, on October 16, would mark the end of the first phase. It would be addressed by Volksfront leaders Ferdi Hartzenberg and Constand Viljoen.

By that time the Volksfront would be ready to announce details of the second phase of the protest action.

Chiolé would not give any indica-

DIRK VAN EEDEN

tion of the nature of the second phase. Volksfront director Tienie Groenewald said earlier that civil disobedience against the authority of the TEC would "definitely" form part of the campaign.

Meanwhile, Sapa reports that former Rhodesian prime minister Ian Smith said after meeting Viljoen yesterday that there would be no honest election on April 27 next year.

He said that if the elections did proceed, which he did not foresee, the poll would not be an honest one.

□ Yesterday the Afrikaner Volksunie said ANC leader Nelson Mandela showed by his statement in Portugal on Wednesday that his organisation had no intention of accommodating federalism.

Volksunie negotiator Corlia Kruger said Mandela's statement, if implemented, would lead to civil war.

She was reacting to media reports quoting Mandela as saying the Inkatha Freedom Party could expect no further concessions on regions.

She noted that Mandela's statement had come on the eve of a Cosag leader's summit and would almost certainly impact on any decisions taken there.

## Black radio gets pre-poll boost

PATRICK BULGER

THE SABC has launched a major project to increase the reach of black radio stations for the April 27 election. (BIDAY)

Station coverage now varies from about 53% to 90%. SABC signal distribution company Sentech is erecting extra transmitters for African-language broadcasts to enable every black radio station to reach at least 85% of its target audience. (8110193)

According to SABC research, 17.6-million adults listen to SABC radio services every day. African language stations pull in the biggest listenerships. Of the 17.6-million, 11.2-million adults tune into black radio. (SABC)

The importance of radio in the election was stressed by a visiting delegation of the International Commission of Jurists which studied conditions for a free and fair election. The jurists were told by ANC and Inkatha Freedom Party members that they would not allow campaigning by opposition groups for the election.

Delegation member John Macdonald said the use of radio meant intimidation that might arise from door-to-door canvassing could be avoided. He said that while it might not be possible to have debates in hotspots, such debate could be conducted on radio.

# Cosag forms new alliance

PRETORIA. — A new political movement called the Freedom Alliance was formed here yesterday and at the same time Bophuthatswana and Ciskei announced their immediate withdrawal from the negotiating council.

A statement issued by the Bophuthatswana Information Services said the Freedom Alliance

emerged from the Concerned South Africans Group (Cosag).

Leaders of the alliance include the leaders of the IFP, the CP, and the Afrikaner Volksfront.

The statement added: "All Freedom Alliance members have also terminated all bilateral negotiations with the government and the ANC."

It said the alliance would li-

aise with President FW de Klerk to call a summit of SA leaders.

Mr De Klerk said last night negotiations remained the only way to solve SA's problems and arrangements for talks with the alliance would be made soon.

The ANC said: "It is an attempt to consolidate the ranks of the right-wing of both black and white organisations." — Sapa



# Broeders differ over fate of R35m assets

By BARRY STREEK  
Political Staff

THE Afrikaner Broederbond refused yesterday to comment on reports that it was divided about its future role and what to do with its assets of between R35 million and R45m.

A Broederbond spokesman said it had "no comment at this stage". Its organising secretary, Mr Naude Botha, was "out of the office".

Reports about declining membership, financial problems and division in its ranks have appeared in the Afrikaans press, including the Nasionale Pers newspapers Beeld and the Burger.

They report there is division in the

Broederbond's executive committee and that a recent Broederbond congress, brought forward by two months, had been unable to reach a decision about its future.

They say the Broederbond's membership is declining sharply, with estimates of 3 000 resignations so far this year, and more than 600 in June alone.

The newspapers said there were two major groupings within the Broederbond — one wanting it to disband strategically and the other wanting it to reform strategically. (204A)

Most of its assets are controlled by the Christiaan de Wet Fund, which owns the organisation's headquarters in Auckland Park and a resort at Hartbeespoort Dam. CT8/10/93



# 16 Voter education

## Preparing for the election

South 8/10 - 12/10/93

(304A)

**T**HE Independent Forum for Electoral Education (IFEE) is an amalgamation of more than 40 non-governmental organisations (NGOs) set up by developmental, educational, church, civic, and other institutions to do non-partisan election education and preparation.

Since the major political parties announced April 27, 1994 as the date for the first free and fair elections in South Africa, many national NGOs have engaged in voter education.

It was realised that the legitimacy of the democratisation process depended on a high voter turnout. This can only be achieved by motivating and preparing people for elections.

It became evident that elections in a country in which the majority go to the polls for the first time could only be successful if forces for educating voters are combined.

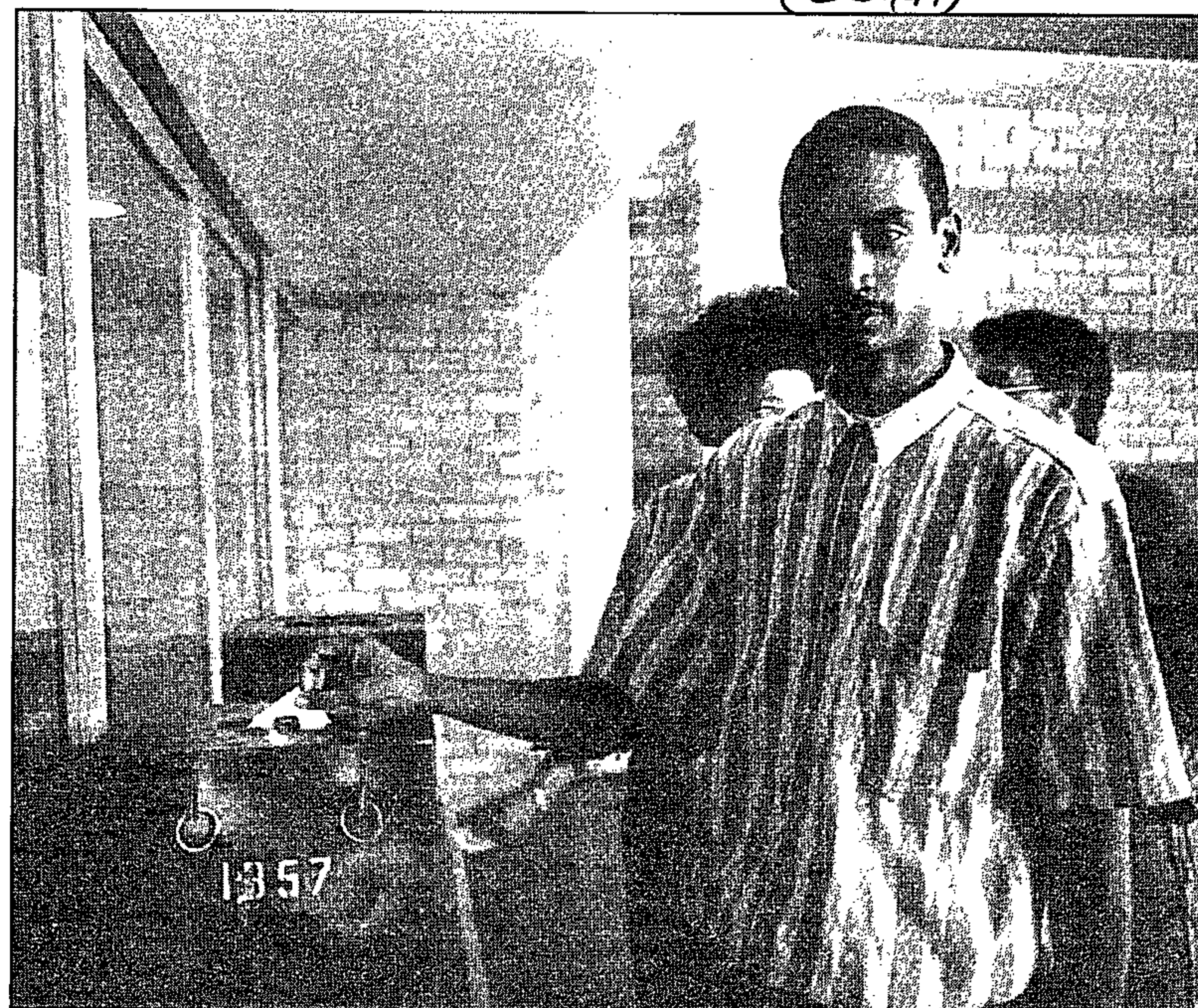
The overall aim for the formation of IFEE was to dedicate itself to ensure all people participate in the first free and fair elections.

The need for rapid voter education and election preparation led to the decision to consolidate its structures, formalise its activities and work out a code of conduct.

The code reads: "We are committed to genuine democracy in South Africa and free and fair elections. We undertake to conduct electoral programmes and produce material and publications which are independent and do not promote any particular political party. We dedicate ourselves to ensuring that all South Africans, especially those most marginalised and disempowered, participate freely and confidently in the forthcoming elections."

Efforts in voter education were identified as vital and four commissions were established.

● A Media Commission took over the planning and implementa-



**VOTER READINESS:** getting set for the big day on April 27 1994

tion of voter education media programmes.

Existing media projects of member organisations are co-ordinated and new joint projects are implemented.

The commission's activities are subdivided into production and distribution.

Voter education material concerning radio, television and print material must be distributed properly in order to reach everybody in the country.

Besides these activities, several members of IFEE now sit on the SABC Steering Committee to over-

see voter education on television and radio. The convenor of the Media Commission is Barry Gilder of Matla Trust.

● To guarantee a climate for free and fair elections a Monitoring Commission was established.

The task of this commission is to unite member organisations' involvement in election monitoring around common principles and a code of conduct.

Another objective is the development of a programme for recruiting, training and deploying approximately 35 000 domestic monitors.

Impartial monitors in the pre-

election phase are urgently needed to prevent electoral fraud, monitor violence and intimidation and observe party campaigns and rallies.

On election day a task will be poll-watching, observing ballot counting and assisting voters.

● The Lobbying Commission is working for participation on the proposed Independent Electoral Commission and makes recommendations for the Electoral Act.

● A Training Commission oversees all training. A specific task is the drawing up of trainers' manuals after the Electoral Act has been approved.

## Who is the IFEE?

MEMBERS OF the IFEE are: African Independent Churches Research and Theological Training, African Spiritual Church Association, Audio Waves, Barometer Regional Research and Reporting Corporation, Campaign for Independent Broadcasting, Black Sash, Broadcasting Monitoring Project, Centre for Contextual Hermeneutics, Consultative Business Movement, Methodist Church of South Africa, Centre for Development Studies, Catholic Institute for Education, Church of the Province of South Africa, Diakonia, Ecumenical Confessing Fellowship, Electronic Media in Education, Film and Allied Workers Union, Free Market Foundation, Foundation for Democratic Advancement, Human Awareness Programme, Human Science Research Council, Institute for Contextual Theology, Institute for a Democratic Alternative for SA, Joint Enrichment Programme, Lawyers for Human Rights, Learn and Teach, Matla Trust, Institute for Multi-Party Democracy, National Land Committee, National Youth Development Co-ordinating Committee, SA Catholic Bishops Conference, SA Council for Churches, SA Independent Monitoring Committee, SA Union of Journalists, Speak Media Project, Storyteller Group, Theological Exchange Programme, Wilgespruit Fellowship, Young Christian Students and Young Women's Christian Association.

## Talking about the IFEE ...

Pumla Gqirana was appointed National Administrative Co-ordinator of IFEE. We asked her questions about the progress and prospects for the forum's work.

**Matla:** Mrs Gqirana, how would you describe the success of IFEE, especially since it adopted professional working structures?

**Gqirana:** We have introduced a code of conduct what it has meant to our member organisations that everyone now is committed to do the work of voter education in a non-partisan way. It helped us tighten our structures, especially our commissions. Everyone is accountable, everyone is commit-

ted to do the work. There is hope that we are going to succeed in our efforts.

**Matla:** What are the main obstacles for IFEE's voter education programmes?

**Gqirana:** The main obstacle at presently is the fact that the Electoral Act is not yet out. This is delaying the people running voter education.

In any case there are other ways of getting around because our training commission is trying to identify gaps at present.

By the time the Electoral Act is out they will know exactly which areas have been neglected. Then we will go there and we will do general and specific voter education training.

All along our problem has been access to the air waves. Now a steering committee, which is advisory to the SABC Board, has been

set up. With this development there is hope we will be in a position to reach everybody through the SABC.

It has been a serious problem for us not being in a position to reach people through media broadcast.

The third obstacle facing us is the indecision in terms of whether our election monitoring commission will do its work independently or as part of the Independent Election Commission.

That depends on the Electoral Act, of course. Our Lobbying Commission is busy working on that and is in direct contact with the technical committee of the TEC.

**Matla:** Finally, in the remaining seven months until election day on which points will you focus your efforts in voter education?

**Gqirana:** Initially organisations that have been dealing with voter

education were thinking that voter education was about voting procedures only.

The reason we expanded to the area of election monitoring is because we felt there was a need to ensure that the election will be free and fair. Therefore we need to be part of monitoring.

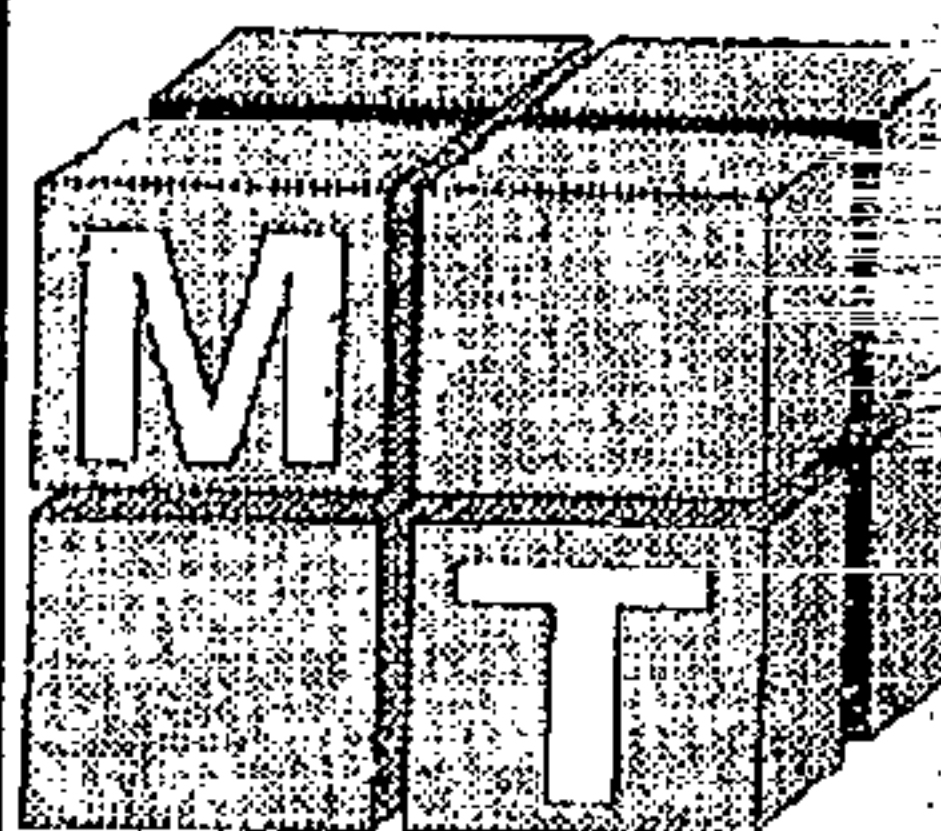
What is going to happen now? Our election commission is busy trying to identify and invite people to help us with monitoring.

We are concentrating on the training of trainers to make sure the election will be free and fair.

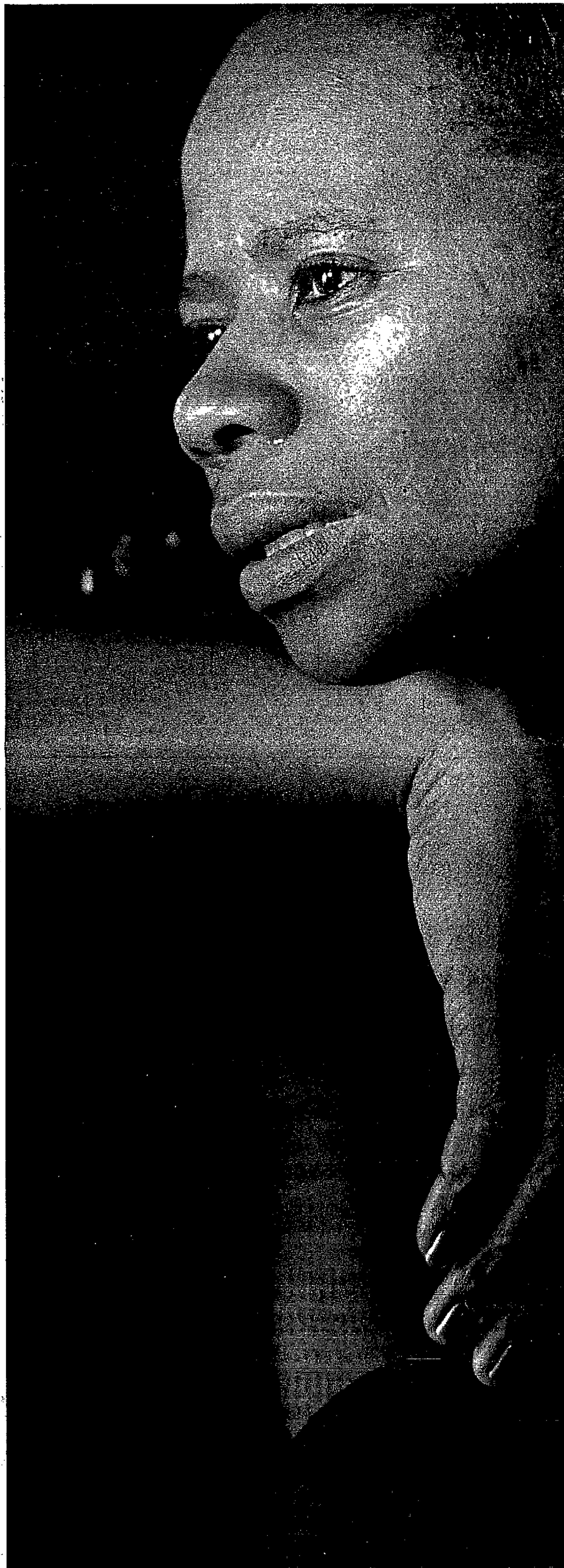
I think it is equally important that, with the few months left before election day, the organisations involved in voter education not send different signals to the potential voters.

That is why it is important to us to co-ordinate our activities and make sure we have a common approach so there is no confusion on that day.

This page is a joint project of MATLA TRUST and SOUTH







8/10 - 13/10/93

304A

# You used to long for the sound of his key in the door..

he was all you lived for  
and then the baby came and  
it was difficult to keep the house  
clean and cook nice meals every night  
and he used to come home later and later  
and sometimes he'd been drinking and then one  
night the baby was sick and you couldn't keep her  
quiet and he was yelling at you to shut her up and then  
he grabbed you and threw you on the floor and kicked you  
in your stomach and head, and the next day you took the baby  
left, but you had no-where to go but your mother's and he found you  
there and said if you ever did that again he would kill you and now you  
try so hard but nothing ever pleases him and you think it must be your fault  
because he was such a good man but now you dread the sound of his  
key in the door and you have no-one to turn to and you are scared for your future

You are not alone.

One in every six women in South Africa shares her life with an abusive partner.  
If you are being battered, or know of someone who is, call one of the centres  
below. Because telling somebody is the first step back to hope and self respect.

Call Helpline



# The volk her chief concern

Star 9/10/93

3049

**SERIOUS BUSINESS:** "Age has very little to do with the ability to represent your party," says Afrikaner Volksunie chief negotiator Corlia Krüger (23), a final year law student.

Right as if we are all uncultured and uncivilized."

The state the AVU proposes — within a system of "strong federalism" — would have Pretoria as its capital, stretch north-east towards Lydenburg, south into the northern Free State and down into Natal as far as Blood River.

It would offer equal political rights to all who lived there, of whom 39 percent would be Afrikaners and 51 percent white, according to AVU calculations. Afrikaners might not win the first election, Krüger says.

She hopes "Afrikaners who feel strongly about their culture, identity and language will eventually move there."

**S**HE says the talks are "fun, interesting, stimulating. I learn a lot. But they are also disconcerting because people talk about compromise, then throw it out the window when they see the chance of power in six months."

She also kicks against what she sees as the limits of political labels. "I am conservative in the sense that I value family life, my community, my folk, its history and tradition. I think there is a lot of good in preserving what has worked in the past and made you proud."

"But in many ways there are far more conservative people in the National Party. I have this professor who is now on the bandwagon of human rights. But you just have to look at his shoes — I always look at shoes, not ties, because people are too aware of that. He wears Grass-hoppers. In his person, deep down, he is deeply conservative."



**N**EXT week, Corlia Krüger will sit in a hall at the University of Pretoria, facing a final-year law exam set by Professor Deon Basson. In the same week, though, the boot will also be on the other foot. Basson, a law lecturer at Tukkies, is a member of the multiparty talks technical committees on regions, which will be reporting to the Negotiating Council on Thursday.

Kruger (23), a final-year LLB student, is the Afrikaner Volksunie's chief negotiator.

"The difference is that I don't get to fail him if he doesn't get it right," she says.

Kruger, who joined the AVU's negotiating team at the beginning of the year and became the party's chief negotiator last week, will have plenty of questions for Basson and the rest of the committees — a self-governing state for Afrikaners is, after all, the cornerstone of the AVU's policy.

ishing his law degree and is just 23. "The Afrikaner Youth League" was how one corridor commentator put it. "It is difficult to run this without paid politicians," Kruger says. "I am the only full-time negotiator."

**Who's grilling who**  
FINAL year LLB student and Afrikaner Volksunie chief negotiator Corlia Krüger will take on her Tukkies professor in a test of another kind at the World Trade Centre next week. However, if he doesn't get it right, she won't get to fail him, writes Chief Reporter JOHN PERLMAN.

**B**UT WE have proved that age has very little to do with the ability to represent your party, and we have been received very positively in most AVU circles."

She says some people will still say "meisie jy

The resignation last

month of AVU head Adriaan Beyer — the last of the MPs to leave — left many people wondering what the party had left.

Says Krüger: "We are left with the alliances we have with COSAG (which this week disbanded to form the Freedom Alliance) and the Afrikaner Volks-

five right from the founding of the party. "The power base of the Volksunie is people aged 20 to 40, but we also have a lot of members who are older and support our policies, which reflect the old Volksstaat ideas."

"So we have a combination: young people who believe in a place for Afrikaners and a new dispensation that could work, and others who were supporters of the Volksstaat before we were born."

Kruger, who grew up in Tzaneen, is descended from Volksstaat stock. "While her parents' — father Portuguese,

mother Afrikaners — were not much interested in politics, her maternal line traces back to Martinus Wessels Pretorius, who was installed as first president of the South African Republic in 1857.

Her marriage to a Krüger gives her in-law links to Oom Paul him self.

**I**M very emotional about Afrikanerdom. It's been misunderstood and portrayed as something base," she says, not least by the Nationalist press which "ridicules the

**H**ER style is insistent rather than combative. But her tight hand raised and wagged from time to time to make sure that whoever is in the chair doesn't miss her, she will doubtless raise a sigh from the press gallery and a rolling of eyes from some delegates.

That, Krüger would say, is their problem, not hers.

With the resignation from the AVU of all six MPs who set it up, the party's representation at the World Trade Centre has taken on a decidedly youthful look.

Apart from Krüger there is Thinus Rood, a Pretoria attorney in his early 30s, and Andries Plenaar, who is also fin-



# Political analyst Schlemmer warns of 'horrendous implications'

FRANS ESTERHUYSE

Weekend Argus  
Political Correspondent

IN spite of South Africa's political violence, a top researcher and political analyst has a message of hope: a free and fair election is possible as planned for April 27.

But the risks will be high, and all political leaders will have to enter into a peace pact, policed by top leaders themselves, says Lawrence Schlemmer, vice-president of the Human Sciences Research Council (HSRC).

Like other foremost political analysts, including Frederik van Zyl Slabbert, Professor Schlemmer warns against the dire consequences of a failed election — the implications of such failure are "horrendous", he told businessmen at a presentation and seminar on violence held in Cape Town this week.

The most critical issue, he says, is the conspiracy factor, or "third forces" seeking to undermine peace and reform initiatives. He emphasised there was not only one such force but a variety of undefined forces, and a variety of theories about their origins and motives.

This issue is made more critical by the prospect of coming elections that may satisfy nobody.

However, in the face of high-risk factors heavily underlined by facts and figures about death and destruction amid near-civil war conditions in parts of South Africa, Professor Schlemmer seems to remain optimistic about the possibility of successful elections next year — provided certain steps are taken.

■ All South Africa's political leaders were urged this week to enter into a pre-election peace pact to be formed at a top-level summit meeting — and to police the pact themselves.

High on his list of priorities is a leader summit for working out and adopting a peace pact across the political spectrum.

Professor Schlemmer said all leaders had to be "confronted with their own contribution to the violence."

"We must all raise our voices... Pressure must be put on all political leaders to go into a peace pact."

Replying to questions from the audience, Professor Schlemmer said political leaders had been "exceptionally meale-mouthed" in condemning violence committed by their own supporters.

He suggested voters should demand firmer steps by political leaders in disciplining their followers involved in violence.

On the prospect of free and fair elections, Professor Schlemmer said that generally next year's elections should be trouble-free and fair. There were only a few "hot spots", including the Western Cape, Natal and the East and West Rand, where some trouble could be expected.

"In these areas we will have to concentrate on damage control. The elections will be largely free and fair if we work hard at it."

In reply to a further question, Professor Schlemmer said slogans such as "Kill a boer, kill a farmer" would have to stop if South Africa were to have peace.

He warned also that leaders who constantly referred to "civil war" or other war talk

created a militant mood among their own people, and such statements could have serious consequences.

Among significant features of the violence was its persistence so far in the face of major peace initiatives.

Here Professor Schlemmer noted that in the 12 months since the signing of the Peace Accord in September 1991, there were 1 000 more deaths from violence than in the previous 12 months.

He also pointed to the rising scale and brutality of the violence. Since July 1990, for example, there were more than 50 brutal massacres with 25 and more deaths per massacre.

## Proliferation of weapons:

In the first five months of this year, police seized 348 AK-47 rifles, 32 other rifles/guns, 101 hand grenades, 15 mortars and 21 000 rounds of AK ammunition.

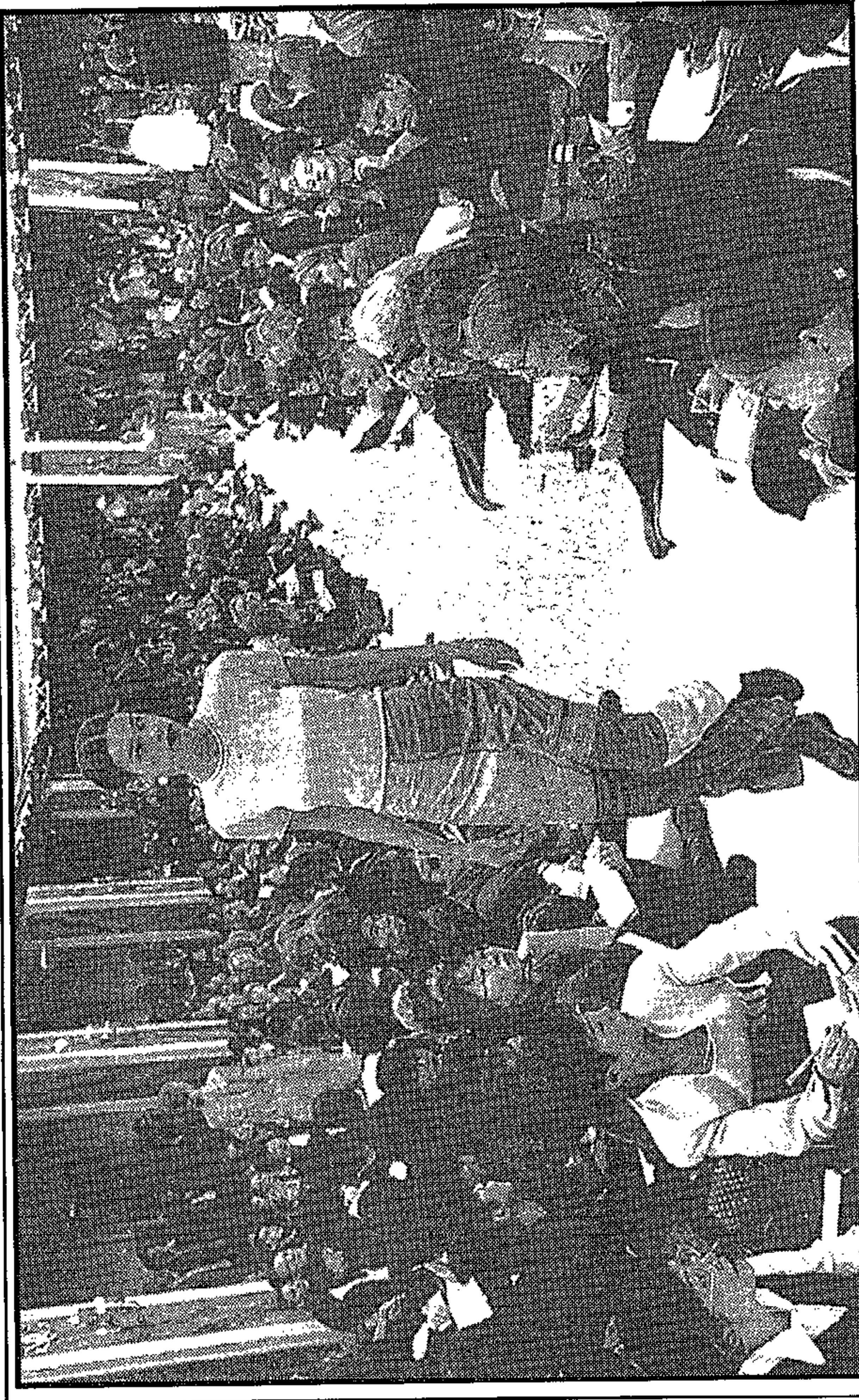
## Brutalisation:

Professor Schlemmer cited these manifestations of and comments on brutalisation, some from news reports about South African violence:

■ Words shouted at the neck-lacing of three men: "Viva...viva... We have found the dogs — we are burning them."

■ A recent comment by Reuters correspondent Rich Mkhondo: "I have lived in... Katlehong for all of my 36 years, but I have never seen such savagery."

■ A woman, thought to be



□ **DUTCH DELIGHT:** Ready to buy the ready-to-wear? Here a model displays a creation by designer Dries van Noten which is part of the latest Spring/Summer 1994 collection.

106 years old, was recently burnt alive in Natal.

■ From a newspaper report about a demonstration on May 1 this year: "Hundreds of youths ringed the police station, whooping with delight as they fired imaginary guns... kill, kill, kill, they chanted."

■ At a necklacing, a woman shouted "Tshisinyama" (braai the meat). A young man took a spear, poked the flaming body, and put the flesh in a cup. Muti, he explained.

## Attacks on police:

The fatality rate among police rose from one a month in the 1970s to two a month in the 1980s, 13 a month in 1991, and 22 a month in 1992.

Altogether 269 policemen were killed in 1992 and 95 private police homes were attacked.

Between January and June this year, 109 policemen were killed, 516 police homes were attacked, 916 personal police

vehicles were destroyed and 1 720 policemen were injured.

## Police brutality:

During 1990 and 1991, 28 policemen were convicted of murder and 147 of serious assault. Since Sharpeville, the SAP killed more than 560 people in political demonstrations.

Who is to blame for the violence?

From Professor Schlemmer's information there seems to be little clarity and much confusion about the causes of

political violence — and nearly as many accusing fingers as there are incidents of violence.

Armchair factions on the sidelines, he said, blamed it on MK, the "warlords", the vigilantes or "third force", the police, the churches, communists, Inkatha and many more.

At the same time there was no balanced consensus of causes of violence either among local residents or among political leaders and commentators.



# IFP alliance catches members off-guard

**DALE LAUTENBACH**

Weekend Argus Political Staff

SENIOR members of the Inkatha Freedom Party (IFP) have been caught totally unawares by their organisation's newly strengthened links with the far rightwing in the formation of the Freedom Alliance.

Those who were at the summit meeting of the Concerned South Africans Group (Cosag) in Pretoria this week, which gave birth to the new alliance, are taking a triumphant, upbeat view that it is a significant breakthrough for "real negotiations".

But senior IFP members have serious questions about the strategy they knew nothing about.

"This is a major policy decision that was taken without our knowledge," said a senior IFP member who hopes to find out what happened and why.

"This is far from democratic ... suddenly we hear this," said one who, among others, was optimistic that the IFP negotiators had been on the verge of a breakthrough in their bilateral meetings with the government.

They had hoped to get the government "on our side" in the face of what they perceive as the ANC drive to crush the IFP militarily in Natal.

They fear now that by associating with the far rightwing and its war-talk, they have an ally for the worst-case scenario, namely a boycott of the elections and a potential escalation of confrontation.

"I don't know how this new alliance will help us, because if the IFP does not fight the elections it will be marginalised," said a senior IFP man.

Those who were party to the decision by Cosag members to strengthen their bonds in the creation of the

Freedom Alliance — negotiating as a bloc while halting all their separate negotiation attempts — said it was a positive and constructive step.

Asked if the creation of the alliance meant that the Afrikaner Volksfront was now back at the negotiation table (following its suspension of talks with the government and ANC) AVF's General Tienie Groenewald said: "I suppose so, but on a completely different basis. We now have a stronger base from which to negotiate. This is one of the most significant political developments in South Africa recently."

The IFP sources who did not anticipate this move were concerned though that it was an ill-timed reaction to the ANC's attempts to drive a wedge between the far right and the IFP.

The new alliance will be led by Chief Buthelezi, Bophuthatswana President Lucas Mangope, Ciskei ruler Brigadier Oupa Gqozo, Conservative Party leader Dr Ferdi Hartzenberg and General Constand Viljoen.

It has not been lost on those IFP members struggling to make sense of this development that the white right has dual representation in this line-up.

Meanwhile, President De Klerk said that arrangements for talks with the new alliance would be made "as soon as possible" and welcomed its willingness to enter into discussions.

The ANC's Ronnie Mamoepa said he believed most would see through "an attempt to delay the liberation of our people and to hold the country to ransom".

He saw the alliance as "an attempt to consolidate the ranks of the right wings of both black and white organisations".

ARG 9/10/93

(115) 304A



# Alliance a spanner in the works

Star 9/10/93

(118) (104) 304A

THE forging of the Freedom Alliance out of COSAG has dashed growing consensus between the Government and both KwaZulu and Bophuthatswana on how to bridge the impasse over regional powers.

The divergent views embraced by the somewhat unlikely alliance — from committed federalists in the IFP to the Conservative Party, which will not tolerate suggestions of a federal solution — are bound to complicate negotiations.

## Caught unawares

The alliance has signalled that none of its parties will negotiate individually with the Government or the ANC. Instead it will form a "single, united negotiating team at all future negotiations with other parties".

It appears likely that the Government and ANC teams involved in talks with the alliance will now have to go back to square one for a solution that will accommodate the demands of KwaZulu and the white right-wing organisations.

Constitutional Development Minister Roelf Meyer yesterday charged that the

**WHAT effect will the newly formed Freedom Alliance have on negotiations?**  
**Political Correspondent**  
**CHRIS WHITFIELD**  
**Investigates.**

latest developments constituted a breach of the instructions given on September 16 by President de Klerk and KwaZulu Chief Minister Mangosuthu Buthelezi to their negotiators.

But it is reliably understood that senior KwaZulu and IFP negotiators were caught completely unawares by the announcement on Thursday night that the alliance had been formed.

Meyer told a press briefing yesterday that the Government had been involved until recently in bilateral discussions with both the KwaZulu government and the Afrikaner Volksfront "directed at reaching an understanding on the contents of the interim constitution".

"I don't want to go into details of possible agreements, but I can give the assurance that (the talks were) constructive and fruitful," he said.

Senior KwaZulu government and

IFP negotiators contacted about the alliance late on Thursday evening said they knew nothing about it. But IFP chairman Dr Frank Mdlalose said the announcement came as the result of a long process, starting with the formation of COSAG, and that all negotiators had been party to developments in this process.

Meanwhile, Government and ANC sources have indicated that they intend to press ahead with the process at the World Trade Centre. Some negotiators claim to be confident that the interim constitution being thrashed out will contain enough in the way of regional powers to bring KwaZulu and Bophuthatswana back.

# Powers withdrawn

By RAY HARTLEY

NEGOTIATORS this week bade farewell to an era in which government used states of emergency to bludgeon political opponents into submission by suspending the rule of law, when they agreed to a comprehensive set of strictures limiting government powers during an emergency.

Clause 35 of the chapter on fundamental rights empowered government to declare an emergency "only where the security of the state is threatened by war, invasion, general insurrection or disorder or at a time of natural disaster".

But the clause went on to say that the emergency could only be declared for 21 days, after which Parliament would have to agree by a two-thirds majority to extend it for a further three months.

After such a decision, Parliament would have to agree to the further extension of the emergency by a two-thirds majority every three months.

The chapter also empowered the courts to "inquire into the validity of any declaration of a state of emergency, any extension

thereof, and any action, whether a regulation or otherwise, taken under such a declaration".

State officials would not be indemnified against any unlawful actions undertaken during the emergency, another clause said.

While fundamental rights would be suspended during the emergency, detainees would not be without recourse to the courts, the chapter said.

Among the rights granted to those detained under the emergency are:

- A family member or friend should be notified of the detention "as soon as is reasonably possible";
- The names of detainees should be published in the Government Gazette within five days of their detention;
- The detention shall be reviewed by a court within 10 days of the detention, and at any time after the 10 days have expired at the request of the detainee;
- A court can order the release of a detainee if it finds that the detention is not necessary to restore peace and order; and
- The right to access to a medical practitioner of the detainee's choice.



# Fur flies in Cape Nat wrangle

By EDYTH BULBRING  
Political Correspondent

THE National Party in the Eastern Cape has been racked by infighting, allegations of incompetence and Broederbond favouritism. (304A)

The wrangle led to the resignations of the NP elections campaign manager and the party's financial director.

Newton Park MP Sakkie Louw, who was appointed NP election campaign manager from July 1, resigned at the end of last month. Mr Spike Spilkin, a prominent Port Elizabeth attorney and former president's councillor, resigned as financial director two weeks before Mr Louw.

Mr Louw this week declined to comment on his resignation, and Mr Spilkin did not respond to telephone messages.

However, sources in the Louw camp said this week that the animosity between Local Government Minister Tertius Del-

port and Mr Louw had made it impossible for him to continue in his position.

"Sakkie found it impossible to work with incompetent back-biting people. He found Mr Delport to be a political back-biter and conniver," a source said.

The source said Mr Louw was so fed up he did not care how much his resignation cost the NP in the election campaign in the Eastern Cape. He was not prepared to carry on working for the benefit of "fat Broederbonders", the source said.

Mr Delport declined to comment on the personal conflict between himself and Mr Louw. However, sources in the Port Elizabeth regional committee said Mr Louw resigned after questions were raised over his competence.

The sources said the NP election fund, which Mr Louw managed, had a debit of R17 000. In addition there was a telephone bill for R2 100 and a R1 800 liquor bill.

# Crucial talks on hold until new alliance states its case

ALL fundamental negotiations have been postponed until the new Freedom Alliance reveals its agenda and its approach to the ANC and government.

The alliance, formed last Thursday, consists of five key Concerned South Africans Group (Cosag) members: the Inkatha Freedom Party, Bophuthatswana, Ciskei, the CP and the Afrikaner Volksunie.

The negotiating council meets again on Wednesday, but it has been accepted that while the parties still at the table will continue discussing a human rights charter and an electoral Bill, the crucial issues of the new constitution — regional autonomy and the separation of powers between the three tiers of government — will be delayed until the Freedom Alliance enters talks with government and the ANC.

However, there is concern that the new formation is not "completely on the level" about its intention to enter negotiations on the new constitution.

It is alleged that it merely wants to prevent a plenary meeting of the negotiating forum to ratify the new constitution from taking place in time for the constitution to be promulgated during the special short session of Parliament in November.

A senior ANC source said: "It is difficult to understand how they will be able to negotiate with a united front on constitutional matters when they are so clearly divided among themselves on a new dispensation. It looks like a desperate attempt to stall the process."

BILLY PADDOCK

Constitutional Development Deputy Minister Fanus Schoeman said yesterday the Freedom Alliance appeared to be merely a name change from Cosag, although it was a more formal alliance.

"But it will be easier to deal with one group if they can manage to find one point of view. The problem is, which party's point of view are they going to adopt?"

"If the CP and the Afrikaner Volksfront are now prepared to drop their demand for confederalism and adopt federalism, there would be absolutely no problem," he said.

A "great deal" of progress had been made in bilateral talks with Inkatha and the AVF but the new alliance had to recognise that the only solution for SA was a negotiated settlement with which all parties could live.

However, the process had to continue and could not be delayed by the alliance, he said, adding that only a few areas of the constitution still needed to be finalised.

These were the most contentious, and if it took a while to get going on talks with the new alliance, this could cause problems for the scheduled parliamentary session, he said.

The alliance has said that it wants talks with government urgently, particularly with President F W de Klerk, to discuss the calling of a leaders' summit to find ways of breaking the impasse.

304A



# Call for women's ministry

Own Correspondent

DURBAN. — A ministry of women's affairs should be established by a new South African government and a certain number of jobs in the public sector should be reserved for women, the Inkatha Women's Brigade decided at the weekend.

Several thousand women attended the brigade's national conference in Ulundi, at which Inkatha leader Chief Mangosuthu Buthelezi called for a democratic transition that would eliminate not only racism but also discrimination against and the exploitation of women.

CT 11/10/93  
The resolution also called on a future government to sign the International Convention on the Elimination of All Forms of Discrimination Against Women.

● The brigade also slammed the SA Defence Force for its "inhuman action" during the raid on a house in Transkei in which alleged Apla members were killed.

# Far right 'plans' own government

CT 11/10/93 (SAN) (2044)

KLERKSDORP. — Right-wingers would form their own interim government to co-ordinate planning and devise a strategy for the future, Conservative Party leader Dr Ferdi Hartzenberg told an Afrikaner Weerstandsbeweging rally on Saturday.

Addressing about 2 000 uniformed and armed AWB members at the local showgrounds, Dr Hartzenberg said the newly-formed right-wing Freedom Alliance would terminate all bilateral negotiations.

Any group wishing to negotiate would have to enter discussions with the alliance as a "bloc".

He was speaking shortly before the AWB marched through the conservative Western Transvaal town.

Dr Hartzenberg said: "We are going to hold our own election and elect our own government."

He said President F W de Klerk had "reformed himself out of power" and would have to serve under ANC presi-

## Afrikaners may have to use guns, says general

PORT ELIZABETH. — The government and the ANC do not realise the seriousness of the Afrikaner Volksfront's claims for self-determination.

This was said by AVF member General Tienie Groenewald at Heroes Day festivities at the Uitenhage Festival Grounds at the weekend.

The general told the audience, many of whom had firearms, that the AVF would even consider taking up arms to realise their aims. The aim of the meeting was to launch an AVF resistance to the Transitional Executive Council.

dent Mr Nelson Mandela.

Asked if whites would ever accept Mr De Klerk back into their fold, the assembly, gathered in a showgrounds hall, roared: "Never!"

Dr Hartzenberg warned that once legislation for the Transitional Executive Council had been enacted the ANC would force the government out of its way and use the country's resources to win the April 27 elections.



# Govt and Apla talks on track

Sowetan 11/10/93

304A

By Themba Molefe  
Political Correspondent

**T**ALKS between the Government and the Azanian People's Liberation Army to discuss a "mutual cessation of hostilities" would go ahead as planned on October 28.

At least no statement to the contrary has been issued by the Government since it was plunged into crisis following Friday's raid by the South African Defence Force in Umtata which claimed five lives.

And this is in spite of Apla chief commander and Pan Africanist Congress defence secretary Mr Sabelo Phama's warning yesterday that the killings would be avenged.

However, Phama told *Sowetan* that his personal participation in the meeting, most likely to be held in Harare, depended on the attendance of Minister of Defence and of Justice, Mr Kobie Coetsee.

"We want a political solution to the conflict and that's the reason why the president of the PAC has ordered me to lead our delegation on behalf of the organisation and not Apla alone," said Phama.

He said it was also the preference of several African countries prepared to host and chair the summit that this be a political meeting and not of military commanders.

Efforts to obtain comment from both the Ministries of Defence and Law and Order failed yesterday.

Last week the Ministry of Law and Order confirmed the proposed meeting which was initi-

ated by Minister Mr Hernus Kriel because he was "committed to discussing the ending of violence with anyone". Sources said Kriel insisted that Phama must be in that meeting if a solution were to be found to what the State calls "Apla's terror attacks".

By last week plans were that the Government's delegation would possibly be led by Kriel. It would include Commissioner of Police General Johan van der Merwe and Chief of the Army General Georg Meiring.

Apla would be led by Phama and include its chief of staff, Mr Barney Mzolo, and political commissar Mr Romero Daniels.

Meanwhile, the South African Government has warned people visiting Transkei to take extra precautionary measures following last Friday's SADF raid.

The Department of Foreign Affairs said in a statement that if South Africans wished to visit Transkei, they should enter the homeland in convoys, ensure that their vehicles were in good conditions, lock all doors and travel only in daytime.

It also advised that travel documents should be in order and in case of a disturbance on the road ahead, travellers should turn back.

In a pre-dawn attack in Umtata on Friday a 12-man SADF team killed five youths aged between 12 and 19.

Two of them were sons of PAC veteran and former Robben Island prisoner, Mr Sigqibo Mpendulo. The five are Mzwandile Mfeya (12), Sandiso Yosa (12), twins Samora and Sadat Mpendulo (17) and Thando Mthembu (17)

● See page 2

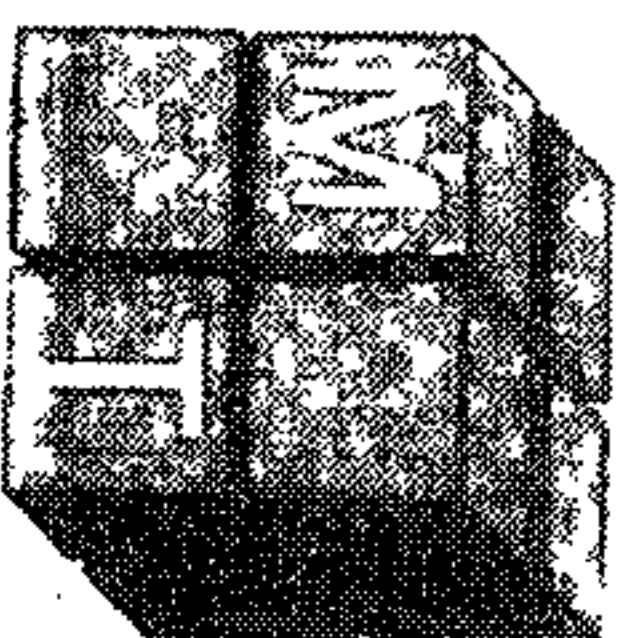


**VOTER EDUCATION** Your rights as an individual are protected in a true democracy

# Losers also need protection

*Sowetan*

11/10/93



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

**L**AST WEEK WE SPOKE about the right to vote in order to change things in our country.

We also spoke about democracy and noted that all democracies are systems in which citizens freely make political decisions by majority rule.

Let's say there is a campaign in your township to have a curfew — meaning that people are not allowed on the street after 9pm.

After a vote the score is 51 percent for a curfew and 49 against the curfew. Surely we cannot see this as licence for the 51 percent to oppress the 49 percent in the name of the majority.

In a democracy, majority rule must go together with guarantees of individual human rights which are there to protect the right of minorities — political, ethnic, religious or simply the losers in the debate over a piece of controversial legislation.

These rights cannot be eliminated by majority vote. They are there and should be entrenched instead of being trampled upon.

These rights are sometimes called inalienable rights. Inalienable human rights include freedom of speech and expression, freedom of religion and

conscience, freedom of assembly and the right to equal protection before the law.

(3049)  
There are many more rights that citizens enjoy in a democracy and they may vary from one society to another.

Losers in an election or parliamentary debate have to be protected from persecution by those who feel that by holding an opposing view they were "reactionary" or "sellouts".

If we agree that all human beings are born equal, irrespective of race, colour, ethnic group, sex, religion, political persuasion or any other factor, then we will understand the reason why there should be individual human rights.

## **No rights at all**

In South Africa rights have been abused. For years black people had very little or no rights at all. Those groups in South Africa who demand, as "rights", privileges that involve the suppression of the rights of others, do so because they still do not recognise the equality of all human beings.

Rights, like individuals, do not function in isolation. Rights are not the private possession of individuals but exist only insofar as they are recognised by other citizens of the society.



Freedom and democracy are often used interchangeably, but the two are not synonymous.

Democracy is indeed a set of ideas and principles about freedom, but it also consists of a set of practices and procedures that have been moulded through a long, often tortuous, history. In short,

democracy is the institutionalisation of freedom. Human rights are recognised as individual rights. One of the hang-ups left in people's minds by apartheid, is a perception of rights in group terms.

Some people talk about the rights of "whites", others about the rights of "blacks". Under apartheid, rights were

conferred or withheld according to one's colour or ethnic identity.

We need to ensure that a future government embodies human rights in the constitution. But more importantly we need to make sure that these rights apply to everybody and not only the rich and powerful.



# Right wants own election and govt

Star 11/10/93

Klerksdorp — Rightwingers would set up their own interim government to co-ordinate planning and to work out a strategy for the future, Conservative Party leader Dr Ferdi Hartzenberg told an Afrikaner Weerstandsbeweging rally on Saturday. (304A)

Addressing about 2 000 uniformed and armed AWB members at the Klerksdorp showgrounds, Hartzenberg said the newly formed right-wing Freedom Alliance would terminate all bilateral negotiations, and any other body wishing to negotiate should enter into discussions with it as a "bloc".

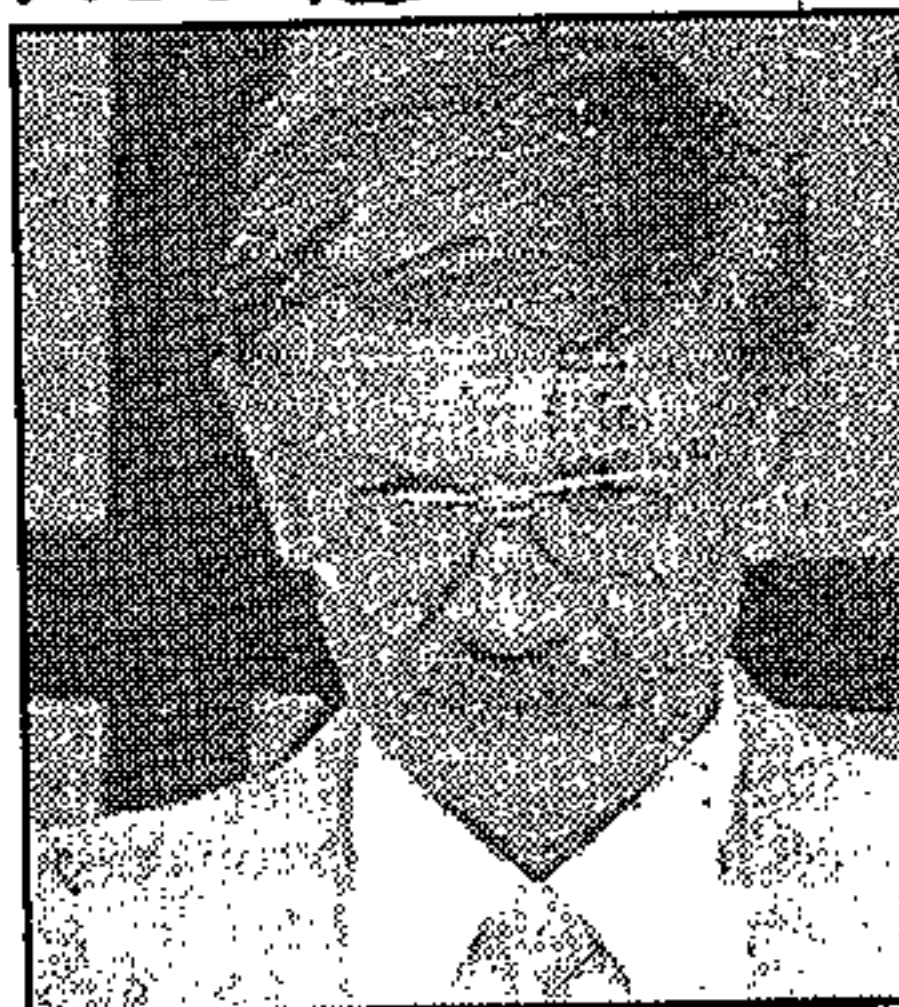
He was speaking shortly before the AWB marched through the conservative western Transvaal town.

Hartzenberg added: "We are going to hold our own election and elect our own government."

He said President de Klerk had "reformed himself out of power" and would now have to serve under ANC president Nelson Mandela, who would despise him when he saw how little he was worth.

Asked whether whites would ever accept De Klerk back into their fold, the assembly gathered in a showgrounds hall shouted "never".

Hartzenberg warned that once



Hartzenberg . . . FW has reformed himself out of power.

legislation providing for the Transitional Executive Council had been enacted, the ANC would force the Government out of the way and use the country's resources to ensure it won the April 27 election.

"Therefore, these things cannot be allowed to happen. The (Afrikaner) people will never accept this."

He also suggested that more right-wing radio stations should be established, which would enable Afrikaners to organise themselves.

In an apparent reference to the ANC, Hartzenberg said: "The time has come to say you are not going to put a foot in our region. This is our land." — Sapa.

# Voter educators unite

Sowetan 11/10/93

304A

THE Independent Forum for Electoral Education is an umbrella body uniting a number of organisations involved in nonpartisan voter education.

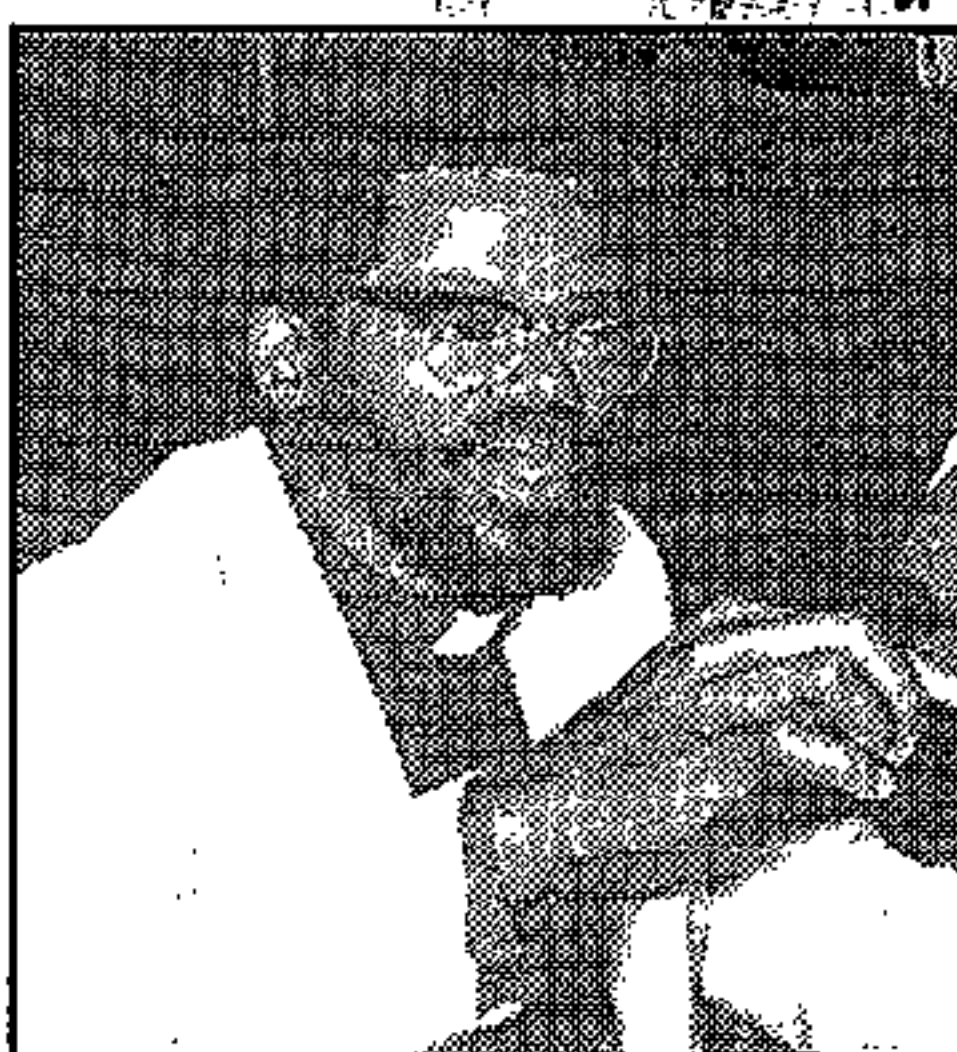
There are two types of IFEE membership — full and associate membership.

Full membership is open to any nonprofit organisation involved in a nonpartisan voter education.

Associate membership is open to any organisation with an interest in nonpartisan voter education.

Some of the IFEE members are:

- African Independent Churches Research and Theological Training Institute;
- African Independent Church Association;
- Audio Waves;
- Barometer Regional Research and Reporting Corporation;
- Campaign for Independent Broadcasting;
- The Black Sash;
- Broadcast Monitoring Project;
- Centre for Contextual



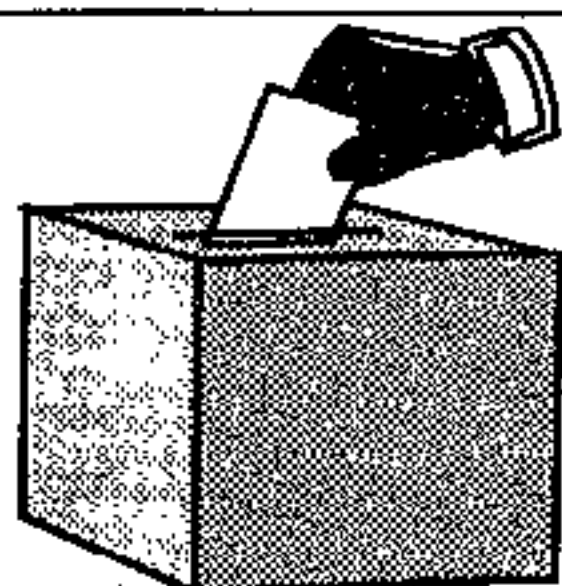
ICT head Father Smangalisso Mkhathshwa

Hermeneutics, Stellenbosch University;

- Consultative Business Movement;
- Christian Citizenship Department of the Methodist Church of South Africa;
- Centre for Development Studies;
- Catholic Institute for Education;
- Film and Allied Workers' Organisation;
- Free Market Foundation;
- Foundation for Democratic Advancement;
- Human Sciences Research

Council

- Institute for Contextual Theology;
- Institute for a Democratic Alternative for South Africa;
- Joint Enrichment Programme;
- Lawyers for Human Rights;
- Learn and Teach Literacy Organisation;
- Matla Trust;
- Institute for Multiparty Democracy;
- National Land Committee;
- National Youth Development Co-ordinating Committee;
- South African Catholic Bishops Conference Justice and Peace;
- South African Council of Churches;
- South African Independent Monitoring Committee;
- South African Union of Journalists;
- Speak Media Project;
- Storyteller Group;
- Theological Exchange Programme;
- Wilgespruit Fellowship;
- Young Christian Students;
- Young Women's Christian Associations;



This is the 12th 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 option.

Closer to election we will explain how to vote



# ANC 'white paper' on foreign policy

Own Correspondent

JOHANNESBURG. — The ANC had drawn up a "White Paper" on a new foreign policy for a democratic South Africa, ANC international affairs administration head Mr Yusuf Saloojee said yesterday.

The paper is the result of six workshops, the first of which was an ANC effort, the next four of which involved academics and the ANC's alliance partners and the last at the weekend, involving the Foreign Affairs Department and business organisations.

Mr Saloojee said the paper would be forwarded to the ANC's national executive committee, which would consider it and probably adopt it as policy in November.

The document emphasises the observation of human rights and environmental rights as cornerstones of a new foreign policy. It does not single

out individual countries.

It does call, however, for the establishment of a professional foreign service, which Mr Saloojee said had to be broadly representative of the country's population mix and free from party political interference.

The document stressed the importance of relations with the rest of Africa but did not try to address the question of migration to SA in the event of a prosperous economy and stable society taking root.

Mr Saloojee said the lifting of sanctions and the end of South Africa's isolation had opened a new chapter in the country's foreign relations.

The Foreign Affairs delegation had not contributed to the ANC paper but took many notes.

He described as "incorrect" a recent announcement that 40 new missions were being established abroad.

# Referendum could solve negotiations crisis, says De Klerk

TOS WENTZEL  
Political Staff

**P**RESIDENT De Klerk has warned that the negotiation process is heading for a crisis, and that a referendum may be needed.

Addressing an enthusiastic meeting in the Stellenbosch town hall where he opened the Cape congress of the National Party, he said the negotiation process was under tremendous pressure and it would be no exaggeration to talk about a possible crisis in the foreseeable future.

The ANC and its allies had caused serious delays. When they returned to the talks their attitudes on certain issues left much to be desired and they were selective in their cooperation.

The Inkatha Freedom Party had withdrawn from the

talks in an untimely and unnecessary way. In bilateral talks there had been unnecessary suspicion, a shifting of the goalposts and the setting of unattainable prerequisites.

The Afrikaner Volksfront had cooperated for a while before it had given in to Conservative Party pressure.

"All this is bringing us to a point very near to a negotiation crisis."

"It cannot go on like this. The country cannot afford the negotiations losing momentum."

"There is no question of turning back. We can also not allow any party to sink or hijack the negotiations."

If agreement could be reached within the next three to four weeks on some important matters parliament could pass a new constitution and related legislation.

Among these matters were the composition and operation of a government of national unity, the future of local government and key clauses in a Bill of Fundamental Rights.

If necessary the proposed starting date of the next session of parliament, November 8, could be shifted slightly.

"If concomitant agreements among all parties of consequence are not reached in the next four weeks another plan will have to be made."

"As a democrat I believe that under such circumstances there is no better instrument than a referendum."

"A referendum is democratic and civilised. It presents all voters with the opportunity to share in decision-making and to give finality on outstanding points of difference."

"If it is objectively structured it gives all parties the opportunity to put their case."

Mr De Klerk said the National Party would, under such circumstances, try to obtain the cooperation of as many parties as possible with regard to the content and form of such a referendum.

The government would consult as widely as possible. It had to be ensured that such a referendum would be a fair, democratic test of the views of all who had an interest in a new constitutional dispensation.

He hoped there would be no petty politics about what he was saying. Too much was at stake for this. Bickering and confrontation could not be allowed to slow the negotiation process.

Referring to his meeting

with the Freedom Alliance yesterday Mr De Klerk said it had been constructive. The group wanted to negotiate as an alliance and not on a bilateral party-to-party basis. This was not necessarily a bad thing and the National Party would pursue this in an effort to achieve a breakthrough.

He however stressed that it was not only the alliance which stood for federal principles. Many other parties were in favour of this ideal and the NP had supported it for a considerable time.

The government was taking a strong stand on a very broad spectrum of entrenched rights for regional governments.

In a blistering attack on the ANC, Mr De Klerk said the movement still housed elements which wanted to gain power through a Marxist and revolutionary approach. It

virtually had to be forced to accept a workable and just democracy.

The ANC could not be trusted with the economy; it had a record of violence; there was a great deal of double-talk among its leaders on many issues; and it was intolerant towards other political parties.

"The ANC is a dangerous organisation and must be put in its place at the polling booth. Only the National Party can do this."

Mr De Klerk rejected the "big lie" the ANC was spreading about the National Party — that it was still only a white party.

To wild cheering and a standing ovation, he said: "The NP is no longer a white party. It is now a non-racial party which wants to serve all South Africans."

## Klerk

304A

There were scenes of great enthusiasm when Mr De Klerk paid tribute to the coloured people and thanked them for supporting the NP.

Referring to the SADF's Umtata raid Mr De Klerk said permission for this was given after expert advisers had expressed satisfaction about the reliability of the information on the raided house and the arms caches the house was being used for.

On a previous occasion permission for such a raid was refused because the information was not evaluated as being sufficiently reliable. Further information about the raid would be made known when this was available.

The country at present had to cope with one of the worst waves of violence in its history and everything possible had to be done to stop this.



# Economic, political <sup>364A</sup> climate hits NP support

## Political Correspondent

SOUTH Africa's poor economic and political climate has cost the National Party support.

Cape leader of the NP Dawie de Villiers acknowledged in his opening address to the party's Cape congress today that while the membership in the Cape had increased, "the continuing violence and inflammatory political rhetoric with which the ANC and PAC, in particular, keep themselves occupied, have alienated many of our traditional supporters from the political and reform process".

"The uncertainties which inherently accompany any major process of transition have led many South Africans to doubt the future.

"Many of those who championed with great enthusiasm the reform initiative of February 1990 are beginning to have doubts. But we must win them back."

Dr De Villiers said there was too much pessimism in South Africa today.

The country needed political pioneers who were not consumed by doubt and pessimism but who had the courage to accept the challenges of the future and to become architects and builders of a new dispensation.

The National Party was not afraid of democracy and it was not clinging to the false security of the past.

# Political opponents refuse to come to the

TOS WENTZEL  
Political Staff

## aid of the party...

**P**RESIDENT De Klerk's warning of a referendum has sparked a controversy, with all parties except his own rejecting the idea.

The African National Congress said it would not accept anything that would postpone the election planned for April and the Conservative Party rejected a non-racial referendum.

Speaking at a Nationalist rally in Stellenbosch last night, Mr De Klerk said a crisis was looming in the constitutional negotiations and this might have to be resolved by a referendum.

A referendum would also provide evidence of the sentiments of people in different regions, an apparent reference to Inkatha and its position in KwaZulu and Natal. He indicated that he would also consult other political leaders on the subject.

Democratic Party leader Zach de Beer said his party had not had any approach from Mr De Klerk.

"I really do not know what he thinks he can achieve through a referendum that he cannot by holding an election in due course."

"It seems to be that he is under considerable pressure and it is natural that he should be looking for a way out."

"However, I am not convinced that a referendum could offer a solution."

One of the ANC's chief negotiators, Mohammed Valli Moosa, said

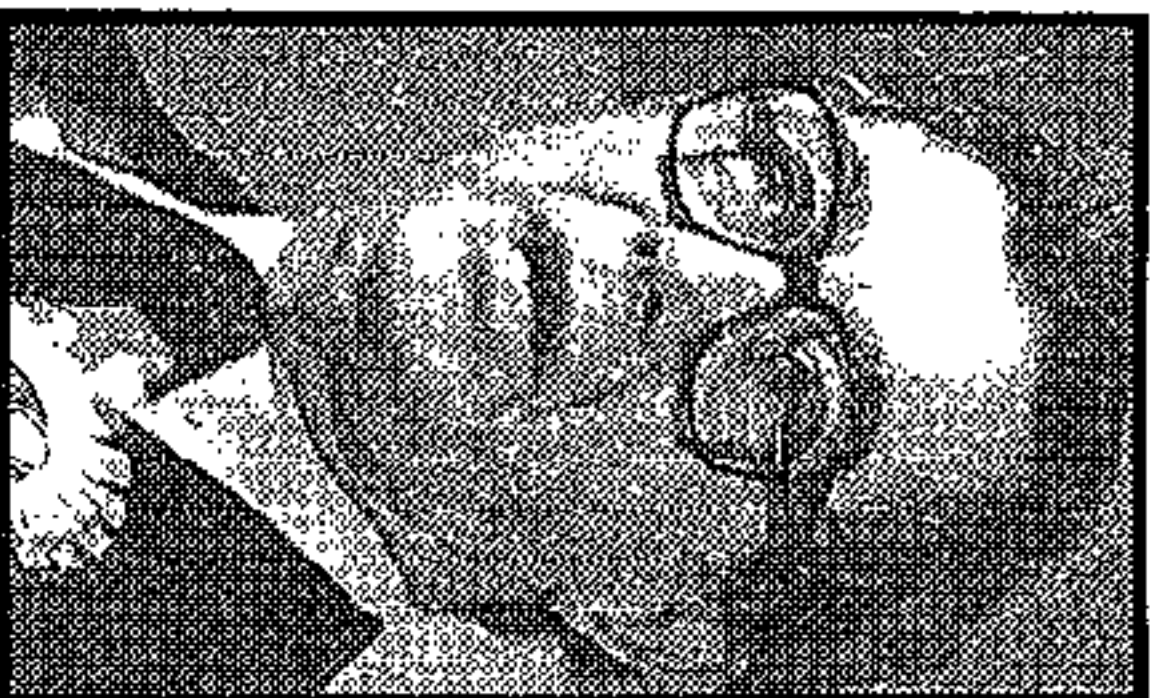
**Jaki Seroke, PAC:**

"We stand by our demand that an election for a constituent assembly be held as soon as possible."



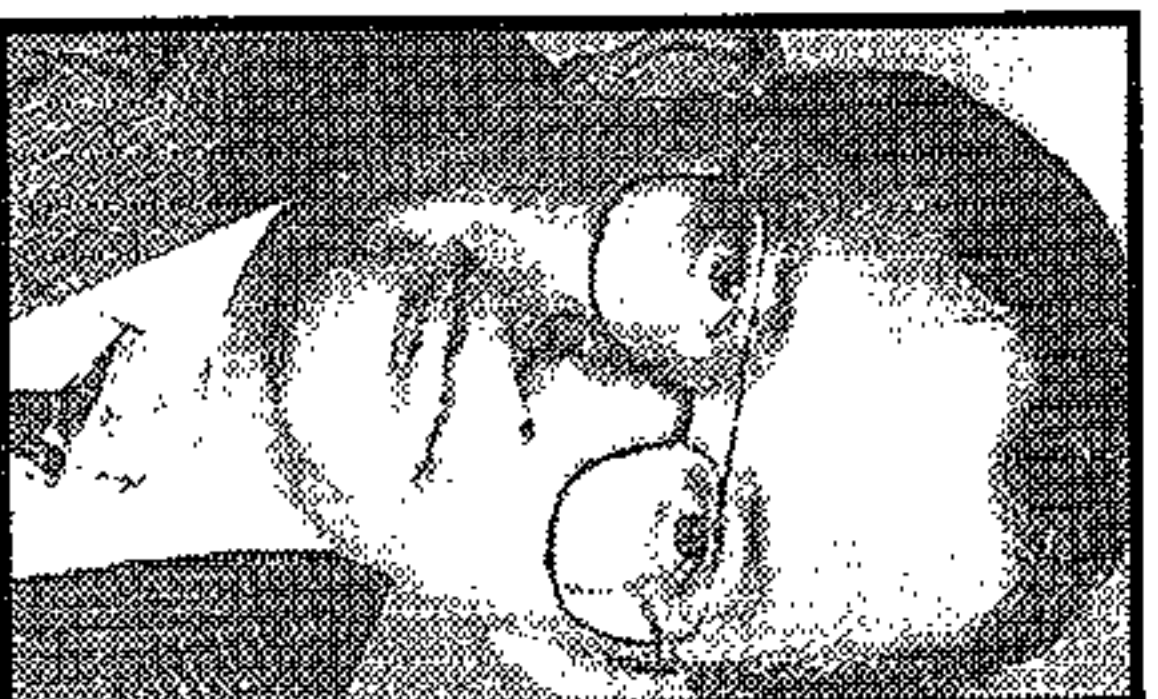
**Zach de Beer, DP:**

"I do not know what he thinks he can achieve through a referendum that he cannot achieve by holding an election."



**Willie Snyman, CP:**

"We will only accept separate referenda for the various nations in which the issue of self-determination is prominent."



**Mohammed Valli Moosa, ANC:**

"We oppose any step that would postpone the election. There are a number of unanswered questions about the proposal."



the movement was opposed to any step that would postpone the election. The ANC had, however, not taken any formal decision on a possible referendum.

There were a number of unanswered questions about the proposal, such as who should call it, when it should be and who should decide if it was a fair result.

CP deputy leader Willie Snyman said the party would not accept the kind of question that was put in last year's referendum.

Such a "wide open" question had allowed the government to interpret the result in any way that suited it.

The party was also not in favour of a non-racial referendum. It

ARG 12/10/93 (3044)  
would accept only separate referendums for the various "nations" and a question in which the issue of self-determination featured prominently.

Nationalist MPs backed Mr De Klerk, saying a looming deadlock and crisis in the negotiation process could not be allowed to continue indefinitely.

They were confident that enthusiasm for a referendum could be generated among the masses even if radicals to the right or the left decided to boycott it.

Such a referendum could be deemed a success if more than 50 percent of the eligible voters took part, and they believed that this could be achieved.

The question to be put at such a referendum should deal with a proposed interim constitution.

PAC political affairs secretary Jaki Seroke said his organisation stood by its demand that an election for a constituent assembly be held as soon as possible to legitimise the constitution-writing process.

The IFP, according to the party's communications director Ziba Jiyane, did not think a referendum would resolve "volatile political problems".

Instead, the party wanted a negotiated political settlement that would lead to all parties voluntarily taking part in an election.

The MPs felt that such a draft constitution should be put directly to the electorate if bickering and deadlock continued at the negotiations.

Last year the question was whether the white electorate wanted the negotiations to continue.



# 'Only a summit of major leaders can resolve the negotiation crisis'

## Freedom Alliance: Kempton Park has failed to deal with realities

**MICHAEL MORRIS**  
Political Correspondent

ONLY a summit of all major South African leaders could resolve the "negotiation crisis", leaders of the newly formed Freedom Alliance have told President De Klerk.

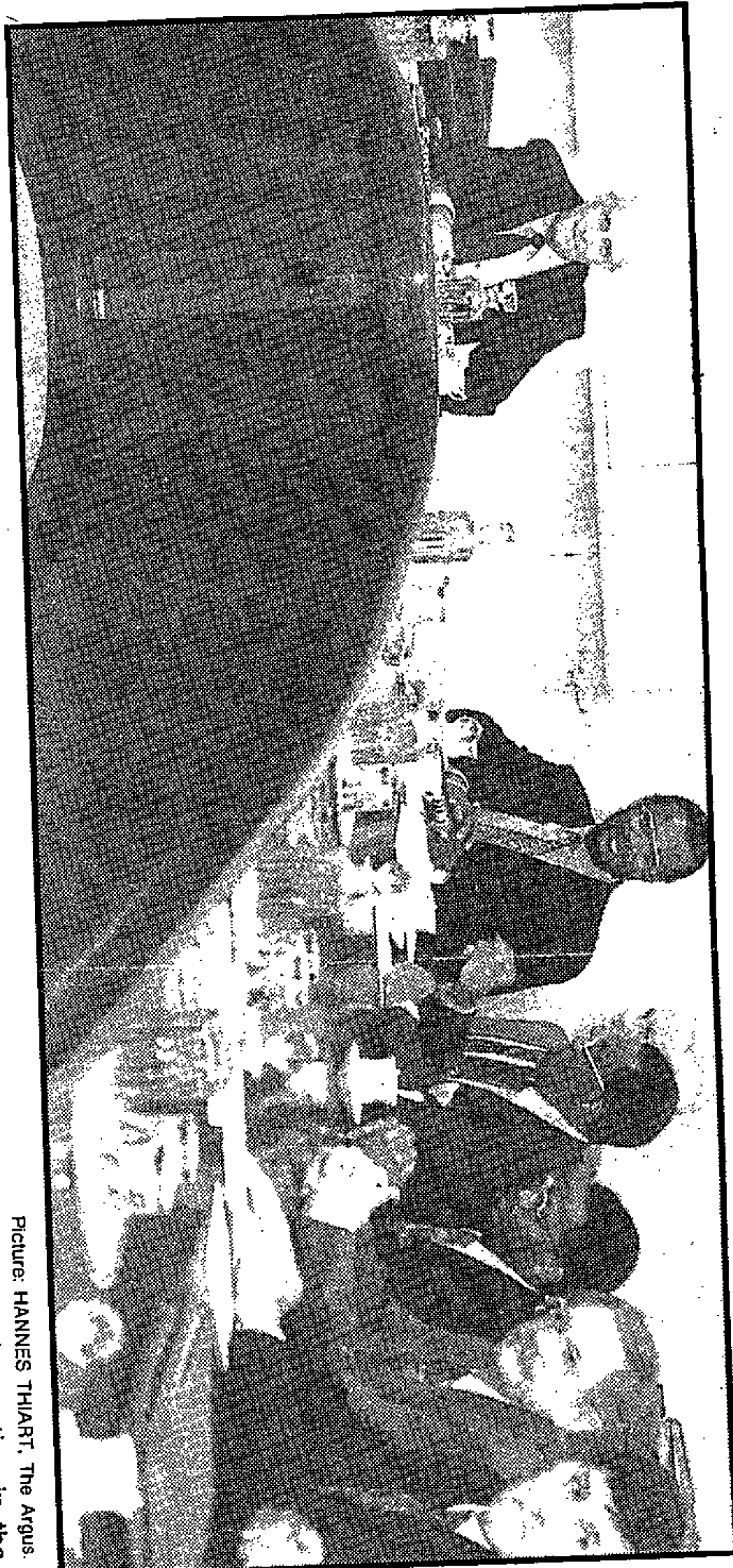
In a statement issued after the two-hour meeting at Tuynhuys yesterday the five leaders said the Negotiating Council at Kempton Park had failed to "deal with the political realities of Southern Africa".

Neither Mr De Klerk nor the government issued a statement.

The meeting, described as having been "cordial" by Ciskei representative Mickey Webb, was held at the request of the Freedom Alliance.

President De Klerk was accompanied by top government negotiators Dawie de Villiers, Roelf Meyer and Leon Wesels and the Natal leader of the National Party, George Bartlett.

The Freedom Alliance delegation was led by Inkatha leader Mangosuthu Buthelezi, Afrikaner Volksfront leader Constand Viljoen, Conservative Party leader Ferdi Hartzenberg, Ciskei military ruler Brigadier Oupa Gqozo and



Picture: HANNES THIAART, The Argus.

**FREEDOM ALLIANCE:** President F W de Klerk and the delegation of the Freedom Alliance at their meeting in the cabinet room at Tuynhuys. From the right they are Chief Minister of Kwazulu, Mangosuthu Buthelezi, Afrikaner Volksfront leader Constand Viljoen, Bophuthatswana president Lucas Mangope, Ciskei military leader Oupa Gqozo, Conservative Party leader Ferdi Hartzenberg and Bophuthatswana negotiator Fowan Cronje.

President Lucas Mangope of Bophuthatswana.

The leaders left Tuynhuys without commenting on the meeting, but Mr Webb said: "The meeting was cordial, and there were a lot of commonalities."

But asked if the question of

a leadership summit had been settled, he said: "That has still to be resolved."

The Alliance statement said its leaders had told Mr De Klerk that it would prepare a manifesto "detailing its position and its suggestions on a way forward which would re-

solve South Africa's problems on the basis of inclusivity as opposed to majoritarianism".

"The Alliance also sought, and will continue to seek, the South African government's unambiguous commitment to the principle of self-determination."

"The Alliance also stressed its total commitment to constructive and inclusive negotiations."

● The Freedom Alliance leadership announced yesterday that it would address the media at a press conference in Pretoria at 4pm today.



## PAC criticises Sadtu move

JOHANNESBURG  
The PAC's education department has criticised the decision by the South African Democratic Union's national council to support the ANC in the April 27 elections.

"This decision causes serious concern as this union has many teachers who are active members of the PAC."

The organisation called for Sadtu to convene a "special national congress" to "restore democracy" and give individual teachers the right to decide.

It called on all PAC teachers within Sadtu to suspend their membership "to avoid being hijacked into voting against the PAC next year." — Sapa



on Lady's caustic comment on men? and IFP join hands

# De Klerk plays his trump card

Sowetan 13/10/93

By Themba Molefe  
Political Correspondent

**P**RESIDENT FW de Klerk is doing what was long expected of him: pulling out one of the last aces tucked high up the ruling National Party's sleeve.

Addressing the National Party's Cape congress in Stellenbosch on Monday, De Klerk said the withdrawal of all rightwing groups from multiparty negotiations had undermined the ruling party's credibility.

He thus warned that a referendum might have to be called if the negotiations crisis was not solved within four weeks.

The referendum option has been discussed in NP circles for several weeks and only needed De Klerk to voice it.

The formation of the Freedom Alliance has provided De Klerk with the opportunity to hint at this option.

One other option, which would not come as a surprise, would be for the Government to take up the case of the rightwingers at the World Trade Centre. This nearly happened but the ANC was vigilant.

Political leaders and analysts have, however, given the proposal for a referendum a cool reception.

The African National Congress warned, although not opposing the idea, that a referendum should not delay elections and cause the postponement of the targeted April 27 date.

The Pan Africanist Congress firmly opposed the proposal and repeated its call for an election for a constituent assembly.

## ■ MIXED REACTION *leaders and analysts suspect delay tactics or worse:*

The Inkatha Freedom Party said a referendum would not resolve the "volatile political problems".

Initial rightwing reaction was mixed. The Conservative Party rejected the notion of a referendum.

The FA, formerly a loose combination called the Concerned South Africans Group, pulled out of the Kempton Park talks and is now set to embark on changing the facade of negotiations as it rallies black and white conservatives behind the self-determination and separate states banner.

### Questions

What questions will South Africans be asked in the proposed referendum and what effect would a "yes" vote have in stopping the march of the rightwing?

Obviously the question would seek a broad mandate of blacks and whites on the current constitutional process.

Also, a referendum would also guarantee De Klerk wider public support from across the party political divide.

"It would even not be an exaggeration to talk of a possible crisis within the foreseeable future," De Klerk warned.

"As a democrat, I believe there is no better instrument than a referendum under such circumstances," he argued.

Analysts could argue that the major purpose of the referendum would be to expose and test the support of the IFP and rightwing parties and also of public

opinion ahead of elections on April 27.

The referendum could also be the Government's last hope of holding on to power and really delaying the election.

The ANC said it would study the suggestion and did not rule it out completely.

This might mean the proposal could possibly get a thumbs up from the organisation.

### No purpose

It is perhaps the Democratic Party which hit the nail on the head when it said it saw a referendum serving no purpose as an election would serve to answer the question. But like the ANC, the DP indicated it would not oppose the poll.

"I don't know what the president thinks he is going to achieve through a referendum that he is not going to achieve by going to an election," said DP leader Dr Zach de Beer.

The referendum could help to identify the major political forces in South Africa.

But it is still too early to tell whether the black majority — which has never voted — would prefer a referendum to the real thing, an election.

To many, as a snap black radio survey showed yesterday morning, De Klerk's hint showed that white opinion still mattered and dominated the ruling party's intentions in spite of its leaders' public statements about a commitment to democracy.

# Election date 'in jeopardy'

By BARRY STREEK  
Political Staff

IF the critical issues about the regions and deadlock-breaking mechanisms were not resolved by the end of the month, the April 27 election date would be in jeopardy, the Democratic Party warned yesterday.

Mr Ken Andrew, a key DP negotiator, said last night that the Negotiating Council was working to a very tight schedule.

He said in a speech to the Union of Jewish Women in Johannesburg that the DP was not satisfied with the provisions for devolution of power to the regions and the deadlock-breaking mechanisms in the current draft Interim Constitution. (3641A)

"These are the critical issues that have to be resolved if agreement is to be reached by the end of this month — otherwise, next year's April 27 election date will be in jeopardy."

CT 12/10/93



2 Cape Times, Tuesday, October 12, 1993

# FW referendum Proposal coldly received

PRESIDENT F W de Klerk's proposal that a referendum could be held if constitutional agreement was not reached within a month has been given the cold shoulder across the political spectrum. The Conservative Party, African National Congress and Inkatha Freedom Party were unanimous in rejecting the proposal. The Democratic Party also gave it a lukewarm reception.

The ANC said the president was seeking a new tactic to delay next year's planned April 27 election. Senior ANC negotiator Mr Mohammed Vali Moosa said the ANC had not taken a formal decision on a possible referendum but was opposed to any step which would postpone the election. He said a number of unanswered questions about the proposal pre-

sented themselves — such as who should call it, when it would be and who should decide if it was a fair result. Conservative Party secretary-general Dr Lem Theron said: "Obviously we will oppose a non-racial referendum". Inkatha spokesman Mr Ziba Jiyane said he didn't think a referendum could resolve "volatile" po-

litical questions. "On the contrary his suggestion may exacerbate the violence," he said. President De Klerk has got no authority to decide on such questions, said ANC spokesman Mr Du-

but he warned that any attempt at separating the men from the boys in this way would be ill-advised. "An election would, in any case, have the same result," he said. Transkei military ruler Major-General Bantu Holomisa said from London that Mr De Klerk had no right to call a referendum for the rest of the country. Staff and Sapa

(South)

12/10/93

*We are very close to negotiations crisis, FW tells NP congress*

# Warning of referendum

BY KAIZER NYATSONGA  
AND CHRIS WHITFIELD

(30/4/93)

**THE proposed referendum has been questioned by the PAC and Right but cautiously welcomed by the ANC and DP**

President F W de Klerk's warning last night that a referendum might have to be called if the negotiations crisis was not resolved within four weeks, was questioned by the PAC and right-wing aligned parties but cautiously welcomed by the ANC and Democratic Party.

De Klerk, who made the dramatic announcement shortly after opening the Cape National Party congress in Stellenbosch last night, gave the party faithful a blunt assessment of problems facing the talks and then warned: "It all brings us to a point very close to a negotiations crisis."

In a hard-hitting speech to more than 1 000 supporters only hours after he and his negotiating team had held talks with the newly formed Freedom Alliance, De Klerk said the multiparty Negotiating Forum no longer represented all parties and "its legitimacy is therefore under fire".

An alternative, such as an all-inclusive national referendum, would have to be found to avoid "a possible disaster". "It cannot go on like this. There can be no talk of turning around. At the same time

no party — whoever it might be — can be allowed to hijack or sink negotiations," De Klerk said.

His statement came under immediate attack from the Inkatha Freedom Party (IFP), the Pan Africanist Congress (PAC) and the Boerestaat Party (BSP) this morning, with all three saying they were strenuously opposed to the holding of a referendum.

PAC political affairs secretary Jaki Seroke said his organisation stood by its demand that an election for a constituent assembly be held as soon as possible to legitimise the constitution-writing process.

The IFP, according to the party's communications director Dr Ziba Jiyane, did not think a referendum would resolve "volatile political problems". Instead, the party wanted a negotiated political settlement which would lead to all parties voluntarily tak-

◀ From Page 1

ing part in an election.

In a statement this morning, BSP leader Robert van Tonder expressed the hope that the Conservative Party would not make a similar mistake to last year's by deciding to fight the referendum.

CP leader Dr Ferdi Hartzenberg could not be reached for comment.

DP leader Dr Zach de Beer said he could not see what De Klerk stood to achieve through a referendum which he could not get by holding the real elections.

He said there was no reason to believe that those who opposed the holding of a referendum would co-operate. However the DP would co-operate if it was convinced that holding a referendum would help the negotiations process.

De Beer said his party's first choice would be to see negotiations intensifying within the next four weeks so that agreements could be reached.

ANC negotiators were in a meeting with the Government at the time of going to press.

However, ANC executive member Valli Moosa said earlier his organisation had not taken any decision on a referendum, adding that should it take place it should not delay the April 27 election.

The President said the National Party was pre-

pared to look at any constructive suggestions including the summit of leaders now being demanded by the FA.

"But if concomitant agreements between parties cannot be reached within about four weeks, another plan will have to be made. As a democrat I believe there is no better instrument than a referendum."

The President added that this could be structured in such a way as to offer all a chance to put their case and could also "establish what people from each region feel about a constitution".

He added that the National Party would consult as widely as possible on the form and content of a referendum.

## Belittling

De Klerk hit out at the ANC, the IFP and the Afrikaner Volksfront for allowing a situation to develop where negotiations were approaching a crisis, saying they were intent on belittling one another instead of seeking accommodation.

However yesterday's two-hour meeting with the FA leaders had been "basically constructive".

FA leaders appeared upbeat after the meeting.

De Klerk added that if the forging of an alliance meant the AVF and Conservative Party were also adopting the IFP's profederalist stance, it was to be welcomed.

Steuer

12/10/93



# Referendum

CT 12/10/93 (304A)

## FW bid to break logjam

From ANTHONY JOHNSON

**STELLENBOSCH.** — President F W de Klerk last night threatened to call a referendum unless the looming negotiations crisis was resolved soon.

He also backed the call for a summit of all major political leaders to break the political logjam.

Earlier the ANC had given tacit approval to the referendum idea when it was mooted by the government, but with election campaigns in full swing the issue is bound to become a political football.

Speaking to a racially mixed audience of over 2 000 National Party supporters packed into the city hall, Mr De Klerk said the hope harboured by many was increasingly being threatened "by fears, or even the possibility of a disaster".

The multi-party negotiation forum at Kempton Park was being hampered by "too many important parties standing outside it".

In the meantime time was running out and stability was being undermined, he said.

### REFERENDUM PROPOSAL REJECTED BY POLITICIANS

See PAGE 2

Unless agreement between all participating parties could be reached in the next four weeks then "another plan" would have to be made and "as a democrat" he believed a referendum should be called under such circumstances. This would be a country-wide all-race referendum.

The NP would consult as widely as possible about the form and content of such a test of public will.

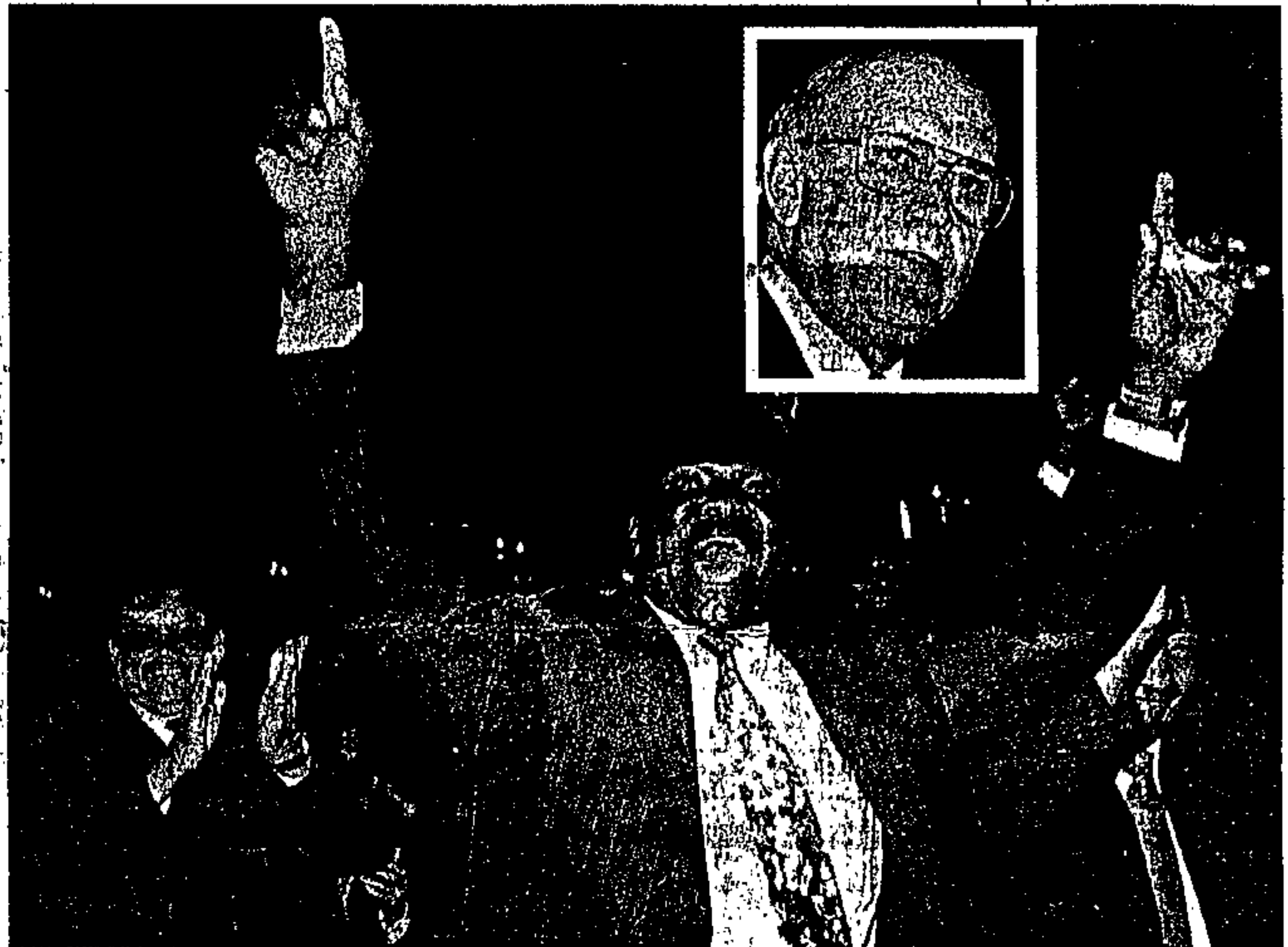
The government remained committed to the April 27th election date.

"We are standing at the crossroads in negotiation. All political leaders must now strive to become a part of a final effort to reach solutions so that the new South Africa can begin."

The NP remained committed to a settlement from negotiations. However, Mr De Klerk acknowledged that it would take "a giant effort" for parties to stick to the transition timetable.

He reserved much of his speech for a bitter attack on the ANC, which he said often contradicted themselves in a bid to be popular. They asked the police to maintain order but then criticised them for entering certain areas.

● New alliance, De Klerk meet — Page 2



**FW WOWS 'EM** . . . More than 2 000 NP supporters roared their approval for President F W de Klerk (inset) in Stellenbosch last night when he launched a scathing attack on the ANC, saying NP members would no longer stand for intimidation in the election campaign. Announcing a possible referendum, he also said the NP would mobilise the "silent majority" of freedom-loving, moderate South Africans of all races into a winning team in the election.

Picture: ALAN TAYLOR

## 'St James killers traced'

By COLIN HOWELL

PENINSULA police believe they know who planned and carried out the St James Church massacre — down to the names of the killers and where they are.

Despite tight security on information in the top-priority investigation, the Cape Times can reveal today that detectives have made major breakthroughs and have a clear picture of how the massacre was carried out as a "planned operation".

Senior police spokesman Colonel Raymond Dowd said yesterday the whereabouts of the wanted men "cannot be divulged at this

stage".

The Cape Times understands that detectives probing the June 25 attack in Kenilworth have had this information for some weeks. This has fuelled speculation that the suspects — believed to be four young men — have fled the country, possibly to the Transkei, to avoid SAP jurisdiction.

These indications surfaced before last Friday's SADF raid on an Umtata house. The controversial raid was not linked to the church massacre, the Commissioner of Police, General Johan van der Merwe, has said.

The extent, if any, to which the

raid may affect efforts to secure the arrest and extradition of the St James suspects was a "speculative question on which no comment can be made", Colonel Dowd said in response to questions.

Colonel Dowd also refused to identify "the political affiliations of the perpetrators", referring inquiries to the Ministry of Law and Order.

And police would not name the wanted suspects or reveal their ages "as this would affect the investigation".

Ministry of Law and Order

To page 2



# Alliance 'set to negotiate'

By ANTHONY JOHNSON

THE newly formed Freedom Alliance yesterday signalled their eagerness to return to the negotiation table — but not the World Trade Centre, President F W de Klerk said last night.

He told over 2 000 supporters at the opening of the NP's Cape congress at the Stellenbosch city hall that the meeting with the new right-wing alliance had been "basically constructive".

He said the new grouping had informed him that they wanted to re-enter negotiations but would only speak with other parties as an alliance and not on a bilateral basis.

In another sign of encouragement to the FA, Mr De Klerk said he believed their call for a leadership summit was a constructive suggestion worthy of support.

## But not at Kempton Park talks

Regarding the FA's calls for self-determination, Mr De Klerk said he had no problems with the idea of sections within a federation being given a degree of independence.

Members of the five delegations in the newly-formed alliance described proceedings as "very encouraging".

FA sources at the meeting said that one of the chief goals of the alliance was to secure the postponement of the April 27 election

date, which they would continue to seek.

A joint statement issued by Inkatha's Chief Mangosuthu Buthelezi, Bophuthatswana's Dr Lucas Mangope, the CP's Dr Ferdi Hartzenberg, Ciskei's Brigadier Oupa Gqozo and the Afrikaner Volksfront's General Constand Viljoen said the FA had informed Mr De Klerk that the political situation in South Africa was "so serious that only a summit of all major SA leaders can resolve the negotiations crisis".

The two delegations are expected to meet again towards the end of this week but government sources do not believe that the five parties will necessarily end their boycott of the multi-party talks at Kempton Park.

What is envisaged is a twin-track approach to negotiations, in which the multi-party forum takes account of meetings between the FA and other parties.

CT12/10/93

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## Referendum 'no answer to impasse'

BILLY PADDOCK

THE ANC yesterday gave cautious conditional support to President F W de Klerk's proposal of a referendum, but specified conditions for calling it and rejected it as a way through the impasse in negotiations.

In a strongly worded statement from the information and publicity department, after consultation with ANC president Nelson Mandela, the ANC rejected the idea that there should be a referendum if negotiators did not finalise the constitution in the next four weeks.

Only when the negotiating process had completed the constitution for the transition would it possibly be advisable to call a referendum as one of many ways to "further legitimise" the constitution.

De Klerk's proposal could be considered only on this basis. However a referendum could be decided on only by the negotiating council, not unilaterally by De Klerk.

If there was to be any "binding-in" process, the negotiating council would have to determine the question to be put to the electorate in the context of the negotiated constitution, as well as who would conduct such a referendum.

Given that there are vast areas of our country, including KwaZulu, Bophuthatswana and Ciskei, where there is no free political activity, how will it be ensured that the referendum is free and fair? Above all, any such exercise will be meaningless if all South Africans, including those in Bophuthatswana and Ciskei, are not assured the right to participate.

The ANC disagreed with De Klerk that the withdrawal of the Inkatha Freedom Party, KwaZulu, Bophuthatswana, Ciskei and the CP from negotiations had under-

To Page 2

## Referendum

mined their credibility.

Criticising the Freedom Alliance, the ANC said: "Those who walked out of the process are all creations of the apartheid order. They share the common goals of perpetuating their anti-democratic vested interests which they acquired under apartheid. They are motivated by the goal of dismembering SA into ethnic and tribal entities which would entrench the seeds of endless conflict."

The "only legitimate process to find a negotiated settlement is the multiparty negotiations process" and the "walk-out by a handful of participants" should not be allowed to detract from this and the commitment to elections on April 27.

Reuter reports from London that Mandela said he did not believe a referendum was a viable option to solve the impasse in talks and was unnecessary so close to elections. The ANC was determined to keep to the time frame of elections in six months.

TIM COHEN reports from Cape Town that senior government sources said government was "deadly serious" about holding a referendum if negotiations failed.

Reacting to criticism that the proposal was just a "scare tactic", they denied that

a referendum was just a method of forcing the Freedom Alliance into line. They said it could be overseen by the proposed Independent Electoral Commission and it would not necessarily delay the election.

Meanwhile political analysts and other political groups gave De Klerk's suggestion a lukewarm response. Initial right-wing reaction was mixed. The CP rejected the notion, but it was not ruled out by AVF leader Gen Constand Viljoen.

DP leader Zach de Beer said he would not oppose the poll, but saw no reason to vote twice on essentially the same question. "It seems to us that what is now required is to press ahead with the negotiating process, as we have been doing."

Cape Town University political analyst Robert Schrire said De Klerk's suggestion was a sign of weakness and uncertainty. "De Klerk's political position is obviously weaker than we were aware," he said.

Inkatha also rejected the referendum, saying it was a recipe for violence and De Klerk had no right to call it.

NP sources said they were not surprised at the Freedom Alliance reaction as the major purpose of the proposal was to expose their numerical weakness.

● Comment: Page 10

## ANC starts nominating election candidates

B/DAY 13/10/93  
PATRICK BULGER

THE ANC had begun nominating its candidates for the April 27 election, ANC elections co-ordinator Popo Molele said yesterday.

The process would culminate in a national nominations conference at the end of the November, and candidates on the list would then be approved by the ANC's national executive committee (NEC). The NEC would not have the right to add or remove names from the list, but would be entitled to move a candidate from one position to another on the list. The process would start with regional nomination conferences in each of the 14 regions into which the ANC has divided SA.

Each region would nominate 200 names for a national list. The region would also nominate its share of the 200 names that would go forward for election to the regional component of the new Parliament.

All the names would then be forwarded to an ANC list committee, which would determine the composition of the national list. It would also allocate numbers of delegates to the national nominations conference from among the ANC's alliance partners — the SA Communist Party and Cosatu.

The final list would include names from ANC-supporting parties in the TBVC states and self-governing territories, Molele said.

## NP congress seeks ways to restrict majority govt

B/DAY 12/10/93

304A  
TIM COHEN

STRAND — While a five-year period of power-sharing is taking shape at the World Trade Centre, speakers at the NP congress yesterday shifted the focus to measures which would restrict a majority government well beyond this period.

President F W de Klerk said it was fundamentally important that measures be found to limit the executive's power "deep into the future".

De Klerk told the congress there were various methods of achieving this, but did not specify any.

Constitutional Affairs Minister Roelf Meyer said government intended proposing that a two-thirds parliamentary majority would be required to amend the final constitution.

Cape leader Dawie de Villiers said government was seeking a dispensa-

tion which differed from the Westminster system where the party with 51% of the votes got all of the power. Meyer added, however, that constitutional mechanisms would be insufficient to guarantee that the majority party did not abuse its power.

It was critically important that the NP gained sufficient votes to enforce its position after an election.

Meyer said the critical issues for the NP in negotiations over the next four weeks were:

- The functioning of the proposed government of national unity;
- The constitution-making mechanism. The outstanding issue was the deadlock-breaking mechanisms;
- The powers and functions of regions. Still more specific powers had

to be allocated to regions, and

- The constitutional court.
- De Villiers focused on the Freedom Alliance, asking whether its common objective was to slow down or even sabotage a negotiated settlement and avoid an election.

The alliance had indicated it would be represented by a single negotiating team.

"The question, however, is whether they are also agreed on one point of view. Have they, for example, already agreed on whether they stand for a federation or confederation?"

"Will they continue to remain part of SA or will they secede into four separate states as advocated by the Volkstasters? Do all four alliance partners now support the principle of a racially based voting qualification and citizenship stipulation, as the CP does?" he asked.



# Ethnicity divides alliance

B1 Day 13/10/93

BILLY PADDOCK

THE new Freedom Alliance is still divided over the issue of race and ethnicity, but while its members adhere to different policies, they believe they can still present a united front in negotiations with government and the ANC. (304A)

At its first news conference yesterday in Pretoria, the group presented a manifesto committing members to rejecting racism, discrimination and sexism, a unitary state, and totalitarianism and tyranny.

Questioned on the alliance's commitment to self-determination, it became evident that the CP and Afrikaner Volksfront interpreted this as "nations" and "the Afrikaner", whereas the others spoke of the self-determination of regions.

Executive chairman Rowan Cronje acknowledged that "the issue is real and the greatest difference between us", and said the matter was being resolved.

He said the CP and Volksfront were

moving away from racism and had bound themselves to the manifesto. Bophuthatswana had always been against racism or discrimination as a basis for a state.

Inkatha leader Mangosuthu Buthelezi, questioned on his support for proposals to remove blacks from a volkstaat, said he could not back forced removals.

CP leader Ferdi Hartzenberg said neither the CP nor the Volksfront intended promoting "the removal of people, but that is what negotiations are about — it is possible to create a (white Afrikaner homeland) without the removal of people".

All parties were united in calling for an end to negotiations at the World Trade Centre and for the creation of a new forum.

They adhered strictly to a form of federalism bordering on confederalism and said

□ To Page 2 of 2

## Alliance

any negotiated settlement had to be achieved through total consensus.

Cronje said no settlement could be lasting if it was not endorsed by all major parties, and the current negotiations process left out important players.

He said even President F W de Klerk had acknowledged that the Kempton Park process was not representative and, should

it go ahead without the Freedom Alliance, the constitution would be contentious.

Hartzenberg said the alliance's members had much in common — freedom and self-determination. "We come together to negotiate among ourselves and represent a common strategy. The CP and Volksfront are not racially based parties as this alliance proves. We only want freedom and self-determination for Afrikaners."

□ From Page 1



# Govt 'isn't bluffing'

CT 13/10/93

(304A)

## Referendum

## still an option

From ANTHONY JOHNSON  
Political Correspondent

**STRAND.** — The government was "deadly serious" about its threat to hold an all-race national referendum to call the bluff of parties trying to "hijack or sink" the multi-party negotiations process, top Nationalists said yesterday.

It emerged at the National Party's Cape congress here that the date for a possible referendum had not yet been decided.

However, government sources insist that President F W de Klerk's referendum threat should not be laughed off as a scare tactic by those seeking to delay or derail negotiations.

The government is determined to press ahead with legislation during next month's special parliamentary session to endorse the interim constitution — whether or not the Freedom Alliance (FA) endorses agreements from the World Trade Centre.

The thinking in government circles is that a referendum on an interim constitution would not delay the April 27 poll date and could even help the election to run "more smoothly".

Government negotiators are not discouraged by the cool reception a number of parties have given the referendum idea.

However, ANC leader Mr Nelson Mandela said yesterday that Mr De Klerk had failed to extract an assurance from the FA that they would accept the outcome of the referendum, a fact which raised



**THUMBS-UP FUTURE ...** NP delegates Mrs Patricia Nogora and Mr Bankies Samuels of Robertson envisage a thumbs-up future for the National Party. They were seen at yesterday's NP rally in Strand.

Picture: ANNE LAING

doubts about the referendum as a deadlock-breaking option.

Mr Mandela said Mr De Klerk had assured him the referendum proposal was an option, not a fixed plan.

The ANC would like to see an interim constitution implemented within four weeks and if there were to

be a referendum then the question should be one of a broad consensus of approval from the people of South Africa. ANC chief negotiator Mr Cyril Ramaphosa said last night.

He and the National Party's chief negotiator, Mr Roelf Meyer, both said on TV's Agenda that the April 27 election date would not be delayed.



# Referendum idea opposed

## POLITICAL STAFF

The Government faces resistance to its proposal of a referendum if negotiations bog down.

Nelson Mandela expressed concern at a London news conference yesterday that President de Klerk's suggestion of a deadlock-breaking referendum might be used as a tactic to delay the April election.

"Our position, as the ANC, on the matter is very clear. We are having an election only six months away and we are determined to keep to that time-frame."

In Johannesburg yesterday, the ANC said that only the Negotiating Council could call a referendum, and then only after an interim constitution had been enacted by Parliament.

The newly formed Freedom Alliance (FA) — comprising the IFP, Ciskei, Afrikaner Volksfront (AVF), Conservative Party and Bophuthatswana — could not achieve unity on a referendum at a meeting in Pretoria yesterday, but proposed a "summit of leaders" to replace the Negotiating Council talks.

Constitutional Development Minister Roelf Meyer told the Cape National Party congress yesterday the first prize would be to get approval from all, including the FA, for the interim constitution.

In spite of the FA's lack of unity on the issue, AVF leader General Constand Viljoen, in a seeming agreement in principle to the idea, said a referendum would address the "problem of legitimacy" in negotiations.

Earlier yesterday the CP said it would insist on being involved in the formulation of the question put in any referendum.

Meyer and ANC secretary-

## THE TALKS AND YOU



### At the World Trade Centre

**TRANSKEI RAID:** The PAC's request for a special session of the Negotiating Council to discuss the SADF raid on an Umtata house on Friday will be discussed at today's meeting of the planning committee.

However, indications are that the PAC will raise the issue in the council if the planning committee decides against a special session.

Negotiators are also scheduled to discuss the draft Interim Constitution's property and custom law clauses, which will be contained in a chapter on fundamental human rights during the transition.

The chapter on human rights will not form a complete Bill of Rights. Such a Bill will be drafted by an elected constitution-making body.

ESTHER WAUGH

(304A) general Cyril Ramaphosa last night agreed a referendum was one of several options being considered — and Ramaphosa made it clear the decision should be taken by the multiparty negotiating process.

Ramaphosa said once the draft interim constitution had been agreed to at the Negotiating Council, it should be passed by Parliament before an attempt was made to "broaden consensus".

Meyer added that some of the measures already agreed to, such as the Transitional Executive Council and the Independent Electoral Commission, could be implemented before a referendum was held.

Meyer and Ramaphosa said their parties were committed to holding elections on April 27 and a referendum would not postpone the country's first democratic poll.

The IFP and PAC yesterday rejected the idea.

Democratic Party leader Dr Zach de Beer said he could not see what De Klerk stood to achieve through a referendum that he could not get by holding the real elections. However, the DP would co-operate if it were convinced that a referendum would help the negotiations process.

The Azanian People's Organisation has also opposed the call for a referendum.

The Star's London Bureau reports Mandela yesterday stressed that a referendum could come about only with the agreement of the multiparty forum and, even then, he doubted that various members of the FA would take part in or make an impact on such a vote.

The FA and the referendum proposal dominated talks Mandela held yesterday with British Prime Minister John Major.

►Alliance rejects unitary state — Page 9

Star 13/10/93

# Apla-Govt talks still on

■ BY ESTHER WAUGH  
POLITICAL CORRESPONDENT

The scheduled meeting between Apla and the Government is still on track despite the SADF raid in Umtata.

Apla chief information officer Johannes Majozi told The Star from Dar es Salaam yesterday that "the meeting still stands" for Monday.

According to sources the meeting, said to have been brokered by the

Venda Defence Force, was likely to take place in Harare. (304A)

Law and Order Ministry spokesman Captain Craig Kotze confirmed that the meeting was still on track, but said the final details were yet to be confirmed. (304A)

PAC negotiator Patricia de Lille yesterday announced that her organisation has started a fund for the victims of Friday's raid.

The PAC would raise the SADF attack at today's Negotiating Council meeting and would insist on Defence Minister Kobie Coetsee being present.

"They (the Government) must account for the killings," she said.

■ Donations to the North-crest victims fund can be sent to the Umtata branch of First National Bank, current account number 1 000 092 657.



# Very strange bedfellows

Sowetan

13/10/93

Comment by Hugh Robertson

THE purpose of forming the Freedom Alliance, one would think, was because its sum would be greater in both political power and attractiveness than its individual parts.

That the CP, AVF, IFP, Ciskei and Bophuthatswana would count for a lot more by standing together than they would by fighting for their causes separately is apparent.

As President FW de Klerk said in Stellenbosch last night, after having just spent two hours talking to the assorted member parties (and showing a remarkable freshness of countenance in the circumstances), they wish to negotiate in future as a single entity and will no longer take part in one-on-one discussions. For all practical purposes, therefore, we have a new political party.

## Interracial synergy

But the dearth of analytical and intellectual talent around the leaders of the white Far Right probably was responsible for them failing to see what a huge contradiction their alliance represents to the ideals which they claim to stand for — not that the rest of us should complain, for what they have done, apparently unwittingly, is an encouraging and commendable acceptance of the great potential there is in interracial synergy in South Africa.

By forming the multiracial, multi-ethnic Freedom Alliance, the white Far Right has publicly conceded for the first time both the weakness of a

## Have the far right and the IFP begun a marriage of convenience?

That is a burst of sunlight on their hitherto benighted response to the realities of the country, and rather than poke fun at the absurdity of their forming a multiracial political alliance with blacks on the one hand, but standing for a whites-only homeland on the other, we should welcome this breakthrough. But it is a breakthrough which is diaphanously fragile.

We cannot assume that the Far Right rank and file, or even the leadership of the CP and the AVF, actually grasp the importance of what they have done or realise that they have denied themselves, at the very least, the emotional satisfaction of pointing to the mottled complexion of the "new" NP and shouting "traitors!"

They have now embarked on much the same course, and their argument that the different elements which go to make up the Freedom Alliance all stand for ethnically separate or autonomous states is a deeply unconvincing reason for their decision to stand together.

For instance, when the Far Right

eventually does put forward an actual map of their proposed white homeland, they will know, and the rest of the Freedom Alliance will know, that there cannot be an economically viable part of it where blacks do not form an overwhelming majority of the population.

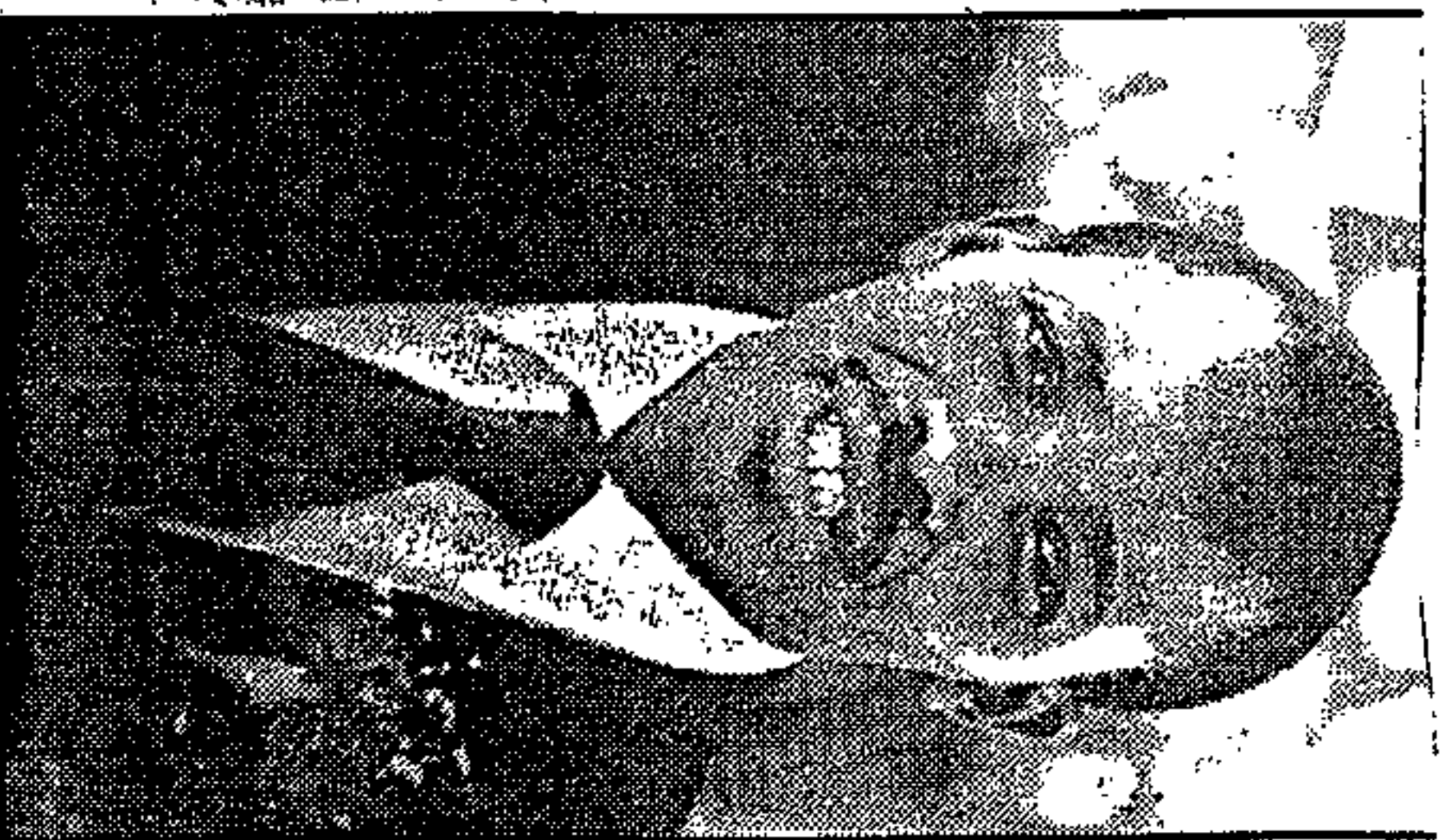
That being so, what is the IFP's response going to be to the rights of Zulus in that homeland? Or the Ciskei's feelings about the Xhosas there? Or Bop's sentiments about the Tswanas? Do the IFP, Ciskei and Bop actually embrace the concept of a white homeland? Almost certainly not.

## Sticking together

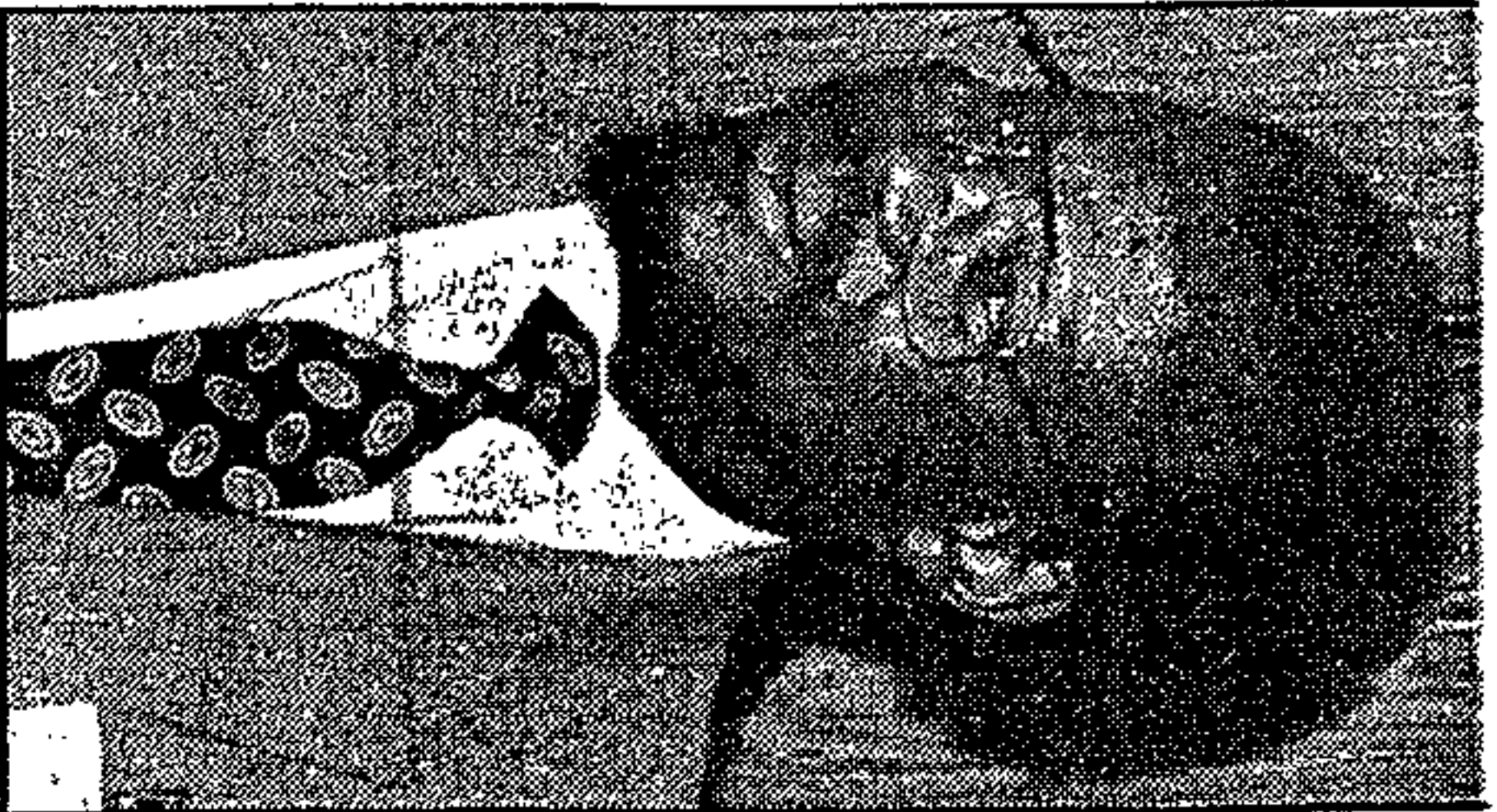
But they are sticking together with the white Far Right nevertheless, which raises the question: If the Freedom Alliance have embarked upon the politics of a racial and ethnic co-operation without actually meaning to, and if there is no agreement among them on a white homeland, then what did they have in mind?

Other than their shared desire for their own chunk of territory (the economic and demographic impossibility of that in the case of whites notwithstanding) the thing which the two most powerful groups in the alliance — the CP and IFP — have in common, is their talk of "war".

Is this, then, a war alliance? It would be most surprising indeed if any of the rightist radicals believed they could launch armed resistance to change on their own, or at least without attempting to find allies wherever they could. But at the same time, it is difficult to conceive armed resistance by groups which essentially differ on the issue of a white



Ciskei leader Oupa Gqozo.



IFP leader Mangosuthu Buthelezi.

## homeland.

Unless, of course, the IFP has in mind a white homeland in which blacks who are not Zulus would be relegated to perpetual subservience. What, indeed, is the IFP's view on the future destiny of the non-Zulu black majority who now are clustered around greater Pretoria, the supposed epicentre of the white homeland?

Have the IFP swung a deal with the white far right about the destiny of non-Zulu blacks which the country does not know of?

If they have not, then on what basis do they justify standing with the white Far Right in an alliance to pursue a white homeland? And in what way could the white Far Right justify armed resistance to change which certainly would entail black supporters of the Freedom Alli-

ance killing their fellow white Afrikaners?

On these treacherous foundations have the white Far Right, and the IFP, begun their mixed marriage of convenience.

The chances of a whites only homeland being achieved through the Freedom Alliance are ridiculously slender. But reaching that conclusion would entail traversing a course of multiracial politics which might well persuade the white far right to abandon its geographical idiocy and accept that if it can work together politically with blacks it can do so on a bigger and wider scale. If it can feel trustful of the IFP, Ciskei and Bop, there is no reason why, in time, it cannot summon the courage to face the ANC, PAC and, who knows, even the NP.



# Referendum row

**Sowetan Correspondent**

PRESIDENT FW de Klerk's threat on Monday night, that a referendum might have to be called if the looming negotiations crisis was not resolved within the next four weeks, has been met with a mixed reaction. **Sowetan**

De Klerk, who made the dramatic announcement shortly after opening the Cape National Party congress in Stellenbosch, gave the party faithful a blunt assessment of problems facing the talks and then warned: "It all brings us to a point very close to a negotiations crisis". He said an alternative, such as an all-inclusive national referendum, would have to be found to avoid "a possible disaster".

PAC political affairs secretary Mr Jaki Seroke said his organisation stood

by its demand that an election for a constituent assembly be held as soon as possible to legitimise the constitution-writing process. **13/10/93**

IFP communications director Dr Ziba Jiyane did not think a referendum would resolve "volatile political problems". Instead, the party wanted a negotiated political settlement which would lead to all parties voluntarily taking part in an election. **(304A)**

DP leader Dr Zach de Beer said he could not see what De Klerk stood to achieve through a referendum which he could not get by holding the real elections.

ANC executive member Mr Valli Moosa said his organisation had not taken any decision on a referendum, adding that should it take place it should not delay the April 27 elections.

● See page 7



# Alliance leaders put up a united front (301A)

ET 13/10/93  
THE new Freedom Alliance (FA) is still divided over the issues of race and ethnicity, but while its members adhere to different policies, they believe they can still present a united front in negotiations with the government and the ANC.

The FA said yesterday it would press for a completely revamped negotiations process in which a summit of leaders would replace the multi-party talks at the World Trade Centre.

## No racism

The alliance presented a manifesto that commits all its members to rejecting racism, discrimination and sexism, any form of unitary state and any form of totalitarianism and tyranny.

All the parties in the FA are united on one issue: Negotiations at the World Trade Centre near Kempton Park must be stopped and a new forum created.

They adhere strictly to a form of federalism bordering on confederalism and say any negotiated settlement has to be achieved through total consensus.

CP leader Dr Ferdi Hartzenberg said: "The CP and the AVF are not racially based parties as this alliance proves."

Chief Minister Mangosuthu Buthelezi would inevitably lead the new Freedom Alliance into elections if the constitutional framework was acceptable, IFP leader Mr Jurie Mentz said yesterday.

He said the Alliance would develop into an all-embracing "anti-communist, pro-free-enterprise alliance".

Speaking at yesterday's NP congress, Cape leader and leader of the NP's negotiating team Dr Dawie de Villiers suggested that the FA was bent on wrecking negotiations and ducking out of an election. — Own Correspondent, Political Staff

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# De Beer slates ANC communism

By BARRY STREEK  
Political Staff

DEMOCRATS in the ANC had the right to believe South African communists were different from all other communists — as much right as they had to believe in fairies at the bottom of the garden, DP leader Dr Zach de Beer said last night.

It was impossible for a communist to be a democrat, he told his audience at a report-back meeting in Rosebank, Johannesburg.

Dr De Beer said the South African Communist Party would play a vital role in the coming election.

"The communists sit right in the belly of the ANC. It is said half the members of the ANC's national executive committee are communists.

"In the end, it is not possible for a communist to be a democrat, because to implement communist policy such as the dictatorship of the proletariat, human rights

have to be extinguished," he said.

Dr De Beer told the meeting that communists all over the world had shown themselves to be arch manipulators of other political groups, ruthless in their pursuit of power and remorseless in their attack on human rights.

He added that the DP knew communism as the greatest enemy of individual freedom and believed it was its duty to fight against it.



## Future envoys go to school

— Own Correspondent

LONDON — Twenty-five South Africans, blacks and whites, are training at the University of Birmingham to take part in what they hope will be a new chapter in SA's diplomatic history.

The group includes members of the ANC and the Inkatha Freedom Party. But their spokesman, former Transkei civil servant Veli Ntsubane, is adamant that political affiliations mean nothing.

"We came here as South Africans," he said this week. "We came to prepare a new, democratic, nonracial nation."

The trainees have just started a 10-week crash course in international relations, trade and finance, law and diplomatic practice and consular work.

ANC leader Nelson Mandela, who is on a world tour, met the group during a visit to Birmingham on Monday.

Later he told an enthusiastic audience who packed a civic reception in his honour: "We need the collective wisdom of all our people to chart the way forward."

— Daily Telegraph.

# DP launches attack against communists

B/DAY 12/10/93

PATRICK BULGER

DEMOCRATS within the ANC had every right to believe that their communist allies were different from other communists, just as they had the right to believe in fairies at the bottom of the garden, DP leader Zach de Beer said last night.

De Beer was speaking at a report-back meeting in Rosebank.

He attacked the ANC's communist allies as "ruthless power-seekers and arch-manipulators" who were remorseless in their attack on human rights.

"When Jeremy Cronin attacked Boris Yeltsin for what he is doing to the communists in Russia, it didn't seem to me that he was all that far from the communists abroad ... we know communists as the greatest enemy of individual freedom, and we think it is our duty to fight against it," De Beer said.

He asked who South Africans wanted to sit in Parliament and to write a new constitution.

De Beer said the more DP MPs there were in Parliament, the greater the possibility that human rights

would be protected.

He said that only the ANC had a chance of gaining a two-thirds majority in Parliament.

But, between them, the non-ANC parties had to ensure they gained at least one-third of the vote as this would prevent the ANC from writing a constitution that suited it alone.

SA's post-election constitution, like the constitution being written at Kempton Park — in terms of which the April 27 election would be held — had to represent agreement between the various parties.

He described 1993 as a year "of acute conflict, of many murders, of continuing poverty, joblessness, hunger — in many ways a miserable year".

However progress had been made at negotiations and sanctions had now been lifted so that the ANC, "which for so many years campaigned to impoverish SA, has now reversed itself and is appealing for foreign investment".

## Consensus to scrap party funding clause

ERICA JANKOWITZ

NATIONAL Manpower Commission members have reached consensus on the scrapping of a clause preventing trade unions from funding political parties or candidates.

Their recommendation will be debated in Parliament during its next session, probably in November.

Government sources said, however, legislative changes would not necessarily be approved by Parliament as the whole question of party funding was due to be debated in the next session.

Sources said it was an extremely delicate issue and tied to funding covered in the Electoral Act.

As a result, Manpower Department

delegates had been told not to enter the debate as the issue had to be determined by government and not on a piecemeal basis.

However, Cosatu representative Mike Madlala said the controversial clause — Section 15A of the Labour Relations Act — was likely to be scrapped as Parliament was likely to ratify the recommendation.

Employer members were more cautious, especially in light of the recent national economic forum recommendation on the petrol price increase not succeeding in swaying government opinion.

Madlala said unions were awaiting

the outcome of the Parliamentary debate and thereafter the qualifications of the scrapping would be debated. These pertained to the status of workers covered by closed shop agreements.

Once the clause was scrapped unions would be able to fund political parties or candidates from their coffers, he said.

Employer sources said the more conservative unions had not agreed to the recommendation and government representatives had withdrawn from the debate citing its political nature. As a result, government members had not adopted a position on the issue.

Star 13/10/93  
**Alliance rejects unitary state**  
 (304A)

■ BY HELEN GRANGE

Releasing its manifesto yesterday, the newly formed Freedom Alliance expressed its commitment to negotiations, but rejected the notion of a unitary state.

The manifesto said it also rejected racism, discrimination and sexism and "any form of totalitarianism and tyranny over the freedom of man and society".

After a summit of leaders of the parties involved — the IFP, CP, Ciskei, Bophuthatswana and

the Afrikaner Volksfront (AVF) — the alliance said each of the leaders in the alliance would aim to secure self-determination within the parameters of their respective ideologies, policies and political visions.

The alliance leaders were repeatedly presented with the apparent ideological clash between the right wing and the IFP, Ciskei and Bophuthatswana over racial discrimination.

IFP leader Mangosuthu Buthelezi said the alliance was a vehi-

cle through which millions of South Africans could express their political aspirations, notwithstanding the diversity of opinions within it.

General Constand Viljoen of the AVF said the group would give conservatives a greater political lever, thereby reducing the chances of civil war.

Rowan Cronje of Bophuthatswana said the alliance was not an election alliance but a political one addressing constitutional principles.



Star 13/10/98

## DP's goal is third of the vote

The Democratic Party's goal was to prevent the ANC from getting a two-thirds majority in the April 27 elections, party leader Dr Zach de Beer said in Johannesburg last night. (304A)

De Beer said he was concerned about democracy and human rights under an ANC-dominated government because of the ANC's communist influence.

He said half the members of the ANC national executive committee were members of the SACP. The DP would campaign for 33 1/3 per cent of the vote to stop the ANC from "playing fast and loose with our constitution". — Staff Reporter

# focus on transition

Sowetan 14/10/93

**T**HE NATIONALIST Government, which as State President FW Klerk has repeatedly insisted, will continue to run (or should that be ruin?) the country until the general election, clearly has no interest in ending the violence.

On the contrary, it has a vested interest in maintaining it, since the continuing violence serves to prevent the black opposition organising for the election.

The longer it goes on the more disillusioned blacks will become with the whole political process, which will result in many, possibly even the majority of them, not even bothering to vote.

And they will not be the only ones. What is the point really when the main difference between the politicians is the style of their suits?

Of even greater concern is the fact that many people in the violence-torn areas are expressing doubts about whether their own leaders are really prepared to do anything about their plight.

## Left on their own

As one young man said, with some feeling: "We are the ones who are getting killed, but the leaders never even come here. We are left on our own."

While they did not expect the leaders to solve all their problems for them they felt that the leaders could at least show they were aware of them and give some sign of encouragement, support and appreciation.

They want somebody to listen and to take them seriously, instead of being expected to continue to suffer patiently while their "betters" sort out the technical problems of the transition. The TEC's general elections, and governments of National Unity do not seem to inspire much hope.

It has become quite irrelevant to me who wins the election and I suspect it will be for most people.

Whatever happens, De Klerk will have an effective veto and the World Bank and the IMF will dictate economic policy.

The mountains climbed in the struggle "will heave in childbirth and a silly little mouse will be born".

As Helen Joseph, more noted for her stalwart activism than political perspicacity, so poignantly and accurately remarked just before her death — "Freedom? Now we don't even have our dreams."

The spoils for the victor will be a plethora of councils, commissions and committees, boards and even branches.

The level playing fields will be reserved for the use of lawyers and bureaucrats.

But, at least, our parliamentarians will be

Democratic elections may be in the offing but how much will they really mean to ordinary people if the violence is not curbed, asks **Father Cosmas Desmond** who is currently a Peace Monitor and is also a former exile: **304A**



FW de Klerk

better dressed than their predecessors.

There is no doubt, however, that black political groupings, in particular the ANC, are losing potential votes every day, because of the perceived inaction of the leaders in relation to eliminating the causes of violence and to dealing with its effects. Many are permanently lost. The lack of leadership is even causing members of the same organisation to kill each other in local squabbles over policy and tactics.

Arranging for the country to get even deeper into debt is undoubtedly very important, but many people are more immediately concerned

about not having to get into debt to buy coffins. The fact that their right to life will soon be enshrined in a Bill of Rights is not really very much consolation.

The main problem, about which the people on the ground can do nothing is, of course, the role of the Security Forces, particularly the ISU. The ANC, among others, has called for the joint control of these forces.

But if it were really considered the priority that it is, why did they not make it a condition for agreeing to the terms of the debt rescheduling or of calling for an end to sanctions?

Instead, these were traded for a piece of paper promising some trappings or power.

Politicians tell us that the violence must first be brought under control then we can get on with economic development and political progress. That, quite simply, is nonsense.

## Three factors

The three factors in themselves exacerbate the violence.

Development must be used as a means of bringing people together, not seen as a reward for having settled their differences. And it must be done now.

In many areas local people are coming together in efforts to effect peace agreements. But peace cannot be brought about in a vacuum. The participants need to be able to offer some "alternative" to the community.

They cannot do this, if they are "on their own" and have no resources.

They can hardly be expected to sell the idea of peace to their communities on the basis of the prospect of foreign investment, which is unlikely to be of any direct benefit to them.

I have not conducted a scientific survey but I have listened to lots of people in various violence-torn areas.

Perhaps they haven't analysed the violence "properly" — they are only experiencing it — but many undoubtedly believe that their own leaders could do a lot more about it if they accorded it the same priority as the people in these areas do.

They want the leaders not only to do something but also literally to be seen doing it.



Star 14/10/93  
(304A)

# NP eyes alliances with other parties

■ BY CHRIS WHITFIELD  
POLITICAL CORRESPONDENT

**Strand** — The National Party may forge an alliance with other parties for the country's first democratic election, Cape leader Dr Dawie de Villiers revealed yesterday.

He said it had held meetings with other parties to dis-

cuss this, but did not indicate who they were.

"I want to make it very clear that the National Party is not a party that wants to walk alone ... It is not a go-it-alone party," the Government's chief negotiator said in his closing address to the Cape National Party congress yesterday.

"We want to work together with other parties who have

the same aims," he said in the first clear indication of NP thinking on the forming of an alliance.

"We are working on that," he said, and added that the NP had established "very good relationships" with some parties. This could lead to an alliance even before the election or possibly after it had been held.

## ANC women call for quota

Political Staff

THE ANC's Women's League has called on the organisation to lay down a quota of one-third of its candidates for Parliament to be women.

26/10/93  
The call follows the defeat of a move for a 30% quota at the ANC's last national congress in Durban in July 1991 and widespread criticism by women within the organisation about its failure to ensure their adequate representation in national, regional and branch structures.

The call was made at a meeting in Johannesburg yesterday.



## CURRENT AFFAIRS

Fm 15/10/93

Last month, former Progressive Federal Party leader Frederik Van Zyl Slabbert also suggested a referendum may help place SA more firmly on track towards a democratic transition. He said a referendum would be less divisive than a party-political election and could be an important test-run for the election. (304A)

Though it would be second prize to a free and fair election, it involves less risk than an unsuccessful election. The outcome would have to clearly demonstrate to "recalcitrant minorities" that they could not continue to hold negotiated transition to ransom by withholding participation and consent. ■

## PROPERTY RIGHTS

### Landing a compromise

Nothing better illustrates the statesmanlike negotiation over the new constitution, says SA Law Commission vice-chairman Judge P J J Olivier, than the compromise that has so far been achieved over the protection of property rights in the proposed Bill of Fundamental Rights.

He told Nampo's Maize Man of the Year gathering last Friday that the land question is an especially emotional one. If not addressed and managed in a balanced way, it has the potential to explode in violent attempts to seize land and equally violent attempts to protect it.

The negotiating parties had differed sharply on the issue, leading to great uncertainty and pessimism, which the seventh report of the technical committee in July had done nothing to allay.

Fortunately, better judgment prevailed and last month an *ad hoc* committee of the negotiating council adopted six principles as the basis of a property rights clause:

- All rights to property should be recognised and guaranteed;
- The State shall have the right to expropriate property in the public interest;
- In the case of expropriation, compensation shall be by agreement, or, failing agreement, determined by a court of law;
- The basis of determining compensation shall be just and equitable, taking into account all relevant factors;
- There shall be proper payment of compensation; and
- Expropriation in the public interest may be for the purpose of restoring land to those persons who were forcibly dispossessed.

Olivier believes that these principles will not satisfy extremists but will satisfy those who realise that on property rights we either reach a reasonable compromise or wreck the entire constitutional process.

The practical effect of these principles, he explains, are that nationalisation or confiscation of property are outlawed; that the farmer, the home-owner, the company, business or mine are protected in their rights, title and interest; and that buyers and investors can safely enter or remain in the market.

Though a free government will be entitled to redistribute property, lawfully and with just compensation, the problem of funding such expropriation will, says Olivier, act as a natural deterrent against massive expropriation for merely ideological purposes.

Meanwhile, the technical committee's 10th draft on fundamental rights implements the six principles and to that extent, says Olivier, the clause (28) adequately protects property rights.

However, it incorporates a new sub-section, which provides that, subject to the obligation to pay compensation on expropriation, "every person who was dispossessed of rights in land as a consequence of any discriminatory policy within a period to be fixed by parliament, shall have the right to the restoration of such rights in land according to law, or to compensation or any other remedy according to law where such restoration is not feasible: provided that parliament shall first have enacted the conditions under which and the procedures and mechanisms by which this right may be enforced, and the method by which the amount of compensation is to be determined."

While this is still the subject of negotiation, Olivier says that from a juristic point of view, the question is whether it is acceptable to authorise parliament to decide on the period for which restoration is envisaged and on its conditions and procedures. "I would have thought that these matters squarely fall within the domain of the negotiations and constitutional finality." ■

## Fm 15/10/93 HOUSING Growing the market

Housing Minister Louis Shill's R2bn housing subsidy announcement this week extends for the second time in the past year the State's national housing sales campaign originally launched in 1983. The scheme was designed to assist low-income earners of all population groups, including those in the self-governing territories, to buy State-financed property, built and held by provincial and local authorities (through loans from the National Housing Commission) as well as the "own affairs" departments. (453)

In 1983, rented, free-standing homes built before then were identified for sale. Last November the sales campaign was extended by the application of a maximum discount of R7 500 on the selling price of these homes.

The total number of properties originally earmarked for sale was 746 000, 526 000 of which were in SA and 220 000 in self-governing territories. Of the SA allotment, 337 800 were occupied by blacks, most of which (232 400) were in the Transvaal, followed by the Cape (73 400), Free State (21 200) and Natal (10 700).

This week's announcement affecting 1m properties comprises the balance of unsold stock from the extended 1992 campaign —

Fm 15/10/93

roughly 350 000 homes — plus a further 650 000 housing opportunities (including houses, loans and sites) made available by the addition of six new categories:

- Free-standing houses erected before 1983 for sale (not rental), totalling 122 500 units;
- Homes financed by 90% individual loans approved before 1983, totalling roughly 7 700;
- Houses for sale erected after 1983, including self-build loan schemes (primarily by the own affairs departments) totalling 122 700; (452)
- Homes financed by 90% individual loans approved after 1983, numbering 9 700;
- Serviced sites provided after 1983, numbering 343 400; and
- About 40 000 flats for which a mechanism is being worked out to enable their sale and to overcome technical difficulties presented by constraints in current law.

Discounts granted by government's extended sales benefit scheme vary according to the selling price of the property or the balance of the loan amount and are set at a maximum of R7 500. If the selling price of a property is R10 000, the maximum discount of R7 500 applies and the person is only obliged to pay R2 500. Beneficiaries purchasing property below the R7 500 mark would receive their homes for free.

Administration of the project will be undertaken initially by local authorities, provincial and own affairs administrations.

Though he welcomes the proposals, SA National Civic Organisation (Sanco) president Moses Mayekiso says they have to be considered against the background of Sanco demands, which include the writing off of arrears in respect of services owed by black local authorities, the restoration of disrupted services and affordable interim tariffs for services.

Shill says the R7 500 capital subsidy to categories of homeowners who have not repaid their housing debts to the State will include arrear rentals and instalments. Though beneficiaries would be able to take transfer of their houses immediately, he adds, they would have to pay monthly instalments on outstanding amounts, as well as charges for municipal services rendered henceforth.

The issue of arrears municipal service charges is receiving attention in the Local Government Negotiating Forum in which Sanco and Local Government Minister Tertius Delpert are represented. ■

## THE ELECTION Fm 15/10/93 wooing minorities

The overwhelming rejection by Indians and coloureds of the controversial tricameral parliament elections 10 years ago cannot be taken as an indicator of support for the ANC alliance in next year's election. (454)

Campaigning on a boycott ticket then was relatively easy for the ANC-aligned Trans-



## POLITICS

# Bluff or threat?

Fm 15/10/93

**President FW de Klerk's** threat to hold a referendum on political change is a clear indication that the reform process has been weakened to such an extent by violence and the withdrawal of rightwing groups that next year's election is likely to be a disastrous failure unless negotiations can be given new impetus.

It also shows how desperate De Klerk is to regain some sort of political initiative in the wake of a series of policy blunders which could cost the National Party substantial support in the election.

Until now, De Klerk has regarded a referendum as a last resort if negotiations are heading for fiasco. In fact, he was angered last month when a reply to a question at a press conference during his visit to South America was interpreted as indicating support for a referendum. De Klerk and government chief negotiator Roelf Meyer have repeatedly pointed out the potential dangers of a referendum and said a number of other options would have to be considered first.

But in an obvious change of strategy, De Klerk now believes there is "no better instrument than a referendum" to break the deadlock. And NP chief negotiator Dawie de Villiers regards a possible referendum as second prize after elections. Other NP sources followed a similar line this week by saying a referendum had been under discussion in party and government circles for several weeks. One source said that, though a referendum should be seen at this stage as more of a threat than a promise, chances are more than even it will happen.

Speaking at the Cape Nat congress this week, De Klerk said the multi-party negotiations had become unrepresentative on the one hand and divisive on the other. "It cannot continue like this. Our country cannot afford that negotiations lose their momentum. There is no question of turning around. Likewise, we dare not allow any party — whoever it may be — to hijack or sink progress and negotiation." He said government remained committed to multi-party negotiations and believed a negotiated settlement, including all significant parties, would achieve the best solution.

There are obvious parallels between De Klerk's latest ploy and the referendum in March last year, which shattered the myth of white opposition to reform. But, this time the

stakes are far higher and he would need widespread political support to succeed.

If the mere threat to call a referendum does not bring the boycotters to heel (which it is unlikely to do), the main aim of the exercise will be to test support for Mangosuthu Buthelezi's Inkatha Freedom Party on the one hand and the rightwing alliance on the other. (304A)

There is little doubt the overwhelming majority of potential voters in Bophuthatswana and Ciskei — the other two rightwing alliance partners — will reject the stance taken by the two homeland governments. A strong mandate to continue with the current reform process would boost support for De Klerk and the NP in a similar way to last year's referendum, which is probably the main reason why the ANC will not support it unless the kudos can be equally shared.

The NP desperately needs a strong dose of political steroids. Support for the party has weakened considerably in the wake of the petrol price debacle and the hamhanded raid on an alleged Apla safe house in Transkei. The petrol price issue, in particular, alienated a wide range of NP supporters, including the influential Afrikaanse Handelsinstituut, and handed the ANC a powerful election campaign club with which it will no doubt beat the Nats repeatedly between now and

corner. He also faces serious problems at the negotiations where, in spite of relatively optimistic signs emerging from the World Trade Centre, it is clear the parties are struggling to agree on crucial aspects of the transition, such as the composition and function of the planned government of national unity, the powers and functions of regional governments and local government reform.

Hardening rightwing attitudes are exacerbating the logjam. The boycotting rightwing groups have now formed themselves into the Freedom Alliance and appear to have strengthened their resolve not to be drawn back into the talks.

Though some reports following a meeting between the alliance and a government delegation in Cape Town this week indicated a meeting of minds on key issues, it is reliably understood that lack of progress at the talks contributed to De Klerk's decision to make his referendum threat a few hours later.

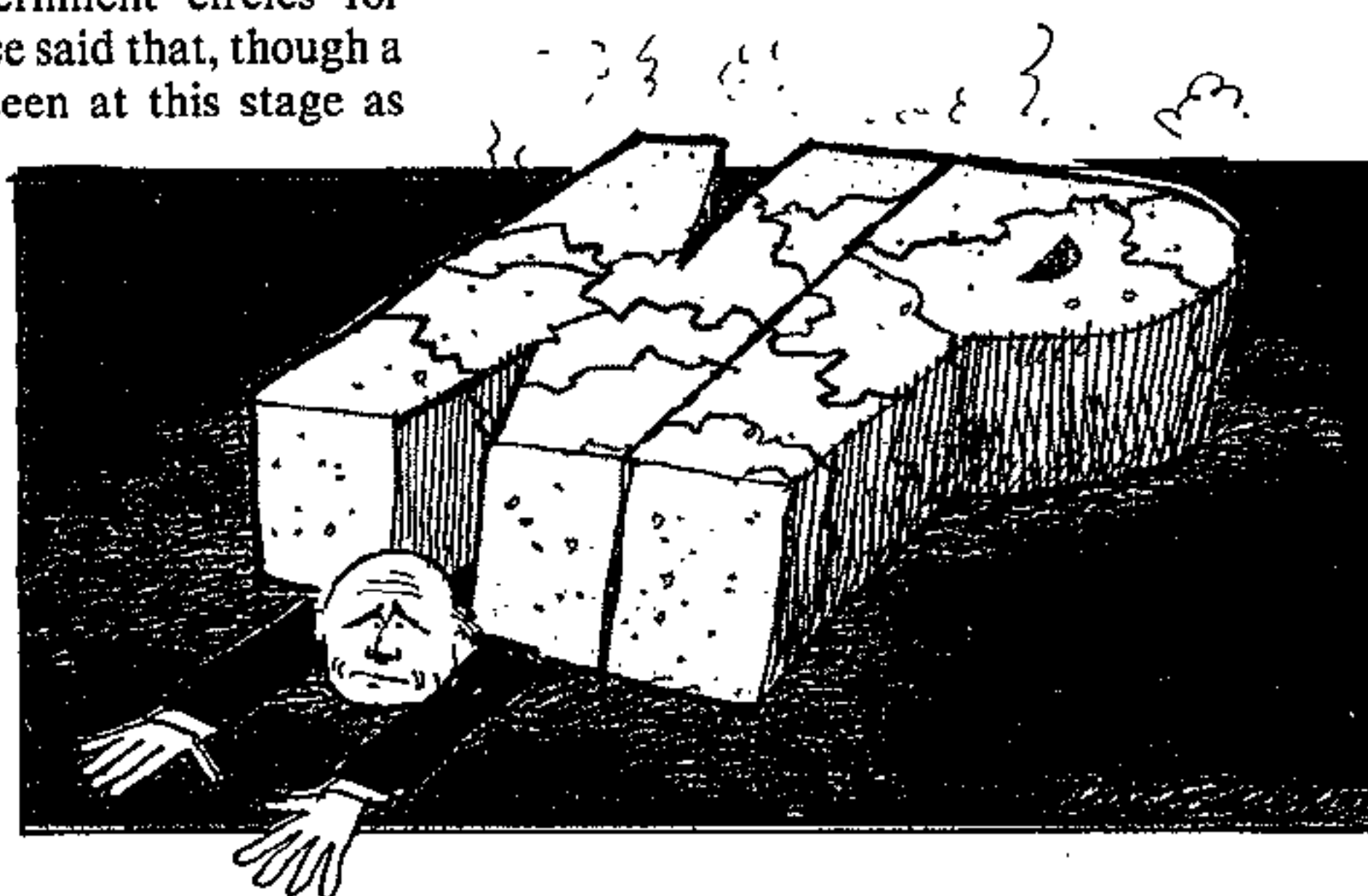
In addition, the inability of the security forces or political leaders to control violence, which is already considered to be at a level that will make a fair election impossible, demands a new initiative.

In an attempt to soften opposition to a referendum, De Klerk warned at the Nat Cape congress this week that a "possible crisis" was looming. He set a four-week deadline for the boycotting parties to rejoin negotiations and reach agreement. If they refused, he would call a referendum. He also supported earlier calls for an urgent summit meeting of all political leaders in an effort to resolve the crisis.

Initial reaction from rival political groups to De Klerk's referendum threat was generally negative with only the Democratic Party and the Afrikaner Volksfront giving some sort of approval. It was effectively rejected by the ANC, the IFP and the Conservative Party.

ANC officials say they will study De Klerk's speech but are concerned government may try to use a referendum to delay next April's election. The IFP believes a referendum will simply mean even more violence. A spokesman rejected De Klerk's "right or authority" to decide on whether to call a referendum. DP leader Zach de Beer says his party will not oppose a referendum but believes an election will achieve the same result.

Cape Town university political analyst Robert Schrire says the referendum threat is a sign of weakness and uncertainty. He believes De Klerk has reached a "crunch point" and his political position is weaker than it appears. However, Schrire believes a referendum may help identify SA's major political forces.



April.

Justification for the Transkei raid has been widely questioned and threatens to alienate black NP supporters. Roelf Meyer was humiliated at a Nat youth congress in Pretoria at the weekend, when he had to agree to a request by a black delegate to observe a minute's silence for the youths killed in the attack. Security force sources and white Nat supporters subsequently condemned Meyer's agreement.

But it is not only flagging support for the party that has driven De Klerk into a tight



# South 15/10 - 19/10/93 Women must make their votes pay

**A**S EXCITEMENT builds about the first democratic elections in South Africa, many women ask what the "new South Africa" will hold for them.

Over nine million new voters will be women who have significantly contributed to bringing South Africa to this historic moment.

They have a double reason for electing new government, as the apartheid regime entrenched not only racism in its laws, but sexism as well.

Women make up at least 54 per cent of new voters and will have great impact on the elections.

A good indicator of the size of the problem women face is that there are very few women taking significant part in the national negotiations.

Therefore it is very difficult to have women's concerns on the

negotiators' agenda.

Another major problem for women is whether any of them will be elected to serve in the constituent assembly that will write a new constitution.

Unless the women who are on the negotiating teams are able to successfully advocate for women's inclusion, it will be more difficult to insist that women's names be placed on each party's elections list.

In some areas, women's organisations are focusing on voter education and how women can use the vote to ensure they are treated fairly by the new government.

Many of the fears and concerns that women have about the elections are the same as men's. They are afraid that the ballots won't be secret and they will be putting their lives on the line by voting.

Women also worry that their husbands and fathers will tell them who to vote for, preventing them from exercising free choice.

Matla Trust is aware of the problem female voters face.

Barry Gilder, who works in Matla Trust's media section, says "providing voter education for women is critical as we approach our work".

However, most voter education work is not divided between men and women since the task is so large that resources do not provide for a specific focus on women.

Gilder says there is great concern about a low turnout of women on election day. One effort to combat this is to ensure polling stations are close to everyone.

Another effort to reach women is a collaboration between women's magazine "Speak" and Matla Trust.

Each month "Speak" runs a page on the election and what voting means. The main focus is to encourage women to vote independently of their husbands and fathers.

In the July edition of "Speak", the voter education page ended with this rallying cry for women's participation in the elections:

"We must make sure women's names are on the lists of the political party we support. We must also demand that women's names are high up on these lists."

"People at the top of the list have a better chance of getting onto the constituent assembly. We must make sure that those women high up on the lists will fight for women's rights and gender equality."

As grassroots groups attempt to tackle the problems that confront women voters, the main objective is to help women understand that by voting they will be able to improve their lives.

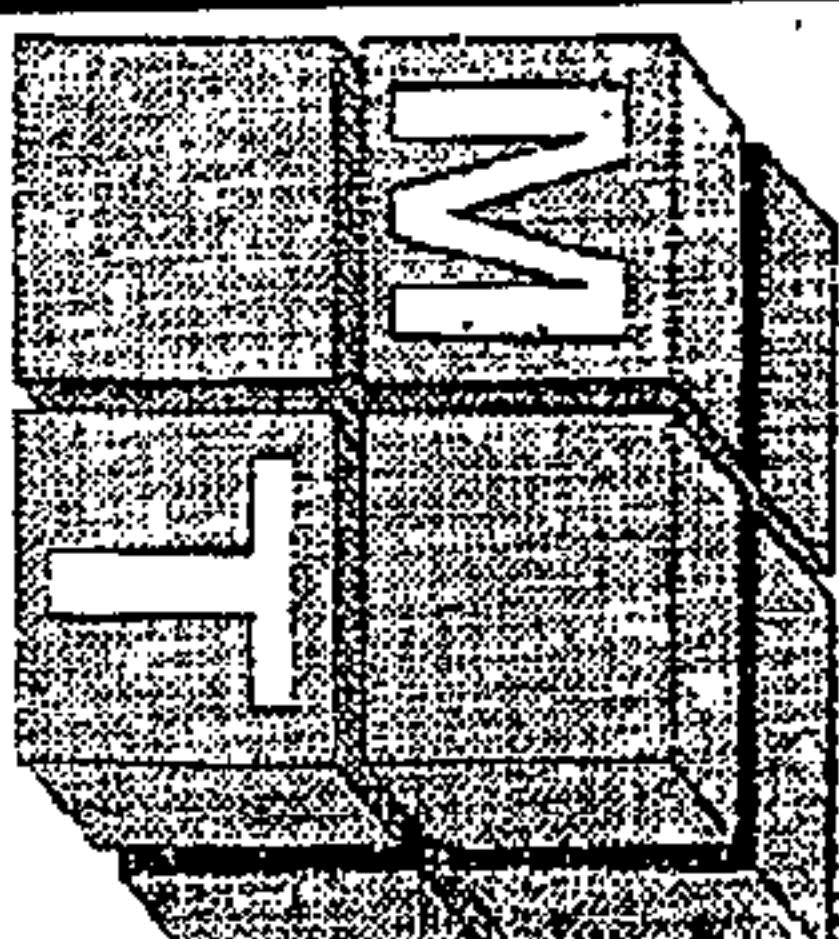
Even though there seems to be many obstacles in the way of women voting, it is very likely that women will turn out in full force on election day.

In other African countries, such

as Namibia and Zimbabwe, women arrived at polling stations even though they may have had to walk for miles with their children on their backs.

South African women will reach the polling booths despite the hurdles. — SOUTHERN AFRICA PERSPECTIVES

This page is a joint project of MATLA TRUST and SOUTH



# SA not asked to C'wealth meeting

From CHRIS BATEMAN

LONDON. — South Africa has not been invited to the Commonwealth Heads of Government meeting in Cyprus next week because setting up the TEC was taking longer than expected, Commonwealth secretary-general Chief Emeka Anyaoku said here yesterday.

In a briefing before the Cyprus summit, Chief Anyaoku emphasised South Africa was high on the agenda — especially in ensuring transition to democracy.

The South African government is expected to avoid attending the Cyprus meeting for fear of upsetting delicately poised domestic negotiations and compromising the Commonwealth's neutrality.

Asked if South Africa would be welcome, Chief Anyaoku replied that there was too much on the country's domestic agenda.

SA ambassador to Britain Mr Kent Durr said any new relationship with the Commonwealth would be a matter for the TEC or a new government.



# Values 'must be shared'

Political Correspondent

ET 15/10/93  
THE NP said yesterday it had been discussing electoral alliances with other parties for "some time" but emphasised it was not looking for "artificial" partnerships.

Cape NP leader Dr Dawie de Villiers said the NP was only interested in alliances or co-operation with parties who shared the same

principles and values as his party.

NP alliance partners would have to share the NP's commitment to free enterprise, a market economy, strong federal principles and equal rights for all citizens. (304A)

Western Cape DP leader Mr Hennie Bester said the DP would not "sacrifice its coherence and internal strength" by an alliance with the NP.

# Nats' spots begi

304A

**THE National Party's provincial congress this week was a fascinating occasion, writes Political Correspondent CHRIS WHITFIELD.**

THE National Party of late 1993 is an unlikely and confusing beast. But, defying prevailing wisdom that it is unable to change its Verwoerdian spots, the party is beginning a metamorphosis of sorts.

This week the party held its annual Cape congress, a fascinating occasion for more than the fact that it is likely to be its last provincial one while in power.

The surface indications of change were most dramatic in President de Klerk's meeting in the Stellenbosch Town Hall. The traditional congress opener drew a crowd that packed out the hall. Entertainer Randall Wicombe opened proceedings with a guitar-backed rendition of *Nkosi Sikelel'* that De Klerk applauded. The president's speech, in his measured and fairly dry style, managed to move supporters to prolonged and deafening applause. Even he looked bemused.

But indications of a more fundamental change came during the congress itself. Some of the party's leading figures actually talked like democrats. Constitutional Development Minister Roelf Meyer made the pertinent observation about the survival of Afrikaans that those who loved it had the responsibility to "destroy the perception that it is the language of the oppressor".

Cape leader Dr Dawie de Villiers, responding to calls for power-sharing in the Executive to be permanently entrenched, noted that power-sharing at that level effectively scaled down the role of the Opposition and reduced its effectiveness. These observations would have been unthinkable in the NP of P W Botha. One NP MP at the congress observed: "We have lost our arrogance."

Cynics might observe that the NP is still far from democratic. The real test lies in the supporters, and delegates failed at almost every hurdle. Regional Affairs Minister Andre Fourie's observation that members should not hold out too much hope of getting two regions in the eastern Cape was met by a near revolt from Port Elizabeth representatives. Those parts of De Klerk's speech that were warmly applauded were his ANC-bashing. Some of the loudest applause was for calls for liberal use of the hangman's noose.

Such attitudes may well lie behind the two appalling recent decisions — to raid an alleged APLA house in Umtata and to ignore the National Economic Forum proposal on how to handle the petrol price increase. South Africans support the bloody-minded.

It is a country where youths support people on trial for the murder, for the colour of her skin, of an American student. The PAC knows this and cynically maintains an armed struggle while negotiating. Chief Mangosuthu Buthelezi pulls out of talks for essentially strategic reasons. The Democratic Party refuses to play that game and its appeal is limited by its principled stand. The NP knows it too, but is in danger of falling between two stools. So it lashes out when it thinks the movement towards democracy has sufficient momentum not to be derailed by its own actions.

The NP is preparing for the change to Opposition status that appears certain to follow April 27. But don't expect the spots to disappear until after that date.



# Star 16/10/93 Alliance partners 'a top priority'

CAPE TOWN — The National Party is placing a "very high priority" on its search for alliance partners, say party sources.

The decision to look for

## CHRIS WHITFIELD

partners — a significant shift in NP policy — has been interpreted as an acknowledgement that the party needs help to fight the ANC in an election.

It has also been suggested that the NP might be trying to drive a wedge into the Freedom Alliance, hoping to lure away the Inkatha Freedom Party in an election deal.

Cape NP leader Dr Dawie de Villiers said yesterday that closer co-

operation with a view to elections or forming an alliance would take place only with an organisation sharing the NP's "basic values" (304A)

Partners' policies would have to be in accord with the NP's position on guarantees for free enterprise, a market-driven economy and equal rights for all.

The NP was not seeking an alliance on an "anti-basis" such as that which had given rise to the Freedom Alliance.

"We want to work with

other parties which have the same aims ... We would like to bring together those who belong together. We are working on that."

Democratic Party western Cape leader Hennie Bester yesterday described the NP move as a "rather transparent effort to form an election alliance now that its fortunes are dwindling".

The DP would not "sacrifice its coherence and internal strength" in an alliance with the NP, he said.

# ars Nats apart

eat to election chances against the ANC

(304A)

## Row te MP may quit; thr

**TOS WENTZEL**

Weekend Argus Political Staff

ALLEGATIONS about political ambitions, fund-raising problems and Broederbond plots to get rid of one of the most verligte MPs in the National Party are tearing the party apart in the Eastern Cape.

And the MP in question, Sakkie Louw of Newton Park, said yesterday that "for the time being" attempts were being made to clear up the row but he did not dismiss outright a suggestion that he might eventually leave.

He added that he had no problems with President De Klerk's reform moves.

The squabble threatens to harm the party's chances in the election in an area where it faces one of its toughest fights against the African National Congress.

The sudden resignation, after only three months, of Mr Louw as director of the party's Eastern Cape election campaign, is the latest outcome of the row.

Behind the scenes there have been clashes between him and Tertius Delport, Minister of Local Government, who has been chosen as Eastern Cape chairman of the party. These personality clashes appear to be at the root of the dispute.

Part of the row has been about what supporters of Mr Louw describe as the "chaotic" attempts to change the local government system. They say there have been serious delays in this part of the reform process and stress the need for changes to be expedited.

Mr Louw's opponents accuse him of being politically frustrated because he has never attained any position of prominence in the government.

There are also said to have been problems with fundraising and the party in the region is in the red.

Mr Louw's attitude has been that he was appointed to ad-

■ A Nationalist MP may leave the party if a row between himself and the Eastern Cape leadership is not resolved. **ANC 16/10/93**

minister the election campaign and not as fundraiser.

He is one of the party's prominent verligte and reform-minded MPs. He opposed beach apartheid when this was still party policy and has also been critical of the leadership's stand against gambling.

He has publicly criticised the Broederbond and some of its diehard supporters in the Port Elizabeth area are said to be trying to get rid of him.

He was thought to be the best man for the job of heading the Nationalist campaign in the Eastern Cape because he had established good relations with black organisations and credibility in the black community. He also cultivated ties with the business community.

The National Party regards the Eastern Cape as the area where it will face one of the toughest fights in the election as the ANC has strong support.

Provincial leader Dawie de Villiers, Mr Louw and Dr Delport have declined to comment in detail on the row.

Dr De Villiers said he was confident that the party's Eastern Cape campaign would run smoothly. If there were personality problems those said to be involved would have to sort them out.

Mr Louw said: "There are problems in the party. For the time being we are handling these internally to see if they can be resolved."

"I have no problems with the president's reform efforts. I support these 100 percent."

Dr Delport said the party was restructuring its position in a region which now included the whole of the Eastern Cape.

"We will look at all issues including the active role MPs can play in the electioneering."



# A bureaucratic colossus is born

S/Times 17/10/93

**APARTHEID** may have spawned a sprawling bureaucracy to manage a racially-based society, but the transitional structures scheduled to begin operations next month seem determined to maintain the tradition.

Around 330 full-time administrators will run the day-to-day affairs of the Transitional Executive Council (TEC), the Independent Electoral Commission (IEC) and the Independent Media Commission (IMC), and hundreds of others will work in its structures on a full and part-time basis.

The IEC will be the biggest bureaucracy, with some 200 people employed under a chief executive officer. In addition, bureaucrats will be appointed to push paper in its administrative, monitoring and adjudication directorates.

Negotiators are already tackling the considerable challenge of finding between seven and 11 "impartial, respected and suitably qualified men and women who do not have a high party political profile," to form the IEC's decision-making structure.

By RAY HARTLEY  
Political Reporter

The legal profession will contribute around 400 attorneys, advocates, magistrates, judges and retired judges to run the IEC's tribunals, appeal tribunals and the special electoral court. (304A)

The IMC will be chaired by a judge or a retired judge and up to six broadcast and print experts of "high standing and merit" will serve on its decision-making body.

The IMC will also recruit a chief executive officer and an administrative staff of around 30 people. It will establish broadcasting and state-funded media sub-committees and consult experts.

The TEC will appoint a management committee to run it on a day-to-day basis. An administration of around 100 people, headed by an executive director, will see to its bureaucratic needs.

The TEC could hold its first informal meeting within weeks, following extensive behind the scenes preparations at the World Trade Centre since the passing of the TEC Act last month.

Discussions have already taken place on the venue, infrastructure and personnel for the TEC and parties will be expected to nominate their representatives to the council within one or two weeks, according to sources at democracy talks.

The TEC will probably not sit at the World Trade Centre, due to security weaknesses, as evidenced by the recent right-wing invasion of the building. Premises in Midrand and Pretoria are being considered.

ANC secretary-general Cyril Ramaphosa and Constitutional Affairs Minister Roelf Meyer, along with the chief negotiators of other parties, are expected to be nominated to the council.

The TEC will formally come into being once a plenary session of the Negotiating Council has ratified the outcome of talks in mid-November.

But informal discussions will take place once parties have nominated their members to the TEC later this month.

These discussions will focus on the composition of its sub-councils and the make-up of the Independent Electoral Commission and the Independent Media Commission.

31 Times 17/10/93

# DP bid to return parties to talks

(304A)

By RAY HARTLEY  
Political Reporter

THE DP has submitted a barrage of proposed amendments to the interim constitution in an effort to entrench federalism and bring Inkatha and the Afrikaner Volksfront back into democracy talks.

Forty proposed amendments, which have been submitted to the technical committee on constitutional issues at the World Trade Centre, suggest the expansion of the exclusive powers of regions to include control over:

- Education at primary and secondary level;
- Health services, local government, housing, and welfare services; and
- Regional taxation and public works.

The DP said the powers given to regions in the current draft were "wholly inadequate" and amounted to less than the powers of existing provincial administrations.

The "deadlock breaking mechanism" which would

come into operation if members of an elected constituent assembly could not reach an agreement on a new constitution needed to be revised, the DP proposed.

The percentage required in a referendum on a proposed constitution should be increased from 60 percent to 66 percent because this was the percentage required in the assembly.

DP federal chairman Ken Andrew said the amendments "should accommodate the stated demands of the AVF and Inkatha".

"However, should these organisations wish to pursue a course of action which seeks, under the guise of federalism, to perpetuate racist or ethnic exclusivism or to break the unity of the South African state, the DP would strenuously oppose such moves," he said.

The DP also proposed that a two-thirds majority in the legislature be required to amend the constitution or adopt a new one.



# DP caucus divisions set to deepen

ST. Times [C/Metro]  
17/10/93  
(304A)

By NAZEEM HOWA

DIVISIONS within the ruling Democratic Party caucus of the city council are set to deepen as the race for chairmanship of the executive committee heats up.

The election of a chairman and four new exco members has been prompted by the resignation of the entire committee following a crisis of confidence among ratepayers about the council's management of the rates re-evaluation.

Behind the scenes manoeuvring by supporters of Cape Town mayor Mr Clive Keegan to take up the key post of chairman is now meeting heated opposition from within the caucus.

Several members of the "old guard" are keen to see the present chairman of the town planning committee, Mr John Muir, in the post.

Supporters of Mr Keegan's candidacy, on the other hand, believe a completely new "untainted" team needs to be elected.

Adding fuel to the fire is yesterday's announcement by non-caucus member Mr Arthur Wienburg that he plans to stand for the leadership of exco.

Mr Wienburg's entry is a major headache for the caucus leadership. He is believed to carry the support of at least five members of the caucus. This, together with a split vote for Mr Keegan and Mr Muir, may well open the way for Mr Wienburg's selection.

Still being debated within the caucus is whether the election should be on the basis of a "free vote" or whether the caucus will be instructed to vote en bloc.

# De Klerk's 'only way out'

SI Times

17/10/93

**SOUTH AFRICA** will have a non-racial referendum in February next year unless Inkatha leader Mangosuthu Buthelezi supports the constitution being negotiated at the World Trade Centre.

Government sources said this week President F W de Klerk was forced to propose a referendum as the only way out of the talks crisis when Mr Buthelezi reneged on his commitment to solve the talks impasse through negotiations. (304A)

Government sources said Mr de Klerk called a crisis meeting of senior cabinet ministers on Sunday night to decide how to proceed after the IFP's termination of bilateral talks and the formation of the Freedom Alliance.

He raised the problem of how to ensure the legitimacy of the constitution being negotiated at the World Trade Centre given the non-participation of several parties, especially Inkatha.

Sources said Mr de Klerk had decided a referendum would be the only democratic way of ensuring the legitimacy of the constitution should Inkatha fail to support it.

Mr de Klerk told the opening of the NP's Cape Congress this week he still considered the first prize to be the endorsement of the constitution by the major parties. But, should this not materialise in four weeks, the crisis would necessitate the referendum.

This puts pressure on parties in the Freedom Alliance to co-operate as a referendum is likely to show they have minority support.

However, while Mr de Klerk read the riot act to the Freedom Alliance at the beginning of the week, Cape leader Dawie de Villiers told the NP conference the Nationalists could fight the elections in an alliance with other like-minded parties.

He said the NP could

By EDYTH BULBRING  
Political Correspondent

also reach agreements with parties in certain regions not to oppose them — an offer government members hope could provide the necessary bait for Inkatha to participate in the elections.

Negotiators said a constitution would be finalised within the next three weeks and would be endorsed by a plenary session of the leaders of the participating parties. The constitution would then be adopted during the November parliamentary session.

However, the government is optimistic that the ANC and other parties at the World Trade Centre would support the referendum if it becomes necessary.

The ANC's national working committee will discuss the question of the referendum this week. ANC sources said that, while the ANC's chief negotiator Cyril Ramaphosa supported a referendum, he would have a tough time persuading his organisation.

The government envisages the referendum would be conducted by the Independent Electoral Commission — which would be established within weeks — and that the April elections would not be delayed.

A referendum would not be held before the end of January, the sources said.

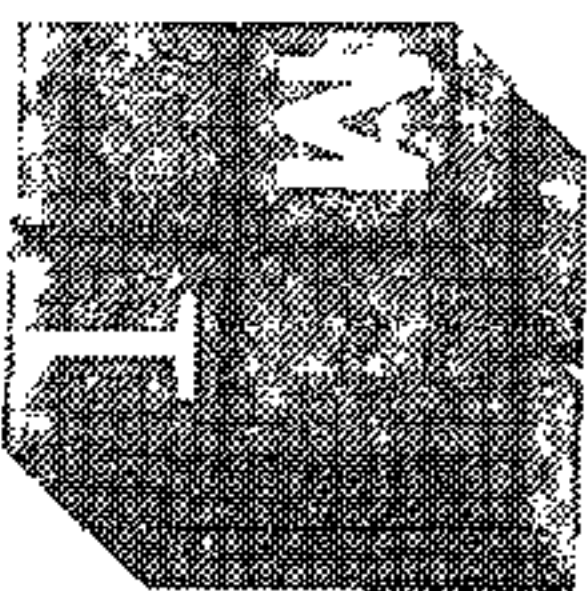
The Freedom Alliance will meet government negotiators tomorrow, and is scheduled to hold talks with the ANC on Tuesday.



**VOTER EDUCATION** Open exchange of ideas and opinions leads to understanding

# The meaning of democracy

Sowetan 18/10/93



This voter education series is a joint project of Sowetan and Matla Trust on behalf of the Independent Forum for Electoral Education

3044

**F**REEDOM OF SPEECH and expression is the lifeblood of any democracy. To debate and vote, to assemble and protest, to worship, to ensure justice for all — these all rely on the unrestricted flow of speech and information.

A Canadian television producer once remarked: "Democracy is communication. People talking to one another about their common problems and forging a common destiny. Before people can govern themselves, they must be free to express themselves."

Through an open exchange of ideas and opinions, truth will eventually win over falsehood. Through communication the ideas and values of others will be better understood and areas of compromise more clearly defined.

Freedom of religion or, more broadly, freedom of conscience, means that no person should be required to profess a religion or other belief against his or her desires.

No one should be punished in any way because he or she opts for one religion over another or opts for no religion at all.

A democratic state recognises that a

person's religious faith is a profoundly personal matter.

People should also have the right to gather and peacefully protest whatever grievances they have.

In a democracy, the government exists in order to serve the people. It has been elected by the people to rule on their behalf and in the process to safeguard their human rights. In turn, the citizens owe their elected government their loyalty.

For democracy to function, citizens have to practise tolerance towards those with opposing views, and compromise at times in order to reach agreement.

The important thing about human rights is that while they are individual human rights, they are not the personal property of individuals.

Basic Human Rights:

- Freedom of speech, expression and of the Press;
- Freedom of religion and belief (including the right not to be religious);
- Freedom of assembly and association;
- Right to equal protection of the law;
- Right to due process and a fair trial.



**NEWS** Draft resolutions tabled after S

# Raid: focus at Trade Centre

**By Themba Molefe**  
Political Correspondent

THREE draft resolutions by the parties central to the raid on Umtata will be tabled for adoption before the negotiating council at the World Trade Centre today.

The Pan Africanist Congress, the South African Government and Transkei will each propose how the negotiators could best settle the political dispute arising from the South African Defence Force assault in which five children aged between 12 and 17 years were killed on October 8.

The African National Congress is also expected to press the Government to disclose information about the raid.

On Friday the Minister of Defence, Mr Kobie Coetsee, was grilled by the negotiating council but failed to con-

vince the negotiators the Government was justified in executing the attack. He, however, revealed that one of the objectives was to capture operatives of the Azanian People's Liberation Army, the PAC's armed wing.

Already, Transkei leader Major-General Bantu Holomisa has announced the expulsion of the South African ambassador to his territory, Mr Horace van Rensburg. Holomisa said he should vacate Umtata by noon today.

Holomisa made the call on Saturday during the burial of the five youths in Umtata.

The Transkei delegation at the talks today is expected to repeat in its proposal that Coetsee resign. The PAC intends to propose that the resolution should provide that the council encourage bilateral meetings between the organisation and the Government to resolve their conflict.

## 33 miners rescued

A TOTAL of 33 people were hoisted to the surface by yesterday after being trapped underground at the Kloof Gold Mine since Wednesday.

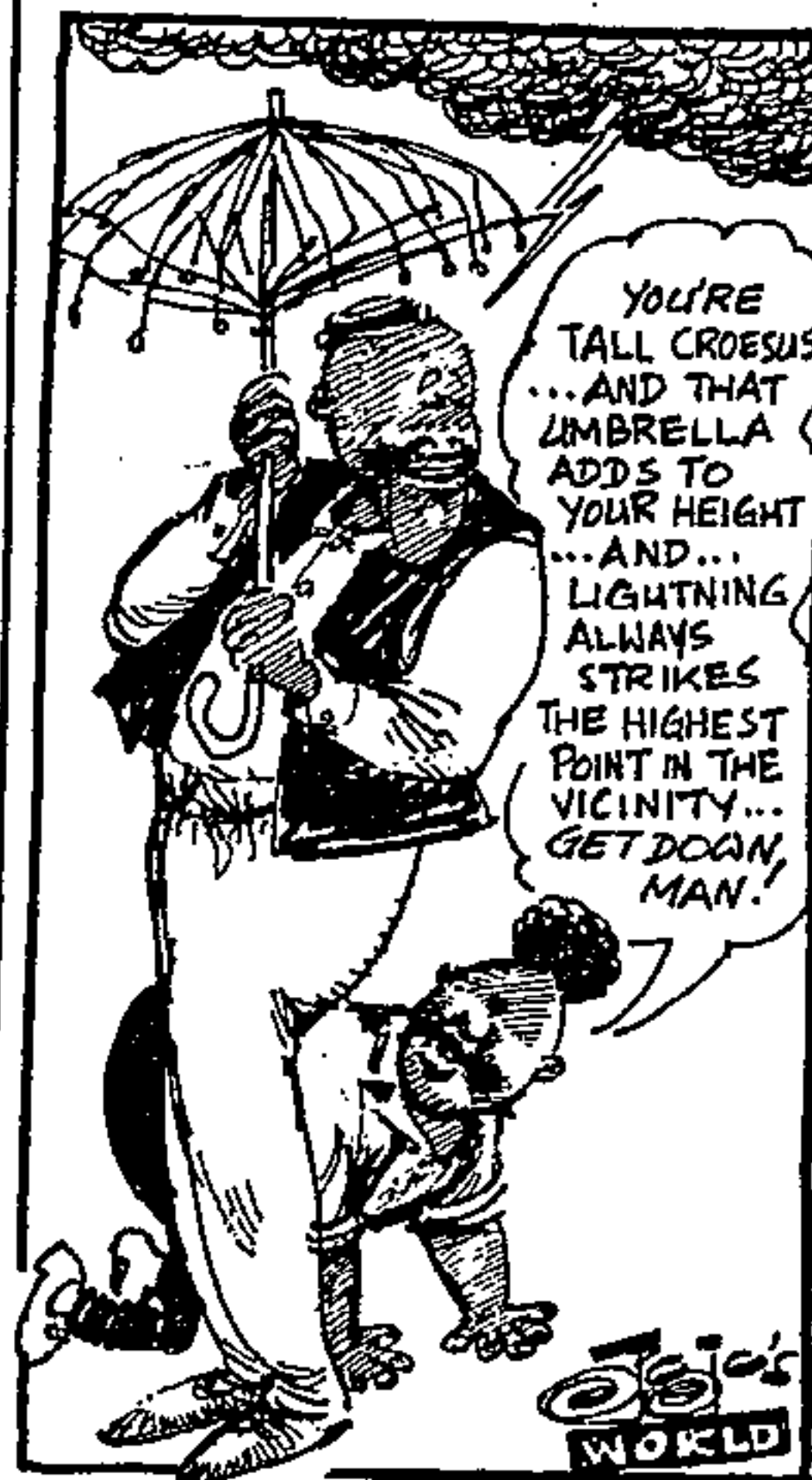
Mine spokeswoman Ms Marion Brower said another four were expected to be lifted out shortly.

The men were a little weak but paramedics were administering medical aid, Brower said.

An estimated 120 workers were trapped underground when some piping collapsed on Wednesday.

The process of bringing miners to the surface had been particularly arduous, because each miner had to be hoisted 300 metres individually before they reached an exit walkway.

Ventilation underground was good, Brower said, adding the miners were being fed and given water. - Sapa





# Defiant Gaye lashes out at ANC leaders

Sowetan 18/10/93

204A

MRS Gaye-Derby Lewis, acquitted last Thursday in the Chris Hani murder trial in the Rand Supreme Court, said she would not let the African National Congress decide the fate of her husband.

Clive Derby-Lewis was sentenced to death together with Polish immigrant Janusz Waluz for the murder of the South African Communist Party general secretary.

In a defiant statement yesterday, Mrs Derby-Lewis said she would campaign relentlessly to block the ANC from becoming the next government.

## Blood-thirsty

She was reacting to statements by ANC leaders, including PWV regional chief Mr Tokyo Sexwale and Western Cape general secretary Mr Tony Yengeni, that the organisation would decide on the fate of her husband and co-murderer

Waluz.

"I reject with contempt Tokyo Sexwale's blood-thirsty statements on what a future ANC/SACP government would do with my husband.

"I say to the ANC they will never decide the fate of my husband or indeed the fate of millions of other South Africans who reject their tyranny," she said.

She added: "They (ANC) are a curse on South Africa and must be resisted at all costs. I shall be part of that resistance." — Sapa.

SOWETAN Editor Aggrey Klaaste is away and his regular Monday column "On The Line" will not appear today. It will be resumed next Monday when he returns.

1 period ● Things back to normal in Transkei

# Draft constitution within three weeks

*Sowetan 19/10/93*

**Sowetan Correspondent**

■ **STICKING POINT** Heated

debate on the delimitation of regions:

**N**EGOTIATORS LAST NIGHT AGREED to complete the Kempton Park negotiations by November 5.

However, sharp differences were expressed in the Negotiating Council on the proposed map for the new South Africa.

The deadline means the council will have to wrap up the draft interim constitution within three weeks.

Parties will be formally invited this week to nominate personnel for the Transitional Executive Council and its seven sub-councils to be implemented once the final transition package is agreed upon.

During the discussion on regions,

seemingly insurmountable positions emerged. *(304A)*

An ad hoc committee has been appointed to find common ground between the negotiating parties.

The Government favoured a Western Cape region separate from the Northern Cape but this was opposed by the ANC and South African Communist Party.

The Labour Party wanted to include Gordonia, Kenhardt, Prieska, Barkley West, Warren, Hay, Hopetown and Kimberley - presently proposed to form part of the Northern Cape - into a North Western Cape region.

The Pan Africanist Congress proposed that half of the Northern Cape be included in the North Western Cape and the other half into the Western Cape.

The Government argued that the proposed Eastern Cape region be divided into two - Eastern Cape and Kei.

The Democratic Party supported the idea of two separate regions in the Eastern Cape.

This proposal was opposed by the Transkei government, the ANC and the Cape Traditional Leaders.

The Afrikaner Volksunie wants Pretoria be part of the Eastern Transvaal.



Freedom Alliance meets Govt, ANC

# Wrap-up deadline for talks

Star 19/10/93

■ BY ESTHER WAUGH  
and KAIZER NYATSUMBA

Negotiators last night agreed to a deadline, just 17 days away, for the completion of the Kempton Park negotiations.

However, sharp differences were expressed yesterday in the Negotiating Council on proposed regional boundaries for the new South Africa.

The November 5 deadline means the Council will have to wrap up the draft Interim Constitution, including fundamental human rights during the transition and the regions, within the next three weeks.

But it is still unclear whether the Freedom Alliance (FA) — made up of KwaZulu, Bophuthatswana, Ciskei, the Inkatha Freedom Party, the Conservative Party and the Afrikaner Volksfront — will accept the final outcome.

Last week the FA proposed that the Negotiating Council be replaced with a summit of leaders, but said it was still open to negotiating with other parties.

The FA and Government met last night for talks which

## SHARP differences emerge among Kempton Park negotiating parties over boundaries of future regions

are expected to continue today and will meet the ANC today at 11 am at the World Trade Centre (WTC). The talks aim to narrow the differences between the alliance and multiparty negotiators at the WTC.

ANC secretary-general Cyril Ramaphosa will lead his organisation's delegation.

At the WTC, parties will be formally invited this week to nominate personnel for the Transitional Executive Council and its seven sub-councils, which will be implemented only once the final transition package had been agreed on.

During the discussion on regions yesterday, seemingly insurmountable positions emerged especially over the western Cape, northern Cape and Pretoria.

An ad hoc committee has been appointed to find common ground among the negotiating parties.

One sticking point was whether Pretoria should be included in the eastern Transvaal or the PWV-area.

The Afrikaner Volksunie, which said that the report on the delimitation of regions did not refer to self-determination, wanted Pretoria as part of the eastern Transvaal.

The ANC voiced its suspicion that the AVU wanted to create a "racial region".

KwaNdebele's Intando ye Sizwe party wanted the self-governing territory and Pretoria included.

The Labour Party, supported by the SACP, proposed that Pretoria be incorporated into the PWV-area and KwaNdebele into the eastern Transvaal.

The Democratic Party also supported the suggestion that Pretoria form part of the eastern Transvaal.

The Government favoured a western Cape region separate from a northern Cape region, but this was opposed by the ANC and SACP.

304A 445B

# SACC bid to end chronic Reef strife

Star 19/10/93

The shooting of a clergyman in front of his seven-year-old son last week has prompted the South African Council of Churches to host a summit on Thursday to tackle chronic violence on the East Rand.

The Rev Johannes Nhlabathi, a minister of Katlehong's Church of Christ, was seized while taking his car through a no-go area on Wednesday and taken to a hostel where he was shot dead.

Four more people died in violent attacks in the East Rand townships of Katlehong and Tokoza yesterday.

Police said two men and a woman were killed at Hostel 3 in Tokoza. A man was shot dead at Kwesine Station in Katlehong.

The weekend death toll in Katlehong and Tokoza was at least 20, and included two policemen. — Sapa and East Rand Bureau

(304)



# November 5 deadline to wrap up talks

## Political Staff

NEGOTIATORS have agreed to a deadline of November 5 for the completion of multiparty talks on South Africa's future.

But sharp differences have emerged in the Negotiating Council on the proposed regional boundaries.

The November 5 deadline means the council will have to wrap up the draft interim constitution, including fundamental human rights during the transition, and the regions, within the next three weeks.

Parties will be formally invited this week to nominate candidates for the Transitional Executive Council and its seven sub-councils, which will be implemented only once the final transition package has been agreed to.

During the discussion on regions, seemingly insurmountable positions emerged, particularly over the Western Cape, Northern Cape and Pretoria.

An ad hoc committee has been appointed to find common ground between the parties.

The government favoured a Western Cape region separate from a Northern Cape region, but this was opposed by the ANC and the Communist Party.

The government proposed that Kuruman, Postmasburg and Hartzwater be included in the Northern Cape.

The Labour Party wanted to include Gordonia, Kenhardt, Prieska, Barkly West, Warren, Hay, Hopetown and Kimberley — presently proposed to form part of the Northern Cape — into a Northwestern Cape region. The rest of the Northern Cape should be included in the Western Cape, the party said.

The PAC proposed that half of the Northern Cape be included in the Northwestern Cape and the other half into the Western Cape.

The Government argued that the proposed Eastern Cape region be divided into two regions — Eastern Cape and Kei.

# Mandela firmly <sup>304A</sup> against 'volkstaat'

JOHANNESBURG — ANC leader Nelson Mandela said today he would never bow to demands for a separate homeland for whites or any other ethnic group in the new South Africa.

Asked on national television whether he would go some way towards meeting the demands for a homeland by rightwing Afrikaners, he said he would continue talking to the rightists but calls for self-determination would be refused.

"One thing which we can never accommodate is a demand for self-determination for a particular ethnic group," Mr Mandela said on TV1's *Good Morning South Africa*.

Rightwing whites and blacks had frequently raised the spectre of civil war if their demands for self-determination were ignored, but Mr Mandela said he believed their leaders wanted to talk rather than fight.

"As long as they are prepared for dialogue I will work with them."

"I have had discussions with General (Constand) Viljoen. I believe he wants to resolve these matters through negotiations," said Mr Mandela.

"I have said to General Viljoen we are now drawing up boundaries for regions and if he shows me the region where he wants to live I am prepared to consider that."

"But it must be a region in which all population groups are free to settle and to have full rights of citizenship."

"In that way I could accommodate (them)."

"I could go to my organisation and persuade them to accommodate that demand," the ANC president said.

General Viljoen, who leads the Afrikaner Volksfront, said recently there could be no further talks "without the recognition of full self-determination and a national state." — Sapa-  
Reuter.



# Commonwealth pledges post-election aid for SA

304A

ARCT 19/10/93

**GARNER THOMSON**  
**The Argus Foreign Service**

LONDON. — Elections in South Africa will not end the Commonwealth's role in the country, Commonwealth Secretary-General Emeka Nayaoku has pledged.

Now that the groundwork has been laid, the organisation must help build post-apartheid South Africa, he says in an article in The Independent.

Outlining expectations for this week's biennial summit of Commonwealth heads of government, he says that, after the elections in South Africa, an in-

ternational donor conference initiated by the Commonwealth will meet to mobilise support for needs such as education.

A programme of technical assistance had been developed to strengthen the National Peace Accord and help the transition to democracy, said Chief Nayaoku.

The Commonwealth and other missions were still trying to help stop violence in South Africa by observing the conduct of various parties and law enforcement agencies and helping to strengthen the structures set up under the peace accord, he said.

Freedom Alliance meets Govt, ANC

# Wrap-up deadline for talks

Star 19/10/93

■ BY ESTHER WAUGH  
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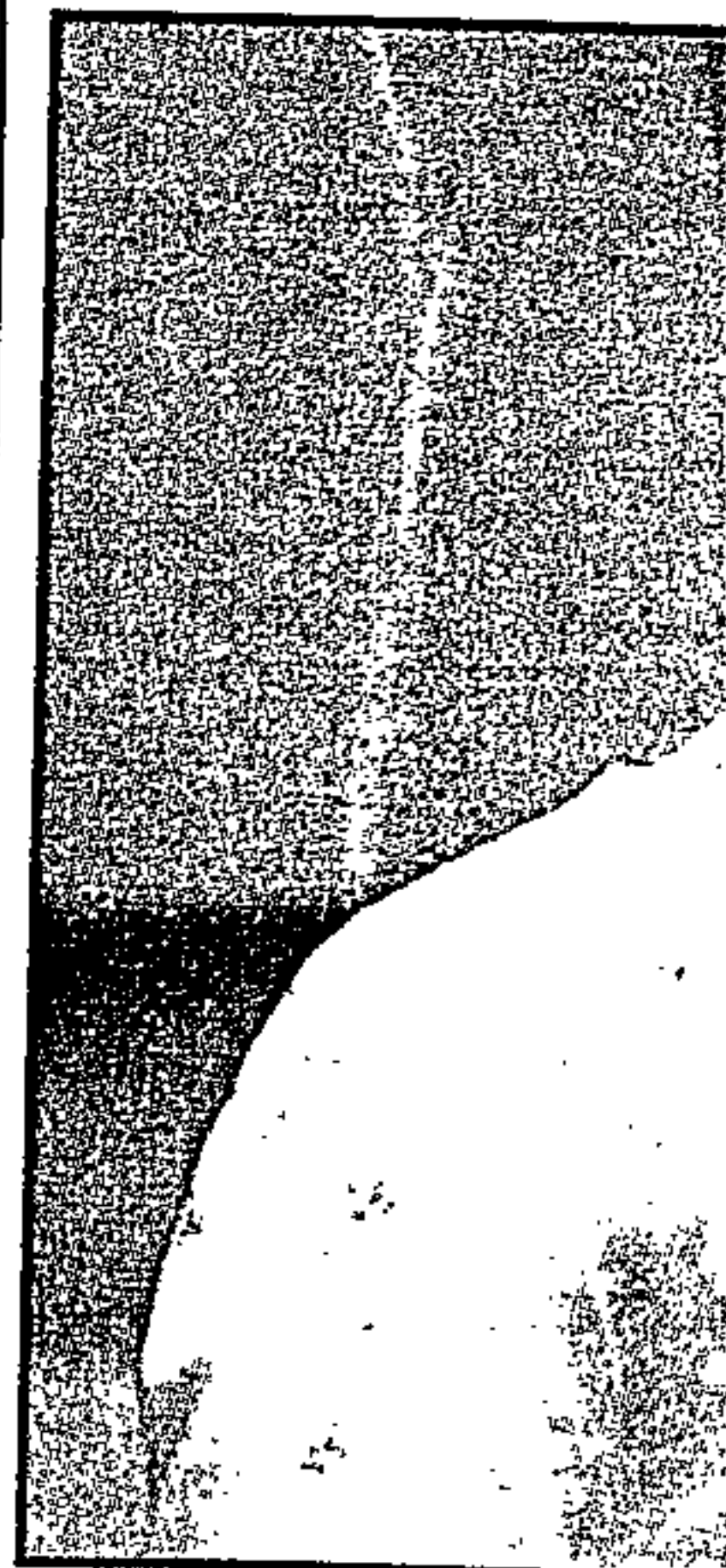
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The Government favoured a western Cape region separate from a northern Cape region, but this was opposed by the ANC and SACP.





# Talks back on two tracks

MULTIPARTY negotiations — albeit in a different form — appeared to be back on track yesterday after separate talks between the Freedom Alliance, government and the ANC. **BIDAY**

The three parties agreed that negotiations would follow a "two-track approach": multilateral talks would continue in the negotiating council, and bilateral talks with parties not at Kempton Park.

However, the ANC warned that the November 5 deadline for the completion of talks would not be forfeited. **20110193**

ANC secretary-general Cyril Ramaphosa disclosed that a plenary session of political leaders was planned for November 6 and 7. **(304A) (11A)**

"We will not subject ourselves to any

bilateral negotiations that are going to result in delaying the process," he said after meeting the Freedom Alliance.

"The train is in motion and we did warn those who want to be on the train that they must come on board immediately."

Freedom Alliance chairman Rowan Cronje, of Bophuthatswana, said the meeting had been constructive, with "a willingness on both sides to resolve issues through negotiations". The problem with the democracy process before was that it was not all-inclusive.

To accommodate the new talks strategy, multilateral negotiations have been shifted to afternoon sessions at the World Trade Centre, with mornings left open for bilater-

☐ To Page 2

## Talks

al meetings.

Ramaphosa denied that a two-table negotiations approach had been adopted as a result of the new turn of events. "Our approach to the negotiations process has always been that the main negotiations take place at the multilateral level, but that level is enriched and enhanced by bilateral negotiations." **(304A) (11A)**

Ciskei negotiator Mickey Webb said "real" negotiations had shifted to the bilateral level. "The negotiating council is only a talk-shop."

The Freedom Alliance, which requested

the bilateral meetings, meets government on Friday and the ANC on Monday, when substantive negotiations are to begin.

Before the meeting with the alliance, ANC president Nelson Mandela told SABC-TV he would not bow to demands for a separate white homeland. Talks with right-wingers would continue but calls for self-determination would be refused.

"One thing we can never accommodate is a demand for self-determination for a particular ethnic group." All population groups had to be free to settle in any region with full citizenship rights. — Sapa.

☐ From Page 1

## Election date on schedule, says Mandela

APR 20/10/93  
JOHANNESBURG. — The election date remains on schedule and nothing will lead to a deviation from the course of democracy, ANC president Nelson Mandela said after meeting Romanian President Ian Iliescu today. (304A)

Mr Mandela said there was progress at talks in spite of parties having walked out.

The passing of legislation to create the Transitional Executive Council signified the beginning of the end of white minority rule, he added.

A striking feature of those outside the multiparty negotiations was that they were all apartheid creations. None of the leaders had been produced by resistance or had ever been persecuted by the police or jailed, Mr Mandela said.

"The movement for peace is too powerful to be diverted from its goal by spoilers."

Asked about the Nobel Peace Prize, Mr Mandela said anger against President De Klerk was understandable.

It could only happen in South Africa that a president could preside over a meeting that authorised the slaughter of innocent people. — Sapa 101



# Commonwealth focuses on SA

CT 20/10/93 (304A)  
From CHRIS BATEMAN

LIMASSOL, Cyprus. — The heads of 50 nations will debate a framework this week to help South Africa minimise her trauma on the way to the polls and for the massive post-apartheid rehabilitation that must follow.

Commonwealth secretary-general Chief Emeka Anyaoku has been at pains in the run-up to the meeting to emphasise just how crucial continuing support now is.

Among his concerns when South Africa hits the agenda on Friday will be co-ordinating and trying to slim down what is certain to be a surfeit of election observers from similar world bodies.

He will also want to get commitments on what kind of funds are available for the massive input on education and training — and fine-tune the international donors' conference scheduled for South Africa in December.

UN secretary-general Dr Boutros Boutros-Ghali has already agreed on collaboration for the conference and this week's gathering is an ideal opportunity for premiers to state their positions early.

The Transitional Executive Council will represent South Africa at the donors' conference.

# New look as talks go on

(304A)  
CT 20/10/93

JOHANNESBURG. — All-inclusive negotiations — albeit in a different form — appeared back on track yesterday after bilateral talks involving the newly-founded Freedom Alliance (FA), the government and the ANC.

The three parties agreed that multi-party negotiations would in future follow a "two-track approach": Multilateral talks to continue in the negotiating council at the World Trade Centre, and bilateral talks involving those parties not at Kempton Park.

However, the ANC said the November 5 deadline for completing multilateral negotiations at the World Trade Centre would not be forfeited.

ANC secretary-general Mr Cyril Ramaphosa revealed for the first time that a plenary session of political leaders was planned for November 6 and 7.

"We will not subject ourselves to any bilateral negotiations that are going to result in delaying the process," he said after yesterday's FA-ANC bi-

lateral talk at the World Trade Centre.

FA chairman Mr Rowan Cronje, of Bophuthatswana, described the bilateral meeting as constructive and said there had been "a willingness on both sides to resolve issues through negotiations".

The problem with the democracy process before was that it was not all-inclusive, he said.

## 'Very well'

The FA was established on October 7 and comprises those parties which have pulled out of multilateral talks — the IFP, the Conservative Party, and the Bophuthatswana, Ciskei and KwaZulu governments.

It also includes the Afrikaner Volksfront, which was never directly represented at Kempton Park.

The government and the ANC are also continuing with their own bilateral talks, which are proceeding "very well", according to sources. — Sapa



## SA minister to visit European countries

CT 20/10/93 304A

PRETORIA. — The Deputy Minister of Foreign Affairs, Mr Renier Schoeman, will visit a number of European countries during a week-long visit.

His tour will include Switzerland, where he will hold discussions with high-ranking foreign ministry officials.

He will also meet the management of the South African Friendship organisation and address the Swiss-South Africa Association in Zurich.

Mr Schoeman will then visit Berlin, Turkey and Rumania. — Sapa

# New SA

flag

ET 21/10/93  
designs

released

Own Correspondent

JOHANNESBURG. — The multiparty commission on national symbols reported its recommendations yesterday but said that as the issues were so sensitive these should not be seen as more than proposals.

There were strong divisions within the commission and the report incorporated minority reports and objections in a number of areas.

Out of 7 000 submissions received on a new flag, the committee shortlisted six, giving preference to one which was mainly green and gold with three triangles of blue, green and red.

It reported that the submissions generally endorsed the colours green and gold.

## 119 entries

The national anthem produced varying viewpoints with a recommendation made to the council for the present national anthem Die Stem to be used as a dual anthem with Nkosi Sikelel' iAfrika for the transitional period.

The commission considered 119 entries for an anthem.

It recommended four mottoes for the country, preferring Ubuntu (humanism) above the three others: Ex Unitate Vires (unity is strength), Concordia Res crescent (growth through agreement) and Conjunctus Viribus (with united powers).

The national coat of arms brought five different recommendations — three of a traditional European heraldic nature, one containing heraldic elements to be refined and the fifth being an emblem.



# We won't delay talks

## — Freedom Alliance

BY ESTHER WAUGH  
POLITICAL CORRESPONDENT

The Freedom Alliance (FA) has given the ANC and Government an assurance that its separate negotiating forum will not halt progress in the multiparty negotiations process in Kempton Park.

Broad agreement appears to have been reached that bilateral talks with the newly formed alliance will not start from scratch.

The FA — comprising the Inkatha Freedom Party, KwaZulu government, Bophuthatswana government, Ciskei government, Conservative Party and Afrikaner Volksfront (AVF) — yesterday met the ANC after meeting the Government on Monday evening.

These talks will be followed up on Friday with the Government and on Monday with the ANC.

The chairman of the FA negotiating team, Bophuthatswana Minister of State Rowan Cronje, said

there was a willingness on both sides to negotiate.

The discussions the FA had held over the past two days with the ANC and Government signalled the official return to talks by the AVF. The development further confirms that negotiations will take place both in the Negotiating Council and behind the scenes.

### Concern

ANC secretary-general Cyril Ramaphosa said the issues on Monday's agenda were whether there would be an elected constitution-making body; self-determination; and the powers and functions of regions.

Constitutional Development Minister Roelf Meyer said some FA members had said they could not judge the process until the draft Interim Constitution had been completed. Negotiations to finalise the draft document would therefore

continue in tandem with talks with the FA.

Newly appointed Ciskei Foreign and Constitutional Development Minister Mickey Webb said there seemed to be concern over the FA proposal for a summit of leaders to be held.

Ramaphosa said the ANC would prefer "second level leadership" to meet first. A meeting of leaders where agreements would be endorsed and remaining differences resolved would be the culmination of a negotiations process.

Meyer said a summit of leaders could be held only once negotiators were clear on the purpose of such a meeting.

The ANC secretary-general stressed that talks were on a tight schedule from which his organisation would not deviate. The Negotiating Council will wrap up its work on November 5, and a plenary session with the leaders is scheduled for November 6 and 7.

*Mandela visit to Britain*

## UK offers to monitor SA's April poll

■ BY GARNER THOMSON  
STAR BUREAU

London — Britain has offered to monitor South Africa's first multiracial election next year.

The offer came from Overseas Development Minister, Baroness Linda Chalker, who met ANC leader Nelson Mandela last night.

The offer is expected to be discussed when Mandela meets Prime Minister John Major today.

### Work

After last night's meeting, Chalker said she and Mandela had discussed ways in which Britain and South Africa could work together to "smooth the path of democracy" after the election.

Mandela wants to reassure potential investors that South Africa is moving towards democracy and that a majority government would need overseas confidence to help rebuild the country.

But he has reservations

about how the ANC's call to lift sanctions was interpreted, especially within the EC.

He told businessmen and industrialists at the weekend: "In calling for the lifting of sanctions, we did not want the international community to accept the white minority regime as a legitimate representative of SA's people."

"Nor did we call for any relaxation of military, nuclear and other strategic sanctions."

"We hope that the EC member states will think again and resolve to maintain all sanctions covering military, nuclear and strategic sanctions until a democratic government is in place."

Meanwhile, Mandela's European tour rolls on, with yet another unscheduled stopover to gather political and financial support for the ANC's election campaign.

He will meet French President Francois Mitterrand, Prime Minister Edouard Balladour and Foreign Minister Alain Juppe tomorrow. He will also address France's industrial confederation.

Canoe employee shot

Chalker  
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# UN, Pik to work on chief

Star 21/10/93

## ■ STAR AFRICA SERVICE

Maputo — Both the UN and Foreign Affairs Minister Pik Botha have pledged to try to bring IFP leader Chief Mangosuthu Buthelezi back to the negotiation table.

UN Secretary-General Boutros Boutros-Ghali said the UN would continue to apply pressure on Buthelezi to rejoin the negotiation process.

Yesterday Boutros-Ghali said Buthelezi's refusal to continue

negotiations was a major stumbling block.

"Buthelezi is a problem but we will continue to work with the IFP through discussions to get them back to the negotiation table." (304A)

Foreign Affairs Minister Pik Botha also promised to work towards a solution. (304A)

"We can't proceed without the IFP, the CP and General Constand Viljoen's group. We can't go on until substantial numbers

of major political parties agree to the transitional constitution."

He said if the process went on without them, South Africa was in for a very troublesome time.

Botha said he was convinced Buthelezi believed what he was saying and added that it was time all the other parties — including the NP — took another serious look at federalism.

"We must reach agreement by a process of give and take," he said.

# New flag and dual anthems favoured

A FLAG that is largely green and gold with three triangles of blue, green and red is favoured by the negotiating council's national symbols commission, which has also proposed that Die Stem and Nkosi Sikeleli 'i Afrika be dual anthems for the transitional period. (304A)

It recommended that the council consider translating, adapting, and standardising the lyrics where necessary.

The commission said that as the issues were so sensitive, these should not be seen as anything more than proposals. There were strong divisions in the commission

8/10/93 2/11/93  
BILLY PADDOCK

and the report incorporated minority reports and objections.

More than 7 000 submissions were received for a flag and six were shortlisted. The commission said the submissions generally endorsed the colours green and gold.

"Much greater public involvement is required before a flag is designed."

It urged negotiators to promote a process to elicit further submissions for an anthem. The commission considered 119 entries for an anthem and there was gener-

al agreement on eight of these.

The commission reported that apart from the two strong lobbies for Die Stem and Nkosi Sikeleli 'i Afrika, there was a third strong lobby calling for something totally new, which would be able to play a unifying role. It said "much more time and effort were needed . . . to manifest in effective and permanent national symbols". Four mottoes were suggested, with Ubuntu (humanism) preferred above Ex Unitate Vires (unity is strength), Concordia Res Crescent (growth through agreement) and Conjunctus Viribus (with united powers).



# De Klerk explains his plan

SHOULD a referendum become necessary, President F W de Klerk would ensure that votes were counted separately in each region, to gauge the attitudes of voters regionally as well obtaining a national perspective. **B/Day**

He hoped this would help to show that voters in each region supported the negotiating process, even if particular parties chose to remain outside it. **21/10/93**

But De Klerk said the "first prize" would be an inclusive settlement within three to four weeks, and he was devoting all his energies to achieving that. **(304A)**

Regardless of whether the Freedom Alliance participated in such a referendum, it could go ahead and could deter-

**BILLY PADDOCK**

mine the route favoured by the majority. He was not in favour of an election based on a constitution that did not have sufficient support from significant parties, as this could lead to a catastrophe.

A referendum would legitimise the constitution, as long as it and the election were managed correctly to ensure there were no irregularities. "Then if a party says: 'I don't like the result,' they would not have a leg to stand on," De Klerk said.

However Inkatha Freedom Party president Mangosuthu Buthelezi was a "democrat and I do not for a moment expect him

**To Page 2**

## De Klerk

to act against the law or to be intransigent. I also regard him and his party as a significant role player and I am going all out so that they somehow or other are part of the agreements reached." **(304A)**

Meanwhile, it is understood that bilateral meetings between the Freedom Alliance and government and the ANC have set out agendas only for further discussion. These were made up of "exactly the same issues

that have been dealt with in the negotiating council and in bilateral meetings over the past months".

Sources in the ANC delegation said they did not hold out too much hope for a settlement as Buthelezi and the alliance "refuse to move an inch but still demand that we, who have done a complete somersault on regionalism, must go even further".

**See Page 14**

**B/Day 21/10/93 From Page 1**

Spokesman Mr Ronnie Mamoepa said yesterday that a bizarre call to an undertaker about Sexwale's "assassi-

simply the work of mavericks.

The ANC called for a "through investigation" and the perpetrators to be brought to

car tyres had been slashed and on the second occasion, last Sunday, his car had been splattered with porridge.

# New alliance refuses to budge

THE Freedom Alliance has rejected suggestions that a summit of political leaders should be held only once an interim constitution had been agreed upon at the World Trade Centre talks.

In a statement issued last night, the alliance stressed that a "summit of leaders must take place before the constitution is finalised".

It dismissed the "Government and ANC-supported notion" of such a meeting or a World Trade Centre plenary session "only once there was a constitutional package to endorse". (3044)

It noted that after eight months of talks, the issues which set the FA apart from the ANC and the Government "are still unresolved and an all-inclusive solution has not

emerged from the documentation produced by the World Trade Centre".

"Therefore it must be acknowledged that there is a major crisis in the negotiation process which only the collective wisdom of the major leaders in Southern Africa can resolve to find a way forward", the alliance said in the statement - *Sowetan Correspondent*.



# Song and dance over anthem

By Esther Waugh

POLITICAL CORRESPONDENT

A decision on South Africa's national symbols for the transition was yesterday put off by negotiators amid sharp differences over the proposed dual national anthems.

A decision on how debate on the anthems, flags and coats-of-arms should proceed was referred to the talks planning committee. The feeling in the council was that the symbols should be agreed upon by the April 27 election. It was also felt that wider consultation with the public should take place.

The Commission on National Symbols, proposed that both *Nkosi Sikelel' iAfrika* and *Die Stem* should be used as a "dual anthem" during the transition.

A minority report proposed that only *Nkosi Sikelel' iAfrika* be sung. The lyrics of *Die Stem* would not be sung, in terms of the dissenting report.

The Government and Afrikaner Volksunie supported a "dual anthem". But the ANC and SACP supported the proposal in the minority report.

## THE TALKS AND YOU

(3047)



### At the World Trade Centre

**NATIONAL SYMBOLS:** Negotiators agreed yesterday that more time was needed to finalise new national symbols for the transition. It was felt that the public should be consulted on the matter but that the issue be finalised before the April election.

The Negotiating Council was divided into three groups on an anthem. There were those - including the National Party and Afrikaner Volksunie - who wanted both *Nkosi Sikelel' iAfrika* and *Die Stem* as a dual anthem. Others, including the Transkei government and Labour Party, favoured only *Nkosi*. The ANC and SA Communist Party supported a minority report attached to the Commission on National Symbols report, which stated that *Nkosi* should be sung as the anthem followed by a stanza of *Die Stem*.

**TODAY:** Debate will focus on the draft Electoral Bill.

ESTHER WAUGH

The SACP's Joe Slovo said the lyrics of *Die Stem* were offensive to the majority of South Africans.

The AVU's Schalk Burger warned that the "resolution" of the Afrikaner should not be underestimated and urged negotiators not to "take away what can be left alone".

Responding to charges that *Die Stem* was the anthem of the oppressor, he said many Afrikaners associated *Nkosi* with terrorism.

# We're not racists, says AVF

■ BY NORMAN CHANDLER  
PRETORIA BUREAU

The Afrikaner Volksfront (AVF) had discarded racism and discrimination, diplomats from 70 countries were told in Pretoria yesterday. (304A)

The diplomats were briefed on the objectives of the recently formed Freedom Alliance.

The five alliance members told the diplomats of a commitment to find a solution to the southern African political crisis through negotiation. They said the alliance would seek direct communication with various govern-

ments.

General Constand Viljoen, a co-leader of the AVF said: "The fact that the AVF is participating in this peace-generating alliance is proof that we have discarded racism and discrimination."

He said a proposed summit of political leaders "should evaluate what has been produced, be frank about the consequences of the implementation and decide together what course is best."

IFP leader Chief Mangosuthu Buthelezi asked the diplomats to tell their governments that there were "fundamental constitutional concerns and legitimate

aspirations, such as the right of self-determination of peoples.

CP leader Dr Ferdi Hartzenberg said a solution for SA's political impasse would have to be based on the concept of self-determination and not on the basis of a unitary state, as was being negotiated at the constitutional talks in Kempton Park.

Ciskei's new Foreign Affairs Minister, Mickey Webb, said the alliance protected the identity of nations and wanted to "guarantee the future of our people, our land, our possessions, our property and our right to engage in free-market activities".



# Govt and ANC oppose plan for homeland debts

Biday 22/10/93

GOVERNMENT and the ANC opposed suggestions that the R14bn homeland debt be transferred to the national debt of a new government after elections, with Deputy Finance Minister Theo Alant insisting that all such debt be retained by the region inheriting the homeland.

ANC negotiator Mohammed Valli Moosa said that until there was a full disclosure of the current long-term debt of the homelands it was impossible to make an informed decision. He said financial institutions that wanted to lend money to homelands, including the TBVC territories, had to run the risk that government would not be bound to guarantee loans.

Alant said an immediate audit should be done of the national debt and that of the homelands, and this could be achieved within two weeks. He said the homeland governments' debt, including that of the TBVC territories, ran to R14bn. The total national debt was R165bn.

He said any government contractual obligations or guarantees made on behalf of homelands would have to be honoured, but agreed that some measure had to be introduced to control homeland expenditure and debt directly in the transition period.

Alant said it would be a dangerous precedent if homeland governments' debts

BILLY PADDOCK

were transferred to the national debt, as this opened the door for local authorities and township authorities to demand similar treatment.

During a debate on the Reserve Bank's position being entrenched in the constitution, the ANC said it was in full agreement that the Bank remain independent but wanted minor wording changes to its primary objective so that it did not bind the Bank to controlling inflation through its control of money supply.

ANC negotiator Neil Morrison said the term "to achieve monetary stability" should be changed to "to achieve internal and external price stability". This would prevent the constitution binding the Bank to a technical matter that was an issue of debate among economists.

The SACP's Joe Slovo, supported by Morrison, said the Bank had to act in support of government. "It is of vital importance that the Reserve Bank cannot override the representatives of the people."

The council did not make a decision on this but it was expected that the clause would remain as originally drafted: that the Bank act in support of government policy but not under its control.

## Volksunie walkout over storm in teacup

BILLY PADDOCK

THE Afrikaner Volksunie (AVU) created a storm in a teacup yesterday when it walked out of negotiations, demanding the resignation of one of the rotating chairmen and a formal apology.

As these were not forthcoming and the AVU was not given a chance to state its position, its delegates walked out and called a news conference, saying the legitimacy of the whole process was in question.

The issue was that last Friday during a debate on

the SADF raid into Umtata, the AVU distributed a speech by new leader Gerdus Kruger which contained innuendo and cast ANC negotiator Cyril Ramaphosa and Constitutional Development Minister Roelf Meyer as David and Goliath. Apparently the speech was circulated in the chamber without the authority of the administration, which is correct procedure.

AVU negotiator Schalk Burger asked chairman Llewellyn Landers if he could distribute the speech and was given the go-ahead.

Kruger said despite Landers' acknowledgment that he had given the go-ahead, he refused to apologise and this smacked of a conspiracy between the ANC and the chairman to manipulate the process.

Landers said there was nothing to apologise for and would not take responsibility for the walkout.

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BILLY PADDOCK



# Manuel warning on election and violence

304A

Arg 22/10/93

## 'Window of opportunity' may be shut for ever

the Argus Correspondent

JOHANNESBURG. — Unless the quality of life for the majority improves significantly, the struggle for democracy will be short-lived, says African National Congress economics head Trevor Manuel.

He warned delegates at the International Trade Exhibition (Saiex) that a postponement of the April 27 elections could not be contemplated in a country "ravaged by violence and flush with firearms".

A window of opportunity would be shut for ever unless violence ceased and economic policies were freed to democratically.

"We need to offer foreigners move-average guarantees about the way they will be treated and their right to repatriate capital and dividends to encourage them to invest here, rather than in East Europe."

Work was being done on exchange control and an exchange rate policy. Anti-trust measures

were firmly on the agenda as well as the issue of control, both on boards and management structures. The tariff structure would be revised and several "Jurassic Park-type" investments looked at. Human resource development was a major hurdle.

Mr Manuel also said the Freedom Alliance's actions were likely to cost South Africa R400 million.

Interviewed before his address to delegates at the trade exhibition, Mr Manuel said it was touch and go whether the Transitional Executive Council (TEC) would be in place in November in time to approve the International Monetary Fund's R850 million compensatory and contingency financing facility (CCFF).

Because there was no credible institution to give the go-ahead, R400 million of desperately needed money would "go down the drain". Should South Africa not finalise its application by December 31, the period over which the effects of the drought on the balance of payments was calculated would shift

forward to June 1994. This would exclude the worst effects of the drought and reduce the loan considerably.

Mr Manuel said that if this happened, the Freedom Alliance would have to take the blame.

Access to the IMF's loan is assuming critical proportions, economists say.

At the centre of concern is the capital account of the balance of payments, which is expected to come under extreme pressure next year because of the repayment schedule of the former R5 billion "standstill" debt.

The Standard Bank notes in its Quarterly Economic Review that the arrangement requires a sizeable up-front "bullet payment" on February 15, amounting to about R1,8 billion at forecast exchange rates, plus another smaller repayment on August 15.

This is in tandem with other scheduled foreign debt maturities in 1994 whose total repayments could amount to more than R6 billion.

# Housing minister takes forum to task over 'false' claims

Arg 22/10/93

MICHAEL MORRIS  
Political Correspondent

HOUSING minister Louis Shill has affirmed the government's commitment to consulting the National Housing Forum, but has rejected the idea that the forum's approval is required before he can launch any housing initiatives.

He dismissed as "deliberately false" the forum's reported claims that he had breached agreements and said the accusations were so one-sided it was "iniquitous".

The forum has suspended negotiations with the government, claiming Mr Shill had been "deliberately provocative" and had contravened agreements with it.

It has asked President De Klerk and the negotiating council to intervene in the dispute.

Speaking at a news conference yesterday, Mr Shill said it appeared the forum was attempting to "exceed the limits of our understandings".

"The forum's interpretation of the relationship with my department seems to suggest that the government cannot ever act without prior in-depth consultation

with, or the consent of, the forum."

He said he could not accept this. "I am not saying that we are in charge and everybody must listen to us. The fact is that the Department and Ministry of National Housing remains responsible and accountable for the provision of housing in this country," he said.

However, he believed a "unity of purpose" in housing was essential and he would seek a meeting with forum representatives to end the impasse.

"I do not think there will be a breakdown over this. That would be a tragedy," he said.

The government was committed to enhancing collaboration with the forum through a National Housing Board in which the forum would have a 50 percent stake. It was up to the forum to submit nominees.

Mr Shill added that the formation of structures for consultation on housing was a major achievement, but it simply was not enough.

"The forum has achieved a lot in setting up structures, but the time to start building houses has arrived."

# Major applauds end of apartheid chapter

The Argus Foreign Service

LIMASSOL (Cyprus). — Repeating a theme that has surfaced repeatedly at the Commonwealth Heads of Government Meeting here, Britain's Prime Minister John Major told a closed session the Commonwealth had "unfinished business" in South Africa, because of its "huge interest"

in the country and the immense contribution South Africa could make to the region.

The Commonwealth rightly had stood against apartheid and now it should fight vigorously for democracy in South Africa. He looked forward, after next year's elections, to South Africa applying for re-entry into the Commonwealth, and to a

long and unhappy chapter being brought to a close.

Lesotho's Prime Minister Ntsu Mokhehle, speaking in the same closed session, urged the Commonwealth to consider contingency measures in case South Africa experienced instability, because real shadows lurked in the new dawn.



# NP urges delay on new national symbols

PRETORIA. — The National Party has supported the Commission of National Symbols' proposals for new national symbols but said decisions on new designs should "preferably not be taken now".

The NP was commenting yesterday on the commission's proposals unveiled on Wednesday night at the negotiation council in Kempton Park.

"Although very good work has been done in a short time by the commission, it is clear from their report that much more time is needed for this matter, that further opportunities for investigation and research are desirable and that further opportunities should be given for participation by the residents of our country," an NP statement said.

It said national symbols were a "very emotional and sensitive issue", and this had clearly come to the fore in discussions during negotiations.

Solutions should be sought which were acceptable not only to the majority of people but also to the majority of political and cultural groups.

It was also necessary that existing national symbols and those of political and cultural groups should be treated with respect.

The NP said it had stated clearly at the negotiations that it was prepared to consider the proposal that both *Die Stem* and *Nkosi Sikelel' iAfrika* be used as national anthems as an interim measure, but that then both should be treated equally.

— Sapa.

# Running down the flags — designs derided

□ Stupid, horrible, childish — and too ethnic, say most callers in Argus poll

ARG 22/10/93 (304A)

## Staff Reporters

STUPID, horrible, ridiculous ... and another good reason to leave the country.

This was the general view of more than 500 callers of the six prospective South African flags featured in The Argus readers' poll yesterday.

"I would never be able to stand under or wave such a flag without laughing," said Lynne Bucklow of Claremont.

"It looks like something from a colouring book," said another caller, who described the flags as "childish and ridiculous" and who did not venture a choice.

Only 195 people did — most opting for the yellow, blue, red and green triangular creation of flag number three, which was hailed as "looking better than anything else" and as a "nice design".

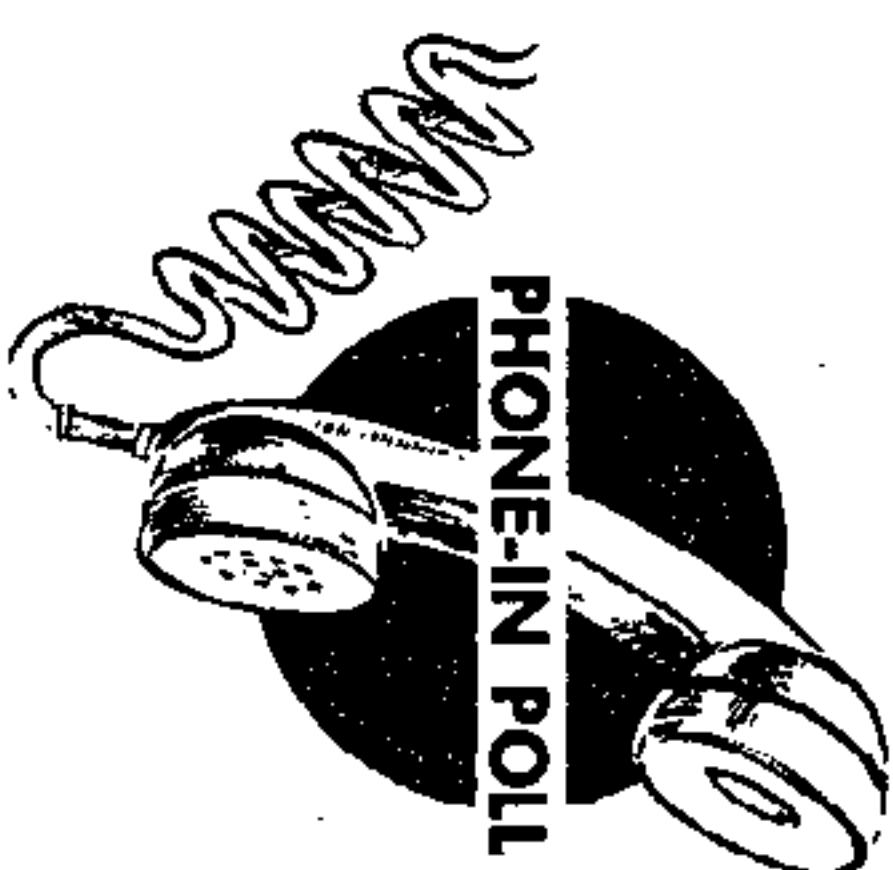
A caller from Diep River said it would "stand out among the other world flags".

It won hands-down with 110 votes, followed by 51 votes for flag number two, 24 for flag number one, eight for number four and two for number five. Flag number six was not even in the running.

Most of the callers complained that the flags were too ethnic.

"They look like Easter eggs," said John Heisdinger of Mossel Bay, who described the designs as "ridiculous".

A caller from the Eastern Transvaal complained that the designs represented only the Ndebele tribe.



Other callers said South Africans needed only to take a drive through the homelands to see huts covered in this type of design.

The flags were pretentious and showed more consideration for black feelings, rather than symbolising the history of the country, complained some.

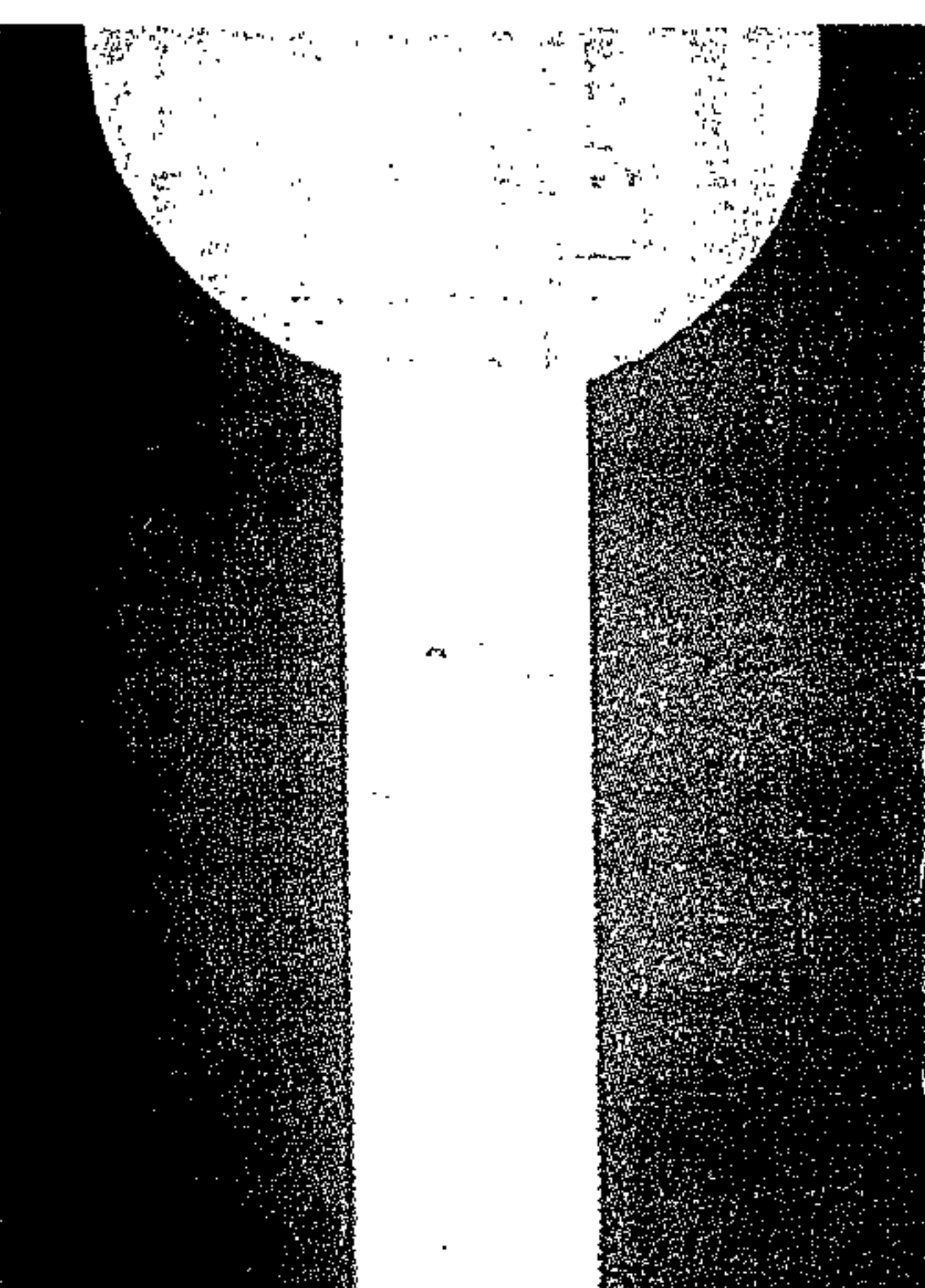
Other callers said a choice of any of the designs as the new flag would make South Africa look like a banana republic or Third World country.

"It's not a flag to be proud of," said Norma Lang of Diep River. "They depict ethnicity. None of these flags shows the strength of South Africa."

Another said: "They are all dreadful. They mean nothing and are all ethnically slanted."

"You're joking, aren't you?" said another caller, who suggested the flags were designed by a kindergarten class.

Former MP Jan S Marais described the suggestions for both the flag and emblem as "gold, hat, saying nothing to 99 percent of the nation and of the



**TOP FLAG:** The flag our callers preferred, left, and the one that came second. Most callers said these were the best of a bad bunch.

world".

He added: "Let's have something different — a picture of a woman, a man, a child and a dog looking up to a rising yellowish-red sun on a green earth and a blue sky."

Dave Pewt of Gardens said: "They're absolutely awful. They look like artwork done by kindergarten children and could never be taken seriously."

Christopher Dunn of Somerset West said none of the flags would suit South Africa. "They look like designs on African huts. We should have a flag that represents the whole country."

His view was shared by many callers, including Shirley Robbins of Milnerton. "I have

taught junior school and have had better results from children," she said.

"It looks like children's art," agreed Wessel van Zyl, also of Milnerton, who also complained that the designs were "too ethnic".

Others said the designs would be better suited to T-shirts, tablecloths, crockery, umbrellas, skirts and Christmas trimmings.

Detlev Hess of The Strand said: "The commission has underestimated our intelligence. Those designs will only work on carpets."

"It looks like a range of New South Africa beach towels," said a caller from Milnerton.

"More of a reason to leave the country."

Another felt the flag was just a bunch of colours tossed together which did not mean anything.

"South Africa will lose its identity and if the commission can't do any better, then South Africa doesn't deserve a flag," said a caller from Durbanville.

Many callers telephoned only to make suggestions. These included hiring professional artists, retaining the old flag or adopting the blue-and-white peace flag.

"Orange, blue and white are still the best," said Carl Botha of Table View. "This is South Africa — keep the flag as it is."

His view was shared by American citizen Martha McComb, a temporary visitor staying in Claremont, who said the old flag had nobility.

"The proposed flags look like drawings," she said.

One of the most common suggestions was a flag with two hands — black and white — shaking.

Others urged that the protea or the springbok be included in the new flag.

Theresa Gomes of Goodwood suggested a yellow-and-gold background with green dots "because the people who want to change the flag are just as doty as the flag I'm suggesting now".



# Opposition keeps govt in check

304A South 22/10-26/10/73

**C**ITIZENS are always concerned that once they elect a government, the government should not abuse its power.

Most democratic governments have introduced their own methods of ensuring checks on government powers.

One of the most useful ways of achieving this is to ensure that there is a strong opposition party in parliament to keep a close watch on the ruling party.

The nature of opposition and the role it plays in a society, depends on the kind of political culture in which it develops.

An opposition can be loyal and aimed at achieving certain political changes in the existing constitutional arrangement.

Alternatively, an opposition party may be the kind that "agrees to disagree". It can also be fundamentally opposed to the existing status quo and in favour of a complete transformation of the existing political system.

Parliamentary opposition is directed against the government. It usually involved the parties not involved in a coalition or agreement with the ruling party.

This kind of opposition can be irresponsible if the parties constituting the opposition stand no chance of winning an election.

Knowing that their promises will never be put to the test when ruling the country, they can sometimes engage in tactics that involve "besting" the ruling party.

They are secure in the knowledge that they will never be required to put their theories to the test when they make promises or object to certain courses of action.

There is also extra-parliamentary opposition which consists of parties which either cannot or will not gain parliamentary representation.

In South Africa, extra-parliamentary opposition was the only option for the black people since parliament was a whites-only institution.

In genuine democracies, where the principles of freedom of speech,

political affiliation and belief truly apply, the opposition can be a dynamo for positive innovation and change.

However, in authoritarian political systems, where only one world view is upheld as the correct one, opposition is viewed as illegitimate and an obstruction to the status quo. The state may then pass laws that label the activity of the opposition as criminal.

The classic view of parliamentary opposition is that of a shadow government, waiting in the wings to take over from the ruling party should it be ousted.

Both the ruling party and the opposition compete in parliament with the aim of increasing their popular support and winning the next election. This kind of opposition can have the positive effect of keeping the government on its toes.

There is also the kind of parliamentary opposition which enjoys the status of a co-government. In this situation, the opposition not only enjoys the right to publicly confront government, it can also influence legislation in specialist committees and table its own legislative proposals.

This kind of opposition tends to consolidate the positions of government by restricting political diversity. It also results in policy continuity between governments.

**E**xtra-parliamentary opposition has two major political functions. Firstly, it challenges the legitimacy of parliament and its ability to bring about political change.

It also articulates issues which have been ignored or omitted by parliamentary parties.

At present in established western democracies, the environmental issue is one which is being most strongly articulated by parties that began as extra-parliamentary ones or still are.

Needless to say, in South Africa, it was extra-parliamentary opposition which prompted the current political transformations which the country is undergoing.



**CROOKS OUT:** South Africa is one country where the lack of democratic representation meant that extra-parliamentary activity became the main source of opposition. One function of this opposition was to challenge the legitimacy of the state.



# We are no longer racist — Volksfront

The Argus Correspondent

PRETORIA. — The Afrikaner Volksfront "has discarded racism and discrimination".

Diplomats — including 20 ambassadors from 70 countries — were told this during a briefing here yesterday on the role and objects of the recently-formed Freedom Alliance.

The five alliance members told the diplomats of a commitment to find a solution to the southern African political crisis through negotiation.

They said the alliance would seek direct communication with various governments.

Afrikaner Volksfront leader Constand Viljoen said: "The fact that the AVF is taking part in this peace-generating alliance is proof that we have discarded racism and discrimination".

General Viljoen said a proposed summit meeting of political leaders "should evaluate what has been produced, should be frank about the consequences of the implementation and should deliberate together what course is best for South Africa".

Inkatha leader Mangosuthu Buthelezi asked diplomats to tell their governments that there were "fundamental constitutional concerns and legitimate aspirations, such as the right of self-determination of peoples, which can neither be swept under the carpet nor wished away".

Conservative Party leader Ferdi Hartzenberg said a solution for South Africa's political impasse would have to be based on the concept of self-determination and not on the basis of a unitary state, as was being negotiated at the constitutional negotiations at Kempton Park.

Ciskei's new foreign affairs minister Mickey Webb said the alliance protected the identity of people and nations and that it wished to "guarantee the future of our people, our land, our possessions, our property and our right to engage in free market activities".

Rowan Cronje, Bophuthatswana's senior negotiator at the World Trade Centre said the lives of 30 million people were at stake and that solutions had to be found quickly.



# Hymn to conquest or terrorist song?

JOHANNESBURG. — If *Die Stem* is a "hymn to conquest and domination", is *Nkosi Sikelel' iAfrika* a "song for terrorists"?

These and other emotional questions emerged from the multiparty Negotiating Council outside Johannesburg yesterday as representatives took issue over the proposed new national symbols for the country's transition period.

SA Communist Party chief Joe Slovo said *Die Stem*'s reference to "creaking wagons" symbolised for the majority the laager mentality of those who had imposed apartheid.

"For the majority, words about 'protecting what our fathers built', sounds like a sick joke.

"The lyrics of *Die Stem* are a hymn to conquest and domination."

Mr Slovo said the SACP supported the minority view included in Wednesday's report by the commission on national symbols.

The minority report, also endorsed by the African National Congress and the Natal/Transvaal Indian Congress, calls for the words and lyrics of *Nkosi* to be used together with only the tune of a single stanza of *Die Stem*.

In his comment, ANC representative and poet Wally Serote said that every time he heard *Die Stem*, "it puts me against the wall".

Afrikaner Volksunie representative Schalk Burger pleaded for the council not to tamper with *Die Stem*, which was written at a time when the Afrikaner himself was being oppressed.

"It is not an anthem of

oppression. Don't underestimate the Afrikaner when you put him in a corner ... when you take away things like this.

"*Nkosi* is seen by many whites as a song for terrorists."

Endorsing the commission's majority view on the issue — that *Nkosi* and *Die Stem* be used in full as dual anthems — Mr Burger envisaged soccer matches where the one would be sung and rugby matches where the other would be popularly used.

"It would be a perfectly natural phenomenon and should be given a chance."

The majority report was also endorsed by the government, the Democratic Party and the National People's Party (NPP).

DP representative Dene Smuts added that she was "instinctively" against the commission's suggestion, however,

that the words of either song could be amended to something "politically correct".

NPP leader Amichand Rajbansi said *Die Stem*'s "creaking wagons" was a reference to the Afrikaner's trek away from colonialism.

"If the government of national unity is to include the oppressed and the oppressors, then we must be consistent."

Transkei took a hardline stand, saying that only *Nkosi* should be recognised as the anthem for the transition period.

The debate ended with a decision to refer the matter of the anthem and the other national symbols back to the planning committee, which would in turn return to council with a proposal on how to take the issue forward. — Sapa.

## Govt will not be dictated to, says FW

PRESIDENT F W de Klerk yesterday underlined government's determination not to be dictated to, saying there was a "concerted attack on the authority of the state".

"People want an interim government before an election," he said in reference to objections to several recent government decisions overriding proposals made by multiparty forums.

"We have constantly said 'no' to an interim government and we are not prepared to allow forums to develop into an interim government."

Forums were "fundamentally important" and very helpful in creating consensus, he said.

"But while we are accountable, we cannot give away the final authority," he said.

TIM COHEN

Referring to the National Housing Forum's recent criticism of Housing Minister Louis Shill, De Klerk said no Minister could be placed in a position where he had to clear his speech with an outside body.

Referring to PAC criticism that government was both player and referee, De Klerk said all governments continued to rule until they handed over to a newly elected government.

"We have agreed to start sharing power with regard to a specified area of activity that is clearly set out in Transitional Executive Council legislation," he said.



# Anthems: Parties sharply divided

ARC 22/10/93

JOHANNESBURG. — A decision on South Africa's national symbols for the transition was put off by negotiators yesterday amid sharp differences over the proposed dual national anthems.

A decision on how debate on the anthems, flags and coats-of-arms should proceed was referred to the talks planning committee.

Broad agreement had emerged that more time was needed to finalise the national symbols.

But the general feeling in the council was that the symbols should be agreed upon by the April 27 election.

It was also felt that wider consultation with the public should take place.

The Commission on National Symbols proposed that both *Nkosi Sikelel' iAfrika* and *Die Stem* should be used as a 'dual anthem' during the transition.

A minority report, also tabled in the council, proposed that only *Nkosi Sikelel' iAfrika* be sung to be followed by a stanza of *Die Stem*. The lyrics of *Die Stem* would, however, not be sung in terms of the dissenting report.

The government and Afrikaner Volksunie supported a 'dual anthem'.

But the African National Congress and South African Communist Party supported the minority proposal.

During vigorous debate the SACP's Joe Slovo said the lyrics of *Die Stem* were offensive to the majority of South Africans.

But the AVU's Schalk Burger warned that the "resolution" of the Afrikaner should not be underestimated and urged negotiators not to "take away what can be left alone".

Responding to charges that *Die Stem* was the anthem of the oppressor, he said many Afrikaners associated *Nkosi* with terrorism.

Other parties, including the Labour Party and Transkei government, proposed that only *Nkosi Sikelel' iAfrika* be sung during the transition.



# I'm no lame duck - FW

3049

**WHILE** President de Klerk countered claims last night that he was a "lame duck" president, four of his Cabinet ministers were party to decisions that showed just how limited the powers of his Government have in fact become.

Addressing the Foreign Correspondents Association in Pretoria, De Klerk said his National Party would continue to rule until it handed over power to a government of national unity after democratic elections on April 27.

The Transitional Executive Council (TEC), to be installed next month to oversee government in the run-up to the vote would not be — nor was intended to be — an interim government, De Klerk said. But, he added, his government faced a "difficult" period.

## ANC presence

"There are, at the moment, concerted efforts across the spectrum to establish a de facto interim government by trying to limit the Government's ability to take effective day-to-day administrative decisions," he said.

The ANC is a live presence indirectly in all Government decision-making," he said. "The Government can only govern in fairly routine matters. All serious decisions have now to be negotiated."

De Klerk conceals this by saying decisions are taken at negotiating forums, Stander said, such as the multiparty Negotiating Council that is charting South Africa's path to democracy.

"But there has been a shift in the balance of power," he added. "The popular forces now have the capacity to act. It is part of democracy."

## BRYAN PEARSON

the petrol price increase. Just 16 days ago, a defendant De Klerk announced that his Cabinet would not how to pressure by the ANC, the taxi industry and COSATU to back down from a 7c/litre fuel price increase.

But with threats by the three groups to stage nationwide protests, blockade city centres and plunge the country into "costly conflict", Bartlett yesterday announced a cut of 2c/l.

A similar Government move came yesterday on cellular telephones.

On September 22, the Government granted licences to two consortiums to set up a cellular phone network, ignoring ANC objections that Pretoria was acting unilaterally and seeking to privatise public assets "with the intention of undermining a future democratic government."

Its main objection was that blacks were not adequately represented in the two consortiums and last week, the ANC threatened that unless the Government reversed its decision, it would simply nationalise the industry when it came to power.

After lengthy talks, the ANC and the Government said in a joint statement yesterday that the ANC had dropped its opposition after the Government and the two licencees agreed to incorporate shareholding by black businesses.

In a third blow for De Klerk, democracy negotiators representing 21 political groups yesterday resolved to set up a multiparty interim committee to handle practical aspects of next April's election.

The decision effectively prevents the Government's Home Affairs department from taking unilateral decisions relating to the poll. "For De Klerk, it's basically egg-dancing," Stander said. "Although the Government has the capacity and legitimacy, the TEC will eat into those powers." — Sapa-AFP.



**GREETINGS:** Pakistani Prime Minister Benazir Bhutto shakes hands with Guyana's President Cheddi Jagan before the start of yesterday morning's executive session of the Commonwealth heads of government meeting.

Photograph: AFP

## Commonwealth protocol keeps SA in the cold

**LIMASSOL (Cyprus)** — Nobel Peace Prize winners President F W de Klerk and ANC president Nelson Mandela would have been the sensation of a low-key Commonwealth heads of government meeting — if they had been invited.

The tributes to the two showed that old enemies have been buried, and that the new South Africa is seen as about to be launched.

The President of Cyprus, Glafcos Clerides, speaking at the opening ceremony in Nicosia, set the tone when he declared that "the granting of the Nobel Prize to both Nelson Mandela and Frederick de Klerk signifies to the world recognition for their outstanding efforts and vision for peace".

## Guidelines

Even Paul Keating, Australia's Prime Minister and one of South Africa's long-standing critics, was complimentary. "It is a fitting reward, not just for them but for all those who have had the courage to negotiate and work together in the interests of creating a new South Africa."

But, try as it might, the Commonwealth could not find a formula that would enable it to extend invitations to De Klerk and Mandela. Because the Transitional Executive Council has not yet been implemented, there were no guidelines on who should be invited. The Commonwealth played it by the book and invited no one.

## City offramps to be closed

**SEVERAL** offramps on Johannesburg motorways will be closed tomorrow between 7 am and 3 pm to allow for construction of traffic signs. They are: Empire offramp on the M1 north (use Jan Smuts instead); Selby offramp at the split of the M1 south and M2 west (use Rissik Street on the M2 east to join Village Road); Vickers offramp on Heidelberg Road, going east (use Market offramp to join Vickers Road).



# De Klerk ready to talk on referendum

PRETORIA. — President F W de Klerk said yesterday that he would meet political leaders to seek agreement on a referendum — a way of breaking South Africa's political deadlock which he stressed would remain a last-ditch solution.

He said that the referendum had many disadvantages under present conditions and should be avoided if possible. (2049) CT 23/10/93

However, he brushed off objections from Mr Nelson Mandela and the ANC that a vote on the progress of constitutional negotiations would delay the country's first non-racial election scheduled for April 27.

Mr De Klerk told a foreign correspondents' luncheon here that there was "ample time" for a referendum.

In a feisty but upbeat mood, Mr De Klerk lashed out repeatedly at the ANC, asking why it was not queried on human rights abuses and summary executions in uMkhonto weSizwe prison camps. — Sapa

# SA's transition process 'threatened'

By ANTHONY JOHNSON  
Political Correspondent

A SUCCESSFUL transition process in South Africa was being seriously threatened by endemic violence and weak economic performance, Old Mutual corporate planning manager Mr Rupert Ingram warned yesterday.

He was speaking at a conference on planning scenarios for policy-makers organised by

Stellenbosch University's Institute of Futures Research.

Mr Ingram said even under the most optimistic projections of the Old Mutual/Nedcor scenario team, the present set of economic policies would not be able to meet minimum black expectations and whites would continue to suffer a decline in real incomes.

The economic platform was "very shaky" and "far short of

any case of successful transition the scenario team could find overseas."

A political settlement with little visible benefit to the youth and the unemployed would not stem the violence.

Mr Ingram said South Africa's Gross Domestic Product (GDP) per capita had been declining since 1975, well before the sanctions era.

South Africa was investing well below 20% of GDP, where-

as a nation attempting to sustain high growth should be investing 25-30%. (3049)

Unemployment was rising rapidly, with virtually no increase in the net number of jobs in the formal sector for nearly 12 years.

There was also extremely unequal distribution of income, "a sure indicator that there is no democracy of outcomes".



# Negotiators plan election committee

304A  
27/3/10/93

JOHANNESBURG. — Democracy negotiators agreed yesterday to establish a multi-party committee to handle the practical side of organising the scheduled April 27 election.

The committee will also decide on the role of the Department of Home Affairs in the run-up to the election.

The ANC led a charge at the World Trade Centre at Kempton Park that the department was intervening unilaterally in the election, and called for negotiators to put an end to this.

Home Affairs should only be concerned with issuing identity documents, some negotiators argued.

Home Affairs Minister Mr Danie Schutte said his department was prepared to stop making decisions on the election, but in that case a multi-party committee had to be established by the end of next week because time was running out.

A committee would deal with the practical side of organising the election until the Independent Electoral Commission was established.

● The future of multiparty negotiations will be determined in the next few days in bilateral meetings involving the Freedom Alliance, the government and the ANC.

The government met the newly-founded Freedom Alliance in Pretoria yesterday afternoon, and the FA will meet the ANC on Monday. — Sapa

# SA appeals to C'wealth

ARC 723/10/93 (304A)

## Mbeki rallies support for negotiations

**STANLEY UYS**

Weekend Argus Correspondent

LIMASSOL (Cyprus). — Mr Mbeki yesterday called on the 47 Commonwealth countries assembled here for their two-yearly heads of government meeting to give their full support to the present negotiations process in South Africa.

Mr Mbeki appealed to leaders to help persuade all the political groups in South Africa who are outside the negotiations process to join it. South Africa, he said, would have to stick to the April 27 election date.

He said he was sure the Commonwealth understood South Africa's economic problems and wanted to see a stable country. He was confident that it would take a decision in principle to underwrite a negotiated settlement. "Otherwise," he said, "we will be in very serious trouble indeed in South Africa." But he admitted that he did not know what the Commonwealth's capacity would

be to assist the new South Africa economically. ■ Thirty-two years after leaving the Commonwealth, South Africa is set to rejoin next year. ANC chairman Thabo Mbeki is in Cyprus to state SA's case to the Commonwealth's heads of government.

The Commonwealth heads of government attending this meeting will go into their customary weekend retreat at the coastal resort of Paphos today and tomorrow and they are expected to issue a communiqué on Monday responding to Mr Mbeki's appeal and setting out the position they have reached on South Africa.

Mr Mbeki and fellow ANC official Mondli Maimang are attending the meeting as guests of the Cyprus government, the hosts. They will leave on Tuesday, the day after the meeting concludes.

Mr Mbeki confirmed in an interview that an ANC government would apply for re-entry into the Commonwealth immediately after next year's elections and would be prepared if necessary to

take part in the 1994 Commonwealth games. He said the ANC's view, as stated by its late president Oliver Tambo, was that only a white minority regime had left the Commonwealth in 1961, not South Africa itself.

Mr Mbeki said provision had been made for the TEC to become active even before parliamentary legislation had been enacted. An advertisement was being placed to recruit 200 civil servants to service the TEC and all its structures, to find office space, and to appoint a TEC secretariat.

Calling for a significant international presence to monitor both the violence and the elections in South Africa, Mr Mbeki complimented both the Commonwealth leaders and other international observers on what they had achieved so far.



# Mbeki asks C'wealth to protect SA rights

By CHRIS BATEMAN

LIMASSOL, Cyprus. — ANC foreign affairs spokesman Mr Thabo Mbeki wants a Commonwealth Heads of Government undertaking to crack down on any tendency in the new South Africa to deny people their basic human and cultural rights.

In an interview shortly before the 36 heads of state held yesterday's closed executive session on South Africa, Mr Mbeki said the Afrikaner should have no fear that the rest of the world would abandon him if an ANC government took away his cultural and human rights.

"I'd like the Commonwealth to send

03/10/93 5047  
a clear and very important message that in much the same way as they took a position on apartheid, they would stand ready to act against any tendency in the new South Africa to deny people their rights," he said.

South African parties were not invited to the meeting — but Mr Mbeki is a guest of the Cyprus host government.

Mr Mbeki said he would ask the heads of government to call on Inkatha and the Afrikaner Volksfront to return to democracy talks.

Speakers were "enthusiastic" about South Africa's formally rejoining the Commonwealth at the next summit, which will be in New Zealand.

# Inkatha praises

## AWB 'food aid'

*C/Reed 24/10/93*  
By MOSES MAMAILA

INKATHA welcomed the AWB's initiative to feed pro-Inkatha Kwesine hostel inmates who have been trapped inside the hostel for months, spokesman Thabani Dlamini said this week.

Dlamini was commenting on the "humanitarian mission" by AWB members who supplied hostel inmates with food and medical facilities under the cover of darkness last Saturday morning. (105)(304A)

He said the government had failed to secure free movement for the hostel dwellers and they were trapped in the compound without food.

AWB Donkerhoek Commando spokesman Frans Kruger said they had decided to supply food to the pro-Inkatha hostel inmates because Inkatha was a member of the Freedom Alliance.

Kruger said the operation had to be launched under the cover of darkness as the rightwingers did not want confrontation with pro-ANC Phola Park squatters.

He said the AWB would continue to provide Inkatha with all the material support they needed.

Kruger said he was "not qualified" to say if hostel inmates would be provided with weapons.



# Volksunie storm rattles WTC teacups

By THEMBA KHUMALO  
Political Reporter

THE walk-out of the rightwing Afrikaner Volksunie proved to be a minor protest at the multiparty talks at Kempton Park on Thursday.

The AVU stormed out after their statement lauding the SADF raid into Transkei two weeks ago was found to have been circulated at the talks without permission.

Labour Party chief negotiator and Planning Committee chairman Lluwelyn Landers said: "Initially, as chairman of the Planning Committee I gave them permission to distribute (the statement) after taking a cursory glance at the statement. But when my attention was later drawn to certain de-

rogatory parts of it I immediately stopped its dissemination."

However, the next day the rightwingers were back in their seats under protest. (304A)

The controversial statement, headed "When terrorists become innocent victims", praised the raid and Defence Minister Kobie Coetsee for his "decisive action".

The document was circulated among the delegates last Friday, a week after five teenagers were shot in their sleep during the raid.

On Thursday a verbal clash ensued between AVU chief negotiator Corle Kruger and Landers, who denied having granted the AVU permission to distribute the inflammatory statement among the delegates.

C/Read 24/10/93

In the statement the AVU accused ANC general-secretary Cyril Ramaphosa and Constitutional Development Minister Roelf Meyer of being the "brothers, David and Jonathan".

"We know it took guts and leadership to stand up to the brothers David and Jonathan (alias Roelf and Cyril) to get this action approved," the statement read.

Kruger and two advisors swept out of the meeting of the Negotiating Council after the council refused to give Kruger a chance to explain how her party got permission to distribute the statement.

Later she complained to journalists that the AVU was being denied the chance of putting across their side of the story.

Said Kruger: "The fact of the matter is that the ANC and NP must accept that there are people who hold different views from theirs and they must learn to live with that. At the rate they are going, I fear for democracy in the future SA. We are heading for an ANC government that won't tolerate opposing views."

She demanded that Landers either apologised for making the AVU out to be liars or that he resigned from the talks — or else her party would not return to the talks. That was Thursday, but on Friday she and her colleagues were back in their seats at the talks.

Responding to Kruger's accusations, Landers said she was "making a mountain out of a molehill".

# Commission chief hurls Hamlet at the politicians

By RAY HARTLEY  
Political Reporter

THE chairman of the Commission on National Symbols, Professor Elize Botha, has lashed out at the politicisation by negotiators at the World Trade Centre of the debate on an interim flag, national anthem and coat of arms.

Professor Botha said the efforts made by the commission to get submissions from every corner of SA, including 24 000 letters to schools, had been swept aside in favour of a political debate.

She said an adapted quote from Shakespeare's *Hamlet* applied to the council: "Leave them to heaven and to those thorns that in their bosoms lodge, to prick and sting them."

Negotiators were divided this week over a recommendation by the commission that both

*Nkosi Sikelel'i Afrika* and *Die Stem* be used as national anthems in the interim. (30/4/93)

The ANC and SACP said the words of *Die Stem* were offensive and only the music would be acceptable in the interim.

While the creaking of ox-wagons was music to the ears of Afrikaners, it heralded dispossession and oppression to those who found themselves outside the

laager, they argued.

"The recommendation that *Die Stem* and *Nkosi* both be interim anthems was not our own individual and whimsical insight — it came from submissions," Professor Botha said.

No decision was taken on the anthem and flag, and the negotiation planning committee was asked to explore ways of resolving the matter on Thursday.

**HAVE YOUR SAY IN THE SUNDAY  
TIMES FLAG PHONE-IN: PAGE 7**



ARG 29/10/93

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Passage to a new order is poised to gain impetus with these proposals.

There were also indications that the vexed issue of powers and functions of regions was close to being settled, and yesterday President De Klerk said he was "convinced" the Inkatha Freedom Party's demands for strong regional government would be met.

Foremost among these is today's meeting between Mr De Klerk and leaders of the dissenting Freedom Alliance (FA).

In terms of the vice-presidency proposal, a party getting 20 percent of the vote will nominate a vice-president. Technically, there could be more than two vice-presidents, but this appears unlikely.

# New-look presidency and cabinet shape up

**Super-cabinet**

**Super-cabinet**

The proposal appears to bridge the gap between the ANC position for a democratically elected vice-president and the government call for a "super-cabinet" of leaders.

A report by a technical committee tabled yesterday recommended that the national assembly be elected at a government-ANC meeting today.

The proposal also attempts to address a deadlock if the interim parliament is unable to agree on a final constitution.

The proposals should facilitate a break a deadlock by the November 5 deadline, but the workload face by negotiators suggests that date may be shifted.

The deadline has become the source of considerable friction between the FA and participants in the World Trade Centre process.

It is understood that a meeting yesterday and a government process ended with little progress.

Bophuthatswana negotiator Rowan Cronje said yesterday team ended from agree- being made.

He said there was a genuine would be a pity if FA members were excluded from a few days.

He said there was a genuine willingness in the FA to reach accommodation, but this would require at least an extra week.

The ANC yesterday briefed its allies on developments.



# Unfinished business

SI Times 24/10/93

304A

## POWERS OF REGIONS

MUCH heat has been generated by the list of exclusive regional powers in Section 118 of the proposed constitution.

The number and type of regional powers will determine the extent of federalism in the constitution. Key players are discussing ways of expanding this list.

**ANC:** Education and health cannot be exclusive regional functions because norms, standards and curricula need to be uniform and determined by central government. The system of regional government must be streamlined and cost-effective.

**GOVERNMENT:** The list of exclusive powers for regions compiled by the technical committee could be expanded, but national standards will have to be maintained.

**DP:** More powers, including education, health and public works, should be given exclusively to regions, and the capacity for central government to interfere with these should be eliminated.

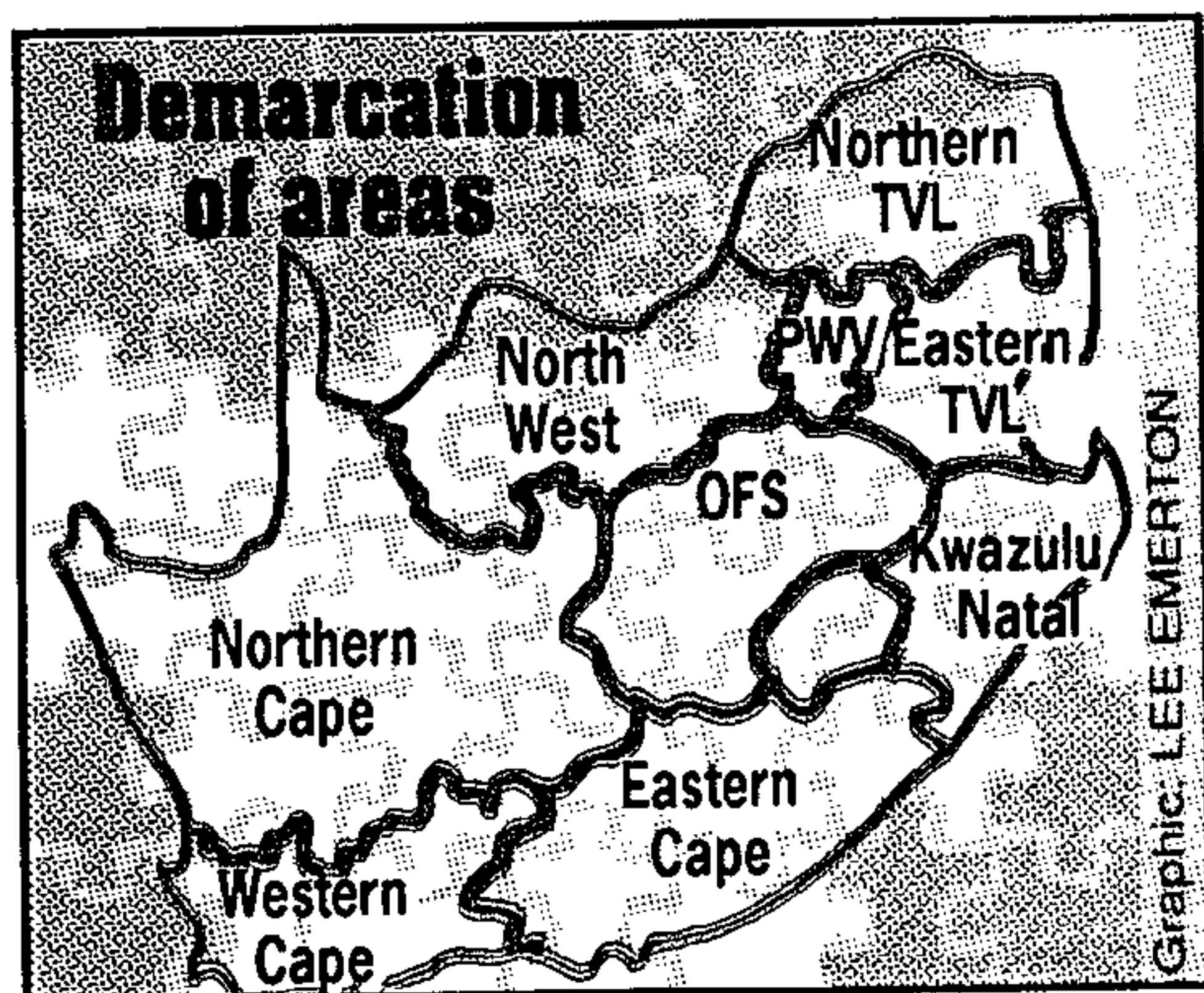
**PAC:** The power to make all laws should reside exclusively with central government. Provincial authorities should only be able to make regulations and by-laws.

**FREEDOM ALLIANCE:** Central government powers should be confined to national matters such as foreign affairs, trade and roads. Central government should determine standards for weights and measures, education and health, for example, but substantive powers in these areas should reside with regions. Regions should have the power to impose taxes.

## REGIONAL BOUNDARIES

COMMITTEES set up at the World Trade Centre have produced a map consisting of nine regions. The latest

**RAY HARTLEY outlines the viewpoints of the main parties on five critical disputed aspects of the interim constitution, which has to be finalised by November 5**



report, which is under discussion, includes extensive arguments for and against changing the proposed boundaries.

**ANC:** In general, agrees with the boundaries proposed by the commission, but adds that these do not need to be finalised now. It suggests that the Northern Cape region should be divided between the North-West and Western Cape. Sasolburg should be in the OFS, not the PWV.

**GOVERNMENT:** Differs with commission proposal. Eastern Cape and Kei regions should be separate and OFS and North-West region should be amalgamated.

**DP:** The Eastern Cape and Kei regions should be separate and the Northern Cape region should be absorbed into the North-West, Western Cape and other regions. East Griqualand should be part of Natal and not the East Cape/Kei region as proposed. Pre-

toria should form its own region separate from the rest of the PWV. Sasolburg should fall into the PWV region.

**PAC:** Demarcation should be undertaken only by an elected constituent assembly and only provincial boundaries in a unitary state should be demarcated.

**FREEDOM ALLIANCE:** Those directly affected by boundary changes should have the final say on which region they would like to reside in. More grassroots views should be canvassed before boundaries are drawn.

## THE CABINET

A multi-party cabinet has been proposed. How this cabinet will take decisions and the possibility of a deputy president from the party with the second most votes is the subject of behind-the-scenes discussion.

**ANC:** All parties with significant support should participate meaningfully in the interim government of national unity, but the majority should be able to rule effectively. A deputy president from the second most popular party could boost reconciliation.

**GOVERNMENT:** Originally supported consensus decision-making in cabinet, but this could be adapted to loaded majorities and a significant role for a deputy president coming from a different party to the president.

**DP:** There should be no rigid decision-making method in cabinet, but a prime minister should be appointed to ensure the accountability of cabinet to Parliament.

**PAC:** The ruling party should appoint the executive, which should be accountable to Parliament. There should be no forced coalition in the executive.

**FREEDOM ALLIANCE:** No official view on this.

## CONSTITUTIONAL COURT

THERE seems to be widespread support among parties at talks for a separate constitutional court, but the judiciary is at odds with this:

**ANC:** Supports the technical committee recommendation of a constitutional court separate from the Appellate Division of the Supreme Court.

**GOVERNMENT:** Has not finalised its position on this matter.

**DP:** Should be the highest court on constitutional matters, but cases should pass through ordinary courts until they reach appeal level. Could be a semi-autonomous part of Appellate Division or independent.

**PAC:** Should be set up for the sole purpose of looking into human rights violations in society and should not

interfere with the work of the constituent assembly.

**FREEDOM ALLIANCE:** Should be a separate court, but not independent of the Appellate Division. Judges should not take office as political appointments.

## DEADLOCK

IT HAS been proposed that if the constituent assembly cannot agree on a final constitution by a two-thirds majority within two years of the first election, deadlock-breaking mechanisms should come into effect. This entails a number of complicated procedures but essentially the constitution approved by a simple majority of members of the constituent assembly will be put to a referendum. If it does not receive the support of 60 percent of the voters, the constituent assembly will be dissolved and new elections held. A simple majority of those elected will approve a constitution.

**ANC:** Insists that a final constitution is adopted within fixed time frames but is flexible about the mechanisms to achieve this. In particular, the organisation appears to have distanced itself from the idea that, in the final event, the

constitution can be approved by a simple majority.

**GOVERNMENT:** Also flexible on the mechanisms to be employed but its bottom line is that it will not accept the idea of a constitution being approved by a simple majority. Supports the idea of 60 percent approval in a referendum should it be necessary.

**DP:** There should never be less than a two-thirds majority in the constituent assembly or a referendum. If such a majority cannot be attained on a clause, the version in the interim constitution should remain in force.

**PAC:** A two-thirds majority should be required to entrench a clause. If such a majority is not possible on a particular issue, no constitutional provision on the matter should be drafted. No referendum should be held to break a constituent assembly deadlock.

**FREEDOM ALLIANCE:** Does not support the idea of the constituent assembly drafting a final constitution and therefore a deadlock-breaking mechanism is not an issue for the alliance. It believes a final constitution should be decided through multi-party consensus and a two-thirds majority should be required to amend it.



# Absolute power? Absolutely not, Mr Minister!

1101145 000910  
CIPress 24/10/93

By THEMBA KHUMALO

FRIDAY doesn't hold good memories for Home Affairs Minister Danie Schutte, who discovered for the first time at the World Trade Centre that absolute power has slipped out of his hands.

Angry delegates at the multiparty talks rapped him over the knuckles and told him in no uncertain terms to stop any projects related to the forthcoming April general election.

His disclosure that his department had bought 15 000 ultra-violet lenses which would be used in the voting booths to counter possible cheating by voters did not please his detractors.

"Who gave Mr Schutte permission to act unilat-

erally?" retorted Popo Molefe of the ANC.

Chipped in Professor Selby Ripinga of the Ximoko Progressive Party: "The department (of Home Affairs) should know that they don't own the elections. Their task is to issue identity documents only (304A)

Schutte drew sharp words from just about every delegate from the ANC and the PAC to the Transvaal/Natal Indian Congress, who spoke on the department's current preparations for the elections.

He was also criticised for his utterances in Potchefstroom earlier in the week when he said elections would not take place in trouble-torn regions.

# Another vital week for negotiations

Sowetan 25/10/93

204A

By Themba Molefe

**T**HIS is another crucial week on the negotiations front with talks culminating in a summit between the Azanian Peoples Liberation Army and the South African Government in Harare on Thursday and Friday.

The Minister of Law and Order, Mr Hernus Kriel, and the Pan Africanist Congress president, Mr Clarence Makwetu, are expected to issue detailed statements concerning the meeting by mid-week.

African National Congress sources say the organisation wants a plenary meeting of leaders of negotiating parties to be held around November 6 and 7.

This means the ANC urgently wants the negotiations to come to an end after which the package of agreements will be taken to Parliament.

## ■ HOME RUN Race against time to overcome stumbling blocks:

Initially the negotiations were expected to have been completed last Friday, the plenary to be held by month end and the package taken to Parliament on November 8.

Parliament will now re-open on November 22 to allow the process to be completed.

### Freedom Alliance

However, stumbling blocks remain. These are in the form of the Freedom Alliance's opposition to next April 27 elections, the incomplete commission on regions, national flag and symbols and the interim constitution itself.

ANC president Mr Nelson Mandela warned at the weekend that the elections

would be held without the FA's participation.

The ANC last Monday met a delegation of the FA to discuss their differences and keep the new group in negotiations.

The Zimbabwean government has confirmed it would host and chair the meeting between Apla and the SA Government which would discuss the armed struggle of the PAC.

The success of this summit, according to observers, might be instrumental in breaking the deadlock between Pretoria, PAC and the Transkei government. The three parties last week failed to propose jointly a solution to the political crisis caused by the SADF's raid in Umtata in which four boys were killed.



**E Cape Nats**  
APR 25/1973  
**try to solve**  
**differences**  
**Political Staff**

THE Eastern Cape leadership of the National Party has moved to resolve differences between it and one of the party's leading reform-minded MPs, Sakkie Louw of Newton Park.

A meeting of the party's regional committee decided in Port Elizabeth at the weekend not to take any strong action. The committee referred Mr Louw's recent absence from some meetings to the party's provincial executive committee which may reprimand him.

There has been tension between Mr Louw, who recently resigned as the party's area election campaign director, and other Nationalist leaders, especially Tertius Delpont, Minister of Local Government and regional chairman.

# C'wealth plans to help SA prepare for poll

AR 625/10/93 (304A)

LIMASSOL (Cyprus). — Commonwealth leaders will finalise a plan today to help South Africa prepare for next April's general election and help monitor the poll itself, the organisation's secretary-general, Emeka Anyaoku, said here.

Thabo Mbeki, the senior ANC official attending the conference as an observer, has raised the prospect of a long-term Commonwealth role, inviting the body to act as a human rights watchdog to help protect minority rights after a new government is installed.

South Africa, out of the Commonwealth since 1961, could be readmitted after the elections.

Together with further discussions on world trade and debt, South Africa was one of the main items on the agenda during the heads-of-government retreat at the weekend.

Mr Mbeki welcomed Commonwealth help but gave a further dimension to the body's role in South Africa and elsewhere by proposing it continue to play a watchdog role on hu-

man rights after the installation of a new government.

The suggestion will be welcomed by many Commonwealth leaders keen to ensure that the association's principles are put into practice.

But British officials have always been cautious about such proposals — aware that its policy in Northern Ireland would come under the scrutiny of a standing committee monitoring and investigating human rights abuses in Commonwealth states.

Leaders were also preparing the conference communique, to be issued when the five-day summit ends this evening.

It will confirm that the membership application from the West African state of Cameroon will be provisionally accepted, subject to implementation of political and human rights reforms.

Mozambique is also expected to apply for membership after next year's general election. — Financial Times.



# New bid to break deadlock

Political Staff

PRETORIA — The Freedom Alliance and ANC are spending today in negotiations while the government has scheduled another meeting with the Alliance for Wednesday.

Alliance chairman Rowan Cronje said parties had undertaken not to reveal details of their talks while negotiations were going on but that substantive issues would be discussed.

This follows a meeting with the government on Friday. Asked whether there had been any progress, Mr Cronje said there could be "if all parties are sincere about finding solutions".

He said the Alliance would go into the meeting with the ANC today with a common agenda.

After an ANC-Alliance meeting last week, ANC sources said the parties forming the Alliance seemed to have little agreement among themselves other than their call for a summit of leaders.

ANC negotiator Cyril Ramaphosa said matters that had been identified for discussion included self-determination and whether the transition process should be one or two-phase.

This referred to the contentious issue of whether the multiparty negotiations towards a two-phase process in which an elected body will write the new constitution can find acceptability with Alliance parties which want the constitution determined before elections.

## POLITICS

# Last gasp summit today

3047  
ARL 25/10/93

TOS WENTZEL  
Political Staff

THE government and the ANC are to make a last-minute effort to clear up major differences between them on a new constitutional system.

Delegations from the two sides will meet for a summit at a secret venue outside Pretoria starting tonight and continuing through tomorrow.

The importance attached to the meeting is signified by the fact that the negotiating council at the multiparty talks in Kempton Park will not sit today and tomorrow.

There is now less than a fortnight before the November 5 deadline for agreement on an interim constitution to be dealt with at a session of parliament starting on November 22.

There are still major disagreements between the ANC and the government, especially on regional and local government. The powers of these bodies and how they will be guaranteed are going to be a tough issue at the talks.

Other issues to be dealt with are the composition of the cabinet in a new system, how such a cabinet will take decisions and the question of a vice-president.



## Govt, ANC hold bosberaad

The Government and the African National Congress begin a three-day bosberaad today to address sharp differences — mainly concerning power-sharing — which threaten to stump the negotiations process if not urgently addressed. (S) (304A)

A Constitutional Affairs Department source yesterday confirmed the three-day bilateral meeting.

However, he remained tight-lipped about the details of the issues to be brainstormed.

It is understood, however, that

the talks will focus on the extent of power to be afforded to the National Party in the future government of national unity.

The Government is believed to be putting its foot down in respect of its original proposals in this regard: namely, that substantial powers be granted to the Vice-State President and, in the multiparty Cabinet, to the party which comes second in the election.

The Negotiating Council is due to meet again on Wednesday after the bosberaad. — Staff Reporter

# View on referendum sets ANC against govt

CT 25/10/93 304A

JOHANNESBURG. — The ANC's formal rejection of a referendum as a means of legitimising a proposed constitution is going to cause more problems between the government and the ANC in the run-up to the election on April 27.

The ANC's national working committee on Thursday decided to reject its earlier statement giving support to President F W de Klerk's referendum idea.

The decision follows discussions between ANC president Mr. Nelson Mandela and Mr De Klerk. According to ANC sources, Mr De Klerk could not give "satisfactory answers" to questions posed by Mr Mandela.

Although it has now rejected a referendum, the ANC does not have an alternative proposal for settling the dispute between the

main negotiating forum and the Freedom Alliance, particularly Inkatha.

A senior government source said yesterday Mr De Klerk believed there had to be consensus on any decision on a referendum. If the ANC refused to go this route, he would not go ahead with it.

The ANC is concerned that a referendum will "blur the differences between Mr De Klerk and the NP on one hand and the ANC on the other", one ANC source said, echoing the views of secretary-general Mr Cyril Ramaphosa.

The government source said the ANC now had to come up with an alternative approach to dealing with the problem of the Freedom Alliance's rejection of a negotiated constitution.

It is understood that the bilateral talks between the Freedom Alliance and the government and the ANC were not making much progress.

One idea being considered is that the government and the ANC accede to Inkatha leader Chief Mangosuthu Buthelezi's demand for a summit of leaders outside the formal negotiating process to try to break the deadlock.

The negotiators do not meet until Wednesday. This would give the government and the ANC time to try to resolve some of their differences on power-sharing, the deadlock-breaking mechanism should the elected body not be able to get the required majority support for a constitution, problems in the draft electoral bill and a bill of rights.



## VOTER EDUCATION Voters want to bury apartheid • Shield that protects all peoples

**A** LOT of people are gearing themselves to vote in the forthcoming elections next year.

Mrs Selina Ndlovu, a domestic worker at Barberton in the Eastern Transvaal, said she would vote for education.

"By voting for a new government we can make sure that our children get better education.

"Education is the main hope for the next generation.

"We will be able to get better teachers for our children, better books, better school buildings, and a quality of education that is not inferior and enslaving.

"If our children are better educated then they can work better and improve the economy to create more and better jobs.

"We all want better paying jobs. The way to achieve these goals is through education."

Her neighbour, Mr Jan Minisi, understands that education is vital, but he feels he needs better and affordable housing.

Other people in the area agree with both Ndlovu and Minisi, but add that they would also vote for water, electricity and sanitation.

Mr Sipho Mvelase, a third-year student at the University of Transkei, said he would vote for democracy.

"Democracy is everything that apartheid is not.

# Education at heart of polls

Sowetan

25/10/93

**MAIN HOPE** Learning will enable children to become productive and improve the state of the economy. **(304A)**

On the other hand, some people say they will not vote in future elections. Some believe that elections won't change anything. They say after voting, there will be no changes in the procedure and in the oppression in their villages.

Some people have voted before in elections. They talk about lies, unfulfilled promises, and elections that make no difference to the quality of their lives. Some say that the present Government will not hold a fair and honest

election. "People believe elections will not be held in an honest way. "They believe that some political parties will try to steal votes and change the results." People say that any elections will be accompanied by intimidation and violence.

"People are fearing... and they will be fearing to vote."

People are worried and fearful about doing something they never have done before.

Maria Trust and IFHE will teach you and your family and friends how to vote.

**Democracy means freedom, equality, unity, respect, peace, opportunity and majority rule**

— Sipho Mvelase

### Minority rule

"Apartheid means oppression, discrimination, segregation, humiliation, violence, poverty and white minority rule.

"Democracy means freedom, equality, unity, respect, peace, opportunity and majority rule," Sipho said.

Sipho's wife Mandisa — who is expecting their first child in December — said she would vote for a better future for her children.

"If I vote correctly my children will grow up to have a sense of self-worth and individual dignity.

"I don't want my children to experience the kinds of humiliation that the older generations experienced under apartheid."

Mandisa's colleague in the Thuthukani Women's Club gave other reasons.

"I will vote and end apartheid forever," said Thembi.

"I will vote for a new South Africa" — Tinswalo.

"I will vote to stop the violence," Linda said.

"No, no, I will vote to support my party," said Khosi.

2 Cape Times, Monday, October 25 1993 ★

# ANC, govt meet to break deadlock

By ANTHONY JOHNSON  
Political Correspondent

THE government and the ANC are holding a "bosberaad" this week in a bid to iron out long-standing differences over how power-sharing should operate in a government of national unity after next year's election. Much of the horse-trading is expected to concentrate on the

powers and functions of the vice-president and the composition of the multi-party cabinet.

The government, which hopes Mr F W de Klerk will get the job as vice-president by virtue of the National Party gaining the second largest number of votes in the April poll, would like the post to be accorded

significant political clout.

The ANC is concerned that the party that comes a poor second in the election might be granted a disproportionate amount of power, thereby severely limiting an ANC-led government's ability to call the shots in a new dispensation.

The convening of the bosberaad has led to the cancellation

of formal sessions of the multi-party negotiating forum at Kempton Park today and tomorrow — leaving just 10 working days for parties to complete negotiations on a wide range of issues.

However, both parties remain optimistic that an interim constitution can be finalised by the proposed November 5 deadline.

25/10/93

(30/10/93)



## Nominations

a 'hot' issue

Own Correspondent

JOHANNESBURG. —

The question of election candidates in next year's poll has reportedly become a hotly debated issue in the ANC alliance and civic organisations.

There were concerns that a number of stalwarts of the mass democratic movement would take strong exception to being excluded from the nomination lists, a senior South African National Civic Organisation (Sanco) official said at the weekend.

These members would view exclusion as an unwarranted snub after they had "contributed so much to the struggle".

The alliance and Sanco would meet this week to discuss drawing up election lists.

# ANC places for women

B/Day 26/10/93 (304A)

TIM COHEN

THE ANC elections commission yesterday finalised its proposals for selecting election candidates, reserving a third of the places for women but making no special provision for Cosatu or SACP members.

However, Cosatu, the SACP and members of allied organisations will be represented on the bodies that select candidates, reflecting the ANC's desire for support from outside its own support base.

ANC elections manager Ketso Gordhan said the ANC was seeking an "extremely open system", which would result in election lists of candidates from a wide range of organisations.

In terms of current proposals tabled at

the World Trade Centre, all parties will have to submit lists of candidates for the national parliament, where the 400 seats will be allocated in proportion to the parties' popular support. So the higher a candidate's name appears on the list, the more likely it will be that he gets a seat.

Gordhan said in the ANC's system, 80% of the bodies electing its candidates would be members of the ANC/SACP/Cosatu alliance, while the remaining 20% would be members of supporting organisations. Although the proportions would differ in

□ To Page 2

## Freedom Alliance

B/Day

□ From Page 1

Ramaphosa said the best mechanism to break deadlocks was to negotiate around proposals and it was up to the Freedom Alliance to report back to its leaders and then contact the ANC with firm proposals. Freedom Alliance negotiators report back to their leaders today. 26/10/93

A plenary meeting of leaders was scheduled for November 6 and 7 and there was no need to call another meeting, Ramaphosa said. (304A) (4A)

Government and the ANC yesterday re-

treated for a three-day secret meeting at an undisclosed venue. It is understood that government wants to determine the ANC's bottom line on how far it is prepared to concede to original powers being granted to regions. Government will also try to find ways of bridging the gap between the ANC and the Freedom Alliance, and making the process as inclusive as possible.

Government is to meet the Freedom Alliance again tomorrow night.

● Comment: Page 6



NP may be forced to mediate

# ANC talks with Freedom Alliance stall

BIDAY 26/10/93

(304A)

BILLY PADDOCK

CRITICAL talks between the ANC and the Freedom Alliance broke down yesterday, apparently forcing the NP into the role of mediator if there is to be any chance of an inclusive constitutional settlement.

The ANC rejected a summit of ANC, NP and Freedom Alliance leaders as a means of breaking the deadlock, and the talks ended acrimoniously after the two sides became bogged down for more than five hours on the first item on the agenda and failed to resolve the matter.

The meeting ended with both sides walking out and declaring "no progress".

The deadlocked issue is the one that has dogged negotiations the entire year — whether the final constitution should be negotiated by unrepresentative negotiators in a forum, or whether an interim constitution should be finalised by elected representatives in a national assembly.

Freedom Alliance executive chairman Rowan Cronje said that in talks last week the ANC had accepted that serious problems should be referred to a meeting of leaders. "Today they said this issue of the one-stage or two-stage process is the key to resolving all the other differences. When we could not find ways at the meeting to bridge this gap we proposed that the leaders try to resolve the matter — if this is the key, let the leaders unlock it."

He said President F W de Klerk was amenable to this arrangement.

ANC secretary-general Cyril Ramaphosa came out of the talks with a hardline attitude. "All the parties including the Freedom Alliance are acutely aware of the tight timetable and the race is on to meet

the deadline. We are going to work day and night to achieve this. In the end the Freedom Alliance knows that if there is no agreement by the November 5 deadline they will have missed the boat.

"The Freedom Alliance is married to a negotiated final constitution prior to elections and we are irrevocably committed to an elected constitutional assembly. We expected them to bring proposals of how to bridge this problem and they have failed to do this. Instead they demand a non-inclusive process where the leaders of three blocs — the ANC, NP, and the Freedom Alliance have a leaders' summit outside this multiparty process."

This was unacceptable as "it is tantamount to setting up an alternative negotiating forum excluding the other 19 parties at the World Trade Centre".

Asked whether the ANC would go ahead with the process if the Freedom Alliance was not included, Ramaphosa said: "The process should be all inclusive but no party, including government and the ANC, should be in a position to block the process or hold it to ransom."

"There is a lot at stake and the respective parties must take that into account."

Cronje argued that the ANC was happy to meet the Freedom Alliance and this was not a separate process. "So why should a leaders' meeting, which could facilitate a settlement, be regarded as a separate forum?" Considering the time frames before them, nothing should stand in the way of resolving the crisis.

□ To Page 2

## ANC women

BIDAY 26/10/93  
(355A)

□ From Page 1

different regions, generally these bodies would be made up of at least 60% ANC members, 15% Cosatu, and 5% SACP.

The process of selecting candidates would take place in a series of regional conferences, culminating in a national conference, which would probably take place before the end of the year, Gordhan said.

Candidates could be nominated for both

the regional and the national lists, and if a candidate appeared on both lists he would choose which list he would prefer to be on.

NP executive director Olaus van Zyl said his party was unable to detail its method of selection, as negotiations on the system had not been finalised. But the party had been working on its proposals, which would provide for a racial, sexual and regional "balance" of candidates.

# ANC-Freedom Alliance talks collapse

From Page 1

most divisive issue — concerning how a final constitution should be written — but hoped it would continue to negotiate.

First indication that yesterday's talks had failed after four hours came as tight-lipped IFP negotiator Walter Felgate strode out of the World Trade Centre meeting venue to say simply that no progress had been made.

FA partner Rowan Cronje of the Bophuthatswana government then faced television cameras to reveal that the two delegations had deadlocked on the fundamental issue of how a final constitution should be written — the first item of substance on yesterday's agenda.

The ANC wants a "two-phased process" with an elected constituent assembly finalising the doc-

ument after multiparty talks have agreed on an interim constitution. The FA wants the final constitution agreed to in talks before an election — a "one-phased process".

Cronje said the FA contended that if this issue could be resolved, it would "unlock" other disagreements. When the meeting could make no progress on this issue, the FA proposed a summit of leaders to address the problems, but the ANC flatly rejected it at this stage.

"We will now report back to our leaders. We remain committed to negotiations and don't believe there are alternatives. We cannot afford to do it any other way," said Cronje. He hoped there would be further meetings with the ANC.

Ramaphosa said the FA had limited its proposed "summit of

leaders" to its five leaders, President de Klerk and Nelson Mandela. This was unacceptable to the ANC and "out of the question" as it wanted the leaders of all parties involved in negotiations to be part of any meeting. Such a meeting would also have to follow intensive engagement between members from the "second level of leadership" so that progress towards agreements could be made.

Ramaphosa rejected suggestions that there should be a "three bloc" negotiating process, with the ANC, Government and FA engaging each other in bilateral negotiations. Although the ANC was prepared to continue talking to the FA, this should not be seen as replacing the World Trade Centre talks.

► 22 slain on East Rand — Page 9

## ANC-alliance talks collapse

BY CHRIS WHITFIELD  
and ESTHER WAUGH

Pressure on the negotiating process was turned up another few notches yesterday when an ANC and Freedom Alliance (FA) meeting broke down with "no progress" being made.

With the November 5 deadline for the World Trade Centre talks to be wrapped up now only 10 days away, the process faces a crucial passage.

Critical to progress in attempts to make agreements as widely accepted as possible will be two meetings today: a government-ANC bosberaad at an undisclosed venue and a meeting of the FA's leaders.

Tomorrow night the FA will meet Government negotiators in a continuation of bilateral discussions.

However, yesterday's deadlock immediately threw into doubt further contact between

the ANC and FA, although negotiators were publicly saying they would continue searching for common ground.

One source in the alliance said: "You can guess what our leaders are going to say about this. They will not want to carry on talking with them. (the ANC)."

ANC secretary-general Cyril Ramaphosa charged that the FA had not come forward with proposals on the

► To Page 3



# 'Blatant politics by ANC'

ARG 26/10/93  
(304A)  
The Argus

Correspondent

JOHANNESBURG —

The "ANC's blatant and dangerous politicisation" of police members has been discussed in a top-level meeting between Law and Order Minister Hernus Kriel and senior police officers.

The meeting was held because of increasing tension between the police and the Police and Prisons Civil Rights Union (Popcru) which resulted last week in the dismissal of 375 Popcru members in Port Elizabeth.

Law and Order spokesman Craig Kotze said Popcru's opposition was not viewed as dissent but as "blatant politicisation of the force by the ANC through Popcru".

Meanwhile Popcru is planning to stage protests in front of police stations — and will consult its members this week on further protest actions to express solidarity with the dismissed policemen.

The SA National Civics Organisation (Sanco) said it was planning a general disobedience and defiance campaign against the police in Port Elizabeth to express solidarity with the policemen dismissed last week.

● The National Party has rejected as "wild and radical" Sanco's call to bar policemen from black townships, Sapa reports.

# FA-ANC talks fail and pressure mounts

Political Staff

JOHANNESBURG. — Pressure on the negotiating process was turned up another few notches yesterday when an African National Congress-Freedom Alliance meeting broke down with "no progress" being made.

With the November 5 deadline for the World Trade Centre talks to be wrapped up only 10 days away, the process faces a crucial passage.

Critical to progress in attempts to make agreements as widely accepted as possible will be two meetings today — a government/ANC bos-beraad at an undisclosed venue, and a meeting of the alliance's leaders.

Tomorrow night the alliance meets government negotiators in a continuation of bilateral discussions.

But yesterday's dead-lock immediately threw into doubt further contact between the ANC and the alliance.

One alliance source said: "You can guess what our leaders are going to say about this. They will not want to carry on talking with the ANC."

ANC secretary-general Cyril Ramaphosa charged that the alliance had not come forward with proposals on the divisive issue.

But he hoped the alliance would continue to negotiate. "They are now going to consult with their leaders and put our point of view."

"We expect them to come back with a view to finding a way forward," he said.

The first indication that yesterday's talks had failed after four hours came as tight-lipped IFP negotiator Walter Felgate strode out of the World Trade Centre meeting to say simply that "no progress" had been made.

Alliance partner Rowan Cronje of the Bophuthatswana government said the two delegations had deadlocked on the fundamental issue of how a final constitution should be written — the first item of substance on yesterday's agenda.

"The approach they are adopting is putting the cart before the horse," said Mr Ramaphosa.



**The homelands, especially those opposed to reincorporation, are going to be the toughest nuts to crack for political parties contesting the election. Helen Grange reports on the problems of registering voters**

# April 27: then there are homelands

Star 26/10/93

It is ironic that South Africa's first non-racial election campaign will be bedevilled by logistical problems arising from the legacy of apartheid.

Homelands — the pillars of Verwoerd's apartheid master plan — are going to be the toughest regions to penetrate and organise. To complicate matters, the governments of Bophuthatswana and Ciskei, fiercely opposed to a unitary South Africa, threaten to out of their way to make voting as difficult as possible for people in their territories.

Negotiators have agreed unofficially that TBVC identity documents will be valid in the election. But the TBVC governments do not have the infrastructure to issue IDs to those without as speedily as necessary — and South Africa has no legal authority to issue IDs in the TBVC states.

This is a dilemma which must be thrashed out at the World Trade Centre. The likely outcome is that Home Affairs will be granted legal power to issue IDs to homelands' residents.

Presently, there are about 4 million unre-registered voters — 2 million in the homelands and 2 million in South Africa. Reaching and registering this number of people in the time available before the election on April 27 will be difficult, if not impossible task.

Kleiso Gordin, assistant co-ordinator of

the ANC election campaign, says the ANC is concentrating on registering, firstly, those who have birth certificates but no IDs, and then the many South Africans who have no documents at all.

The ANC has proposed that voter cards be issued to expedite the registration process, but this has been rejected by the Government.

"We want voter cards to be issued by the Independent Electoral Commission (to be established soon), not only to short cut the extremely bureaucratic process of getting an ID, but also to remove voter registration as the sole prerogative of the Home Affairs Department," said Gordin.

To this, the Government replies it is confident Home Affairs can process any number

of ID applications, provided the applications are received within a reasonable period of time before the elections.

Special computer equipment is being brought to speed up the issuing of IDs and the Government has offered to pay for ID photos if enfranchised South Africans cannot afford them.

The Government has suggested that the problem does not lie so much in registration technicalities, as in reaching voters in the first place.

And getting voters registered is the duty of the political parties participating in the election and not the Government, it suggests.

Here again, the homelands come to mind. If free political activity is prevented by Bophuthatswana and Ciskei governments, their

citizens may be handicapped.

Even if the right to vote is enshrined in a law, the two dissident homelands may refuse to abide by the law. The Bophuthatswana Government has said that an Act extending the vote to citizens in the homelands could not be applied "extra-territorially".

In this case, it is possible that polling stations will have to be erected on the borders of these homelands, and that the TBVC citizens will have to walk long distances to get to them.

Venda and Transkei have already indicated their willingness to surrender to sovereignty and allow elections in their territories.

Since a significant chunk of the ANC's support base is believed to be in Bophuthatswana and Ciskei, the burden of campaigning in these territories falls most heavily on that organisation.

Yet the ANC can expect little sympathy in the election battle ahead. Even the Democratic Party has sounded a harsh note to the ANC in regard to its gripes about the difficult campaign it faces.

Said the DP's James Sele recently: "The ANC should do something constructive for a change instead of whining about unlevelled playing fields."

The ANC, however, maintains that control over registration must be wrested from the Government as soon as the Independent Electoral Commission is established in order to inspire confidence in voters that the election will be free and fair.

# Alliance, ANC talks hit snags

MULTIPARTY negotiations suffered a blow yesterday when bilateral talks between the African National Congress and the Freedom Alliance failed to make headway.

"We were not able to make further progress," ANC general secretary Mr Cyril Ramaphosa told a Press conference after the four-hour meeting at the World Trade Centre in Kempton Park. "We agreed only to an agenda."

The snag was the alliance's demand

for a summit of political leaders to seek compromises on outstanding issues. <sup>Source: 26/10/93</sup> summits only took place once second-tier negotiators had failed.

The alliance argued that eight months of multiparty talks at second-tier leadership level at the World Trade Centre had failed to reach an all-inclusive agreement. <sup>(304A)</sup> Ramaphosa insisted the present negotiation process was the best way forward.

He accused the alliance of wanting to establish a "three-block process" consisting of the ANC, the alliance and South African Government at the exclusion of the 19 other parties at negotiations. — SA Press Association.

The ANC rejected the demand, accusing the alliance of trying to establish a new negotiating forum. The ANC pointed out that such



Tuesday October 20 1993

NEWS Freedom Alliance, ANC, UDF

South African

20/10/93

# Untangling the Constitution web

By Themba Molefe  
Political Correspondent

THE African National Congress and the Government hope to take far-reaching decisions to disentangle the negotiation process from problems which stand in the way of a new interim constitution.

The two parties last night retreated to a secret venue where they were due to hold a *bosberaad* until tomorrow.

The bush summit followed a day's meeting between the ANC and Freedom Alliance at the World Trade Centre where the two parties covered substantive issues, including self-determination and powers of regions.

## Huge Impact

If taken as a whole, decisions or statements from the three parties which would have a huge impact on the World Trade Centre tomorrow. The parties made known tomorrow not to make public have undertaken not to make public statements on the bilaterals while they are in progress.

However, ANC spokesman Mr Carl Niehaus said the *bosberaad* with the

Government would be on outstanding matters on the new interim constitution, regions and deadlock-breaking issues.

Niehaus said the ANC was trying to get the FA back into the negotiation process but warned the ANC was not prepared to compromise any further and "agree on things tantamount to secession". The Government has scheduled another meeting with the FA for tomorrow. The two parties met in Pretoria last Friday.

FA chairman Mr Rowan Cronje yesterday reportedly said there could be progress in the ongoing bilateral meetings "if all parties are sincere about finding solutions".

The FA's major demands are that the present multiparty talks stop and a summit of leaders be held. The Alliance is opposed to the current two-phased transition process, saying a constitution should be finalised before elections. The FA comprises the Afrikaner Volksfront and Conservative Party which want an Afrikaner *volksstaat*, Bophuthatswana, Ciskei and IFP-KwaZulu who want the retention of the status quo.

# ANC-FA talks end in deadlock

Own Correspondent

JOHANNESBURG. — Critical talks between the ANC and the Freedom Alliance (FA) broke down yesterday, apparently forcing a mediating role on to the NP if there is to be any chance of an inclusive constitutional settlement.

The ANC rejected a summit of ANC, NP and FA leaders as a means of breaking the deadlock.

The talks ended acrimoniously after the two sides got stuck on the first item of the agenda for more than five hours and failed to resolve the matter. Both sides walked out declaring "no progress".

The issue they could get no movement on has been the same one that has dogged negotiations the whole year — whether the interim constitution should be negotiated by unrepresentative negotiators in a forum or whether an interim constitution will be finalised by elected representatives to a national assembly.

Freedom Alliance executive chairman Mr Rowan Cronje said that last week the ANC team had accepted that should a serious problem be encountered it be referred to a meeting of the leaders.

"Today they said that this issue of the one or two-stage process is the key to resolving all the other differences

CT 26/10/93 (304A)  
between us. When we could not find ways at the meeting to bridge this gap we proposed that the leaders try to resolve the matter — if this is the key, let the leaders unlock it," Mr Cronje said.

ANC secretary-general Mr Cyril Ramaphosa left the talks with a hardline attitude: "All the parties, including the Freedom Alliance, are acutely aware of the tight timetable and the race is on to meet the deadline. We are going to work day and night to achieve this. In the end the Freedom Alliance know that if there is no agreement by the November 5 deadline they will have missed the boat."

## Bottom line

● The government and ANC yesterday retreated for a three-day secret meeting. It is understood the government wants to find the ANC's absolute bottom line on how far it is prepared to agree to original powers being granted to regions. It also wants to establish whether the ANC approves of regions having their own constitutions and tax bases.

The government will also be looking at a new mechanism to break deadlocks if the final constitution does not command the necessary two-thirds majority of elected representatives.



# C'wealth pledge to help SA

From CHRIS BATEMAN

LIMASSOL, Cyprus. — Commonwealth Heads of Government threw their weight last night behind South Africa's negotiations process and pledged to do "all in their power" to advance it. (3041A)

In their Cyprus communique, they urged all parties, particularly those that had pulled out of the talks, to ensure that agreements reached were adhered to, to end the violence and to participate fully in the "emerging democratic life" of the country.

They also noted that the extreme right-wing opposition and the establishment of the Transitional Executive Council had become "more pronounced in recent months". CT 26/10/93

The joint statement also backed calls by President F.W. de Klerk and Mr Nelson Mandela for foreign investment in and increased trade with South Africa to "help overcome the social and economic legacy of apartheid".

Freedom Alliance demands tackled

# Mandela, FW in bid to end talks impasse

Biday 27/10/93

(304A) (12)

PRESIDENT FW de Klerk and ANC president Nelson Mandela held extensive talks in Pretoria yesterday to try to resolve the impasse in negotiations and find ways of including the Inkatha Freedom Party and the Freedom Alliance in a constitutional dispensation.

Meanwhile, Freedom Alliance leaders said they would seek an urgent meeting with De Klerk to press their demand for a leaders' meeting outside the negotiations process.

It is understood that Mandela and De Klerk discussed the Freedom Alliance's demand, which the ANC has rejected.

They also discussed ways of bridging the gap between the negotiating forum and the alliance and exploring mechanisms to make the process inclusive, or to ensure it had widespread legitimacy should the alliance refuse to take part in the elections.

It is understood that De Klerk will also try to secure Mandela's agreement for a sharply decentralised regional dispensation, where central government does not have the right to overrule regional governments on key issues. He also believes that Inkatha needs to achieve some sort of victory, or there would be no way of including it in the settlement.

De Klerk's spokesman confirmed the meeting had taken place and, in response to the alliance's call for a leaders' summit, said the president felt "the place for a leaders' meeting is clearly the plenary of the multiparty negotiating process where he will meet all the leaders".

This was provisionally scheduled for next Saturday and Sunday.

BILLY PADDOCK

"But he is a pragmatist and if a meeting of leaders will serve to unlock the process, then he would be amenable to this on condition that all the leaders are present, not just a small group," the spokesman said.

This was in line with ANC secretary-general Cyril Ramaphosa's position that any meeting had to be all-inclusive.

As Mandela and De Klerk met, their respective negotiating teams were locked in secret three-day talks to iron out the remaining differences between the parties. They are also attempting to find a settlement that could put to rest Inkatha leader Mangosuthu Buthelezi's fears that an elected constitution-making body would disregard the negotiated constitution.

After their meeting yesterday, the five Freedom Alliance leaders said they wanted to meet De Klerk in order to defuse the crisis following Monday's breakdown in talks with the ANC. The alliance repeated its demand for an urgent summit of the leaders of three political blocs — the alliance, the ANC/SACP-led Patriotic Front and the NP — to resolve outstanding issues and decide on the way the new constitution would be drafted.

However, De Klerk and the ANC have stated clearly over the past week that the course of the constitutional dispensation is unchangeable. Government and the ANC are committed to a two-stage transition, with the election of a constitutional assembly, under a negotiated constitution, to finalise that constitution.

□ To Page 2

## Talks

Biday 27/10/93

After their Ulundi meeting, the Freedom Alliance called on "opinion-makers and men and women of stature in SA to support our call for urgent talks between national leaders". It rejected the notion that government and the ANC determine the future of the country bilaterally. "We call for support of this rejection" (304A)

It said the multiparty negotiations process at the World Trade Centre at Kempton Park, which the alliance is boycotting

was insufficiently representative to consider the national issues at stake.

It called for recognition that a political realignment had taken place in the country since its formation, resulting in the emergence of the three dominant blocs.

The Freedom Alliance has argued that eight months of talks at Kempton Park had failed to reach an all-inclusive agreement.

● Comment: Page 12

□ From Page 1



# DP candidates to sign conduct code

THE DP is set to adopt a set of regulations for the nomination of election candidates which contain no specific mechanisms for affirmative action on the basis of race or gender.

The DP's draft regulations note that the electorate will expect the lists of candidates to be nonracial and nonsexist, but it will be left to electoral colleges to vote for a balanced list of candidates.

In the preamble to the regulations, the DP notes that they provide for a mechanism to screen candidates on the basis of merit, electability, commitment and past performance.

Prospective candidates will be required to sign a "candidate and public representative undertaking", which will include a code of conduct requiring candidates to operate openly, to be accountable to the party and not to use their office for personal gain.

The first position on the DP's list of candidates will be reserved for the leader of the party.

Other candidates will be selected in a complex process whereby a national electoral college will vote for nominees in batches of 20.

The 10 nominees to receive the most votes will join the final list of candidates. The remaining 10 will return to the pool of nominees. This process will continue until there is a complete list.

DP national organiser James Selfe

TIM COHEN

said the process was designed to prevent block voting and ensure geographic balance.

WILSON ZWANE reports that the ANC PWV region will ask its members and those of its allies to nominate its key leaders for positions in government at its annual conference in Johannesburg this weekend.

Secretary-general Paul Mashatile said yesterday new regional executive committee members would be elected at the conference.

The conference would then ask its branches to nominate candidates for local and regional governments.

"The members will be given three weeks to do this. And a conference of the regional tripartite alliance will be convened towards the end of November to discuss the lists," he said.

He stressed that nominees did not have to be ANC members. They could come from any mass democratic movement organisation.

It would not be necessary for nominees to leave their organisations, but once in government on the ANC ticket they would be answerable to the organisation.

The weekend conference will be attended by 600 delegates from Cosatu, the SACP, the mass democratic movement and business.

## Bid to resolve Lebowa crisis

LLOYD COUTTS

GOVERNMENT and the Lebowa administration yesterday agreed to establish a joint ministerial committee to clarify "limitations on the authority of the Lebowa government" precipitated by last month's takeover of the homeland's financial administration by Pretoria.

An SA delegation headed by President F W de Klerk and a Lebowa government delegation led by Chief Minister Nelson Ramodike met in Pretoria yesterday to discuss the administrative crisis in the homeland.

Government said the parties had agreed to promote co-operation between the Lebowa government and the SA financial task force sent to take over the homeland's administration last month when the territory's assembly failed to meet a deadline for approving its budget.

It was also agreed that both governments would be kept advised of "rectifying action" and ways of normalising the situation in Lebowa would be investigated. A joint committee of officials would be appointed to assist the ministerial committee.

# Alliance seeks talks with FW

Sowetan 27/10/93

■ **EXPLOSIVE SITUATION** South Africa is approaching 'a crisis of historic proportions':

**T**HE Freedom Alliance is to seek an urgent meeting with State President FW de Klerk in a bid to defuse the explosive situation in negotiations.

The announcement yesterday followed a lengthy meeting of Alliance leaders at Ulundi, KwaZulu, after the breakdown in bilateral talks with the African National Congress on Monday.

The alliance repeated its demand — rejected by the ANC — for an urgent summit of leaders to resolve outstanding issues and chart the constitutional road.

In a statement after the leaders' meeting, the Alliance called on "opinion makers and men and women of stature in South Africa to support our call for urgent talks between national leaders".

"The Freedom Alliance rejects the right of the South African Government and the ANC to determine the future of this country bilaterally. We call for support of this rejection."

Present at the Ulundi meeting were Inkatha Freedom Party president Chief Mangosuthu Buthelezi, Dr Ferdi Hartzenberg of the Con-

servative Party, General Constand Viljoen of the Afrikaner Volksfront, Bophuthatswana's President Lucas Mangope and Ciskei president Brigadier Oupa Gqozo.

"The leaders of the Freedom Alliance wish to state that South Africa is approaching a crisis of historic proportions," the statement said.

The multiparty negotiations process at the World Trade Centre at Kempton Park, which the Alliance is boycotting, was "insufficiently representative to consider the national issues at stake".

The Alliance called for recognition that "in reality" there had been a political realignment in the country which had resulted in the emergence of "three dominant blocs of political parties and leaders" — the Alliance, the ANC-South African Communist Party-led Patriotic Front and the South African Government-National Party.

"A constitutional dispensation for a future democracy needs to be adopted by consensus which will, at the very least, involve the three major political blocs," the statement added. — Sapa.



## Democracy — DP's key word

CT 27/10/93  
Political Correspondent

DEMOCRATIC Party leader Dr Zach de Beer last night spelt out the key planks of the party's platform for the 1994 election — democracy, peace, clean government and jobs. (30/11)

Speaking at an election rally in the Claremont Civic Centre with the theme "DP is WP", he said the best thing voters could do for South Africa was to vote DP to keep both the ANC and the National Party at bay.

Dr De Beer also said there was still a good chance that the elections would take place as scheduled on April 27 next year.

# Bid to get FA back to talks

Own Correspondent

JOHANNESBURG. — President F W de Klerk and ANC president Mr Nelson Mandela met for extensive talks in Pretoria yesterday to try to resolve the impasse in negotiations and find ways to include the Freedom Alliance (FA) and Inkatha in a constitutional dispensation.

The FA leaders said yesterday they would seek an urgent meeting with Mr De Klerk to win their demand for a leaders' meeting outside the normal negotiations process.

It is understood that Mr Mandela and Mr De Klerk discussed the FA's demand for a leaders' meeting which the ANC has rejected.

They also discussed ways to bridge the gap between the negotiating forum and the FA and explored mechanisms either to make the process inclusive or ensure the forum had widespread legitimacy should the FA refuse to take part in the elections.

It is understood that Mr De Klerk will be trying to get Mr Mandela's agreement to a decentralised regional dispensation where central government does

## F W and Mandela meet to resolve impasse

not have the right to overrule regions on key issues.

Mr De Klerk is also of the opinion that Inkatha needs to come out of any arrangement with some form of victory to proclaim, otherwise there would be no way for Inkatha to be included in the settlement.

Mr Mandela and Mr De Klerk's meeting takes place as their negotiating teams locked in secret talks at an undisclosed venue for three days to iron out the remaining differences between the parties.

They are also attempting to find a settlement that could put to rest Inkatha leader Chief Mangosuthu Buthelezi's fears that an elected constitution-making body

would disregard the negotiated constitution.

Following their meeting yesterday, the five FA leaders said they wanted a meeting with Mr De Klerk to defuse the crisis after the breakdown in talks between its negotiators and the ANC on Monday.

The FA repeated its demand for an urgent summit of the leaders of three political blocs — the FA, the ANC/SACP-led Patriotic Front (which is redundant) and the NP — to resolve outstanding issues and decide on the drafting of the new constitution.

A leaders' summit outside the negotiations has been provisionally scheduled for next Saturday and Sunday according to a spokesman for Mr De Klerk.

He added, however, "the place for a leaders meeting is clearly the plenary of the multiparty negotiating process where he will meet all the leaders".

Mr De Klerk and the ANC have stated clearly over the past week that the course of the constitutional dispensation is unchangeable.

Both the government and the ANC are committed to a two-stage transition whereby a constitutional assembly is elected under a negotiated constitution and will finalise that constitution.



# Problems for 'proper people' in the political power game

HUGH ROBERTSON  
Political Editor

LIBERALS are such instinctively proper people. "Vivas!" and public exhibitions of emotion rarely are for them. Theirs is the politics of reason and restraint.

And so it was last night at the Democratic Party's first public meeting in Cape Town since its national congress in the city earlier this month.

The Claremont Civic Centre was packed. The crowd — white, black and brown — was overwhelmingly supportive, but there were none of the roaring cheers of Nelson Mandela's rallies, or the footstomping rags that greeted President De Klerk recently at his National Party rally in Stellenbosch.

There was, instead, resounding and sustained handclapping, but only when party leader Zac de Beer and other speakers made a well-argued point. Those listening, and apportioning the applause — if the demographic surveys of the past several decades are anything to go by — by and large were better educated, and thus a lot more demanding of those doing the speaking, than the average supporters of other parties.

ARG 27/10/93  
But that does not bring them to power — which always has been the problem of liberals the world over — and coming to power in the Western Cape on April 27 clearly is their very determined intention.

Dr De Beer, Joe Marks and the other speakers made resounding calls to battle in what Mr Marks warned would be "n moerse verkiesing", and Dr De Beer "the mother of all elections".

All made the point that the DP had a serious, and realistic, chance of defeating the African National Congress and the NP in the Western Cape, if nowhere else, and they backed it up with statistics. The party was recruiting new members (as opposed to mere supporters) at the rate of around 2 000 a month in the region. At the beginning of last year it had 13 Western Cape branches; it now has more than 60.

Unlike its rivals, the DP had no singing, not even *Nkosi Sikelel' i-Afrika*, to round off the evening. But the quiet, ordered, unemotional approach clearly went down well with supporters. It remains to be seen what the rest of the country will make of it.

# □ We stand for dignity, says Zac Vote for DP 'is vote for peace'

ARG 27/10/93 (304A)

**TOS WENTZEL**  
Political Staff

THE Democratic Party was the only party which had never been involved in violence, never been accused of violence and never threatened any violence, says its leader Zac de Beer.

Addressing 400 people at a meeting in the Claremont Civic Centre last night, he said the party had also always stood for federalism.

Members of the party had been and were still serving on the peace accord structures, monitoring, facilitating and doing whatever was possible to contain violence.

It could be said that a vote for the DP was a vote for peace.

Much of the violence in the country consisted of armed clashes between Inkatha and the ANC.

There had also been indications that members of the security forces had been involved in some of these incidents.

The ANC accused the president and the National Party of involvement in the violence.

"I have to say that, while suspicious, I know of no evidence to support this.

The Conservative Party and the Afrikaner Volksfront are fond of talking about civil war.

The PAC, with its offshoots in Apla and Pasa, is up to its neck in violence.

The important thing about federalism was that the central government

could not override the regions in the exercise of its allotted powers.

The constitution now being drafted at Kempton Park was federal but so far the powers of the central government were too great and those of the regions too weak.

Basically the DP stood for individual human dignity.

"We put the individual at the centre of the universe, not a racial or cultural group, not a concept like 'the people'."

The DP was the only through-and-through democratic party while the ANC and the National Party were still groping their way towards democracy.

Inkatha had had some democratic ideas but these tended to get submerged in Zulu nationalism.

The Conservative Party and the PAC, with their avowed nationalism, were simply not democratic.

None of the ideals of democracy, peace and clean government would endure unless people had work and could live decently.

Economic growth was therefore a top priority.

At question time Dr De Beer referred to the crisis in the Cape Town City Council. There was at present tremendous stress in local government as far-reaching changes in this system were on the way.

The DP had formed a caucus in the city council in order to be able to act collectively.

For some the stress had been too much and they had regrettably "gone overboard".



# Politicians in flurry of meetings

Star 27/10/93  
◀ From Page 1

added: "The Freedom Alliance calls for recognition of the fact that, in reality, the realignment in South African politics has resulted in the emergence of three dominant blocs of political parties and leaders."

These were the FA, the ANC/SACP-led Patriotic Front and the South African Government.

It said a constitutional dispensation would "at the very least" have to be adopted by consensus involving these three blocs.

In a thinly veiled warning the FA said that without such consensus there could be no transition to democracy "because all three of these blocs would necessarily have to involve themselves in the implementation of any constitutional proposals that were agreed to, anywhere, in any negotiating forum".

The FA repeated its demand that leaders of the three blocs address the crisis in a summit now — a proposal rejected by the ANC on Monday when a four-hour meeting between the two organisations ended without any progress being made.

The FA leaders said: "The FA will seek an urgent meeting with the South African State President in order to address the situation."

FA sources said its meeting yesterday did not address the issue of further talks with the ANC after Monday's deadlock.

The ANC and the Government today conclude their three-day negotiators' meeting. Sources on both sides said the talks were a "make-or-break meeting" with remaining differences having to be resolved to meet the November 5 deadline for the wrapping up of negotiations.

The FA and the Government are scheduled to meet tonight.

# Leaders hold flurry of talks

BY CHRIS WHITFIELD  
and ESTHER WAUGH

President de Klerk and Nelson Mandela met for crucial talks yesterday as the Freedom Alliance (FA) warned that the negotiations timetable had created an "explosive situation" and called for a meeting with the president.

The FA's leaders met in Umtata yesterday to thrash out a response to the ANC's blunt rejection this week of its call for a summit of leaders.

At the same time Government and ANC negotiators were locked in a hush at an undisclosed venue addressing outstanding negotia-

tions issues — which have to be resolved and agreed in the Negotiating Council in only nine days.

It is understood that De Klerk and Mandela's separate meeting at the Union Buildings addressed the continued resistance from, particularly, the Inkatha Freedom Party to the World Trade Centre talks.

Central to this would be finding ways of accommodating Chief Mangosuthu Buthe's demands for a highly federal dispensation.

However, a statement after the meeting said only that it had been arranged "some time ago" and, in the light of the hush, no details of

The "wide-ranging" discussions would be made public. The spate of meetings comes amid indications that the ANC may be losing patience with what it calls the "spoilers" in the process, and wants to push ahead with a settlement.

The FA, on the other hand, has become increasingly beligerent with its leaders yesterday emerging from their meeting to warn that South Africa was approaching a crisis of historic proportions.

Charging that the World Trade Centre talks were in "sufficiently representative, it

▶ To Page 3

# DP leaders lash out at rebels

By ANTHONY JOHNSON  
Political Correspondent

THE Democratic Party's national and Western Cape leadership last night lashed out at DP rebels in the Cape Town City Council for breaking ranks and flouting party discipline in the council leadership tussle.

Dr Zach de Beer told a public meeting in Claremont last night that the strains produced by rapid changes in local government structures had unfortunately "proved to be too much" for certain DP members in the council.

"It is very regrettable that some (DP councillors) have gone overboard," the DP leaders said in response to questions about the rates debacle and its aftermath in the DP-controlled council.

The chairman of the DP in the Western Cape, Mr Jasper Walsh, said the latest "goings on" in the council were "highly regrettable" and it was "a tragedy" that the DP caucus in the council had split on the election of a new executive committee.



**NEWS** Fugitive's frig

## Further round of talks

*Sowetan 28/10/93*

THE Government and ANC negotiators have agreed to a further round of bilateral talks tomorrow after reporting constructive and fruitful exchanges at the end of a two-day bush summit.

Constitutional Development Minister Roelf Meyer and ANC secretary-general Cyril Ramaphosa issued a brief joint statement saying their meeting had been constructive and would certainly take the process forward.

They would report to the multiparty negotiations planning committee today.

### Aid progress

The meeting was intended to aid progress on specific issues in the draft constitution. The bush conference started on Monday night and continued well past its scheduled lunch-time completion yesterday.

The issues identified as specific problems on which the NP-Government negotiators say they need agreement, include:

- Clear powersharing (as opposed to co-option) at executive level in a government of national unity with special powers for Mr de Klerk as leader of the "second majority" party and vice-president;
- A credible deadlock-breaking mechanism in the second phase revision of the constitution by an elected parliament; and
- Firming up Bill of Rights protection of property rights. — Sapa.

# Bilateral meeting progress

28/10/93  
(304A)  
JOHANNESBURG —

The government and the ANC ended their secret three-day meeting yesterday saying that they had made progress in resolving differences between them and it "would certainly take the process forward".

But they did not reach full agreement because they had scheduled a further round of talks for tomorrow.

They would be reporting back to the planning committee today.

Meanwhile, the scheduled meeting between the government and the Freedom Alliance was postponed from last night to this morning.

The two chief negotiators, Constitutional Development Minister Mr Roelf Meyer and ANC secretary-general Mr Cyril Ramaphosa, issued a brief joint statement saying their meeting had been constructive.

They were trying to reach agreements on the draft constitution.



## Tough code for April election

Political Correspondent

JOHANNESBURG. — Tough and far-reaching penalties have been written into a code of conduct for political parties in next year's election.

The first rough draft of the code was broadly endorsed by the negotiating council at the World Trade Centre yesterday, but negotiators could not agree on the extent of a fine for breaches.

This will have to be settled within the next few days. Some want it to be as high as R100 000.

The code is intended to limit intimidation and violence and to curb political intolerance and other abuses.

Parties, movements or individuals found to have contravened the code will face penalties ranging from a warning or a fine to a temporary or permanent denial of media access, or forfeiture of the right to participate in the election.

AKG 28/10/93

# 'Encouraging signs' flow from bosberaad

304A

ARC 28/10/93

□ Government, ANC say meeting was 'fruitful'

## Political Staff

JOHANNESBURG. — Government and African National Congress negotiators made encouraging progress during their three-day bosberaad and will meet again tomorrow in an attempt to seal agreements.

President De Klerk is expected to meet the Freedom Alliance soon in a fresh attempt to bridge the yawning gap between it and parties still in the World Trade Centre negotiation process.

A joint statement by ANC secretary-general Cyril Ramaphosa and Constitutional Development Minister Roelf Meyer said the bush meeting at a secret venue was "constructive and fruitful".

Mr Meyer flew back to Pretoria yesterday afternoon and immediately joined the weekly Cabinet meeting to brief his colleagues. It is understood he was in an "upbeat" mood.

■ The Azanian People's Organisation would never take part in multiparty negotiations because black people would get nothing from them, Azapo publicity secretary Dr Gomo-lemo Mokae said at the University of Venda yesterday.

Sources in the government and ANC camps were tight-lipped, but one said they were "close to agreement on a couple of things".

Outstanding issues in negotiations were addressed, including:

- The composition of the executive in a government of national unity.

- A deadlock-breaking mechanism should there be an impasse in writing a final constitution.

- Powers of regional governments and how they would be entrenched.

- Local government.

- The constitutional court.

Tomorrow's meeting will finalise issues not settled during the three days of discussions.

The encouraging signals come with only eight days to the deadline for World Trade Centre negotiators to have completed their work, although this time-frame is looking increasingly elastic.

However, the approval of the Freedom Alliance parties is still a major concern. A meeting between government negotiators and their alliance counterparts scheduled for last night and designed to address yawning differences was postponed until today.

The alliance has demanded that a constitution be written in one phase rather than the two-phase process agreed at talks. But to do this would effectively mean starting negotiations again.

Some in the government believe it may be able to leap this hurdle if it can get the ANC to agree to strongly federalist principles entrenched in the interim constitution in such a way that they will be part of the final constitution.



*Meyer upbeat after three-day bosberaad*

## Govt, ANC make progress in talks

**DE KLERK set to meet Freedom Alliance in fresh bid to bridge chasm between it and the negotiators**

■ BY CHRIS WHITFIELD and ESTHER WAUGH

Government and ANC negotiators have made encouraging progress in talks during their three-day bosberaad and will meet again tomorrow in an attempt to seal agreements.

And President de Klerk is expected to meet the Freedom Alliance (FA) soon — probably this week — in a fresh attempt to bridge the yawning gap between it and parties still in the World Trade Centre process.

A joint statement by ANC secretary-general Cyril Ramaphosa and Constitutional Development Minister Roelf Meyer said the bush meeting at a secret venue had been "constructive".

Sources in both the Government and ANC camps were tightlipped, but one said they were "close to agreement on a couple of things".

All the outstanding issues in negotiations were addressed, including: the composition of the executive in a government of national unity; the deadlock-breaking mechanism, should an im-

### THE TALKS AND YOU



#### At the World Trade Centre

**DRAFT ELECTORAL BILL:** Negotiators yesterday discussed an electoral code of conduct and penalties for contravening it.

The electoral code states that no weapons, including traditional weapons, will be brought to, or displayed at, political meetings. Parties will also not be allowed to knowingly make false allegations at political meetings. Penalties for the transgression of the code range from a formal written warning to disqualification from contesting the election. Parties could also be prohibited from holding any public meetings, demonstrations or marches. The penalties further include the possibility of the withdrawal of State funding for a party campaign.

**TODAY:** The Negotiating Council is scheduled to discuss the election of a president.

ESTHER WAUGH

passee be reached in writing a final constitution; the powers to go to regional governments and how they would be entrenched; local government; and the constitutional court.

It is understood that the meeting between De Klerk and ANC leader Nelson Mandela on Tuesday afternoon was also constructive.

The encouraging signals come with only eight days to the deadline for negotiators to complete their work, although this is beginning to look increasingly elastic.

However, the approval of the

FA parties is still a major concern. A meeting between Government negotiators and their FA counterparts scheduled for last night was postponed until this morning.

The FA has demanded that a constitution should be written in one phase rather than the two-phase process agreed at in talks.

Some in the Government believe it may be able to leap this hurdle if it can get the ANC to agree to having strongly federalist principles entrenched in the interim constitution in such a way that they will be part of the final constitution.

er attempt to woo breakaways

Sowetan 29/10/93

## FW meets Alliance

STATE President Mr FW de Klerk will meet the Freedom Alliance this afternoon in Pretoria in the latest bid to prevent a complete negotiations breakdown with the Alliance. (304A)

The agreement to meet was finalised at a three-hour bilateral meeting between the Alliance and the Government in Pretoria yesterday. Alliance spokesman Mr Rowan Cronjé said afterwards the bilateral had "generally been constructive and progress has been made on

a number of issues".

He declined to divulge details, except to reiterate the Alliance warning that the negotiations process at the World Trade Centre at Kempton Park was moving too fast. (415)

"I think South Africa must ask itself ... is a week more important than an all-inclusive solution," Cronjé said referring to the Kempton Park deadline next Friday for finalisation of the constitutional transition package. — Sapa.



Star 29/10/93

# Pik sorry about errors

(304A)

■ BY ANNA COX

Foreign Minister Pik Botha last night apologised for the bad handling of the Umtata raid and the petrol price increase.

Speaking at a National Party gathering in Sandton, Botha admitted the Government had handled both "miserably".

Botha said he had personally been involved with the Umtata raid. He said the head of the de-

fence force had personally assured him the house had been under surveillance for weeks and that not only had rifles been stored there but a large number of assaults on South African citizens had been carried out from there.

"I personally queried the facts prior to the attack and I was assured that there was nothing to worry about.

"The killing of people was not authorised; only

the seizure of weapons. When the most senior member of the defence force assured me, I believed him," said Botha.

The petrol price increase was inevitable but it had been handled "awfully" and communication with the public was "miserable".

"The Government has made some bad mistakes during the past few months and I apologise for them," he said.

## Call for exiles to join alliance

JOHANNESBURG. —  
Chairman of the Re-  
turned Exiles Commit-  
tee (REC) Mr Pat Hlong-  
wane urged his  
supporters yesterday to  
join the Freedom Alli-  
ance.

He said the alliance  
shared the same ideolo-  
gy, aims and objectives  
as the REC (304A)

The decision was trig-  
gered by the recent offer  
by Transkei military rul-  
er Major-General Bantu  
Holomisa to so-called  
liberation armies to  
train in the Transkei.

A spokesman for the  
alliance could not be  
reached for comment.



304A  
■ BY ESTHER WAUGH  
and CHRIS WHITFIELD

South Africa's passage to a new order is poised to gain impetus with Government and ANC proposals — including one that could see two vice-presidents in a new executive — to be put before talks.

And, the popular issue of the flag took a new turn yesterday when Negotiating Council planning committee chairman Colin Eglon said professional designers were to be brought in to submit at least three submissions for a new flag in the next week.

He said the submissions on a new flag had not found "great public enthusiasm".

The new submissions would be made public for comment.

There is concern over whether the Freedom Alliance (FA) will come on board before next Friday's deadline for negotiators to complete their work, and speculation that extra time may be needed to finalise agreements.

In terms of a proposal emanating from this week's Government-ANC bosberaad, South Africa may get a president and two vice-presidents.

### 'Convinced'

Sources said an understanding was also reached that a new Cabinet should consist of a further 27 members with portfolios assigned by the president.

There were also indications that the vexed issue of powers and functions to go to regions was close to being settled, and yesterday President de Klerk said he was "convinced" the Inkatha Freedom Party's wishes for strong regional government would be met.

The proposals from upbeat ANC and Government negotiators come amid a flurry of bilateral meetings designed to boost the process before next Friday's deadline.

Foremost among these is today's meeting between De Klerk and leaders of the dissenting Freedom Alliance.

Sources said that no agreements had been reached, but that "proposals designed to take the process forward" had been formulated.

In terms of the vice-presidency proposal, a party getting 20 percent of the vote will nominate a vice-president. In theory there could be more than two vice-presidents, but this appears unlikely at current support levels.

► To Page 3

PROPOSAL that any party getting more than 20 percent of the vote can nominate a vice-president

Govt and ANC drawing closer on structuring of Cabinet

# SA set to leap ahead

Star 29/10/93

## SA set to forge ahead

◀ From Page 1

The proposal appears to bridge the ANC position for a democratically elected vice-president and the Government call for a "super-Cabinet" of leaders.

A technical committee report tabled yesterday recommended that the president in the first new government be elected by the national assembly in its first sitting.

The Government-ANC bosberaad proposals could be finalised today.

The meeting will also attempt to address the thorny issue of how to break a deadlock if the interim parliament is unable to agree on a final constitution.

The proposals should facilitate agreement with the November 5 deadline looming — but the workload facing negotiators

and the talks administration suggests that that date may be shifted.

The deadline has become the source of considerable friction between the FA and participants at the talks.

Bophuthatswana negotiator Rowan Cronje said it would be a pity if FA members were excluded from agreements because of "a few days".

Star 29/10/93

(304A)

# Govt to meet alliance today

CT 29/10/93 304A

## Political Staff

PRESIDENT F W de Klerk will meet a Freedom Alliance delegation today in an effort to beat the looming deadline for a constitutional settlement.

With the plenary of leaders planned for November 6 and 7, the negotiating parties have less than a week to reach a settlement with the parties boycotting constitutional talks.

One of the main disagreements is over the alliance's call for a summit of leaders, as distinct from a plenary of leaders agreed to by the negotiating council.

Yesterday the government and the alliance met in Pretoria for three hours to plan today's meeting in Pretoria between President De Klerk and General Constand Viljoen, Dr Mangosuthu

## Bid to beat settlement deadline

Buthelezi, Brigadier Oupa Gqozo, Dr Ferdi Harzenberg and President Lucas Mangope.

Alliance spokesman Bophuthatswana foreign minister Mr Rowan Cronje said the meeting had been constructive but declined to divulge details — except to repeat the alliance's warning that the negotiations at the World Trade Centre were moving too fast.

"I think South Africa must ask itself ... is a week more important than an all-inclusive solution," Mr Cronje said, referring to the deadline.

## De Klerk

Meanwhile President De Klerk told an investment conference in Johannesburg yesterday he was confident the alliance's demand for strong regional powers would be achieved.

He was particularly confident that Inkatha's demands could be accommodated. "I almost want to say already it has been achieved," he said.

He painted a rosy picture of South Africa's economic future, pledging an open economy and saying there was an estimated R25 billion in new investments in the pipeline.



# Apla, Government indaba still on

THE meeting between the Government and Azanian People's Liberation Army on ending "hostilities" will go ahead as scheduled in Harare, Zimbabwe, on Monday (11/10/93).

Minister of Law and Order Mr Hernus Kriel will head the Government's delegation (BOYA).

Senior Apla cadres began arriving in Harare yesterday. Phama would head the Apla delegation, which will also include chief political commissar Romero Daniels and director of training and manpower development Willie Brown.

The delegation would be backed by a five-

member technical team comprising chief-of-staff Barney Mzolo, military commission member Morgan Gxekwa, PAC foreign affairs secretary Gora Ibrahim, local government and civics secretary Molifi Litheko and Apla director of publicity and information Willie Mazambane.

## 'Apply now for TEC'

JOHANNESBURG. — Negotiators approved an advertisement yesterday calling for applications from more than 25 people initially to staff the Transitional Executive Council.

The advertisement, which will appear on Sunday, lists positions ranging from executive director at a salary of R155 500 a year to general assistants at R11 000 a year.

It states that in preparation for the installation of the TEC applications

CF 29/10/93 304  
"are urgently invited for the posts from persons who are interested in temporary posts until approximately the end of April 1994".

All the appointments will be made by the TEC when it is operational.

The negotiators also agreed that a further advertisement be placed on November 7 calling for public nominations for posts on the Independent Electoral Commission, Independent Media Commission and the TEC.



# Federalism breakthrough

CT 29/10/93

2044

11/31/93 TD



**Own Correspondent  
JOHANNESBURG. —**  
The government and the ANC appear to have opted for strong federalism and limited central government interference, following their three-day meeting this week.

And President F W de Klerk told an investment conference here yesterday he was confident the Freedom Alliance's demand for strong regional powers would be achieved.

He was particularly confident that Inkatha's demands could be accommodated. "I almost want to say already it has been achieved," he said. Last night a senior government source said "there is nothing left that can delay or derail the process at this stage. We have advanced a long way on all the areas where we had differences."

He said that in essence there was agreement on "strong federalism, with current and exclusive powers of regions clearly demarcated".

At the World Trade Centre, planning committee chairman Mr Colin Eglin said that sufficient progress had been

made in bilateral talks over the past few days to enable firm proposals to be made to the technical committee on constitutional matters.

He said it was expected that by Monday afternoon the proposals would be contained in amended constitutional reports.

"These relate to the powers and functions of regions, the financial rights of regions, local government and the fiscal commission," he said.

He added that there would also be amendments and ex-

as primary education and health care.

He said there had also been large strides made where regions would be guaranteed a fixed percentage of revenues collected nationally even though the regional governments would not levy the taxes.

He added that the stage now reached would satisfy all parties, including Inkatha, which wanted to establish a federal dispensation.

## GOVT TO MEET ALLIANCE TODAY

See PAGE 2

tensions to the constitutional principles, mainly in the area of regional dispensation, as a result of government and ANC submissions.

As further agreements were concluded these would be fed to the technical committee to amend and redraft the constitution.

For example, central government would be responsible for ensuring that minimum standards and norms were achieved nationally but would have no right to get involved in issues such

"If they are serious about a settlement for a federal structure, then it is all there, but if they want confederation then they cannot be included."

Recommendations were accepted yesterday that the existing seal and coat of arms of South Africa should be left in place during the transition, as there was no controversy over them.

Mr Eglin said because the proposed flags were greeted with a "total lack of enthusiasm from both negotiators and the wider public, the planning committee is to engage professional designers to design at least three new flags taking into account all the comments".

He said the sensitive issue of the anthem had been referred to further negotiations to see if it could be resolved by next week.

# How to monitor an election

TOS WENTZEL

Political Staff *ARL 29/10/93*

THE Centre for Intergroup Studies at the University of Cape Town has launched a series of workshops on election monitoring.

The purpose is to train monitors who will play a key role in the election campaign and on polling day.

The first workshop, with representatives of voter education and election monitoring organisations, was held at Josephine Mill in Newlands.

Ron Kraybill, director of training at the centre, pointed out that an Independent Electoral Commission, which would administer the election, would be the main body with monitors.

Their purpose would be to serve as a deterrent to violence.

Many other bodies would have people playing a similar role as observers. There also would be a substantial foreign presence.

If what had happened in Angola was taken into account, there could not be enough observers for the South African election.

The purpose of the workshops is to teach potential monitors conflict resolution skills.

Among the topics dealt with are an overview of conflict situations at polling stations and training for responses to anticipated conflicts.

The emphasis is on decisive action with flexibility.



Sowetan 29/10/93

# PAC gains in E Cape

304A

**S**UPPORT for the Pan Africanist Congress in the Eastern Cape — traditionally an African National Congress stronghold — has reached double digits for the first time.

■ **VARSITY SURVEY** ANC is still the leader but Nats get no support:

Results of a survey on black voters in the region by Rhodes University show that, since late last year, support for the PAC had grown by about 4 percent to 12,3 percent.

The survey — which polled 227 potentially eligible voters — found that the ANC was still “widely popular” in the region, supported by 76,7 percent of respondents.

The poll covered Port Elizabeth, East London, Grahamstown, Queenstown, King William’s Town-Bisho as well as smaller towns such as Bathurst and Fort Beaufort.

The co-ordinators, department head Profes-

sor Jan Coetzee and lecturer Mr GT Wood, say the sample was “fully representative and encompassed individuals from a wide range of occupations, incomes and places of residence”.

The SACP and Azapo each gained the support of 0,9 percent of respondents and the DP 0,4 percent.

None of those polled supported the NP, but 4 percent of respondents supported other parties, including Ciskei’s African Democratic Movement.

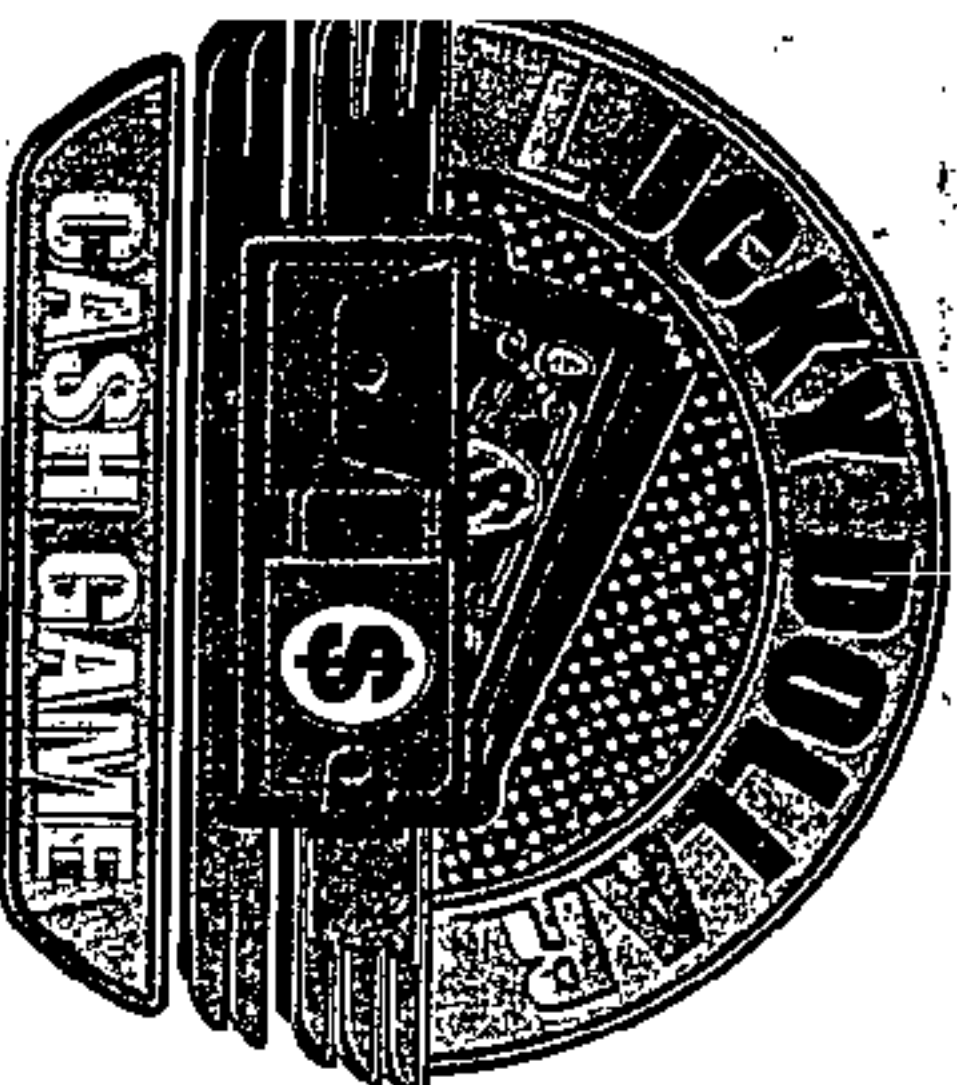
Coetzee and Wood found that the PAC’s

support remained concentrated in Queenstown and East London, “traditionally areas of PAC support since the late 1950s. Indeed, 50 percent of PAC supporters in the region dwelt in the Queenstown district”.

Asked yesterday to explain the rise in support for the PAC, Coetzee said this could be attributed largely to a belief that a “coalition” government would not change conditions on the ground for people.

“Many people feel the ANC is giving in and see it as a sign of weakness,” he said.





See PAGE 13

# Pik's apology

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## FLYING OFF TO LONDON

The Cape Times/British Airways Competition attracted over 16 000 entries, some from the Transvaal. Two of the delighted winners, who were notified yesterday, are sister Mary Magdalen Knight of the Holy Cross Convent in Parow Valley and Mr Patrick Browne of Tygerdal.



**DELUGE**... The Cape Times/British Airways Competition attracted over 16 000 entries. Mr Ian Perrie of British Airways Cape Town and Ms Diane Cassere, Cape Times promotions manager, drew the winning entries yesterday. Inset: Winners Sister Mary Magdalen Knight of the Holy Cross Convent in Parow Valley and Mr Patrick Browne of Tygerdal.

Picture: ANNE LAING, CLIVE SMITH

**By ANTHONY JOHNSON**  
**Political Correspondent**  
**MR Pik Botha yesterday clipped an election, bombshell and sent shockwaves through the cabinet by admitting that the government had botched both its handling of the Umata raid and the petrol price hike.**

The effective broadside at his cabinet colleagues Mr Kobie Coetsee and Mr George Bartlett by the most senior government minister was compounded when Mr Botha issued an apology for these "bad mistakes".

President F W de Klerk at one point entered the fray in an apparent bid to persuade Mr Botha to defuse the situation — but the Transvaal leader of the National Party declined to retract or back away from remarks he made at an NP gathering on Thursday night.

Mr De Klerk has repeatedly defended the Umata raid, saying it was "a clinical security operation based on hard evidence".

Veteran parliamentarian and Democratic Party leader Dr Zach de Beer told the Cape Times last night that he could not "in 45 years in politics" recall a minister so sharply criticising "directly or by implication" his cabinet colleagues "and then apologising on their behalf".

"How can these three ministers continue to sit in the cabinet together? The State President will have to intervene to resolve this," he said.

ANC spokesman Mr Carl Niehaus said it was an "open secret" that the cabinet was racked by internal differences. Government negotiators never knew when their cabinet colleagues were going to pull the rug out from under them.

Mr Botha's controversial remarks — which stirred up a hornet's nest yesterday in top government circles but provoked an overwhelmingly positive

feedback from the NP rank-and-file — came in response to a series of sharply critical questions from NP members at a party gathering in Sandton.

Mr Botha admitted that the government's handling of the SA Defence Force raid in which five youths were killed had been handled "miserably" and that the killing of people had not been authorised.

He said the head of the Defence Force had assured him that the house had been under surveillance for weeks and that not only had rifles been stored there but large numbers of assaults on South African citizens had been staged from there.

"I personally queried the facts prior to the attack and I was assured that there was nothing to worry about. The killing of people was not authorised — only the seizure of weapons."

"When the most senior member of the Defence Force assured me, I believed him," he told the meeting.

### 'Bad mistakes'

Turning to the row over the petrol price increase, Mr Botha said this matter had been handled "awfully" and that communication with the public was "miserable".

"The government has made some bad mistakes during the past few months and I apologise for them," he said.

The spokesman for Mr Coetsee and head of communication in the Ministry of Defence, Dr D A S Herbst, said his minister could not be reached for comment and added: "I hesitate to get involved — this must go to the State President's Office."

However, Dr Herbst did say that the SADF raid was based on "verified information from police sources and SADF observation" that the Umata house was an Apla base.

The spokesman for Mr Bartlett in the Ministry of Mineral and Energy Affairs, Mr Carel du Toit, said there was "no comment from this side" to Mr Botha's remarks as his minister was

locked in negotiations and could not be contacted.

Mr Botha's spokesman in the Ministry of Foreign Affairs, Mr Arie Marnas, confirmed the minister's attempt to "get at" fellow ministers but should be seen in the context of direct responses to critical questions Mr Botha had to field at the meeting.

The brutally frank statements were greeted with dismay and alarm in some government circles, particularly as Mr Botha had given the appearance of breaking ranks with cabinet colleagues in run-up to crucial elections when presenting a unified front was all-important.

However, other government sources said that while Mr Botha "may have disqualifed himself from Kobie Coetsee's Christmas card list" there was appreciation for the fact that "at last someone had the guts to say these things".

One source said that there had been a steady stream of positive reaction from within the NP in the Transvaal and that Mr Botha might have helped rather than hindered the party by stating his mind.





# Emotions Sowetan 22/10/93 over anthem

IF *Die Stem* is a "hymn to conquest and domination", is *Nkosi Sikelel' iAfrika* "a song for terrorists"?

These and other emotional questions emerged from the multiparty Negotiating Council outside Johannesburg yesterday as representatives took issue over the proposed new national symbols for the country's transition period.

SA Communist Party chief Mr Joe Slovo said *Die Stem*'s reference to "creaking wagons" symbolised for the majority the laager mentality. He said the SACP supported the minority view included in Wednesday's report by the commission on national symbols. (2044)

The minority report, also endorsed by the ANC, calls for the words and lyrics of "*Nkosi*" to be used together with only the tune of a single stanza of *Die Stem*.

Afrikaner Volksunie representative Mr Schalk Burger pleaded for the council not to tamper with *Die Stem*.

"It is not an anthem of oppression. Don't underestimate the Afrikaner when you put him in a corner ... when you take away things like this.

Endorsing the commission's majority view on the issue — that *Nkosi* and *Die Stem* be used in full as dual anthems

— Burger envisaged soccer matches where the one would be sung and rugby matches where the other would be popularly used. — Sapa.

# Govt, alliance fail to agree

PRETORIA. — The government and the Freedom Alliance failed last night to agree here on the holding of a leaders' summit, as demanded by the alliance.

However, earlier yesterday the ANC and the government concluded a successful five-hour meeting here.

The government and the ANC said they expected to conclude outstanding constitutional issues early next week after they made "good progress" yesterday.

A joint alliance/government statement said after the two-hour meeting they held "frank and intensive discussions".

IFP president Chief Mangosuthu Buthelezi said afterwards that the "main thing" discussed was the demand for a leaders' summit.

The alliance wants such a summit to resolve outstanding issues and chart the constitutional road ahead.

"Although the government was not against such a meeting (summit), it felt that it could be achieved only if all the parties involved agreed to it," said the statement.

The ANC is opposed to a leaders' summit until negotiators at a second-tier leadership level have done everything possible to broker a constitutional compromise.

It accused the alliance of trying to form an alternative negotiating forum to that at the World Trade Centre. — Sapa



# Govt, alliance fail to agree on summit

PRETORIA. — The government and the Freedom Alliance failed last night to agree on the holding of a leaders' summit, as demanded by the alliance.

However, earlier yesterday the ANC and the government concluded a successful five-hour bilateral meeting (J 30/10/92 SO4A)

The government and the ANC said they expect to conclude outstanding constitutional issues early next week after they made "good progress" yesterday.

● Govt, alliance fail to agree — Page 2

# Critical Weeks

Government/ANC move close to agreement — but FW fails with Freedom Alliance

AKG 30/10/93 80449

CHRIS WHITFIELD, Political Staff

THE coming week will be critical in shaping the future of South Africa.

In a day of drama yesterday the government and ANC negotiators emerged from five hours of talks in an upbeat mood. They said all key issues being thrashed out for submission to talks would be finalised in the next few days.

Less successful were talks yesterday between President De Klerk and the Freedom Alliance. They failed to agree on the alliance's call for a summit meeting of leaders — but the two sides are likely to talk again next week.

After the government-ANC talks, the ANC's secretary-general Cyril Ramaphosa said all outstanding issues being discussed were close to resolution.

"There is very little one can say concretely, but it is going very well. We'll finish everything at the beginning of next week."

More bilateral discussions are scheduled for Tuesday and possibly Wednesday and Thursday.

Constitutional Development Minister Roelf Meyer said the two groups would meet again on Tuesday and were "close to agreement". It is understood that the meeting focused on the contents of the Bill of Fundamental Human Rights, the constitutional court and the mechanism that will be used to break deadlocks should the interim government be unable to reach agreement on a final constitution.

Once proposals had been agreed they would be put to the negotiations planning committee and then submitted to the negotiating council. Submissions on the composition of a government of national unity, including its executive, were made to the planning committee after the government/ANC boss-beraad earlier this week.

On Thursday planning committee acting-chairman Colin Eglin announced that submissions had also been made on the powers and functions to go to regions, certain constitutional principles and local government.

Mr De Klerk's delegation for the meeting included ministers Pik Botha, Dawie de Villiers, Kobie Coetsee, George Bartlett, Roelf Meyer, Leon Wessels and officials.

The alliance's delegation was headed by KwaZulu Chief Minister Mangosuthu Buthelezi, Ciskei ruler Oupa Gqozo, Bophuthatswana President Lucas Mangope, Conservative Party leader Dr Ferdi Hartzenberg and AVF leader General Constand Viljoen.

The meeting at the Union Buildings, which lasted nearly two-and-a-half hours, concluded with little of substance after the parties failed to agree on the alliance's call for a summit meeting of leaders.

Although the government "was not against such a meeting, it felt it could be achieved only if all the parties involved agreed to it", read a joint statement issued after the meeting.

The ANC has flatly rejected the alliance proposal for a meeting as soon as possible to discuss the talks and the timetable in terms of which negotiators have to finish their work by Friday.

Speaking after the talks, Chief Buthelezi said the talks had gone well and another meeting would probably be held this week.

But other alliance members were grim-faced and sources indicated the meeting had not gone off particularly well.



## Govt says no to Apla's new demands on talks

CT 30/10/93 (304A)  
JOHANNESBURG. — The government says it will not attend scheduled talks with the Azanian Peoples Liberation Army (Apla) on Monday unless the organisation is prepared to abide by the original conditions for the meeting.

In a statement yesterday Minister of Law and Order Mr Hernus Kriel said Apla commander Mr Sabelo Phama was now apparently arguing that he would not attend unless the South African Defence Force was represented at the meeting.

"The presence of the SADF ... was previously not at issue," said Mr Kriel. — Sapa

# Viljoen blocked by rightists

By EDYTH BULBRING  
Political Correspondent

ULTRA-RIGHTISTS in the Afrikaner Volksfront put pressure on Constand Viljoen and his fellow generals to stop negotiations with the ANC and the government after their secret talks were exposed last week.

Sources at Wednesday's Volksfront executive council meeting said most of the Volksfront council had been kept in the dark about the negotiations conducted by General Viljoen and General Tienie Groenewald with the ANC.

When the news of a "deal" with the ANC broke

in the media, rightists like AWB leader Eugene Terre Blanche were outraged.

There was also a general outcry by a large section of the rank-and-file Volksfront membership, sources said. (304A)

Fearing a depletion of their membership and even a possible split in the organisation, the generals agreed to stop the talks until the government and ANC had publicly acknowledged the Afrikaner's right to self-determination.

Sources in the Volksfront said this was a tactical retreat and predicted the generals would return to negotiations soon.

Had talks continued, AVF negotiators were confident they would have reached a deal with the

government and ANC within weeks.

The Volksfront negotiators were flexible on the area that would be allocated for an Afrikaner region as long as it included Pretoria.

The sources said the government and ANC negotiators had recognised in principle their demand for self-determination in their own region.

In return for these concessions, the Volksfront negotiators were prepared not to secede from South Africa.

The sources predicted that within two weeks the generals would start putting out feelers to the other parties, but would insist on a public acknowledgement of Afrikaner self-determination.



# ANC rejects

## FA summit

C1 Road 31/10/93

## suggestion

By SEKOLA SELLO

THE next five days will make or break the multiparty elections.

Attitudes seem to be hardening between the ANC alliance and the newly formed Freedom Alliance led principally by Chief Mangosuthu Buthelezi.

While the government and the ANC alliance are hoping the interim constitution and other outstanding issues will be finalised by Friday, the Freedom Alliance looks set to torpedo this.

In a final bid to save the talks and meet deadline agreements, government is to meet with the Freedom Alliance in a series of bilateral talks this week.

However, the prevailing mood among FA members - made up of Inkatha, the Afrikaner Volksfront and Bophuthatswana and Ciskei governments - does not inspire confidence.

The glum leadership, comprising Oupa Gqozo, Lucas Mangope, Ferdie

Hartzenberg and Constand Viljoen, refused to speak to the press this week.

Inkatha leader Chief Buthelezi, who was the only one who spoke at the impromptu press conference, probably summed up the feelings of his colleagues when he said: "There is still a long way to go."

While the FA is insisting on a summit of leaders, which, if agreed to, could alter the course of things, including the elections, the ANC is opposed to this.

ANC president Nelson Mandela said the ANC is going ahead with agreed timetables with or without boycotters.

Failure to woo the FA back to the talks could create a serious problem.

Nevertheless, players would have to finalise their discussions on Friday and pave the way for the election.

An upbeat F.W. de Klerk told an enthusiastic NP rally at the World Trade Centre near Kempton Park yesterday that they were not afraid of the ANC.

He lashed out at the ANC's arrogance, double talk and intimidation, and averred that the NP's support was growing among blacks.

Further, Inkatha was little more than a regional party, he added.



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**IT WAS the first item on the agenda at 10.30 on Thursday morning. Government negotiator Roelf Meyer leaned forward in his chair at the World Trade Centre and told the planning committee the government and the ANC had made progress.**

It was not an unusual statement for Mr Meyer, who, despite months of exhausting negotiations and setbacks, has maintained his optimism that South Africa's leaders would finalise a settlement.

But on this occasion, Mr Meyer's promise of progress was not just the desperate chant of the doomed, a week before hanging, but a statement of fact.

He was reporting back on two days of intensive talks with the ANC at the D'Nyalu game reserve, where casually dressed cabinet ministers and the ANC's top negotiators had worked from 7.30am until 10 at night to resolve outstanding issues. And this, to a great extent, they did, Mr Meyer said, outlining the areas where progress was made.

Turning to his negotiating counterpart, ANC secretary-general Cyril Ramaphosa, Mr Meyer asked him if he had anything to add.

Poker-faced Mr Ramaphosa replied that he did not know what Mr Meyer was talking about, adding sarcastically that perhaps Mr Meyer's comrade in arms, operation Vula activist Mac Maharaj, could contribute to the briefing. Mr Maharaj obliged and

# Pressure is on as talks near goal

Report: EDYTH BULBRING and RAY HARTLEY Picture: HERBERT MABUZA

the flickering moment of tension was defused.

Mr Meyer spent the rest of the day skipping around the corridors of the World Trade Centre with a gleeful flush of happiness on his face.

The past week has seen a plethora of meetings, sun-baths and bilateral negotiations all the parties in an

attempt to make the final breakthrough to beat the deadline for the finalisation of the interim constitution at the end of the coming week.

On one level, the ANC and government met to thrash out a compromise on important issues like the government of national unity, the powers and func-

tions of the regions and the deadlock breaking mechanisms which would come into effect in writing the constitution.

Then there were the meetings between the two major parties and the Freedom Alliance in an attempt to seal it the compromise and draw it back into the process.



**WORKERS UNITED ... Cosatu supporters mass outside the World Trade Centre in protest at clauses in the bill of rights**

The first meeting of the week was a disaster. The ANC negotiators, already indisposed to making concessions to the Freedom Alliance and bolstered by the success of ANC president Nelson Mandela's rally in the heart of Buthelez country the previous day, were not in an accommo-

dating mood. They dealt locked on the first item on the agenda — a summit of leaders.

The ANC's view was that a summit of leaders could not be held unless all the problems had been solved by the footsolders before-hand and were then endorsed by a plenary of

principals. The Freedom Alliance wanted a summit of leaders of only the main players to discuss the issues and chart the way forward, thus taking negotiations out of the World Trade Centre and into a negotiating forum initiated by it.

Reflecting the uncon-

promising stance, ANC chief negotiator Cyril Ramaphosa said after the meeting: "In the end, the Freedom Alliance knows that if there is no agreement by the November 5 deadline they will have missed the boat."

On Monday night, ANC and government negotiators held themselves up in the stifled bungalows at D'Nyalu for their breakthrough meeting, leaving Mr Mandela and President F.W. de Klerk to meet face-to-face on Tuesday afternoon at the Union Buildings.

The three-hour meeting between the Nobel peace prize winners went well with much shoulder patting, handshaking and constructive discussion in measured, peaceful tones.

Discussions centred on the role of the two leaders in a government of national unity and legitimising the interim constitution should the Freedom Alliance fail to come on board.

Mr de Klerk attempted to persuade Mr Mandela on the wisdom of holding a referendum, but with no success. He also expressed his unhappiness with the ANC's hardline attitude towards the Freedom Alliance and its unwillingness to provide Chief Buthelez with a face-saving device to draw him back into the process. They parted with broad smiles.

News of the successful DIP negotiator Colin Eglin presented the negotiations council with a terse Klerk at the cabinet meet-

ing on Wednesday afternoon, enabling him to announce triumphantly at a conference on Thursday morning at the Carlton Hotel that "there will be basically a federal republic of South Africa."

Meanwhile, at sunrise on Thursday morning, high-level delegations of government negotiators and the Freedom Alliance met at the constitutional development offices in Pretoria's jacaranda-lined Walker Street.

They met to decide on the next day's agenda for a meeting between Mr de Klerk, members of the cabinet and the Freedom Alliance.

The alliance was expected to present the meeting with its response to a government document on its position on negotiations. But, much to government's frustration, it merely handed out a mission statement released at its formation weeks before.

The major problem, it seemed, was that members of the Freedom Alliance had failed to reach consensus among themselves on vital issues. They set aside Friday morning to do this before meeting with Mr de Klerk.

And on Thursday afternoon, the negotiating council at the World Trade Centre, which had done little but hang around anxiously in the shadows waiting for progress in bilateral meetings, met.

DIP negotiator Colin Eglin presented the negotiations council with a terse

no-nonsense report on how key differences would be dealt with by the November 5 deadline.

Outside, tens of thousands of Cosatu supporters massed to protest the "anti-worker" clauses in the bill of rights and guaranteeing the tenure of civil servants after the April 27 election.

Hours before, at a breakfast occasion, Mr Ramaphosa had said that the threatened Cosatu strike could create a negative impression among foreign investors, but he expressed optimism that an agreement could be reached with the unions to make the strike unnecessary.

SACP chairman Joe Slovo mounted a makeshift platform and did his bit to widen the gulf between the ANC and the Freedom Alliance. "They call it a Freedom Alliance. You know, when I opened my newspaper and read of this name, I'm afraid I nearly vomited," he said to applause from the large crowd and some of the black policemen assigned to its periphery.

Friday's spate of meetings began with government and ANC negotiators attempting to finalise outstanding matters on local government, deadlock-breaking mechanisms and a constitutional court. The meeting went well and an unshaven and bright-eyed Mr Meyer said afterwards that they hoped to finalise matters on Tuesday or Wednesday.

Cabinet ministers then swept on to the Union Buildings to meet the Freedom Alliance leaders.

The meeting bombed badly. It was a matter of a different meeting and yet the same issue — a summit of leaders.

Mr de Klerk stressed that it could not be held as the ANC and its alliance partners would not attend. He would only be able to sell the idea to the ANC if there was good reason for such a summit — the resolution of the main problems beforehand. He proposed a government-Freedom Alliance bossbarrad to deal with the major problem areas.

This was initially turned down by the Freedom Alliance leaders, but at the end they left with a promise to consider the proposal.

The recent compromises on regional powers and functions, which Mr de Klerk hoped to put to the Freedom Alliance, were left unmentioned. The week that started





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ing mood. They dead-  
ed on the first item on  
agenda — a summit of  
ers.

he ANC's view was that  
mmit of leaders could  
be held unless all the  
blems had been solved  
he footsoldiers before-  
d and were then en-  
ed by a plenary of

principals. The Freedom  
Alliance wanted a summit  
of leaders of only the main  
players to discuss the im-  
passe and chart the way  
forward, thus taking nego-  
tiations out of the World  
Trade Centre and into a  
negotiating forum initiated  
by it.

Reflecting the uncom-

promising stance, ANC  
chief negotiator Cyril Ra-  
maphosa said after the  
meeting: "In the end, the  
Freedom Alliance knows  
that if there is no agree-  
ment by the November 5  
deadline they will have  
missed the boat."

On Monday night, ANC  
and government negotia-  
tors holed themselves up in  
the stilted bungalows at  
D'Nyala for their break-  
through meeting, leaving  
Mr Mandela and President  
F W de Klerk to meet face-  
to-face, on Tuesday after-  
noon at the Union Build-  
ings.

The three-hour meeting  
between the Nobel peace  
prize winners went well  
with much shoulder pat-  
ting, handshaking and con-  
structive discussion in  
measured, peaceful tones.

Discussions centred on  
the role of the two leaders  
in a government of  
national unity and legiti-  
mising the interim consti-  
tution should the Freedom  
Alliance fail to come on  
board.

Mr de Klerk attempted  
to persuade Mr Mandela on  
the wisdom of holding a  
referendum, but with no  
success. He also expressed  
his unhappiness with the  
ANC's hardline attitude to-  
wards the Freedom Alli-  
ance and its unwillingness  
to provide Chief Buthelezi  
with a face-saving device  
to draw him back into the  
process. They parted with  
broad smiles.

News of the successful  
bosheraad was conveyed  
by Mr Meyer to Mr de  
Klerk at the cabinet meet-

ing on Wednesday after-  
noon, enabling him to  
announce triumphantly at  
a conference on Thursday  
morning at the Carlton  
Hotel that "there will be  
basically a federal repub-  
lic of South Africa".

Meanwhile, at sunrise on  
Thursday morning, high-  
level delegations of gov-  
ernment negotiators and  
the Freedom Alliance met  
at the constitutional devel-  
opment offices in Pretor-  
ia's jacaranda-lined Walk-  
er Street.

They met to decide on  
the next day's agenda for a  
meeting between Mr de  
Klerk, members of the  
cabinet and the Freedom  
Alliance.

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functions, which Mr de  
Klerk hoped to put to the  
Freedom Alliance, were  
left unmentioned.

The week that started  
off so badly, ended badly.  
The warning signal had  
been sent hours before the  
meeting, when the Afri-  
kaner Volksfront executive  
called on its members to  
prepare to fight, given the  
government and other ne-  
gotiators' refusal to make  
concessions on an Afri-  
kaner homeland.

A tense and grim Mr de  
Klerk told his ministers  
after the leaders of the  
Freedom Alliance had left  
that they would have to try  
again "next week". But, he  
added as he strode out of  
the door, time was running



# Lonely hearts on the right

C/Read 31/10/93

By **THEMBA KHUMALO**  
Political Reporter

**I**T failed to prevent the ANC and government from agreeing to write a final constitution before going to the polls in April, and now the embattled Freedom Alliance is looking towards President FW De Klerk for a shoulder to cry on.

The alliance, consisting of conservative black and white organisations, has asked for an urgent meeting with De Klerk in a bid to have their grievances addressed before the November 5 deadline during which the 21 negotiating parties are expected to wind up their constitutional talks at the World Trade Centre.

This follows the alliance's failure to make any headway during their bilateral talks with the ANC and Pretoria at two separate meetings this week. Their bid to have an urgent summit of all political leaders also fell through.

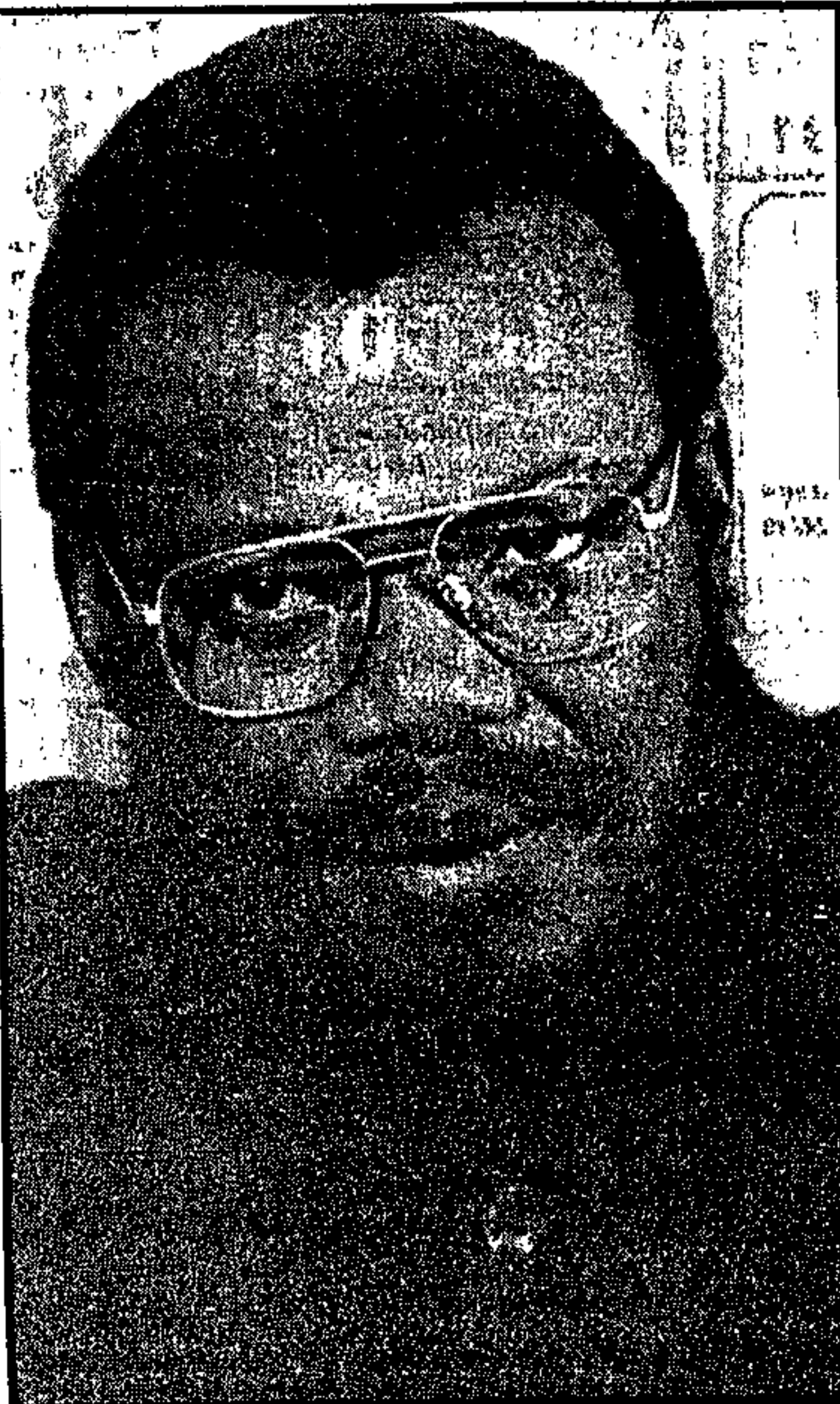
Instead, the government and the ANC retreated to a two-day *bosberaad* meeting on Tuesday and Wednesday where they agreed on important constitutional issues such as the role of a deputy state president and the powers of regional governments during the transition.

They agreed the deputy state president should come from the party with the second highest number of votes after the election.

Time is not exactly on the side of the FA and with odds heavily stacked against them, the alliance - formerly called the Concerned South African Group - has little option but to iron out their differences at the WTC.

Wherever they go for sympathy the FA leaders are advised that there is no better place for the resolution of their problems than the WTC.

During Inkatha leader Mangosuthu Buthelezi's



**COLD SHOULDER . . . Mangosuthu Buthelezi has been directed back to the World Trade Centre.**

meeting last week with UN general secretary Dr Boutros Boutros-Ghali, Buthelezi was told in no uncertain terms to return to the conference table at the WTC to sort out his political problems.

After the meeting, Buthelezi, eager to avenge his dented political pride, vowed not to do so under any circumstances.

While De Klerk is ready to give the FA leaders a second hearing and wants them back at the multiparty talks, it is very unlikely that he will make further concessions to them.

Institute for a Democratic Alternative for SA executive director Dr Alex Boraine made similar observations in his institute's monthly publication.

He said: "An even more difficult problem surrounding the final stages of negotiations is

the attitude of Buthelezi and Inkatha. Despite concessions made by the ANC and the government, Buthelezi remains obstinate and obdurate."

"Asking for further concessions, from the ANC in particular, is almost asking too much, but the responsibility for bringing the IFP back to the negotiating table, rests largely with Mandela and his colleagues."

Boutros-Ghali and Boraine are seasoned, widely-respected politicians. It would be foolish to dismiss as irrational or myopic their opinions on sensitive matters such as this.

In the past the government and the ANC have gone to great lengths to accommodate rightwing sentiments. Black homeland leaders, feeling their power gradually slipping away, called for the es-

tablishment of regional governments and federal states with entrenched regional powers.

Of greater concern is the claim by Buthelezi that Zulus would like to retain their nationhood via an almost autonomous federal government comprising KwaZulu and Natal.

Concerned about this claim, the ANC held a massive Zulu cultural festival-cum-political rally at Kings Park Stadium last Sunday precisely to expose Buthelezi's claims as inflated, if not mythical.

To avoid any possible cause for criticism, the ANC made sure that no supporters were bussed in from other provinces because that would have implied that half the crowd at the stadium were non-Zulus.

Dubbed "Sonke", the event went so far as to shake even those die-hard Buthelezi supporters among Natal's business magnates.

This is reflected in Boraine's comment: "Not only is Buthelezi losing support in KwaZulu/Natal, but the business community which for so long supported him is becoming restless, feeling that he should return to the negotiating table to present his demands there."

"This so far has not bought him any nearer to a sense of reality, but has made him even more desperate. His constant threats of civil war have brought upon him the ire and criticism of his erstwhile ally, De Klerk, and this bodes ill for any compromise."

Meanwhile, the nominal support Buthelezi receives from some affiliates of the FA is highly suspect.

The human rights record in Bophuthatswana leaves much to be desired. President Lucas Mangope's administration through his heavy handed security forces have angered even the Tswanas, who tolerated him in the hope he might turn out a democrat.



# It's eyeball to eyeball

Times 3/10/93

Right Said Fred's not too sexy for SA

## About turn! SAP to admit Std 8 recruits

By NICK OLIVARI

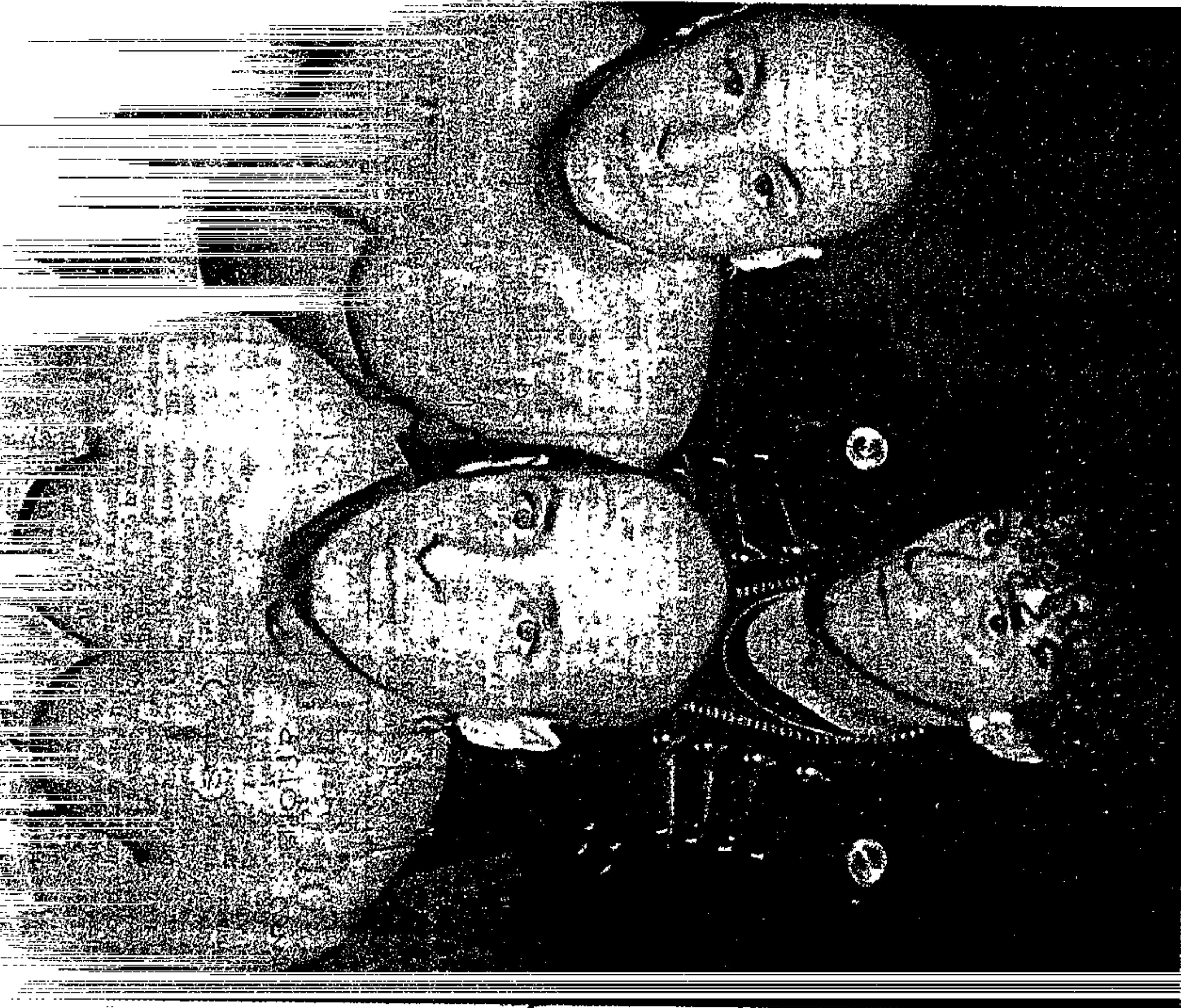
THE SAP has lowered its minimum educational standards for admission to accommodate thousands of controversial assistant constables in the regular force. 3/10/93

The decision — taken a fortnight ago — makes a mockery of repeated assurances by the SAP over the past two months that there would be no compromise on the standards of potential candidates.

For the past 10 years the SAP has demanded at least a matric certificate from recruits. Now 9 000 assistants whose highest educational qualification is Std 8 will become eligible to join the ranks. (251)

The move comes amid growing tension between regular policemen and members of the Police and Prisons Civil Rights Union, drawn largely from the ranks of municipal and assistant constables.

But while Popert has claimed the decision to lower the educational standard as a victory, it has vowed to increase pressure on Law and Order Minister Herens Kriel "until all assistant constables are taken into the regular



By EDYTH BULBRING and RAY HARTLEY

SOUTH AFRICA'S moment of truth has arrived: on the table lies a "final offer" hammered out in frenzied meetings this week by the government and the ANC. Inkatha and its white allies have six days to accept or reject the offer.

The "final offer" is a federal constitution designed to meet Chief Mangosuthu Buthe's demands for regional power — and to test his good faith.

Also on the table is a proposal, not yet finalised, for a region with Pretoria as its centre, which offers the white conservatives the best chance they will get to establish their "ele plekkie" — a white-dominated region within a non-racial federation. Their good faith is also being tested.

If the dissident parties reject this offer, say senior officials of both the government and the ANC, the process must go on without them. (2049)

President F W de Klerk warned on Thursday when he addressed a distinguished gathering of businessmen in Johannesburg: "The next 10 days will be of fundamental importance. If we get bogged down, we will have to take initiatives to ensure we move forward."

Yesterday, he told a National Party rally at the World Trade Centre: "The constitutional negotiations are almost completed and will be finished in time."

Opening his organisation's PWV conference on Friday night, ANC leader Nelson Mandela said he accepted there would be violence from the right while it decided to go ahead with the offer. (2049)

"But it will be a picnic compared to the violence that will erupt if elections on April 27 are postponed," he said.

Mr de Klerk said the constitution hammered out with the ANC would ensure "there will be a federal republic of SA". Mr Mandela challenged proponents of federalism to "tell us what more powers you want."

But Inkatha and its Freedom Alliance allies are steadfastly refusing to discuss a deal until the negotiation process has been re-organised on their terms at a summit of select leaders.

They will meet tomorrow to plot their response to this week's failed meetings with both the government and the ANC. Freedom Alliance chairman Rowan Crooke said of the new ANC/government proposal: "It's better than what we had, but our approach is different. It

## Pik spells out more blunders by the cabinet

By EDYTH BULBRING Political Correspondent

UNREPENTANT Foreign Minister Pik Botha yesterday repeated his criticisms of the government and added to his list of issues it had handled ineptly or inadequately.

In an interview with the Sunday Times, Mr Botha confirmed he had said at an NP fundraising dinner in Sandton that the government had made mistakes in its handling of the recent raid on Apia and the petrol price increase.

Mr Botha added that he had also conceded the government had erred in its handling of a number of other issues.

These included the education crisis, the appointment of the SABC board, the Walvis Bay issue, the debate over driving licences, the amnesty for political prisoners and the extradition of the Banana Boats.

"If something was dealt with inadequately or with ineptitude it is better to admit it, express regret and then state the intention to rectify matters."

"It would have been naive and counter-productive

to try to bluff," he said.

The government, he said, had to be straight with the public in admitting its mistakes. "Trying to sweep things under the carpet doesn't solve anything."

Mr Botha said he had made these admissions during a question and answer session during which he had to field criticism on all the issues.

Mr Botha told the dinner guests the government had handled the petrol price increase and the Umkhata raid "awfully and miserably" and apologised for the bad mistakes made by the government during the past several months.

In mitigation, Mr Botha said that pressure on the government had increased tremendously and with the increasing number of important issues to deal with, there was not sufficient time to have all the facts or to consult with all the experts.

Mr Botha said he had not intended to imply a personal criticism of his colleagues, Defence Minister Kobie Coetsee and Mineral and Energy Affairs Minister George Bartlett.

Why give up when you move





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They will meet tomorrow to plot their response to this week's failed meetings with both the government and the ANC.

Freedom Alliance chairman Rowan Cronje said of the new ANC/government proposal: "It's better than what we had, but our approach is different. It moves forward, but not far enough."

Asked what the alliance would do if the ANC and the government went ahead without it, he said: "We have alternatives, we have options." He refused to elaborate.

The ANC/government agreement, which is contained in a document sent to World Trade Centre negotiators yesterday, bolsters the powers of regions to include agriculture, cultural affairs, school education, health, housing, language, police, trade, welfare, regional planning and development.

But the document reserves the power of central government to pass legislation in these areas if uniform norms and standards needed to be set, or if they could not "be regulated effectively" by provincial legislation.

The two parties concluded another breakthrough agreement allowing regions to impose their own taxes under the supervision of a national financial and fiscal commission.

In terms of the deal, regional governments would be entitled to "a reasonable percentage" of VAT and income taxes collected within their boundaries as well as "an equitable transfer" of nationally-collected revenue.

The agreement also makes provision for "executive deputy presidents" from parties with 20 percent or more of the popular vote.

The president will consult both deputy presidents on matters of cabinet and government policy, but the deputies will not have veto rights, as the National Party previously demanded.

On Thursday, negotiators at the World Trade Centre were presented with the option of a "greater Pretoria" area, separate from the PWV.

The recommendation, which could be the first

with inane ineptitude admit it and then to rectify "It won't be a picnic" and

# The moment of truth

SITIMES

yesterday, Mr de Klerk, for the first time, distanced the National Party from Inkatha. (304A)

He belittled the IFP as not much more than a regional party which "walks out and begins to beat the war drums every time it does not get its way".

The organisation's thinking, he said, was too narrow and ethnic.

The NP, he said, would never agree to the "new kind of ethnic or racial discrimination" being proposed by the Freedom Alliance.

its members to settle their personal affairs and gather food, water and hardware for a last stand against a constitution which excluded the "Boerevolk".

Addressing the PWV region, Mr Mandela was adamant that the April 27 election would go ahead — with or without the Freedom Alliance.

Again, he rejected Mr de Klerk's proposed referendum if the Freedom Alliance refused to endorse the "final offer" on a constitution.

Speaking at the NP rally

From Page 1

concession to those demanding an Afrikaner volkstaat, was made by an ad-hoc committee, but a final decision on regional boundaries was deferred.

Ominous signs that the right wing would reject the latest ANC and government offer on federalism emerged on Friday, when the Afrikaner Volksfront issued a "call to struggle" just hours before the Freedom Alliance meeting with Mr de Klerk.

The Volksfront called on

**6**  
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ved a dividend of  
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To Page 2